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DIPLOMATICA | EDITOR'S NOTE



Tracking Taiwan

s far back as the 1960s, we've been hearing about Asian "tigers," the economies with exponential GDP growth rates. Among the original four — Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan — Taiwan has always been a leader, in spite of its odd political status. It operates as a democracy, just across the strait from China, a communist country that has at least 1,000 missiles aimed in Taiwan's direction. The same China has worked for years to prevent Taiwan from joining bodies such as the World Health Organization and the United Nations.

Diplomat publisher Donna Jacobs visited Taiwan this year and her cover story peels the layers off this complicated territory known by its citizens as the Republic of China. She brings to light the interesting and pragmatic relationship Taiwan now enjoys with its once-antagonistic neighbour. While mainland China still works to isolate Taiwan internationally, the island democracy happens to be China's No. 1 customer, taking in nearly 40 percent of its exports. For its part, Taiwan imports more from only one other country, Japan. Part of the rapprochement between Taiwan and China, which still insists Taiwan is part of its territory, is due to Taiwan's election of President Ma Ying-jeou, whose policy is to draw China closer in trade and even immigration.

Also in our Dispatches section, writer Wolfgang Depner takes a look at the timely topic of the Nobel Prize — this year's winners will be announced in October. Mr. Depner breaks it down by country, giving readers the Top 10 Nobelreceiving countries in the world. Some of them might surprise you.

We also have a story about animal protection. When disasters hit developing countries, the protection and rehabilitation of animals integral to the local economy is essential. It can, in the words of writer Melissa Matlow, of World Animal Protection, "mean the difference between recovery and despair." Livestock are essential to the livelihoods of 70 percent of the world's poorest people and Ms Matlow's organisation, previously called the World Society for the Protection of Animals, has been saving livestock involved in disasters for 50 years. Ms Matlow details some of its work in the Philippines, Haiti and Myanmar, to name a few.

We have two photo essays. The first is by amateur photographer Jim Parker, on the children he met in Africa when he was there on a UN mission in war-torn Sudan and on subsequent visits to Africa with his wife, Heather Cairns. The second features the work of Chelsea photographer Mike Beedell (who provides us with a backpage wildlife photo in every issue.) This time, Mr. Beedell was on Nova Scotia's Sable Island, Canada's newest national park and home to the famous wild horses.

In the magazine's Delights section, books editor George Fetherling brings us titles about the French and Americans in Laos after the Second World War; Doctor Zhivago author Boris Pasternak; and inevitably, books on the centennial of the First World War.

Culture editor Margo Roston takes us on a tour of the Spanish Colonial Revival home of Vietnamese Ambassador To Anh Dung and his wife, Tran Phi Nga. It's a landmark on Patterson Creek in the Glebe and the Vietnamese couple treasures it.

Food writer Margaret Dickenson was inspired by a recent trip to the United Arab Emirates and developed her own recipe for one of the country's dessert staples, while wine writer Pieter Van den Weghe opens our palates to the wonderful, and rare, white wine known as Viognier.

Drink it up and enjoy!

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat*'s editor.

UP FRONT

Our cover photo shows a detail from a temple in Taipei, Taiwan. Our story cover tells how this small democracy has innovated and built a strong economy — befitting the strength of the dragon. It starts on page 46.



CONTRIBUTORS Melissa Matlow



Melissa Matlow is the legislative and public affairs manager for World Animal Protection (formerly World Society for the Protection of Animals). For more than 50 years and in more than 50 countries, World Animal Protection (WAP) has been preventing animal cruelty and inspiring people to change animals' lives for the better. By collaborating with the United Nations and other international bodies, WAP puts animal welfare on the global agenda because it is a fundamental part of a sustainable future. Its Canadian office in Toronto is one of 15 offices worldwide. Visit worldanimalprotection.ca to learn more.

Mike Beedell



Mike Beedell is a conservation photographer and wilderness guide living in the Gatineau Hills of Quebec. He has come eye to eye with 40-tonne humpback whales, giant manta rays and one-tonne polar bears. He has travelled tens of thousands of kilometres by kayak, canoe, ski and on foot through such remote regions as the North Pole, Amazonia and Antarctica. On a National Geographic assignment from 1986 to 1988, he and Jeff McInnis piloted a tiny catamaran - the first solely sailpowered vessel through the Northwest Passage.

Mr. Beedell has exhibited internationally and is the author of the Canadian bestseller, *The Magnetic North*.

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Political commentary from around the world



"ISIS Recruiting" by Paul Zanetti, Australia



"Obama Global Fireman" by Riber Hansson, *Sydsvenskan*, Sweden



"ISIS vs Western Modernity" by Mike Keefe, Cagle Cartoons, U.S.

CARTOONS | DIPLOMATICA



"Sunni Days Ahead" by David Fitzsimmons, The Arizona Star, U.S

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"Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi leader of IS" by Riber Hansson, *Sydsvenskan*, Sweden



"Muslims and Extremism" by Tom Janssen, The Netherlands



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



"Putin Invading Ukraine" by Patrick Chappatte, globecartoon.com



"Hong Kong against Peking" by Rainer Hachfeld, *Neues Deutschland*, German

As the situation in Ukraine simmers...

By David Kilgour



When pro-Russian insurgents in eastern Ukraine were almost defeated in late August by Ukraine's military, President Vladimir Putin sent thousands of Russian soldiers into Ukraine to turn the tide. He has now offered a ceasefire to Kiev, presumably because the tougher sanctions the West is now imposing are biting and because of the billions of dollars a stressed Russian economy would need to hold and assist an occupied eastern Ukraine.

In September, Tomasz Sakiewicz, editor of the *Gazeta Polska* newspaper in Warsaw, spoke to a Parliament Hill rally of Canadians, most of whom had East-Central European heritage. Among the points he made:

- Daily, people are being killed in Ukraine because of Russia's open aggression against the nation that wants to be independent.
- In 2008, Russian tanks rolled into Georgia, intending to overthrow the government and occupy the entire

country. Only part was seized because of international action, mainly due to decisive steps by five Central European leaders brought to Tbilisi by then-Polish president Lech Kaczynski.

- Their capacity to stop Mr. Putin rose from the co-operation of 100 million people from diverse cultures who have respect for their traditions and the ability to unite against an invader.
- When he flew to Smolensk, Russia, in April 2010, Mr. Kaczynski and 100 Polish representatives hoped to honour the memory of thousands of Polish officers killed by Stalin in the Katyn Massacre in 1940. Some researchers and intelligence analysts surmise that the crash of the plane might have been caused by an explosive. Russians confiscated the black boxes and the wreckage of the aircraft. It reminds us of the recent tragedy in which nearly 300 civilians were killed aboard Malaysian air-

craft M17, believed by many to have crashed after being attacked by Russian terrorists in Ukraine.

"Today," added Mr. Sakiewicz, "we cannot wait any longer. We have to stop Russian imperialism before the war spreads to other countries. Russia must be completely isolated from the world until it ceases its aggression. Ukraine must be provided with major financial and military help so that they will be able to protect all of us against another global tragedy."

Despite setbacks, in virtually all East-Central European countries, life appears to be significantly better now than in 1989. The EU, with 28 member countries, a population of 503 million and prospects for further enlargement, continues to be a beacon for many across the world.

Ukraine

Few North Americans capture what is going on in Ukraine as well as Timothy

Snyder, the history professor at Yale and author of *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. In a recent column entitled To understand Putin, Read (George) Orwell, he wrote:

"Russian propaganda daily pounds out two sides to every story, both of which are false, and each contradicts the other. Consider the propositions in italics below, which should by now, after eight months of repetition, sound familiar...(For example) Russia is making war to save the world from fascism. (In fact, it is Russia where the far right exerts dictatorial power, the head of state enunciates a Hitlerian doctrine of invading another country to protect ethnic brethren. Russia's political allies are Europe's far right parties, including the fascists and neo-Nazis.) Meanwhile: fascism is good. (In Russia, Hitler is now being rehabilitated as a statesman, the Jews are being blamed for the Holocaust, gays are presented as an international conspiracy, Russian Nazis march on May Day and Russian Nazis in Ukraine are presented as heroes)."

I share the conclusion to Mr. Snyder's piece as well: "Oppression in Russia, war in Ukraine and the destabilisation of the West are grotesquely high prices to pay for (Putin's) preferences... We had better think instead about what we value and what we can do to protect it. If Ukraine becomes Novorossiya, Europe becomes Eurasia, and the West collapses, it will not be because of Russia's physical strength, but because of our mental weakness."

NATO

Before the NATO summit in Wales, statements by its officials that NATO will defend the three Baltic member states, but not non-member Ukraine, were shortsighted. Stephen Blank, the American Foreign Policy Council's senior fellow for Russia, noted in the *Globe and Mail*:

- Throwing Ukraine figuratively under the bus before the summit was unlikely to encourage other neighbours of Russia, whether or not they are NATO members.
- Such talk appeared to concede Putin's right to ignore a host of international treaties, to re-establish Cold War spheres of influence and to attack any or all of his neighbours whenever he can fabricate an excuse for doing so.
- The U.S. and UK have done little or nothing to enforce guarantees

given to Ukraine in 1994 and letting Ukraine go would indicate to others that our guarantees are worthless if/ when the crunch comes.

Mr. Blank is correct that Ukraine deserves NATO support in the form of weapons, advisers and training. More U.S. and EU financial and political support are also essential. As he says, "NATO was created precisely to thwart actions such as Russia's current invasion (of Ukraine)." Standing NATO Maritime Group One in the Eastern Mediterranean;

- Sending members of the CAF to Operation Open Spirit in Latvia in May;
- Deploying 50 Canadian soldiers to Poland to conduct training in airborne operations and infantry skills.

Containing Putin

Mr. Putin must be persuaded by "smart" and progressively tighter sanctions and



The Parliament Hill rally where Polish newspaper editor Tomasz Sakiewicz spoke in September

President Dalia Grybavskaite of Lithuania said: "Ukraine is being attacked because of its European choice. It is not only defending its territory, but also Europe and its values."

Canada

Canada is among the strongest international supporters of Ukrainian efforts to restore stability and implement democratic and economic reforms. Prime Minister Stephen Harper and Foreign Minister John Baird continue to call on Mr. Putin to follow through on his commitments to de-escalate the crisis and call off his provocateurs.

Ottawa is supporting Ukrainians as they restore political and economic stability, including imposing sanctions on those responsible for the ongoing crisis. Our government has also taken steps to enhance the readiness of NATO through a number of measures including:

- Deploying six CF-18 fighter jets, along with 200 support staff, to Romania to train with NATO allies;
- Sending 20 CAF operational planners to NATO's headquarters in Belgium;
- Retasking HMCS Regina to join

by NATO to end all support for the rebels in eastern Ukraine. He must come to see that a collaborative engagement with the larger European community is necessary if Russia is not to be completely isolated by its European neighbours and other democracies.

Given that huge sums continue to be withdrawn from Russia by investors, including as much as \$70 billion in the first quarter of 2014 alone, and that the ruble has just hit a new low, Mr. Putin might begin to accept that international harmony is necessary if the Russian economy is to improve the difficult lives of many of its citizens.

The main conclusion, however, is that betraying Ukraine and Ukrainians will bring neither peace nor security now or in the future.

Former Edmonton MP David Kilgour

and David Matas were banned from Russia in 2011 for their book, Bloody Harvest, which deals with organ pillaging and trafficking from Falun Gong practitioners across China since 2001. They were nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2010 for their efforts to stop it. www.david-kilgour.com

Islamic extremism: The nightmare that never left



Hampson

t's like the 1979 horror sci-fi flick Alien. Just when you think the monster is dead, it jumps out at you again. A recurring nightmare.

It was not so long ago that some security experts and officials were elatedly predicting al-Qaeda's demise and with it, the end of Islamic extremism and the Jihadist threat to Western democracies. The killing of Osama bin Laden at the hands of a specially trained team of American SEALS at his Abbottabad hideaway in northern Pakistan was seen as striking the movement a death blow. The statistical evidence also seemed to weigh in favour of such arguments. Since 2005, the world saw a steady decline in the number of terrorist attacks. Most of the attacks were also centred in Iraq and Afghanistan and directed by rival extremist groups against each other and not westerners.

U.S. intelligence and security forces could also claim they had successfully foiled terrorist attacks on American soil. That was true until the Boston Marathon bombing on April 15, 2013, that killed three spectators and maimed scores more. In spite of the billions of dollars poured into the Department of Homeland Security, the FBI apparently repeatedly ignored warnings from Russian intelligence services that Tamerlan Tsarnaev, the elder brother involved in the marathon attack, was a terrorist suspect and had to be watched closely.

However, because there had been no major attacks on the scale of 9/11, President Barack Obama nevertheless went on publicly to declare a month later that the "Global War on Terror" was finally over. The president also announced that U.S. strategy would shift to targeting specific terrorist networks, which many interpreted as justification for the escalating use of drone strikes against terrorist groups and their leaders.

The reality, however, was that the social



U.S. intelligence and security forces could claim they had successfully foiled terrorist attacks on American soil, until the Boston Marathon bombing in April 2013.

and political turmoil that followed the Arab Spring unleashed deep currents of Islamist extremism and sectarianism that many Western leaders were unwilling to recognise.

The Obama administration's early and repeated denials that the deadly al-Qaeda-orchestrated attacks in 2012 on the American compound in Benghazi, Libya, which killed the American ambassador, seems to have been motivated more by Mr. Obama's presidential re-election ambitions than any kind of careful assessment of facts on the ground. As a comprehensive U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee report on the entire Benghazi affair, released in January 2014, laid bare, al-Qaeda operatives were indeed behind the well-planned attack on the Benghazi compound.

Recent events demonstrate that Islamic extremism is in ascendancy, not just in Libya and the Maghreb, but also sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, parts of Southeast Asia and, above all, the Middle East, where new extremist groups, such as Iraq's new Sunni-led ISIS group (Islamic State of Iraq), are supplanting even al-Qaeda's reputation for brutality and violence as the cruel execution of American journalists James Foley and Steven Sotloff posted by their captors on the Internet, attests.

Canadians had a taste of the resurgent threat posed by Islamic extremists when two of the country's senior diplomats, Robert Fowler and Louis Guay, were kidnapped by a branch of al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) just before Christmas in 2008 while on a peace mission for UN Secretary General Ban Kimoon in Niger. Held captive in the desert border regions of northern Niger and Mali, their release after 130 days in captivity came only after a tidy ransom of more than a million dollars was proffered to their captors.

The brutal kidnapping of 223 schoolgirls in northern Nigeria by the terrorist group Boko Haram in April 2014 is a further and ominous reminder of the growing power of extremists in sub-Saharan Africa. Like its Horn of Africa counterpart, the goal of Somalia's al-Shabaab (re-

TERRORISM | DIPLOMATICA

sponsible for the shopping mall attack in Nairobi, Kenya, that killed many civilians, including a young Canadian diplomat), is to destabilise governments in the region, eventually overthrow them and replace them with Islamic rule. Boko Haram is clearly sowing mayhem with its unscrupulous kidnapping and bombing attacks that have reached the doorstep of Nigeria's capital city, Abuja, and its thriving commercial coastal metropolis, Lagos.

But it is not only Africans who have to worry about this group as it capitalises on its newfound notoriety. In February 2012, Boko Haram publicly threatened to assassinate U.S. Ambassador Terence McCulley if the U.S. helped Nigeria with its counterterrorist operations. Intelligence and security experts have also warned that Nigeria's daily air links with Europe and North America are another key vulnerability that could also be exploited should the group decide to take its campaign of terror to the skies and overseas.

Alas, the Obama administration's state of denial that was so painfully evident in the Benghazi affair extended to Boko Haram. Washington's *Politico* magazine reported that when Hillary Clinton was U.S. secretary of state, she refused to declare Boko Haram a terrorist organisation or acknowledge that it had links with al-Qaeda. Her position was at direct odds with the U.S. Justice Department and America's military commander for Africa's own independent assessments, which showed such ties exist and include training, arms, and direct financial support.

Civil wars in Algeria, Yemen, Syria and Iraq have spawned their own terrorist networks as radical Islamic groups intent on seizing power acquire new followers, cash and weaponry. The ISIS group in Iraq has gained special notoriety in recent months because of the speed with which it seized control of large sections of territory in western Iraq by defeating Americanequipped-and-trained Iraqi government forces in a series of lightning raids. It is now using its captured booty and weaponry to build up its own assets in its bid to seize power. That may be a long shot because Sunnis are in the minority in Iraq and the United States is now deploying its own airpower to help Kurdish forces repeal ISIS forces in northern Iraq.

Former U.S. ambassador to Iraq Ryan Crocker has called ISIS the biggest national security threat to the United States since 9/11 and he may well be right. During the summer of 2014, airport security officials in countries that are major



The attack on the USS Cole in the Gulf of Aden near Yemen was one of al-Qaeda's early assaults, dating back to 2000.



Osama bin Laden's terrorist attack on the U.S. in New York in 2001, pictured here, and Washington, led to Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan.

points of embarkation to the United States started to beef up security measures by telling passengers to turn on their computers and cellphones following new intelligence reports indicating that terrorist groups in Yemen and Syria had developed a new way to conceal explosives in the flat batteries of such devices.

But the threat is not simply "over there." It is also here at home. That James Foley's executioner was a British citizen one of hundreds of foreign nationals who have joined Islamic fighters in Syria shows that the West is not immune from the cancerous appeal of Islamic extemism. Western countries, Canada included, will have to be more vigilant in their own efforts to deal with those who are seduced by extremist Islamic ideals.

In Canada, the successful apprehension of Raed Jaser and Chiheb Esseghaier, who were allegedly trying to blow up a VIA train bound for New York only two days after the Boston Marathon bombings, served as a stark reminder that Canada is on the al-Qaeda hit list. Xristos Katsiroubas and Ali Medlej, two young Ontario men who were involved in leading the terrorist attack on a gas plant in southeastern Algeria, serve as further reminders that we are also exporting our own homegrown terrorists.

The problem of homegrown terrorism is only going to get worse as disaffected and unemployed youths in the West are seduced by religion and identity politics to the killing fields of the Middle East, North Africa and other distant corners of the world. That is the harsh reality of the new age of terror.

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

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Development Minister Christian Paradis 'We have to think outside the box'

Photo by Dyanne Wilson

Christian Paradis has been Canada's development minister since July 2013. He is also the minister responsible for the Francophonie. He was first elected to the House of Commons as an MP from Mégantic-L'Erable in Quebec. He has served as secretary of state for agriculture (2007), minister of public works (2008), minister of natural resources (2010), and minister of industry (2011) until he began his current job). He has a graduate degree in corporate law from Université Laval. He sat down with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell, to discuss his current job.

DM: What's a typical day in your job?

CP: My days are never the same. You never know and especially in this portfolio. It's international stuff, so things evolve. I have to do my best to keep connected with the issues and make sure I accomplish what I am tasked to do. My priority is always to be optimal with transparency, accountability and providing results. So basically, in terms of development, this is what I keep in mind.

DM: You would have days when you're sitting in the House of Commons, or at your office in Hull. You'd have days when you're in your riding and then days when you're travelling around the world.

CP: When we're sitting, there's more of a routine. We have regular hours with Question Period and cabinet committees. When we're not sitting, I take the opportunity to spend my working days in the riding or to travel internationally. I use those days to accomplish both. I always begin the summer with a tour of my riding. My riding is 6,000 square kilometres, 49 municipalities, three counties. This is a lot of people. I always say to my colleagues from Montreal and Toronto, 'I have to walk more than a block to cover my riding.' I have to drive more than three hours by car and this region, compared to other ridings, is populated everywhere. So it's a lot of road to travel.

After the riding tour, there are some

holidays and after that, I do some round tables. I love to consult. I do round tables not only here in Ottawa, but also when I'm abroad. When I was in Mexico at the Global Partnership for Development, I held a round table. Same thing in Nigeria. It's a good opportunity because there are a lot of stakeholders at those meetings.

DM: You've been minister for about a year now. Were you in the portfolio when they folded CIDA into DFATD?

CP: I wasn't. *The Budget Implementation Act* was adopted in June 2013. I took the job right after that.

DM: You've been overseeing the change, then?

CP: Yes. We're in the middle of the implementation process. There have been some changes but we need to continue. We announced some changes in the 'countries of focus,' so this is part of the new direction. We're trying to have a more comprehensive and integrated approach.

DM: How has the change gone from a bureaucratic standpoint?

CP: I think it's been good so far. Last year, in Montreal, at the Chamber of Commerce, I talked about seeking more partnerships, more involvement from the private sector, more innovation, new ways to do things. And frankly, I would say the officials were enthusiastic about supporting me. After that, we needed to make some changes. We went ahead with the new countries of focus. I think that's been well received.

We have to look beyond the aid and ask how it will be translated at some point into trade. I'm talking about the development side. Humanitarian aid is humanitarian and we have to be there regardless, but in terms of development, [we need to ask:] How can we translate it? This is why I hold round tables. I had an interesting one in Mexico because the civil society groups had some criticism in the past and now, more and more, they're saying 'Hey, we aren't against the private sector. We can be complementary.' Having consultations and being part of summits like the Global Partnership for Development — in Durban, South Africa — you can see that there is an enthusiasm there and I would say, so far so good.

When we look at the official development assistance (ODA), we have to take into account that remittances from the diaspora are worth four times more than we [spend] in ODA. And the foreign direct investments are five times more. This is a lot of money coming out of Canada. We need to be creative and see how we can seek more opportunities and be more strategic. Officials seem to be very happy with this direction and how it connects with economic diplomacy and the global market action plan.

With our countries of focus, we look at need, but we also have to be strategic. There is a connection now, more and more, between development, foreign affairs and trade and you can see that my colleague John Baird is very vocal on things like early forced marriage [girls forced to get married against their will.] That is in line with what we try to do with development, child protection, education, keeping girls at school and then giving women opportunities to go into business for themselves, for example.

DM: What are your priorities from today, leading up to the election next year?

CP: I have to be in line with what I am tasked to do, so it's about getting results, and there's accountability, transparency. I think we can also do more in Canada in terms of branding and recognition and I think what the prime minister did with maternal, newborn and child health (MNCH) is a great example. This is a flagship project. We are recognised all over the world for it and we need to push this. This is a priority of the government so we'll be active on this and support the prime minister. I also pay a lot of attention to the whole lost-generation initiative — what's going on in central Africa,

Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. I work closely with UNICEF and other stakeholders to make sure Canada is very supportive. The last announcement we had was in Jordan for Syria. [This donation of \$50 million was to help mitigate the threat of chemical weapons; help Jordanian security forces manage the non-humanitarian aspects of the influx of Syrian refugees, and contribute to Jordan's counter-terrorism capacity.]

DM: How important are the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDG)? [These range from halving extreme poverty rates to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, all by the target date of 2015.]

CP: I have to keep [the MDGs] in mind, but I go right along with what the prime minister said about keeping the focus on a small number of goals instead of being spread out everywhere. We have to be focused to get results. With official development assistance, there will be a gap if I recall correctly, of about \$2 trillion in terms of development projects yet to be financed. We have to think outside the box.

I was happy to be nominated as chair of a committee that will redesign financial tools for the post-2015 goals. [It's a committee made up of representatives from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and World Economic Forum and it will promote a more systematic approach to testing and scaling financial innovations. It will work with capital from philanthropists, private and commercial investors and development institutions.]

DM: What about Ban Ki-moon's recent comment that Canada needs to get closer to giving 0.7 percent of GDP to developing countries?

CP: I always remind people that we are

in the poorest countries. I don't want to create a debate of such indicators per se, but we are where the needs are highest and I think we do make a difference. Instead of relying on macro-statistics, we go by getting results and I think the difference we can make with MNCH, being in the 10 poorest countries in the world, I think it makes a difference and I think this is what Canadian taxpayers want. After that, what can we do to leverage post-2015? We need to go beyond traditional ODA. Instead of having a one-track mind, we have to look wider than this. I remind Canadians that I understand the indicator is there, but I think we have to go with getting results and doing more with less.

DM: Proponents of the 0.7 indicator would say 'yes, we want to maximize our investments, doing more with less, but we still want that dollar figure.' Is this something you don't see happening? **CP:** I don't see it happening because we can do more in a more effective way by doing it differently. I think we have to rely on the innovative financial tools. Some countries are way ahead of us so we need to rethink it. Instead of going on a project-by-project basis, we can have these tools and have the major global players around the table with us. As chair [of this new WEF/OCED committee], it's a great opportunity for Canada to put things in good shape.

DM: Why did you recently add five countries to your countries-of-focus list? **CP**: We used to have 20 countries of focus [receiving] 80 percent of the resources in our bilateral program. We looked at the needs, but things have evolved over the last five years. Given some pressure in some regions of the world, given the needs, what we are already doing with the MNCH initiative, it was wise for



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us to come back and say 'Let's have 25 countries of focus with 90 percent of the resources.' We were already kind of doing this and I think this is good in terms of recognition. Once again, we think we can make a difference in these countries and we are among their largest donors. I think it was important for us to send the signal there is a focus there, because we want to make a difference and we can make a difference.

