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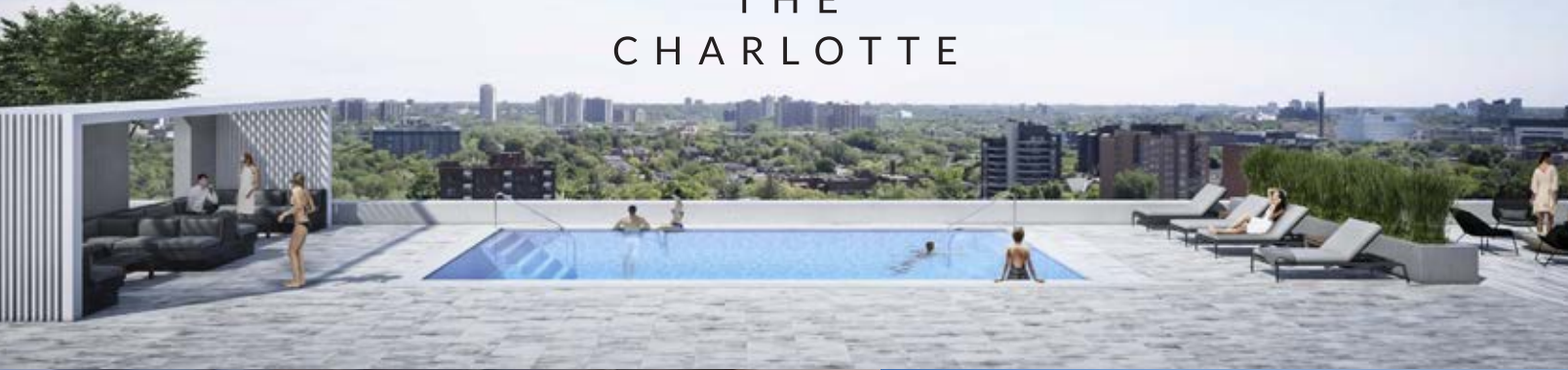
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A large, professional headshot of Cindy Sezlik, a woman with short, styled blonde hair, wearing a black jacket over a white top and a multi-strand pearl necklace. She is smiling gently at the camera.

CINDY SEZLIK

1929 - 2019

Attitude, Gratitude, and Enthusiasm was how Cindy continued to live the final years of her life. If you met Cindy recently – at an event perhaps, or a concert, or over lunch – you could be forgiven for assuming that she would live forever. She loved life too much to leave it. Throughout her life she supported a wide variety of causes, giving generously to support culture, women's groups and local Ottawa charities, the community that she loved.

We're incredibly grateful for her guidance and inspiration and will continue the spirit of giving back to the community that has provided us with so much.

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Table of CONTENTS

DIPLomaticA |

Cartoons from around the world	12
Fen Hampson: What 2020 will bring	18
Questions Asked: Brian Lee Crowley on Canadian foreign policy	22
Notes from the field: Stopping the Ebola epidemic	28
Good Deeds: Fly Day sends Wish Foundation kids soaring	30
Trade Winds: Czech Republic, Qatar and Albania	31
Diplomatic Agenda: Bahamas on rebuilding, post-Dorian	36

DISPATCHES |

Trade talk

The Top-10 biggest trade pacts in the world	38
Africa's new trade deal — seven years in the making	46
CANZUK: Fantasy or potential reality?	48

The geopolitical aims for Belt and Road	50
Robert I. Rotberg: Africa's improving health outcomes	58
Philippines' economy works the tourism angle	62

DELIGHTS |

Books: On Ebola, Marcel Cadieux and William Burns	66
Entertaining: Three recipes for winter warmth and romance	72
Art: Indigenous art takes centre-stage this winter	76
Wine: Syrah's complexity and strengths	82
Residences: The Kuwaiti ambassador's residence, an Arabic gem	85
Envoy's album: Photos of events in the diplomatic corps	94

DIGNITARIES |

New arrivals in the diplomatic corps	90
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DIPLOMATIC LISTINGS 100

DESTINATIONS |

Patrick Langston on autumn adventures around Ottawa	104
Destinations: Ecuador has something for every tourist	106

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Jennifer Campbell

Trade more crucial than ever

When Donald Trump was elected in 2016, trade advocates began to panic. The deal-making president, it seemed, was more intent on Making America Great Again, and part of his efforts to do so included a focus on building up the economy from the inside, relying less and less on trade partners around the world.

Although Canadians played it cool, NAFTA was on their minds and eventually, through grit and determination, Canada and Mexico managed to hammer out a deal that was acceptable to them and to their trade-averse partner in the geographic middle. Whether you call it CUSMA (Canada's name for it), USMCA (the U.S.'s acronym) or ACEUM (Mexico's moniker), it has been accepted by all three governments' trade teams and is now awaiting approval from each of the countries' elected officials.

If and when it achieves that distinction, it will take its place as the world's largest trade pact by dollar value. In the meantime, NAFTA remains in force and the combined GDP of Canada, the U.S. and Mexico represents 28 per cent of the world's gross GDP, with just 7 per cent of its population. NAFTA recorded a total value of \$2.38 trillion in 2017.

In our cover story, writer Laura Neilson Bonikowsky examines the world's Top 10 trade pacts, including what they trade and what they're worth. She also lists the trade deals that Canada has signed or is negotiating. A comprehensive list, it underscores why Canada is often viewed with envy by less-connected trading countries.

With the help of Cameroon High Commissioner Solomon Azoh-mbi and South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni

Dlamini-Mntambo we put a special spotlight on the African Union's new trade pact, representing a population of 1.27 billion consumers and bringing together a total of 54 countries on the continent. Those numbers make it the world's largest free trade area by population and the largest customs union. There's work to be done, however, as only 16.6 per cent of those countries' exports remain on the continent.

Meanwhile, the Philippines is projected to become the world's second fastest-growing emerging market and Ülle Baum reports on how tourism is contributing.

We also have a story on the Anglosphere, which is enjoying a resurgence now that Britain is likely leaving the European Union. The idea, espoused by former British prime minister Winston Churchill, calls for greater economic and military integration and collaboration between Canada, Britain, New Zealand and Australia. It sometimes also includes the U.S.

Up front, Fen Hampson previews 2020 and identifies some places to watch. In Dispatches, Robert Rotberg offers more good news about Africa, whose health outcomes are on the upswing.

Also in Dispatches, Joe Varner details how China's Belt and Road Initiative offers a convenient way for the People's Republic to expand its military presence across the infrastructure system it prefers to identify as silk roads on land and water.

In Delights, books columnist Christina Spencer suggests titles about Ebola, Canadian diplomat Marcel Cadieux and William Burns, the U.S.'s senior ambassador under presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama. Margaret Dickenson has recipes for a warm winter's eve; Peter Simpson previews the best art shows in the coming months; Patrick Langston offers a feature on the Kuwaiti ambassador's residence and another story on travel opportunities around the capital in the winter months. Finally, Ecuadoran Ambassador Diego Stacy serves up an exotic tour of his country in the form of a travel story. We also introduce Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock, our new wine columnist, whose first piece features Syrah.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

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Srdjan Vucetic is an associate professor at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Ottawa, and a co-director (security) in the Canadian Security and Defence Network. He received a PhD in political science from Ohio State University, and he holds a master's in political science from York University and a bachelor's in international relations from the University of Toronto. He has held fellowships at the Asia Research Institute at the National University Singapore, the Institute for Security and Defence Analyses in New Delhi and at Pembroke College, Cambridge University.

Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock



Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock is entrenched in the beverage business. Be it selling or making it, he's spent the past decade brewing, fermenting, studying and crafting adult drinks. His first love is wine, his second is bartending and brewing. With so much to learn and taste, chances are he's nose-deep in a glass or a book, looking to delve further into pursuing his passion of alcoholic fermentation. He aims to share his findings through his writing and through creating his own wines, beers or cocktails.

UP FRONT

In our cover photo, we see shipping containers in a busy harbour — a quintessential image evoked when one hears the word trade. We analyze the world's biggest trade pacts, by dollar value and volume, in our cover story, by Laura Neilson Bonikowsky. It starts on page 38.



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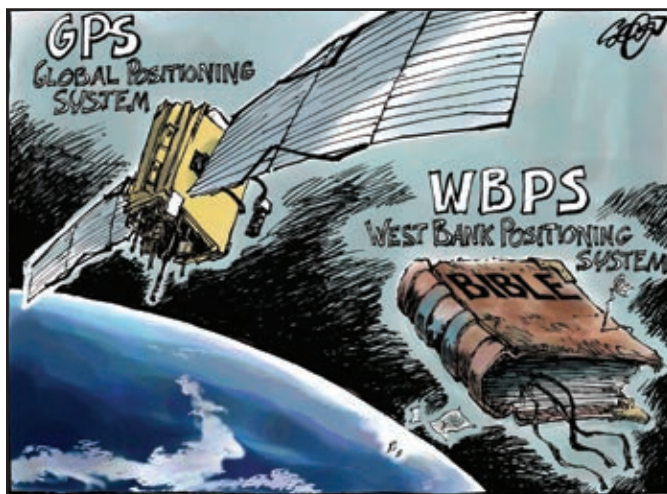
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Political commentary from around the world



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Where are we now, by Patrick Chappatte, *Le Temps*, Switzerland



Moderate Democrats take centre stage at debate, by R.J. Matson, *CQ Roll*, U.S.



Unrest in Latin America, by Paresh Nath, *The Khaleej Times*, UAE



EU subsidy corruption, by Paresh Nath, *The Khaleej Times*, UAE



Global social revolts, by Patrick Chappatte, *Der Spiegel*, Germany



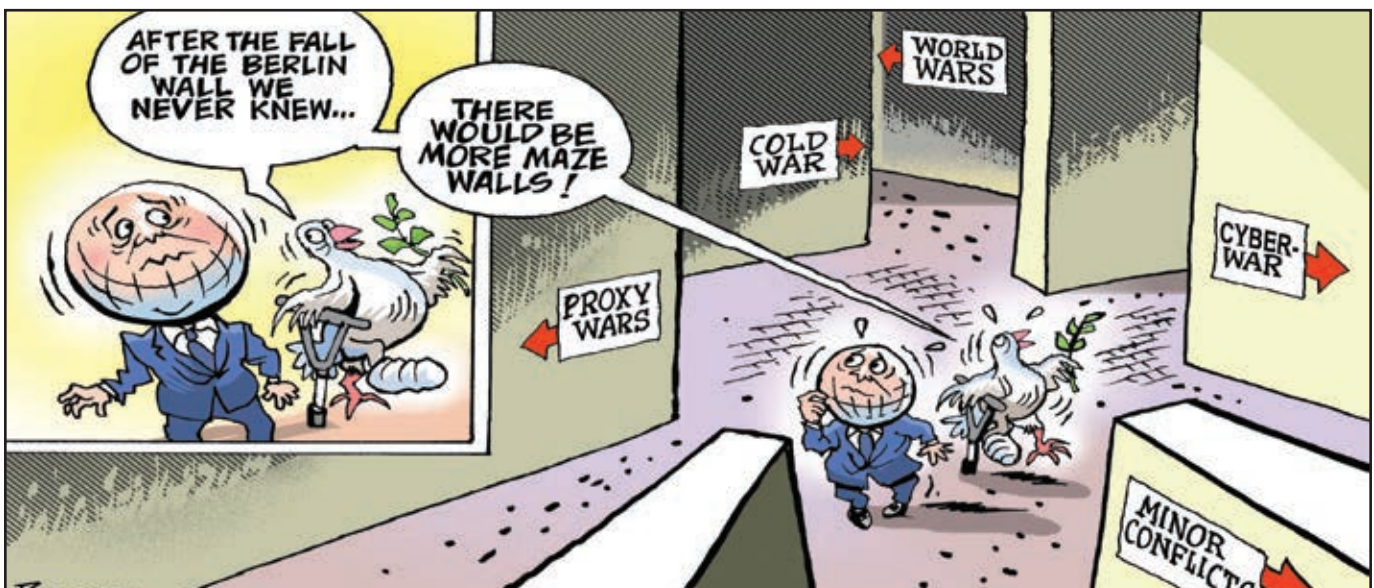
Afghan peace journey, by Paresh Nath, *The Khaleej Times*, UAE



U.S. law on Hong Kong, by Paresh Nath, *The Khaleej Times*, UAE



An autumn of EU, by Vladimir Kazanevsky, *PoliticalCartoons.com*, Ukraine



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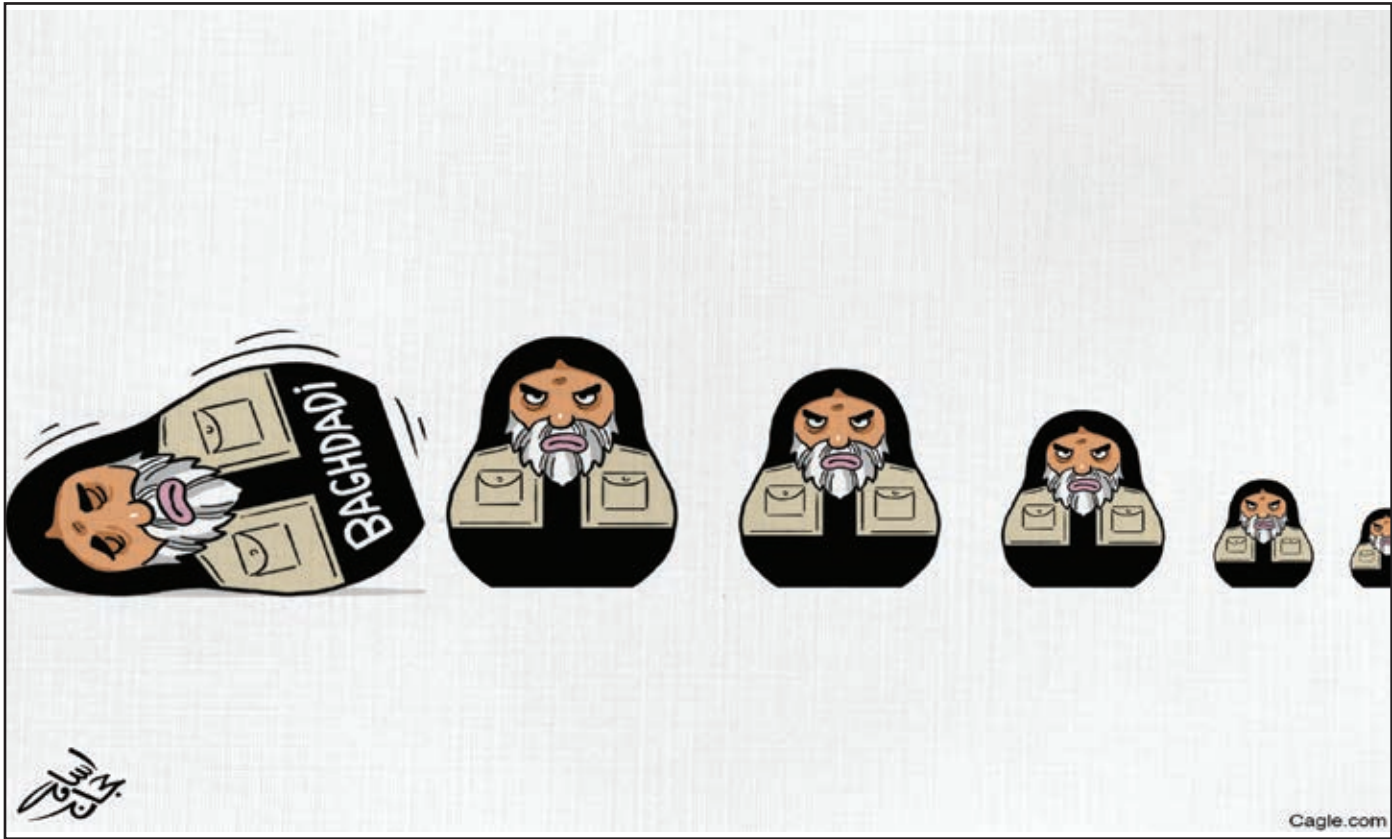
Impeachment fight staredown, by R.J. Matson, *CQ Roll Call*, U.S.



Conspiracy, by Pavel Constantin, Romania



Macron on NATO, by Paresh Nath, *The Khaleej Times*, UAE

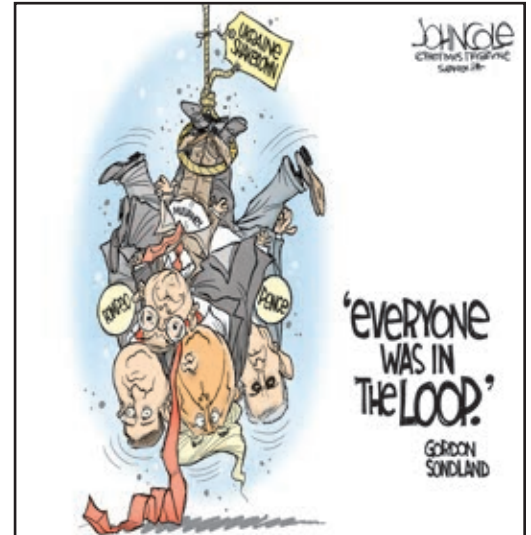


Baghdadi dolls, by Osama Hajjaj, Jordan

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Putin watches impeachment hearings, by R.J. Matson, *CQ Roll*, U.S.



Everyone was in the loop, by John Cole, *The Scranton Times-Tribune*, U.S.



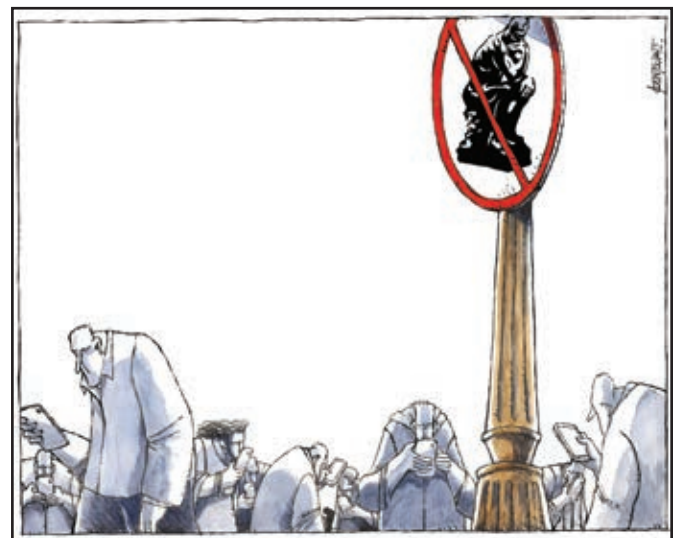
Western Canadian separatism, by Dale Cummings, *PoliticalCartoons.com*, Canada



Revolution and financial predator, by Luo jie, *China Daily*, China



Bloomberg launch, by Rick McKee, *CagleCartoons.com*



More mobile, less thinking, by Michael Kountouris, Greece

What the new year will bring



Fen Hampson predicts a "slumping and more dangerous China," whose president, Xi Jinping, is shown here with Russian President Vladimir Putin.



Fen
Hampson

The onset of the New Year is generally a time for punditry, predictions, crystal-ball gazing and the invariable resolutions — resolutely made, occasionally kept, more often broken.

Resolutions aside, there is good reason to be circumspect about what 2020 will bring as the year unfolds. The geopolitical order is unstable. The global economy

more so. Below are just some of the more worrying trends and developments.

A slumping and more dangerous China

One of the biggest disruptions under way is China's economic slump, which will continue into 2020. The trade war between China and the United States has taken a serious toll on China's economy. But that is not the only reason China is recording its slowest rate of growth (hovering around 6 per cent in the third quarter of 2019, though many believe this figure is exaggerated) in almost three decades. China's slowdown is also due to a confluence of domestic factors and policies that are hurting its economy, including a sharp decline in consumer spending and reduced public expenditure on infrastructure, which, over the years, has seen roads built to nowhere and the construction of vast

cities that are empty ghost towns. Corporate profits of major Chinese firms are showing the strain. Local governments, which have borrowed heavily to finance infrastructure, are struggling to pay back their loans. For several years now, many have been predicting a debt crisis and financial disaster, especially if China's central government is no longer in a position to underwrite these loans.

China is also paying a serious price for flouting many conventional norms of international trade and investment. Despite the pretense of a market economy, its authoritarian government has doubled down on state control of the actions of foreign and domestic business. Theft of intellectual property is chronic. Rules on foreign investment are one-sided. Many foreign investors no longer view the Chinese market as the goose that will lay the

Russia			Canada		
Annual GDP	2018	1,657,290M.\$	1,712,479M.\$	2018	Annual GDP
GDP per capita	2018	11,289\$	46,290\$	2018	GDP per capita
Debt	2018	241,945	1,539,565	2018	Debt
Debt (per cent GDP)	2018	14.61%	89.94%	2018	Debt (per cent GDP)
Debt (per capita)	2018	1,648\$	41,617\$	2018	Debt (per capita)
Deficit (M.\$)	2018	48,421	-6,706	2018	Deficit (M.\$)
Deficit (per cent GDP)	2018	2.92%	-0.39%	2018	Deficit (per cent GDP)
Expenditure (M.\$)	2018	540,326.4	695,925.6	2018	Expenditure (M.\$)
Defence Expenditure (M.\$)	2018	65,123.4	21,451.0	2018	Defence Expenditure (M.\$)

Russia has military might and a massive nuclear arsenal, but its economic power has diminished, as seen above. Its GDP is smaller than Canada's.

proverbial golden egg.

However, the biggest uncertainty in China is political. President Xi Jinping has demonstrated the same authoritarian, cult-of-leader tendencies as Mao Zedong and, notwithstanding his vigorous anti-corruption campaign, he is obviously not keen on political reform. Quite the opposite — he is a counter-reformer determined to consolidate his power and the Communist Party's control over the economy. Xi's allergy to any kind of glasnost-style opening of the political system is not unique.

China's leaders have always worried about the dangers of political liberalization, given what happened to the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The financial crisis of 2007 and 2008 only heightened their nervousness about adapting macro-economic policies and financial systems from Western democracies to their model. China's astronomical economic growth rates during the first decade-and-a-half of this century created a sense of confidence — some would say arrogance — that China has little to learn from the West about politics or economics. But that confidence seems to be turning into a heightened sense of paranoia with continuing domestic political unrest in Hong Kong, growing environmental protest and the prospect of major civil unrest as China's burgeoning middle class see their own economic future dimming in a stalled economy.

It is not a rising, more confident and self-assertive China that poses a threat to regional and global stability, as some observers have argued. It is a stagnating China in which an increasingly paranoid

leadership feels the need to stoke nationalist sentiments to shore up its domestic support. China's centralized political system may be fundamentally at odds with modernity, notwithstanding all of the talk in recent years about "the Asian way." As the American political scientist, Samuel P. Huntington, observed many years ago, economic development and the social mobilization and political awareness that come from a rapidly growing, educated, urbanized middle class is a recipe for political instability unless there are legitimate channels for political participation and safety valves to express popular grievances.

Whether Xi's oversight of a budding personality cult and thought control by digital means can bridge this gap and provide an effective substitute for legitimate political participation remains to be seen. In the meantime, though, we may see a China that acts forcefully to quash internal dissent, takes an iron fist to Hong Kong, and continues with its sabre-rattling in the Straits of Taiwan and the South China Sea.

This is not likely to be the year for a recalibration of the U.S.-China economic relationship, either. Whether tariff battles will lead to a sensible *modus vivendi* or make matters worse will depend on the outcome of the U.S. presidential election. Right now, Americans are too immersed in their own internal political squabbles and leadership transition to generate the kind of deft diplomacy that is required to navigate through their major differences on trade and security issues with China, and avoid a further escalation of tensions.

Russia on the upswing

Russia under President Vladimir Putin has grandiose visions of regaining global respect and recognition similar to that once given the Soviet Union, but he is paranoid, too, as domestic opposition to his own leadership grows. With the withdrawal from Syria by the U.S., and its military drawdown in Iraq and Afghanistan, Russia will continue to fill the regional vacuum and boost Putin's sagging popularity at home. With Russia as the Middle East kingmaker, we will see Syria's Bashar al-Assad consolidate his murderous regime's repressive control over the territory and borders of his country.

Russia has a massive nuclear arsenal, growing conventional military capability and tremendous capacity for mischief in and beyond its near abroad, but its economic power (Russia's GDP is smaller than Canada's) has diminished, notwithstanding Putin's delusional view that he "is back at the top table, with history on his side" and his claim that liberalism has "outlived its purpose." In 2020, Russia will keep playing its hand strategically and astutely to its own advantage, and seek to drive a further wedge into the Trans-Atlantic Alliance, which is hobbled, weak and divided.

A boiling Middle East

The Middle East remains a bubbling cauldron of insecurity. The brutal civil war in Syria spawned a global tide of refugees who have moved predominantly into Europe on a scale never before seen in history, with negative consequences for de-



The brutal civil war in Syria spawned a global tide of refugees who have moved predominantly into Europe on a scale never before seen in history.



The November 2019 protests in Chile, shown here, underscore growing frustration with the inability of the country's political elites to address major social and economic inequalities, Hampson writes.

mocracy in many of the receiving nations and with no consequences for al-Assad as the initiator, or for his abettors. A second flight is under way as Kurds flee Turkish forces, though that exodus, for now at least, is confined to the region.

Tension is escalating between Saudi Arabia and Iran and those tensions will rise because there is nothing to stop them. Iran has launched sophisticated attacks against oil tankers in the Gulf of Oman and against Saudi oil refineries. It also shot down a U.S. surveillance drone that it alleged had entered Iranian air space.

Iraq is slowly coming back together, but the aspirations of Iran in the region, especially its open support for terrorism, are a chronic concern for the U.S., Israel and Saudi Arabia, among others. With the American withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, there is no longer even a limited brake on Iran's nuclear ambitions. U.S. President Donald Trump is confident that economic sanctions will bring Iran to heel, but as the economic situation there worsens with renewed sanctions, its leadership has nothing to lose by showing its open defiance of a hostile Western world by launching more attacks on tanker traffic in the Gulf and against its regional foe, Saudi Arabia. The Iranians will, as former U.S. secretary of state John Kerry observed, simply "wait Trump out," and also secretly reignite their nuclear ambitions.

The erratic behaviour of the Saudi regime, notably the brutal murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi, poses a powder keg of its own that could erupt into serious consequences for the region as greater repression by autocratic regimes, Saudi Arabia and Egypt included, lay the seeds for future rebellion and extremism.

Afghanistan was a failed state when it became a launch pad for the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the U.S. After nearly two decades, billions of dollars in economic and military assistance and thousands of deaths and serious injuries, the "graveyard of Empires" is still a quagmire for which there is no apparent solution. A Vietnam-style evacuation by the U.S. is likely in 2020, with nothing to ensure real stability for the Afghanistan's citizenry.

Economic stagnation and social unrest in the Western hemisphere

For several decades now, Latin America has been a relative pillar of stability among the world's regions as strong economic growth, especially in major economies such as Brazil, Chile and Colombia, led to an infusion of foreign capital and

the expansion of local labour markets. But many countries in the region are now experiencing economic stagnation and social unrest, which has produced its own political crisis as populists on the left and right have ascended to power. The November 2019 protests in Chile, which has been one of the region's most successful economies and also stable politically, underscore growing frustration with the inability of the country's political elites to address major social and economic inequalities (the third worst in the world). But Chile is not alone. Argentina, Brazil and Ecuador have all experienced similar problems, which will continue into 2020 and beyond. This may also be the year that Venezuela's increasingly isolated dictator, President Nicolás Maduro, finally falls, but not before millions more Venezuelans flee their collapsed country, making this the world's biggest refugee crisis after Syria.

Africa ascendant?

There has been good reason to feel bullish about the African sub-continent. Africa now represents the world's largest free trade area with its 1.2 billion people. Although the average GDP growth rate in 2019 was just shy of 2.5 per cent, there



The murder of Jamal Khashoggi is an example of the Saudi regime's erratic behaviour that could have consequences for the Middle East.

are major differences among countries. In 2019, the fastest-growing economies in the world were Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana and Rwanda with growth rates at or above 6 per cent. However, the region's three biggest economies — Nigeria, Angola and South Africa — have performed poorly, largely because of falling oil prices and declining commodity prices for some precious minerals. African countries will continue to be hampered by domestic macroeconomic instability, spiralling debt,

inflation, climate change, extreme drought and chronic political fragility.

Perils in cyberspace

We can expect cyberthreats to grow with the potential for more disruptive attacks on economies and society, including financial institutions and small- and medium-sized enterprises (which are ill equipped to address this challenge, unlike large firms). Many foresee the threats from cyberspace as more troubling in the year (and decade) ahead than those from terrorism or nuclear proliferation, especially given the absence of negotiated standards or an agreed rule of behaviour (i.e., codes of conduct in cyberspace.)

To riff on the observation made by the late great Italian filmmaker, Federico Fellini, "I would like to paint a more confident picture of the world.... But we are surrounded by protectionism, virulent nationalism and populism, and it is difficult to talk of other things."

Fen Osler Hampson is Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University. His newest book *Braver Canada: Shaping Our Destiny in a Precarious World* (with Derek H. Burney) will be published in February 2020.



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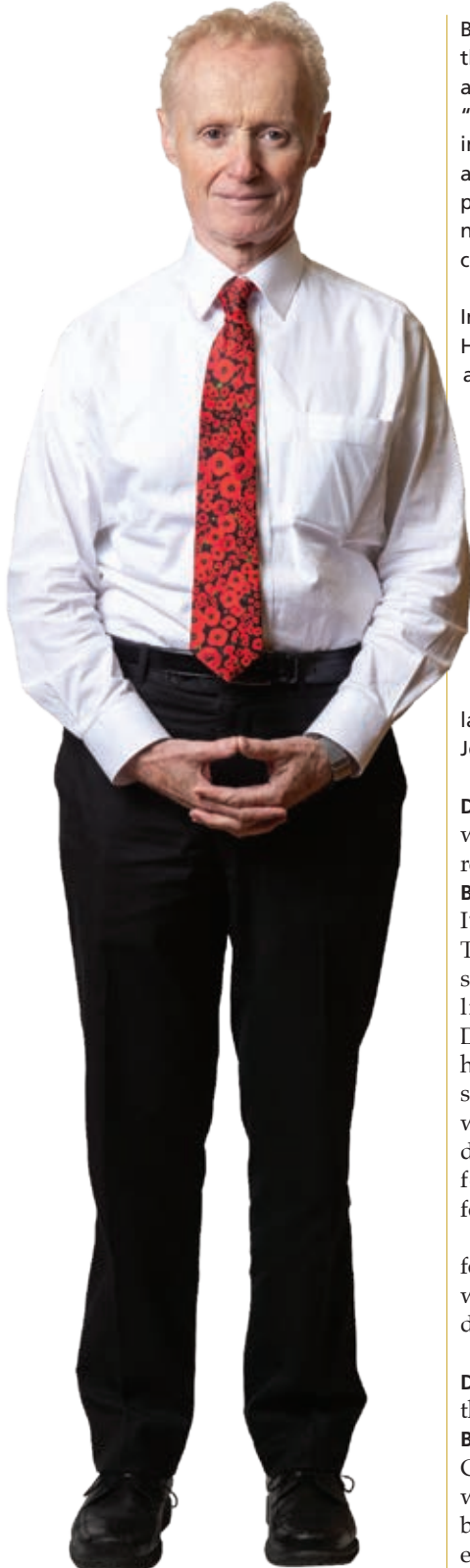
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Brian Lee Crowley, managing director of the Macdonald-Laurier Institute

Canada's 2019 election: "The most unedifying spectacle I've ever had the misfortune of seeing."



