

Diplomat & INTERNATIONAL CANADA

WINTER-SPRING 2022
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Russia's word

**AMBASSADOR
OLEG STEPANOV
ON RUSSIA'S
PLANS FOR UKRAINE,
ITS RELATIONSHIP
WITH CHINA
AND HIS BELIEF RUSSIA
IS A DEMOCRACY**

**PLUS
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Table of CONTENTS

DIPLOMATICA |

Cartoons from around the world	8
Fen Hampson on U.S. trade and supply chains with China	14
Questions Asked with Russian Ambassador Oleg Stepanov.	18
Notes from the Field: Whitehorse's Little Feet Big Steps	26
Trade Winds: Mexico, The Bahamas and ASEAN	28
Diplomatic Agenda: The ambassador's farewell to Angela Merkel . .	32

DISPATCHES |

Russia prepares for war with Ukraine	36
Why the AUKUS alliance is key.	42
Africa's future appears troubled.	48
Business trends: What to expect in 2022	52

DELIGHTS |

Books: The story of the Two Michaels	56
Art: What's showing at Ottawa galleries	60
Food: Three recipes for entertaining or treating yourself.	65
Wine: Spanish sherry's many virtues	72
Envoy's Album: Photos from diplomatic events	74
Photo finish: A majestic king penguin chick	86

DIGNITARIES |

New arrivals in the diplomatic corps	68
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DIPLOMATIC LISTINGS 78

DESTINATIONS |

Patrick Langston on winter adventures around Ottawa	82
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Russia's dichotomies

Russian Ambassador Oleg Stepanov arrived in Ottawa in the autumn of 2021 and, when *Diplomat* approached him for an interview, he said yes immediately. His answers didn't always align with the article defence expert Joe Varner has penned for us on the possibility of war between Ukraine and Russia, but he was gracious with his time and continually expressed Russia's desire for peace, not war.

Prior to this interview, it had been 14 years since a Russian diplomat — then-ambassador Georgiy Mamedov — graced our cover. At the time, I asked him when Russia would become a democracy. He assured me it would, and asked me to be patient. For his part, Stepanov believes Russia is a democracy, just not the same kind as Western counterparts might hope it becomes.

He also insisted that Russia hopes to see the Minsk measures agreed to by Russia and Ukraine come into force, an option he says Russia prefers over going to war. And he says the Russian troops amassed on the border are simply conducting military exercises, and that Russia has a sovereign right to do exactly that on its own territory.

Varner's story, meanwhile, details the situation as he understands it, after compiling information from various sources across Western defence communities and NATO. It provides an interesting counterpoint to Stepanov's answers to my questions, many of which were on the Ukraine issue.

Also in our Dispatches section, we have a piece that details the reasons the AUKUS

alliance exists and what its creation means for Canada, which is not a member of the new group comprised of the U.S., U.K. and Australia.

On the Africa beat, Robert I. Rotberg looks ahead at 2022 and what to expect on the continent. There are glimmers of hope — a democratic leader in Tanzania, and vaccines finally making their way there — but there are many challenges, including climate change, COVID variants and civil war.

Writer Laura Neilson Bonikowsky looks at 2022 in the context of business trends we can expect to take off this year. Non-fungible tokens, metaverse, artificial intelligence and inflation are all on the agenda.

Up front in *Diplomatica*, Fen Hampson writes about the U.S.-China supply chain dilemma, while German Ambassador Sabine Sparwasser writes eloquently about former German chancellor Angela Merkel's legacy.

We also have trade pieces on Canada's relationship with Mexico, The Bahamas and the ASEAN nations.

In our Delights section, books columnist Christina Spencer writes about *The Two Michaels*, a book written by our own foreign affairs columnist, Fen Hampson, and Mike Blanchfield.

Arts columnist Peter Simpson surveys the Ottawa art scene and makes suggestions to keep art lovers busy until spring.

Food columnist Margaret Dickenson offers three recipes that will give our readers comforting and delicious meals as the pandemic continues.

Wine columnist Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock offers a primer on Spanish sherry and suggests a couple of brands to try.

In *Destinations*, Patrick Langston lists travel options that are COVID-friendly, but still make you feel as though you've had a "tourist's" experience.

Finally, in our Photo Finish section, photographer Mike Beedell shares his photo of a family of king penguins and he tells of his time spent with them.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of Diplomat.

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Professor Finan has a PhD from the London School of Economics and Political Science. As a defence scientist in the Operational Research and Analysis Establishment (ORAE) at the Canadian Department of National Defence, arms control issues relating to the superpower strategic balance were his core analytical focus. He was director of social and economic analysis and director of strategic analysis. At the Royal Military College of Canada, Finan was a professor in the political science and economics department and in the graduate department of war studies. He is now an emeritus professor of both departments.

Christina Spencer



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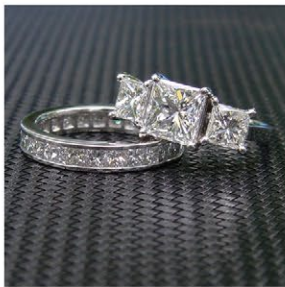


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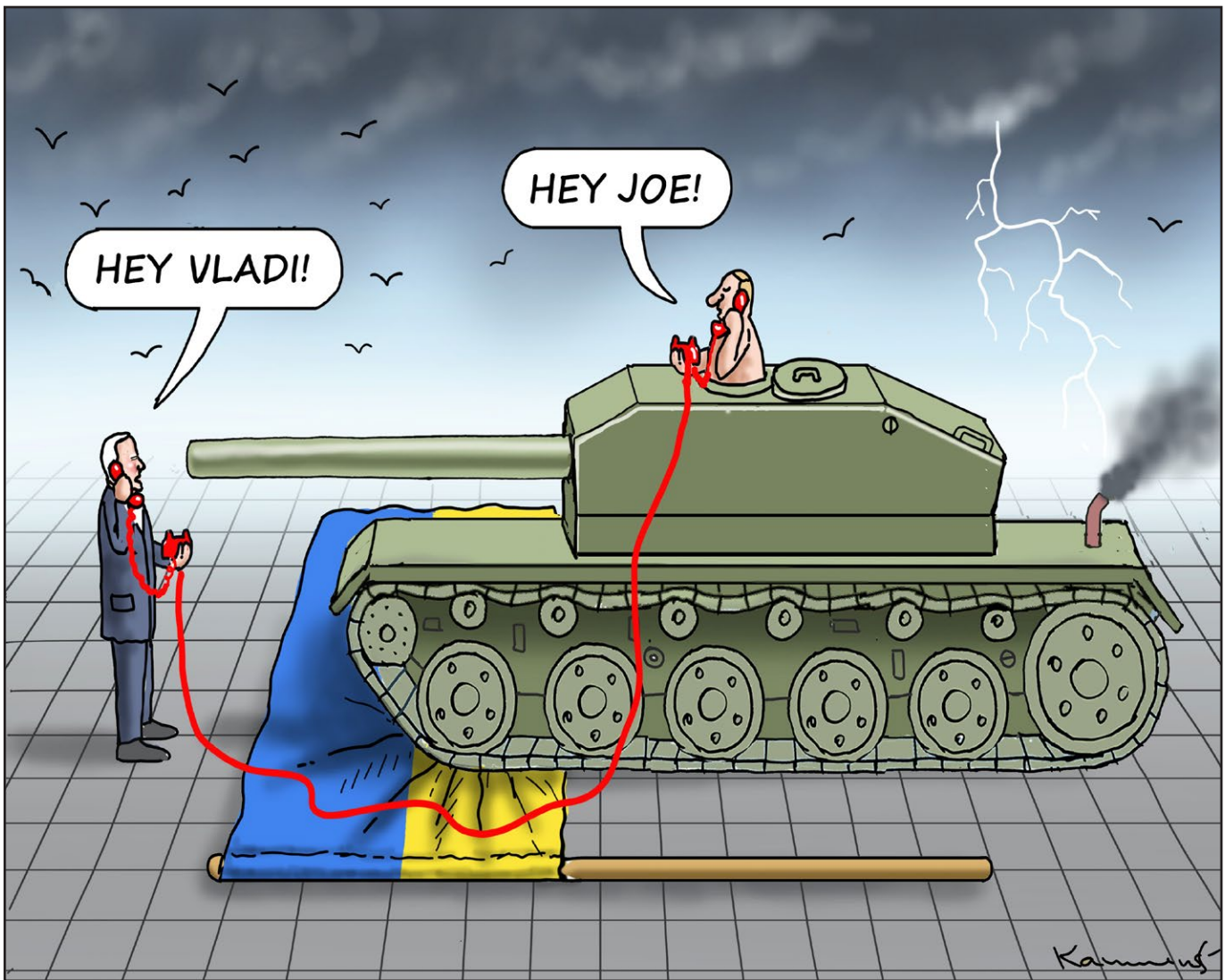
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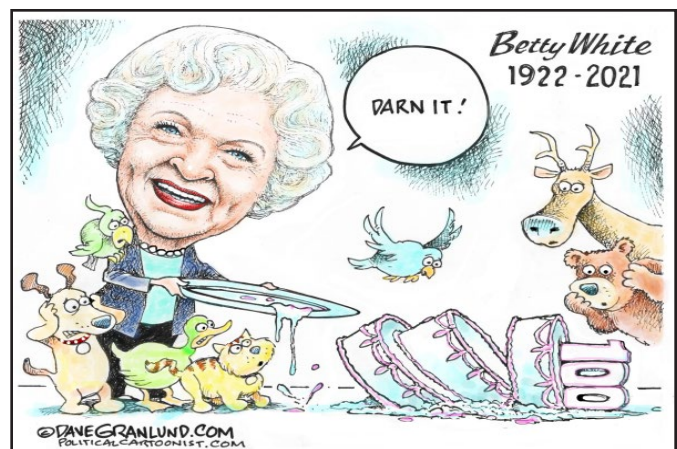
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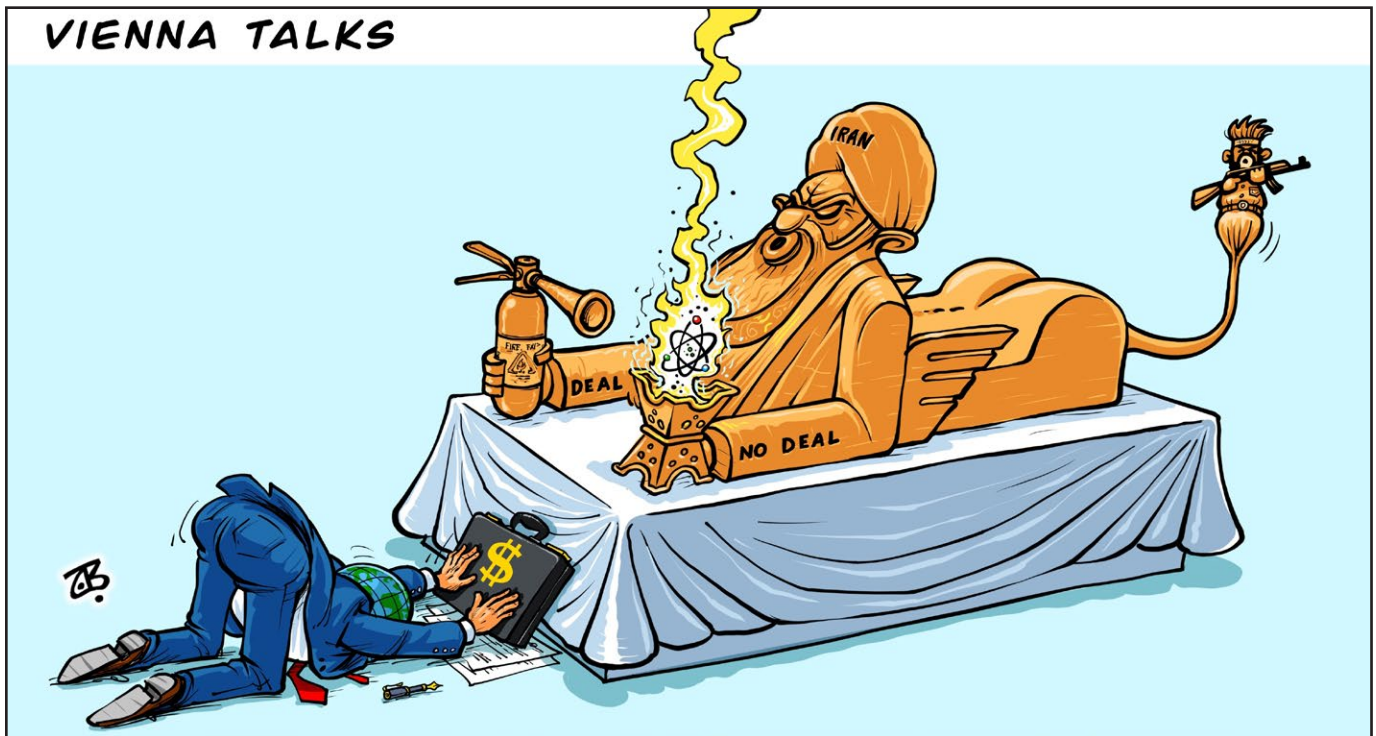
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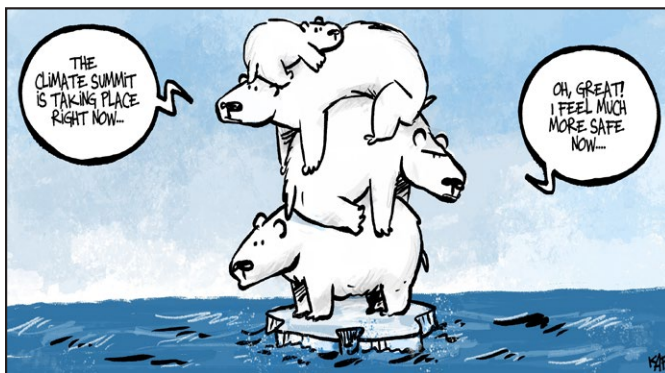
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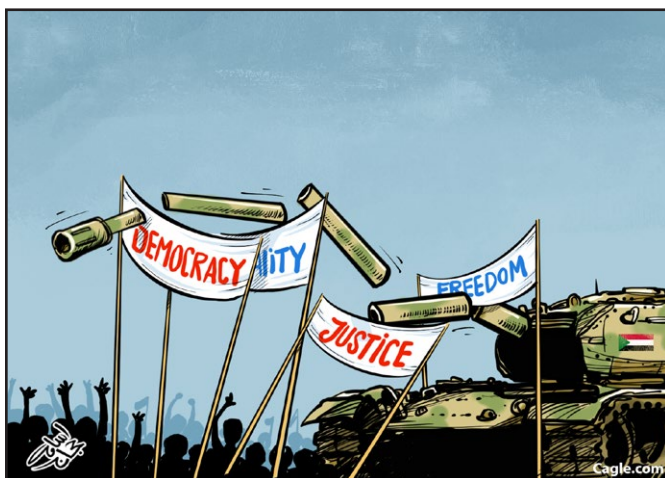
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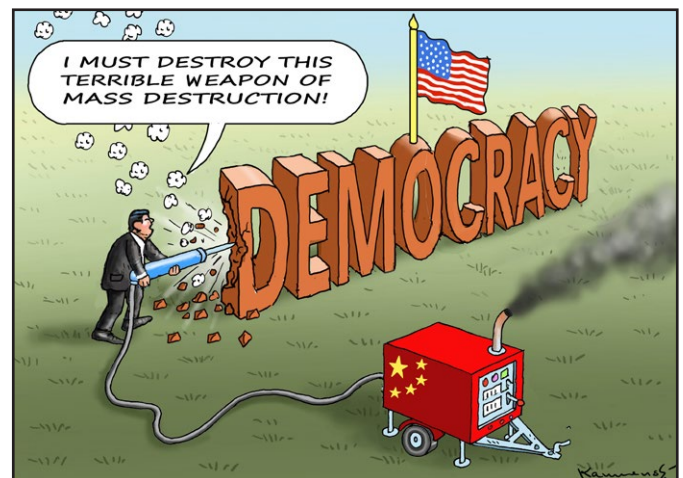
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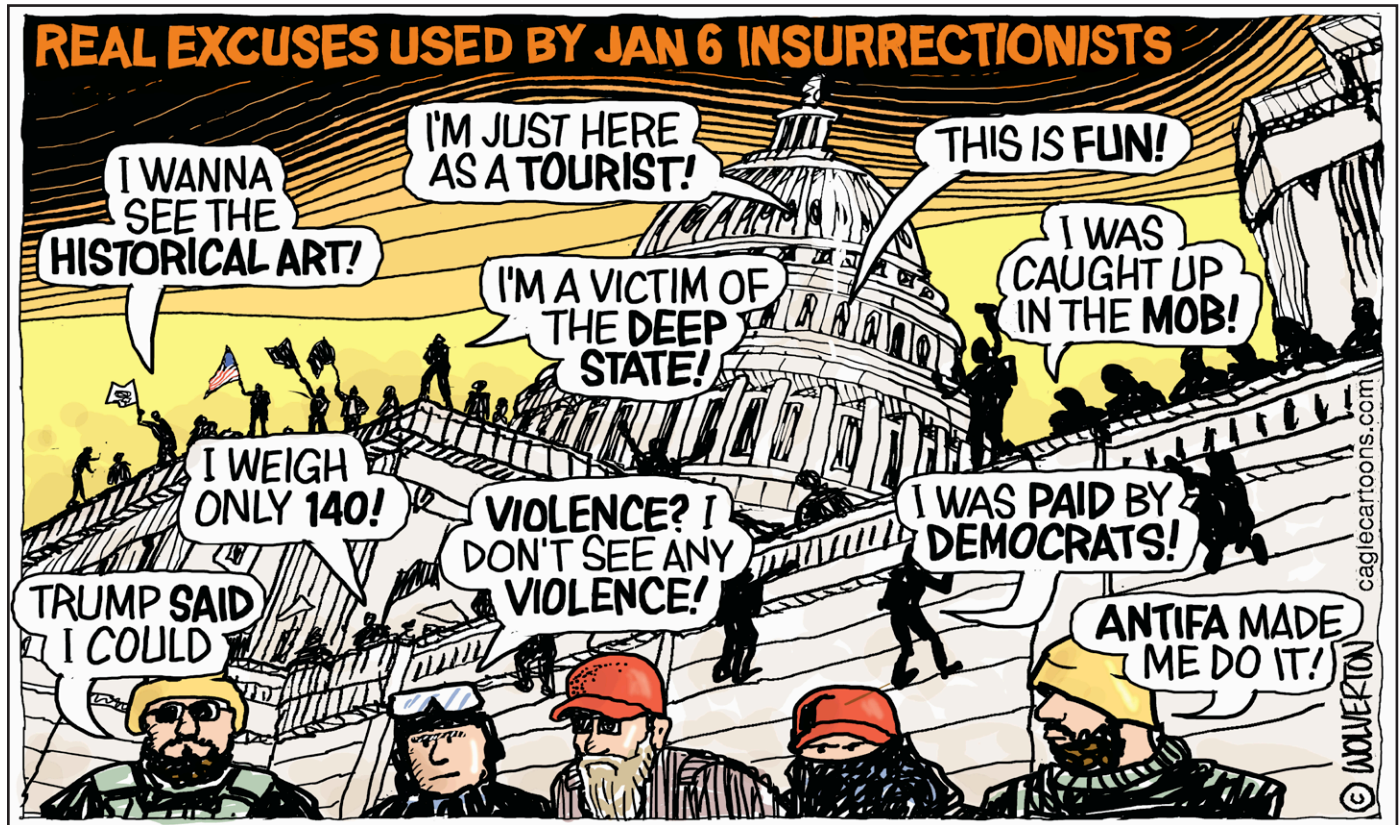
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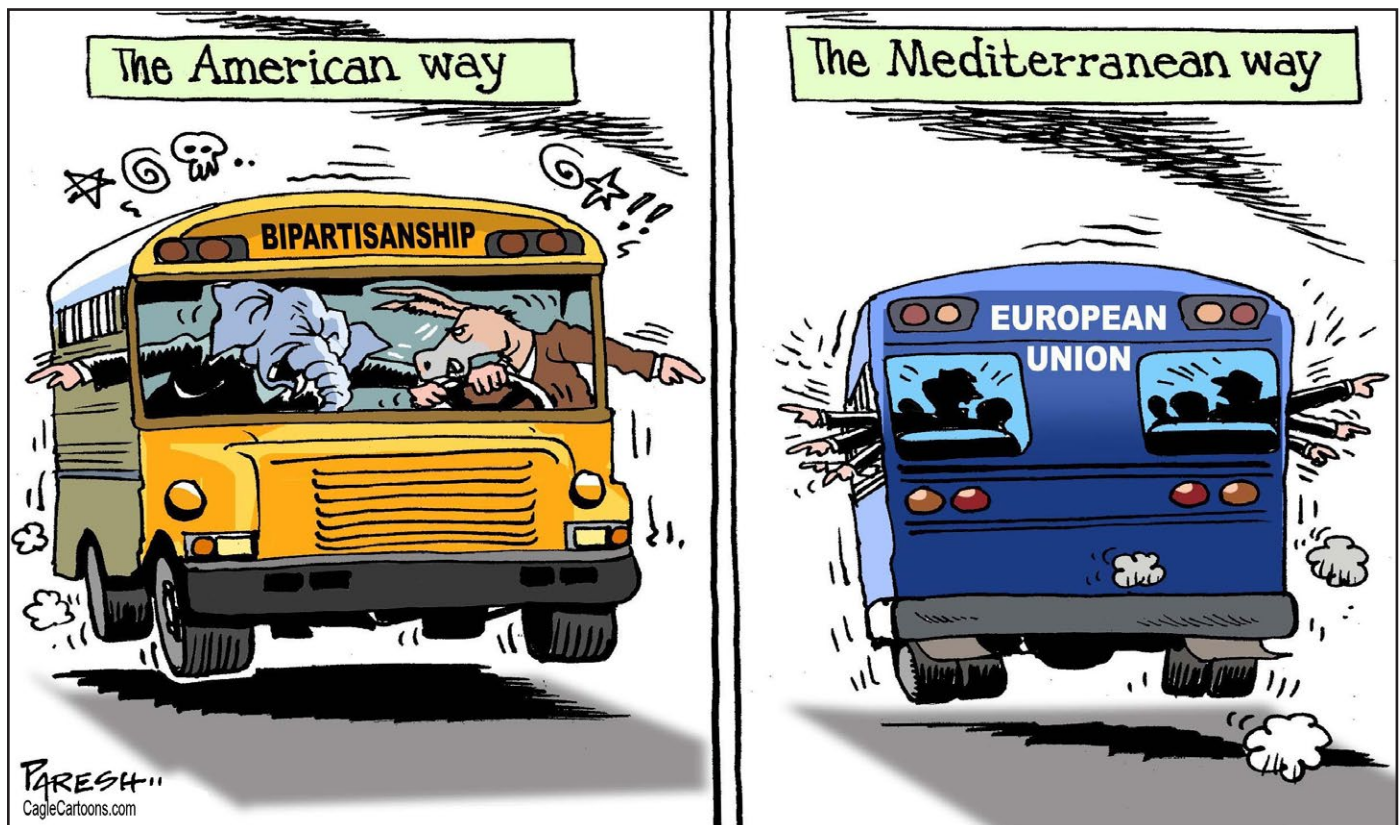
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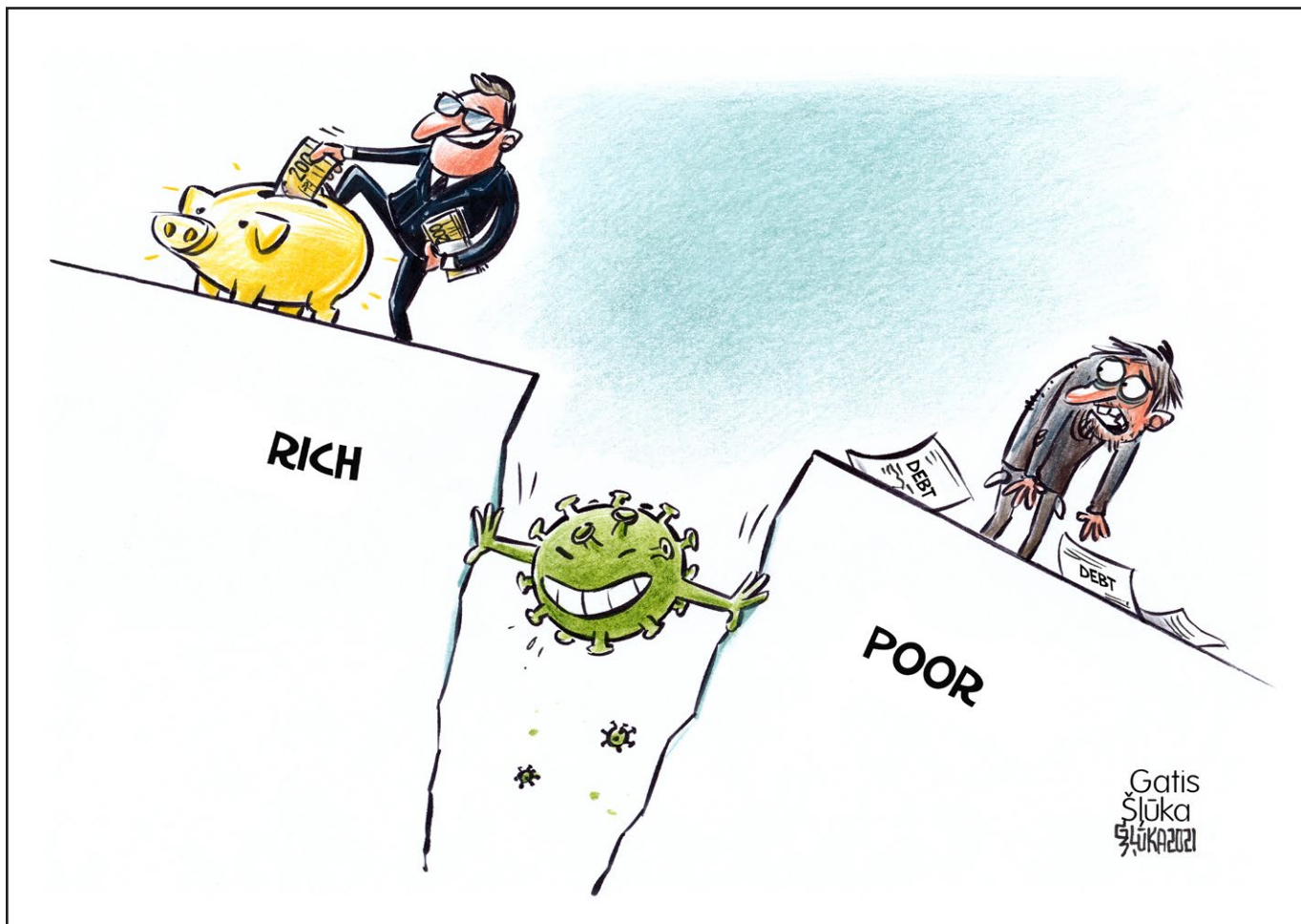
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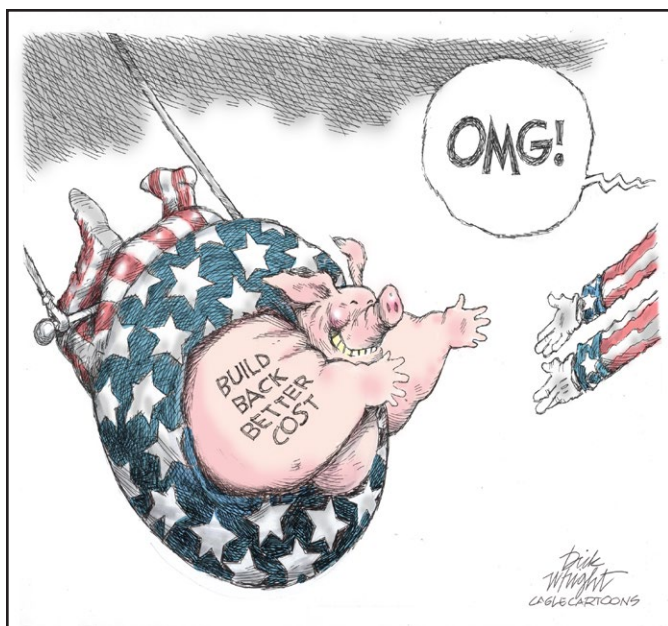
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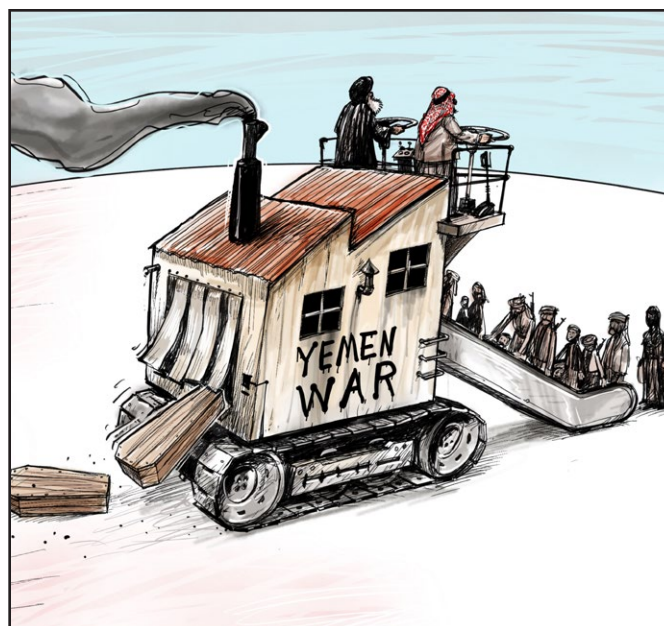
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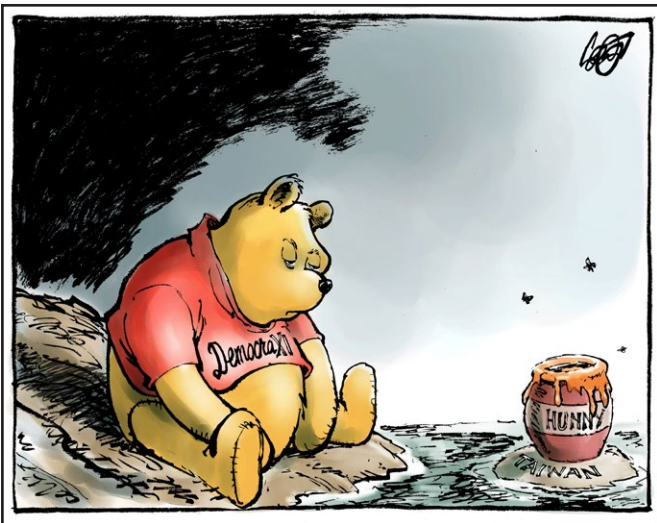
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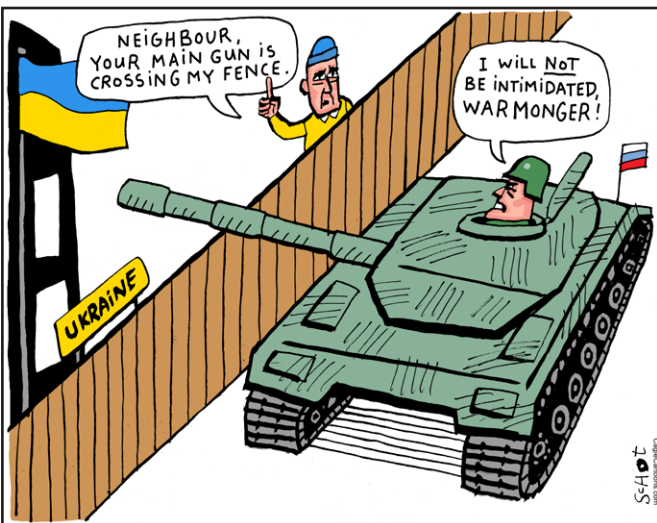
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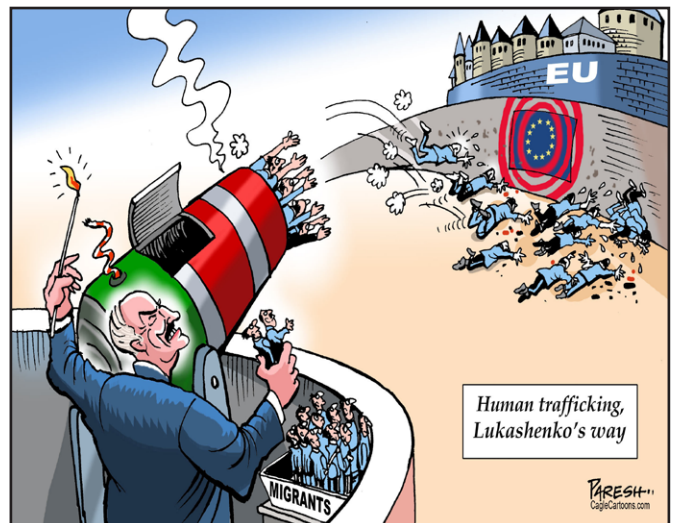
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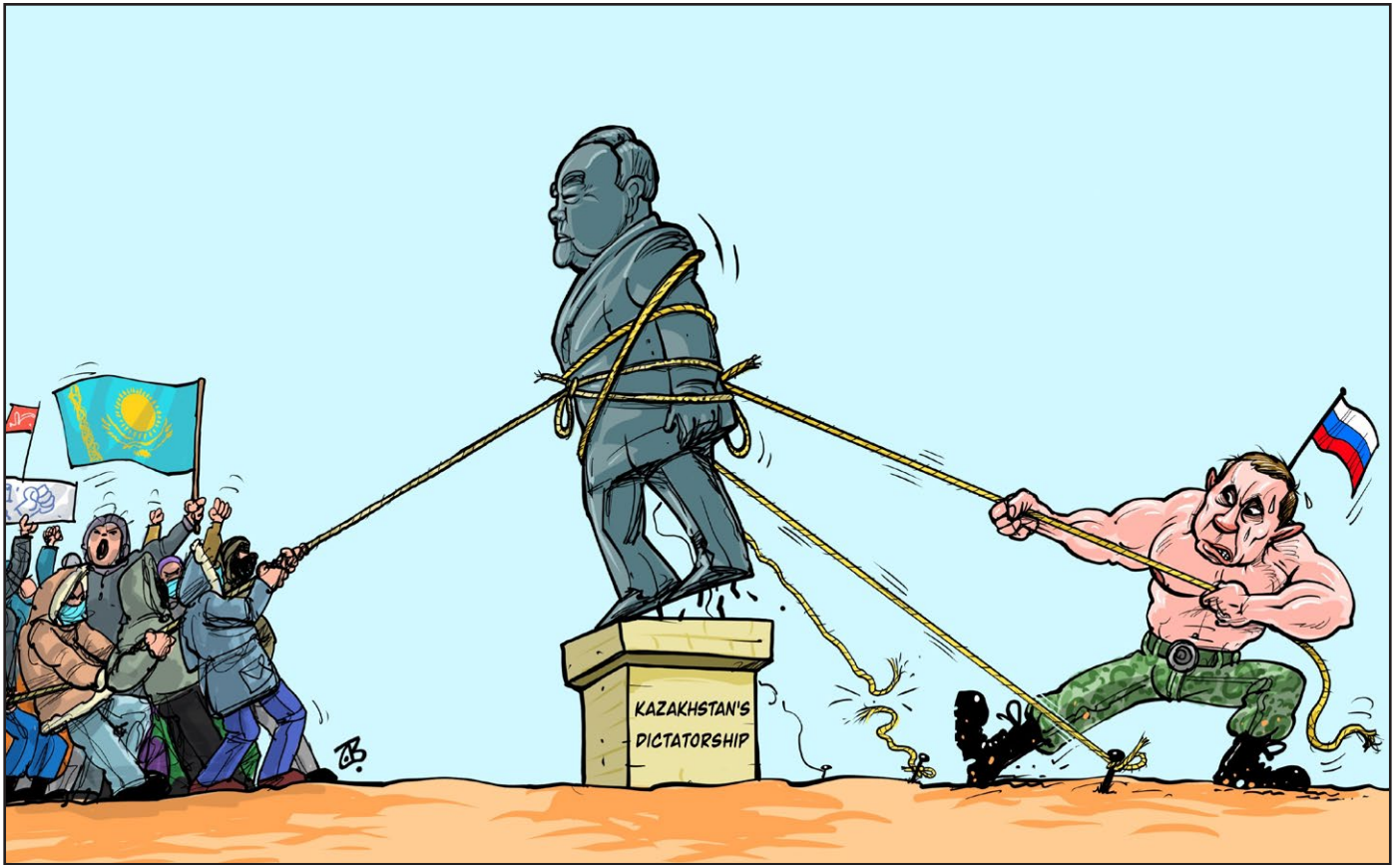
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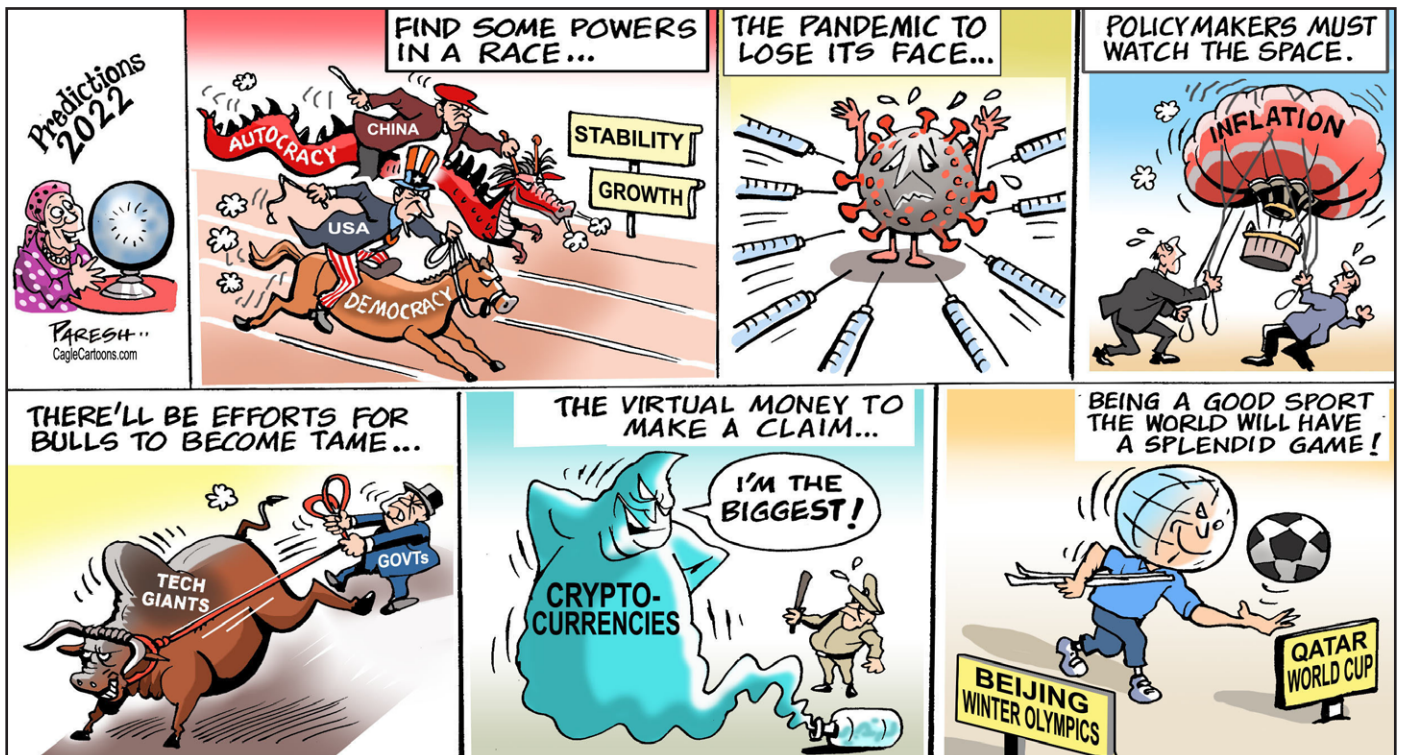
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Year 2022 predictions by Paresh Nath, *U.T. Independent*, India

