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## The refugee's plight

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51 MILLION REFUGEES FLEE  
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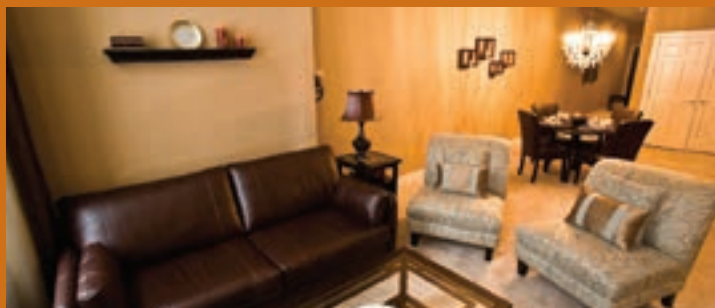
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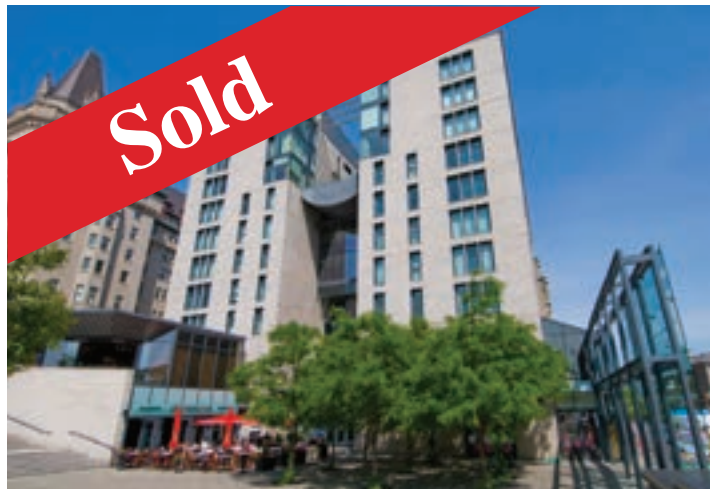
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Jennifer  
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## The world of refugees

**W**ith war in Syria, unrest in Ukraine and fear among Estonians, Lithuanians and Latvians that they'll be Russian President Vladimir Putin's next target, there's plenty of discomfort in the world. In this edition, we cover both of those issues, but we also look at a less prominent, but no less important, problem: The plight of the refugee.

In 2013, there were 51 million displaced people in the world — a record number since the Second World War. The Syrian-Iraq crisis and the war against ISIL continue to produce more refugees who flee to neighbouring countries, countries whose economies, manpower and infrastructure are overwhelmed. Carleton University graduate scholar Joe Landry has singled out the Top-10 refugee-receiving nations and the startling numbers of individuals — many of them children — who live for decades in substandard exile from the violence, instability, poverty and disasters in their home countries.

We also have my interview with Furio de Angelis, the representative in Ottawa for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. He says that many Western nations feel they shoulder the burden of accepting the majority of refugees when, in fact, 90 percent of refugees in the world today are being sheltered in developing countries. The number of developing countries that host refugees has always been high, Mr. de Angelis says, but a decade ago, it accounted for 70 percent.

Our foreign affairs columnist, Fen Hampson, writes a different kind of column this time, with his look at Canada's genetics research with international part-

ners who are trying to curb environmental pests such as spruce budworms. And Africa columnist Robert I. Rotberg delves into the little-discussed way Africa's wars — and there are many — are fuelled by the narcotics trade.

In addition, in our first opportunity since lone gunman Michael Zehaf-Bibeau shot a soldier at the National War Memorial and then stormed Parliament before being shot and killed, we look at Canada's experience with terrorism, past and present. Christian Lepreucht, an expert from the Royal Military College and Queen's University, talks about how Americans wrongly accuse Canada of leaking terrorists across the border.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky, *Diplomat's* history writer, takes us back to 1868 and shows us that terrorism in North America didn't begin with 9/11.

We also have cartoons from around the world, trade articles from the ambassadors of Romania and Honduras and from the chargé d'affaires for Rwanda.

In our Delights section, books columnist George Fetherling brings us good reading on the modern Middle East, Persian literary humanism and the South China Sea.

Food columnist Margaret Dickenson dropped in on now-retired Pakistani High Commissioner Akbar Zeb, who told her about his country's cuisine (that "Indian" food you eat and love in Ottawa may actually be Pakistani.) And speaking of dropping in, culture editor Margo Roston visited Most Rev. Luigi Bonazzi, ambassador of the Holy See. His Excellency lives in a grand abode off Manor Avenue and in this issue, we give you a peek inside its doors.

In Destinations, Cuban Ambassador Julio Garmendía Peña takes us on a tour of his island nation. There's more than just the all-inclusive resorts that draw thousands of Canadians each winter, including the ambassador's home town of Trinidad.

Finally, *Diplomat's* publisher, Donna Jacobs, goes west to swim with the spawning salmon. She also encounters orcas, sea otters and exotic jellyfish on her unique 10-day tour.

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat's* editor.

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Joe Landry



Joe Landry is a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council's Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholar at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. His research interests include fragile states, civil war, forced migration, the security-development nexus and terrorism. He is currently managing editor of the *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* and research assistant with the SSHRC-funded Country Indicators for Foreign Policy project. His more than five years' experience overseas includes working as a university lecturer in Vietnam, a language instructor in South Korea and a CIDA primary health educator in Tanzania.



Andrew Zhalko-Tytarenko

Andrew Zhalko-Tytarenko is an independent Canadian consultant who studies the political, economic, defence and security policies of the former Soviet republics. He is the former head of Ukraine's National Space Agency and former Ukrainian co-ordinator of the European Commission's TACIS (Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States) program that provided foreign and technical assistance to members of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

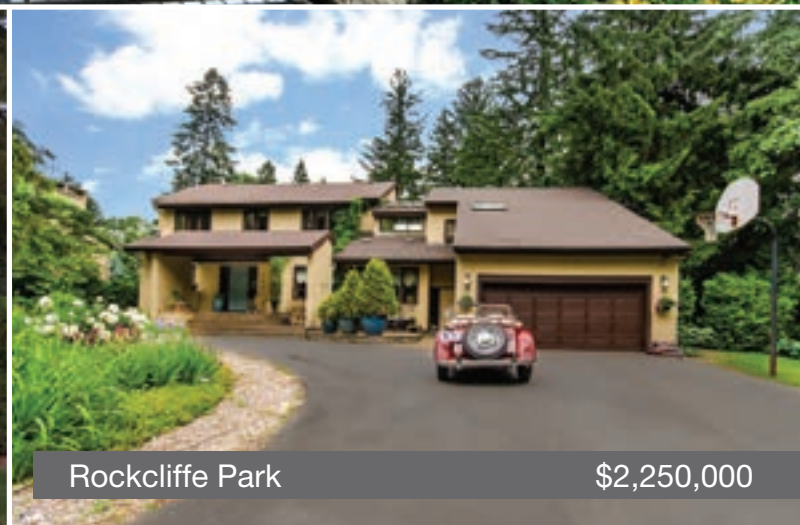
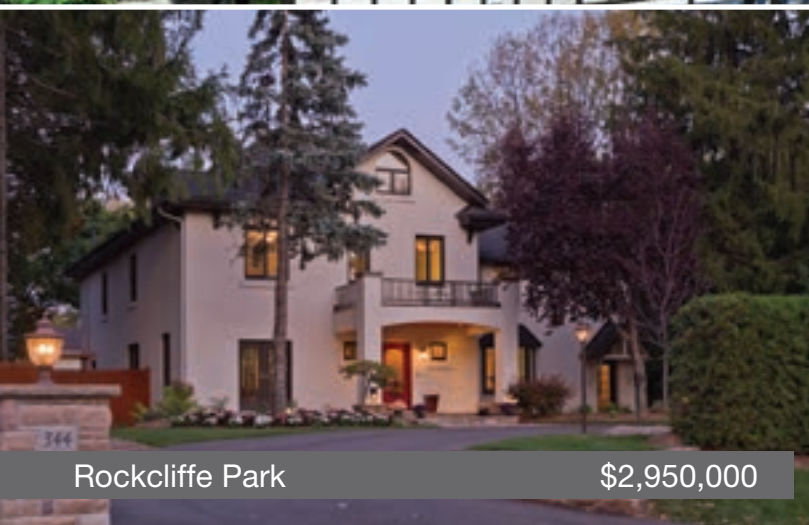
He has a PhD in Physics and, in addition to scientific writing, he has published more than 30 reports on political affairs in Eastern Europe and the former USSR.

## UP FRONT

With every world crisis, droves of refugees flee their homes and disrupt their daily lives for safer ground. Where do they go? Our Top-10 refugee-hosting country list answers that question. The story starts on page 36. (UN photo)







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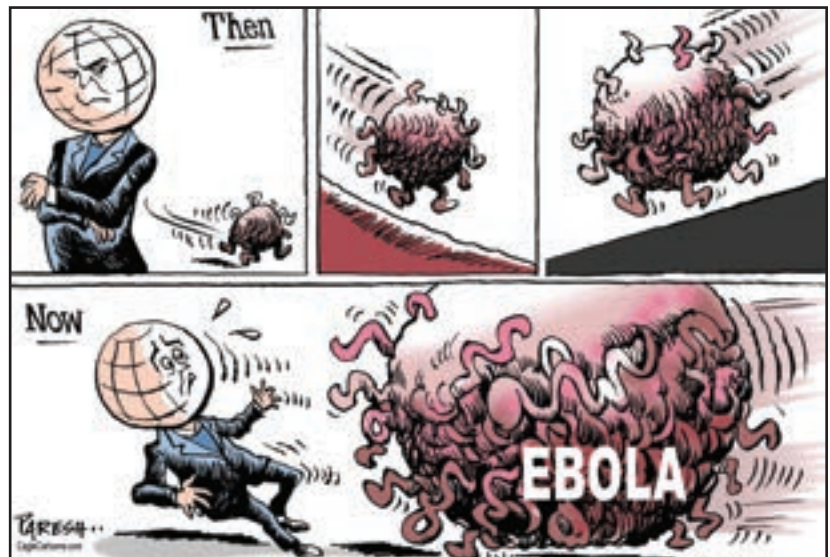
# Political commentary from around the world



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"Friend or foe" by Tom Janssen, *The Netherlands*



"Ebola Threat" by Paresh Nath, *The Khaleej Times*, UAE





"Pope and Synod" by Tom Janssen, The Netherlands



"Voting in Dombas" by Marian Kemensky, Slovakia



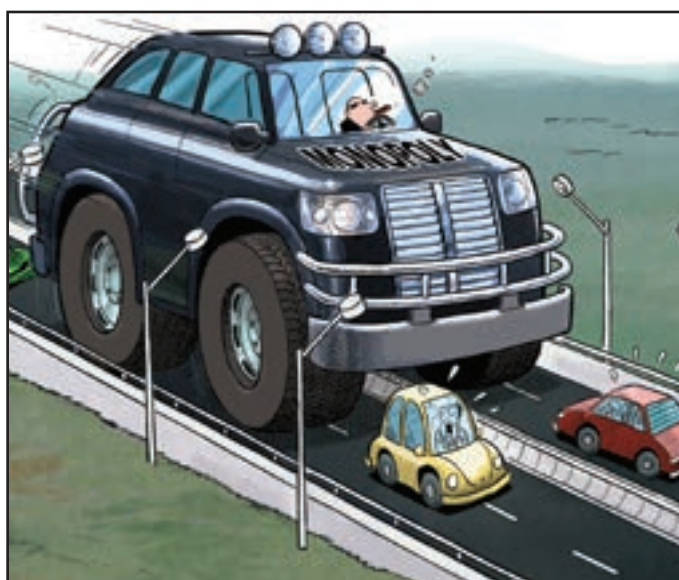
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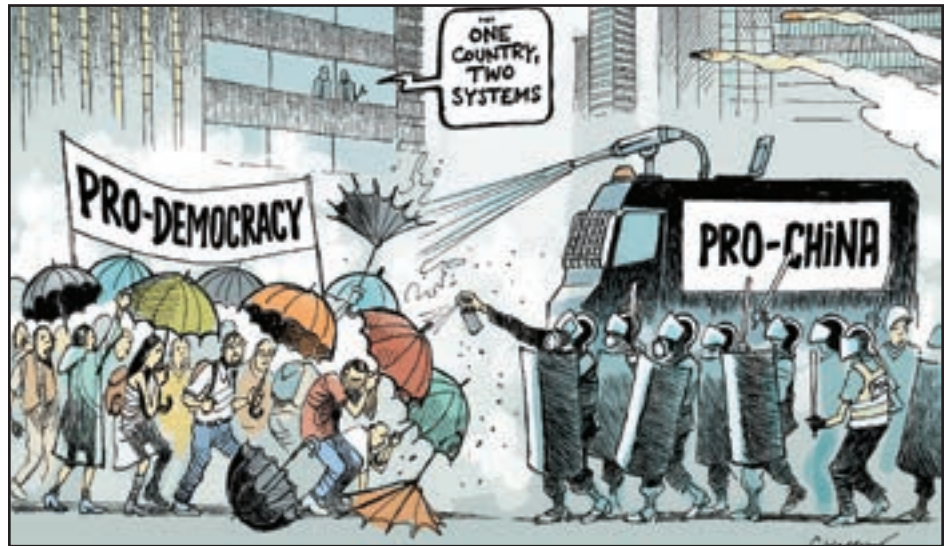


"Monopoly" by Luojie, China Daily, China





"Rapid Reaction Force" by Joep Bertrams, The Netherlands



"Protests in Hong Kong" by Patrick Chappatte, *The International New York Times*, U.S.



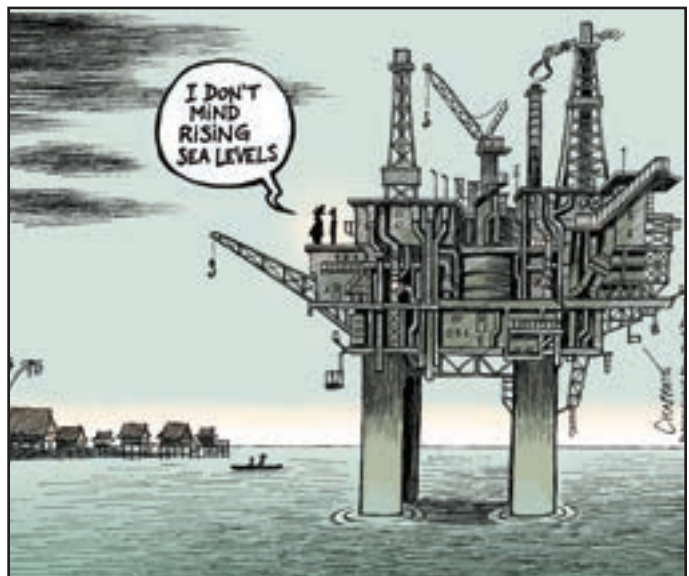
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"Japan Plans to Reduce the Amount of Whaling" by Luo Jie, *China Daily*, China



"Bad Surveillance" by Nate Beeler, *The Columbus Dispatch*, U.S.



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"Stepped-up Airport Screenings" by Patrick Chappatte, *The International New York Times*, U.S.



"Putin's Answer" by Olle Johansson, Sweden

# Genetics to the rescue of Canada's boreal forest



Fen  
Hampson

Anyone who has driven by car from Vancouver to Kelowna, which lies in the heart of the Okanagan Valley, will have witnessed the devastation first-hand: mile after endless mile of dying forests that are reddish-brown in colour, instead of the rich, dark, verdant green we normally associate with the forests of British Columbia.

Their silent killer is the tiny, almost invisible mountain pine beetle, which eats its way through the bark of the jack pine tree, one of the major species in the boreal forest that covers much of Canada, from the West Coast right across to Atlantic Canada.

Warmer winters, which have become the norm in recent years, are accelerating this trail of destruction. A sudden drop in temperature (20°C) or sustained cold weather (-37°C) will normally kill the beetle and its larvae, which has its own natural antifreeze for combatting the cold. But such cold temperatures, especially over a sustained period, are increasingly a rarity in the B.C. interior, and that is one reason the population of mountain pine beetles is no longer being held in check.

Other killers are also on the loose. The western spruce budworm has long been a threat to the forests of British Columbia, Alberta and western United States. The first recorded outbreak of this insect defoliator was on Vancouver Island at the beginning of the last century. Other infestations in the U.S. Pacific Northwest and the Rockies soon followed. The voracious budworm attacks many species, from the towering Douglas fir to the white spruce, the blue and white spruce, the western larch and all varieties of coniferous trees. It seems that nothing is off the menu for its unremitting appetite.

## Fears of a New Brunswick infestation

Outbreaks of spruce budworm infestation



The western spruce budworm has long been a threat to the forests of B.C, Alberta and the Western United States.

were traditionally held in check by a combination of human interventions such as aerial spraying, controlled burning of forests, and "natural regulatory factors" such as parasites, vertebrate and invertebrate predators and cold weather. But warmer temperatures are contributing to the spread of budworm. In Eastern Canada, there has been a renewed outbreak in the lower St. Lawrence region of Quebec and there are fears it could spread into the forests of New Brunswick.

We should be concerned. Conifer trees are a key renewable resource and the mainstay of our forestry industry, which reaped \$23.7 billion in revenues in 2011, or slightly greater than one percent of our total GDP.

Science, however, may be coming to the rescue. It is not the science of concocting new chemicals that can be sprayed on trees to kill these tiny predators. It is the new science of DNA sequencing and genomics, which is not only radically changing the world of medicine and how we understand and treat genetically based disorders such as cystic fibrosis, some forms of cancer and the like, but is also being applied to sequence the genomes of other animal and plant species, with potentially revolutionary consequences.

DNA comprises the inherited building codes of all living organisms. The Human Genome Project, which started in 1984 and completed its work in 2003, identified the three billion nucleotides that make up the genetic code for human beings. This in-

credible number of programming switches controlling different pathways, cells, tissues, organs and functions in the human body underscores our species' inherent complexity.

## Trees' genome longer than humans'

But when scientists turned their attention to sequencing the genomes of flora and fauna, such as trees, they found an even greater complexity in their genetic composition. Last year, for example, an international group of researchers who had painstakingly been sequencing the genome of the Norway spruce tree — a species prevalent in Europe and North America — announced they had successfully sequenced its genome.

It was almost seven times longer than the human genome, with 20 billion base pairs in all. At the same time, the same team of Swedish and Canadian scientists also announced they had sequenced the white spruce genome, another one of the major species in the northern boreal forest. Scientists believe these are some of the longest genes in the plant kingdom.

Why is there such genetic complexity in those tall giants that are the lungs of the Earth? All genomes can be parsed into two components. First, there's the DNA that carries the code for the construction of proteins, the central structural and functional units of the cell; this is called the coding region of the genome. The second component, making up the rest of the genome, is DNA that does not carry the



protein information and thus is called the non-coding region. This second component, sometimes also called the genome's dark matter, reflecting our lack of knowledge about its function, is by far the largest portion of the genome — in humans it represents 99 percent of the whole. This asymmetry is amplified in the Norway spruce, which, while having roughly the same size of the protein coding region as humans, has a full 10 times the size of our non-coding region.

The reason for this disproportion is somewhat prosaic. Sections of non-coding DNA called Long Terminal Repeats, which are normally winnowed from our own genomes, have not been in gymnosperms, (seed-producing plants) accumulating and leading to a "genomic obesity." Buried within these are likely regulatory elements, which, among a host of other functions, confer the tree's resistance to different kinds of infections. With time, the dissection of this new treasure trove of knowledge, in essence the operating manual for the Norway spruce, may offer up new and potent means of countering the pests that currently assail our forests.

Dr. Alex MacKenzie, former chief scientist at Genome Canada, now based at the Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario (CHEO) in Ottawa, says: "The gymnosperm was a real Everest; one of the largest, most technically challenging of the plant genomes. Its sequencing, which has taken place later than other less important, more tractable plant species, represents a technical tour de force."

#### International research-sharing

Almost as exciting is the fact that Canadians, who have long been leaders in the



When scientists turned their attention to sequencing the genomes of other flora and fauna, such as trees, they found an even greater complexity in their genetic composition.

field of medicine and the study of the human genome, are also at the forefront of this new research into the genetic make-up of key species in the boreal forest. The study on the white spruce genome was part of the SMarTForests Project, which is comprised of a team of researchers from the Genome Sciences Centre at the British Columbia Cancer Agency, the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University, Université Laval and the British Columbia Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations. The study was funded by Genome Canada, Genome British Columbia and Génome Québec.

The team responsible for decoding the Norway spruce genome was led by scientists in Sweden and Canada, including Joerg Bohlmann from UBC's Michael Smith Laboratories and John MacKay from Université Laval, who head the SMarTForests Project.

According to Marc Lepage, who heads

Génome Québec: "The tree genome is extremely complex and it is beyond the scientific capabilities of a single country to analyse and sequence its basic genetic architecture. So we have joined our colleagues in Sweden, France, Brazil, the U.S. and many others and we are all sharing the load in building the basic knowledge we all need. Once we have done that, each country or region will be able to mine this massive database to better understand the specific tree species that are important to each: Black spruce in Quebec, white spruce in British Columbia, pine in Scandinavia, eucalyptus in Brazil, and so forth."

Fen Osler Hampson is a Distinguished Fellow and Director of Global Security & Politics at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and concurrently Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University.

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Furio de Angelis: UNHCR's man in Ottawa:

## 'It's like taking 500,000 refugees and putting them in Charlottetown.'

*Photo by Dyanne Wilson*

Furio de Angelis is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' representative in Ottawa. His job here is to raise awareness of his organisation's mandate and role in the world, and inform Canadians about the plight of refugees worldwide. There were 51 million displaced people in 2013, a record number since the end of the Second World War. He sat down with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell.

**Diplomat magazine:** Your diplomatic mission was established in Canada how many years ago?

**Furio de Angelis:** This office opened in the mid-1970s and it opened in a crucial moment of refugee history. Directly after the contribution of Canada for the settlement of the Chilean refugees after the crisis in Chile, [Chileans fled their country after a military coup led by Gen. Augusto Pinochet in 1973] but also during the time of the Indo-Chinese "boat people." Canada was a big contributor to that operation in the late '70s.

In the mid-'70s, this office was formed and a representative was accredited. It's always been a small office. This is not what we call an operation — where we actually manage refugee operations in places such as South Sudan, Lebanon, Turkey, where there are real operations, where we are on the ground and we deliver actual assistance.

Here, this office is mainly involved in relating to the government and supporting the government with policies with respect to refugee management. The government in Canada has the structures, capacity and resources to do all the work in terms of implementation of refugee assistance. There are large numbers of NGOs and service-providers who are helping newcomers.

Canada is, and has always been, an immigrant country, so it has the services and networks to receive 250,000 immigrants per year, of whom only part are refugees or persons in need of international protection. We are only involved in that component of the larger immigration intake. These are the parts that engage Canada from

the international point of view, regarding its international obligation, which derives from the treaties to which Canada is party. In this context, it's the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. That's our entry point to the immigration debate.

**DM:** What do you see as your main responsibility in the job?

**FdeA:** The work of our office in Canada is mainly related to two different functions. We liaise with government departments involved in the implementation of legislation. We appreciate the fact that we have this dialogue with the departments. In that respect, our partners are Citizenship and Immigration, Canada Border Services Agency and the Immigration and Refugee Board.

Our work with the ministry of foreign affairs relates to the support that Canada, as a donor country, has given to UNHCR global operations. Canada has increased its support considerably in recent years. It has been a regular donor to UNHCR in the last three years and this is very important as we look at the situation around the world. There is a record number of displaced persons in the world — up to 51 million in 2013. This is a record number since the Second World War and UNHCR is at the centre of that, with other partners, of course. We are part of the international response.

It's very important that we maintain interest and contributions of important donors, not only as financial contributions, but also as an expression of interest in global governance. It's important that Canada helps us respond to the crises, but it's also important that countries [such as Canada] show leadership in the world with respect to tackling a humanitarian problem. That's what UNHCR requests.

We appreciate the contributions Canada is making and, of course, we continue to seek assistance because the needs are so large. This year will probably bring another record.

Another important function of this office is more general public information. For the government to act, it's important that the public in general is aware and



understands why. The Canadian public has responded very well to our requests for private support. We hit a new record in 2013 of private contributions [from Canada], which have, for the first time, been over \$2.3 million in terms of private contributions. The previous year, it was \$2 million. These numbers show there's a lot more potential for private and corporate donations. A good response from the citizens to humanitarian crises is able to generate renewed attention from the public opinion and, of course, will influence also government's decisions. And again, I should restate that Canada has been increasing its support.

We also have a function to support the resettlement programs of the government of Canada. Canada, together with Australia and the U.S., is one of the leading countries in resettlement. When we talk about resettlement, these are refugees who are in other countries, but who cannot stay in those countries and are accepted into Canada through an organised program. This is different from the refugees who arrive spontaneously. This is important because it demonstrates the willingness of a country to do more than its legal obligation [which is to consider those who arrive spontaneously.]

We choose from the refugee population those who are in need of resettlement.

**DM:** What do you see as the most troubling situations for refugees worldwide? How big is the problem?

**FdeA:** The numbers speak for themselves. More than 51 million displaced is a huge number, of whom 33 million are internally displaced — this means the conflicts are more and more of an internal nature. These are people displaced, but remaining within their countries. A further 10 million are refugees who are displaced in a country other than their own. [The balance are asylum-seekers, those who are submitting applications to become refugees, those who are stateless.]

This is not only in terms of numbers — we are also seeing very high-level emergencies in the newspapers every day. We are talking about Syria and Iraq, with all their political geo-strategic complications. We are seeing conflicts in central Africa, which are devastating. South Sudan, the newest country in the world, is collapsing into strife and internal war. What is happening in the Central African Republic is also terrible, with a half million displaced internally and another half million refugees.

These are the crises that have consumed

UNHCR in terms of resources. Syria/Iraq is a big operation and we're seeing the effect on a country like Lebanon. It's only twice as big as Prince Edward Island and it now has more than a million refugees. If you take a half million refugees and put them in Charlottetown, you may have an idea of the impact of this situation. It's really incredible.

On one side, we're seeing that the resilience and the capacity of the host community to receive refugees in this dramatic situation is enormous. Sometimes we, in the West, feel we're shouldering the burden, but it's absolutely not the case. In fact, [according to a statement by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to the executive committee of UNHCR in September 2014], almost 9 out of 10 refugees in the world today are living in developing countries. This has increased proportionately. Some time ago, only 70 percent were in developing countries. Now it's 90 percent.

We are trying to raise awareness of the fact that global displacement and wars are becoming more and more entangled. The world is becoming smaller and all problems impact on each other.

**DM:** What are various countries spending? Who are the top donors?

**FdeA:** The U.S. is the big donor. After that, there's the EU, the Scandinavian countries. Canada is an important donor. In 2013, Canada gave \$77.3 million and it was ranked 11th in the world. It's always around there.

**DM:** What is the solution to this huge problem?

**FdeA:** The high commissioner [António Guterres] always points out when he visits Canada that prevention and solutions are the magic key words in this context. But both of these words are relevant only if they are implemented through political will.

Humanitarian situations can be addressed as an immediate response. That's what UNHCR is doing, but countries have to really promote a culture of political solution, of capacity, of international co-operation and a policy to solve political problems.

Without political solutions, all the different crises that are producing humanitarian needs won't go away on their own. We are seeing old crises as well — civil strife in Somalia and ongoing issues with the Taliban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. [More than 1.1 million Somalis were displaced internally in 2013 and another

million are in Kenya, Ethiopia and Yemen thanks to civil strife and tensions between competing warlords and attacks from the terrorist group, Al Shabab. In Afghanistan, turmoil caused by a war against terrorism and the Taliban and al-Qaeda have led to 1.6 million registered Afghan refugees who have fled to countries such as Pakistan. These are crises that have been there decades. Political solutions are in the hands of government, and governments have to act to find them.

Within UNHCR, we look at the solution for refugee problems and that is voluntary repatriation [returning home] — the most preferred solution, because it shows that the original problem that created the displacement doesn't exist anymore. Other solutions are to remain and locally integrate in the country of asylum or otherwise, resettlement in a third country, which is a solution for a very limited number.

These are solutions for the refugee humanitarian problem. The other solutions are on the political level to address the problems that cause the humanitarian crisis to begin with.

An example of how prevention could have avoided a humanitarian crisis is the situation in Central African Republic: In 2011, the Special Representative of the Secretary General in Central African Republic warned that a lack of support to disarm, demobilise and reintegrate former combatants and reform the security sector could put the country back on the "brink of disaster" with serious repercussions for the region. She appealed for \$20 million dollars to conclude this project — a tiny fraction of the cost of the recent conflict. But her call went unheard. The consequences are there, for everyone to see. Stronger international resolve and commitment to prevent conflict and forced displacement would be in everyone's interest. One thing is clear: In the absence of the political will and foresight required for effective prevention, all that the international community can do is react to new crises, lament the suffering they cause, and try to come up with higher and higher amounts of money required to cover the resulting cost.

High Commissioner [António Guterres] has made a strong appeal to bring humanitarian assistance and development assistance closer together, knowing that humanitarian assistance is only a fraction of what developed countries invest in development assistance. The latter is slow to arrive and more difficult to implement, and it comes through different channels. When the crisis happens, humanitarian

humanitarian assistance arrives and sometimes, as a humanitarian response, you also cover needs that aren't strictly related to a humanitarian response, for instance building houses. If the international community brings these two things together, the impact will be more evident.

The humanitarian budget is just one tenth of the overall development assistance from the international community. So you see there are a lot of resources there that could be better managed. Development, if well targeted, can also address elements of potential conflict [and possibly prevention]. You understand the likelihood of conflicts and can respond.

**DM:** Can you offer some examples and descriptions of people and conditions around the world?

**FdeA:** I've seen this all my life. Not now [in Canada], but I've been with UNHCR 25 years. I served in Geneva at headquarters for a period, but besides that, this is the only country in which I have served that is not a direct operation. I was in Kenya during the last crisis of internal displacement due to electoral violence at the end of 2007. I was in Nairobi. That was particularly challenging because we had the refugee program itself, which was already a very large program with Somalis and other refugees from the region, and on top of this came the internal displacement with different dynamics and problems.

