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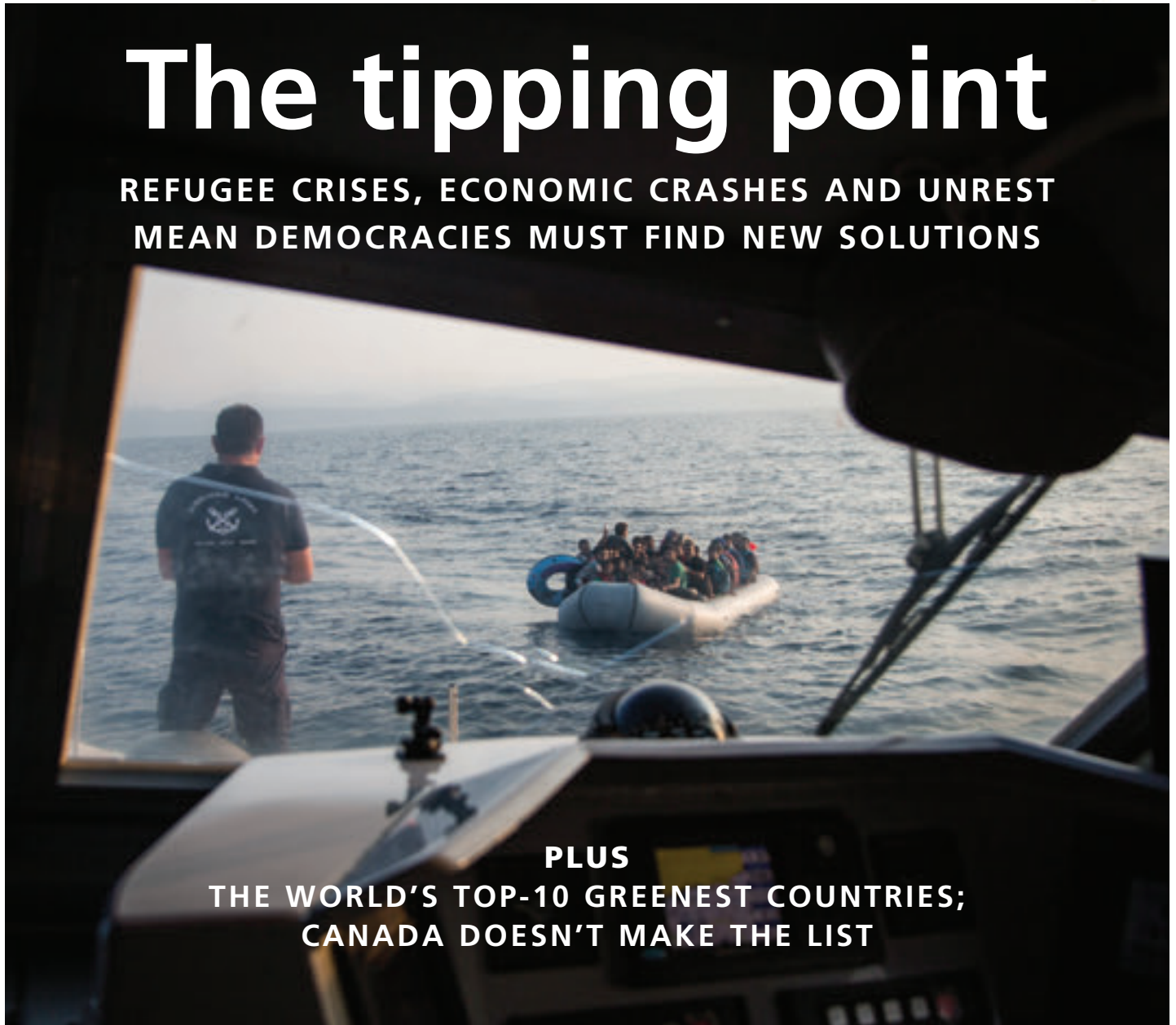
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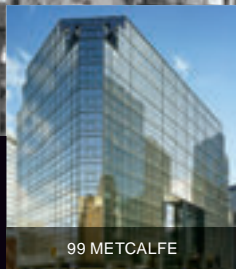


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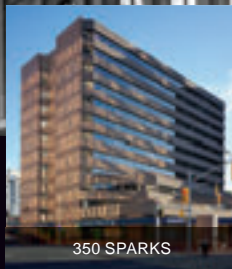
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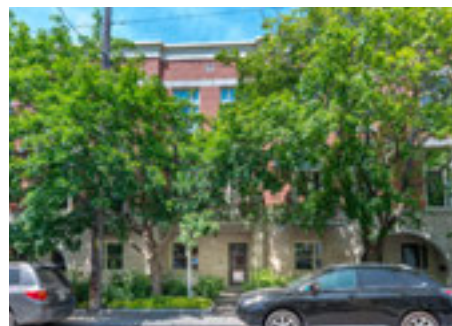
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SUBSCRIPTIONS

Diplomat & International Canada is published four times a year. Subscription rates: individual, one year \$39.80. For Canadian orders add 13 per cent HST. U.S. orders please add \$15 for postage. All other orders please add \$25.

SUBMISSIONS

Diplomat & International Canada welcomes submissions. Contact Jennifer Campbell, editor, at editor@diplomatonline.com or (613) 231-8476.

PRINTER

The Lowe Martin Group.

DIPLOMAT & INTERNATIONAL CANADA

P.O. Box 1173, Station B

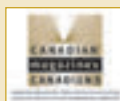
Ottawa, Ontario Canada K1P 5R2

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E-mail: info@diplomatonline.com

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Published by Sparrow House Enterprises Inc.



Volume 26, Number 4

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Jennifer
Campbell

New world order

China took an economic dive, sending stock markets around the world into turmoil; Europe continues to deal with Greece and refugees from North Africa and the Middle East are overrunning Europe while Russia flagrantly violates state sovereignty. ISIS continues its rampage — killing people who oppose its proponents' rigid, anti-modern religious and political beliefs while destroying heritage sites. It had been building, but the controls seem to have slipped at summer's end, pushing us to face refugees' stark realities. In an attempt to make sense of it, our cover story by Fen Hampson and David Gordon looks at the myth of democratization. Democracy is in a troubling state of decline. Citing Singapore's "enlightened dictatorship," they write that western democracies can no longer claim democracy is the sure path to stability and prosperity. Democracies — which Winston Churchill wryly called "the worst form of government, except for all the others" — must therefore jointly come up with new solutions to address the unrest.

Meanwhile, on the environment file, world leaders will meet in November for the 21st United Nations Climate Change Conference. The hope is to secure a legally binding universal agreement on climate. The track record doesn't leave much room for optimism, but the planet requires humans and the industries we sustain and require to lighten our collective carbon and chemical footprint. Without a set of rules and standards, that won't happen in a deeply competitive global economy that showed us this autumn just how volatile it can be.

Our Top-10 story examines the world's cleanest countries, using, as a guide, Yale University's *Environmental Performance Index* (EPI). The index ranks how well countries protect human health from environmental harm, and how well they protect ecosystems. Writer Wolfgang Depner discusses why the Top 10 are where they are, and also the weaknesses in their environmental record.

Canada didn't make the Top 10. Writer Laura Neilson Bonikowsky examines Canada's performance in the EPI in detail, looking at the country's failings, such as pesticide use, forestry, numerous threatened species and Alberta's oilsands. She also points to more positive outcomes, including a score of 100 in the health impacts category, which uses child mortality between the ages of one and five to indicate the state of the environment.

We also have Luigi Bonazzi, the Papal Nuncio, writing about his leader's second encyclical, a veritable call to action on climate change. Read to the end to find Bonazzi's own sweet suggestion.

Also in our Dispatches section, Africa columnist Robert I. Rotberg looks at the state of leadership on the continent. Dr. Rotberg diagnoses a perennial disease he calls "third term-itis" among despots on the continent who refuse to give up power.

We also have a feature, written by Yana Amis, on Canada's mining industry. She notes that today, 115 Canadian communities owe their existence to mining. In addition, the sector generated \$54 billion in 2014 and employed 383,000 people who earned an average salary of \$110,000.

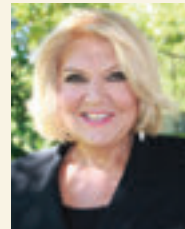
Finally, Joe Landry gives us an account of the foreign policy platforms of the parties running in the federal election.

In our Delights section, books editor George Fetherling features titles on Africa, mercenaries and plunderers, while columnist Margaret Dickenson writes about tasty morsels from Armenia. Margo Roston tours the residence of Thai ambassador Vijavat Isarabhakdi and Philippines Ambassador Petronila Garcia takes readers on an armchair voyage to her magical country.

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat's* editor.

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Yana Amis



Yana Amis studied economics and psychology at the Krupsky Institute in Moscow and came to Canada more than 35 years ago. She founded a mining consultancy in minerals commodity research 17 years ago and her work has taken her around the globe. Clients include mining companies, international research organizations, financial institutions and marketing specialists. Prior to that, she served as technical adviser for the Circumpolar Indigenous Peoples Secretariat and for the McDonald Institute of Northern Studies. Amis has translated numerous technical and literary works and is a novelist and children's literature author. She is also a legal translator.

Robert I. Rotberg



Robert Rotberg is the founding director of the Harvard Kennedy School's Program on Intrastate Conflict, president emeritus of the World Peace Foundation, fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, senior fellow of the Centre for International Governance Innovation, fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center, and sometime Fulbright Research Professor at the Norman Paterson and Balsillie schools of international affairs. He is the author of many books, most recently *Africa Emerges: Consummate Challenges, Abundant Opportunities* (2013) and *Transformative Political Leadership* (2012). He writes regularly for *Diplomat*.

UP FRONT

The image on our cover shows migrants who are flooding into Europe from the Middle East and North Africa. Europe is faced with thousands trying to get in, many of them dying along the way. Our cover story, on page 18, tries to make sense of this situation, along with the falling Chinese economy, ISIS' continuing attacks and Russia's bellicose behaviour.



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Letters to the editor

Re: "We never say China's human rights situation is perfect," Summer 2015

In response to Mainland Chinese (PRC) Ambassador Luo Zhaohui's comment on the issue of Taiwanese sovereignty, I would like to provide the following facts and comments:

Since President Ma Ying-jeou of the Republic of China (Taiwan) took office in May 2008, our ties with Mainland China are at their best since 1949. This relationship is based on the 1992 Consensus of "one China, yet respective interpretations," and is in compliance with the ROC (Taiwan) Constitution.

Cross-strait ties have smoothly developed over the past seven years with substantive and pragmatic realization by the two sides of the "mutual non-recognition of sovereignty and mutual non-denial of authority to govern" concept.

Maintaining the status quo of cross-strait peace is in the best interests of Taiwan and Mainland China and also in line with the expectations of the international community. It should be cherished as a hard-won achievement by all parties concerned.

Republic of China (Taiwan) is a full-fledged democracy and has been an independent sovereign nation since Jan. 1, 1912, while the PRC government was established on Mainland China in 1949. The 23 million people in Taiwan enjoy and respect democracy, freedom, rule of law and human rights that are shared by the people of Canada and many other like-minded countries.

Simon Sung
Executive Director, information division
Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in
Canada

Re: "We never say China's human rights situation is perfect," Summer 2015

Much of what China's ambassador, Luo Zhaohui, asserts in his interview with your editor warrants response, including:

Tibet/Dalai Lama: Luo's statement that "Tibet has been part of China since ancient times," is simply a canard to justify Beijing's illegal annexation with 35,000 soldiers of an independent nation in 1949. One fifth of the Tibetan population perished in consequence. A memo from Canada's External Affairs Department in 1950 explained: "...the Chinese claim to sovereignty over Tibet is not well-founded... (Since 1911) Tibet has controlled its own internal and external affairs."

Since the establishment of formal



China and Taiwan both claim sovereignty over islands in the South China Sea.

diplomatic relations with Beijing in 1949, Canada has recognized all the constituent regions, including Tibet, as parts of the new political reality. This position is similar to what the Dalai Lama has proposed under his "Middle Way" policy. The sinicization of Tibet since 1949 has been brutal, with many Tibetans now living in exile. Alexander Solzhenitsyn described the Beijing regime in Tibet in 1981 as "more brutal and inhumane than any other communist regime in the world." Little appears to have changed in 2015.

Hong Kong: Luo speaks about "democratic procedures" choosing Hong Kong's chief executive in 2017, but the hostility of Beijing towards democratic governance there is well known to all. Martin Lee, founding chairman of the Hong Kong Democratic Party, notes: "They promised us democracy 10 years after the handover; but in 2007 and 2012, they said no.... Then they [announced an election for 2017, but it's] a sham because Hong Kong's next chief executive will again be chosen by a 1,200-member Beijing-backed selection committee."

Anson Chan, chief secretary of Hong Kong under British and Chinese governments, says Hong Kong must remain true to itself and the rule of law, "China can evolve peacefully to a nation where basic human rights ... are guaranteed," an independent judiciary, freedom of expression, including freedom of the press, freedom of religion, freedom from arbitrary arrest and zero tolerance of corruption. Chan and Lee appear to speak for most Hong Kong residents on such issues.

Taiwan: Luo asserts that China is unique because "Taiwan is still separate," ignoring that Taiwan has never belonged to the People's Republic of China. The Republic of China (ROC) has possessed Taiwan since 1945. The fact that ROC passports are universally accepted is one of a host of indications of its sovereignty over Taiwan today. Chinese statements about peace and stability are clearly inconsistent with its territorial aggrandizement actions in the East China Sea, South China Sea and towards Taiwan.

Beijing's party-state still aspires to annex Taiwan and has never abandoned this military threat to stability in the western Pacific. The best way for the international community (and Taiwan) to avoid such a nightmare is to contribute to a world order in which the benefits of peace outweigh the costs of war to China. Taiwan is what China can become in terms of democratic governance.

David Kilgour, Ottawa

(David Kilgour is a former MP and former secretary of state for Latin America & Africa and for Asia-Pacific.)

Political commentary from around the world



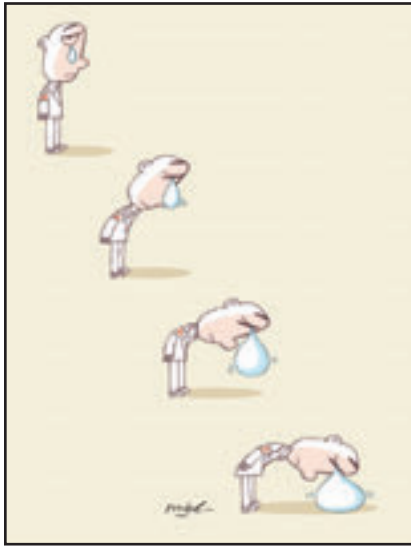
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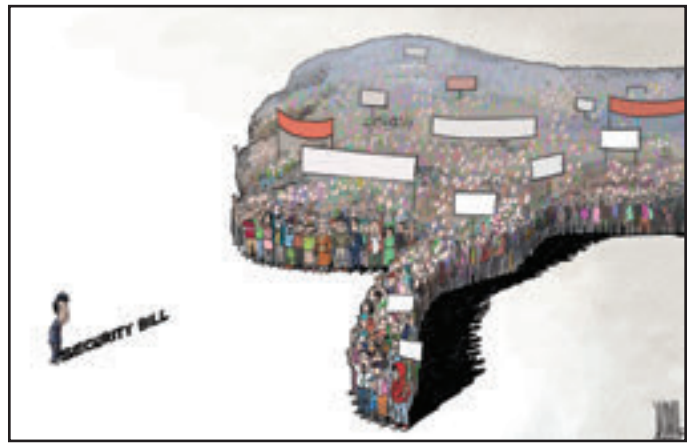
Japanese War Crimes Apology by Deng Coy Miel, Singapore



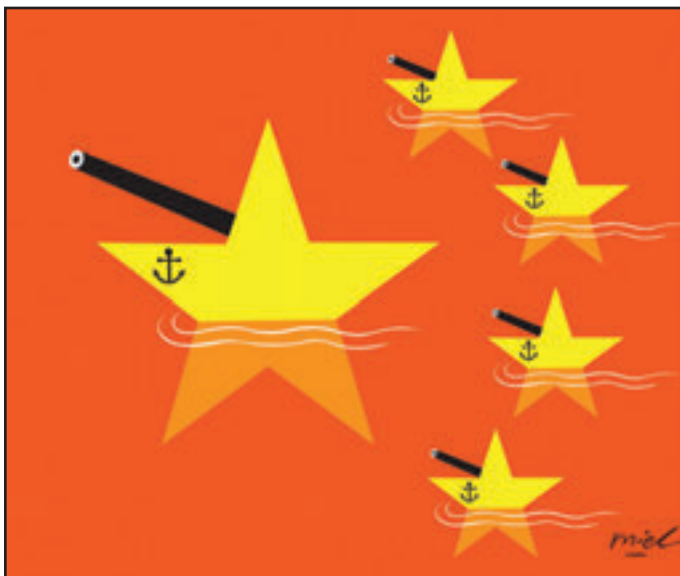
Competition in the Arctic by Patrick Chappatte, *The International New York Times*



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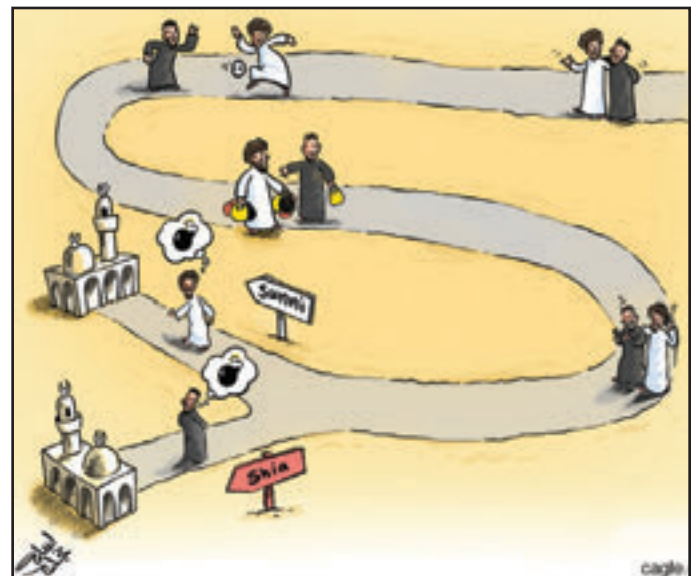
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The enduring myth of democratic convergence



Refugees by the hundreds make their way to a Hungarian registration centre by the Serbian border. The challenge in dealing with this crisis runs deeper than how to manage it. It is also a question of vision and values.



*Fen Osler Hampson and
By David F. Gordon*

It is a turbulent world. Refugees and asylum seekers from the Middle East and Africa are pouring into Europe by the tens of thousands. Millions more are struggling to survive in refugee camps in Jordan and Turkey as violent sectarian conflict in Syria and Iraq continues without end. Ukraine is floundering, unsettled by increasing incursions by Russia and the breakdown of the Minsk Agreement process. The global economy also looks like it is in for a long and bumpy ride. The Chinese economy is roiling as asset prices tumble and its own stock market bubble bursts.

As the price of oil tumbles, oil-producing countries — Canada included — are taking a major hit, though the falling price is good news for consumers and the transportation sector. Earlier this year, China's

Premier Li Keqiang signalled that China's growth rate would drop from double-digits to seven percent, a figure that some economists now say may be too rosy. "Economic shocks, from Greece to China to Russia," as McKinsey & Co. warn in a new report "are now of greater concern because around the world, traditional policy tools have already been used and financial resources depleted to help economies recover from the last downturn."

But the challenge runs deeper than how to manage a succession of crises. It is also one of vision and values. The U.S.-led post-Second World War international order — built around democratic values, open economies and global security norms — is threatened not just by the onset of chaos, but also the growing appeal of other political, religious and economic models of local and global governance. The sad truth is that fragile flower of western liberal democracy, and the norms and institutions that accompany and sustain it, is wilting and losing its appeal in many parts of the world.

At the height of the Cold War in the 1950s and early 1960s, policymakers and many western intellectuals believed that the Soviet Union and its communist al-

lies, China included, would eventually succumb to the forces of liberalization and democracy as their economies and societies evolved. It was called the theory of convergence.

More than 25 years after the Cold War ended, convergence theory still has a powerful grip on the minds of western policymakers and intellectuals. But should it? To paraphrase former U.S. president Ronald Reagan, western democracies, the U.S. included, are no longer that "shining city upon a hill whose beacon light guides freedom-loving people everywhere" for the simple reason that there are other political models out there that are now competing for hearts and minds.

The cruel lesson of the second decade of this century is that democratic convergence is not happening. We are no longer surfing what the great American political scientist, Samuel P. Huntington, once called the "third wave of democracy." In fact, we are witnessing a deeply troubling reversal of democratic fortunes. As Freedom House's 2105 annual report on the condition of global political rights and civil liberties shows, democracy is in overall decline and "under greater threat than at any point in the last 25 years." Freedom

House finds that “nearly twice as many countries suffered declines as registered gains, 61 to 33, with the number of gains hitting its lowest point since the nine-year erosion began. This pattern [holds] true across geographical regions, with more declines than gains in the Middle East and North Africa, Eurasia, sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, and the Americas and an even split in Asia-Pacific.”

The policy implications of the end of convergence for western democracies are profound. Western democracies must work together much more closely than they have in recent years to address the growing challenges to liberal democratic values and norms and revitalize the governance arrangements that underpin the liberal international order and have been the basis for global co-operation and prosperity since the end of the Second World War.

In the original Cold War theory of convergence, Marxism was, at best, a transitional phase in the natural evolution of societies, an accompaniment perhaps to the early stages of industrialization as Walt W. Rostow argued many years ago in his influential book, *The Stages of Economic Growth*. According to early proponents of the theory of convergence, Marxism was a political model that could not withstand the corrosive social and political pressures that accompanied the creation of affluence and the rise of a new middle class. With those pressures, economies shifted from making intermediate products, such as raw materials and machinery, to producing goods to meet direct consumer demand. In the end, all societies would begin to look more and more alike and capitalism and democracy would emerge triumphant.

It was an idea that was subsequently popularized in a different form in Francis Fukuyama’s highly provocative essay (and subsequent book) *The End of History*, which argued that after the fall of communism, there were no viable alternative political models to western-style democracy.

In its post-Cold War form, convergence theory also came to be applied to countries such as Egypt, Syria, Libya and Iraq, which fell under authoritarian rule, or countries such as Iran, that fell under religious rule.

No U.S. support for Iran’s pro-democracy uprising

In the ambitious nation-building exercises that followed U.S.-led interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq in 2002-2003, for example, it was believed that if you could



Earlier this year, U.S. officials contended that China is piling sand on reefs in the South China sea to create island inlets in the region, augmenting already existing tensions.

get rid of unpopular dictators and Islamic extremists and sow the seeds of economic development with generous amounts of foreign aid and other kinds of assistance, democracy would eventually take root, no matter how barren the soil.

As those interventions went sour, a new American leader switched policy while keeping the same convergence assumptions: If you keep your hands off, nature will still run its democratic course. President Barack Obama’s reluctance to intervene in Iran’s “green revolution” of 2009 was premised on the belief that Iran’s ayatollahs would succumb to a wave of popular unrest and the aspirations of the Iranian people for genuine democracy without outside intervention.

That, too, did not happen.

The development of state-led capitalism under communist rule in China was also seen through the same prism as earlier Cold War theories of convergence. With China’s entry into the global economy and astounding economic development, many believed its export-led growth would shift to domestic-led growth and consumerism. Growing demands for political participation by China’s new middle class would eventually erode the foundations of one-party rule, either peacefully or via social revolution.

In western thinking, the theory of convergence has also been central to beliefs about the socializing role of liberal international institutions and the importance of the principle of universal membership. Through the inclusion of non-democratic states in international institutions, including the Bretton Woods institutions, it was widely supposed that these international entities would exert a powerful socializing force. It would encourage those states, which would otherwise be free riders,

spoilers or revolutionaries intent on upsetting the international order, to become responsible stakeholders in the current international system.

But the world’s most powerful autocratic regimes are now becoming more repressive, not less, and there is no sign that they will relax their grip as they struggle with their own massive internal social and economic challenges. Although China has embraced state-led capitalism with a vengeance, its authoritarian leaders are tightening, not loosening, their grip over their citizenry under China’s new president, Xi Jinping. Russia, after its brief flirtation with democracy and a fleeting period of greater openness, is reverting to authoritarian rule under Vladimir Putin. Appeals to more virulent forms of nationalism are being exploited to bolster Putin’s claim to political legitimacy while he represses human rights and freedom of expression.

Chinese expansion and Russia’s territorial aggression

The normative sway of liberal international institutions that have been the bedrock of the post-war international order is also weakening. With its seizure of Crimea and invasion of Ukraine, Russia flagrantly violated the longstanding principles of state sovereignty and respect for territorial boundaries that are enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the founding principles of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

China is in the process of unilaterally asserting its territorial claims in the South China Sea to the chagrin of its neighbours. The inability of the United States to follow through on strengthening China’s role in the Bretton Woods institutions has prompted Beijing to move beyond simply “free-riding” on globalization to creating

its own institutions, such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, where it can write the rules.

The financial crisis and subsequent recession of 2008-2009 blotted the copy-book of western democracies and the rules under which capitalist economies operate. No longer could western democracies take pride in the fact that democracy and capitalism go together and are the surest path to prosperity. The European Union's continuing economic difficulties and sluggish growth rates have reinforced the message that western democracies are inefficient, if not incompetent, managers of their citizens' fortunes and economic future.

Kishore Mahubani, one of Asia's leading public intellectuals, gleefully pokes a stick in the eye of western democracies by pointing out that the "Asian way" has delivered superior social and economic results. On the 50th anniversary of Singapore's independence, he recently argued that Singapore has done a better and faster job of meeting the basic needs of citizens — food, shelter, health, education and employment — than any other society in the world. Singapore was able to do this by having an "enlightened dictatorship" of exceptional leaders: Lee

Kuan Yew, its founding prime minister who died in March this year; Goh Keng Swee, the architect of Singapore's economic miracle; and Sinnathamby Rajaratnam, Singapore's philosopher and deputy prime minister.

Western democracies should counter on an international scale

At a time when western democracies have lost much of their lustre and appeal, many countries, especially in the developing world, are looking to Singapore and China as the new beacons for their own path and future development. In other parts of the world, brutal extremists are imposing their own 21st-Century brand of repressive religious theocracy on their people.

The implications of the end of convergence are as deep as they are profound. Western democracies of the Atlantic and the Indo-Pacific are going to have to identify collective strategies and approaches to counter the propaganda and battle of narratives that is being waged by those state and non-state actors — such as Russia, ISIS and Iran — that are challengers to the current international order. Western democracies are also going to have to focus on the rising appeal of "benign"

authoritarian models whose proponents argue do a better job of meeting the needs of their citizenry. International economic and political institutions also have to be reformed to be more effective and inclusive to ensure rising powers have a greater voice and an increased stake in the current international order.

None of this will be easy. But unless western democracies demonstrate a renewed commitment to their shared set of values and interests and mobilize the requisite diplomatic, economic, military and political resources to act in concert on an international scale, global stability and prosperity and the great gains that the world has made during the past 70 years will be threatened.

Columnist Fen Osler Hampson is a Distinguished Fellow & Director of the Global Security & Politics Program, CIGI. He is Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University. David F. Gordon was policy planning director at the U.S. Department of State and vice-chairman of the National Intelligence Council. He is currently senior adviser to the Eurasia Group and a senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security.



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NPSIA Director Dane Rowlands:

'Russia should never have been in the G8'

Photos by Dyanne Wilson

Dane Rowlands is an economist by trade. He has been teaching at Carleton University since 1994 and has been director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs for the past three years. His research interests include international debt, multilateral financial institutions, official development assistance, international migration, peacekeeping, conflict and development. He teaches courses in international finance and conflict economics. He sat down with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell.

Diplomat magazine: NPSIA is known as a training ground for diplomats. Is that still the case?

Dane Rowlands: Yes, but I think in the formal sense, the diplomatic section is probably smaller. It's more policy writ large. I think the vast majority of our students want to end up at the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development because that incorporates the development side as well. CIDA and Foreign Affairs used to be the two biggest areas. The foreign service officer section is now significantly smaller than it used to be. And there are a lot of students who don't want the foreign service officer life, especially if they're thinking of family and stability. Many are interested in the policy process.

DM: Development and foreign aid are subjects you've studied forever. Looking at Canada's current foreign aid policy, are we doing a good job?

DR: The traditional economist answer is yes and no. It's an interesting time in aid policy. There's more and more resistance in the public sector to this notion that more is always better, that you have to make the 0.7 percent target. People in development think 0.7 should be a notional target, but there's a growing recognition that it's just as important to think about the efficacy of the aid that we give and that's led to a couple of different directions. One, you get this centre for global development approach, which tries to measure this footprint on development, taking into account foreign aid, remittances, investment, migration.

So this whole wider area of what could be considered as contributing to the development of poorer countries. They're trying to expand beyond the narrow measurement of just foreign aid. The second direction is how do you improve the projects and programming of foreign aid and there, I think Canada, despite the hiccups, has done a good job. I think the Maternal and Newborn Child Health Initiative has focused the aid program and its money. The government certainly chose an important area and channelled money in a substantive way.

I don't think you can actually address the issue of how much money do we put into an aid program until you can convince the electorate we are actually doing some good.

DM: One of outgoing Development Minister Christian Paradis' approaches has been to provide development funding to countries in which Canada has other interests, such as trade. Is that a good model?

DR: That was one of the complaints, risks, concerns when CIDA merged with DFAIT — the extent to which other interests would affect the development agenda. I think it's too early to tell how that will work out. In favour of Mr. Paradis' approach is the idea that if there's no constituency — a large diaspora or some potential private corporate interests, some kind of historical connection or linguistic tie — the aid agenda will suffer because there isn't the pressure. The countries of focus change depending on the party in power, but it's been relatively constant. There is a need to have stability. Programs work better when you have that long-term engagement.

DM: What are your thoughts on what's happening in Greece and where will it all end up?

DR: They have a singular capacity to disappoint. The origins, from my perspective, are relatively clear. There was overlending to Greece by the European financial system. We all know why. When they entered the Euro, Greece was able to borrow at cheap rates, so why wouldn't



they? They had been paying 10 or 15 percent on their debt and then, overnight, after joining the Euro, they were down to three percent. Why wouldn't they borrow like mad? They did and I blame [the electorate] for continually electing these guys who were borderline committing fraud. But it was really the role of private financial institutions to say no and they didn't. It was part of the over-exuberance. This has been a singular failure of the international financial system. It doesn't have a way to deal with sovereign bankruptcy. It's always ad hoc, usually with the IMF involved.