The U.S. and China: The great decoupling

Is the U.S. effort to “reshore” its supply chain reality or ruse?



Trade and security tensions between China and the U.S. were exacerbated by former U.S. president Donald Trump, pictured here with Chinese President Xi Jinping, and they show few signs of abating under President Joe Biden.



Fen
Hampson

There are few signs that U.S.-China trade and security tensions are abating under the Biden administration, amid heightened fears that the COVID pandemic has exposed critical vulnerabilities in global supply chains and is contributing to rising inflation. There is also a lot of chatter in Western capitals about “decoupling” from China, particularly as

political and diplomatic relations worsen over Hong Kong, Taiwan and China’s treatment of its Uyghur population. But such discussions about “decoupling” are not confined to the West. China, too, has its own decoupling narrative, which is being driven by President Xi Jinping, its powerful and authoritarian leader.

But what does “decoupling” actually mean? And is it feasible given the extraordinary and unprecedented levels of economic interdependence we see today in the global economy in the third decade of the 21st Century.

Definitional Quandaries

If you turn to the dictionary for an explanation, decoupling is defined as separating previously linked systems so that they

can operate independently from one other. In the traditional study of economics, it means separating negative “externalities” such as pollution or other kinds of environmental “bads” from the production of economic goods and services, usually via the imposition of fines or some kind of taxation mechanism (carbon taxes, for example.)

In the context of U.S.-China relations today, decoupling has acquired a variety of different meanings, which are only tangentially related to the original dictionary definition. The term is sometimes used interchangeably with the concept of “reshoring” supply chains by, for example, relocating the production of essential products, such as medical equipment, to the United States (or Canada) where

it is less vulnerable to supply disruptions. Decoupling is also used sometimes to refer to the need to curb imports, or exports, of high value from or to China. That would include technology-intensive goods such as microchips, computers, or airplane parts, which would decouple either for reasons of national security or in order to maintain a competitive economic edge.

Similarly, reducing dependence on Chinese suppliers of key strategic minerals, which are considered essential to manufacturing supply chains in areas such as telecommunications, defence procurement, aircraft manufacturing or energy production, represents another dimension to the current decoupling debate. Decoupling is also associated with measures to restrict Chinese foreign direct investment in the U.S., especially in key sectors considered to be of strategic importance, such as telecommunications, and to ban U.S. investors from buying or selling publicly traded securities issued by Chinese firms to reduce exposure to political and financial risk and, at the same time, thwart China's rapid economic growth. Like Ambrose Bierce's definition of a hydra as an animal the ancients classified under many different heads, "decoupling" means different things in different contexts.

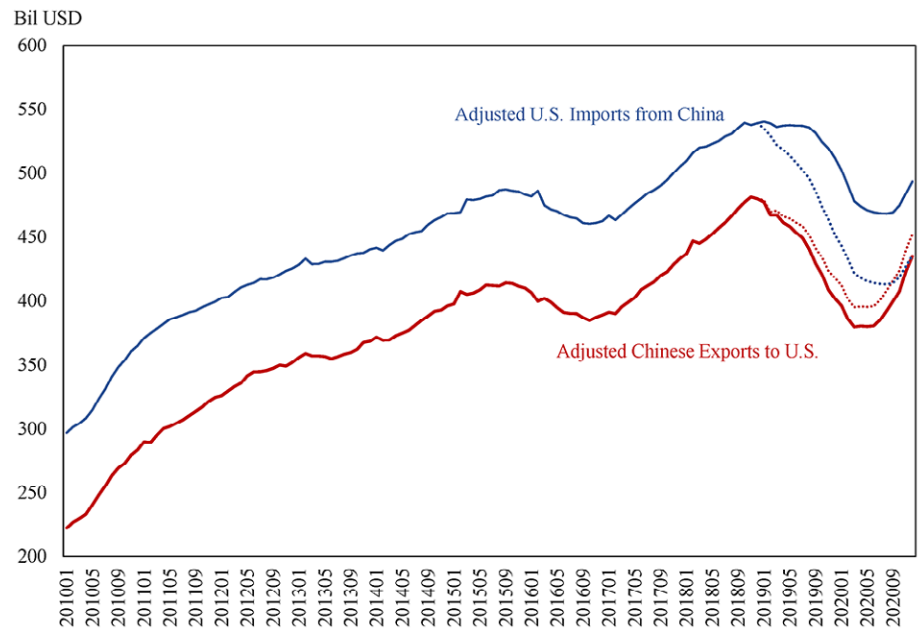
There is less mystery about the policy tools associated with a decoupling strategy. They include that old favourite of protectionists — namely tariffs — which are taxes on imports that raise the price of goods while putting more money in the hands of governments (unlike quotas, where the exporting party gets to keep the "windfall" of higher prices from reduced supplies.) Other "decoupling" tools are export and import bans of specified products or services, foreign ownership restrictions and other kinds of investment regulations and restrictions, and economic sanctions involving punitive commercial and financial penalties directed at curbing trade and financial flows.

A 20-year trade spat

As such, decoupling measures have been part of the two-decades-long trade spat between the U.S. and China.

Early in this century, U.S. officials accused the Chinese of undervaluing the yuan against the U.S. dollar. They also complained the Chinese were using unfair trade practices to promote Chinese exports and limit imports, and were forcing Western firms to give up their technology and intellectual property in exchange for access to the Chinese market.

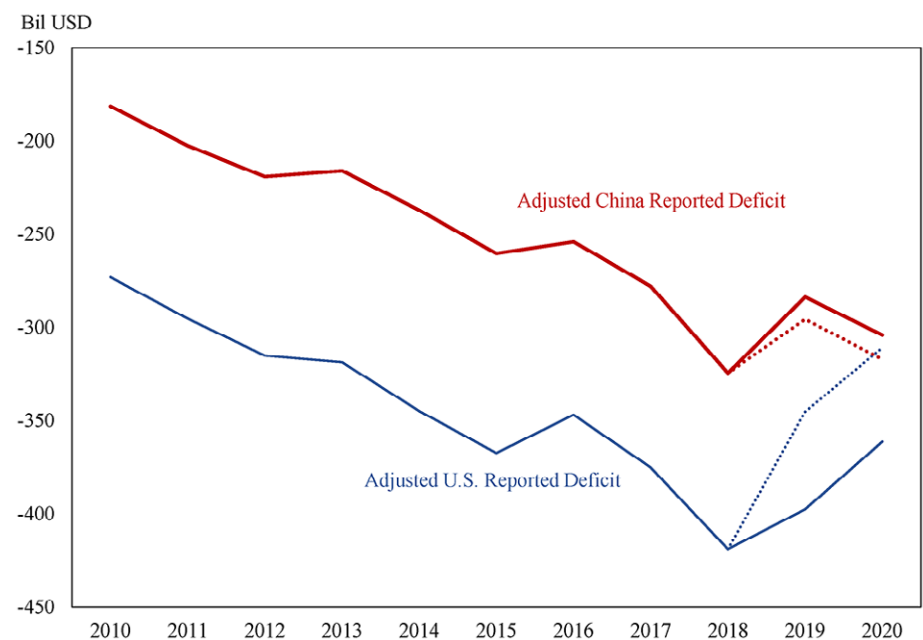
U.S.-China bilateral trade adjusted for misreporting



Note: Dotted lines are the reported values by the respective countries. Solid lines reflect adjusted levels.

Source: From Feds Notes, June 21, 2021 by Hunter L. Clark and Anna Wong. Numbers come from authors' calculations, U.S. Census Bureau and China Customs

Adjusted U.S.-China bilateral goods deficit



Note: Dotted lines are the reported values by the respective countries. Solid lines reflect adjusted levels.

Source: From Feds Notes, June 21, 2021 by Hunter L. Clark and Anna Wong. Numbers come from U.S. Census Bureau, China Customs and authors' calculations

Trump banned Huawei and ZTE service

This trade dispute was also fuelled by growing public perceptions that globalization more generally was the leading cause of U.S. job losses, especially in the manufacturing sector, as well as stagnant, if not

falling wages for U.S. workers and rising levels of U.S. public debt.

During the Obama administration, the U.S. launched a number of trade enforcement actions against China in the World Trade Organization (WTO) for its unfair

subsidies in key sectors such as aluminum, winning some of those cases. It also levied anti-dumping and countervailing duty penalties against China, in key sectors such as steel, where dumping margins were sixfold for some products.

With the election of Donald Trump, whose campaign slogan was “Make America Great Again,” the rhetoric and scale of U.S. trade actions against China escalated dramatically.

The trade war began in earnest in July 2018 when the Trump administration slapped tariffs on \$35 billion worth of Chinese imports into the United States. In September 2018, Trump imposed a new round of 10 per cent tariffs on \$200 billion worth of Chinese imports. The Trump administration also authorized itself to block purchases of foreign telecommunications equipment on national security grounds and to prohibit the sale of “emerging and foundational technologies” deemed essential to the national security interests of U.S. Two major Chinese telecommunications giants — Huawei and ZTE — were also blacklisted and banned from providing equipment to the U.S. 5G network.

While holding talks with China on trade to lower tensions, the Biden administration has continued on the same path as the Trump administration by expanding Trump’s ban on American investment in Chinese firms, particularly those with ties to the defence and surveillance technology sectors, while keeping in place many of the tariffs on Chinese goods that were introduced by Trump (which cover roughly two thirds of Chinese imports), restricting inbound Chinese investment and curbing high-technology exports. The administration is also considering imposing tougher measures to restrict the sales of U.S.-produced advanced semiconductors to Chinese firms.

China’s new law

China, in turn, has pursued its own “decoupling” strategy to replace foreign with homegrown technology. Under Xi Jinping, the government has strengthened its control over Chinese private companies and foreign investment. It has also set clear targets to enhance domestic production of semiconductors, electric vehicle batteries and other key intermediate inputs. As the Washington-based Atlantic Council explains, China’s new path in economic policy-making “stands in marked contrast to the emphasis on market opening and engagement with the world that defined the first decades of the post-Mao period of modern China that started in 1978.” It



U.S. President Joe Biden and Chinese President Xi Jinping are shown here in 2015, when Biden was vice-president under Barack Obama. Tensions between the two countries rose during Donald Trump’s administration and continue under Biden.

goes on to say it involves “a new form of state capitalism, defined by a top-down approach to the economy, featuring government-directed and supported industrial policies with the goal of creating a far more self-sufficient country, and critically, one that continues to grow rapidly.”

Two new Chinese laws on data security and privacy, which require foreign companies to store all of their data locally while imposing tough new restrictions on data exports and protection, are key to China’s digital decoupling strategy and its government’s efforts to maintain tight control over information flows. As the *Wall Street Journal* reports, China’s new data-security law “has made it harder for foreign companies and investors to get information, including about supplies and financial statements. The diminishing access to information is making it even harder for foreigners to understand what’s happening in the country.” But there are also well-founded suspicions that this is just another ploy by Chinese authorities to pirate intellectual property and other sensitive proprietary information at the expense of Western firms.

On top of this, the COVID pandemic has reinforced existing pressures to decouple key sectors of the U.S. economy and restructure global supply chains. Unprecedented labour shortages caused by the pandemic have led to scarcities of key intermediate goods, further contributing to price inflation. This, too, is an important

factor in political demands to reduce dependence on foreign suppliers, especially China, and “reshore” jobs back home.

Of course, we have seen this movie before. At the beginning of the last century, the world was heavily globalized as countries lowered trade barriers and the invention of the steamship and railroad facilitated export-led growth. (Britain’s repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 initiated the movement towards free trade.) Prior to the First World War, Britain was Germany’s top trading partner, followed by Austria-Hungary, Russia and France. After the Great War, the world economy retreated into protectionism, culminating in the formation of trading blocs in the 1930s, led by the great imperial powers of the day — Japan, Germany and Great Britain — and the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act in the United States, which raised import duties to shield U.S. farmers and businesses. The use of tariffs increased steadily from the 1920s on, as did exchange controls, which were used by the Nazis to control and expand their trade in central Europe.

Costs of deglobalization

Similar protectionist and nationalist impulses are at play today, though. As Keith Johnson and Robbie Gramer point out in *Foreign Policy* magazine, “This time... decoupling is driven not by war, but by peacetime populist urges, exacerbated by a global coronavirus pandemic that has shaken decades of faith in the wisdom of

international supply chains and the virtues of a global economy.”

However, despite the political rhetoric and public desire to do so, any significant decoupling of the world’s major economies may be hard to achieve, absent the disruptive effects of a major war among the world’s great powers à la 1914. The bonds of economic interdependence today are simply too strong to break, unless politicians and the public are prepared to accept major economic costs and the ensuing social misery that will surely come if the world deglobalizes.

Notwithstanding Trump’s trade wars and subsequent decoupling measures by the Trump and Biden administrations, China continues to be the beneficiary of large inflows of foreign capital. Foreign investment in China rose 4.5 per cent in 2019 to US \$144.37 billion in 2020 — record levels despite the coronavirus. A study published by Washington’s Wilson Center reports that “the data reveal a pattern of churn rather than decoupling.” It finds that though some multinational corporations (MNCs) did exit from China at a higher rate during the Trump presidency, especially after new retaliatory tariffs were introduced, they were replaced by other multinationals: “the total number of MNCs increased from 257,404 to 308,569 in the Trump years and the number of registered U.S. MNCs held steady between 16,141 and 2017 to 16,536 in 2019.”

Another study by the *Geopolitical Monitor* shows that although “Trump-era tariffs made a dent in U.S. imports of Chinese goods,” there has been no corresponding increase in Chinese purchases of U.S. goods, which was also a goal of his administration. “U.S. exports to China continue to lag far behind the robust volumes of trade moving in the other direction.”

A similar conclusion is reached by the U.S. Federal Reserve which, after adjusting for evasion of U.S. Section 301 tariffs that distort the “officially” reported statistics, found that “the trade conflict had a much smaller impact on the U.S. bilateral trade balance than first meets the eye,” even though the trade deficit “had narrowed somewhat” as a result of these punitive measures. (www.federalreserve.gov/econres/notes/feds-notes/did-the-us-bilateral-goods-deficit-with-china-increase-or-decrease-during-the-us-china-trade-conflict-20210621.htm)

Hardest-hit industries

The simple truth is that any serious effort by the Biden administration to decouple U.S.-China trade and investment flows



The U.S. Federal Reserve, whose headquarters is shown here, found that “the trade conflict had a much smaller impact on the U.S. bilateral trade balance than first meets the eye.”

will be extremely costly, given the high levels of economic interdependence between the world’s two biggest economies. A 2021 U.S. Chamber of Commerce study concludes the following:

“In the trade channel, if 25 per cent tariffs were expanded to cover all two-way trade, the U.S. would forgo \$190 billion in GDP annually by 2025. The stakes are even higher when accounting for how lost U.S. market access in China today creates revenue and job losses, lost economies of scale, smaller research and development (R&D) budgets and diminished competitiveness.

“In the investment channel, if decoupling leads to the sale of half of the U.S. foreign direct investment stock in China, U.S. investors would lose \$25 billion per year in capital gains, and models point to one-time GDP losses of up to \$500 billion. Reduced FDI from China to the U.S. would add to the costs and — by flowing elsewhere instead — likely benefit U.S. competitors.

“In people flows, the pandemic has demonstrated the economic impact from lost Chinese tourism and education spending. If future flows are reduced by half from their pre-COVID levels, the U.S. would lose between \$15 billion and \$30 billion per year in services trade exports.

“In idea flows, decoupling would undermine U.S. productivity and innovation, but quantification in this regard is difficult. U.S. business R&D at home to support operations in China would fall and companies from other countries would reduce R&D spending related to their China ambitions in the U.S. The longer-term implications could include supply chain diversion away from U.S. players, less attraction for venture capital

investment in U.S. innovation, and global innovation competition as other nations try to fill the gap.”

Among the sectors hardest hit by punitive decoupling measures are the U.S. aircraft industry, which would lose major sales in China; the semiconductor industry, which would also lose sales as firms “de-Americanize” their operations; and the medical devices sector, for which recoupling and “reshoring” supply chains will invariably raise costs for American consumers and hurt U.S. firms selling medical equipment in China.

Of course, the vagaries of politics rarely follow the rational laws of economics. The British polyglot Norman Angell argued in his famous book, *The Great Illusion* (1910), that there was little to be gained through war, territorial conquest and protectionism when there were much greater benefits to be had from trade, open markets and peaceful relations. Angell predicted that major global conflict was a thing of the past in the march to greater economic prosperity. However, he was very much at odds with the political realities of the day and economic interdependence did not prevent the outbreak of the First World War. Let us hope that this time around, more than a century later, Angell is finally right. But even if he is, it is very much in the West’s interests not to compromise its own economic security or expose itself to an unnecessary degree to the predatory behaviour and practices of the Chinese state and its corporate affiliates.

Fen Osler Hampson is Chancellor’s Professor at Carleton University and co-author of *Diplomacy and the Future of World Order*.

Russian Ambassador Oleg Stepanov

'I believe Russia is a democracy'

Ambassador Oleg Stepanov agreed to an interview with *Diplomat* as 2021 was winding down. This is the first time a Russian ambassador has agreed to speak to the magazine since Georgiy Mamedov did so in 2008 in a wide-ranging interview.

Ambassador Stepanov has a master's in international journalism and public relations and has been with the foreign ministry since 1994. His previous postings abroad include the U.S. (San Francisco and D.C.) and Tblisi, Georgia. For five years from 2016, he served as director of the foreign policy planning department in Moscow. He spoke with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell.

Diplomat magazine: Thanks for agreeing to speak with us. It's been a while. In your opinion, what is the state of Russian-Canadian relations?

Oleg Stepanov: Well, our relations deserve better. There were times when they were better. I understand the restraints the political climate has on the whole scope of relations. However, I came here with a positive mandate and that was also expressed by President [Vladimir] Putin, when he received the letters of credence from Alison LeClaire, your ambassador in Moscow.