DM: Is it right to choose aid recipients based on their 'alignment with Canada's foreign policy priorities?' And what does that mean, exactly?

CP: I come back to this: On the foreign affairs side, with diplomacy, we want to make sure we're enabling a good environment in a particular country, so human rights, doing business, predictability. After that, it goes to the trade side. We have our double-market action plan and then, of course, from the development side, the top indicator is the need. This is a series of criteria that we combine and then we ended up with these 25 countries of focus. The alignment is crucial. One might say we want to make a difference, so we expect these countries to have the

same kind of values. If we want to make a difference, we have to be [on the same wavelength.]

DM: Can you name a country that hasn't received funding because of a misalignment?

CP: I always remind our people that we're talking about development and people can confuse humanitarian aid and development. We put a lot of money in Afghanistan in terms of humanitarian aid, because there was a lot of need. The question is appropriate and this is why we review it every five years. We hope we'll have the same countries of focus in five years, but some countries have had to be dropped. Pakistan, it's a matter of security, for example. [Pakistan had been a country of focus and was dropped recently from the new list of 25.]

DM: What is the difference between a country of focus and a development partner country?

CP: Our countries of focus are places where we are among the largest donors. We're there because we think we can make a difference. It sends a signal of predictability. The developing partner

countries: There are some countries in which we have a lot of big programs, but the difference is more modest.

I will require each country of focus to sign a mutual accountability framework agreement. We have one now with Sénégal. There are 24 more to be signed — some are in the negotiation process. They include [agreement on] governance, accountability and transparency.

A lot of questions are being asked about Haiti. It's a fragile state, the needs are tremendous, but we will have to have this framework.

DM: I noticed there are several emerging economies on the list of 25, namely Ghana and Sénégal. Will they stay on the list if they continue to thrive economically?

CP: The needs are still there. We don't know if they'll be there in five years, but if their economies thrive and the needs are less, well, mission accomplished. An interesting country now is Myanmar. They've been insulated for decades and now you have a major switch there. This is interesting.

DM: How does Canada decide when to



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respond to international humanitarian crises and once it decides to respond, how does it decide how much to give? **CP**: We go with an assessment by a trusted partner, like the Red Cross and other players like that. The Red Cross is the one with whom we worked for the typhoon in the Philippines.

We attend donor conferences to get the macro picture and we watch for appeals and monitor the UN response. This is how we will make up our minds and say 'OK, we will go.' When we have the whole picture, then in the department, we will look at where and with whom we will invest. We consider how we can ensure the money will go where the needs are. So, of course, we will work with trusted partners. It's a serious issue in Syria, so we use trusted partners like the Aga Khan Foundation. This will have an impact because then they will submit their project.

DM: Canada is ranked 8th in the world for transparency in aid. How do you improve that number?

CP: I'm proud to be 8th, but I think we can do better and we will explore the ways. Sometimes there are legal requirements that you can't disclose information because a partner won't give consent. So I asked my department to review the process.

I'm trying to find a balance to ensure we're as transparent as we can be without jeopardising a contribution for these partners. So what is the fine line? It's always a challenge, but I intend to address this issue as much as I can, for sure.

DM: It's often said that aid helps stabilise developing countries. What country on the list of 25 is top-of-mind in that context?

CP: That's a good question. I think they are all critical. It's so subjective. It depends what angle you take. Haiti and Afghanistan are fragile states now and then you go after that to Jordan. Some say Jordan is a low-to-middle-income country, but the pressure they have now is terrifying. This is why we decided to put Jordan in the countries of focus. This is a matter of subjectivity. When you go to Africa, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the mortality rates are very high in terms of MNCH, so once again it's another angle. They all have their issues that we consider it's crucial for us to support. It's where we think we can make a difference and get results.





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More than a million, one event at a time

Photo by Lois Siegel

mbassador Ray Bassett and his wife, Patricia, are the embodiment of what this article features in every issue: Diplomats helping the greater community of Ottawa.

Since they arrived in 2010, they have helped more than 30 organisations raise \$1.25 million. While there have been many different charities, they have concentrated on those with a medical focus.

They've helped raise money for the Charles Logue Dermatology Centre at the Ottawa Hospital and a Cyberknife facility at the Civic site. They've worked with the 3C Foundation, which raises money for those with colitis, Crohn's disease and colorectal cancer; they've helped TIPES, which focuses on children with problems such as autism.

In addition, they've supported Cornerstone, which provides shelter for vulnerable women; Project North, which provides hockey equipment to First Nations children in the North; and Ottawa Hospice Care at May Court.

Naturally, a big element of their public diplomacy has involved working with Irish Canadian organisations, such as the Irish Society in Ottawa; the Irish Women's Network; the School of Irish Studies at Concordia University; the Ireland Canada Chamber of Commerce in Ottawa and The Rose of Tralee.

The couple has also helped cultural organisations raise funds. Those include the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra; Thirteen Strings Orchestra; Comhaltas (an



Patricia Bassett and Irish Ambassador Ray Bassett with Joan Kellett at the Shamrock Tea, a fundraiser for TIPES, which supports children with Autism Spectrum Disorders. The Bassetts have helped raise more than \$1.25 million for various Ottawa charities.

Irish cultural group) and the Honens International Piano Competition.

"While it may seem like a major undertaking, it is also something we both have thoroughly enjoyed and which has greatly enriched our time in Ottawa," the genial ambassador said.

When he arrived in 2010, he "inherited" a residence in which Irish taxpayers had invested heavily.

"I was determined to use it not only for embassy functions, but also for the benefit of the local community," he said. "The building had received adverse publicity in Canada and Ireland before I arrived. I was determined to change that perception by showing that the new facility had not only greatly added to the effectiveness of the embassy's role, but also was a facility that could be used for good causes within the wider community."

And, he said, there are also tangible benefits for the embassy in terms of soft diplomacy.

Mr. Bassett said it was very important to give back to any community in which he's posted, but particularly Ottawa because the connections between Ireland and Ottawa are so close.

"Ireland and Canada are very close in ethnic terms — 4.6 million Canadians claimed some Irish ancestry in the 2011 census — and the relationship between the countries has always been based on kinship," he said. \square





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A loving home for every child

By Nicole Sheffield

t 5 a.m. on a school day, 14-yearold Ottilia wakes up and makes breakfast at her home in SOS Children's Village Ondangwa, Namibia.

Ottilia did not always live in a caring home. Only three years ago, she was underweight and sleeping under trees. Abandoned by her birth parents at an early age, Ottilia was taken in by her grandmother and aunt, who were also unable to support her properly.

"At that time, I was a street kid," says Ottilia in her hushed voice, frequently pausing when remembering her life before SOS. She knows all too well the growing need for loving, caring homes as she experienced a life of poverty first-hand: "If I had not come to the SOS Village, maybe I would be dead by now."

Her story is not unlike those of thousands of children who have also benefited from SOS Children's Villages over the past several decades. Sixty-five years ago, an Austrian medical student named Hermann Gmeiner saw children who had been orphaned and abandoned in postwar Europe and was compelled to help them. His solution was novel: Don't put these children in an orphanage; let them grow up with a mother and a family of siblings. With that, SOS Children's Villages was born.

Working in 133 countries around the world, SOS Children's Villages provides homes to orphaned and abandoned children in which to grow up in family units. These children are raised by an "SOS Mother," a fully trained local woman who takes them as her own. The children are raised as a family in an SOS Children's Village until they are old enough to transition to independent living as adults.

These Children's Villages are places that orphaned and abandoned children can call home: a place where their needs for food, health, shelter and education are met in a culturally sensitive environment. The children are raised according to their own background and religion, while encouraged to be respectful of other values and beliefs within the village. SOS Children's Villages also ensures that biological siblings are kept together.

"SOS Children's Villages does more than simply give kids a place to live. We give them a family; a loving home with a mother and siblings, as well as a supporting village," explains Boyd McBride,



Ottilia with two of her siblings in the SOS Children's Village in Ondangwa, Namibia.

president and CEO of SOS Children's Villages Canada. "Through the dedication of our Canadians sponsors, we are working to ensure that no child is alone again."

Ottilia's village is no exception. Currently, 109 children have found a loving home in the Green Family SOS Village in Ondangwa, which was named after donors Don and Shirley Green of Brockville, Ont. The impact of SOS Children's Villages' work in Ondangwa extends well beyond the village. SOS also benefits nearly 400 more children and families throughout the region with a kindergarten and a family-strengthening program that works directly with families in the surrounding community. This program provides skills training, parenting classes and other projects to help families care for and protect their children from the start. The goal of this is to prevent families in need from

abandoning their children.

"The solution to child abandonment isn't in running 'children's homes' or 'orphanages,' but in creating families and helping families to thrive," Mr. Mc-Bride says. "That's been our model for 65 years."

Today, Ottilia is the eldest in her SOS family and is known for helping her SOS mother take care of the house. Ottilia leads and guides the younger ones responsibly and prepares the weekly shopping list on her own. "When I am a teacher, I can support my own family," Ottilia says. She has already made plans for the family she intends to have in the future, with two children and a pet dog.

Nicole Sheffield is a volunteer for SOS Children's Villages. For more information visit soschildrensvillages.ca

Albania, no better time to invest and explore



By Elida Petoshati Ambassador of Albania

Randing Albania is the newest major initiative launched by the Albanian government to promote our country's identity in the world market. StrawberryFrog, the company that won the project through an open international competition, has already submitted its slogan, "Albania, go your own way" and is building its strategy to promote our tourism, investments and intellectual potential, along with our national identity.

Albania is largely known as the land of sunny days and long, gorgeous coastal shores. It boasts four ports and a friendly, well-educated young population. It is also rich in natural and mineral resources and biodiversity. In short, Albania offers boundless opportunity.

Although a relatively small country geographically, its location at the crossroads of water and energy corridors makes it a potential trading hub for South-East Europe. After two decades of rapid development, it has become a highly attractive, growing market with stable economic, political and legal structures, as well as a liberalised economic framework and good conditions for doing business. Its businessfriendly regulatory environment complies with European Union legislation.

Albania's economic freedom score is 66.9, making its economy 54th among 178 countries ranked in the 2014 Index. Over the past year, its overall score has increased by 1.7 points, with notable improvements in investment and trade freedom. Albania is ranked 25th among the 43 countries in the European region, and its overall score is above the world average. The implementation of wide-ranging economic reforms is also contributing



Canada's Petromanas operates in Albania.

to the country's broader socio-economic development and its ultimate aspiration: accession to the European Union.

Promoting trade and tourism through economic diplomacy is at the core of Albania's foreign service and our embassy in Ottawa is no exception in this mission.

While the overall Albanian-Canadian relationship grows ever stronger, we are focused on increasing business opportunities for Canadian companies in Albania and Albanian companies in Canada, as our diaspora here continues to grow in numbers, energy and capability. Strengthening the investment potential has resulted in an effective and close economic partnership between the two countries.

Though the volume of commercial exchange has not yet met our expectations, our job of forging closer economic co-operation is made easier by the Canadian presence in the oil and mining industry. Canada's exports to Albania in 2012 amounted to more than \$45 million, with machinery, iron and steel products, medical instruments and tools among the top exports. Canadian imports from Albania totalled \$5.25 million, mainly in footwear, iron and steel products, apparel and grain. Our hope is to expand that to include authentic Albanian products, such as our fresh bio-agricultural products, special olive oils and wines, medicinal plants and handicrafts. Further, our imports from Canada could include more biogenetics, raw materials and information technology.

Beyond these modest figures and better targeting of products for our trade balance, Canada's approach towards the Albanian market is diversifying and expanding. For the third year in a row, Canada is our largest foreign investor, with an overall contribution amounting to \$850 million. Canada is now looking at Albania as a gateway to the Western Balkans and the region in general. Quite apart from the investment impact, the presence of Canadian companies such as Bankers Petroleum, Petromanas, Hydro-Québec and others helped bring along other investors.

Albania is the fourth country in South-East Europe to have successfully concluded an agreement for the promotion and protection of investments with Canada, to be signed soon. This agreement will help extend and diversify the investment potential, as both economies have many other areas in which the other country's companies could invest and generate greater benefits for both. Canadians are known worldwide for their standards of excellence, corporate social responsibility and sustainability. I believe this is the best time for them to explore an attractive and safe environment such as ours for their investments in Albania.

Our desire to stimulate growth of co-operation and bring more Canadian investors to Albania is also based on the fact that the focus for future development of the Albanian economy will remain in attracting FDIs, especially in sectors where there is unexploited potential in terms of natural resources. We will also seek to develop sectors not yet performing to their full potential, such as renewable energy, tourism, agribusiness, infrastructure and services.

Foreign Minister John Baird's recent visit solidified our resolve for further economic co-operation and two-way investment.

Strengthening our economic ties and opening up new trade paths with Canada wouldn't be complete without Canadians visiting our shores, enjoying our exceptional cultural and spiritual heritage, including our three UNESCO World Heritage Sites, as well as the diversity of flavours and tastes that make Albania an irresistible destination for tourism and a pleasant place to do business.

Elida Petoshati is ambassador of Albania to Canada. Reach her at Elida.Petoshati@ mfa.gov.al or (613) 667-9667.

Finland and Canada – northern partners



By Charles Murto Ambassador of Finland

■inland and Canada share many similarities that bring us closer despite our geographic distance. Both are Northern and Arctic democracies with common values, good governance, wealthy economies, highly educated workforces, an entrepreneurial spirit and a strong belief in the rule of law. We share similar interests and work together in international forums, including the United Nations and the Arctic Council, which Canada is currently chairing and which Finland is set to chair beginning in the spring of 2017. In addition, Finns and Canadians have a similar mentality, evidenced by our common passion for ice hockey.

Despite all of this, there is room for improvement when it comes to trade between the two countries. In 2013, the trade balance between Finland and Canada was heavily favourable to Finland: Finnish exports to Canada totalled \$1.1 billion, accounting for 1 percent of the country's total exports, while Canadian exports to Finland amounted to just \$350 million.

The products and goods moving between the two countries are, for the most part, similar. Finland's primary exports to Canada are renewable fuels such as diesel, machinery and machine parts, electronics, instruments and nickel ores. Finland's imports from Canada include petroleum and oil products, motor vehicles and motor vehicle parts, ores and minerals, as well as instruments and apparatus, especially for telecommunications. It's worth mentioning, however, that the Finnish gaming industry's significant exports to and operations in Canada do not appear in these statistics. For example, few Canadians



The Finnish-made icebreaker Sampo

know that the video game Angry Birds is a Finnish creation. Trade in services is also not reflected.

Investments between the countries are also rather lopsided. Finnish direct investments to Canada were more than \$2.5 billion, with the chemicals industry, forestry, IT, bio-energy and health care taking the lion's share. For example, a Finnish company manufactures high-tech plastic polyethylene pipes of many sizes in Ontario and Saskatoon, not only for the Canadian market, but also for export to the U.S.

Meanwhile, Canada invested just \$120 million in Finland, 0.02 percent of Canada's total foreign direct investments. Nearly all Canadian investments in Finland were made by a select few, but important mining companies such as Agnico-Eagle Mines, which operates mines in the Finnish Lapland. Canadian investors have a good reputation in Finland and further investments are encouraged.

Considering the similarities between Finland and Canada, our northern location, our highly developed economies and our shared economic interests, from forestry to high-tech, the possibilities for co-operation are endless. One of the most interesting is Arctic expertise. Finnish businesses have developed numerous solutions that can be very useful in building up Canada's northern infrastructure.

Currently, the Arctic region is undergoing a number of rapid, conflicting developments. The effects of global warming are seen more dramatically in the North than anywhere else. New transport routes are opening up; energy resources and minerals are being developed and tourism is on the increase. The interest in developing the Arctic region on one hand, and the importance of safeguarding the region's very delicate environment and the rights of the local population on the other, means demand for Arctic expertise is on the rise.

Finland and Finnish companies have longstanding experience in operating in Arctic conditions. Finns have outstanding knowledge of winter navigation: Finnish ice-reinforced vessels have been operating for decades in the challenging Baltic Sea and the Arctic. Finland is also the leading manufacturer of state-of-the-art Polar icebreakers. Furthermore, innovative energy solutions, clean technologies, infrastructure suitable for harsh Arctic conditions and reliable, high-capacity information networks and digital services are instrumental in boosting economic activity in the Arctic. As in all science, research, technology and innovation-related areas, there is a chance for great co-operation here.

As stated before, the huge potential in trade relations between Finland and Canada is increasingly evident. We enjoy an excellent relationship and have great respect for each other. We co-operate effectively on all government levels and in several international forums. The investment and trade standards are similar in both countries and there are few barriers to trade.

It is also worth noting that the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) between Canada and its secondlargest trading partner — the European Union — is in final negotiations. CETA will practically eliminate tariffs and other barriers, thus providing a significant boost to trade between the EU and Canada, obviously including Finland as an EU member state.

Existing Finland-Canada trade relations are good and potential for the future seems bright indeed. But it won't happen automatically. Both sides must get people involved so new business deals can be negotiated. Our governments, embassies and diplomats have an important role in developing solutions to facilitate Finnish-Canadian co-operation and business-tobusiness contacts. For myself, I see this as a top priority.

Charles Murto is ambassador of Finland to Canada. Reach him at Charles.Murto@ formin.fi or (613) 288-2233.

Angola: A country rebounding, onward and upward



By Agostinho Tavares da Silva Neto Ambassador of Angola

ngola is recovering nicely after years of conflict. Its priority economic sectors include agriculture, construction and infrastructure, power generation, water, sanitation, mining, oil and gas, social housing and tourism.

The country's post-conflict reconstruction needs are vast, a situation that should be harnessed by developed nations such as Canada. It has needs in all of the sectors listed above, and, when it comes to infrastructure, Angola's specific requirements include engineering, railway rehabilitation and highway construction. Angola also needs help in manufacturing and obtaining equipment to facilitate electric power operations and services, as well as those for oil and gas.

The oil sector remains the cornerstone of our economy, contributing 45 percent of GDP and 90 percent of foreign exchange earnings. Angola is Africa's second-largest oil producer, with an output of between 1.5 million and 1.9 million barrels per day over the past few years. The Angolan government has used those revenues and resources to stabilise the economy and reduce inflation.

Angola is part of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), a regional economic grouping that seeks to promote socio-economic co-operation and integration as well as political and security co-operation among 15 southern African states. The SADC's mission complements the role of the African Union.

As mentioned, the Angolan economy is highly concentrated on extractive industries, predominantly oil and gas, but also mining (specifically, diamonds). Diamond production is likely to grow by 25 percent this year, to exceed 10 million carats,



An off-shore petrol platform in Luanda, Angola

thanks to two new exploration projects.

As outlined in the National Plan of Geology (Planageo), Angola hopes to attract investment and sustainable exploration of its mining resources over the next century.

Angola also seeks to invest heavily in the development of the country, particularly with respect to infrastructure development, power generation, agricultural development and mining. Several Canadian companies have shown interest in Angola on projects in such sectors as energy, water, health, education, agriculture, fisheries, transportation, information and communications technology (ICT).

Diplomatic relations between Canada and Angola were established in 1978 and have grown steadily since the end of the Angola's civil war in 2002. Canada's embassy for Angola is based in Zimbabwe, and it has a consulate in Luanda, headed by an honorary consul.

To ensure Canada is well positioned to participate in Angola's economic development, a dedicated trade presence has also been established through the Canada Trade Office in Johannesburg, South Africa. Angola, meanwhile, has had a resident embassy in Ottawa since 1997.

With Angola's assurance of sustainable peace and a democratic environment, Canada has focused on trade, particularly in the extractive industries sector. But Angola is also experiencing rapid economic growth with opportunities for bilateral engagement, including trade and investment, emerging in this dynamic market. In 2004, the two governments signed a joint declaration of intent on strengthened bilateral relations to enhance trade and investment ties and to strengthen political dialogue and co-operation in good governance and public-sector capacity building.

When it comes to raw numbers, twoway merchandise trade fell slightly to \$1.63 billion in 2013, consisting of \$80 million in Canadian exports to Angola, and \$1.55 billion in Angolan imports to Canada.

Canada exports mainly vegetables, textiles and meat to Angola while the bulk of Angola's exports to Canada — accounting for a full \$1.5 billion — were fuels and oils. Other items Canada imported included stone, plaster and cement products.

To boost the commercial ties between both countries, Canada proposed in 2010 that the two countries sign a Foreign Investment Protection Agreement (FIPA). That option is currently under review by the Angolan government.

Some Canadian companies are already investing in Angola. SNC-Lavalin is currently completing the rehabilitation of the existing spillway and road-bridge of the Matala Dam, in Angola's Huila province. The project started in 2011 and is scheduled to be completed in early 2015. It employs 400 Angolan citizens — making up 65 percent of the project's workforce — and is expected to cost \$277 million at completion.

With an attractive market of 20.9 million consumers, Angola will continue to grow over the next 15 to 20 years. It is a market Canadian entrepreneurs should consider.

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Reforming the EU from the German perspective



FIRST NAME: Werner
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hese days, there is even more hustle and bustle in Brussels than usual. After the election of the European Parliament in May, important personnel decisions are due, and the public eagerly awaits any reaction — be it from heads of government or from European Union officials — as to who will obtain which position. But these questions should not cover up the substantial topics that ought to be addressed.

In the last 60 years, the European Union has brought about freedom, wealth and democracy to an unprecedented extent. And it is not only the European economies that benefit from the liberties of the European common market, but also the European citizens who enjoy freedom of movement and the unimpeded flow of goods and services. However, there is still room for additional co-ordination between the member states.

Germany takes the view that the European Union is a vitally necessary agent in more than just the economic realm. It is true that the EU is not designed to intervene in each and every sector and should not exceed the limits deliberately set by the member states. But within its assigned range of tasks, the EU should be actively engaged and should provide for joint solutions supported by all member states. Coherence is one of the key factors in allowing the European Union to play an important role within the member states as well as on the international level.

The European Union is based on the principle of the member states' equality. Germany does not disregard suggestions of political clout based on its economic advancement, and we do not hide from this responsibility. But we are also fully aware equal partner within the European Union and we do believe that close co-operation with all member states is in everyone's interest. As part of the European Union, Germany acts within this extraordinary

of our role as an

and meaningful framework.

Recent developments show how important such joint actions are. Data security and the protection of privacy constitute one area in which harmonised standards are urgently needed. The directive in place entered into force in 1995 and thus reflects technological development and views that are outdated. Moreover, the directive was not implemented in a uniform way in all member states. The European Parliament already approved the European Commission's proposal for a new General Data Protection Regulation, which strengthens individuals' control over their personal

data, especially for the transmission of data to third countries. Germany endorses the unified and strong data protection rules set out by the regulation. With more than 500 million consumers, unified standards for data protection are inevitable. But the protection of privacy does not only relate to private companies, it is also a matter for the public sector. Therefore, Germany advocates an opening clause to issue or retain stricter rules on data protection in public administration. Furthermore, consent to data processing is one of the central elements of data protection laws. Conditions to consent should be specified to ensure consent is given explicitly, voluntarily and under informed conditions. We strongly believe it is in all member countries' interest to ensure a high level of data protection.

In a more general context, reforms concerning the structure of the EU itself should not be put on the shelf, either. Europe has already made progress on its way to stability and growth, but the EU has to strengthen its laws to prevent further risks to the currency union.

The economic crisis revealed that the foundations of growth and wealth in Europe have to be consistently secured and rearranged. The European Banking



In the last 60 years, the European Union has brought about freedom, wealth and democracy to an unprecedented extent, but there is still room for additional co-ordination between the member states.

DIPLOMATIC AGENDA | DIPLOMATICA

Authority is only the first step towards a comprehensive regulation of the financial markets. The next step will include a harmonised mechanism for the liquidation of banks.

The EU needs to develop a true economic and monetary union in order to be able to address the upcoming economic challenges. Economic stability in the member states also hinges upon competitiveness. We need to consolidate the budgets and enhance the Common Market, especially when it comes to the freedom of movement of workers. Future investment to provide for a solid European job market and reduce unemployment, which spreads especially among youths, is crucial for economic development and social cohesion in the EU.

Last, but not least, we have to optimise value-added chains by investing in research, innovation and key technologies.

The spirit of reform has also entered into recent elections to the European Parliament. Parliament's new role to elect the European Commission's president bolsters its position within the EU and thereby strengthens this genuinely European body, consisting of directly elected



German Chancellor Angela Merkel

representatives from all member states. The European Union requires such strong European institutions, together with strong member states, to represent our joint interests in the world. In Germany, the election turnout showed that considerably more voters cast their vote than in 2009, thereby backing up their firm belief in Europe as our common future.

