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Jennifer Campbell

Oceans under siege

Our annual travel issue this year interrupts the dog days of summer with some sobering news about our oceans, namely that they are threatened on many fronts. Overfishing, inadequate infrastructure, aquaculture, pollution, climate change and several other factors are endangering the health of oceans across the planet.

Wolfgang Depner — our regular Top-10 writer — takes us on a tour of the ills we're inflicting on those bodies of water, and it's a sobering analysis indeed.

To temper the bad news, however, we do make good on our promise to provide our regular summer travel issue. Our feature on the top 10 beaches to visit right now, walks the talk because every beach we recommend has a Blue Flag designation. Blue Flag is a world-renowned eco-label program operated by the Foundation for Environmental Education and headquartered in Copenhagen. To become a Blue Flag beach, beach-keepers must meet and maintain a set of stringent environmental, educational, safety and access criteria. Think of it as a curated list of beach recommendations that offers virtuous vacationing. (See this story on our website www.diplomatonline.com for an interactive map so you can choose a country and a beach to plan your next getaway.) You can sip your piña colada free of guilt.

We get serious, though, on other issues. Canada's auto sector is also threatened — mostly by cheaper opportunities for large manufacturers to set up shop in the southern U.S. and Mexico. This despite the fact that it saw a slight rebound in 2015. Ian Lee, an associate professor at Carleton University's Sprott School of Business, and

his colleague, Laura Ierfino-Blachford, an instructor at Sprott, have provided an in-depth analysis of the decline and fall of this once-proud sector in Canada, particularly Ontario. Their bottom line isn't a positive one: "If labour costs do not become competitive, it can be safely predicted," they write, "that Canada will eventually follow Australia and exit the industry."

Columnist Robert Rotberg details what Brazil is, and has been, doing in Africa and encourages it to do even more. Meanwhile, Richard Cohen looks at Canadian foreign policy and what the Liberals have done on the defence file. He warns about the lack of spending in that area. We also run a Stratfor piece on advice to the next president of the United States.

Up front, columnist Fen Hampson and his co-writer, Eric Jardine, write about the Dark Web and all of its nefarious actors. Also in the Diplomata section, we provide space for Saudi Ambassador Naif Bin Bandir Alsudairy to express his views on the controversial contract his country has to purchase tanks from Canada. After saying very little about this publicly, he defends Saudi Arabia's intentions and its claims to want peace for his region.

In the same section, I interview Iraqi Ambassador Abdul Kaab, whose story takes him from the notorious Abu Ghraib prison to the position of ambassador to Canada. While he makes no promises, he predicts Iraq will eradicate DAESH, as he prefers to call ISIS, within a year.

Our Delights section brings more travel with an armchair tour of his country by Icelandic Ambassador Sturla Sigurjónsson. Books editor George Fetherling offers titles on Canadian diplomat O.D. Skelton, Lester Pearson, China and Machiavelli.

Margaret Dickenson writes about New Zealand's culinary history and culture editor Margo Roston tours the renovated residence of Colombian Ambassador Nicolas Lloreda-Ricarte. Wine writer Pieter Van den Weghe tells us why a drought isn't a bad thing, at least for the wines the weather event produces. I hope you read this issue on a nice Blue Flag beach.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

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Ian Lee



Ian Lee is an associate professor at Carleton University's Sprott School of Business, where he teaches business strategy and public policy. In the past 30 years, he has taught approximately 100 times in developing countries, including Russia, China, Poland, Ukraine, Iran, Mexico, Cuba, Romania, Latvia and Czech Republic. He has testified multiple times before parliamentary committees and has been in every federal budget lockup since 2008.

Eric Jardine



Eric Jardine is a research fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and soon to be assistant professor of political science at Virginia Tech. He is the author of a number of scholarly articles on trends in cybercrime, the uses and abuses of the Dark Web, the growth of contention in Internet governance and the health of the Internet economy. He is the author (with Fen Hampson) of the forthcoming book, *Look Who's Watching: Surveillance, Trust and Treachery Online*. He holds a PhD from Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs.

UP FRONT

Summer means wonderful vacations by sea and, to that end, we present the world's Top 10 Blue Flag beaches. But we also wanted to look at the ways in which humans are endangering our oceans' health. Oil exploration caused the Deepwater Horizon disaster pictured on our cover. Find out about it, and other threats to the world's oceans, beginning on page 42.



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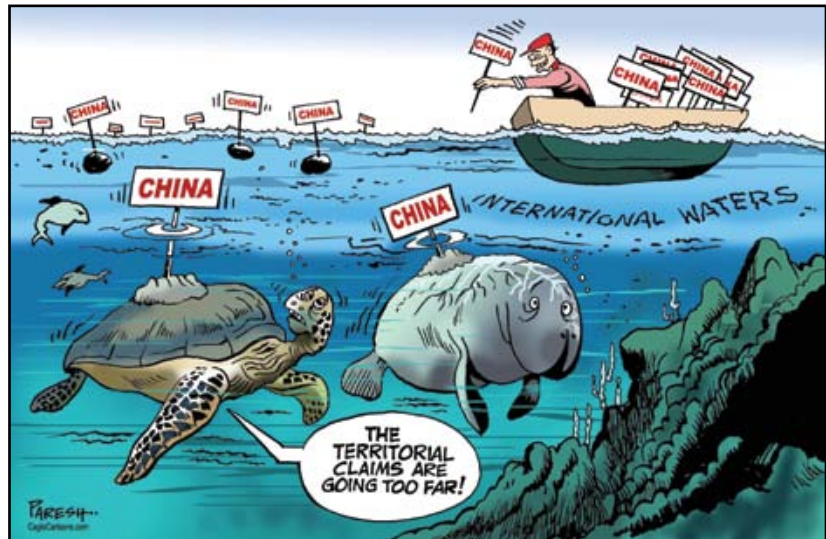
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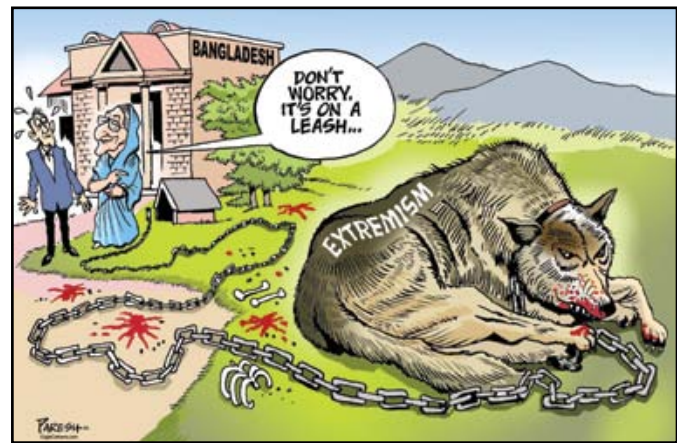
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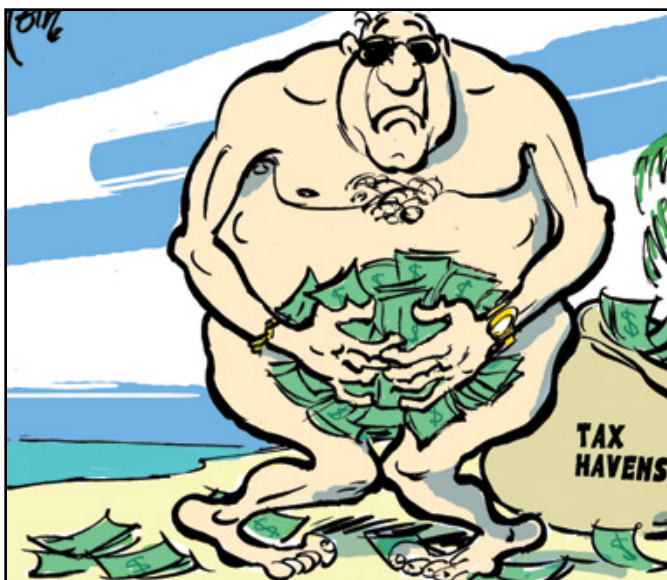
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RESIDENCES

The Internet's dirty secret



The most famous hacktivist collective is Anonymous, which lacks clear leadership, a cohesive organizational structure and a definitive ideology. Here, members of Anonymous in Los Angeles sport Guy Fawkes masks.



By Fen Hampson and Eric Jardine

Most of us couldn't live without the Internet. It has become an extension of our daily lives, putting us in touch with family and friends through social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter. It is where we go for news and other media content. It is also increasingly our main source of entertainment, thanks to streaming sites such as YouTube and Netflix.

But the Internet is a lot more than that. It is the hidden wiring of the global economy, or the infrastructure beneath all other infrastructures, generating major economic benefits, improving productivity, streamlining production and consumption and reducing the costs of doing business. Banks rely on the Internet to do business.

So do major corporations. Smaller and medium-sized enterprises are also turning to the Internet to sell their goods and services around the world. The day has arrived when our cars, refrigerators and even our toothbrushes can be hooked up to the Internet. It's what some now refer to as the Internet of Things or Internet of Everything.

But the Internet, like any other tool, also draws those who would use it for more malicious purposes. Increasingly, this nefarious activity clusters on a portion of the Internet known colloquially as the "Dark Web." The Dark Web exists because of a bit of technological trickery that bounces a person's Internet signal around the world in order to mask the user's identity. In other words, the Dark Web is "dark" because everything people do there is done anonymously. It is the ultimate "cloaking device" to which any *Star Trek* fan can easily relate.

Anonymity can be a lifesaver, especially for political dissidents and human rights activists in highly repressive regimes, but it can just as easily be used as cover by those who are up to no good, hiding a per-

son's illicit or outright illegal activity from those responsible for enforcing the law.

All kinds of bad things happen on the Dark Web. One of the most common forms of Dark Web website is illegal marketplaces. These sites sell everything from drugs and guns to the services of hackers and assassins. Drug markets, such as the "Silk Road" or "Evolution," spring up with troubling regularity, while one hitman-for-hire site advertises the going rate to have a regular person crippled at \$12,000 and offers a price of \$36,000 to have an underage family member raped.

Efforts to measure how people actually use the Dark Web suggest that much of the proverbial traffic on the hidden underbelly of the Internet tends to gather on sites dedicated to the production, dissemination and viewership of child-abuse imagery. In fact, while child-abuse sites make up only about two percent of Dark Web websites, upwards of 80 percent of traffic actually goes to these sites. For example, Playpen, a child-abuse site that was taken down by the FBI in August 2014, reportedly had upwards of 215,000 members, hosted more than 117,000 posts

and received an average of 11,000 unique visitors each week.

When faced with these sorts of abuses of online anonymity, many people around the world immediately think that the Dark Web should be shut down. A survey jointly conducted by the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and Ipsos earlier this year found that opinion was strongest (78 percent) in India, China and Brazil and lowest in rights-respecting Europe (69 percent) and the Middle East and Africa (69 percent), where a long history of repression makes anonymity an important political right. Given many of the reprehensible uses to which the Dark Web can be put, it is no surprise that many people have an instinctive reaction against the anonymous network.

But things get more confusing when

gradually morphed from a rough collective of people out to play pranks online to what almost resembles a group of social justice warriors, much like those Green Berets who used to ride the New York subway system, who stride boldly into political conflicts around the world (as in Tunisia during the Arab Spring), target Dark Web child abuse rings (as with the Freedom Hosting hack) and seek justice for those who have been failed by the criminal justice system (as in the case of Rehtaeh Parsons).

Anonymous undertakes its activity — if for different purposes — in many of the same shadows that hide those aiming to break the law by selling illegal substances or viewing child pornography. As a result, it is not surprising that only 43 percent of people hold an overall favourable opinion of hacktivist groups. But this number

behind technological tricks and a mask of anonymity, should hold large companies (66 percent), criminal organizations (66 percent) and governments, both foreign (66 percent) and domestic (65 percent), to account. This accountability role for hacktivist groups is only possible because of technologies that allow people to remain anonymous online.

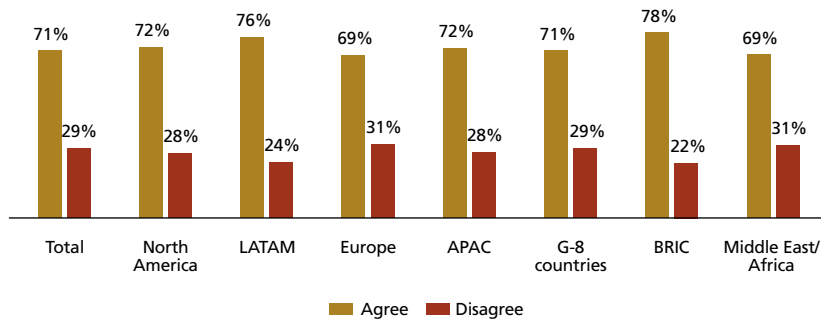
There are plenty of reasons hacktivists should not have an accountability role in society. They can get it wrong, by pointing fingers at innocent people who are accused of a crime. They can wade into a geopolitical conflict and increase tensions rather than help to produce a peaceful outcome. They can also railroad criminal investigations on the Dark Web by spooking criminals who are on illegal websites. At the extreme, hacktivists simply shift the accountability question further down the road or, as the Roman poet Decimus Juvenal asked: “Who watches the watchers?”

The Dark Web leaves law enforcement in a strange position. Shutting the network down is not a viable policy option. On the technological front, trying to shut the Dark Web down would be a bit like putting the proverbial genie back in the bottle. Now that people know how to generate anonymity online, someone will always find a way to set up an anonymous network.

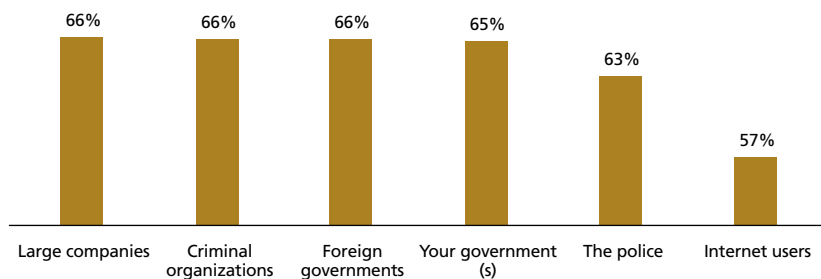
Additionally, while the abuses on the network are terrible and should be stopped, the Dark Web is used by human rights activists and political dissidents in countries such as Iran, Russia, China and Saudi Arabia. Those people need to take additional technological steps to exercise their basic rights to privacy and freedom of expression. All this gives rise to a Dark Web dilemma, where either keeping the network up and running or shutting it down will simultaneously cause harm. It is an uncomfortable position. The best that can be done is for law enforcement to get itself onto the Dark Web. Police need to find ways to monitor the network, leveraging the technology and the people involved. But the problem is that the bad guys can do that, too. Eliminating the abuses that occur in the underworld of the Internet, while leaving the network alone for those who need it, is not a dilemma that is easily resolved.

Fen Hampson is a Distinguished Fellow and Director of the Global Security & Politics Program at CIGI. He is Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University. Eric Jardine is a research fellow at CIGI. Find him on Twitter @ehljdardine.

Should the Dark Web be shut down?



Do you agree that hacktivist groups play an important role in keeping the following groups accountable



people are asked their opinion about hacktivists, who use many of the same technological tricks that create the Dark Web to undertake their own online chicanery.

The most famous hacktivist collective is Anonymous, which lacks clear leadership, a cohesive organizational structure and a definitive ideology. Anonymous's identity is far from clear — or even singular for that matter. Nevertheless, the group has

masks another set of beliefs that show the ambiguity around technologies that allow people to remain anonymous online.

When the same people surveyed above were asked whether they thought groups such as Anonymous had a role to play in keeping people accountable, a clear majority indicated that hacktivists should step in as a last resort. Most people, for example, felt that hacktivists, hidden as they are



Iraqi Ambassador Abdul Kareem Kaab From Abu Ghraib to the ambassador's office

Photo by Jana Chytilova

From a prison cell in Abu Ghraib to the ambassador's office in Ottawa, Abdul Kareem Kaab has had a tremendous career path. A civil engineer by trade, he was jailed and tortured for political protesting during his undergraduate studies and then again after he'd finished his schooling, spending two years in Abu Ghraib. After being released and tiring of the harassment involved in Iraq's "probation" periods under Saddam Hussein, he fled his beloved country for Europe. After the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, he returned and has been working as a diplomat since 2009. He arrived in Canada in March and sat down with *Diplomat's* editor Jennifer Campbell to speak about his experiences and his aspirations for Iraq.

Diplomat magazine: What is life like in Iraq today?

Abdul Kareem Kaab: Iraqi people are normal Mediterranean people. They are heavily family-oriented people and they spend a lot [of time] enjoying life. We have a huge number of students and we have workers who want to go to their work stations, whether factories, farms or offices. The streets are full of traffic, people. Our restaurants and shopping malls are full of people. Iraqis are very generous, hospitable and brave people.

But after the bringing down of the tyrant Saddam and his regime, we had the attack from international terrorism that melded with Ba'ath and Saddamist people — criminal people, very dangerous people — and we got a devilish marriage that nowadays we call DAESH [ISIS in the west.] This [group] is targeting Iraqi civilians. So now, from time to time, you see suicide bombers, car bombs hitting schools, markets and some public buildings — much less now than before 2014, thank God. This has influenced the situation and left its marks on day-to-day life. You see concrete walls and barriers to protect public places, you see checkpoints and you see armed security forces, whether from the army or Iraqi police. This is Iraq.

DM: What does Iraq want from Canada?

AKK: Our diplomatic relations go back five-and-a-half decades. And we have [in Canada], a huge number of Iraqi-Canadians. After 2003, there's a new chapter with Canada and Iraq sharing the same political views and humanitarian principles and values, such as the belief in democracy, peace and respect for human rights. The fourth factor, after 2014, is that Iraq and Canada have joined the counter-terrorism war to eradicate DAESH in Iraq. Now there are Canadian military personnel and equipment in Iraq and we're working together. So, [given] this, Iraq expected Canada to have a large, functioning embassy in Baghdad. That means a sufficient number of diplomats and commercial attachés, a visa section, a military attaché and a residing ambassador in Baghdad. [Instead,] we have a military attaché in Baghdad and one diplomat, but there may be as many as seven or eight by the end of this year.

Also, Iraq expected that Canada, as a friend and ally, would provide more aid for Iraq's displaced people after the occupation by DAESH of our four provinces in 2014. Now that we are liberating the Fallujah region, we have thousands of displaced families who are desperately in need of immediate aid and shelter. Also, because of the very difficult economic situation we are facing, especially after the fall of oil prices and the huge cost of the war, we were expecting Canada to encourage Canadian companies to invest in Iraq by providing guarantees and financing. This would be of great help for sustainable development of Iraq.

DM: It's kind of a hard sell to Canadian business. It's very risky, wouldn't you agree?

AKK: No, many provinces have been very safe since 2014 and we have many international companies from all over the world working there — very big companies, including Shell, Nokia Siemens Networks, Huawei. So it's not risky. And we haven't faced any attacks against international investors or companies.

DM: What you're describing — regular suicide bombings and ISIS attacks — appears to have its roots in the same old Sunni-Shia rivalries. What can the government do about that?

AKK: We must first ask when this started and why. It started after 2003. It wasn't immediately after. It was when Iraqis decided to have a free, democratic country believing in human rights. That was the start of this. Some mistakes were made by the American administration of Iraq at that time, especially [dissolving] the sovereignty of our army and police forces. That opened the door widely for international terrorism to want to come to Iraq. It was the Ba'ath Saddamist people and, regrettably, they are heavily supported by regional factions. This problem started back then.

Iraqis have real multiculturalism in our blood, so we accept each other and we have lived with each other since our first days on Earth until 2003. This is a continuation of the attack against the Iraqi people by the former regime's criminals.

Our government has been doing its best to counter this, but, regrettably, because of the mistakes made by the American administration [concerning police and security forces], we don't have good, functional police or security forces and it's very difficult to build that when you're under attack. Having said that, they are doing their best, and what we're seeing now, in the ongoing battle to liberate Fallujah, [is part of their efforts to address this.] Fallujah, the base of these terrorists, is only 60 kilometres south of Baghdad, so it's easy for them to send suicide bombers from there. This is one of the reasons to liberate [Fallujah.]

Iraqis are truly multicultural, so we should conclude that Iraqis genetically reject the ideology of these terrorists. The ideology or mindset of these terrorists is not tolerance or acceptance. If someone isn't from the branch of their beliefs, they call him *kafir* [infidel] and that means they consider him a non-believer. They give themselves the right to kill him, to possess all his properties — his wife, his children, his farm. This is not the Iraqi way of thinking.

In 2014, after the formation of the PMF [the People's Mobilization Forces, a state-sponsored umbrella organization made up of 40 militias, most of which are Shia] we became sure that ISIS would be eradicated in Iraq. Now, I'm confident, after the remarkable work we are doing in Fallujah, we will see the fall of ISIS. The question is when. This depends on the second source



U.S. soldiers fire mortars during Operation Iraqi Freedom. The protracted war resulted in the arrest of Saddam Hussein, who was eventually sentenced to death by hanging.

that nourishes ISIS. First, there's the ideological side, but the second is the material side — the manpower, financing, arms and ammunitions. These aren't made by them, they're imported. There are huge recruitment movements all over the world. There's a very effective financial network.

DM: It's interesting how Iraq's internal factions have altered the way countries have chosen to align with different sides. Does this concern you?

AKK: A point will come, and I see it now, that DAESH will fall down and the players supporting them, whether regional or international, will get tired. They cannot go on forever.

DM: Was George W. Bush's invasion of Iraq reasonable?

AKK: In 2003, the U.S. troops, as the head of the international coalition, liberated the Iraqi people from the tyrant Saddam and from his criminal, racist, unjust, repressive regime.

DM: That sounds like a yes.

AKK: Since 2003, Iraqis are really enjoying freedom of speech, freedom of religious or political affiliation, beliefs. We have a huge number of newspapers, magazines, TV channels. [Almost] all are [independently owned]; only one belongs to the government. No one can force Iraqis to fight long, absurd wars for nothing anymore. They now have freedom of movement to live where they want in Iraq, and externally. Iraqis' incomes have

multiplied many times, so they have freedom to live and travel. If you go to the Baghdad airport, you'll see how busy it is — [it's Iraqis] seeing the world.

After 2003, the unjust sanctions have been lifted, which gives us the freedom to enjoy our fortune and wealth.

One can criticize the American administration at that time, maybe over the huge destruction [of infrastructure] to bring Saddam down, and the dissolving of the army.

DM: But overall, you'd say it was good?

AKK: Yes.

DM: You had a personal experience with Saddam in that you were a prisoner at the notorious Abu Ghraib prison. Can you talk about that?

AKK: Yes. I was a political prisoner. I was one of thousands of Iraqi young people who were opposing, just opposing, Saddam's way of thinking. I couldn't accept the injustice I had seen, or the racial discrimination against Iraqis, the oppression of people and worshipping a very bad man. Iraqis were like slaves. We lost almost one million [citizens] in the first Gulf War. I was also involved in projects to help the families of political prisoners.

My first imprisonment was in 1979. I had participated in one protest against Saddam in Baghdad and I was captured and tortured. This is normal practice. They brought me to the highest court — "the revolution court." For months, my family and friends didn't know if I was alive or



U.S. Marines prepare to enter one of Saddam Hussein's palaces in Baghdad during Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2003. Ambassador Kaab says this invasion brought a fragile democracy to Iraq.

dead. This was my first year in university, so I was maybe 20. That started the new life for me, [one where I was] harassed by police forces [after I was released.] I had to go and register every week — I was on probation. I had to tell them where I was going, what I was doing and how long I was staying. I had no right to a passport.

During the coup of Saddam, in the summer of 1979, he became the tyrant, absolute dictator after he killed 22 leaders of Ba'ath. And he killed the former president and his son. He wanted to make a show so he released some prisoners and killed some others. I was released. I had been in there for months.

I lived with my father and brothers and sisters, but people at the university and in my city were very careful about having relationships with me.

In 1984, after having just finished university, I was captured again. The accusation was that I was helping the families of political prisoners. I was tortured for months and no one knew where I was.

There was no right to a lawyer and no right to contact your family. I was sentenced to 10 years and I spent two years in Abu Ghraib. In 1986, there was a special amnesty issued by Saddam. I and 1,000 others enjoyed this amnesty and it was the same life [with respect to probation.] They took me from the prison to the army and that was my amnesty. They wanted to kill us by making us fight in the Iran-Iraq war [1980-1988]. They sent me to the front lines without any weapons.

After that, I had many problems because of being in prison. My right hip joint was destroyed, so I became an unarmed soldier. I spent three years in the military as an engineer, because I was a civil engineer after university.

DM: You're very lucky to be sitting here.

AKK: Yes. After the army, I went into civilian life. I had no fixed address, so I could get away from the harassment, but I didn't always succeed and they caught me many times. After the Iraqi uprising

of 1991, I went back to prison for three months and some days [I lived with] 100 people from Baghdad. [Saddam] thought we were dangerous. By 1994, I had three children, so I decided to flee the country and join the diaspora. I went to Arab countries for three years, then to Germany for eight years and got German citizenship. Then I moved to London. After 2003, I went back to Baghdad. In 2009, I joined the foreign ministry. I was at headquarters for one year, then became ambassador to Finland and Estonia for three years, then I returned to Iraq for three years and came [to Canada].

DM: Other than the fact that Iraq is very multicultural, what would you tell westerners that they don't know about Iraq?

AKK: They should know we have multi-religions, we are not one ethnicity. This means that the brotherhood of mankind, all people, is in our blood. Iraq is more than an oil well. It's not [merely] a huge market for western and other products. It's more than that. Iraqis have suffered a lot, for decades. [They suffered under] the tyrant Saddam and his absolute authoritarian regimes for years, then the wars, and under the international sanctions and their huge effects on vulnerable Iraqi people, especially kids. We lost a lot of our people because of that. Then the war to get rid of Saddam and what has happened after that, we feel we've been left alone, facing our [lot]. We haven't [received] tangible enough aid from international players. Having said that, Iraqis remain positive about their future in the international arena. We have forgiven the people who didn't come to our rescue. [The world] should know the blood and bravery of Iraqis can stop DAESH.

DM: Is a world without ISIS likely any time soon?

AKK: We have to ask where DAESH is now. [They are in] Iraq, Syria, Libya



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and some other places. Regarding Iraq, our way of thinking genetically rejects DAESH's way of thinking, so it can't last there. The question isn't whether we'll get rid of them, but when. That depends on the material sources — arms, ammunitions and funding. Syria also has a promising future, especially now that the Syrian army is approaching the capital of DAESH. They are also a cradle of civilization and a multicultural nation.

DM: What are your hopes for a peaceful democracy in Iraq, and if you believe it's coming, what's the timeline?

AKK: We lived ages, since 1960, under authoritarian regimes. We didn't have civil society institutions. Then, immediately, we got real democracy. The transition period, normally, takes time. In Iraq, I think our time will not be long and in the last year, we have real positions in the parliament, huge, peaceful demonstrations in Iraq. No one uses weapons between Iraqi blocs and factions. We have a peaceful transition of power. [Democracy] is there now, but not mature.

There is huge pressure from the people, the religious leaders and politicians to address corruption. One bloc in parliament is really insisting on a radical solution for that. The new prime minister, [Haider al-] Abadi, has pledged to counter corruption and he has done a lot, but there is more to be done.

One of the signs of the good job they've done is the professionalism and success of our security forces — army, PMF, police forces — how they've dealt with the terrorism. The ISIS people had occupied almost 50 percent of our territories in 2014, now they occupy less than 30 percent. The security forces are much better than before.

DM: Is the Shia community susceptible to the same trap it fell into in 2006, when al-Qaeda in Iraq struck a sacred Shia shrine and ignited a sectarian civil war?

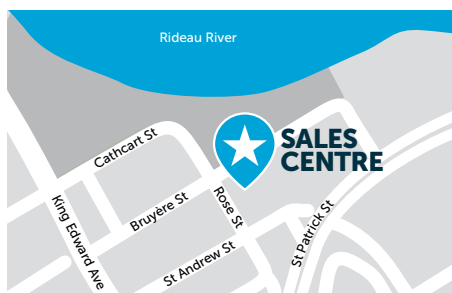
AKK: I don't think so because they are very controlled now. The PMF, at the beginning, was only Shia and these people [fought for] Iraq. International terrorism reached the gates of Baghdad in 2014. These people [PMF] pledged their souls to defeat terrorism. They are very controlled now and they are doing what the prime minister asks. Their main job is to liberate the Iraqi territory and support the security forces and they are very good fighters.

It isn't fair to call them militia because they are disciplined and their behaviour is



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very controlled. Their allegiance is to Iraq. They should be returned to the civilian life after this, though some may join the military forces. These days they're fighting together with Sunnis and also Turkmen [who are also traditional Sunnis].

DM: How long should the West keep helping and why? When you're talking to Foreign Minister Stéphane Dion, what is your best pitch for help?

AKK: We are allies, firstly, and we share the same political views. We expect [Canada] to help Iraq through its political, economic and military difficulties. Defeating DAESH is the easiest one. It's almost finished and I will celebrate the end of DAESH when they liberate Fallujah. Mosul is not that big a deal.

We expect aid for the internally displaced millions. They lost their houses, jobs and farms. They desperately need help. We need our friends to help us to build a functional, diversified economy. We need investment and a push from the government for business to take advantage of the huge opportunities in Iraq. The government just has to start it moving.

It's not that easy to rebuild a whole country. We are also looking for help from our partners or friends. Helping us to have a unified country is also important.

DM: What is your prediction for the next year?

AKK: We will be liberated from DAESH. I can't say 100 percent when, but it's for sure finished. We will concentrate more and more on political issues and how to run the country successfully. Between 2003 and now, it hasn't been that successful, but we are much more serious now. The government has promised to reduce spending, fight corruption, but there is much more to be done. Next year, [expect] a more unified country, and politically, I think it will be much better.

DM: The Iraq as we know it is an artificial state in a way, created after the First World War. Did the British get it right?

AKK: It was actually the first state in the world. But you're talking about the current borders. This is a problem for Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iran. It has caused problems with neighbours. Water issues, for example, and some border issues. [The British] didn't do it very well. But I think there's no way to rethink it now. It's too dangerous. You open a door, you can't re-close it. Not just for Iraq and the region, but for the whole world. It's a reality. ■

The New Cities Foundation: Building a better future for two thirds of the world's people

By Maxwell L. Anderson

From remote antiquity until the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, people organized themselves in villages and cities through the filters of shared ethnicity, language and religion. By the mid-20th Century, with colonial inheritances largely obsolete, modern nations became a primary point of reference for a person's identity. Today, however, more than half the world's population is urban, with millions of people moving into cities every month. In fact, analysts predict that two thirds of the world's population will be urban by 2050. These new urbanites identify first with the city in which they live, and second with the nation in which that city finds itself.

Added to this massive transition are several factors worth considering, including the unpredictable, large-scale dislocation and resettlement of millions as a result of conflict; climate change jeopardizing coastal cities; the exponential growth of vehicular traffic on outmoded streets and highways; a need for "cities from scratch" to prevent sprawl and consequent inefficiencies and many other market and social forces. The end result is that the exploding population of city-dwellers is unfiltered as never before, mixing ethnicities, languages and religions with unpredictable results. In some contexts, prejudice is exacerbated, while in others, tolerance is bred.