Since we're neighbours, it's best to build stable, predictable, transparent relations. We are the two largest countries in the world. We share common interests and challenges as Arctic nations and Russia is interested in building good neighbour relations on that basis. We have some inter-regional connections. Between Moscow, Quebec and Montreal, for example, [and several other cities.]

We have an interest in using our chairmanship of the Arctic Council that just started [in May 2021] to promote more contacts between our Indigenous communities in the north. We share the same goals of assisting [those communities with] sustainability, living conditions, employment conditions and educational conditions. The governor general [Mary

Simon] is one of the founders of the Arctic Council. When I was presenting my credentials, she expressed an obvious interest in promoting more relations between our Indigenous communities and paying more attention to that issue, in general.

Actually, the priorities of Canada and Russia in the Arctic Council overlap and coincide because we face the same challenges and have the same goals. Nowadays when we pay more and more attention to the green transition and the issue of climate change, the Arctic dimension is becoming more and more important because we're facing the possible melting of permafrost, but we also have to grab the opportunities that a warmer climate in the North presents. In the Arctic Council, there's an interest to collaborate in the technological sphere. When the North is getting warmer, there needs to be new types of infrastructure for communication and transportation. All of those we share. Of all of the members of the Arctic Council, the positions of Russia and Canada are the closest.

As we are on a post-COVID recovery [path], we noted with great satisfaction that [two-way trade in the first nine months of this year] grew 75 per cent for a total of \$1.45 billion. It's not much compared to [trade with] your southern neighbour, but I believe there is mutual interest among the business communities in Russia and Canada to increase trade and mutual investment. We have a very active Canadian Eurasia Russia Business Association, called CERBA. It unites businesses and investors who are represented in the Russian market. It is very satisfied with conditions on the environment. As my president said to your ambassador, we would be interested in having more robust and widespread presence of Canadian business in Russia.

So, there are areas of positive co-operation and I must also mention the opportunities that exist between our academic communities. Canada has very strong universities and think-tanks and as a former policy planner for the Russian foreign minister, I was very much involved in that

type of activity when the government consults the men and women in the academic community in order to fine-tune our foreign policy. Such communication between the academic communities of our two countries can help both governments lay ground for more stable bilateral relations. In my job here, I hope to make an outreach to the academic community and increase our academic and student exchanges.

Now that we have a new parliament selected here and in Russia, maybe it's time to think about re-creating the friend-



"I would call the concentration of troops on the border an exaggeration."

ship groups. [Canada's] was frozen after the events of 2014 and later on, some people were not [re-elected], so we need to explore that again. Inter-parliamentary diplomacy is very important as practice shows, when relations at the executive branch are not that active.

And we've never stopped the normal diplomatic ways of communication. There is a normal, very friendly and professional environment with our contacts. [Russian Foreign] Minister [Sergei] Lavrov and [then-foreign] minister Marc Garneau met on the margins of the Arctic Council in Reykjavik and there was a very substantive meeting. I hope Minister [Melanie] Joly and Minister Lavrov will have a chance to meet.

DM: On the defence file, what is the legal and ethical basis for mobilizing [tens of thousands of] troops inside and along the internationally recognized Ukrainian-Russian border?

OS: First, I would call the concentration of troops on the border an exaggeration.

Actually, some of the photos or satellite images that were posted by some respectable media sources in the West were later checked and were from another time or another region. One photo published by either British or U.S. newspapers was recognized as being from last year in Smolensk, which doesn't border Ukraine at all.

DM: OK, so you're saying it's not 90,000 troops?

OS: I don't know the figures. But there are



"There are constant trainings that are conducted in various parts of the Russian territory."

constant trainings that are conducted in various parts of the Russian territory. It is the sovereign right of every nation to conduct exercises when and where it is possible and I believe that the Ukrainian authorities have said they don't see the concentration of troops, contradicting what has been said at NATO headquarters. It was discussed in Vienna at permanent council meetings there.

DM: What are Russia's aspirations with Ukraine?

OS: We believe that peaceful settlement of the conflict can be achieved if Ukraine starts implementing the Minsk measures as was agreed long ago. And unfortunately, the list is unfulfilled and the other problem is that authorities in Kyiv are avoiding or refusing to get in touch with authorities in Donetsk.

For me, it's a question of how are they going to move forward to achieve peace if they refuse to talk to the other party of the conflict. I believe there should be more persuasion on the part of friends of

Ukraine in Western capitals to explain to [Ukrainian] President Volodymyr Zelenskyy and his people that there is no military solution to the conflict and the Minsk agreement is the only way to provide peace and reconciliation in order to restore the integrity of the Ukrainian state. But first, people in Kyiv have to resume [dialogue] and there should be no attempts at military escalation or attempts to solve this conflict by force. Some representatives of Ukrainian state structures use hostile rhetoric and there is sabre rattling and it



"It's not in our interest to have protracted conflict at our border."

doesn't help. But Russia is always ready to pursue peace and negotiations. It's not in our interest to have protracted conflict at our border.

It's a political burden and a humanitarian challenge because Russia has about two million people that had to leave the zone of conflict and because it's a common border. And since we shared the same country until 1991, there are family ties. My government has to provide welfare and medical services. It's a responsibility. I would imagine that the common interest will be to find a way to restore the peace process and improve the lives of people in Ukraine. We'll see. Diplomats are typically optimists and our profession works for peace.

DM: Russia was removed from the G8 in 2014, correct?

OS: The G7 withdrew itself from the G8. I would put it that way.

DM: Are there aspirations to return?

OS: No. This topic is raised from time



Russian President Vladimir Putin, shown here with Iran's Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, doesn't want to re-create its former Soviet bloc, Ambassador Stepanov says. Russia fully respects "the sovereignty of its neighbours who choose to be called independent states."



Shown here are Russians demanding their government "bring Russian troops home" from Ukraine in 2013, before Russia invaded Crimea.

to time. Several times, we officially said there is no interest in re-creating the G8 format unless of course the G7 decides to return to a G8.

Geopolitically, the world has changed. Now we have the G20, which is more pluralistic and more representational. And the G20 has taken over the decision-making on global economic issues and now we see it's also trying to get itself involved in discussing [current] political topics as well. The G20 is a forum of the future. G7 of today is not the G7 of the 1980s. The GDP percentage of the G7 in the global economy is constantly declining. It's a club, but it's not a club of the nations who can decide the future of the world. We are more inclined to work with the G20 and the UN as the universal representational forum.

DM: Is Russia using Belarus to mobilize an influx of African and Iraqi refugees to pressure Lithuania, Latvia, Poland and Ukraine via those countries' borders with Belarus? There are reports of Belarusians infiltrating refugee ranks to move across these borders.

OS: We have nothing to do with that and we see it as [up to] Minsk, Vilnius, Warsaw and Brussels to find a solution to that sudden crisis. The EU has experience dealing with the problem of migration from the Middle East and North Africa. Maybe [it] can find solutions with Belarusian authorities. But it doesn't have anything to do with Russia.

DM: Observers say Russia is working to re-create its former Soviet bloc, to rebuild its former bulwark against the West. How do you respond to those suggestions?

OS: I would leave the quality of those journalists' analysis to them. The reality is that the West is trying to create a bulwark against Russia by expanding NATO and trying to persuade the countries of the so-called former Soviet bloc to enlist in NATO without any consideration of Russian security interests or concerns. For us, potentially, the enlargement of NATO toward our borders is a big issue. In the 1990s, we tried to work with the West, with NATO countries, discussing the collapse of the Soviet Union and the communist threat to the West. We were discussing building new security infrastructure for Europe and the Euro-Atlantic. We were trying to establish a vision of a Europe united — from Lisbon to the Urals. Then we created a formula that we could have a common security architecture from Vancouver to Vladivostok,

encompassing the northern hemisphere, but unfortunately, due to a uni-polar movement in Washington and some near-sighted political manoeuvres in the Western Bloc, NATO began its enlargement despite the promises that were given to Mikhail Gorbachev before German reunification. We saw it first with concern, but then, when we are coming to the situation that nuclear-capable cruise missiles can be deployed near the Russian border within seven to 15 minutes, how do we feel? The best outcome if we can get back to normalcy would be mutual de-escalation, creating some transparency and trust measures and security guarantees for the participants of the Euro-Atlantic security discourse.

DM: So you want both sides to back off?

OS: Both sides would back off. Both sides recognize the legitimate security concerns and act on respecting that. There is no interest in Russia in raising the level of confrontation with the West. Europe is our neighbour and we want to build predictable relations with Europe and the Euro-Atlantic camp, including Canada, the U.S. and Great Britain. We may disagree on certain things, but when our policy toward each other is predictable, that's a good beginning. Now, we suffer from a lot of mistrust, unpredictability that leads to mistakes in analysis of actions and aspirations of each other and simultaneously, unfortunately, we see the venues of dialogue are also shrinking. NATO is sending Russian representatives packing, ousting a big number of our diplomats. We reciprocate, and, as a result, the activities of the venues for the NATO-Russia Council are limited to the respectful ambassadors of Russia and Belgium. In Moscow, since 2014, NATO decided to freeze contacts between top military officials. That was a big blow because [the council] is the main avenue of political dialogue, but it has two dimensions — political and military. When we are talking about military intent and doctrines, it's up to the military people to talk to each other. They understand figures and capabilities and they can do a lot to provide for a reasonable assessment of what's going on. When there's no dialogue with the military, it's very difficult for diplomats to talk. So the NATO-Russia Council became crippled because people in Brussels decided to put a stop to military contact.

We would like to see the de-escalation and more normal direct political dialogue.

DM: Putin has said that the demise of

the Soviet Union was “the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the century” and a “genuine tragedy for the Russian people.” Do you agree?

OS: That was President Putin, but he was talking about 40 million Russian people suddenly finding themselves in different states — not in Russia. It's very often taken out of context. It's used to say that Russia and Putin want to restore the Soviet Union, which is not true. [It

are trying to explore our neighbourhood. Eurasian economic co-operation and economic union [Eurasian Economic Union] is a prospective mechanism for the post-Soviet space that we are now exploring.

DM: What do you say to predictions that China and Russia will work together to serve as mutual distractions for the West?

OS: My belief is that being permanent members of the UN Security Council, Russia and China, together with our



Vladimir Putin, left, Gazprom management committee chairman Alexei Miller, centre, and China National Petroleum Corporation chairman Zhou Jiping in 2014 after China and Russia signed a 30-year gas deal worth \$40 billion.

was about] the catastrophe and suffering of the people in the 1990s — all those who live in the former Soviet republics remember it vividly because the Soviet Union was no more. It's not just that many people found themselves without homes. Humanitarian ties and family ties were disrupted. There was a huge decline in quality of life. Life expectancy dropped significantly. My president was talking about the impact on human beings. We recognize and fully respect the sovereignty of our neighbours who choose to be called newly independent states and we are building or have built normal interstate relations with them.

Concerning economic integration, we

partners, the U.S., France and Great Britain, share the same goals and the same responsibility to keep the world peaceful and secure. To artificially seek confrontation or to put ourselves in a confrontational mode doesn't benefit Russia and I'm sure it doesn't benefit China. And it is my longstanding conviction that it also doesn't benefit the national interest of the nations of the West. A peaceful and predictable environment is good for the economy, I always wanted to witness the moment when all nations finally understand that we are living in the 21st Century and some things — like Cold War or Bloc confrontation and building alliances against each other — are matters



This pro-Ukrainian rally took place near the Shevchenko Monument in Simferopol during the Russian military intervention in Ukraine in 2014.



Shown here is the failed 1991 Soviet coup d'état attempt, also known as the August Coup, which was an effort made by Soviet communist hardliners to take control away from Mikhail Gorbachev.

of the past. We now face too many global threats where we are in the same boat, be it COVID or another future unknown disease. The terrorist threat isn't eradicated. We have huge global challenges: the income gap, poverty in many regions, disparity in the level of development. Poverty brings unrest, local conflict, regional wars. We are among those nations who can make positive impacts. That's why we have to co-operate and not retreat to our bloc quarters. When the global pandemic started, there was hope that humanity could unite, but unfortunately, [antagonism] prevailed. Many powerful actors acted first in their self-interest.

Regarding Russia and China, we agree on several [things.] We are strong proponents of keeping the UN-centric in-

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ternational system. We resist attempts to create different types of coalitions outside the UN Charter philosophy. For me, as a former policy planner, it's troubling that there's a rules-based international order and nobody actually can explain what it means. If we all have rules written in the UN Charter, isn't that enough? What is this rules-based international system? If it's a synonym for the UN Charter, we don't have to invent a new formula. If it's not, it would be nice to have an explanation of what type of rules and who will invent them for the rest of the world?

Many say it's a game of words and leave it to the academics to discuss the nu-

ances, but it's a dangerous tendency that can be finalized in subverting the UN authority and we would prefer to avoid that scenario. That philosophy unites Russia and China. If you remember, it was more than a year ago that President Putin proposed that P5 [permanent members of the Security Council] have a special summit. China supported it, France and Britain supported it and our American friends are still studying the proposal. I hope that such an event can take place because it's really overdue.

Outside the P5 — in many countries, they want to be assured that there is no confrontation, growing to some kind of kinetic conflict. My assessment would be that such potential conflict would immediately escalate into a global, strategic and nuclear one. That would be a disaster. To avoid that, everybody has to tread carefully and exercise a responsible approach. I don't think the current policy of the U.S. to demonize and antagonize China is a proper one because building new dividing lines in the Asia-Pacific and creating new blocs adds to the adversarial mode. All those attempts will fail because you can't contain such nations as China and you cannot contain Russia. It's not a good international approach.

DM: Can we talk about press freedom? It's guaranteed in Russia's constitution, but Russia ranked 150 out of 180 in the *Press Freedom Index* in 2021. Why is that?

OS: I don't know. Who creates those rankings? Probably you won't believe me, but freedom of press and freedom of speech in Russia are at a much higher level than some countries in the West that proclaim themselves liberal democracies. I remember when I was in Washington, D.C., that some newspapers just refused to publish an opinion from the embassy because it was in their editorial policy that they weren't interested in this topic.

DM: But you were thinking what? That the ownership or the government weren't interested?

OS: I think the editorial board, many of them, exercise self-censure. The topics that go against the politically accepted mainstream aren't given an opportunity to be voiced. In Russia, there are so many media outlets. Especially now that we've totally switched to digital media. We can get all the diverse opinions on the internet, social platforms and the printed press. The oppositional printed press exists. There are many outlets and sometimes they're very biting pieces. I've

NATO'S STATEMENT ON ITS RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

Since the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, NATO has been working to build a partnership and dialogue with Russia, including through the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), a forum for consultation on security issues and co-operation.

All practical civilian and military co-operation under the NRC with Russia has been suspended since April 2014, in response to Russia's military intervention and aggressive actions in Ukraine, and its illegal and illegitimate annexation of Crimea, which NATO allies do not and will not recognize.

While NATO stands by its international commitments, Russia has breached the values, principles and commitments that underpin the NATO-Russia relationship (as outlined in the 1997 Basic Document of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, the 1997 NATO-Russia Founding Act and the 2002 Rome Declaration.) Russia has broken the trust at the core of our co-operation, and has challenged the fundamental principles of the global and Euro-Atlantic security architecture. Nevertheless, channels of political and military communication remain open to allow an exchange of information on issues of mutual interest and concern, reduce misunderstandings and increase predictability.

Allies' concerns about Russia's destabilizing actions and policies go beyond Ukraine. They include provocative military activities near NATO's borders, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea; irresponsible and aggressive nuclear rhetoric, military posture and underlying doctrine; and hybrid actions, including attempted interference in election processes, widespread disinformation campaigns and malicious cyber activities.

In October 2021, NATO withdrew the accreditation of eight members of the Russian Mission to NATO, who were undeclared Russian intelligence officers, and decided to reduce the number of accredited Russian diplomats. This decision was based on intelligence.

Also in October 2021, Russia decided to suspend the work of its diplomatic mission to NATO, and required NATO to suspend its military liaison mission in Moscow and cease the functioning of the NATO Information Office in Moscow. NATO regrets Russia's decision; nevertheless, NATO's policy towards Russia remains consistent. The Alliance has strengthened its deterrence and defence in response to Russia's aggressive actions, while at the same time remaining open to dialogue. This dual-track approach does not change.

The NATO-Russia Council remains an important platform for dialogue. NATO proposed in February 2020 to hold another meeting of the NATO-Russia Council, and that proposal stands. The ball is in Russia's court.

never heard of any restraints that are legally established.

DM: So the measures imposed in 2014 that extended state control over the media have had no effect?

OS: We have some measures taken. If a media outlet is primarily financed from abroad, it has to register as a foreign-sponsored outlet. That's it. There was an outcry about that, but it doesn't restrict them.

DM: When I interviewed your predecessor 14 years ago, he told me that Russia was going to become democratic and that I just had to be patient.

OS: How do you assess the nature of democracy? If a country has an elected

parliament, elected president, elected local officials, is it a democracy or is a democracy of a certain pattern? In the 1990s, we were talking a lot about Russia, which then just found itself a country without communist ideology and we had to build new institutions — an elected president, elected parliament and a new constitution, etc. That question was topical at that time — whether Russia can become a democracy — a democracy [like] the United States. Actually, our constitution was written with the help of American experts. Or whether it will be a democracy as in France or in Germany — which are different types of democracies. Great Britain is a monarchy, but it's still considered a democratic state. I believe every country builds its own sovereign



Russian President Vladimir Putin and Chinese President Xi Jinping, shown here visiting the Moscow zoo, both believe in multilateralism, Stepanov says.



In 2010, Vladimir Putin arrived at the 14th International Biker Rally in Sevastopol, Crimea, riding a Harley tricycle decorated with the Russian and Ukrainian flags. At the time, he was prime minister of Russia.

democracy that corresponds to the national character and history and certain national peculiarities that reflect the model of that country and taking that all in context, I believe Russia is a democracy.

DM: Even though Putin has been in power for decades?

OS: Yes, but Chancellor Merkel was in power also for decades.

DM: But Putin has taken measures to solidify his ability to remain in power. What do you say to that?

OS: I would say Putin enjoys the support of the majority of the population and his stay as president is a reflection of the will of the people. He did tremendous things to stabilize Russia economically, create much better living conditions for the people and develop the country socially and technologically. Everyone who has had an opportunity to see Russia in the 1990s, 2000s and now, would not deny there's been tremendous progress. That's just a reflection of objective reality.

DM: Is Russia limiting Europe's oil and gas supplies and cutting off supplies to Ukraine by striking a deal with Hungary?

OS: No, I don't think so. As far as I know, the existing transit agreements with Ukraine are valid to 2024 or 2025. We intend to keep the gas flow to Ukraine through all the existing pipelines. I'm not a big expert in pipelines, but I kind of follow what is published on the topic and for more than a decade, the EU has been building an interconnected system in order to be flexible about switching the flows of gas and oil in case of emergency. I understand that the internal European market has adapted quite well. And Gazprom signs contracts all the time with different countries, but not at the expense of Ukraine.

DM: Some analysts have suggested Russia could be holding back supplies to speed up approval of the newly built Nord Stream 2 pipeline running directly from Russia to Germany.

OS: That's absolutely not true. And frankly speaking, that's disinformation. During the heightened demand in Europe in the last months, Gazprom was increasing the flow of gas within the capabilities it has. There was an increase of, like, 10 per cent. And you have to understand, of course, it's a commercial enterprise.

DM: State-owned, though.

OS: I mean the fulfilment of contracts between Gazprom and Europe.

DM: Switching to Iran, Russia is a member of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) to revive a nuclear deal with Iran. I know it's only Day 2 of talks, but how optimistic are you?

OS: We believe that JCPOA has to be renewed or revived. There were so many diplomatic efforts and talents when it was initially constructed. It's a very delicate system of checks and balances. It was a pity that the previous U.S. administration decided to do away with it. I hope common ground will be found again. It will bring more to the political environment around Iran and the region and Russia, in parallel with JCPOA. Several years ago, we introduced an idea to build a platform of peace and security by the Gulf region. Our position and hope is that the interests of major regional players, be they Iran, Israel, Saudi Arabia, other countries of the Gulf — as well as Turkey — can be reconciled and we can reflect on the Helsinki Process to think about something along those lines for the Gulf region. There is interest — we shared our ideas with all the partners — the Gulf states, the Israelis and the Ira-



Stepanov says NATO "began its enlargement despite the promises that were given to Mikhail Gorbachev," shown here in 1986.

nians. We believe that at some point the conditions will be right to approach it not only theoretically, but practically. Whatever works for creating a more peaceful Middle East will be in harmony with Russian interests.

DM: Some experts have said that the annexation of Crimea was to give Russia a warm-water port, but that it doesn't give Russia enough supply of needed water, which is why Russia is seeking to expand further. Why is this?

OS: We don't see any expansion and you would understand that I would disagree with the term annexation. There was a referendum and there was a majority of the population that expressed its will.

We are working on solving the water issues in Crimea. There are some ideas of building new pipelines, building desalination plants or using other methods. The unfortunate thing is that the major water supply to Crimea goes from the Ukrainian territories and the Ukrainian authorities decided to cut off the water supply, which is totally unacceptable from the point of view of international humanitarian law. It's just an attempt to deprive people of natural living supplies. The solution will be found, but I hope that the behaviour of the government of Kyiv wouldn't go unnoticed. Western capitals are very often consumed by the humanitarian condition of people in different parts of the world, but unfortunately, turn a blind eye when it comes to Russia. ■



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Redirecting support for Haitian orphanages

By Sarah Forrest and Morgan Wienberg

The devastating 7.0 magnitude earthquake that struck Haiti in 2010 dominated headlines around the world. Seeing the images of the destruction from her home in Whitehorse, then-18-year-old Morgan Wienberg was inspired to help.

Wienberg travelled to Haiti and began volunteering in an orphanage, where she quickly learned the dark reality of the orphanage system. The majority of the children in the orphanage were not orphans in the traditional sense, but instead were economic orphans — children who had been separated from their families because their parents could not afford to care for them. This is true for more than 80 per cent of children living in orphanages worldwide. Even worse, shocking abuse and neglect were taking place, which is the case in the majority of Haiti's orphanages. There are more than 750 orphanages in Haiti, 95 per cent of which fail to meet national minimum standards of care. Most operate as for-profit businesses, exploiting children to receive foreign aid and volunteers. The harmful outcomes for children are countless, and include neglect, abuse, slavery and human trafficking.

Motivated to help create positive sustainable change for children and their families, Wienberg and fellow Canadian Sarah Martin co-founded Little Footprints Big Steps (LFBS) in 2011. Based in Les Cayes, Haiti, LFBS's team of Haitian child protection agents, medical professionals and advocates work with local authorities to reunify separated children with their families or find alternative, community-based care. Once a child's family has been traced, LFBS assesses the family's overall state of vulnerability and develops a plan for family strengthening. This requires making sure that a child has access to education, housing, nutrition and medical care. It also addresses the root cause of why that child was separated from his or her family in the first place, which for most families is poverty. Addressing poverty requires empowering parents to have a means of income generation. LFBS runs two initiatives that promote income opportunities — business start-ups and agriculture and livestock farming.

In August 2021, Haiti was hit with another powerful earthquake, this time centred in the southwest where LFBS is



Little Footprints Big Steps staff members evaluate housing repairs.



The charity was founded to create positive sustainable change for children and their families in Haiti.

located. More than 800,000 people were affected, with 12,000 injured, 2,200 killed, and 137,000 homes destroyed or damaged,

as were medical facilities, schools, government buildings and businesses.

The LFBS team sprang into action, providing emergency relief to children, their families and communities. Since the earthquake hit, LFBS has reached nearly 3,000 families in 29 different communities with emergency aid. As focus transitions to long-term recovery efforts, LFBS is preparing to co-ordinate housing repairs and reconstruction, small business reinforcement and mental health support for the most deeply affected survivors.

In addition to programming in child well-being and development, family and community development and community health, LFBS works to educate on how to better facilitate foreign aid. Mistakes by the international community in 2010 must not be repeated. It is critical that donors and organizations direct their donations and relief to the Haitian people, and that foreign aid does not undermine Haitian laws, the economy or the work of local



A Little Footprints Big Steps staff member facilitates training on anti-violence and abuse prevention in a school.

authorities. There are many trustworthy, locally based organizations in Haiti that work directly with Haitian communities.

It is now illegal to start new orphanages in Haiti. The 2010 earthquake saw a huge increase in the number of orphanages and authorities are still trying to shut them all down. Orphanages harm children. North American donors represent 83 per cent of funding to Haitian orphanages, more than US \$100 million annually. An enormous opportunity exists to redirect the flow of funds from orphanages to support children in family environments. In Haiti — and around the world — there's a growing movement to support child-protection reform and the process of deinstitutionalizing children in favour of family and community-based care. Positive change is happening and possible. Those who want to help vulnerable children must join this movement by supporting local, community-based organizations that work in collaboration with Haitian authorities to support children in family and community settings.

Sarah Forrest is the director of philanthropy and communications at LFBS and Morgan Wienberg is executive director and co-founder.

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Mexico-Canada: A strategic relationship



By Juan José Gómez Camacho

In recent years, the strategic relationship between Mexico and Canada has continued to consolidate, in large part because of the strong business ties and increasing trade opportunities between both countries. With the implementation of CUSMA, which came into effect July 1, 2020, the economic relationship between Mexico and Canada could reach a new level of integration that will benefit each country.

Economic ties between Mexico and Canada are robust. In 2019, Canada imported \$20.4 billion of goods and services from Mexico. In 2020, due to COVID, Canada imported more than \$16 billion worth, making it Mexico's third most important trading partner. The top Canadian imports from Mexico are autos, electronic and electrical machinery, agricultural products and industrial machinery.

On the flipside, Canada exported more than \$8.2 billion in goods and services to Mexico in 2019 and \$6.9 billion in 2020, a reduction also explained by COVID's impact on global trade. Canada's top exports to Mexico include agricultural products, particularly canola and wheat; auto parts; metals and minerals; industrial machinery; chemicals and plastics. The broad range of items shows the relationship is diversified and complementary.

From Mexico's point of view, Canada remains its fifth most important commercial partner and the second destination of Mexican exports. Canada is also the third-largest investor in Mexico, and in 2020, Canadian companies invested more than \$28.8 billion in Mexico's advanced manufacturing, financial, energy and mining sectors.

Despite these impressive figures, CUSMA remains a crucial mechanism



Then-Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto, then-U.S. president Donald Trump and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau sign the new CUSMA agreement during the 2018 G20 summit.

that will increase the dynamism of the commercial relationship while promoting the development of more regional value chains. New chapters in CUSMA bolster the automotive sector, strengthen the environment and labour compliance mechanisms and establish rules for digital commerce. CUSMA is also a novel instrument because it expands opportunities for SMEs, the youth and companies led by women and Indigenous populations. The empowerment of women and youth has been a particular priority for the Embassy of Mexico in Canada, in close co-ordination with my counterparts in Mexico.

While Mexico remains positioned as an attractive destination for investment due to its dynamic internal market, a population of nearly 130 million people and a network of 14 free trade agreements with 50 countries, modernizing its infrastructure is critical to facilitating trade within North America and improving its competitiveness. For example, several commercial rail projects are in the process of consolidating, allowing the transport of goods to be more secure and competitive, with a positive effect for many other economic sectors.

There are many opportunities to continue to grow in the automotive, electronics, aerospace, mining and agricultural sectors. We have also continued working with Canada to explore collaboration opportunities in newer sectors such as artificial intelligence, medical device production and the fintech industry.

Mexico is also emphasizing the development of its southeastern states, which presents a unique opportunity for Canadian investors. Infrastructure initiatives, such as the Mayan Train or the Inter-Oceanic Isthmus of Tehuantepec Corridor that will connect and modernize the transport infrastructure between the Pacific Ocean and the Mexican Caribbean, are unique projects with a significant economic upside and important social benefits.

Recently, the trade ministers of North America got together for the first session of the Free Trade Commission of CUSMA. Mexico's objective was to continue building the most competitive region and increase our integrated production capacities as a source of growth and job creation for the three countries.

The COVID-19 pandemic has brought many lessons, one of which is recognizing the importance of working together with our partners in the region. To accelerate the post-pandemic economic recovery, Mexico and Canada must work together to promote vaccination, a gradual reopening of the borders and the consolidation of economic ties.

Mexico and Canada are friends and partners who share many common goals. We also recognize our shared challenges and have the opportunity to address them to benefit all peoples in North America.

Juan José Gómez Camacho is Mexico's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at by email at aambassadorcan@sre.gob.mx or by phone, (613) 233-2455.

The Bahamas' new growth ministry



Chanelle Brown

The Bahamas, as a low-lying, small island developing state (SIDS), is not only recovering from the weather and pandemic-induced disasters of the past, but also preparing for the future. Prime Minister Philip Davis gave a much-lauded speech at the United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP 26) in which he cautioned the world to take urgent action on climate change before it is too late. Considering the existential threat posed by climate change, the Bahamian government's transformative approach to development and growth has become necessary if the nation wishes to recover from the crises of the past while preparing for the storms of tomorrow.

The newly formed economic affairs ministry is tasked with driving growth. During his inaugural contribution to the Senate, Economic Affairs Minister Michael Halkitis outlined the approach to economic development following the deadly Hurricane Dorian and COVID-19 pandemic that have exposed the risks associated with the current tourism-dependent economic model. "As the government prepares to put the worst days of the pandemic behind us," Halkitis said, "we are initiating key drivers of economic growth. If the past few years have taught us anything, it is that we cannot continue with business as usual."