Germany congratulates Jean Claude Juncker on his election as the next EU Commission president and welcomes his election success, particularly in view of the fact that he represents the majority political group in the European Parliament. We trust in Mr. Juncker's competence and ability to represent not only those who voted for him, but all European citizens.

We do understand the criticism that was voiced over voting procedures and we share the desire for reforms in many areas. Consequently, these reforms should be addressed jointly. Germany and Great Britain share the same values and have the same overall agenda, primarily that of a strong, competitive European Union. Great Britain is a highly valued partner in international politics, which often paves the way for constructive co-operation. The European Union needs a strong Great Britain with a strong voice inside the EU.

Challenges that the EU and its member states face today come from inside and outside the Union. We firmly believe that all member states need a stable and solid union to handle these challenges and to achieve our common goals of growth and competitiveness.

Werner Wnendt is Germany's ambassador to Canada.



Africa's growing dependence on China



Robert I. Rotberg

frica's survival depends on China. At the very least, sub-Saharan Africa's rapid GDP growth rates an estimated 6.3 percent this year and 5.1 percent last — rely on continued strong demand from China (growing this year at about 7.6 percent) for the vast commodity resources of the continent.

Africa has an abundance of the petroleum, natural gas, coal, iron ore, ferrochrome, copper, cobalt, cadmium, zinc, lead, diamonds, gold and coltan (a metallic ore used in electronics) that China desperately needs to feed its industries and satisfy domestic consumption and exports to profitable European and North American consumer markets. When Canadians purchase computers, cellphones, video games, inexpensive clothing, blankets, flip-flops and Christmas ornaments (among many other items that are often manufactured in China), they help Africa prosper.

Africa also supplies China with tropical hardwoods, soybeans and maize grown on Chinese-leased farms, fish taken legally and illegally from African waters, shoes made in Ethiopia from Ethiopian leather, carvings, wool fabrics from Mauritius, and, illicitly, ivory from endangered African elephant tusks and horns removed from the dwindling stock of endangered black and white rhinoceroses.

China, in turn, sends Africans cheap consumer goods, poultry, tourists, communications, farm and construction equipment, hats, televisions and a variety of technologically advanced items. But the balance of trade tips relentlessly in Africa's favour.

Overall, total trade both ways between Africa and China amounted to about \$200 billion last year, dwarfing European (\$137 billion) and American (\$85 billion) trade totals in 2013. Take Tanzania, a mediumsized country with which China has long had trade relations and which possesses



China has built and donated the skyscraper headquarters of the African Union in Addis Ababa; it's a symbolic example of China's influence in Africa.

very little oil and few other minerals: In 2013, China-Tanzanian trade amounted to \$2.47 billion. U.S.-Tanzanian trade in the same year totalled \$360 million despite tariff provisions for Tanzanian manufactured goods arriving in the U.S.

But China's importance to Africa is as much due to what it builds as to what it buys. The colonial rulers of sub-Saharan Africa provided a basic infrastructure to most of their African dependencies before departing (or being pushed out) in the 1960s. Railways, roads, water and sanitation systems, airports and control towers, schools, hospitals, energy-generating facilities, and much more, were constructed in the colonies, often on the back of African taxes and exploited African labour. After independence, many sub-Saharan African countries greatly expanded their physical stock. Some constructed huge dams to provide hydropower, others focused on road improvements and schools; some

built hospitals where none had hitherto existed, still others extended their rail networks or built refineries and upgraded airports.

That burst of energetic African construction petered out as commodity prices slumped, corruption escalated and foreign exchange reserves dwindled. Thus, for much of the undemocratic decades of the last century, and even more recently, most African nations failed to invest or reinvest in their fundamental infrastructures. Their urban water pipes corroded and leaked, as happened in Harare; their coal-fired electricity plants decayed, or their rails and rail ties became weak and unstable, as happened on the line from Lagos to Kano, Nigeria, or from Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to Kabwe, Zambia.

About six years ago, when China's drive to acquire African resources, especially oil, became obsessive, so it began to help Africans refurbish and upgrade what had by then become an infrastructure much too limited and unreliable to serve the growing general and more assertive new middle class populations of sub-Saharan Africa.

China has been building and rebuilding the roads of Africa: the new ring road around Nairobi, the lakeshore road in Malawi, highways from south to north in Nigeria, and so on - almost everywhere. Chinese authorities reconstructed the Tazara railway between Tanzania and Zambia (originally laid by China in the 1970s), totally rehabilitated the old Portuguese rail line between the Congolese and Zambian copperbelts and the Angolan port of Lobito, and upgraded several Nigerian rail lines. They are building a new railway between Mombasa and northwestern Kenya and northern Uganda (where there are oil deposits) and they are finishing a rail line between Addis Ababa and Djibouti.

China has constructed ports on both sides of Africa and on its offshore islands, soccer stadiums, party headquarters, hospitals, scientific research centres, municipal waste depots and thermal power plants. China has even built and donated the skyscraper headquarters of the African Union in Addis Ababa. China has extended airports, supplied control towers, given satellite receiving stations and laid pipelines (as in the Sudan and South Sudan). Overall, it has responded to Africa's requests with alacrity, bidding well and mostly successfully, for construction contracts.

In no sector have the Chinese been more critical than in the construction of dams to provide hydropower for local industry, local consumption and potential export. China is busily building the dams that the World Bank and other Western donors have disdained on account of serious environmental concerns or disagreements with host governments about economic viability. China has gone ahead and constructed dams regardless, especially very suspect projects in eastern Mozambique, western Nigeria, central Ghana, eastern Gabon, eastern Republic of Congo, southern Ethiopia, the northern Sudan, central Zambia and western Uganda.

The Grand Renaissance Dam across the Blue Nile River in Ethiopia will flood 1,700 square kilometres of forest and impound waters on which the Sudan and Egypt, downstream, have long depended for agriculture. In southern Ethiopia, China is funding a third Gilgel Gebe Dam across the Omo River despite World Bank



The Chinese have built a new ring road around Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, whose skyline is pictured here.

concerns that the project will adversely affect local agriculturalists and their fertile lands.

Chinese-constructed dams in neighbouring Sudan, near the second, third and fourth cataracts of the White Nile River, will destroy ancient Nubian archeological treasures and displace many thousands of people. In Mozambique, when the Chinese begin erecting the Mphanda Nkuwa Dam across the lower Zambezi River, it will accelerate downstream environmental damage by causing daily fluctuations in river levels and by reducing the natural flow of river sediments that are critical to the health of the wide Zambezi Delta.

Africans pay for all of these infrastructural improvements by pledging oil and gas shipments, copper or iron ore exports and other commodities. Sometimes China writes off the loans that undergird these endeavours; sometimes it provides soft loans and extends long lines of credit. Even if poor African countries end up paying real cash, they do obtain the new roads and other infrastructure that their expanding populations require, and some among the ruling elites profit from rents, kickbacks and tangible largesse. China, of course, always gains the access it craves, often at favourable prices. What China rarely does, however, is transfer technology to locals.

Nor does it routinely employ African

middle managers, or even foremen. Sometimes it even imports masses of pick and shovel labourers directly from China to work on the roads or down the mines. Africans have complained, but their leaders have largely been content to cut deals with China and overlook China's failures on the employment front (most sub-Saharan African countries have unemployment rates of 50 percent or more). Occasionally, China ends up controlling an industry or a commercial sector, undercutting local entrepreneurs.

There have been a few more outright failures, too: A Chinese-constructed hospital in Angola had to be torn down, a road in Zambia collapsed, a coal-fired plant in Botswana never worked well, a refinery in Cameroon polluted the atmosphere more than anticipated and a mine in Gabon produced poorly. There are others.

But China's biggest failings have been those of omission. Professing never to interfere in the politics or foreign policies of African nations, and preferring routinely to deal with the ruling classes in one African country after another, China has professed to ignore dictatorships, human rights violators and violations, corrupt practices and vast fields of injustice. In that manner, China supplied the aircraft, guns and ammunition that Sudanese government forces used to kill civilians in Darfur, Blue Nile and the Nuba Moun-

DIPLOMATICA | DEBATE



In Southern Ethiopia, China is funding a third Gilgel Gebe Dam, across this, the Omo River, despite World Bank concerns the project will adversely affect local agriculture.

tains and that Zimbabwean police and soldiers employed against their countrymen. China supports the wildly corrupt coterie that controls Angola, backs similarly distasteful regimes in Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea, consorts with unsavoury politicians in places such as Malawi and Sao Tome, and everywhere is seemingly content to let African ruling classes use Chinese largesse for themselves instead of for their countrymen.

China is bigger and wealthier, and has more leverage in negotiations than any single African country — hence the ease with which it has developed secure relations with nearly every state in sub-Saharan Africa. China also has embassies and military attachés in many more capitals than does the United States. It also supplies Confucius Institutes to several African countries, teaches Mandarin in many African cities, seeds Kenyan and other African television news with official Chinese propaganda and covers Africa on its overseas news service. These are all effective bilateral arrangements; Africa has not yet negotiated with China multilaterally, on behalf of all of Africa or at least one of the African sub-regional entities such as the 15-member ECOWAS (Economic Community of Western African States). Both options would give Africa much more leverage to influence the scope and quality of the Sino-African interaction.

The Chinese are not 21st-Century colonialists. They have not come to Africa to uplift the locals, to evangelise, to end the slave trade or to find themselves. Africa is not an existential endeavour for the Chinese, although more than one million have already decided to settle permanently in Africa as farmers, fishermen, plantation owners, bankers, educators and serial entrepreneurs. For them, it is all about profits and engines of growth.

The 19th- and 20th-Century colonialists came to Africa as a ruling, largely European, class and, in key countries, usurped valuable land to grow cash crops. Everywhere, they introduced a foreign culture to Africans. Although the Chinese who are now settling in Africa may eventually produce a Sino-African Chinese ethnicity to add to the many peoples of modern Africa, they are rarely being permitted by African governments to alienate agricultural land permanently or to acquire (rather than to purchase at world prices) the resources that are so central to contemporary Chinese-African commerce. Africans, in other words, will not again lose their patrimony.

As Africa's population soars in this century almost to equal China and India's combined, only China can supply the



Coltan, a mineral used in the production of electronics, is abundant in Africa.

income stream essential to support the enhanced social services and demographic dividend required if Africa, over the next few decades, is going to emerge from poverty and poor outcomes to take its rightful, strong position in a troubled world.

Robert I. Rotberg is a senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation and fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars. He is the founding director of Harvard Kennedy School's Program on Intrastate Conflict and president emeritus of the World Peace Foundation.

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Nobel Committee Chairman Thorbjorn Jagland presents President Barack Obama with the Nobel Prize medal and diploma during the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony at Oslo City Hall in Oslo, Norway, Dec. 10, 2009. Mr. Obama was nominated for the prize just weeks after taking office, based on a series of speeches he had made on diplomacy.

Nations and their Nobels

October is Nobel season. We look at the Top 10 countries in the race for the prestigious distinction.

By Wolfgang Depner

y the middle of October of this year, it is likely we will know all of the nominees for this year's Nobel Prizes. The announcements — and the awards themselves— have become global events, eagerly anticipated by the world's leading media and excitedly awaited by the would-be recipients. While the Nobel Prizes are not the only measures of accomplishment in their respective fields, they are arguably the most significant. Indeed, for politicians and university administrators around the world, they are badges of national honour and pride, to be flaunted in the way that some countries might brag about winning a boatload of Olympic medals or football's World Cup. In light of their timely significance, we are highlighting the Top 10 leading Nobel Prize-winning countries.

But before we get into the actual list and its methodology, we need some background on the Nobel Prizes. The origins date to the third and final will and testament of Swedish industrialist Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite. It dictates that his entire remaining estate should be used to endow "prizes to those who, during the preceding year, shall have conferred the greatest benefit to mankind," with the money going towards recognising achievements in physiology or medicine, physics, chemistry, peace and literature.

Founded in 1900, four years after Nobel's death, the Nobel Foundation started bestowing the first awards in those categories in 1901. In 1968, the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences was added. Overall, between 1901 and 2013, 851 laureates and 25 organisations have received the Nobel Prize. Of these, 74 are laureates in Economic Sciences. A small number of individuals and organisations have received a prize more than once, which means that 847 individuals and 22 organisations have received Nobels.

The Nobel Prizes are simultaneously a revealing and imperfect measure of scientific achievement and human advancement in several ways. First, they do not explicitly acknowledge mathematics, arguably the most universal of all human languages, next to music, and the basis of much of human inquiry and innovation.

Second, selectors have had a history of failing to acknowledge major breakthroughs in real time. Consider the following example. In 1905, Albert Einstein published four groundbreaking papers that revolutionised physics and our understanding of the universe. This quartet of publications included, among others, treatises on special relativity and the photoelectric effect. Yet it took the Royal Swedish Academy 16 years to recognise this work. And Einstein's case is not even the most illustrative example. Peter Higgs, the co-discoverer of the "God" particle, waited nearly half a century to see his work recognised. Granted, such delays are sometimes unavoidable, as discoveries undergo scrutiny and await confirmation. But these delays also speak to the larger point that the scientific enterprise is also subject to social pressures.

Third, the Nobel Prizes invariably recognise an impressive, but nonetheless constrained, period in human science, ingenuity and creativity. In light of all the hoopla and hype that surrounds the Nobel Prizes, it is easy to forget that modern science rests on a foundation built centuries, if not millenniums, ago in parts of the world that largely go unrecognised by this award today, such as the Middle East or China.

This comment does not mean to qualify or diminish the Nobel Prizes. It merely acknowledges that they exist within a specific context - a context largely dominated by Western ideas, thoughts and power throughout the prizes' existence. Three Western powers - the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany account for more than half (427) of the 851 individual Nobel laureates. Of the 10 countries on this list, only one - Russia - vaguely qualifies as a non-Western country. Asian powers - and Russia again vaguely qualifies as such — barely played a role in the history of the Nobel Prizes. Japan, China and India can claim 18, 11 and 7 Nobel laureates respectively, figures hardly commensurate with their respective populations, current economic power and past contributions to the sum of human knowledge. Also largely absent from the list of winners are citizens of countries from Africa and the Middle East.

Regrettably, these statistics and their interpretations have occasionally produced no small amount of less-than-intelligent punditry about the perceived vices and virtues of cultural and religious traditions. Last year, a row broke out when famed atheist Richard Dawkins suggested a link between the low number of Muslim Nobel laureates and Islam itself. Specifically, he said that "[all] the world's Muslims have fewer Nobel Prizes than Trinity College, Cambridge. They did great things in the Middle Ages, though." While technically true — according to the Guardian, the number of Muslim Nobel laureates sits at 10, a number nowhere near the number of laureates with Christian or Jewish religious backgrounds - Mr. Dawkins' analysis ignores the fact that the Nobels represent only one measure of scientific excellence.

As the Guardian's Nesrine Malik has

noted, "[the award] has only been going for a little more than a hundred years, the prizes it awards are for excellence in academic research, which is far superior in Western scientific and academic institutions due to the socioeconomic development of the north, rather than due to any inherent cultural-religious deficiency in the south — which, it should be pointed out, is made up not only of Muslims." Christian Latin America speaks to her point. Indeed, 1,000 years ago, the centres of human inquiry and ingenuity were found in Muslim cities such as Mali's Timbuktu and Iraq's Baghdad.

And yet, the Nobel Prizes have also served as a fascinating indicator. If they reflect Western dominance at large, they also speak to the leadership changes within the

IF NOBEL PRIZES REFLECT WESTERN DOMINANCE AT LARGE, THEY ALSO SPEAK TO THE LEADERSHIP CHANGES WITHIN THE WESTERN CAMP. EVEN MORE BROADLY, THEY SPEAK TO THE CONNECTION BETWEEN POLITICAL POWER AND SCIENTIFIC LEADERSHIP.

Western camp. Even more broadly, they speak to the connection between political power and scientific leadership. Broadly trace the rise and fall of great powers against their respective numbers of Nobel Prizes and you will find a matching overlap. This list tries to recognise all of these considerations.

Readers, though, should be aware of several methodological issues before going further. First, the list sorts countries by the birthplace of individual laureates, as per data provided by the Nobel Foundation. This inevitably means it fails to account for Nobel Prizes won by international organisations. This approach can also create some interesting outcomes. Henry Kissinger, who co-won the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1973, while serving as U.S. secretary of state, counts to the German total, while several laureates with "German" biographies may count towards the totals of Poland and France, thanks to changes in borders. Similar cases also exist for other countries.

The late Michael Smith, who co-won

the 1993 prize for chemistry, counts towards the British total rather than the Canadian total, even though he was living in Vancouver and working for the University of British Columbia at the time of his award. The Nobel Foundation does track the affiliation of laureates at the time of their awards, but that approach itself does not resolve the question of which country can take credit for the accomplishment. Granted, this question is arguably becoming less relevant thanks to the increasingly cosmopolitan nature of scientific research. Indeed, some organisations, such as the BBC, have recognised this reality in crediting multiple countries for laureates, in case their respective countries of birth, citizenship and affiliation vary.

Readers should also be aware of other lists that attempt to accomplish what this list aims to do. In 2013, the *Washington Post* published a list that showed far different totals than the numbers found on the official Nobel Foundation site. Several attempts to contact the writer of the piece to understand the reasons behind the differences went unanswered.

This said, the *Post's* list reads as follows (with the U.S. being No. 1) United States (347), United Kingdom (120), Germany (120), France (65), Sweden (30), Russia (27), Switzerland (26), Canada (23), Austria (22), Italy (20). So it largely overlaps with this list except for three differences — one major, two minor. First, the *Washington Post* list sees Switzerland replace Poland in the 7th spot with 26 prizes. Second, the *Washington Post* list shows Italy in 10th spot, with Canada narrowly ahead of Austria in the 9th place. Our list has Italy in 8th spot, with Canada and Austria tied for 10th.

Finally, it is also important to note the BBC's list-of-countries by Nobel laureates per capita. Its Top 10 reads as follows (with Faroe Islands being No. 1): Faroe Islands, Saint Lucia, Switzerland, Iceland, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Norway, United Kingdom and East Timor. In other words, when it comes to brains, size truly does not matter.

United States (254)

A strange obsession has captured the chattering classes of Washington. At the centre of this self-obsessed parlour game lies a question whose answer once seemed selfevident since at least the days of Alexis de Tocqueville: Are the United States "exceptional"?

The roots responsible for this fit of narcissism arguably reach back to the early



Martin Luther King Jr. received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

days of Barack Obama's presidency when he answered a question about the subject with the following statement. "I believe in American exceptionalism, just as I suspect that the Brits believe in British exceptionalism and the Greeks believe in Greek exceptionalism." After highlighting the U.S.'s commitment to constitutionalism, Obama then said: "I'm enormously proud of my country and its role and history in the world."

Subject to countless interpretations, these comments have subsequently fuelled a narrative about the role of the United States in international affairs. Is it "indispensible," to borrow a phrase from Mr. Obama, himself a Nobel Peace prize winner, or is it a nation in retreat, as his critics might claim? The answer to those questions lies beyond the mandate of this list. This said, none of the following facts is disputable: No other nation has produced more Nobel laureates than the United States, by a long shot. According to the official records, it has produced more Nobel laureates — 254 — than the next four nations on this list put together — 252. This dominance increases when we include the number of laureates who were born in other countries, but won their prizes while working in the United States. Several reasons account for this record. They include: the ability to attract the best and brightest from around the world, superior resources for scientific research and a political commitment to scientific research. This virtuous combination was especially strong in the second half of the 20th Century, when the United States emerged as the dominant geo-political power, a fact it partly owed to its scientific leadership. Only time will tell whether the United States will maintain this exceptional level as other powers emerge in the 21stCentury.

Key winners include: Robert Andrews Millikan (Physics, 1923), Owen Chamberlain (Physics, 1959, shared with Emilio Gino Segrè), Julian Schwinger and Richard P. Feynman (Physics, 1965, shared with Sin-Itiro Tomonaga), Jerome I. Friedman and Henry W. Kendall (Physics, 1990, shared with Richard E. Taylor), Steven Chu and William D. Phillips (Physics, 1997, shared with Claude Cohen-Tannoudji), Thomas H. Morgan (Medicine, 1933), Hermann J. Muller (Medicine, 1946), James Dewey Watson (Medicine, 1962, shared with Francis Crick and Maurice Hugh Frederick Wilkins), Kenneth Arrow (Economics, 1972), Milton Friedman (Economics, 1976), Woodrow Wilson (Peace, 1919), Martin Luther King Jr. (Peace, 1964) and Ernest Hemingway (Literature, 1954).

United Kingdom (93)

Two facts come into focus following a close reading of the official Nobel Prize winners since 1901. First, almost half of the 816 laureates were born in the Anglosphere, a reminder of the United Kingdom's historical influence on the course of human affairs. Second, the U.K. has managed to maintain a small but notable lead over its European competitors, Germany and France, both of which have larger populations and GDPs than the U.K. In fact, British-born scientists can claim a run of good form. From 2009 through 2013, they won or co-won three out of the five prizes in medicine. And arguably the most important discovery about the nature of the universe yet — the Higgs (or "God") particle — bears the name of an eccentric, but charming retired physics professor from Newcastle-upon-Tyne - Peter Higgs, the co-winner of the 2013 Nobel Prize for Physics with François Englert.

While Mr. Higgs' discovery needs to be put into context — others had come up with a near-identical theory when Mr. Higgs submitted his co-authored paper in



Sir Winston Churchill won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1953.

DISPATCHES | NOBELS

1964 — it is also clear that Mr. Higgs' prize gave British officialdom a chance to remind the world that British universities remain at the forefront of scientific research. Mr. Higgs, for his own part, accepted his accolades with a mix of anticipation and self-deprecating humour. While he told the Guardian he was not surprised by the Nobel Prize announcement, he also noted that no university would employ him today, because he would not be considered "productive" enough. In fact, Mr. Higgs considers his new-found fame to be a "nuisance." But his place in the pantheon of science neatly underscores the larger point that the quality of research eventually trumps quantity.

Key winners include: Lord Rayleigh (Physics, 1904), Sir William Ramsay (Chemistry, 1904), J.J. Thomson (Physics, 1906), Sir William Henry Bragg and William Lawrence Bragg (Physics, 1915), Sir Alexander Fleming (Medicine, 1945, shared with Ernst Boris Chain and Sir Howard Walter Florey), Cecil Powell (Physics, 1950), Bertrand Russell (Literature, 1950), Winston Churchill (Literature, 1953), Fredrick Sanger (Chemistry, 1958), Francis Crick and Maurice Hugh Frederick Wilkins (Medicine, 1962, shared with James Dewey Watson), Sir Peter Williams (Medicine, 2003, shared with Paul C. Lauterbur) and Sir Martin Evans (Medicine, 2007, shared with Mario R. Capecchi and Oliver Smithies).

Germany (80)

With its cobblestoned core and medieval castle looming high above the Neckar River, picturesque Heidelberg ranks among the most popular destinations for foreign visitors to Germany. But this mid-sized city, with its sweeping natural surroundings, is more than just a must-see stop for students of architecture, lovers of fine wine and misty-eyed followers of German Romanticism, the 19th-Century artistic movement that placed feelings above reason. Indeed, once upon a time not so long ago, Heidelberg stood at the centre of the global academic universe, a reputation dating back to its founding in 1386. Historically described as the country of poets and thinkers, Germany dominated the Nobel Prizes during the first three decades of the 20th Century, particularly in physics and chemistry, with much of this success owed to the University of Heidelberg and universities located in lesser-known cities such as Göttingen und Freiburg, along with Berlin.

But if Germany was the world's scien-



Albert Einstein, who won a Nobel for Physics in 1919, shown during a lecture in Vienna in 1921.

tific superpower for the opening decades of the 20th Century, it is also a cautionary example that unbridled hubris can easily turn leaders into followers. The disastrous ambition of the Nazis for racial and global domination decimated Germany's academic infrastructure, with many of its top scientists having left for foreign shores before and after the Second World War. Meanwhile, those who remained had to contend with unappealing and often justified charges of collaborating with the Nazi regime. This history, coupled with political infighting and incompetence, helps explain why universities from Europe's most populous and economically most powerful nation frequently fail to crack the Top 50 of various rankings. Germany's government has recently tried to remedy this situation through the creation of the Excellence Initiative, a program designed to create a German Ivy League. Not surprisingly, Heidelberg made the cut.

Key winners include: Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen (Physics, 1901), Robert Koch (Medicine, 1905), Max Planck (Physics, 1918), Albert Einstein (Physics, 1919), James Franck and Gustav Hertz (Physics, 1925), Werner Heisenberg (Physics, 1932), Carl Bosch (Chemistry, 1931), Otto Hahn (Chemistry, 1945), Gerhard Herzberg (Chemistry, 1971), Thomas Mann (Literature, 1929), Heinrich Böll (Literature, 1972), Willy Brandt (Peace, 1971), Gerhard Ertl (Chemistry, 2007) and Harold zur Hausen (Medicine, 2008, half share).