Brian Lee Crowley is managing director of the Macdonald-Laurier Institute, which, according to his biography on the website, "exists to make poor quality public policy in Ottawa unacceptable to Canadians and their political and opinion leaders, by proposing thoughtful alternatives through non-partisan and independent research and commentary."

Crowley was the founder of the Atlantic Institute for Market Studies (AIMS) in Halifax, one of the country's leading regional think-tanks, and he is a former Salvatori Fellow at the Heritage Foundation in Washington, D.C., and a former senior fellow at the Galen Institute, a health-care policy think-tank also based in Washington. In addition, he has been a member of the boards or advisory councils of institutes in Canada, the U.S., Nigeria, Britain, France and Brussels.

He holds degrees from McGill and the London School of Economics, including a doctorate in political economy from the latter. He sat down with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell, late last year.

DM: From a foreign-policy point of view, what do you make of the federal election results?

BLC: It was the most unedifying spectacle I've ever had the misfortune of seeing. There were almost no foreign-policy issues that came up, other than tiny things like our foreign aid. Had the Munk Debate gone ahead, perhaps that would have been different. I suspect there was some degree to which the Liberals didn't want these issues raised. The reason it didn't go ahead, I think, is because they felt rather vulnerable on a bunch of foreign-policy issues.

On what to conclude about Canada's foreign policy, I would have been none the wiser the day before the election than the day after.

DM: What would you say are the top three areas that deserved some attention?

BLC: No. 1 would be our relationship with China; No. 2 would be our relationship with the United States and No. 3 would be Canada's relationship with multilateral organizations.

I think that world is changing fundamentally and I think Canadians are stuck with a view that Canada is this great nation with respect to multilateralism. But I think multilateralism is under attack.

If you think about it, the Chinese always want to deal with you bilaterally. The UN and multilateralism — I think that's all dead. I noticed on the [October] vote at the United Nations on China's treatment of the Uighurs that 23 countries voted in favour of the British [statement] condemning China's mass internment and surveillance of Uighurs in Xinjiang Province. [54] countries voted against.

This is not the UN that a bunch of liberal democracies launched after the Second World War. It's been taken over by thugs and bureaucrats. I think we're very naïve about international organizations.

DM: Do you think we should pull out of the United Nations?

BLC: I'm not there yet. I could see getting there, but I'm not there yet. I just think the General Assembly is a joke now. In a way, the only part of the UN that really matters is the Security Council and the Security Council can do important things, but with both Russia and China enjoying vetoes, [it limits] the issues in which we in the West might like to see it take action. The idea was that the security council was where the world community was going to act through these important institutions — aggression would no longer pay. But we now live in a world in which Russia invades Ukraine and takes back the Crimea and uses its proxies to take back the Donbass — and they really suffer no consequence. I think Russia has essentially won.

DM: You recently wrote a piece for the *National Post* on what conservatism is. Do you think the Conservative Party of Canada has lost sight of that or were they ever really small-c conservatives?

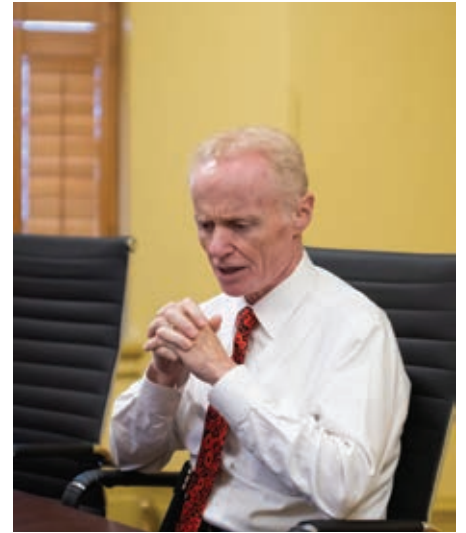
BLC: [The *Post* is] running a series of pieces about what it is and what it should be. I tried to apply it to a number of issues. Philosophy has consequences and I used those political issues to illustrate how someone who is NDP might feel.



'I just think the [UN] General Assembly is a joke now. In a way, the only part of the UN that really matters is the Security Council.'



'Conservatism generally is undergoing quite an evolution. Donald Trump is not Ronald Reagan and Boris Johnson is not Margaret Thatcher.'



'Victor Hugo said ideas are more powerful than any army in the world, and I happen to believe that's right.'

Conservatism generally is undergoing quite an evolution. Donald Trump is not Ronald Reagan and Boris Johnson is not Margaret Thatcher. I think Canadian conservatives suffer from a disease that is typical of Canada. Canada is not an intellectual place. We don't appreciate the value of the power of ideas. We're rather mistrustful of intellectuals. I remember talking to a very senior politician and lawyer in Halifax and I said 'Do you think I should get involved with politics?' He said, 'Brian, you have ideas and the fact that you have ideas will be taken by many people as a reason to obstruct you.' We don't really have public intellectuals the way Britain and France and even the U.S. do. It's hard to appeal to the electorate on that basis. I think you can do it, but none of the people in politics has that ability.

Victor Hugo said ideas are more powerful than any army in the world, and I happen to believe that's right. I look at

[an election] and I think, this is the one moment in the average four-year cycle when politicians and the public get to engage in what's really important. But that didn't happen. There was no discussion of liberalism, let alone conservatism. If I think about my great political heroes, No. 1 would be Wilfrid Laurier. He was a Gladstonian Liberal — the Grand Old Man of British Liberalism. To be Liberal back then was to believe in limited government, responsible budgeting. Laurier was a staunch believer in this. What does Justin Trudeau come up with from his history? Sunny ways.

Any of the things Wilfrid Laurier believed in, I suspect Justin would repudiate. And the same is true of some of the things Pierre Trudeau believed. Trudeau was fundamentally a nationalist. He didn't want people to be Quebecers first and Canadians second. He felt that the primary identity was Canadian citizenship. Then he

allowed you to be anything you wanted, but being united in being Canadian was first. I just don't believe that this is his son's vision. Membership in a community is No. 1. To use his expression "there is no mainstream" — his father would have been shocked.

DM: Some voters are saying they'll start voting Conservative again once the party returns the word Progressive to its name. Do you think that's important?

BLC: People wanted to be understood. The reason it was called the Progressive Conservative Party was because the Conservatives wanted [Manitoba premier] John Bracken to become leader. He had led a Western populist movement [in the 1920s] and he asked that that word be added [when he entered federal politics in the 1940s.] The progressives then were a Western progressive reform party.

It's not so much the dropping of the



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part of the name that matters as the fact that there was a civil war in the Conservative movement since the federal election of 1993 until the two wings came together. It was close to 20 years and what happened was that under the Mulroney government, the reformers felt that the Laurentian elites dominated the Conservative government and they were a minority. They broke away from the party to protest. When they reconstituted the party, the power relationship changed and my view would be that the Westerners are now the predominant group. I'm not one of these people who thinks that the reformers are somehow the great unwashed rednecks of the world, but there is no doubt that there are a lot of people in central Canada who were [once] prepared to vote for more socially moderate conservatives that are now prepared to vote for a party in which the reformers are in the ascendant. The Conservatives came out with the largest vote of any of the three parties.

[But] every party is a hopeless minority. No one has constituted a national governing institution. I think that's because [the Liberals and NDP] were too far on the left. We have two main governing parties that have gone too far.

DM: Is Canada immune to populism?

BLC: I keep hearing how Canada has resisted, but we were first. Canada has a long history of reform movements. The first reform party was led by William Lyon Mackenzie in the rebellion in Upper Canada [in 1837.] We have been far more successful in integrating our most recent populist uprising than a lot of other countries have been, but the contempt in which Western reformers are held by a lot of the Laurentian elites is the real explanation of the split between the West and Upper Canada. The Liberal elites are losing power, but they haven't lost it yet.

From a political point of view, I can see why the Liberal Party wanted to put the squeeze on the oil patch because you could see how there was a progressive shift. Had the oil patch continued to thrive as it did through the first 15 years of the 21st Century, this would have fatally undermined the electoral base of the Liberal Party. I'm not at all surprised by some of the things they've done in Alberta. I don't think Trudeau gets the West at all. If he got the West, he'd be horrified. I think if he truly understood the West, he wouldn't be at all disposed to accommodate it by doing things like hiring [former deputy prime minister] Anne McLellan to tell him what to do.



Former prime minister Paul Martin made Canadians understand that balancing the budget was an "important guide to policy," Crowley says.

DM: What are your thoughts on government spending and balancing budgets? Are you worried with the Liberals in power?

BLC: Am I worried? Yes. Do I think it's an existential threat to Canada? No, but it's not a wise policy. I was a great admirer of Paul Martin. He continues to be a friend of mine. I think about the damage that was done to Canada by 25 consecutive years of deficit budgets. And the fact that because of the terrible damage we did, it actually caused, after much effort, a tremendously fruitful agreement across all of the parties that deficit-financing wasn't desirable. Even the NDP ran on a platform of balanced budgets [in the last 2015 election]. Trudeau is undoing that. He says it's only to finance the infrastructure. They've jettisoned all the good work — the problem is that once you've admitted the principle of deficits, there is no anchor. The very powerful thing that Paul Martin did was that he got people to understand that balancing the budget was an important guide to policy. It was a tremendous political feat on [Martin's] part. I blame [Trudeau] and the current crop of Libs for tossing it out. The thing is, it's so easy to start [spending] and it's so hard to stop. There's nothing politicians like better than promising spending.

DM: What are your thoughts on illegal immigration to Canada?

BLC: It's a moderate concern and it would be a big one if it got out of hand. I'm

a big believer and a huge supporter of Canada's immigration system. I think a reason that Canadians are so supportive of immigration is because they believe we have a reasoned and fair system. Illegal immigration undermines all of those assumptions. The U.S. may be the reason that a great many members of the public have lost faith. There's somewhere around 14 and 15 million people who've come into the U.S. That's not even a system — that's just people walking in.

People in the Trump coalition have seen their jobs disappear and feel they're in competition with these masses of people who've come across the border. This has caused terrific consternation. If we had 1.5 million illegal immigrants [a proportionate number to that of the U.S.] and 40 per cent of them went to the Greater Toronto Area, I think it would be a political crisis of unbelievable magnitude. The last number I saw was 25,000 had admitted themselves at [Hemmingford, Quebec's] Roxham Road. I look at that number and I think about the fact that we're admitting 300,000. If it's the beginning of a trend in which we lose control of our borders and the system, that's a problem. It's a warning light flashing on the dashboard. Better to fix it now.

DM: Can you comment on the China-U.S. trade war and how it affects Canada?

BLC: I think it's more than a trade war. The trade part of this is an aspect of a larger struggle between the U.S. and China and it's got to do with the way that a newly powerful China is behaving. It's behaving in a way that endangers many of the achievements of the post-war order. That includes their militarization of the South China Sea after they promised they wouldn't. You think about Asia and Taiwan and about where they get their energy from. A lot of it comes from the Middle East through the Strait of Hormuz to the Strait of Malacca, and China has established its ability to close off Asia's energy trade.

They also made all kinds of promises about how they would behave in the trade world. We admitted them to the World Trade Organization. They lied about all of it. When it suits them to discover health issues with Canadian canola, they just do it and they don't care whether they're in violation of trade rules. If there's one thing that Democrats and Republicans agree on it's that the U.S. has to [stand] up to China on issues such as freedom and the protection of IP — they have built their industrial might to a very large extent by

stealing the intellectual capital of the West. I think Nortel's collapse was in part due to pillaging of IP by China.

Donald Trump is using tariffs, among other things, as a way to get China to alter its behaviour, to get them to behave as a more responsible member of the community. I think he has the complete [political] backing of Washington on that.

[With respect to Canada,] I think this is a terribly important character test. Just look at what some of the leading figures in the political class said about this. There's a former deputy prime minister who said we should have fumbled the arrest and let it go. There are a lot of pacifists and appeasers out there. What's happened is we, as a society that operates under the rule of law, said we had a legitimate request from an ally and we arrested, in accordance with the law, Meng Wanzhou [chief financial officer of telecom giant Huawei]. The daughter of Huawei's founder, she was detained based on a U.S. request for her extradition on charges of fraud concerning trade with Iran.] The case will be tried. The only reason we're doing it is because [the U.S.] is asking us to. The Chinese could have gone after the U.S. — but they didn't.

We're in a position where we have our commitment to the rule of law in the bal-



Donald Trump is using tariffs as a way to get China to behave the way he wants it to.

ance against a bunch of business leaders. That's why I think this is a character test. Canada is being asked what's really important to you and if the answer is selling more canola, that's a concern.

DM: Put that way, there are a lot of simi-

larities with the SNC Lavalin affair.

BLC: I was one of the people who believed that SNC was very much an issue of the rule of law and I know that the government didn't want it seen as an issue of rule of law. We have a prime minister who says, 'I'll never apologize for standing up for jobs.' It's like a bank robber who says he was robbing the bank to feed his family.

DM: What are Canada's most pressing policy issues?

BLC: Our relationship with China is No. 1. I think reconciling the various parts of the country is terribly important and reconciling our great strength as a world storehouse of natural resources with our commitment to living in a way that's environmentally responsible is essential.

China chose to go after Canada [in the case of the arrest of CFO Meng Wanzhou] because they think Canada is a country that can be bullied. My view of what has to happen is that we have to demonstrate to China that we're not a country to be bullied. There are lots of things that are entirely proportionate to what China has done to us. I don't think the Chinese have finished. They're trying to weaponize the Chinese diaspora. There are all kinds of

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The U.S. decision to withdraw from Syria, which it later reversed, caused damage to its reputation as a dependable ally, according to Crowley.

things going on that are deeply worrying. The Chinese have more diplomats in Canada and the U.S. They are very interested in Canada.

I think we need to become closer to Taiwan and we need to be much more vocal in our support of one country two systems in Hong Kong. China's entirely responsible for the issues in Hong Kong. And we should ban Huawei's [5G network] on national security alone. If we took those actions, we would signal clearly to China that we're not a country to be bullied.

Sometimes Canadians think of Canada as a small country, but we're a member of the G7. Canada needs to play a leadership role in pulling together the people in the international community to act against China.

DM: What should Canada be doing about the imprisoned Canadians — Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig — in China?

BLC: Logically, China should be pressing the U.S., not Canada, on the Meng issue since it was at [the U.S.'s] request that we arrested her and we would release her if the Americans withdrew their request. China is pressuring us because they think we can be bullied into abandoning the rule of law, whereas the U.S. cannot. We should take increasingly vigorous steps to make it clear to China that we cannot be bullied and they are barking up the wrong tree. The advantage is that all of the measures we should take are fully justified in their own right and should be Canadian policy in any case. We have just held back out of fear of of-

fending China. That should be very low on our priority list now. The measures we could take include: closer relations with Taiwan; requiring China to reduce the size of [its] diplomatic contingent (now the largest of any country in Canada); passing legislation to prevent foreign agents from attempting to press Canadian citizens and residents to do their bidding; banning Huawei from our 5G network; pursuing closer trading relationships with actual or potential partners in the Indo-Pacific; participating in more freedom of navigation and military exercises in the South China Sea and the Taiwan Straits; and speaking out more forcefully on China's failure to honour its commitments in Hong Kong.

Whatever we do, we cannot allow the fact that China is arbitrarily detaining two of our citizens to cause us to abandon our principles and commitments. Otherwise every foreign power that wants Canada to change its policy will understand that the way to do so is to kidnap Canadians until we cry uncle. We cannot possibly run our foreign (or any other) policy this way. It is the same logic as why we cannot negotiate with terrorists.

DM: What do you make of the U.S. policy in Syria, vis-à-vis the partial withdrawal and the situation with the Kurds and Turks?

BLC: This has severely damaged [the U.S.'s] reputation of being a dependable ally, ceded a strategic position in the Middle East to Russia and, in practice, encouraged the lawless behaviour of our supposed NATO ally — Turkey — in

the region. It will be very hard in future to get strategically valuable groups and nations, like the Kurds, to take risks on behalf of the West's interests. Canada's priority in troubled regions like this should not be taking in large numbers of refugees (although there is nothing wrong with doing so). It should be to contribute to creating the conditions in which people do not need to flee their home regions in the first place. If they have to leave their homes, it is understandable that many of them would love to come to Canada. The point, however, is that they generally do not wish to leave their homes and if they could be made safe and secure in their home region, that is the optimal solution.

DM: You've written about supply management in the past. What do you think of Canada's current position on it?

BLC: Inexplicable, indefensible, costly — to both consumers and to Canada in its relations with its trading partners — and dumb.

DM: With respect to trade, are we on the right path? What trade agreements should we be pursuing most vigorously?

BLC: To the extent we are on the path of trade liberalization, that is all to the good. We need to remember, however, that authoritarian state-dominated countries such as China are by their nature not reliable, stable or trustworthy trade partners. They do not play by market rules. Pursuing 'free trade' with them is essentially a policy of allowing them to use their corporations — all [of which are] under state control or domination — to become instruments of a foreign government's policy on our territory.

Our priority should be the formal adoption of NAFTA 2.0, working with Japan to encourage the U.S. to re-engage on trade with its friends and allies in the Indo-Pacific to help establish the architecture of a grouping of like-minded countries in the region that are bound together by ties of trade, values and security.

DM: If Trudeau asked you for your policy prescription on foreign policy for the next four years, what would you say?

BLC: Stop focusing on China as a way to diversify away from Canada's dependence on the U.S. Whatever [the U.S.'s] failings, dependence on China would be far worse in every way.

That said, American leadership of the Western alliance is faltering and uncertain. Canada is one of the countries that has

most benefited from the existence of the alliance and from American leadership. Our foreign policy should have two chief aims. First, [we should be] working with other middle powers (such as Britain, Germany and Japan) to get [the U.S.] to re-engage with and to lead energetically the multilateral institutions it was so instrumental in creating in the post-war era. Second, we should be a leading voice among the middle powers, calling for them collectively to take up the mantle of leadership where American insularity leaves us no choice.

DM: And what about immigration policy?

BLC: Our current target of admitting the equivalent of roughly one per cent of our population annually is probably about right, although those who argue that this is necessary to maintain economic growth are quite wrong. Remember, however, that immigration comprises three streams: refugees, family reunification and economic class. The economic class is the most valuable for Canada. It is the one where immigrants are chosen on the basis of their ability to contribute to the Canadian economy and this is becoming more important as a large portion of the Canadian workforce passes into retirement. But the weight of this class within the immigration numbers overall is declining relative to the other two classes and this is the wrong priority for Canada.

DM: What, if anything, should Canada do to repair the Canada-U.S. relationship?

BLC: The relationship is basically sound. We shouldn't attribute too much power to the U.S. administration, which is only part, and not that big a part, of American society to which we are bound by ties of history, affection and interest. The worst thing we can do is to assume everything is going to hell in a handbasket and run around with our hair on fire. Donald Trump is ignorant about Canada and cares little about [the U.S.'s] traditional commitments and allies. Previous presidents have dealt grievous blows to Canada-U.S. relations — think of Nixon's trade policies, to pick just one example. This, too, shall pass. Canadians must not let their visceral dislike of President Trump cause them to misunderstand [the U.S.'s] enduring interest in strong and positive cross-border relations. We must continue to build on that strong base, not tell ourselves fables about the relationship being broken because it is politically fashionable to say so. ■

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Let's stop the next Ebola epidemic before it starts

By Michael Messenger

The Ebola outbreak in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is now the second largest in history. With more than 3,000 cases reported, the disease has killed upwards of 2,000 over the past year. New cases continue to emerge.

These aren't just statistics. The impact has been devastating at the community and family level. I heard heartbreaking stories while in the DRC in October. One family lost 11 members — aunts, uncles, sisters and brothers — to the disease. Only three members of this family survived. I also saw first-hand how the outbreak has displaced and separated thousands of other families, leading to a rapidly evolving child-protection crisis. Ebola orphans and other affected children are now highly vulnerable to violence and exploitation. Similarly, Ebola survivors shared that they face ongoing stigmatization that is putting them deeper into extreme poverty.

While identification and treatment of new cases are critical, so too are prevention measures to stop the contagion. Many local people are still learning that Ebola is initially contracted from hunting bats and other animals that can carry the virus. When people are food insecure and have limited options, they turn to "bush meat." Ebola then spreads further through close human contact.

Knowing how Ebola spreads is half the fight. World Vision has reached more than 400,000 people with our prevention programs. In DRC, I attended sessions with faith leaders and community members who are helping to overcome misinformation about Ebola by building understanding about how it is spread and teaching and equipping people who are at high risk to protect themselves.

The international community has made good progress and the rate of new cases is slowing, but there is still a lot of work to be done. We've seen throughout this crisis that a small lapse can spark a new outbreak and another escalation. We are still concerned that this current Ebola outbreak could worsen and even spill across international borders. We need to be even more vigilant.

What lessons can we learn from this Ebola outbreak in the DRC? Beyond health awareness and prevention, we



A mother and baby have their temperature taken at an Ebola screening checkpoint in the Democratic Republic of Congo. More than 3,000 people have contracted the Ebola virus in eastern DRC, making the outbreak the second largest in history.

need to recognize that Ebola is a symptom of more than two decades of conflict that has led to persistent instability and has put a heavy strain on a weak health system. This limits the effectiveness of local responders to be able to meet the basic needs of the people.

What's happening in the DRC reflects a global trend and should be considered a warning. Over the next decade, 80 per cent of the world's poorest people will live in fragile and conflict-affected places. Most will be children. This threatens global security, gender equality, stability and well-being. They face extreme levels of abuse, exploitation, deprivation and violence. They experience the highest levels of food insecurity, malnutrition and mortality rates, and are nearly three times more likely to be out of school than other children. This is the kind of environment where Ebola thrives.

As one of the world's largest non-governmental organizations, we understand the urgency for new action, greater funding and innovative approaches to programming in these fragile contexts. Experience has shown us that we need to make sure children, families and communities have the life-saving essentials they need to survive and rebuild. They

need to identify risks for the future as a way to recover and adapt and increase the resilience of children and communities to build a better future.

It means that we still meet immediate humanitarian needs while also addressing root causes to transform communities. We understand fragile places change unpredictably and constantly. And we need to find new interventions as they change.

World Vision Canada hopes our federal government and the international community will prioritize children living in the world's most dangerous places. We know Canadian assistance is already helping to improve the lives of children and we're ready to build on that partnership.

Investing in the rights of children to be healthy, educated, protected and empowered will help to build communities that are better equipped to fight diseases such as Ebola and to stop the next outbreak before it starts.

Michael Messenger is the president and CEO of World Vision Canada. He has visited many of the world's most fragile places, including DRC, Afghanistan, South Sudan and the Central African Republic, to raise awareness of the needs of the world's most vulnerable children.

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Fly day lets Wish children soar through the skies

A handful of children with life-threatening diseases had their wishes granted at the fifth annual Ottawa Diplomatic Association's "Fly in Airplane Tour Day" last autumn.

The children, who are registered with the Children's Wish Foundation of Canada, had said they would like to fly over Ottawa, and they had the chance to do just that during the Ottawa Diplomatic Association (ODA) event, held in conjunction with Diplo-fly, which provides the pilots who volunteer their time for the event.

Nine-year-old Rio Sarrazin has a metabolic disorder called congenital glycosylation disorder, a condition that affects balance, co-ordination and speech and afflicts just 1,000 people worldwide. His mom, Melanie Smith, said he was "so excited" when he was in the plane.

The flight day event offers flights leaving from the Rockcliffe Airport and flying over the capital's core. Admission to the event, which includes a breakfast, is free for diplomats and their families and the flights cost \$65 per person.

In addition to granting young Rio and others their wish to fly, the ODA donated some of the money raised by the event to Children's Wish.

Honduran Ambassador Sofia Cerrato, who is the vice-president of the ODA, says Children's Wish is a cause close to many diplomats' hearts.

"It's so gratifying to see the kids' faces," Cerrato said. "Just giving them that happi-



Rio Sarrazin, front, got his wish to fly over the city of Ottawa at the Ottawa Diplomatic Association's Fly Day. He's shown with, from left, South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo, Honduran Ambassador Sofia Cerrato and his mom, Melanie Smith.

ness is so wonderful."

Last year, they had a Make-a-Wish child who wanted to visit the Galapagos as his major wish, so in addition to getting to fly, he received some funding towards the cost of that trip and the Ecuadorian ambassador brought him a book with some information about the area in advance of his trip.

The Children's Wish Foundation, for its part, was delighted to be the recipient of favours and funds.

"The families had a fantastic time," said Annie Stiles, wish co-ordinator at the foundation. "This type of thing is an enhancement on top of their big wish and we love doing events like that and


partnering up with organizations that can grant these wishes. For those who are still waiting for their big wish and those who have already had it fulfilled, this kind of thing tells them they're never forgotten. Our mission is to bring them hope and joy throughout their lives."

Knowing diplomats from foreign countries are helping grant these wishes is "pretty special," she said.


"Anyone in the community that wants to help our mission and be involved, we accept with open arms," Stiles added. "The diplomats went above and beyond to make sure this was a special event for our little kids and we truly appreciate it." ■




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The Czech Republic: Our future is in innovation



by *Bořek Lizec*

The year 2019 marked the 30-year anniversary of the Velvet Revolution. To commemorate the peaceful fall of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia seems to be particularly relevant here in Canada. Canada and Czech Canadians helped create our country in 1918 and save it during the Second World War. During the Cold War, Canada stood by our nation again, accepting countless Czech refugees. Many of them not only excelled in their professions and made a significant contribution to the development of Canada, but also formed one of the most important centres of Czech exile. Over the past several decades, they helped keep Czech democratic traditions alive. Of course, Czech-Canadian entrepreneurs played an important role in the effort. Tomáš Baťa Jr. is a prominent example of that. In the 1920s, the First Czechoslovak Republic ranked among the Top-10 most advanced economies in the world with the Baťa Shoe Company being one of the symbols of the country's economic success. Baťa Jr., the son of the shoe empire's founder, moved the company's global headquarters to Canada during the Second World War and kept running it from here during the Cold War.

In November 1989, we embarked on a journey the crowds in the streets called "Back to the West." Important milestones on that journey were the Czech Republic's entry into NATO 20 years ago and into the European Union 15 years ago. Over the past 30 years, the country and its economic structure have changed dramatically. As early as 1995, we rejoined the world's most developed countries in the OECD. Our economy has become strongly export-oriented and our companies once again operate globally. For several years,



Prague is the economic and academic centre of the country.

the Czech Republic has ranked among the most stable and also fastest growing economies in the EU.

Our science has a long and remarkable tradition. Cell theory, blood types and contact lenses were invented or discovered by Czechs. Today, Czech scientists are again changing lives around the globe. The most effective compound to treat HIV was formulated by Antonín Holý. In addition, the city of Prague has become one of the world's most popular destinations. Our country attracts not only tourists, but also investors and academics.

The Czech Republic has paid close attention to building upon its historically close ties with Canada in all areas, including business and investment. In 2018, the volume of Czech exports to Canada reached \$447.3 million, which was largely made up of machinery such as turbines, road rollers or backhoes, as well as electronics, electrical machinery and equipment, iron and steel products (mostly train rails) and rubber and plastic products. In the same year, Czech imports from Canada totalled \$485.5 million. These consisted mainly of aircraft and spare parts, machinery, electronics, electrical machinery and equipment, aluminum and pharmaceutical products. We are convinced that the 2017 Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) between Canada and the EU will continue to have a positive impact on our bilateral economic co-operation.

Building on its economic tradition, the Czech Republic has been one of the most industrialized countries of the EU, with engineering (mostly in the automotive industry), machinery, and iron and steel production as its key sectors. Czech-Canadian co-operation has great potential, particularly in civil aviation and space technologies; information and communication technologies, with a specific focus on artificial intelligence and cybersecurity; the automotive industry, mainly the development of autonomous vehicles and electric vehicles, with a focus on battery performance; the agriculture and food industry and the railway industry.

Canada's efforts to combat climate change also bring significant export opportunities for many innovative Czech companies that are significant international players in the field of clean technology.

The Czech Republic has placed strong emphasis on innovation. A new innovation strategy for 2019-2030 has been adopted and expanding international co-operation, including co-operation with Canada, has been an important goal. The Czech Republic is among the world leaders in a number of highly innovative fields, such as physics, nano-technology, artificial intelligence and chemistry. Czech-Canadian research co-operation can be co-financed by several Czech and EU instruments. This year, the Czech Technology Agency issued a joint call for applications with its counterparts in Quebec and Alberta. We will continue to work with Canadian partners to grow opportunities for both companies and research institutions.

The organization and support of trade and research missions, both from and to the Czech Republic, have been strong ambitions of our team in Canada, which includes not only our embassy, but also the consulate general in Toronto, CzechTrade Calgary and seven honorary consulates. We look forward to working with our Canadian partners, including investors.

Bořek Lizec is the ambassador of the Czech Republic in Canada. Reach him by email at ottawa@embassy.mzv.cz or by phone at (613) 562-3875. Follow @BorekLizec on Twitter and Facebook.

Albania-Canada trade: Time for more dynamism



By *Ermal Muça*

Last year marked 32 years of diplomatic relations between Albania and Canada. We are proud of this strong and consolidated partnership, as well as our achievements and are committed to further strengthening our co-operation.

Our excellent bilateral relations and shared common values, with a focus on issues such as gender equality and human rights, particularly in the protection, empowerment and inclusiveness of women and girls, are seen in the way we work together at international organizations as well. As NATO allies, we enjoy a close and successful co-operation, recently demonstrated by our contributions to the multinational peacekeeping mission in Latvia that is being led by Canada. We remain committed to close co-operation during the Albanian OSCE chairmanship in 2020.

Economic co-operation and trade exchanges are important pillars of this relationship. Between 2017 and 2018, bilateral trade increased by 40 per cent between our two countries. Our pro-active approach to economic diplomacy abroad has helped, as have reforms and our economic performance domestically, which is on the upswing. There are currently 41 Canadian companies operating in my country, mostly around Tirana, the capital. Their activity is mainly focused on wholesale and retail trade, but also in vehicle repair, information and communication services as well as hospitality, technology and science. Albanian imports from Canada are mainly machinery, equipment and spare parts (57 per cent), while food, beverages and tobacco make up 35 per cent of total imports. Albanian exports to Canada are focused mainly on building materials and metals, while we also export food, beverages and tobacco.



Albania boasts strong hydro-energy resources, including the dam at the Koman Hydroelectric Power Station on the Drini River in northern Albania.

The relationship is positive and growing, but we would like to see more dynamism in terms of economic co-operation with Canada. To that end, we are actively working towards the finalization of the Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement. We believe that a FIPA would support expanding and diversifying our economic co-operation. And indeed, we have a lot of areas of common interest in which closer co-operation would make sense. Albania has some wonderful natural resources, such as minerals and water and industries such as mining and energy, but it needs further investments in these areas. Canada has the experience and know-how to utilize and maximize their efficiency and consequently offer good returns on investment. Albania also boasts hydro-energy resources and its geographical position and weather provide favourable conditions for sustainable development and production of solar energy. It also has untapped wind power potential, particularly along the Adriatic Coast.