I think the Europeans have a chance to solve this internally. Is more austerity a good thing? The debt-to-GDP ratio is getting worse because the debt is going down a lot slower than the GDP. No one thinks [more austerity] is the answer except the Europeans, who want the Greeks to suffer.

The Europeans have to put in a system that will prevent this from ever happening again. And I think they can.

DM: What should Europe, and countries such as Canada, do about the refugee crisis taking hold in Europe?

DR: Like the Greek crisis, the refugee tragedy is a short-term emergency complicated by two more fundamental challenges to Europe. First, the refugee crisis exposes the tension between the liberal and humanitarian aspirations expressed by some Europeans and the rising nationalism and xenophobia expressed by others. The second challenge is that the desire for a single, open European labour market cannot function if it is unable to agree on rules for a common border. I expect Europe will come up with a temporary fix with some politically and economically stronger countries taking on a disproportionate share of the resettlement burden, but I do not think that solution can continue indefinitely, and there will be increased pressure to address the refugee flows before they reach Europe. In my opinion, Canada can and should take in more refugees, which is consistent with our traditions and will help ease the burden on other states. Polls indicate that most Canadians support such a policy. All parties agree we should take in more refugees, and they should agree to do so before the election.

DM: Moving on to Russia, sanctions against the country by the West seem to be more irritation than deterrent. Do you agree?

DR: Yes. It's failed as a deterrent. I used

to teach a class on sanctions and the key observation is that as soon as you see sanctions in place, they've failed. Sanctions are there as a deterrent. A country, when it does something like that, has already factored in the sanctions in advance. Crimea? They say 'Well, we'll get sanctions, but we also get Crimea.' Studies suggest [sanctions are] most effective when you do them on your friends — sanctions against the U.K. and France during the Suez Crisis, for example.

Sanctions are more a signal that you're upset. To not do it would seem callous. You have to be seen as sending a signal.

DM: Is there something that would be more effective?

DR: The problem is that the more effective forms of sanctions are also the most costly to those issuing them. Sanctions have become much more intelligent in the sense that you target key individuals in the system. Not sending medicine, for example, means innocent people are being affected by sanctions and that has really hurt this as a policy instrument. Targeting leadership and firms close to a regime [is best.] It's now a science.

DM: What would you do with Putin?

DR: I'm of two minds. Sure, punish him, but this is a mess that should have been avoided, which is easier said than done.

There had to be some real politik in seeing that the Russians were never going to let Ukraine fall into a total western system, part of the EU, NATO. Yes, it's nice if countries get to determine their own foreign policy, but that's not the real world. The Europeans were just a little irresponsible by [dangling EU membership before Ukraine without considering how Russia would react.]

I'm not trying to excuse what the Russians did, but it's cheap for them to do what they did [expanding into Ukraine.] The only option for us with Russia is escalation and no one thinks Ukraine is worth a nuclear war or even a conventional war with Russia.

I don't think there is a very smart playing of the cards in this case and I think there were some opportunities wasted. Having said that, Russia did what it did and there needs to be a long climb back for them.

DM: Was kicking them out of the G8 a good thing?

DR: I didn't think letting them in in the first place was a good thing! The G7 was a coherent group — all market-oriented

democracies with a long history of rule-of-law. The degree to which they could reach consensus was there and was necessary for them to be effective. Bringing Russia into it as a treat to Yeltsin was absurd. I would have said have a different forum, such as they do with China now. They put the cart in front of the horse by saying 'We will give you G8 membership and that will solidify your democracy,' as opposed to saying 'Solidify your democracy and then you can become part of the G8.' But it was a sanction, at least, that we could impose on them, so maybe it's not so bad.

The Russians want to be on the same playing field as the members of the G7. It's signalled in a lot of their internal policies.

I'm thinking of some of the work I did on aid programs in emerging countries. The Russians wanted their aid program to look exactly like a western aid program for the same cynical reasons and in the same way that dominant donors within the OECD and even in the G7 use definitions of aid that are advantageous to them.

So yes, kicking Russia out was one of the more effective elements in terms of punishing them.

Having said that, Russia is still an important country to engage with. How are you going to get a deal with Iran, Syria [without Russia]? I'm not sure how much longer the cold shoulder will be possible if we're to make progress on some of these important issues.

DM: Switching gears entirely, what do you make of Canada's recession?

DR: It's mild and I think it is, to a degree, temporary. It's really reflecting what's gone on in the oil sector. Going down is relatively quick; adjusting on the other side takes a while. It takes time for the firms on the manufacturing side, or any of the sectors, to say 'Hmm, I have opportunities to expand. But is it worth the effort to do so or is it a temporary blip?' Whereas on the other side, with the sectors that are declining, there's no choice, they have to cut labour and costs and can't invest.

It's the same in international trade. In international trade, you're committed to buying things through longer-term trade agreements. If your dollar goes down, you don't want to anymore, but you're locked in a contract. That can stretch out for eight months to a year before you actually see a full adjustment to something like a currency change.

We're at the worst part of this. Having said that, the greater risk of a recession of

importance is coming from the financial side. If Europe doesn't get its act together, you're going to see more turmoil in international financial markets and that hurts all trading nations in a significant way. It will provide some relief in the sense that the U.S. dollar is likely to go up even further, because there's always a flight in these crises to the U.S. dollar-denominated assets. But that effect won't really help us for a few months and the real risk is of the Europeans going into recession. China is already slowing down as is Latin America and that, inevitably, will hurt us as a trading country.

DM: To what do you attribute China's slowdown?

DR: Well, they're slowing down to eight percent. Projections are around six percent. If we were at six percent, we'd be jumping for joy. It's going down because it's been at such a high level for so long, but I think also, they're beginning to come to terms with some of the adjustments they have to face.

They have a bit of a precarious shadow or parallel banking system they need to worry about, and there are internal debts. A lot of people have a lot of money tied up in assets that may not be as secure as they think, and some of this money has been leveraged to cause asset bubbles, such as we have seen recently burst in the stock market.

On the recent currency devaluation, the views are mixed. While the U.S. will no doubt complain bitterly and the Congressional China-bashers will cry "foul play," the fact is that by following along the U.S. dollar's recent rise in value, the Chinese yuan/renminbi has become



Greeks in Athens celebrate the results of the July 5 referendum on austerity measures proposed by the EU and IMF.

probably overvalued relative to its other trading partners, and so a devaluation in the face of weaker-than-expected domestic growth is not unexpected. In addition, some people have suggested that China has been backing off managing the currency too much in order to be seen as less heavily involved in setting its value, something that would help to promote the potential inclusion of the renminbi in the IMF's SDR (Special Drawing Right), a signal of the international importance of a currency.

By definition, anything in China is huge. Also, it's partly that they have grown quickly over the last little while. Once you're richer, it's harder to grow fast, because you've already taken advantage of the easy ways to make things better. The Chinese have had to move really fast because they were so miserably run for so long. There were so many efficiencies

that they could gain by reallocating resources. Now they really have to do some research and development on their own. There's a lot of very interesting innovation and cutting-edge work being done in China now. They're not just stealing it. Yes, China likely still acquires technology, maybe most of it, in questionable ways (though they are not alone in undertaking industrial espionage), but there are growing signs that many Chinese firms have now gone on to the cutting-edge, where stealing technology often doesn't work since no one is that far ahead any more, and they are big enough to innovate on their own.

Now the harder part comes, which is how do you sustain high rates of growth? Just taking half of your labour force out of the agriculture sector, which was difficult, but they've managed to do it, that was a huge boost to their growth phase. It's going to be tougher for them for a bit.

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DM: But it's not worrisome globally?

DR: I think politically, there are some concerns because they know the government's political legitimacy depends, to a large extent, on delivering economic prosperity. But having said that, they've done so well for the last while, people's expectations adjust more slowly. There's a generation of Chinese who were poor just 20 to 30 years ago, and now they're incredibly rich and they're not used to spending, so they're saving to some extent.

Their one-child policy, which they've relaxed, is starting to now bite in terms of the demographic and labour-force effect. So there are a lot of longer-term trends that are coming together. And there are some short-term adjustments they have been making as well, such as propping up their collapsing stock market. There are also attempts to regulate problematic financial institutions and address municipal, provincial and state-owned enterprise debt and financing.

Americans are obsessed with Chinese military expansion. I'm not as concerned about that. I'm mildly optimistic because China has, in my view, been remarkably responsible and responsive to the concerns that have been expressed. Whether

they're just kind of hiding things, who knows?

Observers suggested that there would be a number of destabilizing things China would do and the Chinese government seems to have gone out of its way not to. China as a rogue aid donor was going to destroy the African economy, but they've been a little bit sensitive and have adjusted some of their policies. It's still a problem, but they've adjusted. There are places like the South China Sea that are more problematic. But all in all, it's more encouraging than some people thought.

DM: Are you optimistic about 2016?

DR: Maybe it's always the case that you're always balanced on a knife's edge. There are some real opportunities, if Europe can come to an agreement; and ultimately, I think they will. If the Iran negotiations evolve successfully, I think that would be a big positive. By success, I mean that the ability of Iran to acquire nuclear weapons is inhibited, at least delayed, if not put on hold. The current agreement can plausibly claim to do this as well as can be expected. Also, [one wants to be sure] the easing of sanctions does not lead Iran to increase dramatically its funding for terrorists, which we will have to reserve

judgment on.

Ultimately, the upside of an Iran deal is to open the door for Iran to be able to, and to want to, re-engage in a more constructive manner with the wider international community beyond its limited links to Syria, the Houthis in Yemen, Hezbollah and other unsavoury groups. Whether they will take any such emerging opportunity is not obvious, and will be determined by the balance of contending forces and factions in Iran.

None of the reintegration into the global system of an internationally responsible Iran is going to happen quickly, if at all. On balance, I would say the deal makes that a possibility, which it wasn't before, though at the risk of empowering Iran to do more damage with newly available resources and credibility.

If some kind of a more constructive truce over Ukraine could come about, that would be a big plus. But all those could equally go south. But, if I were to make a prediction, I would probably come out a little bit on the optimistic side.

Obama, as much as he's a lame duck, has actually been doing some very interesting things lately — Cuba, for example [his initiative to lift sanctions, and allow U.S. citizens to visit Cuba.] ■

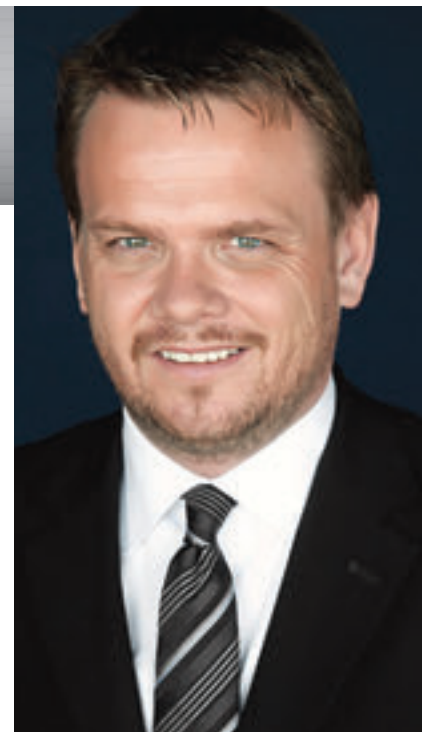
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Engineers Without Borders

International development: More than safe bets

By Boris Martin

It's rare that you get to see the fruits of development work up close, let alone hold it in your hands or feed it to cows.

Earlier this year, I went on a three-country tour of Engineers Without Borders Canada's work in sub-Saharan Africa. I started in Kenya, where there's a distinct feeling of "Just Do It" running through the capital — and where some of Engineers Without Borders' (EWB) ventures are living that mantra every day.

One of the Kenyan projects we support is LishaBora Hydroponics, which launched just five months ago. LishaBora ("better feed" in Swahili) is enabling smallholder dairy farmers to access affordable, high-quality feed for their cattle by growing it on less land, with less water and at a lower cost.

It's early days, but Graham Benton, managing director at LishaBora Hydroponics, and his team are already seeing incredible results. I saw these results up close when I visited a dairy farmer named Agnes, one of LishaBora's first 40 customers, and fed its fodder to her cattle. The fodder is rich, nutritious and consistent, unlike what's currently available at higher prices to breadwinners and caregivers such as Agnes. With the new fodder, her three cows have already started yielding 20 percent more milk.

The difference between bad food and good food for three cows may seem trivial, but our rough estimates suggest that informal milk production accounts for four percent of Kenya's GDP. LishaBora's work is small, but it has the potential to tap into an entire profession's potential, and not only in Kenya.

LishaBora is a prototypical EWB venture: highly ambitious and constantly experimenting. They're taking risks — and by backing them, so are we. That's not to say they're wild risks, or that we take them blindly. We're very intentional about whom we support and we're holistic in what we offer them. We provide mentorship, exceptional volunteers and seed capital to Benton for projects that are at such a preliminary stage that nobody looking solely at profits would take that risk.

By supporting ventures such as LishaBora, we are trying to address Africa's



Kenyan LishaBora employee Ester Hanna, right, shows the company's hydroponically grown cattle feed to a prospective customer.

"missing middle." The International Finance Corporation estimates that four out of five small- and medium-sized enterprises in sub-Saharan Africa are locked out of the financing they need to grow, representing a \$140-billion to \$170-billion credit gap. In Kenya, local venture capitalists told me that our blended support strategy of talent, mentorship and seed funding is well suited to accelerating ventures found in that missing middle, ventures that have a high impact potential, but are at too early a stage to get financing.

We understand that profit isn't everything in international development — that to tackle problems as big as global poverty and inequity, you need to make bold bets.

This year, we're betting on 14 ventures, focusing on the agriculture sector and small and growing businesses. They range from Rent-to-Own, which provides equipment and advisory services to entrepreneurs in rural Zambia, to Mining Shared Value, which promotes local procurement in the extractives sector.

There's one more thing we offer to our ventures: a network of dedicated engineers, development professionals and like-minded thinkers. This summer, we were thrilled to send David Lipinski, a biosystems engineering graduate from the University of Manitoba, who brings

essential engineering and operations strength, to LishaBora. Lipinski is one of nine long-term fellows who left Manitoba earlier this year to support our ventures in Kenya. They're joined for the summer by 12 junior fellows. We have another 10 working with our ventures and national office staff in Toronto.

Junior fellows have gone on to become long-term fellows; long-term fellows have become venture leaders; venture leaders have led more ventures or have moved into senior roles at EWB or at other leading organizations. Our blended model of support is creating a tribe of passionate pragmatists who understand the complexity and messiness of international development, and who are not deterred by those challenges. Indeed, they are invigorated by them.

If you would like to speak to an engineer without borders — whether a national office staff member, a venture leader, a long-term or junior fellow or a member from one of our 39 chapters — please visit www.ewb.ca to see how to get involved. We want you to join the tribe.

Boris Martin is the CEO of Engineers Without Borders Canada. Previously, he worked with EWB ventures in Burkina Faso and Ghana.

International Women: Dining with diplomats

A total of nine ambassadors once again showed their graciousness to the community of Ottawa when they took part in the International Women's Forum's annual general meeting and behind-the-scenes experience in Ottawa.

Maureen Boyd, one of the organizers of the IWF event, approached a number of ambassadors to see if they would host dinners for the 80 participants. Those who got on board to host dinners in their own residences included the European Union, Israel, Mexico, Norway, Philippines, Thailand and Kazakhstan. In addition, the ambassadors of Japan and Switzerland attended a dinner hosted at Boyd's home (her co-hosting husband, Colin Robertson, is a retired Canadian diplomat.)

The dinners were well-received by the women, who enjoyed meeting foreign dignitaries and learning about their jobs and their countries. The women who went to the home of Kazakh Ambassador Konstantin Zhigalov were taken with the wide range of information their hosts imparted about a country they'd known so little about before.

"One of the objectives of diplomatic work is to learn more about the people of the country you are posted in, including those who had achieved a lot in their lives, like the Canadian members of the International Women's Forum," Zhigalov said. "It was a pleasure to host several members of this organization, including



International Women's Forum guests of Maureen Boyd, from left, Ani Hotoyan-Joly, Colin Robertson, Maureen Boyd, Swiss Ambassador Beat Nobs, Japanese Ambassador Kenjiro Monji, Etsuko Monj, Maureen Payne, Julia Fournier, Julia Hughes, Deanna Horton, Linda Hohol, Irene Nobs and Senator Nancy Ruth.

national president Stella Thompson, to get a deeper understanding of what it takes to succeed in Canada, and also to inform [the women] about Kazakhstan and the strong role of women in our society. I hope that with the positive feedback we received after our embassy's event, we will remain in touch with the IWF members."

The Mexican ambassador was equally pleased to host.

"It was a great event. I met some very important female Canadian leaders from all walks of life," Francisco Suarez said. "We had the chance to give them a good taste of Mexican cuisine, which is now in fashion, and also margaritas and Mexican wines."

Suarez said the first non-U.S. and non-Canadian president of this international

organization was Mexican — Luz Lajous — and many IWF members knew her.

"I received tonnes of nice notes and feedback from the IWF women who attended the dinners and nice feedback from the ambassadors, as well," Boyd said. "The Mexican ambassador sent me a note thanking me for sending such an interesting group of women. And Marianne Coninx of the EU told me to call anytime I needed hosting for this group."

Boyd said the idea was to give the women an insiders' look at the city, and including the diplomats was a nice way to do that. They also met with Supreme Court Justice Rosalie Abella and Senator Nancy Ruth, visited and toured Rideau Hall and had dinner at the new Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health. ■



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Mongolia: Open for business



*By Radnaabazar Altangerel
Ambassador of Mongolia*

Mongolians are peace-loving, open-minded people, residing on a vast land of 1.5 million square kilometres. For centuries, since the establishment of the Great Mongol Empire by Genghis Khan, Mongols have maintained rule of law and open foreign policies.

The Mongolian economy has expanded rapidly since the 1990s, achieving a peak of 17.4 percent growth in 2011. Mongolia continues to take bold actions to expand the economy by establishing a favourable investment climate and opening up prominent megaprojects to foreign investors. It constantly seeks to become a world-class destination for investment and business.

Mongolia and Canada have engaged in different levels of economic and political co-operation for more than four decades. With greater than \$490 million in direct investments, Canada is one of the largest foreign investors in Mongolia. Mongolia's primary exports to Canada are mining products, such as gold, and textiles — mainly cashmere. Mongolia imports mining and agricultural equipment and machinery from Canada.

My country is rich in mineral resources, possessing more than 6,000 deposits of roughly 80 different types of minerals. It is the world's 10th-largest reservoir of gold, copper and coal, with an estimated value of US\$1.3 trillion. Yet, much of the territory has not yet been explored and therefore, the mining industry's full potential has not been unleashed. Moreover, with its population a little more than three million, Mongolia has 1.2 million workers, young and educated, and the number of workers entering the labour market is expected to increase in coming years. These



The Oyu Tolgoi copper-gold mine holds one of the world's largest undeveloped high-grade copper deposits.

make Mongolia a splendid investment destination for Canadians interested in natural and human resources.

Mongolia is working closely with its two immediate neighbours — Russia and China — to promote trade and investment, as well as its "third" neighbours, such as Canada. Mongolia and Canada have already put in place an agreement on trade and commerce and a convention on avoidance of double taxation and prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income and capital. Moreover, last year, Mongolia and Canada issued a joint statement expressing their commitment to enhancing their bilateral relationship, bringing it from an expanded partnership to a comprehensive one. It is timely to highlight that the Foreign Investment Protection Agreement between Mongolia and Canada will be concluded soon.

Mongolia has shown its ability to work

with international partners by signing an agreement with Turquoise Hill Resources and Rio Tinto to develop the underground mine at Oyu Tolgoi, the largest mining project in Mongolia, where Export Development Canada is one of the largest investors.

Opportunities in Mongolia are not only limited to the mining sector. In 2014, our inbound investment has shifted considerably to non-mining industries such as agri-business, renewable energy, tourism and construction of roads and buildings. Mongolia welcomes the transfer of advanced technology and know-how in almost all sectors. With 51 million head of livestock — sheep, goat, cattle, horse and camel — Mongolia is the second largest supplier of raw cashmere in the world and has more opportunities in meat processing and dairy products. These can be seen as an opportunity for Canadian investors to enter two of the world's largest markets — Russia and China. And, as Mongolia and Canada share similar weather — hot summers and cold winters — Mongolia is interested in promoting investment in and importation of advanced technology and expertise in road-building and the construction sector, including housing projects. Mongolia has immense potential for renewable energy — wind, solar, hydro, geo-thermal and biomass. And given the country's geographic location, between two of the world's largest markets in central Asia, it is a prominent investment destination.

The government of Mongolia is inviting investors to participate in the country's megaprojects such as construction of Power Plant V (capacity 450 MWh, required investment \$1.2 billion), Tavan Tolgoi Power Plant (450 MWh, \$1 billion) and Tavantolgoi Power Plant (700 MWh, \$900 million) and other projects, such as a copper-concentrate processing plant, a coke-chemical plant and an oil and coal-chemical plant.

Mongolia considers Canada its most important strategic partner and is seeking to further strengthen economic and investment co-operation.

Radnaabazar Altangerel is the ambassador of Mongolia. Reach him at ottawa@mfa.gov.mn or at (613) 569-3830.

Mexico and Canada: NAFTA was just the start



*By Francisco Suarez
Ambassador of Mexico*

The Mexico-Canada economic relationship was significantly boosted by the entry into force of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, particularly in terms of trade and investment. NAFTA created a regional market worth US\$20 trillion and facilitated production and trade integration among its members. Today, the three countries form a highly competitive, productive region with well-integrated global value chains in sectors such as automotive, electronics and aerospace.

From 1993 to 2014, the Mexico-Canada trade relationship grew by 791 percent, reaching US\$36 billion. Canada is Mexico's third-largest trading partner and the fourth largest investor in the country. At the same time, Mexico is Canada's third-largest trading partner. Canada's main export products to Mexico are rapeseed, muslin fabric, wheat, automobiles, alloyed unwrought aluminum and airplane parts. In the other direction, the top Mexican exports to Canada are automobiles, trucks, TVs, computers and wiring sets for automobiles.

From January 2000 to March 2015, Canada's cumulative foreign direct investment (FDI) in Mexico reached US\$23.2 billion. Currently, more than 3,500 firms with Canadian investment operate in Mexico, and Canada is the largest foreign investor in Mexico's mining industry. Mexican FDI in Canada is still well below these figures, but recent acquisitions of Canada Bread and Saputo's bakery by Bimbo and that of Pacific Rubiales by Grupo Alfa are clear evidence that further economic integration is taking place with this new wave of Mexican companies participating in the Canadian market.



Automobiles are an important part of bilateral trade between Mexico and Canada.

But the economic ties between our two countries go beyond trade and investment; they expand to other areas that have also increased considerably in recent years, such as tourism. Canada is Mexico's second-largest market for tourism. In 2014, 1.7 million Canadians visited Mexico. Likewise, Mexico is the eighth most important overseas market for Canada in terms of number of visitors, and the third fastest growing. In 2014, close to 170,000 Mexicans visited Canada, approximately half of the peak numbers in 2008, the year before the visa requirement for Mexicans was imposed. Without a visa requirement, Mexico would probably be the fourth- or fifth-largest tourism market for visitors to Canada. We welcome Canada's decision to eliminate visa requirements for a large number of Mexicans starting in 2016, which will increase tourism.

Mexico and Canada, along with the U.S., are advancing in the integration of the North American region through actions that strengthen competitiveness. We are working enthusiastically on a new agenda for the North American Leaders' Summit, taking place, presumably, after elections in Canada. North America is entering a new stage and new topics are emerging to exploit opportunities in sectors such as energy, infrastructure and the education-innovation chain. Consolidating a successful integration will allow North America to become more competitive and to more efficiently target markets in Asia, Europe, the Middle East, Latin America and Africa.

Bilaterally, we continue growing our relationship. The economies of Mexico and Canada are complementary and both are facing a new international context that allows us to expand areas of opportunity. There is much more to do to promote strategic alliances between our businesses, mainly our small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). In addition, the ambitious reforms package that Mexico is implementing provides a wide range of opportunities for Canadian companies, particularly in energy, telecommunications and infrastructure.

Since 2004, the Canada-Mexico Partnership (CMP) has been a premier mechanism for bilateral co-operation. Nonetheless, as with any governmental dialogue, the CMP must be constantly reviewed to ensure its work aligns with both countries' priorities and to address new challenges and opportunities in strategic areas of the relationship. In this sense, Mexico and Canada are working to strengthen this mechanism and discussing options for deepening dialogue and co-operation in the following areas: mobility of people, shortages in skills and labour in certain sectors and regions, tourism, energy, innovation, supply chains, connectivity between our countries, environment, infrastructure and financing, among others.

We are also working with Canada in the framework of the Pacific Alliance (a trade pact between Peru, Chile, Colombia and Mexico). Canada has free-trade agreements with the four member countries for a combined trade of US\$43 billion. As an observer of the Pacific Alliance, Canada has been very active and committed to engaging further with this mechanism. It is clear that Canada has a great deal of expertise to share with our countries and together we are developing possible areas of co-operation.

Mexico and Canada maintain a deep, extensive and mutually productive economic relationship and are continually looking for new opportunities to promote greater integration and further development through bilateral, regional and multilateral initiatives. The potential is vast.

Francisco Suarez is the ambassador of Mexico. Reach him at (613) 233-8988.

Italy and Canada: Trading on many levels



By *Gian Lorenzo Cornado*
Ambassador of Italy

Italy and Canada are experiencing a truly extraordinary moment in their relationship, one that is rich with great opportunity.

Canada is one of Italy's closest friends and a priority economic partner. Bilateral relations between the two countries, particularly commercially speaking, offer tremendous potential, confirmed by the figures relative to our trade balance, which is growing exponentially, doubling over the last 10 years, and actually tripling in the last two decades.

In 2014, our country not only confirmed its position as Canada's eighth supplier of goods, it also became the eighth-ranked destination country for Canadian goods (in 2013, it was 20th.) In the past two years, our bilateral trade numbers have broken records. According to Statistics Canada, in 2013, two-way trade reached \$7.8 billion, and in 2014, it rose to \$10.6 billion — the highest level since 1992 — with a positive balance for Italy of \$2.2 billion.

Those numbers indicate there was not only an increase in Italian exports (+10 percent, for a value of \$6.4 billion), confirming a consistent upward trend over the past 10 years, but there was also an extraordinary growth of Canadian exports to Italy (+113.6 percent, for a total of \$4.1 billion.)

The growth of Canadian imports is linked primarily to the extraordinary performance of energy products, a sector that exploded in 2014. Italy was the second destination market for Canadian crude, having imported \$1.59 billion worth, an increase of 731 percent over 2013 or five percent of the overall volume exported. This confirms the growing interest of Canada in exporting energy resources to



Italy is the No. 1 destination market for Canadian grain.

my country. Grain plays an important role in Canadian imports as well (\$604 million.) Indeed, Canada is the second-largest exporter of grain in the world, and Italy is its No. 1 destination market.

Among the pillars of Italy's exports are machine tools and machinery in general (\$1.6 billion), pharmaceuticals (\$544 million) and wines (\$533 million). The agri-food sector is traditionally one of the leaders in our exports to Canada, thanks also to a large community of Canadians of Italian origin who remain strongly tied to Italy's food culture.

Today, Italian products are part of the everyday eating habits of the majority of Canadians, who appreciate their quality and variety. In 2014, Italian agri-food products confirmed their positive growth trend, reaching \$1 billion, a 6.6-percent increase over the year before, placing Italy fourth among Canada's suppliers, immediately following the U.S., Mexico, and China and ahead of France. Just last March in Toronto, Andrea Olivero, Italy's agricultural and forestry policies minister, and I launched a successful trade mission in the agri-food sector.

It's all good news, but the future of bilateral trade relations shows even greater potential. The conclusion last September of the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) between Canada and Europe is a point of pride for me because it took place during the Italian presidency of the European Union.

Once implemented, CETA will remove customs duties, end limitations in access to public contracts, open up the services market and offer predictable conditions for investors. The agreement will also facilitate the temporary movement of key company personnel and service-providers, and will provide a framework for mutual recognition of qualifications in regulated professions. CETA will further open the area of public tenders and acquisitions, making it possible for Canadian companies to take advantage of opportunities resulting from infrastructure investments in Italy.

In fact, Italy is currently undertaking structural, economic and institutional reforms to improve its competitiveness, support productivity and create an appropriate business environment. Currently, there are Canadian companies that have made significant investments in Italy, in sectors with elevated technological content (Bombardier, for example). There is, therefore, potential for growth in investments, and we are actively engaged in organizing events geared to attracting financial and industrial investors and promoting the great opportunities Italy has to offer. In this regard, the economic and trade office of the embassy is at the disposal of those seeking information or assistance to explore investment opportunities in Italy.

I would like to conclude by highlighting yet another extremely valuable opportunity to strengthen our trade and investment ties: EXPO 2015. The chosen theme: "Feeding the Planet: Energy for Life" has tremendous currency and impact. I invite you all to visit Milan, to enjoy and savour the beauty of Italy's cities, its landscapes, its rich history and its artistic treasures.

Reach Italian Ambassador Gian Lorenzo Cornado at segreteria.ottawa@esteri.it or by calling (613) 232-2401.



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This classic three-story Victorian is much larger than it appears from the street. Perfect home for Diplomat, Professional or large family who love to entertain. Tastefully restored with charm and character with impressive living space and grand-sized rooms. Thousands spent on upgrades.



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Located on a quiet crescent backing onto NCC wooded area this impressive end unit adult lifestyle bungalow on a premium lot offers plenty of living space. Sunny kitchen with generous cupboards, a dinette featuring an oversized window with arched transom panel. Living & Dining room combination along with a gas fireplace & Sunroom with vaulted ceiling. Master bedroom with walk-in closet, ensuite bath with separate shower & soaker tub. The finished lower level features a third bedroom, recreation room with built-in wall unit & wet bar, four piece bath, office and plenty of storage space.