France (51)

Nobel-Prize-winning American economist Paul Krugman has called Capital in the Twenty-First Century by French economist Thomas Piketty "a magnificent, sweeping meditation on equality" that "will change both the way we think about society and the way we do economics." Mr. Piketty's "unified theory of inequality," in the words of Mr. Krugman, argues that income inequality increases when the rate on the return of capital greatly exceeds the rate of economic growth, as it did during the Gilded Age of the late 19th Century and as it does today. Accordingly, Mr. Piketty has called for higher tax on the wealthy. Less favourable critics, meanwhile, have accused Mr. Piketty of manufacturing data for the purpose of promoting a neo-Marxist agenda of massive state intervention and interference in the economy. Writing on his blog, American economist and Ludwig von Mises disciple George Reisman noted that Mr. Piketty's plan for global taxation on capital to combat inequality would be disastrous. "America and the world, above all the wage earners of the world," Mr. Reisman writes, "need the abolition of taxes and regulations that stand in the way of capital accumulation and the increase in production. Capital accumulation and more production, not egalitarianism and its absurd theories and programs, are the foundation of the rising living standards in general and rising real wages in particular."

Such vigorous disagreements nonetheless suggest that Mr. Piketty's critique of contemporary capitalism is a serious, groundbreaking work. In his review, Bill Clinton's former treasury secretary, Lawrence Summers, notes that Mr. Piketty's "tour de force doesn't get everything right." But he nonetheless praises Mr. Piketty for his decision to highlight the importance of inequality as an issue. "Even if none of Mr. Piketty's theories stands up," Summers writes, "the establishment of this fact has transformed political discourse and is a Nobel Prize-worthy contribution."

If Mr. Piketty does indeed receive this honour this fall, he would join an illustrious list of names that include, among others, Antoine Henri Becquerel and Pierre Curie (Physics, 1903), Frédéric Joliot and Irène Joliot-Curie (Chemistry, 1935) and Jean-Paul Sartre (Literature, 1964). Other key winners include: Jean Baptiste Perrin (Physics, 1926), Louis de Broglie (Physics, 1929), Claude Cohen-Tannoudji (Physics, 1997, with Steven Chu and William D. Phillips) and Charles Richet (Medicine, 1913).

Sweden (28)

Sweden is, of course, the home country of 19th-Century industrialist and innovator Alfred Nobel, who inspired and initiated the awards that now bear his name. This fact alone grants Sweden a special place in the politics and pageantry that accompany the awards. All Nobel Prizes are awarded in Sweden's capital, Stockholm, following deliberations by the respective Swedish committees, except for the Nobel Peace Prize, which is awarded in Oslo, by the Norwegian Nobel Committee. (This quirk reflects the historical fact that Sweden and Norway were united under one monarch until 1905 when Norway became an independent kingdom. Nobel's will does not reveal why he wanted the Nobel Peace Prize awarded in Norway.)

Yet the influence of Sweden and Swedish researchers goes beyond the administrative and the ceremonial. With 28 laureates and a population of around 9.5 million people, Sweden can claim 3.33 laureates per one million people, running



Dag Hammarskjold won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961.

just behind Iceland, which can claim 3.36 laureates per one million, according to calculations by Guinness World Records. What explains Sweden's high performance? It is notable that Sweden dedicates a relatively high percentage of its gross domestic product (GDP) to education -7.3 percent, with the OCED average being 5.8 percent. Equally notable is the government's commitment to high-end research. In fact, Sweden, along with Denmark, has been chosen to host the European Spallation Source, a pan-European, multidisciplinary neutron research centre that includes a proton accelerator that may yield additional insights into the nature of the universe and, down the line, add to the already impressive list of Swedish Nobel laureates.

Key winners include Allvar Gullstrand



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Jean-Paul Sartre won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1964.

(Medicine, 1911), Manne Siegbahn (Physics, 1924), The Svedberg (Chemistry, 1926), Hugo Theorell (Medicine, 1955), Dag Hjalmar Agne Carl Hammarskjöld (Peace, 1961), Ulf von Euler (Medicine, 1970, shared with Sir Bernard Katz and Julius Axelrod), Gunnar Myrdal (Economics, 1974, shared with Friedrich August von Hayek) and Tomas Tranströmer (Literature, 2011).

Russia (27)

If we accept the larger theory that the number of Nobel laureates over time helps us trace the rise and fall of great powers, Russia offers an intriguing piece of supporting evidence. The Czarist Russian Empire and its eventual successor, the Soviet Union, barely mattered in the sci-



Ivan Pavlov won a Nobel for Medicine in 1904.

entific field during the first half of the 20th Century as the country was trying to catch up on various fronts following the First World War, the Russian civil war, Josef Stalin's stifling tyranny during the 1930s and the Second World War.

Yet the worst conflict in human history largely played out on USSR territory and was a catalyst that catapulted the Soviet Union into the previously unknown position of global superpower, locked into a geo-strategic political struggle with the United States that was also waged across universities and laboratories. This status sparked a series of scientific investments in the USSR that eventually produced a notable bump in Nobel laureates in the scientific categories, particularly in physics. This said, the Soviet Union, on the way to losing the Cold War, largely failed to match the scientific ingenuity of the major Western powers. Once again besieged by economic and political turmoil following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian sciences entered a period of stagnation in the 1990s.

Conscious of these conditions, Russian strongman Vladimir Putin has tried to initiate a series of reforms designed to modernise the country, including its postsecondary institutions, where it is not uncommon to see students bribe underpaid professors in exchange for better marks. But this modernisation agenda, which depends on Western co-operation, may suffer a setback in light of the ongoing Ukraine crisis, only the latest in a series of irritations between Russia and the West. To be fair, Russian-born Andre Geim and Konstantin Novoselov recently allowed Russia to crow about its scientific achievements after winning the 2010 Nobel Prize for physics. That said, both received their award while working in the United Kingdom. Key winners include Ivan Pavlov (Medicine, 1904), Pavel Alekseyevich Cherenkov, Ilya Mikhailovich Frank and Igor Yevgenyevich Tamm (Physics, 1958) and Wassily Leontief (Economics, 1973).

Poland (26)

An interactive map produced by the Nobel Foundation shows Poland as the birth country of 26 Nobel laureates. But this record comes with a considerable caveat. A closer look reveals that most of them were born outside the contemporary borders of Poland, only to fall within them at a later stage, thereby reflecting the sweeping changes in Poland's territory over its recent history, starting from the late 18th Century until 1945. Consider the following fact: At least 14 out of the Nobel laureates listed under Poland have 'German' biographies. In fact, Poland's best-known scientist, Marie Curie, née Sklodowska (1867-1934) was technically born in the Czarist Russian Empire at a time when Poland had ceased to exist as an independent state, its territory spread across Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia.

Still, Curie's biography is impeccably Polish, even though she largely worked in France, where she also died. Indeed, Curie's native country loomed large in her thoughts and directly shaped her scientific work. After having co-won one half of the 1903 Nobel Prize for physics with her husband, Pierre — the other half went to Henri Becquerel — Curie won the 1911 prize for chemistry for her discovery of two new radioactive elements. She named one of them radium, the other one polonium after her home country, where



Wislawa Szymborska won a Nobel Prize for Literature in 1996.

she remains a revered figure, not just for her status as one of the most important scientists of modernity, but also for being a role model for female scientists and for her humanitarian work during the First World War.

Other key winners include Henryk Sienkiewicz (Literature, 1905), Isidor Isaac Rabi (Physics, 1944), Tadeus Reichstein (Medicine, 1950 shared with Edward Calvin Kendall and Philip Showalter), Lech Walesa (Peace, 1983) and Wislawa Szymborska (Literature, 1996).

Italy (19)

As with any measure, the Nobel Prizes are an imperfect indicator. They can only tell part of the story. To demonstrate this point, ponder the following hypothetical questions: What if a powerful patron had sponsored a comparable set of prizes dur-



Enrico Fermi won a Nobel Prize for Physics in 1938.

ing the High Middle Ages or the Renaissance? And if such an honour had existed, which states might have dominated these awards? While entirely speculative, it would not be unreasonable to imagine that the Italian city-states would have won their fair share as the scientific and artistic superpowers of those historical eras. In fact, Italian centres of higher learning are among the oldest in the world. Of course, much has changed since those days. Recent figures show that modern-day Italy spends about 4.7 percent of its GDP on



Canadian short-story writer Alice Munro won a Nobel prize for Literature in 2013.

education, well below the OECD average of 5.8 percent. In fact, as a percentage of total public expenditure, Italy's (9 percent) was the second lowest after that in Japan.

While recent years have seen improvements, the number of students who graduate from Italian universities also ranks below the OECD average, with many actually leaving Italy for opportunities elsewhere. Yet the Italian imprint on the historical course of higher learning is inescapable and recent reforms may restore some of the lost lustre. Key winners include Guglielmo Marconi (Physics, 1909, shared with Karl Ferdinand Braun), Enrico Fermi (Physics, 1938), Emilio Gino Segrè (Physics, 1959, shared with Owen Chamberlain), Carlo Rubbia (Physics, 1984, shared with Simon van der Meer) and Mario R. Capecchi (Medicine, 2007, shared with Sir Martin J. Evans and Oliver Smithies).

Canada/Austria (17)

On the surface, these two countries share little in common. A closer look, though, reveals that both countries share the experience of living next to a larger neighbour with which they share many similarities but also rivalries — the United States in the case of Canada, Germany in the case of Austria. The deep, but complex relations between Canada and the United States on one hand and Austria and Germany, on the other, also extend to Nobel Prizes. A survey of the 17 Canadian Nobel laureates finds that 13 of them received their awards while working in the United States.

A look at the Austrian laureates reveals a comparable pattern. True to its status as the leading scientific power of the first half of the 20th Century, Germany also attracted some of the best and brightest Austrian scientists, including three of the eight Austrian Nobel laureates until 1945. And in line with the larger point that the U.S. now attracts the world's top scientists, four of 11 laureates since 1945 received their prize while working at American institutions. Key Austrian winners include Wolfgang Pauli (Physics, 1945), Richard Kuhn (Chemistry, 1938), Friedrich August von Hayek (Economics, 1974) and Elfriede Jelinek (Literature, 2004). Key Canadian winners include Fredrick Banting (Medicine, 1923, shared with John James Rickard MacLeod for their discovery of insulin), Lester B. Pearson (Peace, 1957), Richard E. Taylor (Physics, 1990, shared with Jerome I. Friedman and Henry W. Kendall) and Alice Munro (2013, literature).

Wolfgang Depner recently defended his doctoral dissertation at the University of British Columbia, Okanagan, where he teaches. He is the co-editor of *Readings in Political Ideologies since the Rise of Modern Science* (Oxford University Press).





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Towering Taiwan

Taiwan operates as a democracy, next to its oppressive Communist neighbour, which still claims ownership of it and has more than 1,000 missiles facing Taiwan. Despite that, relations have warmed since the election of Taiwan's President Ma Ying-jeou, and trading has never so prospered.

By Donna Jacobs Taipei, Taiwan



The secret of Taiwan's economic competitiveness is small- and medium-sized enterprises. They account for more than 90 percent of business and 70 percent of local employment.

he tour guide in Taiwan stops next to a tiny marker along a park path. It has a design that features a small box with hard edges inside a larger box that has rounded corners.

The 20 journalists, invited from almost every continent to Taiwan by its foreign affairs department, look at the simple image expectantly.

The guide says: "This represents the nature of the Taiwanese people." She points to the sharp corners of the small box: "We believe we should be hard on ourselves; we should be disciplined inside."

"But outside," pointing to the rounded corners, "we believe we should be soft with everyone else."

Inside, the hardworking, disciplined Taiwanese have achieved astounding success in developing their island, the size of the Netherlands, into the world's 17thlargest exporter and 18th-largest importer of merchandise in 2012.

Taiwan, formally known as the Republic of China, also ranks high in 2013 and 2014 indices:

- 3rd of 50 countries for investment climate by the *Business Environment Risk Intelligence Index;*
- 10th of 60 countries in Networked Readiness Index;
- 11th of 60 countries in the World Competitiveness Scoreboard;
- 12th of 148 countries in the *Global Competitiveness Index;*
- 17th of 185 countries in the *Index of Economic Freedom;*
- 16th of 189 countries in ease of doing business by the World Bank.

It is one of the world's wealthiest countries, according to the *CIA World Factbook* 2014, holding the 7th-largest reserves in foreign exchange and gold in the world.

The secret of Taiwan's economic competitiveness, says Manfred Peng, director general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' International Information Services, is small- and medium-sized enterprises. They account for more than 90 percent of business and 70 percent of local employment.

"This stands in stark contrast with conglomerate-dominated Japan and South Korea," says Mr. Peng, as well as Mainland China, "with its all-encompassing state-owned enterprises."

And for the crucial niche Taiwan has filled globally, he says, around central Taichung City, the Golden Valley industrial cluster of businesses produces components for the world's top four suppliers of semiconductor and display-panel industries. Interrupt this crucial supply chain product and "global production of iPhones would plummet," he says, "and the world's largest solar plant, part-owned by Google, in the Mojave Desert would go offline."

The country specialises in science and technology, and the sector benefits from government grants and loans for invention. Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company and United Microelectronics Corp. are among the top custom integrated circuit chipmakers worldwide. According to the *Global Competitiveness Report* 2013-2014, Taiwan ranked No. 1 for cluster development and No. 5 in technological infrastructure.

Its 2012 global share of world products and services ranked Taiwan No. 1 for many information and communications technology products and services, with most revenues coming from its science parks, which generated nearly \$68 billion in 2012. From 2012 to 2014, to encourage overseas Taiwanese-owned companies to invest at home, the government offered qualified companies loans from a US\$333million fund.

This tiny island of 36,000 square kilometres (excluding islands), is densely populated by 23 million people. It thrives through trade and tourism.

With a 2012 per-capita GDP at US \$20,423 — a more prosperous year for the country than 2013, owing to the Eurozone slowdown — it ranks itself close to Argentina, Austria, Belgium and South Africa. Taking into account local purchasing power almost doubles per-capita GDP to

Reserves of foreign exchange and gold by country, Dec. 2013 est. Source: CIA World Facebook 2014

Rank	Country	Reserves of foreign exchange and gold
1	China	\$ 3,821,000,000,000
2	Japan	\$ 1,268,000,000,000
3	European Union	\$ 863,800,000,000
4	Saudi Arabia	\$ 739,500,000,000
5	Switzerland	\$ 536,300,000,000
6	Russia	\$ 515,600,000,000
7	Taiwan	\$ 414,500,000,000

nearly \$40,000. Its 2012 GDP was US \$475 billion (27th in the world) with exports accounting for US \$301 billion and imports at \$270.4 billion, creating a \$30.7 billion surplus.

One of its top goals is to join the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a trade agreement whose potential members include Canada, the U.S., Japan, Australia, Mexico, Vietnam, Peru and Malaysia. Original signatories to the agreement are Brunei, New Zealand and Chile. In 2012, more than a third of Taiwan's trade was already with these countries.

Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou has asked Canada to support his bid for TPP membership. In July, during a visit to Taiwan by Canadian parliamentarians, he said: "We really want to join the TPP in the future. We will become the 6th largest economy in the TPP once we join the trade bloc. The U.S. government has already welcomed our interest in the TPP. We hope that Canada can also lend its support."

To improve Canada-Taiwan trade, he also voiced support for two agreements: a bilateral investment agreement and one that avoids double taxation.

The government estimates its TPP membership would add \$78 billion in social welfare benefits for all TPP members. It would not come in as a minor partner: It is 10th among the APEC economies, according to the World Trade Organization. Taiwan is moving to liberalise its trade — even dealing with the ever-thorny problem of loosening protection of agricultural products, and it is setting up Free Economic Pilot Zones to draw investment and new industries.

Its other main goal is to join RCEP (the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement). RCEP members make up 29 percent of the world's GDP and, according to Taiwanese government statistics, buy 57 percent of Taiwan's exports. RCEP member states include Australia, China, India, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. Mainland China is a dominant member and Taiwan's entry would rest on China's assent.

Taiwan also has free trade pacts: ECFA (Cross-Strait Economic Co-operation Framework Agreement) with Mainland China and FTAs with Singapore and New Zealand and a bilateral investment agreement with Japan.

Taiwan has large trade agreements under negotiation or discussion, among them the resumption of negotiations with the U.S., promised following an agreement on reducing residues of the growth stimulant ractopamine in U.S. beef and pork. The European Parliament passed a resolution in favour of the European Commission signing an FTA with Taiwan. And Australia, Chile, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Indonesia and India have indicated interest in signing FTAs with Taiwan.

The rounded edges — soft power — are

DISPATCHES | CROSS-STRAIT RELATIONS



The small island of Taiwan (located on the top right of this map) trades, competes and has territorial disputes with China, which makes no secret of its goal to absorb or take over Taiwan.

most visible in the underspoken way of communicating in this Buddhist nation, whose people become acutely uncomfortable with loss of face and loss of selfcontrol.

And nowhere is soft power used more often than in this tiny island's relationship to Mainland China — the People's Republic of China. This is the China that has 1,000 missiles pointed at Taiwan. It is also the China that is Taiwan's No. 1 customer, receiving nearly 40 percent of its exports. As for imports, Mainland China (including Hong Kong) is Taiwan's No. 2 — Japan is No. 1 — source of imports.

Taiwan's foreign policy towards Mainland China has made a stunning aboutface in recent years.

The previous president from the Democratic Progressive Party, President Chen Shui-bian, who held the post from 20002008, resisted close ties with Mainland China and maintained a distinctly cool relationship. He chose as his iconoclastic vice-president the Harvard Law Schooleducated Lu Hsiu-Lien ("Annette Lu") to seek Taiwan's independence and an equal seat with Mainland China — not today's either-or — at the UN.

In 1995, she pushed a resolution through Taiwan's legislature requesting that the government formally apply to become a member of the UN General Assembly. Then-UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros Ghali responded that the UN recognises Taiwan as part of China, she writes in her just-published book, *My Fight for a New Taiwan*, and is thus already represented. She had been imprisoned for five years for her pro-democracy, anti-Mainland China stance before becoming vice-president. In the 2008 elections, Mr. Chen was replaced by President Ma Ying-jeou of the long-ruling Kuomintang "Nationalist" Party. Mr. Ma's policy is to draw closer to China in trade, tourism and even immigration. (Interestingly, Mr. Ma, a fellow Harvard student, was instrumental in reducing Annette Lu's sentence, thus speeding her release from prison.)

Mr. Chen and his wife were put in prison in 2009 for corruption and embezzlement. He remains there, in very poor health, serving a 19-year sentence, reduced from life in prison. His supporters are seeking his release from the tiny cell he shares with another prisoner, on humanitarian grounds.

The difference between the two presidents' approaches to Mainland China is borne out quickly in statistics. Before 2008, only 300,000 Mainland Chinese visitors

CROSS-STRAIT RELATIONS | DISPATCHES



Perhaps the largest Taiwanese company is Foxconn, which now has 1.2 million workers.

came to Taiwan. After the 2008 Tourism Agreement, in 2013, 5.3 million Taiwanese have visited Mainland China and 2.8 million Chinese have visited Taiwan. Before May 2008, there were no direct flights between the two countries. Now 828 flights are scheduled per week from 10 cities in Taiwan to 54 cities in Mainland China.

An estimated 1.3 million Taiwanese work or have business connections on the mainland. And 50 million to 80 million Mainland Chinese work for Taiwanese firms there. Perhaps the largest Taiwanese company is Foxconn, which now has 1.2 million workers, making 40 percent of the world's electronic consumer products, including most of Apple's iPhones. The company is China's largest private employer and, among private employers worldwide, is third behind Walmart and McDonalds.

Still, it's a political and security tightrope that Mr. Ma says he is determined to walk to strengthen his country. The controversy surrounding his policy is over whether he will tumble his country into the waiting net of China's goal to one day have Hong Kong, Taiwan and Macau "reunited" formally as part of China. (Hong Kong is chafing against the selection of its leaders by China with massive prodemocracy, answered by pro-Hong Kong government and pro-China demonstrations this year.)

But as for now, Taiwan and Mainland China trade and invest in each other's businesses on a large scale.

Taiwan is China's second-largest foreign investor, with, says Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Manfred Peng, Taiwanese businesses hiring 2 percent of Mainland Chinese workers and with 9 percent of Taiwanese living and doing business in Mainland China.

The two countries delicately skirt the "other" China topic. Often they don't even use words containing "China" during high diplomatic talks unless their counterpart does. It is a policy of non-utterance to avoid confrontation, in which they agree there is only one China, known as 1992 Consensus, without defining it.

In a press conference with Dr. Chu-chia



More than half a million people joined the street protests against China's selection of Hong Kong's political candidates in Hong Kong in July.

Lin, deputy minister of the Mainland Affairs Council and a UCLA-trained PhD economist, and his department's South Carolina-trained researcher, Che-chuan Lee, the questions, and answers, were direct.

Asked if he still sees a terrible threat hanging over him, due to the missiles aimed at Taiwan, at the same time as China and Taiwan are becoming more friendly, Dr. Lee responded: "There are still more than 1,000 ballistic missiles deployed in the southeastern coast. It is very interesting that in recent years, China suggests that since we have much better relations across the strait, maybe we can have some sort of military convention measures or even that we can try to reach some sort of peace deal. But before you revoke and remove the ballistic missiles, it is very hard for us to persuade our people to negotiate with anyone for peace. I think that is still an issue that there is serious concern about. We continue to persuade them to remove the missiles, [or] even if they can, to declare formally [they will] renounce use of force against Taiwan."

Asked if he's noticed any change, Dr. Lee said: "I am afraid it is very difficult for the Chinese leader [Xi Jinping] in his early stage of leadership. I think it is difficult for him to renounce use of force or remove those ballistic missiles. So no positive sign on these issues."

If the Ma government ardently wishes to build Taiwan's strengths by drawing closer to China as a trading partner, it has not brought all of its people along with it.

The student-led Sunflower Revolution, in March and April, peaking at reportedly 100,000 protesters, marked the first time the Taiwanese legislature had been occupied. The massive student-led protest was joined by thousands of non-students. J. Michael Cole, writing in July, in the Tokyobased magazine The Diplomat, estimates that up to 54 civic groups and NGOs joined the occupation. It centred on their demand for the government to conduct its promised clause-by-clause review of the controversial Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement with Mainland China. The government had reneged on that commitment and tried to force the legislation through.

"Riot police resorted to force and water cannons to disperse the protesters, which led to violent clashes and bloodshed with about 110 people injured," the magazine reported.

After the demonstration, the government promised more transparency through the "Supervision Law."

The *Taipei Times'* protest coverage noted in one poll result, that 80 percent of the 1,087 respondents supported the students' demonstration. A total of 75 percent wanted the Ma administration to cancel and renegotiate the trade agreement. It opens ownership of some businesses in both countries to the other, a move the Taiwanese protesters fear will lead to a takeover of Taiwan's small businesses by Mainland China.

The Cross Strait Service Trade Agreement opens 64 sectors, run in Taiwan by mainly small and medium-sized businesses, to China, including those involving national security and free press, such as Taiwan's telecommunication, print and publishing industries. More than 200 professors and industry representatives warn about freedom-of-speech, national security and economic risks inherent in the agreement.

The government says the protest is likely tied in with Taiwan's current economic situation: high housing prices, youth unemployment of 13 percent (versus the country's current average of 3.9 percent) and salaries, to a great extent frozen in Taiwan. A new government program is designed to encourage young people to start up their own businesses.

In a case of duelling polls, Dr. Lin said in June that 60 to 70 percent of Taiwanese surveyed support the agreement. Taiwan and Mainland China have also signed 19 agreements covering a wide array of trade areas, from financial co-operation, joint crimefighting and industry standards to protect intellectual property and food safety.

Meanwhile, National Taiwan University economics professor Kenneth Lin says a government audit shows the exclusion of products from the trade deal with Mainland China — such as flat-panel displays and automobiles — is partly responsible for some lacklustre trade and employment figures, which he attributes to Mr. Ma's policy of closer economic ties to Mainland China.

The figures show Taiwan's exports to Mainland China dropped from US \$83.9 billion in 2011 to \$80.7 billion in 2012 to \$81.7 billion in 2013 and that trade surpluses were, respectively, US\$40.3 billion, \$39.8 billion and \$39.1 billion.

However, the "early harvest" list of 806 products with no tariff showed exports of US \$17.9 billion, \$18.5 billion and \$20.5 billion with surpluses of US \$12.9 billion, \$13.6 billion and \$15.5 billion, respectively.

Despite its recent ups and downs in



The disputed islands, Senkaku (Diaoyu), are administered by the Japanese and claimed by China and Taiwan.