Charting the way forward is no simple matter, since national governments find it challenging to move quickly, weighed down as they are by laws, statutes and conventions, outmoded infrastructure, competing interests and entrenched bureaucracies. Cities, by contrast, have no choice but to strive for agility to address real-time demands. Some cities have begun adopting "night mayors" to cope with the accelerated and extended hours of urban living and we can expect an increasingly demanding public as denser population centres compel new approaches to services.

The New Cities Foundation (NCF), created in 2010, is an independent non-profit organization, funded by its members and partners, with a mission to shape a better urban future for all, and is alert to all of these challenges. The foundation is incorporated in Geneva and its head office is



Participants mingle at last year's New Cities Summit 2015, which took place in Jakarta.

in Montreal, with smaller offices in Paris, New York, Hong Kong and Zurich. NCF conducts pragmatic research on solutions to challenges facing cities, launches initiatives to drive urban progress and builds, empowers and convenes a global network in support of its goals. The foundation convened the leading events on urban innovation, including the annual New Cities Summit, the latest edition of which took place in Montreal from June 21 to 23. In all of its activities, the foundation works with entrepreneurs and leaders from business, government, academia, civil society, the media and the arts. And it includes some of the most forward-thinking companies that share a passion for the future of our cities.

Among the foundation's initiatives is a new program identifying 10 "global urban innovators" (GUI) each year. Typically startups focused on solving problems facing urban dwellers, these GUIs are selected from a crowded field of entrepreneurs. We believe the GUIs offer the best chances of success in improving the lives of city dwellers, and the foundation offers them a visible platform from which

to offer scalable solutions. This year's crop includes WeCyclers, a collective in Nigeria offering redeemable points in exchange for recycled materials. Spacehive, the world's first civic crowd-funding platform, connects people with places available for all kinds of social interaction. And Foodcloud matches food providers with food banks to stem the tide of hunger, having delivered more than two million meals to date.

Expanding cities are driving investment in new solutions. The opportunities afforded by portable computing, networked data and an openness to collaboration presage the potential for a more enlightened and inclusive future for us all. As the New Cities Foundation puts down roots in Canada, seeking partners across Quebec and beyond, we are excited by the prospect of gaining from the instincts, expertise and accomplishments of new partners in Montreal, and, together, helping find our way towards more tolerant, efficient and livable cities.

Maxwell L. Anderson is executive director of the New Cities Foundation.



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HOMSA funds science studies for northern students

Thanks to the daughter of an ambassador — a graduate student at the University of Ottawa — the Heads of Mission Spouses Association (HOMSA) helped out a science learning initiative as part of its big annual fundraiser.

The charity, known as Science Travels, runs a University of Ottawa science outreach program that aims to expose young people in northern Ontario and Quebec and in Nunavut to science and technology.

Slovenian Ambassador Marjan Cencen's daughter, Veronika, is a master of science student and works with the Science Travels program that was highlighted at this year's HOMSA garden party.

Graduate students run the program, which sees them travelling to northern First Nations communities — 77 so far — to run fun science programs that excite students about a future in the field.

HOMSA has three events yearly and, as this was the group's 20th anniversary, organizers wanted to host a big spring garden party. In addition to inviting members of the parliamentary spouses' association, they also invited friends and charities they've supported in the past. The event was held on May 24 at the residence of Irish Ambassador Ray Bassett and his wife, Patricia. It sold out quickly.

In addition to requesting a \$50 donation from each guest, the event featured more than 80 silent auction items.

"Twenty years of existence is some-



Professor Janine Kriebler, wife of Foreign Minister Stéphane Dion, and Maria Yeganian, vice-president of HOMSA and wife of the Armenian ambassador, stand by the buffet lunch, which was donated by diplomatic spouses.

thing that needs to be celebrated, don't you think?" said Florence Liautaud, who headed up the steering committee and is the wife of Haitian Ambassador Frantz Liautaud. After hearing from the charity, attendees enjoyed a sumptuous international buffet featuring food provided by the diplomatic spouses.

Science Travels sends teams of four graduate student volunteers to northern communities to present a week's worth of workshops.

"They're hands on, fun and interactive," said Professor Barbara Vanderhyden, director of Science Travels. "We choose topics that are most relevant to the

communities we're going to — everything from climate change to nutrition."

Closer to home, they run an aboriginal mentorship program that focuses on students at First Nations schools outside of Ottawa, in places such as Cornwall and Renfrew.

"Our students mentor high school students and we provide access to university labs if they have things they want to test," Vanderhyden said. "Each year ends with the students coming to the university for the science fair. They stay in residence and tour around the city. We want them to become familiar with the concept of leaving home for post-secondary education." ■



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FREE PARKING

Kazakhstan's enticing deal for Canadian investors



By Konstantin Zhigalov

When it comes to trade, Kazakhstan is among Canada's priority countries, according to Global Affairs Canada's global markets action plan. In 2012-2013, two-way trade between Kazakhstan and Canada was almost \$6 billion. During that period, exports from Kazakhstan to Canada were \$5.7 billion, while the value of imports from Canada to Kazakhstan reached \$267 million. According to Global Affairs Canada, the volume of Canadian investments in Kazakhstan amounted to nearly \$16 billion between 1994 and 2013.

The uranium industry occupies the leading position in our bilateral co-operation and the signing of the intergovernmental agreement on co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy has become an important dimension of the Kazakhstan-Canada relationship. It opened a new chapter for our co-operation in the uranium sector. Cameco Corporation is a key partner in this area.

Our business relations also include exchanges in mining, oil, agriculture and education. A significant portion of Kazakhstan's imports from Canada is machinery. Kazakhstan, meanwhile, is among Canada's biggest export markets for agriculture and grain-handling equipment, after the U.S., Australia and Brazil. Kazakhstan is also an important market for Canadian livestock exports, because of our similar climates.

The ongoing problems in the global economy (tumbling prices for natural resources and the volatility in the currency markets) has had an effect on trade, economic and investment co-operation between Kazakhstan and Canada. To overcome these negative trends, we are diversifying our activities in order to



Ambassador of Kazakhstan to Canada Konstantin Zhigalov visits Buhler Industries Inc. during his official visit to Winnipeg.

expand business ties. Last year, our embassy published a guide for Canadians on doing business in Kazakhstan. It was presented at economic forums and roundtables in Toronto, Montreal, Calgary and in Kazakhstan's Almaty, among others.

Canadian companies working in Kazakhstan, including Cameco, Bombardier, Uranium One, Condor Petroleum, SAIT Polytechnics, CanAgro Exports, Geotech and BLG, sponsored the publication of the guide. In addition, an electronic version is available on our embassy's website.

The guide explains the measures the government has taken to improve the investment and trade climates in our country. For example, companies that sign contracts worth at least \$20 million in manufacturing, innovation, SMEs, tourism and services with Kazakhstan's ministry of industry and new technologies are exempt from paying corporate income tax and land tax for 10 years. They are also exempt from property taxes for eight years. Additionally, the government will give foreign investors up to 30 percent of their capital costs. Investors also have

the opportunity to hire foreign workers for the entire duration of the project, and one year after its commissioning, without any quotas and permits. Foreign investors also receive guarantees of stable legislation related to increases in all tax and payment rates, except the value-added tax and excise duties. A one-stop shop has been established for investors to interact with government agencies, and there is an investment ombudsman who will work to ensure the legal protection of investors' rights and interests.

The recently created Kazakhstan-Canadian Business Council is another measure to promote bilateral business ties. Askar Zhumagaliyev, CEO of Kazatomprom, and Tim Gitzel, CEO of Cameco, are co-chairmen and the organization has received support from various Kazakh and Canadian companies.

Another measure to strengthen bilateral business ties will be further discussions on the draft agreement on promotion and mutual protection of investments, given Kazakhstan's recent accession to the World Trade Organization.

Kazakhstan and Canada maintain an active dialogue at the political and business level. Our representatives attend major economic conferences and trade shows, such as the annual Prospectors & Developers Association of Canada (PDAC) in Toronto and the Astana Economic Forum (AEF). In the past few years, Canada's minister of agriculture, minister of state for finance and minister of state for foreign affairs have attended AEF.

Despite the present global economic challenges, Kazakhstan remains Canada's top trading partner in Central Asia. Prospective areas of bilateral business partnership include engineering, renewable energy, aerospace, civil aviation and railway transportation, finance and banking, vocational education, new technologies and methods of geological exploration, including the manufacturing of mining equipment in Kazakhstan. There are promising signs that we can advance our relations on these and other areas in the near future.

Konstantin Zhigalov is ambassador of Kazakhstan. Email ottawa@mfa.kz or call (613) 695-8055 to reach him.

Vietnam: Canada's fastest-growing partner in East Asia



By To Anh Dzung

Last year was a remarkable one for the Canada-Vietnam trading relationship. Two-way trade increased more than 40 percent, reaching \$4.8 billion and making Vietnam Canada's largest trading partner in Southeast Asia. It also made ours the fastest-growing trading relationship in all of East Asia.

Vietnam exports \$4.1 billion to Canada, while importing about \$700 million worth of Canadian goods. Vietnam's leading export products are textiles and garments, shoes, seafood, furniture, spices and nuts, especially cashews, and sporting equipment. The fastest-growing exports in 2015, however, were electronic devices, especially smart phones and other technological equipment, thanks to Vietnam becoming an international production hub for many telecommunications multinationals.

Canada's exports to Vietnam consist mostly of wheat, seafood, vegetables and fertilizers, but high-end Canadian garments, leather and fur products are also becoming more attractive to buyers from Vietnam. Vietnamese and Canadian exports complement each other well, maximizing the benefits of trade.

To me, the boost seen in Canada-Vietnam trade in 2015 signals the beginning of a dynamic period for the two countries. Vietnam's economy grew by 6.5 percent in 2015 and the World Bank forecasts that it will grow even faster in 2016. Vietnam is the first and only ASEAN economy to date that has free-trade agreements with all the world's most important economies, firmly placing it on the path of market integration and modernization. The World Bank acknowledged in its *Doing Business 2015* report that starting up and doing business in Vietnam is easier than ever. The signing



Ho Chi Minh (formerly Saigon) is the largest city in Vietnam.

of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) in New Zealand in February will open new opportunities and create new platforms for trade and investment between our two countries.

I would like to see more Vietnamese food products become available to Canadian consumers. Vietnam's renowned tropical fruits such as mango, mangosteen and lychee, would definitely please Canadians, while our wide range of seafood products would bring even more choices to the Canadian market. I would like to see fresh Vietnamese longan (similar to the lychee) at my local Metro and other grocery stores. I'd also like to see Vietnamese cashews become the snack choice to complement great beers across Canada's bars and I hope that iced Vietnamese coffee with condensed milk will one day be a favourite option at every Tim Hortons. With the TPP in place, I also hope that our leading export products — textiles and garments — will become even more com-

petitive in the Canadian market, benefiting even more Canadian customers.

Meanwhile, many Vietnamese have discovered Canadian lobster, king crab and geoduck that can now be bought live at their local markets. What Vietnam also needs from Canada are high-tech products, such as sophisticated machinery, bio-products and chemicals that are in demand to serve a fast-growing, industrializing and modernizing economy. Vietnam will also be looking for products that would help save the environment and keep the population healthy. Agricultural technologies, food processing, medical and pharmaceutical products are examples.

Canada's most promising and fastest-growing "export" to Vietnam, however, is international education. The number of Vietnamese students enrolling in Canadian schools and universities increased by 16 percent in 2015, standing at around 5,000, making Vietnamese students the 11th-largest group of foreign students in Canada and Vietnam one of the fastest-growing source countries for foreign students arriving in Canada. We would like to see this trend continue by working with relevant Canadian agencies to facilitate Vietnamese students' ability to study and live in Canada.

Trading potential is great between our two countries, but the greatest opportunities that await Canadians in Vietnam are related to investment. Vietnam offers a stable, competitive investment environment in the heart of East Asia, with easy access to China, India and ASEAN. I invite Canadian business to look at investment opportunities in Vietnam and use Vietnam as a stepping stone to expand into and explore the vibrancy of East Asia. Vietnam is committed to the WTO, TPP and ASEAN rules to ensure Canadian investors are welcomed and their investments are secure.

And if you are looking for a place to visit, why not escape to Vietnam's beautiful sandy and sunny beaches, or indulge yourself in the cultural richness of the Ha Long Bay or the Mekong Delta?

To Anh Dzung is ambassador of Vietnam. To reach him, (613) 715-9683 or email vietnamembassy@rogers.com.

Israel-Canada: Tech, cyber-security (and hummus)



By Rafael Barak

After signing free-trade agreements with its North American neighbours, Canada's next agreement was with Israel. Since it came into force in 1997, trade has tripled, from less than \$500 million to \$1.6 billion in 2014.

Israel's top imports were aircraft, electrical machinery, paper and paperboard, precious stones and metals, cereals and vegetable products — in fact, one surprising fact is that Israel's world-famous hummus comes from chickpeas grown in Saskatchewan. Israel's top exports, meanwhile, were pharmaceutical products, electrical machinery and equipment, precious stones and metals, machinery, plastics, chemicals and scientific and precision instruments.

Last summer, we modernized our free-trade agreement to suit the digital age. In doing so, Canada recognized Israel's value as a partner in science, technology and innovation. It is not a coincidence that the implementation of this agreement was noted as a priority in Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's mandate letter to his new minister of international trade — our leaders understand that partnerships are essential to success in the highly competitive globalized economy.

For Israel, high-tech is the main driver of the national economy and 2015 was a particularly good year, if not the best, for this sector. It witnessed 70 mergers and acquisitions or public offerings of Israeli companies at a combined value of more than \$10 billion. Israel's high-tech sector has become the focal point for global multinationals looking for "disruptive technologies." The presence of approximately 350 multinationals with R&D centres in Israel — such as Apple, Facebook, Google, Intel, Siemens and Samsung — helps to keep a close eye on the talent.



Canada's Magna International Inc. and Israel's Argus Cyber Security Ltd. have partnered on vehicle security concerns related to cyber attacks.

The year 2015 was also a good year for Israel-Canada commercial ties. Four of Canada's largest, most well-known companies signed major deals or launched joint initiatives with Israeli partners, including BlackBerry, Bombardier, Magna International and MDA Ltd. From modernizing Israel's railway system to launching a communications satellite that will offer free Internet access to remote regions in Africa, Israelis and Canadians are working together like never before.

One emerging area of mutual expertise is cyber-security. Israel has positioned itself as a global leader and Canadian companies have taken notice. Last April, BlackBerry acquired Israel's WatchDox to enhance its position as a leader in mobile security. BlackBerry also announced plans to set up a research centre in Israel, becoming the first Canadian company to do so since Nortel Networks. In September, Magna, based in Aurora, Ont., chose Israel's Arbus to provide solutions to secure automobiles from hacking. It may sound far-fetched that hackers could break into your car, but last year, two American researchers managed to control a Jeep

Cherokee by hacking into its entertainment system.

Israelis are also turning to Canada. Canada's high-tech hubs in Vancouver, Kanata, Waterloo and Toronto are increasingly welcoming Israeli firms. These companies — including some of the world's largest players in cyber-security and software — are attracted by two key features: Canada's vast pool of multicultural, multilingual workers and its highly educated, highly skilled workforce.

Despite growing economic ties, we are only scratching the surface. I would like to see even more collaboration and we must provide the institutional mechanisms to enable business-to-business opportunities. Our universities are already linked by a web of joint projects in a range of disciplines from ocean studies to quantum computing, from cancer research to engineering. We also have the Canada Israel Industrial Research and Development Foundation (CIIRDF) that connects small and medium enterprises in both countries to come up with new technologies and products. Nonetheless, our knowledge-based economy is constantly evolving, so we need to find novel ideas.

An example of such innovative thinking is the recent decision by Australia to establish a tech incubator, known as a "landing pad," in Tel Aviv, a city that was recently named the top startup ecosystem outside the U.S. This program allows Australians to work in one of the most dynamic high-tech communities, gives them a collaborative workspace with all the necessary facilities and connects them to business networks, entrepreneurial talent and investors. A similar, but modified program would easily work in each of our tech hubs to bring Israeli entrepreneurs to Canada and Canadian entrepreneurs to Israel.

Together, Israelis and Canadians can make headlines by developing new cutting-edge technologies that include breakthroughs in medical devices and life sciences, fintech solutions, aerospace and space, water technology, cyber-security, the Internet of Things and all other sectors that will come to define the 21st Century.

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Saudi Arabia: 'Solving conflicts by peaceful means'



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Over the past year, there has been much talk in the media about the contract for General Dynamics Land Systems Canada to sell light armoured vehicles and provide training to the Saudi Arabia Royal Guard.

There has also been a surge in misleading information about Saudi Arabia, which has been sensationalized and politicized by the Canadian media. Some seek to exploit the ambiguities of the situation to their own advantage. Many of those media organizations have asked me to address these topics.

I would like to start by saying that the government of Saudi Arabia has been working very hard with its international partners to achieve stability in the Middle East. The kingdom continues to uphold the commitment to its policy of achieving international peace and security, solving conflicts by peaceful means and respecting human rights. The kingdom's message has been consistent over the years — that it would put maximum effort into working with international organizations and member states that believe in action for the good of humanity.

Saudi Arabia is a force for peace and security throughout the region, as it has a tremendous stake in its stability. Therefore, we have a responsibility to try to resolve problems before they consume all of us. We are determined to work with our allies in the United States, Canada, Britain and around the world to bring this about — whether through the war on terrorism, trying to stabilize the Middle East, attempting to bring a political transition to Syria, implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution 2254 (a roadmap for the peace process in Syria), or trying

to secure peace in Yemen, based on the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2216, and the Gulf Cooperation Council Initiative.

Our region, unfortunately, is experiencing many challenges, and

resolving these challenges

is important for the future of the region and the world. It has never been more critical than now to work with our partners and build a better understanding of different cultures and beliefs.

It is for that very reason, and to strengthen our bilateral relationship, that the government of Saudi Arabia signed a contract with the Canadian Commercial Corporation (CCC) and General Dynamics to export Canadian-made military equipment and training to the kingdom. The Saudi Embassy in Canada welcomed this partnership as it signalled Saudi Ara-

bia's commitment to strengthening and enhancing bilateral co-operation between our two countries. Although Saudi Arabia had multiple options from different manufacturers, the contract was awarded to General Dynamics Land Systems to support the bilateral desire to increase trade between the two countries and promote the numerous advantages of deepening Saudi-Canada investment relationships.

It is important to mention in this context that the kingdom adheres to Islamic Sharia law, which calls for preserving and protecting all human rights. The establishment of rule in the kingdom is based on justice, consultation and equality and the judicial system is at the forefront of state institutions regarding the protection of human rights. The judicial system in Saudi Arabia is independent, fair and transparent. It ensures equality and the right of litigation for all citizens and expatriates on its territory.

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia believes that the call for universal human rights does not mean imposition of principles and values that go against our Islamic values and religion.

The kingdom of Saudi Arabia does not



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accept any interference in its jurisdiction or internal affairs by any party.

The decisions about judicial matters are all internal. We have tremendous respect for the judicial systems of other countries and expect other countries to respect ours.

On Yemen, I would like to say that the Saudi-led coalition was formed to support the legitimacy of Yemen's rightful government. It is not a war that we wanted, but we had no other options. There was a radical militia allied with enemy forces that took over the country. It possessed heavy weapons. Saudi Arabia could not stand idly by while this happened at our doorstep, in a country where al-Qaeda has a huge presence.

To date, officials have reported that 75 percent of the country is under the control of the legitimate government. Now we are in the stabilization phase. Saudi Arabia is helping the government of Yemen by providing security services and supporting the country's army so it can be better equipped to engage and extend its control in the region. Saudi Arabia is committed to helping its friend and neighbour and the people of Yemen until stability is returned in the country.

The Saudi and Emirati Special Forces have succeeded in retaking cities that were



Saudi Arabia and the Canadian Commercial Corporation have negotiated a planned sale of General Dynamics' light-armoured vehicles.

serving as the base of al-Qaeda operations in Yemen. I would like to reiterate that the government of Saudi Arabia is committed to finding a peaceful and political solution in Yemen, with the co-operation of the international community, our friends and our allies. My government always believes that international conflicts can be peace-

fully resolved.

Saudi Arabia is not seeking the role of power. What the government wants is stability and security in the region so we can focus on our own development. The challenge is that we have conflicts in the region, and nobody has been able to resolve them. The international community called upon the countries of the region to step up to resolve their problems. Saudi Arabia stepped up and responded to the situation as part of a coalition, at the request of the legitimate government of Yemen for support. The coalition has now removed, to a large extent, the threat of al-Qaeda to Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia continues to fight extremism as an ideology and practice. It has been relentless in combating terrorism and has used its national security apparatus to support that policy. Guided by the principles of Islamic teachings that promote values of respect, mercy and justice, Saudi Arabia renounces violence and is committed to achieving peace in our region as a unifying force, guided by the United Nations and the support of our Canadian friends and other international allies.

Naif Bin Bandir Alsudairy is the ambassador of Saudi Arabia to Canada.



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The ocean has become a
garbage dump for every
substance imaginable.

The Top 10 threats to the world's oceans

Pollution, acidification, climate change, aquaculture and overfishing — to name a few — imperil our oceans, which make up 70 percent of our planet.

By Wolfgang Depner

"Every time I slip into the ocean, it's like going home."

This quote from leading American oceanographer Sylvia Earle reminds us that the fate of humanity — our fate — inevitably depends on the fate of the oceans that cover almost 71 percent of our planet. In fact, it is misleading to speak of oceans as plural, since the various oceans constitute one of the two large planetary life systems, the other being the atmosphere.

As Earle implies, we are of the ocean. The processes that eventually gave form to *Homo sapiens* started billions of years ago in the primordial ocean that covered the planet, and to this day, with many more to come, humans depend on the ocean and its interaction with the atmosphere.

The most obvious form of this oceanic reliance is the aquatic life that we pull from the seas for our nourishment and survival.

But if the ocean is a pantry that has sustained countless human communities since time immemorial, it has long ago also become a proverbial garbage dump for every substance imaginable, including the very gases threatening to raise planetary temperatures to catastrophic levels.

In making it a dumping ground, we are destroying a complex, yet delicate web of dependencies that currently sustains millions of species, including our own. Despite our immense ability to analyze

and modify our natural surroundings in anticipation of future material needs, we cannot escape the fact that we ultimately live in a world of finite resources and the ocean is perhaps the most precious and essential one.

It is a source of prosperity and beauty. It is one of reasons the late astronomer Carl Sagan called our planet a "pale blue dot" after seeing a picture of Earth as taken by *Voyager 1* from the distant reaches of our solar system. Without it, we would not be. Yet, we are also its greatest threat and this list aims to draw attention to the many ways in which we threaten our oceans, ourselves and future generations.

This list claims to be neither comprehensive nor authoritative. By ranking threats, it actually creates the impression that some issues are less pressing than others — a faulty perspective, if ever one existed. All of the issues listed here deserve our attention now.

1. Inadequate institutions

The oceans of the world are invaluable assets that are rapidly losing their value through our actions. Yes, our activities have always affected the oceans, but this fact does not account for the havoc that modernity has heaped upon them. The problem is not human use of the oceans, per se. Rather, it is a question of unsustainable human use.

Reasons for this are many and include the absence of effective, coercive institutions that insure the oceans against what

Garrett Hardin has called the tragedy of the commons in his famous eponymously titled essay. It occurs when humans have to manage resources without definitive ownership, which is the case with most of the oceans. (According to the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 64 percent of the surface of oceans and almost 95 percent of their volume lie beyond national borders.)

Common access to any resource, Hardin argues, encourages rational individuals to maximize their use of that resource, because they reap almost all of the marginal benefits. Simultaneously, the costs of exploitation are shared. Profits are personalized, costs socialized.

"Therein is the tragedy," writes Hardin. Common users find themselves "locked into a system" that "compels" them to increase their use of a common resource "without limit — in a world that is limited." So "freedom in a commons," he says, "brings ruin to all."

The international community has recognized this problem and the literature bursts with appeals to improve oceanic governance, an undefined collection of "rules, institutions, processes, agreements, arrangements, and activities," as the European Commission says in a position paper.

Central to this collection is the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), created in 1982. This landmark instrument establishes a comprehensive legal framework that regulates all ocean space, its use and resources. No-



The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea is part of the existing institutional framework, but developments cast serious doubts about the effectiveness of governance.

tably, it permits nations to create exclusive economic zones (EEZs) of no more than 200 nautical miles. This “fencing” allows nations to conserve their local fisheries. The UNCLOS also includes royalty schemes designed to benefit developing nations from resource projects beyond their EEZs. However, the UNCLOS has received criticism for weak enforcement mechanisms, which rely on national legislation to implement its provisions. Overall, actual developments cast serious doubts about the effectiveness of existing governance.

Consider illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) forms of fishing, which are among the greatest threats to marine ecosystems, according to the FAO.

“Motivated by economic gain, IUU fishing takes advantage of corrupt administration and exploits weak management regimes, especially those of developing countries lacking the capacity and resources for effective [monitoring, control and surveillance].” Hardin could not have described it better himself.

2. Climate change

According to leading scientists, Earth has entered the Anthropocene, a proposed term to describe the geological epoch in which humanity itself has become a major geological force that will shape Earth for thousands, if not millions, of years.

The enormous, ever-expanding use of fossil fuels defines the epoch, which many scientists say started in the late 18th Century, when the invention of the steam engine set off the Industrial Revolution. It created a cycle of expanding economic ac-

tivity, resource extraction and population growth that continues to release large volumes of heat-trapping greenhouse gases (GHGs) such as CO₂ (carbon dioxide) and CH₄ (methane) into the atmosphere.

Levels of carbon dioxide hovered between 270 and 275 parts per million before industrialization. They reached 350 parts per million in 1950. Current levels hover around 380 parts per million and predictions point towards 500 parts per million by 2050.

Overwhelming scientific evidence has since linked this spike in GHGs with rising global temperatures — anthropogenic (human-made) climate change. According to the latest report by the International Panel on Climate Change, “continued emissions of (GHGs) will cause further warming and long-lasting changes in all components of the climate system, increasing the likelihood of severe, pervasive and irreversible impacts for people and ecosystems.” This prediction includes the oceans, which absorb 90 percent of the excess heat that GHGs create.

The effects of climate change on the oceans will be numerous. They include, most obviously, higher sea levels, as many,



One of the effects of climate change on the oceans will be higher sea levels as many glaciers melt and release their water.

if not most, of the remaining glaciers melt away and release their water. A paper published in *Science* in July 2015 says sea levels might rise at least six metres, even if the world manages to meet its target of limiting future temperature increases to two degrees Celsius by 2100 — and that’s a big if.

Several studies have since said that the

oceans might be rising faster than previously predicted. Higher temperatures also mean more intense storms. More intense storms, in turn, raise the likelihood of damaging floods and storm surges. Combined, the reinforcing effects of rising sea levels and stronger storms threaten catastrophic physical damage to the islands, river estuaries, shorelines and arctic ice-shelves on which so many different life-forms depend for their survival. This web of dependency, of course, includes humans and their habitats.

Climate change will also make the oceans warmer. Rising temperatures in turn may impact the reproductive cycles or nutritional needs of oceanic species. Yes, some may be able to adapt by migrating to colder latitudes. But many will likely fail to adapt through a sheer lack of time. As the literature notes, humans are changing their planet in a rapid, increasingly unpredictable manner.

Finally, climate change will make the oceans more acidic. As Thomas Lovejoy, inventor of the term biodiversity, told Elizabeth Kolbert of *The New Yorker* in her masterful account of climate change, *Field Notes from a Catastrophe*, this acidification “is going to send all kinds of ripples through marine ecosystems.” They are described below.

3. Acidification

Near a long list of threats to the oceans, we find acidification, or “global warming’s equally evil twin,” Kolbert writes. The process of acidification is as straightforward as its effects are serious. Its engine is the exchange of gases between the global atmosphere and oceans. In a state of equilibrium, the oceans absorb (roughly) the same volume of atmospheric gases as they release into the atmosphere. This exchange, however, has become increasingly “lopsided” as more CO₂ enters the water than comes out, Kolbert writes.

When CO₂ dissolves into water, it forms carbonic acid — a “relatively innocuous form” of acid bubbling in countless carbonated beverages.

But the growing imbalance between the amount of CO₂ that oceans absorb and release means that they are becoming more acidic — 30 percent more since the Industrial Revolution.

“If current trends continue, by the end of this century, they will be 150 percent more acidic,” Kolbert says. This rise, in nothing less than a “geological instant,” will have drastic consequences. It will likely ravage calcifiers, a class of marine organisms that use calcium carbonate to

develop shells, exoskeletons and protective coatings. They include clams, oysters and starfish, among others. Acidification will especially devastate reef-building corals because it will deny them the building blocks of life itself.

As Kolbert writes, acidification precludes the very possibility of reefs, a potentially devastating development for all life on the planet. Coral reefs cover 0.1 percent of the ocean, but sustain 25 percent of all marine fish species, many of which feed humans. Once the reefs are gone — Kolbert says one third of all reef-building corals are heading towards extinction — many of the estimated nine million species of marine life that rely on them for shelter, food and breeding space will disappear as well. This possibility has prompted demands for drastic cuts to CO₂ emissions to prevent acidification.

Without such measures, future oceans might be inhospitable for many of the species that we know today, with devastating consequences for all of planetary life. Oceanic acidification, Kolbert says, has often coincided with dramatic crises “in the history of life, including the end-Permian extinction, 250 million years ago, which



Acidification will especially devastate reef-building corals because it will deny them the building blocks of life.

killed off something like 90 percent of all species then on the planet.”

Kolbert has since written a Pulitzer Prize-winning book titled *The Sixth Extinction: An Unnatural History* that argues that we currently find ourselves in the midst of such a mass-extinction event. Notably, she dedicates two chapters to the effects of acidification. Unfortunately, it is impossible to reverse the acidification that has

already occurred.

“Even if there were some way to halt emissions of CO₂ tomorrow, the oceans would continue to take up carbon until they reached a new equilibrium with the air,” Kolbert writes in *Field Notes*.

According to Britain’s Royal Society, it will take “tens of thousands of years for ocean chemistry to return to a condition similar to that occurring at pre-industrial times.”

4. Unsustainable fishing

A positive feedback loop constitutes a cycle whose effect reinforces the cause. This concept best describes the current state of global fish stocks.

As World Wildlife Fund (WWF) International general director Marco Lambertini writes in the foreword of the *Living Planet Report 2014*: “Humanity is collectively mismanaging the ocean to the brink of collapse.”

According to the WWF, overfishing and climate change have more than halved all marine populations since the 1970s, with overfishing bearing the larger share of the blame.

When the WWF specifically looked at the fish species that make up to 60 percent of protein intake in coastal countries, it found populations “in a nosedive.”

Yet demand for fish continues to rise as the human population surges towards an estimated figure of nine billion by 2050. Rising demand for fish, combined with a lack of alternatives and large fishing fleets that receive taxpayer subsidies of up to US \$35 billion, have triggered what the WWF calls a “race to fish.”