Albania has a liberal investment climate, a young and well-educated population, competitive taxation and incentives and free economic zones. Those, along with free access to large markets and macro-economic stability, are the main reasons foreign investors are attracted to Albania. Furthermore, being a Mediterranean country, Albania has a wonderful climate and a very productive soil for agri-

culture. We'd like to see more co-operation from Canada in this industry too, with Canada's advanced equipment and Albania's lower labour cost.

Albania is a country with an open society and a flourishing tourism sector. Its hot summers, mild winters and more than 300 sunny days a year allow for year-round tourism. Tourists can explore the coasts of the Adriatic Sea and the Ionian Sea. They can enjoy the beauty of sandy and pebble beaches, the rich heritage, friendly hospitality, fine gastronomy and fresh Mediterranean fish. If beaches aren't to their liking, there's also the Albanian Alps, with untouched nature surrounded by beautiful grasslands, lakes and rivers. Thousands of tourists flock here each year, chasing the traditional gastronomy of our ancestors.

Hence, Canadian investments in the tourism and hospitality industry would be of great mutual interest, and the proximity of Albania to the Western Balkans and Europe allows for broader opportunities in the tourism sector.

Proud of our diaspora in Canada, I remain confident of the important role the entrepreneurs among the vibrant Albanian-Canadian community will play in enhancing the economic ties between our two countries.

Ermal Muça is the ambassador of Albania. Reach him at embassy.ottawa@mfa.gov.al or (613) 236-3053.



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Qatar: Lots of investment opportunity



By Saoud Al-Mahmoud

The close friendship and partnership between Canada and Qatar continue to grow, with approximately 10,000 Canadians living and working in Qatar, which is also home to a large number of Canadian companies that are contributing to different sectors of Qatar's economy. Our bilateral trade volume has been on the upswing over the past two years, reaching \$269 million in 2018 and \$245 million in 2019, compared to \$174 million in 2017. Qatar's main imports include industrial machinery, passenger vehicles, aircrafts and spacecraft, ores, electric and optical instruments, dried legumes and pharmaceuticals, while Canada's main imports include non-crude oils, ashes, chemical products and aluminum.

Moreover, Canada and Qatar enjoy strong education bonds as Newfoundland and Labrador's College of North Atlantic Qatar (approximately 2,500 students) and the University of Calgary's School of Nursing (approximately 500 students) operate large campuses in Doha's Education City. There are also other collaborations between Qatari and Canadian universities.

Canadian health institutions, such as Toronto's SickKids, also contributed generously towards developing Qatar's health system, and our military and security co-ordination continue to grow each day, as we fight terrorism and respond to different crises in the region and beyond.

This Canadian-Qatari partnership is not only based on our governments' shared commitment and the people-to-people connections, but also of our shared values. In September 2018, Amir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad al-Thani, announced Qatar's pledge to provide quality education to another one million girls by 2021. This announcement came during his participation



Qatar, whose capital of Doha is shown here, has numerous academic, business and leisure opportunities for Canadians.

in a roundtable hosted by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau on the sidelines of the 73rd UN General Assembly. Tamim also announced his support for the G7 declaration in Charlevoix, which reflects the special importance that Qatar has always given to education locally and internationally, as reflected in its development assistance programs around the world.

In December 2019, Qatar was to host the 19th Doha Forum, in partnership with Chatham House, the International Crisis Group, the European Council on Foreign Relations and the Munich Security Council. Doha is considered the region's largest open platform for global dialogue on critical challenges facing our world. Qatar will also host the World Cup in 2022. It's the first time these games will be held in the Middle East, and since Canada will be co-hosting the tournament in 2026, we can share expertise and knowledge.

The Canadian-Qatari bilateral relationship may be further optimized in several fields, corresponding to the shared values and the long-term goals of Qatar's National Vision 2030. My government is focused on human development and producing a diversified economy that gradually reduces its dependence on hydrocarbon industries while maintaining a balance between development needs and protection of the environment.

Qatar, whose GDP growth was expected to reach 2.7 per cent in 2019, is a leader in natural resources. As such, the government has invested billions in gas sector infrastructure in the country and abroad. Additionally, Qatar has invested in utilities, hydropower, electricity and advanced technologies — all part of the objectives in its 2030 Vision.

Further, Qatar has worked with the international community to fight corruption and build a safe environment for foreign investment. It also endorsed new legislation to improve the rights of its migrant workers. The new law marks the end of an employee sponsorship system and establishes a non-discriminatory minimum wage, which is the first for the region. It's also a remarkable model of the collaboration and co-ordination between Qatar and the International Labour Organization.

My country has numerous academic, economic, business and leisure opportunities in which Canadians can invest. Qatar is always open to new business and investments, talented expertise and innovative ideas that aim to achieve development and sustainability for both countries.

Saoud Al-Mahmoud is the ambassador of the State of Qatar to Canada. Reach him at amb.office@qatarembassy.ca or by phone at (613) 241-4912.

25 year old man. Son. Grandson. Friend

Diagnosed with bipolar
disorder at age 19.

Spiralling between mania and
depression. Attempts suicide.
His mother finds him.

Desperate for help.
He joins a research study at The Royal.
Brain imaging shows what's going
wrong in his brain. Treatment is
tailored on this knowledge.

Balance is restored.

A young man gets his life back.

THIS IS THE TRUE STORY OF

mental health
r e s e a r c h

Be part of the story.

**Support research driven by brain imaging at
The Royal**

theroyal.ca/brainimaging



Mental Health - Care & Research
Santé mentale - Soins et recherche

The Bahamas is rising above the storm



FIRST NAME: Alvin
LAST NAME: Smith
CITIZENSHIP: Bahamian
PRESENTED CREDENTIALS AS
HIGH COMMISSIONER: Dec. 4, 2017
PREVIOUS JOBS: Educator and
 parliamentarian

Packing winds of 295 kilometres per hour, Hurricane Dorian was the most intense tropical cyclone on record to strike The Bahamas, making landfall in the Abacos Islands at its peak intensity. The world held its breath as Dorian, a Category 5 hurricane, stalled over Grand Bahama, with its unrelenting winds, for 36 hours.

Since the beginning of accurate satellite measurements in 1983, only 7 per cent of the 243 hurricanes observed have reached Category 5 intensity, making them extremely rare. Winds this strong would make Hurricane Dorian worthy of a Category 6 rating; or category “HELL” according to António Guterres, secretary-general of the United Nations (UN). The Saffir-Simpson Hurricane Wind Scale, however, stops at Category 5, with average wind speeds of at least 252 kilometres per hour.

The resultant damage to the two islands was catastrophic. The Abacos were left without power, water, telecommunications and sewage services. About 90 per cent of the infrastructure in Marsh Harbour was damaged, including the Marsh Harbour International Airport, which was rendered non-operational for several days. Grand Bahama experienced an island-wide power outage with 60 per cent of the island submerged as of Sept. 3, 2019. As Hurricane Dorian veered away from Grand Bahama, damage assessment estimates began coming in. Thousands of residents had been displaced, while commercial and industrial properties, schools and hospitals had been decimated. According to Deputy Prime Minister Peter Turnquest, reconstruction could amount to “hundreds of millions, if not billions” of dollars.

The devastation of Hurricane Dorian

continued to unfold as people began desperately searching for missing loved ones. By the end of October 2019, the official death toll stood at 65, with hundreds still reported missing. However, the rising and receding ocean water

swept away bodies, making the search nearly impossible. The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Implementation Agency for Crime and Security continues to assist The Bahamas with the identification of displaced persons.

The Bahamas National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) activated its emergency response plan immediately. It provided shelters and aid distribution warehouses in Freeport and strengthened co-ordination with numerous non-governmental organizations and local volunteers.

The international community was not insensitive to the tragic fate of The Bahamas and the response from governments and inter-governmental organizations was rapid. The Canadian Disaster Assistance Team, including experts from Global Affairs Canada and the Canadian Armed

Forces, was deployed to The Bahamas. Additionally, the federal government provided the Canadian Red Cross with \$500,000 for Hurricane Dorian relief assistance. The Bahamian diaspora was also quick to respond. Monetary donations as well as relief supplies flowed in.

The Caribbean Disaster Emergency Management Agency deployed and led two rapid needs assessment teams to Nassau, which supported the assessment of the most affected islands and took the lead in the regional response mechanism. CDEMA received the financial support of the British government, which had set aside \$2.5 million to fund rescue efforts. Britain also sent experts from its international development department and its foreign and consular office team as well as the Royal Fleet Auxiliary Mounts Bay, which delivered supplies to affected areas.

The U.S. also came to the rescue by deploying the U.S. Coast Guard to assist in air rescue and transport in the affected areas. The United States Agency for International Development has also been providing significant relief assistance.

Additionally, at the time of writing, numerous successful fundraising events have been organized, with proceeds going towards Hurricane Dorian relief efforts.

A little over a month after the devastation, Grand Bahama had recovered significant electrical and telecommunication service.



This image shows what was left of homes in Marsh Harbour, a town in Abaco Islands, after Hurricane Dorian hit in September 2019.

In Abaco, with the assistance of Caribbean Electric Utility Services Corporation, power has been restored in some areas. Additionally, much progress has been made on the debris removal process, as all roads and bridges have been cleared and made usable. Prime Minister Hubert Minnis stated that government workers will establish a family relief centre, comprised of 250 dome structures that will include plumbing, drainage, a sewer system and electricity at an estimated cost of \$6.4 million. This will make it possible for residents to return and begin the process of rebuilding. It is the country's desire to rebuild The Abacos and the Abaco Cays stronger and more resilient in the face of the threats from climate change, including stronger hurricanes and rising sea levels.

In September of last year, Minnis announced the creation of the Ministry of Disaster Preparedness, Management and Reconstruction. Its mandate is oversight of recovery efforts in The Bahamas. Minnis designated The Abacos, eastern Grand Bahama and other impacted areas as special economic recovery zones, providing tax incentives for three years.

During the UN General Assembly in September, The Bahamas' tragedy figured

prominently in the speeches of numerous country leaders. The general sentiment was that Hurricane Dorian was a preview of the natural disasters that would eventually become the norm if climate change is not addressed urgently. In his presentation to the General Assembly, Minnis urged his fellow world leaders to treat the climate crisis as the greatest challenge to the planet, stating: "It is a challenge that, if not treated with the greatest urgency, will continue to ravage small island states, such as The Bahamas, and will also have a devastating impact on more developed states."

Amidst the well-deserved attention given The Abacos and Grand Bahama, the world needs to be reminded that The Bahamas is an archipelago of more than 700 islands extending over nearly 14,000 square kilometres, stretching from south Florida to north Cuba. The country consists of 14 additional main island destinations that were not affected by the storm and are very much open for tourism and other economic activities. With the exception of The Abacos, the Out Islands are open and operating as usual. Some resorts and lodges take a fall break for annual leave or renewal projects, but there are many options for accommodations. Airports, seaports and marinas are open

across the islands. As for Grand Bahama Island, it is back in business, welcoming travellers at its cruise port. Ferries and cruise lines, including Balearia, Bahamas Paradise Cruise Line and Carnival Cruise Line are bringing travellers to Freeport to experience a number of excursions. The airport is operating domestic flights via temporary facilities, and, at the time of writing, it was projected that the airport was expected to welcome its first international flight in November. Numerous hotels and resorts are open or are expected to reopen soon.

With about 60 per cent of its revenue coming directly or indirectly from tourism, this sector has become the largest driver of economic activity in The Bahamas. Tourism and Aviation Minister Dionisio D'Aguilar recently noted that "More than ever, we need you to come on vacation; the best way to donate is to visit, come to our hotels, go to our restaurants, go on excursions, visit the Exumas and the swimming pigs." This is the kind of support that The Bahamas is seeking today, not only to give a much-needed boost to its economy, but also to remind people that The Bahamas remains a paradise despite the ravages caused by Hurricane Dorian. ■

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Where the world trades

Trade agreements have been a foreign policy goal for Canada and many other nations worldwide. **Laura Neilson Bonikowsky** looks at the 10 largest in terms of dollar value and population.

It's true that money — in the form of trade — makes the world go 'round. Trading between civilizations began about 5,000 years ago, increasing human interaction. Historians believe the first long-distance trade occurred between Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley in Pakistan around 3000 BC.

Trade meant people didn't have to produce everything they needed and could even acquire luxury items. Economies grew by feeding appetites for spices, textiles and precious metals — non-perishable items that withstood lengthy transport. Before long, trade networks linked cultures across the Eurasian continent.

Today, the World Trade Organization (WTO), successor to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, provides oversight to the world's vast network of trade agreements.

The WTO lists 481 agreements of all types, including free trade agreements (FTAs) and regional trade agreements (RTAs), preferential agreements involving two or more partners. The UN's Key Statistics and Trends in Trade Policy 2018 document indicates that, as of 2017, about half of world trade occurs under some form of preferential agreement.

According to the WTO, world trade and GDP, which have grown in tandem for a decade, have increased by 26 per cent from 2008 to 2018, but slowed in 2018 due to increasing trade tensions, lower business confidence and fiscal prudence. The U.S. was the exception. The volume of world merchandise traded, based on the average of exports and imports, increased 3 per cent in 2018, down from 4.6 per cent in 2017.

Global merchandise exports exceeded US\$19 trillion in 2018, up from US\$17 trillion in 2017, partly due to higher oil prices. The value of global trade in commercial services in 2018 was nearly US\$6 trillion, up from US\$5 trillion in 2017, with information and communication technology showing export growth of 15 per cent, the highest among service sectors.

The 10 largest merchandise trading countries in the world in 2018 were China, the U.S., Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, France, Hong Kong, the U.K., the Republic of Korea and Italy. The 10 top traders in merchandise and commercial services accounted for 53 per cent of the world's total trade in 2018.

The world's trade agreements are becoming more numerous and more complex; isolating the value of individual agreements is difficult, given overlapping membership in trade agreements and significant developments impacting the world's economies. Typically, GDP per capita is reported when comparing economies, but given the disparity among the standards of living of some trade partners, it is not a useful comparison in this case.

This list of 10 significant trade agreements, measured in dollar value and population size, was compiled using the resources of the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, tradeeconomics.com, government trade departments, *Canada's State of Trade 2019*, the *CIA World Fact Book* and trade-agreement members.

Increasing trade tensions, especially between the U.S. and China, and agreements

being negotiated or updated, including the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, African Continental Free Trade Area agreement and the Southern Common Market, will change this list in the near future. All prices are in U.S. dollars.

1. North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

NAFTA, acknowledged as the world's largest free trade agreement, came into force in 1994 after more than a decade of negotiations. The agreement was to compete with the Treaty of Rome (1957), which gave rise to the European Union in 1993. NAFTA expands trade among the 450 million people of Canada, the U.S. and Mexico, making all three countries more competitive globally. Their combined GDP reached \$21.1 trillion in 2016, representing



U.S. Vice-President Mike Pence speaks at a pro-NAFTA 2.0 event in Pennsylvania.

28 per cent of the world's gross GDP with just 7 per cent of the world's population. NAFTA recorded a total value of \$2.22 trillion in exports in 2016 and \$2.38 trillion in 2017.

NAFTA eliminates tariffs among the three countries for the majority of goods originating in those countries. Goods and

services traded under NAFTA include agricultural products and services, textiles and apparel, automobiles, energy and petrochemicals, machinery, wood, telecommunications and marketing. As well, people from a NAFTA country employed in certain professions and businesses are eligible to work temporarily in one of the other countries.

Since NAFTA came into force, all three countries have seen economic growth, increased trade, higher wages and greater stability for investment through its guarantee of most-favoured nation status. However, some experts debate its impact, noting the difficulty of separating trade statistics.

In 1994, when NAFTA came into effect, 14 per cent of Mexico's GDP came from the export of goods and services; by 2017, that figure had risen to 37 per cent. In the U.S., 10 per cent of GDP was from the export of goods and services in 1994 compared to 12 per cent in 2017. In Canada, 33 per cent of GDP came from exports of goods and services in 1994, but in 2017, that figure was 31 per cent.

The agreement places rule-of-origin conditions on goods from a non-NAFTA country traded under NAFTA. Automobiles and automotive parts became contentious because of that rule and ultimately impelled renegotiation. In 2018, leaders of the NAFTA countries signed a new agreement — the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) in the U.S., the Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA) or l'Accord Canada-États-Unis-Mexique (ACEUM) in Canada and the Tratado entre México, Estados Unidos y Canadá (T-MEC) in Mexico.

The intent of the new agreement is to create a more level playing field for workers, particularly in the auto sector, and support a 21st-Century economy. Once the agreement is ratified, it is intended to go into effect in January 2020, although investment policy analysts in Washington warn that the impeachment inquiry into President Donald Trump could affect potential trade deals. NAFTA remains in effect in the meantime.

2. European Union (EU)

With a population of 517 million, the EU is the economic and political union of 28 members: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania,

Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and the U.K., which is set to leave the union at some point. The euro is the currency of 19 EU members, which constitute the Eurozone. (Non-euro countries are Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Sweden and the U.K.)

The Treaty of Rome (1957) created the European Economic Community (EEC), which established the Common Market in Europe to allow freer movement of goods, services, capital and people. The EEC gave rise to the EU under the Maastricht Treaty (1993), although the Treaty of Rome remains the legal basis for EU institutions.

As a single market, the EU operates as more than a free trade area, but is similar in not having tariffs, quotas or taxes on trade. It differs by removing non-tariff barriers so all members follow the same rules and regulations on everything, including trade duties, product safety and packaging and even working hours.

The EU's GDP is \$18.7 trillion. The EU does the most trade in manufactured goods and services in the world and is the largest export market for about 80 countries (the U.S. is the top trade partner for about 20 countries). The EU is the most open market for developing countries, importing more from them than the U.S., Canada, Japan and China together (excluding fuels). Germany leads the EU in exporting products, accounting for nearly 25 per cent of exports in 2018.

Many of the EU's bilateral negotiations on goods and services include liberalization of trade in goods and provisions for non-tariff barriers and trade in services. The EU has been negotiating improved access to goods and services with MERCOSUR — Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia (Venezuela has been suspended) — as well as with Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Malaysia and Vietnam.

The EU's top 10 exports are machinery, including computers; vehicles; electrical machinery; pharmaceuticals; mineral fuels, including oil; plastics and plastic articles; optical, technical and medical apparatus; organic chemicals; iron and steel; and aircraft and spacecraft.

The European Commission reported the value of the EU's global export of goods in 2018 as \$14.9 trillion and import of goods as \$14.1 trillion (excluding intra-EU trade). Global export of services totalled \$4.04 trillion in 2018 and the import of services totalled \$3.9 trillion. The EU's largest export of goods and services was to China, valued at \$2.6 trillion. It did the

most import trade with the U.S., accounting for \$2.8 trillion.

Britons voted in a 2016 referendum to leave the EU. The "divorce" means the U.K. must negotiate a trade deal with the EU, raising the possibility of new or re-



Cecilia Malmström is the European Union's commissioner for trade. She is instrumental in all free trade agreements Europe signs.

stored tariffs. The status of Britons living outside the U.K. and nationals of other countries living in the U.K. will change.

3. Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC)

APEC is a regional trade agreement (RTA) among 21 countries, called member economies, throughout the Asia-Pacific region. It is the world's largest RTA and was established in 1989 as regional economies became more integrated and in view of the competition that would come with the introduction of large economic blocs such as NAFTA and the EU. APEC ensures cross-border movement of goods, services, investment and people through faster customs procedures, favourable business climates and aligned regulatory standards.

The 21 member economies are Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand,

Papua New Guinea, Peru, the Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, the U.S. and Vietnam.

The 21 members of APEC accounted in 2017 for 2.9 billion people — about 38 per cent of the world's population — and had a GDP of \$48 trillion, roughly 60 per cent of global GDP, and conducted 60 per cent of trade globally through APEC and the other agreements to which they belong. The combined GDP of the U.S. and China amounted to 66 per cent of the region's GDP. The APEC region contributed 47 per cent of global trade in goods and services.

APEC's trade statistics of 2018 note exports and imports were worth \$8.8 trillion in 2017, slightly higher than 2016's recorded \$8 trillion. Imports totalled \$8.9 trillion. Intra-APEC trade made up almost 70 per cent of the region's exports and imports. In 2017, the value of APEC trade in goods saw the fastest growth rates of the previous six years.

The biggest export products from APEC economies to the world were electronics, motor vehicles, petroleum oils, automatic data-processing machines, auto parts, gold and electrical equipment. Top imports to APEC included electronic integrated circuits and microassemblies, crude petroleum oils, electronics, motor vehicles and pharmaceuticals.

At its 1994 summit, APEC established the goal of creating free trade and investment among the region's developed economies by 2010 and undeveloped economies by 2020. APEC operates through committees, policy groups, working groups and a business advisory council. As such, its effectiveness is limited by the requirement that decisions be achieved by consensus.

4. Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN)

ASEAN was created in 1967 by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. By 1999, it had 10 members with the addition of Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia. Of these countries, Indonesia and Thailand have the largest economies.

The area's population was estimated at 647.4 million in 2018, nearly double the area's 1980 population (355 million), partly due to establishing ASEAN+3, the original 10 countries plus China, Japan and Korea, and ASEAN+6, which includes Australia, New Zealand and India. In 2018, ASEAN was estimated to have a combined GDP of \$2.9 trillion; in 2000, that figure was \$615 billion.

ASEAN is becoming significantly more important as a trade bloc. Its goal is to form a common market, much like the EU, to allow the free movement of goods, services, capital, investment and labour among members. It is nearing its goal of creating universal standards for financial services, agriculture, intellectual property rights and consumer protection to support growth and foreign investment.

Other products and services in ASEAN's agreements are electronic commerce, cotton and wool, pharmaceuticals, agrochemicals, electrical appliances, marine products, natural gas, coal (including coke and briquettes), wood and wood products and non-ferrous metals.

By 2018, the association had removed 99 per cent of intra-ASEAN tariffs, excepting rice because of its importance to local economies. It has also engaged in free trade agreements with several other Asian nations, changing its environment for sourcing and manufacturing goods. Its treaty with China has eliminated tariffs on about 90 per cent of imported goods in 8,000 product categories.

International trade in goods and services and foreign direct investment, vital to the area's economy, have increased significantly since 2010. In 2017, international trade in goods reached almost \$2.6 trillion while trade in services amounted to \$703

billion. Foreign investment was \$135.6 billion. China has become ASEAN's largest external trading partner, receiving 14.1 per cent of ASEAN's exports in 2017. While this trade is significant, ASEAN members are cautiously aware of China's ability to dominate the region.

The EU is ASEAN's second-largest trade partner, receiving 12 per cent of exports, followed by the U.S. with 10.8 per cent and Japan at 8 per cent. The largest markets for ASEAN imports during 2017 were China (20.3 per cent), Japan (9.1 per cent), the EU (8.3 per cent), South Korea (7.9 per cent) and the U.S. (7.3 per cent).

The ASEAN-India Free Trade Agreement, which came into force in 2010, created a liberalized market and investment regime, with a combined GDP of \$4.8 trillion, eliminating tariffs on more than 4,000 product lines and creating opportunities for more than 1.9 billion people. In 2019, India and ASEAN members agreed to revisit the agreement with a view to making it more amenable to business.

5. Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP)

The CPTPP is the modification of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a free trade agreement comprising 12 countries bordering the Pacific Ocean: Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, the U.S. and Vietnam. These countries include 793 million people, produce 40 per cent of the world's total GDP of \$107.5 trillion and supply 26 per cent of global trade. As the agreement has been in effect only since Dec. 30, 2018, there is not enough data available to create a meaningful analysis of the CPTPP's impact on global trade.

U.S. president Barack Obama initiated the TPP when China sought trade with African nations, exchanging oil for investment in African infrastructure, and with Southeast Asian and Latin American countries. Among the TPP's goals was balancing China's increasing power in the region. The TPP was signed by all countries in 2016 and awaiting ratification when President Donald Trump pulled the U.S. out of the agreement in January 2017. It would have been the world's largest FTA, projected to increase exports by \$305 billion annually by 2025 and remove 18,000 tariffs on American exports.

In March 2018, the other 11 countries of the TPP moved on without the U.S.,

with 20 minor provisions of the TPP suspended, renaming the agreement the CPTPP. The 11 members still constitute a market of 495 million people and have a combined GDP of \$13.5 trillion. Additional nations, including China, have indicated interest in joining. In April 2018, Trump indicated that the U.S. might be willing to rejoin the agreement, but only if he could get "a better deal" than Obama had; several countries felt they had made enough concessions.

The first to ratify the agreement were Canada, Australia, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand and Singapore, followed by Vietnam in January 2019. The CPTPP removes tariffs on goods and services and sets reciprocal trade quotas. It also removes non-tariff obstacles to trade and synchronizes regulations and statutes. In terms of increasing access to goods markets, Japan, Vietnam and Malaysia would benefit most.

The CPTPP covers an array of goods and services, including machinery, automobiles, textiles and apparel, agricultural and marine products, forest products, chemicals and plastics, financial services and telecommunications. It affects foreign policy and even some laws within member countries. All countries agreed to reduce wildlife trafficking, which is most beneficial to elephants, rhinoceroses and marine species, and it prevents environmental abuses, such as unsustainable logging and fishing. Penalties are applied for non-compliance.

One concern for CPTPP members is whether China would use the agreement to avoid the tariffs imposed by its trade war with the U.S. China could send raw materials to CPTPP members from which finished products could be sent to the U.S., avoiding the tariff.

6. Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR)

The Southern Common Market is known as MERCOSUR — the Spanish abbreviation of El Mercado Común del Sur. It was founded in 1991 by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay under the Treaty of Asuncion. Bolivia joined in 2015. Venezuela joined in 2012, but was suspended in 2017. MERCOSUR represents 295 million people with a combined GDP above \$3 trillion, the fifth-largest economy outside the EU.

Europe's common market inspired the agreement — its main purpose being to generate business and investment opportunities by integrating national economies



Participants at a meeting of the committee of permanent representatives to ASEAN.



MERCOSUR (spelled MERCOSUL in Portuguese) is a trade pact that includes Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Bolivia. It was inspired by Europe's common market and signed in 1991.

into an international market. It was also intended to strengthen democracy after the dictatorships of the 1980s.

MERCOSUR allows free movement of goods and services among member countries. Preferential trade liberalization among member countries occurred from 1991 to 1994, and almost all intra-MERCOSUR tariffs were eliminated by 1995. Trade among the members increased in the 1990s, but trade liberalization reversed from 1996 to 1999 due to external conditions, such as the Brazilian financial crisis. The introduction of non-tariff barriers caused trade among MERCOSUR countries to decline after 2000, but MERCOSUR is gradually eliminating most non-tariff barriers to trade.

In 2000, the EU signed bilateral agreements with the four original MERCOSUR members to remove trade barriers and broaden EU export markets. The EU is MERCOSUR's largest trade and investment partner; in 2018, EU goods worth \$55 billion and services worth \$28 billion were sent to MERCOSUR countries. Statistics for 2019 to date show that the export of goods has yielded \$155.6 billion; imports total \$120.5 billion. Exports of services amount to \$54 billion; imports equal \$96.8 billion.

MERCOSUR's exports of goods include soybeans and flour, petroleum and crude

oils, iron ores, corn, chemical wood pulp, beef and chicken. Imports of goods include diesel and petroleum oils, natural gas, coal, submersible drilling equipment and potassium chloride.

A trade deal between the EU and MERCOSUR would link more than 770 million people. After nearly two decades of talks, under discussion now are the elimination of 92 per cent of taxes on MERCOSUR imports, 91 per cent of duties, increased market access for MERCOSUR farmers and fewer restrictions on public procurement, allowing EU companies to bid on government contracts in MERCOSUR countries.

However, concerns were raised on both sides. EU countries worried that lower MERCOSUR standards would give their exporters an advantage. France expressed concerns about South American beef and biofuel imports flooding the market. MERCOSUR countries, concerned about the competitive automotive sectors, resisted EU demands to allow European companies to bid for government contracts. As the talks ground on, French President Emmanuel Macron threatened additional delay if Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, a climate-change skeptic, pulled out of the 2015 Paris climate accord.

European leaders and business, as well as MERCOSUR leaders and farmers, like the deal. European farmers, environmen-

tal groups and Argentina's small- and medium-sized entrepreneurs dislike the deal. The four MERCOSUR and 28 EU governments, as well as the European Parliament, must ratify the deal before it enters into force. There is no timeline.

7. Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA)

CETA is a trade deal between the EU and Canada, a landmark agreement for Canada, opening new markets for Canadian exports and promoting shared values. It was signed in 2016 and came into force in 2017. CETA lowers tariffs and other barriers to trade, respects democracy and



The EU, with its 28 member states (27 if Britain leaves), is the world's second-largest economy. Shown here is Frankfurt, a major hub in Europe.

upholds the EU's standards in several areas as defined in the joint interpretive instrument, which was adopted when the agreement was signed.

The instrument sets out the members' mutual commitment to safeguard the right to regulate in the public interest in areas such as public health and education, social services, safety, the environment, workers' rights, privacy and data protection and promoting cultural diversity.

Canada's population in 2019 is estimated at 37.4 million. The GDP in 2018 was \$1.7 trillion. The EU is the world's second-largest economy and Canada's second-largest trading partner after the U.S., accounting for almost 10 per cent of its external trade in goods. Canada is the

EU's 12th most important trading partner, accounting for almost 2 per cent of the EU's total external trade in goods.

Before CETA, Canada-EU trade in 2014 amounted to nearly \$74 billion. The European Commission announced that the value of trade in goods between the EU and Canada in 2018 was \$79 billion. In 2017, the EU exported slightly more than \$15 billion more in goods and services to Canada than it imported. The top three categories of products traded between Canada and the EU are machinery, chemical and pharmaceutical products and transport equipment.

The federal government indicated in 2017 that Canada's trade balance with the EU will deteriorate slightly. The sectors most adversely affected — showing slower output growth — include some dairy and agricultural products, textiles and some machinery and manufacturing goods. Sectors that could expect increased growth include automobiles, non-ferrous metals and wheat. The diversion of trade to the EU will reduce Canadian exports to the U.S.

8. Central American-Dominican Republic Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA-DR)

The CAFTA-DR, which was signed in 2004, is significant because it was the first free trade agreement between the U.S. and a group of developing countries. It aims to eliminate trade barriers, including tariffs and customs duties, on goods and services traded among Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic and the U.S. The intent of the FTA was to give the U.S. greater access to Central American markets and to promote economic growth in Central America and the Dominican Republic.

The main provision of the CAFTA-DR was to remove some tariffs immediately and others over periods of up to 20 years. By 2015, all tariffs on U.S. consumer and industrial exports had been removed; tariffs on agricultural exports will be eliminated by 2020. All trade will be duty-free by Jan. 1, 2025, when the agreement is fully implemented. American exports to CAFTA-DR countries include medical instruments, grains, machinery, paper, textiles, petroleum products and plastics. CAFTA-DR exports include coffee, sugar, fruits and vegetables, cigars and petroleum products.

In 2018, two-way trade among CAFTA-DR members was \$57.4 billion. Exports reached \$32.2 billion and imports \$25.2

billion. Trade in services has not been measured. Under the agreement, the economies of Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic have enjoyed significant gains. Nicaragua, one of the poorest countries included in the agreement, saw its economy grow 4.8 per cent in 2015, 4.7 per cent in 2016 and 4.9 per cent in 2017. The Dominican Republic, which exports about half its goods to the U.S., mainly sugar, coffee and tobacco, saw its economy grow 7 per cent in 2015, 6.6 per cent in 2016 and 4.6 per cent in 2017.