Chinese warships are now openly 'flying the flag' worldwide, particularly in the East and South China Seas.

trade, Taiwan is more than holding its own economically. However, internationally, it has had to mount an unceasing goodwill campaign for representation on the world stage ever since U.S. president Richard Nixon switched the U.S.'s allegiance from Taiwan to China.

The underpinning of that relationship is still a defence policy in the U.S. that officially recognises Mainland China, but has an unofficial relationship with Taiwan. The U.S. supports no push for independence by Taiwan, nor any "changes to the status quo" by either Taiwan or Mainland China. It seeks a peaceful dialogue-based resolution between the two. The U.S. does, however, have a defence pact, including sale of arms to Taiwan. The U.S. will protect Taiwan militarily if China attacks or invades it.

This defence pact only partly offsets widespread regional fear that China will use its military might to settle conflicts over resource-rich and strategically crucial waters of the East and South China Seas. The region is triply rich: in fish stocks, oil

CROSS-STRAIT RELATIONS | DISPATCHES

and natural gas reserves and strategic sea lanes. By a 2007 estimate, through them pass two-thirds of the world's liquid natural gas, half the world's supertanker traffic and 80 percent of crude oil bound for Taiwan, South Korea and Japan.

In a survey the U.S.-based Pew Research Centre recently conducted of 11 Asian countries, respondents from eight described themselves as "very concerned" about armed conflict with China: From 93 percent of Filipinos to 83 to 85 percent of Japanese, Vietnamese and South Koreans. Even 60 percent of people surveyed in China expressed worry.

The flashpoint for several countries is the Japanese-administered Senkaku Islands (called the Diaoyu Islands by the Chinese) in the East China Sea. Both China and Taiwan claim them. China occupies some of the Paracel Islands, which are also claimed by Vietnam and Taiwan. China disputes Japan's declared boundary in the East China Sea where hydrocarbon exploration and extraction are under way. China has a long dispute with India over large territories, with Bhutan's claim to its seven regions in its north and west, and with North Korea over river islands.

Most expansively, China lays claim to nearly all of the South China Sea, where Taiwan, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei also claim territorial rights. China claims airspace also claimed by South Korea, Japan and Taiwan.

China claims the Scarborough Reef, also claimed by the Philippines and Taiwan, and it claims the Spratly Islands, claimed by Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan, Vietnam and Brunei. (China has poured sand onto reefs in the Spratly Islands in apparent preparation for construction.)

Chinese boats have aggressively tailed and raced in front of Philippine boats or halted fishing vessels near the Spratly Islands. The arrival in May of a Chinese oil rig near the Vietnam coast, where Vietnam's hydrocarbon explorations are under way, set off Vietnamese anti-China rioting that targeted Chinese industries in Vietnam, and mistakenly led attacks on a Taiwanese business.

China backs its territorial claims with an obvious buildup of military muscle. It has 1,600 missiles, "particularly within range of Taiwan," according to a recent report by U.S. Naval War College associate professor Andrew Erickson and senior RAND Corporation political scientist Michael Chase, published in the U.S. magazine, *The National Interest*.



The towering Taipei 101 building was once the world's tallest until it was outdone by a tower in the UAE.

China is upgrading the missiles, including the world's first anti-ship ballistic missile (ASBM). It continues to develop its nuclear forces, say the authors, "with a new mobile intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) reportedly capable of carrying multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRV) [a multi-warhead ballistic missile with each missile capable of hitting a different target] under development and its first effective nuclear ballistic-missile submarine (SSBN) going on a deterrent patrol this year." The People's Liberation Army Second Artillery Force (PLASAF) is China's "instrument of deterrence," in charge of landbased nuclear and non-nuclear ballistic missiles as well as land-based attack cruise missiles. The Ohio-based National Air and Space Intelligence Center, an intelligence arm of the U.S. Air Force analysing foreign air and space weapons capabilities, calls China's defence program "the world's most active and diverse ballistic missile development program."

Given the hostile military neighbourhood and its need for friends and trading partners, Taiwan continues to steadfastly forge international and diplomatic ties.

To date, Taiwan belongs to 33 intergovernmental organisations, including the World Trade Organization, APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation) and has observer status in 20 others, including the World Health Assembly, which makes decisions for the World Health Organization (WHO), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the Asian Development Bank.

Taiwan has diplomatic relations with nearly two dozen countries and is making inroads into international organisations, having been invited to attend the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) meetings last autumn in Montreal, with the backing of a variety of nations. Other efforts to reach out to the world include the granting of visa-free entry by landing visa to 134 countries and territories.

Taiwan has another recent entry on the international stage — a Taiwan version of the Nobel Prize, called the Tang Prize,



Lady Gaga performed in Taichung to a worldwide internet audience of 30 million fans.



Jason Hu, Taichung's silver-tongued mayor.

which concentrates on modern-day prize categories: sustainable development, biopharmaceutical science, sinology and rule of law. The 2014 sustainable development prize went to Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland, who served as the first female and youngest prime minister of Norway, and was former head of the Brundtland Commission, which produced the blueprint document "Our Common Future" in 1987 for the UN World Commission on Environment and Development.

Even Taiwan's architecture aims at international success and world recognition. From 2004 to 2010, the Taipei Financial Centre, known as Taipei 101, was the world's tallest structure at 509 metres (1,670 feet). It relinquished the title when The Burj Khalifa in Dubai opened in 2010 at 829.8 metres (2,722 feet). Among other symbolisms, Taipei 101 signified that Taiwan's businesses go that 1 percent better than the perfection of 100 percent — the goal to excel beyond excellence.

Taipei 101's Japanese-made elevators zoom visitors from the fifth floor to the 360-degree observation tower on the 89th floor in just 37 seconds. It is a thrill ride unto itself.

Some years ago, Mainland China and Taiwan began to resent being played off against each other by countries courting their favour in exchange for financial rewards. The two countries agreed to stop the bidding war that was fuelled by their desire to gain allies — often voting allies in the UN.

Half of the countries in Taiwan's camp are from Latin America. The large Spanish-speaking contingent of journalists on our tour were led by a Spanish-speaking officer from the Foreign Media Services Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' International Information Services, Hui-Shuang (Vicky) Li.

(She and Peter Sun, secretary in the same department, expertly speaking English and Spanish, made their way through a packed agenda. It included visits to two ports and the Hiwin Technology Corporation, which manufactures precision parts for, among other things, elevators and industrial robots; Tonglit Logistics, which, besides warehousing thousands of vehicles for shipment, conducts pre-delivery inspections, retrofits vehicles and offers licence certificate authentication; and the fabulous National Palace Museum. We moved up and down the west coast of Taiwan on its smooth high-speed rail system.)

Besides Latin American countries, in Africa, Taiwan's allies are Burkina Faso, São Tomé and Príncipe and Swaziland. In Central America and the Caribbean, they are Belize, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. In Oceania, they are Kiribati, city of Taichung, Dr. Jason Hu, looked at the other port cities and decided Taichung had to carve its own path to prosperity.

"I tried to impress upon investors that I have a very clean, efficient and friendly government and it became the hottest spot for investment in Taiwan," the mayor reports. His city went from third-largest to second-largest and it is now No. 1 in growth as well as the No. 1 destination for Taiwanese people to live and work. The city's GDP rose more than 45 percent in five years, producing about 20,000 jobs a year.

He said Taipei is a political and financial business centre. The south has the biggest harbour as well as a petroleum refinery, steel mill and shipbuilding. "I can't compete with Taipei or Gaochung on those, so I made Taichung into a cultural attraction," he explains.

He sweet-talked such celebrities as Lady Gaga to perform as "30 million people tuned in from around the world to watch her sing. She didn't charge me."

And even Luciano Pavarotti was persuaded by the silver-tongued mayor to sing there. It turned out to be the famed operatic tenor's very last performance on his farewell tour; he died five months later in Chicago of cancer. Mayor Hu tried



The King Car Whisky Distillery produces international award-winning spirits such as Kavalan single malt whisky.

Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, Solomon Islands and Tuvalu. In South America, Paraguay is the sole recogniser of Taiwan. And in Europe, only the Holy See [Vatican] recognises Taiwan diplomatically.

Taiwan seems only too happy to compete within its own borders, though. The charismatic mayor of the west coast port to get New York's iconic Guggenheim Museum to set up an Asia-Pacific branch in Taichung, but Abu Dhabi was chosen. "It's a pity, because it would have been finished five years ago — even faster."

"I tried to ask myself, 'What is the face of my city?" Against widespread disbelief, he chose culture and now citizens attend at least three cultural events a year. "Culture is like air and water to Taichung residents." Taichung won the 2007 World's Best Culture and Art City award.

He sold his citizens on mass transport: The system sees 50 million rides per year. The harbour handles more than 100 million metric tons yearly, including many products such as orchids, tangerines and nano-materials. He built Taiwan's first ring road and is working on a second one.

Taichung's key exports are precision machinery, handicrafts and bicycles — "Taichung accounts for about half the world's bike industry" with Giant, the world's largest producer of bikes. And there are the very famous Sun Cakes — a flaky pastry whose sales have grown 33 times in 10 years — and a large coffee manufacturing industry.

In terms of luxury products, Taiwan showcases its first whisky distillery — the King Car Kavalan Whisky Distillery with its international award-winning spirits. Most recently, it won the Pennsylvania-based *Whisky Advocate's* World Whisky of the Year Award. Kavalan took top spot in a competition that included historic Scottish single malts and it was named New World Whisky of the Year in *The Whisky Bible*.

(Kavalan Solist Cask Strength Sherry Cask Single Malt Whisky sells at LCBO's Vintages in limited supply, for \$213.95.)

Kavalan's distillery draws its processing water from the springs in the Snowy Mountain and Central Mountains in northeast Taiwan. Part of the King Car Group, whose other interests include beverages, food, biotechnology and aquaculture, it is especially famous for its Mr. Brown flavoured coffee products, also sold in Europe. A visit there includes a tour, free liquor samples in an elegant dining room and a retail shop including whiskies and sherries in elegantly branded Kavalan glasses.

And for further luxury, the journalists are given a tour of Jade Shipbuilding in Kaohsiung, Taiwan's largest private shipyard, where vice-president Memphis Han provides a walk-through of one of its world-famous yachts. Before the Eurozone slowdown, it would have sold for \$11 million to \$12 million, but could now be had for perhaps \$8 million. It features marble floors, wood trim, an inlay of the world map on one bathroom floor and a fully operational communication system.

Mr. Han says the main market is Europe — recent purchasers were from Russia, Spain and Croatia. Jade also builds

passenger ferries, bulk carriers and fishing vessels for worldwide customers.

And Taiwan offers simpler pleasures, such as its famed night markets, where everything from shoes to street food is available at all hours of the night.

Says the Mainland Affairs Council's Dr. Chu-chia Lin: "We have lots of Chinese tourists come to Taiwan and during the night they like to go to the night markets. But after 9 p.m., all of them rush back to the hotel to watch TV because we have lots of political TV shows. They really enjoy watching them. Remember, we don't



The night markets in Taipei sell street food, clothing, handicrafts and souvenirs.

have any language problems. So they see how come people in Taiwan can criticise this and that.

"So we could have lots of influence in this aspect. We have strong confidence. We enjoy freedom. They cannot enjoy it. When they come here, they enjoy the free society a lot. We call that soft power."

Dr. Lin was asked if the cross-strait relationship, which brings with it the possibility of eventual large immigration to the relatively tiny Taiwan via Chinese purchases of Taiwanese businesses, is "a slow, sweet annexation."

His answer: "People like to use the case of Hong Kong. Last year, around 40 million Chinese tourists went to Hong Kong, whose total population is around seven million. Last year, we had 2.8 million Chinese people come to visit Taiwan, but our population is only 23 million" (or 12 percent of the population.) "As long as we can make sure we can decide our future, and we are a democratic country, so, of course, our people have the right to

decide.

"So far, it is too early to have any kind of political talk with Mainland. Taiwanese independence is a very important issue for us."

As for the possibility that when Taiwan's integration with China reaches a critical point, there would be no need for a formal takeover by the mainland. He responded with statistics. "In 2007, Mainland accounted for 40 percent of our market. So far, it's still 40 percent. We know that it is very dangerous if we depend on them too much. So our policy is that we would like to have more trade with Mainland and we would like to have more trade with other countries.

"It is very important for Taiwan to be economically strong and have opportunity. Mainland is becoming more and more powerful, that is for sure. We have to make ourselves stronger so we have a better opportunity to make our own decision.

"We have to make productivity stronger. In the political sense, inside Taiwan, we always claim Taiwan's future should be decided by her own people. In the future, we would like to claim independence. We can make this decision on our own, but we don't know how Mainland will react. If we make the decision now, it may be dangerous. OK, everybody knows that.

"But in the future, maybe 20 years or 30 years from now, what will happen, we don't know. If we cannot make it economically, if our economy becomes more and more weak, if we become more and more dependent on Mainland, in the future, maybe we don't have any chance to make our own decisions."

In the meantime, says Manfred Peng, Taiwan's foreign affairs' director general of international information services, Taiwan has close ties with the U.S. and Mainland China. It watches Mainland China's rise and the "increasingly subtle nuances of Washington-Beijing relations," and sees inevitable "dilemmas" in its external relations.

"In a race against time, Taiwan is using its soft power and a free, democratic and pluralistic way of life to influence Mainland China. We see ourselves as the tugboat leading a container ship into a new harbour," Mr. Peng says. "Taiwan envisages bolstering Mainland China's middle class and, along the way, transforming it into a stable, responsible and peaceful country."

Donna Jacobs is Diplomat's publisher.

Ukraine and Iraq-Syria crises: A Black Sea strategy is key

By George Friedman



Peshmerga fighters of the Kurdistan Democracy Party (KDP) are now part of a coalition fighting ISIS, the Islamic State.

he United States is, at the moment, off balance. It faces challenges in the Syria-Iraq theatre as well as challenges in Ukraine. It does not have a clear response to either. It does not know what success in either theatre would look like, what resources it is prepared to devote to either, nor whether the consequences of defeat would be manageable.

A dilemma of this sort is not unusual for a global power. Its very breadth of interests and the extent of power create opportunities for unexpected events, and these events, particularly simultaneous challenges in different areas, create uncertainty and confusion. U.S. geography and power permit a degree of uncertainty without leading to disaster, but generating a coherent and integrated strategy is necessary, even if that strategy is simply to walk away and let events run their course. I am not suggesting the latter strategy but arguing that at a certain point, confusion must run its course and clear intentions must emerge. When they do, the result will be the coherence of a new strategic map that encompasses both conflicts.

The most critical issue for the United States is to create a single integrated plan that takes into account the most pressing challenges. Such a plan must begin by defining a theatre of operations sufficiently coherent geographically as to permit integrated political maneuvering and military planning. U.S. military doctrine has moved explicitly away from a two-war strategy. Operationally, it might not be possible to engage all adversaries simultaneously, but conceptually, it is essential to think in terms of a coherent centre of gravity of operations. For me, it is increasingly clear that that centre is the Black Sea.

Ukraine and Syria-Iraq

There are currently two active theatres of military action with broad potential significance. One is Ukraine, where the Russians have launched a counter-offensive towards Crimea. The other is in the Syria-Iraq region, where the forces of the Islamic State have launched an offensive designed at a minimum to control regions in both countries — and at most dominate the area between the Levant and Iran.

In most senses, there is no connection between these two theatres. Yes, the Russians have an ongoing problem in the high Caucasus and there are reports of Chechen advisers working with the Islamic State. In this sense, the Russians are far from comfortable with what is happening in Syria and Iraq. At the same time, anything that diverts U.S. attention from Ukraine is beneficial to the Russians. For its part, the Islamic State must oppose Russia in the long run. Its immediate problem, however, is U.S. power, so anything that distracts the United States is beneficial to the Islamic State.

But the Ukrainian crisis has a very different political dynamic from the Iraq-Syria crisis. Russian and Islamic State military forces are not co-ordinated in any way, and in the end, victory for either would challenge the interests of the other. But for the United States, which must allocate its attention, political will and military power carefully, the two crises must be thought of together. The Russians and the Islamic State have the luxury of focusing on one crisis. The United States must concern itself with both and reconcile them.

The United States has been in the process of limiting its involvement in the Middle East while attempting to deal with the Ukrainian crisis. The Obama administration wants to create an integrated Iraq devoid of jihadists and have Russia accept a pro-Western Ukraine. It also does not want to devote substantial military forces to either theatre. Its dilemma is how to achieve its goals without risk. If it can't do this, what risk will it accept or must it accept?

Strategies that minimise risk and create maximum influence are rational and should be a founding principle of any country. By this logic, the U.S. strategy ought to be to maintain the balance of power in a region using proxies and provide material support to those proxies but avoid direct military involvement until there is no other option. The most important thing is to provide the support that obviates the need for intervention.

In the Syria-Iraq theatre, the United States moved from a strategy of seeking a unified state under secular pro-Western forces to one seeking a balance of power between the Alawites and jihadists. In Iraq, the United States pursued a unified government under Baghdad and is now trying to contain the Islamic State using minimal U.S. forces and Kurdish, Shiite and some Sunni proxies. If that fails, the U.S. strategy in Iraq will devolve into the strategy in Syria, namely, seeking a balance of power between factions. It is not clear that another strategy exists. The U.S. occupation of Iraq that began in 2003 did not result in a military solution, and it is not clear that a repeat of 2003 would succeed either. Any military action must be taken with a clear outcome in mind and a reasonable expectation that the allocation of forces will achieve that outcome; wishful thinking is not permitted. Realistically, air power and special operations forces on the ground are unlikely to force the Islamic State to capitulate or to result in its dissolution.

Ukraine, of course, has a different dynamic. The United States saw the events in Ukraine as either an opportunity for moral posturing or as a strategic blow to Russian national security. Either way, it had the same result: It created a challenge to fundamental Russian interests and placed Russian President Vladimir Putin in a dangerous position. His intelligence services completely failed to forecast or manage events in Kiev or to generate a broad rising in eastern Ukraine. Moreover, the Ukrainians were defeating their supporters (with the distinction between supporters and Russian troops becoming increasingly meaningless with each passing day). But it was obvious that the Russians were not simply going to let the Ukrainian realU.S. strategy in Ukraine tracks its strategy in Syria-Iraq. First, Washington uses proxies; second, it provides material support; and third, it avoids direct military involvement. Both strategies assume that the main adversary — the Islamic State in Syria-Iraq and Russia in Ukraine — is incapable of mounting a decisive offensive, or that any offensive it mounts can be blunted with air power. But to be successful, U.S. strategy assumes there will be coherent Ukrainian and Iraqi resistance to Russia and the Islamic State, respectively. If that doesn't materialise or dissolves, so does the strategy.

The United States is betting on risky allies. And the outcome matters in the long run. U.S. strategy prior to the First World War and Second World War was to limit involvement until the situation could be handled only with a massive American deployment. During the Cold War, the United States changed its strategy to a precommitment of at least some forces. This had a better outcome. The United States is not invulnerable to foreign threats, although those foreign threats must evolve



The U.S. invaded Iraq in 2003, as pictured here. This year, the Americans sent forces to protect U.S. diplomats and launched air strikes in Iraq in September.

ity become a fait accompli. They would counterattack. Even so, they would still have moved from once shaping Ukrainian policy to losing all but a small fragment of Ukraine. They will therefore maintain a permanently aggressive posture in a bid to recoup what has been lost. dramatically. The earlier intervention was less costly than intervention at the last possible minute. Neither the Islamic State nor Russia poses such a threat to the United States, and it is very likely that the respective regional balance of power can contain them. But if they can't, the crises could evolve into a more direct threat to the United States. And shaping the regional balance of power requires exertion and taking at least some risks.

Regional balances of power and the Black Sea

The rational move for countries such as Romania, Hungary or Poland is to accommodate Russia unless they have significant guarantees from the outside. Whether fair or not, only the United States can deliver those guarantees. The same can be said about the Shia and the Kurds, When we look at a map, we note that the Black Sea is the geographic organising principle of these areas. The sea is the southern frontier of Ukraine and European Russia and the Caucasus, where Russian, jihadist and Iranian power converge on the Black Sea. Northern Syria and Iraq are fewer than 650 kilometres (400 miles) from the Black Sea.

The United States has had a North Atlantic strategy. It has had a Caribbean strategy, a Western Pacific strategy and so on. This did not simply mean a naval Islamic State do not see themselves as part of a single theatre. But opponents don't define theatres of operation for the United States. The first step in crafting a strategy is to define the map in a way that allows the strategist to think in terms of unity of forces rather than separation, and unity of support rather than division. It also allows the strategist to think of his regional relationships as part of an integrated strategy.

Assume for the moment that the Russians chose to intervene in the Caucasus again, that jihadists moved out of



Despite their seemingly unrelated spheres, Stratfor's George Friedman says U.S. strategic thinking must stop separating the Ukraine-Russian conflict and the Syria-Iraq crisis. His suggested Black Sea strategy considers how recognising regional forces can create a cohesive plan for the U.S. and its allies.

both of whom the United States has abandoned in recent years, assuming that they could manage on their own.

The issue the United States faces is how to structure such support, physically and conceptually. There appear to be two distinct and unconnected theatres, and American power is limited. The situation would seem to preclude persuasive guarantees. But U.S. strategic conception must evolve away from seeing these as distinct theatres into seeing them as different aspects of the same theatre: the Black Sea. strategy. Rather, it was understood as a combined arms system of power projection that depended on naval power to provide strategic supply, delivery of troops and air power. It also placed its forces in such a configuration that the one force, or at least command structure, could provide support in multiple directions.

The United States has a strategic problem that can be addressed either as two or more unrelated problems requiring redundant resources or a single integrated solution. It is true that the Russians and the Chechnya and Dagestan into Georgia and Azerbaijan, or that Iran chose to move north. The outcome of events in the Caucasus would matter greatly to the United States. Under the current strategic structure, where U.S. decision-makers seem incapable of conceptualising the two present strategic problems, such a third crisis would overwhelm them. But thinking in terms of securing what I'll call the Greater Black Sea Basin would provide a framework for addressing the current thought exercise. A Black Sea strategy would define the significance of Georgia, the eastern coast of the Black Sea. Even more important, it would elevate Azerbaijan to the level of importance it should have in U.S. strategy. Without Azerbaijan, Georgia has little weight. With Azerbaijan, there is a counter to jihadists in the high Caucasus, or at least a buffer, since Azerbaijan is logically the eastern anchor of the Greater Black Sea strategy.

A Black Sea strategy would also force definition of two key relationships for the United States. The first is Turkey. Russia aside, Turkey is the major native Black Sea power. It has interests throughout the Greater Black Sea Basin, namely, in Syria, Iraq, the Caucasus, Russia and Ukraine. Thinking in terms of a Black Sea strategy, Turkey becomes one of the indispensible allies since its interests touch American interests. Aligning U.S. and Turkish strategy would be a precondition for such a strategy, meaning both nations would have to make serious policy shifts. An explicit Black Sea-centred strategy would put U.S.-Turkish relations at the forefront, and a failure to align would tell both countries they need to re-examine their strategic relationship. At this point, U.S.-Turkish relations seem to be based on a systematic avoidance of confronting realities. With the Black Sea as a centrepiece, evasion, which is rarely useful in creating realistic strategies, would be difficult.

The centrality of Romania

The second critical country is Romania. The Montreux Convention prohibits the unlimited transit of a naval force into the Black Sea through the Bosporus, controlled by Turkey. Romania, however, is a Black Sea nation, and no limitations apply to it, although its naval combat power is centred on a few aging frigates backed up by a half-dozen corvettes. Apart from being a potential base for aircraft for operations in the region, particularly in Ukraine, supporting Romania in building a significant naval force in the Black Sea — potentially including amphibious ships — would provide a deterrent force against the Russians and also shape affairs in the Black Sea that might motivate Turkey to co-operate with Romania and thereby work with the United States. The traditional NATO structure can survive this evolution, even though most of NATO is irrelevant to the problems facing the Black Sea Basin. Regardless of how the Syria-Iraq drama ends, it is secondary to the future of Russia's relationship with Ukraine and the European Peninsula. Poland anchors the North European Plain, but the action for now is in the Black Sea, and that makes Romania the critical partner in the European Peninsula. It will feel the first pressure if Russia regains its position in Ukraine.

I have written frequently on the emergence — and the inevitability of the emergence — of an alliance based on the notion of the Intermarium, the land between the seas. It would stretch between the Baltic and Black seas and would be an alliance designed to contain a newly assertive Russia. I have envisioned this alliance stretching west to the Caspian, taking in Turkey, Georgia and Azerbaijan. The Poland-to-Romania line is already emerging. It seems obvious that given events on both sides of the Black Sea, the rest of this line will emerge.