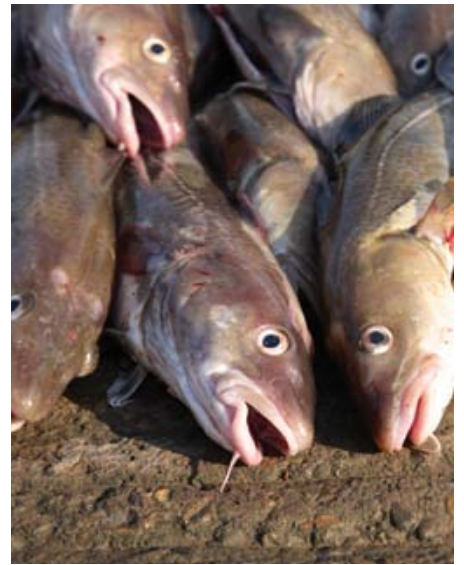
This competition for new catch is depleting many coastal fisheries and has sent fishing fleets deeper into international waters, where they seek new species in new areas. As the WWF says, “only the deepest and most inaccessible parts of the oceans are yet to feel the pressure from fisheries.”

Technology, as in any race, also plays a part. Decades ago, it was impossible to fish in depths below 500 metres. Today, vessels can fish in depths of up to 2,000 metres. But fish populations at greater depths grow more slowly and reach maturity later than species in shallower waters. In short, they are not as productive. Once those stocks have collapsed, as they surely will, they will take a long time to recover, if they ever do.

Fishing fleets, meanwhile, will have long sailed for other areas, thereby accelerating the process of depletion, as more ships increasingly chase fewer fish, further diminishing stocks. This course constitutes

the very definition of a feedback loop.

This exhausting cycle could spell nothing less than disaster for people in developing nations for at least two reasons. First, fishing remains an indispensable food source in many of those countries, and declining fish stocks would further undermine their food security, a develop-



Rising demand for fish, and large fishing fleets that receive taxpayer subsidies of up to US\$35 billion, have triggered a “race to fish.”

ment rife with political consequences. Second, their shorelines have increasingly attracted industrial-scale fleets from developed, primarily European countries, including Spain, Portugal, Germany and the Netherlands.

Other culprits include trawlers from Japan, South Korea, Russia and, increasingly, China. Equipped with superior technology, these fleets engage in a range of what the literature calls illegal, unregulated or unreported (IUU) forms of fishing that further deplete stocks to the detriment of locals, who often lack the resources and means to defend themselves and their territories, as many of their governments are either ineffective, corrupt or both.

As the FAO notes in a 2014 report, IUU fishing “remains a major global threat to the long-term sustainable management of fisheries and the maintenance of productive and healthy ecosystems” and it “may exacerbate malnutrition, food insecurity and even hunger in some places and losses of livelihood and revenues in others, extending its impact to the trade chain and beyond.”

Populations along the western shore of

the African continent appear particularly vulnerable to the practice of “ocean-grabbing,” whereby perpetrators pirate fish from the shores of developing countries through shady access agreements, unreported catch and incursions into protected waters. According to the 2014 *Africa Progress Report*, it costs the region of West Africa US \$1.3 billion annually.

5. Pollution

In the *Island of the Day Before*, the late Italian writer Umberto Eco describes a mysterious Pacific Island that remains just beyond the physical reach of the book’s main character, Roberto della Griva, the sole survivor of a French sailing ship that sought to discover an accurate method of determining longitude.

Eco’s imagined island very much describes the Great Pacific Garbage Patch, a shifting domain of modern detritus in the northern Pacific that consists of solid debris, liquid chemicals and tiny pieces of plastic that float “like confetti in the water” as the *New York Times* put it in 2009.

While science can sense its existence, its scope remains speculative. Size estimates range widely, to the point of uselessness. Yet no one doubts the genesis of its being — human garbage, caught in the steady currents of the North Pacific Gyre. Similar vortexes of garbage gyrate in the Indian Ocean and North Atlantic and their presence alerts us to the larger problem of human-made pollution that threatens aquatic and, ultimately, human life.

Forms of pollution vary. They include plastics, chemicals and heavy metals. Plastics alone constitute a major problem. According to one peer-reviewed estimate, some five trillion plastic pieces with a total weight of 250,000 tonnes currently float in the oceans. Many organisms consume these pieces and they eventually work their way up into the food chain.

The same process also introduces even more dangerous substances to human diets.

Consider the following ironic example: According to *The Guardian*, the presence of damaging levels of pesticides, such as aldrin, dieldrin and chlordane linked to birth defects, neurological harm and some cancers, prompted Japan, which defies the ban on commercial whaling, to dump imported whale meat from Norway (one of two other countries, Iceland being the other) that continue to hunt whales for commercial reasons.

The toxins had entered the animals through the food chain and Japan’s ban has forced Iceland to cancel this year’s

hunt of endangered North Atlantic fin whales. This temporary suspension, however, will be of little comfort to the whales, who remain contaminated. While these pesticides offer a “morbid kind of defence” against those who still have a taste for their meat, they wreak havoc with the whales’ immune and reproductive systems, according to the *Guardian*.

Excessive nutrients from agriculture, sewage and industrial production, meanwhile, can trigger deadly algae blooms (eutrophication). These blooms (so-called red tides) decimate aquatic life and deplete oceanic oxygen levels to create “dead zones” incapable of sustaining life. (Dissolved oxygen levels drop after algae have died and decomposed). While hypoxic zones can occur naturally, they tend to occur around areas of human settlement. Regions with prominent dead zones include the Eastern Seaboard of North America, the northern Gulf of Mexico, the Baltic, the coastlines of southern Japan and the eastern seaboard of China.

Overall, land-based sources account for 80 percent of all marine pollution and researchers predict that the resulting dead



The Great Pacific Garbage Patch is modern detritus in the northern Pacific — solid debris, liquid chemicals and tiny pieces of plastic.

zones will only grow larger in the future, as the global population grows and many regions continue to dump untreated water into the oceans. According to the fourth *United Nations World Water Development Report*, only 20 percent of global wastewater receives proper treatment.

6. Oil and gas

The recent collapse of global oil prices has produced at least one piece of good news, from an environmental perspective. Royal Dutch Shell announced this spring that it would suspend oil and gas exploration efforts in Arctic waters off Norway.

This move, which the company justified, on the basis of slumping oil prices and corporate restructuring following its merger with BG Group PLC, marks only the latest setback for oil and gas drilling in remote Arctic regions. Falling oil prices, environmental protests and economic sanctions against Russia — one of the largest proponents of Arctic drilling — have all combined to dampen enthusiasm for such projects among the corporate leadership of Royal Dutch Shell and various competitors such as ExxonMobil and Chevron.

But this temporary retreat does not constitute a permanent reprieve for oceanic ecosystems. According to the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), offshore or oceanic sources account for one third of all oil and gas extracted worldwide, a figure that the WWF predicts will rise.

This expansion in turn raises the prospect of another disaster, such as the 2010 explosion of British Petroleum’s Deepwater Horizon drilling rig. Called the worst oil spill in U.S. history, it killed 11 people, injured many more and spilled nearly five million barrels of crude oil into the Gulf of Mexico.

As the U.S. government notes, the disaster disrupted an “entire region’s economy, damaged fisheries and critical habitats and brought vividly to light the risks of deepwater drilling for oil and gas — the latest frontier in the national energy supply.”

This frontier includes offshore drilling in the Alaskan Arctic, a fragile ecosystem that poses a number of unique natural challenges. These challenges, which also arise elsewhere in the Arctic regions of Canada, Russia, Norway and Denmark (Greenland), include remoteness, extreme cold, extended seasons of darkness, hurricane-strength storms and pervasive fog.

These conditions not only limit drilling to the summer months, but also complicate oilspill responses year-round. As the report, titled *Deep Water: The Gulf Oil Disaster and The Future of Offshore Drilling*, notes: “the remoteness and weather of the Arctic frontier create special challenges in the event of an oil spill. Successful oil spill response methods from the Gulf of Mexico cannot be simply transferred to



A third of oil and gas extracted worldwide comes from oceanic sources, which raises the prospect of another Deepwater Horizon explosion.

the Arctic.”

The WWF is even more blunt. “There are no proven effective methods of cleaning up oil spills in ice, especially mobile ice. Even without ice, the effects of a spill in Arctic conditions will linger for decades. Oil from the Exxon Valdez spill in Alaska still pollutes beaches, more than 27 years later.”

Any response to a future oil spill in the Arctic would also be complicated by the absence of international standards, since the damage caused by such an event might not be limited to the waters of the country where it initially occurred. As the WWF notes, the offshore oil and gas sector “is the least-regulated marine-related industry internationally and regionally when it comes to the environment, safety and compensation.”

The absence of global standards on environment and safety, liability provisions and oil spill response and preparedness appears particularly in developing nations, where governments often fail to meet the most basic environmental standards. However, as the Deepwater Horizon disaster demonstrated, this problem is not unique to places like Nigeria, whose Niger Delta is a modern-day, oil-covered domain. Rusting infrastructure, absent regulations and political corruption have soaked the delta in oil and exposed the people and animals who live there to toxins and other harmful substances.

7. Commercial shipping

The global economy depends on commercial shipping. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), seaborne trade accounts for 80 percent of all trade by volume and more than 70 percent of all trade by value. Total seaborne shipments topped 9.84 billion tonnes and almost 90,000 commercial vessels sailed the seas in 2014.

These ships carry cargo of every kind into all corners of the globe and it is difficult to fathom life without their physical presence, the goods they deliver and the very economic forces that launched them in the first place. Yet, they also pose a present danger to oceans.

Writing in the *Hamburg Studies on Maritime Affairs*, Markus Kachel divides the damage that ships cause into three categories: damage to oceanic habitats and animals, accidental pollution and operational pollution.



Seaborne trade accounts for 80 percent of all trade by volume and more than 70 percent of all trade by value.

Turning to the first category, ships undermine oceanic habitats and wildlife through direct physical contact. Ship anchors and their connecting chains, some weighing up to five tonnes combined, may instantaneously shred and forever scar large swaths of living coral reef that have required thousands of years to grow and house countless marine species. Ships or their propellers may also collide with large marine mammals, inflicting blunt, often deadly trauma. Northern right

whales, of which the International Whaling Commission estimates less than 500 remain, appear particularly vulnerable to ship strikes.

Accidental pollution occurs when ships carrying toxic or hazardous materials spill all or part of their cargo following a sinking, grounding, explosion or collision. Various disasters involving oil tankers have illustrated this form of pollution vividly.

The third, category — operational pollution — includes the dumping of liquid sewage and solid debris, the open-sea draining of tank residues, and the leaching of biocides from anti-fouling paint designed to keep hulls free of marine organisms such as mollusks and algae that impact performance.

Of particular concern is the problem of ballasting, the practice of dumping water when cargo levels are high and taking it on when cargo levels are low. This process stabilizes ships, but also circulates countless marine species such as plankton, algae and fish around the world. While most do not survive this transfer, others thrive and eventually dominate their new ecological homes at the expense of local species.

Commercial ships also contribute to air pollution and climate change through the release of sulphur oxide, nitrogen oxide and carbon dioxide respectively. The International Maritime Organization (IMO) estimates that international shipping accounted for 2.2 percent of global CO₂ emissions. While relatively low when assessed per unit of cargo and distance travelled, various forecast scenarios suggest this figure could grow by anywhere between 50 and 250 percent by 2050.

While the maritime transport sector has taken steps to curb emissions, the relevant literature has deemed their efforts so far to be insufficient.

8. Aquaculture

Aquaculture is a double-edged sword. On one hand, it can help ensure affordable access to quality food by a large, growing share of humanity. On the other hand, the environmental effects of aquaculture have earned it harsh criticism. This ambivalence appears throughout the literature, including the latest edition of *The State of World Fisheries and Aquaculture* report published by the Food and Agriculture Office of the United Nations (FAO) in 2014. “If responsibly developed and practised,” writes FAO’s general secretary José Graziano da Silva, “developed aquaculture can generate lasting benefits for global food security and economic growth.” Aquaculture certainly accounts for a growing share of



Aquaculture can ensure access to quality food by a growing share of humanity, but its environmental effects earn it harsh criticism.

global food fish production.

Of 158 million tonnes produced in 2012, aquaculture produced 66.6 million, according to the FAO. Overall, food fish production by way of aquaculture expanded at an average annual rate of 6.2 percent between 2000 and 2012. This figure actually marks a slowdown for the industry, which grew at an average annual rate of 9.5 percent between 1990 and 2000.

Worldwide, 15 countries accounted for 92.7 percent of all farmed food fish, with China responsible for 61.7 percent of all global production. Overall, Asia accounts for 88 percent of total global aquaculture by volume.

This unbalanced economic geography in turn points to aquaculture's central promise — the provision of protein to almost four billion people (about 55 percent of the global population), including some of the world's most populous countries, such as China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Japan. In fact, Asia as a whole has been producing more farmed fish than wild catch since 2008, according to the FAO. Other developing regions, including Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America have also seen their respective aquaculture industries grow.

But the potential for aquaculture comes with what might be a high environmental price. Aquaculture continues to destroy valuable habitat. Millions of hectares of mangrove forests have disappeared in Thailand, Indonesia, Ecuador, Madagascar and the Philippines. Aquaculture has also modified hydrological patterns, polluted water for human consumption through excessive waste from farmed fish and contributed to the problem of eutrophication and the enrichment of water through excessive nutrients from fish feed. Eutrophication in turn can trigger deadly

algae blooms that deprive affected areas of oxygen.

Finally, aquaculture stands accused of displacing, if not destroying, local marine life by contaminating species through invasive parasites and diseases. This phenomenon has been a consistent source of controversy in developed countries with farmed salmon industries. Consider Canada, where First Nations, environmentalists and scientists have blamed commercial salmon farming for the decline of the Pacific salmon industry. Specifically, they argue that Atlantic salmon species farmed off British Columbia have damaged Pacific salmon species through the spread of sea lice. While these parasites occur naturally, critics of commercial fish farming note that crammed fish pens offer ideal and unnatural conditions for lice to flourish and spread to wild populations.

Notably, Norway offers a preview of what might happen in British Columbia. The Scandinavian country is the largest producer of farmed salmon worldwide, with an annual production of more than a million tonnes. Farmed fish accounted for 67 percent of Norway's exported fish, according to the *Arctic Journal*.

Norwegian companies also dominate the farmed salmon industry around the world, including British Columbia, where 90 percent of the industry is in Norwegian hands. Environmentalists have long criticized the Norwegian industry for contributing to the decline of wild Atlantic salmon stocks. They received additional ammunition earlier this year, when the Havforskningssinstituttet Marine Research Institute published new research. It found that the spread of salmon lice from farmed to wild salmon remains the biggest threat to wild stock. It also raised concerns of farmed salmon preying on other species

and undermining the genetic integrity of wild salmon.

Overall, a dire picture emerges. Dr. Trygve Poppe, a professor at the Norwegian Veterinary College, told attendees at a conference about farmed salmon in February 2016, that Norway had "very little time" left to save the Atlantic salmon in proposing a total cleanup of Norway's fish farming industry. Norway's Fisheries Minister Per Sandberg acknowledged that the situation is "very serious" and promised additional reforms, but environmentalists appear unconvinced as Norway plans to invest more resources in fish-farming to compensate for lower oil prices.

Norway, to quote the *Arctic Journal*, is putting "all [its] eggs in one pen." But this strategy also bears risk. Economists predict soaring food prices after an algae bloom killed millions of salmon in farms owned by Norwegian companies. An industry official stressed that the cause of this economic and ecological disaster was a "natural phenomenon" that had "nothing to do with the management of companies."

While industry leaders have denied a direct link, they have promised to improve practices, which currently include the heavy use of antibiotics, hardly an appetizing acknowledgement.

9. Tourism and development

On its own or as an alternative to other extractive activities, ocean-related tourism can benefit oceanic life and the coastal communities that depend on it. Consider whale watching. A 2010 article published in *Marine Policy* found 13 million whale-watchers around the world generated US \$2.4 billion in total revenues, a figure predicted to increase. If the growth of this industry were to continue at the same pace, it would add more than US \$460 million and 5,700 jobs to the global economy. Coastal communities in developing countries — especially in the Caribbean, Latin America and Africa, where fisheries have declined — would see at least some of this growth, the report added.

But for all of its promises, tourism in its various forms also possesses the potential to harm oceanic environments in myriad forms.

While "tourism can be an opportunity for sustainable development," the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) writes, "poorly planned development of hotels and resorts in coastal areas can result in habitat destruction, pollution and other negative impacts on local communities as well as biodiversity." The towering hotels that



Tourism in its various forms possesses the potential to harm oceanic environments.

spoil shorelines for many miles in southern Europe, the Middle East and the Hawaiian Islands illustrate that point well.

Consider also the cruise ship industry. While cruise ships represent only a small fraction of the global shipping industry (about 12 percent), these “floating cities” create comparably large volumes of waste. During one week at sea, a moderate-sized cruise ship generates 795,000 litres of sewage, 3.8 million litres of grey water, 500 litres of hazardous waste, 95,000 litres of oily bilge water and eight tonnes of garbage, according to the WWF.

“[This waste], if not properly treated and disposed of, can be a significant source of pathogens, nutrients and toxic substances with the potential to threaten human health and damage aquatic life,” according to a report prepared for the U.S. Congress.

While multiple international protocols, regulations and standards govern the treatment of [this waste], environmentalists lament the lack of a uniform single rule or law to ensure uniformity. Some wastes are regulated well, others less so. Environmentalists also bemoan the lack of adequate enforcement.

Less invasive, more environmentally sound forms of tourism are, of course, possible, but they, too, run the inherent risk of destroying the very things that make them attractive in the first place. Consider the famed Galapagos Islands in the Pacific Ocean. Tourism supports the local economy and earns Ecuador US \$418 million a year. Tourism revenues also help pay for conservation efforts.

However, the WWF notes that a rapid rise in visitors from 40,000 in 1990 to more than 145,000 in 2006 has increasingly strained the islands’ fragile ecosystems. “Rapid development and ever-increasing infrastructure needs, along with higher demand for imported goods and fossil fuels, the introduction of invasive species, immigration and waste threaten the land and waters of the Galapagos.” Studies have also warned that eco-tourism might stress animals and encourage them to be more tame, thereby making them more susceptible to predators.

Tourism, in other words, is both a blessing and a curse.

10. Commercial whaling

No other animals have become more symbolic of the need to preserve the environment in the face of human voracity than whales. They, writes anthropologist Niels Einarsson, “sum up and stand for everything that is wrong in the relations between humans and the natural world.” This privileged status of whales in human symbolism is not necessarily new. Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick*, published in 1851, presents humans as rapacious predators whose obsessive pursuit of cetaceans for commercial purposes invites self-destruction. This argument assigns whales human attributes and sees both species in a symbiotic, transcendental relationship. As Melville says through his character, Ishmael, whales and humans belong to “the living earth” and are “part of a tragic continuum from which nothing is free.” Whether it is appropriate to anthropomorphize whales, as Melville and countless other authors have done since, remains disputable. Several facts, however, are undeniable. First, the real-life inspirations behind Ahab, Starbuck and Queequeg and their subsequent successors in the 20th Century nearly emptied the world’s oceans of whales.

While figures are unreliable, various sources estimate that humans have killed more than a million whales since the emergence of commercial whaling in the 17th Century. Second, several species of whales remain endangered, despite the commercial whaling moratorium of 1986. This reality reflects the historical damage that humans had done in the past and the low reproductive rates of whales themselves. Third, whales are crucial components of the oceanic ecosystem. As Paul Watson, founder of Sea Shepherd, a whale conservation group, told *The New York Times* in December 2015, “whales are the farmers of the ocean. They bring up

iron, nitrogen and other nutrients to the surface. They are part of a system that is millions of years old, and we are in the midst of destroying it.”

The environmental dangers are numerous, as this list shows, and include the whaling fleets of at least three nations that have defied the commercial whaling moratorium — Norway, Iceland and Japan. Of this trio, Japan perhaps draws the greatest amount of international derision, for it has chosen to circumvent the commercial whaling moratorium by labelling its annual minke whale hunt as permissible



Several whale species remain endangered, despite a 1986 commercial moratorium.

“scientific research.” A 2014 ruling by the International Court of Justice challenged the scientific legitimacy of this claim, yet Japan persists. During last year’s hunt, Japanese whalers killed 333 minke whales, including 200 pregnant females, according to *National Geographic*. While minke whales are far more numerous than other species, their fate reminds us that whales are, in the words of Melville, “perishable” creatures, whose potential demise should give us great pause.

Wolfgang Depner holds a PhD from the University of British Columbia, Okanagan Campus, where he has taught courses in political science and philosophy. He currently lives and writes in Victoria, B.C., a government and tourist town with a long history of pumping raw, untreated sewage into the Pacific Ocean.



Playa de Rodas has been called the best beach in the world by tourists and travel experts.

Life is a beach

Your handy travel guide to the top 10 beaches from the Blue Flag program, an ecological certification system that recognizes and promotes cleanliness, safety, environmental awareness and sustainability.

By Wolfgang Depner

Initiated by the Foundation for Environmental Education and headquartered in Copenhagen, Denmark, the Blue Flag program is an ecological certification program that recognizes and promotes high standards of cleanliness, safety, environmental awareness and sustainability for the world's beaches and marinas.

According to official statistics, 4,154 Blue Flags fly over beaches and marinas in 49 countries on the planet (www.blueflag.global). This fact alone makes it nearly impossible to pick the 10 best, but this list nonetheless attempts to recognize locations that offer something different to discerning travellers.

1. Rodas (Las Islas Cies), Spain

This crescent of sparkling white sand caressing the Atlantic Ocean shines far away from the more ostentatious resorts that have scoured Spain's Mediterranean shorelines.

Little more than a kilometre long, Playa de Rodas is what geo-morphology calls a *tombolo*, or a sandspit. More romantic observers have also called it the best beach in the world, as did Britain's *Guardian* newspaper in 2007.

It is certainly hard to argue. La Playa de Rodas offers many, if not all of the things that attract tourists, environmentally conscious or otherwise.

First, it is relatively inaccessible, for it lies on Monteagudo, the northern island of the Cies Islands, an uninhabited trio of rocks off Galicia in Spain's northwestern corner. In fact, the beach links Monteagudo to the middle island, do Faro. The southern island of San Martino completes this trinity.

Second, Spanish authorities restrict access to just 2,200 visitors a day, a far cry from the hordes that hog the beaches along Spain's Costa del Sol.

The low number of permitted visitors speaks to the special status of the islands. They have been part of Atlantic Islands of Galicia National Park since 2002 and



See diplomatonline.com for a digital version of this interactive map of the world's Blue Flag beaches.

therefore enjoy strict protection from the various plights that have marred commercial beaches elsewhere in the world.

Visitors arrive by ferry, travel on foot and sleep in tents. A couple of basic restaurants constitute civilization during tourist season and only rugged cliffs tower over local beaches, of which Rodas is the prettiest.

Climatically, the Cies Islands vary between the tropics and the North Sea. Their waters shimmer with a turquoise hue, but temperatures can also make swimmers shiver and shriek. This diversity is also evident in other ways.

While the islands are uninhabited during the off-season, they boast a rich history of human settlement that reaches back millennia. Bronze-age humans have left behind reminders of their existence. So have Celts, Romans and Christian monks.

More recent historic visitors include the Spanish Empire's *bête noire*, Sir Francis Drake. El Draque, as Spaniards called the famed Elizabethan privateer, used the islands as a staging base for raids on nearby Vigo.

With its tropical aura and colourful history, it is therefore not surprising to learn that locals refer to the Cies Islands as the "Galician Caribbean."

But, unlike the real Caribbean, they have managed to remain outside the clutches of modern tourism, a genuine haven at the world's end.

2. Bora Bora, Polynesia

Bora Bora — the Pearl of the Pacific, as the literature describes it — ranks among the most expensive tourism destinations. Part of the French overseas collectivity of French-Polynesia, Bora Bora lies roughly halfway between Australia and the South American continent, far away from any major centres of civilization.

This remote location alone has effectively rendered Bora Bora an exclusive economic zone for the rich and famous.

Perhaps fittingly, this member of the Society Islands archipelago has had a long history of attracting a continuum of celebrities, including the Kardashian clan, whose larger relevance in the course of human affairs continues to evade comprehension. This said, accounts of Bora Bora often frame it as *the* tropical paradise par excellence and for good reasons.

Its geographical distance has always rendered Bora Bora an object of desire among those who have sought to escape modern civilization. This cadre of dreamers included legendary German filmmaker

F.W. Murneau.

Bora Bora inspires the imagination. Seen from above, it is a delicate composite of shimmering coral reefs that ring shards of land made out of sand and basaltic rock, a reminder that Bora Bora was once a volcano.

It is now the home of 9,500 people and about half of them cling to the largest piece of land that time has left behind, its eponymous main island, a weathered jumble of folds, slopes and crevices covered in green vegetation and dominated by Mount Otemanu.

The water of Bora Bora's famous lagoon blazes a turquoise blue, but this brightness masks its fragility in light of threats that loom just beyond the horizon. Regular flights connect Bora Bora with



Bora Bora is called the "pearl of the Pacific."

Tahiti, the capital of French Polynesia, and the single channel through its coral reef is deep enough for cruise ships to anchor. (In a twist, one of the luxury cruise ship lines that regularly calls on Bora Bora bears the name of Paul Gauguin, the French post-impressionist painter, whose Polynesian motifs made him world-famous. Gauguin was notoriously short on money and likely could not have afforded to travel to modern-day Bora Bora).

All this is to say that Bora Bora has to pay considerable attention to the state of its aquatic environment. Not surprisingly, Bora Bora boasted nine Blue Flag beaches in 2014/2015, spread across the main island and the outlying motus (smaller island), including the island of Toopua,

where Hilton Hotels maintains an exclusive resort, including a private island.

While it will take considerable resources to reach Bora Bora and its pristine beaches, they are also precious reminders of what once was.

3. Green Cay Beach, U.S. Virgin Islands

If the three main islands of the U.S. Virgin Islands were siblings, St. John and St. Thomas might be sharing the same room, for they lie near each other, in close proximity to the British Virgin Islands. St. Croix, meanwhile, would enjoy separate quarters, for it lies 70 kilometres south of its American siblings and British cousins. Of course, they are not, but their respective geographies have nonetheless shaped them. As Murray Carpenter of *The New York Times* wrote in 2015 about St. Croix: "It's a place apart, less touristy, more relaxed and quite a bit bigger than St. John and St. Thomas combined. Best of all, St. Croix still has a variety of large, diverse natural areas to explore."

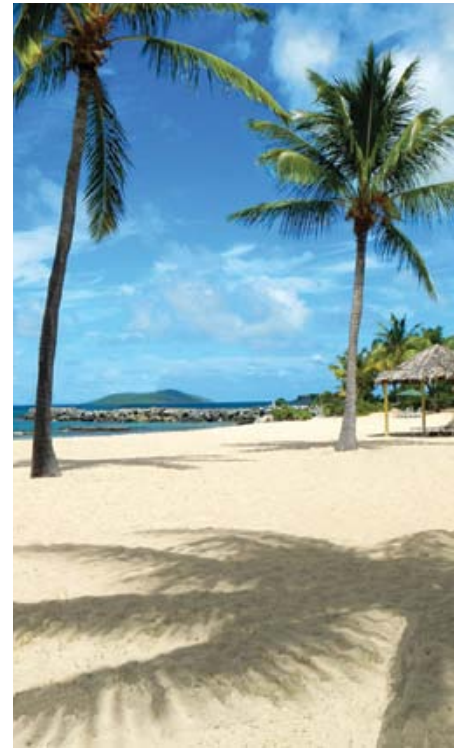
Credit belongs to the U.S. government. In what now appears as an astute amount of foresight, the U.S. started to protect parts of the island as far back as the 1940s. High points of these conservation efforts include the creation of the Buck Island Reef National Monument during the administration of John F. Kennedy in 1961 and its expansion under the administration of Bill Clinton in 2001.

Located just off St. Croix, Buck Island and its coral reef system support a large variety of native flora and fauna, including several endangered and threatened species such as hawksbill turtles and brown pelicans. Popular with snorkellers from the around the world, the island is also visible from one of the finest beaches in perhaps the entire Caribbean – the Green Cay Beach at Tamarind Reef.

Thatched sun huts and hammocks held up by coconut trees await visitors to the beach, a broad strip of white sand, fringed by a rocky shoreline speckled with natural tidal pools. A small area at the eastern end of the beach serves as an entrance to the water for swimmers.

The beach offers something for people of every disposition. The gentle lapping of the water may invite daydreamers to indulge the silence. More active types might go snorkelling or kayaking.

St. Croix also offers a range of cultural attractions. They include the Christiansted National Historic Site that celebrates St. Croix's colonial legacy as the former capital of the Danish West Indies. Their



Green Cay Beach on the U.S. Virgin Islands is an oasis of thatched sun huts and hammocks.

history ended in 1917 when the United States purchased St. Croix along with St. Thomas and St. John from Denmark. Perhaps the most famous person with ties to Denmark's colonial past in the Caribbean was none other than Alexander Hamilton, a founding father of the United States and currently the subject of a massively popular Broadway show. And if we are to believe current accounts, it might be easier to get a ticket to St. Croix than to *Hamilton*.

4. Grandes Playas, Spain

A sweeping, occasionally rough grandeur awaits visitors to the island of Fuerteventura and its Grandes Playas.

The second largest of the Spanish-owned Canary Islands, Fuerteventura lies 120 kilometres off the Moroccan coast. Its latitude of 28 degrees north places the island (along with the rest of the archipelago) in the sub-tropics. The Atlantic and prevailing wind patterns moderate the hot air masses coming off the Sahara Desert in Africa and give the island a warm, but moderate climate.

Since average monthly temperatures range between a maximum of just under 25C and a minimum of just under 17C, the Canaries are often described as the islands of eternal spring. This fact has made Fuerteventura a favourite among tourists and perhaps no location draws

more praise than the island's northeastern corner, where visitors will find the beach of Grandes Playas near the town of Corralejo.

Grandes Playas is very accessible, yet visitors can easily escape to find their own secluded spot along a beach that is 3,450 metres long and 60 metres wide.

Better yet, it is one of many beaches that dot the nearby shoreline. Visitors can easily lose themselves on the beaches that lie just before the massive sand dunes of the Parque Natural de Corralejo.

While two hotels stand among the beaches south of Corralejo, they appear



Grandes Playas is accessible, yet visitors can find their own spot along the sizable beach.

very lonely among the massive swath of sand that surrounds them, as if they were islands in the midst of an ocean themselves. The real ocean, meanwhile, shimmers in various shades of blue and white as the trade winds sometimes caress, sometimes whip water and sand. The area is ideal for windsurfing, as well as other water-related sports.

The nearby island of Lobos, an uninhabited volcanic rock just to the northeast of the various beaches, provides a visual point of reference and hints at the scenery that awaits — an amalgamation of ocean, sky, sand and volcanic ridges that rise and fall in sharp angles.

This intense environment is popular with hikers and they can get a better view of it by climbing the 300 metres up Montaña Roja (Red Mountain), a one-

time volcano. Along the way, they will also have a chance to survey the island's unique flora and fauna, which have earned it the status of a UNESCO World Biosphere Reserve.

5. Las Cuevas Bay, Trinidad and Tobago

It is hard not to think of Captain Jack Sparrow, as played by Johnny Depp in *Pirates of the Caribbean*, when pondering Las Cuevas Bay in Trinidad. An air of secrecy and seclusion pervades on this long, narrow beach, as it loops around a dense mass of tropical trees, as boldly green as the water is blue.

