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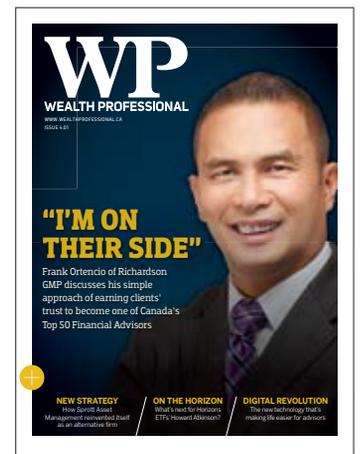
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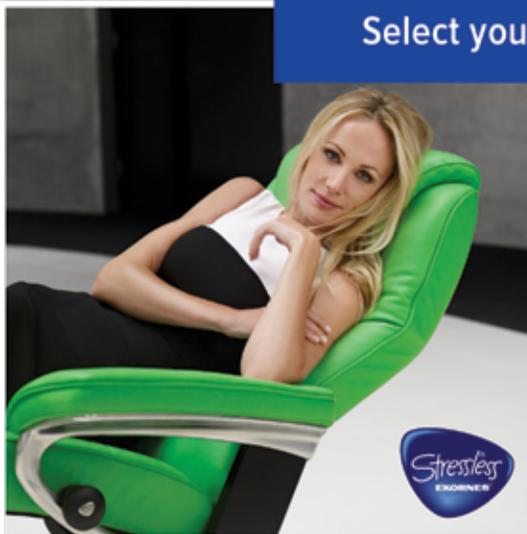


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Jennifer Campbell

Innovation impacts everything

Innovation is the buzz word of many in Ottawa these days as the federal government has made it an important part of its agenda. And it's prevalent around the world. EXPO 2017 just wrapped up in Kazakhstan and the word innovation came up again and again in the context of its "future energy" theme. We're told we're in the Fourth Industrial Revolution — this time with technology leading the way. The Internet of Things and Big Data are changing everything from the way we live day to day to the way we work, where we work and whether we still work or have become a professional casualty of technological advancement.

Our cover package looks at all of these issues. Kicking things off, writer and political scientist Wolfgang Depner offers an in-depth look at the Top-10 innovations that may soon change our lives, if they haven't already.

In the same section, technology gurus Jennifer Francis and Céline Bak discuss why Canada doesn't score well on innovation report cards and what it needs to change to score better, while economics professor Hashmat Khan weighs in on what effect technological advancement is having on the labour market and who should be worried.

Innovation is important and its impacts can be positive and negative, but it's hardly as consequential as nuclear war. With Korean despot Kim Jong-un constantly provoking, it's hard to avoid the topic. We address it in three places in the magazine. Up front, columnist Fen Hampson analyzes the global nuclear threat, bringing in some historical context. Also in *Diplomatica*, South Korean

Ambassador Shin Maengho writes about his country's desire for peace and how his president hopes to achieve it. Finally, retired political science professor Robert D'A Henderson writes about North Korea's threat of reaching Guam with nuclear armaments, and also the reaction from all corners of the planet, including U.S. President Donald Trump's bellicose statements about Kim being met with "fire and fury" as well as Japan's less rhetorical and more practical response.

Also in *Dispatches*, Canada's former ambassador to Ukraine, Derek Fraser, writes about Russian President Vladimir Putin's plans vis-à-vis the west, while documentary filmmaker Doris Liu and former MP David Kilgour discuss the controversy surrounding China's Confucius Institutes, some of which exist on Canadian university campuses and one of which recently closed following complaints about its hidden agendas.

In the front section of our magazine, we also have my interview with Dennis Darby, CEO of Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters, whose organization is front and centre in the ongoing NAFTA renegotiations and we have trade articles from Peruvian, Chinese and Thai diplomats.

Our Delights section kicks off with books columnist George Fetherling's suggested titles on the Russian Revolution, among others, including one on building walls.

Food columnist Margaret Dickenson writes about the distinctive salty, sweet and sour cuisine of Vietnam, while culture editor Margo Roston takes a tour of the residence of Hungarian Ambassador Bálint Ódor and his wife, Lili Franciska Török. Wine columnist Pieter Van den Weghe, meanwhile, writes with passion about the Riesling grape.

Finally, in our Destinations section, Japanese Ambassador Kenjiro Monji, who has the distinguished title of sake samurai, takes us on a sake tour of Japan. Then, *Diplomat* publisher Donna Jacobs shares her experiences of swimming with whales off the shore of the Dominican Republic.

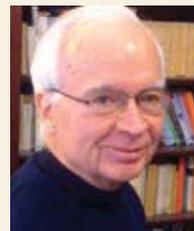
Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

Jennifer Francis



Jennifer Francis is the chair of Capital Angel Network and principal of Cafe Noir Consulting. She has more than 25 years experience in the high-tech industry including software development, marketing, product management, business development and executive management. Prior to consulting, she was a vice-president in the analytics business at IBM and held a variety of executive positions at Cognos. She works closely with the Ottawa startup eco-system as an angel investor, mentor and adviser. She is also regional ambassador for Technovation, a program to inspire girls to pursue technology careers. She holds a bachelor of math from the University of Waterloo.

Derek Fraser



Derek Fraser is a senior research associate at the Centre for Global Studies and adjunct professor for political science at the University of Victoria. He has given talks and interviews and contributed articles on Ukraine and Russia, including to *Diplomat & International Canada*. He had a long career with Global Affairs Canada, gaining extensive experience in east-west relations and the communist and post-communist world, through postings in Vietnam, Germany, the Soviet Union, Hungary and Ukraine, and in Ottawa, as director of relations with eastern Europe. He was ambassador to Hungary, Greece and Ukraine.

UP FRONT

Human genetics, as depicted on our cover, is just one of the areas of innovation that has already changed our lives, or soon will. Our cover package tells this story and explores how technology is changing the labour market; how Canada is underperforming on this front; and reveals the latest technological advances from EXPO 2017. It starts on page 40.



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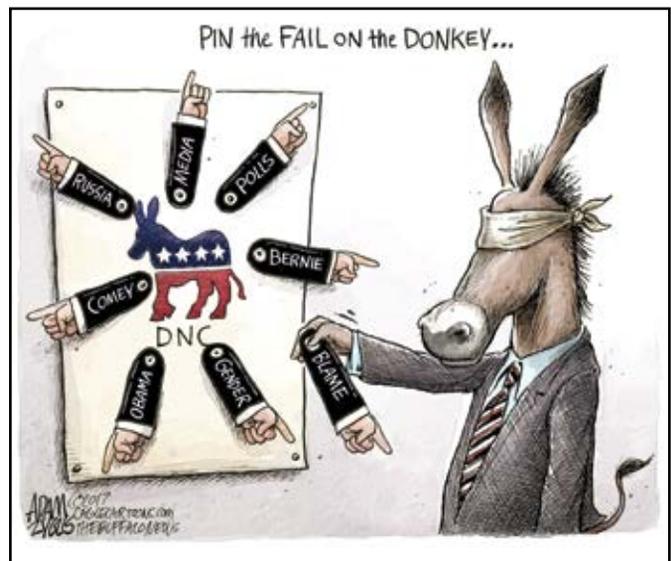
Political commentary from around the world



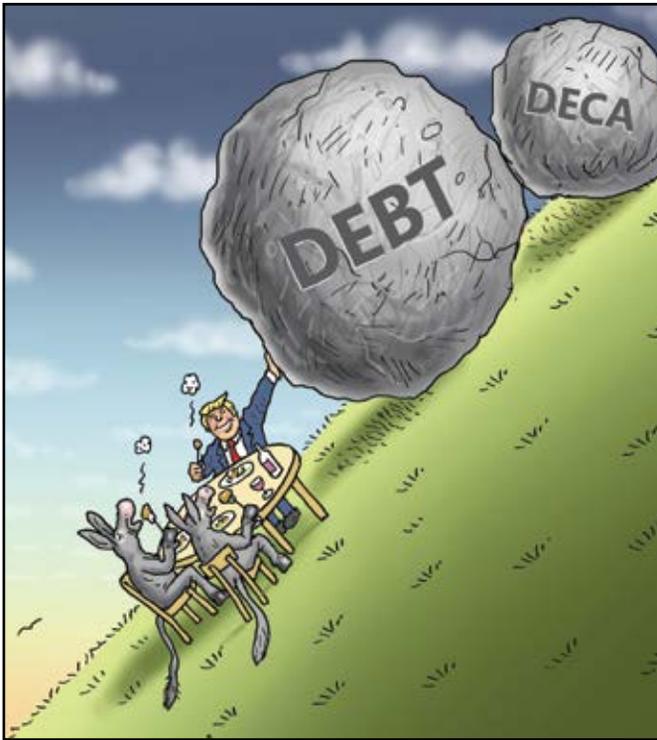
"Trump House Cleaning" by Paul Zanetti, Australia



"The Boat is Full" by Petar Pismestrovic, *Kleine Zeitung*, Austria



"DNC Accountability" by Adam Zyglis, *The Buffalo News*, U.S.



"Debt Hill" by Marian Kamensky, Austria



"North Korean Showdown" by Patrick Chappatte, *Le Temps*, Switzerland



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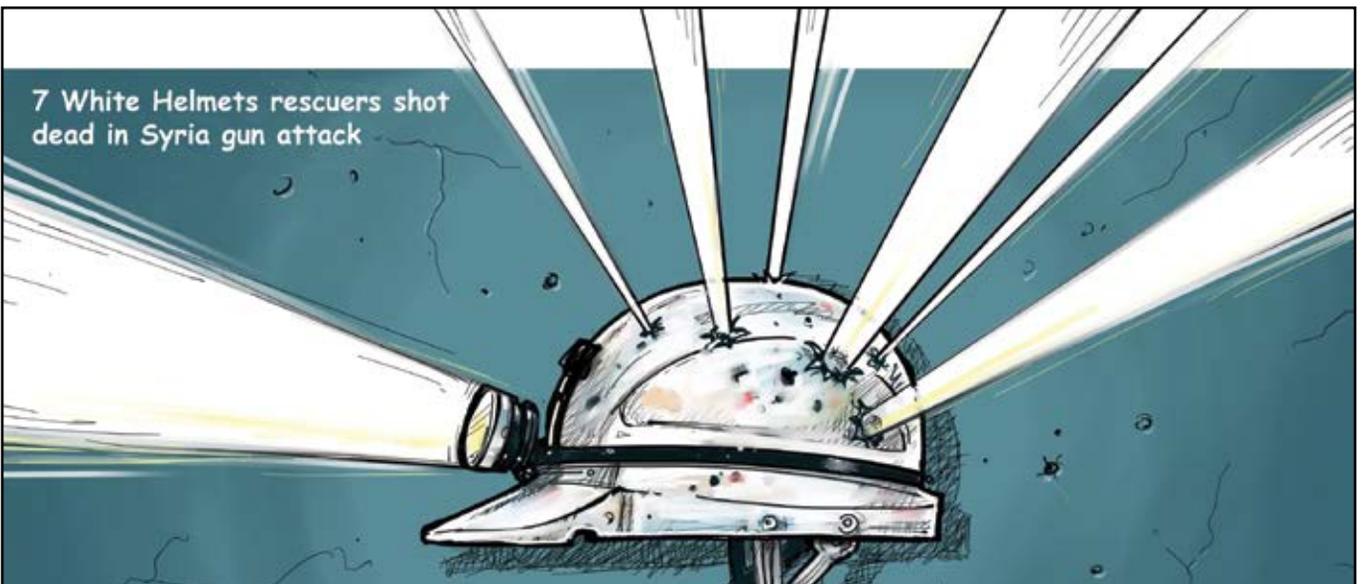
"Liberty vs Congress" by Jeff Koterba, Omaha World Herald, Nebraska, U.S.



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"Trump Base" by Rick McKee, The Augusta Chronicle, Georgia, U.S.



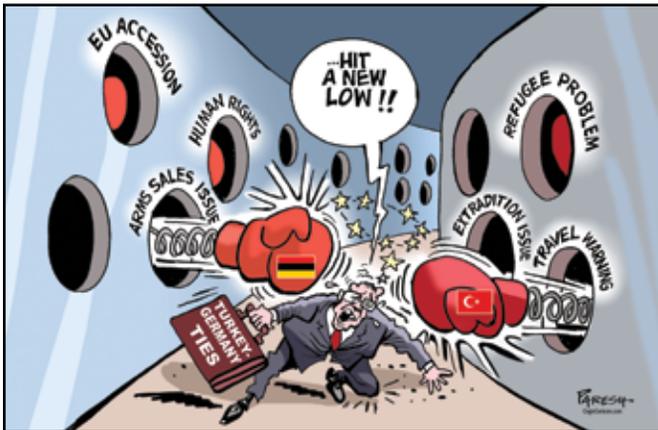
"White Helmets of Syria" by Emad Hajjaj, Jordan



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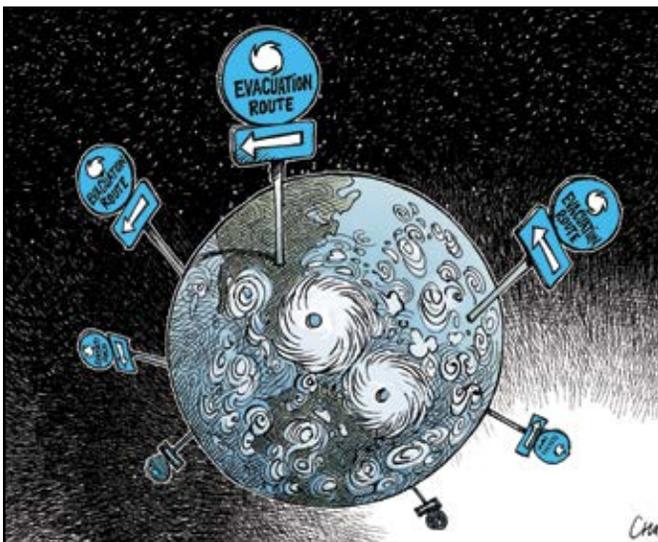
"When Putin and Trump Meet" by Patrick Chappatte, *The International New York Times*



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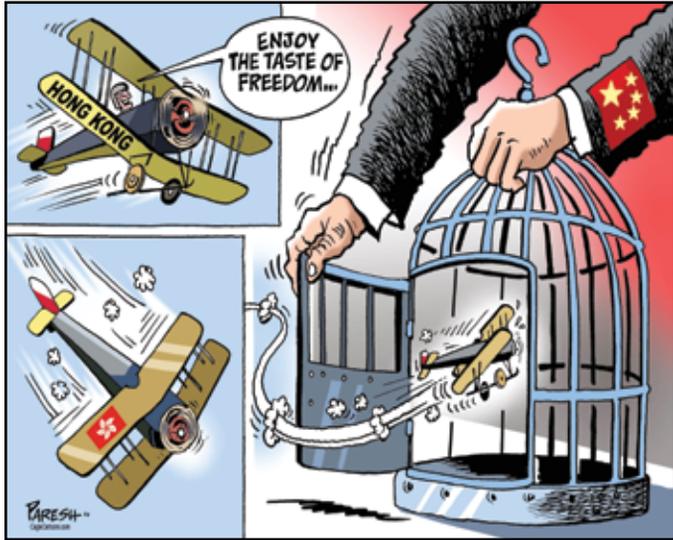
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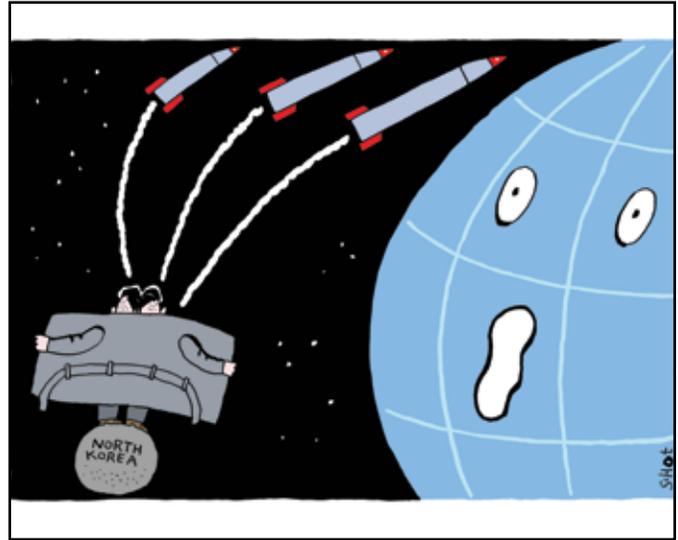
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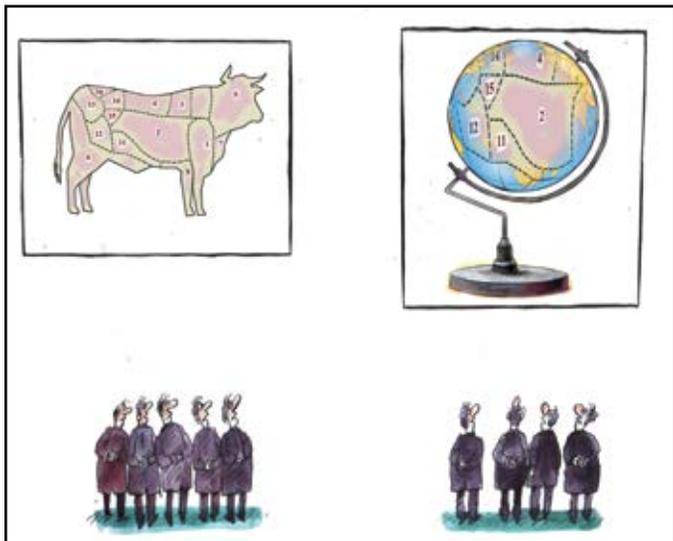
"North Korea Missile Testing" by Schot, *De Volkskrant*, Netherlands



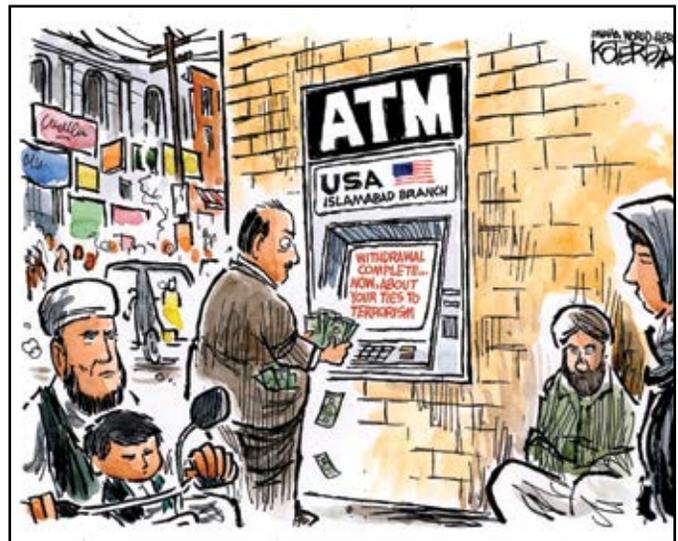
"Going Ballistic" by Paul Zanetti, Australia



"China Backs Myanmar Crackdown on Rohingyas" by Sabir Nazar, Cagle.com



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The mounting risks of nuclear war



A landmark nuclear non-proliferation treaty regime dates back to 1968. It has slowed the spread of nuclear weapon states, but it has not brought proliferation to a standstill. The protest pictured above took place in Washington, D.C.