The Pope embraces the natural world



FIRST NAME: Luigi

LAST NAME: Bonazzi

CITIZENSHIP: Italian

PRESENTED CREDENTIALS AS

APOSTOLIC NUNCIO: March 13, 2014

PREVIOUS POSTINGS: Cameroon, Malta, Mozambique, Spain, U.S., Italy, Haiti, Cuba, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia

*Dear mother earth who day by day
Unfoldest blessings on our way
O praise God, alleluia!*

These words from the well-known hymn, “All Creatures of our God and King,” have their origin in The Canticle of Creation, authored by St. Francis of Assisi, and with words drawn from that canticle, Pope Francis begins the second encyclical letter of his pontificate: “*Laudato Si — on care for our common home.*”

In his encyclical, Pope Francis begins with an exclamation of joyful praise and thanksgiving for the gift of creation, but that is quickly followed by an expression of grave concern. As Pope Francis explains, the Earth “cries out to us because of the harm we have inflicted on her by our irresponsible use and abuse of the goods with which God has endowed her.”

By personifying the environment, in keeping with the spirit of the Canticle of St. Francis, the Pope aims to encourage today’s men and women, individually and corporately, to see themselves as inhabitants of a common home, one that has long suffered misuse and abuse. And while it is true many have raised alarms to draw our attention to this misuse, there is always the danger of a false understanding of the deep and profound reasons for the current crisis as well as the appropriate and necessary remedies. For this reason, Pope Francis traces a trajectory of what he calls an “integral ecology” as a paradigm to express the fundamental relationships of the human person to God, to others and to the world.

The first stage is to recognize and

acknowledge the crisis. Put another way, it is necessary to listen to the cry of creation by paying close attention to the best scientific data available. The outward and external evidence is clear: waste, pollution and the throw-

away culture; issues surrounding water and its impact upon human life, health and well-being; the loss of biodiversity; the decline in the quality of human life and the rise of global inequality. Already, one sees the lines of the Holy Father’s approach — the quality of human life is intimately connected to care for the environment. For Pope Francis, “a true ecological approach always becomes a

social approach ... so as to hear both the cry of the Earth and the cry of the poor.” The Pope notes an attitude of “complacency and a cheerful recklessness,” not to mention an unwillingness to change lifestyle as well as habits of production and consumption. In this context, Pope Francis lends his support to “the establishment of a legal framework, which ... can ensure the protection of ecosystems.”

As previously mentioned, at the heart of the encyclical is the desire to present an “integral ecology,” which Pope Francis develops in Chapter IV. According to the Pope, there is a relationship between environmental issues and social and human ones that can never be separated. A recognition of the interconnectedness of all things must lead to fostering an environmental, economic, social and cultural ecology (as part of this latter ecology, Pope Francis recalls the efforts to protect the cultural treasures of humanity, including those of indigenous communities). Likewise, the Pope urges improving the qual-



In his second encyclical, the Pope charges that the Earth “cries out to us because of the harm we have inflicted on her by our irresponsible use and abuse.”

ity of human life by attending to adequate public space, housing and transportation, particularly in urban environments, where great numbers of people live). Finally, an integral ecology must embrace the principle of the common good, which must extend beyond the present to include intergenerational solidarity.

Some commentators, self-styled defenders of the free market, have charged that the encyclical *Laudato Si* is against economic freedom; is an expression of anti-modernism and even of the Pope's Marxism. In fact, there is nothing of this; rather it is the opposite. Pope Francis reminds us that the market and free enterprise are valuable allies in the pursuit of the common good if they do not become an ideology; if the part — the market — does not become the whole — life itself. The market is an essential dimension of social life in the quest for the common good. Several times, the encyclical praises responsible entrepreneurship and technology placed at the service of the marketplace when inclusive and capable of creating jobs. However, it is not the only dimension, nor even the primary one.

In this sense, the Pope longs for a marketplace that operates on the principles of reciprocity and mutual benefit. To that

end, he criticizes companies that damage the Earth, because in so doing, they are denying the very nature of the marketplace, while enriching themselves and impoverishing those who are weaker.

Then Pope Francis points to something fundamental, and which is nowadays systematically neglected. The much-trumpeted "efficiency" — the slogan of the new global ideology — is never just a technical matter, nor ethically neutral. The calculations, which are the basis of every "rational" decision for firms and public administrations, depend principally on costs and benefits. For decades, firms that did not consider the damage done to the environment among its costs have nonetheless been considered efficient. The Pope invites us to broaden our perceptions, to embrace all species, including those within a cosmic brotherhood, extending reciprocity also to non-human species, giving them a voice in our political and economic budgets.

Pope Francis concludes his encyclical by recognizing that it will not be easy to reshape habits and behaviours. Education and training are essential as are changes to the ways we consume and use energy resources. He calls for an "ecological conversion," which, in turn, will lead to

creativity and enthusiasm, joy and peace and civic and political love.

Explains the Pope: "An integral ecology is also made up of simple daily gestures that break with the logic of violence, exploitation and selfishness." This must flow into a "love for society and commitment to the common good." Faith and Christian spirituality offer profound motivation and give ample proof that, "sobriety, when lived freely and consciously, is liberating." St. Francis of Assisi was a stellar illustration of this truth.

Allow me to end with a suggestion. If you have not yet read this wonderful encyclical, do not start reading it in your studio or sitting on the couch. Get out of the house; go to the middle of a meadow or a forest to meditate on this canticle of Pope Francis. The land of which he speaks is a real Earth, touched, heard, smelled, seen, loved. And then, conclude your reading in an urban neighbourhood, among the poor, contrasting the world of the rich to the world of the poor, embracing the latter, as does Pope Francis. From these places, we can rediscover an awe for the wonders of the Earth and of all the creatures who dwell within it, so that we might understand and pray *Laudato Si, praise be to you, my Lord!* ■

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Norway, which ranks 16th among the world's producers of crude oil, may well serve as a model to other states rich in non-renewable resources.

The greenest countries

Pope Francis's second encyclical was a call to action on climate change and the way humans treat the natural world. We examine the Top 10 most environmentally sustainable countries on this fragile planet.

By Wolfgang Depner

Pope Francis practically sounded like Canadian author Naomi Klein this past June when his second encyclical, titled *Laudato Si'*, blamed irresponsible capitalism and consumerism for the environmental perils that confront humanity. Linking these problems to global inequality, western political interests and a "throwaway culture" that consumes resources and fetishizes technology, His Holiness warned of "unprecedented destruction of ecosystems, with serious consequences for all of us." Speaking of climate change as "one of the principal challenges facing humanity in our day," the Pope called on the developed world to pay for its environmental trespasses by shouldering the main burden in the fight against climate change.

This sobering diagnosis and stark appeal for action from a spiritual figure hovers in the background as world leaders prepare to meet in Paris at the end of November for the 21st United Nations Climate Change Conference. There, they will attempt to secure a legally binding universal agreement on climate change. Whether they succeed remains to be seen. But the Pope's call for action confirms a growing sense of urgency among political leaders and scientists.

Days before the Holy See released the encyclical, leaders of the seven industrial-

ized countries had outlined a non-binding plan to phase out fossil fuels by the end of the century. Mere hours later, they awoke to a report in the journal *Science Advances* that our planet had entered the sixth great mass extinction event of its history, with humans being cause and victim at the same time. "If it is allowed to continue," wrote lead author Gerardo Ceballos, "life would take many millions of years to recover and our species itself would likely disappear early on." Despite their gloomy nature, these pronouncements might jar people into action.

Within this spirit and framework, we survey the 10 "greenest" countries, as measured by Yale's *Environmental Performance Index* (EPI), a joint project with Columbia University in collaboration with the Samuel Family Foundation and the World Economic Forum. The EPI ranks how well countries protect human health from environmental harm and how they protect ecosystems. The Yale index measures how close countries come to meeting internationally agreed-upon targets or, in the absence of such targets, how they compare to other countries. It assesses nine factors: effects of the environment on human health, air quality, water/sanitation, water resources, agriculture, forests, fisheries, biodiversity/habitat and climate/energy. The EPI ranks nations on a scale

of zero to 100, with zero being the farthest from the target and 100 being the closest.

Canada did not make the top 10 of the 178 countries surveyed. Indeed, it barely finished in the top 25. For all of its natural splendour, Canada's environmental governance leaves much to be desired in biodiversity/habitat (where it stood 97th), forests (104th) and agriculture (105th). The United States and China meanwhile finished 33rd and 118th respectively.

The EPI is a snapshot in time. Consider Australia, which ranks third overall. The government of recently ousted Liberal Prime Minister Tony Abbott soon reversed many of the progressive climate change policies passed by previous governments and it is unlikely Australia will maintain its current ranking because the climate and energy category accounts for 25 per cent of the total score.

Second, the EPI paints a broad, but incomplete, picture. Born out of what the authors call "a recognition that environmental policymaking lacked scientific, quantitative rigour," the EPI collects data from a range of sources and the scientific standard to which this data is held is impressive. However, the EPI lacks global data for key areas. They include freshwater quality, toxic chemical exposure, municipal solid-waste management, nuclear safety and adaptation, vulner-

ability and resiliency to climate change. Finally, it lacks a broader philosophical dimension. It skirts the issue of whether nuclear power is an appropriate tool in the fight against climate change. This said, we agree with the EPI's authors who state, "rankings, which are both loved and loathed, create interest and provoke action. They are a vehicle to motivate policy change, and at the very least, they can spark a conversation about the meaning behind a ranking."

So what does the EPI show? First, environmental protection is not a luxury. Many of the countries on this list rank among the most prosperous, but a high GDP is not a prerequisite for effective environmental governance. Second, many of the top performers are not afraid to involve their citizens in environmental policy-making through inclusive decision processes and data transparency. Politicians in Anglo-Saxon countries, including Canada, meanwhile, often withhold sensitive scientific data from the public and quickly dismiss new environmental policy proposals as job killers. Finally, inclusion on this list is not absolution from past environmental sins, but merely inspiration for further redemption.

So can the world learn from Switzerland and its disappearing meadows? From the citizens of Luxembourg choking on the fumes that drift over their borders from neighbouring power plants and automobiles? Yes.

Here are the top 10 nations, according to this authoritative survey.

1. Switzerland

POPULATION: 8 MILLION

This small country tops the Yale list, in no small part because of its approach to monitoring and preserving biodiversity. Biodiversity first gained the attention of news media because of a 1992 paper called *The Value of Biodiversity* by American biologists Paul R. and Anne H. Ehrlich. They offered four arguments for preserving the "variety of genetically distinct populations and species of plants, animals and microorganisms with which homo sapiens share Earth, and the variety of ecosystems of which they are functioning parts."

First, the Ehrlichs argued that humans have an ethical responsibility to protect biodiversity because of their status as the species that now dominates the planet. Second, biodiversity has esthetic values — human activities such as gardening, documentary filmmaking and eco-tourism back up this statement. Third, humans de-

rive direct economic benefits from natural ecosystems, including "all of its food and many of its medicines and industrial products." Finally, genetic diversity generates indirect economic benefits: "Other organisms, in all their extraordinary variety, are part and parcel of a global life-support system that benefits them and humanity as well," they wrote.

If the Ehrlichs provided the rationale for preserving biodiversity, Switzerland offers policies to actually do it, through a program called biodiversity monitoring, launched in 2001. It has vaulted Switzerland to the peak of Yale's EPI for the second straight time. Switzerland also scored top marks in the human health category, which measures the probability of a child's death between the first and fifth birthday, a period when air pollution, airborne particulates and lack of clean drinking water can kill. Switzerland has also emerged as a global leader on climate change. While many developed countries

waver on greenhouse gases, Switzerland has reduced the carbon intensity of its economy through a mix of hydroelectricity and nuclear power. In 2000, Swiss legislation called for a reduction of carbon dioxide emissions between 2008 and 2012 to 10 percent below 1990 levels. In 2013, it reset that target at 20 percent by 2020. It would be a mistake, though, to speak of Switzerland as an ecologically pristine preserve. A recent report by its Federal Office of the Environment called for action to conserve shrinking ecosystems and slow the loss of biodiversity in the face of urbanization and transportation needs. A report by Swiss scientists noted that development had destroyed 70 percent of all pastures and meadows since 1900. Overall, Switzerland's environmental performance reflects its prosperity — rich countries have the financial wherewithal for environmental protection. But prosperity isn't everything. What is needed perhaps the most is political will based on



Switzerland ranks No. 1 on the Environmental Protection Index's list of the world's cleanest countries partly because of its approach to monitoring and preserving biodiversity.

the premise that “ecological wealth can translate into economic health” as the EPI put it. Switzerland appears to accept this argument.

2. Luxembourg

POPULATION 600,000

The economic and environmental experiences of this European principality demonstrate a central problem of environmental governance — environmental problems anywhere eventually become environmental problems everywhere and they can be fixed only in concert with others.

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) says Luxembourg is “highly interdependent



One of Luxembourg's challenges is its increasing traffic and spreading suburbs.

economically and environmentally” with neighbouring Germany, France and Belgium and the whole of Europe. This geographical imperative means Luxembourg relies heavily on trade and open borders for prosperity. But many environmental threats for Luxembourg originate from beyond those same borders, outside its jurisdiction. It has to deal with air and water pollution and a fleet of foreign-owned vehicles pumping harmful emissions into its air.

So Luxembourg has developed bilateral and regional environmental agreements, mostly, but not exclusively, through the European Union. The OECD says Luxembourg “has rapidly implemented most EU [environmental] directives and ratified most major international environmental agreements ... [with] “significant results,” a point Yale’s EPI confirms.

Luxembourg received a rating of 100 in the category that measures the proportion of the population with access to clean drinking water and sanitation. It received a perfect grade in biodiversity/habitat, as it has placed 17 percent of its terrestrial habitat under protection, in accordance with the UN’s Convention of Biological Diversity.

The OECD said “several pressures on the environment have diminished significantly” in Luxembourg, despite growth in population and GDP, which respectively grew nine percent and 34 percent between 2000 and 2007. In short, the environmental performance of the principality improved as it was becoming more prosperous and populous.

This tiny principality therefore challenges the conventional wisdom that higher GDP and population growth occur at the expense of the environment. The OECD said it did this by shifting its economy from steelmaking to services such as banking, insurance and real estate. Yet Luxembourg’s approach may not work elsewhere. Not every state has the luxury of transitioning towards a high-end service industry, which creates its own set of environmental challenges.

According to the OECD, these include a rapidly expanding construction sector, the highest car-ownership rate in Europe, more waste, more traffic and spreading suburbs. All this said, Luxembourg’s story shows even a small country can tackle environmental matters and make it work.

3. Australia

POPULATION 23 MILLION

Australia’s remarkable environmental achievements come with a dark shadow from the coal that powers much of the country and its politics. But achievements they are. As EPI director Angel Hsu wrote in the *Huffington Post* in February 2014, Australia achieved the highest EPI ranking of all G20 countries thanks to “perfect or excellent target scores in many policy areas.” They include health impacts, (1st), water/sanitation (1st), forests (1st), water resources (1st) and air quality (15th). However Hsu also noted that Australia has much “room for improvement” in fisheries, where it stood 77th, (stocks of several fish species, including the endangered blue fin tuna, have collapsed due to overfishing), and climate/energy (71st).

On the dark side, coal rules Australia. It supplies 80 percent of all domestic energy, and coal exports — Australia is the world’s second-largest exporter — fill



Australia has “room for improvement” in fisheries. The blue fin tuna fishery has collapsed due to overfishing.

government coffers. Accordingly, coal industry leaders hold considerable sway in Australian politics. Consider Clive Palmer, leader of the Palmer United Party, who also happens to be a mining magnate. His party helped the Liberals under former prime minister Tony Abbott axe the country’s carbon tax in 2014. Three months later, the federal government approved Palmer’s proposal for a massive new coal mine in Queensland.

Abbott unabashedly backed coal. When he opened this mine in October 2014, he said, “Coal is vital for the future energy needs of the world ... coal is good for humanity.” Most famously, in remarks he later retracted, he told reporters in October 2009 that “(the) argument (on climate change) is absolute crap ... however, the politics of this are tough for us. Eighty percent believe climate change is a real and present danger.”

Critics say that despite his retraction, after Abbott came to power in 2013 he reversed Australia’s progressive climate policy and aligned Australia with countries (including Canada) that are heavily dependent on fossil fuels. So it’s uncertain whether Australia will retain its current place on the EPI list. Its current political atmosphere suggests it will remain in a tie with New Zealand as the second-highest emitter of carbon dioxide per GDP among all OECD countries. Estonia leads this list with Poland (4th) and Canada (5th) rounding out the Top 5. The Czech Republic, Greece, the United States, Turkey and Iceland round out the Top 10 (Figures from 2012).

4. Singapore

POPULATION 5.7 MILLION

Decades of careful policy have helped the Lion City leverage its guardianship of the Singapore Straits into one of the most dynamic economies in the world. While this small island state now outpaces many countries in environmental policy. Home to more than five million people who share a space of only 671 square kilometres, Singapore is among the most densely populated spots on the planet. As researcher Amy Weinfurter writes in *CityGreen*, a Singapore government publication, this city state has consequently reframed what sustainability means.

“Given its limited geography, Singapore has undertaken robust, integrated,



Singapore, one of the most densely populated countries on the planet, has given sustainability new meaning.

and long-term land-use planning measures that have made it a recognized, international leader on sustainable development,” she writes. Singapore has sought to leverage its identity as a “city in a garden” to attract investors. “In the process, it has rewritten old narratives that required countries to sacrifice environmental and public health to fuel economic growth, though significant conflicts and challenges persist,” writes Weinfurter, a researcher at the Yale Center for Environmental Law and Policy. Yale’s EPI gives Singapore top marks in the categories of health impacts, water/sanitation, water resources and agriculture. These scores reflect Singapore’s response to water scarcity through conservation and re-use. Singapore is one of the few countries that collects urban storm water to augment water supplies.

The city state has cut its carbon intensity to come second in the climate change category, behind Papua New Guinea and

ahead of countries with a reputation for leadership in clean energy such as Sweden (8th), Norway (10th), Iceland (13th), Denmark (15th) and Germany (31st). Yet unlike many of these states, Singapore lacks extensive renewable energy because it is so small. It has instead reduced its carbon footprint by committing \$100 million towards retrofitting buildings for energy efficiency and set a goal of making 80 percent of its buildings energy efficient by 2030.

But if “dense urban areas offer tremendous opportunities for efficient resources use, they can also concentrate and magnify the impact of human populations on the landscape,” Weinfurter writes. So no surprise then that Singapore has room for improvement in biodiversity/habitat (109th) and fisheries (98th). Pollution, habitat fragmentation and invasive species continue to threaten flora and fauna. Poaching is an issue, Weinfurter notes, as wild boars and ornamental birds are caught for food or sold to pet shops.

But as the EPI authors note, Singapore demonstrates how “predominately urban nations can capitalize on population density to achieve strong environmental performance.” Singapore can be seen as a beacon to a future where the population of urban residents is predicted to rise from 54 percent of the total today to 66 percent by 2050, according to a UN report.

5. Czech Republic

POPULATION 10.6 MILLION

Polluted air, dirty rivers, contaminated soil. These environmental wounds remained across the landscape of the modern Czech Republic, which emerged after four decades of communist rule.

The OECD says parts of this nation — Northern Bohemia and Moravia — ranked among the “most heavily polluted areas of Europe” during the communist era, thanks to a centrally planned economy that gave low priority to the environment and high priority to cheap energy from open-pit brown-coal mining. These mines were part of a larger environmental disaster area known as the Black Triangle, a border area shared by the former Czechoslovakia, the former East Germany and Poland. However, while some scars remain, the environmental recovery of the Czech Republic shows that even the harshest effects of unbridled industrialization can be remedied.

The Velvet Revolution of 1989 did not just mean western-style democracy and capitalism. It radically changed environ-



Prague’s push for more nuclear power may mean the country trades one set of environmental headaches for another.

mental governance. New laws enforced by a new environment ministry led to substantial improvements in short order. Between 1990 and 1996, environmental expenditure as a share of GDP eventually reached three percent. Notably, the Czech state contributed little to this figure, with most money coming from the private sector. This pattern has continued, as the state seeks to create economic incentives to discourage water and air pollution by industry.

This approach has produced “tangible results,” according to the OECD, and Yale’s EPI confirms this assessment. It praises the Czech Republic for its commitment towards biodiversity and constitutionally enshrined protection of natural resources. According to Yale’s Angel Hsu, the Czech government has placed almost 14 percent of its space under protection, good enough for 13th place in the category of biodiversity/habitat. Earlier this year, the Czech government imported 14 wild mares from the United Kingdom to help combat invasive species of grasses that have crowded out native flora and fauna. This kind of action, and the country’s standing in the EPI, reflects what the OECD calls a “long tradition of nature conservation and forest management.”

The EPI has also given the Czech Republic strong marks for its climate/energy policies, ranking it 18th in this category. While brown coal (lignite) remains the country’s prime energy source, it says it will increase the share of natural gas, renewable energy sources and nuclear power. Nuclear plants currently provide 35 percent of Czech power, and govern-

ment plans call for this figure to rise to 58 percent by 2040. Public support for nuclear power in the Czech Republic is high, but some of its neighbours, particularly Germany, are leery of it.

The only former Eastern bloc country in the Top 10, the Czech Republic still has room for improvement, especially in air quality, where it ranked 115th, according to Yale's EPI. According to a Czech government report, 55 percent of its citizens get above-average exposure to the toxic chemical benzopyrene. Many cities have high levels of smog and ground-level ozone. Reasons vary. They include weather, pollution from neighbouring countries, particularly Poland, continued reliance on coal in poorer parts of the country and emissions from the old industries that gave the country's northeast corner its notorious reputation. However, Prague's push for more nuclear power may mean the country trades one set of environmental headaches for another.

6. Germany

POPULATION 81 MILLION

When Prime Minister Stephen Harper visited Germany last year, he fielded a question about the *Energiewende* (energy transition) that his hosts are pursuing. Germany aims to increase renewable energy use to up to 45 percent by 2025 and up to 60 percent by 2035. It's all part of an effort to drop greenhouse gas emissions by up to 95 percent by 2050 from their 1990 levels. Germany shut down eight of its 17 nuclear reactors in 2011, and plans to close the remainder by 2022.

So how did Harper assess this ambitious agenda? He sounded skeptical about the ability of Germany to simultaneously



The German government plans to shut down a number of brown coal plants, which burn the lignite that comes from mines such as this.

phase out fossil fuels and nuclear energy without sufficient hydropower. "I do not know an economy in the world that does not rely heavily on at least one of those, so this is a brave new world you're attempting; we wish you well with that," he said. According to the Canadian Press, audience members received these well wishes with nervous laughter, and with reason. If anything, recent developments have compounded these concerns.

First, state subsidies for renewable energy have led to higher costs for consumers. Germany's renewable energy law of 2000 obliges consumers to help cover these subsidies through a surcharge. As well, renewable energy producers receive higher subsidies when they pump extra kilowatt hours of renewable energy into the grid, according to the *Economist*. German legislation stipulates that grid operators must give preference to subsidized renewable energy if weather conditions produce more of it. While these rules provide an incentive for producers of renewable energy — now 27 per cent of electricity production according to the *Economist* — they also mean consumers face continuously higher energy prices, since current laws favour subsidized, and therefore more expensive, renewable forms of energy ahead of cheaper ones. To be fair, these subsidies are on their way down.

Second, the expansion of Germany's renewables has ironically led to higher carbon dioxide emissions. Since renewables are intermittent, conventional power plants have to stay online continuously, and utilities have found it less expensive to burn pollution-producing brown coal (lignite) than the more benign natural gas. The German government has recognized this absurdity and has plans to shut down a number of brown-coal plants.

Third, the *Energiewende* calls for two massive transmission lines to transfer wind-generated power from Germany's north to its economically dynamic south. Bavaria's powerful state premier, Horst Seehofer, wants the north's energy, but not the unsightly power lines that would deliver it.

Small groups of every political colour resist the *Energiewende*. Industries fear it will hurt profits, and union leaders worry it will kill high-paying jobs in automobile manufacturing and machine production. But the *Energiewende* could be the spark for another industrial revolution, this one focused on green technology, as Germany seeks to remain the largest economy in Europe. Events may well vindicate Stephen

Harper, but the *Energiewende* and its goal of mitigating climate change could serve as an example for other large economies.

7. Spain

POPULATION 48 MILLION

During last year's FIFA World Cup, Yale's EPI compared its scores with the FIFA rankings of the 32 teams that had qualified for the tournament. It found a "slight positive correlation" between environmental protection and prowess on the soccer pitch. Spain entered the 2014 round of the world's most important sporting competition as its defending champion, a title now held by Germany. While we should not read too much into this relationship,



Spain's changing energy portfolio has helped improve air quality.

Spain's environmental governance is instructive, especially when compared to Germany's. Germany is among the world's most prosperous countries, but Spain has been a good steward of its environment despite a severe economic crisis.

Spain performed particularly well in the category of climate/energy, where it finished fourth overall. In its 2015 environmental review of Spain, the OECD found that the country generates 20 percent less carbon dioxide per unit of GDP than in 2000. Three factors made it happen: First, there was a global economic downturn; second, Spain enforced tighter energy efficiency; and third, there were changes in the country's energy mix. In 2000, coal and nuclear power accounted for 65 percent of all the electricity in Spain. In 2013, renewable sources generated 39 percent of electricity, while gas and nuclear power contributed 20 percent each. Coal use had dropped, accounting for only 15 percent of electricity generation. Overall, Spain's renewable energy supply had risen 147 percent since 2000, according to the OECD,

largely thanks to generous state subsidies for renewable energy sources.

Spain's changing energy portfolio has also helped improve air quality. And improvement is needed. Spain's air pollution frequently exceeds safe levels, particularly in Madrid and Barcelona. In the summer of 2014, Spain recorded 150 days during which air pollution, specifically ozone, put people at risk of breathing problems and lung diseases, according to the European Environment Agency. (Ozone levels spike when daylight UV rays interact with pollutants from burning fossil fuels.)

Yale's EPI also gives Spain low marks in biodiversity/habitat, where the country ranks 101st. The OECD calls Spain a "biodiversity hotspot" that hosts a third of all endemic European species. Threatened species include the Iberian Lynx, Spanish toothcarp and Hermann's tortoise. While Spain has placed 29 percent of its territorial land and 8.4 percent of its territorial waters under some form of protection, expansion of agriculture acreage, ongoing tourism and transportation continue to threaten Spain's biodiversity. Clearly more work lies ahead. Otherwise, Spain will end up losing something far more important than a sporting title.

8. Austria

POPULATION 8.6 MILLION

Its central European location, culture heritage and culinary delicacies have turned Austria into a popular tourist destination, summer and winter (thanks to the Alps). But Austrian tourism confronts an uncertain fate in the face of climate change. Austrian climate scientist Helga Kromp-Kolb recently told the German weekly *Die Zeit* that Austrian ski resorts should "think about the long term." This appeal comes despite Austria's high reputation for environmental governance, dropping down only one spot from the last EPI.

While Austria receives top marks in water/sanitation, other areas need improvement. They include agriculture (90th) and air quality (104th). Poor marks in agriculture reflect the hefty subsidies the sector receives. Citing a corresponding report from the OECD, the EPI notes these subsidies "exacerbate environmental pressures through the intensification of chemical use, the expansion of farmland into sensitive areas, and the overexploitation of resources like water and soil nutrients."

As to air quality, the OECD notes that exposure to air pollution from particulates and ozone remains "persistently high, especially in large urban areas." Though



Austrian tourism to its magnificent Alps confronts an uncertain fate in the face of climate change.

Austria's emissions of greenhouse gases have declined since the mid-2000s, they have remained above agreed-upon targets under the Kyoto Protocol.

To put this in context, Austria has historically been a leader in developing and implementing environmental legislation and Austrians are more satisfied with their country's environmental quality than Europeans on average. In 2009, 72 percent of Austrians rated the quality of their country's environment as good or very good, whereas the EU average was only 44 percent. This said, the share of the unsatisfied grew in the late 2000s. As an example, tensions between economic development and environmental protection emerged when plans for a cable-car route in Tyrol turned into a national issue. The line would have run through a region designated off-limits for development, and the proposal died. But Austria's ski resorts have a sneaking suspicion that their business model is about to change.

9. Sweden

POPULATION 10 MILLION

No surprise to see Sweden on this list. As the OECD says, the Scandinavian country possesses a "sound environmental governance structure" and stands among the "most innovative OECD countries" in environment-related technology" and "the principle of putting a price on environmentally harmful activities." Sweden receives high marks in health impacts and water/sanitation and is in the Top 10 in climate/energy.

The OECD praises Sweden's reduction of greenhouse gases, noting that it "has been very successful in decoupling GHG emissions from economic growth." While emissions from economic growth

decreased by 16 percent, Sweden's GDP grew by about 30 percent. "As a result, Sweden more than achieved its commitments to reduce GHG emissions ... made under the Kyoto Protocol and its more stringent national target."

Several factors account for Sweden's progressive climate policy. First, renewable energy sources, mainly biomass and hydropower, have met a growing portion of Swedish energy demands. Between 2000 and 2012, energy from renewable sources rose to 35 percent of Sweden's needs. Second, Sweden has put the squeeze on fossil fuels through a carbon tax (that has progressively increased since it began in 1991) and participation in the EU emission trading system. Sweden has managed to pull off a "green tax shift" — off labour and onto carbon-dioxide emissions and fossil fuels. Third, Sweden has invested heavily in public transit through a "congestion charge" that car users must pay to drive in Stockholm's inner city.

Two other aspects of Sweden's environmental performance are significant. First, only Japan and Denmark record more environment-related patents per capita than Sweden. Second, Swedish environmental governance is deeply democratic as citizens are guaranteed public participation and access to environmental information and environmental justice.

However, the EPI also finds Swedish policymakers still have work to do, in biodiversity/habitat (where Sweden finishes 89th) and forests (where it finishes 107th). The two issues are related. The intensity of logging is among the highest in the OECD and many forest species such as bears, wolves and lynx are endangered by infrastructure development, natural disturbances and climate change. This said, the known share of threatened mammals, birds and fish is generally lower in Sweden than in other OECD countries.

Finally, the OECD notes that several freshwater bodies and most marine ecosystems suffer from excess nutrients, or eutrophication caused by surface runoff. This is most vivid in the Baltic Sea, thanks to high loads of nitrogen from agriculture, wastewater, industry and shipping. Sweden, of course, bears only partial responsibility for this, because it shares the sea with some rather "brown" countries, including Poland (30th) and Russia (73rd).

10. Norway

POPULATION FIVE MILLION

The publication of *Our Common Future* by the United Nations World Commission on

Environment and Development almost 30 years ago remains a landmark in environmental politics. It spelled out a term that has since become commonplace, “sustainable development ...that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.”

This concept does not enjoy unanimous support. Critics claim that the notion accepts the logic of growth and consumption, though in a more measured manner.