While the nation's tourism sector was severely impacted by COVID-19, the financial services sector (the second pillar of the Bahamian economy) has proven resilient. The country has billed itself as a safe harbour for financial services and investments, with an emphasis on its measured approach to innovation, development of local expertise and jurisdictional advan-



In 2020, The Bahamas sent \$13 million worth of goods to Canada. Shown here is the Bahamian capital, Nassau.

tages. As a result of this approach, The Bahamas has emerged as a global leader in financial services over the past several decades. Its prospects seem set to grow even more as the country positions itself to become a fintech hub.

FTX, the world's third-largest cryptocurrency exchange, recently moved its headquarters from Hong Kong to The Bahamas. FTX owner Sam Bankman-Fried referred to the government's recent actions as positioning the island nation to be the "Dubai of crypto." The move was facilitated by the Digital Assets and Registered Exchanges (DARE) legislation passed in 2020. DARE has been hailed as one of the top legislative frameworks for cryptocurrencies and digital assets in the world.

This is far from the only innovation the Bahamian government is pursuing. On the immediate agenda is the revamping of the national investment framework and promotional strategy to streamline the process for local and international investors, with the economic affairs ministry taking the lead on domestic investment. The goal is to diversify the economy by attracting investments in undeveloped areas within tourism, as well as industries beyond tourism. The government has pledged to develop the orange, green and blue economies to create diverse opportunities across multiple sectors.

The ministry of economic affairs will

also be working towards significantly improving the ease of doing business within The Bahamas to support a pro-business and pro-investment environment. This change will be a vital component of the government's ongoing digital transformation efforts, which Halkitis says will "completely transform the way government does business in every way conceivable."

The Bahamian government plans to become an international arbitration centre to support the development of new industries and the attraction of diverse investments to its shores. At the end of 2021, the government was in the process of crafting an international commercial arbitration bill that incorporates the United Nations Commission on International Law's model law and enhances The Bahamas as a preferred jurisdiction for international commercial arbitration.

Even when it comes to trade, our typically import-dependent country is exploring new opportunities, with a particular focus on the integration of micro, small and medium enterprises. There will be particular efforts to link the Caribbean-Canada Trade Agreement with the empowering women and youth initiative and increasing opportunities within the orange, green and blue economies.

In 2020, Canada exported \$121 million worth of goods to The Bahamas while it imported \$13 million in goods. Canada's main exports were animals and animal products, vegetables, fats, oils and waxes, food and mineral products. The Bahamas sent mineral and chemical products to Canada, as well as antiques, animals and animal products and machinery and electrical products.

Canadians currently invest in second properties in The Bahamas and also in resort projects.

Halkitis acknowledged the ambitious portfolio under his remit and framed the many elements of the ministry's agenda as a part of "a single, country-wide plan for progressive change" as the nation modernizes for global competitiveness.

Chanelle P. Brown is the counsellor, consul and acting high commissioner for The Bahamas. Reach her by email at ottawa.mission@bahighco.com or by calling (613) 232- 1724

A post-pandemic ASEAN strategy



By Chee Leong Lee

Canada's engagement with Asia is shaped by its expanding trade ties with China toward the end of the 2000s. Apart from being Canada's largest trading partner in Asia (third largest overall after the U.S. and EU), China also far superseded its Japanese and Korean counterparts in terms of their overall trade values with the Great White North in 2019. Given China's significance to Canadian trade abroad, it is not an exaggeration to claim that Canada's Asia strategy is, in fact, a China-plus strategy.

But with Canada-China relations still stinging from the long-time detainment of Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig, there is an urgent need to rethink this strategy for Asia. As argued by Ethan Lou in a CBC opinion piece, the pandemic offered an opportunity for Canada to diversify its trade away from the Chinese market and, as such, reduce its exposure to a range of political-economic-public health risks that Ottawa experienced before and during the pandemic. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) offers that opportunity and Canada has punched below its weight in recent years with less than significant engagements in this vibrant region.

Current bilateral co-operation

Canada is not new to ASEAN. Being a dialogue partner to the grouping since 1977, Canada-ASEAN ties have largely been characterized by standard development assistance and modest economic engagements from both sides.

As a donor, Canada has provided a list of standard development assistance that is critical to ASEAN's long-term progress. As specified within the plan of action to implement the joint declaration on ASEAN-Canada Enhanced Partnership



The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is headquartered in South Jakarta, Indonesia and shown here.

(2021-2025), the Canadian government is a partner for women's and children's issues and it also supported the development of ASEAN small-and-medium enterprises (SMEs) through the Canada-OECD project for ASEAN SMEs. Similarly, the Canada-ASEAN Scholarships and Educational Exchanges for Development (SEED) program, a hallmark of Canada's deepening engagement with ASEAN, has also been established to reduce poverty in the Southeast Asian member countries and to help realize the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

That said, Canada-ASEAN economic engagement is modest at best. As of 2019, Canada was ASEAN's ninth-ranked merchandise trading partner with a total trade value of US \$17.1 billion. The Southeast Asian grouping, meanwhile, was Canada's sixth largest merchandise trade partner in 2018, with values of US \$20.7 billion that year. As for investment and educational exchanges, Canada is ASEAN's eighth most important source (US\$ 3.2 billion) of foreign direct investment (FDI) in 2019 while more than 35,000 Southeast Asian students had chosen Canada as their educational destination before 2018. Should a comprehensive economic part-

nership deal be sealed in the near future, the room for growth in these economic areas will be colossal for both Canada and ASEAN.

Synergizing Canada-ASEAN relations

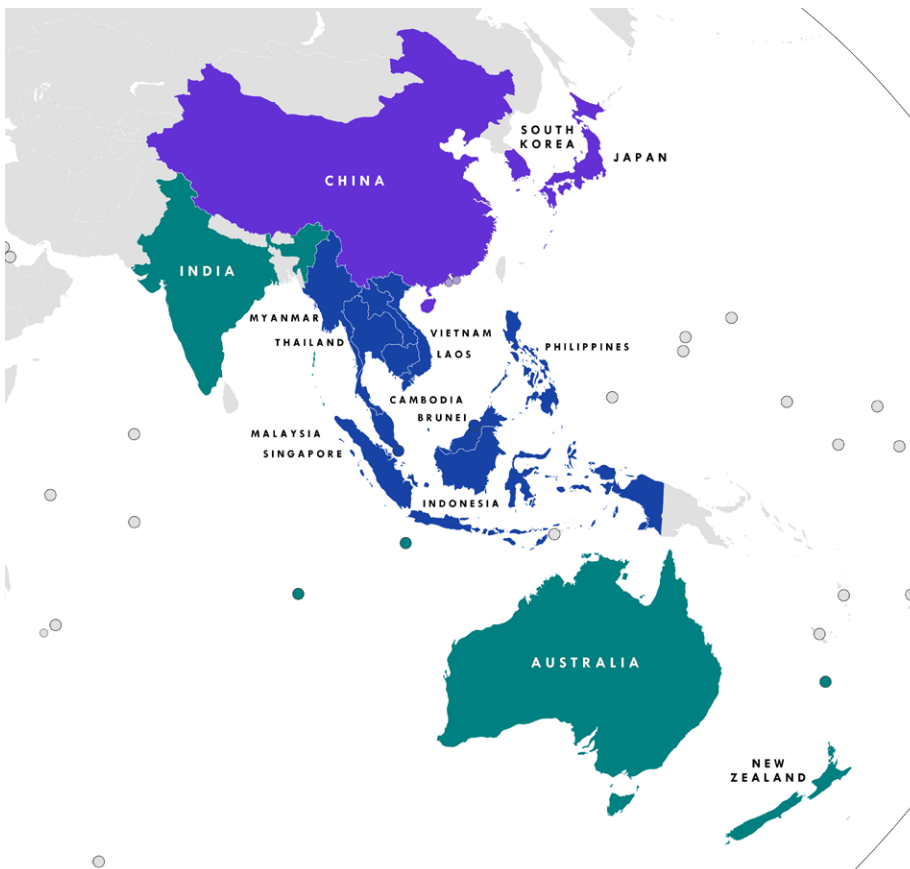
Notwithstanding the two facets of bilateral co-operation, Canada and ASEAN have yet to reap substantial benefits from the current Asian strategy as pursued by the Canadian government. Instead of continuing the China-plus strategy for Asia, it is timely for Canada to come out with an ASEAN strategy that will synergize bilateral relations through an adjustment of the two facets of co-operation.

Above all, an ASEAN strategy should deviate from the standard developmental assistance approach that is practised by Canada today. Instead of treating ASEAN as yet another developing region and focusing its assistance on poverty reduction and the realization of the 2030 Agenda, Canada should concentrate on the areas the Southeast Asian region urgently needs.

Drawing from its SEED program's success, the Trudeau government can conceptualize and implement a single hallmark program in aiding Southeast Asia within the three areas of sustainable develop-



The 10 member states of ASEAN are Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.



The dialogue partners of ASEAN, namely the Plus 3 (China, Japan, South Korea in purple) and Plus 6 (India, Australia, New Zealand in green, with China, Japan and South Korea to make six) groups are shown here. ASEAN members are blue.

ment: gender equality, public health and food security. In particular, public health co-operation could be readily kick-started between both sides, considering the ongoing COVID-19 wave in Southeast Asia and Canada's vaccine reserves, which could be donated to needy ASEAN countries in the short-term. Even the SEED program itself can be revamped to include hosting young ASEAN bureaucrats, policy-makers and researchers with fellowships in Canada with the aim of increasing elite exchanges between these future Southeast Asian leaders and their Canadian counterparts.

In addition, an ASEAN strategy should use Canada's sectoral advantages in its exploratory economic partnership with the Southeast Asian region. While a comprehensive economic partnership deal with ASEAN is on Canada's radar, any conclusion of such a deal in the near future should focus on selling high-quality Canadian goods and services to the burgeoning middle class in ASEAN. As highlighted by the *ASEAN Advantage Report* back in 2017, five sectors have been identified for Canada's new economic co-operation with the Southeast Asian grouping: agriculture, natural resources and products; industrial machinery and equipment; infrastructure; transport and aerospace; as well as services.

The services sector has shown its resilience and potential even as ASEAN countries have been battling the pandemic. Despite national lockdowns that impacted many sectors, Southeast Asia's e-commerce market continued to expand at a rate of 36 per cent regionally. As highlighted by the *e-Economy Report 2020* published by Google, Temasek and Bain, Indonesia and Vietnam are the two most promising e-commerce markets that have expanded above the regional rate, at 37 per cent and 41 per cent respectively. As such, aspiring Canadian e-businesses should explore co-operation in the three areas relevant to the e-commerce market: ICT, financing and transport services.

By adjusting the two facets of co-operation, Canada and ASEAN will achieve a much-needed synergy that will improve bilateral ties. This strategy will not only consolidate Canada's donor position vis-à-vis ASEAN, but will also benefit its economic fortunes in the post-pandemic era.

An alumnus of the University of Manitoba, Chee Leong Lee (Karl) is currently the collaborative fellow with Anbound Malaysia, an independent think-tank based in Kuala Lumpur. He holds a PhD from Monash University in Australia.

The legacy of Angela Merkel



FIRST NAME: Sabine

LAST NAME: Sparwasser

CITIZENSHIP: German

NAMED AS AMBASSADOR::
Aug. 31, 2017

PREVIOUS JOBS: Ottawa (2003-2006)
and Toronto (2009-2013)

Children in Germany have been known to ask their parents: is it possible for a man to become chancellor in Germany? Not an unreasonable question if you were born after the turn of the millennium.

For 16 years, from 2005 to 2021, Angela Merkel has been at the helm of government in Germany. She has led the most populous and prosperous country of the EU and became, over the years, the

case of a leader who leaves office voluntarily, at the time of her own making and in her manner of choice. Many people are sad to see her go; she represented reliability and constancy in a turbulent time, a voice of reason and science. She was “the adult in the room” and, certainly, a chancellor for the history books.

She was Germany’s first female chancellor. In a country and a party that had defined women longer than others by the

undisputed prima inter pares in the European Union and an outstanding international leader within the G7, the G20 and the world.

After four unusually demanding terms in office, she has decided not to run again in a rare

three Cs (children, cooking and church,) the young scientist from Eastern Germany rose steadily through the political ranks in the 1990s. She made the hard choices when her party was being torn apart by a sponsorship scandal. She took over its reins when it was down and out. (These are, by the way, often the moments when women have been allowed to take positions of power).

And, to the surprise and dismay of many of her male competitors who had seen Angela Merkel as a transitional solution, she stayed. She stayed, rebuilt and led her party to four consecutive victories. She answered the question of whether women can run Germany once and for all.

Merkel steered the country with a steady hand through an era of upsets and crises. The financial meltdown in 2008, the Euro-crisis, the hardening relationship with Russia, a complex transatlantic period under then-U.S. president Donald Trump, the new assertiveness of China, the obvious reality of climate change and its consequences, the pandemic and the migration crisis.



Angela Merkel stepped down last autumn after 16 years as Germany's chancellor. Children in Germany have been known to ask if it's possible to become chancellor if you're a man.



Welcoming more than a million Syrian refugees to Germany, some of whom are shown here, was Angela Merkel's greatest moment, according to Ambassador Sparwasser.



Then-chancellor Merkel met U.S. President Joe Biden at the White House in July.

The refugee crisis in 2015 when she said “Wir schaffen das” (“We can do this”) and welcomed more than a million people from Syria and other countries into Germany was certainly one of the defining moments of Merkel’s career. She demonstrated her deeply felt Christian values and — having grown up behind a wall — her strong commitment to freedom. It was her greatest moment.

But it cost her politically; the xenophobic political right in Germany grew after 2015. Some European partners were unhappy. After the initial welcome of so many newcomers, ways had to be found to control migration flows. Negotiations with Turkey resulted in many difficult decisions.

At a time when many countries have turned towards populists and macho

leaders, Angela Merkel has stood out internationally for her leadership qualities. Hers is a fact- and science-based approach; she does not grandstand, uses no inflammatory rhetoric, never vilifies. Rather, she dissects problems into their component parts — reflecting her education as a scientist — and attempts to solve them one by one. Her grasp of detail is said to be phenomenal. Her stamina is legendary; she has spent many nights in long negotiations — in the EU, with Russia, at the G7.

Merkel once won a German election with the slogan “Sie kennen mich” (“You know me”). And it’s true: She has become the face of Germany in those 16 years. In the first year of the pandemic, she — untypically for her — talked often to the nation, admonishing, advising and explaining why the protection of life justified restricting individual freedoms. The nickname “Mutti” (Mother) stuck to her.

But at the same time, she has been an intensely private person. The private Merkel we do not know; neither she nor her husband ever allowed the media into their home nor did they publicly talk about personal matters. Throughout her years as chancellor, she lived and will continue to live in a normal private apartment in Berlin-Mitte.

She will have more time to spend weekends at her cottage in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. She has not said what she would like to do in the future. Many would love to see her run for high international office, write her memoirs, become a fixture on the public appearance circuit. We shall see.

In the meantime, she has managed a democratic transition as it ought to be done. She has introduced her successor, Olaf Scholz, to G20 leaders and has consulted with him over the last few months to help ease his way into this uniquely challenging position. As her vice-chancellor and finance minister for many years, Scholz is uniquely prepared to take up his new responsibilities. The disciplined coalition negotiations of the last weeks of 2021, resulting in clear commitments and projects outlined in the coalition agreement, are reassuring European and international friends that Germany will continue to have strong and reliable leadership.

It is rumoured in Berlin that Angela Merkel has chosen a famous German chanson to be played at the Grand Tattoo for her departure. It is the song of a woman demanding of life: *Für mich sollt's rote Rosen regnen* (It should rain red roses for me.) A strong choice, Chancellor. I so hope it will rain roses for you. ■



iStock: Photo Beto

North and Central American Task Force on Migration

A Regional Response to Migration and Displacement in the Americas

The crisis at the U.S. border and in Mexico of an influx of thousands of migrants, displaced persons and unaccompanied minors mostly from Central America and within Mexico itself is a major international humanitarian and refugee crisis that requires immediate action. Not only are lives threatened and the situation becoming increasingly dire with each passing day, but also the possibilities of the Biden Administration to come up with a more humane system and put an end to 16 years of immigration gridlock is becoming more constrained.

The situation can only be resolved by a comprehensive, regional response that not only addresses the safety and well-being of these migrants and forcibly displaced persons, but also addresses the deep-rooted causes of this crisis. As the World Refugee & Migration Council, the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, the Migration Policy Institute, Inter-American Dialogue and other groups are now urging, the imperative of addressing migration and forced displacement needs a collaborative strategy and cooperative action, which transcends partisan politics, rather than appeals to close borders which push the problem onto neighboring countries.

Task Force Co-Chairs

Secretary Madeleine Albright, former U.S. Secretary of State

Hon. Lloyd Axworthy, Chair, World Refugee & Migration Council, former Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs

Lic. Mayu Brizuela de Avila, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, El Salvador

Dr. Julieta Castellanos, Former Rector, National Autonomous University of Honduras

Fr. Leonir Chiarello, Superior General of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Saint Charles, Scalabrinians

President Laura Chinchilla, former President of Costa Rica

Dr. Silvia Giorguli Saucedo, President, El Colegio de México

Cardinal Álvaro Ramazzini, Bishop of Huehuetenango, Guatemala

The Task Force will soon publish a report of its conclusions and recommendations focused on the following areas:

- [Humanitarian protection in the region](#), particularly for women and children who are at greatest risk, including addressing needs of internally displaced persons and building asylum/reception capacity in Central America and Mexico.
- [Cooperation and co-responsibility](#) for managing migration, focusing on enhancing regional approaches to migration in the region, building on existing mechanisms, and assessing possibilities for developing a Comprehensive Plan of Action.
- Institutional frameworks, domestic political considerations and 'push factors' in countries of origin and transit, including rule of law/governance, and corruption/accountability.
- Investment in long-term development, addressing violence/gangs, poverty/inequality; environmental and climate change. Transition from humanitarian assistance to sustainable development and engagement of local communities in Central America.
- [Strengthening regular pathways for migration](#) as an alternative to irregular migration, including family reunification, labor migration, private sponsorship and possibilities for refugee/asylum processing in the region.
- Broader questions of the narratives around migration and integration of refugees and migrants into receiving countries.

More information, interim reports and the full list of Task Force members: wormcouncil.org/TaskForce
Write info@wormcouncil.org with inquiries and to receive updates by email.



The military base at Perevalne is shown here during the occupation of Crimea and the city of Sevastopol by Russian troops in 2014.





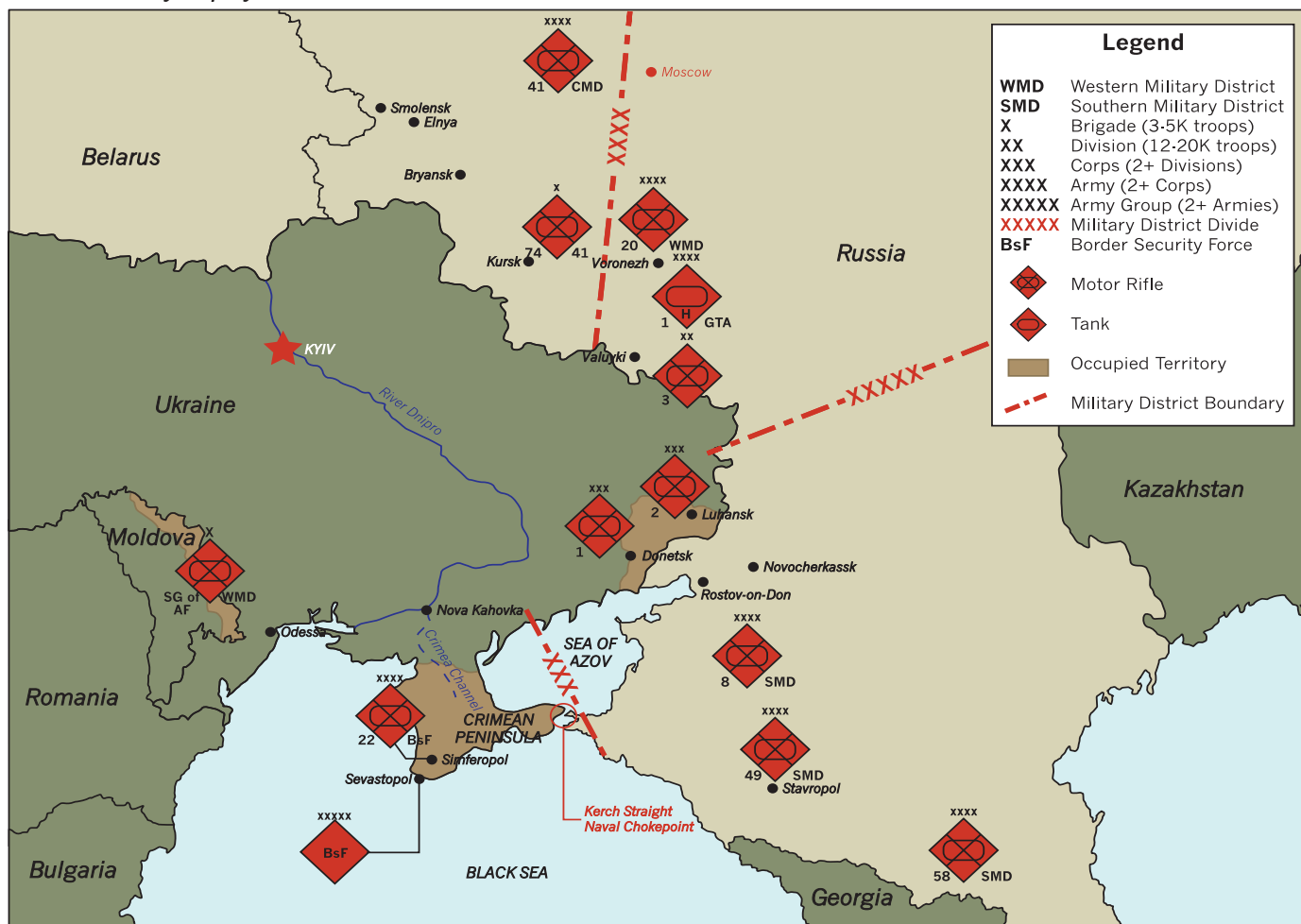
Russia prepares for war with Ukraine

Russia is using hybrid warfare against NATO's Polish and Baltic allies and, to a lesser degree, Serbia and Moldova, to position forces to potentially invade and destroy Ukraine.

By Joe Varner

Ukkraine has strayed too far into NATO's corner, as it did in 2014, and that is something Moscow will not tolerate, even if it means a ground war with NATO. The U.S. has warned that Russia may be preparing for an invasion of Ukraine similar to the one it undertook in 2014. At that time, it massed more than 100,000 forces on Ukraine's frontier and then claimed it was provoked into invasion.

Russian Military Deployment to Ukraine's Borders Fall 2021



This map shows the state of Russia's combat readiness as of Fall 2021 as it surrounds Ukraine, also using Moldova as a battle launch site. An estimated 122,000 soldiers are in position, along with military hospitals for the wounded. This doesn't include the air or naval forces in the Black Sea.

This time, as before, the Russian foreign ministry, with more than 122,000 troops massed on Ukraine's border, has said it will not invade Ukraine unless provoked. But as we entered 2022, Russia seemed to be pushing for a pretext for war. Its rhetoric against Kyiv has, for example, hit a high point. Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov has warned Canadian Foreign Minister Melanie Joly that the "nightmare scenario of military confrontation is returning to the European continent." Lavrov also cautioned that if Kyiv would not live by the Minsk Protocol of 2015 regarding the Donbas and a ceasefire, Russia would maintain it by force. Previously, Lavrov stated that if Ukraine's parliament adopted the draft law "on the principles of state policy in transition," Russia would view it as a withdrawal from the Minsk treaty and as grounds for war. Russian President Vladimir Putin also warned he is ready to take "military measures" in response to "unfriendly" Western action in

Ukraine. Recently, Russia delivered what amounted to an ultimatum to NATO, demanding a veto on future NATO membership particularly with regard to Ukraine, but it could just as easily apply to Georgia, Sweden and Finland.

Russia, after an 18-month pause, agreed to attend a Jan. 12, 2022 meeting of the Russian-NATO Council, which took place with little resolve. Russia's foreign ministry ruled out any concessions and said NATO should return to its 1997 borders. The U.S. refused to withdraw troops, particularly its forward-deployed forces in NATO countries. NATO refused to give Moscow a veto on potential new members, including Ukraine and Georgia. Some observers believe, with reason, that this Russian military build-up opposite Ukraine is Putin's attempt to pressure Biden and NATO for further concessions in Ukraine and elsewhere.

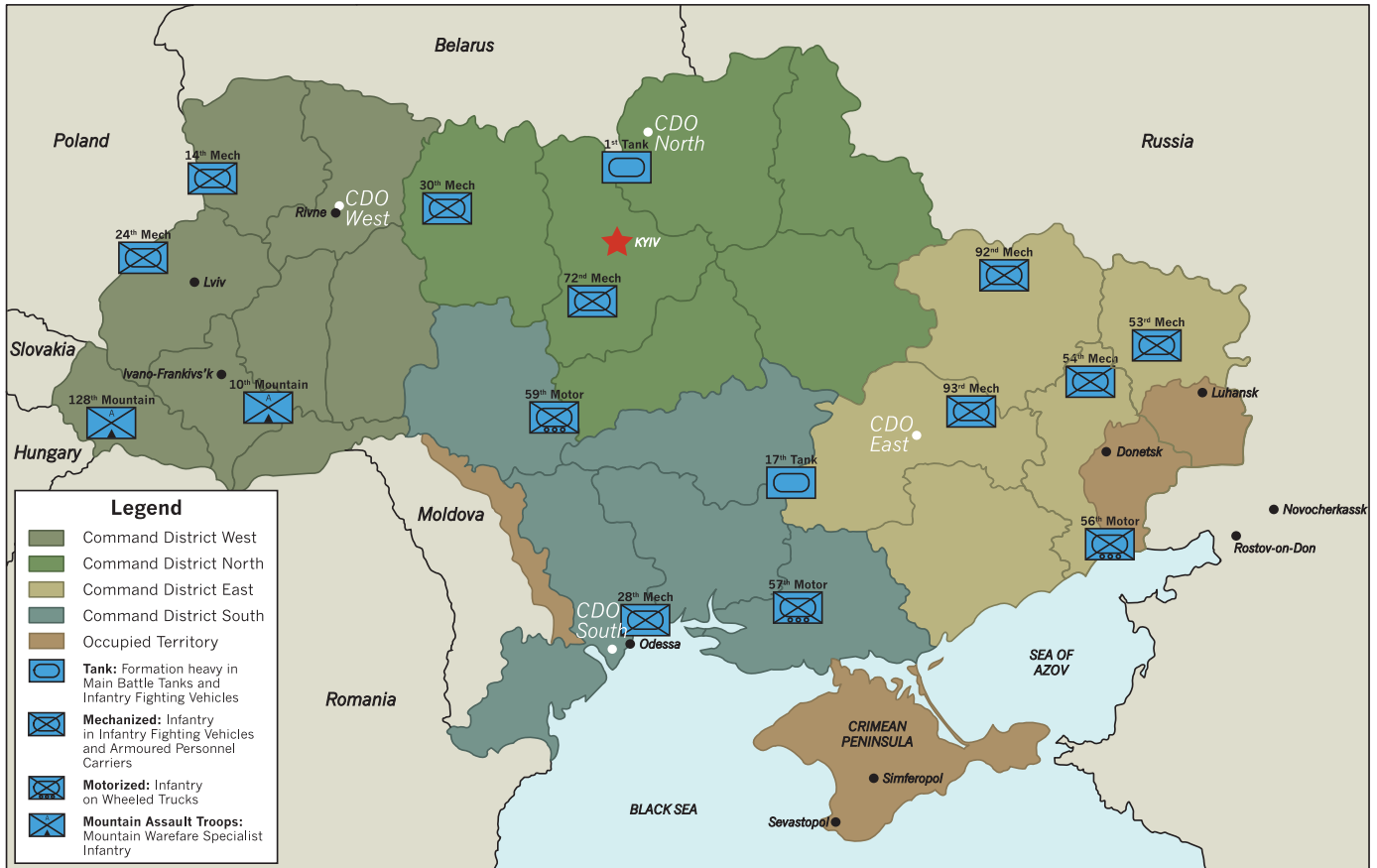
The British chief of defence staff, Gen. Nick Carter, has expressed concern that

Russia and NATO are at their most dangerous point in time since the Cold War. Former Swedish prime minister Carl Bildt has warned that a large land war is coming to Europe. Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko has asserted that if Ukraine "starts another war in Donbas" or anywhere near Russia's borders, Belarus "won't idly stand by and it's clear whose side it will take." Ukraine has further stated that Belarus could be preparing forces to assist Russia with an invasion. The recent 2021 joint Zapad war games with Russia demonstrated both countries' abilities to operate against NATO.