Fen
Hampson

The 1951 Civil Defence film, which was shown to millions of school children, told them what to do in the event of a nuclear attack. Like Bert the Turtle, they were told to “duck and cover.” If they were at school, that meant hiding under their desks and putting their heads

between their knees. Though as one wag put it, “my teacher always told us to put our head between our knees and kiss our asses goodbye.”

Today, “duck and cover” pretty much describes public attitudes — and the attitude of many western leaders — to the mounting risks of nuclear war. We have become all too complacent as Cold War fears of Armageddon have faded into the mists of time, supplanted by new fears such as climate change, which former U.S. president Barack Obama called “a potential existential threat to the entire world if we don’t do something about it.”

Ironically, the aftermath to the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, which brought the United States and the Soviet Union

the closest ever to the brink of nuclear war, contributed to this growing sense of complacency. The crisis spurred the two superpowers to develop a hotline to allow for direct communication between U.S. president John Kennedy and Russian premier Nikita Khrushchev.

A rash of arms-control agreements and confidence-building measures soon followed and relations between the two superpowers became more businesslike and co-operative. Nuclear war became “unthinkable” as its wider consequences were better understood. An all-out nuclear exchange would annihilate not just the main protagonists, but also make much of the planet uninhabitable with the onset of “nuclear winter” as dust and soot from

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raging firestorms were kicked into the stratosphere, blocking sunlight and drastically lowering global temperatures. Most people came to believe that no rational leader would ever launch a nuclear attack and that cooler heads would ultimately prevail, as they did in 1962.

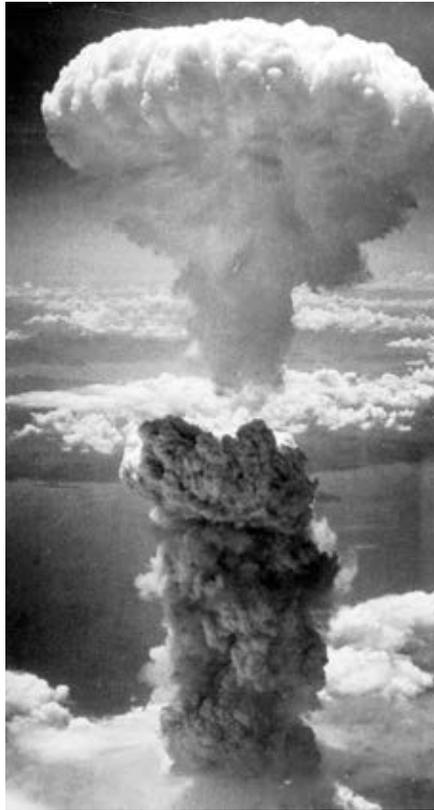
Although the landmark nuclear non-proliferation treaty regime, originally signed in 1968, has slowed the spread of nuclear weapon states, it has not brought proliferation to a standstill. In addition to the five nuclear weapon states that are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea also have nuclear weapon capabilities. Iran has also come close to crossing the nuclear threshold.

Under a nuclear deal concluded in Vienna in July 2015, the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council plus the European Union convinced Iran to agree to reconfigure some of its nuclear facilities while shuttering others in exchange for the signing parties lifting sanctions on Iran as well as releasing frozen assets. Although Iran has not violated the actual terms of the agreement, by continuing to work on its missile program, as noted by the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, it is contravening the spirit of the deal and UN Security Council resolutions by continuing to build and test long-range missiles.

The risk that North Korea will put a nuclear warhead on a missile capable of striking targets in North America is growing, as are mounting fears about the erratic behaviour of North Korea's leader, Kim Jong-un. Analysts have consistently underestimated the pace at which North Korea has acquired nuclear and ballistic missile capabilities. As the prestigious journal, *Scientific American*, reported following North Korea's detonation of a 10-kiloton nuclear device in September 2016, North Korea's "ramping up of ongoing nuclear and ballistic missile tests... feeds growing concerns that Kim Jong-un's regime will soon be able to make good on its threats to target parts of the U.S. as well as Washington's allies in the region."

North Korea's recent tests of the Hwasong-14 intercontinental Missile, which has the range to hit Alaska and Hawaii, and its claims in September that it had successfully tested a hydrogen bomb that it can load on an intercontinental missile have been countered by President Trump's claims that he may be forced to "totally destroy" the rogue nation.

These escalations are compounded by



The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor prompted the U.S. bombing of Nagasaki, an historical example of nuclear attack.

misperceptions about the stakes in this crisis. For the United States, the risk is an existential one. President Donald Trump has made it clear that the United States will not countenance a delivery capability by North Korea that puts North America within the target range of its missiles. But the Chinese and the Russians don't see it this way at all. As *The Financial Times* reported earlier this year, "China and Russia see North Korean efforts to acquire a nuclear-capable intercontinental ballistic missile as an unwelcome yet inevitable development caused by the regime's desire to have an insurance against possible hostile moves by the U.S. and its allies... [They] are united in their belief that Washington is using the North Korean nuclear problem as a pretext to put more military pressure on both countries by deploying the Thaad missile defence system. Both see a nuclear-armed Kim as a far lesser threat than a growing American military presence at their doorstep." A collision of interests compounded by misperception is all but inevitable.

Major wars can begin in three ways: First, they can start if leaders are not tough enough with dangerous adversaries, as exemplified by Adolf Hitler, who

duped Neville Chamberlain in Munich, paving the way to further aggression and eventually forcing the allies to respond after Hitler invaded Poland. Or, they can be provoked by insecurities arising from misperception and what strategists refer to as the "security dilemma," in which actions ostensibly taken for defensive purposes are mistaken by adversaries as being offensive in nature. The Anglo-German arms race that preceded by the First World War or Japan's fears that its economy would be strangled by an oil embargo, which precipitated the Japanese attack on the U.S. Navy at Pearl Harbor, are historical examples of the dangers of such provocations. Finally, wars can also erupt from a loss of control over military forces or actions taken by local military commanders that set in motion a chain of events that political authorities cannot control or reverse. The classic example is the mobilization of Europe's armies just prior to the onset of the First World War after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, which proved irreversible.

All three factors are seemingly at play in the volatile nuclear politics of the Korean peninsula, including three decades of failed diplomacy that have only emboldened North Korea's regime.

But they are also evident in other corners of the globe, such as the Middle East and in dangerous strategic rivalries among Iran, Saudi Arabia and Israel. As Louis René Beres, professor emeritus of international law at Purdue University, recently argued, "Tehran, like Pyongyang, will not desist from its nuclear ambitions. Iranian membership in the Nuclear Club is more than likely to occur within the next several years, the Vienna 2015 Iran Agreement notwithstanding. Moreover, even in the absence of a single regional nuclear adversary, the Jewish State could still find itself having to rely upon nuclear deterrence against certain biological and/or massive conventional threats." Beres believes that a major conventional attack against Israel would almost certainly force its leadership to retaliate with nuclear weapons, just as a nuclear attack would.

Aggression, misperception and inadvertent escalation are a toxic brew in the interplay between Russia and the west. Russian President Vladimir Putin's seizure of Crimea was followed by his ongoing quest to grab Eastern Ukraine. Before this conflict, there was Putin's annexation of the territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in the Russia-Georgian war. Some believe Putin's basic motives since his



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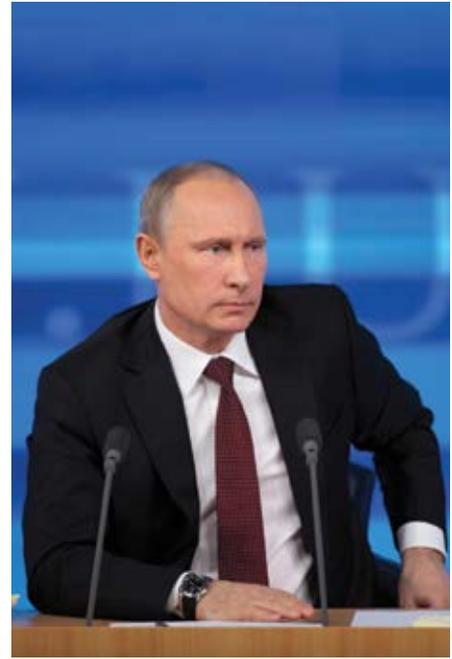
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“smack and grab” seizure of Crimea is not only to destabilize Ukraine sufficiently to prevent it from moving closer to the west, but also to project Russian power throughout Eurasia and even into the Middle East. Putin’s western critics argue that his determination to project Russian power and influence is much stronger than the response of the west to contain his revanchist ambitions.

We don’t really know how far Putin will go to pursue his objectives and whether the west can muster a more coherent and credible response if he does. Some believe that Putin distinguishes between those countries already solidly in the western camp, especially those that are longstanding members of NATO, and countries such as Ukraine, Moldova and Armenia — not yet, if ever, formally committed. Others argue that there is no guarantee that Putin will show any more respect for NATO’s Article 5 safeguards than he did for the inviolability of borders or the terms of the Budapest Accord — the pact that formally consigned Crimea to Ukraine in 1994. That is certainly the fear of NATO’s Baltic state members who worry openly about the build-up of Russian forces and troop manoeuvres on their borders even as British, German and Canadian contingents are deployed to shore up their defences.

The fact that Trump has given mixed signals about the strength of the U.S. commitment to NATO (along with his on-again, off-again romance with Putin) has not helped matters, although Trump has done a fair bit of backtracking since he won the presidential election by trying to reassure Europeans that the U.S. commitment is still strong. More dangerous are the risks of inadvertent escalation and armed confrontation in an environment of heightened tension and strategic ambiguity. Russia is still a major nuclear power possessed with thousands of nuclear warheads. Russia’s dangerous probes of NATO airspace have forced Britain, Germany, Norway, Portugal and Turkey to repeatedly scramble their own fighters. The dangers of such brinksmanship is that if a plane got shot down, a minor skirmish could escalate into something bigger.

In a report last year, the respected Union of Concerned Scientists concluded that the risks of nuclear war between the United States and China were also increasing as both countries invest billions, if not trillions, to improve their nuclear arsenals and because both “believe that a demonstrable readiness to use military force — including nuclear weapons — is needed



Observers speculate on how far Russian President Vladimir Putin will go to pursue his objectives, which some describe as a wish to project Russian power throughout Eurasia and the Middle East.

to ensure the other will yield in a military confrontation.” The report highlighted the inadequacy of discussions between the two countries on “contentious issues” and the absence of “shared understandings of the conduct of naval vessels and aircraft” or “strategic dialogues on nuclear forces, missile defenses and anti-satellite weapons.” The report argued that “these and other factors are exacerbated by recent developments between the two countries, including China’s apparent move toward hair-trigger alert — a policy that increases the risk of accidental nuclear war, especially in the early days of its development.”

Hiding under a desk is not an option as we confront today’s dangerous nuclear threats. It is time for the world’s leaders to get serious about managing the risks of nuclear-armed confrontation by taking weapons off hair-trigger alert, re-energizing efforts to secure nuclear materials and reduce stockpiles, and promoting regional dialogues to reduce tensions and prevent future crises.

Fen Osler Hampson is director of the World Refugee Council. He is also a distinguished fellow and director of the Global Security and Politics Program at the Centre for International Governance Innovation and Chancellor’s Professor at Carleton University.

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Dennis Darby: President, Canadian Manufacturers & Exporters

On NAFTA's renegotiation: 'It's been baptism by fire, for sure.'

Photos by Wanda Goodwin

Dennis Darby, who had been CEO of the Ontario Pharmacists Association (OPA), became CEO of Canadian Manufacturers & Exporters (CME) in January 2017. Before serving as CEO of the OPA, he spent 24 years with Procter & Gamble, starting his career as a product engineer and rising to director of North American External Relations. He has a degree in chemical engineering and management from McMaster University and earned an Institute of Corporate Directors Designation from the University of Toronto's Rotman School of Management in 2011. He spoke with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell, about the state of trade in Canada.

Diplomat magazine: I was surprised to read that through your membership, you speak for a group of businesspeople who are responsible for 90 per cent of Canada's exports. That's a considerable portion of our economy.

Denis Darby: A full 75 per cent of everything we trade is in manufacturing and we represent 90 per cent of those companies, so it's a fairly broad business association.

DM: And a pretty influential one, I would think.

DD: I wish it were more influential, but we're doing our best.

DM: Does government listen when you speak?

DD: Yes. We do get a hearing. We have a good relationship with the government and the bureaucrats and the ministers of the day. Principally, we deal with Navdeep Bains [minister of innovation, science and economic development]; Kirsty Duncan [minister of science]; Chrystia Freeland [foreign minister] and [International Trade] Minister [François-Philippe] Champagne — the people who are dealing with investment or trade in Canada.

A good example of us being listened to is that as the government of Canada was preparing its NAFTA team, its chief nego-

tiator Stever Verheul, who also negotiated CETA and is a fantastic and experienced negotiator, asked us to be on a small advisory group. So it's the CME, along with the Chamber of Commerce and the Business Council in this group. We're the one group that actually represents the traders.

We don't tend to have the national or protected industries as part of CME — we tend to be the free traders. We don't have Bell, we don't have banks, we don't have very much dairy. Most of our members are manufacturers or processors or fabricators or the people who build equipment or make products. So our messaging tends to be around the benefits of free trade because more than any sector, manufacturing has changed irrevocably from 25 years ago when NAFTA was negotiated. It has continued to evolve. So you either compete or you're out of business. It's not a protected cultural industry, it's not telecom, it's not banking. If you're not good, you're out.

I think it's interesting that our members have said they want to improve NAFTA, that they want more access, better access and more fair access to be able to compete.

DM: With the NAFTA renegotiation, it was really baptism by fire when you started this job.

DD: We walked right into a budget and then after that, NAFTA. We knew NAFTA was going to be on the table, but it's been a challenge to try to keep up with where the U.S. wants to go. And then in June, the U.S. finally articulated what its priorities will be when the trade authority comes back from Congress. It gives us at least a template. It's been baptism by fire, for sure.

DM: Can you talk about your organization's NAFTA wish list?

DD: Hopefully it's better than a wish list. We heard from members across the country. More than 500 companies responded to our request for input and then we had a number of committees look at the responses. North American trade is deeply integrated and we don't want there to



On NAFTA: "Our members want more access, better access and more fair access."

be any harm to that environment. No Canadian manufacturer wants more restrictions or barriers to what is already an integrated trade zone. Canadian companies are often already integrated [into the U.S.] supply chain. We always hear from big American companies investing in suppliers and customers in the U.S. So, No. 1, let's not make it worse. I know that sounds very Canadian. But that doesn't mean you can't improve it. We recommended to the Canadian government that they eliminate the remaining barriers, the red tape that exists now, whether it's customs or regulatory restrictions. If one country has done the regulatory approval, it should be good for all. We have to harmonize our regulatory processes because [as it is now,] that can be a non-tariff barrier.

We all know that NAFTA was negotiated before the internet, cellphones or really accurate GPS. Right now there are barriers to investment and technological use. We do have the advantage of there being both TPP and CETA that have been negotiated. In those, there have been improvements around areas of digital trade, digital economy and digital manufacturing. We think there are ways to get rid of, wherever you can, subnational trade barriers that exist.

In that modernization, we'd even be looking for improvements to trade remedies because the one thing the U.S. did put in its wish list was that it wanted to eliminate Chapter 19, which is something that the Canadian government is opposed to and we've told them that it's something that manufacturers rely on.

An independent trade resolution mech-



On Trump's wish list: "[Our worries are] Chapter 19 and language that talks about Buy America."

anism makes total sense. Canadian companies don't want to have to rely on American or Mexican civil courts. And maybe the Americans don't want to rely on Canadian civil courts. The U.S. has said they want to eliminate it, but our lawyers would say you can probably make it stronger and more useful. We'd be against getting rid of it.

The wording we use is that we should enhance Chapter 19 by eliminating a few of the articles to basically make a common North American approach to what constitutes an offence.

The last thing is one where I think there is alignment with the U.S. and it's the fourth pillar for us: Leveraging NAFTA for common approaches to trade outside of the region. Co-ordinating and dealing with mutual threats like unfair trade practices and dumping outside of NAFTA [is what we're talking about.] It's no secret when you're a country the size of Canada, it would be better if this North American free-trade bloc was able to deal with illegal dumping, currency manipulation, non-tariff barriers that exist outside by working together as one. If you go back to the original NAFTA, it was to create a large trading bloc that could go head to head with the European Union or the Asia-Pacific Partnership. The idea of using NAFTA as a vehicle through which the three countries deal with unfair trading practices is important. That was on our list and it also ended up in the language from the Trump administration. By and large — other than things like Buy America, which Canadian manufacturers would say are counter to free or fair trade, and Chapter 19 — I think we're mostly aligned.



On CETA: "It's extremely important for Canadians to diversify their dependence on the U.S."

At this point, we've given our advice to government and we've shared our input and then we'll be part of that feedback loop [throughout the negotiations.]

The government has been forthright in saying it's not going to negotiate in the media, [Prime Minister Justin] Trudeau has said that the whole idea of a trade dispute mechanism is part and parcel of a modern trade agreement.

DM: What most worried you when you saw the Trump wish list?

DD: Chapter 19 and the language that talks about Buy America or U.S. content versus North American content. At the end of the day, we want free trade and access to markets. Canadian companies have a very low proportion of government procurement now, so why put more rules in to restrict that?

DM: What share of U.S. procurement does Canada get?

DD: We tried to get the answer to this, but unfortunately they're not available.

DM: I would have thought Canada would have a much bigger stake in procurement.

DD: We don't always think about what's in the government procurement bucket in the U.S. When you talk about government procurement, we think about roads and bridges, but a number of products and services are covered. There is a statistic somewhere that talks about the dollar value of what the U.S. government buys and it dwarfs anything else, which is why we're small potatoes, but we're important. Our members who sell buses

or pipelines, they're important and it's important to their business so they don't want it restricted. Engineering services and construction services are also important in terms of modernizing. They weren't as explicit about this 25 years ago. We talk about the American or North American content, but it may be engineered by one, fabricated by another. So the question is, can you assign a nationality to it? There are all these things that weren't even thought about 25 years ago.

DM: What does CETA mean for your members?