You can practically envision the *Black Pearl* setting anchor here, loaded with booty and pirates eager to enjoy the fruits of their ill-gotten gains. Of course, much has changed since the real-life inspirations behind Sparrow and his crew plied these waters during the height of Caribbean piracy in the 17th and early 18th Centuries.

Fashions, shall we say, have become less dramatic, and piracy, along with some other despicable social institutions, has disappeared from the Caribbean.

Today, tourism drives the economies of many Caribbean countries. Trinidad, however, is the exception. As *The New York Times* writes, "Trinidad is not piña

colada territory." In short, the often tacky, frequently garish paraphernalia of other Caribbean tourist traps are largely absent from Trinidad. Instead, it features "unspoiled beaches and waterfalls visited by locals," according to the *New York Times*.

Las Cuevas Bay belongs to that category. Visitors can reach it from Trinidad's capital, Port of Spain, by driving 50 minutes north on a mountainous road that will also take them past Maracas Bay, arguably the most popular destination for tourists to Trinidad, and "as close as Trinidad gets to a commercial beach," the *Times* continues. That is to say that Las Cuevas Bay appeals to those who want to escape the crowds and get an immersive local experience. It offers great bathing and small caves along the beach offer even more privacy.

Word, it seems, is getting out. As Trinidad's *Daily Express* reports, the beach "has, for the past few years, quietly gained popularity among the eco-crowd," who come to see and learn more about the endangered marine turtles that nest in the area.

6. Playa Blanca, Costa Rica

By any measure, Costa Rica is a place of relative prosperity in a region rife with poverty, partly because the country values



An air of secrecy and seclusion pervades Las Cuevas Bay, as it loops around a dense mass of tropical trees, as boldly green as the water is blue.



Located along Costa Rica's central Pacific Coast, a short drive away from the seaside of Jaco, Playa Blanca offers 500 metres of clean, white sand.

its natural environment.

With an estimated per-capita GDP of US\$15,500 according to the *CIA World Factbook*, Costa Rica ranks second among Central American countries, behind Panama (\$20,900) and ahead of Belize, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua. Their respective per-capita GDPs range between a half and a third of Costa Rica's.

While Costa Rica has experienced income disparity in recent years, the country's overall economic performance reflects a fairly diverse economy that relies on tourism as a source of foreign currency.

The country is especially popular among eco-tourists, who value its immense bio-diversity, a product of its tropical latitudes, volcanic geology and climatic influences, courtesy of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

Conscious of this important clientele, Costa Rica's government has pursued

some of the most progressive conservation policies anywhere in the world. While Costa Rica recently distanced itself from its previous goal to achieve carbon-neutrality by 2021 — a goal critics considered unrealistic — the country's environmental policies are nonetheless exemplary.

Its beaches reflect this spirit. In 2002, it adopted the Blue Flag program and Playa Blanca, in the state of Puntarenas, belongs to the trinity of beaches that received the highest marks this year. It, along with the beaches of Matapalo and El Madero, in the state of Guanacaste, received five out of five possible stars.

Located along Costa Rica's central Pacific coast, a short drive away from the seaside of Jaco, Playa Blanca offers 500 metres of clean, white sand. A gentle surf allows visitors to pursue a variety of aquatic sports, including snorkelling. Perhaps its most attractive feature, though, is elusiveness. The road to it is not the

smoothest, even by local standards, and the entrance to the beach is difficult to find. But once found, paradise awaits.

7. Budva and Ulcinj regiona, Montenegro

To borrow a phrase from *Sunset Boulevard*, Montenegro is ready for its close-up — once again.

When Montenegro was still part of the former Yugoslavia, its communist government invested significant resources into attracting foreign tourists to its Adriatic coast — with considerable success. According to *The New York Times*, Hollywood icons Sophia Loren, Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor all vacationed along Montenegro's northern coast region, centred on the town of Budva.

Foreign tourists largely stayed away from the former Yugoslavia when the end of the Cold War unleashed several civil wars that ravaged the region during



The beaches around Budva, such as the Queen of Montenegro, draw much attention.

the last decade of the 20th Century. The eventual end of hostilities, followed by Montenegro's peaceful separation from Serbia in 2006, has since revived tourism throughout the region and Montenegro stands to benefit from its many cultural and natural attractions.

They include picturesque towns whose religious and architectural traditions reach back millennia, sparkling mountain lakes nestled among towering peaks, and of course, beaches of varying types.

Montenegro's coastline is 294 kilometres long, yet it boasts 18 Blue Flag beaches, or more than six Blue Flag beaches per 100 kilometres of coastline.

The beaches around Budva, such as the Queen of Montenegro, draw most of the attention, but equally attractive are those around the southern coastal city of Ulcinj. Of the 18 Blue Flag beaches, six are in Budva and six in Ulcinj.

By all accounts, the Budva region appeals to more mainstream travellers, partly because the region features the islet of Sveti Stefan, once a fortified village, now an upscale resort connected to the mainland by an isthmus.

Budva also offers a vibrant nightlife that complements its many beaches. Ulcinj, meanwhile, perhaps appeals to more adventurous travellers, partly because of its proximity to Albania, another location off the beaten path that offers distinct travel experiences.

Regardless of personal preferences, both regions offer splendid beaches set

against stunning mountain backdrops at affordable rates without the large crowds that characterize other shorelines in the region.

Word, however, is getting out. More than 1.5 million tourists visited Montenegro in 2014, up 1.7 percent from the previous year, and tourism generated 730 million euros. Overall, Montenegro's ministry of tourism said the country's annual income from tourism has tripled over the past 10 years. In other words, Montenegro is back in the minds of travellers looking for a different experience.

8. Pomorie, Bulgaria

Open views of the Black Sea await visitors to Pomorie, a Bulgarian seaside town of 14,000 that is rooted in antiquity, yet offers

shine per day in the months of July and August, when average temperatures hit 29C, with water temperatures reaching 23C in August. Even during the month of October, the average daily temperature hovers around 20C, with the water three degrees colder.

Not surprisingly, wine grapes grow well in Pomorie, which has developed a reputation for producing fine wines.

Wellness seekers also know Pomorie for its therapeutic muds. In fact, they became so popular during the Roman era that Pomorie became the focus of a religious cult centred around three Nymphs, the Anhialo Nymphs. (Anhialo was Pomorie's name until 1934.) This trio of young girls were said to live in the hills that surround the city and protect its therapeutic muds.



Pomorie, a Bulgarian seaside town of 14,000, is rooted in antiquity, yet offers modern amenities at affordable prices.

modern amenities at affordable prices.

Located about halfway up Bulgaria's Black Sea shore on a peninsula, humans have lived around modern-day Pomorie since the Neolithic Period of 6,000 BC.

Countless empires have fallen and risen around Pomorie since then and all of them likely valued its strategic location, profitable salt mines and warm climate. Pomorie receives up to 11 hours of sun-

Whether they ever existed is a matter of speculation, but the therapeutic muds remain and continue to attract visitors.

So does Pomorie's five-kilometre-long beach. While it directly abuts the city, it is clean and less crowded than many of the other beaches along the Bulgarian Riviera.

Famous Bulgarian resorts, such as Sunny Beach near Nessebar and Golden Sands near Varna (both north of Pomo-



Ain Diab entices with open views of the Mediterranean and its wide beaches.

rie), might be more cosmopolitan, but travellers looking for a more relaxed, less boisterous experience that allows them to learn more about Bulgarians will likely find Pomorie more appealing.

9. Ain Diab (near Casablanca), Morocco

This Mediterranean spot offers a rare combination — environmentally conscious travel near a bustling metropolis. Forever associated with a certain Hollywood movie, Casablanca appeals to cosmopolitan tastes thanks to its busy nightlife, culinary diversity and countless architectural attractions. Morocco's largest city — with a population of 3.5 million — offers what the *New York Times* calls a “distinctive architectural cocktail” that mixes the modern with the ancient, Islamic with western traditions in an occasionally rough, but thoroughly romantic manner.

Key highlights of this mix include Casablanca's city centre, built during the French colonial period. Its buildings combine traditional Moorish motifs with Art Nouveau and Art Deco styles. Casablanca's Cathedral, meanwhile, follows a neo-gothic tradition. Undeniably the

most impressive building, though, is the Grand Mosque King Hasan II. Its minaret rises 210 metres into the air and it is large enough to hold 25,000 worshippers. Its exterior courtyard and squares can accommodate another 80,000.

Built over a period of seven years and at a cost of more than \$500 million, the mosque opened in 1993 and ranks among the most important religious buildings anywhere in the world. But Casablanca's natural setting is equally impressive and Ain Diab entices with open views of the Mediterranean and its wide beaches.

10. Various, Dominican Republic

Let us first acknowledge the prevailing cliché about tourism in the Dominican Republic. According to it, the tourism industry consists of semi-insular resorts that slavishly cater to the wishes and whims of middle-class Canadians and Americans looking for a little bit of adult fun under the Caribbean sun.

These complexes, the cliché goes, are nothing less than Cocoons of the Comfortable, where visitors can enjoy dishes, drinks and distractions that rarely depart

from what might be available at home, the only substantial difference being the weather. Worse, few bother to venture beyond these fortresses of familiarity to experience a culturally diverse, naturally beautiful country and its friendly people.

As with all clichés, this one is not without basis. The all-inclusive nature of many resorts offers travellers good value and the island is accessible, as seven international airports serve carriers from around the world.

Overall, the Dominican Republic stands as the “undisputed king of Caribbean tourism,” as the region's most visited country, according to *Travel Weekly* in 2014.

In 2014, nearly half of the five million people who visited the Dominican Republic were citizens of the United States and



Dominican Republic stands as the undisputed king of Caribbean tourism.

Canada, who respectively ranked first and second among foreign visitors. A total of 1.9 million visited from the United States and slightly more than 700,000 came from Canada.

But a look beyond these figures reveals that the Dominican Republic is more than just a boozy playground. With a shoreline of more than 1,600 kilometres, the Dominican Republic boasts 21 Blue Flag beaches, more than any other Caribbean nation. And while many of them are near the major resort sites, others offer more privacy.

Wolfgang Depner is a beach bum trapped inside the ivory tower, whose favourite Canadian song from the late '70s is *Echo Beach* by Martha and the Muffins.

Summering near Ottawa

By Patrick Langston

Swishy garden parties, faraway beaches and lawn bowling are all fine, but summer's also a time for forays into uncharted territory. And that doesn't have to mean packing a suitcase. We've found a tonne of unexpected fun within easy striking distance of downtown. Better yet, it won't break the bank.

Heritage homages: Plentiful and unassuming, the Ottawa Valley's small museums sweep you into life as it once was. Smiths Falls' Heritage House Museum recreates an upper-class Victorian-era home complete with a two-storey privy (smiths-falls.ca). In Ottawa's east end, the delightful Cumberland Heritage Village Museum showcases local life in the 1920s and '30s (ottawa.ca). Other must-visits include the cosy Carleton Place and Beckwith Heritage Museum (cpbheritagemuseum.com).

The Bard's band of fools: Physicality, polished acting and splashes of irreverence define A Company of Fools' annual Torchlight Shakespeare production staged



A Company of Fools does theatre in the park between July 4 and August 20.

in parks around town. This year, it's *The Amazing Adventures of Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, which is more or less what William Shakespeare called the original. Pared down to 90 minutes, the Fools' take on the story is a swashbuckling one. Runs July 4 to Aug. 20. 613-863-7529, fools.ca

Into the woods: Towering white pines, sugar maples and yellow birch dot Gillies Grove, a stately old-growth forest in Arnprior, 30 minutes west of Kanata. Scarlet tanagers, flying squirrels and red-backed salamanders add to the charm. Other Arnprior highlights: the lovingly curated Arnprior & District Museum, Bonnie Jane's Coffee House, fresh corn at McGregor's veggie stand and world-class French fries at Wes' Chips. arnprior.ca



Scarlet tanagers, flying squirrels and red-backed salamanders add to the charm of Gillies Grove, a stately old-growth forest in Arnprior, 30 minutes west of Kanata.

Urban escape: Best on a sunny Saturday morning, the stretch of Wellington Street West between Parkdale and Smirle avenues is an exercise in citified diversity. West Park bowling alley, Fil's Diner and Daniel O'Connell's pub are a jaunty, connected trio. Cube Gallery and Gallery 3 feature lively art. The St. Vincent de Paul used goods store is legendary. For a snack or lunch, try the second floor at Thyme & Again. Within walking distance: John Ceprano's astounding rock sculptures at Remic Rapids.

Mining matters: Who knew? Hundreds of small-scale mines peppered Eastern Ontario and Western Quebec in the late 1800s and early 1900s, their minerals shipped worldwide. Among them: the

Silver Queen mica mine, now part of lovely Murphys Point Provincial Park on Big Rideau Lake. A visit takes you 70 feet down and includes a peek at a restored miners' bunkhouse. About 75 minutes from downtown Ottawa, with a stop in historic Perth a must. 613-267-5060, ontarioparks.com

Conversation concerns: Its name is no grabber, but Mud Lake ranks among Ottawa's in-town gems. Part of the 79-hectare Britannia Conservation Area close to Britannia Park, the lake — a sprawling pond, really — is home to fish, frogs and turtles, the latter enjoying few things more than sunbathing near the small bridge. Easily navigable trails, soaring pine trees and fabulous birdwatching round out a morning or afternoon here. ottawa.ca

Zippy ideas: Why just look at a magnificent canyon with whitewater rapids churning through it when you can fly right over the thing on a zip line? Chutes Coulonge Park, an historic log-driving site in west Quebec, also boasts rock climbing, trails and a cluster of other outdoor treats. Reservations required for some activities. 819-683-2770, chutescoulonge.qc.ca

Public art: The ByWard Market abounds not just in produce, but in soul-nourishing public art. Jean-Yves Vigneau's bronze alley cats prowl and loll atop a parking garage at 141 Clarence St., colourful papier mâché characters float beneath the ceiling in the ByWard Market Square building and the reconstructed tin façade of an actual home enlivens a courtyard between Clarence and Murray streets just east of Sussex Drive. More at ottawatourism.ca/ottawa-insider/public-art-in-ottawa

Down in the country: There's a reason some country fairs around Ottawa date back more than 150 years: They're fun. That's especially so for urbanites whose familiarity with brawny work horses, sticky cotton candy, raucous midways and home-grown vegetable competitions is likely minimal at best. Fairs run from June into the fall.

Patrick Langston is an Ottawa feature writer and adventurer.

Canada's great auto slide

By Ian Lee and Laura Ierfino-Blachford



During the past half-century, the share of manufacturing as a percentage of Canadian GDP has declined from just under 25 percent to 10 percent. The declines are also recorded when measured by employment levels or the number of new auto assembly plants.

"The U.S. South and Mexico are winning the battle. Over half the capacity and 80 percent to 90 percent of investment dollars are going to the U.S. South or Mexico (2014)."

— Dennis DesRosiers, auto industry analyst and president of DesRosiers Automotive Consultants

Since the recession of 2008 and 2009, increasing concern has been expressed by politicians, union leaders and analysts concerning the decline of manufacturing in Canada. Indeed, during the past half-century, the share of manufacturing as a percentage of Canadian GDP has declined from just under

25 percent to 10 percent. The declines are also recorded when measured by employment levels or the number of new auto assembly plants.

However, when OECD data over the same period are examined, we discover that this trend is a reality in all western countries. Nonetheless, there are genuine

problems that affect Canadian automobile manufacturing that are unique to Canada.

The problems facing Canada's automotive manufacturing sector can be traced to the origins of the industry, when the first automotive plant was opened in 1904 in Walkerville, Ont., near Windsor. It was established under the regime of Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, and his national policy of high tariff barriers. Automobiles were no exception, with a 35-percent tariff established for imported autos. The national policy ensured that manufacturing took place in Canada with small production runs mostly for the Canadian market, which in turn meant much higher prices as economies of scale in the small Canadian market simply could not be achieved.

second term in office, his administration started to incrementally undo the most pernicious effects of the protectionist policies that caused so much damage to western economies and which many believe led to the Great Depression. The U.S. Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934 led to a bilateral agreement between Canada and the U.S. in 1935 and these agreements in turn provided the broad framework that led to the establishment of the GATT (now the WTO) immediately following the Second World War.

It was during this period, immediately after the war, that William Lyon Mackenzie King's Liberal government secretly negotiated a free-trade agreement with the U.S. that was revolutionary for its breadth and depth. However, at the last

AUTOMOTIVE PRODUCTION EXPANDED FASTER IN CANADA

(Numbers in thousands of units)

	USA	USA	Canada	Canada
Period	Cars	Trucks & Buses	Cars	Trucks & Buses
1960-64 average	6,907	1,322	434	84
1965-69 average	8,485	1,806	803	232
1970-74 average	8,182	2,407	1,087	302
1975	6,740	2,251	1,057	390
1976	8,538	2,946	1,143	501
1977	9,294	3,424	1,167	603

SOURCE: ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT TO CONGRESS ON THE OPERATION OF THE AUTOMOTIVE PRODUCTS TRADE ACT, JANUARY 1976 AND MARCH 1977. AUTOMOTIVE NEWS, SELECTED ISSUES.

The infamous U.S. Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930, and the decision of the R.B. Bennett government in Canada to reciprocate, increased tariffs to their highest level in more than 100 years and ensured that subsequent trade collapsed amongst countries by more than 50 percent during the Great Depression. Decades later, Professor Ben Bernanke, who went on to become chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve, stated that "economists still agree that Smoot-Hawley and the ensuing tariff wars were highly counterproductive and contributed to the depth and length of the global Depression." Donald Trump should note that Senator Reed Smoot, congressman Willis Hawley and Bennett were each defeated in the next election.

However, the good news was that at the beginning of Franklin Roosevelt's

minute, King experienced buyer's remorse and rejected it. This was unfortunate. From this time until the Auto Pact of 1965, Canada experienced significant auto-trade deficits with the U.S., notwithstanding the 17-percent tariff on U.S. auto imports, as the small production runs in Canada ensured extremely high prices for automobiles.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Canada focused its trade policy on multilateral agreements, principally successive rounds of the GATT. While this certainly pleased the internationalists at the federal external affairs department, it failed to address Canada's increasing dependency on a bilateral relationship with the U.S., with Canada on the losing end.

Nowhere was this more apparent than in the Canadian automotive manufactur-

DECLINE AND FALL

"The decline of Ontario manufacturing is the result of long-term structural changes in the economy ... Canada's manufacturing productivity performance in particular has been declining for a generation, with especially poor performance in the last decade, when labour productivity in Canada grew at just a quarter of the U.S. rate. Meanwhile, capital investment that may have improved the competitiveness of Canadian manufacturing has been anemic."

— *Canadian Manufacturing Malaise: Three Hypotheses* by Jack Mintz and Matt Krzepkowski, The School of Public Policy Research Papers, University of Calgary, 2013

"Investment by automakers in Canada doubled last year from 2014 levels, but the country failed to win any of the three new assembly plants that were announced for North America, pushing Canada's losing streak for new plants to a decade."

— *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 16, 2016: "Canada misses out on new auto assembly plants" by Greg Keenan

"Within North America, labour costs in northern U.S. states are close to \$60 an hour; the South is closer to \$40 an hour and Mexico is less than \$10. Canada is even higher," said Peter Hall, chief economist at Export Development Canada. The average Mexican will work up to 450 hours more than an American every year, earning less than a fifth of the pay, according to the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development.

— *Detroit Free Press*, 2015

ing industry. As Carleton University professor Michael Hart argued in his book, *A Trading Nation: Canadian Trade Policy from Colonialism to Globalization*: "The weak competitive position of the Canadian automotive industry flowed from a variety of factors including technological developments, the revival of the European industries, the weakening benefits of traditional links to British and Commonwealth markets and the structure of the Canadian industry."

Indeed, the government of John



Figure 3: Canada's Automotive Trade Balances with Mexico, 1992-2014

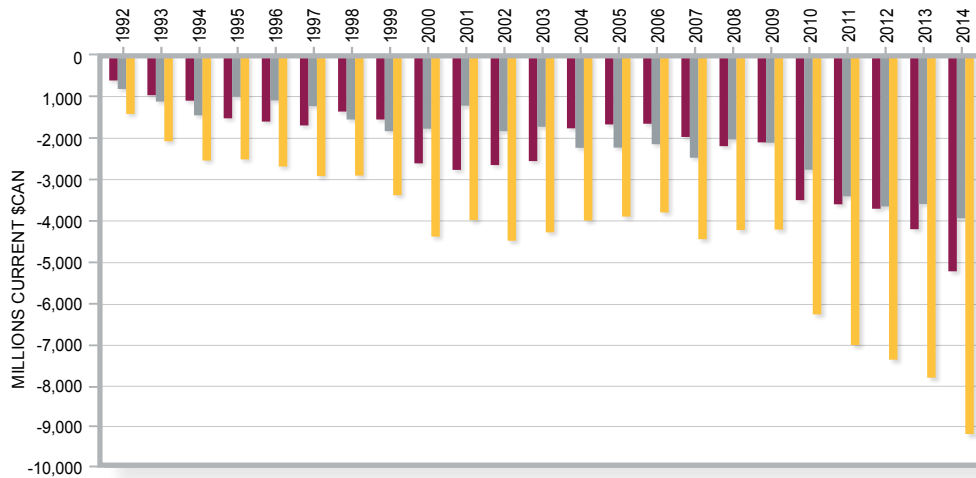


Figure 4: Canada's Automotive Trade Balances within the NAFTA Bloc, 1992-2014

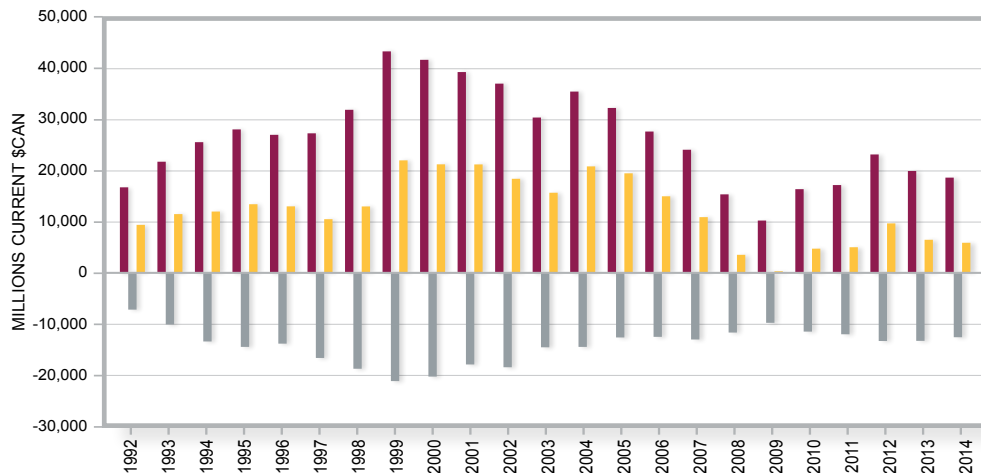
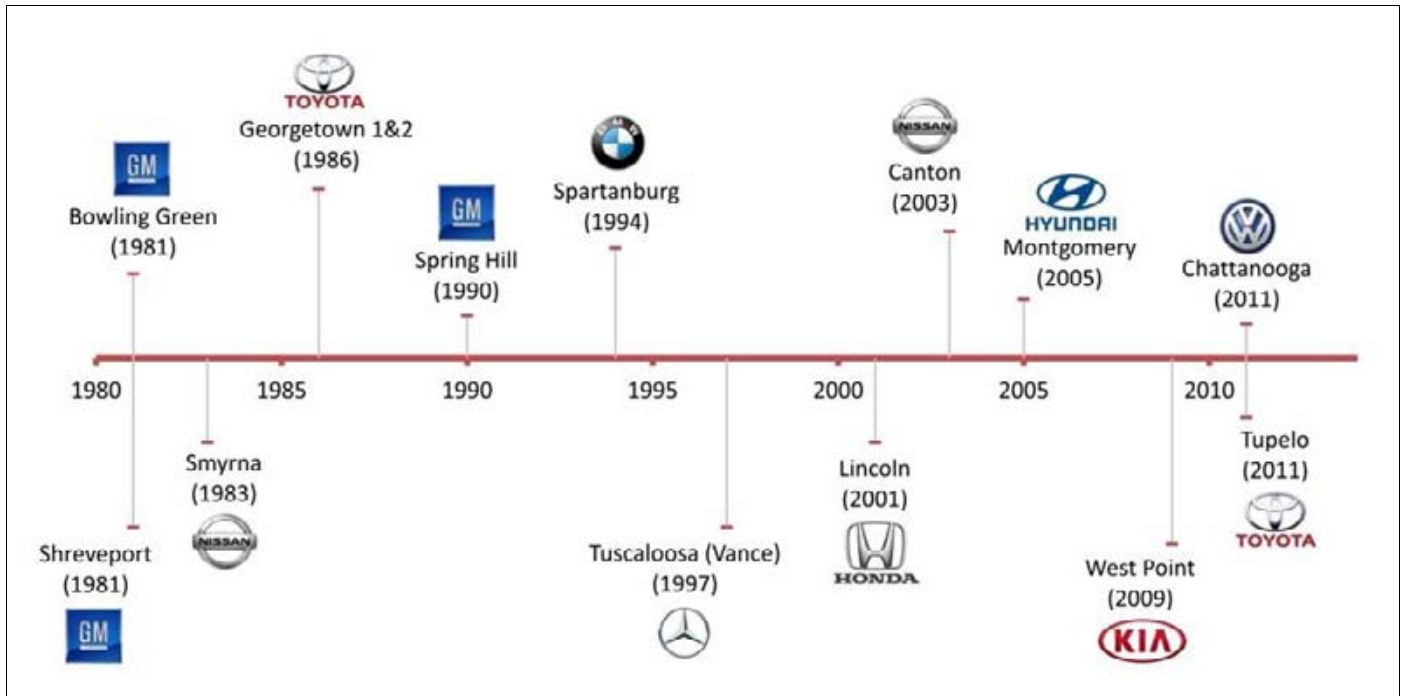


Table 2: Canada's Overall Automotive Trade Balances with NAFTA, Outside NAFTA, and All Countries: 1993, 2000, 2007, 2014 (\$CAN millions current)

		1993	2000	2007	2014
Vehicles	NAFTA	+ 21,613.2	+ 41,568.3	+ 23,980.0	+ 18,498.5
	Non-NAFTA	- 2,630.4	- 5,442.4	- 8,938.6	- 9,367.2
	All Countries	+ 18,982.8	+ 36,125.9	+ 15,021.4	+ 9,131.3
Automotive Parts	NAFTA	- 10,257.8	- 20,465.1	- 13,200.5	- 12,756.2
	Non-NAFTA	- 1,452.5	- 2,285.7	- 3,637.7	- 6,633.8
	All Countries	- 11,710.3	- 22,750.8	- 16,838.2	- 19,390.0
Total Automotive Parts	NAFTA	- 11,355.3	+ 21,103.0	+ 10,759.5	+ 5,742.3
	Non-NAFTA	- 4,082.9	- 7,728.1	- 12,576.4	- 16,001.0
	All Countries	- 7,272.4	+ 13,375.1	- 1,816.8	- 10,528.7

Source:
Calculated by
author from
Strategis Trade
Data, Industry
Canada. Accessed
February 12, 2015

Chart 6: New Assembly Plants in the SARA Region 1980 – 2014



Diefenbaker appointed Vincent Bladen, an economist at the University of Toronto, to evaluate the industry. He concluded that the principal problem facing the industry was short production runs in an industry characterized by very large capital costs and suggested it needed long production runs to achieve the necessary economies of scale. It did not require an economist to understand that Canada could not meet this strategic imperative in a small, closed market behind high tariff barriers.

Industry studies at the time found that a firm needed to produce 600,000 cars a year to achieve maximum economies of scale. The largest Canadian firm, GM Canada, was producing 175,000 cars a year — not even close.

Bladen recommended the industry narrow the number of cars produced in order to specialize and increase production runs. The policy instrument proposed was duty remission on imported parts for the cars that were exported. The proposal was, in fact, the embryo of the Auto Pact (actually Automotive Products Trade Act or APTA). And in 1965, prime minister Lester B. Pearson signed the Auto Pact treaty with U.S. president Lyndon Johnson.

It became a truism of Canadian politics that the Auto Pact was “free trade in automobiles” and thus a precursor to possible future trade deals. In fact, it was anything but. Instead, it was cleverly disguised protectionism, for it protected the Canadian market for the U.S. Big Three (GM, Ford,

Chrysler), which is what the WTO ruled in 2002 when it struck down the treaty as illegal.

The U.S. sought to rationalize the automobile manufacturing industry by extending U.S. manufacturing hegemony to Canada while Canada wanted to ensure that it participated in the rationalization of the auto manufacturing industry. As Hart notes in *A Trading Nation*: “Canada agreed to make its protection more efficient, and the United States agreed to exempt Canadian-origin parts and vehicles from its protection.” Canada’s auto manufacturers were given duty-free access to the U.S. market for vehicles that met a minimum of Canadian- or U.S.-made content. The Canadians promised to ensure that 75 percent of cars sold in Canada were made in Canada — using high tariffs against vehicles not made in Canada or the U.S.

For the next third of a century, Canada prospered under the Auto Pact, generating substantial trade surpluses with the U.S. in contrast with the auto-manufacturing deficits experienced prior to 1965. The U.S. produced more vehicles in absolute terms as its economy and population were 10 times larger. However, Canada produced proportionately more vehicles year after year.

In 1989, Canada signed the historic free-trade agreement (FTA) with the U.S. While the Auto Pact was a sectoral agreement in automobile production, the FTA was a comprehensive agreement that applied to

goods and services in most sectors. However, Canada agreed to give up its right to use duty remission as a tool to protect firms located in Canada.

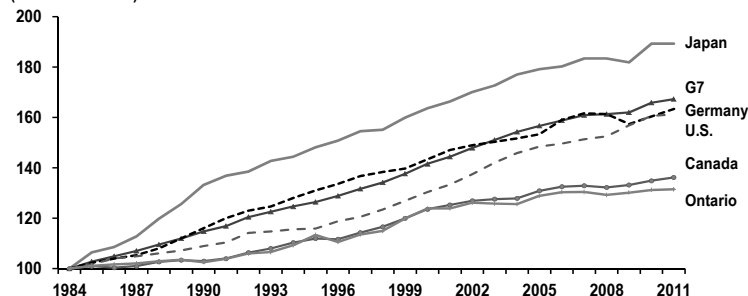
In 1992, negotiations lead to the inclusion of Mexico and the signing of NAFTA that came into law in 1994.

It has become fashionable to blame NAFTA in Canada and the U.S. for job losses in the auto industry. Yet, as Queen’s University professor John Holmes has shown, Canada experienced a trade surplus in automobile production between 1993 and 2007. In his words: “Between 1982 and 2006, Canada enjoyed a positive balance on its automotive trade with the rest of the world. The trade surplus peaked at \$14.6 billion in 1999, but by 2007, on the eve of the global financial crisis, the balance had turned negative. By 2014, the deficit stood at \$10.3 billion. Over the seven years between 2008 and 2014, Canada registered an average annual automotive trade deficit of \$9.5 billion.”