UNHCR was part of a larger response. It was a year full of work, but also full of images and experiences that are very touching from many respects. In the past, I also worked on the Central African crisis. I was in Burundi and Rwanda. I was in the Balkans during the war. I was in Afghanistan. I've seen many different aspects of crisis.

What remains is always, in a sense, the resilience of refugees and the community that hosts them. The capacity to respond

to the needs is amazing. There is also the fact that people who are the victims of the violence are just looking for very normal things. The life they are trying to rebuild and re-establish is full of what you'd call normality, but in an abnormal context. So sometimes you just want to facilitate this normality — going to school, being healthy, having a normal amount of food and offering leisure opportunities in camps, to organise a social life. What is most discouraging in refugee camps is seeing young people of school age with all this time on their hands. It can have a strong psychological impact. They feel their life is being wasted.

**DM:** Do you have any memories of individuals in particular?

**FdeA:** Well, there are so many, but maybe the ones that remain most in my memory are the families that end up being split, for whatever reason. Often it's the death of the parent, usually the husband. The capacity of the mothers to carry on and really care in very difficult situations is sometimes amazing. The strength of a woman with a few children, and sometimes more than a few. A woman with a family to look after — the strength and the resilience and also the support they give to each other is really impressive.

Another point — from one continent to another, people react very similarly. It's an important truth. We are all the same. There is absolutely no difference in our reactions when it comes to moments of difficulty. It's a good lesson for people who believe traditional customs make people different. It's not true.

**DM:** So this is the worst situation since the Second World War.

**FdeA:** It's a record, I would say, since the Second World War, a record in the modern era of refugee management, since the creation of the United Nations and the

treaty that established, for the first time, a universal declaration of who is a refugee.

Sometimes critics say times have changed and the convention no longer relates. But what still works is that the convention still meets those basic needs that are immortal and eternal with respect to protection. In crisis, those are the reasons for which people are persecuted or victims of certain situations. Technology can change but in the end, people fight over resources, control of territory, ownership of land. This creates the displacement.

What is maybe more relevant in modern times is that weapons are more deadly. And what we're seeing now, however, is that attacks on civilians have become commonplace in times of war.

**DM:** The current crisis in Iraq/Syria has been called the worst humanitarian crisis in decades. What needs to be done there?

**FdeA:** It's surely the worst humanitarian crisis at the moment. With 3.2 million refugees — that's a large, large number and the impact on the region is already very serious. Jordan and Turkey now have a number of refugees, which could really bring about other crises, but so far, they've managed to adopt a policy of welcoming and acceptance.

The region has been accepting of the situation, but the possibility for deterioration is always there. Without additional support, we don't know how long this is sustainable. And again, the political solution isn't there. There is a danger of a protracted situation, which is risky because we are seeing Somalia, which has been in conflict for a long time, is now a failed state.

**DM:** When you compute how much money is needed for supplies and shelter, what is your estimated cost to properly deal with the crisis in Syria and Iraq, and the situation worldwide?

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**FdeA:** Worldwide humanitarian funding in 2013 has been the highest ever in recent history. It was \$22 billion — this is the global humanitarian funding. But we've said that this is only one-tenth of development funding and it isn't enough. The high commissioner for refugees has appealed to the international community and used very strong words. He has said the entire system is nearly bankrupt. All the major operations — Syria, Central African Republic — they are all about 40 percent funded so far for this year.

UNHCR brings forward the amount we need for 2014, and now, in October, we're only at 40 percent. But even with that, it's a record amount. That's why the high commissioner says the system is bankrupt. So what to do? Maybe the strategy is to organise it better — maybe the development funds should be better managed and co-ordinated in a humanitarian context. For developed countries that have the most resources, the key is for them to offer political solutions that cost nothing. How difficult is it for countries to get along with respect to issues of ideology, issues of political power and hard power?

**DM:** Well, non-state actors, such as ISIL, add complexity — it doesn't seem they're interested in a political solution.

**FdeA:** Yes. They skew the entire debate into security. When everything comes down to a security assessment or response, public opinion shifts. Everything shifts. That's the big challenge. I have no magic solution. No humanitarian actors, surely, have magic words in that respect. Political leadership should have the magic wand, but also the responsibility to go beyond the immediate fears and reach out.

I'm sure a lot has been tried, but as a humanitarian actor, you always say more has to be done.

**DM:** What can Canada do?

**FdeA:** This was the appeal of the high commissioner during his visit in May — we need Canada to continue in its role of leading humanitarian responses to global crises through increased contributions, resettlement programs — taking more people. We have asked Canada to increase its intake. We've asked that they maintain the general intake of 13,000 into its two streams — government assisted and private assisted. But we've also asked that Canada create additional programs — especially in the case of Syria. There has been a positive response from the government. We've been assured Canada will do its part. ▣



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## The gift of music with a voice 'from above'

Call her the Renée Fleming of Korea. Soprano Sumi Jo has performed at Carnegie Hall, La Scala, the Royal Opera House and the Metropolitan Opera House. She has a Grammy award for best opera recording and she's won opera's biggest awards, including the International Puccini Award and La Siola d'Oro. If that's not enough, she performed at the 2002 FIFA World Cup, the 2008 Beijing Olympics and the 2014 Sochi Olympics.

And in late November, she added Ottawa's Southam Hall to her list of performance venues. It was the Korean embassy that brought her to the National Arts Centre to perform for the people of Ottawa. The embassy rented the 2,200-person hall and offered every seat at no cost to those interested in the soprano's work. Embassy officials spread the word through volunteer organisations associated with both of Ottawa's symphonies and other interested groups.

For Ambassador Hee-yong Cho, it's been a celebratory two-year period: 2013 was special in that it was the 50th anniversary of relations between Canada and Korea and also the 60th anniversary of the Korean War armistice. That same year was declared the Year of Korea in Canada and the Year of the Korean War Veteran. Then, in 2014, Prime Minister Stephen Harper went to Korea and Korean President Park Geun-hye came to Ottawa — the first such bilateral exchange since the 1960s. And be-



World-renowned soprano Sumi Jo performed at Southam Hall in November.

cause of the signing of a free-trade agreement that had long been in the works, 2014 was even more significant, Mr. Cho said. As such, the embassy decided to hold some special activities in Novem-

ber, Canada's month of remembrance, as a way to spread Korean culture and to thank Canada's Korean War veterans.

The concert took place Nov. 28 and more than 2,000 Ottawans came out for it. The best-selling artist performed with baritone Jean François Lapointe and L'Orchestre de Chambre I Musici de Montréal. A similar concert was held in Montreal and hosted by the Korean consul general there.

"We wanted to invite Korean War veterans and their proud families, and their friends," Ambassador Cho said. "Without the sacrifices of the veterans, this fantastic relationship and the free-trade agreement would not have been possible. And in the special month of remembrance, we wanted to have some events to honour them."

Over the course of her career, Sumi Jo has collaborated with figures such as Andrea Bocelli, Jonas Kaufmann and Jose Carreras, among others. She's also performed with such orchestras as the Cincinnati Pops, the Orchestra of St. Luke's and the Vienna Philharmonic.

Praise for her abilities has come from many corners. She has the voice from above; this is a voice one hears once in almost a hundred years, Maestro Herbert von Karajan once said.

At her concert in Ottawa, she performed *Je Veux Vivre* from *Roméo et Juliette*, *Vilja Song* from *The Merry Widow* and *Arirang Fantasy*. ■



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# Home is where the heart is

By Erin O'Neill

In the aftermath of a disaster, access to shelter — along with the other basic human needs of food, water and health care — is essential to survival. Access to shelter is central because of the role a safe and decent home plays in rebuilding communities long after the disaster or crisis, as families begin to rebuild what they have lost.

Habitat for Humanity builds homes around the world based on the simple but profound idea that a place to live is the foundation on which all other dreams are achieved. Families that have a safe and decent place to live take control of their lives and work on their long-term happiness and success. This makes housing one of the most critical short- and long-term priorities after a crisis, and one of the greatest gifts that donors can provide for families in their time of need.

Habitat for Humanity Canada is linked into the global mission of Habitat in many ways: It builds affordable homes for low-income Canadian families, it assists Habitat branches in other countries by supplying funds and volunteers and by overseeing international development projects.

Habitat's role in disaster recovery is not simply about rebuilding physical structures. Rather, it's about using our area of expertise — housing — to restore social, economic, natural and cultural environments for communities and empowering families to be partners in their own recoveries over time.

Habitat views the rebuilding process as a continuum that we call the "pathway to permanence." This is the general, step-by-step process that families move along from disaster homelessness to a permanent home, a time-frame that can last from a few weeks to many years.

Habitat also knows that each crisis situation is unique. We therefore play a range of roles at different stages in disaster recovery, roles that include providing emergency shelter kits, building homes or providing various housing support services.

Over time, Habitat's programs have adjusted to the needs of the communities in which we are working as these communities move from crisis, to relief, through the stages of recovery. What is consistent in Habitat's work is our long-term approach



Volunteers and workers built hundreds of homes for Haitians under the auspices of the Jimmy & Rosalynn Carter Work Project at the Santo development in Leogane, Haiti.

to supporting communities.

A relatively recent example of Habitat's international work took place following the 2010 earthquake in Haiti. Habitat for Humanity Haiti set a goal to serve 50,000 families over a five-year period. In partnership with Habitat affiliates and donors around the world, this goal was achieved in just three years.

Today, Habitat continues its work in Haiti. We have 26 infrastructure programs in the Simon-Pele region of Port-au-Prince, where we are building and repairing roads, adding street lighting, and retrofitting an additional 400 homes. In the process, and thanks to the support of Canadian donors and the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, we are providing residents with construction skills training to help them

lead their own recovery efforts.

Habitat also has an active presence in the Philippines, helping those who were displaced by Typhoon Haiyan in November 2013. After the typhoon, we immediately deployed into affected areas to provide 5,000 emergency shelter kits to families who lost their homes, with plans to distribute 30,000 shelter repair kits and 50,000 cleanup kits to affected families. Over the long term, and with the support of Canadian donors, Habitat will continue to help affected communities with housing solutions, from transitional shelter interventions to permanent home reconstruction.

Erin O'Neill is director of international programs for Toronto-based Habitat for Humanity Canada.

# Korea-Canada FTA: A new strategic partnership



By Hee-yong Cho  
Ambassador of Korea

In 2013, we celebrated the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Korea and Canada. Over these years, Korea-Canada relations have blossomed.

Last year marked the beginning of the next 50 years of Korea-Canada relations. To celebrate, Canadians welcomed President Park Geun-hye to Ottawa in September, marking the first time since the establishment of diplomatic ties back in 1963 that our two leaders held visits in the same year. Together, Ms Park and Prime Minister Stephen Harper witnessed the signing of a landmark free-trade agreement that will help unlock the full potential of our bilateral relations.

Historically, Korea-Canada economic co-operation has been modest, yet it has shown steady growth. We achieved our first milestone in 1981, with \$1 billion in two-way trade. By 2011, it had reached \$11 billion. Last year, Koreans imported \$4.7 billion in goods from Canada, including minerals, mechanical products, metals and wood pulp. Likewise, Koreans exported a record \$5.2 billion to Canada, primarily vehicles, electronics, machinery and plastics.

We know there is potential for these numbers to grow. Canada and Korea are leading world traders and G20 nations; ranking as the 11th and 15th largest economies, respectively. Yet, Korea is Canada's seventh-largest trade partner, while Canada is only Korea's 25th.

In addressing this untapped potential, the FTA should increase bilateral trade and investment, create more choices, better consumer prices and jobs in both countries.

Canada is an advanced democracy with high purchasing power, and is well integrated in the U.S. economy, making



Korean President Park Geun-hye came to Ottawa in September 2014 to ink a free-trade deal with Prime Minister Stephen Harper.

it easier for Koreans to enter the North American market. Furthermore, this agreement gives Koreans an edge over other competitors. Koreans also feel privileged to be Canada's first free-trade partner in Asia, making our country a gateway market for Canadians. Likewise, Koreans are fully supportive of the benefits that this FTA will bring to Canada, particularly in levelling the playing field for its companies and giving Canadians access to Korea's markets, as well as its skilled labour and network of partners and operations within the Asian business community.

Energy is one of the greatest potentials from this FTA. Korea imports 96 percent of its energy and is the world's second-largest importer of liquified natural gas. To improve our energy security, Korean companies are seeking diversified opportunities overseas. To date, Korea's accumulated investment in Canada is \$12 billion, with 70 percent directed at the energy sector. The agreement will help strengthen this existing partnership, spurring more Korean investment in joint energy projects.

Other growth areas include the service and creative sectors. Canada offers world-class services in finance, management, engineering and information technology. In fact, last year, Koreans and Canadians developed the computer-animated film, *The Nut Job*, which grossed \$110 million worldwide. By leveraging this type of expertise, we can lead the creative sectors together.

Similarly, Korea and Canada have complementary strengths in research and

development. Canada is a world leader in science and technology research, while Korea has expertise in taking technologies to market. Korea is also one of the most innovative countries in the world. This FTA will allow Canadian research to benefit from Korea's capacity for commercialising products, and to use Korea as a test bed for expanding sales to the global market.

As always, these outcomes will depend on the active and pre-emptive efforts of businesses in leveraging the established momentum. That's why the Korean government is promoting further business engagement, such as the re-launch of the Korea-Canada Business Symposium last September. This conference helps stakeholders understand the FTA, forge new partnerships and make the most of the opportunities before us.

Moreover, I would like to encourage Canadian companies to stay abreast of Korea's changing consumer trends, to participate in trade missions, meet with their Korean counterparts and get to know how business is done in Asia.

The Korea-Canada Free Trade Agreement is one of the most significant developments in our relationship over the past 50 years. It is also at the heart of a new strategic partnership to which our leaders have committed. Just as the Visa Exemption Agreement of 1993 solidified our people-to-people relations, this 21st-Century FTA will lay the foundation for a new era of mutually beneficial bilateral relations.

Hee-yong Cho is the ambassador of Korea. Reach him at (613) 244-5026.



# Rwanda is becoming a trade leader in Africa



By *Shakilla Umutooni*  
*Chargé d'affaires for Rwanda*

**R**wanda and Canada have enjoyed good bilateral relations over the past half-century.

Trade between the two countries presents a vast range of opportunities. Our goal is to invite Canadian investors to join the fast-growing East African Community, with Rwanda being an interesting regional hub.

In 2013, the total value of exports from Rwanda to Canada was US \$1.9 million while the total value of exports from Canada to Rwanda was US \$2.4 million. Apart from aircraft imported from Bombardier, which represents more than 90 percent of total import values, Rwanda imported a number of other products, including wheat, motor vehicles, uncoated craft paper and paperboard, textiles and electrical apparatus. Exports from Rwanda to Canada included coffee, tea, mate, spices, edible vegetables, roots and tubers, fruits, nuts and precious stones. Though not major trading partners, it is important to notice the positive trend in the trade relationship with Canada with growth of more than 40 percent annually.

But given that the total two-way trade is less than \$5 million, we are keen to increase these volumes through investment and trade. Our specialty coffees, which win awards all over the world, would undoubtedly appeal to Canadians. We also produce tea (both black and green) and pyrethrum and how about some delicious natural forest honey to go with a cup of Rwandan tea? Other than food products, we produce beautiful handicrafts with a special Rwandan look that adds a touch of colour to interior decor and wardrobes.

Rwanda offers a wide range of investment opportunities, ranging from



This methane gas extraction plant is situated on the shores of Lake Kivu, in a western province of Rwanda.

agro-processing through infrastructure to mining. As an example, we have a Canadian company, Stevia Life, growing Stevia [a natural sugar substitute] in Rwanda and we expect that one day, they will be exporting the product back to Canada.

Perhaps the biggest opportunities for both countries — given Canada's expertise and Rwanda's natural resources — is mining. Rwanda has vast reserves of tin, coltan and wolfram, all of which are used in electronic products such as mobile phones being assembled around the world. We also have gold reserves that we want to exploit.

Canadians are also welcome to invest or bid on all of our government contracts and set up business in Rwanda. Most important, they are welcome to invest in our major infrastructure projects such as railways (two projects with feasibility studies worth US \$5 billion and \$13 billion), our airport (one project is in the bidding process and worth \$750 million), energy and mining.

In addition, Rwanda is a home for tourism treasures, including the last mountain gorillas on Earth. Each year, close to 1,000 Canadians visit these endangered creatures. We wish to encourage more Canadians to visit our gorillas and enjoy a once-in-a-lifetime experience while helping our conservation efforts. We offer a secure and magical environment in which you can go on safari, climb mountains to view the landscape or just relax on

the edge of Lake Kivu in one of our eco-lodges.

Rwanda places a great deal of importance on offering investors a transparent and effective business environment. We are now rated by the World Bank as the second-easiest country in which to do business in Africa and 32nd worldwide. For example, you can establish a company online in a matter of hours. **Our investment code** also offers investors equal treatment with local investors and strong protection in line with international best practice. Rwanda is known as the safest, cleanest and least corrupt country in Africa.

These rankings are the result of systematic reforms by the government of Rwanda, thanks to the leadership of President Paul Kagame, who is determined to make Rwanda the best place to invest and conduct business. We also want to establish Rwanda as the *point de passage* to reach the East African Community and Africa for investors.

Rwanda and Canada are at the early stages of discussing a foreign investment protection agreement, which, once concluded, will significantly benefit our two countries by increasing our trade and investment volumes.

**Shakilla Umutooni** is the *chargé d'affaires* at the Rwanda High Commission. Reach her at [ksumutooni@minaffet.gov.rw](mailto:ksumutooni@minaffet.gov.rw) or 613-794-2225.

# Honduras: ripe for investment and trade



By Sofia Cerrato  
Ambassador of Honduras

**M**ore than 300 international companies have discovered Honduras in the past few years. The country has shown outstanding capacities and skills in the light manufacturing sector, mainly in textiles and confections, in addition to agro-industry, assembly of vehicle components and electronics and furniture construction.

Honduras is the centre of the Central American apparel industry. Today, it is the fourth-largest apparel supplier to the U.S. market in the world, and the largest in the Central American and Caribbean regions. Its position in the sector is further strengthened by its “full package” concept, which means the garment is made entirely in the country, from the fabric and the buttons to its packaging. As such, the sector offers great business opportunities for efficient suppliers, regardless of the size of their businesses.

Also in the agri-business sector, Honduras is ripe for fresh investment. Our tropical climate allows for year-round production milk and dairy products, fish and shrimp, a wide variety of fruits and vegetables, sugar, cocoa and coffee. Agri-business and its related sub-sectors represent 40 percent of Honduras’ GDP.

For investors and would-be trading partners, Honduras provides significant advantages. It boasts a flexible labour market with a workforce trained for the textile industry. In addition, its labour costs are among the lowest in the region and the government offers favourable conditions in terms of tax and customs concessions.

For North American business partners, Honduras is more attractive than its Asian competition because of its strategic location. Puerto Cortes, the only deep-water



Agricultural products, such as melons and bananas, are among the goods Honduras sends to Canada.

port in Central America and the first in Latin America with U.S. Government CSI (Container Security Initiative) and Mega-ports certification, offers huge competitive advantages.

Honduras has aggressively pursued free-trade agreements and currently has one with Canada, which came into force Oct. 1, 2014. It also has agreements with each of the following countries: Colombia, Chile, Panama, Mexico, Dominican Republic, the U.S. and Central America. It also has FTAs with Taiwan and the European Union.

When it comes to investment opportunities, our government is seeking foreign companies to develop and manage public services through public-private partnerships.

A \$12-million road infrastructure program involves paving a 20-kilometre stretch of highway in Colón. A hydro-electric generation project involves building, operating and maintaining a plant over the Mocal River at an estimated value of \$40 million. Another project involves building a regional airfield or terminal that will open air travel to new regional and international markets.

We also require a firm to design and build a 130-bed trauma hospital in Tegucigalpa at a value of \$48 million. Visit [www.coalianza.gob.hn](http://www.coalianza.gob.hn) for more information on this and other opportunities.

Two-way trade between Canada and Honduras topped \$57 million in 2013.

Honduran imports from Canada totalled \$17 million and were primarily pork and pork products and fertilizers. Canadian investments in Honduras are primarily in garment manufacturing and mining.

Honduran exports to Canada totalled \$40 million and were mostly in agricultural products (pineapple, bananas, coffee, cucumbers, pickles, sweet potatoes, yucca, tilapia, shrimp, sugar cane and palm oil), cigars, cement, string, coal and aluminum waste.

For more than 30 years, successive democratic governments in Honduras have created an environment that fosters business development and promotes and protects productive private investment. Honduras has simplified administrative procedures for setting up businesses and registering property.

Attracting, promoting and protecting national and foreign investment is of primary interest to the government of Honduras and our investment law guarantees equal treatment to foreign and domestic investors. To that end, we have enacted many laws related to the promotion and protection of investments — we have laws on everything from export processing and temporary imports to national infrastructure promotion and public-private partnerships.

Sofia Cerrato is the ambassador of Honduras. Reach her at [ambassador@embassyhonduras.ca](mailto:ambassador@embassyhonduras.ca) or 613-233-8900.



# Romania-Canada: a promising future



By Maria Ligor  
Ambassador of Romania

Over the past 25 years, Romania has experienced tremendous change. First, it became a member of NATO and then, in 2007, it joined the European Union. Since then, it has developed one of the most fast-paced economies in Central and Eastern Europe. Over the past 10 years, Romania's GDP has grown by approximately 65 percent, with a small decrease in 2009 and 2010, caused by the global financial crisis. Over the past few years, the economy has recovered and it beat all forecasts in 2013, with a healthy GDP growth of 3.5 percent, one of the highest in the EU. Growth is set to slow to a smaller, but still respectable growth rate of 2.5 percent in 2014 and 2.6 percent in 2015.

Among other benefits, including access to large funds and significant programs that aim to reduce regional disparities in terms of income, wealth and opportunities, EU accession meant Romania had to adapt to the demands of the European internal market and global trends. Operating in an integrated market and in a challenging international context, Romania has emerged as a promoter of free trade, thus making it a strong supporter of the CETA agreement between Canada and the EU. The latter may offer additional stimulus to Romanian-Canadian bilateral economic co-operation. Current trade exchanges offer wide scope for growth: In 2013, Canada's exports to Romania amounted to \$149 million, while Romania's exports to Canada stood at \$160 million.

Romania and Canada already share a tradition of successful partnerships. The two Romanian nuclear reactors (the only Candu reactors in Europe) were built in



Romania, one of the world's largest wine producers, exports its wines to Canada.

partnership with Canada's AECL and now supply almost 20 percent of the electricity needs of the entire country. This is a solid foundation and now Romania is considering building two additional reactors and further diversifying its energy production. Looking at future co-operation possibilities, vast potential exists in the energy sector, both conventional and renewable. Blessed with a balanced energy mix, Romania has companies that develop and produce equipment for the gas, petroleum and coal industries, a promising area not only for trade, but also for research and development.

Romanian industry is an important economic sector, as it provides for the largest shares of the country's exports. It is supported by recognised post-secondary education in engineering-related subjects. Industrial exports are dominated by vehicles and transportation equipment and

components, machinery, mechanical and electric appliances, which make up more than 20 percent of Romanian exports to Canada. Other industrial products that Canada imports are furniture, base metals, plastic and rubber and chemical products, as well as optical, medical and control instruments.

The IT and computing sector is booming in Romania and is backed by solid academic programs and several development clusters. One will find Romanian engineers everywhere in international IT companies, from Microsoft to start-up firms, as well as behind numerous innovative and profitable applications. It is an important resource that Canada has already tapped into, through companies located in Romania and Canada. The message here is that there is ample potential for partnerships in a fast-growing industry.

We must not forget the part of the industrial sector that has the glamorous veneer of fine taste and creativity. The clothing and footwear Canada imports from Romania account for almost 30 percent of Canada's total imports from Romania. This sector is worth a closer look, as Romanian designers are starting to make a fresh and lasting impression on runways in Europe and North America.

The same applies to good wine, as Romania is one of the world's largest wine producers and is often awarded prizes at international wine competitions. Canadian consumers can already take delight in some of these wines, available at some liquor stores. And speaking of pleasures, while in Romania doing business, take some time to enjoy its amazing natural beauty, unique to Europe. And you can't help but enjoy Romanian hospitality.

To wrap things up, Canadian investors should consider the strategic location of Romania — it borders the Black Sea and the Danube — its significant natural resources and considerable and proven potential in a plethora of sectors, including energy generation, information technology, forestry, shipping, aeronautics, pharmaceuticals, agriculture and tourism. Clearly, there is much potential for trade between Romania and Canada.

Maria Ligor is ambassador of Romania. Reach her at [romania@romanian-embassy.com](mailto:romania@romanian-embassy.com) or (613) 789-3709.



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# Turkey stands steadfast against terrorism



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**LAST NAME:** Ünal

**CITIZENSHIP:** Turkish

**PRESENTED CREDENTIALS AS  
AMBASSADOR:** Oct. 2, 2014

**PREVIOUS POSTINGS:**  
Qatar, Ireland, Geneva,  
New York.

**T**urkey is at the centre of rapid changes and transformations unfolding in the Middle East and Eurasia basin. Unprecedented rapid developments along our southeastern and northern borders have resulted in far-reaching consequences for international peace, security and stability. And they all affect Turkey directly. Turkey does not only bear a huge humanitarian burden for people of the region who have suffered from the crises, it also plays a role with its pro-active and principled foreign policy in international efforts to reinstitute stability in the region.

The escalation of the crisis in Ukraine affected the stability of the entire Black Sea region and had serious implications, as well, for global principles of confidence and co-operation. Turkey has close historical, political and economic ties to Ukraine, our neighbour and strategic partner. The situation in the south and the east of the country as well as the homeland of our kinsmen, the Crimean Tatar Turks, continues to be a serious concern for Turkey.

Turkey's position on Ukraine since the beginning of the crisis has been clear. We support the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political unity of Ukraine and do not recognise Russia's annexation of Crimea. The independence and political unity of Ukraine must be preserved and respected. A lasting solution to the current crisis can only be reached on the basis of territorial integrity of Ukraine within international law, through diplomacy.

## The Tatar Turks

The security and well-being of 300,000 Crimean Tatar Turks is also a high priority

for Turkey. Having experienced, for more than half a century, the difficulties of exile that began on May 18, 1944 in Soviet Russia, Crimean Tatar Turks began to return to their historic homeland in 1989,

to live in peace and

freedom. Returning to and resettling in their homeland were not easy. Today, unfortunately, the indigenous Crimean Tatar people are under growing pressure from the de facto local authorities. Respecting the rights and freedoms of the Tatar community and allowing Crimean Tatar Mejlis to function freely is essential for the preservation of peace and stability on the peninsula.

Turkey actively supported the efforts and is working closely with international organisations such as the OSCE on the situation in Ukraine. An experienced former Turkish diplomat, Ambassador Ertuğrul Apakan, has been the chief monitor of the OSCE special monitoring mission to Ukraine since April 2014. Their work is providing a substantial contribution.

A solution can only be reached within international law and commitments ema-

nating from international agreements, via dialogue and consensus. Turkey will continue its efforts for a diplomatic solution to this crisis, both at multilateral platforms and on a bilateral basis.

## Developments in Syria

On our southern borders, developments in Syria and Iraq are a big concern on many levels, first and foremost for our national security. Turkey's border with Syria and Iraq is 1,295 kilometres long. The situation has turned into a single theatre of war. Syrian conflict and political instability in Iraq have created a power vacuum and provided suitable ground for extremist groups such as ISIL (hereafter referred to as DAESH). However, this conflict is not limited to the rise of extremism. It needs a broader reading of the situation to find a viable and lasting solution to the crisis in the region. Increasing threats, risks and dangers emanating from Syria cannot be stopped unless a political transition takes place in Syria. Likewise, the threat of extremism should be handled with a comprehensive strategy.

In this sense, transition of power, protection of territorial integrity and encouragement of a constitutional, parliamentary system that embraces all citizens are main elements of Turkey's policy vis-à-vis the Syrian conflict. We have publicly declared that Turkey won't remain silent against oppression of any ethnic or religious group.



Aleppo, Syria, has seen widespread destruction.

**Refugee relief**

Calls for Turkish military intervention in the face of attacks on Ayn-Al Arab (Kobani) are contradictory since a quarter of a million Syrians were massacred in their towns and more than 6.5 million people have been displaced since the beginning of the crisis.

The number of Syrians hosted by Turkey has exceeded 1.6 million. More than 1.4 million Syrians who live outside the 22 camps are also under Turkey's temporary protection regime. We spent more than US \$5 billion, including cross-border aid. However, contributions received so far from the international community are far from the lowest expectations. Resettlement figures for Syrians reflect the same trend.

The sustained conflict in Syria, with repercussions in Iraq, has recently provoked another mass flow of refugees to Turkey. That is why 200,000 additional Syrians, mostly from border areas, found refuge in Turkey in October. An additional 100,000 Iraqis came in because of the threat of DAESH in Iraq.

Likewise, we have extended humanitarian assistance to Ayn Al-Arab (Kobani) since the first day of clashes. Recent devel-

opments cannot be read separately from the developments in Syria as a whole. Judging a conflict that has claimed more than 250,000 lives only through the developments in Ayn Al-Arab is not sensible. In October, we dispatched more than 700 trucks of humanitarian assistance to the area, worth more than US \$10 million.

The motion adopted at the Turkish Grand National Assembly gave broad authority to the Turkish government to instruct the Turkish Armed Forces to take all necessary measures in the period ahead. It is a clear reflection of Turkey's determination. Any further involvement should be designed to meet our expectations for a comprehensive strategy to resolve the Syrian conflict. It needs also to address political and humanitarian dimensions.

**The fight against terrorism**

In this vein, Turkey's experience in the fight against terrorism is well known by the international community. We have suffered extensively from the scourge of terrorism; we have been, and still are, targets for al-Qaeda and other radical terrorist organisations. That's why international co-operation is the basis of Turkey's approach to the fight against terrorism. To that end,

we co-sponsored UN Security Council Resolution 2178 on foreign terrorist fighters that calls upon member states to do their part to eradicate terrorism.

It is worth repeating that the ideology promoted by groups such as ISIS does not enjoy grassroots support among the Turkish people. On the contrary, the Turkish model of a democratic, secular and open society with a predominantly Muslim population is at odds with the philosophy and aim of these radical movements.