Putin sees three NATO threats

Russian President Vladimir Putin regards NATO as a threat to Russian security in three ways. First, he sees NATO as hampering Moscow's attempts to undermine the sovereignty of states within what it sees as its sphere of influence, including the Baltic States, Ukraine, Georgia and

Ukrainian Military Districts and Brigade Level Units



Ukraine's army is 145,000 strong and possesses 854 tanks, 2,000 armoured vehicles, 1,700 artillery systems and the military has 125 planes, 55 helicopters, 1 frigate and 9 coastal combatants. Even if Russia isn't joined by Belarusian forces, Ukraine is badly outnumbered in any fight with Russia.

Belarus. Second, in its commitment to democracy and rule of law, NATO represents a challenge to how Russia sees itself and the world. Third, Putin views NATO as attempting to subvert his regime's authority within Russia itself. NATO's expansion into Central Europe to the very doorstep of Russia had the effect of removing the strategic depth that Russia has craved since the invasion of Russia by Sweden's Charles XII in 1708. As Russia has worked hard to undermine Belarus and has successfully returned it to the Russian orbit, its efforts to do that with Ukraine have failed, plunging Kyiv further and further into the NATO orbit — something Putin refuses to tolerate. To Putin, war is an acceptable alternative to a free, independent Ukraine in the EU or NATO.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russia's military operations have focused almost exclusively — except for the Syrian Civil War, which began in 2011 and continues today, and the Libyan Civil War with the same timelines — on its neighbours and former Soviet republics. Russia has engaged in interventions to "protect"

ethnic Russian populations that further inflame ethnic conflict and create tense and unstable "frozen zones," allowing Russia to exert influence over regions and events at the expense of the U.S., NATO and Western interests. This is exactly what Russia has done in the Donbas, stoking the ethnic Russian population to revolt, to form pseudo-states. This frozen zone concept also gives Russia strategic depth to its front with NATO that was lost when the Soviet Union collapsed. This new buffer zone replaces its Warsaw Pact predecessor.

Without question it is the affairs of its neighbours that concern Putin more than anything else. In a speech before the Commonwealth of Independent States in 2014, Putin made it clear that his driving ambition, his dream, was to rebuild the Soviet empire and restore Russia to its previous great power status. Russian-backed separatists began fighting Ukrainian government forces in April 2014 and the Kremlin has sent thousands of troops and advanced weapons systems across the border into Ukraine to support the fight there on the ground. In 2014, Russia

successfully annexed the whole of Crimea and it continues to use its "near abroad" to keep the West at bay with frozen conflicts and to exert influence throughout the Central Asian region.

Russia and Belarus vs. Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia

To that end, Belarusian forces supported by Russia are increasingly engaged in hybrid warfare operations against Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. Lukashenko has said he has an agreement with Russia to safeguard Belarusian territory. Unsurprisingly, NATO's most vulnerable members — Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia — have all been targeted by Russia's "political warfare." Once encapsulated in the old Soviet concept of active measures, Russia's hybrid warfare combines political, economic, informational and cyber assaults against sovereign nations. It's designed to achieve strategic objectives while falling below the target state's threshold for a military response. Tactics include, but aren't limited to, infiltrating social media, spreading propaganda,

INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT: RUSSIA'S BATTLE PLAN AND UKRAINE'S DEFENCE PLAN

On the ground in occupied Ukraine and near the Russo-Ukrainian frontier, the Russian military has deployed a massive force of air and ground units and additional naval forces in the Black Sea geared to amphibious operations. Russia still has 122,000 troops deployed in and around Ukraine. Recent Russian troop movements over the last several months have seen elements of the 41st Combined Arms Army (CAA), 1st Guards Tank Army (GTA) and 58th CAA on the move to the north of Ukraine and are also said to be reinforcing permanently based units of the 20th and 8th CAA and 22nd Army Corps in Crimea to the south. T-80 main battle tanks, most likely of the Russian 4th Tank Division, the “spear of 1st GTA” and MST-A howitzers, are reportedly now in Maslovka, 30 kilometres from the Ukrainian border. The 1st GTA’s equipment was also observed in Voronezh and there are 32,000 Russian troops in occupied Crimea. There are reports that the 1st GTA is being reinforced with new T-90M tanks equipped with an electronic warfare (EW) system to defeat FGM-148 Javelin anti-tank missiles and Bayraktar TB2 drones. Russia has reportedly called up reserves and paramilitary forces to assist in governing and policing a Russian-occupied Ukraine.

Russian forces as deployed could carry out a massive northern and southern pincer-type attack directed at Ukraine any time they want. It is important to note that Russia used the massive September Zapad exercises to exchange equipment and reinforce logistics hubs. Iskander dual-capable short range ballistic missiles and air defences, electronic warfare, engineer and logistics units are deployed near the border. Pictures have shown lots of bridging equipment moving by rail and road and tanks equipped with mounted snorkels for river crossing. Recently, it emerged that Russia was deploying and setting up field hospitals behind its front lines and that military equipment and reserves were coming from as far away as Siberia. In a related move to a whole-of-government approach, Russia’s emergencies ministry has published new regulations governing the mass burial of bodies and animals in times of military conflict. Also recently, BM-21 Grad K multiple rocket launchers have been found in the occupied Donbas.



The Russian military forces sent to Kazakhstan in January are the same units that seized Crimea in 2014. In fact, Gen. Andrey Serdyukov, the victor of the Crimean invasion, has been sent to Kazakhstan as the commander of the Russian forces there. Pictured here are Russian tanks.

These rocket systems are not operated by Russian surrogates in the Donbas, they are only operated by the Russian army.

Russia has shut down the Sea of Azov ostensibly for live fire war games. Late December and early January saw specialized Russia equipment geared to jam NATO communications and interfere with satellites deployed opposite Ukraine, along with equipment used to move dangerous chemicals, including explosives.

This represents massive numbers of Russian ground forces and 60 combined arms battalion tactical groups (BTGs) or more than a third of Russia’s combat power on land. Regarding equipment, there are more than 1,200 tanks, 2,900 armoured vehicles, 1,600 artillery systems, 28 missile complexes, 330 planes, 240 helicopters, 75 ships and 6 submarines deployed opposite Ukraine.

More worrying, the U.S. reportedly has intelligence that Russia plans to deploy upwards of 175,000 troops or 100 BTGs against Ukraine for an invasion up to the Dnieper River and the seizure of Kyiv and the entire Black Sea coast to Moldova — likely by February. That number of BTGs would represent two thirds of Russia’s land power and recent U.S. intelligence has suggested that 50 are in place for offensive operations now. One hundred BTGs would see the deployment around Ukraine grow to a staggering 2,400 tanks, 5,800 armoured vehicles, 3,200 artillery systems, 56 missile complexes, 660 planes, 480 helicopters, 75 ships and 6 subma-

rines. Russian forces would likely strike the Ukrainian coast first, including the port city of Mariupol, to landlock Ukraine and decimate its economy by halting imports and exports by sea. In a second phase, with Ukrainian forces drawn to defend their coast, Russian forces would likely attack on an axis of Kharkov to the southeast to chill Ukraine’s defence industry while the death blow from forces to the north of Ukraine on the Russia-Belarus border would drive south to Kyiv.

If successful, and without rapid NATO intervention and support, a Russian invasion likely means the collapse of the Ukrainian state and the end of its sovereignty. Belarus will likely be absorbed formally by Russia simultaneously. Ukraine’s army, by contrast, is 145,000 strong and possesses 854 tanks, 2,000 armoured vehicles, 1,700 artillery systems and the military has 125 planes, 55 helicopters, 1 frigate and 9 coastal combatants. Even if Russia isn’t joined by Belarusian forces, Ukraine is badly outnumbered in any fight with Russia without immediate reinforcement. In a further tightening of the screws, Russia is cutting off gas, oil and coal to Ukraine in further hybrid activities.

According to the German daily newspaper *Die Welt*, NATO’s 40,000-strong rapid reaction force has been put-on five-day notice to deploy to the crisis area.

In January, without being, specific Foreign Minister Melanie Joly said Canada could send weapons to Ukraine without giving any specifics.



Tens of thousands of anti-government protesters occupied Maidan Square in January 2014. Today's threatened Russian invasion of Ukraine started as a protest in 2014 because Russia wanted to keep Ukraine from joining the European Union and NATO.

weaponizing information and using other forms of subversion, such as infiltrating political parties and front groups, economic warfare, foreign interference in democratic elections and espionage.

More violent tactics include terrorism, assassination, coups, military backing of separatist movements, insurgency and full-scale invasions by paramilitary, mercenary and military forces. Russia actively employs these tactics against NATO countries and the European Union as a means of splitting the alliance and diluting or negating its effectiveness and potential response. In the Russian strategic view, great power strategic competition is constant and the line between war and peace is virtually non-existent.

Hybrid warfare has been associated with Russian chief of the general staff Valery Gerasimov, author of the Gerasimov Doctrine, or a whole-of-government approach to confrontation with the West that employs hard and soft power across domains and boundaries between peace and war. It is a tool that supports the more-than-20-year-old Russian foreign policy doctrine formulated by former prime minister Yevgeny Primakov. The Primakov Doctrine views a unipolar world, dominated by the U.S., as unacceptable to Russia and says Russia should strive for a multipolar world that can counterbalance an American superpower. It holds that Russia should insist on its post-Soviet primacy and that it should oppose NATO expansion into its former states in Central and Southern Europe.

The conflict over Ukraine is a case in

point and as Russia's trusted proxy, Belarus continues to militarize a mass of between 8,000 and 20,000 refugees of Middle Eastern origin and push them against the borders of the Baltic states of Latvia and Lithuania as well as Poland on Russia's behalf. Belarusian forces have attempted to blind Polish border troops with lasers as Belarusian forces tried to dismantle Polish border barriers. Estonia and the U.K. have sent reinforcements to Poland as Estonia has worked to create more elaborate border wall defences. This follows reports of Belarusian forces attempting to infiltrate the Baltic states in small groups among migrants and the reported presence of Russian Spetsnaz special forces.

The strategic Suwalki Gap that connects Poland to the Baltic states is very vulnerable and would be in a state of peril if the Belarusians infiltrated the area supported by Russian special forces. The Suwalki Gap is a nightmare to defend against Russian forces with its flat narrow strip of land wedged between Belarus and Russia's Kaliningrad exclave that connects NATO-members Poland and Lithuania. The U.K. has deployed trip wire forces to the Polish border with Belarus. Russia is also stoking possible Serb withdrawal from Bosnia and Herzegovina and pro-Russian forces in Moldova. Russian hybrid operations in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo and Moldova, and against Poland and the Baltic States, are part of a distraction for Russian action against Ukraine and potential further invasion of that country as it did in 2014.

Belarus is now a vassal state likely soon to be merged with Russia. It serves as a

convenient Russian surrogate for action against NATO and a potential off ramp to escalation in what could turn into a wider conflict. It gives Russia plausible deniability and grounds to formally take over the country as a stabilizing factor if Lukashenko is seen to go too far.

Canadian soldiers in NATO-Russia 'perfect' Balkan-Baltic storm

The danger of a large European ground war is something that cannot be ignored and the potential for it to escalate into a full-on NATO-Russia conflict is a nightmare scenario. Currently, there are 540 Canadian soldiers in a NATO trip-wire force in Latvia and 200 helping to train the Ukrainian military in harm's way, with little meaningful comment from the Trudeau government in a NATO country with the world's third-largest Ukrainian diaspora. Canada's chief of defence staff, Wayne Eyre, has said no further Canadian military help will be forthcoming for Ukraine in what could be a sad foreshadowing of what is to be Ukraine's fate.

But it doesn't end there. It is hard to imagine China would sit silently while the U.S. and NATO are distracted in Europe and under pressure in the tinderbox Balkans, as vulnerable NATO member states Poland, her Baltic state cousins and Ukraine go up in flames. Chinese action either against Taiwan's Pratas Islands, Japan's Senkaku Islands, the South China Sea or India cannot be ruled out as part of Beijing's increasing strategic partnership with Moscow. This would further weaken strained U.S. strategic alliance interests in Europe and the wider Indo-Pacific and would be completely within the realm of Chinese and Russian strategic goals in their regions. Short of invasion, a great number of Chinese options exist to degrade Taiwan, including naval blockade, missile launches, hybrid, economic and cyber warfare. Any could leave Taiwan feeling abandoned as Russia rebuilds its Central European empire.

In short, the U.S. and its NATO and Indo-Pacific allies face a perfect storm for conventional war in Europe and the Pacific in early 2022 and only time will tell how far Putin and, potentially, President Xi Jinping will go in their strategic partnership to defeat Western political, economic and military power.

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The AUKUS alliance's pros

As China becomes increasingly aggressive territorially, this new alliance should stabilize the Indo-Pacific.

By J. Paul de B. Taillon and James Finan



U.S. and British vessels sail in formation during a large-scale global exercise in the Philippine Sea in August 2021. A new security partnership between Australia, the United Kingdom and the U.S. will ensure such activities continue.

To the surprise of many, on Sept. 15, 2021, a new Australia, United Kingdom and United States (AUKUS) security partnership was announced by Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison, British Prime Minister Boris Johnson and U.S. President Joe Biden. The news of a new trilateral agreement will likely be the most important and consequential security announcement since the fall of the Soviet Union.

Openly welcomed by Taiwan and Japan, this agreement aims to combat an increasingly aggressive and expansionist China by ensuring the security of this strategic region and maritime transit route.

Reportedly only 10 people in the U.K. knew about the AUKUS submarine deal, which was codenamed Operation Hookless. Under the agreement, the U.K. and U.S. will negotiate within 18 months the myriad details such as the type of subma-

rine to be purchased by Australia — either the American Virginia class or the British Astute class or other type. This agreement enables the U.K. and U.S. to provide a fleet of up to eight nuclear-powered submarines for the Royal Australian Navy (RAN), dramatically enhancing Australia's maritime capability. In anticipation of receiving these nuclear-powered submarines, the contract will expedite the construction of important infrastructure that

could be used by the U.S. Navy (USN) and the British Royal Navy (RN). The planning, development and construction of these submarines will provide a venue for the exchange of nuclear, scientific and artificial intelligence as well as other germane military technology.

French officials appear not to have been advised in advance of the negotiations or the AUKUS agreement, having learned about it through media leaks just prior to the announcement. AUKUS resulted in Australia's cancellation of a \$66-billion contract to purchase 12 diesel-electric-powered French Barracuda submarines, which will have major economic implications for France's maritime defence industry. As a result, President Emmanuel Macron ordered the withdrawal of French ambassadors from Australia and the U.S. for the first time since 1793.

Notwithstanding the initial shock, this tripartite agreement could be viewed in more traditional and historical terms. France has always been recognized as a European continental power, in contrast to the U.K., the U.S. and other members of the Anglosphere, which have traditionally appreciated and pursued geopolitical strategies through a more established maritime framework. With some pique, France's minister for European affairs sharply posited that the tripartite agreement would make the U.K. a recognized minor player in the trilateral relationship and that it would have to accept "vassal status" under the U.S. umbrella.

The French should not have been surprised by what has transpired. Those following France's progress on the submarine program knew it was plagued by cost overruns and delays in delivery. Those factors, coupled with a negative Australian re-evaluation of the suitability of conventional submarines, signalled the deathknell of the agreement. Although the purchase was announced in 2016, a pre-design review was delayed and by 2018, an Australian independent oversight board advised Australia to seek alternatives, citing a dearth of design details, a lack of operational requirements and incomplete studies required to move forward. A 2020 Australian auditor general's report confirmed that France supplied a preliminary design review in January 2021, however France's Naval Group, which is majority owned by the French government, reportedly did not meet Australian government requirements. Morrison subsequently created a panel to advise his cabinet on how to proceed with the problematic French submarine program.

Broader consequences

The AUKUS agreement poses another issue for France: This is not just an initiative of three like-minded nations. This single focused agreement will almost certainly expand to embrace other regional groupings, spanning the mutual interests of peace and security within the Indo-Pacific region. It will likely grow to include broader interests such as trade and economic interests such as the 12-nation Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade agreement that includes Australia, Canada, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore and Vietnam. Under the Trump

geostrategic deviousness, naked ambition, political arrogance and disregard for international law and order. When combined with China's open design and aspiration to control the Pacific, while making inroads into the Arctic and Antarctic, it seems Australia was compelled to make a tough decision about its future there.

The AUKUS outcome

The AUKUS agreement enhances and deepens the already substantial defence and security ties amongst Australia, the U.K. and U.S. The agreement will provide modern and highly sensitive cutting-edge



President Joe Biden talks with British Prime Minister Boris Johnson in June 2021 at the Carbis Bay Hotel and Estate in Cornwall, England. The AUKUS agreement was struck three months later in September.

administration, the U.S. withdrew, from the TPP, but both the U.S. and U.K. now have pending memberships. France would also remain outside this exclusive group unless invited.

Macron may have to reassess France's Indo-Pacific strategy, particularly as France has nearly two million citizens residing in the region — and a garrison of 7,000 French military personnel, who continue to co-ordinate and exercise with U.S. military forces in these waters. This latest political upset between longstanding allies may be hard to overcome and has seriously weakened the voice of French NATO supporters. Moreover, France is perceived to have underestimated China's

nuclear technology, artificial intelligence and quantum computing to develop a nuclear-powered submarine program designed for the Australian Navy. Nuclear-powered submarines will enable it to undertake long-range, long-duration and stealthier subsurface patrols, in addition to providing the latest conventional technology in subsurface weaponry. The U.S. has already offered to sell submarine- and air-launched cruise missiles to the Australian ministry of defence.

This tripartite agreement will complement the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (the Quad) that includes Australia, India, Japan and the U.S., which is dedicated to the protection of freedom of navigation



Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison meets with U.S. President Joe Biden in September 2021, just days after the AUKUS agreement was announced.

within the Asia-Pacific region. For some analysts, AUKUS has been promulgated as the foundation for an Indo-Pacific region NATO equivalent. Australia's Morrison noted that this agreement will deepen co-operation on a spectrum of emerging security and defence issues and capabilities, enhance joint capability and interoperability and embrace cyber capabilities, quantum technology, artificial intelligence and foster additional undersea capabilities. Some observers have accentuated the notion of the broadening of these exchanges into the intelligence sphere.

For China, the surprise announcement saw it being strategically and regionally outmanoeuvred, and clearly demonstrated the speed at which geopolitics can change. The slow reveal over the past five to 10 years of China's desire for regional dominance contributed to Australia's comprehensive review of its strategic interests and position within the Indo-Pacific region.

An evolving United Kingdom

This multifaceted agreement comes after the United Kingdom's departure from the

European Union (EU), forging a dramatically new path under the leadership of Johnson that integrates his policy for a more geopolitically active, "Global Britain," as well as underlining the economic and security importance of the Indo-Pacific. AUKUS demonstrates a serious national approach in defending British interests by challenging those states (e.g. China and Russia) that intend or undertake threatening or malign acts that could compromise the international legal order. The tripartite agreement demonstrates the importance of partnering with like-minded nations intent on building coalitions based on shared values and interests.

This "Indo-Pacific tilt" recognizes the growing geopolitical and economic importance emphasized in the British government's recently published Integrated Review 2021. The review argued the U.K. must recognize that the Indo-Pacific region is the fastest-growing in global economic terms and, therefore, a substantial future growth market for goods and services for the U.K. as a traditional maritime trading nation. It has been assessed that two thirds of the world's middle-class will

reside in this region within this decade.

Regional challenges

Within the Indo-Pacific economic rise lurks a spectrum of evolving geostrategic challenges to AUKUS and other regional and Western interests. China has clearly uncloaked its strategy to influence and dominate the economic and military domain in the Indo-Pacific and continues to be a growing threat to many regional nations. As China's economy evolves, so do its security and defence appetites. Regional neighbours such as the Philippines, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Vietnam have seen the encroachment on their respective territories. China's illegal island-building in the South China Sea aims at dominating these waters to exploit maritime resources, fish, oil and gas as well as providing well-situated military bases for their seemingly inevitable expansion into the East China Sea, threatening the Strait of Taiwan.

Predicated on China's economic clout, any country courageous enough to challenge its activities or regional initiatives invites an immediate political tongue-lashing or economic punishment, as did



U.S. Marines prepare for live-fire training during Exercise Koolendong in Australia in August 2021. The exercise will prepare troops to respond to a crisis or contingency in the Indo-Pacific region.

Australia recently. As the world suffers from the COVID-19 pandemic, the Australian government argued for a thorough investigation into the origins of the virus, as did a host of other countries. Australia publicly questioned China's violent crackdown on Hong Kong citizens exercising their democratic rights of dissent by demonstrating against communist Chinese meddling in Hong Kong affairs, as well as against extensive human rights abuses of Uyghurs by Chinese communist authorities.

The annoyed Chinese leadership sought to punish Australia through the sanctioning of its exports, which included beef, coal, seafood and wine. This was a not-so-subtle warning to other countries as to the economic costs of interfering with China. Australia is living in an increasingly dangerous neighbourhood, dominated by a country employing bullying tactics to cow its neighbours to facilitate Chinese strategic designs. China's maritime initiatives openly defy international

law and protocols with their territorial transgressions against regional neighbours such as Brunei, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines, South Korea and Vietnam, thus emphasizing China's abandonment of international law and the abrogation of internationally respected norms of conduct.

A regional perception

The U.K., along with the U.S. and China, are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. Unlike China, the U.K. and the U.S. appreciate their requisite global security responsibilities associated with this membership. Anticipating a re-entry into this region, Indo-Pacific nations were solicited for their views. As the U.K. is a global trading nation, a defence and security partner and a counterbalance, in part, to China's ever-growing regional influence and aggressive expansion, this initiative was seen by the West as a most positive move.

The AUKUS partnership recognizes

the evolving geostrategic importance of the Indo-Pacific region. Moreover, Indo-Pacific nations acknowledge that their future growth and prosperity are predicated upon the regional and global freedom of navigation upon the high seas. This tripartite agreement duly recognizes the importance of freedom of the seas as it relates to global economic security and trade interests. It signals the intent that no regional power will be enabled to coerce or subvert this vital principle of free and open access the high seas.

AUKUS will buttress the already close relations with a trusted ally in Australasia and the nuclear-powered submarines will contribute to the military balance and stability within the strategically important Indo-Pacific region.

Importantly, this is a call to all nations to once again embrace the requirement that international laws and protocols must be recognized, followed and upheld. The global community is responsible for maintaining and protecting the principles of national sovereignty without which global neighbours could fall prey to their more aggressive neighbours. The responsibility of defending human rights, sovereignty and freedom of the seas appears to once again fall to members of the English-speaking democracies that will be required to monitor and enforce these core values with regional allies and partners.

Enhancing U.S. operations and basing

The tripartite agreement dramatically changes Australia's strategic positioning in the Indo-Pacific while enhancing the U.S.'s power projection across the Indo-Pacific region. Following the Second World War, the U.S. employed and, in some cases, garrisoned the island bases from the Hawaiian chain to the islands of Guam to Okinawa. This American reach went as far as the island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, which was leased from the U.K. The AUKUS agreement has reinvigorated the Australia-U.S. alliance and brought the U.K. back into the region where it once held a significant strategic naval and military presence.

Where is Canada?

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau explained that AUKUS was solely "a deal for nuclear submarines, [for] which Canada is not currently or anytime soon in the market," thereby dismissing — or missing — the significant strategic gap of Canada's non-participation in the most noteworthy and important geopolitical gambit of our time. Canada's omission will very likely



Army paratroopers jump into a drop zone during Exercise Talisman in Queensland, Australia, in July 2021. The exercise addresses the full range of potential security concerns in the Indo-Pacific.



U.S. marines and Australian army soldiers worked together to conduct a simulated aerial assault.

result in missing out on intelligence sharing, technological innovations, quantum computing, cyber-capabilities, artificial intelligence, weapons advancements and economic advantages. While Canada is an integral member of the Five Eyes partnership with Australia, New Zealand, the U.K. and the U.S., the new tripartite agreement is anticipated to foster additional defence projects and intelligence initiatives that could impact upon or even replace aspects of the Five Eyes partners' work that has been ongoing since the Second World War.

Canada has yet to address the contentious question of Huawei Technologies and 5G communication. Canadian government intelligence assessments and reporting have been clear that Huawei could be employed as a collection asset for sensitive information and could compromise or damage Canada's internal power and electronic/digital infrastructure. Since 2019, the U.S. has clearly warned that it would curtail intelligence sharing with countries allowing Huawei into their 5G networks. To date, the Liberal government of Canada is the only country within the Five Eyes community that has not rejected Huawei.

For more than 150 years, the Canadian national view was that three oceans and a "friendly" superpower southern neighbour shielded Canada from external threats to its national security. For the most part, Canadians felt secure from 1867 to 2001, happily oblivious and seemingly thriving in what had been viewed as a "fireproof house." The events of 9/11 dramatically changed that naive perception that Canada was generally immune from threats or aggressive territorial incursions. With China's geopolitical intentions for global dominance and its aggressive activities in the Indo-Pacific region now being made abundantly clear, Canada again has had its naive views rudely assaulted.

Canada is an important Pacific nation with strategic trade interests throughout the region. In tandem with Australia, Canada also has a requirement for new submarines given that the current fleet of four diesel electric Victoria class submarines will require replacement soon. The country toyed with the idea of purchasing nuclear-powered submarines in the 1950s, but opted for conventional submarines instead. The acquisition of nuclear submarines resurfaced in the 1980s under the Conservative government of Brian Mulroney, who considered partnership with the U.K. or France for the acquisition of up to 12 nuclear-powered submarines. The

U.S. was hostile to Canada's plan to work with the U.K. or France, given considerations at the time over Arctic sovereignty. The public at the time might have been more receptive to working with the U.S. or Australia. However, the idea was curtailed by the end of the Cold War and the necessity to garner a peace dividend.

For Canada, submarines are strategic assets that provide operational control over Canadian waters. Canada's submarine fleet has been successfully employed for a spectrum of purposes that included intelligence, surveillance operations, monitoring national waters, alliance building and, most important, deterring opponents from incursions into our waters. Given geography and maritime responsibilities, Canada requires a submarine fleet that is fully capable of operating in and under the ice. As submarine procurement can take from 10 to 15 years, it is vital to commence early in a broad conversation about the availability of submarine options and the capabilities required by the Canadian navy.

Canada must address its Pacific strategy

It is well known that the Russian navy has been substantially expanding submarine activities in the Arctic and the North



Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison created a panel to advise his cabinet on how to proceed with the problematic French submarine program.

Atlantic, and has become more active in recent years than it was during the Cold War. Meanwhile, China has made it clear that as "a near Arctic nation" it has a major interest in the region in terms of natural resources including oil, gas, fish and minerals, amongst others. China sees the Arctic as a potential maritime transit route to Europe. This is a direct challenge to Canada's Arctic sovereignty, as well as a challenge to the respective and ter-

ritorial sovereignty of Canada's Arctic neighbours. Canada cannot depend upon its allies to monitor and defend its Arctic region. The AUKUS agreement underlines an important and critical indicator that some allies with whom Canada is close, are closer to others. Successive U.S. administrations made clear their concerns with allies not undertaking their share of heavy lifting in security and defence issues. The U.S. is looking for allies that are both willing and capable of doing their bit. Canada appears not to be one of them.

As a Pacific nation and a close ally to the members of AUKUS, Canada should assess what it wants and needs from its Pacific strategy before it finds itself irrevocably strategically compromised.

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Africa's coming rough years



In 2022, climatic alterations will continue to descend mercilessly on Africa. Rain will fall erratically on farmers, such as this Kenyan woman, who cannot grow crops and earn their livelihoods without the traditionally regular monsoons from the east and the warming of air and downpours that follow the movement of inter-tropical convergence patterns from the west across the middle of the vast continent.



Robert I.
Rotberg

The years 2020 and 2021 were tough and worrying years for Africa and Africans. Will 2022 prove better and more life sustaining?

The COVID-19 pandemic set Africa's development back in 2021 by at least 10 years, according to the World Bank. In addition to soaring case rates everywhere, but especially in South Africa in 2021,

foreign exchange earnings plummeted as purchasing of raw materials slowed, especially by China, and the world price of petroleum fell dramatically, recovering only in mid-2021. Tourism largely vanished, cutting the incomes of such countries as Mauritius, Botswana, South Africa, Kenya and Tanzania. Incoming remittance amounts fell dramatically because of declining employment and falling incomes in Europe and the Gulf States.

The pandemic

Vaccination rates in Africa were rising at the end of 2021 from extremely low levels to about 11 per cent overall, and 28 per cent in southern Africa, but then the new Omicron variant hit South Africa and Botswana hard, spread to neighbouring Zambia and Zimbabwe and quickly

reached Europe, the Americas, and well beyond. Barring the potentially devastating impact of the new mutation and others possibly to follow, Africa is poised in 2022 to receive inoculation materials and life-saving pharmaceutical pills from the United States, Europe and India. It will also begin manufacturing vaccines and pills under licence, with patent restrictions removed. Both instruments should improve Africa's ability to overcome the coronavirus's destruction and to avoid economically paralyzing lockdowns, border closings, traffic restrictions and the like — unless a new catastrophic virus or mutation follows Omicron.