In short, for the first 14 years of NAFTA, Canada did very well. However, starting in 2003, Canada’s auto export surplus started to contract and disappeared in 2007. Why did this contraction happen after so many years of success in manufacturing and exporting automobiles? For that answer, we turn to the Deloitte annual survey of manufacturing competitiveness. Two of the most important drivers in manufacturing are costs and produc-

Ontario Labour Productivity Compared with Advanced Economies

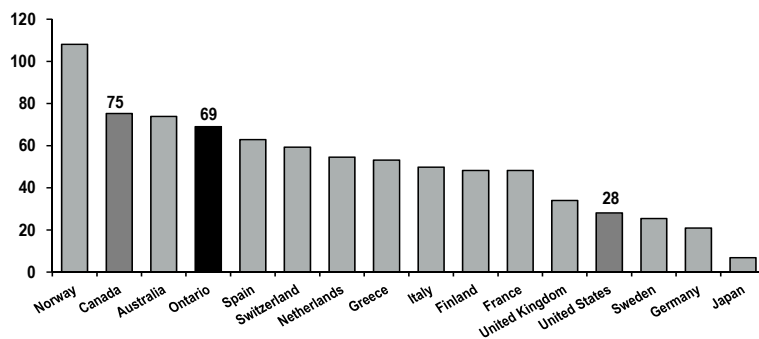
CHART 5.2

Total Economy: Real Output Per Hour Worked (2005 \$US PPP)
(Index: 1984=100)

Notes: OECD figures are available for Total Economy and not for the Business Sector. Ontario Total Economy figures are obtained from Canadian Productivity Accounts and converted from Canadian dollars to U.S. dollars at 2005 purchasing power parity (PPP) rate.
Sources: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Statistics Canada and Ontario Ministry of Finance.

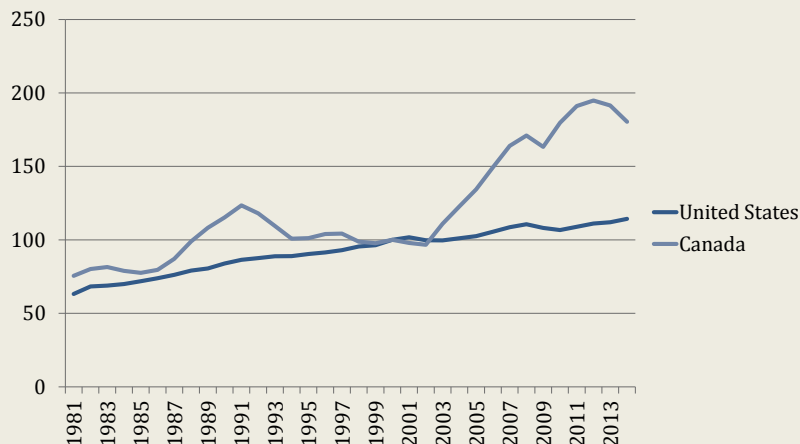
Unit Labour Costs in Advanced Economies

CHART 5.8

Total Economy Unit Labour Costs, \$US Market Exchange Rate, 1997–2010
(Per Cent Change)

Sources: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and Ontario Ministry of Finance.

Unit Labor Costs, Business Sector, United States and Canada, U.S. Dollars, 2000=100, 1981-2014



Source: CANSIM 383-0008 and BLS Labour Productivity and Costs Program.

tivity. So, we then examine a singularly important metric in manufacturing called “unit labour costs per hour.” It’s similar to retail sales per square foot because it allows comparisons across firms, across countries, in the same sector. This metric calculates the wage rate per hour, the productivity per hour of that activity and the exchange rate of that country to produce the “unit labour cost per hour,” which can then be used to compare that industry or sector to the same industry or sector in other countries.

Canada’s dramatic deterioration really started in 2003. When we compare Canada’s unit labour cost per hour to other manufacturing countries, we realize Canada’s problem is very serious indeed. (See Chart 5.8.)

Indeed, these data are corroborated by the Ontario Ministry of Finance in its budget, as seen in Chart 5.2.

Finally, when we examine the location of new assembly plants over the last two decades — the places that produce the vehicles to be exported — we discover that most of them have been built in the U.S. South. (See Chart 6.)

Notwithstanding the strong protestations by UNIFOR, the Canadian labour union that represents workers in communications, media and manufacturing, the data clearly reveal that Canada’s automotive manufacturing industry has become uncompetitive in terms of its unit labour costs. Indeed, in the last two years, the CEOs of Ford, Chrysler and GM have each publicly stated that Canada is a very high-cost country in which to manufacture automobiles.

UNIFOR, consultants and elected officials claim that the solution lies in providing more government support. However, the empirical data clearly reveal why new assembly plants are not being built in Ontario, but instead are being located in the U.S. South and Mexico.

In turn, this suggests that UNIFOR must demonstrate leadership with its members to educate them about the need for wage restraint and productivity increases. If unit labour costs in the Canadian auto manufacturing industry do not become competitive, it can be safely predicted that Canada will eventually follow Australia and exit the industry.

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In Celebration of the Inauguration of the 14th President and Vice President of the Republic of China (Taiwan)

FAMILY BACKGROUND

President Tsai Ing-wen was born in Taipei City in 1956. She is of Hakka and aboriginal descent, and also has a Paiwan tribal name, Tjuku, meaning “the chief’s daughter.” The Tsai family is a success story of Taiwan’s vibrant small and medium enterprises; her father single-handedly built a transportation and car maintenance business from the ground up. President Tsai inherited his resilience, professionalism, flexibility, and diligence. She is the first female head of state in Asia who was not born into a political family.

EDUCATION BACKGROUND

President Tsai graduated from National Taiwan University’s College of Law before earning a Master of Laws at Cornell University and a doctoral degree in law from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), specializing in international political economy.

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

President Tsai played an important role in negotiations for Taiwan’s 2002 entry into the World Trade Organization. She served as Minister of the Mainland Affairs Council and Vice Premier from 2000 to 2007. She represented the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in the presidential election in 2012. She ran again and was victorious in the 2016 presidential election.

GOVERNING PHILOSOPHY

President Tsai proposes a new model for economic development based on innovation, employment and distribution. Through enhancing the level of industrial productivity and increasing employment opportunities, this model aims to raise salaries to achieve equitable wealth distribution. President Tsai also advocates for political reforms in order to cultivate an effective and cohesive political environment as the top priority of her administration.

President Tsai identifies Taiwan’s pension system, housing, food safety, community-based care and crime prevention as the focus in building a comprehensive social safety net.

Most importantly, President Tsai is dedicated to the maintenance of peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait. She has also proposed a “New Southbound Policy” to pursue multi-faceted exchanges with ASEAN and South Asian countries. Through pragmatism and the deepening of relationships with nations around the world, Taiwan can fulfill its role as a reliable member of the global community.



President Tsai Ing-wen waves at her supporters after winning the presidential election on Jan. 16, 2016.



President Tsai Ing-wen is a cat-lover.



“The people elected a new president and new government with one single expectation: solving problems.”

Taiwan is working to address climate change by developing renewable power sources. (Photo Courtesy of Hao Chen-tai)



Computex Taipei, held annually at the Taipei World Trade Center, is the world's second-largest information and communications technology trade show. (Photo Courtesy of the ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs)



The delta robot developed by Hiwin Technologies Corp., a manufacturer of precision machinery components in central Taiwan's Taichung City, has high-speed pick and place capabilities. (Photo Courtesy of the ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

“Taiwan has been a model citizen in global civil society. Since our democratization, we have persisted in upholding the universal values of peace, freedom, democracy and human rights.”

In her inauguration address, President Tsai Ing-wen touched upon transforming economic structures by promoting five major innovative industries, with the goal of reshaping Taiwan's global competitiveness.

- 1. Green Technology Industry**
- 2. National Defense Industry**
- 3. Asian Silicon Valley**
- 4. Biotech and Pharmaceutical Industry**
- 5. Smart Machinery Industry**



Taiwan and Canada

Taiwan is Canada's 5th largest trading partner in Asia and 12th largest in the world.

Canada and Taiwan are both free-market economies and members of the WTO and APEC.

Canada and Taiwan are highly complementary in trade and economy.

Taiwan is strong at its commercialization capabilities, while Canadian companies are good at innovation. Both sides should have ample room for cooperation.

Brazil into Africa



Big Brazilian corporations, such as Petrobras, along with medium and small businesses, operate in Angola.



Robert I.
Rotberg

As China's growth engines sputter, Europe remains weak and India focuses inward, African economies correspondingly retrench severely. Where African nations once were growing at a steady five percent a year, thanks to Chinese demand, now much of

sub-Saharan Africa is increasing its GDP per capita at only two and three percent a year, with South Africa barely achieving one-percent growth. Until very recently, Brazil was playing a major role in strengthening African economic performance, but now, engulfed by corruption and leadership scandals at home, even Brazil, with its own weakening economy, has begun to withdraw from its tight embrace of key sections of sub-Saharan Africa.

Brazil has much more to offer to a modernizing sub-Saharan Africa than it is now providing or can realistically provide. Given its proximity to Africa, its size (a third of the African continent south of the Sahara desert), its comparative wealth,

its long association with Africa from the slave-trading era, its political and economic successes after decades of authoritarian military rule, its educational levels, its superior technical and financial knowledge, its detailed involvement with urban problems and solutions and its vast (and environmentally insensitive) experience taming and destroying swaths of inhospitable environment, Brazil's interactions with, and influence upon, the destiny of sub-Saharan Africa today remain underwhelming.

This failure to play a major transformative role in Africa is especially telling since Brazil and South Africa are anointed middle powers linked via BRICS to the global juggernauts (but weakening economies) of

China, India, and Russia.

Despite its traditional South American focus and Western Hemispheric ties, Brazil possesses the kinds of entrepreneurial and governmental talent that is lacking in much of sub-Saharan Africa, and that is much needed to assist African nations as they emerge from the grip of underdevelopment. Even if Brazil continues to grow more slowly than China, it has an under-used capacity to assist African states to thrive and their people to continue to improve domestic standards of living.

In 2013, Brazilian trade with Africa reached nearly \$29 billion, up from \$4 billion in 2000. However, sub-Saharan Africa represented but three percent of Brazil's total overseas trade. Brazil's largest sub-Saharan African trading partners in 2014 were Nigeria (32 percent of the total), Angola (16 percent) and South Africa (7 percent). Half of all exports were manufactured products, sugar and meat, with capital goods exports increasing in very recent years. Imports consisted primarily of resource commodities such as petroleum, coal and iron ore.

Brazilian industries are active in 22 African countries, predominantly in southern Africa (Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa). There are the big corporations — Petrobras, Andrade Gutierrez, Vale do Rio Doce, Camargo Correa and Odebrecht — and a raft of small- and medium-sized enterprises such as O Boticario (a cosmetics company) and Akzo Nobel (chemicals and pharmaceuticals), both of which work in Angola. In sub-Saharan Africa, small- and medium-sized firms own supermarkets, process manioc (cassava), make ceramics, supply and maintain software and grow flowers.

Petrobras pumps oil in Angola and Nigeria and searches for new deposits in Benin, Gabon, Mozambique, Namibia and Tanzania.

Odebrecht, a major construction company, has been active in Angola since the 1980s, building a big dam near Malanje and the country's first shopping mall in Luanda. Odebrecht is Angola's largest employer. This company also has constructed residential condominiums, worked with Petrobras on oil and gas installations and has been active in food distribution in South Africa, Botswana (where it built an important dam), the Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti (fuel terminals), Gabon (oil-well services), Liberia and Mozambique. Camargo Correa has erected social housing in Ghana and urban planning initiatives and housing in Angola, where it has also built roads and power lines.

In Mozambique, it constructed a hydroelectric project on the Zambezi River downstream from the Cahora Bassa dam. Andre Gutierrez, another construction firm, builds harbours, housing and sanitation projects in Angola, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Mozambique.

Nigeria is woefully energy short. As sub-Saharan Africa's most populous nation, with at least 200 million people and a predicted 730 million by 2100, its cash-starved electrical generating capacity is no larger than that of Washington, D.C. or Ottawa. (Spain produces more power than all of sub-Saharan Africa.) For that reason, Odebrecht is helping Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari's government to realize many of its development goals. When Benco Energy of Brazil com-



Nigeria is energy short, so Odebrecht is helping President Muhammadu Buhari's government realize of its development goals.

pletes the construction of a \$900-million, 700-megawatt oil-fired electricity-producing facility in Bayelsa State, probably in 2019, Nigeria should begin to meet more of its needs for power.

Vale's enterprise near Moatize in Mozambique digs up 4,000 tonnes of coal an hour, and ships it to Brazil and China via a newly reconstructed, newly repurposed rail line through Malawi to the Mozambican port of Nacala, 620 miles (997 kilometres) northeast, much of it built by Odebrecht. It is Vale's largest undertaking outside of Brazil. Vale is Mozambique's major employer and investor, but its alleged abuses of African labour and its re-

moval of more than 1,000 families to make room for the mine has been the subject of significant protests by local communities. They claim that their new settlements are less fertile and less well-watered than the original ones. In Guinea, too, Vale has been accused of using underhanded tactics to acquire a central iron ore mining concession.

Vale began to invest in Africa in 2004 and, in addition to Mozambique and Guinea, has had projects in the DRC, Gabon, Guinea-Bissau and South Africa. Between 2010 and 2015, it invested almost \$20 million south of the Sahara. Beyond coal, it mines copper and cobalt in Angola and has explored for nickel.

Marcopolo is one of the biggest manufacturers of bus bodies in the world. It set up operations in 2000 in South Africa's Gauteng Province and expanded in 2008, being one of the few Brazilian companies that has been successful in sub-Saharan Africa outside of the resource extraction and related pursuits area and excluding construction.

The big difference between Brazil and China in Africa is that Brazilian firms routinely hire Africans and claim, despite the Vale experience, to treat their workers well. Chinese companies refuse as often as possible to employ Africans, sometimes even as labourers on construction projects, and are much more reluctant than the Brazilians to transfer technological and managerial expertise to their African employees and subsidiary enterprises. In 2012, 90 percent of Odebrecht's workers and 85 percent of Vale's were indigenous and local.

Outreach to Africa

As far back as the 1970s, Brazil actively tried to build capacity in Africa in a few technical areas, but primarily in Lusophone countries (those with Portuguese colonial histories). By the end of that decade, technical co-operation between Brazil and several African countries was under way, and Brazil diplomatically was beginning to pay attention to Africa, virtually for the first time since the 19th Century. But Brazil was absorbed then, and throughout much of the remainder of the 20th Century, in establishing its own post-military democratic path, and in modernizing its own economy. It was not really until the end of the century, after sufficient progress socially and economically had been made at home, that Brazil was in a position to look seriously across the Atlantic Ocean to Africa. By then, it was a strong force in the Western



Odebrecht, a major Brazilian construction firm, operates this bio-energy project in Angola.

Hemisphere, competing with the United States and its South American neighbours for prominence and global notice. It had reached the threshold of middle-power status; Africa finally could become part of Brazil's foreign-policy strategy.

Brazil more and more acknowledged, at least for overseas policy purposes, that Brazil and Africa had a common heritage derived primarily from Brazil's former status as the globe's greatest and last major slave importer (from the 15th Century to 1888), from the inescapable fact that 60 percent of all African slaves exported from their own homes were imported into Brazil, and that African culture, art and religion had all contributed to the existential mix that is modern Brazil. No nation outside of Nigeria, Brazilians like to remind themselves, has so many Africans as citizens. In no other country have Africans played such important roles in economic and social growth over more than a century.

Like Cuba, Brazil is very Afro-influenced, having received (unwilling) Africans for centuries and having absorbed much of their cultural and religious underpinnings. A number of now indigenous Brazilian "traditional" religious practices are African in origin even if they have, over the years, been infused with belief systems from different sections of the African continent.

Many slaves arrived from Angola, directly across the Atlantic Ocean, but

captives were transported from what are now the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia — and Gabon, Cameroon, and Nigeria also count among the many enforced sending areas that, together, have enriched Brazil.

As strong as is the role of Africa in the essential patrimony of modern Brazil, however, "colour" and Afro-ness are themes that run beneath the surface harmony of South America's largest nation. Discrimination is a reality, too, although publicly acknowledged (as in Cuba) only at the margin. In some senses, Brazil's "partnership" with Africa has been based on a long-lived, but ambiguous, sense of kinship and affinity.

The presidency of Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva (2003-2010) built strongly on these traditional foundations. He inaugurated, largely for the first time in Brazil's modern history, a serious and sustained attempt to engage with the nations of sub-Saharan Africa. He made state visits to 29 countries on 12 separate occasions, encouraged his foreign ministry to pay close attention to Africa, and sanctioned the opening of 19 of 37 Brazilian embassies in Africa. Lula da Silva also announced a series of collaborative scientific projects with Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, São Tomé and Príncipe and South Africa. Those initiatives were intended to draw heavily on Brazilian expertise, to train local scientists, offer university technical and scientific training to undergraduate and graduate

students from Portuguese-speaking African countries, and to send teachers from Brazilian universities to Africa.

Likewise, Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico y Social — BNDES, Brazil's national development bank — began disbursing nearly \$3 billion in grants and loans to Africa after 2007 and the Brazilian Co-operation Agency (Agência Brasileira de Cooperacao — ABC) and the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (EMBRAPA) began backing projects across the continent.

Rousseff reduced focus on Africa

"President Lula's attitude was new," commented a minister of social development. "Before him, Brazil had its back turned to Africa. The need to go there, do propaganda, transmit openness, was very pressing."

But his approach to Africa was not sustained after he left the presidency. After Dilma Rousseff became president in 2010, she significantly reduced all of Brazil's foreign engagements, especially those centred on Africa. Her approach to Africa was more pragmatic than her predecessor's and a reflection of her personal priorities as well as Brazil's diminished national financial resources. However, her administration did forgive the debts of the oil- and gas-rich Republic of Congo, copper-dominant Zambia and Tanzania. Collectively, those three countries owed Brazil (from the 1970s) more than \$700 million. Owing smaller amounts, but also benefiting, were Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, the Democratic Republic of Congo, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal and the Sudan — a *mélange* of nation-states with which Brazil once had dealings. That cancellation made it possible for Brazilian corporations legally to invest in the petroleum, natural gas, coal, iron ore and other resource extraction opportunities presented by Africa. But this well-intended action by Rousseff was criticized roundly from the left and the right for its failure to distance Brazil from African autocracies, and its failure to accomplish much for Brazilian foreign investment. *O Globo* headlined its front-page article "Dictators Forgiven."

Nevertheless, Brazilian entrepreneurs appreciated Africa's resource opportunities. Realizing that Brazil was losing business opportunities to China, after 2010 Brazil rapidly ramped up its presence on the continent, especially in Angola, Nigeria and Ghana, the better to bid for infrastructural construction opportunities. China had 40 percent of the market in that



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area, Brazil only three percent. Odebrecht and other Brazilian concerns won major mining concessions (as in Mozambique and Guinea). Manufacturers (as in buses and cosmetics) did the same. But now that Brazil's economy has crashed and its politics are all inward-looking, Africa has become a less likely arena for Brazilian corporate and diplomatic endeavour.

This pulling back from Africa has now been accelerated by turmoil in Brazilian political and industrial circles, by the jailing for corruption of many corporate leaders, including the head of Odebrecht, by indictments against Lula da Silva, and by successful impeachment proceedings against Rousseff herself, now replaced by interim President Michel Temer. Brazil is coping with its own problems, not advancing toward Africa. Thus, what was once



Former Brazilian president Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva built strongly on the Africa relationship.

a promising engine of growth for Africa, and a major partnership in the agricultural and educational arenas, has now sundered on the shores of home-grown greed and chicanery. Africa and Africans are the losers, now more than ever beholden for betterment and prosperity primarily to China. When Brazil, under renewed political leadership, recovers sufficiently to again look outward, Africa and Africans will benefit from Brazilian investment, Brazilian imports and Brazilian co-operative assistance.

Robert I. Rotberg was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center, senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation and founding director of Harvard's Kennedy School program on intrastate conflict.

THE LUSOPHONE WORLD



Brazil's interim president Michael Temer and impeached president Dilma Rousseff

Brazil

Population: 205 million (2015)
GDP per capita: \$11,000 (2015)
Life expectancy: 73 years (2013)
Size: 595.7 million hectares / 2.3 million sq. miles (2016)
President: Michel Temer (interim, after the May impeachment of Dilma Rousseff)

Portugal

Population: 10.6 million (2015)
GDP per capita: \$23,000 (2014)
Life expectancy: 79 years (2014)
Size: 9.2 million hectares (35,365 square miles) (2016)
Prime minister: Antonio Costa, socialist

Angola

Africa's second-most prolific producer of petroleum. Also exports diamonds.
Population: 25 million (2015)
GDP per capita: \$2,782 (2015)
Life expectancy: 39 years (2015)
Size: 124.6 million hectares (481,000 sq. miles) (2016)
President: Jose Eduardo dos Santos (since 1975) — believed to be extremely corrupt. Estimated net personal worth \$20 billion

Cape Verde

Collection of 10 desert-like islands off the northwest coast of Africa. It survives on remittances, tourism and fishing.
Population: 523,000 (2015)
GDP per capita: \$3,800 (2013)
Life expectancy: 71 years (2015)
Size: 403,261 hectares (1,557 sq. miles) (2016)
Prime minister: Ulisses Correia e Silva, assumed office in 2016, after a change of government. Cape Verde is one of Africa's five most thoroughly democratic states.

Guinea-Bissau

Africa's only narco-state. A trans-shipment centre for cocaine trafficking from Colombia and Brazil to Europe. Guinea-Bissau is known for its coups and corruption.
Population: 1.7 million (2015)
GDP per capita: \$1,500 (2015)
Life expectancy: 50 years (2015)
Size: 7.3 million hectares (28,100 sq. miles) (2016)
President: Jose Mario Vaz, since 2014

Mozambique

A democratic country with authoritarian overtones. Exports hydroelectric power, aluminum, coal, cotton and cashews. Has major offshore petroleum and natural gas discoveries coming onstream.
Population: 28 million (2015)
GDP per capita: \$606 (2013)
Life expectancy: 50 years (2012)
Size: 80.2 million hectares (310,000 sq. miles) (2016)
President: Filipe Nyusi, since 2015

Sao Tomé and Principe

A two-island state off the coast of Nigeria and Rio Muni. Once a great cacao exporter, Sao Tomé now hopes to find petroleum under the sea.
Population: 193,000 (2013)
GDP per capita: \$1,610 (2013)
Life expectancy: 65 years (2015)
Size: 99,974 hectares (386 sq. miles) (2016)
President: Manuel Pinto da Costa, since 2011

— R. I. Rotberg

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‘Responsible conviction’ — when interests and values clash

By Richard Cohen



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's recent visit to Washington was hailed as a great move forward in Canada-U.S. relations.

In a major speech at the University of Ottawa in March, Foreign Minister Stéphane Dion described the guiding principle of Liberal foreign policy as “responsible conviction.” The two-word term is a good starting point for analyzing the Liberal approach to Canada’s place in the world.

Although Dion put a different spin on the expression, it’s reasonable to assume that “responsible” means protecting our

national interests and “conviction” means projecting Canadian values, including democracy, rule of law, human rights, respect for minorities and some new ones discussed below.

In an ideal world, interests and values coincide. But as the government is discovering, this is not always the case. Former U.S. House speaker Tip O’Neill used to say “all politics is local.” In today’s Canada, foreign policy has also become local.

In a diverse country, with a great patchwork of ethnic communities and pressure groups, manoeuvring on the world stage means constantly looking over your shoulder. So any Canadian government’s international interests and even its values are shaped by domestic politics.

A new, yet old, direction

After seven months of Liberal government, the glow of sunny ways lingers with

at least some members of the international arena. Canada's newfound support for popular causes, such as fighting climate change and the government's promise of renewed "multilateralism," have been widely welcomed. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's debut as a fresh and engaging personality has strengthened the impression of a changed Canada. A "compassionate and constructive voice" has replaced the grumpiness and black-and-white views of Stephen Harper's government. In short, Canada is back.

But back to what? The government's first budget reaffirmed Liberal intentions on everything from fiscal policy to defence and foreign affairs. The chapter titled "Canada and the World" signalled a return to the glories of the Pearson era. No matter that the world has profoundly changed or that this period may not have been as glorious as remembered and that Canada was not as key a player as the true believers imagine. For example, the 13 Canadians who supported Maj. Gen. Roméo Dallaire in Rwanda in 1994 had no chance of influencing events in that country. A more robust Canadian contingent might have mitigated the worst of the massacres. In 2004, former Alberta MP David Kilgour, a strong supporter of Canadian peacekeeping, said the military, even for this purpose, had suffered chronic underfunding for 20 years.

Defence as a bellwether

A government's attitude to defence is a bellwether of its broader view of Canada's role in the world. For those who believe in a robust contribution to western security, the prospects aren't good. The speech from the throne promised a "leaner, more agile" military, invariably code words for smaller.

The budget confirmed this. While it lavished spending on worthy programs, defence was the big loser. A total of \$3.7 billion in equipment spending was deferred for at least five years on the premise, partially correct, that the Department of National Defence is incapable of spending it.

The finance minister promised that the money will be available sometime in the future to "align with the timing of major equipment acquisitions." But as former chief of defence staff Rick Hillier has pointed out, "if it's not in the fiscal framework, it's not there." And even if it is, defence inflation (traditionally far above the general rate) chews up much of its value.

A decision at the 2014 NATO Summit stated that members would aim to

dedicate at least two percent of GDP to defence. In a world of exploding terrorism and ominously increasing military power of potential adversaries such as Russia, China, Iran and North Korea, two percent is a modest goal.

Despite its hard talk, the previous Conservative government never had any

budget confirms that defence will continue to be underfunded. After our brief shining moment in Afghanistan, Canada is once again viewed as a defence free-loader.

In the March budget, \$5 billion was set aside for a return to Canada's traditional role in the world. The money will go



Canadians fancy that the Pearson notion of peacekeeping still exists, but in reality, Canada's contributions are a fraction of what they once were, and have been for decades.

intention of achieving that goal. In fact, Canada's defence spending has hovered at or below one percent for many years, one of the lowest in NATO and a lot lower than any of our major allies. The Liberal



Stéphane Dion has described the guiding principle of Liberal foreign policy as "responsible conviction."

toward fighting climate change, international re-engagement (including a relatively small amount for the Iraq training mission), refugee settlement and humanitarian crises — all very much in keeping with Canada's new international image.

In April, Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan announced a defence policy review to be completed by the end of 2016. The government claims it seeks wide public consultation, but it appears the basic framework may already have been decided. Doug Bland, of Queen's University, has suggested that "Prime Minister Trudeau... needs a credible rationale to support his defence budget cuts and time to construct an 'in the national interest' rationale for them." More worrying is that the review will be conducted without a foreign policy strategy, logically the first step in the process.

At this stage, it seems clear Canada's future armed forces, and their roles, will be shaped by strict limits on spending and a clear preference for UN-style peacekeeping over combat operations. This comes at a time when Canada's major allies are scrambling to rebuild their combat forces and the U.S. has announced the redeploy-

ment of combat units to Europe, including non-NATO Finland and Sweden.

Canada has now been asked to contribute to a 4,000-strong NATO force that will be rotated between Poland and the Baltic States. Should we support our allies against possible Russian aggression, perhaps at the expense of UN peacekeeping? The government is hesitating, but, it's hard to believe that it will not agree to some form of contribution, although it will almost certainly be smaller than what NATO initially asked for.

Selective multilateralism?

Multilateralism is one of the new values of Canadian foreign policy. The UN will certainly be a key element of our new approach. Diplomatic horse-trading and considerable amounts of money will ensure that Canada regains its rightful seat on the Security Council in 2021. The Liberal government seems to think a place on the council will give Canada a major voice in world affairs. Security Council membership does carry a certain prestige, mostly among diplomats, but the truth is that temporary members don't ultimately influence the war and peace decisions of the permanent members.

In the spirit of new multilateralism, Canada enthusiastically supported, and apparently helped to draft, the December 2015 Paris Agreement on the fight against climate change. The government contends that money spent on green technology and reducing greenhouse gases will create middle-class jobs, a nice conjunction of values and interests. But long-term commitments to the Paris goals are fragile. If they adversely affect our standard of living, a future government could ignore or jettison them in favour of its political interests.

The Liberals' withdrawal of Canadian CF-18 fighter jets from Iraq and Syria shows the limits of the new multilateralism. The as-yet-unexplained decision has reinforced a sense amongst our allies that Canada will be a less reliable military partner. This is certainly not in Canada's long-term national interest.

Then there's the sale of \$15 billion worth of armoured vehicles to Saudi Arabia, a country with an awful human rights record. It's an unwelcome foreign policy dilemma for the government and the clearest possible clash of economic, political and strategic interests with core Canadian values. Yet, despite wide criticism, the government says it won't block the deal. In this case, maintaining Canadian jobs (an important political interest), as well as wider strategic interests, appar-



The \$15-billion sale of armoured vehicles to Saudi Arabia, a country with "an awful human rights record," writes Richard Cohen, is an unwelcome foreign policy dilemma for the government of Justin Trudeau.

ently outweigh concerns about acting in accordance with Canadian values — and perhaps even Canadian law.

In a similar vein, boosting economic ties with China is based on the view that it's in Canada's interest to work more closely with a country that systematically violates the basic human rights of its citizens and minority groups and whose foreign minister publicly chastised our own press freedom. But this policy of cosying up to China could have a short shelf life. Aggressive Chinese territorial ambitions and a general disdain for international law seriously threaten some of our friends in the region and could eventually lead to conflict with the United States. What then for Canadian trade and investment in China, or Chinese investment here?

Stéphane Dion claims resuming dialogue with Russia and Iran is a sensible return to Canada's traditional pragmatic approach to foreign policy, part of the wholesale reversal of Conservative policies. Churchill famously said "jaw-jaw" is better than "war-war." But if your partners are already engaging in war-war (Crimea, Syria, Iraq, Iranian support of terrorist groups and vows to wipe out Israel), jaw-jaw may not be enough. If aggression by Russia or Iran calls for more forceful action, what can Canada contribute?

Trudeau's first visit to Washington was hailed as a great move forward in Canada-U.S. relations. Aside from personal chemistry, Trudeau and Barack Obama share a great deal of ideological common ground.

Certainly friendly relations at the top set a positive tone in other areas. But what

real effect this will have on the tough bilateral issues of cross-border trade, border security, missile defence and Canada's diminishing contribution to allied defence and security remains to be seen. Obama's successor may not be as susceptible to the Trudeau charm, and a new bilateral framework based on something more substantive will have to be built.

The dangers ahead

More than seven months into the Liberal government's term, Canadian foreign policy has undergone an important change of substance, not just tone. While the traditional pillars of Canada's international engagement are still discernable, our priorities are undergoing a profound shift.

The government believes generosity and a sunny outlook will strengthen Canada's role in the world and make us safer. But sooner rather than later, the ominous clouds on the horizon, which others, including CSIS in its recent report on Russia's growing military strength and intentions, have already noticed, may force us to face the growing dangers to our way of life and ultimately to the security of Canada — our supreme national interest.

If and when that happens, we may find that we have not had foreign and defence policies that have adequately prepared us to stand alongside our allies to defend our own values and our country.

Richard Cohen is a former Canadian and British army officer, a professor of European security at the George Marshall Center in Germany and a senior adviser to former defence minister Peter MacKay.

A letter to the future president of the United States

By Reva Goujon



The world is watching the U.S. presidential race, and the candidates will need dispassionate analysis and a deep understanding of history to navigate the challenges that lie ahead.