This makes Turkey a natural target for such radical groups. This was seen in the 2003 terrorist bombings in Istanbul and the Al-Shabaab attack at the Turkish Embassy in Somalia that killed a Turkish security officer and wounded many others. The armed attack in May 2014 in Mogadishu (al-Shabaab), the brutal attack against our security forces within Turkey in Niğde in March 2014 (DAESH), the raid on the Turkish consulate general in Mosul in June 2014 by DAESH militants who detained 46 staff, are three concrete examples of the direct and serious threat these groups pose to Turkey's national security.

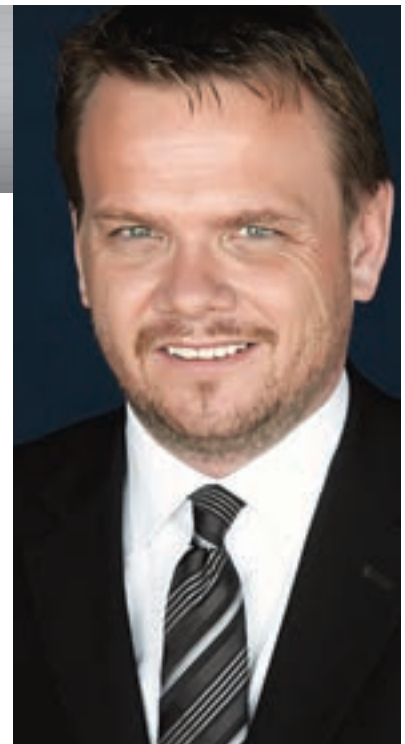
It is, therefore, totally out of the question for Turkey to tolerate these groups, let alone give them support. ■

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# Drugs, crime and terror in Africa



Robert I.  
Rotberg

**T**he wars of Africa are fuelled by narcotics. That is an exaggerated over-simplification, but many of the internal conflicts of today's Africa are driven, in part, sometimes a substantial part, by profits being made from the trafficking of hard drugs and precursor chemicals. The battles in Mali, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia are influenced by criminal drug syndicates allied to al-Qaeda-linked insurgents. The Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria also has its narcotics component. "Follow the money" is an aphorism relevant for Africa as well as the Middle East.

It is clear to investigators that al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM), the terrorist collective that operates in Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Algeria and Libya (and perhaps in Tunisia), finances itself by trafficking drugs across the Sahara from south to north, and from capturing and holding Europeans for ransom. In Somalia, al-Shabaab, another al-Qaeda terrorist affiliate, funds its operations by moving drugs into and out of East Africa, by holding captives for ransom and by cutting down trees and shipping charcoal to Yemen and Saudi Arabia. Seleka, the Muslim insurgent group (possibly backed from Chad) that captured and fractured the Central African Republic before being ousted by French and other militias, also made money from shipping drugs from south to north. Hezbollah, which has always had side operations in West Africa among the Lebanese diaspora, also profits from narcotics dealings. Criminal enterprises are joining forces with terrorists and creating new types of hybrid organisations that are drug-driven.

## \$2-billion payload

Indeed, in the last decade, there has been increasingly big money made from moving cocaine, heroin, methamphetamines, marijuana (hashish) and similar drugs



Qat or khat, the Somali mild narcotic of choice, has also flooded Kenya in recent years and is being re-exported from East Africa to Somali communities and others in Europe.

first from Colombia and Venezuela into Africa and north to Europe and, more recently, from Pakistan and India through East Africa to Europe. Once largely confined to West Africa, the narcotics trade and personal use of such hard drugs have spread to eastern, central and southern Africa. Almost none of Africa's 54 nations is without a drug problem, the crime and criminal gangs that shepherd and promote it, the vast proceeds and corruption that accompany and facilitate trade and abuse, and the social ills that follow.

According to the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC), about 30 tonnes or \$2 billion worth of cocaine passes through West Africa from Latin America to Europe every year, up from about half that amount in 2010. Those totals represent 35 percent of all cocaine smuggled into Europe. About 2,000 West Africans are arrested in Europe for cocaine

trafficking, about 30 percent of the total number of foreigners caught in Europe for this offence.

Bolivia, Peru and Colombia grow coca and transform coca leaves into cocaine. Where it was once flown directly to West Africa from Colombia, now most of the Europe-bound cocaine that passes through Africa is spirited across the Atlantic Ocean from Venezuela, where crime and corruption are rampant and controls lax. A decade or so ago, ship transport was in vogue. Propeller aircraft followed. Now most of the cocaine from Venezuela to West Africa arrives by jet aircraft, sometimes even combined with otherwise legal cargo.

Lagos in Nigeria, Accra in Ghana and Dakar in Senegal are three trans-shipment airports where corruption and criminal influence facilitates passage and local gangs take control. Large amounts of cocaine

also enter weakly governed and impoverished Guinea-Bissau via unmonitored private aircraft from Venezuela, Colombia and Brazil. Guinea-Bissau is widely regarded as Africa's first narco-state, with politics, political life and military activity and preferment all being enmeshed in narcotics trafficking. The several military coups that have changed Guinea-Bissau's governments in this decade were all motivated by control of the drug trade. After one of those coups in 2012, 25 tonnes of cocaine entered Guinea-Bissau from Venezuela. Several well-connected smugglers, including a high-ranking naval officer, are awaiting trial in the United States (to which country they were extradited).

#### Al-Qaeda connection

From Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal (and now Mali), a route across the Sahara in convoys guarded by AQIM has proved profitable. In part, it also led to the disturbances in Mali and the battles in Algeria. The exact linkages are known only to intelligence services, if then, but there is abundant circumstantial evidence that much of Europe's cocaine arrives in this manner, ultimately through Algeria and Morocco to Spain. There are also reports that Colombian gangs have established

themselves in Guinea (where Ebola began this year) and The Gambia, as well as in all of the other West African countries.

Between 2005 and 2011, major cocaine seizures occurred in Nigeria, Benin, Togo, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, Mauritania, Morocco and Cape Verde. The biggest hauls in those years were from Morocco, Senegal, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau and Liberia. Since 2011, the central entrepôts of the cocaine trans-shipment trade have shifted to Nigeria, Ghana and Guinea-Bissau. Exactly how much still moves across the Sahara is not known.

Heroin arrives in Africa, also en route to Europe, from the east, where it is produced. Although Afghanistan and Myanmar grow the poppies that are the ultimate source, opiate refining centres may be elsewhere in Asia, nowadays often Thailand, Pakistan and India. Certainly, today, Kenya and Tanzania, using the Mombasa, Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam airports, and Addis Ababa airport in Ethiopia, are key trans-shipment centres. So are the ports of Djibouti, Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam. Traffickers use dhows (traditional sailing vessels) as well as larger ships, and some element of Somali piracy was originally intended to intercept and

then control this profitable drug trade. Most of the heroin is smuggled by courier or bundled with legal cargo, such as plantains, into Europe. A smaller proportion goes from East Africa to the United States and Canada.

#### Nigeria's dominant heroin trade

In 2012 alone, authorities seized 200 kilograms of heroin in Nigeria, five times the amount confiscated in 2011. Nearly 8,000 offenders were arrested, but few were the kingpins in the trade. Nigerian gangs are widely believed to control a large, if not the largest, proportion of the heroin trade across all of Africa and on to Europe and North America. They have satellite operations in South Africa, especially in Cape Town and Johannesburg, and are assumed to be behind the spread of heroin sales to Mozambique and Malawi.

Marijuana has been grown and used in Africa for decades, if not centuries. Nigerians now control a large segment of the intra-African trade, and also ship to Europe in quantity. But it is the harder drugs, with the bigger profits, that more completely fuel the coffers of terrorists and their criminal allies.

Qat or khat, the Somali mild narcotic of choice, has also flooded Kenya in recent



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years and is being re-exported from East Africa to Somali communities and others in Europe. Additionally, its recreational use is becoming a persistent problem and a contributor to crime in rural and urban Kenya, not only among Somalis. It is grown, for the most part, in Kenya, Ethiopia and Yemen.

Nigeria is a major source of locally produced methamphetamines for shipment to Asia. One clandestine laboratory that was shut down in 2011 was capable of turning out 200 kilograms of methamphetamines per week. In Malaysia, one kilogram of methamphetamines is worth at least \$40,000; in Japan and South Korea, as much as \$200,000. Thus a week's production would be worth from \$8 million to \$40 million on the street in Tokyo, Seoul or Kuala Lumpur.

Manufacturing methamphetamines depends on supplies of ephedrine and pseudoephedrine purchased mostly in, and shipped from, Asia through Africa to North America. During a six-month operation in 2010 by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, 35 suspicious shipments to Nigeria — a total of 53 metric tonnes worth approximately \$80 million — were seized and confiscated. Many more shipments doubtless went un-

detected into Nigerian and then Mexican laboratories. From Mexico, the methamphetamines were destined for consumers in the U.S. and Canada.

Stopping (an impossibility) or reducing the pernicious reach of drug trafficking across Africa depends, more generally, on better policing and better security controls. But improved law enforcement in turn depends on strengthened rules of law, curbs on corruption and more transparency everywhere — in other words, better governance. But achieving better governance — governments that improve the lives of their people rather than enrich those who lead weak administrations — is a difficult-to-accomplish objective.

#### **Middle class must push for reform**

In Africa, the drug trade preys and depends on government and security force connivance. Only responsible and tough-minded leadership, as in Botswana, can provide incentives for honest policing and minimal corruption. Improvements won't come to West Africa anytime soon, especially given rampant corruption and widespread poverty. Even Ghana, which is the best run and most prosperous West African state, has not managed to control its drug-running gangs.

Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and others recommend legalising and, potentially, decriminalising cocaine, heroin and marijuana use (but not trafficking) in Europe and Africa, thus reducing the consumer price, making the product taxable and eliminating much of the incentive to ship narcotics clandestinely. Even with some of the American states having recently permitted the open sale of marijuana, the Annan proposal has not, and will not, find favour immediately in Africa and beyond. So drug trafficking across Africa will continue to profit the smugglers and their al-Qaeda-linked associates, and will continue to corrupt and distort the priorities of susceptible African leaders and governments.

Only when Africa's emerging middle class demands reformed and more responsible governance will there be a chance to shrink the trade in drugs across Africa and its symbiotic relationship with, and fueling of, conflict.

Robert I. Rotberg is fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center (Washington, D. C.), senior fellow, Centre for International Governance Innovation, and the founding director of Harvard Kennedy School's Program on Intrastate Conflict.

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# Where refugees go

Most refugees in the world today are hosted by developing countries, while the world's richest countries host just a fraction of those seeking refuge or asylum.

*By Joe Landry*

**In June 2014, headlines marked the day:** The global population of forced migrants had surpassed the 50 million mark for the first time since the Second World War.

The war in Syria, along with conflicts in the Central African Republic, Ukraine and South Sudan were all major contributors to the meteoric rise of six million forcibly displaced people (which includes refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced persons) to the global refugee population since 2012. More than half of these individuals are children. International agencies such as the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), along with partnering NGOs, have been pushed to the breaking point of their ability to provide for even the most basic needs of these populations.

Nevertheless, there remains a great deal of misunderstanding of the crises that have led to the current global situation, as well as what is being done to mitigate the problem. Most observers in the West wrongly assume that Western countries are taking in the bulk of refugee claimants worldwide, while, in reality, more than 86 percent of refugees globally are hosted in the developing world. The burden of providing for the majority of the world's refugees is unfairly placed on states neighbouring those in conflict, and the assistance provided by the international community is nearly negligible in terms of alleviating many of the worst cases.

The statistics are startling. The plight of forced migrants is not improving, despite increased international awareness. According to recent data, we now know that approximately every four seconds someone is forced to leave his or her home.





The Roghani Refugee Camp in the Pakistani border town of Chaman began operation in 2001. It closed in 2004 and all refugees residing there went back to Afghanistan. Today, however, there are 51 million displaced people worldwide.

The average wait time for a refugee to be resettled is 20 years. In addition, nearly two thirds of the world's refugees are in indeterminate exile. These statistics have only been getting worse; not only is the number of people stuck in prolonged refugee situations increasing, but the length of time they are there is becoming ever more unbearable.

Most protracted refugee situations stem from insecurity and violence. State fragility is of key concern here, with countries stuck in the “fragility” or “conflict” trap being the primary source of such refugees. It is estimated that this year, more than half of the world's population living on less than US \$1.25 per day will be living in fragile states. In addition, while global poverty is declining sharply, poverty levels have stagnated or even increased in fragile states. This means it is harder for these countries to escape the conflict trap, pushing ever more individuals and their families into unstable situations, within and beyond the borders of these countries.

With the above in mind, this article provides a snapshot of the Top 10 refugee-hosting countries, accounting for more than 56 percent of refugees hosted globally. Notably, the Middle East — in particular those countries close to the volatile situation in Syria — accounts for the most significant rise in asylum-seekers, refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). As can be seen in the country profiles below, the four-year civil war in Syria has resulted in an unimaginable flow of people out of the country (an estimated 2.5 million), placing strains on its neighbours through resource competition, economic uncertainty and lack of basic services.

To be sure, the situation in each country is unique, with different push-and-pull factors at work. At the same time, a number of common drivers of forced migration often interact, overlap and amplify one another. These include civil war and other forms of intra-state conflict, climate change, food insecurity, population growth, urbanisation, water scarcity, natural disasters and more. Each country's situation is described in terms of the hosting nation's characteristics as well as the sources of the refugee and asylum-seeker influx. It is also critical to remember that internally displaced persons make up an ever-increasing share of forced migrants globally, and often these populations are the hardest to reach to provide assistance, due to the political sensitivities associated with state sovereignty and intervention.

This article aims to shed light on the overarching causes of refugee flows and

bring awareness to the extremely difficult situations faced by states in the global south. Policy responses that take into account all of these issues must be carefully crafted with local and regional contexts in mind. While the UNHCR, the IOM (International Organization for Migration), the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) and other multinational organisations are working tirelessly to try to alleviate some of the most pressing crises, the fact remains that the developed world is largely ignorant of the scale of forced migration tragedies around the world. While the statistics presented above are staggering, it is critical for policymakers and lay-people alike to see the human face of the suffering occurring in unprecedented numbers. Only then will policies that direct much-needed resources to conflict-prone regions be able to make a lasting difference and provide durable solutions for those most affected by such tragedies.

## 1. Pakistan

Pakistan is home to the largest number of refugees in the world and has held this distinction for 22 of the last 35 years. Currently, approximately 1.6 million Afghan refugees are living in Pakistan. About 40 percent live in refugee villages and the remaining 60 percent in urban and rural host communities. Voluntary repatriation of Afghans who wish to return to their home country has improved the situation marginally. However, with the international security forces (the U.S.-led coalition) pulling out and the violence and political instability associated with hotly contested elections in 2014, the security of the country remains very fragile. Many Afghan refugees living in Pakistan are waiting to see what will happen within their home country before uprooting and returning, while a much larger proportion will most likely stay in Pakistan indefinitely. The large number of refugees has stretched resources and inflamed ethnic tensions, especially in the border regions of the country.

Why Pakistan has become host to the largest refugee population in the world is no mystery. Since the 1979 Soviet invasion, neighbouring Afghanistan has been subject to a great deal of political instability and conflict. The subsequent 2001 U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan resulted in a huge number of refugees fleeing nearly all regions of the country. Thus the “global war on terror” has resulted in the single largest refugee crisis of the past two decades.

## 2. Iran

The second-largest refugee population lives in Iran, which neighbours two war-torn countries — Afghanistan and Iraq. Even though hundreds of thousands of refugees have returned voluntarily to their home countries, the population in Iran is still massive. It has become home to approximately 900,000 refugees, with about 95 percent coming from Afghanistan and the remainder from Iraq. About 97 percent of refugees live in urban or semi-urban areas. The Iranian government has been generous in allowing refugees into the country and, for the most part, provides freedom of movement. Access to education, medical services, literacy classes and the labour market are all granted to refugees, a very important aspect of any



Afghan women in a refugee camp in Iran.

reasonable response to a refugee crisis.

Unfortunately, inflation in Iran has led to increasingly difficult living situations that disproportionately affect refugees. Food prices along, with other essential goods, such as fuel, health and education costs, have all risen steadily over the past few years, with unemployment rising and wages remaining stagnant. Western sanctions on Iran — related to the country's nuclear ambitions — are partly to blame for the slowdown in the Iranian economy. It is an unfortunate situation because the results of the sanctions affect the poorest and most marginalised populations much more than the government and business elites who control foreign and domestic policy decisions.



### 3. Lebanon

Lebanon has climbed up the list of refugee-receiving countries extremely quickly since the beginning of the Syrian conflict in 2011. More than 700,000 refugees from Syria were registered in Lebanon in 2013, indicating that the crisis is far from over. Estimates by the interior minister of Lebanon indicate that there may be upwards of 1.4 million Syrian refugees in the country. Add this to 200,000 temporary workers and you see that nearly a third of the country's resident population is displaced.

The Lebanese economy has also taken a major hit due to the shock effects of the Syrian crisis next door, with rising debt levels having an adverse impact on the overall economic situation. As in Iran, inflation and costs of basic necessities are



Syrian refugee children gather in Lebanon's city of Arsal.

skyrocketing. Growth figures from the World Bank estimate a rate of 0.9 percent for 2013, far below the 9.2-percent rate from 2007-2012. Social tensions between native Lebanese and displaced Syrians are also becoming a major problem in border regions, with clashes occurring over dire employment prospects and jobs being taken by non-nationals, mainly in lower income-earning professions where competition has become fierce. Lebanon is not party to the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees, which means there is little legal protection for these vulnerable populations.

It is clear that the conflict in Syria has been nothing short of devastating for that country, as well as its neighbours. Since 2011, the death toll in Syria is estimated to be close to 200,000. Millions more have fled the country in search of safety. This conflict has created an incredibly unstable situation in which violence is not

confined within the borders of Syria, but has spread to such countries as Lebanon and Jordan. Further complicating this situation is the role of the militant wing of Hezbollah, which is based in Lebanon and has been observed providing troops and support to Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's government forces and exacerbating the war.

### 4. Jordan

The fourth-largest refugee population resides in Jordan, which registered nearly 700,000 Syrian refugees in 2013, only slightly behind Lebanon. Jordan is also home to at least 55,000 Iraqi refugees. There is a continual influx of Syrian asylum-seekers and despite generous resettlement policies, much of the existing infrastructure is being pushed to its limits. As in Lebanon, the global financial crisis has damaged Jordan's economic stability, leaving key government services such as health care, education and basic infrastructure development to face significant difficulties in service delivery.

Jordan is also not a party to the 1951 refugee convention, so all UNHCR activities are codified in a memorandum of understanding signed in 1998. This agreement allows for refugees and asylum seekers to be afforded some, but not all, of the same protections offered under the 1951 convention, and therefore it is a critical tool in protection efforts. There are several camps set up for refugees, for example the Zaatari Camp, which houses 120,000 individuals. However, the majority of refugees are spread out across the country and live in urban or semi-urban areas, as they do in countries such as Iran and Lebanon.



A woman and child at Za'atri refugee camp in Jordan.

Again, we see that the Syrian crisis has resulted in the increase in asylum-seekers and refugees in this fragile region. The sheer level of human suffering and uncertainty about the future cannot be overstated. This type of crisis illustrates how political factors can easily get in the way of managing conflict and its consequences. The stalemate at the UN Security Council has meant the war has continued unabated, without a solution in sight. All the while, international and domestic aid agencies and NGOs struggle to fulfil the most basic human needs of unprecedented numbers of people fleeing violence and persecution in their struggle to survive.

### 5. Turkey

The severity of the Syria crisis extends to Turkey, another country hard-hit by the civil war. The Turkish government estimates it has received more than 1.5 million refugees since the war started. An estimated 70 percent live in Turkish cities and the remainder are located in 21 camps across 10 provinces.

The Turkish government has enacted a law on foreigners and international protection that sets guidelines that fall in line with international standards for the protection of asylum-seekers and refugees. In addition, 2014 saw the establishment of a directorate general for migration management, a positive development for



A Syrian refugee in his tent in a Turkish camp.

improving the standards of refugees and asylum-seekers in Turkey. UNHCR and Turkey work closely together to deliver essential services such as education and health care, along with legal and physical protection. As one of the more developed countries on our list, Turkey has had mod-

erate success in managing the refugee crisis created by the war in Syria. However, if the flood of refugees continues at the current rate, it will quickly reach its limits.

Moreover, numbers of asylum-seekers in Turkey from countries besides Syria have also increased in recent years; top countries of origin include Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Somalia. UNHCR estimates 50,000 individuals have applied for asylum in the past two years, and the agency plays an active role in helping with status determination, registration and durable solutions, among other activities.

## 6. Kenya

Turning from the Middle East to East Africa, we see Kenya playing host to the sixth-largest refugee population on the planet. Kenya hosted close to 535,000 refugees in 2013, which represented a drop of about 30,000 people over the year. This decrease was mainly due to improvements and verifications in the record-keeping system that tracks registered individuals and voluntary repatriations. A new agreement between Kenya and Somalia, the Kenya Security Partnership Project, operating in the Dadaab area, aims to allow for movement of refugees back to Somalia.

On the other hand, asylum-seekers have been arriving in record numbers at Kakuma Camp. Basic services, infrastructure and protection needs are all areas of concern as more refugees arrive there. While the government of Kenya has been generally accommodating, after the 2013 terror attack by Al-Shabaab on the Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi, it has aimed to balance its security con-



Girls congregate at Ifo 2 Refugee camp in Dadaab, Kenya.

cerns with its humanitarian efforts, and, in doing so, has increased security in and around major refugee camps, especially those near Somalia.

The primary populations of concern in Kenya are, from largest to smallest: Somali, South Sudanese and Ethiopian. In South-Central Somalia, people are being driven from their homes in search of reliable food sources (escaping famine) as well as general safety, as the region remains extremely fragile and essentially lawless. Somalia has consistently been identified as the most fragile country in the world over the past two decades, and is often considered the archetype of a “failed state,” with no central government able to control the use of force within its borders or provide basic public services.

South Sudanese asylum-seekers and refugees have fled conflict and insecurity, with the 2010 referendum and subsequent split of Sudan producing ongoing violence, rather than the stabilising effect for which some analysts and policy-makers had hoped. Finally, Ethiopian migrants typically flee human rights abuses and low-level conflict in the border regions of that country.

## 7. Chad

Chad has had a steady increase in the number of refugees and asylum-seekers over the last 12 years. This is especially difficult due to the underdevelopment of the country. Chad ranked 184th on the Human Development Index and remains one of the poorest countries in the world. Political violence and corruption are major problems, and government capacity for even the most basic service delivery to its population is extremely poor. The majority of inhabitants live as subsistence herders and farmers, and government revenues come primarily from natural resources — crude oil in particular. These factors combine to severely limit the Chadian government’s ability to accommodate refugees.

Ethnic violence and warfare in Central African Republic (CAR) in 2013 led to a major refugee emergency that spilled over into Chadian territory. More than 10,000 refugees and asylum-seekers arrived in the country. Luckily, Chad has an open-door policy towards refugees, as fleeing there was one of the only escapes for populations affected by the CAR violence. In addition, violence in Sudan, namely in West Darfur, drove a further 30,000 refugees into Chad in 2013. These influxes meant there were about 350,000 Sudanese



Sudanese refugees at Iridimi Camp in Chad.

and 740,000 CAR refugees residing in at least 17 different camps along the border regions. The government and UNHCR also opened a new camp to accommodate CAR refugees displaced by violence. Nigerian refugees also have a presence.

Politically, Chad is stable, however from the conflict research, we know that states neighbouring conflict zones are much more likely to erupt in violence themselves. UNHCR is working closely with the Chadian government to ensure protection exists for the most vulnerable refugee populations.

## 8. Ethiopia

Ethiopia, the second most populous country in Africa, is bordered by a number of fragile states. Its large area and unstable neighbouring nations mean there are numerous sources of asylum-seekers and refugees actively entering the country. In 2013, approximately 55,000 individuals arrived and this trend is expected to continue as several of the conflicts are ongoing.

The country is now home to the eighth-largest refugee population in the world at nearly 434,000 people. Most refugees are living in camps scattered throughout the country, again mainly found in the border areas, as would be expected. The government of Ethiopia has offered up significant pieces of land for the development of refugee camps and continues to make new land available for building new camps as more people arrive in need of protection. Police protection is also provided by the government, indicative of the needed balance between security concerns and humanitarian protection. Finally, there are



some local integration campaigns through which the government and UNHCR will provide tuition funding for students to attend universities, a progressive policy choice not seen in many other countries.

Most refugees in Ethiopia arrive from Eritrea, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan. Instability, oppression and famine are the three main drivers of asylum-seekers in this region, as was seen in the other



Famine led thousands of Somalis to flee to refugee camps in Ethiopia.

African nations examined. The UNHCR works to promote activities that will allow them to make a living so communities can sustain themselves until durable solutions (mainly resettlement) are available.

## 9. China

China is a unique case for the ninth-largest refugee population in the world. The country is host to an estimated 301,000 refugees, the majority of whom arrived in the late 1970s and early 1980s after the fall of Saigon and increasing repression and discrimination towards ethnic Chinese (Hoa) people in Vietnam. The Khmer Rouge takeover in Cambodia near the same period also pushed a large number of refugees into China by land, air and sea. A number also fled Laos. This migration movement in Southeast Asia was termed the “Indochina Refugee Crisis” and, overall, an estimated three million people looked for refuge in China and other Southeast Asian countries. Many of the refugees were resettled in third countries such as the U.S. and Canada, while significant numbers stayed in China.

The current refugee situation in China is very stable, with most of the resettled



Boat people from Vietnam, who were rescued by the Italian Navy in the 1970s, became refugees in China.

being granted permanent status as residents. One development that has been catching international attention, however, has been the high number of North Koreans seeking asylum in China. China does not recognise North Koreans as legitimate refugees, arguing instead that they are fleeing poverty and, therefore, are considered economic migrants. Concurrently, the amount of international attention has prodded Chinese leaders to look towards the asylum policies of other countries and laws to regulate such activities are currently in the works. The politically sensitive nature of the matter means that it may take some time and clever manoeuvring to come up with a solution that is acceptable to all stakeholders.

## 10 U.S.

Notably, the only “Western” country to appear in the Top 10 — indicative of where the global refugee-hosting burden lies — the U.S. is currently host to approximately 264,000 refugees.

The U.S. is the highest donor to UNHCR and thus carries weight when it comes to policymaking within the organisation. While the resettlement program is well-funded and active around the world, the number of refugees who are eventually resettled to a developed third country is a drop in the bucket compared to the total numbers. The December 2013 UNHCR Global Trends report states that least developed countries (LDCs) host 2.8 million, or 24 percent, of the world’s refugees, and overall, the developing world hosts 10.1 million refugees, while the de-

veloped world only hosts 14 percent. And, according to the UNHCR’s latest figures, the proportion of those hosted by LDCs is growing. Given the much higher capacity and capability developed nations such as the United States have to integrate newly arrived immigrants and refugees, this proportion could easily be much higher without having any net negative effect.

That said, immigrants and refugees are arriving at the shores of developed nations illegally. In fact, one of the major challenges Western countries face is in weighing which people are legitimate refugee claimants who have stayed “in queue” and followed proper procedures and which are illegal migrants who bypass official pathways to enter countries and stay without proper documentation. Their presence makes it more difficult for those fleeing persecution to be heard.



A Somali woman in an elementary school classroom in Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Nevertheless, economics still tell the story: If one examines GDP (purchasing power parity), developed countries fall off the chart if GDP is taken into account: The 40 countries with the highest number of refugees per GDP in 2013 are in the developing world. A country such as Canada, that needs to sustain population growth in order to continue developing economically, could also shoulder a much greater proportion of the burden, with positive outcomes for the host nation and the refugees who have settled here.

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# Should America fret about its northern border?

*By Christian Leuprecht*



A military funeral for Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent, who served 28 years in the Royal Canadian Air Force, took place in Longueuil, Qué.

**T**he embers are hot yet again: In the aftermath of October's attacks in Canada, some Americans are once again musing aloud about their northern border. Should Americans be concerned? What is the risk of lone wolves — such as Michael Zehaf-Bibeau, who killed Cpl. Nathan Cirillo at the National War Memorial, and Martin Couture-Rouleau, who drove a military vehicle off the road, killing Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent — and sleeper cells lying in wait in Canada, ready to pounce on the United States?

By my count, between 1997 and 2014, there were 16 cases involving 22 Canadians who ended up being convicted for terrorist activities that spanned the Canada-U.S. border. Just about all of the accused are male, and there is not a single lone wolf among them. (For detailed accounts of their deeds, see the sidebar on page 47.)

They fall into five categories:

1. Attempted attacks on the U.S. from Canada by Canadians: Al-Jawary, 1973; Mezer, 1997; Ressam, 1999; Dbouk and

Amhaz, 2000.

2. Attacks on the U.S. by a Canadian recruited from the U.S.: Droege, 1981; Thurston and Rubin, 2005.

3. Drawing on support from the U.S. to increase capabilities of Canadians to engage in terrorism in Canada: Rose Brothers, 1970; Daher, 1993; Dirie, 2008.

4. Support for global terrorism from a joint Canada-U.S. base: Ayub, 1981; Al Safadi, 1996; Khalil, 2004; Daher, 2005; Thanigasalam, Sarchandran, Sabaratnam and Mylvaganam, 2006. 5. Support for global



terrorism from a U.S. base by Canadians legally residing in the U.S.: Warsame, 2006; Rana, 2011.

There are only three cases of Canadians having been convicted of attempting to cross the border for the purpose of carrying out a Jihadi-inspired terrorist attack in the U.S., all of which predate 9/11: Mezer, Ressam, and Dbouk and Amhaz (Al-Jawary does not fit the Jihadi scope conditions). None of these cases could recur today with measures now in place, which suggests that the measures are effective against deterring Jihadi-inspired incursions into the U.S. from Canada. That is because the aforementioned Jihadis crossed perfectly legally at ports of entry, some multiple times. The evidence thus suggests that devoting resources to counter-terrorism patrols between ports of entry along the Canada-U.S. border is futile.

Canada happens to border the world's largest economy and the world's largest weapons market. No surprise then that the bulk of cases involve individuals who cross into the U.S. to procure money and weapons. That is much the same reason Mexican cartels cross into the U.S. Some politically motivated violent extremists want to carry out attacks in Canada, but mostly they are bent on supporting violent extremist causes abroad.