In addition to the COVID-19 perils, Africa suffers immensely from the prevalence of malaria almost everywhere, from yellow fever and dengue fever in parts

of West Africa and East Africa, and from multi-drug-resistant tuberculosis, especially in South Africa. These afflictions, and others, interact with the coronavirus to make treatment and prevention much more difficult, compounding one misery with others. Fortunately, in 2022, the further introduction of a newly invented malaria vaccine should gradually begin to lessen the impact of that disease, particularly among children. The spread of insecticide-protected bed nets should also continue to help reduce malarial numbers in at least the wealthier states. TB treatment methods in heavily hit urban areas are also becoming more successful. Even so, in Africa, the biggest killer of children, and some adults, is pneumonia, followed by diarrheal ailments, and we can expect little reduction in those mortality and morbidity numbers because Africa's population is growing exponentially, access to potable water is limited and more and more people are crowding across the continent into congested cities where water-borne sanitation is largely absent. Finally, amid a wave of poverty that the coronavirus has accelerated, Africans are beginning more and more to suffer from obesity and diabetes, the result of fast food consumption and limited access to good nutritional options.

The climate emergency

In 2022, the world's dramatic climatic alterations will continue to descend mercilessly on Africa. The rains will fall erratically on farmers who cannot grow crops and earn their livelihoods without the traditionally regular monsoons from the east and the warming of air and downpours that follow the movement of inter-tropical convergence patterns from the west across the middle of the vast continent.

Africa has always experienced cyclical droughts across the Sahel, the domain just south of the Sahara, but with the return of La Niña to the eastern Pacific Ocean, Africa in 2022 will experience renewed climatic instabilities, more widespread drought and intensified cyclonic activity of the kind that pummeled Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Eswatini in recent years. Madagascar, the world's fourth-largest island, is suffering in its southern half from an intense multi-year drought. Surprising floods may return to the parts of Sudan, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Gabon that experienced them recently for the first time. And low-lying cities along the Atlantic Ocean, such as Conakry and Lagos, may soon find themselves underwater thanks to the melting of

Greenland's glaciers. Everywhere across the continent, climatic changes continue to disturb livelihoods and outcomes.

Climatic perturbations, dry and wet, accelerate migrancy and often lead to instability and warfare. Food insecurity grows on the back of these natural events, contributing additional human calamities to the mixture that will continue in 2022 to drive Africans and their leaders to despair. The Sahel, bone dry periodically, is among



Gen. Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo, along with General Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, ousted civilians and ruled Sudan as 2022 began and civilian protests continued almost daily.



Samia Suluhu Hassan, Tanzania's new Zanzibari president, will try to recapture the robust democratic progress her country has lost.

those regions where global warming has made warfare more likely. In 2022, this process is continuing and dangerous.

Conflicts multiply

Civil wars throughout the African continent will persist in 2022. Until the mediation efforts of former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo and U.S. envoy David Satterfield succeed in shaking Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's determination to fight Tigrayans to the end, Ethiopia's conflagration will continue, probably well into the middle of 2022. Even if it halts sooner than

that pessimistic date, it will have already cost thousands of lives, immense material destruction and the end of tourism for 2022. The wars — there could be more — have imperiled what once was a budding and unified democracy.

Leadership vanity, as in so much of Africa, initiated an unnecessary war between the larger Ethiopia and Tigray, the home of only six per cent of the nation's inhabitants. But in late 2020, Abiy was infuriated that the regional Tigrayan government was defying his refusal to allow a local election, which took place anyway. So Abiy invaded Tigray with overwhelming numbers of federal troops, quickly conquering the province. But then the Tigrayans, who had dominated all of Ethiopia from 1991 to 2018, and who had led the national army, regrouped, pushed Abiy's forces out of Tigray and marched south toward Addis Ababa, the national capital.

Abiy had blocked UN food relief convoys from reaching Tigray, putting at least 400,000 Tigrayans at risk of starvation. Hence, in the righteous drive toward Addis Ababa by the Tigrayans in 2021, their goal was to oust Abiy, re-start food imports and end what they considered an unjust assault on their existence and their legitimacy. But then Abiy's army acquired Chinese and Turkish drones via the United Arab Emirates and the drones strafed and bombed the Tigrayans, who retreated back to their home province.

More broadly, Abiy's attempt to ethnically cleanse Tigray, and to round up civilian Tigrayans in Addis Ababa and purge them from commerce and employment across Africa's second most populous country, left deep scars that will not easily be removed in 2022. Indeed, because the Tigrayan war effort was joined in late 2021 by the Oromo Liberation Front and seven more ethnically based opposition movements from within the country, Ethiopia could easily fracture in 2022. That is, Abiy's ego-driven obstinacy could cause a weak state — kept together only by strong leadership under Emperor Haile Selassie from 1923 to 1973, by Marxist dictator Mengistu Hailemariam from 1974 to 1991 and by prime minister Meles Zenawi and his Tigrayan allies until 2018 — to collapse into a heap of snarling ethnicities, with the large Oromo ethnic pluralism taking the lead and Somalis following.

Somalia and Mozambique

Neighbouring Somalia will fare no better in 2022 than it has in recent years. The corrupt and unpopular federal government of Somalia, backed by the African

Union, Turkey and the West, will again lose ground to the al-Shabaab (the Youth) al-Qaeda-linked insurgents who, in 2021, were able persistently to cause mayhem within Mogadishu, the national capital, and elsewhere in the beleaguered country.

These depredations by al-Shabaab guerrilla forces will intensify as 19,000 African Union troops withdraw and U.S. special forces operate from Kenya and Djibouti rather than from within Somalia itself. Al-Shabaab perpetuates its fighting abilities by taxing inhabitants and commerce in the areas of the state that it controls, by exporting charcoal and other commodities to Saudi Arabia and Yemen, and by importing narcotics from Pakistan for onward transmission to Europe. With those illicit proceeds, it can pay its young combatants and purchase arms. Often, too, it can raid nearby Kenya and support or sponsor a group similar to al-Shabaab in Mozambique.

There, since 2017, a small group of youths, supposedly affiliated with the Islamic State (ISIS), has brought havoc to the Cabo Delgado province of northern Mozambique after natural gas discoveries offshore, and their attempted exploitation by France's Total energy corporation. Only the arrival of Rwandan and South African soldiers in late 2021 permitted the Mozambican army to begin to pacify the area. But throughout 2022, hostilities between the Ansar al Sunna and local and imported peacekeepers are likely to continue — to the dismay of thousands of displaced and hungry villagers from this region.

Sudan's fate

Although international pressure and massive popular protests compelled Sudanese generals led by generals Abdel Fattah al-Burhan and Mohamed Hamdan Dagalo (known as Hemeti) to restore civil rule under economist Abdalla Hamdok in late 2021 after the military had paused a mandated restoration of full civilian authority in November, Sudan is still in crisis in 2022. The generals will be no more willing than they were previously to let a bunch of technocrats preside over anything resembling democracy or a government free from the dominance of soldiers.

The generals are not anxious to lose their lucrative attachment to gold mines in the eastern part of the country, nor to the many other profitable commercial enterprises from which they derive their hefty personal and institutional incomes. Furthermore, the civilian government wants to send a military dictator, ousted from office in 2019 by mass protests, to trial in



Ethiopia's conflagration will continue, probably well into the middle of 2022. Shown here is the arrival of 2.2 million doses of the AstraZeneca COVID-19 vaccine at Bole International Airport in Addis Ababa.

The Hague. The International Criminal Court (ICC) indicted former president Gen. Omar al-Bashir in 2010 for his role in orchestrating a string of atrocities and genocidal acts in Darfur (western Sudan). But if in 2022 Sudan unexpectedly sends the imprisoned general to trial in The Hague, the remaining generals, especially the notorious Hemeti, will themselves be at risk of prosecution.

An election in Sudan is scheduled for 2023, but the struggle between the soldiers and the civilians for control of its destiny will convulse the country throughout this year, with the generals determined to lose neither the skirmishes nor the war.

The Sahel

ISIS and al-Qaeda in the Greater Sahara will overrun even larger sections of Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger in 2022 than they managed to attack in 2021. Both groupings, non-allied but pursuing competitive efforts to destabilize the Sahel and control

narcotics and other smuggling routes across the Sahara, are determined in 2022 to harass the Sahel's weak armies and governments, destroying villages and settlements throughout the sub-Saharan region, and to attempt to restore their brief period of hegemony between 2011 and 2013.

French intervention saved the day in 2013, but French troop numbers of about 5,400 will be reduced in 2022 and the region placed in greater peril. The local armies are poorly trained and poorly armed, and two military coups in Mali in 2021 hardly boosted civil or military morale. President Joe Biden may want to reduce U.S. troop presence in Niger; its drone air base in northwestern Niger now at least provides surveillance to assist French troop movements and provide knowledge of ISIS and al-Qaeda across the Sahel.

The fate of democracy

Africa will continue to slide downhill

away from solid democratic performance or good governance. The struggle between kleptocratic corruption and good governance will continue in South Africa despite the efforts of President Cyril Ramaphosa to overcome the African National Congress grandees who remain loyal to former president Jacob Zuma — on trial endlessly for stealing from the state and for allowing it to be “captured” by an Asian-African mafia between 2008 and 2017. Coronavirus troubles, electricity shortages, water weaknesses and unemployment rises have not made Ramaphosa’s task any easier. Nor can the successful righting of the South African state be expected in 2022.

Zambia and Malawi are in the early months of restoring democratic processes, and differences between Botswana’s former president Ian Khama and President Mogweetsi Masisi, his successor, are roiling the usually calm sands there.

Under Samia Suluhu Hassan, its new Zanzibari president, Tanzania will try to recapture the robust democratic progress it lost under the late president John Magufuli, and Kenyans will go to the polls to choose a successor to President Uhuru Kenyatta, fearing the kinds of combat that led to tumult and tragedy in 2007. But

adjacent Uganda’s perpetual ruler, President Yoweri Museveni, will once more oppress his opponents and keep democracy distant, amid bombing by the Congolese-based Allied Democratic Forces. In tiny but congested Rwanda, President Paul Kagame will continue to deliver good governance and beneficial health outcomes to his people while simultaneously capturing, and sometimes assassinating, his opponents across the globe. Zimbabwe in 2022 enters its 42nd year of despotism, with fundamental human freedoms curtailed and rampant corruption spreading.

The rough years

The coming years of this decade will see democracy and autocracy vie for supremacy everywhere in Africa. The absolute monarchy in Eswatini may fall to student agitators, but authoritarians will remain in charge in Angola, Burundi, Eritrea, Uganda and many other African polities. Corrupt democrats such as Gen. Muhammadu Buhari will refuse to bring honest dealings and good governance to Nigeria, Africa’s most populous nation. The Central African Republic will remain at war and places such as the Democratic Republic of Congo will remain weak, con-

vulsed by anarchic conflict in its eastern provinces, and prey to Chinese resource exploitation.

If China continues to prosper economically, an Africa that depends for its livelihood on Chinese purchases of minerals, petroleum and natural gas will continue to grow. And those exports will also encourage China to do even more to improve Africa’s lamentable hard infrastructure by building roads, railways, dams and hospitals. Africa needs to take control of its dealings with China, but that is easier to suggest than for weak countries unable to act together regionally to execute.

The rough years will persist, especially in an Africa that will remain medically challenged. It will be imperiled governmentally, socially and economically — and COVID-19-beset — throughout 2022 and beyond.

Robert I. Rotberg is the founding director of Harvard Kennedy School’s Program on Intrastate Conflict and was Fulbright Distinguished Professor at Carleton and Waterloo universities. He wrote *The Corruption Cure* and published *Anticorruption and Things Come Together: Africans Achieving Greatness in the Twenty-first Century* in August. rirotberg@gmail.com



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Where business is heading

Diplomat looks at the Top 10 trends in business for 2022.

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



According to *The Economist*, Chinese President Xi Jinping has launched an antitrust campaign on China's tech firms, demanding they focus on "deep tech" that offers "geostrategic advantage, not frivolities [such as] games and shopping." Shown here is Alibaba's headquarters in Hangzhou.

Wherever they exist, trends are about human behaviour, which is predictable.

Charles Tatum, psychology expert at California's National University, says predictability leaves us open to manipulation by such elements as media, advertisers, political and social movements and social media. Ultimately, predictions can shape our behaviour and create trends.

These 10 trends for 2022 represent the intersection of predictions by *The Economist*, *TrendHunter*, *Forbes*, the World Economic Forum and the Conference Board of Canada, and are informed by additional studies.

Corporate sustainability

In 2021, organizations prioritized sustainability and the resulting initiatives will continue through 2022.

Corporate sustainability focuses on three pillars of investment: environmental, social and governance (ESG). By investing in strategies to reduce carbon footprints and promote employees' health and wellbeing, corporations can expect to survive and thrive with a competitive edge.

Sustainability has been a growing corporate concern for several years, with recent interest in decarbonizing supply chains. The United Nations says it's a

trend likely to continue because "in most sectors, direct carbon emissions from an organization's operations are dwarfed by carbon emissions relating to the production, processing and transportation of products and services."

A 2019 Harvard University study that noted a movement toward corporate sustainability speculated the trend could be strategic and profit-driven rather than genuine concern. Given the current perspectives on climate change, the environment and conscious consumption, businesses have no choice but to mitigate the environmental cost of their activities to remain competitive.

Where we work

Millions of employees relocated to home offices by the pandemic showed it's possible to be productive outside traditional workplaces. New work arrangements have set the stage for a shift to a hybrid form of working arrangement — from home and the office.

But there will be challenges. Surveys show women are less interested in returning to the office, incurring the risk of being overlooked for opportunities. Remuneration comes into question — if a paycheck is intended to cover the costs of getting to work, should workers' pay be reduced if they don't have to commute? And what about tax rules?

Monitoring and managing remote workers requires new management practices. As the Conference Board of Canada notes, the hybrid environment will require "a performance management strategy that evaluates results and accountability instead of the amount of time employees work." It will be chaotic and may not be permanent, but the hybrid work model will remain for at least the next year.

Authenticity

Forbes says consumers' desire for meaningful connections to brands has made authenticity a trend. An organization's raison d'être must be more than providing profits to shareholders, or appear so.

Authenticity as a personal goal and a business model isn't new — in 2015, it was a trend to watch, based on the ethos of millennials and their power as consumers. *The Financial Times* reported in 2018 that millennials "want committed brands with authentic products" that are "natural, simpler, more local." It signalled consumers' skepticism and loss of trust.

Millennials — those born between 1981 and 1996 — are the next baby boomers. As 25 per cent of North America's population, they are a significant target market. They want to feel good about what they buy, trusting that brands and business leaders are reliable, honest, empathetic, humble and have a social conscience.

Is authenticity authentic? Or, given that survival requires profit, is it actually disingenuous? Either way, the trend will continue.

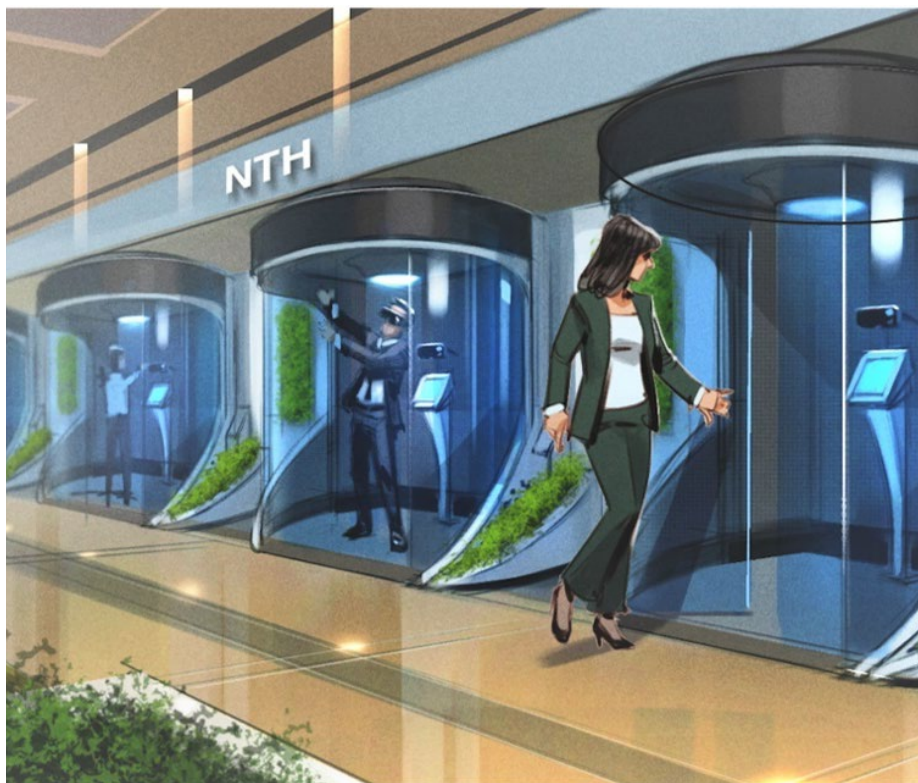
Inflation

Anyone who has bought anything lately will have difficulty believing annual inflation is only 4.7 per cent in Canada and 6.2 per cent in the U.S.

Production delays, increased costs, supply-chain disruptions and a spike in



The World Economic Forum predicts machines will do more than humans by 2025. Artificial intelligence and automation already play a role in health, industry and agriculture.



Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg describes the metaverse, shown here, as a virtual world where you can interact with the real world as an avatar through virtual and augmented realities and social media, particularly Facebook.

energy demand have raised prices and it seems 2021's economic predictions did not pan out. Central banks and economists predicted a short-term spike rather than a long-term trend, and that the conditions increasing inflation and slowing growth would be temporary.

Globally, people have lost faith in their economies; financial markets and central bankers are beginning to have doubt. Henry Curr notes in *The Economist* that the "textbook answer to inflation caused by supply disruptions is to ignore it and let it go away on its own." But higher interest

rates that damage economies won't open ports, create more natural gas or end the pandemic.

The Conference Board of Canada predicts "it will take another year before consumer price increases fall back to the Bank of Canada's 2.0 per cent target."

Co-opetition

Businesses have discovered what we all learned in kindergarten; co-operation helps everyone. Instead of fighting to the death for consumer attention, competing businesses co-operate through mutually

isolation, and were decidedly inefficient. The experience may serve as an example that collaboration has potential for success.

Pandemic to endemic

We're COVID-weary and wish the pandemic would go away. *The Economist* predicted in November that it will fade away in 2022 with "local and seasonal flare-ups, especially in chronically undervaccinated countries" where it will remain dangerous. Antiviral medications, better antibody treatments and new vaccines will



Non-fungible tokens are a non-traditional way of owning art.

beneficial alliances that include co-operation with suppliers and firms producing complementary or related products. Co-competitive firms may collaborate in some markets, but compete in others.

It's a strategy first explored in the 1944 book *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*, which created the mathematical theory of economic and social organization based on games of strategy. The work created the scientific field of game theory, which has been applied to analyzing real-world events.

A striking example of what co-opetition can achieve is the development of the COVID-19 vaccines by competing pharmaceutical companies, biotech firms and scientists collaborating and sharing information. In contrast, the vaccine rollouts lacked co-operation between countries. They were performed independently, in

reduce the virus to a non-life-threatening, possibly endemic, virus in developed countries.

However, Bruce Aylward, senior adviser with the World Health Organization, said in October 2021 that the COVID crisis could be gone by the end of 2022, but predicted it will continue a year longer than necessary because poorer countries are not getting the vaccines.

Immunologists have made cautious predictions that the Omicron variant won't set us back because of how quickly countries were warned and have reacted. They also say the vaccines will still protect us from serious illness.

Pandemics fade away or become endemic; continuing collaboration within the scientific community may make our wish come true.

Artificial intelligence

The World Economic Forum predicts machines will do more than humans by 2025.

Artificial intelligence (AI) and automation already play a role in health, industry and agriculture. They are expected to become prevalent in our everyday lives as corporations and consumers learn about the potential of AI to solve problems better and faster. Daniel Newman, reporting for *Forbes*, predicts AI will become more ubiquitous in homes and workplaces in 2022.

In September 2021, Amazon introduced Astro, its first household robot. Powered by Alexa, the little robot can patrol your home when you're out and send you an alert. At US \$1,000, it won't be in every home just yet, but is "a logical step," according to Amazon, to integrate robotics into consumers' lives.

Expect to see continued growth in AI applications as more powerful chips, software and frameworks are developed. But don't worry — the "singularity," when the machines take over, isn't expected until 2045.

Tech backlash

According to *The Economist*, Chinese President Xi Jinping has launched an antitrust campaign on China's tech firms, demanding they focus on "deep tech" that offers "geostrategic advantage, not frivolities [such as] games and shopping."

Through the spring and summer of 2021, the crackdown wiped out US \$1 trillion of Chinese tech stocks. They included gaming and social media giant Tencent and Alibaba, China's e-commerce powerhouse, and its subsidiary, Ant. Entire online business models disappeared.

In August, the *South China Morning Post* reported that the Communist Party announced a five-year plan for reshaping China's technology sector and Xi declared progress in Beijing's campaign to "prevent the irrational expansion of capital" and handle the "barbarous growth."

At the same time, Xi continued to call for "common prosperity" although Beijing's actions have slammed China's equity markets, now among the worst performers in Asia. As Xi rewrites the rules for the economy, companies across most fields will have to rethink their operations.

The question in 2022 will be whether the backlash in China will boost innovation or stifle it.

NFT Art

Non-fungible tokens are an untraditional way of owning art.

NFTs are created using similar pro-

gramming as cryptocurrency, but they are not mined; they are digital tokens on the blockchain that record proof of ownership. Each NFT has unique metadata and represents an object — a piece of art or music, gaming items, videos.

Traditional artwork is most valuable when it is one of a kind. It also can only have one owner at a time. NFT art has that in common with tangible art; each digital piece can be owned by only one entity and can be bought and sold. It is not like a digital file that can be shared, copied or pasted indefinitely.

NFTs offer artists an opportunity to create financial value with their work. Digital artist Mike Winklemann, aka Beeple, created the most famous NFT so far, a composite of 5,000 daily drawings called “Everydays: The First 5,000 Days.” It sold at Christie’s for US \$69.3 million.

NFTs have been increasing in value since 2017; rising popularity in cryptocurrency is expected to increase it even more in 2022.

The metaverse

The metaverse came to light in 2020 and became a buzzword in the tech world in 2021. Are we ready for *Ready Player One*?



Jack Ma is the executive chairman of Alibaba Group Holding.

Mark Zuckerberg describes the metaverse as a virtual world where you can interact with the real world as an avatar through virtual and augmented realities and social media, particularly Facebook.

Fans see it as the next internet progression.

The metaverse will require developing infrastructure that allows consumers to travel among, and physically experience, 3D worlds — more than a headset, something that will create physical sensations. It has great potential beyond entertainment with applications for business, health care and investing.

Our world isn’t about to become what the movie *Ready Player One* predicts, and while it probably won’t be a reality in 2022, metaverse stocks are predicted to be worth investing in.

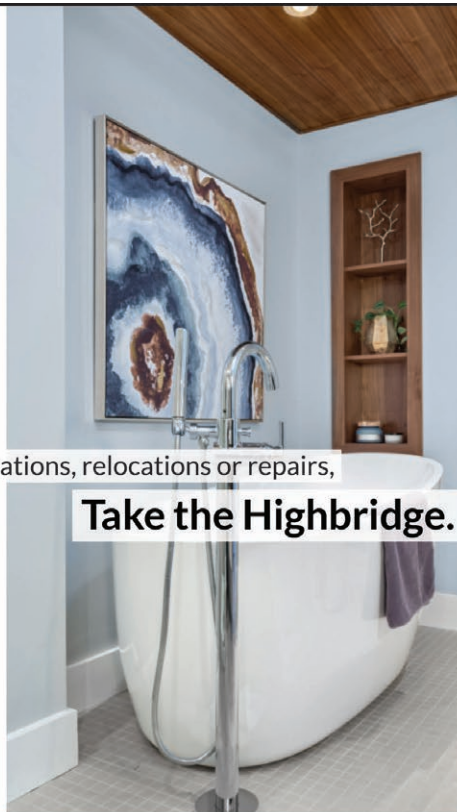
Speculations about the future must include a reference to flying cars à la George Jetson. Developers are working on personal airborne vehicles, such as the Bell Nexus Air Taxi, which already has thousands of orders. Slovakia AirCar Prototype 1’s 35-minute flight between cities in Slovakia, powered by a BMW engine that runs on regular gas, could fly 1,000 kilometres at 2,500 metres and transforms in 2 minutes and 30 seconds from plane to car. The Dutch Pal-V auto-helicopter expects to fill its first US \$400,000 orders this year.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is an Alberta writer.

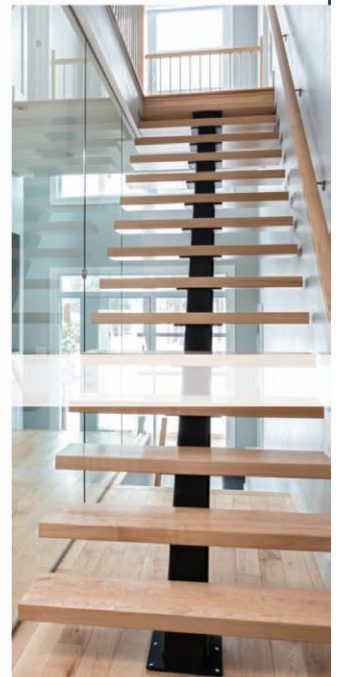


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On hostage diplomacy and the cold war with China



Christina
Spencer

The Two Michaels: Innocent Canadian Captives and High Stakes Espionage in the U.S.-China Cyber War

Mike Blanchfield and Fen Osler Hampson

Sutherland House, November 2021

\$9.99 Kindle

\$24.70 paperback

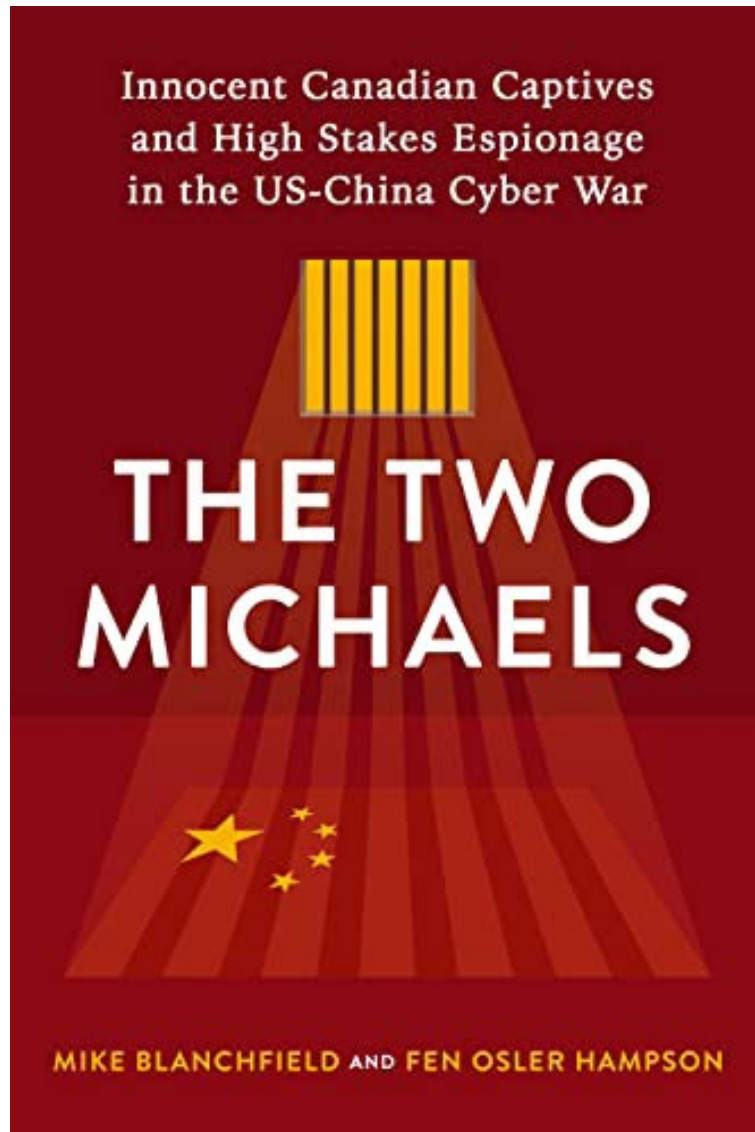
300 pages

For more than 1,000 days, two Canadians named Michael captured the attention and sympathy of the nation. Hostages of the Chinese government, they were imprisoned under harsh conditions, cut off from family and friends and subject to secret trials on trumped-up charges. *The Two Michaels* is the first book to emerge about their experiences and the first to take a stab at placing their story into a wider geopolitical context.

That context continues to shift as the United States and China trade jabs over Taiwan, the Uyghurs and even the Beijing Winter Olympics. Meanwhile, several individuals, some Canadian and some from other countries, continue to be held as part of China's policy of international blackmail and intimidation.