Under the agreement, each member is required to apply fair and transparent procurement procedures and cannot discriminate against any goods, services or suppliers from other member countries. The agreement also requires reforms of domestic legal and business environments key to encouraging business development and investment.

9. African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA)

In 2018, leaders from 44 African countries signed the AfCFTA agreement, a historic free trade agreement intended to liberalize the market for goods and services across the continent. An additional 10 countries have since signed on. The agreement came into force on May 30, 2019.

The agreement follows the example of the EU, creating the world's largest free trade area by population and the largest customs union in the world. However, only 16.6 per cent of African countries' exports remained on the continent in 2017 (by comparison, Asian countries account for 59 per cent of Asian exports, and 68 per cent of Europe's exports stay in Europe), so there is some work to be done.

The agreement falls under the African Union's (AU) *Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want*. The AU endorses multilateralism as integral to promoting development, prosperity and peace. If all 54 AU members ratify the AfCFTA, the agreement will encompass 1.2 billion people with a combined GDP of more than \$3 trillion. Consumer spending is expected to reach \$1.4 trillion with 128 million African households with discretionary income in 2020. By 2030, 50 per cent of Africans will be living in cities. There are expected to be 1.1 billion Africans of working age by 2040.

Facilitating the movement of goods and people within and external to the free trade area will be a challenge as African economies are at various stages of development. The AU role will be to ensure shared prosperity, create supportive poli-

cies, eliminate monopolies and eradicate uncompetitive behaviour. But the AfCFTA has enormous potential for co-operation among countries and companies, with the caveat that liberalized trade could harm the poorest within its members.

On the way to meeting those projections, members of the free trade area will be able to learn from the experiences of other members of FTAs around the world.

10. China's Trade Agreements

China is an economic behemoth, the world's largest or second largest economy, depending on the measure, and a major player in trade agreements with much of the world, though no single agreement is



China, whose President Xi Jinping is shown here, is one of the world's largest economies. It has trade agreements with dozens of countries.

among the world's largest. China's trade-agreement partners include ASEAN, Australia, Chile, Costa Rica, Georgia, Hong Kong, India, Korea, Maldives, Pakistan, Peru, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Switzerland. Some of these are being upgraded or are in their second phase. Agreements are in negotiation with Israel, Japan, Mauritius, Moldova, New Zealand, Norway, the Palestinian territories, Panama and Sri Lanka. Still more are under consideration with Bangladesh, Canada, Colombia, Fiji, Mongolia, Papua New Guinea and Nepal.

China's population is 1.38 billion people (est. July 2018) with a GDP of \$25.3 trillion. Exports in 2017 amounted to \$2.26 trillion and imports \$1.74 trillion. In 2018, 18 per cent of China's exports went to the U.S., contributing to a trade deficit of \$419 billion. (U.S. imports from China equalled \$540 billion while exports to China were valued at \$120 billion.)

Before 2013, China's economic growth enjoyed double-digit rates, but its economy grew only 7.8 per cent in 2013 and 7.3 percent in 2014, and fell to 6.8 per cent

in 2017 and 6.6 per cent in 2018. China once fuelled its growth with government spending, reducing poverty and ultimately creating more consumers.

China benefitted for decades from a “worker dividend” of young, cheap labour. However, that workforce is aging, accumulating a measure of wealth and demanding higher wages. China makes up for the loss of cheap labour with its emerging consumerism — a growing middle class expected to reach 600 million in 2020.

ASEAN is China’s most important FTA. On its implementation in 2011, the average tariff rate on Chinese goods exported to ASEAN countries fell from 12.8 to 0.6 per cent, and on imports to China from 9.8 to 0.1 per cent. The agreement is reshaping how China and ASEAN manufacturing develops, as it allows companies to reposition manufacturing to other low-cost areas of Asia, but still meet the demands of the Chinese market through duty-free imports permitted under ASEAN. From January to June 2019, trade volumes between China and ASEAN reached \$291 billion, a 4.2-per-cent increase from a year ago, although growth took a 6.2-per-cent hit from April to June.

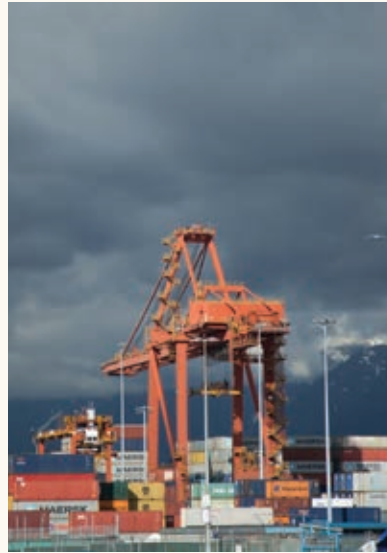
China and its six FTA partners have been working toward the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), a free trade agreement proposed in 2012 and intended to be established by the end of 2019. With all 16 members, the RCEP constitutes almost half of the global population and accounts for 30 per cent of the world’s GDP. China and India are the biggest players; the negotiations proved difficult as India was reluctant to move forward and the agreement was concluded without it in November. The agreement is to be signed in February 2020, giving India a chance to reconsider. The partnership would give members new markets and opportunities in the face of American tariffs and protectionist policies.

In 2019, China reported trade difficulties, saying its escalating trade war with the U.S. is taking a toll on its economy. While China has announced it will expand imports and its measures to stabilize trade will have positive results, the Trump administration was considering applying financial pressure against Beijing, possibly including delisting Chinese companies from U.S. stock exchanges late last year. China’s commerce minister, Zhong Sha, has warned that tariffs and trade disputes could plunge the world into recession.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is an Alberta writer.

CANADA’S TRADE PICTURE

Canada is the world’s 12th largest exporter. In the midst of global trade tensions and slowed growth in many economies, Canada’s exports and imports rose in 2018, with the value of



The Port of Vancouver is Canada’s largest.

trade in goods and services reaching \$1.5 trillion, according to Canada’s *State of Trade 2019* report.

The majority of Canada’s free trade agreements have been negotiated or brought into force since 2000. Canada is involved in 99 agreements involving trade in goods and services as well as investment. These include 15 FTAs in force; five under exploratory discussions; nine under negotiation; one for which negotiations have concluded, but has not gone into force; and one that is signed, but not in force. Canada is also part of several WTO agreements that oversee various aspects of trade.

As well, Canada has a number of Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreements, which are distinct from FTAs, many with existing FTA partners. They are bilateral agreements to encourage foreign investment through a framework of obligations and rights. There are 38 in force, 14 in negotiation, 5 for which negotiations have concluded, but the agreement has not come into force, and 2 that are signed, but not yet in force.

Government of Canada Figures

(year of coming into force is indicated)

FTAs in Force

CPTPP (2018)
Canada-Chile (1997)
Canada-Colombia (2011)
Canada-Costa Rica (2002)
Canada-EU Free Trade Association (2009)
Canada-EU: Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (2017)
Canada-Honduras (2014)
Canada-Israel (1997)
Canada-Jordan (2012)
NAFTA (1994)
Canada-Panama (2013)
Canada-Peru (2009)
Canada-Ukraine (2017)
Canada-U.S. (1989, superseded by NAFTA, remains in force)

FTAs Under Exploratory Discussions

Canada-ASEAN
Canada-China
Canada-Philippines
Canada-Thailand
Canada-Turkey

FTAs Under Negotiation

Canada-Caribbean Community
Canada-Dominican Republic
Canada-Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador
Canada-India Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement
Canada-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement
Canada-MERCOSUR
Canada-Morocco
Canada-Pacific Alliance
Canada-Singapore

FTAs with Concluded Negotiations, Not Yet in Force

Canada-U.S.-Mexico

WTO Agreements

Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (1995)
Agreement on Trade-Related Investment Measures (1995)
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (1995)
General Agreement on Trade in Services (1995)
World Trade Organization Agreement on Procurement (2014)
World Trade Organization Information Technology Agreement (2016)
World Trade Organization Agreement on Trade Facilitation (2017)

Africa inks its own trade deal

By Solomon Azoh-mpi and Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo

There is a second rush to Africa. This time, it is not the imperial rush that led to the partition of the continent in 1884 among Europe's big powers. Instead, the second rush is for mutually beneficial partnerships with a continent now increasingly seen as the next frontier of global progress and prosperity.

Africa's economic growth continues to strengthen, with a GDP of 3.8 per cent in 2018 and 4 per cent in 2019. IMF forecasts put GDP growth at 4.1 in 2020. Half of the world's fastest growing economies are in Africa, with 20 projected to expand at an average rate of 5 per cent or higher.

Three factors account for the growing positive trends in Africa — potential, people and policies.

First, despite centuries of plunder, Africa continues to be endowed with enormous and diverse natural resources. It boasts 90 per cent of the world's platinum and cobalt reserves and 50 per cent of global gold reserves, two thirds of the world's manganese reserves, 35 per cent of uranium and 75 per cent of global coltan, which is used in electronic devices such as mobile phones. It has 10 per cent of the world's oil and gas reserves and 60 per cent of the world's arable land.

Second, Africa's growing population is essentially youthful and dynamic, educated and enterprising. This offers an attractive market for foreign goods. However, Africans are themselves increasingly seizing opportunities to tap and transform the continent's natural and human resources into marketable goods and services.

Third, policies decisively taken over the last few decades by governments across the continent have led to remarkable improvements in African institutions that deal with political governance and economic management. These governments have also made significant investments in modern infrastructure — ports, airports, roads, railways and telecommunication networks, for example — and they've also invested heavily in human development.

One pivotal policy adopted by African



African leaders created the African Continental Free Trade Area, a market of 1.2 billion people with a combined GDP of more than \$3.4 trillion. Shown here is the headquarters of the African Union.

leaders is the establishment and entry into force on May 30, 2019 of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). African Development Bank president Akinwumi A. Adesani describes it as “the most significant decision by African leaders” and adds that it “shows their willingness to move forward with Africa’s economic integration.”

If successfully implemented, the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) estimates the AfCFTA has the potential to increase intra-African trade by 52 per cent by 2022; increase demand for goods and services fivefold; and lift 250 million people into the global middle class by 2050. Currently, very little African trade is done between Africans, so this is an

important goal.

A borderless Africa lays the foundation for a competitive continental market of 1.2 billion people with a combined GDP of more than \$3.4 trillion. It will allow industries to develop across borders, creating economies of scale for investors, fostering competition and supporting the growth of SMEs and large African conglomerates. According to the 2019 *African Economic Outlook Report*, it also has the potential to improve regional security.

Africa's open continental market offers Canada and the world unparalleled opportunities and avenues for developing commercial, industrial and technological partnerships in diverse sectors such as trade, infrastructure development, digital

transformation, research and capacity-building, to name a few.

Much of the world recognizes this and many countries are putting in place policies and strategies to improve and advance bilateral relations with Africa. To cite a few examples, Europe has a long-standing multilateral framework for an African Union-European Union Partnership. In addition, in 2000, the Cotonou agreement replaced the 1975 Lomé convention and now forms the legal basis for relations with sub-Saharan African countries together with Caribbean and Pacific countries. Further, a Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES) was adopted by African and European heads of state in Lisbon in 2007 to serve as a political framework for steering relations with the whole of Africa. And, at the EU-Africa Summit in 2014, a new framework within JAES was adopted for co-operation in five major areas.

Most of Canada's allies in the G7 and G20 have seen the need for initiating bilateral platforms for regular consultations on co-operation, trade and investment with the African continent. This continental approach to harnessing relations with Africa is gaining widespread appeal and momentum.

France held a Franco-African Summit way back in 1973. Japan launched the Tokyo International Conference on African Development in 1993. In 2000, China held the Forum on China-Africa co-operation. In 2006, the Korea-Africa Economic Co-operation was established. Two years later, the India-Africa Forum Summit took place and convenes rotationally between India and Africa once every three years.

In 2014, then-U.S. president Barack Obama hosted 50 African states in a U.S.-Africa Leaders Summit focused on trade, investment and security. While this initiative is not an ongoing process like some mentioned above, the U.S. nevertheless has other templates, such as the African Growth and Opportunities Act initiative aimed at promoting trade and investments with all of Africa; the Obama administration's Power Africa initiative, the Millennium Challenge Account and private sector-led initiatives such as the U.S.-Africa Business Summit, organized periodically by the U.S. Corporate Council on Africa.

In 2016, Italy initiated the Italy-Africa Conference of its foreign ministry, to co-ordinate co-operation with Africa in the areas of peace, freedom, democracy and security. During its presidency of the G20 Summit in 2017, Germany established a bilateral platform called "Compact with

Africa." At its second edition in Berlin on Nov. 19, 2019, German Chancellor Angela Merkel insisted to German businesses that "we should do everything to co-operate with Africa, not to talk about Africa, but to do something together." More recently, in October 2019, Russia held its own first Russia-Africa Summit with more than 40 African heads of state in attendance. In January 2020, Britain is poised to host the U.K.-Africa Investment Summit in London.

Other major countries, including Australia, Brazil and Turkey have similar bilateral organizations for promoting economic and business ties with Africa.



Canada's presence in Africa is largely limited to the niche market of mining, as shown here with Rio Tinto's operations at Richard Bay Minerals in South Africa.

Canada is lagging behind in this growing momentum to build strong and strategic partnerships with Africa. Canada's presence on the continent is largely limited to the narrow niche mining sector. This approach is markedly different from current trends and does not allow for the full bloom of Canada-Africa relations. There is need for clarity in Canada-Africa relations, for a more coherent Canada-African trade investment policy and for the establishment of a bilateral platform for Canada-Africa co-operation. There is no better time than now, with the second Trudeau government having just been sworn into office.

Writing on the subject in 2013, Johannesburg academic David Hornsby argued that "Canada needs a more consistent and coherent strategy for engaging with Africa." This call is as valid today as it was years ago, and has been repeated by African diplomats accredited to Canada with little or no response.

It is difficult to understand Canada's

ambivalence toward Africa, especially against the backdrop of all the rumblings about the rush to Africa by the rest of the world. Yet more than any other country, this country offers some singular advantages that greatly favour the strengthening of its engagement and competitiveness in Africa as illustrated hereafter.

Canada and Africa share linguistic and legal affinities as English and French are widely spoken. The common and civil laws widely practised in Canada are also prevalent in Africa. Canada carries none of the "imperial baggage" that can be an impediment to healthy relations. There are shared commonalities in diversity and multiculturalism; and there is shared membership within international organizations including the United Nations, the Commonwealth and La Francophonie.

The stage is sufficiently set for business in a new relationship with Africa, beyond aid. Canada has signed foreign investment protection agreements with about 20 African countries. These should give Canada an advantage in building mutually beneficial business partnerships with countries of the African Common Market.

In an article appearing in *The Globe and Mail* on June 7, 2019, Hill & Knowlton's senior vice-president, Jack Hughes, insightfully observes that the African Continental Free Trade Area has "the potential to be the most dynamic trade bloc of the 21st Century"... offering "mammoth trade and investment opportunity." He further argues that "if Canada has any ambition to secure an 'early-mover' advantage within the AfCFTA integrated market," it must "adopt a 'breadth and depth' strategy to make up that lost ground. Canada's private sector and public service must work together to seize opportunities that strengthen economic ties with AfCFTA countries individually with the goal of engaging them collectively."

The potential and promise of the continent have led some pundits to talk of the "African Century." This in no way minimizes the challenges that persist, but to persistent challenges, Africa is responding with persistent courage, creativity and commitment. The old narrative of an Africa of conflict and chaos is giving way, and quickly, too. This is an opportune moment for Canada to rethink Canada-Africa trade. Africa is ready.

Cameroon High Commissioner Solomon Azoh-mbi, dean of the diplomatic corps, wrote this piece with South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo.

CANZUK anyone?

By Srdjan Vucetic

Today's pundits and scholars no longer speak of "liberal international order," but rather of an increasingly fragmented world, built around a handful of centres of power, most of them decidedly illiberal. This has prompted some conservatives to call for greater co-operation and co-ordination among "the English-speaking peoples," to use Winston Churchill's mid-20th-Century phrase.

In Britain, major Tory Brexit campaigners are no longer merely pointing to "the Anglosphere" as an alternative to the European Union (EU), but are now working together with a small but well-connected group of politicians, journalists, business leaders and civil activists from across the English-speaking political right to make this alternative a reality. Discussions of several new bilateral free trade and visa-free work deals are under way, with an eye on "CANZUK," a future ever-closer union of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Britain. Although far-fetched, the idea has actually already intrigued New Zealand's ruling National Party, the Act New Zealand Party, the Britain's Brexit Party, the Conservative Party of Canada, and, in Australia, a former prime minister, a former high commissioner to Britain, and at least one current senator.

The logic behind all these proposals appears straightforward: since the English-speaking countries already have so much in common — history, politics, economics, law, media, culture, and even familial ties — and since technology is making the physical distance smaller, a globe-spanning Anglosphere of free movement of goods, services and labour is a viable proposition. Some indeed go several steps further to imagine a new defence pact and even a transcontinental confederation. As CANZUK-supporting historian Andrew Roberts likes to put it, with a combined population of 130 million mostly rich and progressive people, this new union would be the world's third most powerful polity as well as a third pillar of Western civilization, alongside the U.S. and the EU.

Long-lost Anglo-Saxondom

Both the Anglosphere and CANZUK



Members of the military at Sandhurst, a military academy in Britain. Discussions of several new free trade and visa-free work deals are under way between Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

have a certain air of novelty. First recorded in a science-fiction novel in 1995, the Anglosphere is now a household item in many political, journalistic and scholarly discourses, while CANZUK, a word coined in the 1950s, has gained new currency after Britain's 2016 referendum on EU membership. In truth, both are very old ideas; indeed, plans for uniting English-speaking polities in fact go back to 19th-Century debates over settler colonialism and what then used to be called "Greater Britain." During the 1880s and 1890s in particular, the idea of an "imperial federation" encompassed adherents to a broad spectrum of positions, some complementary, others contradictory,

but with a common focus on improving relations between the metropole on the one hand and "old Empire lands" on the other. And yes, like some of their heirs today, advocates of an imperial federation were quick to draw a hard and fast line between settler Dominions peopled primarily by those of "common British stock" and other imperial territories, such as India or Ireland.

Although the bulk of imperial federation talk bounced in and around London, some of it reached Canberra, Ottawa and Wellington, too. Some turn-of-the-20th-Century Canadians thus made appeals for "imperial preferences" in trade or for strong "imperial defence" (the latter in

response to growing competition from rival empires, including the U.S.) Others expressed interest in diplomatic and military co-operation between the British Empire and the U.S. on the basis of Anglo-Saxon racial solidarity. And still others expressed hopes not just for a formal political alliance between the two brotherly powers, but for their fusion into a single country, as if in a response of sorts to the unifications of Italy and Germany.

One can excavate these and many other fin-de-siècle arguments in journals such as *The Anglo-Saxon*, a monthly periodical published in Ottawa from 1887 to 1900, or *The Anglo-Saxon Review*, a chic quarterly founded and edited between 1899 and 1901 by Churchill's American-born mother, Jennie Jerome, a.k.a. Lady Randolph Churchill. What is remarkable is their similarity with today's arguments; then, as now, advocates of English-speaking unity engaged in techno-utopian fantasies, premising their arguments on the ability of technological change to fundamentally transform the meaning of political identities and the nature, scope and scale of political institutions.

But in politics, fantasies matter. Although plans for imperial federation fell flat, while Anglo-American reunification never got off the ground, Anglo-Saxonism did end up reinforcing the dominant racialized conception of empire. For one thing, the erection of then new immigration controls in the U.S. and British settler colonies — and their maintenance well into the late 1960s (1973 in Australia) — owes a great deal to these fin-de-siècle beliefs. For another thing, Anglo-Saxonism contributed to the rise of Anglo-American cordiality and therefore to what international relations theorists call a peaceful hegemonic transition, meaning the non-violent transfer of leadership from Pax Britannica to Pax Americana.

Not Anglo-baloney

Beliefs in the unity and superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race allowed leadership in London and Ottawa to justify the consolidation and extension of U.S. power, first in North America and then globally. Similar beliefs, however, also helped Americans embrace British followership later on. In his famous 1946 Fulton [Missouri] speech, Churchill called this arrangement the “special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States.” He was onto something. The combined chiefs of staff, the supreme military command for the Anglo-American forces established at the 1941 Arcadia

Conference, continued to operate after the war, as did the two-way co-operation in intelligence and nuclear areas. There was also the Canada-U.S. permanent defence agreement, which Churchill duly mentioned in the speech.

The longevity, scope and depth of the special relationship today would probably surprise even Churchill. Consider the “Five Eyes.” Bringing together approximately 20 distinct agencies led by, or centred on, the National Security Agency in the U.S., the Government Communications Headquarters in Britain, the Communications Security Establishment in Canada, the Defence Signals Directorate in Australia and the Government Communications Security Bureau in New Zealand, this network has its roots in the special intelligence relationship that developed between the U.S. and the Britain during the Second World War. Although Canada formally joined the pact in 1948, with Australia and New Zealand following in 1956, all three countries were participants from the start. Declassified in 2011, the 1946 UKUSA treaty makes this point rather diplomatically in Article 6a: “While the Dominions are not parties to this agreement, they will not be regarded as third parties.”

Prior to the Snowden disclosures — the release in 2013 of a cache of leaked documents by Edward Snowden, a former contractor with the National Security Agency and an alleged Russian spy — Five Eyes meetings were highly secretive. Few knew these countries were members of the most exclusive “intelligence pooling club” in the world, and even fewer were aware of this club's regular gatherings. But now said countries send their representatives to annual Five Eyes meetings — this year's “Five Country Ministerial and Quintet of Attorneys General” took place in London, for example — and the media are able to request and receive a group photo of the leaders involved and as well as all their official communiqués.

Though never front-page news, these stories deserve our utmost attention. Once confined “merely” to signals intelligence, Five Eyes consultation and co-operation practices have long ago spilled over to other policy and operational areas. Canada's 2017 white paper on defence, for instance, talks about “the Five-Eyes community” as being “central to protecting Canada's interests” through multilateral means. What this and similar government documents do not say is that said “community” is also characterized by a large and growing number of trans-government-

tal policy networks in virtually all areas of security, some of which now provide actual governance functions.

On the surface, these developments look like policy inertia, but their political consequences are massive, not least in the context of the aforementioned Anglosphere talk. Indeed, should the institutional and bureaucratic architecture of the Five Eyes community continue to grow, we might even live to see it cannibalizing existing multilateral institutions, mainstays of liberal international order included. If you read Churchill's Fulton speech carefully, you will see that it envisages this future, too. His logic goes like this: if the threat of tyranny is great and if international governance mechanisms are failing or have failed, what the world needs is more “Anglobal governance,” not less. One could in fact argue that Churchill's intended punchline was not “the iron curtain” — his still-famous metaphor for Communist takeover of Central and Eastern Europe — but rather a call for the “fraternal association of the English-speaking people.” He even predicted the special relationship giving birth to common citizenship between the U.S. and the British Empire: “Eventually there may come — I feel eventually there will come — the principle of common citizenship.” It is no accident that today's Anglospherists and CANZUK-ers are all major Churchill aficionados.

Not going away

Proponents of the Anglosphere and CANZUK insist that their projects are very different from their Victorian-era predecessors. This may be true in principle, but it is politically naïve in practice because history shapes the reception of all political ideas, not least of all in today's multicultural societies that characterize the “English-speaking” world (Quebec, anyone?) But history also shows that fantasies of settler colonial unity actually shaped numerous real-world policies, institutions and practices. Some of them, such as the Five Eyes community in security and defence, not only still exist, but are actually growing — right at the time when regional and global power balances are shifting.

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How China's Belt and Road project affects global security

By Joe Varner

China's Belt and Road Initiative has several purposes for the emerging superpower: To increase its access to global trade, international development and strategic investment, to up its diplomatic engagement, to isolate Taiwan by buying away the few international friends it has left and to build a constellation of military bases and presence around the world to help Beijing enforce its will on global security.

China's Belt and Road Initiative

China's ambitious Belt and Road Initiative has been held out as a modern-day "Chinese Marshall Plan," spreading economic assistance and technical expertise around the globe to developing economies. Others have been less polite and describe it as thinly disguised imperialism preying on the world's most desperate and ailing states, where investments in trade and supporting transport hub infrastructure come with strings attached, huge debt and Chinese monopolies. President Xi Jinping's five-year-old Belt and Road Initiative is reportedly China's plan for global economic engagement and dominance linking Asia, Africa and Europe. From Southeast Asia to Eastern Europe and Africa, the program includes 71 countries that account for half the world's population and a quarter of global GDP. Its price tag will likely top US\$1 trillion. Chinese firms are engaged in construction work around the world, having secured more than \$340 billion in construction contracts along the Belt and Road.

Thus not all is sunshine and lollipops. Chinese investment tends to come at a heavy cost, geared to entrap desperate developing states. Developing economies with massive debt loads that they cannot repay end up having to hand over their best infrastructure — such as dual-use ports, those that can handle civilian commerce and military shipping, and airports — to Chinese monopolies for control and management. Chinese companies and their workers are brought in to construct



Some have described the Belt and Road Initiative as thinly disguised Chinese imperialism. Others charge that it's a way for China to expand its military presence and bases in the world.

and develop the sites at the expense of local businesses and workers.

Djibouti, Kyrgyzstan, Laos, Malaysia, the Maldives, Mongolia, Montenegro, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Tajikistan have found themselves heavily indebted to Chinese interests. For instance, in 2011, Beijing wrote off an undisclosed debt owed by Tajikistan in exchange for 1,158 square kilometres of disputed territory.

The *Washington Post* recently identified an outpost in eastern Tajikistan, near the strategic junction of the Wakhan Corridor, as host to Chinese troops. Sri Lanka was pressured into selling control of its port of Hambantota to a Chinese state-owned

company after falling behind on its payments on \$1.5 billion to Beijing. Some international security analysts have worried that the expanded Chinese commercial presence around the world will eventually lead to expanded military presence using ports and other transport infrastructure being built for dual-use commercial and military purposes.

People's Liberation Army (Navy)

There was a time in the not-so-distant past that China's People's Liberation Army (Navy) was viewed purely as a coastal defence force, but it is now a "blue water" navy with 300 warships. It is larger than

the United States fleet and it sails round the world. Beijing's 235,000-person navy boasts one aircraft carrier, four nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines, five hunter-killer nuclear-powered submarines, 61 conventional patrol submarines, 17 destroyers and 54 frigates. At an astounding rate, China commissions between 14 and 18 new warships of various design per year. Today, Chinese warships routinely patrol the South China Sea, East China Sea, Pacific and Indian Oceans, and its anti-piracy action groups have remained in the Red Sea off Yemen since their inception in 2009. Chinese surface ships have travelled to places as far afield as Bulgaria, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Australia, Tanzania, Nigeria, Greece, London, Russia and Lithuania. Transit routes have included the Suez Canal, the Cape of Good Hope, the Bosphorus, the Panama Canal, the straits of Magellan, Malacca, and Sunda.

China is routinely operating surface action groups and submarine operations with nuclear and diesel submarines in the Indian Ocean and regularly carrying out joint war games with Russia. Beijing now has one operational aircraft carrier, another undergoing sea trials and one under construction.

China's ballistic missiles-carrying nuclear submarines have gone on combat patrols for deterrence purposes since 2010. To maintain this relatively new and modern navy around the globe, Beijing is going to need more than a fleet of support ships. It is going to require a constellation of sea and air bases. That's where the maritime portion of the Belt Road Initiative serves as a cover. China's new defence white paper, *National Defence in a New Era* suggests that the protection of China's global interests is a key strategic objective for the People's Liberation Army. The white paper contends that "one of the missions of China's armed forces is to effectively protect the security and legitimate rights and interests of overseas Chinese people, organizations and institutions." To advance what can only be described as a global strategic agenda, Beijing is developing and deploying "far seas forces," "overseas logistical facilities," and capabilities for "diversified military tasks." The document cites China's new Logistics Support Base in Djibouti, set up in 2017, as a huge success, confirming the covert military component of the Belt and Road Initiative.

Strategic dual-use sea ports

Clearly, Beijing's strategy is to develop a



China has firm plans for 18 naval bases worldwide and other potential naval bases reportedly include one at Dar es Salaam port in Tanzania, pictured here.

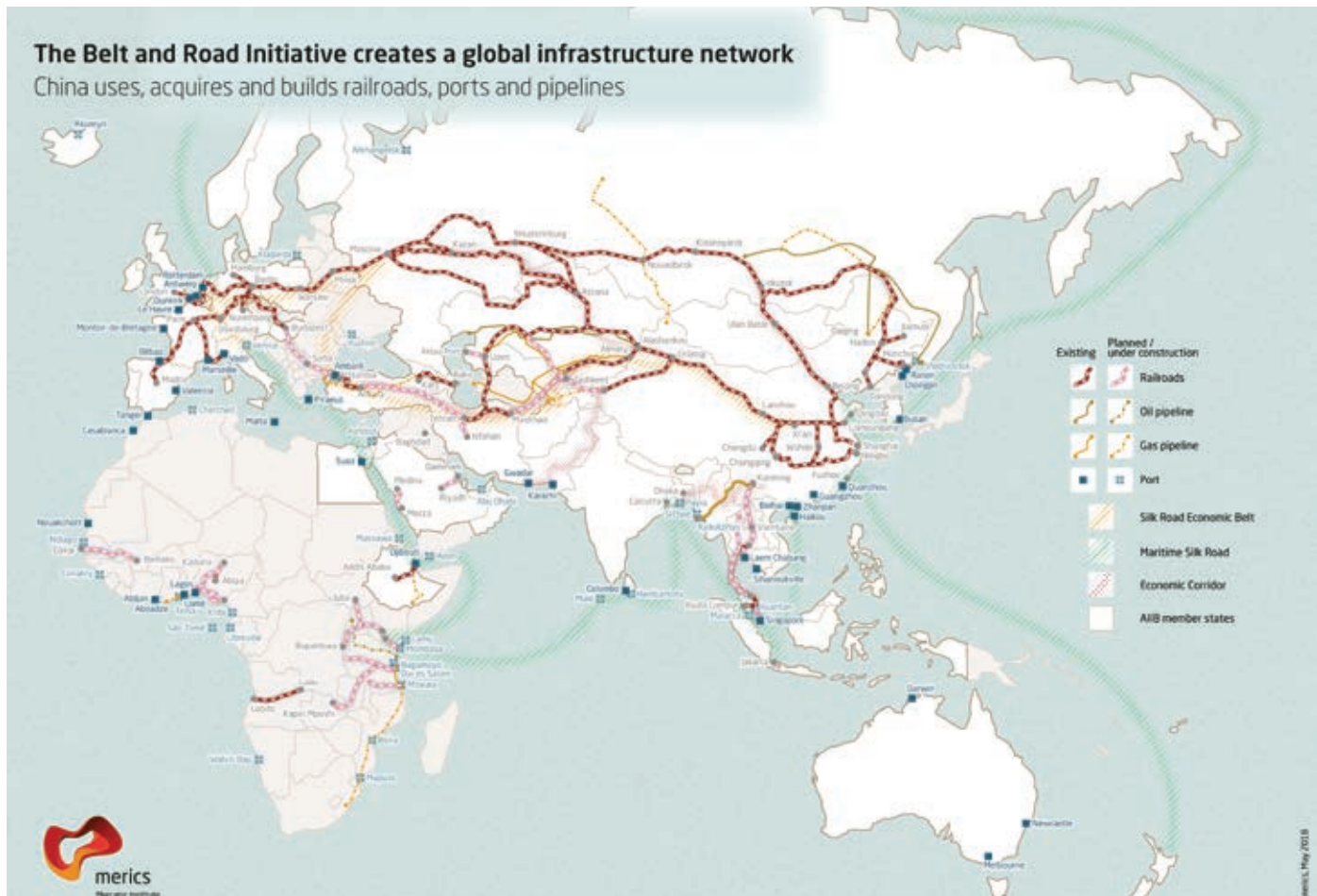
global footprint of strategic bases to rival the United States. These bases are a clear attempt to challenge the U.S.'s superpower status and the current international strategic order. China is now the top port operator in the world. By 2015, two thirds of the world's top 50 container ports had some substantial Chinese investment. According to Lloyd's List Intelligence, those 50 ports handled 67 per cent of global container volume and if only containers directly handled by Chinese port operators are measured, the level of dominance is 39 per cent of all volumes, almost double the U.S., the second largest nation group.