Others will have to decide whether sustainable development is an oxymoron. *Our Common Future* points to the influence of Norway on the environmental agenda, because the document is often known as the *Brundtland Report*, after the then-chairwoman of the UN’s environment commission, Gro Harlem Brundtland, who was Norway’s prime minister. She currently serves UN secretary-general Ban Ki-moon as a special envoy on climate change.

On the surface, it could be ironic to see a Norwegian speak about climate change on behalf of the UN. The country ranks 16th among the world’s producers of crude oil, at more than 1.8 million barrels per day, according the authoritative *CIA World Factbook* website. The same source

also notes that 30 percent of government revenue flows from petroleum. And Norway is also one of the world’s largest exporters of natural gas.

But don’t accuse Norway of hypocrisy. It may well serve as a model to other states rich in non-renewable resources. As the OECD notes, “Norway’s leading role in environmental protection and sustainable development coincides with a period in which it has continued to benefit from the exploitation of oil and gas.” In short, Norway uses its energy riches to pay for environmental measures. More important, it is already preparing for a future beyond petroleum. It has squirrelled away state revenues from petroleum in an \$870-billion sovereign fund for future use. This approach seeks to compensate Norway’s dwindling oil reserves with increases in other forms of capital.

Turning to other EPI categories, it gives Norway top marks in health impacts and water/sanitation, as well as high marks in climate/energy (10th) and air quality (15th). The OECD reports that Norway “continues to be a leader in the international efforts to address climate change and has adopted ambitious emission mitigation targets,” reducing emissions per unit of GDP by relying heavily on

hydropower for electricity. It also charges a carbon tax and participates in the EU emissions trading system, even though it is not part of the European Union. Norway has accepted all EU environmental directives and in some cases imposed tougher restrictions.

All this said, the EPI gives Norway middling marks in biodiversity/habitat (65th), forests (67th), fisheries (72nd) and agriculture (159th). As the OECD notes in its 2011 environmental review of Norway, aquaculture threatens biodiversity through disease and genetic effects on wild salmon and sea trout. Norway’s four large carnivores — brown bear, lynx, wolf and wolverine — remain threatened thanks to the previous loss of forest biodiversity. So the OECD has recommended steps to reduce deforestation and cut agricultural production subsidies. Ambitious policy responses to these issues have been under way for several years now and early reviews show small, but noticeable, improvements.

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HAPPY 104TH ANNIVERSARY

TO THE REPUBLIC OF
CHINA (TAIWAN)

October 10, the Double Tenth Day

DEMOCRACY AND PROSPERITY

The Republic of China, founded in 1912, is the first republic in Asia and a full-fledged democracy and prosperous nation.

The Republic of China (Taiwan) ranks

- ▶ 3rd best in the world for its overall investment environment by Business Environment Risk Intelligence in 2014.
- ▶ 5th largest foreign exchange reserves in the world.
- ▶ 7th in the Asia-Pacific region in the *Corruption Perceptions Index 2014* by Transparency International.
- ▶ 8th of 130 countries in the 2015 *Global Entrepreneurship and Development Index*.
- ▶ 11th of 61 countries in the 2015 *World Competitiveness Yearbook*.
- ▶ 14th of 144 countries in the *Global Competitiveness Index 2014-2015* by the World Economic Forum.
- ▶ 18th largest trading country in the world.
- ▶ 19th of 189 economies in the 2014 *Ease of Doing Business Index* by the World Bank.



THE TAIWAN-CANADA CONNECTION

The Republic of China (Taiwan) is Canada's 5th largest trading partner in Asia and 12th largest in the world. Taiwan is working to promote bilateral relations following the ADTA-FIPA-ECA-TTP road map.

Taiwan and Canada

- ▶ Share the same values of democracy, freedom, human rights and rule of law.
- ▶ Signed the Youth Mobility Agreement effective from July 2010.
- ▶ Have enjoyed bilateral visa-free privileges since November 2010.
- ▶ Inked a new aviation pact in November 2013.



ROC (Taiwan) President Ma Ying-jeou (centre) ran five kilometres in the Terry Fox Run in Taipei on Nov. 15, 2014, with Darrell Fox (right), younger brother of Terry Fox; MP John Weston (third from left) and his daughter Meimei Weston (first from left). MP Chungsen Leung, who was born in Taiwan, also participated in the event. Introduced to Taiwan in 1995, the fundraising event for cancer research had been suspended for seven years — since 2007. It was the 13th time that President Ma has taken part in the charity marathon. At the event, President Ma praised the heroism and determination of Terry Fox in his battle against cancer and for his ideals. The President also encouraged the people to learn from Terry Fox's perseverance and spirit. (Photo courtesy of Taiwan's Central News Agency)



(Left to right) MP Tyrone Benskin; MP Mark Warawa; MP Chungsen Leung; Taiwan's Representative to Canada, Ambassador Bruce Linghu and MP John Weston, Chair of the Canada-Taiwan Parliamentary Friendship Group, posed on Oct. 29, 2014 in front of the Terry Fox statue across from the Parliament Building to celebrate the return of the Terry Fox Run to Taipei. (Photo by Simon Sung)



Ambassador Bruce Linghu, Taiwan's Representative to Canada (fourth from right), hosted the National Day Reception on October 8, 2014. The event was well attended by many Canadian dignitaries, including (left to right) MP John Weston, Minister of National Revenue Kerry-Lynne Findlay, Minister of State and Chief Government Whip John Duncan, Associate Minister of National Defence Julian Fantino, MP Judy Sgro, MP Paul Dewar and Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Chris Alexander. (Photo by Samuel Garcia)



(Left to right) Ambassador Bruce Linghu, Minister of National Revenue Kerry-Lynne Findlay, Minister of State (Seniors) Alice Wong, MP John Weston (behind), Minister of State and Chief Government Whip John Duncan and artist Chao Hong Tan posed for "2015 Taiwan Night" hosted by the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office on March 10. (Photo by Samuel Garcia)



Founded in 1988, Taiwan's U-Theatre fuses martial arts, drama, dance and music in its performances and astonishes the world with its overwhelming visual and auditory spectacle. U-Theatre is set to perform at the National Arts Centre in Ottawa on November 24. (Photo by Hao Chen-tai)

Environmental protection: Where Canada stands

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



Canada is No. 9 in the planet's top 10 carbon emitters. The Alberta oilsands are often raised by foreign governments when talking about Canada's environmental policies.

Canada enjoys an embarrassment of riches that make for a safe and healthy life for most of its citizens. The country prides itself on its health care and social systems, enjoys clean air and water and reaps the benefits of abundant natural resources. Canada's management of these resources placed it 24th out of 178 countries on the 2014 *Environmental Perfor-*

mance Index, with an overall score of 73.14, compared to the highest-rated country, Switzerland, which had a score of 87.67. Scoring is out of 100; meeting a target yields a perfect score. A low score indicates that "a country may be further from achieving a predefined indicator target."

The EPI is a joint research project from Yale and Columbia universities with

the World Economic Forum. Successor to the *Environmental Sustainability Index* (2002-2005), the index exists to support government decision-making and measures countries' proximity to targets within two core objectives: environmental health (protection of human health from environmental harm) and ecosystem vitality (ecosystem protection and resource

management) with nine environmental indicators.

Targets are defined by national and international policy goals or scientific thresholds established by diverse bodies such as the Convention on Biological Diversity, the World Health Organization's air quality guidelines and the United Nations' Resolution 64/292 (the right to water and sanitation). Data are self-reported and from a range of sources including the UN, the WHO, the United Nations Children's Fund, The World Bank, the World Resources Institute and the International Council for the Exploration of the Seas.

The rankings seem a bit of a hodge-podge. There is no single authority on the body of issues examined, some countries are not included in some indicators or categories, rankings are not explained for each indicator, and targets used may not be the goals identified in national environmental policies. The climate and energy category is unique; indicators do not measure proximity to a target, but instead a "global relative position" because there are no globally agreed-upon targets for reducing carbon dioxide emissions.

Canada's score on environmental health

Canada scored 100, along with many industrialized countries, in the category of health impacts, which uses child mortality between ages one and five to indicate the state of the environment. This indicator may seem arbitrary; however, the leading causes of preventable child deaths — pneumonia and diarrhea — are linked directly to environmental conditions. Pneumonia is aggravated by household and outdoor air pollution, and diarrhea can be triggered by poor sanitation and limited access to clean drinking water.

Canada also achieved high scores for air quality (97.85, ranked 28th) and water and sanitation (95.9, ranked 28th). The air quality category gauges the percentage of the population that burns solid fuel for cooking and the attendant household air quality. It measures exposure, and percentage of population exposed, to particulate matter fine enough to lodge in blood and lung tissue ($PM_{2.5}$). Canada's Air Quality Standards (established in 2013) include a long-term target to reduce annual $PM_{2.5}$ levels from $10 \mu g/m^3$ (micrograms/cubic metre) of air in 2015 to $8.8 \mu g/m^3$ by 2020.

The water and sanitation category measures the proportion of the population with access to a source of improved drinking water — water that has been treated to remove contaminants, particularly fe-

cal contamination. It also measures the proportion of the population with access to improved sanitation — a system that hygienically separates human excreta from human contact. Although Canada has significant water resources and Canadians have clean drinking water, Canadian communities dump more than 150 billion litres of sewage into waterways annually. Canada's wastewater systems effluent

from all other household sources and industrial wastewater that may contain chemical contaminants. Water treatment is vital for the health of humans and aquatic systems. Canada, which scored 80.42, ranking 20th, has more than 3,500 wastewater facilities, all mandated to meet the targets of the wastewater systems effluent regulations; how well we meet its targets should be considered in the 2016 EPI.



The Alliance for Zero Extinction, with its worldwide membership of 100 environmental NGOs, has included Canada's whooping crane, above, and marmot on its list.

regulations (established in 2012; revised in 2015) set standards effective Jan. 1, 2015 for mandatory minimum effluent quality (carbonaceous biochemical oxygen demand of $<25 \mu g/L$ and total suspended solids $<25 \mu g/L$). It's too soon to determine the effect of the regulations, which are established under the Fisheries Act. More on that later.

Ecosystem vitality

The water resources category tracks how countries treat wastewater from households and industry before its return to the environment. Wastewater comprises domestic black water from toilets, grey water

Biodiversity and habitat, a category in which Canada scored 58.4, ranking 97th, measures critical habitat protection, marine protected areas and terrestrial protected areas by national and global biome weights. This indicator measures the percentage of sites with partial or complete protection as identified by the Alliance for Zero Extinction. The alliance works with various organizations to identify and safeguard places that are the sole site of a species (flora and fauna) evaluated as endangered or critically endangered; there are two such species in Canada — whooping crane and marmot.

Canada's Species at Risk Act identifies

PIPELINE 101

Any company moving hydrocarbons through pipelines must have leak-detection systems. Oil pipelines are monitored constantly for changes in flow volume, which signal a possible leak or equipment malfunction. Monitoring technology is very sophisticated and operators need to be well trained to interpret incoming data and respond appropriately, according to Graham White, Enbridge Energy Media Relations.

Monitoring includes such intriguing technology as the SmartBall®, a device that identifies stress in the wall of pressurized pipelines, and sensitive acoustic devices that travel inside the pipeline. Acoustic detection can identify a leak of 30 litres per hour in a line delivering three million litres per hour — basically a pinhole. It causes a drop in pressure, one of the quickest ways to identify a leak, which shuts down the pipeline.

Oil companies also monitor pipelines with piloted aircraft and foot and driving patrols, which detect the majority of spills. Despite the sophisticated systems in place, technology and pipeline monitoring control centres identify leaks only 16-17 percent of the time in North America. Many leaks are detected by members of the public.

High-tech equipment aside, leak detection relies on human assessment. In the case of the Marshall, Michigan, incident, where three million litres of oil spilled into vulnerable wetland, it began when a line was shut down to allow a shipment to accumulate at the start of the line in Griffith, Indiana. An alarm stopped the pump station at Marshall, but control room technicians 2,400 kilometres away failed to assess a leak and twice restarted the line, pumping oil under pressure into it. They had concluded that the alarms were triggered by “column separation” — an air bubble in the line, something difficult to differentiate from a leak. They were preparing to restart for the third time when they learned from an outside source about the rupture — by then two metres long.

510 terrestrial and aquatic species (flora and fauna) as endangered, threatened, of special concern or extirpated. By May 2014, Environment Canada had established recovery strategies or management plans for 277 species. Of those, 94 have population targets to be met by 2020. Progress reports of population trends reveal that, of the 94 species, 41 are on track to meet targets, 30 are not, and seven show indications of both improvement and decline. The remaining 16 species provide insufficient data to identify trends. This category is challenging to assess on a biennial cycle; recovery takes decades and observations of rare species are difficult to make.

The EPI’s fisheries category assesses

The annual catch of cod from 1850-1950 was roughly 227,000 tonnes, using traditional methods such as gill nets and jigging from a dory. Aggressive trawling by international factory ships saw substantially higher yields; in 1968, the catch was 735,000 tonnes. The cod could not replenish their numbers to that level and by 1975 the annual catch was 300,000 tonnes. Foreign factory ships were forced out of prime fishing grounds in 1977 when Canada and the U.S. extended their fisheries jurisdiction to 200 nautical miles (370 km). Canadian factory ships replaced foreign ships, trawling 250,000 tonnes annually by 1984, hauling up spawning fish, fry, other species and the cod’s food source, thereby destabilizing the entire ecosystem.



Forestry is included as a factor in the EPI’s assessment of the top 10 carbon emitters.

fishing habits, including trawling and dredging, and measures the percentage of a country’s total catch comprising species categorized as overexploited or collapsed. Incomplete/inconsistent reporting, deliberate underreporting and poor fisheries monitoring are common; the index therefore penalizes 57 countries by assigning the lowest observed indicator scores for fish stocks and coastal shelf fishing pressure indicators. Canada scored 21.54, its second-lowest score, ranking 71st.

It is a common trope to use John Cabot and Canada’s cod fishery to illustrate how human activity affects ecosystems. Cabot’s 1497 description of cod stocks in the Grand Banks as so thick that a person “could walk across their backs” launched the North West Atlantic fishery, which became the mainstay of Atlantic Canada.

Despite warnings from inshore fishermen and scientists, the government delayed establishing a moratorium on fishing in the Grand Banks until 1992. The cod fishery collapsed, with northern cod on the brink of commercial extinction, and 30,000 jobs were lost. Canada’s Atlantic salmon fishery has not fared better; it was closed progressively, beginning in the 1980s, with complete closure in 2000. Atlantic salmon remains a species at risk.

Fisheries Act amendment weakens habitat protection

Canada’s Fisheries Act, first enacted in 1868, regulates its fisheries. Among its 17 amendments was section 35, in 1976, prohibiting “harmful alteration, disruption or destruction of fish habitat.” The act’s 2013 amendment added a subsection

that changed its focus to protect “the productivity of recreational, commercial and Aboriginal fisheries,” eliminating explicit references to fish habitat; instead, the new prohibition protects against “serious harm to fish.”

While section 35 had never established a blanket prohibition against destroying fish habitat, the new subsection actually weakens the prohibition by granting sole discretion to the fisheries minister, who can authorize the destruction or disruption of fish habitat. Section 35 does not provide habitat protection for at-risk species or prevent habitat destruction caused by practices such as bottom trawling. Effectively, the Fisheries Act does not inform efforts to protect fish habitat and cannot legally protect the habitat of endangered or threatened aquatic species per the Species at Risk Act.

The EPI’s forests category measures the percentage of change in forest cover

from 2000-2012 in areas with more than 50 percent tree cover. The rating considers forest loss, including deforestation; reforestation; and afforestation — conversion of bare or cultivated land into forest. Canada received its lowest score in this category, 16.64, and its second-lowest ranking, 104th.

Forests are crucial for sustaining life on Earth, filtering air and water, moderating climate, providing wildlife habitat and stabilizing soil. They are part of the carbon cycle, storing large amounts of carbon in vegetation and soil, which is important since human activity releases carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. Earth’s atmosphere now contains 42 percent more carbon dioxide than it did before the industrial era. Forest/wooded land covers 40 percent of Canada’s land mass; our forest cover is 30 percent of the world’s boreal forest and 10 percent of the world’s forest cover overall.

The EPI’s target is “zero for change in forest cover” and it uses data compiled by the University of Maryland’s Global Forest Change project and Google Earth, which maps changes in forest cover using archived Landsat 7 images. This new process replaces data from the UN Food and Agriculture Organization’s Forest Resource Assessment (FRA). The EPI, acknowledging the difficulty of assessing this indicator, notes that the new measure is “far from perfect.”

Discrepancies between FRA statistics and satellite estimates are due to inconsistent reporting; varying definitions among nations of “forested land,” often defined by land use with change reported as net value; and the inability of data to differentiate between reforestation and afforestation, which the EPI states may have “no direct biophysical function.” For example, Malaysia receives credit from the FRA for reforestation for its palm oil plantations,

PIPELINE + OIL = PIPELINE FAILURES

The EPI does not address oil pipelines, but they are an environmental consideration around the world. There are 92 countries with pipelines carrying crude oil (*CIA World Factbook*).

Crude oil is moved in trucks, ships, by rail and through pipes. There are bound to be incidents that see oil escaping those containers. Moving oil by pipeline is economical — trucks, ships and railcars carry finite loads — and despite recent incidents, pipelines are safe, but prone to human error.

Of the 12 biggest oil spills in history, three were on land; one involved a pipeline:

1910, Lakeview, California: 1.4 billion litres/378 million gallons over 18 months. Cause: gusher.

1992, Fergana Valley, Uzbekistan: 332 million litres/87.7 million gallons. Cause: well blowout.

1983, Kolva River, Russia: 220 million litres/85 million gallons. Cause: pipeline rupture.

Nine spills involved well blowouts. The largest was the Deepwater Horizon in 2010, pictured at right, which spilled 780 million litres/206 million gallons of crude into the Gulf of Mexico. For context: the Exxon Valdez spilled 41.6 million litres/11 million gallons into Prince William Sound in 1989.

Most of these spills were the result of human action and many were left for nature to clean up. The pipeline spills we’ve heard about recently suggest that equipment and detection methods have improved and, possibly, environmental awareness and public outrage have had an effect.

RECENT PIPELINE LEAKS INCLUDE:

July, 2015, Nexen Energy, near Fort McMurray, Alta.: 5 million litres of bitumen, sand and water over 16,000 m².

2013, Exxon Mobil, Mayflower, Arkansas: 795,000 litres/210,000 gallons.

2011, Enbridge Energy, Norman Wells, N.W.T.: Up to 238,000 litres/63,000 gallons

2010, Enbridge Energy, Kalamazoo River, Marshall, Michigan: 3 million litres/800,000 gallons of oil into vulnerable wetland.



even though plantations replace natural growth forests, and for afforestation, even though plantations are planted in useful grasslands.

By contrast, in Canada, natural disturbances such as insect infestation and wildfires affect more forest annually than harvesting and regeneration. Most harvesting in Canada happens under provincial jurisdiction, which specifies the annual allowable cut on particular Crown lands over a certain number of years. Provincial laws require all areas harvested on provincial Crown land to be regenerated by natural or artificial means, or a combination of the two. Less than half of harvested areas in Canada regenerate naturally; artificial regeneration ensures a greater likelihood of desirable species composition and controls density. Harvest levels have been dropping since 2005 with the decline of the forest products industry and, concomitant with that, the area of artificially regenerated land has declined.



Canada ranks poorly on regulating farm chemical use

In the agriculture category, Canada scored 62.52, ranking 105th in the world — its lowest ranking. The category assesses the degree of pressure exerted by subsidizing agriculture and the status of legislation governing chemicals included under the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants. The assessment of pesticide regulation also rates the degree to which countries have followed through on limiting or banning pesticides.

The EPI refers to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, which states that agricultural subsidies increase environmental pressures by intensifying chemical use, expanding farmland into sensitive areas and overexploiting resources, including water and soil nutrients. The OECD defines subsidies as benefits given to businesses or individuals by government policy that raises

In the agriculture category, Canada scored 62.52, ranking 105th in the world — its lowest ranking. The category looks at agricultural subsidies and legislation governing chemical use, among other things, including whether a country limits or bans pesticides.

revenue or reduces cost and thus “affects production, consumption, trade, income, and the environment.”

Canada scored 29 out of 100 on the agricultural subsidies indicator. By comparison with other OECD countries, such as Japan, South Korea, Norway, Switzerland and Iceland, where government support comprises one half to two thirds of farmers’ income, Canada is not generous to its farmers. Canada subsidizes 14 percent of gross farm receipts; the average among OECD countries is 18 percent. The OECD notes that some countries have introduced new agriculture policy, citing Canada’s *Growing Forward 2*, a five-year (2013-2018) federal/provincial/territorial framework that emphasizes longer-term investments to im-

prove productivity and sustainability, but maintains supply-management schemes.

Canada scored 96 out of 100 on the pesticide regulation index. Canada is a signatory of the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants, in force since 2004, which seeks to eliminate or regulate the “dirty dozen” persistent organic pollutants. Canada is keenly interested in implementing the convention to reduce exposure to major foreign sources of pollutants. The importance of regulating pesticides is evident in two cases of fish kills by pesticide runoff in P.E.I., for which one farmer was found guilty and charged under the Fisheries Act. Thousands of fish, including salmon, died. Persistent organic pollutants tend to migrate



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long distances and accumulate in northern climates, making Canada subject to these pollutants and northern inhabitants at particular risk.

Canada is No. 9 of world's Top-10 carbon emitters

The climate and energy category assesses access to energy, relative to countries' economic development and ability "to reduce the intensity of carbon emissions over time." It takes into account economic and industrial development. The EPI report applies new indicators in this category that account for differing economic and industrial status among countries. The category is divided further into three classifications, defined by per-capita gross national income (GNI/capita), and countries are ranked against similar countries, not the full complement of 178. Those countries with little industry (problematically referred to as "least developed countries") typically emit little carbon dioxide and "get a pass" in this category, says Jason Schwartz, EPI spokesman. Wealthy countries (measured by GNI/capita > US\$12,616) are held accountable for climate mitigation. Canada scored 59.85, ranking 41st.

Canada is among the world's top 10

carbon emitters, which produce 68.5 percent of global carbon dioxide emissions, including land-use change and forestry, elements not always included in carbon dioxide emission assessments (Canada ranked 9th; China is the worst emitter). The EPI report notes that greenhouse gas emissions may reflect the size of a country's economy; thus, scoring countries solely on absolute emissions unintentionally rewards smaller countries or those without industry-based economies.

It is not surprising that Canada, geographically vast, cold, with a resource-based economy, is among the top 10. Even so, with 57 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions comprising carbon dioxide from fossil-fuel combustion, Canada represents less than 2 percent of global emissions, of which the oil and gas sector accounts for 25 percent and transportation 23 percent.

Environment Canada reports a "sector-by-sector regulatory approach" to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, banning the construction of coal-fired electricity generating facilities, and setting goals for greenhouse gas reduction by 2025. (Ontario is the first industrial region in North America to eliminate coal-fired electricity.) Yet, the federal government lacks a work-

able strategy to promote existing successful provincial/municipal policies and has moved slowly to reduce carbon pollution.

The EPI report is, by its own admission, a flawed document with less-than-ideal approaches to measuring environmental impacts, gaps in its data, and lack of participation by some countries or failure to report in some categories. The bodies that establish targets are unclear in some areas, so their validity may be questioned. However, as a stimulus for debate about climate change and international responsibilities, the EPI makes a significant contribution.

In Canada, it should show its citizens that they mustn't be complacent about the environment, and their roles in preserving it, or the policies that should protect it. In another survey, the Reputation Institute reported in July that Canada holds top spot in a survey of 55 nations to determine the one with the best reputation. Survey respondents from North America, Latin America, Europe and Asia were most likely to want to live in or visit Canada, in large part because of its appealing environment.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is an Alberta writer.



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Africa plagued by third term-itis

Robert I. Rotberg

Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan's graceful acceptance of his loss this year to incoming President Muhammadu Buhari was a major advance for African democracy, for setting peaceful transition precedents, and for helping to mature political leadership on the continent. But that easy handover to an opponent was exceptional. Equally often, African rulers cling tenaciously to their hard-won positions, attempt to evade or thwart popular mandates and violate constitutional bans against perpetual presidencies. Democracy still battles autocracy across Africa.

Although 20 of sub-Saharan Africa's 49 nations limit their heads of state to two terms, two states permit three terms, and three put prime ministers rather than presidents in charge. Many of the continent's political chiefs are still trying to replicate the "president-for-life" model that was such a feature of earlier years. They endorse their own indispensability and seek to continue to retain the spoils of office indefinitely. Credible surveys show that citizens prefer constitutionality, but several of the "big men," Africa's legacy rulers, persist in employing the mailed fist to stay ascendant.

What this means, of course, is that democratic practices are, as yet, not fully accepted by Africa's political class. Respect for constitutions is still not a mature norm. Nevertheless, widespread civil society opposition to such manoeuvres, parliamentary refusals in several cases to abridge constitutional bans and a number of effective transitions from president to president demonstrate that at least a large swath of Africa is ready to obey the rule of law. One president, Macky Sall of Senegal, is even proposing to reduce presidential terms from seven to five years.

Heavy-handed repression

Pierre Nkurunziza's "re-election" in July for a third five-year term as president of Burundi violated the terms of his country's constitution, defied African Union condemnations, ignored pleas of world leaders and reneged on the promises that he had repeatedly made over the past decade. His re-anointment also frustrated the fervent protesters who, for months, had

roiled the political waters of Bujumbura, Burundi's capital on Lake Tanganyika, and other towns and villages in the small Central African nation. Heavy-handed repression by soldiers and police officers had checked the opponents in the streets

attempted to circumvent the standard two-term limit for heads of state that is embedded in many African constitutions. Half have failed, most notoriously and surprisingly, President Blaise Compaoré in Burkina Faso in 2014. After a successful



Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari took power in 2015 after Goodluck Jonathan handed over the reins to his opponent in a gesture generally atypical in Africa.

and had imprisoned 500 reporters, broadcasters and civil society leaders who had been fighting to maintain term limits. A vice-president and other prominent former supporters fled to neighbouring Rwanda. About 200,000 Burundians followed them across the border, and also into neighbouring Tanzania. Nkurunziza said that he was "in touch with God, and does God's wishes."

Since 2000, a dozen "big men" have

coup in 1987 and 27 consecutive years as the uncontested leader of his West African country, Compaoré's attempt to seek a third term as president (he had been elected president in 2005 and 2010) was thwarted when the citizens of Ouagadougou, Burkina's expanding capital, rose up in their thousands for four days to decry Compaoré's anti-democratic manoeuvres. He fled, and young military officers took over, promising elections in October and

respect for the constitution.

Compaoré's exit was more dramatic than most. But before he failed to breach the third-term prohibition, Bakili Muluzi in Malawi, Sam Nujoma in Namibia, Olusegun Obasanjo in Nigeria, Frederick Chiluba in Zambia, Mamadou Tandja in Niger and Abdoulaye Wade in Senegal had all been prevented by civil society agitation and parliamentary reluctance from pursuing their third-term dreams. In each case, the attempt to overturn constitutional bans was unpopular, believed to be unnecessarily narcissistic and judged offensive to prevailing norms.

A further dozen African presidents have all quietly left office in recent years after completing two terms. Whether or not they believed themselves "big men" in the African political manner, they decided (in a few cases very reluctantly) not even to contemplate trying to overturn constitutional limitations. Their actions reflected respect for the rule of law.

African "big men"

But not so Nkurunziza, who tossed aside those profiles in presidential probity. Equally, what happened to the losing sextet of third-term wannabes (Muluzi and the rest) and Compaoré might conceivably have cautioned Nkurunziza and stilled his disdain for Burundi's constitution, popular and world opinion and democratic norms. But, either more resolute or more sure of his own security forces (which



After 27 years as leader of Burkina Faso, Blaise Compaoré's attempt to seek a third-term as president was thwarted when the citizens of Ouagadougou rose up in protest of his anti-democratic antics. He fled.



Burundian President Pierre Nkurunziza's "re-election" in July for a third five-year term violated the terms of his country's constitution.

negated a coup attempt in June), Nkurunziza survived, thus emboldening those other African "big men" who also seem anxious in 2015 to override third-term constitutional prohibitions.

Foremost is President Paul Kagame in Rwanda, now approaching the end of his second seven-year term as omnipotent ruler. Kagame and his insurgent troops rescued Rwanda from its horrific genocide in 1994, marching into the country from neighbouring Uganda. He remained as minister of defence and the power behind a president he selected until 2000, when he himself took unquestioned control. Under a new constitution, he was elected president in 2003 and again in 2010 with 93 percent of the vote. Now Kagame, who says he is "open to going or not going depending on the interest and future of this country," is orchestrating a "popular" movement to demand that the constitution be amended so he can continue in office beyond 2017, when his current term ends.

Kagame, 57, has, in recent years, physically eliminated, imprisoned or exiled key critics and opponents. Lawyers are chary of appearing in court to plead against a third term. There is little free media or free expression, many arbitrary arrests, reported cases of torture and several documented assassinations. But Kagame also runs a crime-free, stable and rapidly developing country. Most Rwandans, if permitted to vote freely, would probably



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choose to keep the Kagame they know. Nevertheless, democracy in Africa will suffer considerably if one of the continent's sharpest and most successful political leaders succumbs to third-termitis and decides to monopolize Rwanda's presidency. Unless effective leaders such as Kagame set positive examples, respect for the rule of law and constitutionalism will continue to be honoured only now and then, when convenient. Stepping down is the ultimate act of responsible leadership.

Perpetuating corrupt reigns

Joining Kagame as likely breakers of third-term rules will be President Denis Sassou Nguesso of the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), already in power for 18 years, and previously for a further 13, and his across-the-river neighbour Joseph Kabila, president of the Democratic Republic of Congo (Kinshasa), in command for 14 years. The constitutions of both Congos ban third terms, but Kabila, who is only 41, and Sassou Nguesso, 71, both want to continue to preside. They seek to perpetuate reigns that are corrupt, Kabila's excessively so, and which have permitted the spoils of office from petroleum and mineral exports to flow copiously into elite pockets while most Congolese remain poor and mired in conflict. Despite American and European private and public entreaties to both men to refrain from pursuing third-term options, there is every likelihood that Sassou Nguesso and Kabila will join Kagame in attempting to break the law and prove



Rwandan President Paul Kagame is now approaching the end of his second seven-year term.