DD: We've [appreciated] the chance to improve our trade with Europe. After the U.S., Europe is No. 2. To the best of our ability to get data from our members, it's a small number of companies that do the majority of trading with Europe, so we've been strongly encouraging our members to take advantage with CETA. We do have relationships with companies that are trying to promote trade. We have relationships with Export Development Canada and Business Development Bank of Canada. We were heavily involved as an adviser on CETA negotiations and we think it's extremely important for Canadian companies to diversify their depen-



Included in procurement with the U.S. — something U.S. President Donald Trump wants to renegotiate with NAFTA — are such items as transportation infrastructure, engineering and construction services, buses and pipelines. Canada's Vantage Airport Group has a \$4 billion contract to redevelop New York City's LaGuardia Airport, shown here.

dence on the U.S. and that's a message that's resonating. There's a huge upside for Canadian companies from CETA.

A lot of companies had a very north-south focus for many years. We've talked

to Minister Champagne and he's come to talk to our members to encourage people to look beyond the U.S. Europe isn't top of mind; there's a lot of work to do to get people focused on Europe. CETA [came

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into effect in September.]

There's a tendency to go with what you know. The good part about NAFTA is that it's forced companies to be competitive. NAFTA has forced all manufacturers and processors to be much more efficient and much more competitive and that puts members in a better position to compete in Europe. Most have adopted lean production techniques, as well as green production. Those are the kind of things that will stand them in good stead as they move to Europe.

DM: You mention that there's a tendency to go with what you know. It sounds as though you could almost blame NAFTA for Canadians focusing on the U.S. market. CETA is kind of a new NAFTA, but with Europe. Would you agree?

DD: Yes. What we're doing is trying to encourage companies to look outside. Our trade isn't even what it could be with Mexico. For generations, we focused only on the Canadian market, then a generation or two focused on the huge market south of us, and now we're going global. Every time you have these changes, there are new things to consider, new regulatory regimes. There is complexity. It's not like you can just put your product on a

ship and go. So there's work to do, but we're encouraging companies that it's worth the investment because diversity of trade is essential.

DM: What sectors do you represent and how do those break down?

DD: Packaged goods, consumer goods, energy, chemical processing, food manufacturing, food processing, metals and steel, automotive and transportation. Companies we represent include Procter & Gamble, General Electric, Bombardier, Suncor, Lululemon and pharmaceuticals. Basically anyone who manufactures and processes in Canada is a potential member and many of them are. It's a horizontal rather than vertical trade association. They're our members because we're looking at trade, taxes, incentives, market access and exports.

DM: You're a big umbrella for them all.

DD: We're doing our best to keep the rain away. When it comes to some of these big issues, like energy, environment, trade, export, that's when the groups come together. There's often a very common interest right across the country.

DM: Which ones do you see as most threatened?

DD: I think the big companies that deal in engineering, transportation, [those that are] moving stuff, are. The Buy America policies [are most concerning.] Business hates when rules change. I think our steel and automotive manufacturers are probably concerned about not having the trade remedies or a place to arbitrate disputes. I don't think anyone's more susceptible than anyone else, but the whole Buy America and restrictions on Canadian companies' access is concerning to those who do that kind of business. Canadian companies want the ability to compete and our negotiators are going to try to convince the Americans that that's OK.

DM: What are your priorities for increasing Canadian trade worldwide?

DD: First, Canada has an agreement with Europe. There are some historic, natural connections to Europe. We know Canada is pursuing a free trade agreement with China. There are many barriers to trading with China. That is our priority and also promoting what we have become good at — we are good at processing resources; we're good in some niche areas at developing technology that works for long-distance travel. I don't think Canada is going to become the premier maker of

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Though NAFTA has been in place since 1994, there's still a lot of untapped potential for when it comes to trade with Mexico — as Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto have discussed.

pasta in the world, nor should we want to, but there are many things we can do.

We need to strengthen NAFTA, and also look to Europe and China. They're the ones that are really on the radar. One [just came] into force, one is being renegotiated and another is being [considered].

DM: What's the most important world market right now?

DD: For Canada, it's always been about the U.S., but China and Asia [in general] are where all the growth is.

DM: Which emerging markets are most crucial for Canada?

DD: I think there's an opportunity with

South America. Also, our trade with Mexico isn't where it could be. We don't have as much direct trade with Mexico. And then there's the rest of the southern hemisphere. There's still opportunity there, even within NAFTA.

DM: Can you share some stories "from the field" that are instructive about where trade is going?

DD: Because I was out of the industry and in health care for the last 10 years, I'm blown away by the level of automation and technology that has gone into the manufacturing systems that exist now. The level of sophistication and the adoption of technology by manufacturers is

something that gives me a lot of hope. I've been pleasantly surprised by this.

DM: Do you have facts and figures on where we're trading now, and how that's changed in the last couple of decades?

DD: The vast majority of Canada's trade continues to be with the United States. However, that share has fallen slightly over the last 20 years due to a wide range of factors, including the rise of other markets such as China, increased difficulty in accessing the U.S. market and the proliferation of trade agreements that are eroding Canada's NAFTA advantage in the U.S.

DM: The U.S. accounted for 76.3 per cent of Canada's total exports in 2016, down from 81.6 per cent in 2006 and 80.9 per cent in 1996.

DD: Still, the U.S. dominates. Exports to the U.S. have risen by 76.7 per cent over the last 20 years. Total exports (to all destinations) are up 87.4 per cent over that same period. Exports to non-U.S. destinations have risen by 132.9 per cent.

Outside the U.S., China is now Canada's largest export destination and is the fastest-growing of our major trading partners. Exports to China are up 596 per cent over the last 20 years.

However, exports to China are still just 4.1 per cent of Canada's total exports (\$20.9 billion in 2016, compared to \$394 billion to the U.S.)

Other important and fast-growing export destinations over the last 20 years include: India (up 1,029 per cent), Mexico (up 506 per cent), the UAE (up 936 per cent), and the U.K. (up 323 per cent).

Although growing quickly, only China, the U.K. and Mexico are in Canada's top five destinations.

DM: What markets are shrinking?

DD: Japan has been falling in importance for a long time. In 1996, it was Canada's



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second most important export destination. By 2016, it had fallen to fourth position. Exports to Japan have fallen by 4.4 per cent.

Exports to Germany have been flat over the last decade and shipments to the Netherlands are down 7.2 per cent. However, in the latter case, that could be the result of changing shipping patterns. The Netherlands is a major port hub and many exports are recorded as being shipped to the Netherlands, but are later taken to other destinations.

DM: Where is Canadian trade going in the next five years? 10?

DD: China is expected to continue to grow as an export market. Emerging markets in general should continue to see major trade growth — Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Mexico are three areas where trade has grown rapidly and should continue to do so in future.

Free trade with the EU is expected to open new markets as well. It remains to be seen how effective that agreement will be in accomplishing that goal.

DM: What are your members most concerned about?

DD: [They're concerned about] NAFTA renegotiations and maintaining their ac-

cess to the U.S. [They're also concerned about] gaining access to foreign markets at fair, reciprocal terms; non-tariff barriers preventing them from competing

“WE NEED TO STRENGTHEN NAFTA AND ALSO LOOK TO EUROPE AND CHINA. THEY'RE THE ONES THAT ARE REALLY ON THE RADAR. ONE [JUST CAME] INTO FORCE, ONE IS BEING RENEGOTIATED AND ANOTHER IS BEING [CONSIDERED.]”

abroad on fair terms; and understanding new markets and finding new market opportunities.

DM: What is our trade volume with the U.S. and what's the breakdown by sector?

DD: Total exports to the U.S. were valued at \$394 billion in 2016. Of that total, \$285 billion (72 per cent) were exports of manufactured goods. Canada's top 10 export products to the United States are: Motor vehicles (\$61.4 billion); crude oil (\$51.5 billion); motor vehicle parts (\$12.7 billion); natural gas (\$10.3 billion); refined petroleum (\$9.9 billion); lumber (\$7.7 billion); pharmaceuticals and medications (\$7.1 billion); unwrought aluminum (\$5.7 billion); ethylene polymers (\$4.8 billion); gold (\$4.2 billion.)

DM: What is our trade volume with Mexico and what's the breakdown by sector?

DD: Total exports to Mexico were valued at \$7.6 billion in 2016. Of that total, \$6.4 billion (84 per cent) were exports of manufactured goods. Canada's top 10 export products to Mexico: Motor vehicle parts (\$869 million); canola seeds (\$761 million); motor vehicles (\$722 million); unwrought aluminum (\$341 million); ethylene polymers (\$285 million); wheat (\$241 million); miscellaneous steel products (\$192 million); transmission/reception parts for phones — voice, data, images, for example — (\$158 million); pork (\$141 million) and pumps for liquids (\$137 million.) ▣



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“Reaching” out with donations

When they gathered for their annual Diplomatic Ball, diplomats and members of the community were also invited to help an Ottawa-based organization that provides legal assistance to people with disabilities.

The Ottawa Diplomatic Association, which organizes the ball, always picks a charity to support. This year, the board requested proposals from a few charities and in the end, it chose Reach Canada, which was recommended by Sami Haddad, chargé d'affaires at the Lebanese embassy, as this year's charitable recipient for the auction portion of the ball.

“The board liked the work they do, which is to provide legal assistance to people with disabilities,” said Honduran Ambassador Sofia Cerrato, first vice-president of the Ottawa Diplomatic Association. “It’s a matter of human rights, so everyone agreed to support them.”

In addition to the \$3,700 raised at the silent auction that night, Reach was given the remaining auction items — those that weren't purchased that night — to include in an auction at its own big annual fundraiser on Nov. 1. The event takes place at the St. Elias Centre. Last year's auction included art by Leonard Cohen and a Yukon getaway package.

In addition to providing free legal advice to people with disabilities and their families, Reach also provides educational sessions on disability issues, including access to justice, disability rights and accommodations. Reach regularly holds seminars for caregivers and employers of



Joanne Silkauskas, executive director of Reach Canada, with Jamaican High Commissioner Janice Miller, at the Ottawa Diplomatic Association's ball last year.

those with disabilities as well.

Asked what it did with the money from the ball, Reach executive director Joanne Silkauskas said: “Honestly, it kept our operations going. It means we could continue to be able to offer services in Ottawa to people with disabilities.”

In addition to the money, Silkauskas said her group also appreciates the awareness component to being the ball's charitable recipient. She was invited to present their mission at the ball and she's optimistic that diplomats, some of whom already

have, will support Reach in the November fundraiser. So far, the ambassadors of Croatia and Hungary have offered dinners hosted by them, in their official residences, to be auctioned off to the highest bidder that night.

“We are all of two staff, so for the ODA to raise awareness of our organization among diplomats was a huge gift,” Silkauskas said. “We got a lot of positive feedback from diplomats about what we do and they even thought ours could be a good model in their own countries.” ▣

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Food security and gender equality go hand in hand

By David Shanks

Rice farmer André Samvura loves to cook. “I used to eat only meat and rice,” he explains while peeling a basket of potatoes at his rural Rwandan home. “Now we eat a balanced meal with the vegetables we grow ourselves.”

This is a sea change for Samvura and his wife, Anastasie Izabiriza, who now grow their own carrots, radishes, onions, spinach and eggplant in a three-tier garden that resembles an earthen wedding cake. It produces more than a flat garden the same size, retaining moisture more efficiently and longer. Residents just water the top layer and let gravity do the rest. “Our children no longer have parasites or diarrhea,” says Anastasie. “We save money and our sleep is better.”

They credit their rice co-op, Cooproriz Abahuzabikorwa, for introducing this new gardening approach, and for improving the volume, quality and value of the rice they grow.

They also point to the co-op for encouraging another transformation — this one at the core of their marriage. Samvura cooks and shares in household chores and Anastasie has a say in decisions about their finances.

“Our neighbours thought Izabiriza was poisoning me because I cooked and did other woman activities,” Samvura recalls.

“Now they see us differently,” Izabiriza nods in agreement. “We spend more time together and plan and share decisions and chores. Our love is shiny now.”

Gender equality is taking root in the 15 farmer co-operatives that participated in a recently concluded food security project of the Canadian Co-operative Association (CCA) and the Co-operative Development Foundation of Canada (CDF) designed to help farmers stem hunger gaps when money and food are scarce between harvests. Women and young children are particularly affected, with women more likely to forgo eating to feed their families first.

CCA and CDF help smallholder farmers, traders and producers establish co-operative enterprises that can provide needed goods and services they cannot access on their own.

Food security and gender equality go hand in hand, says CCA and CDF CEO Michael Casey.



André Samvura and his wife, Anastasie Izabiriza, have taken part in a program of the Canadian Co-operative Association that improved their ability to feed their family and strengthened the gender equality in their marriage.

“There can be no sustainable food security without greater equality between men and women, and the full and equitable participation of women in farming,” he says.

“And by helping men and women farmers develop their own agricultural, financial and marketing co-operative enterprises, the gains they achieve will be long lasting and gender equitable.”

To foster the full participation of female farmers, each of the 15 co-ops established a committee comprised of men and women to bring greater gender balance to their co-op’s governance, management and within their members’ households.

“There is a definite excitement and energy around this,” says CCA country manager Fresnel Devalon. “Each co-op board has embraced the need to provide equal opportunity and value both men and women in their institutions, backing this up with formal policies requiring co-op leaders to make it happen.”

The co-ops now require at least 30 per cent representation by women on boards and committees. Once dependent on their husbands for a share in revenue, women are now fully registered co-op members, receiving payments for their produce from their co-ops. They are opening their own bank accounts, many for the first time, starting small businesses and building savings.

Municipal leaders have taken note of

the gains co-ops are making in bringing gender equality and food security to their regions. Muhanga Mayor Beatrice Uwamariya says gender training is bringing women into the value chain in ways they have never experienced before. She says there are now more children in school, better nutrition, productivity, health, peace and contentment.

Outside his home, Samvura’s son, Divin, is pounding soya beans. It’s something boys don’t usually do. Divin is imitating his father, whose housework gives Izabiriza more time for production, to rest and to participate in co-op activities. Nearly 16,000 men and women have taken gender training and are making these changes. Many also have kitchen gardens in their yards.

“Our project ended this summer, but the gender committees and their work will continue long after,” says Devalon. “That’s a positive legacy for women as well as for men, and for the future success of their co-operatives.”

The Rwanda Co-operative Agricultural Growth Project was funded by the government of Canada through Global Affairs Canada and the Co-operative Development Foundation of Canada.

David Shanks is communications and marketing manager at Canadian Co-operative Association | www.coopscanada.com. www.cdfcanada.coop.

The North Korean nuclear conundrum



FIRST NAME: Maeng-ho

LAST NAME: Shin

CITIZENSHIP: South Korean

**PRESENTED CREDENTIALS AS
AMBASSADOR:** May 2, 2017

PREVIOUS POSTINGS: Belgium,
Ethiopia, Austria, Russian and
the U.S. (San Francisco)

The most crucial threat affecting Northeast Asia's stability is the nuclear and missile program of the DPRK (North Korea). It poses a serious threat, not just for the Republic of Korea (South Korea), but for the Asia-Pacific, and the entire world. North Korea claims to be a "nuclear weapon state," and it is the only country in the 21st Century to have conducted nuclear tests.

Since the first North Korean nuclear crisis broke out a quarter century ago, Pyongyang has conducted six nuclear tests and numerous missile launches. In the past two years, its tests have accelerated, with two nuclear tests and 24 missile launches in 2016, one nuclear test and 16 missile launches in 2017, which include two intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) in July and two intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBM) over Japan. The sixth nuclear test, carried out on Sept. 3, 2017, is the regime's most powerful yet. There is no doubt that, at the rate of current advancement, Pyongyang is fast approaching its goal of obtaining full nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery capability that could strike targets in North America.

Pyongyang's nuclear and ballistic missile tests are in flagrant violation of international norms, notably to the pertinent UN Security Council (UNSC) resolutions. Yet North Korea's behaviour indicates the country is determined to continue on its path towards a nuclear capability. Further, North Korea has been ignoring international warnings that its nuclear ambitions will only serve to deepen economic pressure and isolate the regime. Imagine for a moment the young and brutal dictator, Kim Jong-un, with his finger on the nuclear button. It is indeed an unsettling

scenario.

We must be clear-eyed about Pyongyang's intent. It wants recognition as a nuclear weapon state, believing it is the only way to guarantee its security. If we do not put the brakes on North Korea's nuclear ambi-

tions today, we will come to regret it tomorrow.

Extraordinary times call for extraordinary measures. The international community must address North Korea's nuclear

tests today, we will come to regret it tomorrow.



North Korea has been escalating its nuclear tests with 13 ballistic missile launches in 2017.

and missile programs with a renewed sense of urgency. It should send out a united and forceful message for complete, verifiable and irreversible dismantlement of the North's nuclear programs.

Despite the unanimously adopted Sept. 11 UNSC resolution 2375, which strength-

ened UN sanctions on North Korea in response to its sixth nuclear test in September, the North still launched another missile over Japan, in blatant disregard of the international community.

Dialogue is always important, but considering the urgency of the moment, the international community should act in a concerted manner to implement stronger sanctions. This should be done with the specific aim of cutting oil supplies and sources of finance to North Korea, to prevent them from advancing their nuclear and missile technology. This needs to occur so that we can bring North Korea back to the negotiating table.

The key question plaguing the North Korean nuclear issue is whether sanctions will be effective enough to force North Korea to come back to the denuclearization negotiating table. Some critics argue for a negotiated solution instead of sanctions, citing the U.S.-Iranian nuclear deal reached under then-U.S. president Barack Obama.

However, we know that many negotiations with North Korea over the past 20-plus years have led us nowhere. North Korea has repeatedly violated its denuclearization commitments, buying additional time to advance its nuclear capabilities. A traditional axiom in the international disarmament area is: "trust, but verify." Regrettably, mutual trust is in short supply when it comes to dealing with North Korea. Given that, negotiations without pressure and sanction are not a solution.

Of course, there are no guarantees that sanctions will work either. After all, North Korea has continued to advance its WMD capacity even under increased international pressure and sanction. But one can make the argument that there were many loopholes in those sanctions, giving ample room for North Korea to exploit the international community. Therefore, we need to test and evaluate the efficacy of sanctions before we can fully assess the effectiveness of such measures.

The objective of sanctions is not to bring North Korea to its knees, nor to seek regime change; rather, it is to bring North Korea back to the negotiating table by opening a window of opportunity for this to happen.

Since President Moon Jae-in took office in May 2017, the Korean government has repeatedly urged North Korea to cease its

provocations, and it has announced that it is open to a denuclearization dialogue with Pyongyang, but only under the right circumstances.

In early July, Moon delivered an important policy speech in Berlin, outlining his new North Korean policy initiatives. It comprises five pillars: First, South Korea will only pursue peace and does not wish for North Korea's collapse; South Korea will not work towards unification through absorption. Second, a fundamental solution is to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue once and for all. South Korea will pursue that target step-by-step by guaranteeing the security of the North Korean regime. Third, the Korean government will work towards establishing a permanent peace regime by concluding a peace treaty with the participation of relevant countries, formally ending the war. Fourth, the government will work towards drawing a new economic map on the Korean Peninsula. Economic co-operation is an important part of establishing peace on the Korean Peninsula. Yet economic co-operation will only occur if there is progress on the North Korean nuclear issue, and if appropriate conditions are met. Finally, the Korean government will consistently pursue non-political exchange

and co-operation projects with North Korea by separating it from the political and military situation.