Dear Candidates in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Race,

American voters and foreign observers all search for substance in your stump speeches, trying to imagine their lives and the world at large under your leadership. Those of us who view the world through the prism of geopolitics remind ourselves that campaign rhetoric tends to diverge from post-election policy. The constraints built into the presidency as well as those shaping the international system will inevitably blur personal distinctions and mould policy decisions, whether the winning candidate carries anti-establishment credentials to Washington or is working to create or uphold a political dynasty.

We understand that perspective is hard to come by at this stage of the race, and you are obsessively watching the polls and attempting to shape your image to a media ready to pounce on every slip. But the world is watching at a time of great uncertainty. Candidates will require dispassionate analysis and a deep understanding of history to navigate the challenges that lie beyond U.S. borders. Whoever enters the White House come January, this briefing attempts to frame the geopolitical state of the world awaiting you.

Back to growth fundamentals

While it is easy to blame presidents for breaking the economy, or credit them for

fixing it, they will ultimately be judged by how well they manage the phase of the country's economic cycle that overlaps their time in office. It just so happens that the current phase of the cycle — the great global de-leveraging — is comparable to that of the 1930s. Eight years ago, central banks reluctantly became the first responders to a world that had seized up after overindulging in credit-fuelled growth enabled in large part by China's record rise. As debt repayments soared and global depression loomed, governments and central banks had no choice but to intervene.

The painkillers came in the form of liquidity injections, large-scale purchases of market securities and a discomfiting

world of zero and negative interest rates, all in the hope of stimulating consumer spending to drive sustainable growth. As governments became more wary of their debt burdens and voters, they backed off, and the central banks were largely left to manage the crisis. And while central banks have lulled markets back into complacency and have bought political leaders time, growth engines are still sputtering, and income inequality has reached a point of political severity.

The United States, less exposed to trade fluctuations than its peers, has been the first to recover and begin the process of normalizing its economy through a gradual rise in interest rates. But that strategy is sensitive to economic headwinds from abroad. The U.S. economy cannot operate in a vacuum, and the global dominance of the dollar stretches U.S. influence into nearly every corner of the world. And so while the U.S. president does not influence the Federal Reserve's monetary policy, the consequences of that policy reach around the globe. For example, a dovish Fed policy in raising rates will limit the damage inflicted on the Chinese yuan by a strong dollar, but that move simultaneously creates more problems for the euro and yen by pushing them higher in relative terms at a time when both the European Central Bank and the Bank of Japan are running out of ammunition. The more unorthodox measures that central banks must undertake to stimulate growth, the more political scrutiny they will face as their efforts decline in utility with time. If central banks cannot carry sick economies through the de-leveraging process, then the more burden politicians will have to shoulder to find the right blend of spending cuts, wealth transfers and debt restructuring to pave the path toward rising incomes, productivity growth and inclusive employment.

Those politicians, however, whether at home or abroad, face the tyranny of election timetables and are now caught in the middle of a revolt by voters fed up with years of economic stagnation and bereft of faith in government institutions. As the anti-establishment movement grows louder, political consensus becomes harder to find, and the probability of achieving a timely and balanced policy mix to manage this phase of the crisis decreases. The United States can take some solace in the fact that it is on the most stable economic footing relative to the rest, but there is more economic volatility to come in the rest of the world. The growing limits of foreign monetary policy in this

great global de-leveraging will be one of several factors driving future geopolitical conflict.

Learning to deal with many Europes

The political consequences of economic stagnation will be highly pronounced in Europe, a continent fragmenting from north to south as well as east to west. Euroskepticism is not a passing phase; it is Europe being honest with itself and its past. It is much easier to paper over wide divergences in wealth and make compromises to national sovereignty in times of economic prosperity. But in times of prolonged economic stagnation, the interests of the nation come well before those of the union. The eurozone has avoided financial calamity so far with the help of the European Central Bank's quantitative easing program and low commodity prices, but slow growth, heavy debt burdens and high youth unemployment will estrange the debtor nations of the south from the more fiscally responsible bloc in the north, led by Germany. And the more experimental the European Central Bank gets in trying to fight deflation, the more German resistance will grow out of fear of inflation.

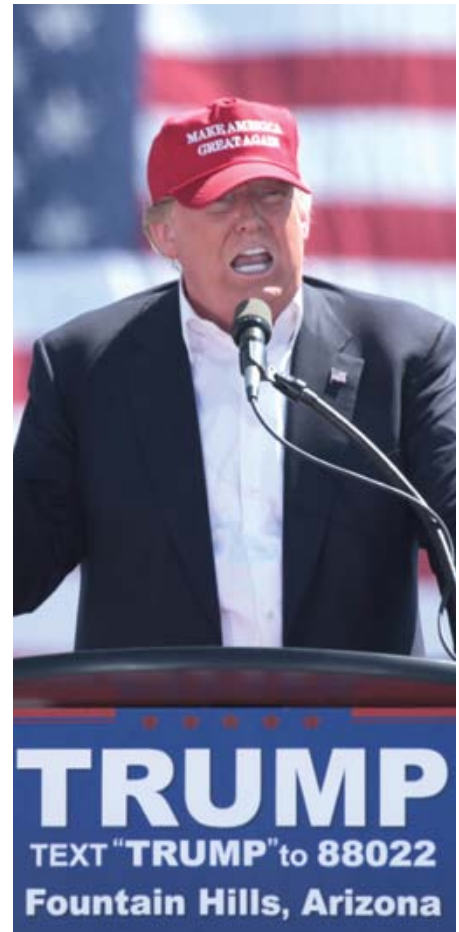
A refugee crisis fuelled by conflict in the Middle East only accelerates European fragmentation as border controls are resurrected and the already economically troubled and politically vulnerable southern countries are stuck with the migrant burden. If European states are losing common ground over which to make the sacrifices needed to maintain a political and monetary union, then we cannot expect European countries under economic and political strain to make the sacrifices necessary to absorb large migrant flows. This is especially true as the persistent threat of jihadist attacks amplifies Islamophobia across the continent.

Euroskepticism can exist in many forms. Referendums, whether or not they pass, will be a popular tool for countries to use to vent their frustration with the European project and renegotiate the terms of the union. Mainstream parties in unwieldy coalitions will fight for political survival by adopting a more nationalistic stance to reflect the moods of voters. The United States must see Europe as a collection of nations with widely divergent interests and pay careful attention to the political and economic stresses on the relationship between France and Germany as they, the two pillars of the European Union, head into 2017 general elections

with nationalism framing their political campaigns.

Making up for NATO's shortcomings

It is no secret that the United States spends far more on its military than its European NATO allies do, creating the expectation that Washington will fill the gaps



There's more economic volatility to come in the rest of the world and candidates such as Donald Trump must understand that.

whenever the need arises. Of NATO's 26 European members, only five — Lithuania, Greece, France, Turkey and the United Kingdom — spend more than the NATO-recommended two percent of gross domestic product on defence (Poland and Estonia are at 1.9 percent, though they calculate the amounts slightly differently — Poland includes military pensions where some countries, such as Canada, don't), according to 2014 data. The economic crisis in Europe is partly to blame for defence spending cuts, but there is also wide disparity within the bloc over where the alliance should focus its attention. The United States and United Kingdom are more closely aligned on

broadening NATO's scope to meet the challenges of the day, whether on counterterrorism campaigns in the Middle East or on cyber threats. France and Germany will be more careful in managing frictions with Russia, but have also come to realize they cannot avoid their counterterrorism responsibilities abroad, even if they differ



Presidential candidate Hillary Clinton must understand that NATO allies expect the U.S. to fill funding gaps when they arise.

on which front to tackle. Turkey is being drawn into surrounding conflicts and, with or without NATO, will increasingly rely on its military to respond to threats in northern Syria and Iraq. The Baltic states and Poland will be the most responsive to the Russian threat and will try to focus the alliance on permanent deployments to Eastern Europe.

NATO is not obsolete, but it does need to evolve; Russia still poses a prominent potential threat to Europe's eastern flank, and every terrorist attack that hits the continent shows the need for better security and intelligence co-ordination. Still, the United States will continue to carry a heavier burden than the rest, and Eastern

European allies will have to look beyond NATO for bilateral security guarantees from Washington to fortify their shield against Russia. The announcement of a third U.S. brigade rotating through Eastern Europe does not fundamentally alter the military balance between NATO and Russia unless European member states can match those levels. But quieter U.S. deployments in Iceland, as Russian submarine activity in the Atlantic Ocean rises to reinforce the "GIUK gap" (between Greenland, Iceland and the United Kingdom), point to a more comprehensive buildup by the United States, even if it is incremental.

A dissection of Russian strategy

The gradual U.S. buildup in Europe ensures that the U.S.-Russian standoff will be a major theme of the next U.S. presidency. Russia's fundamental distrust of the United States is fuelled by what it perceives as a deliberate western encroachment on its doorstep. Moscow will try to mitigate the threat with a conventional military buildup as well as a distancing and possible break from previous nuclear arms-control treaties. Russia will also do its best to widen fissures in Europe to undermine financial sanctions and overall U.S. efforts to build a strong and coherent counterbalance to potential Russian aggression.

The third prong in Russia's strategy entails finding and building levers in conflict zones that have the potential not only to bog the United States down, but also to make the United States dependent on Moscow for an exit strategy. The Middle East is full of such opportunities, with Syria being the most prominent example. Russia is so entrenched in that conflict that it can either dial the violence up or down to shape its broader negotiation with the West. The stick comes in the form of intensifying the conflict through its military support for the Bashar al-Assad government, which in turn exacerbates the migrant crisis dividing Europe and stymies U.S. efforts on the battlefield.

The carrot comes in the form of implementing a ceasefire, co-ordinating on the fight against the Islamic State and working toward a credible peace deal and political transition with the expectation that the Europeans and the United States will be willing to bargain on sanctions relief, put pressure on Ukraine to recognize autonomy in its east and limit the NATO buildup. Tactical and incremental compromises are possible as both sides try to avoid a bigger conflagration, but

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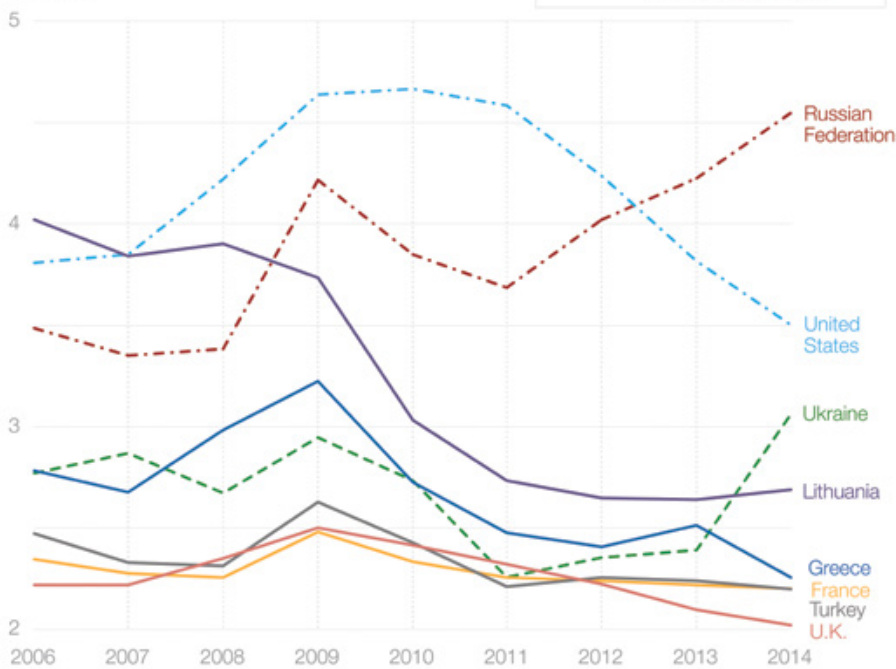
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Select countries exceeding NATO's 2 percent benchmark in 2014

% OF GDP



Source: World Bank

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Russia's standoff with the West is still deeply ingrained and, with the credibility of U.S. security guarantees at stake, the United States is unlikely to make compromises that leave its allies hanging. As the conflict endures, the U.S. president must stay alert to the layers of Russian strategy designed to draw Washington into strategic concessions at the expense of those allies.

Navigating growing competition between Russia and Turkey will be tricky for Washington. From the Middle East to the Black Sea region to Nagorno-Karabakh in the Caucasus, there are multiple opportunities for Moscow and Ankara to bump heads. The United States can leverage this competition to draw Turkey deeper into the NATO fold, but it must also be wary of being drawn into a fray between these old geopolitical rivals that could undermine the alliance and escalate into much bigger confrontations.

Get used to regional powers in the Mideast

Power vacuums in Syria, Iraq, Libya and Yemen overlaid by deep sectarian tensions will provide space for jihadists to operate and a base from which grassroots operatives can draw inspiration, training and expertise. Whether those jihadist pockets

will thrive depends on the ability of the United States to attract more regional help with counterterrorism efforts. This dynamic is already in play, as a U.S. strategy to reconcile with Iran has had the strategic effect of prodding the main Sunni players — Turkey and Saudi Arabia — into action to counterbalance Iran. The cost to this balance-of-power strategy is that all players and their proxies will pull in multiple and often opposing directions in pursuing their immediate interests. But after more than a decade of fighting in the Middle East, U.S. policymakers should be used to working with a dizzying array of competing factions.

The United States will have to bend with the strategies of its allies — and in some cases, allies will have to bend with the strategy of the United States. For example, the United States will continue to work with Kurdish militant proxies against the Islamic State, but will also set boundaries as it prioritizes co-operation with Turkey. Israel will see its influence on the U.S. policy in the region weaken as Washington is forced to rely on other regional heavyweights to manage these conflicts, but Israel will be quick to adapt by quietly building its own ties to Sunni partners and by keeping on top of Russian

activities in the region.

Saudi Arabia will remain close to the United States out of necessity, but it knows it cannot always count on the United States to be in sync with the Gulf Cooperation Council's agenda. Riyadh will attempt to consolidate a Sunni regional alliance to address regional threats, and the United States will not always be able to police such actions. Riyadh will also co-ordinate with its Gulf partners on its longer-term economic security. With low commodity prices delivering the latest reality check to Gulf monarchs on the importance of diversification, questions over the stability of Saudi succession will rise as Saudi economic and potentially political policy becomes more experimental.

A close eye will need to be kept on Iran as well. The Iranian presidential election is tentatively set for June 2017, less than six months after the inauguration of the U.S. president. Even as recent parliamentary elections in Iran favoured the moderate camp led by President Hassan Rouhani, a slow economic recovery and growing resistance from political hardliners threatened by Rouhani's political and economic opening have the potential to upset Iran's political path and raise more complications in the fledgling U.S.-Iran relationship.

A credible U.S. pivot to Asia

China is still massive and growing, but a slower rate of growth for a country as large as China puts the world in a whole new paradigm. As that painful adjustment continues to play out, we must bear in mind that Beijing understands the existential need to build up a large consumer class and move its economy up the value chain to rebalance. China intends for its tech industry to be a major driver for growth, but also wants to move beyond just the assembly and production of electronic products into designing and fabricating components that it currently has to import. Government subsidization, corporate espionage and the direct purchasing of foreign tech companies will all be geared toward gaining the know-how needed for China to develop a more indigenous tech industry. This will be a key driver of Chinese espionage in the cyber realm, where the best options for defence by the United States are political rather than technical, given the rapidly shifting threat environment. Nonetheless, though cyber-security may be a high-profile campaign issue, any future White House will have limited success in persuading China to take action against hackers except those

outside its command.

While it is tempting to manipulate currency values in a prolonged period of economic stagnation to boost growth, the cost to the Chinese consumer will weigh heavily on Beijing's mind and shape a more cautious approach to managing the yuan. The daunting amount of structural reform needed to tackle industrial over-capacity and rebalance the Chinese economy will occur at a highly uneven and volatile pace as authorities face growing resistance on the central and local levels. Foreign and domestic calls for Beijing to allow freedom of communication and expression will fall on deaf ears as President Xi Jinping will work in overdrive to nip emerging factions in the bud as party competition escalates.

As China's economic and political challenges grow, the country can be expected to be even more assertive abroad. Both Beijing and Washington will court countries in Southeast Asia with the potential for robust economic growth as they take advantage of the Chinese slowdown over time. But the states in Southeast Asia will refuse to be drawn in a zero-sum game. On the security front, China is not looking to pick a fight with the world's military superpower, but it is serious about defining a naval sphere of influence and protecting and creating redundancy in its supply lines. Chinese efforts to project power into the wider Indian and Pacific oceans will rub against a U.S. imperative to maintain naval dominance in these theatres.

North Korea's nuclear advances will only further complicate the security climate in the Asia-Pacific theatre. A replication of the Iran or the Libya strategy will not work in trying to contain North Korea's nuclear ambitions. Pyongyang is aiming for a viable nuclear deterrent, and sanctions and military threats will only reinforce this goal. The United States will deepen its security ties with Japan and South Korea to mitigate the developing North Korean threat, an alliance that will also heighten frictions with China. Even as Beijing tries to leverage co-operation on dealing with North Korea to place boundaries on U.S. security enhancements in the region, China's influence on Pyongyang's actions are visibly limited, and Beijing will avoid rocking the boat too hard for fear of creating a bigger conflict on its border.

Debates in South Korea and Japan over whether they should take the relatively short leap into activating their own nuclear weapons programs predate by at least a couple of decades Donald Trump's



Chinese efforts to project power into the wider Indian and Pacific oceans — through, among other organizations, its People's Liberation Army Navy — will rub against the U.S. imperative to maintain naval dominance in these theatres.

remarks that Japan and South Korea will pursue nuclear weapons. The U.S. focus on its allies in the Asia-Pacific theatre and the strength and credibility of its nuclear umbrella will be the main deterrents to Seoul and Tokyo pursuing an independent nuclear path. At the same time, the United States will develop a stronger watch on the nuclear ambitions of its own allies and will wield sticks when needed to dissuade strategic partners from unilaterally making a nuclear jump.

While political volatility is a given for countries overly reliant on extractive industries and foreign credit for growth, the global commodity bust and credit crunch can be a boon to U.S. foreign policy. From Latin America to Africa to Asia, economic cycles have reached a point where political leaders can no longer binge on credit-fuelled growth to sustain populist measures. As credit gets squeezed, it becomes much harder to keep the public content through subsidies and to reward political allies through kickbacks from mega projects. Economic belts are tightened, corruption allegations have the potential to mobilize the public and social unrest ensues. Once the storm passes, some (but not all) countries will come out stronger as populist measures are reined in and stronger regulatory environments develop. The United States can also continue a policy of quietly supporting the creation of credible anti-corruption bodies to

stabilize governments over the long term as it works to create a more dependable network of allies.

A global hegemony's responsibilities

This brief is by no means comprehensive, but is meant as an honest attempt to build a framework around the foreign policy debate this election season. As usual, there is much talk this season about restoring American strength. The strength underpinning the notion of American exceptionalism is deeply rooted in the country's geopolitical identity. The United States has two vast oceans for buffer and is built on a resource-rich and naturally integrated land that not only fosters a strong national identity, but also enables deep economic linkages with neighbours on the North American continent. The United States needs a stronger alliance architecture abroad if it hopes to preserve its strengths at home. Whether you advocate a more narrow "America first" policy, or a more isolationist strategy, or simply want to apply more scrutiny to U.S. foreign activity abroad, the responsibilities of the U.S. leadership will run deep.

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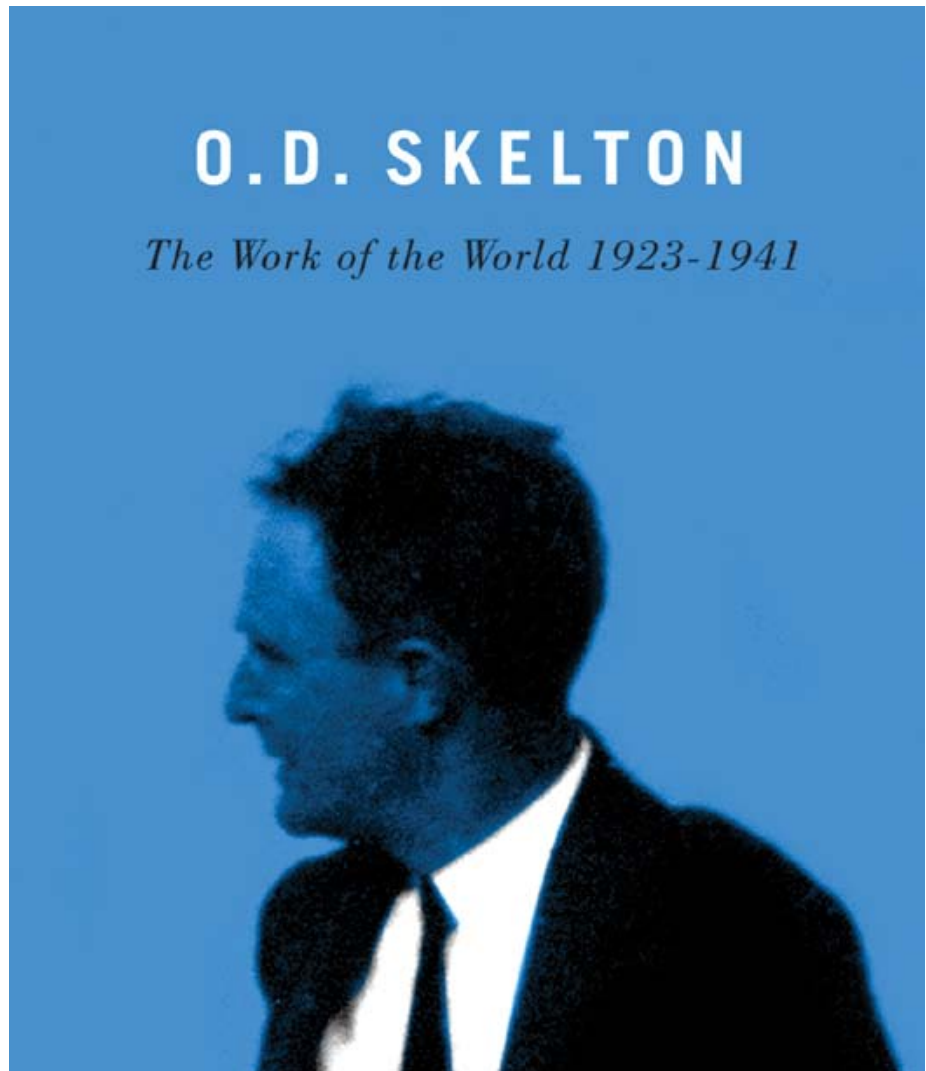


George
Fetherling

Many authors who write thick biographies of important political or cultural figures follow up later by editing their subject's letters or private papers for publication. Norman Hillmer of Carleton University, perhaps the leading academic historian of Canadian-U.S. relations, has done the reverse. In 2013, he published *O.D. Skelton: The Work of the World, 1923-1941* (McGill-Queen's University Press, \$49.50). It is a skilfully put together collection of the famous Canadian diplomat's diary entries, letters, memos and the like. And only now comes Hillmer's exceptionally fine full-dress biography, *O.D. Skelton: A Portrait of Canadian Ambition* (University of Toronto Press, \$36.95).

Of course Skelton, the undersecretary of state for the external affairs department from 1925 to 1941, has been written about by many other scholars as well — admirably by liberal nationalists, stingingly by small- and big-c conservatives such as Donald Creighton. But Hillmer's biography is quite outstanding not just as diplomatic history (a growing field of study) but as biography. It is deep, rich, detailed, fair-minded and full of ideas, and is written in a finely burnished prose. It deserves to be a candidate for one of the numerous annual awards for non-fiction, but, of course, no one knows for certain what might happen in these contests. No respectable bookie will even give you odds.

Skelton, born in rural Orangeville, Ont., in 1878, graduated from Queen's University in 1899 and then, armed with his new academic honours, went to London where he failed to win an appointment to the Indian Civil Service. Instead, he did a doctorate in political economy at the University of Chicago and returned to Queen's as a faculty member. During the Great War, when he sided with Sir Wilfrid Laurier in opposing conscription on the grounds of Canadian nationalism, his father "all but called him a traitor." Some wealthy



Queen's alums tried to have him fired, but he survived (and was eventually offered the presidency of the university, which he had the pleasure of declining).

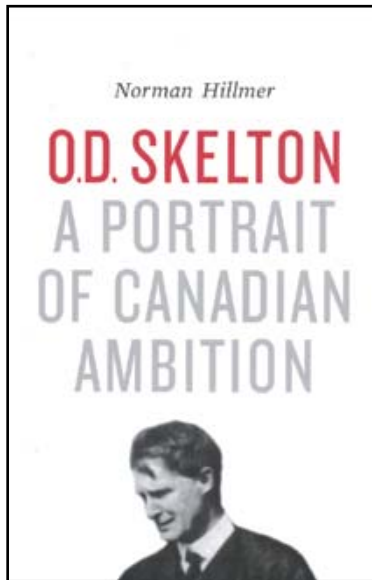
He was one of those diplomats, far more common then than now, who was at heart a prolific writer. Laurier picked him as his official biographer. In 1925, Mackenzie King, particularly impressed by, among other things, Skelton's admiration for him, gave Skelton his diplomatic portfolio. Whereupon, in Hillmer's words, "he quit his job at Queen's, brought his family to Ottawa, and bought a too-expensive house on the verge of an election that threatened to bring the Conservative Party to power and end his time in the capital before it began." As head of the foreign service, he "advanced independent Canadian institutions and points of view that

were ahead of his time, ahead of public opinion and ahead of where his prime ministers wanted to go. He became the consummate government insider, the confidant of politicians of all stripes and the undisputed master of the public service."

He wrote that a freestanding foreign policy for Canada was "my chief interest, almost my religion." So naturally, his relationship with Britain was immensely complex. He believed in a British Canada while working fervently and closely with Québécois political figures. He was an imperialist, not in a negative sense, but rather in the progressive manner of the day, admiring the monarchy as "an instrument of Canadian self-government" while wishing Canada and the other dominions to breathe with complete freedom, including the freedom not to be at London's beck

and call whenever fighting broke out. “He inspired confidence at international poker games [...] negotiating with the toughness of a riverboat gambler.”

He gave Canada a distinct voice in the various crises of the 1930s: Japan’s war against China, Italy’s war against Ethiopia, Spain’s war against itself — and finally, of course, Germany’s war against Europe



and the West, which drove him to what one journalist called a state of “courageous despair.” He argued that Canada’s role should be to protect its own borders while supplying Britain with materiel and other aid rather than a full-fledged army, and it should not give in to needless censorship and discrimination at home. “A good many people,” he wrote, “are prone to think that anyone who differs from their [own] convictions or prejudices should be suppressed.” These were battles he lost.

He almost literally worked himself to death. He suffered a heart attack in 1937, but didn’t reduce the weight of all his labours. He had a second attack in 1941, when he was 62, and died at the wheel of his Packard, which then crashed into an Ottawa streetcar. Officially, Mackenzie King recalled him as “one of my dearest and closest friends.” In private, however, he confessed to being “quite unmoved” by the funeral. Later, he relented a bit, telling his diary that Skelton “disliked the artificial and rather glorified the common place, which was one of his many attributes of true greatness.”

Defusing a bomb

Skelton was an excellent talent scout and headhunter. He corralled such people as

Norman Robertson, Hugh Keenleyside, George Ignatieff — and Lester Pearson. The last of these is naturally much written about, not only for his political career, of course, but for his earlier diplomatic one as well. Most of this effort has been undertaken by academic historians (including Hillmer, who once edited an anthology, called simply *Pearson*, in which 18 observers display widely varying perspectives on their subject’s successes and failures). The fullest source is the two-volume *Life of Lester Pearson* by John English: *Shadow of Heaven*, which takes him to 1948, and *The Worldly Years*, which ends with his death in 1972. The latter year also saw publication of the first of the three volumes of *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson*. Therein lay a dilemma, but also a worthwhile solution.

Pearson had been writing chunks of his life story — drafts and sketches, really — for some time, but the result was far from a cohesive narrative. The publishers McClelland & Stewart relied on editorial fixers to inflate the project and whip it into acceptable shape. Now that the University of Toronto Press has reissued the entire set in paperback (\$32.95 each), we are reminded of the elves’ tactics. They neatly inserted, scattered at appropriate places, an usually large number of Pearson’s other writings. This is especially the case



William Lyon Mackenzie King

with Volume II, covering 1948 to 1957. In Volume III, we see his prime ministerial achievements — official biculturalism and bilingualism, the Canada Pension Plan and other social welfare initiatives, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, the maple leaf flag, the Centennial, and so forth. But in the previous



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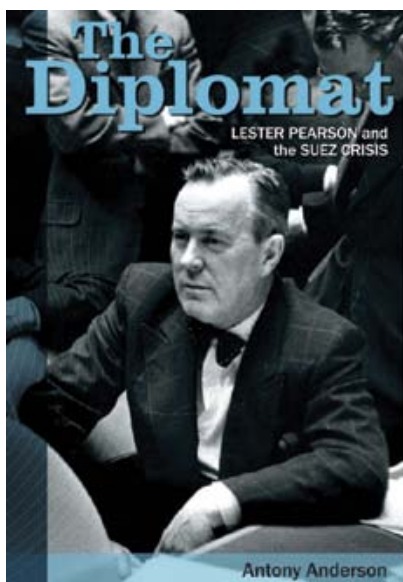
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instalment, we find a great many of his diplomatic dispatches and private letters. They are fascinating, as things that used to be secret often are. This is especially true of the ones related to the subject of Antony Anderson's new book, *The Diplomat: Lester Pearson and the Suez Crisis* (Goose Lane Editions, \$32.95)

A great many people have written about the Suez situation, which threatened to become a big and bloody multi-partite war, though few of the works are told from a Canadian perspective. In any case, the events took place so long ago that a short refresher should not be out of place.

The Suez Canal, linking the Red Sea and the Mediterranean and completed



in 1869 with Egyptian labour, was jointly owned by British and French shareholders of the Suez Canal Company. In 1956, the Egyptian president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, seized the canal, supposedly so he could exact tolls to help pay for the huge Aswan Dam that would control flooding on the Nile and generate electricity. In response, Britain, France and Israel began planning to retake the canal by force — especially Britain, which relied on it for most of its petroleum imports — while the Russians, for their part, re-armed Nasser for the coming conflict. Pearson, in his role as honest broker and the head of the Canadian delegation to the United Nations, tried long and hard to negotiate a settlement, but couldn't prevent the outbreak of hostilities. The three countries attacked Egypt without telling anyone else, not even the U.S., which became especially furious with the British.

Get out the blue berets

Not giving up, Pearson persuaded the UN to establish an armed multinational peacekeeping force to stabilize the situation (and for his efforts was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957.) Thus was born Canada's famous "peacekeeping role" in the world, which now seems likely to



resume under the new Trudeau government. That much is hinted at, as though hints were needed, by the fact that the former external affairs, which was rebranded Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Development under Stephen Harper, has been renamed Global Affairs Canada. Other more subtle, but far more important changes may also be in the wind. In *Middle Power, Middle Kingdom: What Canadians Need to Know about China in the 21st Century* (Penguin Random House, \$32), David Mulroney, Canada's former ambassador in Beijing in the recent Conservative government, contends that the government he served considered diplomats to be "incompetent and politically unreliable people, useful only for carrying out very specific and carefully monitored tasks." That seems rather blunt. But however their responsibilities were perceived in the pre-terrorism past, it does seem now that, in Canada and elsewhere, the prevailing atmosphere of fragility and fear is giving diplomats a redesigned sense of their role.