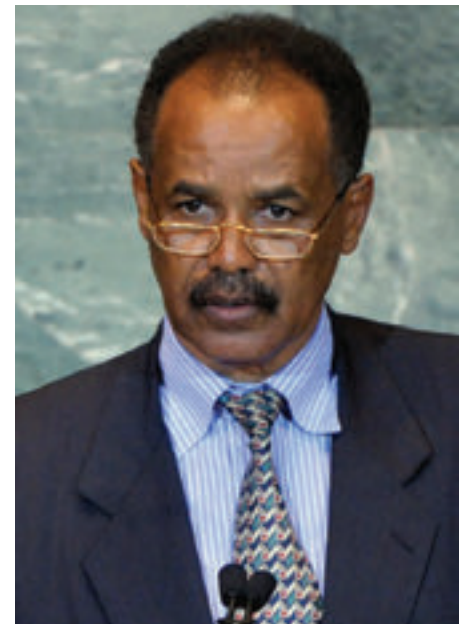
U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Congolese President Denis Sassou Nguesso at the U.S.-Africa Leaders Summit.

themselves inviolable.

If Kagame and the others persist in believing in their personal indispensability, they will join those several additional African heads of state, most much more despot, who in 2015 hold power by virtue of rigged elections, military intimidation or both. President Robert G. Mugabe has run Zimbabwe since 1980 thanks to fake polls throughout this decade, a successful security apparatus, major intimidation efforts and the acquiescence of neighbouring South Africa. Paul Biya, 82, has remained president of Cameroon since 1982 because of similar refusals to permit fair electoral contests or significant opposition. In 1996, he ignored Cameroon's two-term limits and stayed in office. In 2008, he eliminated term limits from its constitution. Cameroon's next presidential "election" is in 2018. Yoweri K. Museveni, 70, has been president of Uganda since 1986, overcoming term limit constraints in 2005. He arrested two leading opposition presidential candidates in mid-2015. Museveni is the man who originally declared that "the problem of Africa... is not the people, but leaders who want to overstay in power."

Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, 73, has been president of oil-rich Equatorial Guinea since 1979. His rule is arbitrary

and kleptocratic, as is the reign in equally wealthy petroleum-dependent Angola of Eduardo dos Santos, 72, also president since 1979. Both head countries where corrupt practices run free, thanks to Chinese



Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki has been in power in his country since 1993 and has quelled opposition ever since.

purchases of oil.

Chad's Idriss Déby, 63, president since 1990, has defeated Libyan and Sudanese attempts to oust him; his army is one of the best-trained and best-equipped in Africa. It keeps him in office and helped to ensure his unconstitutional third term in 2005. In tiny Djibouti, on the Red Sea, Ismaïl Omar Guelleh, 67, backed by a small army financed by France (which, along with the United States, has a strategic base there) overcame third-term prohibitions in 2010. He has been president since 1999, succeeding his uncle.

Fleeing Eritreans trying to reach Europe

President Yahya Jammeh, 50, of Gambia, a tiny West African sliver of a state, has been a wildly impulsive, cruel military ruler since taking power in a 1994 coup and getting himself elected head of state in 1996. Isaias Afwerki, 69, in Eritrea on the Red Sea, came to power as an anti-Communist revolutionary in 1993 and has relentlessly extirpated all opposition ever since. He also conscripts anyone he can find, especially children, into his rag-tag army, has jailed or killed a dozen journalists, and has bad relations with the rest of Africa. Thousands of the migrants trying to cross today from Libya into Europe are fleeing



Robert Mugabe has run Zimbabwe since 1980, thanks, in part, to fake polls.

conditions in Eritrea.

Bringing respect for democratic procedures to all of these benighted nations will not be easy. Mugabe is 91, and still rules with a consummately strong hand. His handpicked successor is less popular,

but backed by the security forces. Biya also is apt to remain in office until natural causes remove him. Afwerki and Jammeh, and even Mugabe, Biya, dos Santos and Nguema could easily be overthrown if the militaries in those places were so-minded and if those four capricious strong men lost their canny ability to provide patronage to politicians and looting opportunities to soldiers. Civil society in all six places is weak.

These despots are outliers, especially when contrasted to the African Union members such as Botswana, Tanzania and Senegal that have adhered rigorously to constitutional prerogatives and prescriptions, and prospered. If Kagame, Kabila and the others prone to the third-term malady can be persuaded to renounce such pretensions, and instead begin to burnish their democratic credentials, Africa's future will brighten considerably.

Robert I. Rotberg is fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Center; senior fellow, Centre for International Governance Innovation; fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences; president emeritus, World Peace Foundation, and founding director of Harvard's Kennedy School program on intrastate conflict.



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Canada: Minerals and metals supplier to the world

By Yana Amis



Mining operations in the Klondike in 1899.

Canada is one of the world's leading mining nations. From humble beginnings with small-scale coal mining on Cape Breton Island, N.S., 350 years ago, there are now more than 1,100 mining and exploration projects operating today.

Canada produces more than 60 minerals and metals. The country ranks No. 1 in the world in potash and uranium production. It is the world's third-largest producer of diamonds, accounting for 14 percent of the global market by value and is in the top five in output of nickel, cobalt, cadmium, zinc, salt and molybdenum.

Canada and mining go hand in hand

The mining industry is an integral part of the Canadian economy. Its activities opened up the vast Canadian wilderness and today 115 communities owe their existence to it. The sector generated \$54 billion in 2014, employed more than 383,000 people and paid more than \$7 billion to gov-

ernment in taxes and royalties. A further \$2 billion a year is paid in income taxes by its employees, who, at an average annual income of \$110,000, earn more than twice the average wage of construction workers.

Mineral and metal product shipments contribute up to 60 percent of Canada's rail freight revenues and as much as 75 percent of Canadian ocean port tonnage. In the record year 2011, mineral exports were valued at \$101.9 billion, 20 percent of the value of Canadian goods exports. According to Statistics Canada, the GDP "multiplier effect" for the mining sector is 0.88, meaning for each \$1 million of GDP directly attributable to mining activity, \$880,000 of additional GDP is created.

As a reflection of Canada's dominant position in mining, the 83-year-old Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada (PDAC) hosts the world's largest gathering of mining professionals each year in Toronto. In 2015, PDAC's convention, trade show and investors exchange

was attended by 23,578 people from more than 120 countries. The investors exchange had 480 exhibitors, mostly junior exploration companies, but also a number of major mining companies, mid-sized producers and prospectors seeking to attract investment and joint venture partners for their domestic and international mineral prospects. The trade show portion had 500 exhibitors showcasing mining technology, products, services and mining jurisdictions from around the world.

What is it about Canada and mining?

What makes Canada the world's leading mining country? Is it simply because of its rich mineral endowment? The answer is a simple "No": The U.S., Latin America, China, Russia, Australia and Africa all have superb endowments. The answer to the question, "What is it about Canada and hockey?" is pretty much the same.

"One of the reasons Canada has outperformed a lot of the Organization for

Economic Co-operation and Development countries, certainly the G8, [is] our energy and mining prowess," states Pierre Gratton, president of the Mining Association of Canada, in its publication, *Facts and Figures 2012*. "And now people are taking a hard look at what it is about Canada and mining and they are going beyond the actual production numbers to see this whole other part of the mining ecosystem we have built in this country."

Today, the Canadian industry is a two-tiered system. A large number of "junior" companies that raise their own money on the stock market, from individual savvy investors or through joint ventures with other juniors, undertake nearly all of the high-risk, grassroots searches for new deposits and revisit abandoned former mining projects looking for extensions to and hidden deposits near these mines.

Canada's role in global mining development

Senior mining companies are the minerals and metals producers, and their names tend to be well known to the public: Iron Ore Company of Canada, Barrick Gold Corporation, Xstrata (formerly Falconbridge) and Potash Corporation of Saskatchewan are a few of the giants. The two tiers interact when a significant discovery is made by a junior, with the senior company generally buying the project from the junior, the latter paid in cash, shares in the senior company and a royalty of a few percent on production. On occasion, with an exceptional deposit, a junior can get financial backing to go all the way to production and join the senior ranks.

The two-tiered system evolved from a largely unitary setup, whereby major mining companies did it all, including maintaining an exploration division to search for new deposits. Such companies, funded from their own treasury, were more risk averse, bureaucratic and, during downturns in the economy, cut back drastically or discontinued exploration altogether. The time it takes to put a proven ore deposit into production is five to 10 years, so the layoffs invariably caused boom and bust cycles in metal pricing and the inventory of mineable deposits varied, resulting in a most inefficient system.

The seeds for the development of junior mining (exploration) companies was the age-old fraternity of individual rugged prospectors, who went where they pleased, tramping the wilderness and breaking rocks everywhere. In the early days, most of the major mining districts in Canada were found by such individuals. It is no accident that the Prospectors and De-

velopers Association of Canada bears this somewhat archaic name. The association was formed to assist prospectors, through lobbying efforts to educate the government on their importance to the Canadian economy, to obtain modest financial assistance and favourable tax treatment for their members, provide courses in rocks, minerals and geology and centralize advocacy on Canadian and provincial mining policy and regulations.

In this encouraging atmosphere, junior companies began to form in the 1960s, headed by professional geologists, who often had started their careers as employees of former exploration departments of senior mining firms. They put plans together, wrote a prospectus suitable for



Junior mining exploration geologists examine a possible find.

acceptance for listing by the Toronto Stock Exchange and began issuing shares for financing. A new era of scientific exploration brought quick success. With it, the senior mining sector virtually ceded exploration to the juniors

This enhancement in productivity was given a huge boost by the creation of "flow-through shares" by the federal government in its Mineral Exploration Tax Credit (METC), which attracted more investment to the junior exploration sector. The tax credit allows investors to purchase shares of a qualified company, deduct 100 percent of the cost of the shares from their taxable income and, in addition, claim a 15

percent tax credit on the investment. The new industry structure and this particular government initiative made Canada the No. 1 jurisdiction to raise mining exploration capital globally. Canadian mining regulations and policies became widely copied in mining countries around the world.

The evolution of the Canadian mining industry model had a global impact beyond just foreign adoption of Canadian policy. Not well known outside the industry, either at home or abroad, is Canada's premier place in the development of global mining projects. Canadian-based mining and exploration companies listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange make up more than 1,200 of the world's estimated 1,900 publicly traded firms, and own mining assets worth \$234 billion. They also spend about 40 percent of the more than \$10 billion global mining exploration budget on the search for and development of new mineable deposits. This level of effort and financing by Canadian companies makes Canada by far the world's most important mining country.

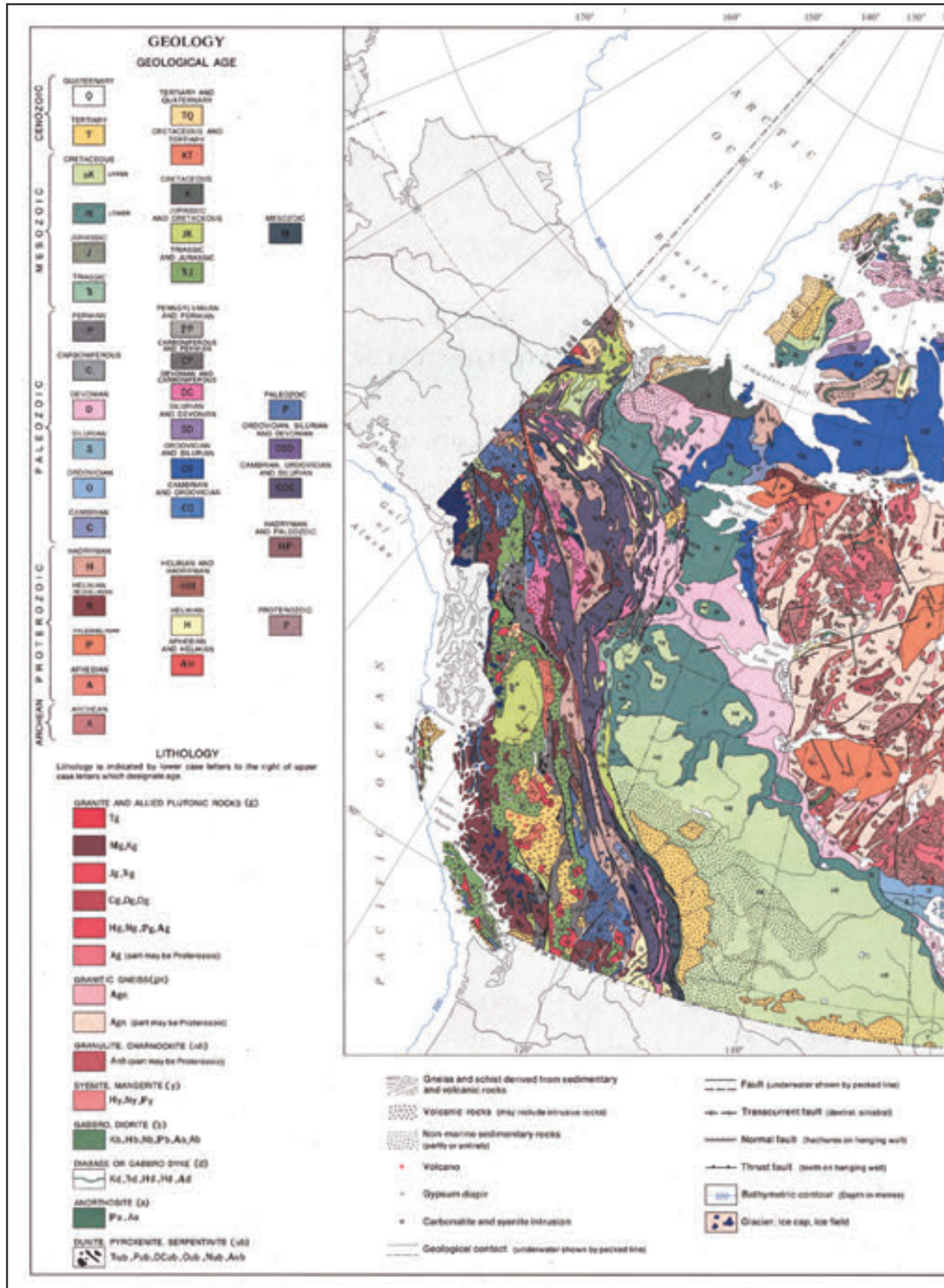
Mining and the environment in perspective

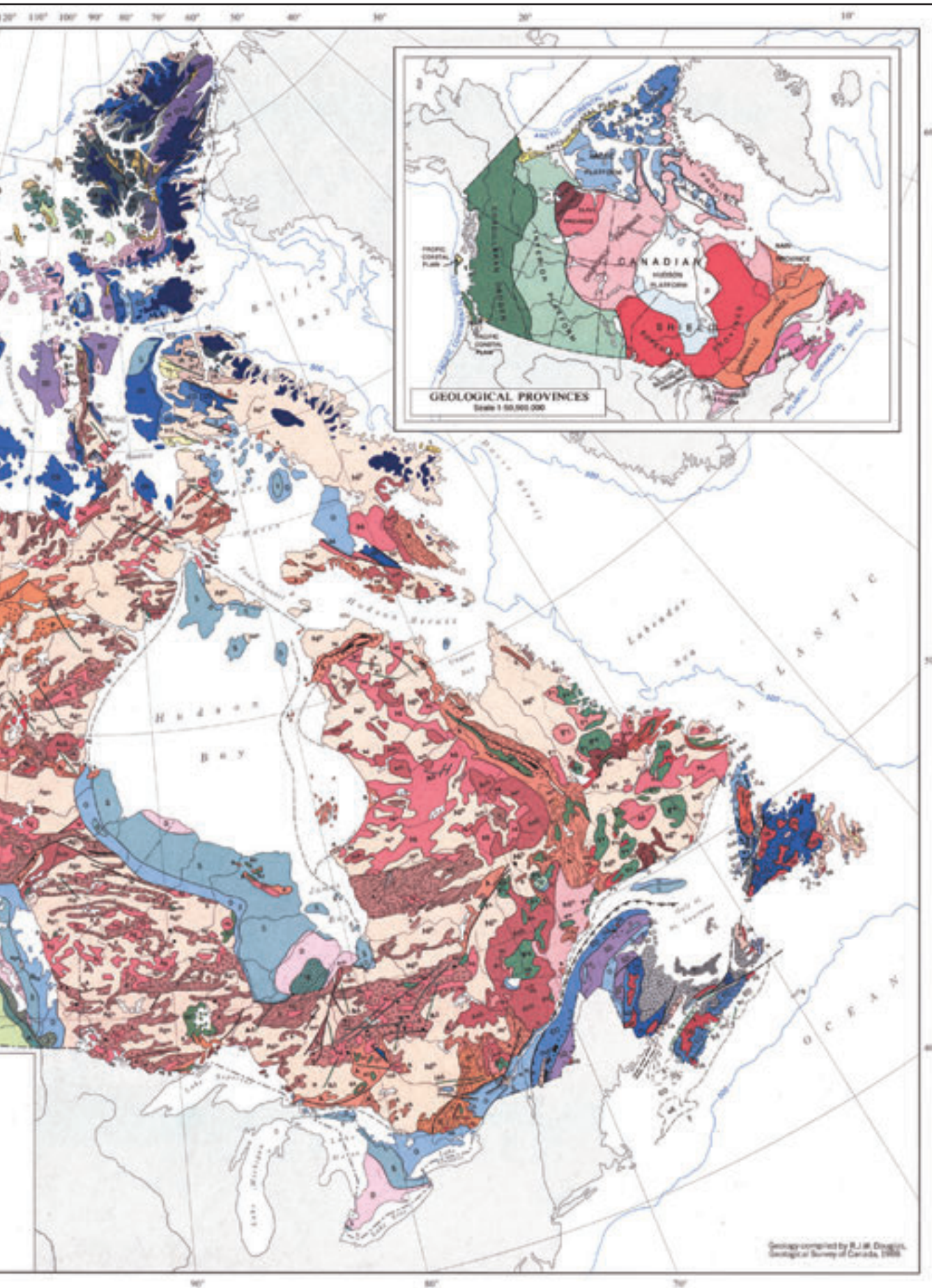
Negative environmental impact is usually the first thing that comes to mind when one mentions mining, and to be sure, this was not a romantic part of the Canadian mining story. Possibly the largest-scale environmental disaster connected to mining was caused by the open-air cordwood roasting of nickel ores in the Sudbury, Ont., area in the early years of the project.

"The roasting method was used by mining companies in Sudbury until 1929 as the primary means of separating minerals," writes historian Krista McCracken, in an article in *ActiveHistory.ca*. "Fuelled by cordwood, these beds resulted in clouds of sulfur dioxide spreading from the beds at ground level. The roast beds have been blamed for much of the environmental destruction in Sudbury. However, it has also been argued that the later smelter technology also contributed to considerable environmental devastation by releasing sulfur dioxide into the atmosphere.

"The result of years of continuous mining and expulsion of associated pollutants resulted in approximately 7,000 lakes within 17,000 square kilometres being acidified, 20,000 hectares of barren land being created in which no vegetation grows and significant erosion has occurred, and 80,000 hectares of semi-barren land."

It wasn't until the 1960s that growing concern about the environment began to





Canadian global mining assets

Note: B = billions. All amounts are in Canadian dollars

SOURCE: NATURAL RESOURCES CANADA

Country	Canada	USA	Mexico	Central America Caribbean	South America	Europe	Africa	Oceania	Asia	Total
No. firms	1324	288	163	35	235	81	146	39	79	
2012 \$B	76.1	17.9	20.3	10.9	50.7	9.7	22.4	5.5	9.2	\$233.9 B
2013 \$B	80.7	19.7	19.0	13.5	50.8	11.2	24.1	4.3	9.7	\$222.6 B

be voiced and regulations promulgated, and not just about the effects of mining. Smog in London, Los Angeles and other major cities of the world, pollution of the seas by bilge pumping, raw sewage, garbage dumping and chemical wastes from cities and industry, were, prior to the 1960s, not something humans thought they could or should do something about.

Captured in the photos below is a succinct summary of the efforts to right the wrongs of what occurred in the mining industry and, indeed, all other sectors of activity. In the 1960s and 1970s, government regulations were enacted and a re-greening program was started that involved neutralizing the acidic soils with limestone and the planting, to date, of more than nine million trees. The successful Sudbury re-greening effort is being used as a model for rehabilitation of the environment globally. An international example is the subject of a May 24, 2013 episode of CBC Radio's *Serving up the North: Sudbury biologist teaching Russians about re-greening*.

Today, stringent environmental regulations for mining and mineral processing at federal and provincial levels require public stakeholder consultation, baseline

studies by independent consultants who gather metrics on the flora, fauna and habitat, fish and other aquatic dwellers and plants, landscape, surface water and groundwater chemistry to serve as a threshold for measuring possible changes and the need for mitigation once mining activity starts. Monitoring also continues for a number of years after a mine is closed. A reclamation plan that returns the land to wilderness or alternate use by stakeholders is designed and funded in advance of starting the mine. The project is also subject to agreements with First Nations on lands covering traditional use areas, and includes training, employment and other benefits.

Canadian mining companies now are among the best in the world in terms of protecting the environment and reclamation. However, accidents do happen, as with any industry. The Mount Polley copper-gold mine tailings dam failure in northern B.C. in August 2014 was the largest of five Canadian accidents since 1960, according to "Chronology of major tailings dam failures." Timely reporting is a matter of law and mitigation action is planned for in advance. Federal and

provincial regulators take their work seriously and do their jobs responsibly. Mines can be shut down on same-day notice until any violation or accident is thoroughly mitigated.

We know that mining is essential to provide the raw materials needed for our human civilization. It is now pretty much agreed by all that it should be done safely and with respect for the environment. The Mining Association of Canada (MAC) has been most proactive in this area.

"The Canadian mining industry has made great strides in recent decades to minimize the environmental footprints of [its] operations and improving the reclamation of land. This progress has been driven by the actions of individual companies, government regulations and industry standards such as MAC's Towards Sustainable Mining (TSM) initiative. One of TSM's central goals is to minimize mining's impact on the environment and biodiversity through all stages of the mining lifecycle, from exploration to mine closure. Companies are measured and publicly report their performance for several environmentally focused TSM protocols, including tailings management,



The Sudbury regreening effort is pictured here. The photo on the right shows the Coniston Hydro Road in 1981 and at left is the same road in 2008.

energy use and greenhouse gas emissions management and biodiversity conservation management.”

Malthusian myth of mineral depletion

It isn't news that mining supplies the mineral raw materials needed by society. However, does it not raise the question: What will we do when these finite resources have largely been mined? This apparent conundrum was first voiced and popularized in writings on population by Thomas Malthus, English cleric and economist, in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries.

“The power of population is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man,” Malthus wrote.

In the 1860s, W. S. Jevons, another English economist, foresaw coming shortages of coal causing collapse of the Industrial Revolution.

The proposition of predicted shortages continues to have traction to this day in organizations such as the Club of Rome. The Club's 1972 *Limits to Growth*, and later works, predict a Malthus-type collapse of society because of expectations of short-

ages of resources and food. Such thinking has a fatal flaw because it leaves out the single most important factor affecting such considerations: human ingenuity. It is the reason Malthus's projection that growing cities would ultimately be buried in horse manure turned out to be unfounded.

The World Bank estimated the number of people living in absolute poverty in 2008 to be 1.29 billion. This means that today's population, despite being double that of 1972 when *Limits* was published, is living much better and expanded food production has essentially made widespread famines in Asia a thing of the past. According to various demographers, population is expected to peak between 8.8 billion and 10 billion during the latter half of the 21st Century. The petri-dish model of human helplessness in a world of diminishing finite resources has been repeatedly discredited.

Will we have sufficient mineral materials to supply a world when the ultimate couple of billion citizens have joined us? An epigrammatic quote by Saudi oil minister Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, in a 2005 *New York Times* article on peak oil answered the question this way:

“The Stone Age didn't end for lack of stone, and the oil age will end long before the world runs out of oil.”

The supply of mineral materials is *not* simply a fixed stock slowly being drawn down toward zero. First, every tonne of material we have mined over the millennia and put into finished products is still here on the surface of the Earth, except for the few tonnes we have sent to Mars and other parts of the solar system. Metal scrap has been recycled for a few thousand years because of its value. But we didn't start husbanding our “used” resources intensively until the 1970s with proactive involvement of ordinary citizens in recycling a wide variety of materials. As a bonus, remanufacture with recycled materials saves up to 75 percent in energy, relative to the use of newly mined and refined resources.

Second, stretching resources to make things has been an important part of our progress in management of material needs. Starting in the latter half of the 20th Century, advances in engineering have continued to reduce the amount of material inputs into a product. Computers in the 1960s that took up an entire room

METALS AND MINERALS: CIVILIZATION'S BUILDING BLOCKS

Mining is such a driving force in human evolution that the ages marking hominid development are named for Earth materials: the Paleolithic and Neolithic Stone Ages, Copper Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age. Survival for hundreds of thousands

of years depended on well-crafted, hard-pointed weapons and tools. And in recent millennia, metals launched industrial metallurgy and tool manufacturing and all that followed: settlements, agriculture, technology, civilization and world trade.

Prior to 1000 BC, humans had discovered 10 metals out of the 92 natural elements that make up the entire universe.

They had to wait for the 17th to 19th Centuries to discover most of the rest. In 1869, Russian scientist Dmitri Mendeleev created the remarkable Periodic Table, which grouped elements according to their physical and chemical properties. This became a roadmap that laid out the positions of the discovered elements and the 28 elements yet to be discovered, making it easier to find the missing ones.

Of the 92 natural elements, only four have not found use. Moreover, in a flurry of scientific exuberance, 26 esoteric new elements were created in high-energy physics laboratories in the U.S. and Russia. Most of these unstable elements have lives measured in seconds to days.

In addition to individual elements, combinations of elements in the form of minerals, such as quartz, feldspar, limestone and gypsum, make up by far the largest volume of mine-based products we use. They are some of the mineral ingredients for such glass products as windows, computer screens and bottles, along with construction materials, including cement, wallboard, bricks and tiles. It is said that virtually everything we eat, wear or use has non-metallic minerals in its creation.

PERIODIC TABLE OF THE ELEMENTS

couldn't match the computing power of a laptop weighing less than a kilogram today and likely a fraction of a kilogram tomorrow.

Third, substitution of resources relieves pressure on any particular resource. The largest passenger aircraft in the world, the A380F Airbus, weighs 592 tonnes, fuelled and ready for takeoff. Carbon fibre-reinforced plastic is used extensively in the wings and an aluminum alloy-glass fibre laminate is used for the upper fuselage, largely replacing aluminum with ultra-strength lighter-weight substitutes. Automobiles and railway coaches, all the way down to a multitude of devices used by individuals every day, have similarly been transformed by abundant new age materials.

Fourth, new ore deposits of all the metals and minerals we use are being discovered by using technologies not thought about a generation ago. Remote sensing from satellites, computerized sensitive geophysical surveys — both ground-based and airborne — and ever-expanding geological knowledge are finding mineral resources we will be using for multitudes of generations into the future. For example, according to a U.S. Geological Survey assessment, remaining global resources of copper are estimated to be 3.5 billion metric tonnes and annual global production in 2013 was 20 million tonnes. *Copper Facts* estimates the total amount of copper mined globally since ancient times to be 557 million metric tonnes. There certainly is no imminent fear of running out of copper.

Rare earth and recycled metals

To obtain, refine and form mineral materials from the earth for our use and very survival is as much a must for humans as it has been since our hominid ancestors started digging almost three million years ago. However, hard lessons have been learned and continue to be learned about the care and attention that must be paid to minimizing damage to our environment. Regulations based on use of the best available abatement and mitigation technology in Canada, federal laws that require employment of the same technologies wherever Canadian companies operate abroad and the inexorable onward march of technology itself, give confidence that mining's environmental, health and safety disasters of the past will become diminish-few in the future.

In recent years, mining has become a "topping up" stream of materials used to manufacture products that are used,



Electricity-generating wind turbines contain pure rare-earth metals.

then discarded to be recycled back. Many manufacturers are making their products with the idea of having customers recycle them back to the supply chain instead of discarding them. Dell Computer Corporation is but one example.

Once merely part of the research chemist's obscure Scrabble board of the elements, rare metals, particularly the 15 metals known as the rare earth elements, have been added to the engineer's materials toolkit for the new technological age. "Going Green" with alternative energy had to depend on large-scale exploration, mining, processing and refining technologies to meet the rising demand for pure rare-earth metals for electricity-generating wind turbines, LED (light-emitting diodes) lighting, other low energy-consuming lamp technologies, laser generators, automobile and industrial process exhaust catalytic converters, colour phosphors for electronic devices, and many other everyday items.

These 15 metals: lanthanum, cerium, praseodymium, neodymium, samarium, europium, gadolinium, terbium, dysprosium, holmium, erbium, thulium, ytterbium, lutetium and yttrium, occur together in a variety of mineral species. Their chemical similarities made separation into individual pure metals challenging and their early uses were as unseparated alloys and compounds for de-oxidizing high-quality steels and mak-

ing cigarette lighter flints and gas mantles for kerosene lamps. And it wasn't until the 1960s and 1970s that threshold amounts could be made available for applications research.

Within the last 20 years, rare earth use has soared in environmental and health applications. Lanthanum-rich alloys with other rare earths are used for hydrogen storage batteries; cerium in ceramic dental compositions to replace amalgam fillings, auto exhaust catalysts and for scavenging toxic heavy metals in steel manufacture; praseodymium in medical CAT scan equipment; neodymium, samarium and dysprosium in high-intensity magnets for wind-turbine electrical generators, motors for electric and hybrid cars and computer disc drives; gadolinium in medical MRI technology; erbium in laser surgery technology; thulium in portable X-ray equipment; ytterbium to convert radiant energy (heat) to electricity; yttrium and europium in phosphors for the red colour in modern television, computer and cell phone screens. All of these also find use in a wide range of industrial, communications, space and other sectors.

Solar panels use high-purity silicon metal, gallium, boron, indium, selenium and tellurium. Silicon is at present the bulk photovoltaic converter because of its comparatively low cost. Gallium is used for space vehicle photovoltaics. A doubling of efficiency of conversion from solar to electricity could be achieved by substituting gallium for silicon and research has succeeded in reducing the film thickness of gallium required to one micron, compared to silicon's 100 microns. This achievement has made possible next-generation versatile thin film, a flexible plastic solar-converter material. Lithium metal batteries, well known in computers, cell phones, watches, pacemakers, flashlights and the like, are now powering electric vehicles and finding use in energy storage — a technology that will solve the problem of gathering power from wind turbine and solar arrays to serve a stable electrical grid.

These developments have begun to forge a partnership from what has been a rocky relationship between miners and environmentalists. Mining companies now routinely employ environmental biologists and corporate governance specialists at the executive level.

Yana Amis has been president of a mining consulting firm for 17 years and is a mineral commodity economics researcher.