Chinese commercial shipping fleets are the biggest in the world, with the 5 biggest Chinese carriers controlling 18 per cent of all container shipping handled by the world's top 20 companies in 2015, higher than any other country. Chinese companies such as China Ocean Shipping (Group) Company (COSCO) and China Merchants Port Holdings have acquired shares or signed deals to build terminals at seaports around the world. China has created an entirely state-owned-and-operated global shipping empire with China Merchants and COSCO running 29 ports in 15 countries and 47 terminals in 13 coun-

tries. COSCO took over operations at the container port in Piraeus, Greece, in 2008, when the Greek government was near bankruptcy. In 2017, China already had international port holdings with terminals in Greece, Myanmar, Israel, Djibouti, Morocco, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, Brazil, Sri Lanka and Lithuania. China has also made moves to invest in infrastructure and take up ownership of smaller ports, including strategic locations such as Djibouti, Hambantota in Sri Lanka, Darwin in Australia, Maday Island in Myanmar and proposed ports on the Atlantic Ocean islands of São Tomé and Príncipe and in Walvis Bay in Namibia.

China's only overseas base

Currently, China has just one overt overseas military base in Djibouti, but it is widely believed to be planning others, including in Pakistan, as China develops into a superpower. According to the *China Daily*, the base at Djibouti will reportedly help China ferry aid and peacekeeping personnel to other parts of the African continent, but it will also strengthen joint military exercises and maintain "security of international strategic waterways." The Pentagon's annual report on Chinese



The Belt and Road Initiative will create a global infrastructure network through which China will acquire, use and build railroads, ports and pipelines.

military power has warned that “China’s advancement of projects such as the ‘One Belt, One Road’ Initiative (OBOR) will probably drive military overseas basing through a perceived need to provide security for OBOR projects.”

Djibouti is considered China’s first overseas military base and can accommodate almost any ship in the Chinese navy. Satellite imagery and reports show the strategically located logistics base has military infrastructure, including barracks and storage and maintenance units and houses about 10,000 personnel. Djibouti is situated at the Bab-el Mandeb Strait, which separates the Gulf of Aden from the Red Sea and guards the approaches to the Suez Canal through which 40 per cent of Chinese imports have travelled since 2008. China was the seventh country to set up shop in the poor African state in addition to the United States, Japan, France and others. China also made massive investments in Djibouti’s civilian infrastructure projects including a new container port, two new airports and the Ethiopia-Djibouti Railway. Including its new naval base, China currently controls two of the

five terminals at the Port of Djibouti.

It seems unlikely that Djibouti will be alone in China’s pursuit of overseas military support hubs. It is believed that the People’s Liberation Army has targeted dual-use ports for military support activities in Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, the Western Pacific, Africa, and even the Americas. According to reports in the Chinese media, Beijing has plans for 18 naval bases that will be established across the Indian Ocean and Africa, including Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Djibouti, Yemen, Oman, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, Seychelles and Madagascar. Other potential naval bases reportedly include Chongjin Port, North Korea; Moresby Port, Papua New Guinea; Sihanoukville Port, Cambodia; Koh Lanta Port, Thailand; Sittwe Port, Myanmar; Dhaka Port, Bangladesh; Gwadar Port, Pakistan; Hambantota Port, Sri Lanka; Maldives; Seychelles; Djibouti Port, Djibouti; Lagos Port, Nigeria; Mombasa Port, Kenya; Dar es Salaam Port, Tanzania; and Luanda Port, Angola. In fact, as soon as China took control of large dual-use ports in Sri Lanka, Greece and Djibouti, warship visits

by the People’s Liberation Army (Navy) started to become the norm.

The militarization of the South China Sea

Closer to home, China has fortified a bastion of island bases in the contested Spratly Island chain to control the world’s busiest sea lanes in the South China Sea. The South China Sea running north from the Straits of Malacca to the southern tip of Japan is the busiest seaway in the world. The South China Sea is home to a series of maritime border disputes between China and most of its neighbours, including Indonesia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, Brunei and Malaysia. These sea lanes feed China, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea and others through which an estimated \$5.3 trillion in ship-borne trade transits each year, or one third of the global total of trade. As much as 80 per cent of China’s oil imports arrive through the Strait of Malacca and then sail across the South China Sea to reach China. China has fortified and garrisoned Hughes, Gavin, Fiery Cross, Subi, Mischief, Johnson and Cuarteron reefs with defensive weapons, potentially offensive weapons,

air defence sensors, communications, military-capable runways and port facilities to threaten and control South China Sea shipping lanes. This fortified bastion also potentially shelters the Chinese fleet from American intervention in a war over Taiwan while at the same time aiding China in reaching far out in the Pacific to target American warships and bases.

China's advance on the Pacific

Papua New Guinea has requested that China refinance its debts of \$7.95 billion or about 32.8 per cent of its GDP, potentially giving China access to the facilities at Port Moresby. China has also shown interest in the Pacific in terms of a Second World War American base in Asau, Samoa, which has an old runway and a 1960s-era concrete wharf in a well-protected natural harbour. China has also shown an interest in Tonga and servicing its considerable debt of \$108 million through China's Export-Import bank. This would be equivalent to about 25 per cent of GDP in return for concessions. The South Pacific island would make a great base for China's navy, with its fisheries, seabed minerals and natural resources and it would further isolate Taiwan by taking away the few remaining countries that recognize Taiwan instead of China.

China has also promised to fund the Solomon Islands' financial needs and required them to break diplomatic relations with Taiwan, which they did very recently. China has even tried to tap U.S. interests in the Marshall and Marianas island chains to sow dissent and weaken Taiwan's and the United States' presence in Asia. Sadly, a very recent deal included leasing all 200 hectares of Tulagi Island, a province of the Solomon Islands, as a potential naval anchorage, as well as its surrounding islands, to a Chinese public safety entity. But the provincial government's lease agreement was overturned by the attorney-general from the central government of Solomon Islands. With a Chinese naval presence in these islands far out into the South Pacific Ocean, China could threaten and put pressure on Australia and New Zealand.

What about the Indian Ocean?

Recently, on the edge of the Indian Ocean region, Cambodia turned down U.S. offers of assistance to upgrade its Ream Naval Base. Cambodia probably did this in favour of an offer from China. Additionally, there are fears that \$3.8 billion in Chinese investment in the Dara Sakor resort area that comprises 20 per cent of Cambodia's

coastline, will be turned into a giant Chinese naval and air base facility. The resort will reportedly feature a deep-water port, a large industrial park, resort areas to host tourists, an international airport, power stations, water treatment facilities and a hospital. Recent satellite imagery shows an airport runway in Cambodia's Koh Kong province with a length similar to those built on the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea — it is long enough to support Chinese reconnaissance, fighter and bomber aircraft.

Additionally, Chinese naval forces routinely visit and get support at Sihanoukville Port, Cambodia; Koh Lanta Port, Thailand; Sittwe Port, Myanmar;



China has shown an interest in taking over Lajes Air Base in Portugal, shown here, for its own purposes.

and Dhaka Port, Bangladesh. These ports give China easy access to the strategic naval chokepoint of the Strait of Malacca. A total of 94,000 ships pass through the straits per year, carrying 24 per cent of the world's goods, including oil to East Asia. Pakistan's Arabian super port of Gwadar is strategically located along sea lanes that carry most of China's oil imports to protect the world's second largest economy. The port is owned, financed and was built by China and now sees an increase in both Chinese commercial and military shipping.

The Maldives in the Indian Ocean are spread over nearly 1,200 islands, spanning more than 90,000 square kilometres, covering key shipping lanes where China

and India are in strategic competition. Beijing lent the government of former Maldives strongman, president Abdulla Yameen, hundreds of millions of dollars for infrastructure projects, such as the new "China-Maldives Friendship Bridge" from the airport to the capital, Malé. Similarly, India had plans to develop facilities in the Seychelles Assumption Island in 2015, to include maritime surveillance and search and rescue, and to renovate an airstrip in the island, upgrade its jetty and construct housing facilities for the Seychelles Coast Guard. India was suddenly sidelined by China, which had similar interests in Assumption Island.

Ambitions in Africa

Chinese entities financed 27 of the 46 sub-Saharan African ports, they operate 75 per cent of these ports, and constructed or reconstructed 90 per cent of them. In addition to Beijing's naval base and container ports in Djibouti, Chinese naval ships regularly visit Mombasa Port, Kenya; Dar es Salaam Port, Tanzania; and Luanda Port, Angola. China also built a huge \$400-million dual-use container terminal in Walvis Bay, Namibia, comprising 40 hectares of land reclaimed from the sea by China Harbour Engineering Company Ltd. in fewer than five years. As previously mentioned, Beijing is also lengthening the main airport's runway and building a dual-use deep-water port in São Tomé and Príncipe off Africa's Atlantic Coast. Both are reported to be future People's Liberation Army (Navy) bases on the Atlantic, where China has never had a military presence before.

Towards the Atlantic Ocean

The United States abandoned its Cold War-era presence at the Portuguese Lajes Air Base in the Azores and, not surprisingly, China has shown an interest in taking over this 3,000-person facility for its own purposes. Further to that goal, China and Portugal, a NATO member state, have agreed to set up a satellite launch space in the port in the Azores and a lab in Portugal to build satellites. To Denmark's concern, Beijing, in addition to U.S. President Donald Trump, has expressed an interest in Greenland, including proposals to establish a research station and satellite ground station, renovate airports and expand mining. There are reports that China would like to encourage Greenland independence from Denmark as a means of getting a foothold in the Arctic region and access to Arctic oil and minerals. China has also shown an interest in tak-

ing on facilities in Iceland, including the United States Air Force base, no matter how unlikely.

The Americas are not immune

Even the United States' backyard is not immune to Chinese influence and basing rights. China Landbridge, a privately owned Chinese company based in the Chinese port of Rizhao, bought Panama's largest port, Panama Colón Container Port (PCCP) at Margarita Island, on the Atlantic entrance of the Panama Canal in May 2016 at a cost of \$1.1 billion. PCCP will capitalize on the doubling of the capacity of the canal, which can handle the New Panamax container ships that can transport up to 14,500 25-foot equivalent units. The Panama Canal itself has been under Chinese management by Hutchinson Whampao since 1997 and remains a potential naval chokepoint for ships moving between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. China currently operates ports at either end of the Panama Canal, bridging Atlantic and Pacific and may even convert the old American base in the Canal Zone into a third.

As well, a Hong Kong-based company has a 50-year concession to build a canal through Nicaragua to link the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The Dominican Republic has negotiated a US\$600-million loan to upgrade power distribution with the China Export-Import Bank, involving the construction of a mega-port and power installations in Manzanillo, on the north coast of the country. China has offered a plan for development of Grenada that includes a deep-water container and cruise ship port and modernizing and lengthening the country's main airport runway. Beijing has reportedly taken over, or is sharing with the Russians, the former Soviet-era listening post at Lourdes, Cuba, which it uses to spy on the United States. In the aftermath of the recent Hurricane Dorian, China offered to rebuild Bahamas' container port facility. COSCO is funding improved rail connections between Bolivia and Peru, so mineral production from Bolivia can then be exported to China through Peruvian ports. China's COSCO purchased a 60-per-cent controlling stake in the Chancay Terminal in the North of Lima for US\$225 million. In Chile, China is providing an underwater, fibre-optic network linking the two countries together in the first underwater fibre-optic cable to directly connect Asia with Latin America. As well, in an even more brazen act, the Chinese military has built a space mission control station in Bajada del

Agrio, Argentina.

Even Canada, the U.S.'s closest ally and neighbour, is not immune to China's charm and pressure. Late last year, the Canadian Coast Guard succeeded in positioning four Chinese-built-and-monitored sensors in waters just 300 kilometres off the United States' Pacific coast on the Endeavour stretch of the Juan de Fuca Ridge as part of Ocean Network Canada (ONC), a grid of marine observatories stretching from the northeast Pacific to the Arctic. The network is monitored by the University of Victoria in British Columbia and the four new sensors are monitored by China's Sanya Institute of Deep-sea Science and Engineering (IDSSE), a grouping of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The ONC also has a defence contract to help the Canadian Armed Forces monitor its Arctic waters with the help of an artificial intelligence-based surveillance system. The Strait of Juan de Fuca sits across from the U.S. naval base at Kitsap that has a nuclear submarine shipyard for both ballistic missile and attack submarines and is the only dry dock on the U.S. West Coast capable of accommodating a Nimitz-class aircraft carrier. The sensors are also relatively close to Canada's Pacific naval anchorage at Esquimalt, on British Columbia's Vancouver Island. While there is no evidence to suggest the Chinese sensors can be used to track submarines or other warships, suspicions remain. At the very least, the new sensors give China a better understanding of the strategic waterway close to the U. S., and a look into the structure and operation of one of the world's largest and most advanced underwater observatories.

The plan is multipronged, but clear

Beijing's Belt and Road Initiative is many things: It is a tool for global engagement and the enhancement of trade, it is a program geared to "soft power" diplomacy in showing off China's financial, economic and technological success. But the Belt and Road Initiative has an imperialist dimension to it, playing on the most desperate of developing countries that require massive amounts of infrastructure and investment and will make any deal to get them, even at the expense of their sovereignty. The hard economic power, potentially coercive in nature, that China can deploy around the world helps it succeed in isolating enemies, such as Taiwan, from its friends, but also such strategic competitors as the United States and India in terms of their plans for military basing rights. As is the case with Djibouti, the Belt and Road

Initiative and the Chinese overseas investments and interests that it represents are under the protection of the People's Liberation Army as laid out in President Xi's new defence white paper. The Belt and Road Initiative, either through engagement or investment and construction, is a potential intelligence boon to the People's Republic, particularly in the infrastructure around critical economic, transportation and communications hubs.

To be fair, it depends on what side of the hill you are looking as to what the main advantage or strategic objective of the initiative is, but a clear byproduct is to develop a constellation of military bases around the world to protect Chinese interests and investments. Chinese naval power, at 300 warships and growing, is the most flexible tool for protecting and advancing Chinese interests without leading to a bloody conflict and even the Americas need to be prepared for the visiting naval squadron or surface action group in a dual-use port bought, paid for, constructed and operated by China.

The sequence of events has been clear: first the Belt and Road Initiative and money for infrastructure as either a loan or gift, then the debt trap, followed by the arrival of the Chinese navy. Then the military presence becomes permanent. Looking at potential ports and military bases is like looking at a "chess board" and this article has touched on only a few. There are many options to grab or acquire dual-use port facilities in a world dependent upon maritime trade and not all are value-maximizing, but they are available to an emerging superpower for a price. The People's Liberation Army (Navy) is a keen student of the naval strategy of Alfred Thayer Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power upon History (1660-1783)*, first translated into Chinese in 1954 — particularly of Mahan's belief in the great decisive sea battle. China has also taken lessons from the great British naval historian and strategist, Sir Julian Corbett, in his *Some Principles of Maritime Strategy* and understands that what happens on land influences what happens at sea, and knows the value of overseas bases and what they bring to the table if intervention, conquest, and victory are requirements of the day.

Joe Varner is the former director of policy to former defence and justice minister Peter MacKay. He is author of *Canada's Asia-Pacific Security Dilemma* and a fellow of the Conference of Defence Associations Institute and Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society.



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Africa's healthier than ever



Africa's bill of health is steadily improving, thanks to medical science, special attention to chronic disease and several American philanthropic enterprises. Here, a Ugandan medic examines a young girl's eyes during an outpatient day for civilians in Mogadishu.



Robert I.
Rotberg

Africa's current one billion or so residents are healthier than they have ever been, thanks to medical science, special attention to chronic disease remediation in several key countries and the efforts of several American philanthropic enterprises. Life expectancies are up and morbidity is mostly down, allowing Africans to work more productively, enjoy more leisure and exert middle-class pressures on their respective national governments. Thanks to medical advances affecting Africa, there is more

space and time now for the cultivation of progress socially, economically and politically.

Those optimistic articulations assume, however, that Africa will continue to build upon its current medical and public health accomplishments as population numbers soar in most sub-Saharan African nations. Just as the discovery and distribution of retroviral medicines turned HIV-AIDS from a fatal to a chronic disease, new vaccines and other treatments may reduce the incidence of malaria and moderate the lethal spread of drug-resistant tuberculosis. Without such continued improvements, the prospective doubling and tripling of sub-Saharan African populations over the next 30 years could easily overwhelm fragile and understaffed medical and public health facilities and return many vulnerable countries and citizens back to the parlous health state in which they suffered for so long.

The dangers of backsliding are real and imminent, especially since productivity advances are essential if Africa is to compete effectively against other developing regions and developing nations for incoming investments, new jobs and the multiplier effects that emerge from increased wage earnings, more rewarding resource extractions and expanding patterns of consumption. The health of the African people is essential to its overall welfare.

It is harder to study intensively and do well in school if one is weakened by chronic diseases, by the fevers and chills of malaria or by the affliction of intestinal parasites. Building national knowledge bases becomes that much more difficult and problematical if too many schoolchildren are thus infected and suffering, and if their afflictions ultimately prevent them from persisting through primary school, entering secondary schools, complet-

ing that educational level and attending university.

To prosper, sub-Saharan Africa must increase schooling opportunities so its inhabitants can gain the credentials and knowledge to enable them to contribute meaningfully to societal transformation. Being physically well is essential. But how to achieve that improved wellness in the face of cascading people numbers, exploding cities, shortages of potable water, limited sanitation facilities, electricity failures and many fewer physicians and nurses than are required, is a key question of our time, and one to which too few African political leaders pay attention.

Life expectancy

Average life expectancy is a crude, but useful, proxy measure for the health of a continent and a nation's people. Progress, limited or otherwise, from earlier times can be indicated. Comparisons across the universe of African countries can show which countries are working harder at improving their peoples' lives, or across the globe, give African political leaders and health monitors targets at which to take helpful aim.

Since 1960, when average life expectancies at birth in sub-Saharan Africa were about 48 years, that number has steadily risen to a 2018 figure of 62 years for men and 66 for women. Overall deaths are many fewer than they were at the beginning of the century, which contributes to rising life expectancies. Reduced childhood mortality, increasing incomes, better education, control of diseases and health betterments of innumerable kinds also add to the years of average life.

African numbers, however, are still considerably behind the world average of 74 for women and 70 for men in 2018. Furthermore, they are lower than average life expectancies at birth in Europe of 82 for women and 75 for men; of 84 for women and 80 for men in Canada; in Latin America (79 and 73); and Asia (74 and 71).

Infant and maternal losses

From 1990 to 2018, sub-Saharan African countries cut their very high first-year fatality rate — a key global measure — by more than half, from 110 per 1,000 live births to 52 per 1,000 live births. However, the global average for first-year mortality is much lower, at 33 per 1,000 live births. That means Africa still has work to do. Except for Afghanistan's high figure of 111 deaths per 1,000 live births, the globe's next 24 lowest performers, according to that statistic, are all in sub-Saharan Af-

rica. The depressing list starts with war-ravaged Somalia and the Central African Republic at 95 and 86 per 1,000 respectively, continues with weakly governed Guinea-Bissau and Chad at 85 per 1,000, and moves gradually upward through Nigeria, 70, Angola, 67, South Sudan and Zambia, 62, to Benin and Liberia, both 52 per 1,000. Pakistan is the next country on this list, followed by many of the remain-

9, Canada's 7, Japan's 5, Sweden's 4 and Iceland's 3. The disparities are sharp, and indicative of the health gap between Africa and the rest of the world.

These raw statistics are less a reflection of African weaknesses and failures than they are the results of poverty, colonial neglect, paucity of clinical facilities and equipment, impaired national budgets since independence, palpable shortages



Between 1990 and 2018, sub-Saharan African countries cut their high first-year fatality rate — a key global measure — by more than half, from 110 per 1,000 live births to 52 per 1,000 live births.

ing sub-Saharan African countries.

The maternal mortality array of statistics per 100,000 (not 1,000) live births, another powerful health indicator, shows an equivalent disparity between developed and developing world results with the global average in 2017 being 216 per 100,000 live births and Africa's overall rate being 542 per 100,000, down considerably from 965 in 1990.

South Africa's comparable maternal mortality number is 131, Botswana's 129, Morocco's 121, Tunisia's 62, Mauritius' 53, Cape Verde's 42, Egypt's 33, China's 27, the U.S.'s 14, Singapore's 10, the U.K.'s

of medically trained personnel, political leaders devoted to more rewarding policy pursuits, massive corruption, bitter civil conflict and the severe tropicity of much of sub-Saharan Africa's environment, the last an overriding factor that climate change and global warming will only exacerbate.

Physicians and nurses needed

Given the enormous shortage in sub-Saharan African countries of traditionally qualified and degreed physicians, vast amounts of medical diagnoses, prescription-writing, treatment and even surgery,

are delivered by district assistants, nurses, local midwives and other effective but less-formally credentialled health agents. For sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, there are only 0.19 physicians per 1,000 people, a number that will doubtless fall as population increases occur. For comparison, Austria has more than 5 medical doctors per 1,000; Switzerland, Sweden and Germany more than 4; and the U.S., Britain and Canada have about 3. The global average is about 1.2 and a figure of 2.28 medical doctors per 1,000 is the accepted global norm. There are many more African medical personnel in Toronto than in dozens of African countries.

Morbidity and mortality

Poverty and malnutrition weaken children and increase vulnerability, especially to the biggest destroyer of children — pneumonia. That malady yearly kills about 500,000 sub-Saharan African children, fully half of all childhood deaths from pneumonia worldwide. More than one million adults also die of pneumonia. Globally, those deaths from pneumonia are more than all deaths from HIV-AIDS, diarrhea and malaria combined, and the African proportions are much the same. Such killing fields exist despite the fact that pneumonia fatalities are often prevented in temperate and wealthier places by improved hygiene, reduced dwelling pollution (from open fires and such), exclusive breastfeeding and the availability of standard and inexpensive antibiotics.

Diarrheal illnesses are additional killers, especially of very young Africans. These mostly waterborne diseases include dysentery, gastroenteritis, rotavirus, typhoid and cholera, and are caused by fecal contamination. Like pneumonia, they are easily preventable through improved personal sanitary practices, the provision of enhanced access to sources of clean water and upgraded disposal techniques using sewerage or fully functioning septic tanks. Nonetheless, in sub-Saharan Africa, this bundle of diseases is a prime killer of children, and of many adults. At least eight sub-Saharan African nations (Angola, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe) have all suffered 21st-Century epidemics of one or more of these waterborne ailments. Zimbabwe's occurred because its government ran out of funds to purchase chemical disinfectants for municipal water supplies, and because its water mains had not been repaired for decades. Each year, about 120,000 people lose their lives from cholera and 800,000



This young Ethiopian woman is suffering from AIDS. Fully 71 per cent of the globe's disease burden from HIV-AIDS, tuberculosis (TB) and malaria falls on sub-Saharan Africa.

from various forms of dysentery.

In Africa, measles is also destructive of young lives, primarily because of lapses in vaccination, vitamin-A deficiencies (which multiply lethality) and dangerous malnutrition. In poor countries with pools of unvaccinated people and limited access to experienced medical care, 10 per cent of all children, compared to 1 per cent in wealthier countries with fuller vaccination rates, risk contracting measles. Refugee camps can suffer even higher fatality rates if measles arrives. Measles epidemics convulsed Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe a decade ago, hit war-torn northern Nigeria more recently (because of rumours and resistance to vaccinations) and entered the Democratic Republic of Congo because of war and neglect. In 2018, there was a major outbreak in Sierra Leone in areas of the country that had not been reached for several years by vaccinators. In 2019, there were more than 118,000 cases in Madagascar, and at least 1,200 dead, thanks to very low vaccination rates. Across the waters separating that large island from the African mainland, a simultaneous cascading outbreak of measles occurred in central

Mozambique after a disastrous cyclone flooded a large area that included Beira and its suburbs.

TB, HIV-AIDS, malaria

Of all the regions of the world, sub-Saharan Africa is unusually beset by disease. Fully 71 per cent of the globe's disease burden from HIV-AIDS, tuberculosis (TB) and malaria falls on sub-Saharan Africa, where the number of health workers of all kinds on the ground only amounts to 4 per cent of the existing global health workforce. That tiny cadre of mostly dedicated physicians, nurses, midwives, technicians and orderlies tries, daily, to intervene effectively and humanely to diagnose, treat, and then commiserate with sufferers and their families. Overall, they are making progress, despite budget shortfalls, national insolvencies, corruption, theft and general despair.

There has been substantial progress in the enduring battle against malaria, but more globally than in Africa. There, especially in tropical locations, the forward momentum that occurred before 2013 has not been sustained. Beginning in 2016,

Africa south of the Sahara began to count more rather than fewer cases, possibly because of emerging resistance to the insecticides and medicines that had hitherto been effective. According to the World Health Organization, nearly 200 million Africans contract malaria every year and approximately 425,000 of those many millions die. Two thirds of that number are children under 5 years of age, 800 of whom succumb each day, and rapidly, when parasites transmitted by mosquitoes swarm into their brains.

Fortunately, millions of Africans have now obtained access to anti-retroviral medicines to combat HIV-AIDS, especially in the unusually hard-hit southern and eastern African regions where HIV-1 and HIV-3 killed 15 million people between 1990 and 2016 and now afflict about 25 million Africans. In 2018 alone, approximately 468,000 people died from AIDS in



This toddler took part in the UNICEF/WFP Joint Nutrition Response Plan for South Sudan in Aweil, Northern Bahr el Ghazal State.

sub-Saharan Africa. Yet, encouragingly, new transmissions of HIV are down 8 per cent in West Africa and 30 per cent in eastern and southern Africa.

Africa is also prone to outbreaks of dangerous hemorrhagic afflictions. Between 2013 and 2016, the rural and urban populations of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea suffered intensely from Ebola, a then incurable disease contracted from bats. About 30,000 were infected, 11,000 dying. Still raging is another massive Ebola outbreak in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. More than 1,200 died (of nearly

3,000 known cases) by November 2019 despite the availability of two new and effective vaccines and the energetic efforts of local and international health workers. They “ring-vaccinated” assiduously in the affected areas of the Congo, thus reducing transmissions, but were greatly hindered by massive bouts of inter-communal violence and civil disorder. Ebola also reached Uganda and Tanzania from the Congo, but has been contained.

Malnutrition and poverty

To be healthy, Africans, especially children, also need adequate nutrition. Disease burdens intensify nutritional requirements and also facilitate the spread of epidemic and other maladies. It is no wonder that protein and micronutrient deficiencies, plus missing energy ingredients, accompany disease-caused morbidity and add significantly to the obstacles that Africans must surmount to live and work, especially in tropical surrounds. Whole populations in a dozen African countries may be malnourished at any one time because of droughts, floods, crop failures, cash shortages, conflict and the like. In child populations, visible kwashiorkor, a severe protein deficiency characterized by a large belly and swollen limbs and marasmus, a

nutrient deficiency whose result is muscle-wasting and loss of body fat, typically in the poorest or most embattled nations, are clear signs of malnutrition.

Positive prospects

Nevertheless, despite these continuing livelihood issues, and the heavy burden of disease, much of Africa is healthier than ever. Thanks to the generosity of donor countries and a number of North American foundations, nearly all of the worm- and fly-borne diseases of Africa are nearly eradicated; new drug protocols are reducing the spread of TB; insecticide-impregnated bed nets and other innovations are cutting the prevalence of malaria; antiretrovirals are limiting the lethality of HIV-AIDS; and vaccines are finally available to control Ebola and measles. Africa's income increases will also slowly diminish malnutrition and thus contribute to robust health. Things are finally coming together.

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

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The Philippines' tourism boom

Story and photos by Ülle Baum



Bacuit Bay's majestic 250-million-year-old limestone cliffs are one of its major tourist attractions. The Bay, which is located on the northern tip of Palawan Island, features 45 islands, islets, coves and lagoons. It is part of the 7,000-plus archipelagos in the Philippines.

Atropical wind breezes by as a Filipino banca boat cuts through the turquoise waters of Bacuit Bay, throwing sprays of water into the air as it veers towards the majestic limestone cliffs on the horizon. Under the clear blue sky, it almost feels as though infinity is near.

Bacuit Archipelago features 45 islands, islets, coves and lagoons. The closest island town is El Nido, which has become a favourite island-hopping destination for adventurous travellers. El Nido sits on the northern tip of Palawan, which is among the largest of the Philippines' 7,641 islands, only 2,000 of which are inhabited.

This Southeast Asian nation has a population close to 108 million people who speak 185 languages and dialects. English is the second official language, after Fili-

pino, which is based on the Tagalog language. As such, the country has the third largest group of English speakers in the world. A largely Christian society, 92 per cent of the population is Christian, and 86 per cent of the Christians are Roman Catholic.

A rapidly growing economy

According to last year's *Oxford Economics* report, the Philippines will be the second fastest growing emerging market over the next decade. The gross domestic product (GDP) is expected to grow by an average of 5.3 per cent between 2019 and 2028.

The ranking also took into account funding availability and growth in the skilled labour force, which is expected to grow by an average of 2.3 per cent over

the next decade. The country also enjoys the advantage of having a relatively low foreign-debt obligation. Remittances from 11 million Filipinos living abroad support the economy and the currency, amounting to nearly 10 per cent of the GDP in 2018, totalling US\$26 billion. Four million Filipinos live in the U.S. and one million in Canada. Many work as nurses, nannies and caregivers. These remittances, along with the booming tourism industry, have helped maintain a budget surplus and remittances are expected to remain steady as more opportunities become available for Filipinos to work in Japan and Germany.

The ambitious Build, Build, Build Infrastructure Program will cost \$180 billion and is touted as the program that

will transform the Filipino economy over the next decade. The program's key projects include building 32 roads and bridges connecting Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, the three main island groups, as well as constructing six new airports, nine railways, three rapid transit bus systems and four seaports to facilitate more efficient movement of people and goods across the large archipelago. This plan will also increase the incomes of rural people and bring more investments to the countryside. The funding of these major strategic infrastructure projects is supported by development assistance from the Philippines' leading investors, including the Japan International Co-operation Agency, Asian Development Bank and the Export-Import Bank of China. The United States is also supporting this infrastructure program. In November, the government unveiled a revised list of 100 infrastructure priorities to be launched in next three years.

As the Philippines continues to target more new markets in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, South Asia, Africa and Latin America for its products, opportunities from trade diversification will insulate the economy from adverse external factors.