It tends to be costlier and more difficult to obtain a firearm in Canada than in the United States, the source of the bulk of guns used to commit criminal offences in Canada, including those procured for the terror plots concocted by the "Toronto 18."

There is thus no reason for Americans to worry about Canada being used as a staging ground for attacks on the U.S. Many Americans still believe the 9/11 attackers had links to Canada, however they did not. Americans should, however, be concerned about Canadians crossing the border to obtain money and weapons to fuel instability elsewhere in the world. Still, that dwarfs the direct supply from Canada and especially the U.S., to other parts of the world.

The U.S. poses a far greater security problem for Canada and the rest of the world, than Canada does to the U.S. Greater co-operation and more resources along the northern border aren't likely to make either country any safer, but may just make the world a little safer from us. The northern border is not a threat to the U.S., but it is a problem for Canada and the rest of the world. For five years running, the RCMP has apprehended more people attempting to cross illegally from the U.S. into Canada than vice versa —

despite Canada deploying disproportionately fewer resources along the border. In other words, people cross illegally between ports of entry, but terrorists are not among them. After all, who would incur the inconvenience and risk of crossing between ports of entry if they can cross legally at ports of entry?

Canada and the U.S. share the longest land border in the world. We also have the world's closest bilateral security relation-

including national security certificates, preventative arrest and investigative hearings. However, absent robust evidence that an individual is looking to move from thought to action, Canadian courts are reluctant to approve of detention, let alone convict.

The federal government appears to be looking at more expansive powers of detention, perhaps by clarifying conditions and criteria for detention. These are cur-



Corporal Nathan Cirillo was shot and killed by Michael Zehaf-Bibeau while standing sentry at the National War Memorial.

ship. The U.S. has enough international security problems to worry about; Canada is not one of them.

Until October of this year, Canada had a first-rate batting average in thwarting attacks by homegrown terrorists on our soil: plots were few, people were charged, and, in many cases, convicted.

So, what went wrong this time? Michael Zehaf-Bibeau, who was responsible for the attacks in Ottawa that killed Cpl. Nathan Cirillo, and Martin Couture-Rouleau, who killed Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent with his car during an attack in St-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Que., had both shown up on security intelligence radar. Both had prior convictions, both had struggled with mental health issues, and both had known sympathies for politically motivated violent extremism. Triangulated with other indicators, that put them at an increased risk of moving from thought to action.

Evidently, Canadian security services do not have difficulty identifying at-risk persons per se. Why are they not being detained? The current legal framework puts several measures at their disposal,

rently ill-defined in the criminal code and normally require evidence for detention to be presented to a judge within 24 hours. The government may extend the permissible period for detention to buy police or security intelligence additional time to gather the necessary evidence in the case of national-security investigations. Similar measures already exist in other allied countries. In the U.K., for instance, the period can be up to 28 days.

The government also appears to be looking at criminalising association with or diffusion of discourse that incites politically motivated violent extremism against Canada or Canadians. Similar measures already exist in other areas of law, such as those criminalising the possession of child pornography or threatening someone else with violence.

Ultimately, though, these measures may not make much of a difference if the level of tolerance for the evidence required to detain and possibly convict is not actually lowered. That is more a matter of legal and societal culture than it is of law. In Canada individual freedom, civil liberties

and privacy persistently seem to trump individual and public safety. Ergo, the government is proposing to lower some thresholds for warrants, for instance, from reasonable grounds to reasonable suspicion.

Allies such as the U.K., France, Germany and Spain have had to learn to live with terrorism, some for decades. As a result, their courts and their societies have developed greater sensitivity towards the protection of public safety. "He who sacrifices freedom for security deserves neither," Benjamin Franklin famously said. But what about he who sacrifices security for freedom? Freedom and security are not a zero-sum dichotomy. To the contrary, they are complementary: You cannot enjoy one without the other. However, you also cannot enjoy your freedoms if you are dead.

Unlike Americans, Canadians are not inherently skeptical and mistrusting of their government. Why, then, reduce the Charter to a mechanism to "protect" Canadians from government? In criminal law, we tend to convict after an act has occurred. Anti-terrorism legislation, by contrast, is largely meant to deter individuals from moving from thought to action, and to prevent those who do contemplate action from actually realising their intentions. Canadian courts and Canadian society give the latter short shrift. The evidence that someone is looking to act needs to be overwhelming.

Tell that to the parents of Cpl. Nathan Cirillo; or to the parents of Michael Zehaf-Bibeau and Martin Couture-Rouleau. All would have preferred for the courts to err on the side of caution. So would most of the critics of the government's proposed legislative changes: If it were they or their child who were harmed, they would be chastising the government for not having done more.

Decades ago, both individuals might have been committed to an asylum. Provincial governments have since gotten out of the business of institutionalisation, in part because it is expensive. Without the measures in place to protect such individuals from themselves on mental health grounds, it can fall to CSIS and the RCMP to take them out of circulation. CSIS, however, appears to have great trouble convincing the courts that some individuals should no longer be roaming freely; and the RCMP's national security investigations are lengthy, in part because the evidence CSIS produces by-and-large does not withstand scrutiny in a criminal proceeding. With CSIS unable to detain



There are only three cases of Canadians having been convicted of attempting to cross the border for the purpose of carrying out a Jihadi-inspired terrorist attack in the U.S.

and the RCMP evidently struggling to lay charges with the prospect of obtaining a conviction, are the courts imposing too exacting a standard of evidence?

The current equilibrium needs some rebalancing: If Canadian society and its courts can adapt, perhaps Canada may be able to do without expansive laws of detention, arrest and criminalisation. I value



Martin Couture-Rouleau was an outlier.

my freedoms; but I value my life and the lives of my compatriots even more.

More expansive powers for law enforcement and security intelligence need

to be balanced with robust parliamentary accountability. My preferred model is Belgium's where two permanent agencies headed by judges — the Comité R (renseignement) and the Comité P (police) — are empowered to audit not only past, but also ongoing investigations in real time and report their findings directly to a select group of security-cleared Members of Parliament.

But in the end, just as with child pornography or those who threaten to harm others, there comes an inflection point beyond which the protection of the collective interest enshrined in constitutional supremacy takes precedent over a denatured conception of individual rights. Michael Zehaf-Bibeau and Martin Couture-Rouleau were outliers; Parliament needs to assert its sovereignty to keep it that way.

Christian Leuprecht is associate dean and associate professor at the Royal Military College of Canada. He is cross-appointed to Queen's University. His full study, *Cross-Border Terror Networks: A Social Network Analysis of the Canada-U.S. Border*, can be found in *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 5(2), pp. 155-175.



## A SHORT RECENT HISTORY OF TERRORISM IN CANADA

In 1970, the “Rose Brothers” (FLQ members Jacques and Paul), legally flew across the border to meet Francis Simard in Texas, where they intended to raise funds. The three were apprehended upon their return to Canada.

In 1973, Khalid Duhham Al-Jawary, a man of Iraqi-Jordanian descent who had lived most of his life in Montreal and was affiliated with the Palestinian terrorist organisation Black September, flew to Manhattan to conduct reconnaissance with the aim of blowing up an Israeli convoy.

In 1981, Wolfgang Walter Droege, of German origin, but who had grown up in Canada, was arrested in Alabama, where he had intended to join the Ku Klux Klan to stage a coup d'état in the Dominican Republic.

In 1992, Fauzi Mohammed Ayub, a naturalised Canadian of Lebanese descent, moved to Detroit, where he sought to obtain weapons and paramilitary training. In 2002, he was arrested for having joined Hezbollah in an attempt to carry out attacks against Israel.

Kassem Daher, a Canadian citizen of Lebanese origin, was indicted in the United States for providing financial and material support for terrorism between 1993 and 2001. He left Canada in 1998 for Lebanon, where he was arrested in 2000 and placed under house arrest in 2005.

In 1996, Marwan Al-Safadi, a Canadian citizen, crossed the border into the United States before moving to Paraguay, where he joined Al-Qaeda, but was arrested in 1996 for plotting to bomb the U.S. embassy.

In 1993, Israel issued an exit visa to Gazi Ibrahim Abu Mezer, which he could use during a trip to Canada. He attempted to enter the United States three times between June 1996 and July 1997. He was subsequently arrested as a Hamas operative in New York for plotting against Jewish targets.

In 1998, Amr Hamed, a Canadian citizen of Egyptian extraction, was killed during a U.S. airstrike on a terrorist training camp

in Afghanistan. He had been plotting against the U.S.

Ahmed Ressam — the Millenium bomber — a permanent Canadian resident from Algeria, was arrested Dec. 14, 1999 for plotting against the Los Angeles International Airport, while attempting to enter the U.S.

In 2000, Mohammed Hassan Dbouk and Ali Amhaz, both of Lebanese origin, were arrested by U.S. authorities while attempting to enter the U.S. by plane and returned to Canada. They were subsequently linked to Hezbollah.

In 2001, Darren Thurston crossed into the U.S. to join the paramilitary Animal Liberation Front. He was arrested in 2005; his partner, Rebecca Rubin, turned herself in in 2014.

Mohamed Warsame, a Canadian immigrant of Somali origin, was arrested by American authorities in 2003 for providing logistical support to Al-Qaeda training camps in Pakistan.

On May 19, 2004, dual Canadian and Lebanese national Naji Antoine Khalil was arrested in New York for attempting to supply Hezbollah with military equipment and night-vision goggles.

Canadian citizens Thiruthanikan Thanigasalam, Sathajhan Sarachandran and Sahil Sabaratnam were arrested in 2006 in New York for attempting to supply arms to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Ramanan Mylvaganam was subsequently arrested in Canada and deported to the United States on charges of conspiracy to provide material support to the LTTE.

In 2008, Yasim Mohammed and Mohammed Dirie, both of Somali origin, were arrested in the U.S. for providing material support to the Toronto 18 terrorist plot. Mr. Dirie was subsequently sentenced.

In 2011, Hussain Rana, a Canadian citizen of Pakistani origin, was arrested in Chicago, where he had been residing legally as an immigration consultant. He was charged with providing logistical support to Lashkar-i-Tayyiba, one of the largest and most active terrorist organisations in South Asia, operating mainly in Pakistan.



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# Expanding security to meet growing threats

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky

In October 2014, two soldiers, one in uniform, were the target of a hit-and-run near St-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Quebec; Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent was killed. The driver fled and was shot to death by police following a high-speed chase. Two days later, Michael Zehaf-Bibeau killed Cpl. Nathan Cirillo as Mr. Cirillo stood on duty at the National War Memorial in Ottawa. The gunman then made his way into the Parliament building and opened fire. He was killed by return fire. Terrorism entered Canada's collective consciousness even before evidence suggested the perpetrators had been "radicalised." Media quickly referred to Canada's loss of innocence, as if Canada has been immune to terrorism.

On the day of the Ottawa attacks, Bill C-44, the *Protection of Canada from Terrorists Act*, was to have been tabled (it was delayed for five days). The new bill is intended to broaden the powers of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), overcoming rulings by judges in several courts that prevented CSIS from gaining new powers through legal decisions. It will also protect informants. While the new bill will make it clear to Canadians that terrorism is a real threat to this country, we must also question the lengths to which it can be applied.

## Terrorism broadly defined

Terrorism is a malleable thing, open to interpretation, with more questions than answers. Are attacks on military personnel not at war terrorism? What about attacks on politicians? Must it involve physical violence, or does instilling fear suffice? Are there times when situations demand, and therefore justify, violence? Definition is contentious, even among those who study it. While there is no universal definition of terrorism, national definitions guide legislation and help to identify the boundaries of security agencies.

In Canada, terrorism is defined officially under section 83.01 of the *Criminal Code* as an act committed, domestically or abroad, "in whole or in part for a political, religious or ideological purpose, objec-



The 329 victims of the Air India bombing — the world's deadliest terrorist act before 9/11 — are remembered at this sundial memorial in Toronto.

tive or cause" intended to intimidate the public "with regard to its security, including its economic security, or compelling a person, a government or a domestic or an international organization to do or to refrain from doing any act."

U.S. Code § 2331 defines terrorism as acts dangerous to human life that violate federal or state law and appear intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, to influence government policy by intimidation or coercion, or to affect government conduct by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping. Under the *British Terrorism Act*, terrorist activity includes the use and threat of action "to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public... for

the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause."

Common to these definitions are violence against non-combatants and the intent to instill fear. Also common to acts of terrorism, but not included in official definitions, is the desire that drives them, for political, social or religious change or for retribution. Canadian history includes many acts, committed in Canada or by Canadians abroad, fitting these definitions. Response by civil authorities has had to change along with the increasing intensity of what we would call terrorism.

Canada's first terrorist acts were carried out by the Fenian Brotherhood, an Irish nationalist group formed in 1857 by Irish-Americans to advance Irish inde-



pendence from the British in the face of the Irish famine, which had driven Irish refugees to British North America. Discriminated against and exploited, the Irish reciprocated with resentment and hatred. Many Fenians believed that violence and breeding fear throughout British North America could force Britain to negotiate freedom for Ireland. While their violence demonstrated the need for British protection, Britain could not provide protection indefinitely. The colony would have to defend itself.

#### D'Arcy McGee's assassination

Among British North America's most stalwart nationalists was Father of Confederation Thomas D'Arcy McGee, an Irish patriot. McGee understood nationalism as a solution to ethnic conflicts impeding the development of British North America. Realising that nationalism and bigotry could be two sides of the same coin, he supported a "new Northern nationality" within the broader context of British imperialism. McGee opposed the Fenians' plans to use violence to achieve Irish independence. The Fenians were suspected of his assassination in 1868. Soon after, the group splintered, its lasting effect to unite Canadians by threatening Confederation.

In the 1920s, the Freedomites, a radical Doukhobor group, violently protested most aspects of Canadian society: compulsory schooling in English, public registry, the sale of land, military service, paying taxes and citizenship. For more than 40 years, they protested perceived infringements on their freedom through civil disobedience and by attacking elements of society with which they disagreed. When they refused to send their children to school, their children were taken and institutionalised. The parents could visit once a fortnight, when they were separated from their children by a chain link fence.

Freedomites became infamous for their nude marches and burnings. Julie Rak notes in *Negotiated Memory: Doukhobor Autobiographical Discourse* that the Freedomites created a powerful strategy for visibility by rejecting materiality through public nudity and burning buildings. Their goal was to realise a Doukhobor prophecy that they would return to Russia after suffering the trials of the authorities. Efforts to curb their behaviour through imprisonment or limiting their rights only encouraged their identification with their ancestors' suffering.

The RCMP, the judiciary and the public considered Freedomites worse than vandals. Even losing their children garnered

little public sympathy. In 1962, they were suspected of 259 bombings, including that of a B.C. power transmission tower. The RCMP arrested more than 50 members of the Freedomite Fraternal Council, charging them with "intimidating the Parliament of Canada." As Dr. Rak concludes, Freedomite actions "posed a deeper threat than merely that of destroying selected properties or parading in the nude." Their actions challenged Canadian ideals — the sense of community, pride of ownership, and the idea that a nude body is private,

#### 'UNSPEAKABLE VIOLENCE IN A GLOBAL WAR'

Violent ideologies still have traction in certain quarters. Hundreds and hundreds of mostly young people — from North America, from Australia, from the United Kingdom, from all over Europe and across the Middle East — are signing on with ISIL, al-Qaeda, al-Shabaab or any number of fanatical groups that commit unspeakable violence in a global war against pluralism, democratization, human rights and gender equality. It is now public knowledge that well over 100 Canadians have left Canada to support or train with terrorist movements abroad. Most are men, but some are women. Some are immigrants to Canada, and some are Canadian-born.

— Michel Coulombe, director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service

not political.

The 1960s saw about 300 acts considered as terrorism on Canadian soil, mostly by Freedomites or the FLQ (Front for the Liberation of Quebec/Front de libération du Québec). Through the 1960s, social evolution in Quebec included the Quiet Revolution, which demanded recognition of francophone Quebecois and greater freedoms. Changing doctrines and international influences, such as Che Guevara and Algerian revolutionaries, spread the idea that violence creates change.

In 1963, the FLQ expressed frustration at the slow pace of change by bombing targets that included the federal government, post offices, the armed forces and the RCMP. Their activities escalated toward the end of the decade, culminating in the October Crisis and the kidnappings in 1970 of James Cross, British trade commissioner, and Pierre Laporte, Quebec's

minister of Immigration, Manpower and Labour. The government rejected the FLQ ultimatum for the release of political prisoners, an airplane and \$500,000, but allowed that it was willing to negotiate.

#### FLQ abduction and murder

Five days after Mr. Cross was taken, the FLQ abducted Mr. Laporte; his body was found in the trunk of a car the next day. Tanks occupied Montreal streets and soldiers in battle dress hunted terrorists in people's homes. When pressed by reporters about how far he would go to keep law and order, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau famously said "Just watch me." Three days later, he invoked the *War Measures Act*, a federal statute adopted in 1914 that gave the government broad powers to maintain law and order during war or insurrection. It was the first time in Canada's history that citizens were deprived of their rights and freedoms in peace time. Ultimately, more than 450 people, including 150 suspected FLQ members, were arrested. The movement ceased in 1971.

At the time of the October Crisis, security intelligence in Canada was handled by the RCMP. But the Cold War era changed the world of espionage and national security and after the challenges of the 1960s, it was obvious that the potential for threats to Canadian democracy needed re-evaluating. Two separate commissions in 1969 and 1977 recognised that having security intelligence handled by the federal police force conflicted with maintaining the balance between the need for effective intelligence and the need to respect democratic rights and freedoms. Both commissions recommended a civilian service to handle security intelligence.

Bill C-157, the *Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act*, created CSIS in 1984, with Thomas D'Arcy "Ted" Finn as director. CSIS' primary mandate was to "collect, by investigation or otherwise, to the extent that it is strictly necessary, and analyse and retain information and intelligence respecting activities that may, on reasonable grounds, be suspected of constituting threats to the security of Canada and, in relation thereto, shall report to and advise the Government of Canada." The mandate would be tested within a year of inception.

#### The world's deadliest attack before 9/11

In 1985, the most lethal terrorist act in Canadian history to date, and the world's deadliest attack before 9/11, occurred when a bomb exploded on Air India flight 182 off the coast of Ireland, killing

all 329 people on board. Sikh extremists in B.C. had placed suitcase bombs on two commercial aircraft. The Air India bomb was intended to detonate after the plane landed in London, but the flight left more than an hour late and the bomb went off while the plane was en route. The second bomb, on Canadian Pacific flight 003 to Tokyo, blew up in the Narita airport baggage terminal, killing two baggage handlers. The suitcase bomb was supposed to be transferred to an Air India flight to Bangkok.

Precipitating the bombings was civil unrest between Sikh and Hindu factions in India. In June 1984, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered the Indian Army to storm the holiest of Sikh shrines, the Golden Temple in Amritsar, to remove hundreds of armed Sikh separatists barricaded inside. In retaliation, Gandhi's own Sikh bodyguards assassinated her, creating a Hindu backlash; the resulting riots killed more than 2,000 Sikhs.

Two suspects were arrested five months after the bombings. The suspected mastermind was charged but the charges were ultimately dropped. Another suspect eventually pleaded guilty to manslaughter and was sentenced in 2003 to five years in prison. Two others were acquitted. In 2006, a Canadian commission of inquiry was appointed to examine the bombing. Its five-volume report, released in 2010, concluded that the disaster resulted from a "cascading series of errors" and that intelligence and security agencies and police had engaged in turf wars instead of sharing information.

In the 1990s, it became clear that the global village that has given us the tremendous ability to communicate and



The October Crisis, involving the FLQ (Front de libération du Québec) took place in Quebec in 1970.

share information had also imported foreign political grievances. At least two groups connected to al-Qaeda made their homes in Canada in the '90s, with a cell of the Armed Islamic Group operating in Montreal. Several of its members had trained in Afghanistan. A group in Toronto connected to Osama bin Laden raised funds for Islamist attacks overseas, including the 1995 bombing of the Egyptian embassy in Islamabad.

Al-Qaeda was founded by bin Laden in the late 1980s as a militant Islamist organization to provide a logistical network for Muslims fighting the Soviet Union during the Afghan War (1979-1989), which pitted

anti-communist Muslim guerrillas against the Soviet-supported communist Afghan government. The Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989 and al-Qaeda dispersed, continuing to oppose foreign (e.g., U.S.) presence in Islamic lands and what it considered corrupt Islamic regimes. After being based in Sudan, the group re-established its headquarters in Afghanistan around 1996, supported by the Taliban, which had emerged in Afghanistan during the civil disorder that followed the Soviets' withdrawal.

Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda blamed the West, particularly the U.S., for problems in the Islamic world, considering as infidel all nations not governed according to al-Qaeda's version of Islam. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Israel and United Nations organisations were also considered enemies. The group took particular exception to U.S. involvement in the Gulf War (1991) and the imprisonment of al-Qaeda members and associates. Bin Laden declared a jihad ("holy war") against the U.S. and in 2002, declared Canada a likely target.

#### **Al-Qaeda spawns home-grown terrorism**

The al-Qaeda attacks on Sept. 11, 2001, killed 3,000, including 24 Canadians, leading Canada to dispatch troops to Afghanistan and participate in the U.S.-led war on terrorism. Parliament passed Bill C-36, the *Anti-terrorism Act*, to amend the *Criminal Code* and expand the powers of government and security organisations to combat terrorism. Many feared the legislation was incompatible with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Among the recommendations of the Canadian Bar Association's review of the legislation in 2005 were a clear indication of Canada's international

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obligations, a consistent definition of terrorism, and the requirement for federal regulations to safeguard Canadians when sharing information with regimes that do not respect human rights.

Al-Qaeda has inspired home-grown terrorists in Canada as in other countries. In 2004, Ottawa-born Momin Khawaja, arrested for plotting to detonate bombs in the U.K., became the first person convicted under the Anti-terrorism Act (in 2008). An entire home-grown terrorist cell was arrested in 2006. After an elaborate sting operation, police arrested “the Toronto 18” and charged them with planning terrorist attacks. To protest Canada’s involvement in Afghanistan and inspired by violent jihadi videos, the Muslim men had planned to detonate truck bombs in Toronto at the Stock Exchange and CSIS offices, and to storm the Parliament buildings to take hostages and behead the prime minister. Eleven of the 18 were eventually found guilty, but the case was marred by skepticism concerning two infiltrators paid by the RCMP, numerous pre-trial motions that bogged down the proceedings, and the suspects themselves, who lacked credibility and were dismissed by some as “a bunch of bravado-filled but bumbling incompetents” incapable of realising their plans.

In 2008, Canadian diplomats, Robert Fowler and Louis Guay, were kidnapped by the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), al-Qaeda’s North African branch. They were held hostage with other captives for 130 days in the border regions of northern Niger and Mali. An al-Qaeda letter obtained later by The Associated Press suggests that their release came after a \$1-million dollar ransom was paid. The letter does not indicate who paid the ransom.

Most recently, jihadist violence has become more brutal in the hands of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL; also Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham, ISIS), an offshoot of al-Qaeda. As it imposes its own extreme version of Islamic law, it has violently seized large swaths of land in western and northern Iraq, expanding on its territory in neighbouring Syria.

#### ISIL exhorts murdering Canadians and Americans

Canada has joined a U.S.-led alliance to defeat ISIL. When U.S. President Barack Obama outlined a strategy to defeat ISIL, the terror organisation escalated its own propaganda campaign, encouraging jihadists to attack and kill Americans as well as Canadians, Australians and Europeans,

regardless of whether they are military or civilian. ISIL leader Abu Muhammad Al-Adnani has instructed his followers to “kill the disbeliever whether he is civilian or military, for they have the same ruling....Both of their blood and wealth is legal for you to destroy, for blood does not become illegal or legal to spill by the clothes being worn.” There was been speculation that Martin Couture-Rouleau, the driver who committed the hit-and-run in Quebec, was a “lone wolf” influenced by Al-Adnani.

With terrorist activity intensifying world-wide, national security is among the federal government’s primary concerns. The *CSIS Act* and the *Anti-terrorism Act* are inadequate to handle today’s threats. Bill C-44 expands CSIS’ reach by removing territorial restrictions on its activities, when permitted by a judge, even if that authority violates the laws of other countries. The new Act provides additional protection for CSIS agents by making it an offence to divulge information that would identify a CSIS employee and protects CSIS informants by granting them anonymity, conditions CSIS director Michel Coulombe says are crucial to ensuring informant co-operation. University of Ottawa law professor Craig Forcese has commented that he “knows of no other countries that have taken such explicit steps to make foreign spying appear lawful” (*Globe & Mail*, October 27, 2014).

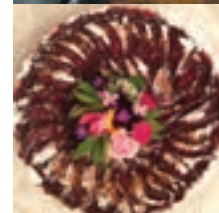
Public Safety Minister Steven Blaney has stated that the Bill needs to be passed without delay and that it complies fully with the Constitution. Others are not so sure, fearing that the Bill will step on our civil liberties. Following the October attacks, the public seems willing to embrace the new legislation. In a survey of Canadians by the *Vancouver Province*, more than half of respondents supported the new legislation and only 27 percent indicated that it tramples civil liberties; 22 percent of respondents thought it didn’t go far enough.

Will Canadians be required to give up some of their freedom for a sense of security? Is the alternative to live in fear? It appears that terrorism is not going away. Terrorist activity in the last decade shows how Canada’s political system is susceptible and vulnerable to misuse and abuse by terrorist and extremist groups that have been able to mobilise support within our communities, where Canadians want to trust others and embrace diversity.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is an Alberta writer and lifetime student of history.

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# Untapped Israel (now on tap)

By Eitan Weiss

On a late-summer day in front of Ottawa City Hall, thousands of beer lovers gathered to partake of one, two or several cold beverages. The atmosphere was just right. The sounds of great music and smells of good food filtered through the air. Originating from Peterborough, Perth, Kemptville and Stittsville and many places in between, more than 30 regional breweries had set up shop for the third annual National Capital Craft Beer Festival. Standing out in the pack, however, and coming 9,000 kilometres for this special event was Israel's Alexander Brewery and its affable brewmaster, Ori Sagy.

There is something unique about beer, something universal. It is not a coincidence that beer is found on every continent and in every culture. Beer is an essential element in the human desire to celebrate life. It also goes back to the very beginnings of civilisation. More than 6,000 years ago, beer was invented by the ancient Sumerians in the Middle East. Historians point to evidence that beer was consumed by the Babylonians, Egyptians and throughout the "cradle of civilisation."

Today, with the help of Mr. Sagy, beer culture in the Middle East is making a comeback and a craft beer industry has emerged in Israel. As Israeli brewmasters excel on the international stage and look to forge partnerships in an increasingly globalised industry, our embassy recognised an opportunity to promote Israel's nascent sector and offer Canadians a new perspective on its vibrant multicultural society with a growing reputation for great music, art, food and drink.

Beer's ability to create new bonds makes it an excellent untapped tool for public diplomacy. Moreover, craft beer, which brings together those with a true passion for the taste of the product rather than its intoxicating potential, is even more effective. In our experience this past summer, we found two unique features of beer diplomacy: First, it engages the average Canadian; and second, it allows for serendipitous connections.

A quick scan of Ottawa's public diplomacy landscape reveals a bias towards elitist, "high-art" cultural events: wine and exotic food tastings, vernissages,



Ori Sagy is the affable brewmaster at Israel's Alexander Brewery.

museum exhibitions, ballet performances, jazz shows, chamber music offerings and photography exhibits. While all of these certainly have an important place, they simply mirror the tastes of diplomats and create a blindspot to the leisure activities of the general public. Public diplomacy must go where the public goes. The average Canadian does not dress in formal wear or spend his or her leisure time in dark rooms; rather, the average Canadian seeks out popular culture and more inclusive events.

At this summer's beer festival, I saw hundreds of Canadians from all walks of life eagerly approaching Alexander Brewery's booth. Ori Sagy warmly received them and was quick to offer one of his cold beers. I overheard many of the conversations and a pattern emerged: people were amazed that Israel, of all places, brewed great craft beer. The buzz generated by extensive media coverage (four local and one national news story) and word-of-mouth made the Israeli booth the hit of the festival.

While we achieved our goal of giving the average "beer-drinking" Canadian a positive experience, what we did not expect were the connections and spin-offs

from this event. Mr. Sagy forged a special bond with festival founder and Turtle Island Brewing owner, J.P. Fournier. This friendship came to be after an incredible coincidence — the two breweries proudly brandish turtles in their logos. The two men shared a passion for beer and the same slow, turtle-like approach to brewing. They decided to turn this inspirational experience into a lasting partnership by agreeing to brew a special Canada-Israel friendship beer, which has since been put into production.

Public diplomacy has quickly emerged as a core element of any embassy. Recently, the buzz is over digital diplomacy and using social media to reach new audiences. However, at the end of the day, the key to any effective campaign comes down to tactile experiences that leave a lasting positive impression. The Embassy of Israel learned that beer, when used appropriately, can foster connections with a wide range of audiences, in a way that is unmatched by elitist activities and digital technologies.

Eitan Weiss is the spokesman and head of public diplomacy at the Embassy of Israel.



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# The end of the Middle East?

By Robert D. Kaplan

**G**eopolitics is based on the eternal verities of geography, and that means relatively little in geopolitics comes to an end. The Warsaw Pact may have dissolved following the collapse of the Berlin Wall, but Russia is still big and it still lies next door to Central and Eastern Europe, so a Russian threat to Europe still exists. Japan may have been defeated and flattened by the U.S. military in the Second World War, but its dynamic population — the gift of a temperate-zone climate — still projects power in the Pacific Basin and may do so even more in the years to come. The United States may have committed one blunder after another in Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan, yet through all of these misbegotten wars, it remains by a yawning margin the greatest military power on earth — the gift, ultimately, of America being a virtual island nation of continental proportions, as well as the last resource-rich swath of the temperate zone to be settled at the time of the European Enlightenment.

So we come to the Middle East, which, despite all its changes and upheavals in the course of the decades and all the prognostications of a U.S. “pivot” to the Pacific, remains vital to the United States. Israel is a de facto strategic ally of the United States and, for more than six decades now, has remained embattled, necessitating American protection. The Persian Gulf region is still the hydrocarbon capital of the world and thus a premier American interest. Certainly, officials in Washington would like to shift focus to the Pacific, but the Middle East simply won’t allow that to happen. And yet, there is an ongoing evolution in America’s relationship with the region, and attrition of the same can add up to big change.