Back to Antony Anderson. By trade, he is a maker of radio and television documentaries. Such facts on a dust jacket of an author's first book seldom augur well for the contents. But this case is different, because Pearson's performance in the Suez Crisis is not merely Anderson's subject, but virtually his obsession. This is obvious

from his highly unusual preface in which he tells how the book started out as a documentary film two decades ago. He was to come up with the money needed to interview Pearson's former colleagues, "but got stranded on the brink of editing" — twice. "I could not raise the interest and the post-production funds to finish," though he did get a grant to make a Pearson-Suez website. A previous author, dead by this time, had enjoyed special access to Pearson's old friends and to his diplomatic cables, but none of this original research could be located. Anderson persevered as the years clicked by. Eventually, he finished the book and placed it with a publisher, which promptly went out of business. The book that's now finally made it into print is written clearly and pleasantly, with considerable energy and an eye for drama.

While on the subject of diplomacy...

Everybody knows Casanova (Giovanni Giacomo Casanova de Seingalt, 1725-1798) was a great lover of women. Such has been the impact of his famous *Memoirs*. But he wrote far, far more than just that and had many other now-forgotten claims to fame



Niccolò Machiavelli is the subject of several recent books.

— for example, as a spy, poet, adventurer and gambler. As it is with Casanova, so it was with Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527), known to general readers mainly as the author of *The Prince*, which was either a textbook of political ruthlessness, as most people believe, or else a brilliant satire. Most of us forget that he was an ambassador by profession, and a brilliant one. He was the chief diplomat (*cancelleria*) of the

republic of Florence for 14 years when the Medicis were away in exile. He undertook important missions to the king of France, Cesare Borgia, the Holy Roman emperor and two popes.

He handled all of the most delicate tasks, as when, in 1499, he had to tell the Florentine forces fighting in Pisa that there was no money to pay them and then, when the campaign proved a disaster, explain to the French king to his face that it was actually his majesty's fault. Machiavelli took on the difficult or dangerous missions because he was a smart diplomatic professional with a silver tongue and a congenial personality.

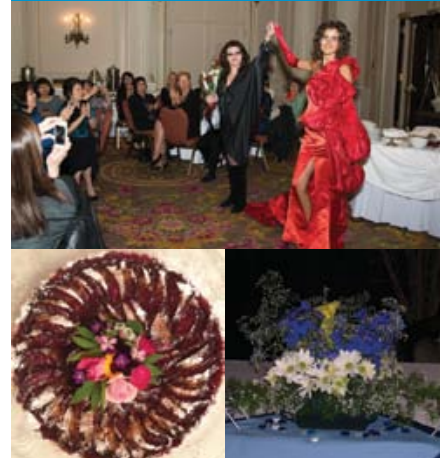
People interested in the diplomatic arts should enjoy one or more of the recent books about him. There are short biographies — *Machiavelli, A Portrait* by Christopher S. Celenza (Harvard University Press, US\$24.95) and *Niccolò Machiavelli* by Corrado Vivanti (Princeton University Press, US\$27.95) — as well as a larger one, *Machiavelli* by Robert Black (Routledge, US\$39.95). Useful for context are Mark Jurdjevic's *A Great & Wretched City* (Harvard, US\$49.95), about Machiavelli's Florence, and *The Ugly Renaissance: Sex, Greed, Violence and Depravity in the Age of Beauty* by Alexander Lee (Doubleday, \$35).

Also of diplomatic interest are two titles from University Press of Kentucky. They are Christopher A. Ford's discourse on an ever more topical subject, *The Mind of Empire: China's History and Modern Foreign Relations* (US\$30 paperback), and Walter M. Hudson's *Army Diplomacy: American Military Occupation and Foreign Policy after World War II* (US\$50). One compelling curiosity is *The Desperate Diplomat: Suburo Kurusu's Memoir of the Weeks before Pearl Harbor*, first published in Japan in 1952 and now available in his own English translation, edited by J. Garry Clifford and Masako R. Okura (University of Missouri Press, US\$35). Kurusu was Japan's special envoy to Washington, charged, so he thought, with trying to prevent a war with the U.S. He claimed he had no advance warning about the attack on Pearl Harbor. Finally, Charles Gati has edited a *Festschrift* (literally, a "festival gathering" by colleagues) in honour of Jimmy Carter's national security adviser. It is *Zbig: The Strategy and Statecraft of Zbigniew Brzezinski* (Johns Hopkins University Press (US\$29.95 paperback). Eighteen policy wonks, historians and pundits offer their views. Carter contributes a loving foreword.

George Fetherling is a novelist and cultural commentator.

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Unravelling New Zealand's culinary history

Photos by Larry Dickenson



Margaret Dickenson

Situated in the South Pacific Ocean, New Zealand consists of two larger islands (North Island and South Island) and further south, a tiny third, Stewart Island. The country is located just east of the southern part of Australia, across the Tasman Sea. Former Canadian high commissioner to New Zealand, Penny Readie, says New Zealand's amazingly diverse topography — from fiords, mountains, geysers and glaciers, to rolling hills, kilometres of beaches and even a desert — accounts for the country's remarkable beauty.

Archeological evidence dates the arrival of mankind to New Zealand to approximately AD 1300, when Polynesians from islands to the northeast discovered it. Migration followed in waves and peaked later in the 14th Century with a virtual flood coming from a fabled land believed to be Tahiti.

These migrants developed a well-defined Maori culture and social organization based on tribes, and known as Maori *iwi*. Sub-tribes, known as *hapu*, consisted of members with common genealogical roots; they exhibited complete loyalty to a chief, or chiefs, but each *hapu* functioned independently of the *iwi* or tribal group. Below the level of *iwi* and *hapu* were the *whaanau*, comprised of the extended family, including three or four generations. They were economically self-sufficient and in times of war, they supported their tribe or sub-tribe. However, the *hapu*, as the principal landholders, were the most important social groups.

It wasn't until 1642 that Abel Tasman became the first European to arrive on New Zealand's South Island. After doing battle with some Maori, he departed without any significant exploration of the area. More than a century passed before James Cook (1769-1770) circumnavigated the North and South islands, documented the cleverness of the Maori and declared



Deconstructed Pavlova

the appropriateness of colonizing New Zealand.

Colonization introduces new food resources

At the beginning, sealers, whalers and Europeans with hopes of becoming successful entrepreneurs were welcomed by the Maori, who suffered food shortages as New Zealand had very few indigenous vegetables. Therefore, when European settlers arrived with potatoes, pumpkins, wheat, corn and sugar, the Maori happily and promptly embraced those foods. Gradually, Maori attitudes began to change. They saw that 32 New Zealand bird species had disappeared after the arrival of the first humans, rats and dogs introduced by James Cook's expeditions and European colonization triggered the extinction of at least eight more species of birds — a valuable source of game food that had originally evolved without any animal predators. Furthermore, the introduction of western agricultural prac-

tices, missionaries, diseases and firearms spawned a disintegration of Maori social and cultural traditions.

A complicated relationship

Many Europeans purchased land from the Maori, but confusion and misconception regarding ownership sparked resentment and conflict. Finally, in 1839, facing the prospect of the purchase of large tracts of land for colonization, missionaries proposed that the British take control of European settlers in New Zealand. The following year, New Zealand became part of the British Empire with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between the British crown and various Maori chiefs, and recognizing Maori rights to be equal to those of British citizens. Throughout the remainder of the century, migration from Britain was intense, and as a result of war and the enforcement of European economic and legal systems, most of New Zealand's land transferred to European ownership, reduc-

ing the Maori's capacity to produce their own food and leaving a majority of them in poverty. Fortunately, in the late 20th Century and early 21st Century, Maori groups have made significant progress on land settlements.

Evolution of the country's food and culture

The food history and culture of New Zealand has evolved with the waves of migration from the Pacific Islands and Europe, all the while embracing the richness of New Zealand's natural resources, fertile land and bountiful seas.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the Maori, who were exceptional hunters and gatherers, thrived on birds and fish cooked with wild herbs and roots. Maori believed that the earth was the giver of life. Food came from the soil and that food was then cooked underground in pits covered with earth. These pit ovens were called *hangi*. Food — primarily fish, fowl and root vegetables — was wrapped in leaves, placed on hot stones at the bottom of a pit and covered with a mound of earth, thus trapping the heat in the pit. Cooked for three to four hours in the ground, depending upon what was being cooked, finished products included tender falling-off-the-bone meats and scrumptious vegetables, all infused with a remarkable depth of smoky, earthy fragrance. To add flavour when smoking food, they used manuka wood chips. In 1769, Captain James Cook and English botanist James Banks named the manuka "tea tree." These trees or bushes are pollinated by bees, which in turn produce manuka honey used in food preparation and, due to its medicinal and antiseptic properties, in treating infections and illnesses.

A major part of the Maori diet was seafood. European settlers, however, frowned upon seafood, dismissing it as a food for the poor, despite the fact that many did consume it. With many of New Zealand's settlers being of British origin, British cuisine began to assert its influence in shaping what was to become the national cuisine. Meat featured strongly in the New Zealand diet, thanks to widespread farming. And since the 19th Century, dairy products, particularly butter, milk and cheese, have been consumed in great quantities. With wheat being the most important of grains, New Zealanders traditionally ate white bread, but, until recently also enjoyed oatmeal porridge for breakfast. The standard menu consisted of meat and three vegetables, such as potatoes, carrots, onions, cabbage, peas, beans or cauliflower.

20th Century sees change

While early European colonialists brought apples, plums, peaches and pears, the early 20th Century saw the introduction of other fruits including kiwi, which was native to eastern and north-central China. As international travel became more common, New Zealanders' tastes broadened, their palates welcomed new foods and flavours — brown and wholewheat bread, pasta and rice — ushered in by new immigrants from Central Europe and beyond. Culinary changes continued to gain momentum over the century. The popularity of ice cream began to increase in the '40s and yogurt in the '70s. Mediterranean vegetables, such as eggplant, started to ap-



Green-lipped mussels offer arthritis relief and other medicinal benefits.

pear on the market in the '60s while those from Asia had become rather common by the '90s. Realizing that New Zealanders consumed only a small portion of the edible species of fish, the country's Fishery Industry Board launched a serious promotional campaign to encourage people to eat not only more fish, but more species of fish. Although oysters had always been popular with the Maori and Europeans alike, there has now been a steady increase in demand for other seafood, including crayfish and mussels.

In terms of meat, New Zealanders believed themselves to be consumers of lamb, but in reality, they ate more beef. With pork being more expensive, bacon and sausages presented inexpensive variations. Several decades ago, partly due to publicity regarding negative effects of saturated fats, red meat consumption fell back, whereas chicken (not frequently

consumed prior to the '60s, at which time barn-raised poultry was introduced) saw a spike in sales that has continued into the 21st Century. Another example of New Zealanders adopting healthier choices is their consumption of raw fruit, a shift from the '50s and earlier, when they ate most fruits cooked.

Since the 1980s, with immigration laws liberalized, new migrants expanded New Zealand's food culture to incorporate the cuisines of Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, China and Japan. As a result, contemporary chefs have raised the bar on New Zealand cuisine by cleverly cooking the best local ingredients in a way that is more in keeping with a multi-dimensional Pacific Rim culture.

Today, past traditions re-emerge

A more recent change has been the resurgence of indigenous food on restaurant menus, as well as that of traditional Maori cuisine, but often with an innovative contemporary spin. Some of the most popular indigenous ingredients, besides crayfish, include *hokopito*, leaves of the New Zealand pepper tree, replacing conventional pepper in cooked dishes to offer a spicy citrus flavour and a sweet apple fragrance; leaves of the *kawakawa* tree, dried and ground, adding a light mint flavour and a rich forest aroma; *koengo*, a seaweed used raw or dried; *pikopiko* fern tips, of which only seven of 312 varieties are edible and infuse a unique forest flavour; *puha*, also known as cow thistle, served traditionally with pork; and *kowhitiwaiti*, a watercress growing on the edge of rivers and creeks. Raw or cooked, it gives food a wild mustard flavour.

Best-loved foods

New Zealanders lay claim to a number of favourite foods. Surrounded by the sea, the country enjoys an abundant supply of fresh seafood all year round — scallops, blue cod, the world's finest bluff oysters, internationally renowned orange roughy as well as green-lipped mussels, also known to offer arthritis relief and other medicinal benefits, and tiny, springtime whitebait, principally used for making popular whitebait fritters. Snapper, *terakihī* and *hoki* are the most commonly used fish for making fish and chips, a favourite dish that may also include scallops and squid rings. New Zealand has a worldwide reputation for the quality of its lamb and its people particularly like it roasted with rosemary and an abundance of seasonal vegetables. Pumpkin soup ranks as another favourite.



New Zealand has a worldwide reputation for the quality of its lamb and its people particularly like it roasted with rosemary and an abundance of seasonal vegetables.

Usually reserved for special occasions, foods cooked using the *hangi* method allow for a unique and memorable Maori culinary cultural experience with a few modern modifications. Traditionally, the food was wrapped in leaves, but today's *hangi* would likely use aluminum foil and wire baskets. The baskets are placed on hot stones in the bottom of a pit, the food covered with a wet cloth and the earth piled on top. Not only are those traditional foods — seafood, chicken and various vegetables — cooked this way, but a gourmet *hangi* might feature Asian spices along with local ingredients and natural herbs. Tempting options could be marinated pork loin with *kawakawa* or chicken marinated in manuka honey.

When it comes to dessert, New Zealanders have a notoriously sweet tooth and never hide their passion for great ice cream. Plain vanilla remains No. 1 in popularity, followed by hokey pokey, which is vanilla ice cream studded with solid chips of honeycomb toffee. Pavlova, a meringue filled with whipped cream and topped with fresh fruit, remains a “must” for family Christmas celebrations. And regarding the long-standing debate as to whether pavlova was a New Zealand or Australian invention, the *Oxford English Dictionary* concludes it is New Zealand's.

Other sweet choices would be boisenberry desserts; tamarillos, a fruit related to the tomato plant and eaten as an apple-like snack; New Zealand's world famous kiwi, simply cut in half with the flesh scooped away from the furry skin; and the country's award-winning cheeses.

Food and wine festivals

In a nation of great food and wine lovers, attending lively festivals featuring fantastic food, excellent wines and delightful entertainment could be considered a national sport. These festivals run the gamut, from heralding the beginning of summer, celebrating regional cuisines, wines, signature dishes from some of the finest restaurants, to a series of seafood festivals celebrating everything from the Havelock mussel to the bluff oyster and Whitianga scallops. More exotically, the Hokitika Wild Food Festival features crocodile bits, chicken feet, *huhu* grubs, grasshoppers, whisky sausages, lambs' tails and colostrum — an animal's first milk after giving birth — cheesecake. For more cautious food explorers, whitebait fritters, marinated tuna, smoked salmon and a variety of game meats might fit the bill.

For a quick, easy, no-fail version of pavlova, try my Deconstructed Pavlova with Lemon Manuka Honey Drizzle. Bon Appétit!

Deconstructed Pavlova (with Lemon Manuka Honey Drizzle)

Makes 4 servings



- 1½ oz (45 g) baked meringues*
- 1 cup (250 mL) heavy cream (35 percent fat), chilled
- 2½ tbsp (38 mL) icing sugar
- ½ tsp (3 mL) grated fresh lemon zest
- ¾ cup (180 mL) small pieces of peeled green kiwi
- ½ cup (125 mL) fresh blueberries
- ½ cup (125 mL) diced fresh peach, peeled with stone removed
- ⅓ cup (80 mL) walnut pieces

Lemon Manuka Honey Drizzle

- ¼ cup (60 mL) Manuka honey
- 2 tsp (10 mL) lemon juice

Garnish (optional)

- 16 fresh blueberries (in addition to above)
- 4 sprigs of fresh mint and kiwi slices

1. To make the Lemon Manuka Honey Drizzle, place honey in a small bowl, add lemon juice and stir until thoroughly combined. (Makes more than a 1/4 cup or about 70 mL.)
2. Break meringues into thumbnail-sized pieces and set aside.
3. In a chilled medium-sized bowl, whip cream until it begins to thicken. Add icing sugar and beat until soft peaks form. Add lemon zest and continue beating until stiff peaks form.
4. Drizzle blueberries with only 1 tsp (5 mL) of Lemon Manuka Honey Drizzle; turn, gently coating the blueberries evenly with the honey.
5. Just before serving, combine the kiwi, blueberries and peach in one bowl.
6. Gently fold meringue and walnut pieces into the whipped cream, and then fold in the fruit.
7. For 4 individual servings, place a cylinder (diameter: about 3 inches or 7.5 cm) in the centre of a dinner plate or bistro bowl. Gently spoon in one quarter of the delicate fruit and meringue cream. Remove the cylinder. Crown with a half slice of kiwi.
8. Artistically drizzle each plate with about 2 tsp (10 mL) of Lemon Manuka Honey Drizzle. Garnish with a few blueberries and a sprig of fresh mint.
9. Serve promptly while meringue is still crisp.

* This is about 3 commercial meringue shells. They are available in grocery stores and bakeries.

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

Making the best of a dry situation



Pieter
Van den Weghe

Less is more when it comes to water and growing wine grapes. Pressuring a grape vine to dig deep with its roots and seek out water is the foundation of winemaking. While other factors have a role to play, great wine can only come from the fruit of an appropriately stressed vine.

However, balance is required. If water stress grows to be a true threat, a vine reacts in a primal way to insure its survival: It shuts down. When a region that is already warm endures a prolonged period without precipitation, a drought develops and this becomes a situation with serious consequences.

California, the world's fourth most productive wine region after Italy, France and Spain, has now endured nearly five years of drought. While recent rains hold the promise of some respite, the State Water Board has adopted an extension of regulations to ensure that water conservation continues through 2016.

California's agriculture industry consumes a vast quantity of water. The production of wine grapes, the state's No. 3 cash crop, consumed far less water than often-vilified No. 2: almonds. However, with 615,000 acres (250,000 hectares) planted with wine grapes, the impact of even a small amount of water consumption is still significant. Just like cities and towns, farms and vineyards must operate with mandatory water supply cuts. Many grape growers and wineries have been left with 20 percent of their previously normal irrigation allocation.

At first, much of California's quality wine production was based on dry-farming grapes that received no additional water than the rain that fell during the vintages (as with parts of France, Spain and other regions in the Old World).

After the 1976 Judgment of Paris wine tasting put California's wines on par with Bordeaux's best, the state's wine industry exploded through the '80s and '90s. Grape



Clos du Bois' 2013 "Calcaire" Chardonnay, from Sonoma's Russian River Valley, pictured here, is a rich wine, characterized with citrus and mineral flavours.

growers soon realized they could increase production by planting their vines in close proximity to one another and providing the necessary additional water with irrigation.

Today, many of California's vineyards are irrigated to some degree. The practice is particularly common in the state's dry Central Valley, where many bulk wines are born. However, vineyards in the more prestigious Sonoma and Napa valleys are also irrigated.

While the usage of more efficient irrigation and dry-farming are helping California wine producers to survive and prosper during this drought (2015's wine grape crush totalled 3.7 million tons), the state's snowpacks, rivers and lakes are depleted. Only the return of precipitation will change this. Otherwise, if the drought persists, groundwater use will continue to deplete aquifers. In the meantime, the best practices are those that help not only the wine industry, but the rest of the state as well.

Since starting up in 1974, Sonoma's Clos du Bois winery has championed sustainability. Nearly all its electricity needs are provided by solar power, and the winery annually turns leftover grape pulp, skins and seeds into more than 5,000 cubic metres of organic compost for its vineyards. As for water consumption, one acre (0.4 hectares) of its vineyards uses less

water per year than a family of four.

Their 2013 Russian River Valley "Calcaire" Chardonnay is a rich wine characterized by citrus and mineral flavours. Full malolactic fermentation has softened the mouth feel of this single-vineyard Chardonnay, but there's still plenty of fresh acidity to provide excellent and lingering balance. This vibrant wine is available from Vintages for \$29.95.

CADE Estate Winery was founded with a strong philosophy of environmental responsibility. It's Napa Valley's first LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) gold-certified winery — an honour awarded for performance in five areas, for including water savings. Among its practices is the usage of grey water for irrigation of its estate vineyards.

Its 2012 Estate Cabernet Sauvignon is an impressive, weighty and delicious wine from a spectacular vintage. While many Howell Mountain wines can be austere in their youth, the Estate Cab is forward and open with generous blue and black fruit flavours and sweet tannins. The finish is long and lush. It's composed of 93 percent Cabernet Sauvignon and 7 percent Merlot, and a total of 231 barrels were produced. This luxurious and hedonistic wine is available through Vintages for \$143.

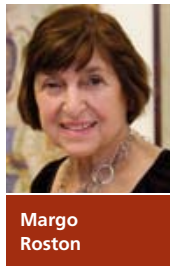
Pieter Van den Weghe is general manager and sommelier at Beckta.

Colombia's stunning Rockcliffe renovation project

Photos by Ashley Fraser



The Colombian government bought this seven-bedroom stucco and stone home in 1957, three years after it established relations with Canada.



Margo
Roston

The pungent aroma of Colombian coffee fills the sunlit rooms of this Rockcliffe home, a comfortable, airy, modern residence that bears little

resemblance to its actual age. Inside this seven-bedroom diplomatic residence, it's hard to imagine that the house was actually built in 1934 with a stucco and stone exterior that fits in perfectly with its Park Road neighbours, including the Belgian and Irish ambassadors' residences.

When you visit the newly renovated home of Colombian Ambassador Nicolas Lloreda-Ricaurte and his wife, Alessandra Tassara, they want you to feel you are in a space as warm and as bright as their home in Colombia, without having travelled thousands of kilometres to South America.

They have recently moved in after a two-year renovation that began when they arrived with their two young children, Lorenzo, now 11, and Daniella, now 7, from Washington. What they discovered was a house they felt was unhealthy for themselves and their children and for future diplomats who would live there.

The old house was purchased for \$68,000, a considerable sum at the time, from Elizabeth Helen Prodrick in 1957, three years after Colombia established diplomatic relations with Canada, but its newest residents learned in Washington



The sleek new reception room features a cream-coloured palette with punches of red.



Ambassador Nicolas Lloreda-Ricaurte, his wife, Alessandra Tassara, and their seven-year-old daughter Daniella love their newly renovated home.



The diplomatic couple was urged to keep the oak floors, but decided, in keeping with Colombia's light, airy decor, to make the switch to maple.



A sunroom off the back of the home features comfortable leather furniture.

about the dangers of lead and asbestos and "this house was full of both," the ambassador says. "Of course, Colombia is a developing country and there is no money for improving embassies, but when we proved to them the house was a health hazard, they agreed and the house was gutted; new pipes, new insulation, new paint, everything."

During the renovation, the family lived happily in a large family home in Manor Park and planned the design for the residence.

"Everyone told us to leave the oak floors, but because we come from the tropics, we like the light," he says, "so we changed to maple floors." The staircase is now also maple, adding to the sense of lightness.

The effect is dramatic and the ambassador admits he learned a few things along the way. In fact, he stole a page from the redesign of the Irish residence down the road and built a large, multi-windowed foyer at the front door to accommodate Canadian guests who arrive at winter parties carrying their party shoes in a bag, a practice unheard of at many diplomatic posts.

A library at the back of the house

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was also torn out and the hallway was extended to the back of the house where French doors lead outside to a large patio, creating a view of the garden from the front door.

"We are very proud and happy about the renovation," he says.

In keeping with the light theme, the colour palette of the furnishings and walls is cream with splashes of red, including a red love seat, with some leather furniture in the sunroom, which opens off the back of the main reception room.

Colourful and interesting Colombian art is featured on most of the walls, with the main piece being a great discovery the ambassador made when he arrived in Ottawa. It is the work of Fernando Botero, one of Colombia's best known artists. Renowned for his "fat" characters, this piece is of a very thin man, the ambassador points out, making it an exception and an early work from the 1950s. Another striking work of importance, this one by Colombia's Grau Enrique, is of a woman holding her head in her hands.

Yet the brightest stars in the house are the magnificent bouquets of roses — red, yellow and orange — that can be found on tables throughout and in small vases on



The ambassador found this unique early painting by well-known Colombian artist Fernando Botero when he first arrived in Ottawa.

the dining room table. They represent one of Colombia's major exports. Colombia is, in fact, one of the world's major flower producers, with birds of paradise, ger-

beras, anthuriums and orchids among the major blooms that are exported around the world. With an almost perfect climate for flowers, Medellin has become a major production centre.

The house runs with two live-in staff — a housekeeper and a driver — but there is no full-time cook, says Tassara. Instead, she relies on top-notch chefs from several restaurants to come and cook in her up-to-date kitchen for embassy dinners and cocktail parties, but smartly refuses to name her favourites. But the food is great, she says. Once a year, however, the Colombian government sends a chef to Ottawa for one week to give the diplomatic couple a chance to introduce Canadians, if briefly, to the cuisine of their country. And they often open up their home to charitable groups for events and dinners in order to promote their culture and country and meet Canadians they might not get to know otherwise.

The lovely old house may be in central Ottawa, but the brilliant colours of Colombian roses and the aroma of Colombian coffee, called Amor Perfecto, whet a visitor's appetite to travel to Colombia.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.



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Aboriginals: Canada's founding peoples

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

The history of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada begins much earlier than any other group living here — and is far more complex. When European settlers arrived in what would become Canada in the early 16th Century, the number of aboriginal people ranged from an estimated low of 350,000 to as high as two million. By Confederation, more than 350 years later, the aboriginal population had not grown, as might be expected, but had shrunk dramatically. In 1867, there were between 100,000 and 125,000 First Nations people here, along with about 10,000 Métis in Manitoba and 2,000 Inuit across the Arctic.

The reasons for their decline are tied to such factors as war, illness and starvation, arising directly from European settlement and habits. As *The Canadian Encyclopedia* notes: "The aboriginal population ... continued to decline until the early 20th Century." Even after that trend reversed, other problems continued, including discrimination, ignorance or misunderstanding of aboriginal cultures, and government laws and policies that often had disastrous effects.

Those challenges and hardships cannot be forgotten and National Aboriginal History Month is an opportune time to remember them. Yet, it is also important to be aware of the achievements of Aboriginal Peoples and the manner in which they have enriched the lives of all Canadians.

At our organization, Historica Canada, we highlight the triumphs and tragedies involving Aboriginal Peoples in Canada through programs such as Aboriginal Arts & Stories, *The Canadian Encyclopedia* and our *Heritage Minutes*. Any list of events in either category is certain to be incomplete,



Koomoatoo Mathewsie plays her own sister, Kenojuak Ashevak, in an upcoming *Heritage Minute* on the famed artist.

but the process is ongoing. Here are some stories on which we're working: One new *Heritage Minute*, released on June 21 (National Aboriginal Day), chronicles a tragic story arising from the long-standing forced enrolment of aboriginal youth in residential schools.

A second new *Minute* released in June depicts a treaty negotiation through the eyes of aboriginal people, who saw the process in much different terms than their counterparts across the table.

A third new *Minute*, for release this fall, tells the story of Kenojuak Ashevak, the world-renowned artist who was at the forefront of the global popularization of Inuit art.

Some other past minutes tell stories of

aboriginal traditions and defining events. They include: Aboriginal achievements during the War of 1812 (many while in alliance with the British), particularly at the Battle of Queenston Heights; the heroic life and troubled death of Tommy Prince, one of Canada's most decorated military figures; the hanging of the still-controversial Métis leader, Louis Riel, in 1885; and a *Minute* devoted to the significance of the Inukshuk, the Inuit symbol that serves as a statement in the wilderness to declare, as one character says, "now the people will know we were here."

Those efforts barely even scratch the surface of Aboriginal Peoples' history in Canada.

At the same time, it's worth noting the wide range of peoples that the term "Aboriginal" encompasses. As of 2010, the most recent year for which statistics are available, the term included: 617 First Nations communities and more than 50 nations, eight Métis settlements and 53 Inuit communities. Collectively, that includes more than 60 languages. In the 2011 National Household Survey, the most recent, more than 1.8 million people declared aboriginal ancestry.

All of this goes to show that Aboriginal Peoples in Canada are distinct and diverse, with many different cultures, traditions and lifestyles. Their diversity gives them something in common with other Canadians, in a country increasingly defined by that quality. Yet, at the same time, they are increasingly proud of being distinct. And, more than ever, they are determined to stay that way.

Anthony Wilson-Smith is president and CEO of Historica Canada.

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New arrivals

Ermal Muça
Ambassador of Albania



Ermal Muça joined Albania's foreign service in 2002. Since then, he has held different positions at the Albanian foreign ministry. He worked in the regional bilateral relations department at headquarters and did a posting abroad, as deputy head of mission in Turkey. He was also consul general in Istanbul.

Recently, he served as director of state protocol at the foreign ministry.

The ambassador studied international relations at the University of Istanbul, completing a bachelor's and a master's degree. He also studied diplomacy at the foreign ministry and attended the Albanian National Institute of Public Administration.

Muça is married to Alma Muça and they have three children. He speaks Albanian, English, Turkish and Italian.

Marcelo Gabriel Suárez Salvia
Ambassador of Argentina



Ambassador Suárez Salvia joined the foreign service in 1988 and worked in the privatization secretariat at the ministry of economy and public works in 1992. He worked as a consultant in the minister's office in 1994 and then joined the minister's office at international trade.

From 2003 to 2008, he was posted to the permanent mission to the United Nations as counsellor. Between 2009 and 2012, he was director for multilateral co-operation at the directorate-general for international co-operation. He became consul general in Chicago in 2012 until just before coming to Canada.

Suárez Salvia is married to Lucia Borjas de Suárez Salvia and they have four children. He studied law at university and then completed studies at the National Foreign Service Institute between 1995 and 1996. He speaks Spanish, English, Italian, Portuguese and some French.

Alejandro Marisio
Ambassador of Chile



Ambassador Marisio began his career by working for the ministry of education for two years, after which he began studies in diplomacy. He began his diplomatic career as a third secretary in 1985.

His first posting was to the former Yugoslavia in 1988, where he stayed until 1992. He returned to headquarters to co-ordinate the Second Space Conference of the Americas between 1993 and 1995, after which he was posted to the Latin American Integration Association in Uruguay until 2000. He was first secretary to the U.S. between 2002 and 2006 and minister-counsellor and general consul in Lima, Peru, from 2009 to 2014. For the past two years, he's been director general of consular affairs and immigration at headquarters.

The ambassador is married to Maria Cecilia Beretta Delgado and they have three sons and one daughter. He speaks Spanish, English and French.

Pavlos Anastasiades
High Commissioner for Cyprus



High Commissioner Anastasiades is Cyprus's first resident ambassador to Canada. He is also the permanent representative to Montreal's International Civil Aviation Organization.

He joined the foreign service in 1991, after several years in the academic world. His previous posting was as ambassador to the United States (1993-1997), with accreditations as high commissioner to Canada and representative of Cyprus to various international organizations. Before going to Washington, he was posted to Sweden (1997-2002) as ambassador, with concurrent accreditations to Norway and Latvia.

His positions at the foreign ministry have included: head of policy planning and internal analysis/information and head of the diplomatic office. He also worked in the EU division at the ministry.

He is married to Maria Antonopoulou; they have one daughter.