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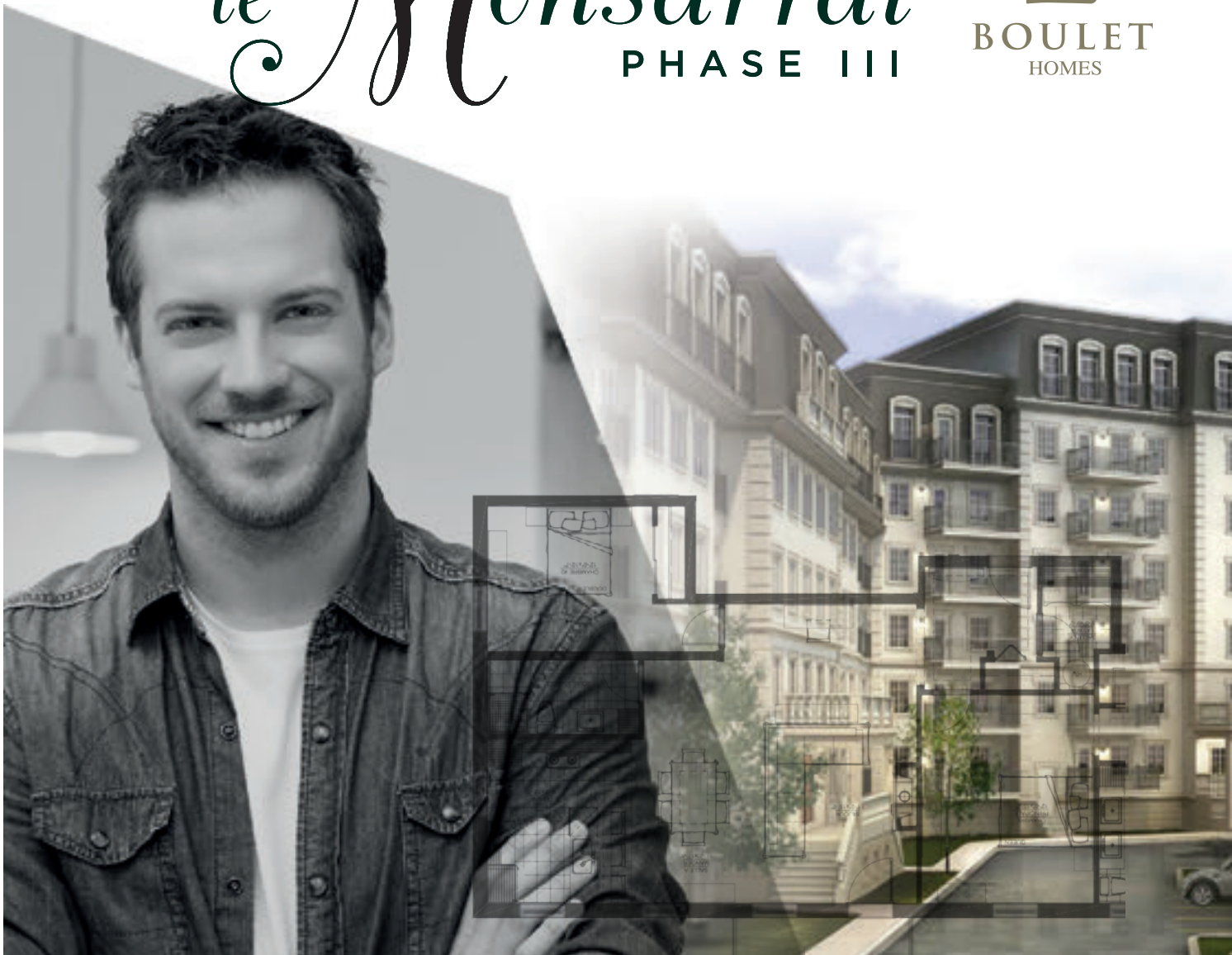


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Electoral foreign policy promises

By Joe Landry



Stephen Harper, Elizabeth May, Thomas Mulcair and Justin Trudeau are concentrating on domestic policy, but each has made some foreign policy promises.

In most democratic countries, foreign policy concerns are further down the list of voter priorities than domestic issues. In Canada, things are no different.

Of the six scheduled TV debates between the leaders, only one was scheduled to focus on foreign policy. Domestic concerns may pique the public's interest, but foreign policy can also have a heavy influence on what happens at home. Look at the effect of the oil price shock on the economy of Alberta and Canada as a whole. In our globally connected world, events that happen on the other side of the world can profoundly affect Canadians.

We know *Diplomat* readers have a keen interest in how Canada conducts itself on the global stage. The past decade of Con-

servative power has seen myriad changes to Canada's foreign policy and to our reputation around the world.

To be fair, Canada is still one of the most highly regarded countries in the world, placing No. 1 among 55 ranked in the 2015 *Study on the World's Most Reputable Countries* by the New York-based Reputation Institute. Canada was awarded top spot for the fourth time in six years. That said, we cannot ride on our reputation from decades past. Within diplomatic circles, the story is very different. Many high-profile commentators have decried Canada's recent record on important issues such as the environment, Israel-Palestine relations and dedication to multilateral engagement.

With the election looming, how will the results impact Canada's foreign policy? We look at the four major parties' positions on key issues for international engagement. They tend to agree on many of the major issues. However, there are some key points on which they differ.

Conservative Party of Canada

The Conservative Party, under the leadership of Stephen Harper, has the most to lose in this election. We also have the best idea of what Conservative foreign policy would look like, given that the Tories have enacted their vision for the better part of the last decade. Generally, the Conservatives have placed a great deal of importance on trade relationships

and the signing of new free-trade agreements, along with a focus on international security challenges, such as the Russian annexation of Crimea and its territorial expansionism in Ukraine, and the spread of ISIS. Participation in multilateral institutions, international aid and development and overall foreign policy engagement with allied countries have all taken a back-seat compared to past Canadian policy.

That said, there are some areas in which the Conservatives are unique compared to the other parties. In their 2015 election platform, the party has focused on protection of religious and ethnic minorities in the Middle East generally, and in ISIS-controlled territory specifically. The Conservatives have promised to work with organizations that defend such minorities as well as to accept 10,000 more Syrian refugees who are under threat of religious persecution. In addition, the party will work with the global community to protect places of worship and other holy sites.

Another major tenet of the Conservative foreign-policy platform is the buildup and expansion of the Canadian Armed Forces reserves. Harper is perceived as strong on security issues and his focus on the military (albeit on sometimes trivial aspects such as the reintroduction of the

prefix “royal”) continues to give the Conservatives an edge on who is best poised to deal with security challenges, according to public opinion.

The shooting of Cpl. Nathan Cirillo, a soldier who stood sentry at the Tomb of

TRUDEAU HAS STATED THAT “CANADA’S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES TRANSCENDS PARTISANSHIP,”

the Unknown Soldier, by a Canadian-born Islamist in October 2014 and the killing of Patrice Vincent by another Canadian-born convert to Islam further entrenched the notion that terrorism is a real and immediate threat to Canadians, giving the “tough-on-crime” Conservatives an edge in the

public's perception. By highlighting the government's commitment to further fund the Forces' reserves, Harper underlines this perception.

Generally speaking, the Conservatives probably will not make any major changes to the foreign policy approach they have taken over the past 10 years. The main goals of the prime minister revolve around domestic issues and bolstering his base. Indeed, certain policies, such as the focus on protection for minorities abroad, play well to diaspora populations who are important voters in urban ridings, which the Tories often struggle to hold.

Liberal Party of Canada

The Liberal Party governed Canada for the better part of several key decades, as the country was building up its reputation as a middle power that punched above its weight on the international stage. Canada emerged as a global leader during the Second World War and, as the least powerful member of the G7, Canada holds a special role in the complex world of international affairs. Liberal values, such as peacekeeping, the responsibility to protect and the elimination of cluster munitions and landmines, represent the best of what a middle power can offer to the global community. Liberal leaders have always stood for more progressive values, such as mainstreaming gender equality, protecting the environment and welcoming refugees. When the Conservatives first came to power, many of these ideas were seen to be too “soft” and too associated with previous administrations.

With the election of a Liberal government under Justin Trudeau's leadership, one would expect a return to policies that reflect some of these more “small l” liberal values. At the same time, the party has put forward a platform that focuses heavily on the restoration of the Canada-U.S. relationship, which many commentators and analysts have decried as being the worst in decades. Ideological differences, as well as practical matters such as the stalling of the Keystone XL Pipeline, have created rifts in the current bilateral relationship.

Trudeau has stated that “Canada's relationship with the United States transcends partisanship,” noting that Harper's approach to diplomacy has been to attempt to strong-arm initiatives, such as the Keystone Pipeline, into existence. The Liberal platform promises to work with the United States and Mexico on developing a North American strategy to combat climate change and other forms of environmental degradation. To do so, the

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party envisions a new trilateral summit. Moreover, Trudeau highlights the importance of reducing impediments to trade and commerce among all three North American nations. He argues that a green, clean energy strategy will only be successful in partnership with our closest ally and geographical neighbour.

Moving along from the environmental aspect of the relationship, the Liberals also propose to have greater cabinet oversight of the Canada-U.S. relationship by holding regular meetings with the ambassador to Washington. This would be achieved by creating a cabinet committee. Given these two major foreign-policy areas, perhaps the party has read the writing on the wall and knows it cannot compete with the public perception of Harper being strong on security issues, and is choosing to differentiate itself through issues Canadians care about closer to home. Time will tell if this is a winning strategy.

New Democratic Party

The NDP is a bit more of a challenge in terms of discerning what types of foreign-policy changes it would make if it forms a government. Without a proven track record and (at press time) not a single mention of a foreign policy issue in its online platform, one can only surmise that the NDP is much more focused on domestic issues. To be sure, NDP votes will be won on social justice issues that will mainly resonate in Canada. Being seen as the party that fights for low-income families and immigrants is the NDP's strength. Nevertheless, key moments in the first leaders' debate as well as the strategy undertaken as the official opposition provide some clues as to what changes may be

expected if the NDP becomes the ruling party.

Firstly, the NDP put up a strong argument against the Canadian mission to fight ISIS. NDPers argued that without a UN mandate, it is irresponsible to send in troops or air support for a mission that is not clearly defined and lacks a set exit strategy. The Conservatives, of course, had a majority and pushed forward with the mission with limited debate. The anti-ISIS mission is an American effort as opposed to a NATO or UN-led mission. So an NDP government could take steps to pull Canadian support.

Secondly, in the same vein as the Liberals, the NDP has presented itself as a party that cares about climate change and the environment. Leader Thomas Mulcair has said Canada is now "unrecognizable" in the global community due to its "bellicose" and "hectoring" diplomacy and climate policy. He noted that Canada needs to be a world leader on climate policy and has also emphasized the need for Canada to re-engage in our multilateral commitments.

Even without a concrete foreign policy platform, from analysis and observation of the NDP's actions and rhetoric, we can see there would be major shifts in policy if the NDP comes to power.

Green Party of Canada

Canada's Green Party, led by the formidable Elizabeth May, has been — perhaps not surprisingly — attempting to shift the public perception that it is a one-issue party. The party has highlighted its stance on the situation in Iraq and Syria, stating that the Greens support ending the combat mission against ISIS in those

countries. The Greens have also taken a strong stance on the Israel-Palestine issue, noting that Canada should act under the principle of "engaged neutrality" when it comes to this thorny issue. At the same time, the party has said it would endorse the Palestinian bid for statehood and that it supports a two-state solution in the region.

The other major pillar of the Green Party's foreign policy is the promise to realign defence spending towards improving Canadian capacity to respond to humanitarian crises, such as natural disasters and forced migration. They promise to more heavily fund UN peacekeeping forces and missions and decrease NATO contributions. Finally, a Green government would reduce spending on defence consultants and private contractors and bolster aid to veterans, especially post-traumatic stress sufferers.

May strongly opposes Bill C-51, asserting that it provides little to no oversight of our security agencies. It's interesting the Greens are focused on a shift in defense and security approaches in their foreign policy platform. Regardless of the motivations behind it, these policy positions certainly serve to challenge the Conservative narrative and provide a critical counterweight to some of the positions held by the other parties.

Joe Landry is a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council's (SSHRC) Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholar and PhD candidate at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. He is currently managing editor of the *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*.



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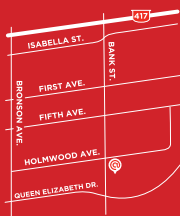
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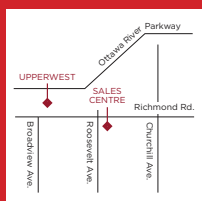
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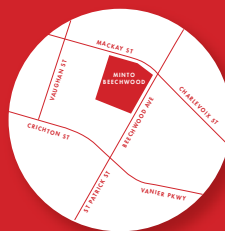
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Canada's role in a changing world

Note: Derek H. Burney, a former Canadian ambassador to the United States, is a senior strategic adviser at Norton Rose Fulbright Canada LLP. In June, he gave the O.D. Skelton speech in Ottawa. Portions of it are excerpted here.

Few countries spend as much time as Canada does analyzing and agonizing over foreign policy or about its role in world affairs. This has a lot to do with our geography and our gradual, even cautious, evolution to independence. We spent more than a century navigating slowly and gingerly to reduce our dependence on Britain while at the same time resisting the allure, or existential fear, of annexation by the U.S., all the while balancing the fissiparous tendencies of our two founding nations.

[O.D.] Skelton was directly involved with part of this evolution. He was, as Conrad Black has written, “an authentic Canadian nationalist, a respecter of both the British Empire and the U.S., but an advocate, insofar as he could be, of an independent course for Canada.” Black added tellingly that Skelton “suffered the disadvantages of most Canadians. He had no flamboyance or panache to raise the heavy dough of Canadian excitement, overlaid as it always is by caution or doubt and a generous portion of self-doubt.”

We are rarely accused of being flamboyant in foreign policy but, had Skelton lived beyond 1940, he might have helped instil a voice for Canada in the direction and strategy of the war more in line with our strong contribution. Our prime minister at that time [William Lyon MacKenzie King] was, as Charles Ritchie’s diaries record, more interested in retrieving ruins for Kingsmere from the London bombings than in promoting a clear Canadian position in the conduct of the war.

Given that history, and a predilection for caution ingrained in our DNA, it is not surprising that our role or identity in the world seemed uncertain or hesitant. We clung to nebulous “Middle Power” labels and multilateral linkages, almost as ends in themselves, even when some of these inclinations were devoid of relevance to



Derek Burney notes that we are witnessing the rise of authoritarian powers such as China, whose president, Xi Jinping, is pictured here with Prime Minister Stephen Harper.

Canadian interests.

Perched atop North America, with a small population closely knit in a ribbon along our southern border, we have spasms of envy and fear over what our southern giant may do with its overwhelming power. Some Canadians believe we are more influential in the world than we are — a “little American” complex. Others are inclined to a more deferential “little Canadian” attitude. For them, if there are problems in the relationship with the U.S., it must be our fault.

Neither is accurate and both are demeaning. We need to reach beyond the nostrums, try to stir that “heavy dough of excitement” about Canada’s foreign policy and inject a bit of spice into views on how Canada should exercise its advantage in world affairs. In an election year, you never know who might be listening.

The primary objective of foreign policy should be to ensure a prosperous, safe, united Canada in a stable, more humane world. Capacity and relevance will determine how influential we can be in defending and promoting our interests; the values of our political way of life provide a rudder of sorts as we navigate in a more

turbulent, uncertain world.

The top priority must be focus. We need to tailor the significant instruments of our foreign policy — diplomatic, trade, security and development assistance — coherently and systematically to a particular set of priorities or goals and always with some capacity to adapt to events of the moment. There is no foolproof strategy for unforeseen events in world affairs.

We see the resurgence of an internationally lawless Russia, destabilizing more than 70 years of relative stability in Europe, along with the rise of other, regional authoritarian powers such as China and Iran. We see the despicable carnage perpetrated by ISIS in the Middle East, now spreading to North and Central Africa and attracting spasmodic support from youngsters in western countries, including our own.

The Middle East is more combustible than ever. The initial euphoria over the nuclear agreement with Iran may not sustain the complex negotiations still to come and, in any event, raises broader questions for this explosive region, whether there is agreement or not.

Power is more diffuse in the world. U.S.

leadership and western resolve are much less certain and institutions intended to preserve stability and prosperity are losing their vibrancy of purpose. It is what Ian Bremmer calls a “G Zero” world, one in which self-interest is in the ascendancy and customary notions of alliance, solidarity or neighbourly goodwill are fading.

Some countries are better able to cope with the uncertainties and seize advantages from the changes under way. Canada is definitely one such country.

Basically, we should determine prudently how to counter threats to global stability — as we are doing today against ISIS — and how to assert our comparative advantages in global markets offering the most promise. [Consider it] adopting what you might call the “Wayne Gretzky model” of going where economic growth will be.

Beyond that broad guideline, here are some specific suggestions on what Canada should do to be more attentive, more influential and to thrive in this still-young century. First, we need to recalibrate and counterbalance our relations with the United States with a deliberate and more selective focus on other economic growth opportunities. We will always need to be vigilant in defending our vital commercial interests in the U.S., but we should never be dependent on a single market for any export, such as oil.

Canadians may well crave a “special relationship” with the U.S., as many others do, but the U.S. seems neither able nor willing to reciprocate. In fact, it is increasingly using its economic influence these days to advance its own national interests.

The Mulroney era, with which I was proud and privileged to be closely involved, was a high point of mutual trust and mutual benefit, but I now realize that it was an exception, not the norm, and unlikely to be replicated any time soon.

The negative impact from the protracted impasse over Keystone, and from other protectionist actions in the U.S., today underscores the risk inherent in excessive reliance on the U.S. More to the point, we are losing market share now in the U.S. and not making much headway elsewhere. That is the economic challenge we must confront.

We have the capability and the opportunity to expand the bandwidth of our global agenda on economic, security and other fronts. What we need is a concerted strategy, enabling us to reap tangible benefits and exert greater influence.

Just consider the mostly encouraging profound transformation of the global

economy. Two thirds of global growth in recent years has been in emerging markets, mostly in Asia, and especially in China, soon to overtake the U.S. as the world’s No. 1 economy. By 2020, that share is expected to be 75 percent.

Many of these markets need not just energy, mineral and agriculture commodities, but also education and health facilities, banking, insurance, aeronautics, IT and other high-quality goods and services — all of which are Canadian strengths. This is potentially good news, provided we in Canada can galvanize the national will to harness the economic opportunities that beckon.

The Canada-Korea Free Trade Agreement (CKFTA) and the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) with the EU, when it is implemented, are

SOME COUNTRIES
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significant steps that will help and the prospect of a trade and investment agreement with India, announced during the [spring] visit of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, is most welcome. But more is needed.

This recalibration is intended to complement, not displace, relations with the U.S. The more balance and depth we inject into our global agenda, the more we become a mature, global player serving our own interests, the better able we will also be at managing our complex relations with the U.S. We should not be a “one-trick pony.”

The key foreign-policy question facing the world will be how the U.S. and China choose to manage their economically interdependent, but potentially fractious, geopolitical relationship. Throughout

history, dominant powers have always struggled to cope with rising ones. The U.S. is fixated on the ascendancy of China. Not surprisingly, China is determined to resist containment manoeuvres and assert influence more in line with its burgeoning economic power.

Canada has an interest in ensuring that this relationship evolves in a stable manner. The best way for us to contribute is to engage seriously and sensibly with both major players.

That is why my second recommendation calls for a more coherent, consistent strategy on China. Economic growth has slowed to a paltry 7 percent in China — I’ll just let that sink in — and questions persist about China’s ability to sustain growth. What has happened to date is real enough, but the reforms contemplated in President Xi’s 2013 “decisions plan” are ambitious and are intended to convert the Chinese economy more to market forces. There will be significant upgrades for the manufacturing sector and greater emphasis on the services sector. It is a delicate balancing act, moving towards a more open market economy while sustaining monolithic, internal political control.

To paraphrase what [former British prime minister Winston] Churchill once said about Russia, China may well be “a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma,” but it offers real opportunity for Canada.

Only 30 years ago, 84 percent of China’s population lived on less than \$1.25 per day. That number dropped to 6 percent in 2011 and today is no longer a statistic at all. That is what market reforms helped generate, proving that moves out of poverty come from less, not more, state control. And that trend is accelerating.

One more statistic is quite telling. Last year, China spent \$128 billion upgrading and expanding its railroad infrastructure. The U.S. spent \$1.4 billion. The contrast is a dramatic indication of how things are changing. The Chinese leaders recognize that they need a new economic model to secure high-quality growth for decades to come, but, under any scenario, China will require globally sourced natural resources and advanced services expertise. That is where Canada has distinct comparative advantages.

The terms of trade will play a key role and, as the currency hub opening in Toronto demonstrates, financial globalization of China’s economy will be the next major development. But we cannot hope to reap dividends from these dramatic reforms if we rely essentially on spasmodic,

high-level visits to advance our interests. China is pursuing major market reforms for the simple, self-interested reason that it is the smart thing to do. Self-interest should motivate a similarly serious and strategic response from Canada.

Regrettably, we have been hesitant in seizing the opportunities. An economic complementarity study has been gathering dust for more than three years. We took more than two years to ratify a fairly routine investment protection agreement.

Frustrated by the failure of the IMF and the World Bank to adjust their voting rules to reflect China's growing economic power, Beijing moved earlier this year to create the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank (AIIB). The objective is to finance a 21st-Century Silk Road of facilities to transport goods efficiently in China's immediate neighbourhood. Some see it as a Chinese version of the Marshall Plan. The [idea's] most compelling attribute is that China has money. Lots of it. Trillions of foreign exchange to deploy.

This new bank is all about global legitimacy, serving China's strategic interests and making Beijing a lender of first resort. Sadly, Canada chose not to be a founding partner and, consequently, Canadian construction companies and pension funds may not be in the initial queue when the bank's first contracts are signed.

China is also stretching its geopolitical wings these days, in places such as Sudan, Yemen, Nepal and now Afghanistan, addressing conflicts and natural disasters with tangible commitments that serve its own as well as broader global interests. It has the capacity and the will that others lack. Other actions, like aggressive territorial claims in the East China Sea, are, of course, less welcome.

The polls in Canada suggest a certain wariness or fear about getting too close to China. It does have a very different system of government and a checkered record on human rights. But, if those are reasons for caution, engagement and negotiation are the best ways to help influence change.

In world affairs, influence flows from relevance and capability, not sentiment. And governments have a responsibility to lead, not follow public opinion. We need to decide what kind of relationship we want with China, and why, as a pivotal part of a more concentrated focus on the Asia-Pacific region.

A top priority should be the launch of a comprehensive, bilateral economic negotiation that would give us more certain market access for our goods and services and provide greater protection

for investors for things such as intellectual property rights. That is precisely what New Zealand and Australia, among others, have done and that is what Canada should do.

The TransPacific Partnership, if it is concluded, will help in some other Asian markets, notably Japan, Vietnam and Malaysia, but we need a bolder, braver, full-court press by the government and the private sector to reap the rewards in this dynamic region.

Third, we need to reassess and reposition our security role if we expect it to serve as a major instrument of foreign policy.



Leadership and strenuous negotiation are required for conflict resolution in Syria and Iraq, where Canadians are currently deployed.

The legacy from Afghanistan and Libya, and now sadly from Iraq and Syria, is sobering. Military and humanitarian impulses may be part of the toolkit for conflict resolution, but ultimately, political solutions are required. They can only be derived from firm leadership and strenuous negotiation. No matter how noble the intent, limited or tentative injections of external military muscle will never resolve outbursts of what are essentially civil war conflicts.

The instinct to get involved in the face of gross global misconduct tries to fill the vacuum left by international institutions, notably the Security Council, that are charged with the responsibility to manage conflict and avert human catastrophe. But hastily cobbled-together coalitions under irresolute U.S. leadership are proving to

be insufficient.

The inconclusive track record to date can be attributed to many factors: The U.S. penchant to lead is ebbing; timelines and commitments are determined more by domestic U.S. political considerations than by coherent military or diplomatic objectives and the governments being aided are seriously deficient. Most lacking in each case, however, has been an achievable exit strategy.

Doctrines such as R2P or the "call of duty" obligation to act because others, notably allies, are acting, are better at compelling participation than in designing workable solutions. Without more con-

certed U.S. leadership in an increasingly "G-Zero" world, rising fanaticism and narrow self-interest will trump notions of duty and principles of collective security.

The reasons Canada is playing a role in Iraq and Syria are straightforward enough. Less clear is whether what is being done will fulfil the intended purpose and whether we, among others, have the stomach to sustain yet another inconclusive engagement. We cannot stand aloof, leaving the heavy lifting to others, but, once involved, we should prod more geopolitical or strategic commitment to the task. Most important, we need to make an objective assessment of the collective resolve and the ultimate objective.

It is time to rethink our basic approach to global security challenges. For decades, we have focused almost exclusively on

Atlantic links. Just as we need to broaden our economic reach, specifically to the Asia-Pacific region, we should begin to implement a security shift to that region as well.

Beyond the Middle East, the potential flashpoints for insecurity lie predominantly in Asia and many in the region would welcome a more substantive Canadian role. That is a defining difference between being a partner and a visitor. But we cannot do it on the cheap and with occasional port visits. Our military is [understaffed] and under-equipped for what it is already doing. If we expect to play a more assertive role, either confronting the global threat posed by terrorism or addressing potential flashpoints of instability, we will need to upgrade and expand our military capability.

Closer to home, we should move on ballistic missile defence. We cannot accept the luxury of U.S. security for our continent without shouldering some of the responsibility. We should also inject real substance into our surveillance of the Arctic, a region now subject to new threats. That would provide new life and relevance for our shared NORAD command.

For many decades, a cornerstone of Canadian foreign policy has been a consistent commitment to multilateralism. That was seen as the quintessential role for a “middle” power, often reflecting the old joke about why the Canadian chicken crosses the road... to get to the middle. [This is] no doubt, why, on one occasion, former U.S. secretary of state Dean Acheson, himself a half-Canadian, derided Canadian foreign policy officials as “arms-flapping moralists.”

Multilateralism is never an end in itself and nostalgia, however comforting, is not the best lens through which to chart the future. Many of the institutions formed after the Second World War are losing their lustre, their relevance and their influence. It is time for some honest stock-taking and reform of what works and what does not and, accordingly, for some reallocation of Canadian commitments and contributions.

Today’s problems — from terrorism to cyber security, nuclear weapons proliferation and natural disasters — require a fresh, forward-looking, collaborative approach, initiating new strategic engagements free from outdated power concepts and institutional gridlock.

Since the end of the Cold War, NATO has lost much of its sense of purpose and, more pointedly, the degree of commitment from its member states. As Russia’s incur-



Many UN agencies seem overburdened by bureaucracy, under-funded and ill-equipped to meet challenges such as those posed by spring earthquakes in Nepal, pictured here.

sion into Ukraine is demonstrating, NATO has become a paper tiger of sorts when it comes to securing territorial integrity in Europe. The U.S. prefers to see the Europeans take the lead, but major European powers, such as Germany, seem to put economic self-interest ahead of concerns about breaches of international law.

After a brief flurry of activism in the 1990s, the UN Security Council has returned to Cold War-style paralysis among its permanent members, [which are] unable or unwilling to act on breaches of international law, savage acts of terrorism and massive migrations by “would-be refugees” seeking a haven. Many wonder why countries such as Germany, Japan, Brazil and India are not part of a more responsible UN inner circle.

But that is not the only problem. The WHO was abysmally AWOL in the face of the Ebola crisis. Many UN agencies seem overburdened by bureaucracy, under-funded and ill-equipped to meet new global challenges. With Ebola and [the April earthquake in] Nepal, inspired “ad hocery” tries desperately to make up for the shortcomings of institutional responses.

As the seventh-largest contributor to the UN budget, Canada definitely should have a say on internal reforms. For leverage, we should consider tailoring our con-

tributions more to agencies that actually deliver results and ensure that our substantial financial commitments are more aligned with our global interests.

Canada cannot aspire to be “all things to all people.” We should be more analytical and selective, channelling our economic strengths, our diplomatic skills, our ideas and our security assets pragmatically where we have interests and the best capacity for influence and success.

Finally, what kind of model should Canada present to the world? My answer highlights, first, a major difference between Canadians and Americans. We know that we are not No. 1 and will never be No. 1 and that leads to a very different outlook and our distinct sense of self.

We are a country of 35 million in a world of more than six billion people. We should muster what we have — our economic strengths and diplomatic skills — and what we are, into avenues where there are interests to defend and opportunities for influence and success. We do not suffer from acute dysfunction in governance, nor is the level of income inequality a matter of serious concern, as it is elsewhere.

We may indeed lack panache. After all, “peace, order and good government” is not as stirring a rallying cry as “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” But our government does work well most of the time. Our democratic values are secure. Despite occasional lumps and bumps along the way, our unity and tolerance of diversity of cultures, languages and regions is a powerful magnet for many wanting to come to Canada.

Most important, freedom of opportunity is the hallmark of our value system. What you can do is determined not by your pedigree, but by who you are and what talents you offer. We have reason to be proud of what we can bring to the world. Conrad Black has written that “Canada should aspire to be the world’s laboratory for sane government and civil society.” Not earth-shattering or flamboyant, but stable, reliable and sure-footed. Quintessentially Canadian.

We do live in an age of fast-changing threats and opportunities, but Canada does have real advantages, provided we do not let the blessings of nature and past performance lull us into a false cocoon of comfort.