Last year's *World Bank Global Economic Prospects* report stated that the country will sustain its economic growth amidst global uncertainties and is expected to grow 6.1 per cent in 2020 and 6.2 per cent in 2021.

Tourism is a key economic driver

In this steady economic growth, tourism continues to play a vital role, accounting for 12.7 per cent of GDP in 2018, with 5.4 million jobs generated. During the first half of last year, a total of 5.5 million international tourists visited the Philippines, an 11.43-per-cent increase compared to the same period a year before. In spending, they contributed \$4.67 billion.

The country ranks 13th among the world's Top-15 travel and tourism destinations, out of 185 countries, according to the World Travel and Tourism Council. The prestigious Conde Nast Traveller's Top 20 Countries in the World: Readers Choice Awards 2019 ranked the Philippines eighth.

December through February is considered peak tourism season in the Philippines. The average year-round temperature of this popular tropical destination is 26.6 C. With so many unique travel opportunities, the Philippines offers accommodations for every budget. The country has well-established teams



The gold colour of the Okada Manila building represents the hue of Manila Bay's sunset. Okada Manila is a luxury casino resort and hotel complex located in the Entertainment City, a gaming strip in Metro Manila. The fountain in front of the building is one of the largest dancing fountains in the world.





The Taal Volcano and lake, on the island of Luzon, offer one of the most picturesque views in the Philippines. Taal Island is in the middle of Taal Lake, where the Philippines' second most active volcano is situated. It has had 33 recorded eruptions.



The view from the Makati Shangri-La Manila Hotel, overlooking the central business district in Manila. This five-star hotel is located close to large shopping malls and entertainment. Manila is 8th among the Top-10 megacities of the world, with a population of more than 24 million.

of travel experts that can arrange tours and transportation to all destinations. Alejandra C. Clemente, chairwoman of Rajah Tours International Inc., is one of the architects of the country's hospitality trade. Beginning in the early 1970s, she helped build the industry that has since been a tremendous help to the country. Since 2014, Clemente has organized seven "Winter Escapade" trips for more than 2,200 Canadian and American tourists.

The tour is an effective strategy to promote the Philippines as a tourism destination and also as a place for investment. It is a joint promotional program of the departments of foreign affairs and tourism. Last year, they refreshed their tourism branding — "It's More Fun in the Philippines" — to focus on sustainable tourism. As the Philippines has set an ambitious goal to have 12 million foreign tourists by 2022, the balance between development and conservation is key.

New tourist destinations are being promoted, including Luzon island, Mount Bulaylay in Cuyapo, Nueva Ecija, Candau City Ecotourism Zone in Ilocos Sur, Santiago Cove in Santiago, Ilocos Sur and Pinsal Falls Santa Maria in Ilocos Sur. The most popular tourist destinations in the Philippines, however, remain Boracay, Cebu and Palawan.

Palawan made *Lonely Planet's* Publisher's List last year as one of the best places to visit in the Asia-Pacific region. It is also a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve. Palawan's gem is El Nido, with pure white beaches, turquoise water, mysterious limestone landscapes and coral reefs. Various island-hopping tours take tourists to intimate coves and exotic lagoons.

A restricted number of boats and passengers are permitted to go daily from Bacuit Bay for sightseeing. Fewer tourists mean less environmental damage to this unique tropical oasis. During recent years, the municipality of El Nido has made many changes to its regulations. Going plastic-free was one of them. All single-use disposable plastics were banned by law from the boat and island tours in September 2018 and El Nido's famous five Rs are: Reduce, Reuse, Recycle, Refuse and Report.

As a mega-diverse country, the Philippines hosts more than 52,177 of the Earth's species, and more than half of those are found nowhere else in the world. For example, two-thirds of its 150 palm species are unique, and 900 of 1,100 species of orchids are endemic to the Philippines. Travellers can see Filipino eagles, whale sharks, Palawan's peacock-pheasants and a manatee-like marine mammal known as



A dinner for Winter Escapade delegates was hosted at the Makati Shangri-La hotel by the Philippine Tourism Promotions Board, and featured performances by Bayanihan dancers such as this one.



Colourful banigs — handwoven mats — are traditionally used for sleeping and sitting. These ones were on display at El Nido's Kalye Artisano, a community-based artists village. Indigenous weavers use leaves and grass to make these unique designs.

dugong.

The country's surrounding waters have the highest level of marine biodiversity in the world, with about 330 freshwater fish, including the rare *Sardinella tawilis*, found only in Taal Lake. The Philippines' rich biodiversity is one of its main tourist attractions.

Food tourism is also becoming more popular. People travel from afar to taste the most unusual delicacies of Filipino cuisine, which features Chinese, Malay, Indian, American and Spanish influences.

The Philippines is the world's second largest producer of coconuts, harvesting more than 153 billion tonnes per year. Suman, a traditional dish of rice cakes wrapped in banana leaves and made of glutinous rice, coconut milk, brown sugar and salt is a delight. And the indigenous calamansi fruit, also known as calamondin or Philippine lime, is widely used in local cuisine.

The capital, Manila, is among the eight top mega-cities of the world, with a population of more than 24 million and a population density of 15,300 per square kilometre. It is a centre for government, finance, trade, tourism, real estate and, of course, shopping. Manila is home to the world's three largest shopping centres — SM Megamall, SM North Eds and SM Mall of Asia. The city keeps growing and every month a new hotel is built. Many regional tourists travel here just to shop.

About 30 international airlines bring travellers to the Philippines. Philippine Airlines (PAL) is the flagship carrier of the country and has 58 international destinations in 33 countries. It has non-stop service from Toronto and Vancouver to Manila. The carrier was ranked No. 1 on last year's World's Most Improved Airlines list, receiving the award from the U.K.-based airline rating consultancy Skytrax at the Paris Air Show in June. The airline is now ranked 30th out of 100 airlines from all over the world. It is a remarkable achievement and a 19-spot jump from 2018. PAL flights are known for their quality of food and service and the airline aims to receive a five-star rating this year.

The airline shares the country's distinct Filipino hospitality, which is the strongest brand for its tourism — one of the country's main economic drivers, and a growing one.

Ülle Baum is *Diplomat's* staff photographer. She visited the Philippines compliments of Philippine Airlines, Rajah Tours International Inc. and the Embassy of the Philippines in Ottawa.

Ebola: “A true monster”



Infection from the Ebola virus can occur from touching the bodies of those who have died from the disease. Touching the body is part of traditional burial rituals in eastern DRC, but in many cases the rituals are being modified so families can say goodbye without becoming exposed to the virus.



Christina
Spencer

Crisis in the Red Zone: The Story of the Deadliest Ebola Outbreak in History, and of the Outbreaks to Come

By Richard Preston

Random House, New York

369 pages

Hardcover: \$36, eBook \$17, audio download \$34, Kindle \$15

In December 2013, on a tiny patch of land along the border of three African nations — Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea — a young boy playing at the foot of a rotting tree comes into contact with a bat. He may have been bitten by it, or tasted some undercooked bat meat. He may have been bitten by a bat-fly that transferred tiny amounts of bat blood into his body. Whatever the precise form of exposure, it is a moment when the deadly Ebola virus jumps from animal to human, and a catastrophic outbreak begins.

The 2013-2014 Ebola shockwave infected 30,000 people and killed more than 11,000 before finally being declared over by the World Health Organization in early 2016. Richard Preston's vivid narrative looks at how it spread, the efforts to stop it

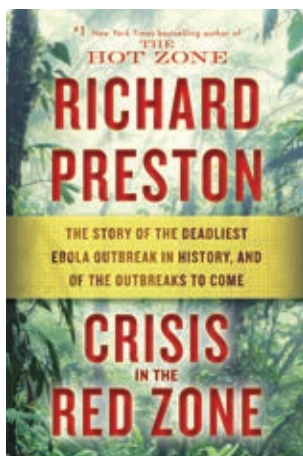
and the brave Africans and outsiders who risked their lives — and in many cases lost them — to battle what he calls “a true monster.”

Ebola is still very much in the news. In the summer of 2019, the WHO declared the most current outbreak, this one in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a “public health emergency of international concern.” As of this writing, there are 3,313 confirmed or probable cases of the lethal disease in the Congo alone, and 2,203 people had died.

Yet few in the West seem to care that a viral epidemic that first leapt into humans in 1976 — and again in that 2013-14 outbreak — is today pummeling another vulnerable nation. They should: Ebola is among an emerging group of plagues that,

but for luck and the resourcefulness of a few, could have struck down vast populations by now, and not just in the Global South. The Ebola wave that broke out in 2014 travelled to eight countries in three continents by the time it was brought under control.

Spread through contact with a victim's blood or sweat, Ebola is as contagious as seasonal flu. Its victims die horribly and painfully following massive internal bleeding. Its family of viruses is thought



to have existed in nature for millions of years. They are, in Preston's words, "the undead of the living world, the zombies of deep time."

Crisis in the Red Zone recounts the 2014 battle against this extraordinary, mutating enemy through the eyes of front-line health care workers, scientists and victims. It reads like a horror-story or thriller — Ebola the rampaging invader, innocent villagers killed brutally, under-resourced doctors and nurses trying frantically to ward off the unseen enemy, scientific sleuths eventually cracking the genetic code of the invisible beast and researchers uniting to build a first defence, in the form of a vaccine, to help stave off near-certain death.

The "Red Zone" itself refers to the quarantine areas to which Ebola patients are restricted when groups such as Doctors Without Borders fly into infected zones to try to contain the disease. Patients are placed in isolation tents, surrounded by fencing to separate the contagious from the healthy. Victims die in these tents and workers in elaborate biohazard suits bleach and remove the bodies, in double body bags, to be buried in sectioned off areas. "The red zones of Doctors Without Borders were, in effect, giant plastic garbage bags in which people with emergent Ebola were kept," Preston writes.

Much of this book focuses on the struggle of a small government hospital in Kenema, Sierra Leone, which is rapidly overrun with Ebola cases. Readers meet the compassionate, heroic doctor, Humarr Khan, the equally brave nurse, Mbalu Fonné ("Auntie"), the ambulance driver, Sahr Nyokor, and the front-line hospital staff who toil to lessen the pain of patients, knowing they themselves risk death.

Once the little boy becomes ill, others also become infected, but Ebola glides unidentified among victims until a village healer named Menindor dies of it, contracted from a patient. Because she is a revered local figure, hundreds attend her funeral — and hundreds become sick.

But isolating cases of Ebola in such a remote landscape proves difficult for health workers. Villagers fear being snatched away by strange white people in biohazard spacesuits, to be quarantined far from home until they die. When one epidemiologist and his colleagues try to persuade some villagers to let them transport a family member for treatment, they are attacked with rocks.

Outside of Sierra Leone, scientists work to understand the various Ebola strains (there were six at the time of the book's publication), and researchers, including Canadian Gary Kobinger of the National Microbiology Laboratory in Winnipeg, pool their knowledge to create small doses of a test vaccine that shows startling results in monkeys, though it is far from ready for human testing.

The extraordinary circumstances under which the vaccine is finally used on humans — and the heartbreaking story of who it is deliberately not used on — provide a dramatic climax to the book. *Crisis in the Red Zone* raises uncomfortable moral questions about whom we elect to help when a lethal threat invades a community. It points to both admirable human resourcefulness and dismaying moral neglect. As the world (or some of it) confronts the current attack in the Congo and contemplates future emerging pestilence, Preston writes that our biggest enemy may be complacency. "Right now," he warns, "we are not prepared."

The Good Fight: Marcel Cadieux and Canadian Diplomacy

By Brendan Kelly
UBC Press
540 pages
Hardcover: \$45

So you think the perennial issue of Quebec separatism is solely a domestic affair?



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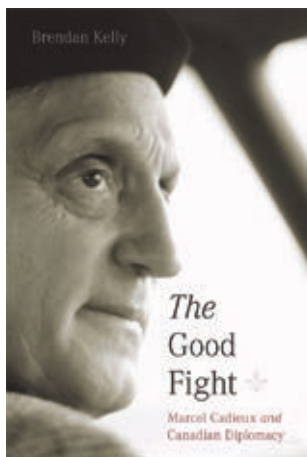
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Wrong. Welcome to the diplomatic world of Marcel Cadieux.

Cadieux was a Quebec lawyer who joined the then Department of External Affairs in 1941, when Canada was just starting to develop a diplomatic footprint. Diligent, hardworking and uncompromising, Cadieux moved up the ranks, from postings abroad to the department's United Nations Division. Ultimately, he held the post of undersecretary of state for External Affairs, the highest non-elected position in the department. Though less well-known to anglophones than the troika of Norman Robertson, Hume Wrong and Lester Pearson, Cadieux played a unique role in the evolution of External Affairs. "This book," writes author Brendan Kelly, "reframes Canadian diplomatic history by placing a francophone at the centre of the stage."

This "reframing" is important — and, coincidentally, relevant after the recent federal election brought a resurgence of support for the Bloc Québécois — because



it reveals just how much the Quebec question consumed the department, even from an early stage.

In 2020, it's easy to forget that External Affairs in the 1940s was unilingual (indeed, by 1946, only 13 per cent of the entire public service was French-Canadian). Cadieux aimed to change that. At External's headquarters in the East Block on Parliament Hill, the young civil servant became the department's go-to guy on policies pertaining to Quebec.

His first overseas posting was to London in 1944, where a day's work in Canada House on Trafalgar Square was regularly interrupted by a scramble into the cellar to escape German aerial bombing. From London, Cadieux was posted to Belgium, witnessing relations between

Belgium's Dutch-speaking Flemish and its French-speaking Walloon people. "I was able to realize the French Canadians are not the only people in the world struggling to adjust within a larger state," he wrote.

Rising through the ranks on the strength of his written dispatches, blunt advice and sharp intelligence, Cadieux eventually managed the personnel department at External. There, he helped define the qualifications of a modern diplomat. He wanted these professionals to be "anonymous and apolitical." He wanted higher education in his recruits, and strength of character. An essential part of his focus was recruiting French Canadians. "Two decades before bilingualism became law in Ottawa, he acted on the belief that the federal civil service belonged as much to French Canadians as to their English counterparts," writes Kelly.

When Quebec's "Quiet Revolution" began, Cadieux sensed immediately what he called "an extremely strange nationalist, indeed separatist revival" He was right to worry: Quebec's cosying up to France suggested a province trying to wriggle loose from Confederation. Soon, there were both overt and covert discussions going on between the Quebec government and French president Charles de Gaulle (whom Cadieux despised). De Gaulle and Quebec premier Jean Lesage had been exchanging letters monthly; much later, evidence would surface of deeper interference by France in Quebec affairs, including offering money to the Parti Québécois (which the PQ wisely turned down). Yet Canada's external affairs minister in the 1960s, Paul Martin Sr., didn't take the dangers of the Quebec-France bond as seriously as did Cadieux. By the time de Gaulle delivered his "Vive le Québec libre" speech in Montreal in 1967, Cadieux had already taken a number of measures to at least blunt its impact within the civil service.

He had, for instance, created a cultural affairs division in External Affairs that opened a Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris to reinforce the principle that the federal government, not the provinces, conducted Canada's foreign policy. He promoted bilingualism in the bureaucracy, tried to hire and mentor Franco-Canadians, worked to expand Canada's diplomatic network to French-speaking Africa and promoted cultural relations with other French-language states. He wanted to ensure that provincial interests abroad were represented primarily by Ottawa; otherwise, he noted, the provinces would

represent themselves — with "grave" consequences.

For all his own efforts to keep Quebec within Canada, Cadieux often despaired of the seeming lack of focus among his various bosses: Paul Martin Sr., Lester Pearson, and later prime minister Pierre Trudeau. His descriptions of them in his "journal intime" reflect an exasperation admirably cloaked by his diplomatic training.

Cadieux, writes Kelly, "was a fighting diplomat, the likes of which (the department) had never seen." A united Canada can be grateful he was.

The Back Channel: A Memoir of American Diplomacy and the Case for Its Renewal

By William J. Burns

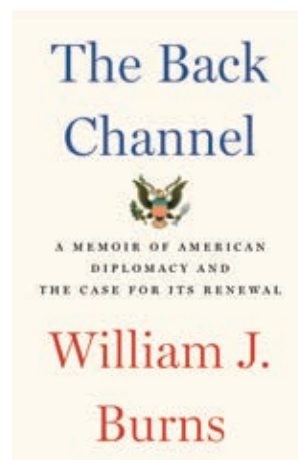
Penguin Random House

483 pages

Hardcover: \$26.53, Kindle \$17

Henry Kissinger called diplomacy "the patient accumulation of partial successes." One figure more than familiar with the mantra is William Burns, the most senior career diplomat in the United States from the late presidency of George W. Bush through most of the Barack Obama era.

In this engaging autobiography, which includes lengthy excerpts from his own



memos to senior government officials, Burns assesses American diplomacy from the start of his career as a junior U.S. State Department officer in the early 1980s through to 2014, when he retired as deputy secretary of state. It was a challenging period for his country: the Iran-Contra affair; the fall of the Berlin Wall; the demise of the Soviet empire; the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq; the disintegration of Yugoslavia; the 9/11 attacks and invasion of Afghanistan; the U.S. invasion of Iraq;

the Arab Spring and the destructive conflict in Syria.

Burns is both light and serious in tone. For instance, in his first posting abroad, in Jordan in 1983, he recounts how he was relieved of a truckload of computers and portable phones at the Iraq border by



William Burns was the most senior career diplomat in the U.S. from the late presidency of George W. Bush through most of the Obama era.

security officials, thus “learning my first lesson in professional humility.” At other times, he faced graver danger, such as a thwarted terrorist attack on his home in Amman, when he was ambassador (that year, two U.S. embassies in Africa were bombed, killing 224.).

Burns served abroad in Jordan and Moscow, as assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs and as undersecretary for political affairs, his career culminating as the State Department’s top official. Inevitably, he spent much of his time and effort tending to U.S. interests in the Middle East. In this capacity, Burns witnessed both triumphs of American diplomacy and flat-out failures.

U.S. dealings with Iraq illustrate both. When Saddam Hussein invaded neighbouring Kuwait in 1990, the team around George Herbert Walker Bush, which had not expected such a bold move, nevertheless used diplomacy with exquisite effectiveness, in Burns’s judgment. Rather than rush brashly off to destroy the dictator, then-secretary of state James Baker meticulously built multilateral support, assembling a coalition of international partners willing to put up money and military support (including Canada, which sent warships and fighter aircraft). The U.S. ambassador to the United Nations steadily pushed through resolutions condemning Iraq, from sanctions to broad international backing of limited military action. Not

until the U.S. had such support did Bush Sr. unleash the military, swiftly routing Saddam’s forces (ground operations lasted barely 100 hours).

What a contrast, Burns laments, to the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. The 9/11 terrorist attacks had again brought international support for military action, this time against Afghanistan. Burns feels the U.S. could have leveraged this strong moral and diplomatic backing to successfully address many other lingering global issues (including its tense relationship with Iran). Instead, after taking on Afghanistan, the Bush Jr. administration squandered its global goodwill by deciding to invade Iraq and finish off Saddam.

Burns’s State Department was aghast. “We worried that an ill-considered, unilateral war to topple Saddam would prove to be a massive foreign policy blunder,” he writes. It mattered not: On March 19, 2003, Bush Jr. announced that the U.S. was at war with Iraq. The post-conflict mess that resulted — and that continues to this day — “would suck the oxygen out of every other priority on the administration’s national security agenda,” says Burns.

Nor can it all be blamed on popular villains such as vice-president Dick Cheney. Burns admits his own department’s fault. “In the end, we pulled some punches, persuading ourselves that we’d never get a hearing for our concerns beyond the secretary of state if we simply threw ourselves on the track. Years later, that remains my biggest professional regret.” The Iraq debacle, he sums up, “left lasting scars on America’s influence in an already complicated region.” It showed, he sighs, that “Americans could be just as arrogant and haphazard in their impact on the Middle East maps as the original British and French mapmakers.”

Other reading:

Schism: China, America, and the Fracturing of the Global Trading System

By Paul Blustein

Centre for International Governance Innovation, 2019

266 pages

Hardcover: \$106.65, Paperback \$33.62, Kindle \$28

A dismayed world watches China wielding its economic clout to get its way, whether in trade disputes or territorial ones. Many lament that it has not respected the rules around its 2001 entry into the World Trade Organization. Paul Blustein, who covered the WTO negotia-



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tions, says the reality is more complex.

Rigorous standards were set for Beijing's initial entry into the international club, and at least at first, it embraced them. But as the Chinese government tightened control over state-owned enterprises and Beijing launched its "Made in China 2025" strategy, the impact on the global economy deepened. While the alarm of some world leaders — even Donald Trump — is understandable, the solutions to the economic-power problem are not about "bludgeoning" countries like China by doubling down on tariffs; rather, Blustein says, multilateralism is the right tool.

Mackenzie King in the Age of the Dictators: Canada's Imperial and Foreign Policies

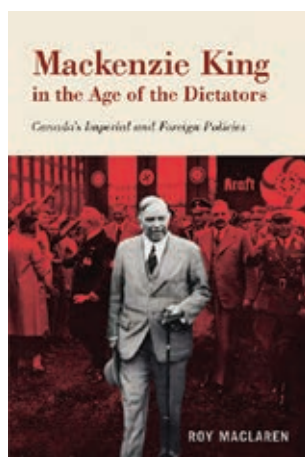
By Roy MacLaren

McGill-Queen's University Press

316 pages

Hardcover \$34.60, Kindle \$24

William Lyon Mackenzie King's role (and, arguably, considerable neglect) in shaping Canada's fledgling foreign policy during the interwar years forms the core of this book. Though he served as his own external affairs minister and considered the field "his personal fiefdom," Canada's prime minister for most of the period from 1921 to 1948 took an ultra-cautious view of Canada's identity. He "discouraged" parliamentary debate on foreign affairs, fearing in part that it would divide French



and English Canada; he exercised "blind support" for European appeasement of both Hitler and Mussolini in the 1930s; and he "prided himself on never having said anything derogatory about Hitler or Mussolini until war itself came." Simply, Mackenzie King feared alienating isola-

tionists throughout Canada, who might then threaten his parliamentary majority.

Rush to Danger: Medics in the Line of Fire

By Ted Barris

HarperCollins

432 pages

Hardcover \$33, Kindle \$18

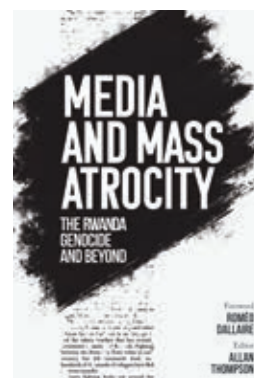
Historian and master storyteller Ted Barris opens this account of the lives of military medics with the story of his own father, a U.S. army medical corpsman in the Second World War who saved four other medics caught in a German ambush. Like many medical heroes — from John McCrae (author of "In Flanders Fields"), to medic Pvt. Desmond Doss (whose story is vividly retold in the movie "Hacksaw Ridge") — he made no big deal of his actions. But Barris wanted to know, "Why, when all the word was dashing the other way, would he choose to rush to danger?"

In retracing his father's war experience, and exploring those of other medical personnel through the Civil War, the Boer War, Korea and Afghanistan, Barris offers a portrait of a unique, courageous band of heroes.

Christina Spencer is the editorial pages editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*. She holds a master's from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University, and is a past winner of National Newspaper Awards for international reporting and editorial writing.

Erratum

In the October 2019 issue, due to an editing oversight, we used the wrong book cover for the review of *Media and Mass Atrocity: The Rwanda Genocide and Beyond*. We apologize to the Centre for International Governance Innovation for the error. The proper book cover is printed here.



Models for Platform Governance



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cigionline.org/platforms

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Time for comfort food and celebration



Zippy Smoked Oysters on Oriental Spoons are a lovely canapé for a party or a starter for a romantic meal for two.



Margaret
Dickenson

With the arrival of the New Year, we look forward to going back to favourite comfort food recipes, and to Valentine's Day. Chocolate, no doubt, remains the most popular way to celebrate this February Hallmark holiday. Some may also choose to put oysters — a renowned aphrodisiac — on their Valentine's Day menu. Being true to

tradition, my irresistible chocolate cheesecake garnished with red raspberries and my slightly zippy smoked oysters would be perfect menu choices. As for comfort food, Apricot Garlic Chicken has been a family and entertaining favourite for decades, regardless of the time of year. Don't hesitate to serve it cold, particularly for *al fresco* occasions in the summer.

Zippy Smoked Oysters on Oriental Spoons

Makes about 15 spoons

This unusual hors d'oeuvre features smoked oysters lacquered with a touch of hot mustard glaze and elegantly perched on grated sesame-scented zucchini. Soy-Wasabi Mayonnaise reinforces an Asian touch.

15 Oriental porcelain spoons
1 can smoked oysters (can: 3 oz or 85 g)
½ medium zucchini, whole (weight: 7 oz or 200 g)
1 tsp (5 mL) sesame oil
¼ tsp (1 mL) each of black and toasted white sesame seeds

Fiery Hot Mustard Sauce
2 tbsp (30 mL) powdered mustard
2 tbsp (30 mL) granulated sugar
1 tbsp (15 mL) hot water
1 tsp (5 mL) lemon juice

Soy-Wasabi Mayonnaise
1/3 cup (80 mL) mayonnaise
2/3 tsp (3.5 mL) each of soy sauce and sesame oil
1/3 tsp (2 mL) each of granulated sugar and wasabi paste

Garnish

15 small tender sprigs of fresh dill weed

1. To make the Fiery Hot Mustard Sauce, in a small bowl stir together all sauce ingredients until very well blended. (Makes 3 tbsp or 45 mL.)*
2. To make the Soy-Wasabi Mayonnaise, in a small bowl whisk together all ingredients until well blended. (Makes 1/3 cup or 80 mL.)*
3. Shred zucchini on the coarse side of a box grater. (Makes about 1/2 cup or 125 mL of grated zucchini.) Toss with sesame oil and seeds; set aside.
4. Place just a drop (1/16 tsp or 0.3 mL) of Fiery Hot Mustard Sauce in the bottom of individual oriental porcelain spoons. Add about 1 1/2 tsp (8 mL) of sesame zucchini to each spoon; top with a dab (1/3 tsp or 2 mL) of Soy Wasabi Mayonnaise.
3. Shortly before serving, drain oysters well and allow to rest briefly on a paper towel. If necessary, cut larger oysters in half to obtain 15 pieces (i.e., whole and halved oysters). Rub each oyster with just a "spot" of Fiery Hot Mustard Sauce and place one on each spoon, perched on top of the Soy-Wasabi Mayonnaise.
6. Garnish each oyster with a tender sprig of dill weed.
7. Arrange filled spoons on a serving tray, accompanied by an empty container to catch the empty spoons.

* You only need a small portion for this recipe. Refrigerate the remainder in a well-sealed jar. The Fiery Hot Mustard Sauce will keep for months, and the Soy-Wasabi Mayonnaise keeps for up to several weeks.

Apricot Garlic Chicken Breasts (with Sautéed Shrimp*)

Makes 4 servings

Apricot Garlic Chicken is one of my earliest creations from our days in Moscow a few decades ago when ingredients there were desperately limited. However, chicken and garlic plus fabulous apricot jam from Georgia were always available. The optional garnish of garlic butter-sautéed shrimp heightens the sophistication and complexity of the recipe — not to mention the taste.

4 single chicken breasts, boneless with skin (each: 6 oz or 170 g)
 1/4 cup (60 mL) Lightly Spiced Flour*
 1 to 1 1/2 tbsp (15 to 23 mL) vegetable oil
 1 to 1 1/2 tsp (5 to 8 mL) finely chopped fresh garlic



Apricot Garlic Chicken Breasts (with Sautéed Shrimp) is a nice main course for a Valentine meal.

3 to 4 tbsp (45 to 60 mL) apricot jam
 4 sprigs of fresh herbs or edible flowers (optional)
 1 1/3 cups (325 mL) Cognac White Wine Cream Sauce (recipe attached), optional

Shrimp Garnish (optional)
 8 large shrimp (fresh or frozen), unpeeled, but deveined
 2 to 3 tsp (10 to 15 mL) herb garlic butter
 To taste salt and crushed black peppercorns

1. Dust chicken breasts with Lightly Spiced Flour.*
2. Heat oil in a large heavy skillet over medium heat. Add chicken (skin side down); cook until golden brown; turn over. Chicken breasts are only turned once.
3. Spread top browned surface of chicken (skin side) with garlic and then apricot jam. Be careful not to allow garlic or jam to fall onto surface of skillet as they burn easily.
4. Once second side is golden brown, cover skillet immediately and reduce heat

to low/a gentle sizzle. If necessary, add just a touch of water.

5. Cook until chicken is fork-tender and juices run clear. (Total cooking time: about 15 to 20 minutes.) If desired, sprinkle lightly with salt.

6. Meanwhile, if garnishing with sautéed shrimp, peel shrimp, leaving tails attached; rinse and drain well.

7. In a medium skillet over medium heat, sauté shrimp in herb-garlic butter. Season with salt and crushed black peppercorns to taste; sauté until just barely cooked. Immediately remove shrimp from skillet.

8. Artistically, top chicken breasts with sautéed shrimp (2 per chicken breast) and if desired, sprigs of fresh herbs or edible flowers. Drizzle plates/platter with Cognac White Wine Cream Sauce and pass extra sauce at table. Note: For a "wow" combination, serve the Apricot Garlic Chicken on a bed of mushroom wild rice.

*To make Lightly Spiced Flour, mix together 1/4 cup (60 mL) all-purpose flour, 1/3 tsp (2 mL) of your favourite curry

powder, ¼ tsp (1 mL) each of crushed dried tarragon leaves and salt, and a pinch of all of the following ingredients: crushed black peppercorns, garlic powder, ground nutmeg and dried mustard powder.

White Wine Cream Sauce

Makes 1 1/3 cups or about 325 mL

2½ tsp (13 mL) instant chicken bouillon powder
1 1/3 tsp (7 mL) sandwich mustard
1 cup (250 mL) hot water
1 ½ tsp (8 mL) finely chopped fresh garlic
1/3 tsp (2 mL) peeled and grated fresh gingerroot
1 1/3 tbsp (20 mL) butter
2 tbsp (30 mL) all-purpose flour
2 2/3 tbsp (40 mL) white wine
1/3 cup (80 mL) heavy cream (35 per cent fat)
2 tsp (10 mL) cognac (optional)

1. Dissolve chicken bouillon powder and mustard in hot water.
2. In a small saucepan, sauté garlic and ginger in melted butter over medium heat for about 1 minute; blend in flour and cook for another minute. Whisking constantly, add bouillon mixture and wine; whisk until smooth.

3. Reduce heat to medium-low; continuing to whisk constantly, add cream and bring sauce to a simmer. Allow sauce to simmer gently for a couple of minutes; remove from heat; stir in cognac.

Make ahead tip: The sauce may be stored refrigerated for up to 3 days or frozen for months.

Raspberry Toblerone Cheesecake

Makes 8 small individual cheesecakes

Hoping to overwhelm family and guests? Serve these tantalizing mini cheesecakes. They will meet all expectations for any special occasion, particularly Valentine's Day.