## Energy-independent North America

For decades the Persian Gulf represented a primary American interest: a place that was crucial to the well-being of the American economy. The American economy is the great oil and automotive economy of the modern age, with interstate highways the principal transport link for an entire continent. And Persian Gulf oil was a key to that enterprise. But increasingly the Persian Gulf represents only a second-



An American F/A-18 launches from the flight deck of an aircraft carrier. It is involved in U.S. security operations in Iraq and Syria.

ary interest to the United States: a region important to the well-being of American allies, to be sure, and to world trade and the world economic system in general, but not specifically crucial to America itself — the war to defeat the Islamic State notwithstanding. However much oil the United States is still importing from the Persian Gulf, the fact is that America will have more energy alternatives at home and abroad in future decades.

Indeed, the United States is on the brink of being, in some sense, energy self-sufficient within Greater North America, from the tar sands of Alberta to the oil fields of Venezuela. U.S. President Barack Obama may veto the Keystone Pipeline System that would bring oil from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, but industry experts believe that the future will, in any case, see continued co-operation between the United States and Canada in the energy sector. There is, too, the vast exploitation of shale gas in Texas, Louisiana, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. U.S. companies will, in addition, probably be investing more in the Mexican and (eventually) Venezuelan energy industries in the future, following increasing economic liberalisation in Mexico City

and the possible, eventual passing of the Chavista era in Caracas. All this serves to separate the United States from the Middle East.

While the United States will have less and less need of Middle East hydrocarbons, the Middle East will, for years to come, be consumed by internal political chaos that itself exposes the limits of American power. In the era of strong authoritarian Arab states, American power was easy to project. It was just a matter of U.S. diplomats brokering peace treaties, separation of forces agreements, secret understandings and the establishment of diplomatic relations between Israel and some of its neighbours. After all, Egypt, Syria, Jordan and other Arab countries all had just one phone number to call — that of the dictator or monarch in charge. But whom do you phone now in Tripoli, Sana’a or Damascus (even if Cairo is temporarily back under military dictatorship)? With no one really in charge, it is harder to bring American pressure to bear. Chaos, in and of itself, stymies U.S. power.

## Rebuilding Islamic societies from within

The United States remains a global behemoth. And U.S. power, particularly mili-



tary power, can accomplish many things. The United States can defend Japan and Taiwan against China, South Korea against North Korea, Poland against Russia, and ultimately, Israel against Iran. But one thing American power cannot accomplish, as a decade in Iraq and Afghanistan showed, is to rebuild complex Islamic societies from within. And rebuilding societies from within will be the fundamental challenge faced by the Arab world for at least the next half-decade. Thus, America, in spite of its latest military intervention, becomes less relevant to the region even as the region itself no longer represents quite the primary interest to America that it used to. We should keep this in mind now that the war against the Islamic State threatens to distract us from other theatres.



Barack Obama's presidency is a sign of the more limited interests the U.S. has in the Middle East due to changing petro-powers.

So in the glacial changes that often define geopolitics, the United States is moving away from the Middle East. This occurs as the Middle East itself slowly dissolves into a Greater Indian Ocean world.

For, as the United States requires fewer and fewer hydrocarbons from the Middle East, China and India require more and more. Their economies may have slowed, but they are still growing. The Persian Gulf can — in the final analysis — erupt into a nuclear firestorm and America will survive well, thank you. But China and India will have the greater problem. China does not have a foreign policy so much as a resource-acquisition policy. Not only is it increasingly involved in energy deals with Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Iran, China is currently trying to build, run or help finance container ports in Tanzania and

Pakistan in order to eventually transport commercial goods from the western rim of the Indian Ocean to the eastern rim and on into China itself. And while all this is happening, Oman, for example, plans to build routes and pipelines from outside the Strait of Hormuz to countries inside the strait, even as China and India have visionary plans to link energy-rich and landlocked Central Asia by pipeline to both western China and the Indian Ocean.

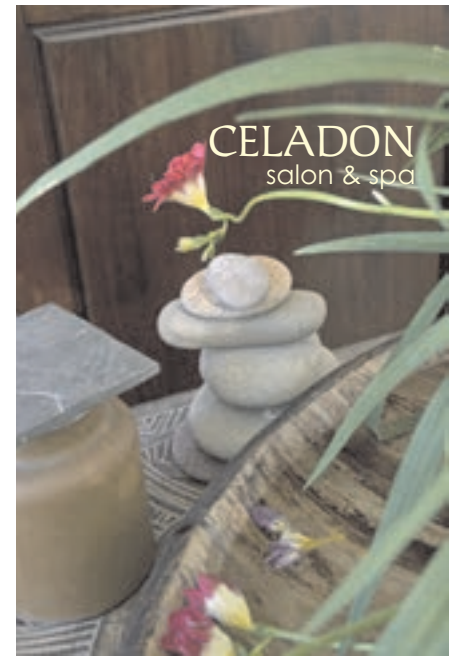
#### Less U.S. focus on the Middle East

In this evolving strategic geography of the early- and mid-21st Century, the Middle East slowly becomes a world defined less by its own conflict and trading system and more by a conflict and trading system that spans the whole navigable southern rimland of the Eurasian supercontinent, with tentacles reaching north into Central Asia. The Indian Ocean thus emerges as the global hydrocarbon interstate linking the oil and gas fields of the Persian Gulf with the urban middle class concentrations of the Indian subcontinent and East Asia.

In such a scenario, the United States does not desert the Middle East, just as China and India do not greatly infiltrate it. But there is movement — especially psychological — away from one reality and toward another. And in the process, the Middle East as a clearly defined region of 20th Century area studies means less than it used to.

Boiled down to the current newspaper headlines, Obama has not been irresponsible by refusing to get more involved than he has in the sectarian chaos of Syria and deciding for so long to withhold military action against Iran's nuclear facilities. His presidency is simply a sign of the times: a sign of the limits of U.S. power and of the more limited interests the United States has in the Middle East, terrorism excepted. The opening to Iran, as demonstrated by the interim agreement concerning Tehran's nuclear program, is part of this shift. The United States is trying to put its house in order in the Middle East through a rapprochement of sorts with the mullahs so that it can devote more time to other regions. Of course, this has been upended by the war against the Islamic State. But it will remain an overriding American goal nevertheless.

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# A Canadian lab's Ebola experience

By Harvey Artsob



A succession of scientists at the National Microbiology Lab in Winnipeg have been leaders in contributing to the fight against Ebola, including the development of new therapeutics.

**A**n Ebola outbreak is currently raging in West Africa at a pace never seen in all past epidemics caused by Ebola virus. It is posing a severe challenge not only to the countries directly affected, where containment of the disease has not yet happened, but to countries worldwide, as concern mounts about the spread of the virus by travellers and health-care workers who have dealt with sick patients.

It is worth noting that Canada is playing an important role in the fight against

Ebola. It is donating equipment and supplies, providing in-country diagnostic support and pioneering the development of therapeutics that show great promise in the fight against the Ebola virus.

## What is Ebola?

Ebola is a serious viral disease first recognised in 1976. Prior to the ongoing epidemic in West Africa (Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia), it has caused smaller outbreaks in Central Africa. The initial symptoms of Ebola-infected individuals

are not particularly specific — fever, headache, nausea and diarrhea — and are similar to symptoms of other disease-causing agents. The disease typically progresses to more characteristic symptoms, including vomiting blood, nose bleeds, bloody stool and bleeding from many different body sites. Bodily fluids contain high levels of virus and are extremely infectious.

Different strains of Ebola exist, with the Zaire strain causing the highest known fatality rate, up to 90 percent. It is this Zaire strain, or a close relative, that is causing



the current outbreak in West Africa. Although most Ebola strains circulate only in Africa, there is one strain, called Reston, that is found in the Philippines. Fortunately, this strain does not appear to cause disease in humans.

The Ebola virus exists quietly in nature in a cycle that likely involves fruit bats. Every so often, it makes a leap into humans, possibly by human contact with the infected reservoir, or by hunting and butchering of infected wildlife, most notably great apes. Once the Ebola virus crosses over into humans, human-to-human transmission occurs by direct contact with live or deceased patients and their bodily fluids. Health-care workers and close family members are at particular risk of contracting the disease from these individuals.

#### Establishing a Winnipeg lab

In 1990, plans began to build a new state-of-the-art microbiology laboratory for what was then Health Canada (now the Public Health Agency of Canada) and to relocate the major component of laboratory testing from Ottawa to Winnipeg. Program scientists met with the architects to plan the layout of the new laboratory.

One important question was whether to include what is now known as a Biosafety Level-4 (BSL-4) lab within the new complex. (Microbial agents are placed into four different biosafety levels — BSL — for work in a laboratory. The least dangerous, posing low individual and community risk, are categorised as BSL-1 agents and are unlikely to cause disease in healthy workers or animals. Agents at BSL-2 are of moderate individual risk and low community risk. Examples would be the bacterium that causes Lyme disease and dengue virus.

Then we have more dangerous agents — those categorised as BSL-3 and BSL-4 organisms — that require higher containment, more sophisticated engineering and more rigorous procedures. Agents at BSL-3 pose high individual risk, but low community risk as they do not spread by casual contact from one individual to another or are treatable by anti-microbial or anti-parasitic drugs.

The pinnacle of biocontainment is found in BSL-4 labs, which work with agents that are almost exclusively viruses, although certain multi-drug-resistant tuberculosis strains have been studied in BSL-4 labs, too. Most BSL-4 viruses are little known to the public — they cause such diseases as Argentinian hemorrhagic fever and Bolivian hemorrhagic fever —



Of more than 17,290 reported cases of Ebola, 10,825 were lab-confirmed and 6,128 people had died by press time in December. Actual numbers are much larger. Here, in the high-mortality Monrovia region of Liberia, people gather for assessment by health workers.

but some of the better known ones include Ebola, Lassa fever and smallpox.

The question of whether to have a BSL-4 lab in the Winnipeg facility was not as simple as it might seem. Construction of BSL-4 facilities, which require a box-within-a-box concept, requires special ventilation, sewage disposal and multiple backup systems. They are extremely costly not only to build, but also to maintain. However, after careful consideration and thanks to the leadership and vision of Dr. Joe Losos, director-general of the Laboratory Centre for Disease Control at that time, a BSL-4 laboratory was included in the plans.

That decision was made in light of the increasing importance of emerging diseases and the fact that Canada had to rely on the U.S. Center for Disease Control (CDC) whenever a suspected case of a Level-4 virus infection, such as Ebola or Lassa fever, was encountered in Canada.

Looking at all the events that have occurred since 1990, including multiple outbreaks of Ebola, the identification of new

Level-4 viruses such as Nipah virus and the increased concern about bioterrorism, building a BSL-4 lab was a wise decision. The Winnipeg laboratory, now known as the National Microbiology Laboratory (NML), has contributed significantly in the battle against the Ebola virus.

#### A Level-4 lab in Winnipeg — early days

Construction of the NML occurred throughout the 1990s, culminating in the relocation of Ottawa staff to Winnipeg in 1998. This laboratory is renowned for its work in many areas of microbiology, including housing one of the few BSL-4 laboratories to be found worldwide. Level-4 laboratories are equipped to work with viruses, such as Ebola, which have high fatality rates with no licensed vaccines or treatments and would be a threat to the community if released from containment. Extreme precautions are taken in constructing and maintaining Level-4 laboratories. All staff are well trained and must follow rigorous protocols.

Extensive work went into the construction, certification and preparedness for Canada's first Level-4 laboratory. A biosafety expert with experience in Level-4 laboratory work, Dr. Mike Kiley, was recruited to oversee construction and a blue ribbon panel of experts was consulted. Health Canada scientists joined a World Health Organization-led project in West Africa (Cote d'Ivoire) in 1996 and 1997, aimed at determining the natural reservoir of the Ebola virus, to give themselves experience in working with a Level-4 virus and to help establish international credentials.



The Ebola virus up close.



UN health workers in Liberia do their part to contain the virus and help those afflicted.

Following the opening of the laboratory in 1998, a lot of work went into proper certification of facilities and in June 2000, the first Level-4 virus strains arrived at the NML. All steps were taken in consultation with a community liaison committee and efforts were made to keep the public fully informed.

#### Canada's contributions to the fight against the Ebola virus

The Canadian laboratory was able to recruit an exceptional scientist, Dr. Heinz Feldmann, from Marburg, Germany, as chief of the Special Pathogens (Level-4 lab) Program. His leadership was key to getting the scientific program off on a strong footing for the quality of the science and the diagnostic capability offered by NML. Soon after the program started, Dr. Frank Plummer, a renowned researcher in the field of HIV, became scientific director-general of the NML. Dr. Plummer provided excellent support for Level-4 activities, allowing the scientists

freedom to develop their own scientific interests within the framework of their public health responsibilities and fully backing NML's role as an active partner in responding to outbreaks of diseases such as Ebola. Dr. Feldmann left NML in 2008 for a job at the Rocky Mountain Lab in the United States and a Canadian scientist, Gary Kobinger, was recruited as chief of the program. Dr. Kobinger has not only maintained the lab's high standards, he and his staff have been leaders in contributing to the fight against Ebola, including the continuing development of new therapeutics.

#### A mobile lab for outbreak responses

The NML looked to play a role in international outbreak responses and carved a special niche by developing a mobile lab capability that was immediately embraced by the WHO. The mobile lab, sometimes referred to as a lab-within-a-suitcase, was initially deployed in response to an Ebola outbreak around 2003.

The mobile laboratory provides a safe, rapid and flexible platform to offer effective diagnosis of the Ebola virus and other infectious agents, such as the protozoa that causes malaria or bacteria responsible for enteric diseases. A rapid diagnosis is critical to patient isolation and treatment as well as contact tracing in an attempt to stop further cases from occurring.

The mobile lab can be set up quickly and may be used in remote settings. Most testing is undertaken to determine the possible occurrence of pathogens in patient clinical samples by looking for the genetic material of the respective pathogen. This test is safe, as chemicals are added to the samples that will inactivate all pathogens that might be present. And it is rapid, providing test results in only a few hours.

The NML mobile lab has been deployed to investigate outbreaks of different diseases beyond Ebola, including SARS, Nipah, Rift Valley fever and Marburg, another filovirus (meaning thread-like in appearance) and, thus a distant relative of the filovirus known as the Ebola virus. At press time, the lab was being used in Sierra Leone to help combat the current Ebola outbreak. Many other countries have followed the Canadian lead and have developed a mobile lab capability.

#### Possible therapeutics developed at NML

There are no vaccines currently licensed to combat Ebola although several candidate vaccines exist, including the promising VSV-EBOV, developed by the NML. Trials to document the Canadian vaccine's safety and efficacy are under way and the government has donated 800 vials to the WHO for use under the challenging circumstances posed by the current West African Ebola outbreak.

The Canadian vaccine uses a strategy whereby an attenuated (weakened) recombinant virus, called vesicular stomatitis virus, which causes mild or no disease in humans, has a gene inserted that allows it to express (make) the Ebola virus glycoprotein. Antibodies are produced to this Ebola virus glycoprotein antigen and are presumed to neutralise the Ebola virus, hence stopping virus multiplication in the infected individual. To date, the vaccine has proven to be 100 percent protective in animals given one dose and challenged with live virus four weeks later. It has also shown promise in protecting some animals from disease if given after exposure to the Ebola virus. It was 33 percent effective 30 to 60 minutes after infection and zero percent effective after 24 hours.



The International Committee of the Red Cross has also been working in Liberia.



This vaccine has been used once in humans under exceptional circumstances. In 2009, a German scientist had a possible needle stick exposure to the Ebola virus and a request was made for the Canadian vaccine. The vaccine was administered to this individual, who recovered fully, with no ill effects from the virus or vaccine. However, it is not clear whether she was, in fact, infected with the virus and conclusions cannot be drawn from just one event.

#### Monoclonal antibody therapeutics

A mixture of three monoclonal antibodies made against different components of the Ebola virus has been developed and tested by the NML in collaboration with American scientists. It is known as ZMapp and has been shown to completely protect rhesus macaque monkeys up to five days after infection with the Ebola virus. The antibodies in this mixture are designed to bind to the protein of the Ebola virus, neutralising the virus and preventing it from doing further damage to the infected host.

The ZMapp therapeutic has not been validated in humans to date, but it was used on compassionate grounds to treat a small number of Ebola patients during the ongoing outbreak. The current supply of ZMapp has been exhausted, but more is being produced. Mapp BioPharmaceuticals has licensed this drug and is conducting the next stages of research needed to seek regulatory approval. Plans are being made to scale up production. Accelerated trials have been set to determine the safety and efficacy of this treatment for humans.

It was my pleasure to direct the NML scientific program that deals with zoonotic diseases (such as Ebola, which are maintained in nature by animals, but transmissible to humans) from its planning inception in 1990 until my retirement in 2010. I have had the privilege of working with exceptional and dedicated individuals at all levels (scientific, technical and biosafety) who are too numerous to identify by name. Their contributions have helped make Canadians safer from the threat of communicable diseases, at home and when travelling abroad.

**Dr. Harvey Artsob** was founding director of the Zoonotic Diseases and Special Pathogens program at the National Microbiology Laboratory of the Public Health Agency of Canada in Winnipeg with a cross appointment as adjunct associate professor in the department of Medical Microbiology at the University of Manitoba.

#### EBOLA-FIGHTING VACCINES AND DRUGS

2015 may be the year of Ebola vs. knock-out vaccines and drugs. Scientists at Canada's National Microbiology Lab (NML) in Winnipeg and in the U.S. developed the promising ZMapp anti-Ebola drug, used to treat infected U.S. doctor, Kent Brantly, and Spanish nurse, Teresa Romero. Both survived.

NML scientists injected Rhesus macaques with the Ebola virus and later gave them the ZMapp drug cocktail. They all survived in apparent good health.

Also, at the NML, part of the Public Health Agency of Canada, scientists developed the VSV-EBOV vaccine to protect against Ebola. Researchers at Halifax's IWK Health Centre at press time had vaccinated 28 healthy volunteers of their goal of 40, using part of a protein that covers the Ebola virus, to avoid using a live virus component. Early results on vaccine reactions were scheduled for the end of December and on immune response by the end of January.

To widely produce the vaccine, the Canadian government has licensed U.S.-based NewLink Genetics which, in turn, has licensed pharmaceutical giant, Merck.

The TKM-Ebola drug that Ebola-survivor and U.S. physician Rick Sacra received was developed by Vancouver-based Tekmira Pharmaceuticals and mostly funded by the U.S. Department of Defense. And U.S.-based Johnson & Johnson (J&J) plans to make at least one million doses of its own vaccine in 2015 (250,000 by May), according to Reuters.

Human trials of J&J's vaccine start in January on healthy volunteers in Africa, the U.S. and Europe. The U.S. National Institutes of Health and J&J discovered the vaccine, which relies on technology from Denmark's Bavarian Nordic company. J&J's Crucell unit in the Netherlands developed the two-injection vaccine, which has been effective in protecting macaque monkeys from Ebola.

Britain's GlaxoSmithKline (GSK) planned to provide small quantities of its single-shot vaccine to the World Health Organization, and others, by the end of 2014.

The CEOs of rivals J&J and GSK are collaborating and may combine their vaccines. — *Diplomat staff*



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# How could Russia do it?

By Andrew Tytarenko



Russia turned a majority of Ukrainians who don't live in Crimea or in the separatist regions of Lugansk and Donetsk (pictured here) from friends to enemies, according to our writer, who cites poll results.

**W**hy did Russia make its move on Ukraine in March 2014? It's clear now that Russian President Vladimir Putin wants and needs to tie Ukraine to Russia's political, military, and economic chariot. If one disregards the "Russki Mir" propaganda — Mr. Putin's self-created soft-power foundation, designed to promote the Russian language and Russia as a global power — or speculations about Mr. Putin's imperial aspirations, Russia's true motivations become clear.

The rational reasons Russia clings to Ukraine are its interdependence in the military and aerospace industries, Ukraine's position as a market for Russian goods, primarily natural gas, and Ukraine's role as a buffer between Russia and NATO. It has a population of 144 million (not including Crimea) and a GDP of \$2.63-trillion. Russia has a land border running 20,241 kilometres — 1,974 kilometres of which border Ukraine. It cannot, demographically or economically, afford

adequate defence of its borders on land, and especially on sea if it comes into direct contact with NATO, China and countries such as Afghanistan or Iran.

Currently, Russia's long southern border in Asia is separated from potential threats by an array of Central Asian satellite countries, and Mongolia. However, Russia is losing its grip on Central Asia to China's influence: Turkmenistan has practically been lost already. Relations with Uzbekistan are complicated, and, even in the case of Kazakhstan, all is not rosy. The south of Central Asia also experiences infiltration of fundamentalist movements from Afghanistan. Given this situation, Russia needs a buffer space, particularly in the west, to balance its resources and feel secure. Its alliance with Belarus partially serves this goal. While Ukraine was friendly and non-aligned, it also worked effectively as a buffer state between Russia and NATO. The annexation of Crimea and subsequent conflict in Eastern Ukraine are scenarios very few could have imagined.

Neither seemed to be of much use to Russia, and yet, it happened nonetheless.

## What are the results for Russia?

The consequences of the conflict for Russia have already been serious. As more time passes, Russia will only come to feel the pain more acutely, regardless of the sanctions. Russia has, for example, become toxic to foreign investors, as does any unpredictable player. It will be exceedingly difficult for Russia to develop the mineral resources in its vast Asian territories without attracting investors.

In addition, there are quite a few immediate consequences of Russia's decision to engage Ukraine in this act of war. Ukrainian support for closer integration with Russia and Belarus fell from 58 percent in 2011 to 21 percent in 2014, while disapproval of such an alliance grew from 22 percent to 56 percent during the same period. At the end of July, Ukrainian support for integration into NATO reached 59 percent, as compared to 45 percent in June



and 10 percent in 2012. Meanwhile, 37 percent of Ukrainians consider NATO membership to be the only viable protection against Russian aggression. According to August polling, 39.5 percent of Ukrainians named Poland among friendly countries for Ukraine, 36 percent named the U.S., 26 percent named Georgia, 19 percent said Lithuania; 18.6 percent, Germany; 18.5 percent, Canada; 16 percent, the U.K. and 13.8 percent, Latvia. Russia scored only 0.6 percent, indicating that it is uniformly not considered a friendly country by Ukrainians.

The recent Ukrainian Parliamentary elections also demonstrated fundamental change in the attitude of Ukrainians. The only openly pro-Russian Opposition Block (which is the remains of the formerly powerful Party of Regions) landed just 10 percent support on the proportional vote list. The other five political parties who won the election have all taken pro-Western positions. The election fight demonstrated that even alleged suspicion of co-operation with Russia or with Mr. Putin can severely undermine the chances of a particular candidate. The Parliament that was elected will still carry some characteristics of the past because half of it was elected on the basis of electoral districts, but the overall attitude of the voters became very clear: "Go West".

As a result of the conflict, Russia turned a majority of Ukrainians who don't live in Crimea or in the separatist regions of Lugansk and Donetsk from friends into enemies. The elections, held in these enclaves in November 2014, produced the formal pro-Russian result, but these elections were not democratic, and do not reflect the general attitude of the population. The economic problems of these regions have only started to materialise, while locals are terrorised by semi-criminal field commanders who are out of control. This means Russia turned a big part of its long, once-friendly and unprotected border with Ukraine into a border marked by unstable criminalised enclaves.

Furthermore, in early October, units of the U.S. 1st Cavalry Division were deployed in the Baltic states, a couple hundred kilometres from St. Petersburg. Never before have NATO attack capabilities been displayed so close to Russia's vital centres. Finland is now considering joining NATO, and even in Belarus, 25 percent of the people are ready for armed resistance if they are invaded by Russia, while the plan for a new Russian base in Belarus is approved of by only 15 percent of Belarusians, with 45 percent disapprov-

ing. The security buffer separating Russia from NATO has been eroded, and, after the conflict ends, Russia will have to deal with an entirely unprecedented situation at its western borders. Significantly, even two of Russia's closest allies, Belarus and Kazakhstan, have condemned Russian involvement in the conflict in Ukraine. This

it now needs all it has for domestic use. Ukraine essentially has no alternative to cutting off the power supply to Crimea during the cold months.

Parts of Donetsk and the Lugansk regions, which are under Russian control, include deeply depressed mining areas. Together with Crimea, they will soon



Ukraine's two separatist regions, Lugansk and Donetsk, are pictured above.

is a worrying sign for Russia, which now has to mind the stability of the Eurasia Union.

#### Urals crude falls below safe price level

All of these developments have happened against the backdrop of the explosive situation in the Russian economy, according to Alexey Ulyukayev, Russia's minister of the economy. Inflation was at 8 percent in October, and the projected growth of the GNP for 2014 is a meagre 1 percent. In October, Russian Urals crude traded \$10-\$14 below the "safe" \$95/barrel margin for Russia and has been falling since July. Russia is also about to lose its second-largest gas market — Ukraine. Meanwhile, none of Russia's recent acquisitions can sustain themselves economically. The logistics of getting from Russia to Crimea across the Kerch Strait are a nightmare, and as soon as the strait freezes, the peninsula will face a serious shortage of basic supplies. Ukraine has already warned that power to Crimea will be cut off as the weather gets colder: Ukraine's own power generation is impacted by the conflict, and

become a heavy burden on the already-deficient Russian budget. During the summer, Russian armed forces were stretched to their limit. Hundreds in the Russian military were killed, and thousands wounded, not to mention the loss of untold numbers of Russian volunteers and mercenaries. Moreover, unexpectedly for the Kremlin, the extreme left and extreme right nationalist forces in Russia rallied behind the banner of Novorossia, which the Kremlin invented specifically as justification for plans to split Ukraine. Russian nationalists see Novorossia as a dreamland — another Russia, without Mr. Putin, corruption and oligarchs. Unfortunately, Novorossia advocates see their dreamland without Ukrainians or Jews; which evokes unfortunate memories from the past century. On the Russian side, Mr. Putin now faces a nationalist opposition from within that's heavily armed, combat-ready, experienced and well-organised. He can only expect more such opponents to eventually come back from Ukraine. In short, after seven months of confrontation with Ukraine, Russia is facing mounting

economic, political and military difficulties, with no clear end in sight. All of these problems could have been predicted, but Russia nevertheless embarked on a war with Ukraine immediately after the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity.

#### Why Russia gambled with war

Russia had two possible strategies for addressing the challenges posed by the Ukrainian events. First, it could have reached out and assisted the new Ukraine in getting on its feet, solidifying the affinity between the Russian and Ukrainian nations. At the time, Ukrainian leadership was weak and regardless of how pro-Western it was, it would have followed the mood of the people. This seems to be a simple and obvious course of action, especially considering that the overthrown regime of Viktor Yanukovich was ruthless, corrupt, violent and almost universally hated. Such a move would have allowed Russia to win the hearts of Ukrainians. Second was the path Russia did pick: to use this moment of weakness on the part of Ukraine to split the country and grab whatever Russia needed, by force. Unfortunately, the history of Russia's actual perception of Ukraine made this choice inevitable.

In April 2008, during his exchange with George W. Bush at the Bucharest NATO-Russia Summit, Mr. Putin spelled out his view of Ukraine and it has been consistent ever since. According to the Russian president, Ukraine is not a real state, and merely consists of territories that belong to Eastern Europe or are a gift from Russia. The historic justification for this view is questionable at best. The fact that the majority of Ukrainians

in the East and South speak Russian was the primary argument on which Russian analysts relied. Despite the fact that speaking English does not make the Irish, Americans, Canadians or Nigerians British, by virtue of some distorted logic, Russians believed that speaking Russian makes Ukrainians Russian. Later, Russian propaganda even came up with a theory that the Ukrainian language was invented by the Austro-Hungarian Army's General Staff to sabotage the Russian Empire. Any person who is faintly aware of the history of the Russian Empire can easily see just how ridiculous such claims are. Nevertheless, Russian propagandists were intent on convincing the populations of Russia and Ukraine that Ukrainian statehood and the Ukrainian nation are artificial constructs, created by the West to isolate part of the Russian nation and undermine its power.

#### Ukrainians' growing patriotic nationalism

The source of these ideas can be narrowed down to the Izborsky Club, a group of Russian intellectuals that includes Putin advisers Sergei Glaziev and Alexander Dugin, writer Alexander Prokhanov, economists Mikhail Delyagin and Mikhail Khazin, Physics Nobel Prize laureate Zhores Alferov, retired general Leonid Ivashov, political scientist Natalia Narochnitskaya and Mr. Putin's "spiritual adviser," Russian Orthodox Church Bishop Father Tikhon Shevkunov, among others. The concepts developed inside the Izborsky Club are ridiculous, but extensive, and carefully crafted propaganda transformed these concepts into the beliefs of the majority of Russians. The impact of Russian propaganda in Ukraine was just the opposite: Ukrainian citizens

have been gradually growing more patriotic and more self-aware as Ukrainians.

The propaganda campaign was just a reflection of the acceptance of these principles at a decision-making level. By 2014, these concepts had been accepted as truth by the people and the country leadership. Additional factors contributing to Mr. Putin's decision had to be intelligence information concerning the weakness of the Ukrainian armed forces, which only had about 6,000 combat-ready men with functioning weapons at the end of 2013, as well as reports of the vast majority of Ukrainians' distaste for the corrupt and arrogant central government of Viktor Yanukovich. Finally, Russian leadership genuinely considered the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity as a special operation of the Western secret services. This is a natural way of thinking for the ex-KGB crowd, now known as the government of the Russian Federation. It also aligns with the core concepts of the Russian perception of Ukraine. The immediate conclusion one could draw from these points is that the Ukrainian Revolution of Dignity was an artificial coup in an artificially created country, and as such, it cannot resonate with most people.

#### Russia's miscalculations

Within this ideological framework, after the demise of the Yanukovich regime, Russia faced an artificially created state, with an artificially installed regime in a population that identified as Russian, practically no armed forces and no support across the country for the government. Given this mindset, it was absolutely natural for the Russian leadership to expect that a small push would be enough



WFP/Rein Skallerud

## Ebola Outbreak

WFP has launched a regional emergency operation to provide food assistance for around 1.3 million people in the three most affected countries: Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Food is being distributed to people under medical quarantine or confined to their villages, people under treatment, and their relatives.