Geography may have given us the luxury to coast for many years, but geography and sentiment should never limit our ambition or our courage to exploit our strengths beyond North America. ■

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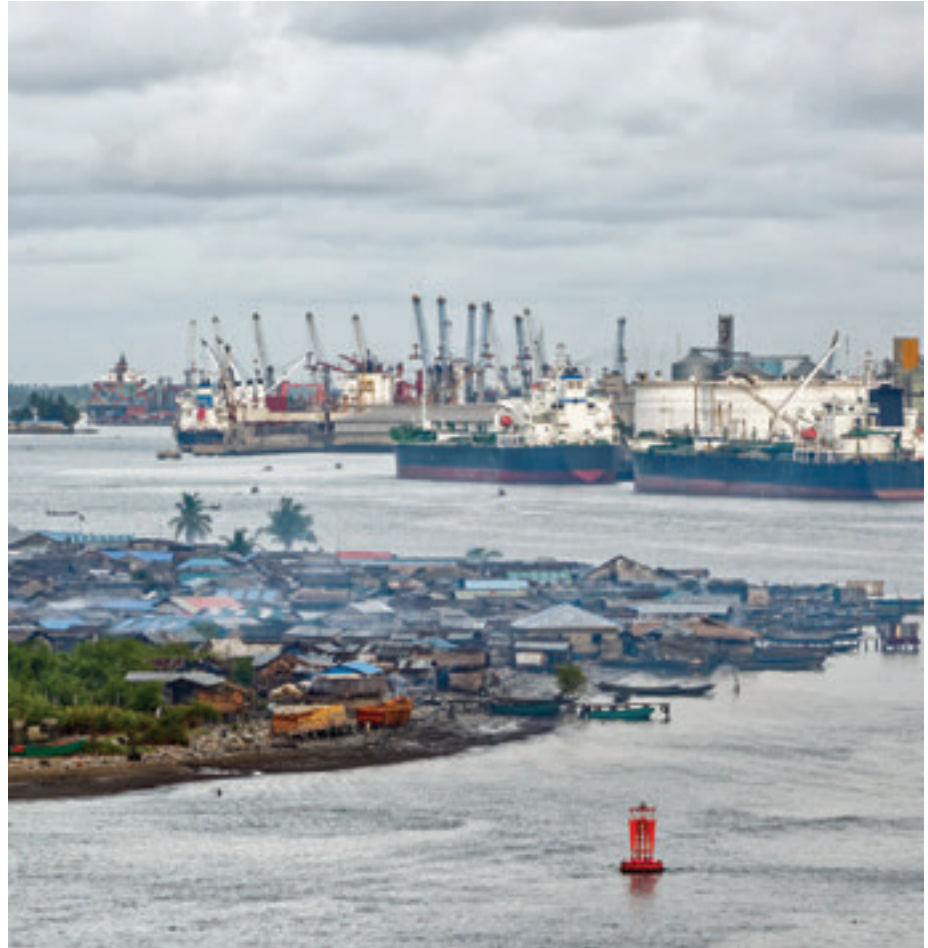


George Fetherling

In 2008, a British journalist named Tom Burgis, who helped cover Africa for the *Financial Times*, witnessed the mass murder of men, women and children at a place called Jos, along the invisible boundary that separates Nigeria's Muslim north from its mostly Christian south. But the full effect of what he saw there didn't strike him until 2010 when the "ghosts of Jos appeared at the edge of my hospital bed" once he had begun exhibiting symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder. "The fact that I was alive became an unpayable debt to the dead," he writes in the opening of his book, *The Looting Machine: Warlords, Oligarchs, Corporations, Smugglers and the Theft of Africa's Wealth* (Publishers Group Canada, \$35). "I had reported that 'ethnic rivalries' had triggered the massacres at Jos, as indeed they had. But rivalries over what? Nigeria's 170 million people are mostly extremely poor, but their nation is, in one respect at least, fabulously wealthy: Exports of Nigerian crude oil generate revenues of tens of billions of dollars each year."

Although he takes us to half a dozen African nations, Burgis keeps returning to Nigeria, for good reason. Royal Dutch Shell began drilling for oil there in 1956, a few years before the country won its independence from Britain. Emboldened by its success, Shell then went into partnership with Exxon, one of its American competitors, to drill in the Netherlands. What they found, however, wasn't oil, but rather the biggest field of natural gas in Europe. Money came roaring into the Dutch treasury, but did almost no good for the economy of ordinary citizens. In 1977, *The Economist* christened this phenomenon "the Dutch disease." This chronic ailment is the subject of Burgis's book, though this may not be uniformly obvious, given that the work is a loosely organized patchwork that jumps around a good deal.

Burgis speaks of the problem in question as "a pandemic whose symptoms



Lagos, Nigeria: Most of Nigeria's 170 million people are extremely poor, though exports of crude oil generate billions of dollars in revenue every year, writes author Tom Burgis.

in many cases include poverty and oppression. The disease enters a country through its currency. The dollars that pay for exported hydrocarbons, minerals, ores and gems push up the value of the local currency. Imports become cheaper relative to locally made products, undercutting homegrown enterprises."

His statistics are shocking. The International Monetary Fund calculates that a country's economy is dominated by energy and minerals if these account for more than one-fifth of economic activity. In the African nations where this is the case, 69 percent of the people live in poverty, as compared with, say, .07 percent in Mexico or 0.1 percent in Poland. Africa is home to almost a quarter of the world's population, has 15 percent of the world's oil, 40 percent of its gold and 80 percent of its platinum, but an appallingly large number of people are getting by on

US\$1.25 a day. For residents of the Democratic Republic of Congo, where one's 50th birthday means that one has lived a full life, the figure is less than a dollar.

So where does the money go? We needn't be surprised at the answer. The concessions sold to foreign companies to extract wealth from the ground for sale on world markets put a great deal of cash "at the disposal of those who control the state. At extreme levels, the social contract between rulers and the ruled breaks down because the ruling class doesn't need to tax people to fund the government — so it has no need of their consent." Politicians and elites made rich by international deals tend to spend on perpetuating their power and warring with their ethnic enemies rather than on health care or education. Burgis writes: "As I travelled in the Niger Delta, the crude-slicked home of Nigeria's oil industry, or the mineral-rich battlefields

of eastern Congo, I came to believe that Africa's troves of natural resources were not going to be its salvation; instead they were its curse." This observation may have become a cliché, but it remains a useful reminder of an important truth.

Neo-post-colonial colonialism

Burgis pays surprisingly little attention to the way France keeps interfering militarily in the affairs of its former African colonies, as though the old days had never ended, but he says a great deal in a few words when he describes Guinea — a rich source of the so-called conflict diamonds prized by despots and gunrunners — just



Patrice Lumumba, the Congo's first democratically elected leader, raises his hands, injured by shackles, after being released from prison. He was later assassinated.

"another benighted state in francophone Africa." He concentrates instead on corporations, whether private or state-owned, and individual entrepreneurs, such as a certain Israeli mining tycoon with interests in Congo, a place that is in the enviable and unenviable position of having the world's second-biggest deposits of tantalum, an element used in computers and other electronic devices.

He puts great emphasis on China, as indeed he must. That country invests heavily (a stronger adverb is needed!) in Africa's resources. He casts an especially skeptical eye on Angola. In its capital, Luanda, there is a gleaming 25-storey building that flies "the ensigns of a new kind of empire": the flags of Angola, China and the China International Fund. The CIF is a state-owned company, based in Hong Kong, that partners with American oil giants and Swiss moneymen to form a complex web of corporations and "secretive offshore vehicles" with interests from Moscow to Manhattan — but most of all in Africa.

The Chinese profit in Africa not only by

buying up resources, but also, of course, by unloading Chinese-made products. In the 1980s, Nigeria had 175 textile mills employing 350,000 people. It now has 25 mills with 25,000 workers, the result of Chinese-made textiles flooding into the country. Many of these goods are contraband. Crossing from Nigeria to Niger, Burgis notes people on both sides of the border "speak Hausa, a tongue in which the word for smuggling, *sumoga*, strikes a less pejorative note than its English equivalent." He tries to explain the importance of the Mandarin word *guanxi*, which can be only roughly translated as the complex interlocking relationships and connections that make China's international relations function. He calls it "an intangible commodity that is highly prized in China."

The reader (or this one at least) comes away feeling sorriest for Congo, a place to which generations of western authors (Joseph Conrad, André Gide, Graham Greene and many others) have gone in order to write books showing how they survived its terrors. *Congo: The Epic History of a People* by David Van Reybrouck (HarperCollins Canada, \$24.95 paper) is a careful, thoughtful and sympathetic corrective to much of the past's macho posturing. Some of us can recall the world's shock when, in 1961, president Patrice Lumumba, the country's first democratically elected leader, was assassinated. Conspiracy theorists have long suspected his death was the work of the CIA or the Deuxième Bureau in Paris or their Belgian equivalent, known both as the *Sûreté de l'État* and the *Staatsveiligheid*. Or else, of course, the handiwork of his numerous political rivals. No one knows for certain, but Emmanuel Gerard and Bruce Kuklick calmly scrutinize and assess Lumumba and his short reign, lasting only six months, in *Death in the Congo* (Harvard University Press, US\$29.95).

Soldiers for hire

In those days, Africa was rapidly disconnecting itself from British, French, Belgian and Portuguese colonial rule, with the result that "a black market for mercenaries thrived." Despite the boom, it wasn't until the 1970s, however, "that the laws of war noticed mercenaries [and] prompted the society of states to formally proscribe mercenaries in the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions" — meaning that they would not be considered real soldiers, entitled to the minimal rights granted prisoners of war. So writes Sean McFate, himself a former private soldier in Africa, in his information-rich book *The Modern*



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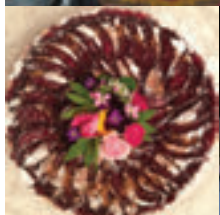


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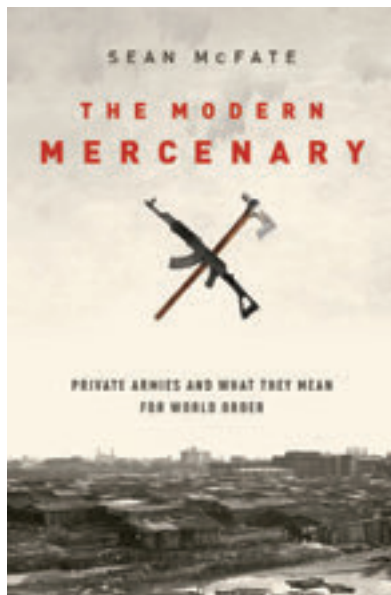


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Mercenary: Private Armies and What They Mean for World Order (Oxford University Press, \$29.95)

These days, McFate, who teaches American national security policy at Georgetown University in Washington D.C., has become, on balance, a worried critic of the mercenary industry — er, make that the security contracting sector. On the one hand, South African mercenaries calling themselves the Koevoet (“crowbar”) fought to save apartheid in the 1980s, but today are helping the Nigerian government track down Boko Haram fighters. Similarly, nearly 200 mercenaries from 35 countries have largely solved the piracy problem off the coast of Somalia at a small fraction of what it would have cost European governments using regular troops and naval forces. On the other hand, the end of the Cold War, and then the U.S. actions in Iraq and Afghanistan, have combined to perpetuate the bad reputation that mercenary forces have enjoyed since the Middle Ages, and deservedly so.

Executive Outcomes, another South African group that fought fiercely in support of apartheid, later submitted a bid to help stop the Rwandan genocide. But when their offer was rejected by United Nations, they turned to other African hot-spots where there was money to be made. South Africa’s post-apartheid government finally declared mercenary activities illegal in 1998.

Whereas most countries that hire mercenaries prefer foreign ones — it makes the hands look cleaner — the United States likes doing such business with its own kind. The most notorious of many “independent contractors” was the American

firm, Blackwater. Four of its employees were finally convicted earlier this year in connection with a 2007 massacre in Baghdad in which 14 Iraqi civilians were murdered and 17 others wounded. One Blackwater defendant was given life in prison while the others received sentences of 30 years each. Since the killings, the company has changed its name twice.

Legions of foreigners

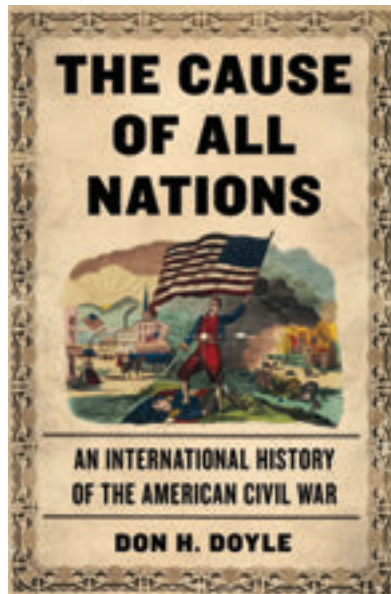
While the United States is scaling back its standing military as a whole, it is also greatly increasing its dependence on small groups of special forces, thus enlarging the pool of special-ops figures from which mercenary groups are customarily drawn. As for Canada, by abandoning our role as peacekeepers, we have probably created some new opportunities for soldiers of fortune. One part of this issue has to do with ethics, another part with loyalty. As everybody who’s read a lot about the Renaissance knows, mercenaries have not been terribly picky about whom they work for — and they tend to turn on their employers if, so to speak, the cheques start bouncing, the contract gets cancelled or that golden ducat turns out to be made of brass after all. And then there is also a whole diplomatic facet to this mercenary question. With the sesquicentennial of the American Civil War now behind us, and the huge recent controversy about the Confederate battle flag still fresh, it’s useful to look at one new book that plunges deeply into the subject and a second that confronts it more obliquely.

In *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (Publishers Group Canada \$34.50), Don H. Doyle tells an anecdote about Gen. George McClellan, the overall Union commander in the first phase of the war. McClellan was returning to camp one evening when several pickets [soldiers on watch], none of them a native-born American, challenged him to identify himself. “I tried English, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Indian, a little Russian and Turkish,” but to no avail. Doyle suggests that McClellan “most likely inflated the communication problem (and his language skills), but the polyglot nature of the army he led was no exaggeration. McClellan had toured Europe during the Crimean War and was quite familiar with the concept of foreign legions serving with national armies.”

American diplomatic posts throughout Europe and elsewhere “were inundated with volunteers, many of them professional soldiers asking for commissions, others expecting enlistment bounties [to-

day we'd say "signing bonuses"] and free passage across the ocean. Italian veterans who had helped Giuseppe Garibaldi unify the Italian states were particularly eager not to see the U.S. break up. Immigrants and their immediate offspring — two thirds of them Germans and Irish — made up more than 40 percent of the Union armies. Next in descending numerical order came British, Canadians, Frenchmen, Swedes, Norse, Hungarians, Poles, the aforesaid Italians and assorted Latin Americans. There was at least one volunteer from China (he was killed at Gettysburg).

By comparison, there were only a few thousand who fought with the Confederacy. This was largely because such foreigners held no brief for slavery, but also because those who did, in fact, enlist were generally to be found in New Orleans,



Nashville and Memphis, cities soon occupied by northern troops. In any event, the foreign-born volunteers were "disparaged by their fellow Unionists as well as Southern detractors, who called them 'mercenaries' and 'soldiers of fortune'" — which of course many of them indeed must have been.

Another new book adds a grace note to the problem of what, in the 19th Century were called filibusters, (in Spanish, *filibusteros*; in French, *filibustiers* — literally, "pirates"). These were the American freebooters and adventurers, often based in New Orleans, who made a profession of overthrowing Caribbean and Latin American governments, or trying to. In *Our Man in Charleston: Britain's Secret Agent in the Civil War South* (Penguin Random House,

\$32) Christopher Dickey looks at this other side of the coin, but he doesn't draw attention to what such adventurism has become in our time. He doesn't have to.

Collectors and plunderers

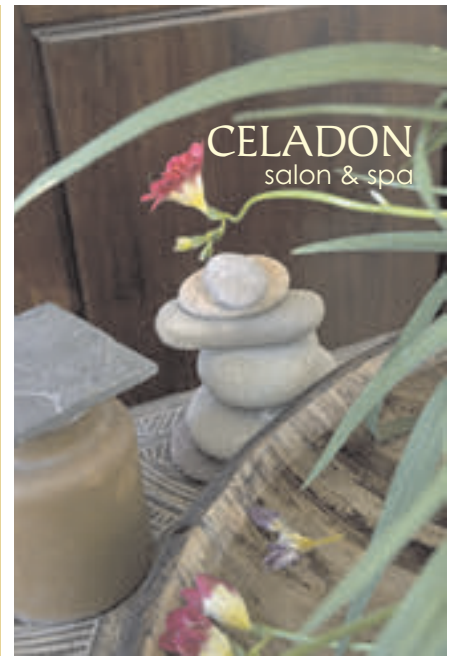
One can scarcely go a week or two these days without reading about the destruction, or at least the threatened destruction, of irreplaceable antiquities by ISIS and other radical Islamic groups.

In times of chaos, poor countries with rich cultures are always at risk of being plundered, whether for profit or for politics or simply to satisfy some foreigners' love of collecting. China was particularly vulnerable in this regard for the past couple of centuries, when scholarship and connoisseurship were often mixed up with thievery. This is the subject of *The China Collectors: America's Century-Long Hunt for Asian Art Treasures* by Karl Meyer and Shareen Blair Brysac (Raincoast Books, \$34.50), a wonderfully enlightening and endearing book full of colourful characters. Two in particular stand out in high relief.

George N. Kates (1895–1990), whose memoir *The Years That Were Fat: Peking, 1933–1940* is on many people's list of desert-island books, was a highly educated ne'er-do-well and self-taught "Sinologue" who worked in Hollywood as a sort of historical adviser on films with exotic settings. Later, in China, he "settled down, with two polite but eccentric servants, in a rented courtyard home of a former palace eunuch, a few minutes' walk from the Forbidden City and the imperial lakes." He showed great taste in collecting Chinese art and furniture, but lost all his treasures to the Japanese invaders, then worked in American wartime intelligence in Sichuan, which left him open to charges by Joe McCarthy and others that he was one of the China hands who "lost China" to the communists. The other figure is a Torontonian, William Charles White (1873–1960), the Anglican bishop of Honan province who dealt with professional tomb-robbers to help assemble the Royal Ontario Museum's justly famous Chinese collections.

Meyer and Brysac, both American journalists, do their best to understand the Canadian part of the story, though at one point they speak of "Ontario's prairies" and they don't seem to have come across, for example, Charles Taylor's book, *Six Journeys*, with its delightful insights into White.

George Fetherling is a novelist and cultural commentator.



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Terry Fox: Role model and inspiration

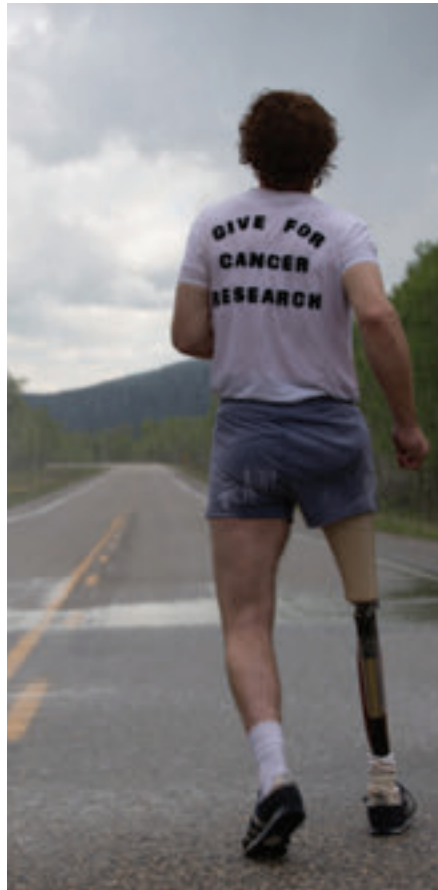
By Anthony Wilson-Smith

In a country that frowns upon self-promotion, Canadians prefer modest heroes. This is true even when a hero's fame lives on long after him, touches millions of people beyond the country's borders and when his accomplishment has resulted in almost \$700 million being raised for an important cause.

Terry Fox was 22 years old in 1980 when he set out to run approximately 8,000 kilometres across Canada. This was a rarely attempted feat, and the fact that Fox planned to do so on one leg made his efforts even more remarkable. The other leg had been amputated six inches above the knee in 1977, so he relied on a prosthetic. Fox's goal was to raise attention and money for cancer research.

Born in Winnipeg, Man., and raised in Port Coquitlam, B.C., Fox was an unknown when he dipped his artificial leg in the Atlantic Ocean off St. John's, Nfld., to begin his run. He had spent most of the previous year training, running more than 5,000 kilometres to prepare for what would be called "The Marathon of Hope." His aim, he wrote in his journal, was "26 miles (42 kilometres)" daily — the equivalent of a full marathon. More often than not, he succeeded. He did so with extraordinary focus, but he was also able to appreciate his surroundings. "It is beautiful, quiet, peaceful country," he wrote while in Nova Scotia. "I love it."

Media coverage was slow at first, but as he ran through the Atlantic Provinces and Quebec, word spread about the quiet, determined young man and his incredible goal. By the time he reached Ontario, Fox was a celebrity. He met prime minister Pierre Trudeau, hockey stars Bobby Orr and Daryl Sittler and British actress



Terry Fox ran 5,373 kilometres in 143 days in his Marathon of Hope.

Maggie Smith. Some appearances drew thousands of well-wishers.

Those sentiments warmed, but could not cure him. After weeks of struggling with a persistent cough and other woes, Fox was forced to stop on Sept. 1, 1980. He had run 5,373 kilometres: the equivalent of more than 128 marathons in 143

days. Tests confirmed that the cancer had returned, and spread to his lungs. By that point, his efforts had galvanized the country. A star-studded telethon on the CTV national network raised \$10 million. Fox was appointed to the Order of Canada the same month he stopped the run — the youngest person ever to receive the honour. "Somewhere the hurting must stop," he once wrote. Yet it did not. On June 28, 1981, less than a year after ending his run, Fox died.

Fox lived long enough to see a big part of his dream realized — to raise \$1 for cancer research for every Canadian. By the time of his death, donations of \$24.1 million came very close to matching the country's population. Since then, his fame has grown exponentially, and so have the funds raised in his name. The Terry Fox Foundation, overseen by family members, continues his efforts. Every autumn, Terry Fox Runs take place across Canada and more than 25 other countries. This past fall, our organization, Historica Canada, released a *Heritage Minute* honouring Fox's efforts. The person portraying Fox, Jared Huuononen, lost his leg to the same form of cancer at the same age and says he would not be here today without Fox's example. Polls repeatedly cite Fox, especially among young Canadians, as a role model and hero. His modesty belied his achievements. "I am just one member of the Marathon of Hope," he said. "I am no different than anyone else... no better and... no less." But, as Canadians and others familiar with his story know, he was — and remains — so much more than that.

Anthony Wilson-Smith is president of Historica Canada.

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Armenian cuisine's complexity

Photos by Larry Dickenson



Margaret Dickenson

Bordered by the Caucasus and other mountain ranges, Armenia, more or less a high plateau, enjoys fertile soil, a basically temperate climate — though punctuated by extremes — and stunning scenery with many lakes and rivers. Indeed, the country, land of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, can trace its existence from ancient times, as it lies in a valley at the foot of Mount Ararat, which the Bible regards as the landing site of Noah's Ark after the deluge. Little wonder that some Armenian culinary traditions began more than 2,000 years ago. Indeed, excavations have revealed a well-established agricultural system practised during the Urartu Kingdom (900-700 BC). This supports the notion that the abundance of meat in the Armenian diet finds its roots in the development of ancient cattle-breeding and the early introduction of sheep and fowl. Of course, livestock provided dairy products, mainly sour-milk products and brine-ripened cheese, considered essential for traditional Armenian drinks and dishes. Fish, wild animals and game birds were also consumed.

In its fertile valleys, early agricultural advancements introduced myriad cereals (wheat, barley, rice, spelt and millet). Besides various sorts of breads, beer was produced from the grains. Other crops included lentils, beans and mountain peas, plus a wide range of vegetables and greens. Ancient cooking involved many herbs and spices. In addition to grapes for eating and wine-making, the cultivation of many other fruits began and included apricots, peaches and cherries, which reportedly originated in Armenia.

Maria Yeganian, wife of Armenian Ambassador Armen Yeganian, points out that the Latin name for apricot is *prunus armeniaca*. "For Armenia, the first country to adopt Christianity as a state religion (AD 301), rice pilaf studded with dried



Chicken with Dried Fruit and Spice

apricots and raisins is a must for the Easter menu," she says.

Situated strategically on trade routes between the Black and Caspian seas, Armenia for centuries proved to be the battleground of armies from the east and the west. Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Mongols, Turks and Russians all invaded. With these invasions and the dispersion of Armenians, primarily in the desperately troubled years at the beginning of the 20th Century, it's no wonder Armenia's richly varied cuisine embraces culinary traditions begun millenniums ago, as well as the assimilation of dishes from the imprint left by several other cultures (particularly Turkish, Persian, Georgian and Middle Eastern). On the other hand, with the dispersion of Armenians throughout the Middle East, Armenian recipes have become part of those cuisines and vice versa.

Exotic cuisine built on basic elements

With old recipes handed down through centuries, food has always been a cornerstone of Armenian culture. In the true

Armenian kitchen, the natural tendency is to prepare dishes according to the season (as has been done forever), taking advantage of the freshest meats, vegetables, fruits, herbs and spices. The extensive use of fresh herbs — dried in the winter — in dishes, or as accompaniments, and the inclusion of spices — although more sparingly than Middle Eastern cuisine — elevates the flavour of Armenian cuisine to the height of "exotic." While parsley, mint, cilantro and dill are the most common, other herbs include bay leaves, oregano, basil, savoury, marjoram and thyme. Everyday spices range from black peppercorns, paprika, cayenne and Aleppo pepper to cumin, cinnamon, cloves, allspice, caraway, coriander, nutmeg, saffron and turmeric. More unique spices include fenugreek (pleasantly bitter and slightly sweet seeds of the aromatic plant are ground and used to flavour spice blends, curry powder and teas); mahlab (ground dried pits of black cherries used in breads and cakes); sumac (red berries of a non-toxic variety of sumac shrubs give

a lemony edge to fish, poultry, marinades and sauces) and nigella (black onion seeds season strong cheese and top savoury rolls and bread). Fragrant extracts offer another very distinct flavour dimension to certain recipes. Orange flower water is a feature ingredient in syrups for soaking cakes, and rose water is used in sweets, beef stews and meat koftas (meatballs or meatloaf). In addition, sour elements play their role. Lemon juice and cider vinegar lend a sharp acidic taste to food, but pomegranate syrup, the juice of sour pomegranates boiled down to a molasses consistency, and verjuice, made from pressing sour unripened grapes, offer a soft, fruity acidic note essential in marinades and sauces.

As in ancient Urartu, dairy products are held in high esteem. *Matzoon*, thick sour milk/yogurt, also functions as a base for making spas, which are sour milk soups with wheat cereal and herbs, usually cilantro. When diluted with water in the summer, matzoon becomes tahn, a thirst-quenching drink. *Zhazhik*, a cottage cheese, is made from matzoon whey. Cheese, still a staple of the Armenian diet, accompanies virtually every meal, while *labneh* (a strained dense yogurt), is served as an appetizer with olive oil and spices. Among the many varieties of cheese pro-

duced from cow, sheep and water buffalo milk, are *brindze*, a white sheep's milk cheese similar to feta, and the best known, twisted *chechil*, a briny string cheese.

Lamb, eggplant and bread represent other important basics. Maria Yeghian proudly notes that lavash, the very thin Armenian bread, has UNESCO cultural heritage status.

Although beef, veal and pork are also consumed, lamb is the meat of choice. Besides onions, garlic and leeks, the list of vegetables runs long and includes eggplant, tomatoes, peppers, potatoes, carrots, beets, cabbage, okra, zucchini, squash, pumpkin, beans, peas, spinach and Swiss chard. Eggplant dominates, however. Note: This one simple vegetable can offer a gamut of rich Armenian culinary experiences, including moussaka, a baked dish of spiced ground meat, generally lamb, between layers of sliced eggplant. And despite the fact that potatoes, meat and vegetables in combination hold a prominent place in the nation's cuisine, bulgur and rice lead as the most widely used cereals. The consumption of legumes, particularly chickpeas, lentils, white beans and kidney beans, as well as nuts, including walnuts, almonds, pine nuts, hazelnuts and pistachios, has always been significant, notably

during Lent. Armenians enjoy figs, plums, apricots, peaches, pears, grapes, cherries and pomegranates fresh, as a dessert or snack, dried, or in tempting recipes including savoury varieties, such as vospadour, a lentil soup with dried fruits and ground walnuts, and *t'ghit*, an old traditional and special soup of boiled sour plum leather, based on dry thin sheets of a reduction of plums and sugar, and fried onions served hot and topped with fresh *lavash* for scooping up the mixture.

Cooking techniques

The preferred method of cooking, be it for meat, fowl, fish or game, is on a spit over a wood fire, as has been done for thousands of years, including cooking in a *tonir*, a clay underground type of oven resembling a shallow well. This open-well type of oven allows home cooks to bake bread on the inside wall, roast and cook meat, poultry, fish and vegetables on grill racks arranged across the top, on skewers hung from those racks, or by placing food in cookware directly over the hot embers and even prepare stews, soups and other dishes. Of course, more recently, and likely to the delight of home cooks around the country, stoves have found their way into Armenian kitchens.

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Complexity of Armenian cuisine

Classified as rather complex, many Armenian cooking techniques demand a significant amount of time and effort in the preparation of meat, fish and vegetable dishes. They often involve chopping, stuffing, puréeing and whipping. Armenians enjoy dishes made of chopped meat and all manner of stuffed dishes.

Virtually any cut of meat, vegetables, fruit or leaf can be stuffed. This includes chicken legs, rack of lamb, beef lungs, lamb intestines, tomatoes, peppers, eggplant, squash, zucchini, onions, potatoes, pumpkins, apricots, apples, quince, dates and basically any type of edible leaf, including grape, cabbage, beet, chard and strawberry.

Stuffed dishes tend to highlight festive occasions. Typically, stuffings consist of bulgur wheat or rice combined with ground meat or a variety of legumes and pulses, herbs, spices, dried fruits and nuts. *Boraki*, a dish made of meat, cheese or vegetables stuffed in pastry, dates back 1,500 years and remains a favourite appetizer.

In addition, the actual cooking processes themselves can be time-consuming and labour-intensive, often with the same dish being roasted, boiled and stewed in a *tonir*, which delivers that exquisite melt-in-the-mouth experience.

Armenian specialties

At the dinner table, Armenians commence with *meza* — their term for appetizers — which consists of various sharing plates of different hot and cold items served in small quantities, traditionally meant to be enjoyed leisurely and to absorb the strong fruit-based vodka-type local liquor.

The array may truly be grand: roasted salted nuts, olives, hummus, *chechil*, chopped and mashed eggplant with tahini and spices; sliced *yershig*, which is a sausage; *sujuk*, a pastrami-like item similar to beef jerky; a large plate of greens including fresh herbs; salads made of tomato, cucumber, carrot and cabbage, some combined with a grain, legume or pita bread; a couple of tomato- or yogurt-based sauces, and more. The works will be served with *lavash*.

The second course — soup — is said to be cooked with such talent that it becomes memorable. Besides *spas*, *vospapour* and *t'ghit*, the variety of soups — with a base of red meat, chicken, fish, vegetables, fruit, nuts, lentils, beans, mushrooms, cereals, rice or milk — seems endless.

Meat and fish soups not only include vegetables, but fruits such as apples, cher-

ries, plums, lemons, quinces, pomegranate seeds, raisins and dried apricots.