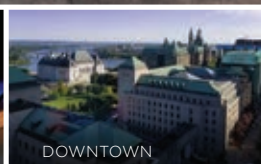
8 small ramekin dishes (size: ¼ cup or 60 mL)
½ cup (125 mL) crushed dark chocolate wafer cookies
2 2/3 tbsp (40 mL) unsalted butter, melted
1 bar (3 ½ oz or 100 g) Toblerone chocolate bar (dark)
½ oz (15 g) dark, high-quality chocolate, finely chopped
1 package (8 oz or 225 g) cream cheese (regular or low-calorie), room temperature
1/3 cup (80 mL) icing sugar

½ tsp (3 mL) vanilla extract (preferably clear)
1 tbsp (15 mL) seedless raspberry jam

Garnish

¾ cup (180 mL) Raspberry Coulis Sauce (recipe below)
1 cup (250 mL) whipped cream
24 small fresh raspberries
Stems of fresh lavender or mint (optional)

1. With plastic wrap, completely line the bottom and sides of 8 small ramekins, leaving an overhanging portion.
2. Finely crush chocolate wafers and place in a bowl. Drizzle with melted butter and combine thoroughly.
3. Divide wafer mixture among the ramekin dishes and press firmly into the base. Tip: Use a shot glass with a flat bottom to assist in this task.
4. Coarsely chop Toblerone bar, put into a microwave-proof bowl and place in a microwave oven at medium-low heat until very soft, about 1½ minutes. Remove from the oven, stir until completely melted and smooth. Add the finely chopped dark chocolate; stir until completely melted, smooth and well blended.
5. With an electric mixer, beat cream cheese in a medium-sized bowl for 2 min-



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utes until light and smooth.* Add icing sugar and vanilla; beat for another minute.

6. Add melted chocolate and beat until very well blended.

7. Add 1½ tbsp (23 mL) of chocolate mixture to each ramekin; insert 1/3 tsp (2 mL) of seedless raspberry jam into centre of the mixture in each and top equally with remaining chocolate-cream cheese mixture. Cover with plastic wrap and refrigerate until set — at least 4 hours. Allow cheesecake to rest at room temperature for 30 minutes before serving.

8. Remove the cheesecakes from ramekin dishes with the aid of the overhanging plastic wrap and peel away plastic wrap. For individual servings, place one mini cheesecake on 1 tbsp (15 mL) or so of Raspberry Coulis Sauce, top each with whipped cream, garnish with 3 fresh raspberries and, if desired, fresh herbs.

* If desired, whip up to 3 tbsp (45 mL) of heavy cream (35 per cent fat) into the cream cheese.

Raspberry Coulis Sauce

Makes 1 cup or 250 mL

This slightly tart sauce is exactly what is required to cut the sweetness of many desserts. I usually keep Raspberry Coulis Sauce in a handy squeeze bottle (refrigerated up to a few days or frozen for months). Drizzled on plates or over desserts, it always adds an executive chef's touch.

2 cups (500 mL)* frozen raspberries
1½ to 2 tbsp (23 to 30 mL) sugar
1 tbsp (15 mL) seedless raspberry jam (optional)

Place raspberries, sugar and raspberry jam in a blender; process for a few seconds. Press purée through a fairly fine sieve into a bowl and discard seeds.** Refrigerate sauce until ready to use.

* This is about 11 oz or 310 gm.

** For a thicker sauce, place purée in a small saucepan over medium heat. In a very small bowl, whisk 2 tsp (10 mL) of cornstarch into 1½ tbsp (23 mL) of cold water until smooth; stirring constantly, add to heating raspberry purée. When mixture bubbles and thickens, remove from heat. Cover sauce and allow to cool.

Margaret Dickenson is a cookbook author, TV host, menu/recipe developer and a protocol, business and etiquette instructor.



Raspberry Toblerone Cheesecake makes an exciting mid-winter dessert.



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Winter is the season for Indigenous art in Ottawa

By Peter Simpson

Indigenous art from around the world once again takes centre stage at the National Gallery of Canada, and what a vast world of artistic inspiration it is.

Ābadakone, which means “continuous fire” in the Anishinaabemowin language, is the second instalment in the quinquennial of contemporary international Indigenous art that was launched by the gallery in 2013 with *Sakahàn*. *Sakahàn*, which means “to light a fire” in Algonquin, was “the largest-ever global survey of contemporary Indigenous art,” the gallery said at that time, and then-director Marc Mayer added that it was “perhaps our most ambitious exhibition to date.”

Ābadakone is truly global, with work from more than 70 artists from 16 countries, representing more than 40 Indigenous groups. It includes just about every medium of visual art that one can think of, from painting to photography to performance to grand installations.

It’s seen the moment one steps into the gallery, with the long interior entrance ramp emblazoned with text in Plains Cree dialect by Ottawa-based artist Joi T. Arcand, leading to more installations above. “Art,” says gallery director Sasha Suda, “should be the first thing you see as soon as you cross the threshold into the gallery.”

The exhibition is the latest declaration that the National Gallery has long left behind its historic habit of having sidelined Indigenous art. “At one point, there was only a small little section of Indigenous art at the beginning of the Canadian galleries,” the Cree-Métis artist Jaime Koebel told the CBC in 2017.

It was in 2017 that the gallery unveiled its completely reconfigured permanent collection, with the work of Indigenous artists given due place with Canadian art from the European tradition. In early 2019, Mayer told me the gallery is now “one of the power nodes for Indigenous art in the world. I don’t think anyone could have said that 10 years ago.”

Ābadakone will only solidify the gallery’s reputation as a centre of Indigenous art, with spectacular installations from artists in India, New Zealand, Africa and other nations, including Canada. Traditional motifs and modern themes are woven together in ways that may well



A major installation, handwoven from marine rope by the Maori women of the Mata Aho Collective in Aotearoa, New Zealand, in *Ābadakone* at the National Gallery.

change how many viewers think about Indigenous art. *Ābadakone* continues to April 5. gallery.ca

Indigenous art everywhere

As with *Sakahàn*, the latest quinquen-

nial reaches outside the National Gallery into other spaces, including the Ottawa Art Gallery. The exhibition *Inaabiwin*, which means “the art of seeing” in Anishinaabemowin, includes work by Scott Benesiinaabandan, Hannah Claus, Tanya



MaID I Syracuse, 2015, by Zanele Muholi of South Africa, in *Ábadakone* at the National Gallery.



Carol Bajen-Gahm's work is showing at Sivarulrasa Gallery.



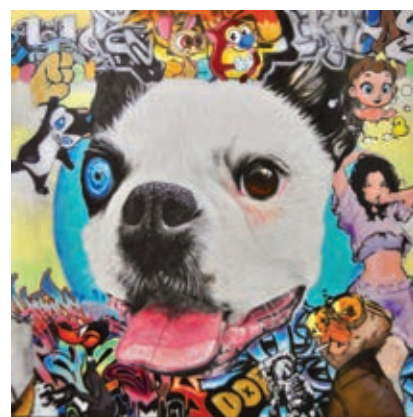
Hyun Mi Yoo's Good Luck — The Ten Traditional Symbols of Longevity No.1 is part of *One Inspiration: The Very First Ideas from Korean Tradition and Culture*, at Gallery 101 and the Korean Cultural Centre.



Above, one of the photographs from Jennifer Dixon's *The Credo Project*, at the Ottawa Art Gallery. Right, *Poker Face*, by Matthew Jeffrey, at Orange Gallery.



Marie Rexford 2015, by Brian Adams, at *Àbadakone* at the National Gallery.



Lukin Linklater, Meryl McMaster and Greg Staats. Don't hesitate to go, as the exhibition closes Jan. 19. oaggao.ca

Ottawa artist Meryl McMaster is also featured in *They Forgot That We Were Seeds*, at the Carleton University Art Gallery, along with work from KC Adams, Deanna Bowen, Roxana Farrell, Bushra Junaid, Cheyanne Sundance, Katherine Takpannie and Amy Malbeuf. It opens Feb. 9.

The exhibition uses "foodways" to "re-imagine the history of Canada as a settler-colonial state, placing Black and Indigenous women at the centre of an effort to construct a counter-archive," writes curator Kosisochukwu Nnebe.

"Sugar, salt and cod take on layered meaning as the histories of labour, displacement and adaptation they contain are excavated," Nnebe writes. Issues of

land and migration and sovereignty will demonstrate how "black and Indigenous women are more than just the seeds that history has tried to bury — they represent deep roots and a harvest more plentiful than we could ever imagine."

The exhibition continues until April 19 in the gallery in the St. Patrick's Building at Carleton University. cuagg.ca.

Jennifer Dickson works

Meanwhile, in February, the Ottawa Art Gallery turns its focus to the photographs of Jennifer Dickson, the South African-born artist who, over many years of living in Ottawa, has become a veteran and a star in the city's arts community.

In *The Credo Project*, Dickson shares photographs of the architecture of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, taken during many

travels to the United Kingdom, Cyprus, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and Morocco.

"Marked by interwoven periods of political and religious peace and turmoil, these buildings bear the passage of time," say the exhibition notes. "From an intimate detail of decorative tile work, to beholding a massive dome, Dickson records architectural elements imbued with layers of transformation and cultural hybridity, revealing the triumph of beauty over desecration."

The Credo Project runs from Feb. 8 to July 26. oaggao.ca

War artists stick to Canada

Canada has a long and proud history of dispatching artists to distant lands to record the many faces and facets of war. The exhibition titled *The Canadian Forces Artists*



SAW Gallery holds its SKETCH fundraiser Feb. 14. Artists, illustrators and designers from Canada and around the world support the event to benefit the artist-run centre.

Program — Group 8, at the Canadian War Museum, will be a bit different, with artists “deployed entirely on Canadian soil.”

It’s not the first time war artists have been deployed within the country, though it’s unusual to feature war art done entirely at home. Says the museum: “The resulting art contributes to our understanding of what it means to serve with the Canadian military at home.”

The Canadian Forces Program — Group 8 is open Feb. 14 to May 21. warmuseum.ca

Other shows

SKETCH Fundraiser, Feb. 14 (7 to 10 p.m.), at SAW Gallery, 67 Nicholas St.: The annual fundraiser is sure to be an energetic and welcoming affair. “Artists, illustrators and designers from Canada and around the world” support the event to benefit the artist-run centre. Works start as low as \$10 in many styles and media. There will be “feature works by internationally acclaimed artists in a silent auction,” with more details pending at press time. Proceeds go to SAW’s Nordic Lab, the “circumpolar artistic research space” that opens in March. saw-centre.com

One Inspiration: The Very First Ideas from Korean Tradition and Culture, at Gallery 101, 280 Catherine St., and at the Korean Cultural Centre, 150 Elgin St.: This exhibition is a collaboration with the embassy

of Korea, and is jointly held at the gallery and the Korean Cultural Centre. It’s described as “ten groundbreaking artists of contemporary art from Korea have merged the traditional with the modern.” The exhibition continues to Feb. 14. canada.korean-culture.org, gallery101.ca

Heroes, by David Cation, Feb. 12 to March 1 at Orange Gallery, 290 City Centre Ave.: Ottawa artist David Cation — still painting despite losing two fingers to a saw — presents large portraits of artists, “both visual and musical,” who have inspired him in his own art-making. orangeartgallery.ca

Dave Heath: In Concert With The Silent Witness, Jan. 9 to Feb. 9 at Studio Sixty Six, 858 Bank St.: Hailed by the National Gallery of Canada as “one of the greatest street photographers of his time,” the late, U.S.-born Heath adopted Canada as his home. This exhibition features images “ranging from anonymous street work through the celebration of the familial.” studiosixtysix.ca.

New Work: Peter Colbert and Dan Ryan, Feb. 8 to 29 at Wall Space Gallery, 358 Richmond Rd.: Colbert will show his abstract and figurative paintings, and Ryan will show landscapes. Both artists “interpret their surroundings with expres-



Wall Space Gallery features landscapes by Dan Ryan (above) and Peter Colbert.

sive colours, rich, modern texture and a heightened sense of mood.” wallspacegallery.ca

Outports, Carol Bajen-Gahm, March 18 to Apr. 24 at Sivarulrasa Gallery, 34 Mill St., Almonte: Bajen-Gahm says that living in Newfoundland is a “constant reminder of the frailty of humans in the face of the forces of nature,” as she focuses her eye on the province’s remote communities. sivarulrasa.com

Contact pete@petersimpson.ca with details of your upcoming art exhibitions.



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Syrah: Big, bold and rich — or savoury



Tristan
Bragaglia-
Murdock

As Rajat Parr, author of *The Sommelier's Atlas of Taste* puts it, Syrah is a callback to our ancestry — a primitive side we rarely tap into. Done right, Syrah is “the glory of coming across a path of sweet, juicy, ripe wild berries, the smell of running through a thicket of untamed, flowering herbs and stands of pine and cypress; the scent of blood, fur and bone, the taste of flesh and a whiff of smoke from the fire that cooked it.”

We've moved away from the hunter-gatherer lifestyle, but in Northern Rhone, life is far from easy for growers. Steep hillsides on the river banks require significant manual labour as gravity renders machines redundant. Growers harvest by hand, strapping themselves into winches to save them from falling from rocky outcrops. Landslides can occur, and each year, farmers lug stones and soil back up the hillsides to prevent further deterioration.

Northern Rhone's Syrah makes up just five per cent of the Rhone Valley's production. The region is split into five production zones and their qualities vary from

big, bold and rich in the North to more wild and savoury in the South.

A 40-minute drive south of Lyon will leave you at the mouth of the Rhone in *Côte-Rôtie*, a region epitomized by the constant bathing of its vine-laden hillsides with direct sunlight. Small production capabilities and high-flying fieldwork mean wines aren't cheap. But, your cost comes back in spades. Power comes with age.

Further south lies St-Joseph, a region of historical importance and viticultural expansion that muddled the waters of this region's terroir. What began as a handful of townships dedicated to respectful wine-making was watered down with the addition of more vineland in the 1970s and 1980s, removing a true identity from the region. Conscientious vintners seeking to make more terroir-driven wines are doing so at a lower price tag than any other regions. These wines are lighter than their northern counterparts, rewarding drinkers earlier with a softer fruit-forward style.

To the east of St-Joseph, you'll find the only south-facing hilltop appellation on the eastern bank of the Rhone River — Hermitage. There is little soil under the vines, and the prices reflect this. The wines offer lithe dark fruit notes, meat smoke and savoury herbs, all tied together with a beautiful tannic backbone and enough acidity to render it anything but overbearing. These are wines that require serious aging. In their first decade, their true brilliance will be hidden behind tannins.

Cornas, the southernmost region in

Northern Rhone is the country cousin to the others in a good way; it's gamey, wild and acid-driven. Built with some longevity in mind, these offer fresher black fruit notes with a heavy herbal component.

Further south, Southern Rhone is where Syrah plays with other red grapes in a fruitier, more approachable product. The flatter landscape tends to tame the animal side of Syrah and more conventional farming practices result in lower production costs that get passed on to the consumer. While southern Rhone can produce more everyday wines, the North commands an appreciation of the grape's true nature — feral finesse, strength and subtlety.

Wines to buy

Benoit Roseau takes a land-driven approach to winemaking, letting the region shine by practising biodynamics and non-interventionism. After harvest, his team foot-crushes the grapes and ferments them with native yeasts in neutral vessels, leading to a fresh and true expression of grapes. Represented by Groupe Soleil, his wines begin at \$299.40 for a 12-pack of his entry-level Syrah and run as high as \$479.70 for a six-pack of *Côte-Rôtie*.

La Ferme des Sept Lunes' “Pleine Lune” has dark fruit notes that aren't overbearing. These wines are lively, fresh and full of energy. Sold by All the Right Grapes, they cost \$342 for a six-pack.

Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock manages the wine lists at Jabberwocky and Union 613.

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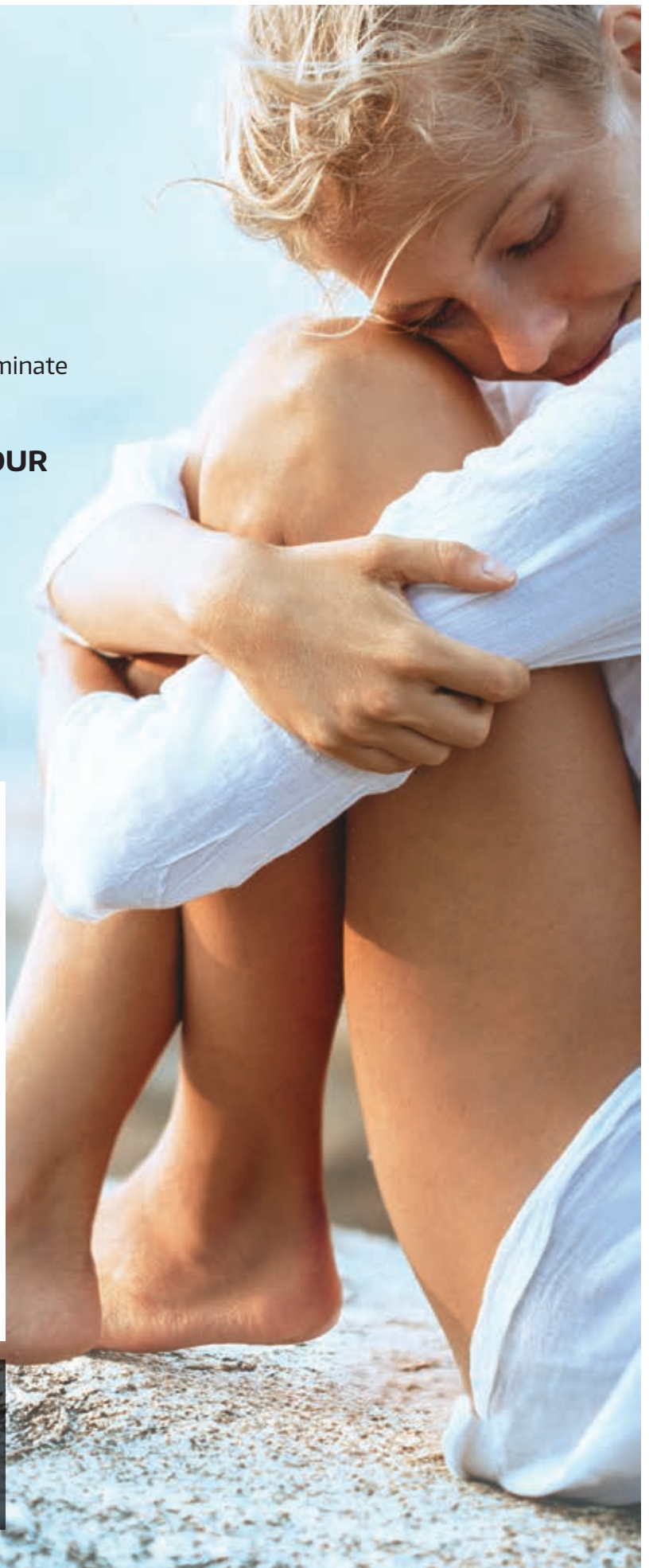
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Kuwait's residence perched high above the Ottawa River

By Patrick Langston

Photos by Ashley Fraser



The Kuwaiti ambassador's residence was designed in 1998 for the first Kuwaiti head of mission to Canada. The home, designed by Montreal architect Armand Dadoun, overlooks the Ottawa River and boasts many Arabic influences.

It's all about the panorama. Perched on quiet Acacia Lane in Rockcliffe, the Kuwait ambassador's residence offers a sweeping view from its second-storey terrace of the sparkling Ottawa River and the Gatineau Hills, with early fall colours beginning to blaze in the distance when we visit.

"It's the most attractive place in the house," says Ambassador Ahdulhamid Alfaiakawi of the terrace. "We use it for barbecues in the summer. We are very lucky this way; it is very relaxing."

In fact, the entire home has an easy-going vibe, thanks in no small part to the

design — airy rooms, large windows, a marvellous integration of the inside with the natural world outside — created by Montreal architect Armand Dadoun. He designed the \$4-million residence, including the private balcony off the master bedroom, which also overlooks the Ottawa River, for Abdulmohsin Al-Duaij, Kuwait's first ambassador to Canada. With its strong Arabic influences, the home was finished in 1998.

Those Arabic influences include the home's white exterior with brown marble detailing and small dome and the generous, marbled central hall that greets

visitors as soon as they step inside. The hall, crowned by a recessed ceiling and a massive round chandelier, leads through arched doorways to the reception rooms and, out back, that uber-popular terrace.

Alfaiakawi, who was in the final week of his four-year posting to Ottawa during our visit and has since returned to Kuwait to continue working with his homeland's foreign ministry, explained that the hall is a descendant of the original Arabic open-to-the-elements style of building. While this hall is enclosed because of Ottawa's harsh winters, in Kuwait and elsewhere "kids would play and you'd sit outside



Ahdulhamid Alfaiakawi was Kuwait's ambassador to Canada for several years. He returned to Kuwait in the late autumn and his successor, Reem Mohammad Khaled Zaid Al Khaled, presented her credentials in November.



This large wooden replica of an elegant dhow has special significance for the former ambassador.



This piece of art adorns the lawn outside the residence.

in this space. It's prestigious if you have a big hall."

Dead centre in the hall is a large wooden replica of an elegant dhow, or sailing vessel. Its sails furled and anchor dangling, the boat — which seems too pedestrian a word for this burnished, two-masted beauty — has special significance for Alfailakawi, who requested his ministry send the model to Canada.

"It's a traditional Kuwait vessel, and my grandpa was a (ship) captain. It is very personal," he said. "In Kuwait, it used to be that trade and pearl-diving were two traditional ways of earning a living. They would navigate by the stars. There were many incidents where they just didn't come back (or) the men were gone for four months at sea. The women were strong and ran the society."

Situated, as it is, at the tip of the Persian Gulf, it's not surprising that Kuwait has such an abiding relationship with the water. That connection is picked up in a painting in the large sitting room off the hall, where ochre walls, a fireplace and fringed, cream-coloured sofas blend formality and comfort.

The painting of two fishermen with their nets spread out at the water's edge represents a traditional method of fishing,



This galloping horse adorns one of the legs of a coffee table in the main reception room of the residence.

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A painting in the large sitting room off the hall, where ochre walls, a fireplace and fringed, cream-coloured sofas blend formality and comfort, shows Kuwait's connection with the water, situated, as it is, at the tip of the Persian Gulf.



On the opposite side of the grand hall is the expansive dining room with three chandeliers, deep-green patterned wallpaper, a candelabra and a couple of small, carved wooden jewelry boxes on a sideboard.

Alfailakawi said. The fishermen would spread their nets at the end of low tide, catching the fish that came toward shore as the tide turned.

That, in turn, reminds him of ice fishing in Manitoba early in 2019. "That was one of my dreams in Canada, to go ice fishing. We started from scratch, drilled the holes in the ice. I caught four fish. I think it was minus 42C outside. That was quite an experience."

Near that painting of the fishermen is the main floor's "smoking room." Deep red with wall panelling and a large, ornately framed mirror, it's a room custom-made for intimate conversation and smaller gatherings.

Opposite the grand hall is the expansive dining room with three chandeliers, deep-green patterned wallpaper, a candelabra and a couple of small, carved wooden jewelry boxes on a sideboard.

**DINNER GUESTS AT THE
RESIDENCE TYPICALLY
ENJOY A KUWAITI-STYLE
BUFFET OF RICE, FISH,
MUTTON AND SALAD.**

The boxes are part of a traditional gift from a husband to a wife, explains Afaillakawi. They are placed inside larger cases and together they contain clothing, jewelry and incense.

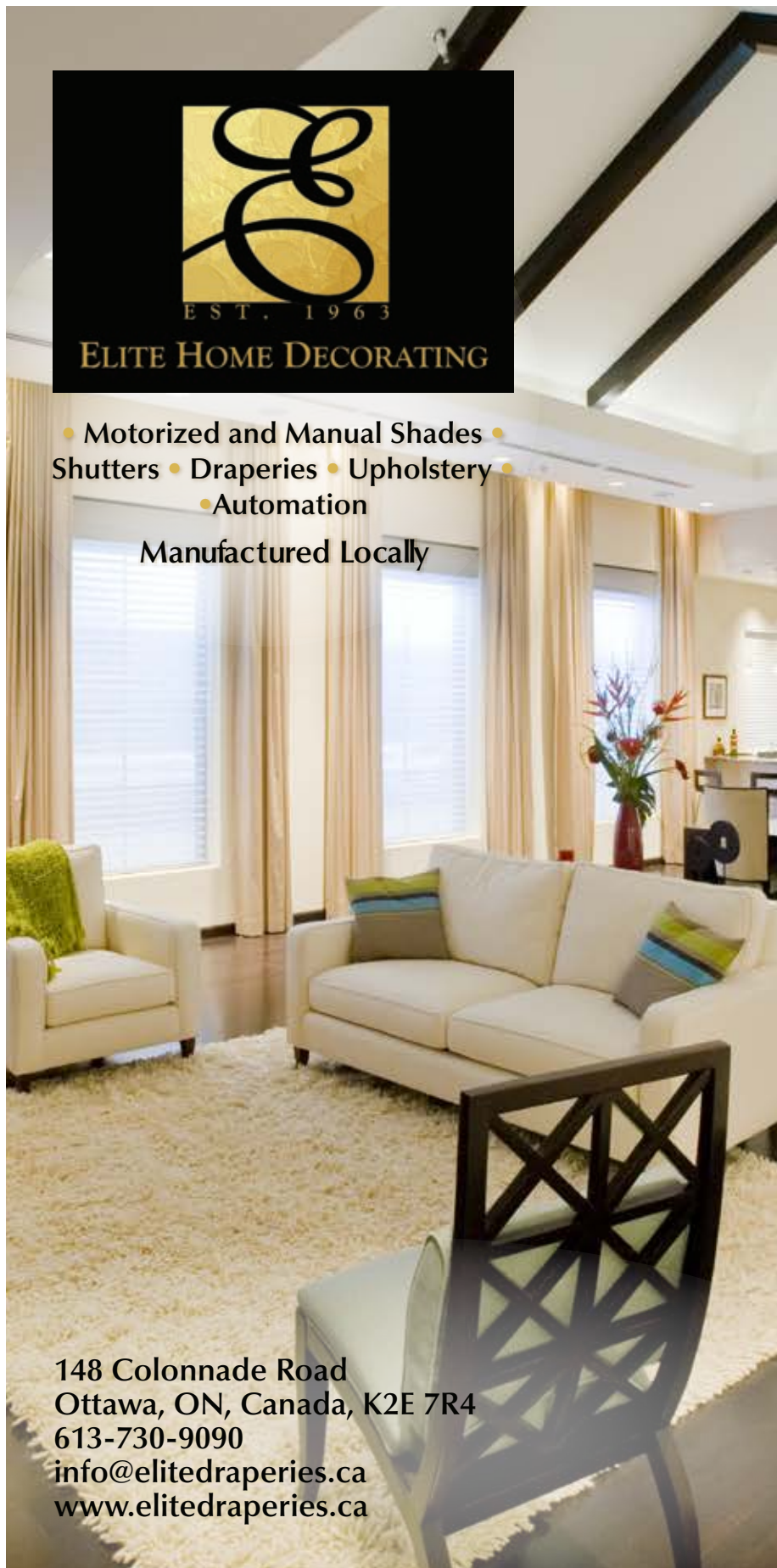
Dinner guests at the residence, who doubtless also learn about those lovely wooden containers, typically enjoy a Kuwaiti-style buffet of rice, fish, mutton and salad, Alfailakawi said.

Although the ambassador was getting ready to leave Canada and he's now back in Kuwait, having already been replaced by Reem Mohammad Khaled Zaid Al Khaled, he hadn't packed all of his personal possessions when *Diplomat* visited. Among them: a wooden radio from 1940, an antique Arabic dress sword and an ornately faced Ingraham clock from 1880.

"I love antiques," says the father of five whose wife remained at their home in Kuwait during his posting to Canada. "I spend my weekends touring Ottawa and the borders of Ottawa and other cities [looking for antiques]."

"I have a little museum in my home office, where I keep these. We go there after dinner and discuss politics."

Patrick Langston is an Ottawa writer.



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New arrivals

Mohammad Hassan Soroosh Yousufzai Ambassador of Afghanistan



Ambassador Yousufzai joined the foreign ministry in 2002 and has served in several capacities, including as director-general for economic co-operation.

He was chargé d'affaires in Vienna; counsellor in Washington, D.C.; deputy director-general for economic affairs; director of regional co-operation; director of human rights and head of the political and economic affairs sections at the embassy in Tokyo. In his previous positions, Ambassador Soroosh wrote many papers and reports and played a role in the design of new policies pertaining to regional economic co-operation, trade and transit, to name a few.

He has served as a lecturer at the foreign ministry's Institute of Diplomacy and has also served as a media analyst at the presidential palace in Kabul.

He holds a master's of arts from the Japanese National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies. He is married and has one son and one daughter.

Peiwu Cong Ambassador of China



Ambassador Cong's posting to Canada is a return. He was in Ottawa for three years, beginning in 2000.

The envoy joined the foreign ministry in 1992 and became a third secretary and deputy division director for the Department of American and Oceanic Affairs in 1993. Between 2000 and 2003, he was first secretary in Canada.

By 2003, he returned to the Department of American and Oceanic Affairs as first secretary and deputy division director and was promoted to counsellor in the same division. The Department of American and Oceanic Affairs oversees relations with the U.S., Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In 2009, he became a minister-counsellor in Britain and returned to the foreign ministry in 2014 as director-general of the Department of American and Oceanic Affairs for five years. The ambassador is married and has one daughter.

Yasuhisa Kawamura Ambassador of Japan



His predecessor left for a post at the UN and Ambassador Kawamura comes to Ottawa from the UN where he was deputy permanent representative.

The ambassador joined the foreign ministry in 1981 and was sent to the U.S. as second secretary in 1984. He returned to headquarters as deputy director of the North American division and then became principal deputy director of the Southeast Asia division. In 1993, he became first secretary at the permanent mission to international organizations in Geneva and two years later, he became counsellor at the embassy in Indonesia. In 1999, he was director of the international press division and in 2002, became counsellor at the EU mission.

In 2008, he became deputy press secretary for the foreign minister and was then posted as deputy consul-general, to New York. In 2013, he was deputy chief of mission at the embassy in India. He served as press secretary for two years after that, before being sent to the UN as ambassador.

Majed Thalji Salem Alqatarneh Ambassador of Jordan



Ambassador Alqatarneh became a diplomatic attaché in 1992 and was appointed as a senior congressional affairs officer in 1995. Two years later, he became consul at the embassy in Washington, D.C., and in 1999, he became head of the political section in Tel Aviv, where he stayed until 2003.

He was director of the office of the minister of the Royal Hashemite Court for a year before becoming the foreign affairs co-ordinator for the prime minister. He was assistant head of protocol before he was named director of the programming unit in King Abdullah II's office. He was then chargé d'affaires in Britain before becoming director of the North American division in 2011. He was consul-general in Saudi Arabia before returning as director of the Arab and Middle East department. He was spokesman before this appointment to Canada.

He is married and has two sons and two daughters.

Reem Mohammad Khaled Zaid Al Khaled Ambassador of Kuwait



Ambassador Khaled Zaid Al Khaled joined the foreign ministry in 1988 as a political researcher after completing a political science degree at Kuwait University. She later finished a master's in international studies at the University of London.

In 1999, she was a political researcher in international organizations for two years before moving to Kuwait's permanent mission to the international organizations headquartered in Vienna in 2001. By 2004, she was first secretary at the mission in Vienna and was appointed first secretary at the embassy in Washington two years later. She stayed there for four years, before being named ambassador to Chile, during which time she was also accredited to Ecuador and Peru. Between late 2015 and this posting, she was assistant foreign minister for the Americas.