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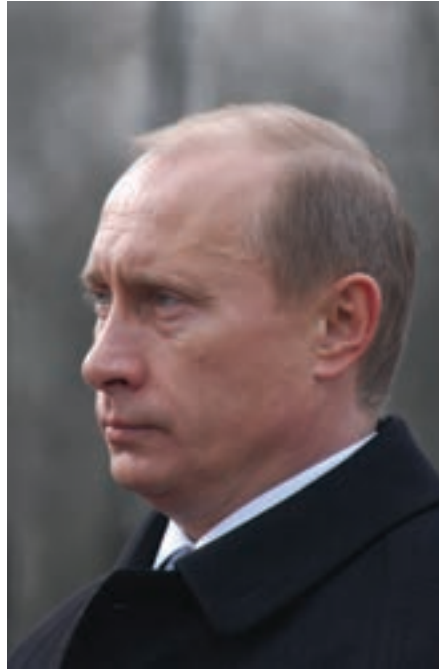


for the Ukrainian state to fall like a house of cards. It was also natural to start from Crimea, where pro-Russian sentiment was strong and Russia had a military presence. Crimea, as a part of Russia, bordering a united Ukraine, makes no economic or political sense, but Crimea as a trigger for the expected dissociation of Ukraine was an optimal choice.

Expanding into the Russian-speaking region of Eastern Ukraine was a logical second step. The expectation that the pro-Russian uprising in Donetsk and Lugansk would quickly spread to the Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhya and Kherson regions was also natural for the Russian leadership, considering the Kremlin's confusion of nationality with spoken language. Such a development would open the continental connection to Crimea, and give Russia control of the key industrial assets it needs. At the second stage, Russia expected similar developments in Odessa (Ukraine's fourth largest city) and Mykolayiv provinces. This would give Russia control of all it needs regarding the military industry, the Odessa port and a continental connection to Transnistria, a breakaway sliver of land on the eastern border of Moldova and Ukraine that has declared itself a nation. It would also serve as a buffer region between Russia and the pro-Western area of Ukraine. Clearly, if such a quick development were to transpire, the West would have to work hard to refrain from an escalation in the confrontation with the winner. But the plan did not work out, since it was based on Russia's distorted perception of Ukrainian realities.

The Russian takeover of Crimea caused Ukrainians to unite and forget about their minor differences. The armed forces were quickly restored by the government, volunteers and oligarchs, and Russia barely managed to install pro-Russian governance in parts of the Lugansk and Donetsk regions. There were no mass pro-

Russian uprisings elsewhere in Ukraine. As soon as it became clear that Ukraine had survived the first blow and the Russian plan had failed, the West called Mr.



Russian President Vladimir Putin saw the uprising against former Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovich as a special operation of the West.

Putin's bluff and gradually applied sting- ing sanctions against Russia.

#### Putin's next three possible moves

The key miscalculation in the Russian plan was that it did not factor in the Ukrainian people. "We, The People" is a foreign concept for dictators and ex-KGB officers such as Mr. Putin and his mistake was to see the uprising against the ruthless and thievish Yanukovich regime as a special operation of the West. The rise in patriotic sentiment of the majority of Ukrainians

was another nasty surprise for Mr. Putin, who expected that regular citizens would see Russia as a liberator from the artificially installed yoke of Ukrainian nationalists. The power of the extreme nationalists was also grossly overestimated. In an embarrassing goof, on the day of the presidential elections, the Russian media aired what was apparently "inside data from Ukraine" that gave the extreme nationalist Right Sector party's candidate, Dmitry Yarosh, 36 percent of the vote and first place. In the end, he actually scored slightly more than one percent and finished in last place.

The ultimate result of the war Russia started, grounded in a false concept of Ukraine, is the dead-end situation in which it now finds itself. Mr. Putin cannot back down because of the inevitable public opinion backlash that will arise inside the country. He must also now solve the supply problems. As a matter of fact, the optimisation of logistics was the true reason behind the 1954 transfer of Crimea to Ukraine. He can try to negotiate some kind of deal with the Ukrainian leadership to ease the pressure on Crimea, but this will be nothing more than a temporary solution. Russia can seek to corrupt the Ukrainian leadership into becoming pro-Russian, or it can attempt renewed military action. But Ukraine was changed by the Revolution of Dignity. Corrupt Ukrainian leadership will eventually be forced out onto the street while its military grows ever stronger. International sanctions have turned Mr. Putin into a problem for Russia's own oligarchs. Time will soon show what course of action the Russian leader will end up choosing.

Currently an independent consultant, Dr. Zhalko-Tytarenko is the former head of Ukraine's National Space Agency and a member of National Disarmament Committee of Ukraine.



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# A different look at Islam



British cavalry charging against Russian forces at the Balaclava.



George  
Fetherling

**A**s *Diplomat* is published only four times a year, I have a devil of a time rooting out books that haven't already been reviewed everywhere else but are nonetheless, I hope, ones of topical interest to our readers. The situation is made more complicated by what seems to me (though this may be middle age talking) the ever-increasing speed of world events. Permit me an example. When I began thinking about the column for this issue, the big news was the Russian incursion into Crimea. To

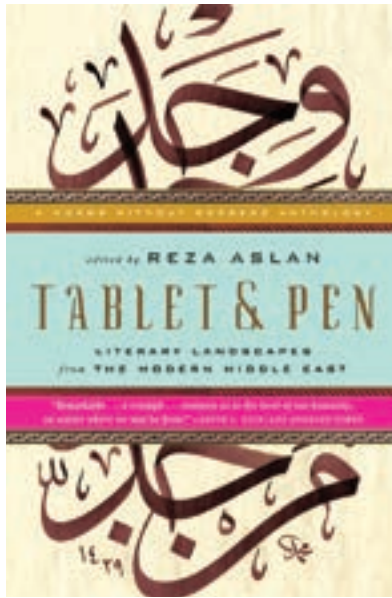
me this looked like a promising subject, if only because it was one of those events that seemed somewhat familiar to us because it touched on the most important political concern of our own time: the conflict between Islam and the West.

Like so many other wars before and since, the original Crimea crisis (1853 to 1856) began as an argument over Jerusalem. The city was then under the control of the Ottoman Turks, who wished it to be even more Islamic than it already was. At that time, the modern Italian nation was still being assembled from various city-states and regions, and while it had the Vatican, of course, it didn't yet have Vatican City. France considered itself to be the seat of Roman Catholicism rather than Italy. Catholicism would be the state religion of the French until 1905, and they wished to expand the Catholic footprint in the Holy Land, just as imperial Russia wanted to make it a bigger centre of Orthodox Christianity.

So the French and the Turks joined forces in a war against Russia. They had a little help from the Sardinians and a great deal from Britain, which didn't really have a horse in the race, but felt that it hadn't had a jolly good war since Napoleonic times. In the end, little was accomplished except for the death of several hundred thousand people and the waste of a great deal of money. (As I'm writing this, months after Vladimir Putin's Crimean land grab, the British government has announced that it is finally buying back the bonds issued more than a century and a half ago to help finance its part in the Crimean expedition.)

Here's another instance of *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. I once spent a lively afternoon with William L. Shirer, the American foreign correspondent who covered the ascent of Nazi Germany for the *Chicago Tribune* and later for the Hearst newspapers and later still for Edward R. Morrow of CBS. Out of these experiences

came his landmark book *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1960). When I met him, he was almost 90 and had taken up study of the Russian language “to keep the cobwebs out of my old brain.” He told me how, once the United States entered the Second World War, he approached a key American official, offering his insights



on the key Nazi leaders from Hitler on down, all of whom he had got to know quite well over the course of a decade or so. “I offered to be debriefed on how these people’s minds worked, believing that this might be useful intelligence.” But the answer he got was: “We don’t care how they think. We don’t give a damn for their culture. Our job is just to kill ‘em, kill ‘em all.”

Which is my roundabout way of suggesting that, though this column is not usually about literary matters, it might make sense to consider looking at the booming interest in Middle Eastern writing as one aid to understanding the ancient roots of cultures that are now at such hazard with our own. The best survey of the modern era is probably *Tablet & Pen: Literary Landscapes from the Modern Middle East*, edited by a big star in scholarly circles, Reza Aslan. This fat anthology (Penguin Group Canada, \$43.50) covers a century’s worth of literature, from 1910 to 2010. Yet, at the same time, much attention is being paid to some of the classic works of the region, and some of this activity turns up interesting connections. In 1765, for example, Thomas Jefferson bought a copy of the Qur’an to learn about a faith he found distasteful. As he studied the book, his position began to soften. By the time he wrote the Declaration of In-

dependence, he was convinced Muslims could or would — one day — make useful citizens of the new American republic. The story is told in *Thomas Jefferson’s Qur’an: Islam and the Founders* by Denise A. Spellberg (Doubleday Canada, \$14.50 paper).

#### Two often-misunderstood classics

Aside from the Qur’an, perhaps the two best-known Middle Eastern texts from long ago are *One Thousand and One Nights*, first translated into English in 1706 and known by variants of the title, and *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* — which is also spelled various ways, as there are many different systems for transliterating Arabic into English. The *Nights*, a series of stories collected over a long period from Iraq, Persia, Syria, Turkey and other places, is by far the more interesting and also the more relevant to our view of the Middle East today. To be very brief, the nominal narrator of these stories, some of them a thousand years old, is a woman named Scheherazade. She is the latest bride of a king, a mad misogynist (that’s putting it mildly), who takes a new wife each evening and murders her the next morning. To save herself and all the other women who will follow, she must continue spinning yarns to keep the homicidal monarch distracted from his ritual of death. After a thousand and one nights of doing so, she wears him down and all is well.

There are many translations of the *Nights*, the longest and most famous being that of Sir Richard Burton, the Victorian adventurer and diplomat (whose most remarkable feat was disguising himself as an Arab and undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca and escaping with his life). Not surprisingly, two new works unravel the tangled history of the *Nights* and what it has to tell us today. *Eastern Dreams: How the Arabian Nights Came to the World* (Penguin Group Canada, \$34) is by a Canadian, Paul McMichael Nurse. More detailed is Marina Warner’s *Stranger Magic: Charmed States and the Arabian Nights* (Harvard University Press, US\$19.95)

As for the *Rubaiyat* (the term refers to a type of four-line poem), it has only one English translation that absolutely everybody remembers: the one by a very minor English literary amateur named Edward FitzGerald (1809–1883), who interpreted the work as one that praised drinking and the hedonistic life in general. The persistence of the FitzGerald version has made a mockery of (full name) Ghiyathuddin Abulfath, aka Omar Ibn Ibrahim Al-Khayyami — the last word means “tent-maker” and refers to the trade his father

followed. Omar, a Persian, was certainly a drinker and a bohemian personality, but was also a mathematician, astrologer, philosopher and all-purpose intellectual, none of which you would know from reading FitzGerald. This point is made more than once in Hamid Dabashi’s book *The World of Persian Literary Humanism* (Harvard, US\$35). Here in the West generally, “humanism” refers to the idea, central to the European Enlightenment, that all human knowledge is connected somehow and open to study (while, in the U.S., it’s also come to mean “irreligious” or “atheistic,” as in the term “liberal humanist”). In Dr. Dabashi’s view, the very masculine culture of the Arab conquerors ridiculed the less macho one of Persia for its personal freedoms and scientific advances — and so set me to thinking about a little halal restaurant that I like in my rundown neighbourhood in Vancouver.

Like all other major religions, Islam is full of different sects, some of them quite small. I have no idea what the exact beliefs of my favourite restaurant’s proprietors are, but I notice that they serve liquor, wine and beer, but draw the line at coffee — which I first thought they must consider a slippery slope, leading who knows where. Then one day it came to me. They sell the three liquids that numb the brain but not the one that stimulates it. I’m not making a wise crack. I’m simply suggesting that we all need to try harder to understand one another better.



#### Some victims of the 20th Century

Annette Libeskind Berkovitz found a box of audio tapes left by her late father,



Nachman Libeskind, and has used them as the backbone of her biography of him: *In the Unlikeliest of Places* (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, \$34.95). Mr. Libeskind was a Polish Jew who survived the Nazis, was imprisoned by the Soviets, emigrated to the young state of Israel and ended up in the New World. He was a classic victim of the 20th Century. So is Lucia Jang of Toronto (and so many countless others, of course). Ms Jang was born and reared in North Korea during the time of Kim Il-sung and his heir, Kim Jong-il. *Stars between the Sun and Moon* by Ms Jang and the journalist Susan McClelland tells of the former's escape to the West, but is most interesting for its horrid details of daily life in North Korea during the 1980s and



1990s (Douglas & McIntyre, \$32.95).

In a way, *Outpost: Life on the Frontlines of American Diplomacy* by Christopher R. Hill (Simon & Shuster Canada, \$36) can be seen as a counterpoint and confirmation of the two books cited above. For example, during a State Department career that spanned the Clinton, Bush and Obama administrations (he seems to have felt most comfortable with the first and the third), he served as ambassador to, among other places, Poland and South Korea. He was also America's principal disarmament negotiator with the North Koreans.

The last of these tasks was especially frustrating. "For reasons I never quite understood," he writes, "there had been persistent reports in the press, attributed to unnamed sources, that for months I had sought to go to North Korea, but had been blocked by Vice President [Dick] Cheney.



Toronto author Lucia Jang, left, and journalist Susan McClelland wrote *Stars between the Sun and Moon*.

I never made any such request, because I never saw the value in going. A trip to North Korea needs to pay off to overcome the added hostility back in Washington. Years after Secretary of State [Madeleine] Albright had visited and met with Kim Jong-il, she was still being subjected to criticism, as if she hadn't known how to handle an encounter with a dictator."

*Outpost* is a first-rate example of the type of book that public servants produce once safely retired, the kind that puts the author at the centre of important events and tries to settle old scores.

#### Fighting over crumbs in the ocean

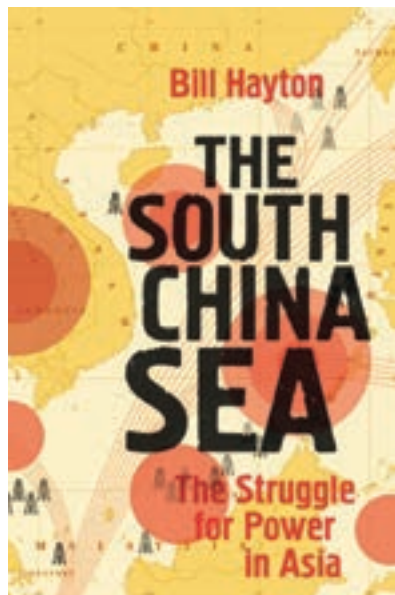
Numerous books have been published about the South China Sea recently. One or two have been referred to in this space previously. Some of the authors view developments in that region as part of what they see as the huge forthcoming confrontation between a waxing China and a possibly waning United States: a contest to determine "who's the biggest Mexican in the room" (as people in the illegal drug trade say, or so I've been told).

Bill Hayton, a BBC specialist in Asian affairs, plays down this scenario in *The South China Sea: The Struggle for Peace in*

*Asia* (Yale University Press, US\$35). Instead, he concentrates on the still largely untapped oil and natural gas beneath the ocean floor — and the fact that a huge percentage of the world's energy resources, whatever the source, are shipped through the very same waters. As a result, Pacific Rim nations as far south as Malaysia and as far north as Japan, scramble and connive to assert their sovereignty over little islands off their coasts — often very far off indeed — in order to legally claim nearby sections of the seabed.

When many senior citizens think of standoffs on geographically trivial islands they remember Matsu, a tiny Chinese outpost, and its neighbour Quemoy, which is part of Taiwan. Ownership disputes brought the two nations close to war several times in the 1950s. In the 1990s, when I was exploring Quemoy, it was still possible to look out across the booby-trapped beaches through one's binoculars and see members of the People's Liberation Army staring right back through binoculars of their own.

Such Pacific property-line disputes have a long history but have become more intense in our own time. In the 1970s, the Philippines landed troops on Pagasa but



were beaten back by the Taiwanese, who call the place Thitu — part of the Spratly Islands, a hodgepodge of about 750 little places, including atolls, reefs and such, spread out over 425,000 square kilometres, with various portions staked out by the Chinese, the Taiwanese, the Filipinos, the Malaysians, the Vietnamese — and, once in a while, the Indonesians. Altogether, the Spratlys and two other archipelagos in the South China Sea contain about 30,000 islands and lesser bits of land, coral reefs and large sandbars. In the 1980s, China, to keep the Vietnamese from taking a small island, placed a concrete block on it (much as European sea captains such as Richard Spratly would have planted a flag). “The main reason it wasn’t already occupied,” Mr. Hayton writes, “was that there was almost nothing there to occupy.” The place

in contention measures only 27 by seven kilometres.

Sometimes, still other parties become involved. Senkaku is an island northwest of Taiwan, which calls it its own. The government on the more distant Chinese mainland also asserts its rights over



the place, which calls it Diaoyu. Japan, which is more commonly seen dickering with one of the Koreas, also lays claim to Senkaku. For its part, Brunei defends its proprietorship of a piece of the Spratlys called Louisa Reef without having ever attempted to occupy it. Viewed from far away, these nationalistic shenanigans can take on a slight suggestion of the Keystone Kops, but they’re very serious matters, indeed.

#### Help for failing states

Lastly, and maybe most importantly, there is Terry Gould’s new book *Worth Dying For: Canada’s Mission to Train Police in the World’s Failing States* (Random House Canada, \$32). Mr. Gould is a singular investigative journalist, more intellectual than most of his colleagues and certainly a finer writer — and a broader one. Until now, he has focused largely on the unusual combination of organised crime and human rights issues. This time he examines how, beginning in 1989, RCMP personnel have volunteered in CivPol — civilian police operations — in 25 troubled, corrupt and often dysfunctional countries, teaching advanced methods to local police and, in many cases, helping to wean them off systemic corruption and abuse.

He is the first outsider permitted to travel and live with these Canadian volunteers. While regretting Ottawa’s abandonment of peacekeeping, and regretting also the litany of scandals that have deflated the Mounties’ reputation, Mr. Gould sees a great deal to be praised and admired in the CivPol program, but for practical reasons, confines his book to three case studies: Afghanistan, Palestine and Haiti. We’re lucky to have a reporter such as Mr. Gould. Until *Worth Dying For*, his most recent book was *Murder without Borders*, documenting the many international journalists who have been killed in the line of line of duty. The book is no longer up-to-date, owing to the hideous beheadings we’ve seen reported recently — and are likely to continue seeing, possibly to the point, sadly, at which Mr. Gould’s book may need to be expanded.

George Fetherling is a novelist and commentator.



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# Happy birthday, Sir John A.

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

Canada is known more for stability than for any sense of mischief or scandal. That makes it all the more surprising that the man considered most responsible for Canada's birth as a nation was a fast-talking, crudely mannered heavy drinker with lifelong bad behaviour, but big accomplishments.

As we mark the 200th anniversary of Sir John A. Macdonald's birth on Jan. 11, 2015, it's worth considering his achievements, experiences and flaws. At age seven, he witnessed the killing of his younger brother by a drunken babysitter. By his late teens, he was a lawyer and occasional mischief-maker who successfully defended his own assault charge following a heated political argument. As an adult, his behaviour was marked by his public drunkenness, a rough-and-ready tongue and a partisan manner.

To his continuing discredit, he sometimes made racist remarks about people of other backgrounds, including Asian and Aboriginal Peoples.

Despite that, Confederation might not have happened without the charm, pragmatism, shrewdness, determination and foresight that were part of his complex personality.

Macdonald won six of seven elections, serving as prime minister from 1867 to 1873, and again from 1878 until his death in 1891. He built a country — against the objections of many — out of four new provinces: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec. As prime minister, he expanded that country from sea to sea by building a national railway and founding the North West Mounted Police — forerunner to the Royal Canadian



Mounted Police. Those efforts, among others, were enough to bring British Columbia and other Western provinces into the country.

Such achievements required exceptional ability to draw in others. When Macdonald became convinced of the need for a united Canada — in part out of concern that the constituent parts would be subsumed by the United States — he had to expand his support. That meant working with Liberal leader George Brown, even though the two men loathed each other. He recruited George-Etienne Cartier from Quebec, and the three men worked together despite the fact that Brown was renowned for his anti-French, anti-Roman Catholic prejudices. Cartier, in turn, had fought against British forces in the 1837 rebellion. But under Macdonald, they united in a common cause. (See two Heritage Minutes on Macdonald and Cartier produced by [historicanada.ca](http://historicanada.ca).)

Macdonald's relationship with Aboriginal Peoples in Canada is more controversial. His biographer, Richard Gwyn, argues he was further advanced than most contemporaries in his approach. Macdon-

ald described Aboriginals as "the original owners of the land... [and] the great sufferers by the discovery of America." But the execution of Métis leader Louis Riel remains a blot on his record — and other historians are harsher.

In his book, *Clearing the Plains*, historian James Daschuk alleges that Macdonald's government wilfully starved and subjugated Aboriginals on the Prairies in order to politically control and shape an immense region from Saskatchewan to Alberta during construction of the railway. As well, Macdonald's government discouraged Chinese immigration to Canada through the creation of a head tax that charged such newcomers a significant fee not applied to others. But defenders point to other evidence of Macdonald's relatively advanced views — such as his push to grant women the right to vote, and the fact that some Western countries did not allow Asian immigration at all.

Macdonald would likely receive all views dispassionately. Politics, he said, "is a game requiring great coolness and an utter abnegation of prejudice and personal feeling."

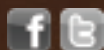
In one of his few declarations about his emotions, he summed himself up succinctly: "My sins of omission and commission I do not deny," he said. "But I trust that it may be said of me in the ultimate issue, 'Much is forgiven because he loved much' — for I have loved my country with a passionate love." A country that, with its own set of strengths and faults, continues to thrive today.

Anthony Wilson-Smith is president of [Historica Canada](http://HistoricaCanada.ca).

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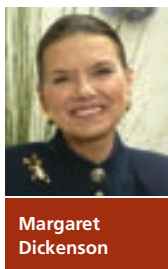


# Pakistani cuisine: curried by history

Photo by Larry Dickenson



Two versions of traditional Pakistani lassi — one with mango, one with honey.



Technically speaking, Pakistan is a relatively young country. When India gained independence in 1947, after almost a century of British rule, it was partitioned in two and the sovereign state of Pakistan emerged, offering a homeland for Muslims of the subcontinent. However, the land area occupied by Pakistan can trace its roots back as far as 9,000 years, to some of the world's earliest civilisations. Organised farming, for example, flourished near Quetta and in the Indus Valley, north of present day Karachi.

Pakistan's neighbouring countries in-

clude Iran (on the west), Afghanistan (on the northwest), China (on the northeast) and India (on the southeast). To the south, it borders the Arabian Sea.

Pakistani cuisine, developed over centuries, is rich in tradition, featuring a variety of tasty dishes and incorporating elements adopted from its neighbours as well as from multiple invasions (including those by the Aryans, Scythians, Persians, Greeks, Bactrians, Kushans, Huns, Turks and Mongols). Pakistan's own geographical diversity offers a wide range of different foods sourced from the rugged northwest mountain ranges and the lands blessed by Punjab's five rivers, to the pastoral landscapes of Balochistan and Sindh provinces, and, of course, the Arabian Sea.

The first major and enduring influence on what we know as Pakistani cuisine came in the 8th Century with the spread of Islam to the region. Islam absolutely forbade the consumption of pork and alcohol, so taste preferences steered towards

other foods and beverages.

The second significant influence emerged in the 16th Century, when the Mongol Empire began ruling the area and introduced a style of cooking called *mughlai*, typically characterised by the use of herbs and spices, almonds and raisins. Some *mughlai* recipes remain popular throughout the world. Who has not heard of — or better still, enjoyed — *tandoori* chicken (chicken marinated in yogurt with spices including turmeric that gives it the orange colour, and traditionally cooked at low temperature in special clay ovens called tandoors, which are also used to bake bread). Several desserts claim to be culinary remnants from the Mongols, among them is *shahi tukra* (made with sliced bread, milk, cream, sugar and saffron). Indeed, *mughlai* fruit drinks of freshly squeezed mangoes, pomegranates, apples and melons inspired what we today call sherbet.

Muslims make up 97 percent of the



population. Instead of pork, they eat lamb, chicken, beef and fish, though those with lower incomes keep the amounts modest. Access to fish and seafood is, however, limited by geography, and with cattle historically deemed too valuable to be part of a regular diet, sheep and chickens are favoured for their meat and their by-products.

In a nutshell, the most basic of Pakistani diets consists of inexpensive and abundant amounts of staple ingredients such as milk, lentils, seasonal vegetables, rice, wheat and flour products. Higher-income families traditionally enjoy more meat, eggs and fruits. However, former High Commissioner Akbar Zeb, who retired in the autumn, explained “with growing access to refrigeration, consumption of meat by the general population is more widespread today.”

Common vegetables include potatoes,

and sauces (served with curries, seafood, vegetables and lentils), transform basic staple foods into original dishes featuring a unique spectrum of complex flavours.

Lentils (red, brown and green) feature prominently in the nation’s diet, particularly as *dhal*, a lentil stew. *Haleem*, a thick, hearty stew known as the king of curries, involves slow cooking lentils along with meat and spices for up to eight hours, and serving with fresh coriander, lemon and ginger. In fact, curries can be any dish (meat, chicken, fish, seafood, vegetables, lentils or a combination) cooked in oil with a few spices and herbs. For wet curries, cooks use a sauce made with yogurt, stock or coconut milk. For dry curries, they use a small quantity of liquid that eventually evaporates, leaving a spicy coating on the other ingredients. Although chicken *karahi* ranks as one of Pakistan’s famous dishes, every area of the country



Biryani is a combination of spiced rice, usually cooked with meat or chicken and often vegetables as well.

onions, cabbage, eggplant, okra, chickpeas and peas. Fresh fruit, from watermelon, mangoes, papaya, banana, apricots and apples to a fruit called *chiku*, which tastes like a date, but has a kiwi-like texture, appear in bountiful supply in summer and fall.

While these basic dietary staples may appear bland, at the core of Pakistani cuisine is an extensive array of spices, seeds and nuts. The list is long: black pepper, paprika, cardamom, coriander, saffron, mace, nutmeg, cinnamon, garlic, ginger, aniseed, poppy seeds, pistachios and almonds. Those, as well as chutneys (made with fruit, spices and herbs), pickles, preserves

has its own curry, so Pakistani cuisine varies according to region, as does the use of spices. Yogurt and yogurt-based drinks, accompanying spicy dishes, offer a “cooling” counterbalance to those flavours. In general, the south favours more exotic and highly spiced dishes, while the north leans towards plain barbecued meats and less spice. Mr. Zeb summed it up nicely: “The hotter the climate, the hotter the food.”

Authentic traditional barbecuing involves using a charcoal grill with food cooked close to flames fuelled by wood, which imparts a wonderful smoky flavour. Pakistan’s favourite barbecued/

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grilled foods would be kebabs (skewers of chicken, beef, or small patties of those meats ground; however, some kebabs may be fried), *shishleek* (baby lamb chops), *tikka* (meat, poultry or fish) grilled on a spit, *sajji* (particularly lamb and chicken barbecued in deep pits) and *bunda pala* (a specialty of Sindh province where fish is cleaned, stuffed with spices and herbs, then wrapped in cloth and buried three feet in the hot sand for four to five hours under the intense midday sun).

Other best-known dishes are *pullao* (rice-based), *kofta* (balls of minced meat, poultry, fish, vegetables or pulses) and chicken and lamb *korma* (a spicy curry

of spiced rice, with meat or chicken and often including vegetables as well).

Desserts are plentiful and prepared with generous quantities of ghee (the term once meant clarified butter, but is now “used in reference to any type of oil,” Mr. Zeb noted), sugar and nuts such as pistachios and almonds. They are often infused with rose water or other fragrant essences. Pakistanis particularly like *kulfi* (pistachio ice cream), *jalebi* (deep-fried orange pretzel-shaped pastries made with flour, sugar and yogurt) and *kheer* (rice pudding). They also enjoy all varieties of tea (especially, black and green) and stop for tea or chai many times a day. Paki-



Spices, such as turmeric, paprika, cinnamon and black pepper, are at the heart of Pakistani cooking.

dish usually with onions and other vegetables). Street vendors delight customers with *samosas* (pastries filled with potatoes, chickpeas or other vegetables) and *pakorras* (chicken or vegetable fritters).

Pakistan is generally considered a bread culture, with bread eaten at virtually every meal. *Nann*, *chapatis* or *roti* are used instead of cutlery to scoop up curries and other foods with the right hand (a practice employed in Muslim cultures). Among the many other types of breads are *parata* (fried bread, at times stuffed with *dhal* or meat and vegetable mixtures) and *puri* (cooked in hot oil) and typically eaten with *halva* (a nut butter or flour butter-based confection that can also be made with carrot or pumpkin). Dishes not eaten with bread are normally served with rice as a side dish. Pakistani rice, ranked as the world's best, is used in the exquisite and classic *biryani*, a stellar combination

of spiced rice, with meat or chicken and often including vegetables as well). Pakistanis' favourite way of preparing *chai* is to boil tea with milk, sugar and spice (usually cardamom). Pakistanis also delight in *nimbu paani* (a fresh lime drink), sugarcane juice and *lassi*, (a yogurt-based drink with additions of ice or water, milk and salt, but with other flavourful ingredients too, including such items as sugar, mint, cardamom, cumin, fruit, fruit juices, even ground garlic, fresh gingerroot or chilies).

As in many countries, food plays an important role in celebrations, including weddings, the birth of a child, Eid al-Fitr (at the end of Ramadan) and Eid al-Adha (a feast of sacrifice where a goat, lamb or cow is slaughtered in commemoration of Prophet Abraham's willingness to serve God, with a portion of the meat distributed to the poor.)

Now, I invite you to toast Pakistan's rich food history and culture with a couple of my tasty *lassi* creations! Bon Appétit!



### Mango Lassi

(Makes about 2½ cups or 625 mL)

1½ cups (375 mL)\* fresh mango, cut into ¼ inch or 0.6 cm cubes  
1 cup (250 mL) plain yogurt  
¼ cup (60 mL) milk  
2 tbsp (30 mL) liquid honey  
½ tsp (3 mL) rose water  
¼ tsp (1 mL) ground cardamom  
¼ tsp (1 mL) ground / powdered ginger  
Garnish with chopped almonds and sprigs of fresh mint

\* This is about 310 g or 11 oz of mango flesh.