The United States ought to adopt the policy of the Cold War. That consisted of four parts. First, allies were expected to provide the geographical foundation of defence and substantial forces to respond to threats. Second, the United States was to provide military and economic aid as necessary to support this structure. Third, the United States was to pre-position some forces as guarantors of U.S. commitment and as immediate support. And fourth, Washington was to guarantee the total commitment of all U.S. forces to defending allies, although the need to fulfill the last guarantee never arose.

The United States has an uncertain alliance structure in the Greater Black Sea Basin that is neither mutually supportive nor permits the United States a coherent power in the region given the conceptual division of the region into distinct theatres. The United States is providing aid, but again on an inconsistent basis. Some U.S. forces are involved, but their mission is unclear, it is unclear that they are in the right places, and it is unclear what the regional policy is.

Thus, U.S. policy for the moment is incoherent. A Black Sea strategy is merely a name, but sometimes a name is sufficient to focus strategic thinking. So long as the United States thinks in terms of Ukraine and Syria and Iraq as if they were on different planets, the economy of forces that coherent strategy requires will never be achieved. Thinking in terms of the Black Sea as a pivot of a single diverse and diffuse region can anchor U.S. thinking. Merely anchoring strategic concepts does not win wars, nor prevent them. But anything that provides coherence to American strategy has value.

The Greater Black Sea Basin, as broadly defined, is already the object of U.S. military and political involvement. It is just not perceived that way in military, political or even public and media calculations. It should be. For that will bring perception in line with fast-emerging reality.

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Africa's captivating children

By Jim Parker Photographs by Jim Parker and Heather Cairns

hildren of Africa: A Photographic Journey created itself. The idea came spontaneously, as my wife, Heather, and I perused thousands of photographs from our trips to Africa. We noticed they were predominantly of children. I also wanted to write a non-academic book and thought perhaps a photojournal book would be an easier first attempt. Boy, was I wrong. As we were self-publishing, I began to learn about the book business — from muzzle to butt plate. I hired a wonderful editor, Nancy Dolan, and hooked up with friends who were connected to the book world. It was a group effort after that.

Of our several trips to Africa, 2013's train trip from Cape Town, South Africa to Dar es Saalam, Tanzania, was the only time we consciously took children-centric photographs. Indeed many of the photos were taken through train windows. We used SLR cameras and even point-and-shoots and want to be clear we are most definitely amateur photographers.

Proceeds from the book will go to the Mende Nazer Foundation. Ms Nazer was abducted and enslaved from a village near where I lived in Dilling, Sudan, when I served as a UN military observer. She wrote the highly successful book *Slave*, which details her abduction, slavery and ultimate escape. Ms Nazer and her supporters subsequently founded the foundation headquartered in Germany, which raises funds to educate Nuba girls and women who live on the north-south Sudanese border. The abduction and slavery of Sudanese girls is a tragic and on-going problem in both Sudans.

We have sold approximately a hundred copies, many of them sold to teachers. Subsequent printings will show how to use the book in a classroom and provide access to lesson plans available at commondawg.com.

The people of Africa need help from the developed world that's us. Writing a cheque is one way to help, but consider others as well. *Children of Africa: A Photographic Journey* is available at www.abebooks.com and amazon.ca



Sudan 2008: Villagers kept their compounds clean and debris-free using the type of homemade straw brooms this mother is carrying. This photograph was taken on one of our "show the UN flag" outback patrols. Jim Parker was in Sudan in 2008 as part of a UN observer mission. While there, the children stole his heart: "I encountered a wonderful variety of children: school and working children; children looking after their baby brothers and sisters; children in dirty ragged clothing and those in clean and pressed school uniforms; begging children and laughing children and children of nomadic families and others who lived in villages."



Sudan 2008: In the village of Kortala, our interpreter's home village, at a school another UN observer raised money to expand



Sudan 2008: A mother and daughter selling their wares at a simple street market in Dilling

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Sudan 2008: School children and their teachers were always so grateful for any school supplies we could provide. The conditions were primitive and often the students brought chairs from home to sit on (Sudan)



Sudan 2008: A celebratory dance in Kortala, thanking my partner LCdr Janan Sutherland, for arranging to have an addition built on one of the girls' schools (Kortala, Sudan)



Sudan 2008: Alnoor, our interpreter, and his daughter in Kortala, his home village. With the renewed fighting in that area, I worry about what has happened to them all.



Zimbabwe 2013: It's not uncommon to see children on their own, looking after even younger children.

AFRICA | DISPATCHES



Sudan 2008: A circumcision ceremony. The boys with the headbands just had or were about to have circumcisions, their entry into manhood.





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Saving animals from disaster

When droughts, typhoons and earthquakes strike, the protection and rehabilitation of animals is essential to the survival of the community.

By Melissa Matlow



After Cyclone Nargis in Myanmar in 2008, World Animal Protection's disaster response team worked with surviving draught animals to help avert a second disaster in the form of severe food shortages and loss of income.

o matter where in the world disasters strike, the survival of animals can mean the difference between recovery and despair. More than one billion people depend directly on animals for food, jobs, income, transport, social status, cultural identification and financial security.

For 70 percent of the world's poorest people — those most vulnerable to the devastating effects of disasters — livestock are essential for their livelihoods and food security. From the donkeys that carry their water, firewood and most valuable goods to market to the cattle that draw the plows and produce food for the family's subsistence and income, the survival, health and welfare of these animals is critical. Yet despite their importance, animals are often neglected in disaster planning and response work, due to insufficient knowledge and skills, unassigned responsibility and a lack of funding and policy integration.

Helping animals helps people

The lives of animals and people experiencing disasters are inextricably linked. Many people refuse to flee without their animals; or they risk returning to dangerous disaster zones in order to care for them. The loss of animals in disasters can result in their owners and the local community suffering from malnutrition, food insecurity, debt and dependency on further aid.

The importance of animals and their welfare to the success of humanitarian and development work globally cannot be overstated. Animals are a significant part of the diet in the world's hungriest nations and a rich source of micronutrients particularly important to pregnant and breastfeeding women and those who are immuno-compromised. In the most impoverished countries, as much as 80 percent of people's cash income is dependent on livestock. And since good animal welfare practices improve the animals' survival, health, productivity and resilience, they are important for eradicating poverty and hunger.

World Animal Protection

World Animal Protection (formerly known as World Society for the Protection of Animals or WSPA) has been saving animals involved in disasters for 50 years. We are the only non-governmental organisation with full-time trained staff in key locations around the world that can provide an immediate emergency response for animals at a moment's notice.

This means we have experts on the ground who understand the local context and can build long-term relationships with the community, government and veterinarians so they are better prepared to help animals when the next disaster strikes. Our track record with national governments, the United Nations and humanitarian organisations enables us to work more strategically and effectively to find the best possible solutions for people and animals alike.

Our organisation is there for the full disaster cycle (preparedness, response, recovery and mitigation). We deliver expert emergency response and world-leading risk reduction and preparedness planning and training. By integrating animals into government-led disaster response networks, we aim to protect more animals and the people who depend on them well into the future.

Philippines: Typhoon Haiyan in 2013

More than six million animals died when Super Typhoon Haiyan hit the Philippines last year. We sent our disaster experts from around the world to the poorest and worst-hit areas on the islands of Panay, Leyte and Cebu. Here, local people depend on poultry, pigs and cattle for their livelihoods and food security. Buffalo are also critically important for plowing the land and harvesting the rice fields. Many animals died during the typhoon and food was running out for the survivors. As the district veterinary offices were either completely wiped out or severely disrupted, the community and government welcomed our help.

We partnered with the Philippines' Bureau of Animal Industries, Department of Agriculture and the University of Aklan to plan the most effective emergency response. Veterinary treatment, emergency feed and mineral supplements saved the lives of more than 17,000 animals. Addressing the immediate needs of the animals is just one part of the disaster cycle. When our short-term response ended, our experts stayed to assist our Philippinesbased partners in preparing for future disasters.

As an illustration of the devastation, take Jeniffer Inamarga's situation. The typhoon destroyed her farm and livelihood. Six hundred of her chickens drowned when the coop was blown into a pond and the pigs died when their shelter was destroyed.

"We thought the world had forgotten about us," said Ms Inamarga. "We have nothing without our animals."

We worked with Ms Inamarga and her community to build a model disasterresistant farm where her chicken coop once stood. With a detachable roof and underground shelters, the new farm is more resilient to disasters. Unlike most farms where the animals are kept in intensive confinement on hard floors, the newly introduced pigs and chickens are free to move and behave naturally on a compostable deep litter floor.

We are monitoring the farm to ensure it is economically viable and that it adequately protects the animals. If the model is successful and replicated, it may prevent the loss of tens of thousands of animals and protect their owners' livelihoods when the next inevitable disaster strikes.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization recognises that the "loss of livestock not only represents a loss of income for families, but also family savings and investment over many years." In the Philippines, the loss of a few pigs could mean the loss of your child's schooling for a year or not being able to get essential hospital treatment.

Improving local veterinary capacity

Our lead veterinarian, Dr. Juan Carlos Murillo, taught veterinary students in the Philippines as he treated sick and injured animals affected by the disaster. When this emergency response work ended, the training continued on mountain bikes. With many roads damaged by the typhoon, alternative modes of travel were needed. We equipped them with light and versatile veterinary kits, each containing enough medicine to treat 100 cattle or 300 pigs. When the inevitable typhoons strike again, more trained veterinarians will be ready and able to get to hard-to-reach areas and take care of the animals.

Recovery in Haiti: Earthquake in 2010

When Haiti was hit by the most powerful earthquake in 200 years, an estimated 3.5 million people were affected and more than one million farm animals and pets died or were injured and abandoned.

World Animal Protection helped create and lead a coalition of organisations to provide immediate relief to more than 50,000 animals in some of the most affected communities. By creating mobile veterinary clinics, we were able to reach the more remote areas and by having local veterinarians run the program, we were building local capacity to respond to future disasters.

The coalition helped rebuild the national veterinary laboratory, which was damaged by the disaster and is critically important for the assessment and surveillance of infections and zoonotic diseases such as anthrax and rabies. The refurbished laboratory has triple the capacity to carry out diagnostic tests to prevent the



Jeniffer Inamarga and her daughter, Ruth, in front of their chicken coops. One coop was blown into a pond, drowning 600 birds and destroying this family's livelihood.

DISPATCHES | NATURAL DISASTERS

deaths of tens of thousands of animals and protect more than 500,000 people from infections and diseases.

When power is unreliable or out during a disaster, it can have a significant impact on the success of our work. Important life-saving vaccines would be rendered ineffective if they aren't stored or transported at the appropriate temperature. To mitigate this risk, we developed 12 solar cold chain units with 100 smaller portable cooler boxes that can be brought to remote locations. [A cold chain is a system of uninterrupted refrigerated storage and delivery units.]

Myanmar: Cyclone Nargis in 2008

The cyclone killed more than 50 percent of the country's livestock and surviving animals suffered severe injuries, trauma and the after-effects of near drowning. Water contamination and a lack of vet facilities increased the risk of diseases spreading and infecting animals and people.

An estimated 52 percent of arable land in developing countries (28 percent of the world's arable land) is farmed with the help of 250 million draught animals. Draught power is crucial in Myanmar — a country with only 1,000 tractors. Without cattle and buffalo to draw the plows, local farmers would be unable to plant deep-water rice for the imminent monsoon season.

Our disaster response team immediately prioritised the welfare of the surviving draught animals to help avert a second disaster in the form of severe food shortages and loss of income. We provided concentrated feed and vitamin supplements, treated the animals' injuries and vaccinated them against seasonal diseases.

The success of this intervention convinced the government of the need to address humanitarian and animal welfare concerns in an integrated disaster plan.

Mitigation in Mexico

Two years of drought (2010-2012) and three successive failed farming seasons had a devastating impact on the people living in the State of Chihuahua who depend on livestock for their food and livelihoods.

Thousands of animals died of exhaustion and starvation as pastures dried up and what grass remained was a longer distance to reach and quickly became overgrazed. This drought affected 70 percent of the animals in regions surrounding Aldama, Ojinaga and San Francisco de Borja.



A young man moves his animals across a swollen river during a flood in West Bengal, 2011.



In Maharashtra, India's second most populous state, 64 percent of the population makes its living from livestock and agriculture.

There was not enough feed for the animals that survived the drought, so many families were forced to sell them at a poor price, losing their main source of income and savings and undermining resilience. With the help of local groups, we planted indigenous cacti as an emergency food source and built wells and a bore hole to provide water for the animals and to irrigate cactus plots.

WORLD ANIMAL PROTECTION'S FUNDING AND PARTNERS

World Animal Protection is a registered Canadian charity (registration # 12971 9076 RR0001). It does not receive any government funding. It relies entirely on charitable donations from individuals to carry out its work for animals around the world. It is through the ongoing support of donors that it was able to help more than 1.3 million animals caught up in disasters in 2013 alone.

World Animal Protection's approach to disaster-management has been endorsed by United Nations agencies, most notably the Organization for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR) and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) . It is a member of the United Nations Food Security Cluster Group, and World Food Program (WFP). It has also partnered with the International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC) to train their officials on good practices for animal management and to incorporate animal welfare into their disaster relief and development work across the globe.

Visit worldanimalprotection.ca for more information.

Inspired by the sand dams we have seen in Northern Kenya, we advised on the construction of retention ponds to collect rainwater runoff. These simple solutions saved the lives of 2,500 animals and helped ensure long-term food and economic security for 220 families who will be more resilient when the next unfortunate drought occurs. With the University of Coahuila now delivering community training in animal and environmental management in disasters, more people are developing humane and sustainable solutions.

India's drought (2013) and flooding (2012)

India is prone to natural disasters and whether drought, flooding, avalanches, cyclones or dust storms, the typical result is massive losses to people and the animals they depend on.

Agriculture is important to the eco-

nomic growth of many nations — particularly India, the world's largest dairy producer and third largest egg producer.

In Maharashtra, India's second most populous state, 64 percent of the population makes its living from livestock and agriculture. When the worst drought in 40 years devastated the region, hundreds of thousands of people and animals were at risk of food and water shortages and increasing poverty.

The state government, recognising the importance of cattle and buffalo for food and livelihoods, set up 400 emergency camps to provide the surviving animals with food and water. However, with no place to wallow and no shelter from the hot sun, many animals remained at risk. Since sugar cane was the only food available, they were unable to get the essential minerals they needed to regain strength.

We worked with the government to provide mineral blocks and netting to shade the animals. It may seem like a simple measure, but it sustained the health, welfare and productivity of 9,000 cattle and buffalo. We encouraged the government to adopt this approach in all of the camps across the state to save the lives of 400,000 cattle and the people in the 12,000 villages that depend on them for food and income.

Protecting livestock in the immediate aftermath of a natural disaster provides high economic returns as it directly assists the livelihoods and existing productive assets of local people. For example, Economists at Large estimated that our short-term response to flooding in Assam, India, supported \$96 worth of livestock production for every dollar spent.

More than 1,000 farm animals drowned and nearly two million were affected by flooding in the seven most severely hit districts of northeastern India in 2012. With much of the grazing land submerged, we quickly deployed a team to provide emergency feed and veterinary care to more than 56,000 animals. This, in turn, helped to protect the livelihoods and food security of more than 4,000 households in Dhemaji. The name of this district means "playground of the floods," signifying the likelihood of another disaster striking and emphasising the importance of emergency preparedness and riskreduction planning.

The importance of animals

From the Haitian children who waited in line to take their animals to our mobile vet clinic, to the Pakistani families who used the tents provided to them by aid agencies to house their animals instead of themselves, it is clear that animals matter immensely to some of the most vulnerable people on the planet.

A community's ability to resist and



Dr. Akash Maheshwar examines a dehydrated water buffalo calf at a cattle camp set up by the Maharashtra government.

recover from disasters is closely linked to its animals' wellbeing. When crops are damaged from a disaster, the community's cows can still provide milk and the chickens can keep producing eggs that can be consumed year-round, in addition to much-needed manure to restore the crops. Ensuring the animals' welfare is a good hedge against food scarcity and unpredictability.

When animals are included in emergency planning, policy and response, it not only reduces human and animal suffering, it also facilitates recovery and the achievement of longer-term sustainable development goals. This, in turn, will increase the effectiveness of humanitarian aid.

World Animal Protection has worked with the governments of Australia, Colombia, Costa Rica, India, Dubai and Mexico to integrate animal welfare in disaster planning.

Melissa Matlow is the Canadian legislative and public affairs manager for World Animal Protection. Visit worldanimalprotection.ca to find out more.

Nova Scotia

From fabled island to national park

Photographs and story by Mike Beedell

or 28 years, I had dreamed of exploring Sable Island, seeing the wild horses that grace its enchanting dunes. In April 2014, my dream came true: I landed on the beach in a small charter aircraft for the first time.

As a conservation photographer and wilderness guide, I have had the privilege of exploring many parts of the world. For more than three decades, I have worked with Parks Canada to photograph our country's landscapes.

For months, I had been on standby, ready to jump when there was a possibility of reaching the island, Canada's newest national park.

We flew in from Halifax to the island, which lies 300 kilometres southeast of the city. Before landing, we flew over West Spit and I couldn't believe my eyes. There I saw thousands of seals from the biggest colony of grey seals in the world.

Once settled, I grabbed my gear and headed for the beach to see the seals up close. I made some portraits of a perturbed pinniped and then moved away to give him some space.

Wild horses speckled the dunescapes, so I pointed my Nikon in their direction. A young colt reminded me of ancient horse drawings I had seen of pre-ice age creatures. He was wearing his thick winter coat — more like fur than hair. He appeared healthy, but others were in rough shape — their ribs sticking out after a cold winter. One fellow with a dreadlock mane nibbled at the first shoots of the year. It would be another month before nutritious grasses and sedges would really provide for these hardy equines.

I moved with a sense of urgency, eager to capture the essence of this place in the sunshine. Weather changes quickly here and fog is a constant challenge.

Before long, a fireball sunset was extinguished in the ocean. I had only been here for eight hours, and I was exhausted and elated after documenting this magical place.



A group of Adventure Canada travellers zip along the coast of Sable Island to make a landing in June.



Ron Kozak, left, of Markham, Ontario, and Sable Island project manager, Julie Tompa, observe a mare and her young foal.


A foal (perhaps a day old) totters on its gangly legs in the sedges of Sable Island



A band of wild horses gallops along the grass- covered dunes of West Spit.



A short-beaked common dolphin leaps off a wave along the coast of Sable Island.



A large grey seal bull eyes the photographer on a Sable Island beach in late April.



A sunset is reflected in a freshwater pond near Westlight, where a lighthouse has been active for more than a century.



Photographer Mike Beedell named this stallion "Goldilocks." Here he nibbles on the first spring shoots in early May.







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George Fetherling

s soon as the Second World War was over, the French began fighting a decade-long hit-and-run guerrilla conflict against left-wing nationalists in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, the three pieces of the map that made up French Indochina. Eventually they lost their patience, deciding to wipe out the enemy by luring them into one big killing zone. The place they mistakenly chose was a nondescript hamlet called Dien Bien Phu in northwestern Vietnam.

Militarily, it looked to them like the perfect spot. It was almost within sight of Laos, and the French feared that their communist opponents, led by a then surprisingly little-known figure who called himself Ho Chi Minh, wished to capture Luang Prabang, the traditional royal capital (now a must-see destination for young Western backpackers). But France's scheme misfired; its army in Indochina was decimated. Diplomats representing the two opposing isms agreed in Geneva to divide Vietnam into a communist north and a non-communist south, in effect passing the whole mess over for the United States to deal with somehow.

Thus there came a point, in the last phase of the Dwight Eisenhower presidency and the early days of John F. Kennedy's, when the United States was itching to go to war in Southeast Asia, but couldn't decide whom to fight, the communists in Laos or those in North Vietnam. In his autobiography, There Be Dragons, journalist Peter C. Newman captures the moment beautifully. His editor in Toronto told him to go cover the story in one place or the other; there wasn't enough in the budget to do both. Mr. Newman picked the wrong one. He did so because "for reasons that no one clearly understands to this day, the Americans treated Laos (or 'Lay-oss,' as they pronounced it) as a strategic 'bulwark against communism,' eventually dropping more than two million bombs on the tiny

WILLIAM J. RUST SO MUCH TO LOSE

John F. Kennedy and American policy in **LAOS**

mountain kingdom, the most concentrated firebombing in the history of modern warfare." In Mr. Newman's defence, Laos, which the French once feared the British in Burma were coveting, looked like a good bet. The Americans had already managed to foster a civil war between the Royal Laotian Army (the U.S. home team) and the Marxists, known as the Pathet Lao.

Mr. Newman (who, according to a photo in his book, wore a conservative suit and tie, complete with pocket square, to interview soldiers dressed in jungle-pattern fatigues) expressed surprise when politely asked if he would care to inspect the Royal Laotian Navy, for Laos is a landlocked country. The fleet, it turned out, consisted of several well-rotted old wooden hulks that had been dragged up onto the bank of a river and were being used as giant chicken coops.

What drove me to take Mr. Newman's chronicle down from the shelf is the appearance of *So Much to Lose: John F. Kennedy and American Policy in Laos* (University Press of Kentucky, US\$40) by William J. Rust, who has written much about American diplomacy in the Vietnam War years. Mr. Rust's previous work, published in 2012, was *Before the Quagmire: American Intervention in Laos* 1954 – 1961, a study of how shifting geopolitical events

DELIGHTS | BOOKS

following the French withdrawal led to the terrible tangle of ambitions and fears that diplomats, despite their best efforts, failed to unravel — in fact, made worse. The new book is to be read as a standalone effort, not as the second part of a two-volume set, because it details, in considerable depth, the incipient mess that Kennedy found on his desk when he moved into the Oval Office in January 1961.

At first, things looked promising. The U.S. and the Soviet Union were signing an agreement stating that Laos was of "no strategic significance for either and both would work together for a neutral settlement" of key multiparty Southeast Asian issues. By 1963, the American ambassador in Moscow reported to Kennedy that Nikita Khrushchev "is fed up with the subject of Laos and wishes it would go away." One reason it didn't just go away was that it was bounded by two communist countries, North Vietnam and China, and two non-communist ones, South Vietnam and Thailand — not to mention Burma and Cambodia, whose exact politics were in flux.

In 1963, the Soviets pledged they would "police the commitments by the communist signatories to not interfere in the internal affairs of Laos nor to use Laos as a corridor into South Vietnam." But by then the North Vietnamese were violating the latter part of this agreement. They were rebuilding and expanding the Truong Son Strategic Supply Route, known to Americans as the Ho Chi Minh Trail. "Originally it was a network of simple footpaths" used in fighting the French. Depending on the time of year, a complete transit on foot might take three months. Now it was a marvel of military engineering for moving personnel and matériel into South Vietnam.

Part of the HCM Trail passed through Laos, officially a neutral country in the war between North and South. But the U.S. felt that the Laos section, too, had to be bombed. Their attacks began in early spring 1965, at about the same time the first waves of Marines were landing in Vietnam. The sorties were launched from bases in South Vietnam and Thailand and from ships at sea. In 1966 and 1967, the operation, called Rolling Thunder, was expanded to take in targets in North Vietnam itself — 643,000 tons of bombs in a three-year period. The U.S. never managed to stop the flow of men and supplies southward. In the attempt, they lost 922 aircraft — all taken down by fire from the

ground, as for all practical purposes North Vietnam had no air force of its own. Or a grown-up navy, for that matter. After the French defeat in Indochina, Eisenhower authorized U.S. military and economic assistance to all the former colonies to help them resist communism. Early on in his own administration, Kennedy hoped that Laos could be disengaged from the chaos by diplomatic means. So Laos was overseen by the State Department, whereas the Vietnam War was run by the Pentagon. This did little to clarify the situation.

Mr. Rust sums up the Laos position this way: Here we had "a newly independent country with a small French-educated



John F. Kennedy

leadership class divided by personal, family, and regional rivalries, [in which] the U.S. government underwrote the country's entire military budget and established an economic program that became notorious for its ineffectiveness. Because the Geneva agreement prohibited foreign military forces in Laos, with the exception of a small French presence, the Pentagon hired retired and reserve military personnel to oversee U.S. matériel and to advise the American ambassador on the needs of the Force Armée Royale." (I met one of these characters on a train trip from New York to Los Angeles. He was a large, muscly older man going to California to help his grown daughter rebuild her home after it was destroyed in a wildfire. We sat together for days, and he eventually

started to tell me about his experiences as a so-called adviser in Laos. "Yessir," he said with a smile, now that the moral statute of limitations was growing faint, "we were *there* long before we were there, if you know what I mean.")

Poor Laos. I've spent time there more than once and have developed a private theory about the place, which I reveal now. France is made up of 24 regions (which President François Hollande plans to reduce to 12, by combining, for example, Alsace and Lorraine). The regions contain 36,000 towns. My theory is that you could visit all 36,000, hiring in each place the best, most knowledgeable guides, thoroughly familiar with local history and tradition, and you'd never experience one of them pointing to a distant mansion, magnificent chateau or grand hôtel particulier and whispering proudly, "The family made its fortune in Laos." I swear, no one ever made a centime in Laos. I don't mean to be rude, but aside from Vientiane and touristy Luang Prabang, the country seems barely able to support human habitation. And even today there are posters in every schoolroom, warning children not to play soccer with the landmines.