Sosthène Ngokila
Ambassador of Gabon



Sosthène Ngokila began his career at the ministry of foreign affairs in 1993, working on the Western Europe desk and was soon appointed as cultural attaché to Gabon's embassy in Brussels. From 2000 to 2002, he was cultural attaché in Tunisia and later in 2002, he was appointed first secretary to the embassy in Paris, where he stayed for two years.

In 2004, he returned to headquarters at the rank of ambassador with responsibilities for human resources at the foreign ministry, after which he served for four years as the assistant secretary general.

Ngokila is married to Euphrasie (née Mounguengui). His educational experience includes a degree in economics and international relations from the Université de Tunis III, which he completed in 1991. He speaks French, English and Spanish.

Clarissa Sabita Riehl
High Commissioner for Guyana



High Commissioner Riehl comes to diplomacy after careers in law and politics. She was elected to Guyana's National Assembly in 1992 and remained there until 2011, having done a stint as deputy speaker between 1998 and 2011. She was also the first chairwoman of the parliamentary sectoral committee on foreign relations, a position she held in 2003.

She served as a commissioned second lieutenant in the Women's Army Corps of Guyana's Defence Force in 1967 and began her legal career in 1970 as state counsel in the chambers of the director of public prosecution. In 1982, she was appointed a magistrate.

After her political career ended in 2011, she returned to practising law and in 2014, she was appointed notary public for Guyana.

Abdul Kareem Kaab
Ambassador of Iraq



Abdul Kareem Kaab's career has spanned civil engineering and diplomacy, including two years at the infamous Abu Ghraib Prison, where he was taken for opposing Iraq's dicta-

torship during his national military service as a civil engineer. After completing military service in 1989 (with a two-year prison interruption in the middle) he worked in civil engineering until 1996, at which time he immigrated to Germany and applied for political asylum. He then worked briefly and studied Islamic Science before returning to engineering in 2004.

In 2009, his career would take a turn when he returned to Iraq with the rank of ambassador at the foreign ministry. Soon after, he was Iraqi ambassador to Finland (2010-2013) and non-resident ambassador to Estonia (2011-13). He returned to headquarters for three years before being sent to Ottawa.

He is married to Dr. Khaulh AlKoofi and they have four children. He speaks English, German and Arabic.

Shirley Skeritt-Andrew
High Commissioner for St. Kitts and Nevis



High Commissioner Skeritt-Andrew is the first resident high commissioner to serve in her country's newly opened mission in Canada.

Skeritt-Andrew is an economist and historian by training and has worked in the public sector in the Caribbean as well as the United Kingdom. Her most recent diplomatic posting was to Brussels, between 2008 and 2013, where she served as ambassador to Belgium and the European Union for four Eastern Caribbean States. She was also their non-resident ambassador to Sweden.

As a long-time adviser to the prime minister, she became the main interlocutor for the Global Environment Facility in St. Kitts and Nevis and has worked on alternative energy issues. She's interested in geo-thermal energy development and biofuels as a bi-product of sugar cane. She hopes to co-operate extensively with Canada on green growth and technology.

Garth Chatoor
High Commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago



High Commissioner Chatoor has a master of science degree in production engineering and management and a bachelor of science degree in chemical engineering. He has

also completed post-graduate work in management studies, systems analysis and design.

From 2000 to 2011, he served as general manager of the Power Generation Company of Trinidad and Tobago Ltd. (PowerGen), a company created out of the partial divestment of the Trinidad and Tobago Electricity Commission. He has also held several directorships including with RBC Financial Caribbean Ltd., RBC Investment Management, Carib Glass Ltd. and RBC Merchant Bank.

Chatoor is married to Carole Diane Chatoor and they have two children.

Non-heads of mission

Afghanistan
Sayed Jawad Serat
Third Secretary

Argentina
Sebastien Juan Palou
Second Secretary

Australia
Grant Stephen Edwards
Minister-Counsellor
Anthony James Murrett
Minister-Counsellor

Belarus
Dimitry Basik
Counsellor and chargé d'affaires

Brazil
Jefson Borges
Defence and air attaché

Chile
Rafael Reinaldo Rojas Agurto
Attaché

China
Chang Che
Second secretary
Hongwei Cui
Second secretary
Zhiwen Li
Second secretary
Yiren Mao
Attaché

Cuba
Pavel Dominguez Gutierrez
Attaché

Finland
Jarno Mika Kristian Valkeapaa
Counsellor

France
Mathieu Antoine Bernard Schuster
First Secretary

Georgia
Natalia Kordzaia
Minister-counsellor and consul

Ghana
Elizabeth Nyantakyi
Minister-Counsellor

Honduras
Arianna Julihsa Montenegro Sosa
Second Secretary

India
Arun Kumar Sahu
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Japan
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Second Secretary

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Second secretary

New Zealand
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Air attaché

Nigeria
Lucy Ocheme
Attaché

Oman
Fahad Sulaiman Khalaf Al Kharusi
Counsellor

Russia
Aleksandr Govorukhin
Attaché
Igor Starkov
Defence Attaché

Saint Kitts And Nevis
Onsley Kervin Lloyd
Counsellor

Senegal
Tamsir Faye
First Counsellor

Sudan
Nura Osman M. Suleiman
First secretary

Ukraine
Yurii Nykytiuk
Minister-counsellor

United Kingdom
Ann Cowan
Second Secretary
Edward Jim Evans
Second Secretary

United States Of America
Daniel Christopher Acker
Second secretary and vice-consul
Elizabeth Moore Aubin
Minister-counsellor and deputy chief of mission
Calvin Griffith Jones
Assistant attaché

Venezuela
Jissette Carolina Abreu Lopez
Second Secretary



1. Moldovan Ambassador Ala Beleavschi and Bosnia and Herzegovina Ambassador Koviljka Spiric attended a reception at the residence of French Ambassador Nicholas Chapuis. The event, to introduce diplomats to new MPs, was organized by Carleton University's initiative for parliamentary and diplomatic engagement. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. More than 200 government officials, business leaders, military personnel, students and diplomats, including, from left, U.S. Ambassador Bruce Heyman, French Ambassador Nicholas Chapuis and Canadian Gen. Jonathan Vance, chief of the defence staff, attended the sixth annual Vimy Reception at the Embassy of France. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 3. A traditional dragon dance at Taiwan Night at the Château Laurier. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. Taipei Economic and Cultural Office Representative Rong-chuan Wu and his wife, Chiu Yueh Hsu, hosted Taiwan Night at the Château Laurier. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Hungarian Ambassador Bálint Ódor hosted a reception at his residence to mark the Memorial Day for the Hungarian Victims of the Holocaust and to express gratitude to supporters of the embassy's activities during Hungary's International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) chairmanship. From left: Ódor and Peter Munk, philanthropist and founder of Barrick Gold. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. Lulzim Hisei, Kosovo's chargé d'affaires, has opened his country's first embassy in Ottawa. (Photo: Embassy of Kosovo)



1. Slovakian Ambassador Andrej Droba, right, and his wife, Daniela, centre, hosted a reception at Global Affairs Canada for the opening of "Amazing Planet", an exhibition by Slovakian photographer Filip Kulisev, left. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. Venezuelan Ambassador Wilmer Omar Barrientos Fernandez hosted a reception at his embassy. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. To mark the independence day of Estonia, Ambassador Gita Kalmet hosted a concert by NUKU Koor, an Estonian choir at the Canada Council for the Arts. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. The Embassy of Guatemala, in partnership with UNAM Canada and the Ottawa Gatineau Guatemalan Association, presented a photography exhibition titled "Ephemeral art, traditions and historical heritage of Holy Week in Guatemala" at UNAM in Gatineau. From left: Guatemalan Ambassador Rita Claverie Sciolli and Ramón Peralta y Fabi, director of UNAM's extension school in Canada. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Bulgarian Ambassador Nikolay Milkov and his wife, Nevena Nikolaeva Mandadjieva, hosted a national day reception at Ottawa City Hall. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. The King's Day reception at the Grand Hall at the Canadian Museum of History, hosted by Netherlands Ambassador Cees Kole, celebrated the official birthday of His Majesty Willem-Alexander. At the event, a stained glass window by artist Theo Lubbers was presented to museum president Mark O'Neill. At left, Netherlands defence attaché Christa Oppers-Beumer and her husband, Peer Oppers; at right Ambassador Kole and his wife, Saskia Kole-Jordans. (Photo: Garth Gullekson/Embassy of the Netherlands)



1. Moldovan Ambassador Ala Beleavski celebrated Moldova's 25th anniversary of independence at Santé Restaurant. From left: Beleavski, MP Ed Fast and Senator Raynell Andreychuk. 2. To mark the visit of the recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize of 2015, Tunisian Ambassador Riadh Essid and his wife, Chiraz, hosted a reception at the Château Cartier. From left: The Essids, Ouïd Bouchamamoui, Abdessatar Ben Moussa and Houcine Abassi. 3. A flag-raising took place at City Hall in honour of Israel's national day. From left, MP David Sweet, Rabbi Idan Scher, Andrea Freeman, CEO of the Jewish Federation of Ottawa; Mayor Jim Watson, U.S. Ambassador Bruce Heyman, Israeli Ambassador Rafael Barak; MP Marco Mendicino, Natural Resources Minister Jim Carr, David Cohen, of the Canadian Jewish War Veterans – Ottawa Post; city councillor Jean Cloutier, MP Michael Levitt, MP Mark Warawa, Ilan Orzy, of the Jewish Federation of Ottawa, and Ruth Aaron, of the Jewish Community of Ottawa. 4. To mark Israel's national day, Rafael and Miriam Barak, (left) hosted a reception at the Château Laurier. Vicki Heyman attended. 5. To mark Cameroon's national day, High Commissioner Solomon Azoh-Mbi and his wife, Mercy, hosted a reception at the Château Laurier. 6. Italian Ambassador Gian Cornado hosted a dinner at his residence. From left, MP Chris Bittle, Cornado and MP Mark Gerretsen. 7. EU Ambassador Marie-Anne Coninx hosted Europe Day at the National Gallery of Canada. Foreign Minister Stéphane Dion attended. (All photos by Ülke Baum)



1. Swedish Ambassador Per Sjögren, right, hosted a Music to Dine for event at his residence in support of the Friends of the National Arts Centre Orchestra. NAC President Peter Herndorf attended, as did Music to Dine For chair Pamela Robinson. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 2. Performers from Winnipeg's Erudit Children's Centre took part in a concert that was part of the Tulip Ball at the Chateau Laurier. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. Rachel Wu, wife of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office's representative, offers a floral arrangement demonstration. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 4. To mark the 205th anniversary of Paraguayan independence, Ambassador Julio Cesar Arriola Ramirez and his wife, Adriana Arza de Arriola, hosted a reception at the Chateau Laurier. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. Indonesian Ambassador Teuku Faizasyah and his wife, Andis, hosted a coffee morning "with a touch of Indonesian heritage" at the embassy. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 6. The Canada-Sri Lanka Friendship Group has 30 MPs as members, including, from left, Sven Spengemann, Ali Ehsassi, Anthony Rota, Sri Lankan High Commissioner Ahmed A. Jawad, Yasmin Ratansi, Senator Mobina Jaffer, Frank Baylis. Jawad hosted a dinner after the group was formed.



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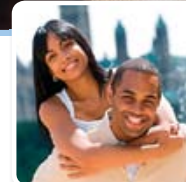
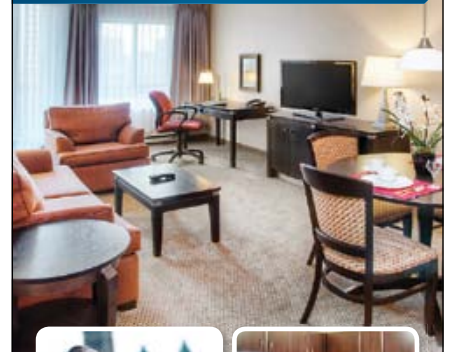
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1. The Council of Arab League Ambassadors, in partnership with the Canadian Arab Business Council, hosted a gala dinner and awards ceremony at the Château Laurier. From left, Foreign Minister Stéphane Dion and Moroccan Ambassador Nouzha Chekrouni. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. Gov. Gen. David Johnston received credentials from three heads of mission. From left, Guyana High Commissioner Clarissa Sabita Riehl, Johnston, Niger Ambassador Hassana Alidou and Andorran Ambassador Elisenda Vives Balmana. (Photo: MCpl. Vincent Carbonneau, Rideau Hall) 3. Croatian Ambassador Marica Zorica Matkovic took part in the 22nd annual Travel and Vacation Show. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 4. This dancer at the Travel and Vacation Show was from Mexico. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. This Indonesian dancer, Azalea Carolina Gunawan, took part in the Travel and Vacation Show. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. Maria Michelle Palomino, of Mexico, danced at the Travel and Vacation Show. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 7. Benedetto Della Vedova, undersecretary of state at the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, spoke at IDRC in April. (Photo: Teckles Photo Inc.)



1. Burundian drummers entertain the crowd at Lansdowne Park's Aberdeen Pavilion, where Africa Day was held. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. The third annual Common Security and Defence Policy Symposium between the EU and Canada took place at the John G. Diefenbaker Building. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. The Latin American Film Festival Media Launch took place at the Embassy of Cuba. From left: Tom McSorley, executive director of the Canadian Film Institute, and Honduran Ambassador Sofia Cerrato Rodriguez. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

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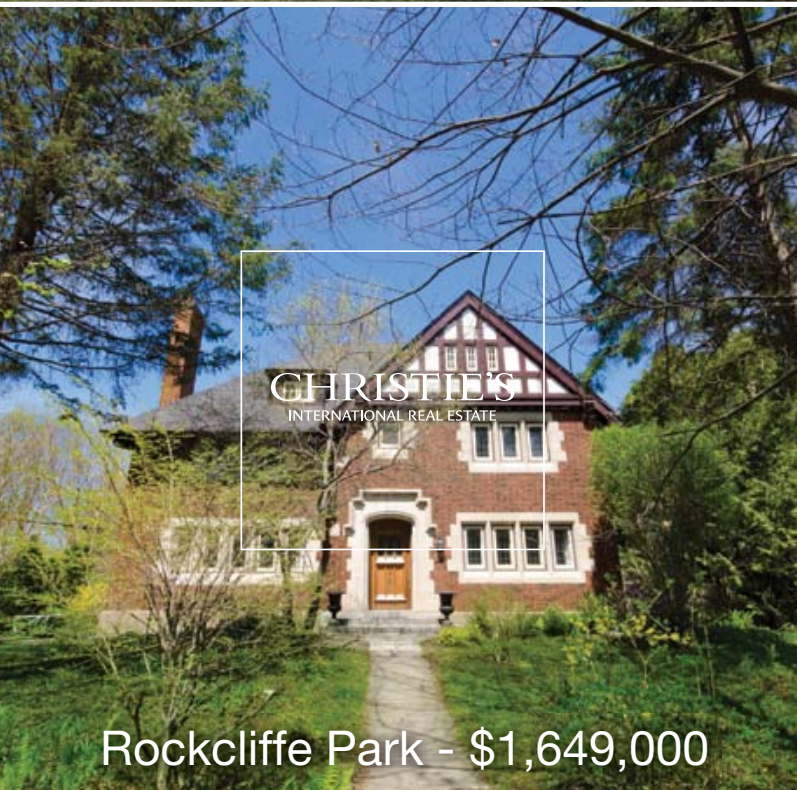
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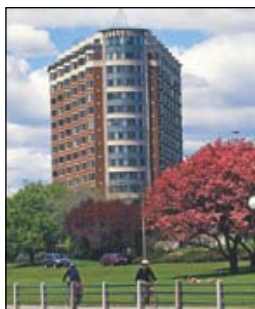
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Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

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1	Burundi	National Day
1	Canada	Canada Day
3	Belarus	Independence Day
4	Rwanda	Liberation Day
4	United States	Independence Day
5	Venezuela	Independence Day
7	Nepal	Birthday of His Majesty The King
10	Bahamas	Independence Day
11	Mongolia	National Day
14	France	National Day
14	Iraq	Republic Day
20	Colombia	National Day
21	Belgium	Accession of King Leopold I
23	Egypt	National Day
28	Peru	Independence Day
30	Morocco	Ascension of the Throne
August		
1	Benin	Independence Day
1	Switzerland	National Day
3	Niger	Proclamation of Independence
6	Bolivia	Independence Day
6	Jamaica	Independence Day
7	Côte d'Ivoire	Independence Day
8	Macedonia	Independence Day
10	Ecuador	Independence Day
11	Chad	National Day
15	Congo	National Day
15	India	Independence Day
17	Gabon	National Day
17	Indonesia	Independence Day
19	Afghanistan	National Day
24	Ukraine	Independence Day
25	Uruguay	National Day
31	Malaysia	National Day
31	Trinidad and Tobago	National Day
September		
1	Slovak Republic	Constitution Day
2	Vietnam	Independence Day
7	Brazil	Independence Day
15	Costa Rica	Independence Day
15	El Salvador	Independence Day
15	Guatemala	Independence Day
15	Honduras	National Day
16	Mexico	National Day
18	Chile	Independence Day
21	Armenia	Independence Day
22	Mali	Proclamation of the Republic
23	Saudi Arabia	National Day



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Photo by Bill Blackstone

Iceland: pristine nature and cultural creativity



The Northern Lights shine over the Alftanes-peninsula close to Reykjavik.



*By Sturla Sigurjónsson
Ambassador of Iceland*

I am very glad and honoured to say that I meet an increasing number of people who express an interest in visiting Iceland. My usual response is: "If you are

looking for sunny beaches and ancient castles, then don't go to Iceland. However, if you want, in one trip, to be able to enjoy pristine nature, good food and a high level of cultural creativity, then there is no better destination."

Obviously, being Icelandic, I have a natural bias and as the ambassador of my country abroad, it is my job to promote my country, but this advice is completely sincere. Iceland is not a large land area and the population is small, but you would be surprised by the variety in landscape, quality of cuisine and vibrancy of culture. Indeed, it is this combination that draws

increasing numbers of foreign visitors to Iceland. Only 10 years ago, the annual figure was about 500,000 visitors, but this year we expect around 1.5 million.

Safe and peaceful

There are direct flights to Iceland from a large number of cities in North America, including five in Canada: Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Edmonton and Halifax. Numerous daily flights connect Iceland to continental Europe. Many travel no further than Iceland; others stop over for a few days and some only use the efficient and relatively low-priced system



The national park at Thingvellir is at its most colourful in the autumn.

of transatlantic connections. The stop-overs enable passengers who use Iceland as a hub to stay for a while without raising the price of the fare.

In Iceland, the infrastructure is modern, tourist services are rapidly developing, most Icelanders understand and speak English and it is a safe and peaceful place.

Talk about the weather

Iceland is neither as cold, nor as warm, as southern Canada. It is located just below the Arctic Circle, exposed to the mighty North Atlantic and yet warmed by the ocean's Gulf Stream. The weather is a source of endless discussion and it can be quite fierce, particularly in winter, but usually sensible dress and common-sense behaviour overcome the occasional challenges posed by the climate. The same applies to all of the other aspects of raw nature that can make a visit to Iceland an intensely enjoyable experience. In general, take care, follow instructions and use local assistance where necessary and you'll

enjoy the thrills without the chills. By the way, there is a volcanic eruption in Iceland on average every five years, but none has caused personal injury in recent times.

Reykjavík and beyond

So what to see and do when in Iceland? Almost all visitors to Iceland arrive by air at Keflavík and start by driving 50 kilometres to the capital of Reykjavík. About two-thirds of the population lives in the "greater" Reykjavík area, so it is inevitably the political, commercial and cultural centre of the country. There are excellent restaurants, tempting shops and interesting cultural venues in other parts of the country, but the largest concentration and variety is in Reykjavík. If time for travel is limited, there are many types of excursions available in the vicinity of the capital; for example, whale-watching or driving the Golden Circle, which can be done in one day. That includes the national park of Thingvellir; the site of the ancient parliament, the geological bound-

ary between Europe and North America and a UNESCO World Heritage site; and the Geysir hot spring, which has given a generic name to all hot springs; and the majestic Gullfoss waterfall.

Detour to a sarcophagus

For history buffs, it is worthwhile making a short detour from Gullfoss to Skálholt, for many centuries the spiritual and temporal centre of Iceland. In medieval times, it was the site of the largest wooden church in Europe, built of imported timber, and today it is the location of a parish church and school. In the basement of the church, a small exhibition includes a 12th-Century sarcophagus containing the remains of a powerful bishop who commissioned a stone mason from Germany to make his final resting place.

Southern contrasts

The drive eastwards, along the southern coast of Iceland, offers many different views: green pastures, steep mountains,



The waterfall Svartifoss (also known as Black Waterfall) in southeast Iceland.

glaciers, rapid rivers, black beaches and the group of Vestman Islands can be seen on the horizon. The two waterfalls, Seljalandsfoss and Skógarfoss, are among popular sights and so is the beach at Reynisfjara, close to the village of Vík, as is the glacial lagoon at Jökulsárlón. The national park at Skaftafell includes, in close proximity, the contrasts of black desert, a natural birch grove and a glacier.

Quiet and solitude

A drive northwards along the eastern coast can take time, because of several long and deep fjords, but is definitely ideal for those seeking quiet and solitude. The village of Seydisfjörður is where the ferry from Denmark's Faero Islands docks in the summer months. The inland village of Egilsstaðir is close to Iceland's only extensive forest, Hallormsstadarskógur.

Waterfalls and whales

Northern Iceland also has a lot to offer, including the dramatic Dettifoss and Godafoss waterfalls; the bird-watchers' paradise of Lake Mývatn; and Námaskard, the nearby geothermal area, where sulphur for gunpowder was mined in days past. The seaside village of Húsavík has a nice harbourfront, where it is possible to "set

sail" for some of the most plentiful whale-watching available in the waters around Iceland. Slightly further westwards, there is the town of Akureyri, Iceland's second largest, beautifully located inside the long fjord of Eyjafjörður. Further west is the very small village of Hofn, where there is a small centre and museum dedicated to the migration from Iceland to North America in the late 19th Century, as well as a legendary public swimming pool.

Northern and western extremes

The hand-like peninsula jutting out of northwestern Iceland is commonly called the Westfjords. It is a sparsely populated area of stark but frequently breathtaking natural beauty. The vertigo-inducing seacliffs of Hornbjarg and Látrabjarg are respectively the northernmost and westernmost points of Iceland, where seabirds nest in tens of thousands.

Centre of the earth

South of the Westfjords is the Bay of Breidafjörður, which contains about 3,000 islands, islets and skerries (small rocky islands). Its southern boundary is the Snæfellsnes peninsula, dominated by the inactive and glacier-topped volcano Snæfellsnesjökull, the scene of Jules

Verne's opening in the *Journey Through the Centre of the Earth*. The village of Stykkishólmur is scenically located, with a view to some of the bay's islands.

Snorri's hot-tub

From there, it takes only about two hours to drive back to Reykjavík and on the way is Reykholt, the site of the former home of Snorri Sturluson, chieftain and author assassinated in AD 1241, who transcribed a large part of known Norse mythology and, thereby, later provided Richard Wagner with material for some of his operas, such as the four-opera series *The Ring of the Nibelung*. Snorri's geothermal hottub is still preserved. Before reaching Reykjavík, it is possible to drive around the Hvalfjörður fjord or under it through a five-kilometre-long tunnel. During the Second World War, there was a large Allied naval base in this deepwater fjord, from which the British battle cruiser *HMS Hood* sailed to intercept the German battleship *Bismarck*. The ferocious ensuing battle, heard all the way to Iceland, ended with the sinking of the *Hood*, and the British pursuit and later sinking of the *Bismarck*.

Uninhabited interior

The interior of Iceland is uninhabited, with no paved roads, few bridges and very limited accommodation. The central highlands are, in many respects, a natural wonder, but best experienced with organized tours using four-wheel-drive vehicles. What roads and tracks there are will usually be open only during the height of summer. Off-track driving is strictly prohibited because of the delicate sub-Arctic fauna.

Light and shadows

While in Iceland, you can get close to nature and test yourself in many ways. Try snowmobiling on a glacier, take a horseback tour of two hours or two weeks, hike or river raft, fish for trout and salmon in lakes and rivers or cod in salt water, or simply observe the different aspects of the environment. For example, you can enjoy the ever-changing light and shadows, and even sometimes the vividly shimmering and shifting Northern Lights. Speak to Icelanders you meet on the way, both the tourist professionals and the farmer and fisherman, and ask them for advice. They will give it readily and gladly.

Swimming, eating and drinking

If you want to "go native," use the public swimming pools, which are of different sizes and standards in most municipali-



The spa at Myvatn in northern Iceland.

ties, all generously heated with geothermal water. The chlorine levels are kept down by requiring everyone to wash thoroughly before using the pools.

Try the delicious lamb, which is mountain-raised, and the fresh seafood, including the sweet-tasting prawn-like langoustine. If you want a really authentic culinary experience, taste traditional delicacies such as pickled rams testicles, cured shark or wind-dried haddock, and wash this down with Icelandic aquavite, a schnapps sometimes known as Black Death and best enjoyed well-chilled. It is usually chased with beer and Icelandic breweries, large and small, produce some excellent thirst-quenchers using the abundance of clean water. For the more abstemious, we take pride in our refreshing tap water. Last but not least, try the original

their diet. You can, of course, allow yourself the luxury of adding some sugar and cream. Icelandic cattle are grass-fed, which gives the dairy products a good flavour.

Arts attract

Iceland is very much a microcosm. It is relatively small, but has all of the structures and characteristics of a larger society, including in administration and culture. The professional symphony orchestra and opera company are now performing in Harpa, the new internationally acclaimed

concert house in Reykjavík, located at the entrance to the old harbour. Classical music can be enjoyed in many other locations, including church concerts, and contemporary and popular music is widely available. In fact, the inspiring music scene attracts young people from all over the world. The same applies to visual arts and literature.

Last but not least — shopping

Many opportunities await for shopping in Iceland, with the largest selection in the area of Reykjavík. Apart from traditional products, such as woollen garments, many small designer shops sell modern Icelandic fashion, jewelry and natural cosmetics. Bookshops offer a good selection of translations of Icelandic literature, including crime novels.

Embassy at your service

It is difficult to do justice to a nation in one short article, but I hope this very brief description raises interest and questions about specifics, which the Embassy of Iceland in Ottawa would be delighted to answer.

Sturla Sigurjónsson is the ambassador of Iceland to Canada.



Children skating on the pond in central Reykjavik.

dairy product, Skyr. It was eaten by the Vikings and is made from skimmed milk, resembling a yogurt, but in its unadulterated form. It is non-fat and high in protein and calcium. Skyr has become very popular in Europe among those who watch



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The Canadian tiger swallowtail butterfly is well known across the country due to its distinctive markings. This beautiful insect has found its way to all Canadian provinces and territories — hence the Latin name, *Papilio canadensis*. This species is often seen flitting frenetically around the blossoms of the lilac bush (*Syringa vulgaris*) and Jo-Pye weed (*Eutrochium*). The wingspan of the swallowtail ranges from eight to 14 centimetres. Swallowtails appear from mid-May till late July and only one generation is produced a year. This one was found amongst 15 or 20 others in the Gatineau Hills, near Wakefield, Que.



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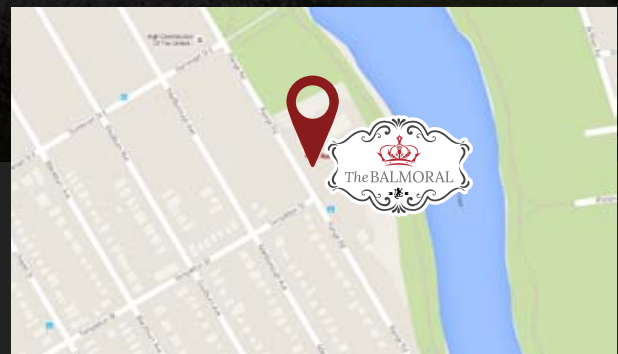
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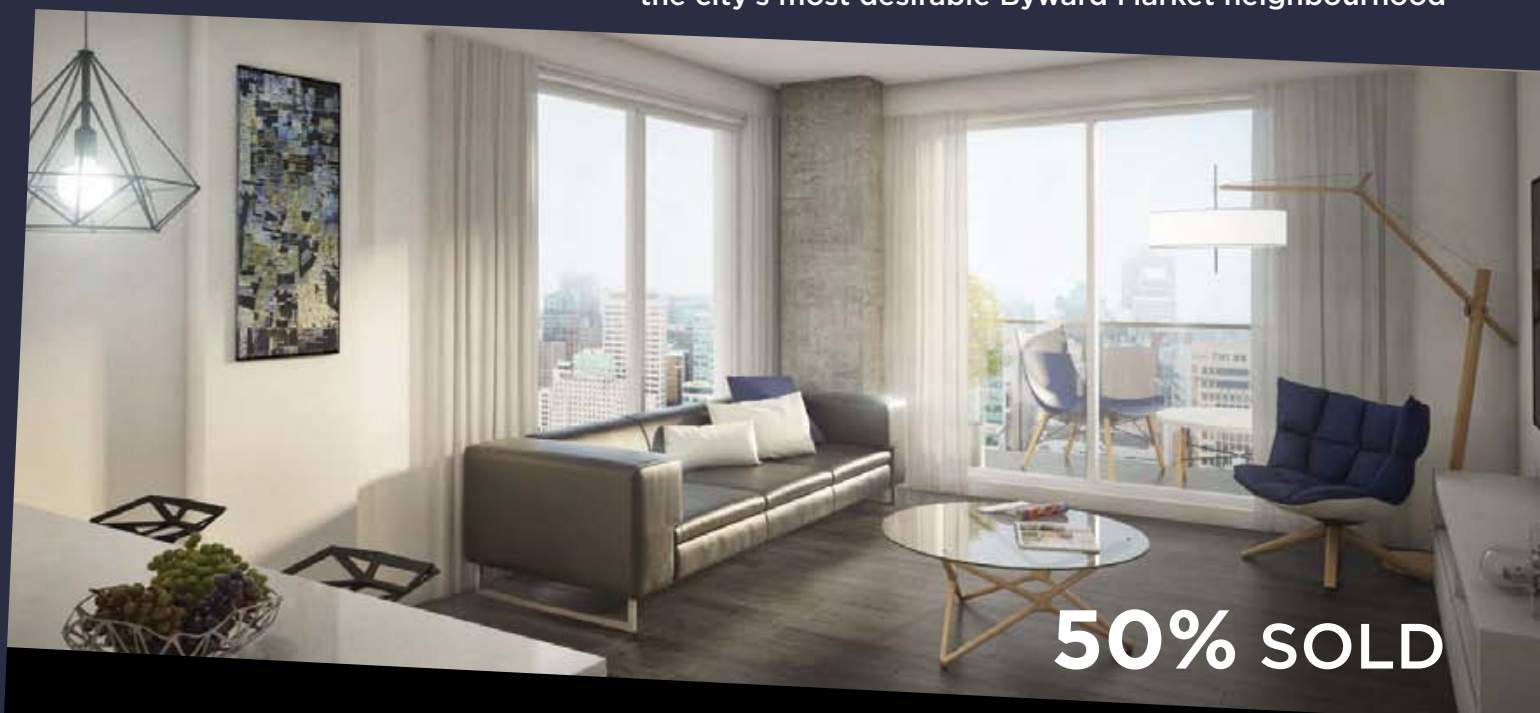
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