But, to the specific cases of Michael Spavor and Michael Kovrig: As anyone who follows the headlines knows, the two were arrested in China within days of each other in late 2018 after Canada, acting on an extradition request from the United States, detained Huawei CFO Meng Wanzhou, a Chinese citizen, at the Vancouver Airport. The Americans believed Huawei was flouting U.S. trade sanctions against Iran through a subsidiary company.

Much of what happened to Meng after her arrest is on the public record; after all, in Canada, court proceedings are mostly open, legal documents are available and journalists are allowed to report — the opposite of what occurs in China. Ac-



The Two Michaels is the first book to be published on the arrests of two Canadians as retaliation for Canada acting on an extradition treaty with the U.S. when it detained Huawei CFO Meng Wanzhou.

cordingly, the authors recount meticulous details of her extradition hearing and her life on bail in Vancouver as proceedings dragged on.

Much more challenging was trying to describe the experiences of the Michaels under Beijing's closed system since the authors didn't have access to them. Unable to offer a deep dive into the daily regimen of these two prisoners, the authors instead serve up a sense of the personalities of

these men based on their pre-incarceration lives.

We learn, for instance, that Kovrig, whose family is of Hungarian background, fronted a punk band in Hungary called Bankrupt in his early days. He taught English there, worked as a journalist, then became a Canadian diplomat and served in Beijing, Hong Kong, at Canada's UN mission in New York and in Afghanistan. He speaks fluent Mandarin.

Spavor, meanwhile, had become interested in the Korean Peninsula when he watched the 1988 Seoul Olympics on TV. He eventually travelled to South Korea on a teaching contract. In the early 2000s, he established himself in North Korea as something of a “connector”—helping arrange the 2013 visit to the Hermit Kingdom by NBA star Dennis Rodman and even hobnobbing with North Korean leader Kim Jong-un. He speaks fluent Korean. Such details give us a sense of how adaptable and adventurous both men are,



Michael Spavor



Michael Kovrig

traits that surely helped them cope with imprisonment.

The Canadian government, through both official and unofficial channels, tried desperately to convince China's leaders to free these innocent citizens. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau endured not merely pressure from China and double-crossing from Donald Trump, but sustained lobbying from influential Canadians, includ-

ing eminent jurists, former ministers and former prime ministers, to do a deal with Beijing that would swap the Michaels for Meng. He resisted; back-channel talks went on and the Canadian government slowly built international support for its demands that the Michaels be freed.

Setting this narrative into its wider



Huawei CFO Meng Wanzhou



Michael Spavor was a connector in North Korea for a time, having helped to arrange the 2013 visit of NBA star Dennis Rodman to the hermit kingdom.

global context adds much value to this book. Huawei is the largest telecommunications company in the world. “It makes and sells more smartphones than Apple,” the authors remind us. But it has also raised grave security concerns among the U.S. military, FBI, CIA and NSA [National Security Agency]. Canadians understand such cyber-security fears: The Chinese are believed by many experts to have hacked Ottawa-based Nortel to steal intellectual property. “Suspensions remain to this day that much of this wound up at Huawei,” the authors write. It was inevitable that Huawei would be under the intelligence spotlight. The Michaels were among the victims of how this played out.

The authors would have us conclude


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that Canada, too, was a victim — caught, as the subtitle of this book suggests, in a “cyberwar” between superpowers. And it will get worse, they warn. Quoting one expert, they suggest the “West is sleepwalking through the early days of a new Cold War with China over the future of information technology, control of the internet and the very survival of democracy itself.”

Why see Canada as a victim? During the Michaels saga, China also slapped harmful trade restrictions on this country. The federal government found itself tiptoeing around issues such as the tram-melling of rights in Hong Kong, genocide against the Uyghurs and threats to Taiwan. Many experts who wanted the government to free Meng vented frustration about how, for the duration of the hostage-taking, Canada’s China policy was basically “on hold.” (As of this writing, the cabinet had still not pronounced on the future of Huawei’s 5G network in Canada and some are suggesting Canada is missing out as a result. For example, Canada was shut out of the AUKUS alliance — see page 40 for more).

These experts, and the authors, suggest Canada was “a pawn” in a geopolitical superpower standoff, a fate it should strive to avoid in future. But how? Should we be Switzerland? One is tempted to resist the implication that neutrality is Canada’s best tactic. “Western values” — of liberal democracy and individual rights — are not mere political conveniences; they are the core of what makes a society just, equitable and prosperous. The U.S., for all its unravelling, is not (yet) the illiberal, repressive power that Xi Jinping’s China has become. If there is a Cold War brewing, we will, in fact, have to take sides, even if there is a price to pay. That may mean there will be more “Michaels.” But — China, take note — there will be more “Mengs” as well.

The Bridge in the Parks: The Five Eyes and Cold War Counter-Intelligence

Edited by Dennis G. Molinaro
University of Toronto Press, 2021

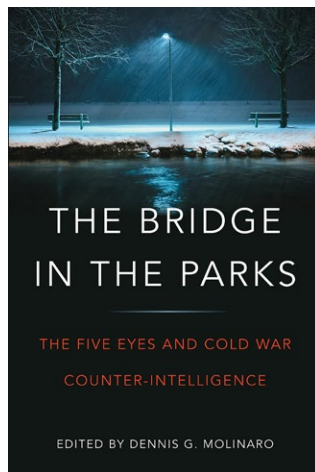
Kindle \$19.41

Paperback \$34.60

Hardcover: \$63.75

266 pages

As political scientist Reg Whitaker notes in the foreword, the Cold War is today seen as having a starting point — the end of the Second World War — and an end point — the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Proxy wars and espionage were rife during that period: Canadians, for example, are fa-



miliar with the Gouzenko Affair, and the epoch’s most dangerous moments came during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis.

During these decades, Western governments formed what we now know as the “Five Eyes” intelligence network, which unites the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand in an alliance that has survived into the 21st Century. Its post-2001 focus on terrorist threats has also evolved into tackling the cyber threats posed by Russia and China. This series of essays focuses on the Five Eyes’ history and scrutinizes its future role.

Navalny: Putin’s Nemesis, Russia’s Future?

By Jan Matti Dollbaum, Morvan Lallouet and Ben Noble

Hurst, 2021

280 pages

Hardcover: \$32.62

Russian dissident Alexei Navalny captured the world’s attention when he was poisoned in 2020, evacuated to Germany for treatment and then elected to return to Russia where he was immediately arrested. Though Vladimir Putin’s regime has shut down most of his supporters’ activities, he remains a potent symbol of opposition to the Russian strongman even as he languishes in prison.

This biography explores the courage and contradictions of Navalny, a democratic hero to many, but also a man who has dabbled in nationalism and perhaps racism. *The Guardian* newspaper calls him “inspiring, complex, charismatic, brash and superbly media-savvy.” The authors of this book make no attempt to paper over his flaws, even while admiring the personal mettle of a man willing to confront Putin’s powerful machine and challenge his plans for Russia’s future.

The Future of Diplomacy after COVID-19: Multilateralism and the Global Pandemic
By Hana Alhashimi, Andres Fiallo, Toni-Shae Freckleton, Mona Ali Khalil, Vahd Mulachela and Jonathan Viera
Routledge, 2021

172 pages

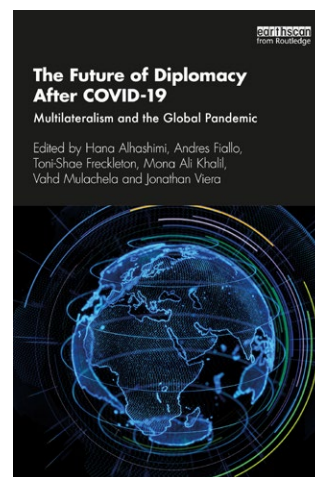
Kindle: \$42.39

Paperback: \$31.96

Hardcover: \$169.76

If there’s one thing we know by now, it’s that COVID-19 is a worldwide threat and will only be brought under control through a co-operative global response. Regrettably, knowledge and action aren’t the same things.

This book reviews COVID’s impact through the lens of the United Nations’ structure and goals, examining the effects of the pandemic on the global economy, sustainable development and global peace, with specific focus on the period from January 2020, when the World Health Organization declared COVID a public health emergency, to the 75th anniversary session of the United Nations in

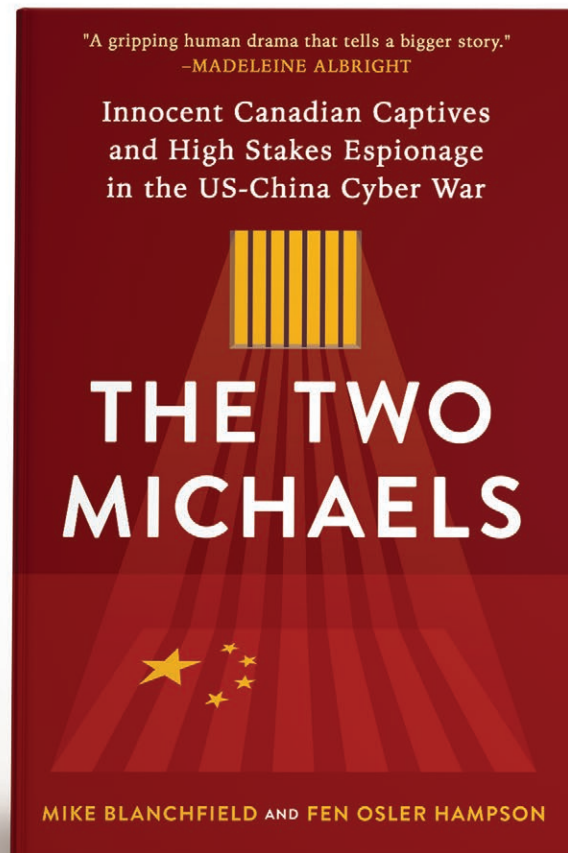


October 2020. COVID-19 marked a “before and after 2020” for the UN’s role in maintaining peace and security worldwide, the authors assert, focusing on the fragility of international institutions and the need to strengthen them to better meet future threats such as pandemics.

Christina Spencer is the editorial pages editor of the *Ottawa Citizen* and the inaugural recipient of the Claude Ryan Award for Editorial Writing at the 2017 National Newspaper Awards. She has a master’s in international affairs from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University and is a past winner of a National Newspaper Award for international reporting.

“The Two Michaels is a timely and highly-readable book — a gripping human drama that also tells a bigger story about the fast-changing world of international diplomacy, superpower rivalry, and the struggle to secure the Internet.”

—**MADELEINE ALBRIGHT**, former US Secretary of State



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Art from Kinngait on display



Having Some Tea, by Annie Pootoogook, one of the works by the late artist that can now be seen in locations in central Ottawa.



Peter Simpson

Editor's note: Due to unpredictable public-health restrictions, please contact galleries in advance to check whether exhibition dates have changed.

Annie Pootoogook was an unassuming figure on the streets of Ottawa — quiet, small and without pretence — yet the mark she left on Canadian art is indelible.

I didn't know Pootoogook, but she was beloved by those who did know her. She was born in 1969 in Kinngait (at that time called Cape Dorset) on Baffin Island, into a brilliantly talented artistic family. Eventually she became an artist as well, and would develop a body of drawings that dispensed with familiar imagery of northern life — or, at least, the type of northern imagery that was familiar to potential art buyers in the south of Canada — and fo-

cused on the domestic hardships that Inuk women face in their own homes and communities. She had, wrote Nancy Campbell for the Art Canada Institute (aci-iac.ca), "a keen eye for detail and fearlessness in representing daily life — the celebratory, the frightening and the mundane."

From her remote beginnings, Pootoogook became the first Inuk artist to win a \$50,000 Sobey Art Award, with an exhibition of her work at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Later, her work was exhibited at the National Museum for the American Indian in New York City, and today it's seen in the National Gallery of Canada, the Art Gallery of Canada and elsewhere,



Koinobori, by Alexa Hatanaka, at AXNÉO 7 in Gatineau.

including the Ottawa Art Gallery and its smaller neighbour, SAW Gallery, which had been among Pootoogook's favourite spaces in Ottawa.

Pootoogook struggled with substance abuse while she lived in Canada's southern cities, and she drowned in 2016, in the Rideau River under suspicious circumstances.

On Nov. 7, the City of Ottawa officially renamed the square at 250 Somerset St. East in Sandy Hill "Annie Pootoogook Park." Her work can now be seen in two satellite locations nearby.

The City of Ottawa has an exhibition for winter-spring 2022 in the space at 107 and 109 Sparks St. Titled *Moments of Respite*, it includes the work of Pootoogook and Inuit artist Brian Adams. "Anchored in contemporary reality, *Moments of Respite* shares histories and insights into Inuit identity from East to West," the program notes read.

At the Sandy Hill Community Centre, next to the newly renamed park, Pootoogook's art can be seen in another exhibition that considers its influence on younger Inuit artists, such as Katherine

Takpannie, a 2020 winner of the National Gallery's Scotiabank New Generation Photographer Award. Precise dates are not yet confirmed.

There are more Kinngait voices to be found at AXNÉO7 in Gatineau, with an international influence.

Alexa Hatanaka "collaborates on site-specific and community-engaged projects with youth in Kinngait, Nunavut, as part of her collective Kinngarni Katujjiqati-giit," the artist-run centre reports. In her exhibition titled *side by each 2.0* (Jan. 26 to March 12), Hatanaka will engage "in time-intensive, historic processes connected to her Japanese heritage that support her thinking around community-building, environment and persisting and honouring evolving cultural practices," including printmaking and kamiko, "the practice of sewing garments out of konnyaku starch-strengthened" Japanese paper. (80 rue Hanson in Gatineau, see more at axeneo7.qc.ca)

Back on the Ottawa side, there's one more view of Kinngait, at L.A. Pai Gallery (13 Murray St.). The exhibition *Transformation* will feature "new, imaginative

carvings" from David Shaa. Check for exhibition dates at www.lapaigallery.com.

City Hall offerings

The galleries in Ottawa City Hall have a trio of group exhibitions with a wide variety of media and visions.

At the City Hall Art Gallery, the exhibition *Holding Pattern* continues to Feb. 11 with a selection of new and recent acquisitions to the city's art collection.

Opening in the same space on Feb. 24 is *Stacks and Queues*, with the work of Karina Kraenzle, Cindy Stelmackowich and Andrew Morrow. The exhibition notes say the selection of drawings, paintings, collages, sculptures and digital photographs will be "rooted in the aesthetic, cultural, material and symbolic history of the classically inspired body," and that "these artworks are bound by processes of disassembly and re-assembly."

Opening Feb. 10, just down the hall at the Karsh-Masson Gallery, is the exhibition *2022 Karsh Continuum*, curated by Andrew Wright and featuring the photographic work of Stéphane Alexis, Shelby Lisk and Neeko Paluzzi.

"All three artists engage with photogra-



A pod of beluga whale models, originally built at the Canadian Museum of Nature, has now returned to the museum after many years at the World Exchange Plaza.



Jacinthe Baribeau adapts familiar objects for unfamiliar uses to challenge perceptions, at Espace Pierre-Debain in Gatineau.



An untitled canvas by Geneviève-Audrey Mercier, showing at Galerie St-Laurent + Hill in Ottawa.



The Ottawa City Hall Art Gallery has works by, from left, Karina Kraenzle, Andrew Morrow, Cindy Stelmackowich and others.



Don Kwan's *A Portrait of the Artist with Lantern in the Landscape*, at Ottawa Art Gallery.



Jonny on the Ground, by Alexander Finlay, at the School of Photographic Arts Ottawa, SPAO.

phy in an expanded sense,” says Wright, the 2019 winner of the Karsh Award, which recognizes the legacy of iconic brothers Yousuf and Malak Karsh. “Recognizing both the utility and the limitations of photography’s established traditions and conceits,” Wright says, the younger artists “continue to make poignant works where photography is an important yet constituent part of their significance.” The exhibition continues to April 1. Search for the galleries and more details at ottawa.ca.

The collection of the City of Gatineau will be featured, as it and Galerie Montcalm each mark their 40th anniversary. Culled from more than 3,000 works in the collection, the exhibition *Beyond the Real* will include “non-figurative works by contemporary Canadian artists who have dared, each in their own way, to transgress the limits of reality to better open the doors to the imaginary,” the gallery notes. The exhibition is open to Feb. 27.

In the adjacent Espace Pierre-Debain, the exhibition *Appearances* will feature the work of Jacinthe Baribeau.

“The potter’s trade taught me to do, remake and undo,” Baribeau says (in French). The exhibition notes say she “questions the utilitarian object that already carries an agreed meaning, seizes it to deviate from its usual path” until the objects are “staged in an unusual way, in a fascinating work of reinterpretation.” The exhibition is open Jan. 26 to March 6.

Both galleries are in the Maison de la culture at 855 Bd. de la Gappe. See more at maisondelaculture.ca.

Showing elsewhere . . .

Canada and Impressionism: *New Horizons*, Feb. 2 to June 12, National Gallery, 380 Sussex Dr. The major exhibition, like so much else delayed by the pandemic, finally opens with grand examples of Canada’s contribution to impressionism. With more than 100 works by 36 artists, visitors will “follow in the footsteps of Canadian artists from North America to North Africa, and learn how impressionism ushered in new ways of seeing and depicting life in Canada.” Featured will be works by Lawren Harris, Emily Carr, Florence Carlyle and others. gallery.ca

Lost Liberties: *The War Measures Act*, to Sept. 5, Canadian Museum of History, 100 Laurier St., Gatineau. This show is an examination of how enactment of the War Measures Act during two world wars and Quebec’s 1970 October Crisis, fuelled by “fears, racism and crises,” led to the loss of

civil liberties for many. historymuseum.ca

Black Military History of the Niagara region: Feb. 4 to May 8, Canadian War Museum, 1 Vimy Place. A panel exhibition on the service of Black men and women and how “their lived experiences offer insight into the broader experience of Black Canadians and the country’s military history.” warmuseum.ca



A portrait of William and Lavina Chandler and group, at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa.

Whale homecoming: Canadian Museum of Nature, 240 McLeod St. Five life-size whale models — three beluga and two narwhal — that were built by the museum for the World Exchange Plaza in 1991 (and unveiled by Princess Diana) have been gifted back to the museum. They now hang high up in the museum’s Water Gallery on permanent display. nature.ca

Abound: Art from the University of Ottawa Department of Visual Arts 2021, Jan. 22 to Feb. 20, Ottawa Art Gallery, 10 Daly Ave. Seven graduates of the university’s master of fine arts program exhibit their work and, not surprisingly given the pandemic and public lockdown, “many of the works evoke a sense of place, and the (dis)comfort that comes with feeling static, isolated or unwelcome.” The exhibition includes work from students Angelina Barrucco (formerly McCormick), Peter Kohut, the recently deceased Lilly Koltun and others. oaggao.ca

Barbara Gamble Spellbound: *40 Years of Artmaking*, Feb. 16 to March 25, Sivarulasa Gallery, 34 Mill St., Almonte. This retrospective features four decades of drawings and paintings from Barbara Gamble, including urban and wilderness

landscapes and life drawings, some of them not previously exhibited. sivarul-rasa.com.

Innominate Nature: Jan. 7 to Feb. 20, SPAO (School of the Photographic Arts in Ottawa), 77 Pamilla St. Works from lens-based artists Stephane Alexis, Julia Campisi, Alexander Finlay and Maria-Helena Pacelli consider how “the pressures and

stresses of recent events cracked the fragile moulds of our identity,” as they “reject a return to normal in favour of a deeply personal emergence into the unknown.” spao.ca

Travelling vicariously: *The High Line*, March 5 to 26, Wall Space Gallery, 358 Richmond Rd. Eryn O’Neill is well known in Ottawa for her paintings of the city’s architecture and infrastructure landscapes. She’s also turned her eye to the High Line, that madding-crowd-popular elevated walkway through Manhattan. wallspace-gallery.ca

Artists of the gallery: Jean-Claude Bergeron Gallery, 150 St. Patrick St., Ottawa. A group exhibition of work by the august gallery’s list of Canadian and international artists. Check the gallery for dates. galeriejeanclaudebergeron.ca.

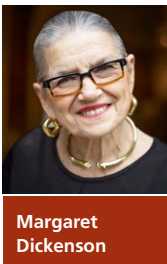
Geneviève-Audrey Mercier: Dates TBD, Galerie St-Laurent + Hill, 293 Dalhousie St. An exhibition of new work from Mercier. galeriestlaurentplushill.com

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

Tasty comfort food to prepare at home



Crispy Shrimp Dumplings make a nice snack or canapé before a meal.



Margaret
Dickenson

One of the joys of even cool weather has to be indulging in recipes that give us cosy comfort. Imagine biting into crisp, translucent, wonton dumplings, plump with discreetly scented wasabi shrimp, lusciously suspended in melted smoked salmon cream cheese. Next, consider a cold weather favourite — lamb shanks with a unique complexity of flavours, seducing palates to the last generous morsel. As a frosty day winner for breakfast, brunch, or a treat after outdoor activities, count on my fresh-out-of-the-oven Blueberry Dutch Baby. Bon Appetit!

Crispy Shrimp Dumplings

Makes 18 pieces or 6 servings

- 18 peeled and cooked shrimp (count: 31 to 40)
- 18 wonton skins, round (diameter: 3½ inches or 9 centimetres)
- Several sprigs of fresh dill
- ½ cup (125 ml) smoked salmon cream cheese
- ¾ to 1 tsp (4 to 5 ml) wasabi paste
- 1 egg white
- As required vegetable oil for deep-frying
- ½ cup Truffle Mayonnaise* (optional)

1. Cut a 1¼-inch (6 ml) segment from the central area of each shrimp (setting aside the end bits for another purpose). Then slice each segment lengthwise in half to make 2 thin flat pieces.

2. Lay round wonton skins out (a few at a time) on a clean flat surface. To one side of the centre of each skin, add a tiny sprig of fresh dill (keeping well within the edge of the wonton skin). Top with ½ tsp (3 mL) of smoked salmon cream cheese and then 2 pieces of shrimp interlocking them together without surpassing the centre of the wonton. Paint the shrimp with a light touch of wasabi before adding another ½ tsp (3 mL) of cream cheese, and finally a second tiny sprig of dill. (Note: Avoid being generous with the filling.)

3. Dampen the entire circumference of the wonton skins (in a 1/3-inch or 0.8-centimetre-wide band) with egg white. (Tip: An eyedropper type tool works well.)

4. Fold ungarnished half of the wonton skin over filling to form a half-moon shape and pinch “open edges” together well. (Tip: A dumpling/perogi press ensures a good seal.)

5. Using a deep fat fryer, heat oil to 350 F or 180 C.

6. Working in batches of 3 or 4, fry dumplings, turning carefully and regularly until golden brown (about 1 minute). Transfer to a paper towel-lined tray and then to a wire cooling rack.

7. Serve slightly cooled dumplings promptly with Truffle Mayonnaise as a dipping sauce.

* To make ½ cup of Truffle Mayonnaise, whisk 1 tbsp (15 mL) of truffle oil into ½ cup of mayonnaise.

The dumplings may be prepared up to a day in advance. Place in a single layer on a parchment-lined tray, cover loosely with paper towels, place in a plastic bag and refrigerate.

Flavour-Rich Lamb Shanks

Makes 4 servings

4 lamb shanks (each: 12 oz or 340 g)
2½ cups (625 ml) red wine, divided
1½ tsp (8 ml) peeled and grated fresh gingerroot
¾ tsp (4 ml) crushed black peppercorn
1 2/3 tbsp (25 ml) minced garlic, divided
2 tsp (10 ml) ground cumin, divided
½ cup (125 ml) all-purpose flour
2 tbsp (30 ml) brown sugar
2 tbsp (30 ml) garlic butter
1/3 cup (80 ml) each of diced onion and



Flavour-Rich Lamb Shanks are a warm and comforting meal for a cold day.

uncooked bacon
2 to 3 tsp (10 to 15 ml) balsamic vinegar
1 cup (250 ml) tomato sauce, thick and tasty
1 tsp (5 ml) each of ground coriander and orange zest
3 tbsp (45 ml) chopped dates
1 cup (250 ml) diced butternut squash (optional)
½ cup (125 ml) prepared beef bouillon

1. Score the tendons of the shanks in several places. Place the shanks in a heavy-duty resealable plastic bag.
2. To make the marinade, in a medium-size bowl whisk together only 2 cups (500 ml) of red wine, the gingerroot, crushed black peppercorns, only 1 tbsp (15 ml) of garlic and 1 tsp (5 ml) of cumin. Pour the marinade over the shanks, sealing the bag securely. Refrigerate up to 24 hours, turning the bag frequently to redistribute the marinade.
3. When ready to cook the shanks, remove them from the marinade and reserve the mar-

inade. Pat the shanks dry with paper towels.
4 In a large resealable plastic bag, combine flour and brown sugar; add the shanks one at a time and press them into the flour and brown sugar mixture until well coated.

5. Melt garlic butter in a large Dutch oven or very large cast-iron skillet over medium-high heat. Add the shanks, browning all sides including the ends. Remove shanks from skillet.

6. Reduce heat to medium, wipe out the Dutch oven/skillet with a paper towel, add bacon and sauté for a couple of minutes before adding the onion and garlic. Stir constantly until onions are slightly golden in colour.

7. Pour reserved marinade plus all remaining ingredients, including the remaining ½ cup (125 ml) of red wine, 2 tsp (10 ml) garlic and 1 tsp (5 ml) cumin and combine. Add the seared lamb shanks and turn to coat with sauce.

8. Securely cover Dutch oven/skillet and transfer to the centre of a preheated



Blueberry Dutch Babies make a tasty brunch option or a good snack after a bracing outdoor activity.

350 F (175 C) oven for 1½ to 2 hours (removing from the oven every 30 minutes and turning shanks) until meat is very tender. Note: It may be necessary to add more liquid (water, bouillon or a touch of wine) and adjust flavours according to taste. If the sauce is too thin when removed from the oven after cooking, bring to a boil over medium heat until slightly thickened.

9. Serve with accompaniments of choice (a couscous pilaf, polenta, mashed potatoes, creamed celeriac, orzo or even buttered steamed cauliflower, etc.).

Blueberry Dutch Baby

Makes 4 servings

1/3 cup (80 ml) melted butter, divided
 2/3 cup (170 ml) milk, room temperature
 4 eggs, room temperature
 1½ tsp (8 ml) orange zest
 1 1/3 tsp (7 ml) vanilla
 1/3 tsp (2 ml) salt
 1/5 tsp or a pinch each of ground cinnamon and ground ginger
 2/3 cup (170 ml) all-purpose flour

1½ cup (375 ml) fresh blueberries, divided
 3 tbsp (45 ml) toasted slivered almonds
 As desired icing sugar
 1/3 cup (80 ml) sour cream
 8 slices of freshly grilled bacon
 maple syrup

1. Place a large cast-iron skillet (diameter: 9-inch or 23-cm)* in the centre of a preheated 450 F (230 C) oven.
2. In a medium-sized bowl, whisk only ¼ cup (60 ml) melted butter into the milk. Then whisk in eggs, orange zest, vanilla, salt, cinnamon and ginger.
3. Gradually add flour and whisk until the batter is very smooth.
4. Carefully remove the skillet from the oven, and working quickly, drizzle with remaining melted butter, using a pastry brush to coat all interior surfaces. Pour in the batter, sprinkle the surface with only half of the blueberries, and promptly transfer the skillet back to the oven.
5. Avoid opening the oven until the Dutch Baby is brown and nicely puffed (about 15 minutes).
6. Carefully remove the skillet from the

oven. Promptly sprinkle the surface with the remaining blueberries, rolling them gently over the surface to become shiny and somewhat glazed. Finally, sprinkle with toasted almonds; and, using a fine sieve, dust with icing sugar.

7. Top with a dollop of sour cream.

8. Serve immediately (before the Dutch Baby begins to deflate) along with grilled bacon slices and maple syrup as accompaniments.

* Option: 4 small cast-iron skillets (i.e. diameter 6" or 15 cm) may be used, which generally offer a great "puffing" effect.

Margaret Dickenson is a cookbook author, menu/recipe developer and a protocol, business and etiquette instructor. Both of her cookbooks were recognized as the "Best of the Best — 25 Years" at the Gourmand World Cookbook Awards in Paris at the end of November 2020. In the entertaining category, *From the Ambassador's Table* won for best historical first-time cookbook, while *Margaret's Table* received a special award as a tribute to her expertise in entertaining.

New arrivals

Scott Ryan
High Commissioner for Australia



Scott Ryan comes to diplomacy from politics. He was first elected to the Senate in the 2007 federal election and was re-elected in 2013 and 2016. He served as a parliamentary secretary to the minister for education, and then as parliamentary secretary to the minister for education and training. He also served as minister for vocational education and skills following a cabinet rearrangement. He was elected president of the Senate in 2017 and resigned his ministerial posts to take up the position.

Prior to his involvement in politics, he worked as a speechwriter in the office of the Victorian opposition leader. He also worked in corporate affairs for GlaxoSmithKline and was a research fellow at the Institute of Public Affairs between 2007 and 2008. He is married and they have two sons.

Ronen Hoffman
Ambassador of Israel



Ambassador Hoffman is an academic and former member of the Knesset. For 20 years, he taught at the Reichman University in Herzliya on topics ranging from diplomacy and foreign policy to conflict management.