Two dishes that go somewhat beyond the category of soups — *khach* and *harissa* — deserve special mention. Rich, fragrant, thick and nutritious, *khach*, an Armenian institution, was initially a worker's meal enjoyed in the winter. It requires cooking pork hocks, beef or lamb feet all night in a clear broth with herbs before eating it for breakfast, poured over crumbled dried *lavash* and heaps of fresh garlic.

Harissa, on the other hand, resembles a porridge of coarsely ground wheat and meat — frequently deboned shredded chicken — cooked together for a long time, originally in a *tonir*, but now on a stovetop.

Main courses include meat, chicken or fish, with grilling and barbecuing being very popular.

Khorvats, which means grilled or barbecued in Armenian, is most representative of the nation's cuisine. *Khorvats* and *kchuch*, a casserole of mixed vegetables topped with pieces of meat or fish, baked and served in a clay pot, are simple dishes dating back more than one-and-a-half millennia. These casseroles continue to be cooked in the same manner today. A typical *khorvats* would be chunks of meat grilled on skewers; however, steaks and chops — lamb and pork with bone-in — are grilled on grates. The term *khorvats* also applies to kebabs — uncased sausage-shaped patties of ground meat formed around skewers — slivered grilled meat rolled up in *lavash*, as well as grilled fish and vegetables.

Ishkhan or imperial fish, which is Lake Sevan trout renowned for its delicate flavour; *sig*, considered the tastiest; and *pollan* count as the most widely consumed fish.

Other national dishes include stews such as *fasulye* with lamb, green beans and tomato broth, and *ghapama*, a stuffed-pumpkin dish; delectable chicken dishes such as *satsivi*, pieces of roasted chicken in walnut sauce; organ meats, such as *tis-vzhik*, fried beef heart, kidney, liver; lentil and rice dishes; *dolma* (a variety of leaves, vegetables and fruit stuffed with a spiced meat and rice filling); and *kufta*, tender meat balls.

While ice cream is definitely popular, dessert normally consists of fruits and cheese with pastries such as *baklava*, *kurabia* or *kadayif* reserved for special occasions.

Now, I invite you to try my Armenian chicken with dried fruit.

Bon Appétit! Bari Akhorrjak!



Chicken with Dried Fruit and Spice

Makes 6 servings

6 four-ounce (115 g) boneless chicken thighs
To taste, salt and crushed black peppercorns
2 tsp (10 mL) vegetable oil
2/3 tsp (3.5 mL) ground cinnamon
1/3 tsp (2 mL) ground nutmeg
1/3 cup (80 mL) hot water
18 small prunes, pitted
18 small dried apricots, pitted
½ cup (125 mL) seedless golden raisins
1 tbsp (15 mL) butter
6 sprigs of fresh mint

1. Dry chicken thighs with paper towel and sprinkle with salt and crushed black peppercorns.
2. Heat oil in a non-stick skillet over medium heat, add chicken thighs, skin side down, and brown both sides.
3. Transfer thighs to a clean skillet and sprinkle both sides evenly with cinnamon and nutmeg. With skin side up, drizzle the sautéed thighs with the liquid remaining in the first skillet, leaving the crispy bottom bits behind.
4. Add hot water to skillet, return to low heat, cover and allow thighs to simmer for about six minutes.
5. Meanwhile, melt butter in a small skillet over low heat. Add prunes, apricots and raisins and sauté for a couple of minutes (stirring constantly) before adding to skillet with thighs. Continue simmering for a few minutes until thighs are tender.
6. Serve thighs and fruit over a rice pilaf. (If desired, toss the pilaf with pomegranate seeds and toasted slivered almonds. Garnish with sprigs of fresh mint.)

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

Now that's fortification



Pieter
Van den Weghe

There's so much to know about wine that it's understandable that we tend to limit our awareness to what we know we like. However, these comfortable and safe choices can be a kind of cage. The dark and murky corners of the wine world deserve to be explored and our palates deserve the pleasure of doing so.

Fortified wine is often one of those undiscovered areas. To experience its many pleasures, a little illumination is required. For that, a few wines, two from the Old World and one from the New, are perfect for the job.

Fortified wine is made by adding a high-alcohol spirit (that is neutral in flavour) to either a partially fermented or a fully fermented wine. This process, first developed after the advent of commercial distillation in the 16th Century as a preservation technique for unstable wines, has created many of the world's iconic styles of wine.

After a long time in obscurity, especially compared to the reverence given to port, sherry has enjoyed a bit of a mini-renaissance over the last few years. Fortified after fermentation is completed, these typically dry wines are made almost exclusively from the Palomino Fino grape.

The beauty of sherry is also the result of blending from a solera system. This is a system of barrel aging that ensures a consistent style and quality of wine. After a portion of an older barrel is bottled, the barrel is topped up with the next oldest barrel in the chain. This is repeated from barrel to barrel until the end of the series.

While many different expressions exist, two of sherry's drier styles are perfect ambassadors. The first, Fino sherry is lightly fortified after fermentation and aged for at least three years. During this time, flor, a layer of yeast, grows on the surface of the wine, protecting it from the air. The resulting wine possesses a pungent character and distinctive salty tang. Fino sherries that are matured in the city of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Spain, grow a thicker flor

and develop a stronger tang in the wine. They are called Manzanillas. Delgado Zuleta's "Barbiana" Manzanilla (\$19.95 from Vintages) is an excellent example. While delicious as an aperitif, this Manzanilla is brilliant alongside anything from olives, nuts and ham to smoked fish, sushi and Asian food.

The second style, Amontillado, is a Fino sherry that continues to mature in a barrel after the protective flor has died off. The wine is exposed to oxygen as it finishes aging and develops pronounced aromas and flavours of nuts, dried fruit and spice. The Gonzalez Byass "Del Duque Vors" Amontillado, from Spain's Jerez region, is at least 30 years old. Only available in half bottles, it is a profound and complex wine for \$38.95. Again, nuts are a delicious accompaniment, but this Amontillado pairs beautifully with a wide variety of foods, including veined cheese and dishes involving mushrooms, squash and roasted poultry.

New World wine-producing countries have also contributed to the variety of for-

tified wines, with South Africa, the United States and Australia all making significant expressions. In Australia, fortified wines accounted for three quarters of total wine production a half-century ago, but now only account for a small percentage. Some of the finest Australia fortified wines hail from the Rutherglen region in northeastern Victoria. The Muscat and Muscadelle grape varieties used in the production of these wines are harvested only after they become raisins on the vine. Incredibly rich with sugar, they're allowed to undergo a small amount of fermentation before fortification. After a long period of barrel aging, the wines are lush, profound and dense, but still elegant. Tried alongside desserts with raisin, caramel and chocolate, they are astoundingly delicious. The All Saints Muscat is a textbook example. Featuring generous flavours of raisin with notes of citrus, it's an excellent buy from Vintages for \$20.95.

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

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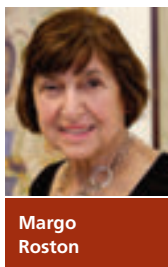
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The house the elephants protect

Photos by Dyanne Wilson



The residence of the Thai ambassador was designed in the 1920s by noted architect Werner E. Noffke.



Margo
Roston

Wandering along the northern end of Acacia Avenue in Rockcliffe Park, you'll notice a won-

derful display of sophisticated embassy residences, from Japan and Korea's stone mansions to India's brick Victorian and Iran's more modern Arabic architecture. And then you come upon a distinctive large white stucco house with two stone elephants guarding the driveway. The elephants, Thailand's national animal, represent a country whose kings rode to war on their backs. That they are guarding a home that looks a bit like a mushroom is of no concern to them. Nor to the residents of Ronsonby, as the home of

Thailand's gracious Ambassador Vijavat Isarabhakdi and his wife, Wannipa is called.

The mushroom reference comes from the 1920s design by noted architect Werner E. Noffke for Edith Wilson, sister-in-law to senator W. C. Edwards, a lumber baron of the region. The large lot and country setting inspired Noffke to create a rough stucco exterior with mock half timbers, now painted blue, and short Ionic columns that family members mockingly described as toad stools.



The first reception room is decorated in pale blue and features large portraits of the king and queen of Thailand.



Ambassador Vijavat Isarabhakdi and his wife, Wannipa.



The home is full of Thai treasures such as this Khon mask.



The dining room table is set for a party.

But once inside, any country connotations disappear in the lovely and sophisticated interior of the old home.

The five-bedroom, five-bathroom interior has a classic centre hall design with a long staircase and on the left, two living rooms. The first is decorated in pale blue with gold and cream trim and features large portraits of the king and queen of Thailand. Lovely examples of Thai arts and crafts catch the eye, including lacquered black and gold chairs and delicate gold lacquered cabinets originally created by monks to hold Buddhist manuscripts. In more modern times, these have been adapted in Thailand to domestic households.

An intricate bowl and saucer is an example of a traditional Thai art form dating back to the 14th Century. It involves painstakingly inlaying mother of pearl into black lacquer.

The second living room, which is open to the first, is decorated in cream with splashes of gold. Large windows surround the room, providing a perfect background for cultural artifacts and socializing. The two living rooms are connected by a fireplace.

A visit to this house is a cultural event.

WFP/Dina El Kassaby

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A bowl of colourful and finely detailed flowers, which look remarkably real, turns out to be delicately carved pieces of



Elephants are Thailand's national animal and represent a country whose kings rode to war on their backs. This elephant sits inside the residence, but two others guard the building from the outside.

coloured soap. They were presented by a friend as a farewell gift to the family when Vijavat left for a posting as ambassador to Washington.

"She even told me how to pack it so it wouldn't break," Wannipa says.

The ambassador laughs when he thinks back to his arrival in February with a windchill of -40 degrees. "Very cold," he says.

The house was purchased from an Ottawa businessman in 1967 and a new dining room was added along the back, filling the formal room with sunshine from windows on three sides.

Paintings of Thai dancers line the yellow and burnt-orange walls, China elephants prance on the table, and two brightly painted Khon masks guard the room. The masks were worn to establish the characters in ancient masked dance dramas.

"I love this room," says the ambassador's wife, dressed stylishly in a gold Thai silk coat dress. "I love decorating," she adds, a statement that becomes apparent by the quiet elegance of the room and the dining table set for a dinner party. On the sideboard sit intricately carved fruits ... a watermelon and cantaloupes along with

some white radishes. Daughter Natasha, 14, joined the staff and tried her hand at some of the carving, her proud parents note.

Even the table is set to perfection: China, cutlery and glasses all carrying the crest of Thailand and napkins painstakingly folded into the shape of a lotus, a symbol of Buddhism.

Among the items on the dinner menus set at each place are pad Thai, shrimp cake, spring roll and stir-fried veggies.

"We have a Thai chef and I like to say that the best Thai restaurant in town is here," says the ambassador.

Judging from the snacks we tasted — tiny spring rolls served in small bundles and delicate chicken saté — he is right.

"Entertaining is an enjoyable part of our work," he says, although his wife adds that it is also a challenge. With a staff of three, they try not to have back-to-back dinners or receptions.

Behind the dining room, a sunroom has been added, again with glass on three sides, exactly mirroring the dining room. It's wonderful, says the ambassador, but too chilly for use in the winter.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.



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New arrivals

Tony Negus
High Commissioner for Australia



Tony Negus took his position as High Commissioner to Canada after working for the Australian Federal Police for 32 years, most recently as its commissioner (2009-2014.)

Negus was awarded the Australian Police Medal in 2005, the Bintang Bhayangkara Utama Medal (the National Police Meritorious Service Star from Indonesia) in 2012, the International Police and Public Safety 9/11 Medal (from the United States) in 2012 and the INTERPOL Fund for a Safer World Medal in recognition of his significant contribution to global safety and security in 2014.

Negus holds a master's of public policy and administration from Charles Sturt University, a graduate diploma of executive leadership from the Australian Institute of Police Management and he has attended the Harvard University leadership program. He is married with three children.

Alberto Arosemena Medina
Ambassador of Panama



Ambassador Medina comes to this position from the world of business. Most recently, he was general manager and owner of Construcciones Avance, S.A., a company that

rents heavy equipment and installs and maintains air conditioners, generators and water pumps.

Prior to that, however, he was Panama's consul general to Kobe, Japan, for two-and-a-half years and before that, he spent two-and-a-half years as logistics and special projects manager for Aurum Global Exploration, a mining company.

Medina has a bachelor's degree in industrial engineering from the Universidad Santa Maria La Antigua and a master's in business administration from Palermo University in Buenos Aires. He speaks Spanish and English.

Ahmed Afel Jawad
High Commissioner for Sri Lanka



Jawad is a career diplomat who joined the Sri Lankan foreign service in 1988 and soon after became the assistant chief of protocol.

In 1989, he had his first posting, at the embassy in Sweden. He returned to headquarters four years later as deputy director of the Europe and the Americas division. In 1995, he became counsellor at the UNESCO mission in Paris and in 1999, returned to Colombo in two directors positions.

In 2001, he became minister-counsellor in China, where he stayed for three years before becoming Sri Lanka's first resident ambassador to Norway for three years. He returned to headquarters as director general for economic affairs and, in 2009, was posted as ambassador to Saudi Arabia, a post he held for three years. Before coming to Canada, he was an additional secretary of political affairs for the west, United Nations, multilateral affairs, human rights and conferences division.

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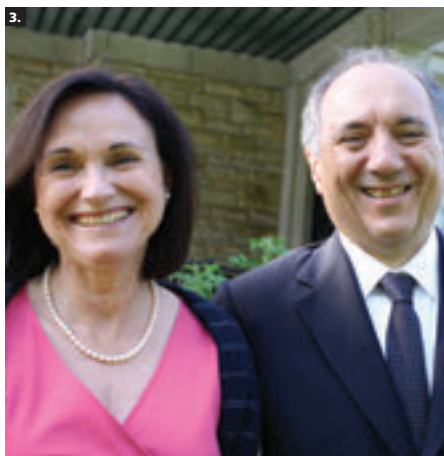


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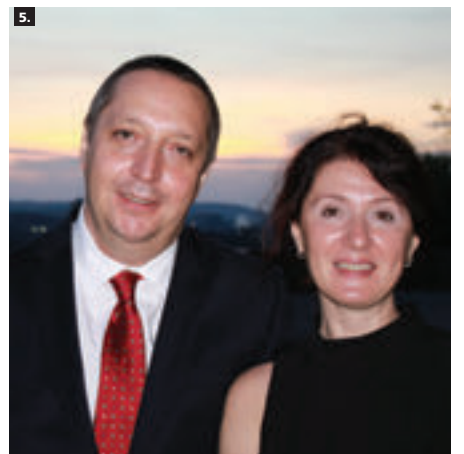
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1. A Pacific Alliance team took part in the Ottawa Dragon Boat Festival. The women on the team, from left to right, included Maura Riordon and Carla Cueva (Peru); Elizabeth Cadena (Colombia); Maria Fernanda Salinas (Chile); Ana Maria Gaitan (Colombia); Argenis Moran (Mexico); Diana Bonilla (Mexico) and Magali Zariquiey (Peru.) (Photo: Embassy of Colombia) 2. Italian Ambassador Gian Lorenzo Cornado participated in the Italian car parade that was part of the FCA Ferrari Festival. A total of 50 Ferraris were driven from the ambassador's Aylmer residence to Preston Street. (Photo: André Chenier) 3. Italian Ambassador Gian Cornado and his wife, Martine Laidin, hosted a national day reception at their residence. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. Algerian Ambassador Hocine Meghar paid a courtesy call on Mayor Jim Watson. (Photo: Roger Lalonde) 5. To mark the national day and armed forces day of Croatia, Ambassador Veselko Grubisic and his wife, Marta, hosted a reception at the embassy. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. Ethiopian Ambassador Birtukan Ayano Dadi hosted a reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier to mark the 24th anniversary of the downfall of the Dergue regime and 50 years of diplomatic relations with Canada. (Photo: Ulle Baum)



1. Ethiopian Dancers participated in a colourful dance performance at Africa Day at St. Elias Centre. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. Africa Day participants included, from left, Senator Raynell Andreychuk, Zimbabwewan Ambassador Florence Zano Chideya and MP Mauril Bélanger. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. Icelandic Ambassador Sturla Sigurjónsson and his wife, Elín Jonsdóttir, hosted a reception at their residence to mark Iceland's national day. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. To mark the conclusion of Latvia's presidency of the Council of the European Union, Ambassador Juris Audarins and his spouse, Aija Audarina, hosted a midsummer solstice celebration at Ottawa City Hall. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. Georgian Ambassador Alexander Latsabidze and his wife, Tea Uchaneishvili, hosted a national day reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. The Orchestra of the Royal Netherlands Air Force took part in celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the liberation of the Netherlands in Ottawa. Here, they perform a concert at the Canada Aviation and Space Museum. (Photo: Embassy of Netherlands)

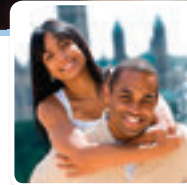
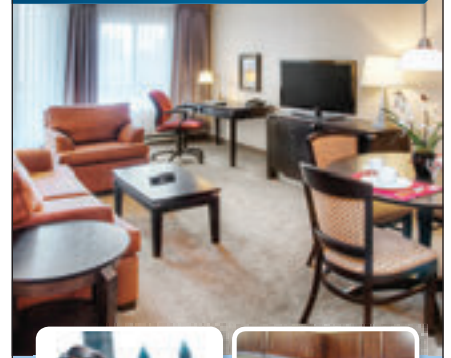


1. Foreign Minister Rob Nicholson and his wife, Arlene, attended a 4th of July party hosted by Ambassador Bruce Heyman and his wife, Vicki. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. U.S. Ambassador Heyman, left, and his wife, Vicki, right, hosted a 4th of July party at Lornado, the name of the ambassador's residence. With their daughters Caroline, left, and Liza, they joined the band on stage. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. The Norwegian embassy fully supported its Women's World Cup team. From left, Heidi Store, director of Women's football, Jan-Terje Storaas, cultural affairs officer at the embassy, embassy intern Maria Melstveit, first secretary Øystein Bell and Jan Ove Nystuen, who looks after marketing for Norway's women's football. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell) 4. At Taiwan's summer garden party at his residence, TECO Representative Bruce Linghu, centre, welcomed deputy representative Frank Lin, left, and bid farewell to Bill Chen, right, who was named deputy chief representative in Taiwan's economic affairs ministry's trade negotiations office. Mr. Linghu himself returned to Taiwan in September to become deputy minister of foreign affairs. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 5. Korean Ambassador DaeShik Jo awarded Ecuadorian Ambassador Nicolas Fabian Trujillo's outstanding service in promoting friendly relations between Korea and Ecuador during a posting from 2010-2014 with the Gwanthwa Medal. (Photo: Embassy of Ecuador) 6. A taste of Indonesia took place at Santé Restaurant. Chefs Widiyanto and Salbiyah, who work for the ambassador of Indonesia, prepared a traditional Indonesian dinner. From left: Donna Holtom, owner of Santé restaurant, and Suwartini Wirta, Indonesian deputy head of mission. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 7. Portuguese Ambassador Jose Fernando Moreira da Cunha and his wife, Maria de Lurdes Brito Azevedo da Cunha, hosted a national day reception at their residence. (Photo: Ulle Baum)



1. Swedish Ambassador Per Sjogren hosted a farewell reception for departing staff member, Britt Bengtsson. The reception also featured Nils Berg Cinemascope before the band performed at the Ottawa International Jazz Festival. From left, Swedish counsellor David Lunderquist; Mina Cohn, chairwoman of the Shoah Committee of the Ottawa Jewish Federation; and Bengtsson. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. Swedish Ambassador Per Ola Sjogren hosted a national day reception. From left, Austrian Ambassador Arno Riedel, Sjogren and MP Mauril Bélanger. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. The spouses of the Arab heads of mission hosted a year-end event at the residence of the Egyptian ambassador for members of the Heads of Mission Spouses Association (HOMSA). From left: hostess Hala Elhousseiny Youssef (Egypt), Chiraz Saidane (Tunisia), HOMSA president Florence Saint-Léger Liautaud (Haiti) and Dina Hakam Mohammad Khair (Jordan). (Photo: Ulle Baum)

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Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

October		
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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Photo by Bill Blackstone

Fun in the sun with Filipino hospitality



Tranquil El Nido in Palawan is a good choice for those who like the idea of hopping to and from 200 neighbouring islands.



By *Petronila P. Garcia*
Ambassador of the Philippines

The Philippines is like a friend you wish you had met sooner. First-time tourists grudgingly end their holidays, but vow to return. Repeat visitors stay longer the next time, and some stay for good. Travel magazines and bloggers rave about the place, the people and the experience.

My country lies at the crossroads of the vibrant Asia-Pacific region. Our Asian orientation and western outlook combine to make visitors feel at home, whether they are from the East or West. We are a vibrant democracy of 100 million people speaking English and Filipino interchangeably. *Forbes* ranks the Philippines as our region's friendliest country.

The sheer natural beauty of our 7,107 tropical islands fascinates with a multiplicity of destinations accentuated by beaches, lakes, rivers, waterfalls, hot springs, mountains, volcanoes, plains, hills, valleys, caves and cliffs.

Incredible wonders of nature

Across this sprawling archipelago boast-

ing the world's fifth-longest coastline, the seaside is but a few hours' drive from most points, with shores painted from a palette of milky white, coral pink, golden brown and volcanic black. Boracay, voted the world's best island in 2012 by *Travel +Leisure Magazine* readers, is a top draw not only for its powder-like white sand, but also for the island parties that never end. Tranquil El Nido and Coron in Palawan are good picks to live in the moment, hopping to and from the 200 islands between them. Panglao, on the island of Bohol, Mactan Island in Cebu and Pagudpud in Ilocos Norte offer well-appointed resorts perfectly positioned on white sand beaches with crystal blue waters. The Caramoan islands in Camarines Sur, another



The Makati central business district is the financial centre of the Philippines, located at the heart of Makati in Metro Manila.

Garden of Eden, have earned international attention as the recurring setting of the reality TV series, *Survivor*.

Visitors exploring roads less travelled will find hidden gems such as the surfers' paradise in Surigao del Norte, the unspoiled Sarangani Island and Balut Island in Davao Occidental and the Kalanggaman Island in Leyte, where dreams of time spent with Mother Nature come true.

Among our volcanoes, Taal and Mayon are the most famous. Taal, the world's smallest active volcano, sits on an island within a lake on an island within a lake on an island. More interestingly, Taal is also a volcano within a lake within a volcano. An easy hike or horse ride takes visitors to see the Taal's crater up close. Reigning majestically over the plains of Albay, Mayon, the world's most perfectly formed volcano, is a simply breathtaking sight too astounding for words.

Palawan is home to two of the Philippines' UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The Tubbataha Reef National Marine Park in the Sulu Sea was the first to be inscribed on the world heritage list in recognition of its importance to marine diversity and as a site of "irreplaceable universal value." Similarly, the unique geological features

of the Puerto Princesa Subterranean River National Park impress with a spectacular limestone karst landscape concealing an underground river, one of the world's longest, at 8.2 kilometres. Up north, UNESCO hails the 2,000-year-old Cordillera Rice Terraces as an "outstanding example of an evolved, living cultural landscape" expressing the delicate harmony between man and nature.

Then there are the Chocolate Hills of Bohol, which the *Globe and Mail's* Greg Quinion likened to "Earth breaking out in goosebumps." If local legend is to be believed, the hills are the aftermath of a furious battle between two giants hurling rocks and boulders at each other. These 1,268 nearly symmetrical limestone domes turn to green during the rainy months and to brown during summer.

Exceptional hospitality

Travellers will find hospitality a trait deeply embedded in Filipino culture. Filipinos will not hesitate to assign their best bedroom to complete strangers or feed them before their own family. This openness to sharing personal spaces or resources springs from a Filipino social value known as *pakikipagkapwa*, which roughly means an awareness of a shared



Many water adventures await in El Nido, Palawan.

inner self. At the core of the Filipino psyche, the inner self sees a shared humanity in another. It then follows that the "other" ought to be shown kindness and respect as an equal in humankind's collective consciousness. Visitor interaction with the locals thus creates an exceptional experience, especially in the countryside where native customs and traditions continue to flourish despite centuries of western influence.

Town fiestas typify Filipino hospitality and there is a feast practically every day of the year. Among the bigger ones are the vibrant Dinagyang, Ati-atihan and Sinulog that take place successively in January in the streets of Iloilo, Aklan and Cebu and are tribal Mardi Gras-like extravaganzas infused with homage to the Child Jesus, known as *Sto. Nino*. There, dancing to the non-stop rhythm of drums will be irresistible, if not involuntary.

During Holy Week, the *Moriones* festival in Marinduque depicts the life of St. Longinus, a Roman soldier miraculously healed by the blood of Jesus Christ. A whole town becomes a stage where Longinus's story plays out for a week alongside *The Passion of the Christ*. Visitors can interact with centurion-masked devotees in search of the deserter-turned-martyr in ad-



Boracay, voted the world's best island in 2012 by *Travel+Leisure Magazine*, is a top draw not only for its powder-like white sand, but also for the island parties that never end.

dition to observing Lenten rituals peculiar to Filipinos.

Every May 15, thousands of tourists descend on Lucban, Quezon, to see houses covered in colourful *kiping* (rice wafers) during the lavish Pahiyas festival, inspired by San Isidro Labrador, the patron saint of farmers. As the town gives thanks for nature's bounty, spectators will appreciate the time and effort spent by each household in offering a visual feast outside and a culinary feast inside.

On June 24, one ought to prepare to get wet at the Wattah Wattah festival of San Juan, Metro-Manila, where passersby get a dousing from revellers marking the feast of St. John the Baptist. On the other hand, people do look forward to getting drenched during the Parada ng Lechon (Parade of Whole Roasted Pigs), which takes place in Balayan, Batangas. On the

same day, the Taong Putik (Mud People) Festival takes place in Nueva Ecija, where St. John's devotees, covered in mud and dried leaves, roam about seeking alms to buy candles they later light for prayers.

Bacolod City's Masskara Festival every October celebrates the resiliency of the Negrenses, who persevered after an economic crisis that struck the sugar capital of the Philippines in the early '80s. The annual festival in the "City of Smiles" promises sensory overload as thousands join the merriment garbed in flashy costumes.

On Nov. 23 each year, the town of Angono, Rizal, throws a party of gigantic proportions in a festival called Higantes. As its main event, devotees convey the image of San Clemente, patron saint of fishermen, to its sanctuary accompanied by papier-mâché giants. How the *higantes* got into the mix is a story for the traveller to discover.

Food is central to the culture

Come December, virtually the whole country is seized with the spirit of Christmas, the Philippines' most important holiday and biggest fiesta. This is the time to enjoy the sight of the *parol*, or Christmas lanterns, and the sound of Christmas carols that put most Filipinos in a gift-giving, food-binging party mood all the way 'til the New Year.

In keeping with the fiesta spirit, families prepare food in abundance to share with friends and complete strangers alike. Food is a medium that deepens relationships. That a greeting is naturally followed by the question "Have you eaten?" demonstrates our sense of connection. Instead of the weather, food is our ice breaker.

Not surprisingly, a Filipino food movement is growing in the United States and Canada, which together host a Filipino diaspora that is approximately four

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million strong. Anyone looking for a quick introduction should try the adobo, the Philippines' answer to Korea's bulgogi or Thailand's pad Thai. Flavourful and easy to cook, every Filipino family will have their own recipe to crow about. This ubiquitous dish can be prepared with meat, fish or vegetables. Whole cookbooks are devoted to variations of the soy sauce, vinegar, garlic and bay leaf stew base. The annual Adobo Festival in Negros Occidental would be a good place to understand why there's much ado about adobo.

One can digest bits of Philippine history from Filipino food, which blends Malay flavours with Chinese, Hispanic and American cuisine. The affordable *pancit* (fried noodles) and *lumpiang Shanghai* (fried spring rolls) are staples in family celebrations and fiestas. Our version of the Spanish beef stew known as *mechado*, another beef stew called *pochero*, a chicken or pork stew called *afritada*, a meat roll known as *morcon* or stuffed chicken called *relleno*, form part of the ultimate Filipino Christmas banquet, along with the Spanish rice dish *paella*, a Spanish beef tripe stew called *callos* and a whole roasted pig known as *lechon*. Steaks, hamburgers, pizzas and barbecues are popular among the young. The juicy barbecued chicken called *inasal na manok* is among my personal favourites, along with the freshest seafood charbroiled to perfection.

Most Filipinos dread a solitary meal. Around food, Filipinos gather and commune. Whether we're meeting to eat or eating to meet is almost irrelevant. Perhaps epitomizing the joy we derive from shared meals is the boodle fight, inspired by a combination of Philippine military tradition and the custom of eating



Sinulog's festival takes place in January, on the streets of Cebu. It is a tribal Mardi Gras-like event.

kamayan-style (with hands). Food is set on banana leaves, spread over a long table and eaten with bare hands in a spirit of camaraderie and equality.

A travel experience too good to miss

Filipinos unequivocally believe in the proposition that it's more fun in the Philippines and will gladly take the time to prove the point. But please do not take our word for it.

Adventure in You, a travel blog, advises, in tongue-in-cheek fashion, against going to the Philippines if you don't like happy people, hate beaches and the sun, are confused by options and want to keep your expectations low.

After visiting nearly 30 countries, a young Canadian traveller named Kyle Jennermann insists that experiencing Filipino culture has changed his life. In his blog, *Becoming Filipino*, he explains thus: "If you are Filipino...thank you...Thank you for being part of a culture where family isn't the only family, but friends and even

strangers are family. Where smiling is genuine, giving is natural and sharing is a part of everyday life. A culture that goes through a lot of really tough times and suffering, but still shares a great big smile ... I would be honoured to be able to call myself Filipino!"

In full Filipino spirit, I invite *Diplomat's* readers to join me for Winter Escapade III, a special tour organized by the Philippine embassy for visitors from Canada. The forthcoming tour on Feb. 3 to 12, 2016, will take us to off-the-beaten-path (Camarines Sur and Albay) and popular destinations (Palawan and Manila). Send an email to the address below and we will be happy to provide details to interested parties.

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A barren-ground caribou bull from the Qamanirjuaq herd strikes a pose while feeding near Ennadai Lake, Nunavut, in early September. These animals travel tremendous distances from northern Saskatchewan and Manitoba in the spring to their Nunavut and Northwest Territories calving grounds on the tundra. The animals can weigh up to 240 kilograms (529 pounds) and they number in the hundreds of thousands. Males and females of this species both grow antlers. These caribou are a critical food source for aboriginal populations in the north.



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