With that being said, we are not under any illusions. While pursuing our ultimate long-term goal, a permanent peace, it is imperative to keep maximum pressure on North Korea, with tougher and stronger sanctions to bring them back to the negotiation table. Any approach will be

**WHILE PURSUING OUR
ULTIMATE LONG-TERM GOAL,
A PERMANENT PEACE, IT
IS IMPERATIVE TO KEEP
MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON
NORTH KOREA...**

bolstered by robust military deterrence.

South Korea and the U.S. have worked closely together towards the goal of denuclearization, based on a robust bilateral alliance and shared position. China is also a key partner in resolving the issue, as it is the main supplier of oil to North Korea; it is also the primary importer of North Ko-

rean goods, accounting for approximately 90 per cent of its exports. Although the major stakeholders (South Korea, the U.S., China, Japan, Russia) do not fully share a consistent approach in addressing Pyongyang, they are working together with the understanding that there still remains further room for tightening pressure and sanctions.

In response to the provocation and in line with many like-minded states, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau issued a statement on Sept. 3 condemning North Korea's nuclear test in the strongest terms and reaffirmed that, "[Canada] will continue to work with key regional partners — including the United States, South Korea and Japan — as well as the broader international community, to counter the North Korean threat."

The Korean government always appreciates the strong support of the Canadian government and its people. In the Korean war of 1950 to 1953, South Korea and friendly states, including Canada, fought together to restore peace on the Korean Peninsula. Now more than 60 years later, our two countries continue to work as strategic partners to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue and to keep permanent peace on the Peninsula. ▣



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Peru: A global trading partner for Canada



By José Luis Peroni

Peru is the third-largest country in South America and one of the 20 largest countries in the world. It is extremely diverse, with 28 of the world's 32 climates and 84 of the world's 117 microclimates. The country has a wide variety of scenery thanks to its geography, which also provides it with a wide range of natural resources.

Canada and Peru enjoy a relatively barrier-free trade relationship, particularly since Aug. 1, 2009, when the Peru-Canada Free Trade Agreement came into force. Since then, bilateral trade has increased, even though the last few years have seen a decline due to global market conditions and the lower price of raw materials.

Of the \$2,458 million total exports from Peru to Canada, gold, lead, silver, zinc and fish oil represented 77 per cent in 2016. In the same year, of the \$764 million worth of Canadian exports to Peru, 64 per cent were wheat, motorized military vehicles and parts, as well as petroleum oils and newsprint.

Our non-traditional exports, mainly agricultural products, which include coffee, grapes, asparagus, mandarins and quinoa, have increased 234 per cent since 2009. Agricultural and seafood exports to Canada increased 9.6 per cent in the 2015-2016 period as well.

Peru has plenty to offer in terms of agricultural products and processed foods. Being a GMO-free country and the land of superfoods such as quinoa, golden berries and sacha inchi (a mountain peanut), Peru contributes to healthier Canadian diets.

Peru is following a program, executed with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), to strengthen its public policies. It is considered one of the most open investment



Kuélap, a pre-Inca fortress, has been hailed as the “next Machu Picchu.”

systems in the world. The country's legal provisions, regulations and practices do not discriminate between foreign and domestic corporations. There are no restrictions on repatriation of profits, international transfers of capital or foreign exchange practices. The remittance of interest, royalties and net profits is also not restricted in any way.

According to the World Economic Forum, Peru is the third most competitive country in South America, having improved in labour market efficiency, financial market development, technological readiness and business sophistication.

Peru ranked second in Latin America on the Ease of Doing Business ranking prepared by the World Bank as well as in the investment-grade rating prepared by S&P, Fitch and Moody's.

Peru has an ample project portfolio covering transport, mining, electricity, telecommunications and real estate. We encourage Canadian investors to visit Pro-Inversion, Peru's public agency website, to download the current project portfolio and take advantage of the opportunities offered by our country.

You can also contact InPeru, a non-profit business association that promotes foreign investments and the development of opportunities in Peru.

Tourism is also important to our economy. Peru has a rich history that predates Spanish colonization by several thousand years. It is home to the 15th Century fortified Inca mountain city, Machu Picchu, one of the most recognized landmarks in

the world, and Kuélap has been dubbed “the next Machu Picchu.” Located in the northern region of Peru, Kuélap is a fortress built for defensive purposes and is easily accessible by a 4,000-metre trip by cable car. It travels from 2,000 to 3,000 metres above sea level in 20 minutes.

Air Canada has recognized Peru's potential as a tourist destination and will offer a non-stop flight from Montreal to Lima as of Dec. 16, 2017. This is in addition to the Toronto-Lima flight, which began operating in May 2015.

Peruvian gastronomy is considered among the best in the world and Lima, Peru's capital city, has been awarded the World's Best Culinary Destination for each of the last five years.

As a result of Peru's recent culinary spotlight, Central Restaurant, located in Lima, has been crowned the Best Restaurant in Latin America three years in a row. Central's Chef Virgilio Martinez received the Chef's Choice Award 2017, which recognized him as the best chef on the planet.

In closing, we would like to welcome Canadians to visit Peru not only to appreciate our rich heritage and enjoy our cuisine and hospitality, but also to learn first-hand about the opportunities that Peru has to offer to investors in terms of infrastructure and development projects.

José Luis Peroni is the director of Peru's trade office in Canada — OCEX Toronto. For more information, contact his office at ocex@perucanadatrade.com or (416) 963-5561.

Thailand: A prime destination for trade



By *Vijavat Isarabhakdi*

Thailand is a country rich in opportunities for Canadian businesses. By virtue of our strategic geographical location at the heart of Southeast Asia, our skilled workforce, extensive infrastructure and business-friendly environment, Thailand has become a prime destination for trade and investment as well as one of the top tourist destinations of the world.

Thailand is the second-largest economy in Southeast Asia and the 26th largest in the world, with nominal GDP of more than \$400 billion US. It is a country blessed with low inflation, low unemployment, large foreign exchange reserves and a projected growth rate of between 3.2 and 3.4 per cent this year. We are a major food-exporting country and among the world's leaders in exports of agricultural and food products, including rice, rubber, sugar and seafood products.

At the same time, Thailand has become a "newly industrialized country" which, like Canada, has an economy strongly dependent on exports. Thailand's manufacturing sector is led by its automotive, electronics, petrochemical and food-processing industries, among others. Alongside Canada, Thailand is one of the top automobile exporting countries in the world. We are the No. 1 producer of one-tonne trucks and No. 2 in the world in pickup truck production. We are also among the top two exporters of hard disk drives and a leading manufacturer of computer devices and integrated circuits.

Thailand has consistently ranked among the most attractive investment locales in global surveys. *U.S. News and World Report*, for example, ranked Thailand No. 1 for two straight years (2016 and 2017) in the category of "best country to start a business." In 2017, we also ranked



Two-way trade between Canada and Thailand was \$4.1 billion in 2016, making Thailand, whose capital, Bangkok, is pictured here, Canada's second-largest trading partner in Southeast Asia.

No. 7 for "best country to invest in."

Thailand is not only a great country in which to invest and do business, but also one of the most popular tourist destinations in the world. In 2016, more than 32 million tourists visited Thailand, with more than 240,000 visitors from Canada. Almost 60 per cent of Thailand's tourists are return visitors, meaning that once they have visited for the first time, they want to return. This is one reason Thailand's tourism numbers have been increasing each year, and why Bangkok was rated the most visited city in the world in 2016 by Mastercard.

Bilateral trade between Thailand and Canada is not insignificant, but there is room for expansion. Two-way trade stood at approximately \$4.1 billion in 2016, making Thailand Canada's second-largest trading partner in Southeast Asia. Of this amount, Canadian imports of Thai products were valued at \$3.2 billion, while Canadian exports to Thailand stood at approximately \$900 million.

Thailand's top exports to Canada include canned seafood; rubber products; motor vehicles and parts; precious stones and jewelry; canned fruit; rice; computers and parts; microwaves; stoves and electrical appliances. Meanwhile, major Canadian exports to Thailand include paper pulp and scrap paper; metals, such as gold, silver and nickel; fertilizers and pesticides; aircraft; boilers and mechanical appliances; electrical machinery and equipment; oilseeds, grain and cereals. Considering the wide range of goods produced by both countries, there is room for both to purchase more products from each other and in greater volumes, including high-quality foods from Thailand.

The government of Thai Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha places great importance on nurturing new high-value-added industries while promoting environmentally friendly and sustainable development. Under the Thailand 4.0 Policy, the government seeks to increase Thailand's competitiveness through science, technology and innovation and by promoting greater research and development to transform Thailand into a digital economy.

The government continues to focus on areas of strength for the Thai economy, particularly agriculture and biotechnology; food-processing for the future; medical and wellness tourism; smart electronics and next-generation automobiles. These industries will then be used as a basis for developing five future industries in which Thailand has a competitive edge. Representing the Thai economy's "new S-Curve," they include the digital economy; biofuels and biochemicals; comprehensive and integrated medical services; aviation and logistics and robotics.

These are all areas in which Canada has high levels of expertise and can partner with Thailand for mutual benefit. It would also be well worthwhile for the Canadian private sector to consider investing in the many large-scale infrastructure projects that the Thai government is currently implementing, particularly the Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC) initiative, which would make Thailand the gateway to Southeast Asia and the region at large.

Vijavat Isarabhakdi is the ambassador of Thailand. To reach him, you can email contact@thaiembassy.ca or phone (613) 722-4444.

China: Marching forward with trade



by Xia Xiang

Just three months ago, on July 16, when then-Gov. Gen. David Johnston visited JD.com, one of China's largest online retailers, in Beijing, 140,000 Canadian lobsters were sold online in one day, which broke the record of 97,000 by Alibaba. Now Canada has launched a second Canada pavilion on the JD.com online shopping site to help brand Canadian products and services, which connect with millions of Chinese consumers. The 300 kinds of seafood, including Arctic shrimp, as well as beef steaks, ice wine and blueberries in the JD Canada pavilion are attractive to Chinese consumers. This shows what benefit both countries experience by expanding mutual business.

The relationship between China and Canada started with business. It can be traced back to the 18th Century when the two countries had their first direct contact with lumber and fur trade. Today, China is Canada's second-largest trading partner with \$64.4 billion US last year compared to \$156 million US in 1970 when China and Canada established diplomatic relations. Meanwhile, China's \$60 billion worth of investment into Canada has provided more than 10,000 direct jobs for Canadians.

Last year, the exchange of visits by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Chinese Premier Li Keqiang was fruitful. Both sides announced the goal of doubling bilateral trade and doubling the number of people-to-people exchanges made in 2015 by 2025. Both sides announced that 2018 would be the Year of China-Canada Tourism. Both sides agreed to launch exploratory discussions on a Canada-China free-trade agreement. The Canadian government is asking the public and interested Canadian stakeholders to help



Trade between Canada and China dates back to the 18th Century when the two countries traded lumber and fur. Today, China is Canada's second-largest trading partner.

define Canada's interests in a possible agreement with China, and to identify ways of maximizing the economic and social benefits of such an agreement

The economies of the two countries are highly complementary. With a population of 1.4 billion, of which 100 million are middle-class consumers, China is an open market full of potential for all kinds of high-quality goods and services. Last year, more than 600,000 Chinese tourists visited Canada, representing a 24-per-cent increase over the previous year. There are 180,000 Chinese students studying in Canada. How wonderful that when you are wandering on the campuses of the University of Toronto, the University of British Columbia and the University of Ottawa, you can hear students speaking to each other in English, French, Mandarin and Cantonese.

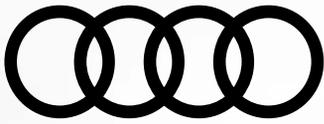
In nearly 40 years of "the great campaign in reform and opening-up from 1978," China has been on a fast track to economic growth, and swift and tremendous changes are happening in everyday life and in every field. As the second-largest in the world, China's economy represented 30 per cent of the world economy last year, according to the World Bank. In the next five years, China is aiming at a target of 6.5 per cent annual GDP growth, which will still be among the highest in the world. The Chinese economy will continue to act as a robust engine for the

world economy. China will also import \$8 trillion US and invest \$750 billion US into foreign markets. At the same time, Chinese personal income and expenditure will rise at a solid pace. The Chinese government is endeavouring to eradicate domestic poverty by 2020.

China is now undergoing a great economic restructuring and the government is dedicated to transforming itself into an innovative, clean and service-oriented organization through institutional reforms such as streamlining functions and administration and delegating powers while improving regulations. Entrepreneurship and innovation will be dominant themes of the Chinese economy in decades to come.

In Ottawa, our embassy has a separate office responsible for economic and commercial affairs, which serves as a bridge between our two governments and business communities. Since China and Canada share common ground and a spirit of globalization, multilateralism and free trade, I'm quite convinced the bilateral economic and trade co-operation between our two countries will be bright and prosperous.

Xia Xiang is minister-counsellor at the Chinese embassy's economic and commercial office. Reach him by email at ca@mofcom.gov.cn or by phone at (613) 786-2476.



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U.S. NAVY PHOTO BY CHRIS DESMOND.

10 life-changing innovations

The future takes time, but we think these technological developments will have a profound impact on life as we know it, if they haven't already.

By Wolfgang Depner

The future is not what it used to be. French poet Paul Valéry coined this phrase to describe the cultural pessimism that had gripped Europe after the First World War. Valéry — like so many of his contemporaries — had lost faith in the inevitability of progress that had defined the period leading up to 1914. It was a period of rapid technological advancement that promised boundless prosperity, if not for all, then, at least, for many.

We, of course, know that this metaphysical land of promise eventually yielded to the trench-scarred killing fields of Europe.

Valéry's mournful disappointment in the future is understandable and universally appreciable. Flip through periodicals of past decades and you are likely to experience a touch of embarrassment over the predictions that filled their pages. A century after the debut of Glen Curtiss' Autoplane in 1917, we are still waiting to take possession of our own flying cars.

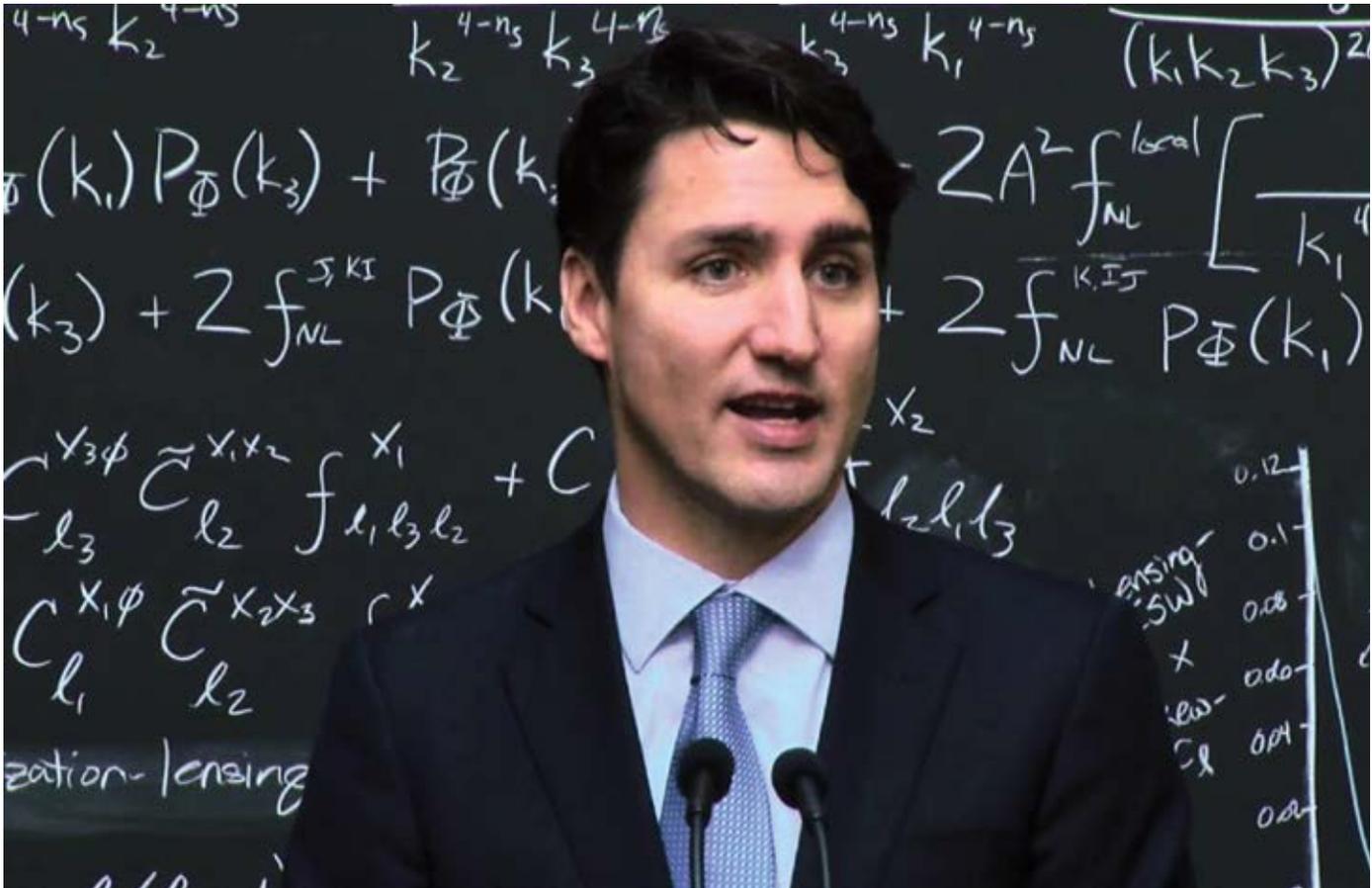
But the long wait may be approaching an end. U.S.-based Terrafugia currently accepts reservations for The Transition, a plane-car hybrid whose wings fold up when travelling on the road. The company says the TF-X has the potential to revolutionize the way we all get around. The all-electric vehicle can take-off and land vertically and the flight will be computer-controlled.

Slovakia's AeroMobil vehicle has a sticker price of between \$1.3 million and \$1.6 million US and caters to an exclusive group of customers who will need a driver's and pilot's licence. It transforms from a car with fold-up wings to an airplane in fewer than three minutes. There are also plans for a self-driving model.

It would be hard to deny that that this phenomenon is just a fancy. Established companies from both the automobile and aircraft industries are directing resources into forms of aerial transportation that promise to break the conceptual bounds of personal transport to deal with urban transport issues and congestion.