The ambassador speaks Arabic, English, French and Spanish.

Romy Vasquez Ambassador of Panama



For Romy Vasquez, this appointment will feel like déjà vu. She was already Panama's ambassador to Canada from 2005 to 2009.

Until this appointment, she has been working in consulting for the last six years — managing business strategies, building partnerships and practising high-level diplomacy to help organizations meet their business goals and strategic plans.

Prior to consulting, she was a senior partner with Sigma Management Advisors as well as president of Saranik y Asociados. Between 2011 and 2013, she was in-country manager for Joint Venture Panama Inc. and prior to that, she was the Panama desk head for DHL Global Forwarding for a year. She was a senior partner with Panama Consultancy Services Inc. between 2009 and 2010 and founder and CEO of SPicups, S.A. de C.V. in Mexico City from 1995 to 2004.

She has a master's in business administration from the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México and speaks Spanish, English and French.

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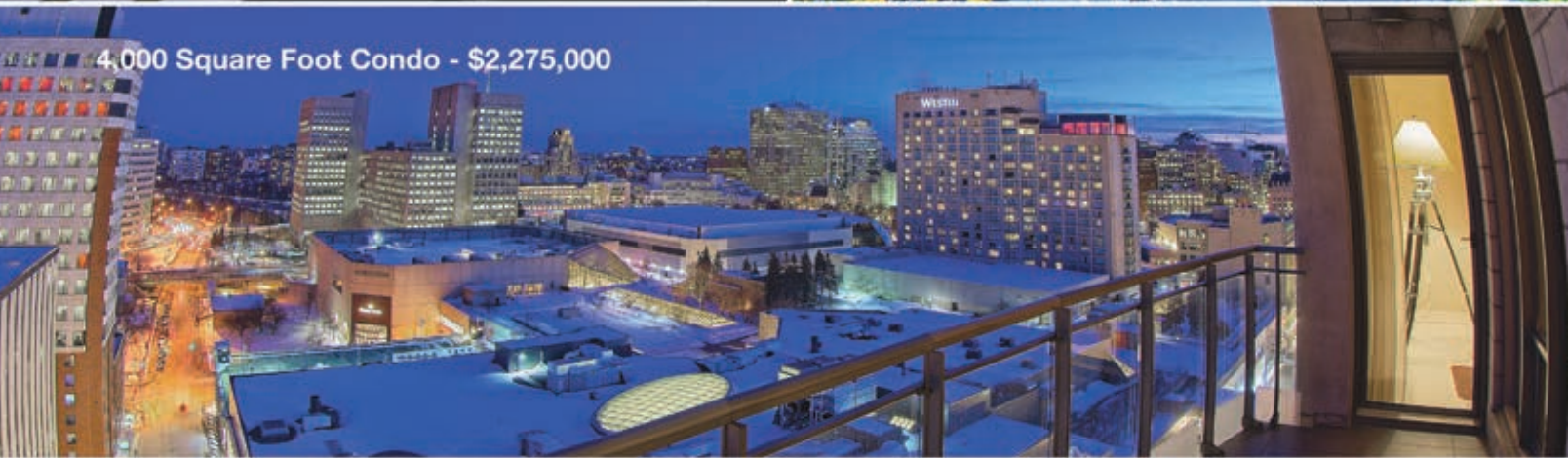
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Prosper Higiro High Commissioner for Rwanda



Ambassador Higiro has spent his career in government. In 1987, he joined the education ministry as a teacher of accounting and mathematics. In 1989, he joined the ministry of

industry and small- and medium-sized enterprises as director of planning. In 1992, he became director of cabinet at the ministry of commerce, industry and mining and two years later, became that department's minister.

From 1997 to 1999, he worked as a consultant and became a member of parliament in 1999. In 2003, he joined the Senate as vice-president and member of the pan-African parliament. From 2012 to 2018, he worked as secretary-general for the forum of parliaments of the international conference on the Great Lakes Region. From June 2018 until this appointment, he was a part-time consultant on conflict management in the Great Lakes Region.

He has a bachelor's degree in management from the National University of Rwanda. He speaks Kinyarwanda, French and English.

Orlando José Viera-Blanco Ambassador of Venezuela



Ambassador Viera-Blanco is a lawyer and human rights activist. He graduated from Universidad Católica de Venezuela in Caracas, then undertook graduate studies in

commercial law and intellectual property. He has a master's in political science.

He has taught political culture and democratic values in Canadian and Venezuelan institutions and is the senior partner and founder of Viera Blanco & Asociados. He also founded a political communications firm called Data Mining in 2003. He is a regular columnist for *El Universal* newspaper in Venezuela and often writes for other publications. As a Latin American vice-president for the World Jurist Association, he has participated in several conferences on law and human rights. He is an external adviser to the permanent foreign affairs committee of the National Assembly of Venezuela.

Non-heads of mission

Afghanistan

Sayed Mujtaba Ahmadi
Minister-counsellor
Mohammad Azim Wardak
Counsellor

Australia

Aaron John Carroll
First secretary

Austria

Christian Grinschgl
Counsellor and consul
Hannes Machor
Deputy head of mission

Belarus

Dzmitry Ilyukhin
First secretary

Botswana

Thato Matlho
First secretary

Brazil

Josias Pedrotti Da Rosa
Military attaché

China

Xiaomeng Li
Attaché
Tong Zhang
First secretary
Guanyuan Fu
Attaché
Ming Wei
Attaché
Mingxin Hu
Second secretary
Xia Luo
First secretary

Colombia

Diego Armando Barona Montua
First secretary

Ethiopia

Weldemichael Berhane Gebremeskel
First secretary

Finland

Juha Petteri Seppala
Defence, military, naval and air attaché

Guatemala

Mendez Leonardo Marcia Carlotta
Counsellor

Hungary

Alexandra Petyko
Attaché

India

Rajesh Ranjan
Attaché
Anshuman Gaur
Deputy High Commissioner
Rajeev Madaan
Counsellor
Rabab A. Jameel Al-Shouk
Attaché

Ireland

John Boylan
First secretary

Italy

Francesco Frattini
Attaché

Jamaica

Carla Lee Thompson-Watson
Attaché
Simmornetta Veronica Richards-Lawrence
Attaché

Japan

Koji Hirohata
First secretary

Lebanon

Vanessa Naddaf
Attaché

Mexico

Gina Gissela Marquez Cordova
First secretary
Jose Antonio Gomez Rodriguez
Military and air attaché
Mateo Blas Palas
Attaché
Roberto Carlos Sanchez Vazquez
Deputy military and air attaché

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Azubuike Onyemaechi Mozia
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Poland

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Menahi M. N. Almutairi
Third secretary
Khaled Abdullah A. Alotaibi
Attaché
Abdulrahman Saleh A. Alqamzi
Attaché

Thailand

Sununta Ruankaeo
Second secretary

Tunisia

Mounir Fellah
Attaché

Turkey

Cagdas Mutlu
Second secretary
Emre Cantekin
Second secretary

Uganda

Richard Mpuga
Attaché
Sam Muzoora Muhwezi
Second counsellor
Gloria Batera Kyeswa Ssegobe
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Attaché
Joshua Aaron Blanc Smith
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Vietnam


Trung Dung Nguyen
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A man in a grey suit and patterned tie sits at a white round table in a modern office setting. He has his hands clasped and is looking directly at the camera. The background is a blurred office interior with large windows.

Mohammad Al Jarrah, PMBA/21
Risk Analyst
Export Development Canada

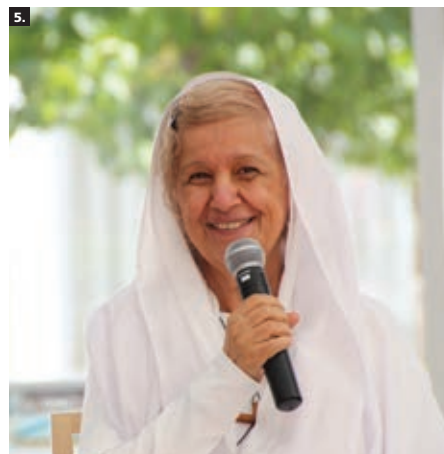


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1. Albanian Ambassador Ermal Muça and Alma Muça hosted a classical concert at the University of Ottawa. Renowned Albanian soprano Inva Mula, pictured here, performed. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. On the occasion of the 198th anniversary of the independence of the Central American countries, Honduran Ambassador Sofia Cerrato, Guatemalan Ambassador Carlos Humberto Jimenez Licona, Nicaraguan Ambassador Maurizio Gelli, Costa Rican Ambassador Mauricio Ortiz and El Salvador's minister-counsellor and chargé d'affaires Xochitl Guadalupe Zelaya Gomez, hosted a reception at the National Arts Centre. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. The annual Baltic Unity Day took place on Parliament Hill. Estonian Ambassador Toomas Lukk is flanked by his wife, Piret Lukk, and Inara Eihenbauma, wife of the Latvian ambassador Karlis Eihenbaums. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. On the occasion of the 63rd anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, Hungarian Ambassador Bálint Ódor hosted a reception in his residence. He's shown with Israeli Ambassador Nimrod Barkan (left). (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. On the occasion of the 74th anniversary of the independence of Indonesia, Ambassador Abdul Kadir Jailani and his wife, Rahmayanti Jailani, hosted a cultural performance and reception at the Grand Hall of the Canadian Museum of History. Ambassador Jailani spoke. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. Tourism Ireland hosted group workshops in the Canadian Museum of Nature. From left: Irish Ambassador Jim Kelly and marketing manager Dana Welch. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



1. Senate Speaker George J. Furey and former EU Ambassador Peteris Ustubs, co-hosted the Canadian Association of Journalism awards ceremony for the EU-Canada Young Journalist Fellowships. From left: Carl Meyer, Ottawa bureau chief at the *National Observer*, winner Ted Fraser, winner Zak Vescera, Furey and Ustubs. Absent was the third winner, Philippe Teisceira-Lessard. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. The Hong Kong Canada Business Association organized a member appreciation reception at the Rideau Club. Emily Mo, director, Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office (Toronto) gave a talk. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. To mark its national day and armed forces day, Korean Ambassador Maengho Shin and his wife, Dongmin Lee, hosted a reception and concert by Korean musician Sora Kim at the Canadian Museum of History. Shin, shown here, spoke. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. The German Embassy hosted a craft beer tasting at the ambassador's residence. Singer Viviane Audet, shown here, performed with Montreal's Mentana. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Egyptian Ambassador Ahmed Abu Zeid, with the Aga Khan Foundation, hosted a lunch and discussion with Mama Maggie, Nobel Peace Prize nominee and winner of the International Women of Courage Award. Momma Maggie, shown here, is the founder and CEO of Stephen's Children. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. The 43rd annual Ottawa International Animation Festival took place. From left: Estonia's Sergei Kibus holding a mold of his film's main character — a cat named Teofrastus — along with Chintis Lundgren (Estonia) and producer Draško Ivezić (Croatia.) (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. To celebrate the 209th anniversary of the independence of Chile, Ambassador Alejandro Maricio and his wife, Maria Cecilia Beretta, hosted a reception at Ottawa City Hall. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. These dancers performed traditional Chilean dances at the same event. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. The military, naval and air attachés of Peru organized a fellowship luncheon with Peruvian food and folklore dances at the National Arts Centre for Ottawa's Service Attaché Association. From left: Capt. Marco Arancivia, Peruvian naval attaché; musician Luis Alvarado, holding his Cajon Peruano musical instrument; marinera champion dancer Ricardo Llerena; Col. Fernando San Martin, Peruvian defence and air attaché; and Col. Jorge Contreras, Peruvian military attaché. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. On the occasion of Slovakia's Constitution Day, Ambassador Vit Koziak and his wife, Janka Koziakova, hosted a reception at the embassy. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. On the occasion of the Festival of Lights, Malaysian High Commissioner Dato' Nor' Aini Binti Abd Hamid and her husband, Hasdi Jusoff, hosted a lunch reception at the residence. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. On the occasion of Nigeria's 59th anniversary of independence, High Commissioner Adeyinka Asekun and his wife, Olawunmi Asekun, hosted a reception at the Westin Hotel. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1.



5.



2.



3.

1. Armenian Ambassador Anahit Harutyunyan paid a courtesy visit to Mayor Jim Watson. (Photo: Ottawa City Hall) 2. Outgoing Japanese Ambassador Kimihiro Ishikane gave a lecture as part of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs' Ambassadors Speaker Series. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. On the occasion of the national day of Nepal, Ambassador Bhrigu Dhungana and his wife, Sangita Dhungana, hosted a reception at Ottawa City Hall. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. Philippine Ambassador Petronila Garcia, shown here, hosted an opening reception for an exhibit featuring art by Ella Brion and Pete Escanlar. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Chinese Ambassador Peivu Cong hosted a reception at the embassy in celebration of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. From left: Senator Joseph A. Day and Cong. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



4.



1. To mark Vietnam's 74th national day, Ambassador Duc Hoa Nguyen hosted a reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. He's shown with Senator Peter M. Boehm. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. The Minstrels Rhythm of Hope from Manila gave two concerts in Ottawa. Philippines Ambassador Petronila Garcia (centre) stands with some singers and Canadian founder Alain Pronovost after a concert at Sentro Rizal Ottawa. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Musicians from the EU and Canada took part in the first Frenergy tour in Canada. From left: John Sellick, viola, member of the National Youth Orchestra of Canada; Sascha Goetzel, the Viennese conductor, former EU Ambassador Peterist Ustub and Birgit Katriin Born, Estonian violinist and member of the EU Youth Orchestra. (Photo by Ülle Baum) 4. To mark the 30th anniversary of the Baltic Way, Estonian Ambassador Toomas Lukk, Latvian Ambassador Karlis Eihenbaums and Lithuanian chargé d'affaires Julijus Rakitskis hosted the opening of a photo exhibit at Ottawa City Hall. From left: Lukk, deputy mayor Laura Dudas, Eihenbaums and Rakitskis. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. To mark Turkish Republic Day, Ambassador Kerim Uras hosted a reception at the Horticulture Building in Lansdowne Park. From left, Stewart Wheeler, chief of protocol, and Uras. 6. An exhibition titled *Manga Hokusai Manga*, took place at the Embassy of Japan. Mashiro Saito, director of the Japan Foundation, delivered remarks. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 7. Winston Wen-yi Chen, representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, and his wife, Sylvia Pan, hosted a 108th national day reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier Hotel. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



1. The National Arts Centre (NAC) hosted the unveiling of 1 Elgin restaurant featuring the NAC's executive chef, Kenton Leier, and Top Chef Canada finalist Rich Francis. From left: Nelson Borges, general manager, food and beverages, NAC, Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson, Greg Peters, Usher of the Black Rod, and his executive assistant, Manon Champagne. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. A concert celebrating 50 years of music with the National Arts Centre Orchestra took place at Southam Hall. Maestro Alexander Shelley met with the Friends of the National Arts Centre Orchestra (FNACO) during a reception afterwards in the Canada Room. From left: Hungarian Ambassador Bálint Ódor; pianist Evelyn Greenberg, founder of FNACO, NACO concertmaster Yosuke Kawasaki, Kaoru Ishikane and her husband, Japanese Ambassador Kimihiro Ishikane, and FNACO president Albert Benoit. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. Danish Ambassador Hanne Fugl Eskjær hosted a talk on the aims of the social enterprise group Cycling Without Age, followed by a reception at the Danish residence. From left: city councillors Jeff Leiper, Theresa Kavanagh with Eskjær and Ole Kassow, president of Cycling Without Age, who is on a bike. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



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Where to have fun when the temperatures tumble

By Patrick Langston

Ice, snow, tumbling temperatures: No one ever said an Ottawa winter is an easy ride. But that's no excuse for spending the season cocooned with a hot toddy and good book — not when there's a ton of fun waiting outside your front door.

So grab your tuque and mitts, and let's see what we can find out there.

A cross-cultural collaboration: The new season of NAC Indigenous Theatre — a landmark in Canadian theatre — continues Jan. 9-12 with *Unikkaaqtuat*. Created by a new generation of storytellers and performers from Nunavut, Nunavik and Montreal, the show is inspired by Inuit founding myths. It blends circus arts, theatre, music and video in a story about an ancient realm where life and death, day and night and Inuit and white people had not yet encountered each other. It takes place in the Babs Asper Theatre. If you miss *Unikkaaqtuat*, there are three more Indigenous Theatre presentations this season, including the riotous hip-hop-based *Hot Honey*, May 5-9. 1-888-991-2787, nac-cna.ca

Get out and enjoy the white stuff: It's winter, so why not revel in it? Upper Canada Migratory Bird Sanctuary in Ingleside, Ont., about an hour south of Ottawa on the St. Lawrence River, rents snowshoes and cross-country skis to explore its geography and wildlife. The 9,000-hectare site includes a mature upland forest, wetlands and more. The ski trails are groomed, and you can rent the equipment for a modest fee at the Visitor Centre. It's open week-ends, Family Day (Feb. 17) and March Break (March 16-20.) If you don't make it out this winter, tuck the sanctuary away for an outing at a warmer time, when you have a shot at spotting 200 waterfowl, raptor, passerine and other bird species along the eight kilometres of self-guided nature trails. You can also camp and cycle at the sanctuary. 613-537-2024, st.lawrenceparks.com

Flick time, with a difference

You could buy a ticket for Cannes, or you could simply head down the 401 to Kingston, where the annual Kingston Canadian



Fairmont's Le Château Montebello offers a cavalcade of options for a winter getaway — and this huge, enticing fireplace.

Film Festival is front and centre March 11-15. Spotlighting the best Canadian feature films of the year, the almost-two-decade-old festival screens movies in multiple downtown venues. It also offers short-film programs and presents free workshops and other enticements. Filmmakers represent established and emerging artists. Over the years, that's included names such as David Cronenberg, Sarah Polley and Denis Villeneuve. Kingston's historic architecture is one more reason to make this early-spring trip. kingcanfilmfest.com or 613-777-0161.

All Kingston all the time: The Limestone City — so named for all the buildings constructed of that rugged material — is about more than film. On Feb. 1 and 2, the Kingston Winter Antique Show (AKA the Cabin Fever Show) takes place at the

Portsmouth Olympic Harbour. Dealers from Ontario and Quebec unveil country and formal furniture, folk and academic art, fine china, glass, collectibles and more. Mid-century modern, retro or pure nostalgia: The show appeals to every taste and budget. cabinfeverkingston.com

A swingin' hot spot: Who knew? The Canadian Museum of Nature, that grand, castle-like building on McLeod Street in Centretown, turns into one of the city's most happening spots on several Friday nights each year. That's when it becomes ground zero for Nature Nocturne from 8 p.m. till midnight, with DJs, three dance floors, a cash bar and after-hours access to some of the galleries. The Queens' Lantern, the arresting glass tower that now fronts the building and which was dedicated by the Queen in 2010, is one of



The Museum of Nature turns into party central during its occasional Nature Nocturne nights. The next one is on Jan. 31.

the dance areas. The event has room for up to 2,000 people and is often sold out or close to it. This year's first shindig is Jan. 31. nature.ca or 1-800-263-4433.

Winter sports you've never heard of:

Winter carnivals abound this time of year, but how many offer a "little ladies fry pan toss" or snowshoe softball? Head south to the Saranac Lake Winter Carnival in upstate New York and you'll find not just events such as these, but also inner-tube races, parades, flowerball (a cross between bowling, shuffleboard and curling), fireworks and an ice castle built on the shore of Lake Flower's Pontiac Bay. The carnival, an annual affair since the late 1940s, runs from Jan. 30 to Feb. 9. Since New York's Adirondack Park, site of the carnival, is a bit of a hike (about three hours), you may want to tack on some downhill skiing, ice climbing or other wintry escapades (suggestions at visitadirondacks.com). Information on the carnival: saranalakewintercarnival.com

If the Adirondacks sound just a little too far, check out the winter carnivals closer to home. Among them: La Fête

des neiges de Montréal, running multiple weekends starting in January; Manotick's Shiverfest on Jan. 24 and 25 and Petawawa's Cabin Fever from Jan. 11 to 19. Here in Ottawa, Winterlude runs for three weekends in a row, starting on Jan. 31 and ending Feb. 17.

A fresh start: If you could start from nothing, how would you imagine the world? A freighted question, but one that artists wishing to participate in Reset, this year's edition of Montreal's Art Souterrain Festival, were asked. The festival is held in Montreal's sprawling Underground City and satellite locations, and is intended to make art accessible to a wider audience by taking it out of traditional exhibition spaces. This year, installations, sculptures, videos, photographs and performance art pieces address humanity's current crossroads position, one where we either continue in the same old self-destructive climate, social and other paths or find new ways to connect with each other and the world. The festival runs from Feb. 29 to March 22 (438-385-1955.)

Shutterbug city: The smartphone can snap some pretty fine photos, made only better by its editing features. That means winter photography is ultra-convenient and rewarding even for the rankest amateur. The Ottawa area offers some fine photography opportunities, including Gatineau Park with its forests, hushed lakes and winding trails. For shots of the Ottawa River, try the Alexandra and Portage Bridges as well as Victoria Island and Rideau Falls, which can freeze completely in the winter.

The ByWard Market is a study in humanity anytime of the year, while crisp, cold photos are the order of the day at the ice-fishing community on Petrie Island just north of Orléans (the fisher folk are exceptionally friendly). When lit by Christmas lights, Confederation Park is one of the city's prettiest spots. The Vimy Bridge in Barrhaven is an elegant structure, especially when rimed with frost or sprinkled with snow. Ice storms are predicted for January and February, so check out the Arboretum for post-storm shots. Winter photography with a smartphone is a special art.

All-in-one: Fairmont's Le Château Montebello, about an hour northeast of Ottawa, offers a cavalcade of options for a winter getaway. Outdoors, there's tubing, skating, curling, sleigh rides, dogsleding, cross-country skiing, ice fishing...

you get the picture. Indoors, there's a spa, a sports complex, tennis and squash. With all that activity, it's a good thing the restaurants serve up tasty, bracing fare, including a Sunday brunch. Built where a 17th-Century seigniorial estate once stood, the resort's main building is a stunning log structure of red cedar with a massive central fireplace anchoring it. If all this isn't enough to occupy your



Saranac Lake Winter Carnival in upstate New York offers fireworks as well as a "little ladies fry pan toss" and snowshoe softball.

time, the wildlife Parc Omega is fewer than five kilometres north of the Château. For information on Fairmont Le Château Montebello, call 1-866-540-4462 or check out their website.

Getting to know ByTown: It's hard to beat a good museum for whiling away a couple of hours on a snowy afternoon. The stone ByTown Museum just west of the Château Laurier is chock full of local history, starting with Lt.-Col. John By and the construction of the Rideau Canal. A special exhibit running until mid-February draws on photographs, newspaper articles and artifacts to tell the story of Ottawa and the South African (Boer) War, in which 7,000 Canadian soldiers and nurses enlisted. Want a taste of what you'll see in the museum? Try the virtual tour on the website.

Patrick Langston is a local writer whose love of reading by the fire just may be outstripped by his fondness for heading out the door in the depths of winter.

Ecuador is a tropical paradise of tourism



The Andes region boasts volcanoes rising more than 1,800 metres, with perpetual snow and glaciers. This one is the volcanic mountain of Cotopaxi.



By *Diego Stacey-Moreno*

Ecuator is slightly more than 283,000 square kilometres in size and is one of the most beautiful countries on the planet. It is set on the equator, thus its name, and is considered to be the most compact “mega-diverse” country in the universe.

In addition, in 2018, Ecuador celebrated the 40th anniversary of its capital of Quito and the Galapagos Archipelago being named UN world cultural and natural heritage of humanity sites.

The country of the four worlds

The geographic location of Ecuador,

exactly in the middle of the planet, has enabled my country to offer natural wonders, in which visitors delight. It is not just a slogan, but also an invitation to the world to enjoy a magical experience in the heart of the planet.

“Four Worlds of Ecuador” is synonymous with doing tourism in a sustainable way. Visitors can experience the Amazon, the beautiful Andean region, the coast and the Galapagos Archipelago, as well as amazing cultural and natural sites, a variety of flora and our many sun-bathed beaches.

Few countries can boast such splendid

landscapes, cities and nationalities that maintain their legacy of incalculable historic value as well as natural and cultural heritage.

There are a total of 1,659 avian species, a number greater than all the species living in Europe and North America combined. We also have 350 species of reptiles and 400 species of amphibians, 800 species of fish and 70,000 species of insects. Indeed, Ecuador is ranked third in the world for its variety of amphibians and fifth in swallow-tail butterflies. A total of 10 per cent of all plant species in the world can be found in Ecuador, including 7,058 species of vascular plants and four of the five sub-families of orchids that exist on the planet. That number includes the smallest orchid in the world. Finally, Ecuador has 137 species of palms, which is more than all the palms on the continent of Africa.

In Yasuni Park in the Amazon, there are 650 species of trees in just one hectare, which represent more than the number in the U.S. and Canada combined.

Culinary genius on display

Ecuador is a country with unique culinary richness; its gastronomy has been enriched by the diversity of climates, species, products and ancient cultures. It also produces the best chocolate and cocoa in the world, world-class coffee and fine long-stemmed roses. Finally, Ecuador produces large, juicy shrimp and a variety of delicatessen products.

Due to its great natural and cultural diversity, its finely crafted products, the vibrancy of its cuisine and the warmth of its people, Ecuador has become the model of ecotourism in South America. Hiking, biking, snorkelling, rafting, bungee-jumping and para-gliding are just some of the attractions available to everybody who wishes to visit the country.

Kingdom of the forests

The Amazon is known as the kingdom of forests and is partly located in the eastern part of Ecuador. This region is one of the most biodiverse reserves on the planet, known for its lush vegetation and for being home to many volcanoes, some of which are in a state of constant activity, in addition to reserves and national parks such as the Yasuni and Cuyabeno, home to hundreds of birds and fish species.

In the Amazon, you'll find a tropical rainforest, pristine rivers, waterfalls that descend into the depths of the jungle and unique species of flora and fauna.

As home to ancient cultures, Ecuador is multicultural, with peoples such as the



Iguanas are found on the Galapagos Islands — they are one of Ecuador's 350 species of reptiles.



Ecuador is home to many ancient cultures such as that of this woman, from the Amazon region.



Guayaquil, the main port and economic capital of the country, is located on the Pacific Coast.



The Pacific Coast is home to the best beaches, including this one, known as Montanita.

Kichwa, Huaronani, Shuar and Achuar. That diversity offers intercultural, ecological and community-tourism alternatives.

Also in the Amazon, you'll find award-winning eco-lodges and the region can be toured cruising on the rivers or journeying by land.

Andes World is the home of the Volcano Avenue. The Andes region spreads throughout valleys, mountains, deserts, rivers, lakes and ancient cities and is crossed by volcanoes rising more than 1,800 metres, with perpetual snow and glaciers. Those include the volcanic mountains of Cotopaxi and Chimborazo, located in the middle of the mythical mountain range of the Andes. Based on its height above the Earth's centre, Chimborazo is higher than Mt. Everest. The equator is also located in this region, a few minutes away from Quito, Ecuador's political capital and its hub of cultural heritage. The cloud forest, meanwhile, is the best location for bird-watching and adventure tourism.

In the Andean region, there are a host of Indigenous communities and nationalities that have kept their customs and traditions intact.

Quito and Cuenca, meanwhile, where Baroque art is predominant and



The Church and Convent of St. Francis is a 16th-Century Roman Catholic complex in Quito, the capital of Ecuador. Baroque art is predominant in this city.

architectural jewels abound, are fascinating cities and both have been declared World Heritage Sites by UNESCO.

Quito features 340 hectares of the best and largest architectural heritage conservation in Latin America. The railroad's nine routes travel through Andean and tropical landscapes, each with its own unique cultural diversity.

Go west to the beach

The Pacific Coast, located west of the Andes, is a region with more than 110 sandy beaches. The Ecuadorian coast provides exciting adventure to thrill-seeking visitors. Here you will find the best beaches for surfing, as well as ports, fishing towns and a fusion of historic and metropolitan cities such as Guayaquil, the main port and economic capital of the country.

Guayaquil's colonial architecture features wooden houses, narrow cobblestone streets, art galleries, boutique hotels and bars and restaurants — all overlooking the beautiful Guayas River.

The coastal region has protected dry tropical forests as well as the tallest mangroves in the world. There's whale-watching in Puerto Cayo, Puerto Lopez or Isla de la Plata, between June and October, which shows the best story of love and

survival.

One can enjoy the ocean breeze on the Spondylus Route, which goes through beautiful beaches, picturesque fishing towns and archeological sites and offers gastronomy, music and hospitality at modern seaside resorts.

The Galapagos Archipelago

The Galapagos Archipelago is one of the main tourist attractions in Ecuador. It offers visitors insight into the fascinating evolution of flora and fauna.

Galapagos is one of the most important national parks, declared by UNESCO as a World Natural Heritage Site in 1978. It has 13 main islands, six smaller ones and dozens of islets of volcanic origin.

Imagine walking among giant tortoises, sea lions and exotic birds — which you can only do here. What's more, the Galapagos Archipelago, which runs 972 kilometres from the Ecuadorian coast and is known as the enchanted islands, has the distinction of having been Darwin's natural laboratory and inspired him to write his theory of evolution.

Most of the archipelago is protected and characterized by sandy beaches, forests and a giant turtle reserve. It also draws attention thanks to its pink flamin-

gos and birds such as the masked booby, penguins, albatross and finches. This region is one of the seven most important sites in the world for snorkelling and scuba diving.

Every year, more than two million tourists from different parts of the world visit Ecuador, about 30,000 of whom are Canadians. And some like it so much, they stay. Ecuador has more than 3,000 retirees residing for extended periods. The warm weather attracts them, as do our social programs. Together, they have turned Ecuador into a privileged destination for one's golden years. That's why hundreds of Canadians are choosing it as their home for retirement.

For Canadians, getting there is easy, with several choices of airline, including Air Canada's non-stop flights from Toronto to Quito, which started on Dec. 8. That should open even more horizons for tourism as well as cultural and academic exchanges between Canada and Ecuador.

There's no shortage of accommodation, with 74,173 rooms waiting for guests and 463,320 people working in the tourism sector to make your stay memorable.

Diego Stacey-Moreno is Ecuador's ambassador to Canada.

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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
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	King's Day

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MIKE BEDELL WWW.MIKEBEDELLPHOTO.CA

Photographer Mike Beedell: "I met this coyote on the edge of Gatineau Park, just 18 kilometres, as the raven flies, from Parliament Hill. It was feeding on a deer kill and I was hiding in the woods with a big telephoto lens. After feeding for a time, it began rolling around in the snow and cleaning the blood off its fur. Given the direct stare in this photo, it clearly knew I was there. These creatures are incredibly adaptable to many habitats. The scientific name is *Canis latrans* — meaning barking dog. They thrive in forest and field environments and lower alpine landscapes across North America. Coyotes have a superb sense of hearing and smell. Their diet jumps from grasshoppers and berries to small deer, poultry and sheep, if given the opportunity. They are also very accepting of humans and can be found moving into suburbia. They weigh from 9 to 23 kilograms and are 120 to 150 centimetres long, including a bushy tail. Coyote mothers have between 3 and 7 pups in a litter and pairs usually mate for life. Coyotes, sometimes whole packs, can often be heard howling at dusk.



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