### Refreshing Lassi

(Makes 1½ cups or 375 mL)

1 cup (250 mL) plain yogurt  
¼ cup (60 mL) milk  
2 tbsp (30 mL) liquid honey  
⅓ tsp (2 mL) each of ground cardamom, ground coriander seeds and ground / powdered ginger  
1 tsp (5 mL) rose water  
Garnish with chopped pistachios and sprigs of fresh mint

#### Method

1. Place all ingredients, except garnishes, in a blender and process until smooth.
2. To serve, pour into glasses over ice cubes and garnish with chopped nuts and fresh mint.

Flavour tip: To create a subtle blending of flavours, refrigerate the lassis overnight.

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



# Protocol: the rules of engagement

By Charles Enman

It might sound a bit like a fusty carry-over from bygone times, but protocol — the etiquette of diplomacy and relations among nations — remains essential for the smooth functioning of international interactions.

"Protocol is really a bridge profession," said Christopher Young, past-president of the Protocol & Diplomacy-International Protocol Officers Association (PDI-POA), which held a workshop in Ottawa. "We take that which is old — traditions, rules and practices that have been in place for centuries — and translate them into a modern world, a modern language of respect and honour."

More than 150 people who work broadly in the field of protocol attended the workshop last autumn. To be sure, there were people from government and from diplomatic missions, but there were also people from museums, the hospitality industry and private enterprise. Protocol, after all, also has its place far from the halls of state.

"What is protocol in its essence?" Mr. Young asked, rhetorically. "It's simply the creation of good conditions for business and diplomacy to succeed. Once upon a time, it might have been lavish banquets, who bowed to whom, how you addressed certain august people, and in many contexts, it is still those things. But today it's also far more subtle — what goes into a gift, what goes into menu selection, how you meet people arriving at airports."

"It promotes little points of connection that further everyone's work, as great an advantage to a corporate CEO or a university chancellor as it is to a head of government or head of state."

The workshop offered a day's worth of lectures on some of the imponderables of protocol (who says the guest of honour sits on the right?), including those surrounding national flags and royal visits.

Certainly, a great deal of the perceived wisdom in protocol is arbitrary, Mr. Young explained.

"Who said a duke is better than an earl? Well, there's a system of ranking that came from a bunch of white guys in six western European countries several centuries ago and we still abide by the rules they came up with, and will until the international community decides to dispense with them."

In fact, it was exactly two centuries ago,



When a member of the Royal Family is present at an event in Canada, his or her personal Canadian flag takes precedence over the Canadian flag.

at the Congress of Vienna in 1814, that protocol was first given exacting treatment by ambassadors from across Europe. In principle, they had larger fish to fry, since they were figuring out ways to maintain long-term peace following the French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic Wars. But already there was a sense that acknowledgement of procedural niceties could help maintain good relations among states, and the issue was addressed in a preliminary conference devoted entirely to protocol.

"They set the standards, they decided on the rules," Mr. Young said. They formalised the ranking of dukes and earls and other notables and set out the proper ways of addressing officials ("Your Excellency," "Your Majesty," and so forth.)

Though the United States does not confer titles on people, Mr. Young, who hails from Georgia, said the title "the honourable" had a very American provenance. In the early 18th Century, Thomas Fairfax of Virginia was the only resident peer in late colonial America. He had inherited his lands and title from his father under the principle of primogeniture, which stipu-

lated that property and titles go to the eldest son, leaving Fairfax's two younger brothers destitute of property and honours. "He couldn't accept this," Mr. Young said, "and he declared that both brothers would be styled 'the honourable,' which would mean 'son of a noble person'."

A formalised honorific system in which precedence is clear simplifies life for the protocol officer, Mr. Young said. However, there is risk in this comfort, because the honorific system of one country may not translate neatly into that of another country.

"It's a big no-no to make any assumptions here," Mr. Young said. "You might call someone at a particular level 'His Excellency' or 'the honourable,' but that person may not have the same precedence in his own country that he would have in your own."

He said protocol officers must always ask their opposite numbers to provide a list of any delegation in order of precedence. "No exceptions. You must ask, because titles just don't translate across cultures. And asking puts the onus on them, covers your hind end."

The list can address more confusion than merely matters of precedence. Family names should be capitalised since in some languages they may come at the beginning or the middle of a person's full name. The gender of the person should be specified to help with gift selection and other matters. Perhaps most important, a phonetic pronunciation should be provided. "Nothing is more important than a person's name," Mr. Young said. He recalled a reception at which one of the guests, from southern Africa, had an exclamation mark in his name, a difficult phonetic that requires a kind of clicking sound. Mr. Young found someone who could model the pronunciation, practised it for days, and left the guest impressed with how near he came to the correct pronunciation.

Mr. Young acknowledged that some of the stipulations of protocol are puzzling. "Who says I can't raise a glass to myself? Why can't I join in on a toast to myself?" he asked the audience. The answer was sensible in its original context. Among the ancient Greeks, when a king was honouring a guest, everyone present would drink except the guest. "This had nothing to do with humility," Mr. Young said. "The point was that the honoree would see that the wine wasn't poisoned."

Why do soldiers salute? This practice began with a gesture that knights used to make when greeting other knights. Each would raise their visor to reveal the presumptive good intentions in their eyes.

The custom that a guest of honour sits or stands at the right hand of his host comes through auspicious biblical precedent. Luke 22: 69 says, "Hereafter shall the Son of Man sit on the right hand of the power of God."

One does as much advance work as possible to ensure few problems when planning a large-scale event, but don't ever expect that all pratfalls can be avoided, Mr. Young said. He recalled a large dinner held by the governor of Georgia in honour of UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon. They had a number of illustrious guests to share Mr. Ban's table — a four-star general, the director of the Centers for Disease Control, the archbishop of Atlanta. But who could they find from the world of sport? They settled on a famous race car driver from Georgia, who duly arrived, looking out of his element in a navy blue sports jacket two sizes too small, though he proved loquacious and comfortable at the table. At the end, he presented his business card, which showed that he had the same name as the famous racer but a different métier — li-



Setting a table properly is also important to purveyors of protocol.

censed plumber.

"Somehow his name got in the system," Mr. Young said with a laugh. "But good on him. He sat among the cream of Atlanta society and acted like he belonged."

There are innumerable protocol rules and conventions relating to proper placement of flags. Paul LeBlanc, now retired, but formerly the senior ceremonial officer with the Department of Canadian Heritage, said the governing principle is that the Canadian flag is the most important national symbol and takes precedence over all other national flags. (There are minor exceptions. When a member of the Royal Family is present at an event, their personal Canadian flag takes precedence over the Canadian flag. The same is true of the flags of the governor general or the lieutenant governors in their own provinces when they are attending an event.)

When many flags are on display, those of other sovereign nations are placed in alphabetical order. Those of provinces are given in the order in which they joined Confederation. Those of territories are given in the order in which they were created.

When numerous flags are displayed, they should all be of roughly the same size.

Protocol is never more on display than during a royal tour. The Canadian secretary to the Queen, Kevin MacLeod, has worked on them for more than a quarter of a century. For Mr. MacLeod, such tours are an occasion to remember that "the constitutional monarchy is an integral

part of who we are as a nation, part of our heritage and institutions, and extremely well suited for the federal arrangements that we have.

"For me, the monarchy, though a living, breathing entity, is like a fire hydrant — on the wall, very colourful, and you know it's there — and if you do have to use it, you're glad you know where it is."

Mr. MacLeod recalled a comment that the Queen made when visiting then-president Ronald Reagan at his California ranch in 1983: "'I'm going home to Canada tomorrow,' she said, and that speaks volumes about how she sees her role in our country."

Though protocol tries to grease the skids when diplomats and other representatives meet, there are additional factors that condition how such encounters go, especially the styles of communication and thought that come from individual cultures. The current president of PDI-POA, Lanie Denslow, through her Los Angeles-based business World Wise Intercultural Training & Resources, tries to help clients understand these styles and better cope with them.

Drawing on the work of linguist and businessman Richard Lewis, Ms Denslow said people from different cultures have vastly different ways of looking at time, talking and tasks. The United States, for example, is a "linear active" nation in which communication is direct, schedules are important and stress is placed on data, facts and statistics. Brazil is a "multi-active" nation in which relationships are valued, communication is exuberant, time is considered abundant and the rules and timetable are flexible. Japan is a "reactive" nation where communication is careful, harmony is stressed, plans are developed slowly, punctuality is important and age and experience are accorded respect. These differences result in differing ideas of appropriate business practice. Cultural sensitivity is critical, especially as the world becomes more and more globalised.

Ms Denslow recalled a European colleague who would never vehemently disagree with any proposal, but would often express lack of certainty about a proposed course. Eventually, Ms Denslow discovered that this was a tactful way of expressing strong disagreement. "In her terms, she was speaking clearly, but I didn't get this until I learned to read between the lines. Then I understood her well."

Charles Enman is an Ottawa writer who now knows how to butter his bread properly.



## Moving wine's spotlight around



Pieter  
Van den Weghe

**M**any countries and cultures have developed successful wine industries. Some are very old and others are quite new, and many of them make wildly different expressions of wine. That said, they also share many things. They all shepherd the natural process of fermentation. They all create a drink that speaks of a time and a place. They also all vie against one another for space on shelves, good reviews and our dollars. Today's world of wine is huge, and the stage is crowded. For better or worse, there are certain wines and grapes and regions that, more often than not, get top billing. Enduring classics or the next big thing, they are the stars of the show. They dominate our conversations and the selection of what is poured into our glass. They are a familiarity that provides a perceived guaranty of deliciousness.

But, what of the unfamiliar? While small production levels or poor market presence can cause many wines to be overlooked, much of the lack of appreciation is due to poor recognition rather than a fair judgment or understanding of their merits. Many wines limited to supporting roles are just as compelling and delicious as their more recognisable brethren.

Some of these undervalued wines aren't new to the block. A perfect example is Madiran. Coming from the southwest corner of France (halfway between



France's 2009 Château Peyros Madiran sells for \$14.95 at the LCBO's Vintages.

Bordeaux and the border with Spain), this wine was given its AOC (*appellation d'origine contrôlée* or controlled designation of origin — a geographic certification in France) in 1948.

Despite all the years of production, these muscular and expressive reds are often overlooked. Made up of either 100 percent Tannat, a grape varietal aptly named for its very tannic nature, or a blend of mostly Tannat with small amounts of Cabernet Sauvignon, Cabernet Franc or Fer, these wines are generally made with aging in mind. An example of the tremendous value of this appellation can be found in the structured and powerful 2009 Château Peyros Madiran, available through Vintages for \$14.95. A blend of Tannat, Cabernet Sauvignon and Cabernet Franc, this wine exhibits enough ripeness and warmth of dark fruit to be enjoyed immediately, but will show even better in

a few years.

While Champagne generally held onto its revered reputation, many other wine regions have succeeded in producing impressive sparkling wines. One of these would be Franciacorta from Italy's Lombardy region. With innovative rules such as labels being printed with disgorgement dates (the date the sparkling wine completed its production cycle) and longer yeast contact time requirements than Champagne, this region has, since the 1970s, been on a mission to produce only world-class sparkling wines. A great example is the 2008 Bellavista Rosé. This blend of 62 percent Chardonnay and 38 percent Pinot Noir possesses an intense bouquet and a persistent and lively mousse. On the palate, it's fresh and elegant. This tasty bottle is available through the SAQ for \$68.25.

This phenomenon of exclusion is also found in New World areas. For many wine drinkers, the terms Malbec and Mendoza are synonymous with Argentine wine. Many would be surprised at the fascinating and distinctive expressions of Malbec coming from other parts of that vast country. One of those wines is Bodega Noemía's 2012 "A Lisa" from the Patagonia region. A blend of 90 percent Malbec, 9 percent Merlot and 1 percent Petit Verdot, this redolent and vibrant wine provides generous aromas and flavours of red fruit. The structure is persistent and the lengthy finish has a mineral note. This fascinating Malbec is only \$24.95 at Vintages.

The epic story of wine is only going to get bigger and more complicated. And I'll argue that it doesn't hurt to push the spotlight around a little bit.

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



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# A Manor House mansion for the Holy See

*Photos by Dyanne Wilson*



The Papal Nunciature, or the Manor House, as it is called in Ottawa, is the historically grand abode of the Pope's man in Ottawa.



Margo Roston

**W**hen you arrive at the end of Manor Avenue in Rockcliffe Park, you can't help but gawk. You have to pinch yourself to realise the white-turreted gatehouse with the beautiful arch, stone crest and antique lamp is not situated in France. Nor is the elegant tree-lined driveway beyond, nor the

looming stone mansion at the end.

In fact, this is Ottawa and what you're looking at is the Papal Nunciature, or the Manor House, as it is named. It is the home and office of the Holy See's representative in Canada, Most Rev. Luigi Bonazzi.

The historic house, settled on a cliff overlooking the Ottawa River and the Gatineau Hills, has a fascinating history and is surely one of the premier residences in the city. It may not be in France, but it is fashioned after a château as lovely as many you might find anywhere in Europe.

Originally, Manor House, the oldest house in the village, was built as the home of a magistrate, Duncan MacNab, in 1837. It was later occupied and enlarged

by businessman T.C. Keefer and finally purchased by lumberman Norman Wilson and his wife, Cairine, in 1928. She was appointed as Canada's first female senator and became a supporter of many charitable causes.

The couple hired Boston architect John Worthington Ames, and with the senator's influence, turned the large property into a showpiece. With its lavish lawns and majestic views, it played host not only to Canada's elite, but also those Cairine Wilson felt she could assist. The house was purchased by the Holy See in 1962 and is still a place for special guests, including Pope John Paul II, who stayed in the third-floor guest suite while on an official tour in 1984.





A wood-paneled library is decorated with cream-coloured furniture and draperies.



His Excellency, Most Reverend Luigi Bonazzi poses amid the frescoes at his residence.



The main receiving room has a fireplace, elaborately painted crown mouldings and gold-accented furnishings.



The staircases in the home are panelled with blue and white hand-painted motifs of grapes and flowers. They are restored and repaired by artists whenever required.

The stable entrance and the roof of the house are covered in French grey slate, a style similar to French Provincial architecture that is reflected in the small-paned casement windows and tall chimneys of the house.

Some parts of the original MacNab house were retained, including the entrance that faces the river. In earlier times, those arriving by boat had easy access to the house after climbing a path up the steep cliff. Unfortunately, the more modern Rockcliffe Parkway eventually intersected the path.

A formal circular entranceway leads to the front door. In the west garden, stone and marble pillars provide the background for a statue of the Madonna and Child. The back entrance, once the front, faces a manicured lawn with stone fences and a formal circular flower garden.

The interior still embodies the opulence of its early days, as well as the grandeur of Rome. It's an imposing place to see and savour. Beauty abounds in the silver oak-panelled dining room, with its crimson and gold chairs and Venetian glass chandelier, and in the formal reception room that runs the full length of the house. The Holy See purchased much of the Wilsons' furnishings and supplemented

from the Vatican Museum. Each detail is magnificent and sumptuous, including the gilded furniture in the reception room.

The main entrance hallways, ceilings and the resplendent reception room are painted in yellow and white with intricate mouldings and panels. Artworks line the walls, among them frescos of four Rome basilicas, including St. Peter's and Santa Maria Maggiore. Massive gold-framed religious paintings cover the walls of the reception room, including *Our Lady of the Cat*, by Renaissance artist Federico Barocci.

A small, more casual sunroom, a later addition, is located off the formal reception room and has bright red furniture and a terrific view of the garden and the river. An original panelled library is decorated with cream curtains and chair coverings and a cream-coloured area rug. The stairwells in the house are panelled with blue and white hand-painted motifs of grapes and flowers and, we are told, are repaired and restored whenever required.

Although the house is an ambassadorial residence and office, with more than 15 staffers, at least five of whom live in, it has a homey, peaceful dimension, the

ambassador says. He sums it up simply: "There is a silence you enjoy."

A small cocker spaniel has lived at the house for a number of years and there's a hammock tucked away in the garden. Most Rev. Bonazzi arrived last year, but had spent five months in Ottawa in 1999.

But in this wonderful home, his favourite place, not surprisingly, is the lovely little chapel located in the basement in what used to be the Wilsons' billiards room. The small chapel has stained glass windows and pictures of Canadian saints. He holds mass there every morning and friends and guests are often invited to join him.

"This is an ambassadorial house and has lots of official activities. But it is one of the best residences. It is very comfortable to breathe fresh air and connect to the city here," he says. "It is the best [Nunciature] in the world."

The Nunciature may not be in France or the Vatican, but it has old-world grandeur overlooking an iconic Canadian landscape. That's a pretty spectacular combination.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor. Some information for this article came from *Rockcliffe Park: a History of the Village*, by Martha Edmond.





The Holy See purchased much of the furniture previously owned by the Wilsons, and then rounded out its decor with items from the Vatican Museum.



Light abounds thanks to large windows throughout the residence.



The sunroom, a later addition, offers an amazing view of the grounds, which overlook the Ottawa River.





Not every home in Rockcliffe Park has a chapel, but it seems fitting that this one does.



The dining room walls are panelled in silver oak with crimson and gold furniture and a Venetian glass chandelier.

An advertisement for Elite Draperies & Home Decorating. The background is a photograph of a living room with a light-colored sofa, a yellow floor lamp, and a window with sheer curtains. Overlaid on the right side of the image is the company logo and contact information.

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## New arrivals

**Pg Hj Kamal Bashah bin Pg Hj Ahmad**  
High Commissioner for Brunei Darussalam



Col. (Ret'd) Ahmad had a long military career before taking two positions in the corporate world and then turning his skills to diplomacy with this appointment.

He has a degree in mechanical engineering and began his career with military and academic training before becoming a lieutenant in the engineering squadron of the Royal Brunei Air Force. He moved through the system, eventually reaching the rank of colonel. In his final position before retiring, he was responsible for strategy, policy and procedures pertaining to health and safety throughout the ministry of defence.

After leaving the service, he became CEO of Royal Brunei Technical Services before taking a position as general manager of QBH Engineering.

He and his wife, Pg Hajah Halipah, have an 11-year-old son and 12-year-old daughter.

**Motaz Mounir Zahran**  
Ambassador of Egypt



Mr. Zahran joined the foreign service in 1992 as a diplomatic attaché and third secretary. Three years later, he became third secretary at the UN in New York. Before he left, he

was promoted to second secretary.

He returned to headquarters for a year before becoming first secretary at the embassy in India. After that posting, he returned to headquarters for another two years, working on disarmament, non-proliferation and international security before becoming political counsellor and congressional officer at the embassy in Washington, D.C. He then returned to Egypt, first as director of the office of the deputy minister for foreign affairs, and then as adviser to the foreign minister. Before his current position, he was assistant deputy minister in the cabinet of the foreign minister.

Mr. Zahran is married and has a son and two daughters.

**George L. Marcantonatos**  
Ambassador of Greece



Mr. Marcantonatos joined the foreign service in 1983. Prior to his arrival in Canada, was director general of the general secretariat for Greeks abroad (MFA).

He was previously head of the directorate for administrative and judicial affairs and served as political adviser at the NATO mission. He was deputy head of mission in Moscow, consul general in Jerusalem and secretary in Washington D.C.

At the foreign ministry, he worked at the political directorate for the Commonwealth of Independent States countries, at the directorate for external European relations, at the political directorate for Balkan and Eastern European countries and at the political directorate for American and European countries.

He has a master's degree in International and Public Policy from Johns Hopkins University. He is married to Vassiliki Tsirou and has two children, Leonidas and Irene-Helene.

**Bálint Ódor**  
Ambassador of Hungary



Mr. Ódor joined the foreign ministry in 2000 as an analyst in strategic planning.

Two years later, he was a counsellor at the department of EU integration and institutional affairs. By 2007, he was head of the EU department in the Hungarian National Assembly's office of foreign relations and from 2010 to 2014, he was deputy state secretary for European Affairs at the foreign ministry. This job, as ambassador to Canada, is his first foreign mission.

Mr. Ódor has a PhD in international relations from Corvinus University, which he completed in 2014, while working at the foreign ministry. His dissertation was titled "Decision-making under the double majority system introduced by the Lisbon Treaty."

The ambassador has nine years of experience lecturing and was an invited lecturer at the Budapest Business School on EU integration.

**Andrej Droba**  
Ambassador of Slovakia



Mr. Droba began his career in 1998 as parliamentary secretary to the minister of foreign affairs. A little more than a year later, he became deputy director of the office of the

foreign minister.

In 2001, he was sent to the UN mission in New York and returned four years later as director of the office of the state secretary.

From 2007 to 2011, he was counsellor and deputy chief of mission at the embassy in Washington, D.C., before returning to headquarters and working on the North America and Middle East desk.

From 2011 to 2012, he was head of foreign relations and protocol at the office of the mayor of Bratislava and later that year, he became director of the office of the foreign minister.

Mr. Droba is married to Daniela Drobová and they have one daughter.

**Per Sjögren**  
Ambassador of Sweden



Mr. Sjögren began his diplomatic training in 1980. One year later, he was posted to Washington, D.C. He then served at the embassy in Kuwait before returning to headquarters

as head of the UN department and, later, head of the department of development co-operation. He worked in the prime minister's office for one year before returning to the UN department.

From 1994 to 1999, he was posted to the UN mission in Geneva before becoming director-general for migration and asylum policy. He served for three years in Brussels as chairman of a Balkan Stability Pact subcommittee before becoming ambassador to the EU.

Before his current post, he was deputy director-general and head of the international law, human rights and treaty law department.

He is married to Astrid Lillo Sjögren and has four children.

## Kokou Kpayedo Ambassador of Togo



After finishing his studies, Mr. Kpayedo began his career in 1991 as a research officer at the ministry of foreign affairs and co-operation. From 1994 to 2001, he served as a

member of the inter-ministerial committee on human rights.

In 2001, he became chief of the cabinet at the foreign ministry. From 2003 to 2009, he was minister-counsellor at the Togo embassy in France and the permanent representative to UNESCO. During that time, he also served as secretary for the African group at UNESCO and as an alternate member of the Togolese delegation to the executive board of UNESCO.

From 2009 to 2014, he was secretary general at the foreign ministry.

Mr. Kpayedo is married and has three children. He speaks Togolese, French and English.

## Selçuk Ünal Ambassador of Turkey



Mr. Ünal began his career with the foreign ministry in 1992. Three years later, he became third secretary in Qatar for two years before being posted as second secretary in Ireland be-

tween 1997 and 2000.

He was first secretary at the Middle East-Iraqi department and then counsellor at the Turkish permanent mission to the UN office in Geneva.

He returned to Turkey as a special adviser to the foreign minister and was then posted to the UN mission in New York between 2008 and 2010, a period during which Turkey had a rotating seat on the Security Council. He then became deputy director-general of press and information and ministry spokesman before becoming special adviser to the foreign minister for a year.

Mr. Ünal is married with one child.

## Non-heads of mission

**Angola**  
Joao Maria Dos Santos De Carvalho  
Second secretary

**Australia**  
Stephanie Aeuckens  
First secretary

**Brazil**  
André Teixeira Do Amaral  
Vice-consul  
Luiz Gonzaga Coelho Junior  
Attaché and vice-consul  
Marcela Conrado Batista  
Consular agent

**China**  
Lingpeng Ji  
Second secretary  
Jingjing Sai  
Consul  
Luying Zhi  
Third secretary  
Weidong Huang  
Second secretary  
Jianbiao Jin  
First secretary  
Yi Sun  
First secretary  
Zhenyu Niu  
Vice-Consul

**Cuba**  
Dallamy Diaz Munoz  
Consul  
Joel Cruz Remis  
Attaché

**Cyprus**  
Constantinos Christofides  
Consul general

**Czech Republic**  
Zdenek Ulc  
Consular employee  
Vladimir Hejduk  
Second secretary

**Denmark**  
Henrik Roboe Dam  
Defence attaché  
Paraskevi Ntova  
Consular employee

**Egypt**  
Amr Mohammed F. M.S.  
Koraïem  
Second secretary

**Ethiopia**  
Mulatu Fetene Sahile  
Attaché

**European Union**  
Amela Trhulj  
Second secretary

**France**  
Bernard Messenger  
Consular employee  
Selma Céline Toprak-Deni  
Consular employee  
Jean-Marc Capdevila  
Counsellor  
Pascal Charles F. Helwaser  
Counsellor  
Emmanuelle Hélène Pavillon Ep Grosse  
Deputy consul general  
Betty Nathalie Martrenchat  
Ep. Ouali  
Consular employee  
Kayathiri Ganeshamoorthy  
Consular employee  
Rafael Jean Armand Pont  
Consular agent  
Bruno Nicolas M. Gourdon  
Consular employee  
Yann Yvan Le Moulllec  
Consular employee  
Arnaud Philippe D. Leretour  
Consul

**Ghana**  
Godfred Mensah Habadah

**Vice-consul**  
Ernest Nana Adjei  
First secretary  
Florence Buerki Akonor  
Minister and deputy high commissioner

**Greece**  
Hana A. Karamaroudi  
Consular agent

**India**  
Gopal Sadashio Hattimare  
Vice-consul  
Subramanian Palani Vasan  
Attaché  
Vishwa Nath Goel  
Second secretary  
Sanjeev Khanna  
Consul  
Vijay Kumar  
Consular employee

**Indonesia**  
Nova Maulani  
Third secretary

**Ireland**  
Michael Declan Hurley  
First secretary

**Israel**  
Ziv Nevo Kulman  
Consul general

**Italy**  
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Attaché  
Giuseppe Pastorelli  
Consul general  
Anna Maria Terribili  
Consular employee

**Japan**  
Nagashi Machii  
Consul  
Hiroyuki Minami  
Minister  
Gaku Sugai  
Vice-consul  
Yasunori Nakayama  
Consul general  
Hiroshi Karube  
Minister  
Saki Yoshida  
Consular employee  
Yasuhiro Ogawa  
Air attaché

**Korea**  
Jeong-Sik Kang  
Consul general  
Dongik Jeong  
Consul

**Libya**  
Zakaria Sharif  
Attaché

**Macedonia**  
Jasmin Kjahil  
Minister and chargé d'affaires

**Malaysia**  
Dzulkefly Bin Abdullah  
Minister-counsellor  
Mohd Adli Bin Abdullah  
Consul general

**Mexico**  
Lourdes Hernandez Camarasa  
Attaché  
Juan Carlos Arriaga Corrales  
Attaché  
Maria Antonieta Luqueno Gonzalez  
Attaché

**Morocco**  
Lamy Mohamedis  
Second secretary

**Netherlands**  
Emmy Scholten  
Consul

**Nigeria**  
Oluremi Olutayo Oliyiye  
Minister

**Pakistan**  
Muhammad Tariq  
Consul general  
Tahir Mehmood Malik  
Consular employee

**Poland**  
Krzysztof Jan Olendzki  
Consul general

**Portugal**  
Jose Eduardo Bleck Guedes De Sousa,  
Consul general

**Romania**  
Vladimir Ciobanasu  
Consul

**Russia**  
Artem Tevanyan  
First secretary  
Sergey Kozlov  
Assistant military attaché  
Dmitry Klimov  
Vice-consul  
Sergey Mogilnyy  
Attaché  
Aleksandr Chausov  
Consular employee

**Saudi Arabia**  
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Attaché  
Nasser Mohammed H. Algadhibi,  
Attaché  
Bandar Talal M. Al Rashid  
Counsellor  
Rakan A. S. Almahmod  
Attaché  
Atif Abdulmohsen N. Almuwallad  
Attaché  
Faris Aboud Jaber Aljuaid  
Attaché  
Yousuf Mohammed A. Almawash  
Third secretary  
Azzam Mohammad Adnan Kutbi  
Attaché  
Rashad Saad F. Alzahrani  
Attaché

**Senegal**  
Adama Fall Faye  
First secretary

**Serbia**  
Milan Reljic  
Attaché

**South Africa**  
Nyameko Goso  
Consul general

**Spain**  
Laura Pena Alberdi  
Consul

**Sri Lanka**  
Adambarage M. Mohan De Alwis  
Consul general

**Sudan**  
Mahmoud Fadl A. Mohammed  
Chargé d'affaires  
Ibrahim Idriss E. Sudan Rahimtallah  
Attaché

**Togo**  
Manaa Palli  
Attaché

**Ayite Alexis Ange Atayi**  
First secretary

**Trinidad And Tobago**  
Venessa Ramhit-Ramroop  
First secretary and acting high commissioner  
Kiva Patricia Clarke  
Consul  
Kizzy Mylar Scott  
Attaché  
Sabrina Beryl Brumant-Tappin  
Attaché  
Salisha Bassarali-Rojan  
Vice-consul  
Liana Elizabeth Sukhbir  
Second secretary

**Tunisia**  
Chaouki Moatemri  
Vice-consul

**Turkey**  
Muhittin Celik  
Consul  
Ebru Demirbas Celik  
Vice-consul  
Gulay Kosem Rignault  
First secretary  
Fulya Kucukdag Ozen  
Second secretary  
Muammer Hakan Cengiz  
Counsellor  
Erim Ozen  
Second secretary  
Cem Mulazimoglu  
Attaché

**United States of America**  
Mark Christopher Wasilewski  
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# Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

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

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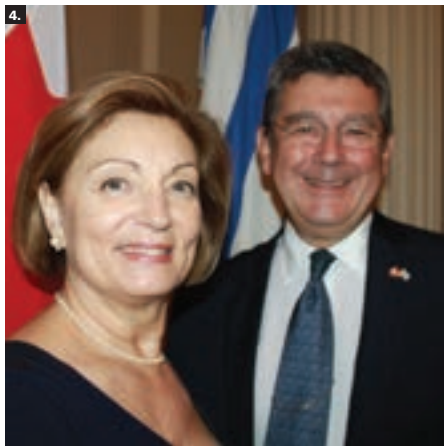
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1. Japanese Ambassador Norihiro Okuda hosted a national day reception at the Westin Hotel. From left: MPs Alice Wong and Colin Mayers, Mr. Okuda, Trade Minister Ed Fast and MPs Chungsen Leung and Peter Braid (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. House of Commons Speaker Andrew Scheer hosted a reception at the Diplomatic Forum in Regina. Mr. Scheer, centre, is shown here with Thai Ambassador Pisan Manawapat and his wife, Wanchana Manawapat. (Photo: D3 Imaging) 3. Vietnamese Ambassador Anh Dung To and his wife, Phi Nga Tran, hosted a national day reception. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. On the 189th anniversary of the declaration of independence, Uruguayan Ambassador Elbio Rosselli and his wife, Regina, hosted a reception. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. Bruce Linghu, representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, hosted Taiwan's 102nd National Day at the Chateau Laurier. He's joined by Multiculturalism Minister Jason Kenney. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. Foreign Minister John Baird and Ivica Dačić, first deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Serbia, met in Ottawa. The two countries signed a foreign investment promotion and protection agreement. (Photo: DFATD)