Mr. Rust's *So Much to Lose* is a marvel of research and detail, but must be read with a dedication bordering on monasticism. In this respect, it could hardly be more different from another new book that also tells us a great deal about Franco-American diplomacy, among other things. This is François Furstenberg's *When the United States Spoke French* (Penguin Group Canada, \$42). It is a beautifully written study the prose flows like olive oil — about how French culture, in the broad sense, became central to that of the brand new United States in the 1790s, thanks to exiles fleeing France itself or its Caribbean colonies.

Prior to that time, French immigration to the U.S. was more a matter of individual enterprise than a mass movement. Most French arrivals had been farmers or planters, but this new rush consisted largely of skilled artisans and artists. As any regular viewer of Antiques Roadshow knows, Philadelphia, in the early years of the American republic, was associated with the work of French-born craftsmen of the highest calibre, many of whose names are still recognised: watchmakers and clockmakers, silversmiths and goldsmiths, jewellers and creators of fine handmade furniture and weapons. Prof. Furstenberg, an American who taught for years in Montreal, acknowledges all this, but chooses to concentrate specifically on the lives of five

aristocratic exiles who lived in the U.S. between about 1793 and 1798. They had been proponents, even leaders, of the French Revolution of 1789, but had to flee once the new French republic was declared, an act that led to war across western Europe and emboldened 500,000 slaves to revolt against their masters in what's now Haiti and other French colonies.

Who were these peripatetic aristos with names and noble titles that sound so pompous to our contemporary North American ears? Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin had been a lawyer in Paris, but in Philadelphia earned a living giving violin lessons; in time he became a famous excourt, duc de la Rouchefoucauld, was rich enough to be a philanthropist. He was a descendant of the famous French author François de La Rouchefoucauld. Yet of Prof. Furstenberg's five contestants, his is not the name that might ring a bell today. That privilege belongs to Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, the statesman and master diplomatist who lined his velvet pockets with money when he was a Catholic archbishop and became Napoleon's foreign minister once the political tide had safely turned back in France.

These influential personages and intellectuals all knew one another and often congregated at the French-language



Louis-Marie, vicomte de Noailles, as painted by Gilbert Stuart.

pert on gastronomy. Constantin-François de Chasseboeuf, comte de Volney, was a planter originally from Martinique, who became a well-known traveller, philosopher and (the word carried no bad connotation then) "orientalist." He was a friend of that leading francophile, Thomas Jefferson.

By contrast, Louis-Marie, vicomte de Noailles, was a buddy of Benjamin Franklin. He was also the brother-in-law of the marquis de Lafayette, who became a national hero in America for helping to fight the British (but ended up being reviled in France). Noailles, too, fought with the American side and later helped negotiate the French portion of the British surrender after the battle of Yorktown.

François-Alexandre-Frédéric Lian-

bookshop that a friend named Moreau de Saint-Mary, a Creole from Paris, operated in Philadelphia, a city whose francophone population accounted for about 10 percent of the whole.

Why Philadelphia (a city known today largely for its murder rate)? "Because it seemed like a natural place to stop: though puny compared with Europe's great cities, it was the closest thing the country had to a European metropolis. It was the nation's capital, the home of the wealthiest merchants and financiers and the country's principal port, with well-established trading connections to France and French colonies. It was there that they were most likely to feel at home. Neither they nor their new compatriots knew what, exactly, they were doing in the United States.



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DELIGHTS | BOOKS

Some thought they were just killing time, others thought they had come to make money; and still others thought they were spying for France as it sought to re-establish an empire in North America."

But, of course, no such imperial revival came to pass. Napoleon was desperate for money for his wars in Europe and elsewhere. So, in the real estate deal of all real estate deals, engineered by the wily Talleyrand, Jefferson bought from France what Americans call the Louisiana Purchase. The land was the equivalent of 23 per cent of today's continental United States. The price, in 1803 currency, was three cents an acre.

Moving on, Peter Finn, the national security columnist of the *Washington Post* and previously the paper's man in Moscow, has joined Petra Couvée, of Saint Petersburg State University, to produce *The Zhivago Affair* (Random House of Canada, \$32), the sad story of the author Boris Pasternak (1890 – 1960) and his one and only novel, the romantic doorstopper *Doctor Zhivago*. Pasternak believed, with some reason, that it could never be published in the Soviet Union, but, in 1956, he allowed an Italian book publisher, on the prowl for potential bestsellers, to take away the original manuscript.

In a long and complex Cold War drama, the book became an immense success in the West. Pasternak was expelled from official Soviet writers' organisations. Famous Western figures called him a genius (he agreed) and a martyr to free expression; Soviet ones, presumably under official pressure to do so, denounced him. When, astonishingly, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, Moscow forbade him to accept it. The matter ended when poor Pasternak died of lung cancer. In a bizarre subplot characteristic of the age, the CIA paid an American publisher to produce a huge number of copies to be smuggled into the Soviet Union so that readers there would supposedly become disenchanted with communism. In fact,



the book's political content was not only historical in nature and tone, but also relatively slight. It was a love story, for God's sake. In his own last years, Nikita Khrushchev said the whole business had been a mistake.

One other matter: It's expected that publishers try to stir up a market for new books about the 50th anniversary of some important event, or the centenary of some great figure's birth, and so on. Those of us who write about books steadied ourselves earlier this year for a great rush of books about the First World War, which broke out in August 1914. I, for one, was eager to see *The War That Ended the Peace: The Road to 1914* by Margaret MacMillan, the Canadian historian who is now warden of St. Anthony's College at Oxford, and *Catastrophe, 1914* by Sir Max Hastings, the journalistic hero of the Falklands War and long-time editor of the *Daily Telegraph* in London. But the sheer downpour of other titles — including a surprising number of American ones — knocked me off my perch.

Now late in the centennial year comes a surprise by J.L. Granatstein, the dean of Canadian military historians. Until this year, he was chair of the advisory council of the Vimy Foundation and so hardly one to downplay the importance of that great Canadian success at Easter 1917. But in The Greatest Victory: Canada's One Hundred Days, 1918 (Oxford University Press, \$29.95) he explains confidently that Vimy provided the rush of military adrenalin and momentum that enabled the Canadian Corps to score victory after victory on the Western Front in France and Belgium, from Amiens in August 1918 to the Armistice three months later. Prof. Granatstein writes with absolute clarity. If now and then, in this and other works, he sometimes sounds a cranky note, it's probably because not all of his colleagues have his own level of knowledge or depth of conviction. I fear his book will never be one of the best known but it could prove nonetheless to be one of the more important.

George Fetherling's most recent book is an expanded 20th-anniversary edition of *Travels by Night, A Memoir*.





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Canadian citizenship: What it takes

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

hink fast — test your knowledge about Canada. Can you name two responsibilities of citizenship? What qualifications are necessary to vote in a federal election? What addition was made to the Constitution of Canada in 1982? The answers, in order, are: obeying the law and voting in elections; being a Canadian citizen at least 18 years of age and able to prove your identity and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

If you answered all the questions correctly, you show signs of being a committed, well-informed citizen. You may well also be a Canadian who came here from another country. That's because these questions are drawn from past tests given to new citizen hopefuls. Canadians who qualify for citizenship through birth don't have to take the test. And that's a distinction worth pondering as we celebrate Citizenship Week (Oct. 13-19, 2014). It's why our organisation, Historica Canada (www.historicacanada.ca), holds the Citizenship Challenge (www.citizenshipchallenge.ca) each year. It challenges young Canadians - more than 57,000 students in 2013 — to test their knowledge of Canadian democracy by asking them to answer questions drawn from previous tests.

If this Citizenship Week is like others, we can expect the welcoming of more than 4,000 new Canadians, in more than 50 ceremonies nationwide, as they take their formal Oath of Citizenship. Along with them, many more Canadians will take part in reaffirmation ceremonies. Last year, events included a citizenship ceremony at the base of Toronto's CN Tower and another at Ottawa's Canadian Tire Centre — right before a Senators hockey game.

Who can be a Canadian citizen? The answer has evolved over time. Before 1947, Canada's naturalization acts gave nativeborn Canadians and immigrants the status of British subjects. The Canadian Citizenship Act, enacted in 1947, was the first to define people as Canadian citizens. It also gave married women full authority over their national status for the first time. The Citizenship Act of 1976 formally recognised women as equals in citizenship matters and removed some of the remaining distinctions between groups of people wishing to become citizens. The federal government has recently amended some citizenship laws to tighten requirements, as well as expectations of those who become Canadians. These amendments, which received royal assent in June 2014, include an expanded age range for applicants who are required to pass language and civics tests, and the expectation that applicants will spend at least half of each year in Canada for four years of a six-year period. The government can also revoke the citizenship of dual nationals convicted of treasonable offences or terrorism.

In any event, there is no shortage of people wanting to come to Canada — and become Canadians. Canada will welcome between 240,000 and 265,000 new permanent residents this year. Nearly nine in 10 immigrants eventually become Canadian citizens. Some take their devotion to Canada further: In 2011, 44 MPs in the House of Commons were born outside the country.

Canadians are very supportive of the values and strengths that newcomers bring. Although debates over immigration numbers were a staple of political discussion until the 1990s, that is no longer necessarily the case. In a poll conducted for Historica Canada in June 2014 by Ipsos Reid, 86 percent of respondents agreed that "Canada's diversity is a strength." This support speaks to the contributions of new Canadians and the manner in which Canada has evolved from a former British colony — with a largely homogeneous population. Today, our pact with one another comes not from our increasingly different backgrounds, but rather from our present willingness to share a country, and a set of common values, as we build a future together.

Anthony Wilson-Smith is president of Historica Canada.



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UAE: From camel milk and dates to international cuisine



Margaret Dickenson

recent adventure took me and my husband to the amazing United Arab Emirates (UAE). Located in the Middle East, it borders Saudi Arabia, Oman, the Gulf of Oman and the Persian/ Arabian Gulf, and is at the centre of three of the world's strategic regions, each with its own dynamic food culture — the Middle East, Africa and the Indian subcontinent.

The origins of a true Emirati national cuisine can be traced back 7,000 years. Like many countries, its culinary tradi-

tions have been influenced by geography and resources. For millenniums, people living near the coastal area relied on fish and seafood as staple ingredients, while vast desert regions were populated by nomadic Bedouin herdsmen who, along with their highly valued camels (as well as sheep and goats), relocated between oases in search of waterholes and springs. In addition to camel milk, the date palms and wheat grown in the oases were the staples of the Bedouin diet.

Dates, fresh or dried, provided a reliable and abundant supply of food offering extraordinary nutritional value. Five per day proved sufficient to sustain a Bedouin for extended periods when other food was scarce. The oases also permitted a certain degree of cultivation, enhancing the regular Bedouin diet with onions, sweet potatoes, lemons, various salad leaves, cucumbers, pomegranates, melons, pumpkins and honey. Undoubtedly, camels (often referred to as "ships of the desert" that travel long distances and for weeks without water or food) met specific critical needs of the Bedouin, ensuring an ever-available means of transportation and source of dairy products (milk, butter, yogurt and cheese), meat, leather, hair for weaving and dung for fuel. However, because camel meat was usually eaten only on special occasions, falcons used for hunting typically helped supplement the Bedouin diet with captured prey.

In a nutshell, for millenniums Emirati cuisine featured meat, dairy products, grains, dates, fish and, to some extent, vegetables in areas where they were easily grown. But over centuries, ancient trade routes, the early influence of the neighbouring Persian culture, the arrival of Islam (in the 7th Century) and the Gulf's flourishing trade with India and the Far East (by the 16th Century) all, to some



Umm Ali, a well-loved dessert from the UAE.

LARRY DICKENSON

degree, affected the evolution of Emirati cuisine, most notably through the introduction of rice and spices.

Generally speaking, Emirati cuisine had been confined to the home, where dishes are based on recipes passed down from mother to daughter and, as a rule, remain to this day true to their origins. Indeed, at large family gatherings, authentic Emirati food is served in a social ritual rooted in old Bedouin customs.

According to tradition, Emirati food is healthy, and strong ingredients, such as onions (rather than oil and butter), enhance the taste of dishes that are normally boiled, steamed or grilled/roasted. Emirati cuisine meticulously incorporates spices (particularly saffron, cardamom, cumin, turmeric, thyme) in a manner that focuses on blending flavours.

Salonna (a general term for a nutritious Bedouin stew of lamb or chicken and vegetables) remains the most popular and common authentic Emirati dish and is cooked daily in many Emirati homes. It is served with rice, bread and other side dishes. Meanwhile, hareis, revered as the UAE's national dish, consists principally of meat (often ground lamb), ground wheat and spices boiled over low heat for hours, until the meat thoroughly diffuses into the wheat. This savoury type of porridge has prevailed as a culinary treat for special occasions such as weddings, Ramadan and Eid. Ghuzi, a stuffed whole lamb on a bed of spiced rice, also ranks as another popular dish that historically would have been served at a traditional Bedouin celebration where an array of food would be set out on the ground with guests seated (on the ground as well) in a circle around the festive spread. While makbus, a casserole of meat (usually lamb) or fish with rice, has the reputation of being another national favourite, UAE Ambassador Mohammed Saif Helal Al Shehhi notes that for lunch, Emiratis very often will have biriyani (a rice dish made with chicken, meat or fish and rice).

In terms of sweets, *luqeymat* resembles a small round doughnut made of a batter infused with saffron, cardamom and cinnamon. It is deep-fried in ghee (a nutty flavoured clarified butter) and drizzled with date syrup. As in several Arab countries, *Umm Ali*, a version of bread pudding, is made irresistible thanks to an impeccable combination of simple ingredients and tasty additions of raisins, nuts and spices. Ambassador Al Shehhi is quick to emphasise the importance of dates, which he says are "consumed even before breakfast with coffee, then again at breakfast and lunch, but not in the evening."

Indeed, the simple date has always been widely used in Emirati sweet and savoury cooking. Today, dates continue to hold a prestigious position, not only as a fruit eaten out of the hand, but also covered with chocolate, stuffed decadently with fruit and nuts, manipulated into a dazzling array of exotic date balls, jams, patisseries, breads, ice creams and myriad ingenious creations. It is definitely an ongoing symbol of traditional Bedouin hospitality. Be it in private homes, at hotels, exhibitions or wherever, guests are most often welcomed with dates and gahwah (Arabic coffee made with roasted green coffee beans, cardamom and, at times, a



Falcons were frequently used for hunting in the UAE.

pinch of saffron, but never sweetened with sugar). In true ceremonial fashion, a server fills tiny cups with *gahwah* and stands by to replenish them when empty. Only when a guest "wiggles" his/her empty cup from side to side does the server understand the guest has had enough.

Emirati cuisine experienced little significant change until the 1970s when UAE founder Sheik Zayed began ambitious and strategic projects, thanks to the economic impact brought on by the infusion of oil revenue. Within a few decades, traditional Emirati villages transformed into futuristic cities featuring stunning architecture,

Dyanne Wilson Photography



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Luqeymat is another UAE dessert staple.

five-star hotels and restaurants, iconic attractions, lush vegetation and a foreign population outnumbering locals many times over. As a result, Emirati cuisine today reflects a mix of those of the Middle East, Asia and the Western world. Indeed, dining in the UAE can be best described as a phenomenal multicultural adventure, tempting palates with ethnic specialties from virtually every corner of the globe. Arabic, Persian and Indian cuisines reign as the most popular, with preferred menu choices being Arabic mixed grills, tahini, hummus, baba ghanoush, tabbouleh, shawarma and biriyani.

Until recently, there were no serious Emirati restaurants in the UAE other than some obscure simple local ones. Therefore, cognisant of the fact that Emirati food in its original form remains a novel concept to many diners, a new generation of local and international chefs has now focused on embracing traditional recipes and disseminating information about the UAE's culinary heritage. Even Emirati homemakers have eagerly joined the campaign by selling traditional dishes prepared in their own private kitchens by promoting them through social media. And, according to the popular notion, waxing on the theory that what was old is now "new," nutritionists enthusiastically promote camel milk as a super-food. It is lower in fat and cholesterol than cow's milk, three times richer in vitamin C, higher in vitamin B, 10 times higher in iron and closer in composition to human milk.

So, with my own display of hospitality, I invite you to try my version of one of Emiratis' very favourite desserts, *Umm Ali*. Bon Appétit! *Shahia Thaibah*!

Individual Umm Ali

Makes 4 individual servings

2 oz (60 g)* croissants

- 2 cups (500 mL) full fat milk (3.5 % fat)**
- 1/3 cup (80 mL) granulated sugar
- 1/4 cup (60 mL) raisins
- 1/4 cup (60 mL) each of pistachio nuts,

desiccated coconut and toasted*** slivered almonds

1 1/3 tsp (7 mL) ground nutmeg 1/4 to 1/3 cup (60 to 80 mL) heavy cream (35% fat)

1. Cut croissants vertically into 1/3 inch (0.8 cm) wide slices. Arrange slices on a baking sheet in a single layer and place in a preheated 350 °F (180 °C) oven for 2 to 3 minutes (turning once) to toast very lightly.

2. Breaking slices as required, arrange pieces equally in 4 small individual (i.e., capacity 1 cup or 250 mL) ovenproof baking dishes (or pans).

3. Meanwhile, in a small saucepan, heat milk, sugar and raisins over medium heat. Stirring occasionally, bring milk mixture to a boil. Leaving the raisins behind in the saucepan, pour the milk mixture into a large measuring cup.

4. Sprinkle raisins, pistachios, coconut, almonds and nutmeg evenly over croissant pieces in the 4 baking dishes.

5. Pour ½ cup (125 mL) of the milk mixture over the contents of each of the 4 baking dishes, then drizzle the surface of each with 1 tbsp (15 mL) or so of heavy cream. Allow the Umm Ali to rest for 10 minutes.
6. Place baking dishes of Umm Ali about 2 inches (5 cm) below a preheated broiling element of the oven until surfaces are golden brown (about 2 to 3 minutes).

7. Serve Umm Ali warm or at room temperature.

* This is about 1 large croissant.

** If using a "reduced fat" milk, replace some of the milk (e.g., 1/4 cup or 60 mL) with heavy cream (i.e., 35% fat.) *** Toasting is optional.

Margaret Dickenson wrote the awardwinning cookbook, *Margaret's Table — Easy Cooking & Inspiring Entertaining*(www.margaretstable.ca).



Venerable Viognier



Van den Weghe

dog-eared book, an old sweater, or, even a glass of wine poured more out of habit than pleasure are all familiar things. Unfortunately, while familiarity is certainly comforting and reassuring, it rarely exceeds expectations.

The prevalence of certain too-familiar wine grapes and their common styles can send palates running in the direction of something new and different. It was just such a drive that brought Viognier back from near extinction in the '60s to being the world-famous grape it is today.

Much of the appeal of Viognier is its unabashed personality. It leaps from the glass unlike any other grape varietal. Robustly aromatic, with the scent of flowers such as jasmine, honeysuckle and lilies, it is a luxurious, rich white wine. On the palate, flavours of stone fruit, such as apricot and peach, typically dominate, though tropical and citrus fruits, ginger and spices can also play a role.

The key to a truly delicious and memorable Viognier is acidity. The grape is naturally low in it, so effort and skill from the vineyard to the winery are required to produce a wine that has the structure to be truly compelling.

Once thought to have been introduced to France from the Dalmation Coast of Croatia by Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Viognier actually originated around the wine regions of Condrieu and Ampuis in the northern Rhône.

Modern DNA parentage analysis has also shown that Viognier is either a halfsibling or a grandparent of Syrah, and is also related to Nebbiolo.

By 1968, French grape growers had grown so weary of Viognier's low yields and tendency for poor grape development, there were only 14 hectares of Viognier planted in all of France. Most of these plantings were located in what is still considered the zenith of Viognier: Condrieu.

Over the years, the grape's distinctive

characteristics, so unlike Chardonnay, Sauvignon Blanc and Riesling, slowly started to catch on with wine drinkers around the world.

By the 1980s, growers throughout France's Languedoc, the U.S. and Australia began growing grapes of significant quality. Soon, excellent expressions of Viognier were being produced all around the world. Back home in France, by 2009, Viognier plantings reached 43,895 hectares.

Besides being produced as a single varietal, many impressive wines are the result of blending Viognier with other white varietals. This is frequently done with Rhône varietals such as Rousanne and Marsanne. These blends are not only appearing from within the Rhône, but from New World areas such as California and Australia.

Another French tradition from northern Rhône that caught on, particularly in Australia, is co-fermenting a small amount of Viognier (about 5 percent) with Syrah when making red wine. The inclusion of the Viognier intensifies the colour of the Syrah, provides a richer mouthfeel and makes the nose of the wine more complex.

For a delicious Ontario Viognier, look no further than the 2012 vintage from Nyarai Cellars. Coming from a warm year that allows for an expressive wine, the nose smells strongly of orange blossom and sweet lemon.

On the palate, it stays elegant despite the generous flavours of peach and ripe tropical fruit. This great wine is available for \$22 from either Vintages or directly from the winery.

A great example of a Viognier from its place of origin is Jean-Luc Colombo's 2011 "Amour de Dieu" Condrieu. Despite its rich and creamy mouthfeel, the wine remains finely tuned and fresh. Flavours of stone fruit combine with ripe tree fruit and lead into a long, delicious finish. This Condrieu can be purchased in store or online from the SAQ for \$65.

Pieter Van den Weghe is the sommelier at Beckta dining & wine.



Vietnam's home away home away from home

Photos by Dyanne Wilson



Vietnamese Ambassador Anh Dung To and his wife, Tran Phi Nga, love their Spanish Colonial Revival home in the Glebe.



Margo Roston

ietnamese Ambassador To Anh Dung and his wife, Tran Phi Nga, meet photographer Dyanne Wilson and me at the door of their Glebe home. Ms Tran is wearing a traditional hand-painted silk Ao Dai, a national dress that bears a slight to the exterior of their heritage house whose architecture is Spanish. But inside, the house is filled with a sense of Vietnam.

The Powell House, as it is known, although it's not on the nearby street of the same name, is immediately recognisable on Glebe Avenue. A two-storey, white stucco mansion that backs ever so gracefully onto the grassy lawns of Central Park and overlooks the end of Patterson Creek, it was deemed by the city as the best example of Spanish Colonial Revival architecture in Ottawa and was officially recognised for its heritage value in 2004.

The landmark is located in what was known as Clemow Estate and was developed around 1912 by the landowner, Henrietta Clemow, and her husband, William Powell. Their plan was to cash in on the popular trend of the day as members of the middle class began to move out of the urban core and into the suburbs. The couple hired the prolific and well-known architect, W.E. Noffke, to build their 22room home and at least 10 other stately homes in the immediate neighbourhood. Noffke had never built in the Spanish revival genre, but managed to design a



Ambassador To, with his wife, Tran Phi Nga, who wears an Ao Dai, a hand-painted silk dress traditional in Vietnam.



The sunroom boasts tables carved from single pieces of wood.



From the central hall, a wooden staircase leads to a tall, leaded-glass window before reaching the second floor and its six bedrooms.

DELIGHTS | RESIDENCES



The main reception room features traditional Vietnamese furniture.

distinctive and charming building with a red tile roof, overhanging eaves, detailed relief work and a porte-cochére with large buttresses that straddles the driveway.

The house was later owned by Margaret Sheahan and in 1982, it was sold to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The entrance to the house is suitably impressive, opening into a large front hall that leads directly to the back of the house, where French doors open to a patio and stone steps lead down to the park. Presumably, in earlier times, boaters coming from the canal would have used this entrance.

From the central hall, a wooden staircase leads to a large landing and a tall, leaded glass window before reaching the second floor and its six bedrooms. Guests are quick to notice the star of the entranceway: a brass drum presented to the diplomatic residence by Vietnam's prime minister.

To the right are two reception rooms, the first decorated with formal Vietnamese lacquered wood furniture, each piece inlaid by hand with delicate mother of pearl. Ceiling mouldings echo moulding on the walls that hark back to the origins of the house. Over the fireplace sits a second brass drum, vividly engraved with symbols of Vietnam's 4,000-year history.

The second reception room is more relaxed, with plush Victorian-style furniture and colourfully glazed pieces of pottery. Small trees and flowers adorn the rooms, many spilling out of glazed pots of different sizes and shapes.

Across the hall, the large dining room, significantly decorated with a striking lacquered mural of a Vietnamese rice harvest, welcomes those lucky enough to be invited to dine here. In the mural, women in traditional dress harvest rice in a rural village with its bamboo trees, cottages and water buffalo. The dining room is also home to three large carved figures representing important aspects of Vietnamese life; happiness, prosperity and longevity. There is also an interesting painting of the historic One-Pillar Pagoda in Hanoi.