But, the future takes time and less optimistic contemporaries might point out that the first two decades of the 21st Century bear an eerie similarity to the opening decades of the 20th Century: rapid technological progress against the backdrop of quickly changing social norms and of rabid nationalism. This said, the future could be happening sooner than many might imagine without the bloodshed of the 1910s. The late German-American economist, Rudi Dornbusch, once offered a theory about the pace of events. Things, he said, take a much longer time coming than you think, and they happen much faster than you would have thought. Inspired by this insight, we have chosen 10 technological developments that may soon fundamentally change our lives, if they have not already. This list is subjective and will inevitably disappoint those who might be looking for the latest whiz-bang gadget. It has instead chosen to focus on the larger phenomenon of the near future with illustrative examples for each category. This list is far from complete, but it is intended to be thought-provoking by pointing to ethical questions that might arise as these new technologies affect our lives. And, of course, we hope it arouses readers' curiosity — as it has ours — about the future.

Corpsman Tim Sudduth demonstrates the Virtual Reality (VR) parachute trainer, while Aviation Survival Equipmentman Jackie Hilles controls the program from a computer console. Military personnel wear the VR glasses learn to control their movements through a series of computer-simulated scenarios.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau stunned observers when he answered a question about quantum computing at a visit to the Perimeter Institute – Canada's premier theoretical physics establishment.

1. Quantum computers

Soon, perhaps even by the end of 2017, Google will present the world's most powerful quantum chip. As the *New Scientist* reported in June, the chip would make Google the first company to build a quantum computer capable of solving problems beyond the abilities of ordinary computers, and doing it by drawing on quantum mechanics.

Other technology companies, large (Intel, IBM, Microsoft, Hewlett-Packard) and small (including Canada's D-Wave Systems), are also betting big on quantum computing. So what is the difference between quantum and ordinary computing? Quantum computers consist of quantum bits or qubits that exploit the odd properties of quantum mechanics, such as superposition that allows a qubit to do two things at once.

Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau described this aspect perfectly when he defined quantum computing while visiting the Perimeter Institute for Theoretical Physics in April 2016. "A regular computer bit is either a one or a zero, either on or off. A quantum state can be much more complex than that, because

we know things can be both particle and wave at the same time and the uncertainty around quantum states allows us to encode more information into a much smaller computer."

Trudeau's definition of quantum computing points to the potential of quantum computers. They promise to perform calculations that current computers are incapable of performing within a practical time frame. Tasks that might take decades could take mere days or hours and experts predict that quantum computing could outperform the world's fastest supercomputer and then all computers ever made, combined, according to *Newsweek*.

Oxford's David Deutsch, the father of quantum computing, already foresees a future in which a quantum computer would prove the existence of multiple universes.

Setting aside such grand theories, the practical application of quantum computing in fields such as finances, engineering and energy is approaching a tipping point that will force us to re-evaluate the very nature of computers.

"The power of quantum computing is rediscovering all the problems that com-

puters cannot solve, and having a path to solving them," Dario Gil, IBM's vice-president of science and solutions, told *The Economist*. "It's a reorientation of what we think about computers."

This reorientation appears strong in Canada, which recorded 79 quantum computing patent applications in 2015, a figure behind only the United States (295) and ahead of G7 members Japan (78) and the United Kingdom (36). China rounded out the Top 5 with 29. Other figures confirm this commitment. Of the \$1.5 billion spent on quantum-related research around the world in 2015, Canada accounted for \$100 million, according to the management consultant company, McKinsey. This figure means that Canada ranks among the highest per-capita spenders on the technology, a fact that might help explain Trudeau's familiarity with the subject.

2. Virtual reality

Little fanfare greeted the opening of IMAX's first public virtual reality (VR) centre in Los Angeles in February of this year. But as *Forbes'* Mark Hughes wrote, the centre might well mark VR's "first big leap toward finally" becoming a perma-

nent part of mainstream gaming, cinema and media in general. VR — the use of computer technology to create a simulated environment — departed the realm of science fiction several years ago with the first VR goggles. Facebook’s 2014 purchase of VR startup Oculus for \$2 billion speaks to the commercial interest and cultural currency the technology has generated.

industry’s arrival on the technology scene. Global revenues from the sales of VR technology have failed to fulfil the hype so far, because the equipment remains expensive and lacks content from those industries most likely to embrace the technology: gaming and films. But both industries are shedding their inhibitions.

While the initial list of games available

with Disney, software companies and film studios to bring more VR content to the masses. Other Hollywood actors — some new, others more established — also want a piece of the action.

Dreamscape Immersive plans to open more than a dozen VR multiplex cinemas within fewer than two years’ time that would offer interactive experiences lasting 10 minutes for approximately \$15 each. Established studios (Fox, Warner Brothers and MGM) along with such Hollywood royalty as Steven Spielberg, have invested in the company. But if gaming and film are the most obvious industries to embrace VR because of its wow factor, the technology also lends itself to perhaps more practical uses. Medical leaders already foresee a future in which doctors would use VR for surgical training, patient recovery and meditation, among other uses. VR goggle users can already choose from various relaxing make-believe locations.

Some ideas have already had their test runs. In 2016, audiences around the world could tune into the world’s first operation streamed live in 360-degree video as surgeons at the Royal London Hospital treated a cancer patient. Militaries around the world are increasingly incorporating VR into their training and into the treatment of veterans suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder. VR also promises advantages on the battlefield. The Norwegian army has field-tested (but not introduced) VR goggles to help tank drivers see through the fog of war, overlaying vital information in the same way that video games might do it. While the results did not entirely satisfy the brass, they clearly point towards the future.

3. Autonomous transportation

Is Tesla’s Model 3 the 21st-Century equivalent of Ford’s Model T? Or is it just another curiosity in the evolving continuum of vehicles that advertise the ability to drive themselves? Tesla’s Model 3 promises autonomous driving for the masses, as owners will receive monthly software and hardware updates through the company’s Autopilot program, as do those who own its Model S and Model X cousins. The electric-powered vehicles not only have stylish curves and the hardware for hands-off driving, but also a starting price tag of \$35,000, a figure far below earlier Tesla models.

Whether the Model 3 marks a commercial breakthrough for autonomous vehicles remains to be seen. Tesla has announced it has sold out of the first 400,000



Militaries around the world are increasingly incorporating virtual reality into their training and into the treatment of veterans suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder.

Ryan Holmes — the founder and CEO of Vancouver-based social media company Hootsuite — wears VR goggles in his Facebook profile picture. To be fair, VR has not yet lived up to the unusually stratospheric expectations that followed the

at IMAX’s inaugural VR centre appears to be relatively short, featuring familiar science-fiction fare, developers are filling the pipeline with new titles as the company expands across North America. The company is also exploring various synergies



The Slovakian company, AeroMobil, promises to deliver its flying cars (one model pictured above) to customers by 2020. A model was unveiled by the Prince of Monaco at a car show in April. "Today is a transformative day for the future of travel as the launch of the AeroMobil means that everyday flying transportation will soon be a reality," AeroMobil CEO Juraj Vaculik said, when he also announced the company was now ready to take pre-orders for up to 500 units.

vehicles that rolled off assembly lines in July 2017 and is already planning another production run of 500,000. But these figures appear small in light of global sales figures. Americans alone purchased 17.5 million new automobiles in 2015. The self-driving features of the Model 3s also come with a premium. Would-be owners must purchase the features separately and years will likely pass before they can use them.

Tesla's charismatic CEO, Elon Musk, has acknowledged that his revolutionary ambitions depend on his ability to convince authorities that autonomous vehicles are as safe, if not safer than current categories. Tesla has been working towards this proof and Musk told an audience earlier this year that Tesla vehicles could reach the fourth level of autonomous driving within two years: Vehicles would be able to drive themselves, but not in all conditions or environments. (SAE International, a global association of engineers and related experts in the aerospace, automotive and commercial-vehicle industry identifies six categories of automation, from zero (no automation) to five (full automation.) Genuine fifth-level

autonomous driving — Tesla's goal — is therefore still years away.

And yet, there's no question that autonomous cars are getting better and the regulatory environment is becoming less uncertain. While some question the hype, the stock market performance of companies such as Tesla signals long-term confidence in the direction of the industry as experts such as IHS Automotive forecast that nearly 21 million self-driving cars will be on the road across the globe by 2035.

Others hedge their bets. Todd Litman, of the Victoria Transport Policy Institute (VTPI), noted that current automated vehicles can only self-drive under limited conditions. "Significant technical and economic obstacles must be overcome," he wrote in a VTPI paper, "before most households can rely on them for daily travel." Ethical questions also abound: Who bears responsibility for traffic deaths that involve autonomous vehicles? How will autonomous vehicles distinguish between the lives of passengers and other traffic participants? Finally, what is autonomous about trusting algorithms to do the driving?

4. Geo-engineering

The announced withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreement on climate change ironically gave proponents of geo-engineering a boost. If humanity will not be able to keep the global temperature from rising 1.5 to 2.0 degrees Celsius, as per the Paris Agreement, other more radical solutions will draw more interest.

The literature distinguishes between two categories of possible geo-engineering solutions: those that capture and store GHGs, such as carbon dioxide, already found in the atmosphere and oceans, and those that reduce the amount of sunlight reaching the planet. Illustrative examples of the former include planting trees or flooding the oceans with lime to prevent acidification, examples of the latter include seeding clouds or floating thousands of tiny mirrors into the atmosphere to make the planet reflect heat from the sun away from Earth.

Many of these schemes have not evolved beyond the conceptual stage and come with various drawbacks. Schemes to capture and store carbon bear few risks, but are expensive and only effec-

tive in the long run. “Dimming” (or solar radiation management) schemes would be relatively cheap and effective, but deeply controversial. Mimicking the effects of a large volcanic eruption would quickly lower temperatures, but also hamper food production.

Proponents of geo-engineering are quick to point out that it can only comple-

ating competition for precious resources. Money that flows into unproven mitigation schemes is money that drains from proven mitigation schemes such as solar power. Third, it creates the unreasonable expectation that humans can somehow escape an environmental catastrophe of their own making through the technological equal of a get-rich-quick scheme with

gene. With limited training, junior scientists can create edited genes within two days, according to *The New York Times*. CRISPR’s usability and affordability have democratized its use and already sparked far-ranging experiments, some of which may have already crossed various ethical lines. In March 2017, for example, scientists used CRISPR to develop a process that would quickly pass on mutations, thereby raising the possibility of introducing irreversible changes.

The medical promises of gene-editing are nothing short of utopian. Scientists speak of a future in which gene-editing will help create powerful new drugs; grow super-foods to feed the masses and treat various diseases including blindness, cancer and HIV/AIDS. Private companies are already lining up to offer specialized medical services based on gene-editing. While such services are not ready for the mass market, they speak to the breathtaking pace of development that has gripped the bio-medical industry.

Some say it’s moving too fast, a fear underscored by news in early August 2017 that U.S. scientists had successfully used the technique to repair a common, disease-causing mutation and then produced apparently healthy embryos. This new research marked a major milestone in the evolution of technique. While initial experiments on non-viable embryos by Chinese scientists reported in April 2015 revealed what *Nature* described as “serious obstacles” in the medical application of CRISPR, this recent U.S. research, also published in *Nature*, underscored the medical potential of application.

“It feels a bit like a ‘one small step for (hu)man, one giant leap for (hu)mankind’ moment,” Jennifer Doudna, a biochemist who helped discover the gene-editing method, wrote in an email to *The New York Times*. This news comes with provisos. While CRISPR may help eradicate devastating diseases before babies are born, more research must be done. It has also intensified fears of “designer babies” as people with means may use the technique to have children with enhanced traits. Others worry that it may also fundamentally alter the course of human evolution, because changing the DNA of an early embryo changes cells that will eventually produce sperm and eggs. So if an embryo develops and a baby is born and grows to a reproductive age, that person’s children will inherit the genetic alteration. “In our view, genome editing in human embryos using current technology could have unpredictable effects on future generations,”



Geo-engineering promises radical solutions for places such as the beleaguered Arctic in their battle against climate change.

ment, not replace, meaningful climate change mitigation. Yet geo-engineering is drawing growing interest and support from governments and such private donors as Bill Gates, who is helping to fund a Harvard University experiment that is injecting water, then calcium carbonate particles into the atmosphere to study whether the technology can safely simulate the cooling effects of a volcanic eruption. Scientists have planned more such experiments.

The growing fascination with geo-engineering alarms some senior climate change scientists. First, they question its effectiveness. Kevin Trenberth, a lead author for the United Nations’ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, told *The Guardian* newspaper earlier this year that geo-engineering does not represent an answer. “Cutting incoming solar radiation affects the weather and hydrological cycle,” he said. “It promotes draught. It destabilizes things and could cause wars. The side effects are many and our models are just not good enough to predict the outcomes.” Second, it runs the risk of cre-

unforeseeable consequences rather than going through the painful, but ultimately most effective approach of reducing emissions of GHGs. “Real climate justice requires dealing with root causes of climate change, not launching risky, unproven and unjust schemes,” Lisa Archer of Friends of Earth, told *The New York Times*.

5. Gene editing

The potential uses of advanced genome editors such as CRISPR appear endless. So do the dangers.

Briefly, CRISPR (short for clustered regularly interspaced short palindromic repeat) can cut, edit and paste genes in the same way that a word processor manipulates text. While gene editors have been around for decades, the emergence of CRISPR signals an evolutionary leap. According to the science journal *Nature*: “Unlike other gene-editing methods, it is cheap, quick and easy to use, and it has swept through labs around the world as a result.”

Gone are the days when scientists would spend years to manipulate a single



Gene manipulators can cut, edit and paste genes much as a word processor can manipulate text.

researchers warned in *Nature* in March 2015.

Current regulations do not draw firm red lines against editing the genomes of human eggs, sperm and early embryos, citing scientific research. That is a wise choice because it preserves the medical potential of CRISPR, but it should not blind us to potential abuses.

6. Energy

If humanity wants to deal with the effects of climate change, it needs nothing less than an “energy miracle.” So Microsoft founder and philanthropist Bill Gates told *The Atlantic* in November 2015. “That may make it seem too daunting,” he added, “but in science, miracles are happening all the time.” While this observation may strike some as too simplistic, its inherent premise and larger promise are more appropriate than we might like to think.

Consider the premise. Combatting the effects of climate change requires the ultimate repeal-and-replace bill for the carbon-based global economy that emerged in the late 18th Century with the

Industrial Revolution. It starts with giving up fossil fuels, “perhaps the most daunting challenge as denizens of richer nations literally eat, wear, work, play and even sleep on products made from fossilized sunshine,” as *Scientific American* puts it.

The decision by the Trump administration to double down on carbon-based

forms of energy for domestic political reasons, while undermining international efforts against climate change, speaks to this point.

Emerging powers among the high-population countries of the developing world have also asked pointed questions about why their citizens should forgo oil, coal and natural gas when westerners have feasted on such now-forbidden fruits for centuries.

While developed and developing countries are transitioning their economies towards non carbon-based forms of energy, these efforts require adequate substitutes.

But back to Gates’ sense of scientific promise as a rescue. Consider nuclear fusion, the process that powers the sun. When harnessed, it can produce clean, safe and nearly unlimited energy by fusing atoms. While it may seem fantastical to re-create the sun’s interior on Earth, scientists around the world, including the United States, Canada and Germany, have made considerable progress in achieving this very feat.

In 2015, Germany switched on a new promising type of fusion generator that has so far lived up to expectations, and in 2016, the Canadian company, General Fusion, announced plans to develop the world’s first commercial fusion-energy system. Existing alternative forms of energy, such as solar power, are becoming cheaper and scientists continue to work on a range of innovate measures to cut the use of energy or produce it more efficiently in cooling or heating buildings whose emissions account for almost 20 per cent of GHGs. They include such things as solar paint that produces clean energy, and systems that produce energy out of waste using anaerobic digestion.



Germany’s new fusion generator has so far lived up to expectations.

7. Human augmentation

The concept of humans augmented by technology has long evoked feelings of unease, if not dread. A survey of popular science fiction speaks to this point. This feeling likely soared in 2017. First in Sweden, then in the United States, companies have started to tag employees. These implants — no larger than a grain of rice — allow employees to perform any tasks that rely on radiofrequency identification (RFID) by waving their hands to open doors or buy snacks out of vending machines. So far, these programs are voluntary for employees, many of whom have eagerly embraced them as the way of the future.

supplementing and substituting body parts with technology to perform better or recover from illness. Examples include artificial bones for hip replacements or pacemakers. The coming generation of implants continues this tradition. It includes, among others, bionic exoskeletons that allow users to lift more weight, bionic eyes that improve vision and a range of advanced non-invasive neural implants that allow doctors to monitor brain behaviour while treating diseases such as Alzheimer's and other neurological conditions.

Others even dream of a future where installing implants will be like swapping out new technologies. "You could talk about replacing limbs wholesale, like perhaps removing a biological arm or

ing. Where does the future line between human and machine sit, if advocates of human augmentation, such as O'Shea, win the argument?

8. Manufacturing (3D printing)

In a recent interview, former U.S. vice-president Al Gore described our existence as follows: "We are in the middle of a sustainability revolution around the world that has the magnitude of the Industrial Revolution and the speed of the digital revolution. It is unstoppable."

One piece of evidence in support of this statement is the evolution of manufacturing. Since the start of the Industrial Revolution, the basic design of the factory has not fundamentally changed. It remains, for the most part, an immovable building large enough to accommodate material that human hands and, increasingly, robots then assemble into goods according to a timed, standardized production schedule.

While modern-day supply chains have become more sophisticated and work environments safer, a factory in the early 21st Century does not operate that differently from a factory in the 19th Century.

The mainstream emergence of 3D printing, however, upends this model in many ways.

First, 3D printing personalizes production. Rather than choosing from a palette of standardized products designed for the



Employees at Sweden's Epicenter often stage initiation ceremonies to welcome new employees who accept implants such as the one shown here.

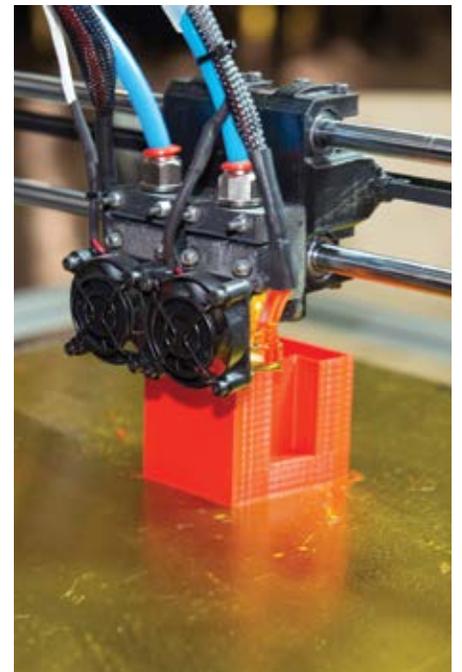
Employees at Sweden's Epicenter often stage initiation ceremonies to welcome new employees who accept the implants.