1. To mark the 193rd anniversary of the independence of Central America, the ambassadors and chargé d'affaires held a reception. From left, Costa Rican chargé d'affaires Eliana Villalobos Cardenas, Guatemalan Ambassador Rita Claverie Diazde Sciolli, Honduran Ambassador Sofia Cerrato and Salvadoran Ambassador Oscar Mauricio Duarte Granados. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. The CFUW Diplomatic Hospitality Group held a coffee reception at Metropolitan Brasserie. Ulrike Heimrich (Germany), right, with Irene Roy, of Otto's BMW Centre. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. On Malaysia's 57th national day, Ambassador Dato Hayati Ismail hosted a reception at her residence. Deepak Obhrai, parliamentary secretary to the minister of foreign affairs, attended. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. To mark the 25th anniversary of Poland becoming a state once again, Ambassador Marcin Bosacki hosted a reception. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 5. To mark the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Embassy of Germany launched a series of exhibitions at the Diefenbunker. Ambassador Werner Wnendt is shown with Henriette Riegel, director of the Diefenbunker. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. To mark the 65th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Ambassador Luo Zhaohui and his wife, Jiang Yili, hosted a reception at the embassy, featuring live performances. (Photo: Ulle Baum)





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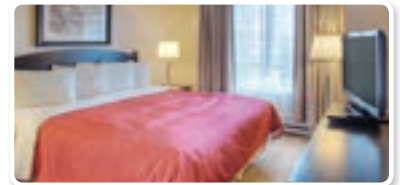
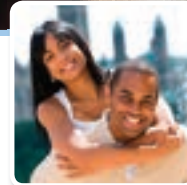
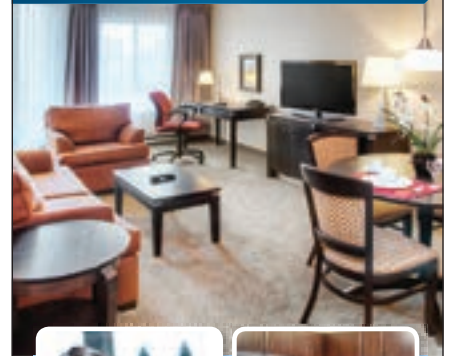
1. To celebrate Turkey's independence day, Ambassador Selcuk Unal and his wife, Lerzan Kayihan Unal, hosted a reception. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. At Mexico's national day, from left: Colombian Ambassador Nicolas Lloreda; Peruvian Ambassador Jose Antonio Bellina; Mogollon de Suarez, wife of Mexican Ambassador Francisco Suarez; Mr. Suarez and Rosa Garcia Rosell de Bellina, wife of Mr. Bellina. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. The Embassy of Mongolia hosted a vernissage for an exhibition of Mongolian Art at Ottawa Arts Court. Ambassador Altangerel Radnaabazar (centre) is shown with the group of artists. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. The International Women's Club of Ottawa had its annual September Tea at the Orleans United Church. From left, Helen Souter, IWCO president; Djurdja Papazoglu (Serbia), Miriam Barak (Israel), Maria Yeghanyan (Armenia) and Maria-Rosa Eiguez (Ecuador). (Photo: Pepper Mintz) 5. Silvia Bompadre, wife of the Argentine embassy's minister, participated in an art exhibition at St. Brigid's Centre for the Arts. She is shown with her husband, and two sons, Nicolas (left) and Santiago (front). (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. EU Ambassador Marie Anne Coninx and Tom McSorley, executive director of the Canadian Film Institute, at the press launch for the 29th European Film Festival. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 7. Norwegian Ambassador Mona E. Brøther spoke at Carleton University's Ambassadors Speaker Series organised by retired Canadian Ambassador Lawrence Lederman, left. (Photo: Ulle Baum)





1. The European Heads of Mission Spouses' Association (HOMSA) held an event to welcome new diplomats and their spouses at the home of Maria Yeganian, wife of the Armenian ambassador. From left: Indira Zhigalova (Kazakhstan), hat designer Emma Nersisyan, Ms. Yeganian and hat designer Gayane Nersisyan took part in a floral hat show by Montreal's Fleurs Glamour. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. Fisheries Minister Gail Shea, left, was a keynote speaker at a Women Ambassador's (WAO) luncheon hosted by Indonesian Ambassador Dienne Moehario, right, at her residence. Ms Shea is shown receiving a gift of Indonesian dolls. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. The Slovenian embassy hosted a reception to mark the opening of Slovenian artist Jasmina Cibic's solo exhibition, The Fruits of Our Land, at the SAW Gallery. From left, Lilijana Pogorevcnik Cencen, Slovenian Ambassador Marjan Cencen, Ms Cibic, SAW gallery curator Jason St-Laurent and Irena Gril, minister at the embassy of Slovenia. (Photo: Ulle Baum)

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# For the love of the salmon

By Donna Jacobs    Photos by Lois Siegel

Atlantic salmon have benefactors in Ottawa. Deputy Minister of Fisheries Matt King, MPs, diplomats, fishers, business people and civil servants turned out to support these iconic creatures that swim 3,000 kilometres from northern Europe to spawn in the rivers of their birth in Eastern Canada and the U.S.

The 250 people who attended the Atlantic Salmon Federation (ASF) 18th Annual Fall Run Conservation Dinner and Auction at the Museum of History were treated to a lively evening that raised \$75,000 for salmon conservation. They bid on donated all-expense-paid trips, fishing gear, restaurant and spa vouchers, jewelry, clothes, spirits and art.

It was a festive night — complete with music by Duelling Pianos of Ottawa — for a serious cause. The salmon need help, and fast: As their numbers plummet, with most of Canada's Atlantic salmon rivers down 30 to 50 percent from last year — itself not a great one — so goes the \$150 million fishery. And with it, go some 10,000 good seasonal and full-time jobs, ASF chairman and CEO Bill Taylor told attendees.

Mr. Taylor talked salmon with Fisheries Deputy Minister Matt King, who sat beside him throughout the dinner. On his other side was Manitoba MP Robert Sopuck, an inland salmon expert. Mr. Taylor told the crowd that ASF and the Department of Fisheries are not adversaries. The time for study is over, though, he said, and for Fisheries to execute its 2009 salmon policy paper. (Fisheries Minister Gail Shea, who was to attend, had to fly to Nova Scotia.) The department lacks funds to manage the salmon fishery, he added, with budgets at half the \$25 million of the mid-'80s.

Catches are too large: "Last year, anglers and First Nations fishermen in Eastern Canada killed 136 tonnes of Atlantic salmon. Greenland fishermen killed another 47 tonnes, or 14,000 salmon, more than 80 percent of Canadian origin and all large spawners," Mr. Taylor said.

He listed four fast-effect solutions: no harvest of populations with low spawning rates; no harvest of mixed stocks of migrating salmon at sea; release by anglers of all large salmon and grilse (salmon that spent one winter at sea); use by First Nations fishers of selective gear, release of all large spawners and banning of gill nets for salmon.

Of course, salmon was served that night. The appetiser buffet, with its mounds of smoked salmon, drew rave reviews. This salmon wasn't from sea farms, which are made of floating pens where salmon are often treated with pesticides, antibiotics and sickened by sea-lice parasites and diseases that afflict the tightly penned fish and spread to healthy wild salmon.

Rather, these salmon were land-raised by the Atlantic Salmon Federation and The Conservation Fund in closed-containment land facilities with fresh-pumped ocean water; Canada has three of the world's 10 operations.

Jim and Judy Hands of Hands Auction in Perth donated their services and auctioned fishing trips to Quebec's Gaspé and Matapédia River, 12 Ottawa Senators tickets in a 200-level suite, a Macallan's private scotch-tasting for 10 and a week in a Paris apartment.

Two ambassadorial gifts drew high bidding. Portuguese Ambassador José Fernando and his wife, Maria de Lurdes Moreira da Cunha, donated a dinner for 10 at their residence, featuring Portugal's famed cuisine.

Icelandic Ambassador Sturla Sigurjónsson and his wife, Elín Jónsdóttir, will serve 10 diners their country's food and drink specialties. In addition, the embassy secured two round-trip tickets from Icelandair for a week-long fishing package with well-known Icelandic fishing and tour guide Axel Oskarsson, CEO of I am Iceland ([www.amiceland.is](http://www.amiceland.is)). Attending in his Viking helmet to boost the Icelandic-themed evening, he donated two one-week guiding trips. The winners were his friends and fellow fishers, husband and wife, Dan Greenberg (honorary dinner chair) and Barbara Crook. They vigorously bid against each other, to the delight of the crowd. And to the benefit of the salmon.

Donna Jacobs is publisher of *Diplomat* magazine.



Charles Cusson, master of ceremonies and director, ASF Quebec Programs



Jim and Judy Hands of Hands Auction in Perth



Dawson Hovey, ASF Dinner Chairman, and his wife, Jocelyn



Bill Taylor, ASF President & CEO and ASF Dinner Committee, Velma McColl (left) and Fiona Gilfillan. (Photo: Caroline Phillips/Ottawa Citizen. Reprinted by permission.)





Axel Oskarsson; Barbara Crook, wife of Dan Greenberg; Conservative Nepean-Carleton MP Pierre Poilievre and Dan Greenberg



Donna Jacobs, publisher of *Diplomat*, ASF Dinner Committee; Cindy Sezlik; Axel Oskarsson, CEO, I am Iceland (tourism and outdoors guiding company [www.iamiceland.is](http://www.iamiceland.is)); Dan Greenberg, honorary ASF Dinner Chairman



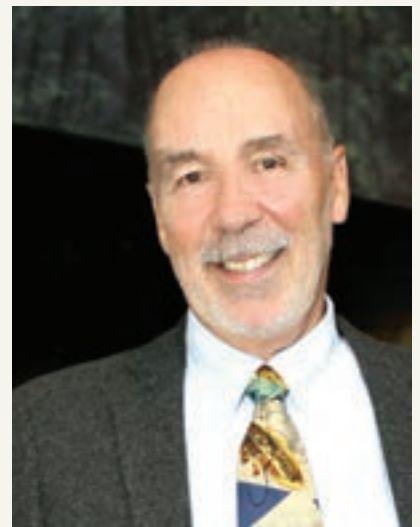
Greg Brandt, Erin Filitser's husband; Saudi Arabia Ambassador Naif Bin Bandir Alsudairy; Erin Filitser, ASF Dinner Committee



Pierre Tipple (ASF Dinner Committee), Peter Rozanski, Ameer Razavi and Christina Ellis



Irish Ambassador Raymond Bassett, his wife Patricia; Elín Jónsdóttir and her husband, Icelandic ambassador Sturla Sigurjónsson



Stephen Gallagher, ASF Dinner Committee

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# An island paradise in Canada's time zone



The city of Trinidad, where the ambassador was born, was named a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1988.



By Julio Garmendía Peña  
Ambassador of Cuba

In Cuba, visitors will encounter a warm Cuban spirit wherever they go — whether to a lavish resort, glitzy show, lush mountains or serene beaches.

If you love the sea as much as I do, Varadero Beach remains the country's

most famous vacation spot. Only 135 kilometres outside Old Havana, Varadero bustles with award-winning resorts, a championship golf course, nature-based attractions and historical sites such as the elegant du Pont mansion (Mansion Xanadu) and Al Capone's stone beach villa. Mansion Xanadu, once the summer property of the wealthy du Pont family, today functions as the Varadero Golf Clubhouse and Varadero's most luxurious property, with six guest rooms, a second-floor ocean-facing lookout and bar, a restaurant featuring fine French dining and a museum.

For those seeking tranquility, the Atlantic and Caribbean sides of Cuba are

dotted with alluring island hideaways. The captivating keys (*cayos*), strung along Cuba's Atlantic coast about 450 kilometres from Varadero, were first claimed by Ernest Hemingway, who used them as settings for his novels *Islands in the Stream* and *The Old Man and the Sea*. Cayo Coco, Cayo Guillermo and Cayo Santa Maria are noted for their long, sun-blasted beaches ideal for walking, shell-collecting or lingering under the palms. The impossibly blue waters attract serious divers and snorkellers, while rural surroundings offer a glimpse of a simpler life and a slower pace.

Cuba has a vivid history and culture, in which Spain and Africa, along with other





Cuba is home to many varieties of tropical fruit, often sold by vendors such as these, in the streets of Havana.



One of Cuba's most important gifts to the world is its music.

European and Caribbean countries, have played an important role. The Americans, too, left their legacies — the most famous of which are those classic Chevys, Cadillacs and Buicks that Cubans have kept running for more than a half century.

Throughout the country, ancient architecture, widely recognised by UNESCO, will satisfy even the most demanding and

sophisticated history buffs. Among the most stunning structures anywhere in the world are 3,000 colonial-style buildings in Old Havana's harbour area, which evokes Cadiz and Tenerife and marks the spot where treasure-laden Spanish galleons once stopped to trade. Today, these buildings are being restored and modernised, offering everything from palatial busi-

ness hotels and quaint historical inns to shops packed with local and imported wares. Sidewalk cafés, multicultural restaurants and famous watering holes are great places to mingle. Gourmets will be pleased to learn that our chefs can be as imaginative as any local artists.

One of many treasures is the City of Trinidad, where I was born. UNESCO named it a World Heritage Site in 1988. Founded in 1514, it is called "the museum city of Cuba." The meticulously preserved town offers a window into the past, from its sprawling colonial palaces and plazas to its remnants of sugar mills and slave barracks from another era. Soak up the rich Spanish colonial architecture by taking a stroll through the picturesque cobblestone streets of this very walkable city.

Trinidad's picture-perfect location, between mountains and the Caribbean coastline, offers an abundance of natural attractions. Climb the mountains of the nearby Sierra del Escambray, refresh yourself at the immaculate Ancón Beach or go bass fishing in the Embalse Zaza.

For those who love nature, I strongly recommend Las Terrazas, a complex located 60 kilometres to the west of Havana, in the Sierra del Rosario Mountains (part of the Guaniguanico Range). This area was designated a biosphere reserve by UNESCO in 1984.

Las Terrazas complex is a small village of 1,000 inhabitants, among them artists and musicians who share their art with the workers and peasants who live there. You can stay at La Moka Hotel, which has a beautiful and eco-friendly architectural design. For dining, you can choose from among the restaurants catering to tourists, such as Fonda de Mercedes or Cafetal Buenavista, which is housed in the ruins of an 18th-Century coffee plantation. To enjoy the best Cuban coffee, you must not miss the famous El Café de María.

Las Terrazas' nature reserve includes 5,000 hectares of secondary forest, which was planted on the surrounding deforested hills by building terraces to avoid erosion. The reserve is rich in flora and fauna and includes lakes, rivers and waterfalls. Either for birdwatchers, lovers of eco-tourism or romantic couples (the stars are astonishing at night), Las Terrazas has something for everyone. For the more daring, it has the only zip lining experience available in Cuba. An aerial canopy tour by cables that hover over the village and forest for at least one kilometre is a unique adventure. This place is a great example of sustainable development, but its more



important charm is the hospitality and kindness of its people.

One of the country's most important gifts to the world is its music. Rooted in Spain and Africa, Cuban music has contributed internationally not only to the development of jazz and salsa, but also to the Argentine tango, Ghanaian highlife, West African Afrobeat and Spanish nuevo flamenco. Cocktails, rum, beer, music and performances — these are the key ingredients for memorable evenings at Havana's Tropicana Nightclub. Outside the capital, be sure to visit the Tropicana Varadero or Tropicana Santiago nightclubs for a sampling of the vast network of party rooms, nightclubs and cabarets.

Cuban cuisine, like the whole Cuban culture, has been influenced by the Spanish, French, African, Arabic, Chinese and Portuguese cultures. Traditional Cuban cooking is primarily peasant cuisine — very basic, but stunning. Our mothers and grandmothers have cooked by eye (*a ojo*), which means they have a special gift to make a delicious dish without taking into consideration measurements, order or timing.

Most Cuban specialties are sautéed or slow-cooked over a low flame. And most rely on a few basic spices, such as garlic, cumin, oregano and bay laurel leaves. Many dishes use a *sofrito* as their basis, which consists of onion, green pepper, garlic, oregano and ground pepper, quick-fried in olive oil. The *sofrito* is what gives certain foods their distinctive flavour. Meats and poultry are usually marinated in citrus juices, such as lime or sour orange and then roasted over low heat until the meat is tender and literally falling off the bone.

Another common staple in the Cuban diet is root vegetables such as yuca, eddoe and sweet potato, which are found in most Latin markets. These vegetables are generally flavoured with a marinade, called *mojo*, which includes hot olive oil, lemon juice, sliced raw onions, garlic, cumin and a little water. Whether you choose to eat in La Bodeguita del Medio, or in one of the most modern private restaurants, such as San Cristobal or La Catedral, you will always find a broad variety of Cuban and international cuisine to satisfy all your preferences.

Cuba is a very warm, beautiful and affordable destination for Canadians, just four hours away. All Canadians will be most welcome there.

**Julio Garmendía Peña** is the ambassador of Cuba to Canada.



Varadero Beach is the country's most famous vacation spot.



Las Terrazas complex is a small village 60 kilometres west of Havana. Here, artists and musicians share their art with workers and peasants who live here.

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# Swimming with the spawning salmon

By Donna Jacobs

Photos by Mike Beedell

Johnston Strait, British Columbia



Pink salmon may migrate up to 3,000 kilometres from north Alaskan waters to the North American west coast. Here, they have returned to Vancouver Island's Campbell River where they were born, to spawn and die.

**P**ull on a wetsuit and snorkel gear and step into a fast-running river. Float effortlessly for kilometres in your buoyant lifejacket down the current, while 20,000 salmon are swimming under you in the opposite direction.

It is a thrill ride at five kilometres an hour down the swift-moving Campbell River on Vancouver Island's east coast. You're looking at the swirling mass of pink salmon beneath you while dodging boulders that come up fast.

How does one end up here? Chelsea's Mike Beedell, adventurer-environmentalist-photographer and *Diplomat* Magazine contributor, was looking for a few people

for his annual "Orcas & Otters Explorer" outing. The August trip includes beach explorations and sea-kayaking followed by a week on a yacht and in kayaks, looking at sea otters, humpback whales, orcas (killer whales), dolphins, sea lions and gorgeous jellyfish and sea vegetation.

The fascinating natural world aside, the trip has unknowns: What if the fish are so thick you can't move? How cold is the water? What about living on a yacht for the first time, with a bunch of strangers, for a week? Or being seasick?

The yacht, the *Ocean Light II*, turns out to be a quick education in comfortable, but close sleeping quarters (two bunk beds per

cabin) with a spacious dining room and deck. The 71-foot ocean ketch has 14 Atlantic crossings to her credit. The interior, rich in mahogany and Douglas fir, has a huge table for meals and computer work and easily seats the 10 guests.

Everyone gathers there for yacht-owner Jenn Broom's home-cooked meals and diet-busting mid-afternoon baking. Since 1991, she has served as chief cook, first mate and guide.

## Close encounters

The yacht is skippered by Chris Tulloch, long a guide in B.C. waters and an expert in animal and plant identification. For



years, he ran a research ship in Alaska that did humpback and orca identification. *Ocean Light's* other skipper is Tom Ellison, a well-known environmentalist who once raised \$2.5 million of \$3 million needed to allow the Raincoast Conservation Foundation to buy up hunting tenures formerly used for grizzly bear trophy hunting. The funds came from a few of the yacht's guests, who were inspired by their experience.

Both men have an uncanny ability to find, and often attract, dolphins, orcas and bears whose trust they've gained through many encounters. The creatures often get wonderfully close to the yacht or its sturdy silver Zodiac.

Also, the six kayaks aboard allow a slow mosey along the coastline rich in purple, dark red and bright orange sea stars (starfish). Some have only four legs, while others have as many as 20. Or you can try to follow a pulsating peach-coloured or tiny opalescent jellyfish.

The dining room turns into a post-dinner animated seminar where all the day's species spottings, whether from water or walks, are listed on huge easel paper. And it's where Skipper Tulloch pulls out maps to trace the day's travels and tomorrow's route.

We begin the 10-day excursion on Quadra Island, with Mike Beedell, at the simple and comfortable Taku Resort, 150 kilometres up the east coast of Vancouver Island and a ferry ride from Campbell River.

He familiarises us with "one of the most beautiful pursuits": seakayaking (solo or double). "You're self-propelled, your backside is below the ocean waterline so you're feeling the pulse of the sea. You learn about currents, about waves. You don't have to be very strong and can quickly get some sense of speed."

We do feel the currents and learn to divide labours (front person steers with her feet) as we paddle with and against currents.

#### Fear of ferries

Never before did a B.C. ferry seem so threatening as when Mr. Beedell warned us to stop gazing around and race to safety because the Heriot Bay Ferry can't stop or avoid us in the narrow channel. The huge ferry moves astonishingly quickly.

As we sit in our little red and yellow sea slippers on the open strait, the ferry looks like a white monster and we really do have to paddle fast to be well away from it and its turbulent wake.

It isn't true danger, of course. Mr.



The yacht anchors along Vancouver Island's wild eastern coastline so its occupants can explore an old Aboriginal settlement area and coastal waters rich in flora and fauna.

Beedell knows all about the real thing. In 1976, he was at university and for a summer job, Trailhead in Ottawa hired him as a river guide on the Arctic Coppermine River north of Yellowknife. He bought a camera for the trip. While watching tens of thousands of caribou, white wolves hunting them, barren ground grizzlies and muskoxen, he met a gyrfalcon.

"I happened to be sitting on a cliff edge and the gyrfalcon landed with a ptarmigan (a rotund bird), in its talons, three to four metres away, dined and then cleaned the blood off his feathers. He got down from his noble falcon look and nestled down like a chicken and went to sleep." Parks Canada bought his photos and gave him an assignment. He was hooked.

(Adventure runs in the family: His father, John Beedell, a former Olympic canoeist in the 1960 Rome Olympics, was an outdoor educator and biology teacher who taught at Ashbury College in Ottawa for decades and his mother, Ann, has been an active outdoorswoman.)

For death defiance, what could surpass Mr. Beedell's and fellow Canadian, Jeff MacInnis' record-making 4,000-kilometre trip — they were the first to sail through the Northwest Passage on wind-power in their catamaran. The 100-day journey (over the three summers of 1986-88) took them from Inuvik in the Northwest Territories to Pond Inlet on Baffin Island on a *National Geographic Magazine* assignment.

Just one entry in Beedell's journal: "If we went over in these seas we could not get the boat back up. For a moment, I envisioned our flipping over, the sickening feeling of terror, the frigid ocean engulfing us. Then the quick, deadly numbing of our bodies and the absolute desperation before being swallowed up in the maw of an Arctic sea."

Our own tame trip was incident-free, though being in a kayak and finding yourself quite close to a hunting humpback pumps plenty of adrenalin. Mr. Beedell quickly tells us how to hold onto our kayak in case the whale surfaces beside us. We are especially attentive after he tells us of a photograph he saw in which a humpback lifted a kayaker on its back and set it down neatly without ever tipping the little craft. "Humpies" are known as the most people-friendly whales.

The rest of the trip is aboard the *Ocean Light II* yacht, sailing the Johnston Strait for a week with Chris Tulloch and Jenn Broom, where every day produced surprises. They plan it that way. Ms Broom puts her work simply: "It's joyful. There are so many experiences: sea otters mating, an orca in full breach, a blue whale, groups of up to 1,000 Pacific white-sided dolphins" along with bears, mink and seals that feed on migrating salmon and on halibut. She is concerned about disease and pollution from the salmon farms near B.C.'s salmon rivers that endanger wild



Left to right, top to bottom:

The enthusiastic sea lion welcoming committee swims up to visitors in *Ocean Light II's* Zodiac; a surfing sea lion gets flipped out of the wave; hooded nudibranch; sunflower sea star; Jenn Broom, owner, and Chris Tulloch, skipper of *Ocean Light II*; sea otter wrapped in kelp (a good way to sleep); orcas fishing in formation; sea kayaking before breakfast; a humpback whale fluke during a hunting dive; sea stars; hunting humpback scooping up small fish before using the bristle-like baleen that line its mouth as a sieve; Donna Jacobs, *Diplomat* publisher and Mike Beedell, wildlife guide and contributing *Diplomat* photographer.





The ocean water is unbroken for kilometres, except for a very small reef that serves as a playground for sea lions who line up to wait for a wave to ride.

salmon, and about Enbridge tankers and the B.C. government's grizzly bear trophy hunt.

Life aboard a yacht is cosy in the cabins and convivial on deck and at the dining room table.

#### Surfin' sea lions

Probably everyone's biggest and most delightful surprise was that sea lions surf — really surf. They line up to play — to surf a wave that breaks over the only small reef in sight. They tread water until it's their turn to be flipped out of the wave, though occasionally they triumph and ride the wave down and a cheer goes up from the Zodiac.

For a comedy show, nothing compares to the sea lions. Dozens of them are sleeping and sunbathing on large rock outcroppings near shore. The moment we approach, these non-surfers heave themselves into the ocean to swim out to the Zodiac as a hilarious, snorting welcoming committee.

They circle the craft and come right up to us as we lean over the side to see them. They come in droves with their huge brown eyes, long whiskers and greeting growls, all the while performing acrobatics around and under the inflatable.

For sheer exuberance, there is nothing like a leaping escort from Pacific white-

sided dolphins, who race alongside in the V-shaped wave the yacht creates, turning on their backs and sides to have a good look at us.

And for awe, nothing can compare with being close to hunting humpback whales. The best sightings (aside from a friendly radio alert from fellow tour boats) begin with a gathering of shrieking sea birds.

They are drawn by fish, probably herrings, that gather in huge "bait balls" that churn the water into roiling silver flashes. Small diving birds, storm petrels, alert nearby humpback whales and before long, one or two arrive and perform one of the animal kingdom's most astonishing hunting techniques.

#### Blowing bubble nets

This enormous whale — an adult measures 14-plus metres — turns in a tight circle, perhaps 50 metres down, producing bubbles of varying sizes from its blowhole. When the near-perfect circle is complete, the bubble net has entrapped thousands of fish. The humpback dives deep and comes crashing up right in the middle of the net, lower jaw (mandible) greatly dislocated forward, mouth agape to scoop up the fish. In shallow water, the whale feeds, its huge back forming a hump as it rises above the water between dives.

Dozens of orcas cruise the Robson Bight Ecological Reserve, where boat traffic is forbidden — one of the best places in the world to study orcas. Outside the reserve, for the first time in decades of guiding, Mr. Tulloch and Ms Broom see orcas using one of the well-known "rubbing beaches" where these members of the dolphin family flip onto their back and scratch and scrape clean and dislodge parasites on the smooth rocks. They also co-operate in driving prey fish to shore for easier hunting.

Sometimes we cruise by, listening to wolves howling or seeing black bears leisurely turning over shellfish on shore, in search of a meal.

There is more than the natural world to see. Alert Bay, with its huge historic and modern totem poles and 150-year-old heritage buildings, is the home of the Kwakwaka'wakw people, and where the U'mista Cultural Centre and museum is famed for its collection of ceremonial clothing and objects of art.

Nearby Telegraph Cove is ranked among the Top-10 best Canadian towns to visit by travel writers. The old boardwalk community offers accommodations and two marinas and its shops and restaurants support a brisk business serving tourists who use it as a launching place for wildlife viewing, sports fishing and boating.



Bald eagles abound along the Vancouver Island coast, especially during salmon-spawning season.



Pacific white-sided dolphins race alongside the yacht and play in the wake.

It has an extraordinary boardwalk, Whale Interpretive Centre with huge marine mammal skeletons, interactive and historical displays.

#### Researching orcas' survival

In a sober evening at the centre, three scientists discussed the plight of orcas,

especially the endangered southern population that swims between Vancouver, Victoria and Seattle and the threatened resident northern population in Canadian waters. They also express concern over the collapse of populations of western salmon, which is attributed variously to overfishing, diseases and sea lice infesta-

tions spread from unhealthy, unnaturally crowded farmed Atlantic salmon placed in Pacific salmon migration routes to natal rivers, from logging on salmon rivers and from sport fishing.

The scientists, Dr. Lance Barrett-Lennard, Vancouver Aquarium's senior marine mammal scientist, working with Drs. John Durban and Holly Fearnbach of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), among others, unveiled a new way to assess orcas' health and keep track of individuals.

They use a \$35,000 specially designed six-sided drone, a hexacopter, to photograph orcas without disturbing them. The precise laser measurements that the camera records from each individual photographed provides a good assessment of health and population numbers. The scientists made a disturbing, but useful discovery: Orcas can be starving, but still keep their rounded body shape. They take on water that masks thinness, but it cannot camouflage a "peanut head," caused by the loss of fat between the blowhole and the back of their skull. That shape predicts imminent death for an orca.

#### Ocean Light II trips

*Ocean Light II* Adventures offers nearly three dozen B.C. coast trips, from May through mid-October ([www.oceanlight2.bc.ca](http://www.oceanlight2.bc.ca)). They range from three days to a week. One trip, called Grizzlies of the Khutzeymateen, covers territory open to only two licensed outfitters and provides exploration of the grizzly sanctuary to 200 people a year. On the boat trips to the Khutzeymateen, Mr. Tulloch says the bears "end up ignoring us. They just act like bears and we're quite close to them in the Zodiac. We see lots of fighting and mating. For me what is really remarkable is when they go to sleep right beside us or nurse their young beside us."

The *Ocean Light II* makes frequent trips in the Great Bear Rainforest — famous for the white "Spirit Bear" variant of black bears, wolves and salmon. Another trip concentrates on orca-watching and exploration of Gwaii Haanas (Queen Charlotte Islands) aboard the yacht. And for kayakers, there is mothership-based sea-kayaking along the Gwaii Haanas to see salmon, sea lions, whales and porpoises and to explore tidal and coastline flora and fauna as well as outings to cultural attractions of the Haida people, who have inhabited the islands for 10,000 years.

Donna Jacobs is publisher of *Diplomat* magazine.



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