From 2013 to 2015, he served as a member of the defence and foreign affairs committee, chairman of the subcommittee on foreign policy and public diplomacy and chairman of the Israel-Canada Interparliamentary Friendship Association.

From 2001 to 2002, he advised the minister of defence on international and political affairs. He was a member of the Israeli delegation for peace negotiations with Syria in 2000 and actively participated in the negotiations, co-ordinated pre-negotiation staff work and formulated policy papers and reports on the peace talks.

Ambassador Hoffman has three children and his partner is Michal Arad.

Khalid bin Rashid S.H. Al Mansouri
Ambassador-designate of Qatar



Ambassador Al Mansouri joined the foreign ministry in 1987 and joined the consular department later that year. He moved over to the department responsible for international organizations and conferences between 1991 and 1993 before becoming second secretary at the embassy in Washington. He held that position from 1993 to 1998, at which point he returned to the ministry's information and research department until 2002.

Al Mansouri was director of European and American Affairs from 2002 to 2005 and was named ambassador to the United Kingdom from 2005 to 2014. He returned to headquarters as director of the department of European affairs before being named ambassador to France between 2016 and 2018. In 2019, he was named an adviser to the minister of foreign affairs for international development.

He was awarded the Royal Victorian Knight Order by Queen Elizabeth II and the National Order of Merit by the president of France.

Alfredo Martínez Serrano
Ambassador of Spain



Ambassador Martínez Serrano has a law degree and a master's in European Union law from the European Institute of the Free University of Brussels.

A career diplomat, he has served as chief adviser to the cabinet of the foreign minister and has completed postings as deputy chief of mission in Saudi Arabia, Bulgaria, El Salvador and Egypt. Between 2007 and 2012, he was deputy chief of protocol at the royal household of Spain, responsible for the international agenda and public activities of the crown prince and princess, after which he became chief of protocol.

Since 2016, he has been managing the King of Spain's agenda and engaging in intense reform of the royal household.

The ambassador is married and has three children.

Harsha Kumara Navaratne Weraduwa
High Commissioner for Sri Lanka



High Commissioner Weraduwa has worked with non-profit organizations over his long career. From 1978 to 1991, he worked for the Lanka Jathika Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement, where he trained stakeholders and co-ordinated work with the organization's partners, such as Oxfam, UNICEF and Care.

Starting in 1991, he spent two years as an adviser to the Janasaviya National Poverty Alleviation Program and then founded the Sevalanka Foundation, a national organization to support community-based groups.

He was an executive member of the advisory board for the United Nations Peace University and served five years as an executive member of the Peace Prize Committee for the Niwano Peace Foundation in Japan. From 2020 to 2021, he was the commissioner of the Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka.

The high commissioner is married.

David L. Cohen
Ambassador of the United States



Before his appointment as ambassador to Canada, Ambassador Cohen served as senior adviser to the CEO at Comcast Corporation. He was previously senior executive vice-president at Comcast, where his portfolio included corporate communications, legal affairs, government and regulatory affairs, public affairs, corporate administration, corporate real estate and security and community impact. He also served as the company's first chief diversity officer.

Before joining Comcast in 2002, he was a partner and chairman at Ballard Spahr Andrews & Ingersoll, LLP, one of the 100 largest law firms in the country. From January 1992 to April 1997, Cohen served as chief of staff to the mayor of Philadelphia.

He has served on many non-profit boards. A native of New York, he has a bachelor's degree from Swarthmore College and a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

Non-heads of mission

Australia

Ellie Mae Aurisch
Assistant defence adviser

Dylan James Hubbard
First secretary

Bolivia

Andrea Valentina Pena
Castellon
First secretary

Brazil

Waleska Aragao Lelis
Attaché and vice-consul

Burkina Faso

Taba Doye
Second counsellor

Chile

Claudia Andrea Aravena Neira
First secretary

China

Cong Shen
First secretary

Jun Zhang
First secretary

Yang Wang
Second secretary

Xiaolong Chen
Third secretary

Li Jiang
Attaché

Yingzi Jia
Second secretary

Yan Wang
Minister-Counsellor

Chunqing Zhang
Attaché

Yang Zhou
Attaché

Côte d'Ivoire

Mangny Justine Tano Nee Coffi
Counsellor

Mariatou Doussou Iahya Toure
Nee Coulibaly
Attaché

Cuba

Jorge Luis Machado Labanino
Attaché

Isaylin Cabanas Vera
Counsellor

Egypt

Faten Abdelmeguid Hassan
Elsayed
Attaché

Amr Fawzy Abdelateef
Elsharnoubi
Assistant defence, military, naval
and air attaché

Germany

Sebastian Klaer
First secretary

Jurgen Gerhard Kurzhals
Second secretary

Astrid Maria Jakobs De Padua
Minister-counsellor

Klaus Ruediger Schindel
Counsellor

Ghana

Maxwell Appiah-Kubi
Defence Attaché

Guyana

Lucresha Alecia Bryan-French
First secretary

Cindy Maria Sauers
Counsellor and acting high com-
missioner

India

Sone Lal Mallik
Second secretary

Bikram Pal Singh Bhatti
First secretary

Iraq

Ahmed Hussein Kareem Kareem
First secretary

Jamaica

Dale Elliott Stanley Jones
Counsellor

Japan

Tokuro Furuya
Minister

Hiromi Masaki
Attaché

Takuma Taniguchi
Attaché

Akiko Satoh
First secretary

Shingo Amano
Second Secretary

Korea, Republic

Jae Kyung Park
Minister

Kosovo

Korab Mushkolaj
Counsellor

Kuwait

Naser A. Sh. A. B. Aladwani
Attaché

Libya

Abdalla S. A. Bgar
Minister-counsellor

Guoma A. G. Alswidi
Assistant attaché

Rashed A. M. Sharkasi
Counsellor

Mexico

Jose Maria Martinez Gonzalez
Attaché

New Zealand

Kirsty Pelenur
First secretary

Nigeria

Bridget Oluremi Yinka-Adewale
Attaché

Esther Odera Omene
First secretary

David Toyin Apinran
Second secretary

Paraguay

Pablo Esteban Ramon Bedoya
Gonzalez
Minister and chargé d'affaires

Philippines

Leo Marco Vidal
Third secretary and vice-consul

Romania

Viorica Cate
Counsellor

Russia

Maria Antonova
Second secretary

Artem Kalabukhov
First secretary

Igor Prokopiev
First secretary

Rwanda

Eustache Rutabuzwa
Defence attaché

Saudi Arabia

Mohammed Abdullah A.
Aljebri
Attaché

Sultan Ali S. Alaql
Attaché

Faisal Shudayyid D. Alotaibi
Attaché

Yasser Hamed A. Sindi
First secretary

Riyad Abdallah M. Naseef
First secretary

Ahmed Mohammed A.
Banunnah
Attaché

Faisal Abdulrahman M. Alotaibi
Attaché

Senegal

Papa Alioune Badara Biteye
First counsellor

Awa Cheikh Seck
Second secretary

Moustapha Sow
Minister-counsellor

Spain

Maria Del Pilar Alvarez Julvez
Attaché

Sri Lanka

Anzul Banu Jhan
Deputy high commissioner

Tanzania

Charles Tumaini Faini
Minister-Counsellor

Thailand

Pachara Lochindaratana Janes
Counsellor

Turkey

Naim Cengiz
Counsellor

United Kingdom

Stephen Howard Bridges
Second secretary

Amberley Rose Coomber
Third secretary

Ian Attwood
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United States of America

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WHERE ROOMS BECOME AMAZING



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The fino points: Exploring Spain's fortified wines



Tristan
Bragaglia-
Murdock

Sherry often gets a bad rap. Sweet-style Harvey's Bristol Cream, despite being the world's best-selling sherry, does little to positively fortify this wine's reputation.

The southwestern Spanish region of Jerez has been a historic wine region for centuries. Under King Alfonso's rule in the 1200s, knights were rewarded with vineland in the region. The Valdespino wine company can trace direct lineage to such a knight, while the Palomino grape's eponym is thought to be linked to another knight of the same time period.

Palomino is dry sherry's most important varietal, accounting for nearly 98 per cent of the region's plantings. Low in acid, neutral on the nose with sweet juice, it's suited for the fortified wines of the region.

Impacted by cool westerly winds from the Atlantic and dry, arid breezes from North Africa, Jerez weather can go from cold to hot in a matter of hours. The plots are grown on chalky white albariza soil. Calcareous and porous, they reflect sunlight back up to the vines while also retaining water during the warmer months.

Sherry production is centred predominantly around the town of Jerez, though nearby Sanlúcar de Barrameda produces its own iteration of dry sherry known as Manzanilla. The latter's proximity to the ocean's salty sea air creates a unique environment for its wines.

Sherry styles break down into two categories: sweet and dry. Sweet sherries, based on Moscatel or labelled Pedro Ximénez (PX) are treacle-heavy, loaded with dried fruit and occasionally notes of honey. PX sherries can have high levels of residual sugar and are best served with desserts, nuts, cheeses and dried fruit.

Dry sherries can be daunting. Wine-making minutiae and less conventional cellar techniques can cause severe analysis paralysis. At their core, fino, manzanilla,

oloroso and amontillado start similarly. Palomino grapes are fermented in neutral vessels before they're left to mature in barrels. During the maturation process, almanacenistas — the region's wine negotiators — taste through barrels to determine quality and the direction in which the sherries will evolve.

While amontillados and olorosos will be fortified to a higher level to help protect and stabilize the wine, finos and manzanillas are less fortified to allow for the development of a yeast veil, known as flor, on the wine's surface.

The difference between biological aging (flor development) and oxidative aging cannot be understated. The veil atop finos and manzanillas retains the wine's characteristic citrus, almond and brine notes by preventing oxygen from permeating it, resulting in a pale colour. Oloroso wines, meanwhile, are mahogany-hued, richer in texture and fuller. Without a protective yeast veil, the interplay of oxygen on the aging process impacts the colour. Nutty, coffee and dried fruit notes develop.

Amontillado rides the line between biological and oxidative aging: What started as a wine under a flor will gradually move into oxidative aging, either through refortification or the yeast naturally running its course and dying out. Depending on cellaring techniques, this style varies, though aspects of fino and oloroso will be highlighted in the final wine.

House styles are linked to sherry's most important process of winemaking: the solera system. At its simplest, the system ensures a consistent wine style. Each house operates slightly differently in these regards, and each wine produced will have its own solera. The solera system involves multiple tiers of barrels, forming different levels in the blend. There can be as few as three tiers and as many as 10.

As the almanacenistas taste the sherries, they determine the best time to transfer wines from one tier to the next. To do this, a third of the final tier will be bottled. This will then be topped up with the preceding tier and so on, until the first barrel in the tier is topped up with new wine. This is integral to biological sherries as the introduction of oxygen and new wine will be beneficial to the flor's development. As such, there will always be a fractional percentage of the initial wine being blended in from when that solera system began,



Tio Pepe is a widely available sherry and will dispel the myth that all sherry tastes like Harvey's Bristol Cream.

some of which dates back to the 1800s. Given that, exceptional care must be taken to ensure the style is respected; it takes years to right a wronged solera.

The complexity of the sherry's dry styles is worth celebrating. Robust enough to hold up to most dishes, it makes a great aperitif and digestif wine. Despite the tireless work of almanacenistas, these wines are undervalued and overlooked.

The LCBO carries some classic examples— Tio Pepe and Barbadillo — but it's also worth looking into All the Right Grape's wine portfolio. It carries the greatest number of sherries in Ontario and always has lovely offerings.

When Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock isn't pulling corks at Fauna, chances are his nose is either in a glass or in a wine book.

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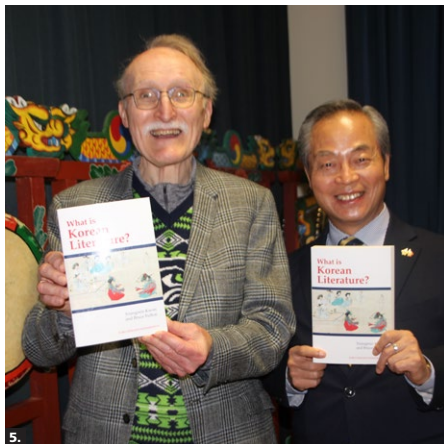


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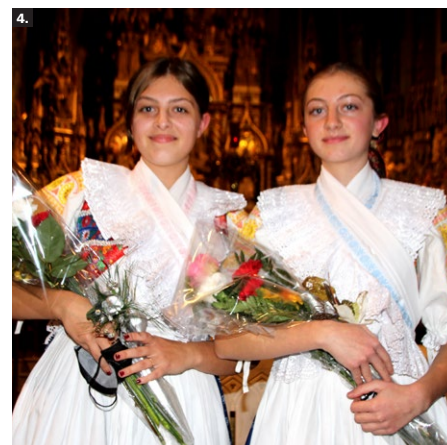
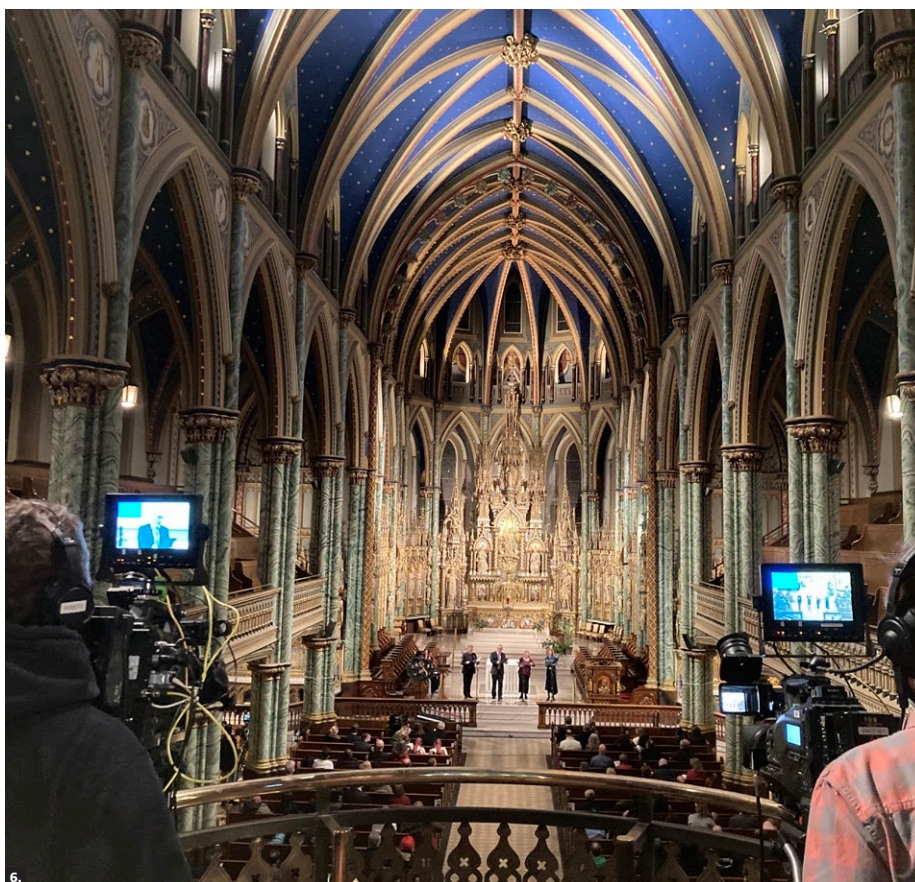
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1. To mark the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations with Canada, a virtual event called "Central America's Economic Recovery in a Post-COVID World and Canada's Role" was organized by the embassies of Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and Dominican Republic in co-operation with Carleton University. Salvadoran Ambassador Ricardo Alfonso Cisneros Rodriguez spoke. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. To mark the 109th anniversary of Albanian independence, Ambassador Ermal Muca and his wife, Alma, hosted a reception at the Westin. From left: The Mucas, MP Julie Dabrusin and MP Rob Oliphant. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. The Danish Embassy hosted a reception, exhibition and expert panel discussion on sustainable architecture in the Arctic at the Royal Canadian Geographical Society. At right, Danish Ambassador Hanne Fugl Eskjær and, at left, John Grigsby Geiger, CEO of the Royal Canadian Geographical Society. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. A cocktail reception to mark 60 years of Tanzanian mainland independence took place at the Hilton Garden Inn in Toronto. Tanzanian High Commissioner Mpoki Mwasumbi Uliisubisa spoke. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. The Korean Embassy hosted its speaker series at the Korean Cultural Centre, featuring U.B.C. professor Bruce Fulton. From left, Fulton and Korean Ambassador Keung Ryong Chang. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. To mark 60 years of diplomatic relations between Panama and Canada, Ambassador Romy Vasquez hosted a screening of the documentary, *La Matamoras*, at the University of Ottawa. She delivered opening remarks. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. The opening of the 36th European Union Film Festival took place at the ByTowne Cinema with a screening of the Slovenian film, *Inventory*, by Darko Sinko. The event was hosted by the Delegation of the European Union to Canada and the Embassy of Slovenia in collaboration with the Canadian Film Institute. Slovenian Ambassador Andrej Gregor Rode spoke. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. Tom McSorley, executive director of the Canadian Film Institute spoke at the opening ceremony of the virtual European Union Film Festival. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. The Delegation of the European Union to Canada and the diplomatic missions of the EU member states presented their 14th Christmas concert for 200 people, featuring European Christmas carols and songs. Shown here are concert organizer Ülke Baum and artistic director Timothy Piper. (Photo: Charles Pierce) 4. From left, Terezia Koziakova and Sabina Koziakova, daughters of Slovakian Ambassador Vit Koziak, performed three Slovakian Christmas songs at the EU concert. They are wearing traditional hand-made costumes decorated with embroidery done using a "curved needle" technique. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. EU Ambassador Melita Gabric gave opening remarks at the Christmas concert. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. The Quartapella ensemble performing at Notre-Dame Cathedral Basilica during the annual EU Christmas concert. The students and alumni of the Broadcasting-Television Program of Algonquin College recorded this year's one-hour program for Rogers TV. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



WINTER-SPRING 2022 | JAN-JUNE



1. The inaugural ceremony of the Alliance Ghanaian-Canadian Associations (AGCA) took place at the Ghanaian Presbyterian Church of Toronto. AGCA is a not-for-profit organization that liaises between the Ghana High Commission and various Ghanaian organizations in Canada. Ghanaian High Commissioner Anselm Ransford Adzete Sowah spoke and master of ceremonies Anna Aidoo is shown here. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. On the occasion of the 98th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, Ambassador Kerim Uras hosted a reception at the residence. From left, Ambassador Uras and his wife, Zeynep Saylan Uras. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. The Embassy of Poland and the Slavic Research Group at the University of Ottawa organized a multidisciplinary celebration to mark the 200th anniversary of the birth of Cyprian Kamil Norwid, a Polish poet, dramatist, sculptor and painter. The event included a film screening and poetry readings accompanied by the music of Frédéric Chopin and took place at the Polish Embassy. Ambassador Andrzej Kurnicki hosted the event. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. A screening of the documentary, *Tomorrow*, by Cyril Dion and Melanie Laurent for the members of the Heads of Mission Spouses Association (HOMSA) and invited guests was hosted by Marije Bijl, spouse of the ambassador of Switzerland, at the residence. She is shown here, welcoming guests. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. The members of HOMSA and invited guests joined for a large group photo at the fall cultural event. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

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Keeping spirits high with road trips

By Patrick Langston

We're in the middle of an Ottawa winter with the pandemic still dogging our heels, but that's all the more reason to discover what the open road offers. Our latest recommendations mean you need travel no further than Toronto, and sometimes just to downtown Ottawa, for a revitalizing change of scene.

If your trip includes a couple of overnights, keep your accommodation receipts. You could be eligible for the new Ontario Staycation Tax Credit, which expires at the end of 2022. Remember to check in with your destination before heading out: pandemic restrictions may be in force.

Reconciliation through understanding: Madahoki Farm, a 66-hectare (164-acre) spread in the Greenbelt, provides a safe space for Indigenous communities to reconnect with the land and a place for the rest of us to work toward reconciliation with First Nations people. In addition to its annual Summer Solstice Indigenous Festival, the farm now hosts other seasonal events, including a new March festival this year (dates were not available at the time of writing). The spring celebration is a chance for the public to savour traditional food, browse a farmers' and makers' market featuring art and other items and gain a deeper appreciation of Indigenous perspectives through cultural performances and storytelling. At the Reconciliation Rock Station, you can inscribe a message of reconciliation on an orange rock and leave it along one of the farm's walking trails or take it home. A family affair, the festival at 4420 West Hunt Club Rd. includes small farm animals, activities for children and the farm's treasured herd of rare and endangered Ojibwe Spirit Horses, which have a sacred connection to the lands of Ontario where their ancestors once roamed. indigenousexperiences.ca

Winter nights in the great outdoors: Cosy, and sometimes downright bracing, winter camping is readily accessible to Ottawans. Gatineau Park offers bring-your-own tent campsites along with rental four-season tents, cabins and yurts that have wood stoves and other features. Parks Ontario also has winter campsites,



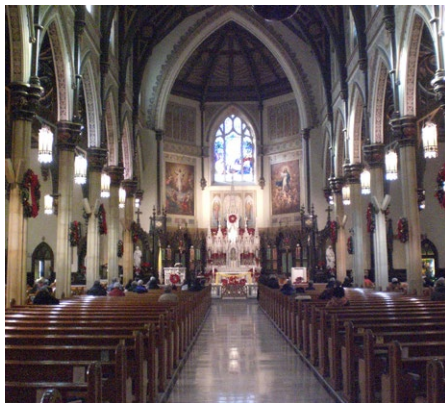
Madahoki Farm provides a safe space for Indigenous communities to reconnect with the land. The farm holds an annual Summer Solstice Indigenous Festival.

including one at Silent Lake in Bancroft, about two and a half hours southwest of Ottawa. Silent Lake offers tenting as well as cabins and yurts, heated variously by electricity and woodstoves, and you can fish for lake trout through the ice. No matter where you go, you'll need to pack winter provisions, normally listed on the websites. You may be able to rent snowshoes and other equipment at the campgrounds if you're visiting during winter.

Bonus: You can bring your dog to some of the cabins and yurts at Silent Lake. Pets are not permitted in Gatineau Park campgrounds.

Space for reflection: One of the fine

things about houses of worship is you needn't be a believer to enter for a few moments of peace and reflection. The trick is finding an unlocked one other than during services. St. Patrick's Basilica, a glorious example of 19th-Century Gothic Revival architecture at the corner of Kent and Nepean streets, is open Monday to Saturday from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and at various times on Sundays. Designed originally (it underwent subsequent redesigns) by Augustus Laver of the architectural firm Fuller and Laver, which also designed the East and West blocks of the Parliament Buildings, the basilica was a multi-year project, with its cornerstone laid by Sir John A. Macdonald



St. Patrick's Basilica is a good example of 19th-Century Gothic Revival architecture.

in 1872. Today, the stencilled ceiling, soaring columns, murals, stained glass windows and bas-relief Stations of the Cross conspire to rejuvenate your addled, 21st-Century brain and put daily concerns in proper perspective. basilica.org Tip: Remember to visit the basilica's basement-level Lourdes grotto. Used for occasional masses, and sometimes a place for city-dwellers to vote, it offers its own kind of serenity.

A different kind of church: If physical rather than spiritual ascent is your preference, your winter travel plans could include the short trip to Altitude Gym in Gatineau. Housed in a former church, the indoor, family-friendly climbing centre is geared to clamberers at all levels and offers more than 100 routes, a bouldering area and other vertical challenges. Altitude Gym, which operates a second facility in Kanata (it's not in a former church), also offers training courses and day camps. altitudegym.ca

Let there be light: The annual Montréal en lumière festival is exactly that — a winter festival where lightheartedness and the glow of the outdoor site at Place des Festivals banish the winter doldrums. The sprawling family event, running from Feb. 17 to 27, spotlights local gastronomy, winter activities and a lineup of indoor shows ranging from flamenco dance and the children's production *Ari Cui Cui and the Magic Skates* to an evening with American humorist and author David Sedaris at the plush Place des Arts. Organizers hadn't released the full schedule at the time of writing, but they promised a new event spotlighting an old sport: skating. Previous festivals have featured attractions such as a Ferris wheel — a fun winter twist on a traditional summer amusement

ride — a 110-metre illuminated outdoor slide and a zipline. Back for sure this year is *Nuit blanche*, traditionally a one-night extravaganza of mostly free cultural events spread over the city. montrealen-lumiere.com

Pickled eggs and music: You can't keep a



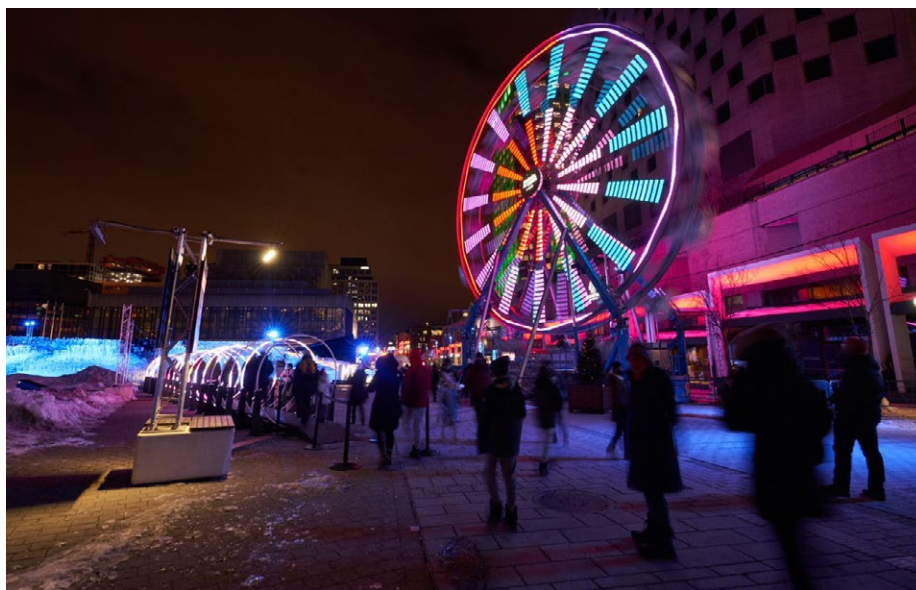
The Château Lafayette, which opened in 1849, is older than the City of Ottawa.

good dive bar down. The Château Lafayette — which opened in 1849, making it older than the City of Ottawa — has battled back from the pandemic lockdowns and, when restrictions lift, will feature regular performers such as the consummate singer/songwriter John Carroll (Wednesday nights) and the legendary country music performer Lucky Ron (Saturday afternoons), a tasty selection of local drafts and quarts of beer, and a menu that includes pickled eggs and toasted baguette,

hot dog steamé, club sandwiches and deep-fried Jos Louis. Familiarly known as The Laff, this Ottawa institution is at 42 York St. You'll find more at its website, which includes a proud timeline dating back almost 200 years and some dandy historic photos.

Arts alive: The arts took a brutal hit during the pandemic, but stages and festivals are slowly lighting up again. If you're looking for a reason to visit Toronto, special arts events may be your ticket. The 20th edition of the Winterfolk Blues & Roots Festival (lineup TBA) runs from Feb. 18 to 20 at several Danforth Avenue sites, including Eastminster United Church. The 21C Music Festival, on until the end of February, features new music by the likes of Kronos Quartet (special guests Tanya Tagaq and Aruna Narayan join the quartet), pianist Eve Egoyan and the Danish String Quartet. A mix of in-person and digital theatre performances comprise this year's Next Stage Theatre Festival, on until the end of January. From Feb. 16 to 21, the Toronto Black Film Festival will present its 10th annual event, with the lineup unavailable at the time of writing. Closer to home, venues are also open again, including the Great Canadian Theatre Company where *The Runner*, Christopher Morris's award-winning thriller set in Israel, plays from Feb. 24 to Mar. 6.

Patrick Langston is an Ottawa writer who's looking forward to local travel this year in his shiny new-to-him car.



The annual Montréal en lumière festival helps banish the winter doldrums with the glow of lights at Place des Festivals.

The End of History?



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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



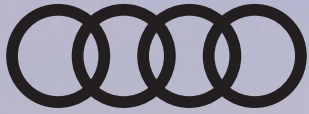
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Photographer Mike Beedell: "I met this king penguin family — along with hundreds of thousands of its neighbours — on an island in the Antarctic Ocean. The chick is wearing its plush pajamas while the adults are wearing their finest tuxedos. They were part of the biggest colony of king penguins on the planet, on the mountainous island of South Georgia. The cacophony of calling and murmuring and ecstatic cries is a stupendous auditory journey while the smell of 400,000 pooping penguins is an olfactory experience that brings definite nostril flare. Kings are the second-largest species of penguins; emperors are the largest. Kings can weigh up to 16 kilograms (35 pounds) and stand up to 94 centimetres (37 inches) high. They can live up to 20 years. Like most Antarctic penguins, they fearlessly approach humans and peck inquisitively at clothing. A nestless species, the parents keep their egg on their feet and have a brood pouch to warm it during 55 days of incubation.



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