While their uses may not currently be nefarious, ethicists warn that companies may use them in more invasive manners, such as spying. "Once they are implanted, it's very hard to predict or stop a future widening of their use," Alessandro Acquisti, a professor of information technology and public policy at Carnegie Mellon University's Heinz College, told *The New York Times*.

Defenders deny these charges and the very people who accepted such implants find nothing unusual about them. Humans, they note, have a long history of

leg," said Ryan O'Shea, a spokesman for Grindhouse Wetware, a company that offers human augmentation software and hardware under the slogan 'What would you like to be today?'

Inevitably, dangers lurk. They include, among others, privacy breaches and hacking, as criminals may access personalized medical devices through their wireless technologies to extort money or do worse. Personalized medical devices are not just security nightmares. They also bear unforeseen medical risks and raise fundamental, potentially uncomfortable questions about the nature of being human, despite all of their promises to improve performance and alleviate suffer-



The mainstream emergence of 3D printing upends the traditional model of manufacturing.

masses, customers will be able to produce their very own individualized product in a place of their choosing, including their own homes.

Second, 3D printing is cheaper than standardized manufacturing. Whereas the standardized version relies on subtractive manufacturing — more material is used up during the production than what is produced and sold — 3D printing is a form of additive manufacturing. Comparable to baking a cake, it places layers of material on top of one another to shape the final object. This process of addition rather than subtraction lowers the costs. It has also lower fixed costs — no need to build large assembly plants — and far lower shipping costs because it relies on digital delivery. Customers who want to produce any good can simply download the necessary blueprint. Marketing budgets will shrink significantly in an age of personalized production.

Finally, 3D printing saves resources. It cuts down on waste during production, as well as packaging. In short, 3D printing frees manufacturing from current space and time limits. 3D printers are rapidly evolving, finding their way into military production, house construction and art. Companies are even using 3D printers to produce human organs.

9. Assistive robotics

They can carry luggage, greet customers, and perform, shall we say, intimate bodily functions.

They are assistive robots, often human-like in appearance, and if current prognoses hold true, they will end up performing myriad tasks, ranging from the profane to the pleasurable with yet-to-be understood consequences and ethical dilemmas for humans. Such tasks range from flipping burgers and patrolling parking lots to helping care for the elderly. Indeed, even creative tasks may fall to robots.

Famously weary of immigration for economic and cultural reasons, Japan appears especially eager to embrace “these immigrants from the future” as *The Economist’s* correspondent Oliver Morton calls them.

Economic predictions, valued at up to \$1.4 trillion by 2025, account for this welcoming attitude. Long a global leader in industrial robotics, Japan looks towards personalized robotics to maintain its competitiveness as it tries to defuse its ticking demographic time bomb.

For years, deaths have outpaced births in Japan, where the number of births dropped below one million for the first time last year. Japan’s National Institute of

Population and Society Security Research predicts Japan’s current population of 127 million will drop nearly 40 million by 2065 — a development that ultimately means more retirees straining social services, fewer workers paying taxes and less consumption. As *Scientific American* reports, Japan’s automobile industry is already looking beyond autonomous vehicles towards developing personalized robots aiming to assist aging Japanese.

This reorientation has already seen Honda’s 2014 introduction of ASIMO, a first-generation carebot. Experts expect more, as Japan invests heavily in this technology.

Technology (including robotics) does, however, have a knack for over-promising and under-performing, something Japan acknowledges in its New Robot Strategy: “Despite rapid advancements of robots, some point out there is a huge limit in what robots can do as compared to what humans can do to recognize and cope with diverse situations and therefore we should not expect a dramatic leap in robotics in mid-term.” This said, Japan imagines nothing less than a complete re-engineering of its society towards what the report calls a “robot barrier-free society” in which humans and artificial humanoids would collaborate, if not co-exist.



ASIMO was Honda's first-generation carebot, introduced in 2014. Experts expect more as Japan is heavily investing in this technology.

“Once a robot barrier-free society comes true, there will be routine collaboration between robots and humans of all ages from children to seniors,” according to Japan’s New Robot Strategy report. “Robots will help release humans from cumbersome tasks and enrich interaction for a higher quality of life than ever.”

Some may consider such anodyne promises utopian, threatening, or purely cynical as assistive robots spread into fields such as elderly and palliative care, where human dignity is in high demand, but is also often scarce.

One touchy subject appears to be the emergence of robots that offer various sexual services. While some stress the therapeutic aspects of such artificial companions for lonely, older and disabled people, it is hard not to shudder in disgust about the more salacious aspects like sex doll brothels and dolls aimed at pedophiles. Some Europeans, in many ways only slightly less geriatric than the Japanese, are embracing these trends. Lumidoll, the company that opened Europe’s first sex doll brothel in Barcelona in February 2017, has eyed the United Kingdom for expansion. Its Barcelona shop might have also previewed the economic effects that many predict. Local members of the sex professionals’ association, Aproxex, complained that the robots were stealing customers who were eager to pay \$140 for an hour of artificial sex. According to GQ, the company closed the shop and relocated to a new address only known to paying customers.

10. Space travel (laser-propelled space ships)

The clock is ticking, if you believe the doomsayers.

According to theoretical physicist Stephen Hawking, humans have about 100 years to find another planet if they want to escape extinction in the face of epidemics, population explosions, climate change and overdue asteroid strikes.

“I strongly believe we should start seeking alternative planets for possible habitation,” Hawking said earlier this year. “We are running out of space on Earth and we need to break through technological limitations preventing us from living elsewhere in the universe.”

In November 2016, Hawking gave humanity 1,000 years of remaining time.

Leaving aside questions about the reasoning behind Hawking’s severe downward revision to 100 years, his appeal echoes a familiar ambition among earth-

lings: to live among the stars.

Humanity’s search for an exit strategy revolves around two questions. What would be our destination and how would we get there? Without knowing the answer to the first query, the answer to the second becomes more complicated.

While the number of discovered planets outside our solar system keeps rising — NASA listed 3,499 exo-planets in July — 2017, with thousands more potential candidates — scientists have yet to find any nearby planet capable of sustaining

system practical, never mind meet Hawking’s deadline. To his credit, Hawking has joined forces with Russian billionaire and physicist Yuri Milner in the Breakthrough Starshot project. It proposes to send a tiny, wafer-size spaceship to the planet with the help of a ground-based laser. The tiny probe attached to a light-sail would eventually reach about 20 per cent of the speed of light. While much work remains, elements of the necessary technology to realize this proposal already exist in the lab, albeit far from the necessary scale.



Theoretical physicist Stephen Hawking predicts humans have about 100 years to find a new planet if they want to escape extinction.

human life as we know it. Finding such a planet would be a necessary, but insufficient condition for human colonization.

Yes, scientists last year discovered a roughly Earth-sized planet orbiting our nearest neighbouring star, Proxima Centauri, the smallest member of a triple-star system also known as Alpha Centauri. Located at a distance from its sun that allows water to be liquid, Proxima Centauri might be habitable, with the emphasis on the conditional, confirmation pending.

While practically around the corner in interstellar terms, humanity’s fastest unmanned spaceships would take about 78,000 years to reach the planet, give or take a century. It would take the Space Shuttle about 165,000 years. Humanity, in other words, currently lacks the technology to make space travel beyond the solar

Other efforts have focused on developing propulsion systems that employ fission, fusion, nuclear weapons and anti-matter. Whether any of these proposed solutions will take off remains uncertain. Writing in the *Journal of the British Interplanetary Society*, Philip Lubin of the University of California considers laser-driven systems the most realistic. “It is no longer fantasy,” he writes. “Recent dramatic and poorly appreciated technological advancements have made what we propose possible, though difficult.” It won’t be the giant leap in human space travel, he suggests, but it will be an important step. If Hawking is right, it better be.

Wolfgang Depner, PhD, has taught political science and is a Victoria-based writer.

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Innovation's ground-shifting impacts on labour

By Hashmat Khan

The age of computing power — computerization, automation and robotics — is transforming today's global labour markets in unprecedented ways, presenting great uncertainty about the future of the employment landscape. In this age, we're told driverless cars, pilotless planes and chefless kitchens are all within the realm of possibility.

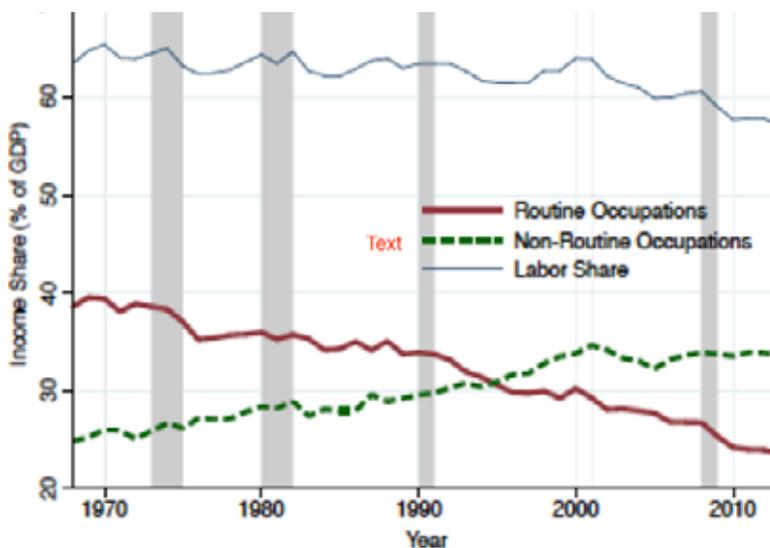
Of course, this is not the first time the economy has faced uncertainty at the hands of technological change. Perhaps most notably, the 19th and 20th Centuries were shaped by three big technological revolutions — the invention of steam power, followed by the arrival of electrical power and then finally, the development of the internal combustion engine — that replaced existing jobs and greatly economized on labour. These major developments also led to a widespread increase in manufacturing and service-sector jobs and improved standards of living.

Is the current age different? A telltale sign is the well-documented job polarization phenomenon, the thinning out of middle skill jobs in the U.S. labour market and an increase in the share of low-skill, low-wage and high-skill, high-wage jobs. With the current global share of manufacturing at close to 15 per cent and the share of services nearly 70 per cent, the latter sector is where the impact of technology and jobs is likely to be felt most in the future. Understanding how this technology-job nexus will evolve, as well as the role of public policy in the transition is now a central issue for industrial and emerging market economies.

A conceptual framework: tasks vs skills

Recent economic research provides insights to help understand and organize thinking on the present and future impact of technology on jobs. It draws an important distinction between tasks and skills. A task is work that produces output. Skills are capabilities a worker has for performing a variety of tasks, and generally accumulated or enhanced through college-level, or higher, education. With

Chart A



SOURCE: MAYA EDEN AND PAUL GAGGLI, ON THE WELFARE IMPLICATIONS OF AUTOMATION (2015), WORLD BANK REPORT

this distinction, we can meaningfully speak of different types of tasks that can be performed by a range of skills (low, mid, high) or by computer software and automation.

Tasks can be “routine” if they involve following well-understood or repetitive procedures, or “non-routine” if they require active contextual awareness, adaptability and precision. Additionally, many tasks require manual labour, while others depend on cognitive abilities such as problem-solving, intuition, persuasion and creativity. This conceptual framework delineates four categories of jobs, namely, Routine-Manual (RM), Routine-Cognitive (RC), Non-Routine Manual (NRM) and Non-Routine Cognitive (NRC).

While there may be an overlap between these four categories, each one represents the most important aspects of any particular task in that category. Examples of RM jobs are assembly-line work, housekeeping, warehousing, packaging services, supervision and inspection, picking and sorting. RC jobs include clerical work, bookkeeping, customer service, banking services and administrative services. The NRM jobs category refers to such occupa-

tions as child care, construction, health care, personal services, food services, cleaning services and truck driving. And finally, NRC jobs are primarily science, technology, engineering, math (STEM) jobs, software development, legal services, managerial work, nursing and teaching.

The most at-risk jobs

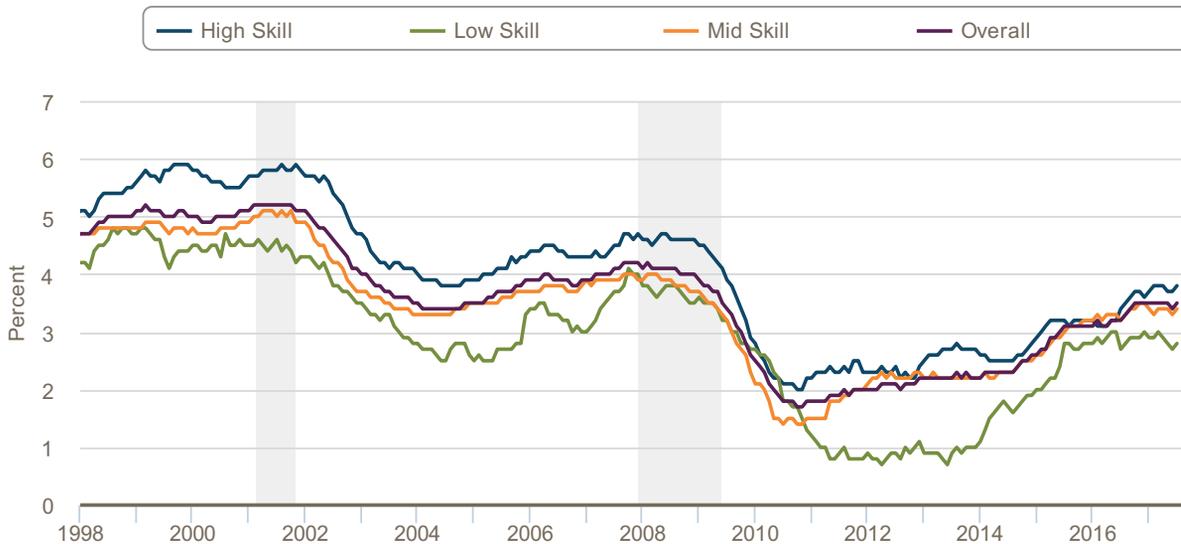
Routine jobs face the highest risk of being substituted by advancing technology, in particular, through computerization and automation. These jobs are also prone to off-shoring to countries with lower costs of production. Indeed, the income share of routine jobs in the U.S. has fallen from about 40 per cent in 1970 to under 25 per cent now, as shown in Chart A. At the same time, the income share of non-routine jobs has risen about 25 per cent to nearly 35 per cent over the past four decades.

Non-routine jobs, especially in the NRC category, are seen as more immune to technological substitution, as they are viewed as providing a complement to information and communication technologies. However, the stupendous doubling of the transistor density of a microchip every two

Chart B

Wage Growth Tracker by Occupation

12-month moving averages of median wage growth



Source: Current Population Survey, Bureau of Labor Statistics and Author's Calculations

years, as famously predicted by Intel's co-founder, Gordon Moore, in 1965, reflects the ever-increasing computing power. When combined with Big Data, machine learning and machine-environment control, it is conceivable that automation costs will continue to fall rapidly and machines could replace even highly skilled humans performing NRC jobs in the future.

An intriguing recent finding that corroborates this view is that there has been a remarkable slowdown in the demand for cognitive tasks since the year 2000. As a result, more high-skilled workers have moved down the occupational ladder, pushing out low-skilled workers, sometimes out of the labour force entirely. Chart B shows, despite the cyclical fluctuation, the general decline in the median wage growth of high, low and mid-skill jobs.

Policies for the (near) future

While the trends themselves are not in dispute, there are optimistic and pessimistic views and predictions about how economies will adjust to these trajectories. On the one hand, some believe that the service sector will transform in a way to generate a sustained demand for jobs that complement evolving technology and that the widespread use of robots in NRM and NRC jobs is still several decades away.

From this perspective, the design of

public policy must contend with at least two challenges. First, a central concern is how to improve the effectiveness of relevant advanced education and retraining programs, and relatedly, to study and assess how different cohorts of students and workers will adapt to these trends. A second challenge is to sustain and support innovative activities that will lead to complementary jobs. Evidence favours geographic clustering of innovative activities and ideas-generation, as seen, for example, in Silicon Valley, as a way to foster such necessary innovation. Startup hubs, such as the one in Kitchener-Waterloo, are examples of such clustering in Canada.

Others believe that job losses in all four categories listed above will mean sharp increases in income inequality, which is already on the rise, and that these large-scale job losses will occur in the near future (within 10 years). If this occurs, there will, at the same time, be a reduction in tax revenues. Under this scenario, the main challenge for public policy will be to design policies that simultaneously address these two developments. For example, a serious consideration of redistributive basic income proposals will continue to gain momentum. These types of proposals and policies are not new territory for Canada; the Canadian guaranteed annual income field experiment (MINCOME), conducted in Manitoba in the 1970s, provides a his-

torical example from which we can learn. Another pertinent proposal in this context is taxing robots to sustain revenues as recently suggested by Microsoft co-founder Bill Gates.

The realistic scenario is likely a mix of these two views and none of these policies is mutually exclusive. Another dimension of the technology-job future is that no country's labour market will remain insulated from the change. Wherever and whenever cheaper automation takes hold in manufacturing and services, for example, currently off-shored low-skill RM, RC jobs in Asian, African and Latin American countries may start to shrink. These developments are likely to put significant pressure on domestic economies. For industrial economies, adopting inward-oriented policies focusing on increasing jobs in the manufacturing sector, as proposed by the Trump administration, may only be a temporary solution to job creation by forcing workers to accept lower-market wages. The incentives for substituting cheaper automation will restrict wage growth. Navigating the age of computing power will present enormous opportunities for global policy co-ordination, especially in the services sector.

Hashmat Khan is a full professor and co-director of Carleton University's Centre for Monetary and Financial Economics.

How and why Canada must innovate to remain competitive

By Jennifer Francis

When you think about innovation, Canada may not be the first country that comes to mind. After all, in the 2017 Global Innovation Index survey, Canada only ranked 18th on innovation out of 100 countries surveyed. And while we are underperforming in this area, innovation matters to Canada. It is a key pillar in diversification from a resource economy.

Given that, it's instructive to look at what Canada has gotten right, and where it needs to improve.

Canada has many strengths when it comes to innovation. We have sophisticated financial markets with a strong banking and regulatory environment. Starting up a company in Canada is relatively easy. We have several top universities that give us access to much of the talent we need to foster and grow innovation. We have federal and regional grant programs to help companies in the early stages to develop their offerings, as well as research tax credits to offset innovative research and development (R&D) costs.

Given all these positives, what are the key factors that cause us to underperform? While innovation is a complex topic, there are two areas worth exploring in more detail: funding and talent.

The R&D spending of Canadian corporations is half the level of our U.S. counterparts, and below the OECD average. While part of this is driven by the fact that many Canadian corporations are subsidiaries of U.S. companies, with products developed elsewhere, we have also not seen R&D benefits from favourable tax policies for Canadian corporations to do more research. Perhaps the answer is to look at Israel, which has a strong track record of commercializing academic research. Our research institutions, teaching hospitals and universities produce world-class science. Rather than expecting corporations to perform the research, maybe we should be asking them to help prioritize and subsequently commercialize it.