But it is the sunroom, with its magnificent view of the creek and the park where the house shows its individuality. The bright space is filled with oddly shaped chairs and a gorgeous table, all carved from solid pieces of wood. The carver has followed the natural lines of the wood creating artistic shapes from single wood stumps. A bumpkin tree from Vietnam thrives in the light. The ambassador and his wife admit they spend their happiest



A lit sculpture sits next to the fireplace in this room.

times in this room, enjoying the view and sharing coffee with their friends.

The family, including their 18-year-old daughter and 11-year-old son, has a Vietnamese chef, but calls in talented friends from the Vietnamese community to assist when there are large crowds. More than 400 interested visitors toured the house on a single day during this year's Doors Open Ottawa.

"We like the house very much," Ambassador To says. "The Spanish architecture is beautiful." And he enjoys the short sprint to the canal for skating and the pleasure of living in a heritage house, even though he has to ask for permission to make any changes, including putting thicker glass in the windows. But little details don't bother him much, compared to the joy of living with this architectural history. In fact, the government of Vietnam recently purchased a prestigious heritage property in New Edinburgh to use as its office.

In Vietnam, the family lives in Hanoi. They have had postings in the Philippines and Sweden, but seem content with their Spanish-Asian abode in a very cold country.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.

RESIDENCES | DELIGHTS



A china doll from Vietnam.



The living room is spacious and offers plenty of seating.





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NEW ARRIVALS | DIGNITARIES

New arrivals

Raoul Delcorde Ambassador of Belgium



Mr. Delcorde has a PhD in political science. He began his career as an assistant professor before entering the diplomatic service in 1984. Two years later, he was deputy

head of mission in Islamabad and, following that, he was first secretary at the UN in New York. He served two years as first secretary to the OSCE mission in Vienna before returning to headquarters.

From 1996 to 2000, he was ministercounsellor in Washington and, in 2003, became ambassador to Sweden before becoming ambassador to Poland in 2010.

At headquarters, he served as deputy director for Europe and, later, multilateral affairs, and also as assistant to the secretary general for the foreign ministry during Belgium's presidency of the Schengen Agreement.

He is married to Fatemeh Delcorde Javadi and has two daughters.

Koviljka Špirić Ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina



Ms Špirić has a bachelor of arts in pedagogy and psychology from the University of Novi Sad and spent the first nine years of her working life as a educational

adviser before joining the NGO Futura Plus as president, lecturer and project manager for 10 years.

For nine years, beginning in 1997, she became co-ordinator and interpreter for peacekeeping forces in her country, before spending a year as co-ordinator for the implementation of the protocol of cooperation between the provinces of Di Belluno, Italy, and Teslic, Republika Srpska. From 2009 to 2010, she was senior adviser responsible for international co-operation and drafting of development programs for the muncipality of Teslic.

In 2010, she became ambassador to Poland. This is her second diplomatic posting. In addition to her native language, Ms Špirić speaks English and Polish. She is married and has two children.

Mahamat Ali Adoum Ambassador of Chad



Mr. Adoum is a politician and diplomat. Before taking up his post in Canada, he was Chad's permanent representative to the United Nations. This is Mr. Adoum's

second appointment to Canada. He has also served as ambassador to the United States and Argentina. In 1992, he was appointed foreign affairs minister for one year. In 1994, he joined the World Bank as senior adviser to the executive director for African French-speaking countries, and remained at the World Bank until 2003.

Early postings included Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, United Kingdom and the European Community. Mr. Adoum studied political science at the Université Laval in Quebec City, and has a master's degree from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

Alfonso Silva Ambassador of Chile



Ambassador Alfonso Silva studied law at Pontifical Catholic University of Valparaiso, Chile. He also pursued postgraduate studies at Johns Hopkins University and

Georgetown University in the U.S.

Among Mr. Silva's postings abroad, he was secretary and counsellor at the embassy of Chile in the United States (1977 and again in1983); counsellor at the embassy of Chile in Brazil (1992); consul general in Barcelona (1996); permanent representative of Chile to the Latin American Integration Association ALADI, in Montevideo, Uruguay (2000-2001).

Between 2004 and 2007, he was ambassador to Jamaica with accreditation to Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Guyana, Saint Vincent and Grenadines, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Grenada and Saint Lucia. After that post, he was appointed ambassador to India (2007-2010).

Mr. Silva is married and has five children.

Sturla Sigurjónsson Ambassador of Iceland



Mr. Sigurjónsson joined the foreign ministry in 1987 as first secretary. In 1988, he became an officer in the political affairs division at NATO headquarters in Brussels.

He returned to the security policy desk in Reykjavik, then went to the UN mission in New York. He did a stint as consul in the U.S. before returning to New York as deputy permanent representative, followed by a one-year posting as consul-general in New York.

He's since had postings at NATO in Brussels as deputy chief of mission. He returned to Reykjavik for four years, before going to India as ambassador in 2006. He became ambassador to Denmark in 2009.

He is married to Elín Jónsdóttir, a nurse, and they have five children.

Petronila P. Garcia Ambassador of the Philippines



Ms. Garcia is a career diplomat who served as ambassador to the Arab Republic of Egypt with concurrent accreditation to Sudan (2004-2007) and as ambassador to Israel

(2007-2011). She was the assistant secretary for Middle East and African Affairs at headquarters from 2011 to 2014.

The ambassador was born in San Juan, Rizal, Philippines, and holds a bachelor's degree in behavioural science (1977) from Maryknoll College and a bachelor of laws degree.

She joined the foreign ministry in 1981. She also served in Singapore as third secretary and consul; at the consulate general in Australia, as consul; in Israel as counsellor; in South Africa as counsellor and charge d'affaires and in South Korea as minister and chargé d' affaires.

Mihailo Papazoglu Ambassador of Serbia



Mr. Papazoglu comes to his posting in Ottawa after serving as Serbia's chief of diplomatic protocol. Prior to that, he was ministercounsellor for multicultural affairs at

headquarters and before that, adviser on EU policy in the office of the deputy prime minister for European integration. For one year before that, he was first counsellor for multilateral affairs at the foreign ministry's UN directorate.

From 2007 to 2009, he was acting director of the Serbian Cultural Centre in Paris and before that, counsellor at the embassy in Paris. Between 1998 and 2003, he was third secretary and vice-consul at the permanent mission to the Council of Europe. From 1996 to 1998, he was attaché and third secretary in the neighbouring countries directorate at headquarters.

He has a master's in EU law from Belgrade University. He is married and has one son.

Marjan Cencen Ambassador of Slovenia



Mr. Cencen is a career diplomat. He joined the foreign ministry in 1993 and began on the Africa, Asia and Latin America desk. Soon, he was appointed deputy head of mission in Bei-

jing. He returned to headquarters in 2000, as deputy head of the department responsible for North America and three years later, was appointed minister and deputy head of mission in Russia.

Mr. Cencen's next posting came in 2005, as ambassador to China, with responsibility for Vietnam, Mongolia, Korea and Thailand. In 2009, he returned to headquarters as co-ordinator for the European Parliament. In 2012, he became director general, responsible for relations with Eastern Europe, Africa, the Americas, Asia and the Pacific.

The ambassador has a PhD in international relations and is married to Lilijana Cencen Pogorevcnik. They have two daughters.

Beat Nobs Ambassador of Switzerland



Prior to coming to Canada, Mr. Nobs was assistant state secretary for the Asia Pacific. Before that, he spent five years as ambassador to New Zealand, with cross-accreditation for

Fiji Islands, Samoa, Tonga, Cook Islands and Niue.

At headquarters, he worked as ambassador for environmental affairs and as chief negotiator on the environment between 1997 and 2005 and vice-president of the UN Environmental Program.

Canada is not new to him as he studied at the University of British Columbia. He has a PhD in history and speaks Swiss, German, French, English and Spanish.

Mr. Nobs has also had postings in Kenya and Costa Rica. He is married to Dr. Irene Knöpfel Nobs and has three sons.

Bruce J. D. Linghu Representative for the Taipei Economic and **Cultural Office**



Mr. Linghu has been serving as directorgeneral of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Los Angeles for the past year.

lomatic career in 1982

and was special assistant to the deputy minister, MOFA (1985-1987), and senior assistant to the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Los Ângeles (1987-1993).

From 1993 to 1995, he was senior assistant to the vice-minister, MOFA. He was then division director in San Francisco, after which he returned to Los Angeles as deputy director general.

He was in charge of North American affairs (2001-2004) and director general in Auckland (2004-2007). He was then ambassador to the Marshall Islands. He was director general of North American Affairs prior to his most recent posting in Los Angeles.

Non-heads of mission

Albania Orjeta Çobani First secretary

Australia David Patrick Arnold Counsellor

Austria **Sigrid Kodym** First secretary and consul

Claudia Maria Azerbaijan Faig Babayev Ringwald Third secretary Attaché

Ramil Huseynli Counsellor and Lydia Sasnovskis Third secretary chargé d'affaires Marcus Stadthaus

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NATIONAL DAYS | DELIGHTS

Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

Ortobar			
October	China	Nuclear I Day	
1	China	National Day	
1	Cyprus	Independence Day	
1	Nigeria	National Day	
1	Palau	Independence Day	
1	Tuvalu	National Day	
2	Guinea	National Day	
3	Germany	Day of German Unity	
3	Korea, Republic	National Foundation Day	
4	Lesotho	National Day	
9	Uganda	Independence Day	
10	Fiji	National Day	
12	Spain	National Day	
12	Equatorial Guinea	National Day	
23	Hungary	Commemoration of the 1956 Revolution and Day of Proclamation of the Republic of Hungary	
24	Zambia	Independence Day	
26	Austria	National Day	
27	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Independence Day	
27	Turkmenistan	Independence Day	
28	Czech Republic	Proclamation of Czech States	
29	Turkey	Proclamation of the Republic	
November			
1	Algeria	National Day	
1	Antigua and Barbuda	Independence Day	
3	Dominica	Independence Day	
3	Micronesia	Independence Day	
3	Panama	Independence Day	
9	Cambodia	National Day	
11	Angola	Independence Day	
18	Latvia	Independence Day	
18	Oman	National Day	
19	Monaco	National Day	
22	Lebanon	Independence Day	
25	Bosnia and Herzegovina	National Day	
25	Suriname	Independence Day	
28	Albania	National Day	
28	Timor-Leste	Independence Day	
28	Mauritania	Independence Day	
30	Barbados	Independence Day	
December			
1	Central African Republic	Proclamation of the Republic	
1	Romania	National Day	
2	Laos	National Day	
2	United Arab Emirates	National Day	
5	Thailand	National Day	
6	Finland	Independence Day	
11	Burkina Faso	National Day	
12	Kenya	Independence Day	
16	Bahrain	Independence Day	
16	Kazakhstan	Independence Day	
23	Japan	National Day	



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DELIGHTS | ENVOY'S ALBUM













1. Africa Day took place at St. Elias Centre. From left, outgoing Egyptian Ambassador Wael Aboulmagd, former governor general Michaëlle Jean, Zimbabwean Ambassador Florence Chideya, Trade Minister Ed Fast, and Liberal MP Mauril Bélanger cut the cake. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. Drummers perform at Africa Day. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. Outgoing Azerbaijani Ambassador Farid Shafijev and his wife, Ulkar Shafijeva, hosted a national day reception at the Westin Hotel. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. U.S. Ambassador Bruce Heyman and his wife, Vicki, hosted a Fourth of July party at their residence. The couple shared their love of dance with Ottawa. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. Pakistani High Commissioner Akbar Zeb and his wife, Fakhri Akbar Zeb, hosted a reception to celebrate Pakistan Day. Mr. Zeb is shown with Senator Mobina Jaffer. 6. Georgian Ambassador Alexander Latsabidze and his wife, Tea Uchaneishvili, hosted a national day reception at the Château Laurier. (Photo: Ulle Baum)

ENVOY'S ALBUM | DELIGHTS









1. The Taipei Youth Folk Sports Group showcased Taiwan's folk art at Howard Darwin Centennial-Merivale Arena. From left, Left: Yung-Shin Ko, Che-YuYeh, Chieh-Yun Lee. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. On the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, German Ambassador Werner Wnendt and his wife, Eleanore, hosted KulturGarten — a week celebrating all things German, under a tent at their residence. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. To mark the national day of Belgium, and to bid farewell, former Belgian Ambassador Bruno van der Pluijm and his wife, Hildegarde Félix M. van de Voorde hosted a reception at their residence. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. Norwegian Ambassador Mona Brother and her husband, Asmund Baklien, at their residence before taking off in their three-wheeler Morgan (the first and only one in Canada, made in 1911.) (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. Rwandan chargé d'affaires Shakilla K.Umutoni, left, hosted a national day reception at the Château Laurier with musical performances and traditional dances. She's shown with Angolan Ambassador Tavares da Silva Neto. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. The embassies of Indonesia, Myanmar and Vietnam hosted A Taste of Southeast Asia at the Indonesian embassy where these dancers performed. (Photo: Ulle Baum)



DELIGHTS | ENVOY'S ALBUM















1. To mark Croatia's National Day and the World Cup Inaugural Match between Croatia and Brazil, Ambassador Veselko Grubisic and his family celebrated at the Earl of Sussex Pub. From left, Matthew, Martha, Veselko and Ana Maria Grubisic. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. The Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers held its annual service awards at the National Arts Centre. Winners were, from left, Stephanie Duhaime, Nicholas Coghlan, Noëlla Nincevic and Eric Laporte. (Photo: Gordon King) 3. Sima Samar, chairwoman of the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission, attended a garden party fundraiser for CFUW University Women Helping Afghan. From left, Charlotte Rigby, president, CFUW Ottawa Chapter; Ms Samar; Flora MacDonald, former minister of external affairs; and Afghan Ambassador Sham Lall Bathija. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. Joyce Tamayo and her husband, Eric, then chargé d'affaires of the Philippines, hosted a reception to celebrate the Philippines' national day at the National Art Centre. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. Polish Ambassador Marcin Bosacki, shown here with Multiculturalism Minister Jason Kenney, hosted a Polish Freedom Gala at the Canadian Museum of History to celebrate Poland's National Day and several anniversaries (25 years of independence, 15 years in NATO and 10 years of EU membership). (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. Gov. Gen. David Johnston accepted credentials from U.S.-based Cambodian Ambassador Tuy Ry. (Photo: Sgt. Ronald Duchesne, Rideau Hall) 7. Outgoing Slovakian Ambassador Milan Kollar and his wife, Sona Kollarova, hosted a farewell reception at the embassy. (Photo: Ulle Baum)

ENVOY'S ALBUM | DELIGHTS







1. Austrian Ambassador Arno Riedel hosted a reception to thank sponsors of the Viennese Ball. From left, ball chairman Jim Hall, Mayor Jim Watson, Loretta Loria-Riedel and Mr. Riedel. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. Silvia Bompadre, second from left and wife of Argentina's minister, presented an art show of her work and the work of her students. From left, Bibiana Piza, wife of the Costa Rican ambassador, Ms Bompadre, Lidia Nunez, wife of the ambassador of Paraguay, Maria Leonor Sabido Costa (Portugal), and Silvia Genereux. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. Members of the Diplomatic Hospitality Group enjoyed a train trip to Montreal and a gourmet luncheon at the L'Autre Version Restaurant in Old Montreal.







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By Philippe Zeller Ambassador of France

■rance is the world's leading tourist destination (83 million visitors in 2013) and has so much to offer, it is hard to choose just a few places to recommend. Of course, Paris is the top tourist destination within France - a city of romance and the country's fashion capital. It boasts extraordinary monuments and museums. Beauty, architecture, heritage, little cafés and boutiques - Paris is a marvel to discover. I love to walk through the Luxembourg Gardens, the Palais Royal Gardens or Place des Vosges in the Le Marais neighbourhood. Of Paris's many great museums, I often stop by the Modern Art Museum (Tokyo Palace), with its beautiful terrace looking out on the Eiffel Tower. Our other great cities reveal their charms with their own regional identities: Your stay will have a different flavour whether you visit Strasbourg, the eastern town where I come from, or Marseille with its Mediterranean feel.

UNESCO sites abound

You'll find 39 UNESCO World Heritage sites in France. One such example is Mont-Saint-Michel and its surrounding bay. There are plans to renovate its seaside landscape in 2015, which will result in a splendid panorama for visitors. Another set of attractions not to be missed are the Prehistoric Sites and Decorated Caves of the Vézère Valley (Lascaux Cave), located in the Perigord (Aquitaine), a region recognised as the birthplace of gastronomy in France. It is surrounded by vineyards, castles and the splendid Vézère River.

Beaches north, west and south

Summertime propels the French to the country's beaches, and there are plenty to choose from. The English Channel coast is a favourite of Parisians, thanks to its proximity. Normandy's cities of Deauville and Cabourg, where famous writers such as Marguerite Duras and Marcel Proust used



Paris's Modern Art Museum (Tokyo Palace) has a terrace facing the Eiffel Tower.



A Bastille Day celebration at the "grande plage" in Biarritz on the Atlantic Coast. On the right, is the casino and in the background, the Hotel du Palais, which Napoleon III originally built for his wife, Empress Eugénie.

to stay, keep their *Belle Époque* heritage alive through their architecture, casinos and horse racing, which mix pleasantly with their very popular beaches. Not to be missed is the little harbour of Honfleur, from which the founder of New France, Samuel de Champlain, began his odyssey in 1604.

The Atlantic Coast, very popular with surfers, covers the iconic regions and beautiful beaches of Brittany (Benodet), Pays de la Loire (La Baule), Poitou-Charentes (La Rochelle and l'île de Ré) and Aquitaine (Biarritz). As a historical note, Jacques Cartier, who discovered Canada in 1534 (later known as New France, then Canada again after the British Conquest in 1763), was a native of the lovely harbour of Saint-Malo in Brittany.

Last but not least among the beach destinations is the Mediterranean Coast. With its 300 days of sun each year, this coast has the longest season for seaside holidays. From Languedoc Roussillon to the French Riviera, do not miss such gems as the beaches of Gruissan and Collioure, glamorous Saint-Tropez, the famed cinematic location of Cannes and elegant Nice.

If you are travelling during the wintertime, may I suggest you consider a trip to the islands of the French West Indies? Nearest to Canada, the beautiful tropical beaches of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Saint Barthélemy and Saint Martin all offer the French *art de vivre* underneath the palm trees.

France: a premier ski destination

During the winter, another great French tradition is taking ski holidays in the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Vosges, the Jura Mountains or at Massif Central. Did you know that France is the world's leading ski destination? The French mountains — with their six ranges — offer ski getaways with a variety of character: family resorts, authentic lodges and festive environments.

The French Alps also boast some of the highest peaks in Europe. In the north, the most symbolic peak of the mountain range is Mont Blanc, which stands at an altitude of 4,810 metres. This region is home to France's famous historic ski resorts, such as Chamonix and Megève, as well as its premier skiing areas, such

DESTINATIONS | DELIGHTS



An example of French gastronomy, by Chef Jacques Lameloise

as the Trois Vallées. One of the best-kept secrets is that you can enjoy skiing in these high altitudes, even if you are a beginner. The renowned École de ski français (ESF) operates 250 stations and instructors can guide you for an outstanding day on the powdery, panoramic slopes.

World-famous gastronomy

Gastronomy is an integral part of the French identity: It is a driving factor of the economy and it contributes to France's worldwide reputation. In 2010, UNESCO included "the gastronomic meal of the French" on its list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. This designation highlighted the fact that French gastronomy is a living thing that, thanks to the skill and boldness of those who orchestrate flavours and colours, lends itself to exploration and reinvention. I suggest you visit local markets, which are real cultural institutions, and talk with the small-scale producers (cheesemakers, farmers, bakers) to experience their passion for fresh products and their ancestral savoir-faire. If you have the chance to be invited to dinner by a French friend, you will see how the French art de la table is also a social practice for the celebration of important moments. The meal, which will start at 7 p.m. with the *aperitif* and end past midnight after you've tasted numerous dishes, wines, and fine liqueurs, will help you understand that gastronomic meals are at the heart of French culture. Ottawa Event Planning 10 years' experience – more than 100 events

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If you don't have the opportunity to be invited to eat in a family setting, find a Michelin-starred restaurant and choose the gastronomic menu. It will be a one-of-akind dining experience.

Since 2011, France has celebrated gastronomy through the Fête de la gastronomie towards the end of each September. The Fête de la gastronomie is a nationwide celebration including a series of official events that bring together chefs, businesses, craft workers, trade federations and local authorities. In 2013, the Fête was extended into a three-day event. It offers a genuine opportunity for every party involved in France's gastronomy landscape to design ambitious and festive events - public feasts, tastings, special menus in restaurants, visits to businesses and farms, exhibitions, conferences and even street events. This major annual festival offers a convivial, heartwarming venue where French citizens and visitors to France can come together for moments of pleasure and discovery and where they can share their common passion. If you love food, don't miss the 2015 Fête de la gastronomie!

Specialty products to bring home as gifts Of course, what else is there to bring back

DESTINATIONS | DELIGHTS

home besides a grand cru of our famous French wines? You can travel through Alsace to discover Riesling, Aquitaine to visit the famous Bordeaux properties, Burgundy for the renowned Bourgogne, Rhône-Alpes for the Beaujolais and the Côtes-du-Rhône or Provence for the Châteauneuf-du-Pape. Stop by a vineyard and you'll meet the vintners, taste the wine and bring back not only a specialty product, but also a great memory of the experience. Isn't it really the people we meet on our way that are the essential part of a trip? When it comes to sharing our passion for wine, the French can also speak English. Today, more than 30 percent of visitors to France come for wine or gastronomic tourism.

expertise.

This know-how for food and drink helped build France's reputation in various other fields, such as cosmetics, personal well-being, fashion and literature. To that end, we recently held an art gallerystyle exhibition called Galerie F, focusing on French products and brands distributed in Canada. This travelling exhibition, which details the birthplaces and histories of these high-quality products and beloved brands, has seen great success and demonstrated France's excellence in a range of fields. So when you leave France, you know that you will be able to find its perfumes, cosmetics, food or fashion products across your country.



Ambassador Zeller likes to stroll around Place des Vosges in Paris.

Travellers interested in oenotourism should be aware of the Vignobles & Découvertes label, the national wine tourism designation used in France. This label makes it easier for visitors to find accommodations in vineyard regions, restaurants that offer set menus with suggestions for wine pairings, menus featuring local produce and even wine producers offering tours. There is also a wide variety of remarkable heritage sites, activities and events available, giving you the opportunity to discover regional gems and local

Great War Historical Sites

To conclude, I would like to highlight Canada's significant historical contributions as we commemorate the 100th anniversary of the First World War over the next four years. The Vimy Ridge National Historic Site, in Nord-Pas de Calais, is a must-see site for Canadians. This monument to the 11,285 Canadian soldiers reported lost on French soil during the Great War stands at the heart of a 107-hectare park overlooking the Pas-de-Calais coal basin. Built at the place where, in April 1917, Canadian



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Canada Bereft, also known as Mother Canada, is part of the Vimy Ridge National Historic Site in Nord-Pas de Calais. It marks Canada's involvement in the First World War and memorialises the 11,285 missing Canadian soldiers with no known graves. Their names appear on the monument.

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Beaumont-Hamel is the site of a devastating defeat for the Newfoundland regiment on July 1, 1916. Of the 780 soldiers who fought, only 110 were uninjured.

troops fighting as part of the British Army captured Vimy Ridge, the memorial's white pillars and sculpted figures mark a defining event in Canada's history. Another site to visit is the Beaumont-Hamel Newfoundland Memorial Park. On July 1, 1916, at 7:30 a.m., the men of the Newfoundland Regiment had barely climbed out of their trenches when they were caught in fire from German machineguns. Half an hour later, only 110 soldiers remained uninjured. In terms of the proportion of forces involved, this conflict was one of the deadliest of the Somme offensive. The "Great War Remembrance Trails in Nord-Pas-de-Calais" offer visitors an opportunity to discover these sites, to understand these crucial times in world history and to pay homage to the men and woman who laid down their lives.

So, as you can see, there are many reasons to come to France and discover its unparalleled culture, history and natural beauty. I hope you will visit us soon and I wish you a pleasant stay.

Philippe Zeller is France's ambassador to Canada.











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Photographer Mike Beedell met this 400-pound crabeater seal on an icepan in Antarctica in January 2014. Contrary to their name, crabeater seals do not eat crabs. Rather, they eat Antarctic krill. They are social creatures and like to congregate on the ice in large numbers. This species thrives along the entire coast of the Antarctic. Its major predator is the leopard seal, but it is also hunted by orcas. (*Diplomat* welcomes contributions of wildlife photos from embassies. Please send them to editor@diplomatonline.com)

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