Report Card: Innovation

1	Sweden	A	4	U.S.	B	12	Canada	C	20	N.S.	D
2	Denmark	A	5	Ont.	B	13	Germany	C	21	Sask.	D
3	Finland	A	6	Switzerland	B	14	Japan	C	22	N.L.	D
			7	Netherlands	B	15	Alta.	C	23	Man.	D
			8	Que.	B	16	Australia	C	24	Ireland	D
			9	Austria	B	17	Belgium	C	25	P.E.I.	D-
			10	B.C.	B	18	U.K.	C	26	N.B.	D-
			11	Norway	B	19	France	C			

Source: The Conference Board of Canada.

The Conference Board of Canada rates countries on their innovation successes. Canada received a C in its most recent report card.

At the other end of the spectrum, many Canadian startups sell too early, or fail to thrive. While it is common around the world for startups to fail, with roughly one in 10 thriving, Canadian startups particularly struggle to access the capital they need to continue to innovate and grow. As a result, a lot of Canadians are building companies in Silicon Valley instead of here. According to the Conference Board of Canada, Canada ranks 13th out of 16 countries on innovation, and 15th on venture-capital (VC) funding. U.S. venture firms invest twice as much into startups compared to their Canadian counterparts.

Canadian startup companies need to compete in the U.S. market to thrive and generally they are competing against companies with deeper war chests for sales and marketing. Many companies choose to sell at early stages as the lack of capital makes going it alone too risky a venture. This approach sub-optimizes the opportunity for Canada. The majority of purchasing companies are American, and the job growth tends to move south of the border, or offshore. In addition, it moves intellectual property and innovation, launched in Canada, into U.S. corporations.

How can we improve access to capital

for startups? Government funding is only part of the answer. We need to unlock more private capital to create a truly thriving startup ecosystem. For Canadian startup companies, research from National Angel Capital Organization (NACO) shows that angel investing (private high net worth individual investment) provides up to 90 per cent of the capital from prototype to go-to-market. Initiatives such as funding angel groups, which is done in Ontario and Quebec, putting in place capital gains incentives for investment in early-stage Canadian companies, or offering tax credits for angel investments as is done in B.C., helps to unlock private capital for this purpose. For example, Capital Angel Network in Ottawa (CAN) is funded by FedDev (part of the ISED Federal portfolio) and AIO (an Ontario provincial organization to foster angel investing). This funding covers operational costs to organize Ottawa angels into an investment group; the angels have then provided millions in funding, investing on average in nine new startups a year. Today, NACO research shows that \$100 million is invested by angels every year in Canada. With a well-structured and supported angel network across Canada, a lot

more capital could be funnelled into the seed stage.

But funding the growth stage of Canadian start-ups needs more capital than angels can provide. If we don't want our startups to sell at this stage, one option is to unlock the profits sitting in Canadian corporations through corporate venture tax credits. This would encourage corporations to invest in VC funds, putting a shot of adrenalin into the Canadian VC market.

Creating clusters of innovation can also bring in funding. There are a few factors at work in clusters. Money from successful companies flows into new startups in the region and having multiple companies in a region creates a buzz that draws investment. Finally, talent is naturally drawn to the region by the prospect of jobs and growth. Clusters work best when there are anchor companies and universities in the region to build around. Canada has recently announced a supercluster initiative to help regions that have the basic building blocks to grow. Through this initiative, industry-led consortia will be co-funded to help jump-start the growth.

Silicon Valley is the world's best example of an innovation cluster, albeit a fairly unique one in its scale and enduring success. On a smaller scale, this was the effect in the '80s and '90s when Ottawa was a telecom centre. The success of Mitel, Nortel and Newbridge spawned many other startups and brought Canadian and American VCs and talent to the region. In addition, many of Ottawa's early angel investors came from those companies and have helped to fund and grow others in the region.

As Canada looks to increase innovation capabilities, the second area we need to focus on is talent. Projections indicate talent shortages in technology. There are a few factors at play. On the Global Innovation Index, Canada ranks 64th on investment per pupil. The top 10 innovative countries' average rank is 33. While we have some top-tier universities such as the University of Waterloo, University of Toronto, McGill and UBC, we need to reinforce our educational capabilities and research base.

Perhaps more important, we need to draw on 100 per cent of our population for innovation and technology skills. Currently only about 20 per cent of students studying in technology fields are female and the vast majority of company founders are male. To grow and thrive, we need to be pulling the brightest and the best from across the country. To attract more women into the field, we need to do more

Global Innovation Index 2017 - Global Ranking



In a global report card on innovation, Canada dropped three spots and is well behind smaller countries such as Ireland, Iceland and Luxembourg.

in our public and high schools to show the opportunity that exists and that they can be successful in these areas.

Technovation is a great example of a program that aims to address this gap. It is a global program started in California that teaches girls mobile app development and entrepreneurship. More than 600 girls in Canada completed the program in 2017. The program has a mentorship aspect that brings women who have chosen technology careers together with the girls, which provides role models to inspire them. Through this, and programs like it, girls learn the power that technology has to change the world, and that they can be leaders and founders in that change. In addition to attracting women into the technology sector, Canada needs to get better at retaining and promoting women. There are a growing number of organizations, such as Women in Communications and Technology, that are working to provide the networking and mentorship that have been shown to help women stay in the field.

Engaging youth in coding is critical to closing the skills gap. Coding is not a fringe activity; it is a driver of Canadian innovation and growth. Software is a key component in every sector of innovation and this should be a core skill that we develop in our youth. Enrolment in these fields in university has not increased at the rate that we require to support our innovation goals. British Columbia has recently made computer science a mandatory part of the school curriculum. This should be done across Canada. The federal government has also introduced a

new CanCode initiative over the next two years to significantly increase the number of children exposed to coding. Following the CanCode initiative, we need to have sustainable, integrated learning in schools across the country.

The second step on talent is attracting and retaining skilled workers in Canada. As we are growing the innovation economy, many of the opportunities are in smaller early-stage companies. Compensation programs such as option grants, and favourable treatment of capital gains are key for these companies to be able to compete for talent and funding. Immigration policy is also a critical factor in bringing the best and the brightest globally to work in Canada's innovation economy.

There are many bright spots in Canada's innovation landscape. We have leading software companies such as Shopify, Hootsuite and Slack. We have a growing cleantech industry, with 11 companies on the Global 100 Cleantech list, compiled by the San Francisco-based Cleantech Group. We have top-100 globally ranked universities for computer science. The building blocks are in place for Canada to become a world leader in innovation. With key initiatives to improve the flow of capital and increase the talent pool, such as creating innovation clusters, introducing more youth to coding and using public funding to stimulate private investment, we can achieve our goals of growth.

Jennifer Francis is board chairwoman of the Capital Angel Network, a principal at Café Noir Consulting and a high-tech mentor, adviser and investor.

Fixing Canada's underperformance on innovation

By Céline Bak

Recent scientific research has confirmed that to remember something, we need to keep experiencing it, and then “forgetting” about it and re-remembering in between these experiences. Researchers have also concluded that to solve difficult problems, we need to push recent experiences out of the way in order to generate new ideas.

It's part of the paradox of the human condition: Remembering what matters by alternating between forgetting it and re-learning it, and solving new problems by looking beyond recent experiences.

After decades of diligent efforts to build an innovation-based economy have resulted in persistently lacklustre results, Canada should remember this paradox as it reconsiders innovation in economy.

Macro-economists have a handful of vital statistics they monitor to assess what is driving GDP growth. Among these are the relative impact on GDP growth of capital, labour and multifactor productivity (MFP.) The latter is often used as a proxy for innovative business practices, including the adoption of newly commercialized technologies. When these three factors are out of balance, strains result.

Throughout the '80s and '90s, the three factors were mostly in balance in the Canadian economy. But in the 2000s, and up until 2014, that began to change. Multifactor productivity — the GDP indicator of innovation — became a drag on the Canadian economy, though labour and capital compensated for its slowing impact. However, in 2014 and 2015, the combined positive contributions to GDP of capital and labour on growth were outstripped by the negative impact of MFP.

These results reflect slowing Canadian investment in innovation. With the exception of dips during recessions in 1994, 2001 and 2008, the average OECD country's private- and public-sector investment in R&D has grown every year, whereas Canada's has diverged from its OECD peers, declining since 2005. At the company level, patents registered by Canadian



Canada's ratio of patents to academic publications is about half that of the U.S.

entities have declined in absolute terms and as a share of global patents registered. Whereas Canada's share of global trade is 2.6 per cent, in 2015, its share of global patents held by Canadian firms was half that, with Canada's share of global patent applications having declined by nearly one fifth from 2011 to 2015.

What has been called Canada's low innovation equilibrium can also be seen in the relationship between academic papers published and patents filed. Canada's ratio of patents to academic publications is about half that of the U.S., pointing to thin Canadian markets for scaling up and commercializing industrial innovation. China and Germany's focus on industrial patents suggests greater emphasis on commercialization of innovation. In my own experience, it is challenging to find Canadian commercialization partners for world-leading Canadian academic disclosures in the field of green chemistry, as an example. For emerging firms in clean technology more broadly, federal and provincial programs to pilot new innovations at scale do exist, but markets that enable the scale-up of the firms commercializing the innovations are rare. The result of this low take-up of clean technology innovation can also be seen in Canada's low OECD

ranking on productivity measures for use of water and energy as well as carbon emissions per capita.

Global forces will increase the focus on greater conversion of Canadian invention to innovation commercialized by Canadian firms. As volatility increases in global commodity markets, investments will shift. The global carbon budget, which will limit how much of the world's fossil fuel reserves can be extracted, will add to the pressure for Canada to increase the success of how we convert investments in R&D into innovations commercialized by Canadian firms.

Faced with the need for innovation to regain its place as a greater economic force in Canada, the question for policy makers is how to best accomplish that. Do industries need to be more open to international competition and investment? Does the competition policy need to play a greater role? How does Canadian environmental regulation compare against its global peers? Does the banking industry need to be subject to more competition to spur more lending to emerging Canadian sectors? What role does the public sector have in procuring innovative products and services that improve the health and well-being of Canadians?

Canada will need to reconsider all parts of its innovation system from the perspective of how they contribute to commercial outputs that support commercialization of Canadian inventions by Canadian firms here and abroad.

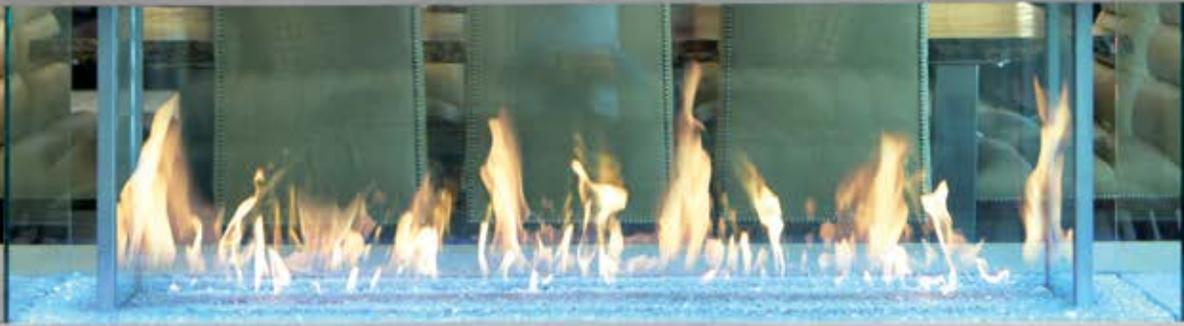
In Canada, we often say that natural resources provide the foundation of our prosperity. We may now need to push recent experiences out of the way to generate the novel policies and ideas to make greater gains from innovation.

Céline Bak is president of Analytica Advisors, a senior fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation and an expert adviser to the Treasury Board of Canada's Horizontal Innovation and Clean Technology Review.

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Innovation at Kazakhstan's EXPO

By Jennifer Campbell
Astana, Kazakhstan



Nur Alem, Kazakhstan's breath-taking central pavilion at EXPO, which ran from June until September this year, will now be turned into a science museum. Several entries at EXPO's best practices pavilion took innovation to new heights.

Innovation need not be complicated. In fact, some of the most ingenious submissions to EXPO 2017's Energy Best Practices Pavilion were the kinds of things that make you slap your forehead and ask, "Why didn't I think of that?"

The theme of EXPO 2017, held between June and September in Astana, Kazakhstan's young, thoroughly modern and architecturally captivating capital city, was "future energy" and submissions had to be focused on that theme.

Canada's submission — a device from the University of Alberta's faculty of medicine and dentistry that is saving lives "off the grid" — was a simple, yet elegant, solution to a pervasive global problem. It was chosen from 100 entries to be showcased in this special pavilion, along with 23 other successful entries from 13 different countries.

The problem the University of Alberta was trying to solve? Pneumonia — the leading cause of death for all children under five years old across the planet. The

solution: Oxygen therapy. But how to get it to the far-flung, energy-poor developing countries that pneumonia ravages most? Power it with the sun, of course. It's already saving lives in Uganda and it's doing it sustainably.

Canada's other appearance at EXPO was at a showcase in the business pavilion, highlighting the work of Cameco Corp., the Saskatchewan-based giant that works with uranium-rich Kazakhstan to refine its raw materials into power-making nuclear technology. Inkai Uranium, which is jointly owned by Cameco and Kazakhstan's KazAtomProm, is a uranium mine in Kazakhstan. This exhibit detailed how Cameco and KazAtomProm work together to produce uranium for nuclear power. Indeed, Cameco is the world's second-largest uranium producer, accounting for 18 per cent of the planet's production.

Canada didn't have its own pavilion in the park — nor did it in 2014 when EXPO was in Milan, Italy — but many other

countries were represented and the specialized science fair revolved around the jewel of all the pavilions — Kazakhstan's entry, known as Nur Alem. A huge, dome-shaped structure, it featured exhibits on eight floors, including educational panels and artifacts, art installations, live performances showcasing human kinetics and live science experiments. Each floor featured themes such as space, solar, wind, biomass, kinetic and water energy, and came up with creative ways to highlight each one's potential. Long after the fanfare of the world fair is over, this pavilion will remain and serve as a science museum.

Other highlights from the Best Practices Pavilion:

Glowee: From France, Glowee's technology finds itself where biomimicry and synthetic biology meet. The company has developed light from a biological marine source found in organisms such as jellyfish, squid, algae and shrimp. These species produce light naturally through

bioluminescence. Using the genetic coding from marine bacteria, Glowee then produces a biological source of light that doesn't harm the bacteria and that is self-sufficient and requires no installation infrastructure.

bioo: Proving that flora has energy-giving qualities, Spain's bioo has developed technology that allows it to harness the energy produced by everyday house plants to power everything from lamps to laptops with no harm to humans, and minimal carbon impact. A small house plant can provide enough energy to light two house lamps every hour.

Scooser: Germany's Scooser is electric, but it will also run on "impulse" drive where the smart-technology engine reads your push from the ground and takes off at speeds of up to five kilometres per hour. Its battery works for two to four hours or for a distance of 55 kilometres.

Greenrail: An entry by Italy and funded by the European Union, Greenrail sleepers are covers for the concrete structures that hold up rail ties. The covers are made from recaptured and recycled rubber and plastic and significantly reduce rail vibration, noise, ballast pulverization and maintenance costs. The sleepers, which increase the lifespan of these concrete anchors by three to four times, can also economically be fitted with solar panels that can provide up to 150 kilowatt hours of electrical power. That power can, in turn, light up the railways or neighbouring streets.

Formula e: This electric racing vehicle by France's Renault can reach speeds of 235 kilometres per hour and can attain speeds of 100 kilometres per hour in just three seconds. The battery will allow for 25 or 30 minutes of driving, but the races are one hour long, so each driver has two cars, one of which will spell off the other. Two other solar vehicles mentioned in the Kazakhstani pavilion were the BOcruiser, a solar-powered electric car with a top speed of 120 kilometres per hour, and the Stella, a solar-powered family car that generates more energy over the course of a year than it consumes.

Pavegen: This British innovation gathers kinetic energy generated by humans walking on the sidewalk or attending a sporting event, for example, and converts it into electric energy and data. The technology is currently operating in more than



France's Renault makes "Formula e" racing cars.

30 countries, including Kazakhstan, and the company refers to it as "the Internet of People; making cities smarter with every step."

Viessmann: Germany's manufacturer of heating, industrial and refrigeration systems presented three technologies: An ice-storage system, a power-to-gas system and fuel cells. The ice storage system takes sun, air and ground heat generated in the summer and saves it for heating in the winter. It also does the reverse, saving winter energy for summer cooling. Essentially, the natural processes that freeze and melt water are converted into energy for heating and cooling homes or buildings. In the power-to-gas scenario, surplus electricity from renewable sources is used to generate hydrogen and then methane. The resulting gas can be used without further processing, and also can be saved in large amounts and for a long period of time. The fuel-cell technology is an efficient system of heat and electricity-generation by natural gas that allows homeowners to get away from their central power network almost entirely, and, in the process, cut their emissions in half.

Angled blades: Kazakhstan's Usta Zheldi made a slight adjustment to the shape of traditional wind turbines by angling the blades and, in the process, increasing the rotational force and the amount of energy they generate. Because they are also shorter, they reduce the weight of the turbine tower and its blades, thus reducing the cost per kilowatt-hour of energy the turbine can provide.

Platio: It's often said that on hot summer days, you could fry an egg on the sidewalk. This Hungarian company took that idea and ran with it, knowing full well that on hot summer days, pavement collects and stores energy. Platio envisions equipping these "found" urban energy

storers with solar paving, using elements made from recycled plastics. The energy coming from them can be used to supply local microgrids, or it can simply be fed back into the traditional grid.

ABB's Solar Impulse: Solar Impulse was the first plane to fly around the world, powered solely by solar energy. ABB and Solar Impulse, which are both Swiss energy-efficient technology pioneers, believe that cutting-edge technologies can address the world's clean-energy challenges and made this plane to show what's possible. The journey wasn't terribly time efficient, however — it took 21 days and 17 stops — but it did make the point that it could be done, and it also broke a record for the longest solar flight — between Japan and Hawaii — in a trip that took four days and 21 hours at an average speed of 17 kilometres per hour. It wrapped up its journey in July 2016. The plane, which has a wing span more suited to an Airbus, features 17,500 solar panels that accumulate solar energy as it's flying.

Polarsol: Polarsol aims to make coal cleaner with its heat-management concept that uses a unique heat exchanger to produce warm and cold air with record-high efficiency. It is effective in the most unforgiving climates, including its home country of Finland, and can be used in homes and industrial settings alike.

SILO: Humans have made gains in renewable energy, but the world still relies on coal for more than 40 per cent of its electricity production, which has multiple resulting emissions. The Warsaw University of Technology has come up with SILO (Stochastic Immunological Layer Optimizer) as a way to optimize the combustion of coal so the entire product is used — which is not usually the case — and control its CO2 emissions. It's now being used in China, the U.S. and Poland.

Rainmaker: The planet has plenty of water, but very little of it is drinkable. The Netherlands' Rainmaker systems change that by operating on the natural principles of evaporation and condensation. The systems are easy to transport, simple to set up and best of all, they operate off the grid, extracting up to 20,000 litres of potable water from the air each day. Where water is salty, brackish or contaminated, they can purify up to 150,000 litres a day.

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat's* editor. She visited Kazakhstan in September.



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Escalating tensions on the Korean Peninsula draw in the world

By Robert D'A. Henderson



At his September speech at the United Nations, President Donald Trump warned that if the U.S. “is forced to defend itself or its allies, we will have no choice but to destroy North Korea.” Above, U.S. vessels patrol the South China Sea.

On Sept. 3, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) under Kim Jong-un detonated its sixth and largest nuclear test — estimated at between 50 and 100 kilotons — about three times larger than the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945. The state Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) reported that the North Korean regime claimed to have successfully tested a “hydrogen bomb” — a fusion nuclear device that would have a far larger yield than traditional fission nuclear weapons such that it was smaller while providing greater explosive power.

It also stated that the hydrogen bomb tested was specifically designed to fit onto an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM). The previous month, North Korea had launched two three-stage test missiles that it claimed had intercontinental range. A year earlier, in March 2016, Kim announced that the regime had achieved the miniaturization of nuclear warheads that could be fitted to such missiles.

Nevertheless, at that time, western analysts questioned whether the missiles had ICBM range, if they could achieve successful re-entry into the atmosphere, and if nuclear devices could be placed inside a missile warhead. But a confidential U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency report, reviewed in August by *The Washington Post*, declared that “North Korea has produced nuclear weapons for ballistic missile delivery, to include delivery by ICBM-class missiles” and that it could have an effective and accurate ICBM by sometime in 2018. And a separate report estimated that it had enough nuclear materials to create up to 60 nuclear devices — a significant increase over previous assessments.

U.S. President Donald Trump condemned these missile launches and reiterated his call to the Chinese communist leadership under President Xi Jinping to do more to help rein in North Korea. But he publicly declared that “we will handle North Korea.” Then, in early August, he entered into a “war of words” with the

North Korean regime and Kim — beginning with a warning that North Korean threats would be “met with fire and fury like the world has never seen.”

In an unusually detailed statement carried by KCNA, the Korean People’s Army (KPA) Strategic Force Commander Gen. Kim Rak Gyom stated that a plan would be finalized by mid-August for firing four intermediate-range Hwasong-12 missiles over Japan toward waters off the American South Pacific island of Guam with “enveloping fire.” Upon giving KPA supreme commander Kim the plan, the KPA strategic force would then “wait for his decision.” Looking ahead, it’s possible Kim will just leave the decision hanging — or the only indication of his decision could be the launch of the four missiles.

Trump’s North Korea standoff

Trump, upping his earlier warning, announced that the U.S. military was “locked and loaded” to retaliate against any North Korean offensive action, though

he added that “hopefully Kim Jong-un will find another path.”

There are serious questions about the operation and accuracy of the Hwasong-12 missile, which has failed three of its four test firings and North Korea is unlikely to have obtained good missile data on its re-entry vehicles, which appear to be a continuing problem. Even so, Trump’s rhetoric went on: “North Korea better get their act together, or they’re going to be in trouble like few nations ever have been in trouble in this world.”

For its part, the Japanese government under Prime Minister Shinzō Abe ordered the Japanese self-defence force to move its PAC-3 anti-ballistic missiles from central Japan, around Tokyo, to the southern portion of Honshu Island near Hiroshima, which the North Korean warning had cited as a potential missile path toward Guam. As early as August 1998, North Korea had, without warning, launched a three-stage test Taepo Dong 1 missile over Japan and into the Western Pacific Ocean — with another missile overflight in 2009.

Reopening hotlines

In June 2017, newly elected South Korean President Moon Jae-in called for closer ties and dialogue with the North Korean regime in Pyongyang, including reopening their cross-border hotlines. Moon stated South Korea would “take the lead in dealing with Korean Peninsula issues without relying on foreign countries.”

When he subsequently met with Trump at the White House, Moon, who is South Korea’s first left-leaning president in nearly a decade, reportedly called for closer ties with North Korea, primarily through dialogue and economic co-operation, while the Trump administration has called for tougher sanctions, military pressure and diplomatic isolation toward the Pyongyang regime.

In speeches in Washington, D.C., and Berlin, Moon laid out what has come to be called the “Moon Jae-In doctrine” calling for “Four Nos” on relations with North Korea. These include (1) No hostile policy toward North Korea, (2) No intention to attack North Korea, (3) No attempts to undermine or replace the North Korean government, and (4) No efforts to artificially hasten Korean reunification.

This was intended to have the two Koreas “mutually halt acts of hostility” along their borders — the demilitarized zone (DMZ) along the 38th parallel as well as their East Sea and West Sea maritime boundaries, to lessen tensions and provo-



North Korean ruler Kim Jong-un continues to antagonize the world with his ballistic missile tests, the most recent of which he claimed had intercontinental range.

cations, and to return to a dialogue.

In January 2016, South Korea had restarted its DMZ loudspeaker broadcasts of political messages and “K-pop” (Korean popular) music in response to the North’s fourth nuclear test that had taken place that month. North Korea responded by turning on its own giant, though weaker, propaganda Otheloudspeakers along the DMZ.

Closing key economic links

Then, in February, following further North Korean missile launches and a nuclear test, South Korea closed the joint Kaesong Industrial Complex (KIC) located inside North Korea, just north of the DMZ. The complex was established in 2004 to enable South Korean companies to manufacture goods using more than 50,000 paid North Korean workers — a commercial project to encourage reforms to the North’s state-run economy. The KIC products were then exported for sale in South Korea — providing a key source of industrial production and foreign exchange for North Korea. The industrial park was considered one of the last remaining points of peaceful engagement between the two Koreas.

In response to the Kaesong Complex closure, the North expelled the remaining South Koreans from the industrial park and shut down two inter-Korean communication channels. One hotline between the North’s military authorities and those in the South was intended to defuse dangerous military situations.

Another North-South hotline that was disconnected was the communications

channel at the liaison office located at the truce village of Panmunjom, which was established in 1971. The Panmunjom truce village was where the 1953 Korean War armistice was signed, though a technical state of war still exists, as the armistice only halted the fighting between North Korean and Chinese communist forces in the North and South Korean and United Nations (mostly American) forces in the South. There is a third hotline reportedly maintained by the Red Cross that does not seem to be in use at present.

Following two long-range ballistic missile tests in July, the Moon government called upon Pyongyang to reopen lines of communication and begin military talks on reducing tensions. But there has been no response from the North. For its side, the Moon government has stated that it is in no hurry to reopen the Kaesong Industrial Complex prior to renewed inter-Korean dialogue. According to a Unification Ministry official, the South Korean government “is reviewing various ways, which could prompt North Korea to respond to our call for reopening the suspended communication channels. As the long disruption of the [hot lines] is not good for inter-Korean ties, they should be reopened as soon as possible.”

There have even been calls for establishing a new hotline linking North Korea, South Korea and the United States to permit spontaneous dialogue. In early August, U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson stated that the United States was not seeking to topple the Pyongyang government and was willing to begin “a dialogue about the future” with North Korea, but only on condition that it gives up its nuclear weapons. In partial response, the South Korean presidential Blue House issued a statement that such a dialogue would include consulting with Seoul.

What does North Korea want?

North Korean defector and now Seoul-based *Dong-a Ilbo* newspaper writer Joo Sung-ha wrote in July that the Kim regime was then very close to gaining nuclear-armed ICBMs. He predicted the North Korean ICBMs were intended to be used as bargaining chips to secure direct negotiations with the U.S. “The goal of the North Korean regime is to receive a guarantee from the United States of full security of the regime’s own survival, a peace treaty [ending the 1950-53 Korean War] and a large economic support package” — estimated at tens of billions of dollars — to reform its economy.

Otherwise, the North Korean regime

could escalate the regional tensions by threatening its Asian neighbours South Korea and Japan as well as the U.S. military bases in those countries. It could also threaten to sell advanced nuclear and missile technology to other pariah states.

But any direct U.S.-North Korean negotiations would face serious reluctance from the Trump administration given North Korea's long record of broken promises. The last serious U.S.-North Korea negotiations collapsed in 2012 when Pyongyang launched a long-range test missile that derailed an agreement on a North Korean nuclear development freeze in exchange for massive U.S. food aid.

UN Secretary General António Guterres condemned the July launch of ballistic missiles as a "manifest violation of Security Council resolutions." He repeated his call for North Korea to respond to South Korea's proposals to reopen communication channels, particularly military-to-military, to lower the risk of miscalculation or misunderstanding and reduce tensions. Following the DPRK's sixth nuclear test in early September, Guterres declared that the "most dangerous crisis" the international community faces today is the "nuclear risk" posed by North Korea.

The "New York Channel"

There are reports that American and North Korean diplomats have met in back channel discussions at the United Nations headquarters in New York — sometimes referred to as the "New York Channel" — on an on-again off-again basis over the past decade. Contacts through the North Korean delegation to the UN were to address issues of Americans imprisoned in that country and deteriorating relations.

In mid-2016, during the Obama administration, discussions were broken off when North Korea restarted nuclear testing, but were reportedly restarted in the early months of the Trump administration. Despite Trump's current rhetoric, it is understood that this back channel diplomacy has been quietly re-started as a way to discreetly exchange messages and information directly between Washington and Pyongyang. There have also been informal talks in Europe between North Korean officials and non-governmental representatives over the past year.

The view from Beijing and Moscow

In March, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi called for a "dual suspension" agreement to "defuse a looming crisis on the Korean Peninsula." He proposed that North Korea suspend its nuclear and mis-

sile testing while, in exchange, the United States and South Korea would halt their annual joint military exercises that North Korea sees as a prelude to an invasion. He said this would "help the parties to break out of the security dilemma and return to the negotiating table." This dual suspension approach was supported by Russia.

Security observers have oft noted that China has deep fears about a collapsed North Korean state, resulting in a flood of malnourished North Koreans streaming into northeastern China. And this is compounded by the possibility of South Korean forces — perhaps with American military support — attempting to unify the peninsula under one government. As a result, this is a particularly sensitive issue for the Chinese communist leadership in Beijing — there are increasing reports that an additional 150,000 of China's People's Liberation Army troops have been deployed to the northeast region facing the China-North Korea border.

Then, during Trump's August "war of words" with North Korea, China's semi-official *Global Times* newspaper editorialized that the Chinese government was "not able to persuade Washington or Pyongyang to back down at this time." And the paper warned that "if North Korea launches missiles that threaten U.S. soil first and the U.S. retaliates, China will stay neutral. If the U.S. and South Korea carry out strikes and try to overthrow the North Korean regime and change the political pattern of the Korean Peninsula, China will prevent them from doing so." China would do this under Article 2 of its mutual aid and co-operation treaty, signed in July 1961 and still legally binding.

At the same time, China values stability in domestic and regional affairs — particularly in the run-up to the five-year 19th Communist Party conference in October this year. In addition, Mainland Chinese scholars reportedly hold divergent views on the Korean Peninsula issue — whether priority should be given to avoiding a war or realizing denuclearization. This can partly explain China's support — as well as that of the Russian Federation under President Vladimir Putin — for stronger UN economic sanctions against North Korea. These expanded sanctions restrict foreign imports of North Korean coal, iron ore, lead concentrates and seafood — greatly cutting the country's export earnings.

Then, on Sept. 11, new energy sanctions against North Korea were passed unanimously by the UN Security Council. Up to this point, no international sanctions

against the North's energy sources had been implemented. While the U.S. wanted a complete oil and natural gas embargo, China and Russia would only accept a 30-per-cent reduction on oil imports — placing an annual cap of two million barrels on refined petroleum products such as gasoline and diesel and capping crude oil at about four million barrels — probably to keep the North Korean industrial structure from collapsing, though they accepted a total ban on natural gas imports to the country. Restrictions were also placed on North Korean textile exports and any new contracts for North Korean labourers, a factor that will impact Russian Siberian resources projects.

What lies ahead in the Trump era

Many American allies and partners in Asia fear the United States under Trump is retreating from a security leadership role in the East Asian region. Writing in the *London Financial Times*, Edward Luce weighed whether China's Xi Jinping, like Russia's Vladimir Putin, "sees Donald Trump as a paper tiger?" Worse, he argued, could they misread Trump, who would prove "trigger-happy in a showdown" with North Korea?

A direct hotline or backdoor channel — through a third country such as China or at an international organization such as the UN — between Washington and Pyongyang may prove essential to heading off a potential military conflict.

Former U.S. national intelligence director James Clapper has suggested establishing residential diplomatic presence in Washington, D.C., and Pyongyang to ratchet down tensions. This wouldn't be a concession, but rather an attempt to reduce tensions and push for dialogue.

In any case, further efforts should be made to reopen the North Korea-South Korea hotline — with the United States joining in as well. If such a direct hotline or reciprocal diplomatic presence is not possible, then greater use of the "New York Channel" might be the only way to defuse tensions — and to de-emphasize "war of words" responses via KCNA state media and Trump's unscripted public statements and his Twitter account.

Robert D'A. Henderson is a retired professor of international relations who currently does international assessments and international elections monitoring. Most recently, he's written for the *Routledge Handbook of Diplomacy and Statecraft* (London/New York) and *Diplomat's* October 2016 edition.

Africa's existential exodus



This Irish naval ship was dispatched to the Mediterranean as part of the EU's ongoing migrant rescue efforts. To stem the flow, the EU and its members need to accelerate programs to give real work to millions of jobless Africans. Funds for roads, railways, bridges and schools would be a good start.



Robert I. Rotberg

The Italian navy is tired of plucking Africans from dangerous Mediterranean waters off Libya night after night. Thousands of Africans are

smuggled weekly across the dunes of the Sahara Desert from the northern outposts of Niger by people smugglers. After desperate days in holding camps in northern Libya, another set of people smugglers sends African men, women and children towards the islands of Italy in overcrowded dinghies or other unsuitable craft. Close to 2,000 lost their lives at sea in the first half of 2017 and hundreds continue to risk their lives each week. They seek the kinds of promising futures that sub-Saharan Africa no longer provides — at least not for them and their ilk.

Europe, especially Italy, wants the various warlord governments of Libya to prevent Africans from leaving holding camps in Tripoli and Benghazi. As a second best, they often try to cajole Libyan forces to enforce bans on smugglers setting out to sea in flimsy, or any other kind of boats. But the smugglers are making obscenely good returns, and Libyans are also profiting from the unholy shifting of mostly hapless humans from the less privileged lands of the south to the potentially much more opportunity-yielding asylum areas of the north.

The barriers that Europe has imposed will hardly stem the tide of Africans fleeing impoverished countries that offer them little hope — countries, such as Eritrea, that repress their freedom; countries that discriminate against them on religious or ethnic grounds; countries, such as Somalia, Mali, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Nigeria that are consumed by strife; and countries such as nearly all of the African nations that are afflicted by the cancers of corruption.

Europe's own desperate physical attempts to slow the flow of refugees fail to address these deepest sources of intense migratory displacement. Only by turning off the spigot at its source will Europe — theoretically still the home of boundless promise — be at all able to reduce the surge of men and women, and their babies, trying to better themselves by leaving sub-Saharan villages and cities and bankrupting themselves to cross sand and sea.

Many migrants are being pushed out of their homelands by violence and repression. But the majority of migrants, especially from the rest of West and Equatorial Africa, are being pulled toward Europe by the possibility of a better life.

The largest proportion of would-be immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa comes from Eritrea, Ethiopia, Niger, Mali, Sierra Leone and Nigeria. These are the desperate lands where millions toil for less than \$1 a day and think that by surviving a perilous journey across the Sahara and through Libya they can strike it comparatively rich somewhere in northern Europe. They have heard from relatives or kinsfolk who have already made it into the maelstrom of Europe that milk and honey flow there, at least compared to the starchy gruel at home. They underestimate the dangers and predators along the long trek; the profiteering, cruelties and disdain of the smugglers; the weaknesses of the Italian navy to save them when they founder and capsize; the difficulties of obtaining asylum; and the legal, social and economic obstacles within Europe.

But still they come. With populations in the sending countries swelling, jobs scarce (40 per cent unemployment rates are typical) and corruption rampant, thousands are tempted every day by the allure of Europe. Hence, the pull of an imagined betterment in Europe is too great for the mass movement of African economic refugees to be halted by naval actions off the Libyan coast.

If there were a reasonable single national government in post-Gadhafi Libya,

police action might manage to curtail human smuggling and compel those who traffic in migrants to move elsewhere. But hardscrabble Libya is badly fractured and mean.

Likewise, stepped-up naval patrols and the pursuit and detention of smugglers will have less of a long-term salutary impact on African prospects and illegal immigration to Europe than will damping down the supply side. If Europe wants to receive fewer Africans, it needs to make it more genuinely possible for desperate people to remain profitably at home.

Europe's best hope of stemming the



These Sudanese migrants are at the camp in Calais. Our writer suggests an international anti-corruption court would stem migration.

African exodus is to help build the economies and strengthen good governance in the places supplying most of the migrants. The usual foreign assistance for economic development in poor countries has been shown to work too slowly, if at all, to uplift the poor legions of Africa. National gross domestic products grow glacially even when overseas aid is well targeted and well deployed by recipients.

The EU and its members need to accelerate short-term crash programs to give real work opportunities to millions of jobless Africans. A burst of funds for roads, railways, bridges, schools and other infrastructure could put droves of people to work. China is already investing in Africa and constructing 300 large dams, six or so railways, many kilometres of new highways, hospitals, sports stadiums and more. These projects employ local and Chinese workers. But still there is such a large unemployment problem (Zimbabwe is at one extreme with 85 per cent of its people lacking gainful formal employment) that young persons despair of ever

“making it” and being able to marry and provide for families. Or their families are already poverty-stricken and their young men and women migrate to try to provide for their families and themselves.

Together with injections of ample cash for specific construction and similar Keynesian employment-generating options, European and American countries could redouble efforts to help Africans govern themselves well. In too many African countries, ordinary people feel estranged from their ruling regimes. They feel beaten down rather than ennobled. Surrounded by corrupted elites, but aware of lands to the distant north, where merit rather than favouritism largely drives the filling of jobs and day-to-day life, they weigh the risks versus the misery of their present state, and migrate.

European, Japanese and North American aid programs have paid too little attention over the years to improving governance. That means building capacity now for integrity and probity among younger politicians, backing organizations focused on transparency and accountability, supporting ombudsmen and their offices, helping to support the free media, training younger judges before they succumb to temptation and funding technological innovations that return power to the people.

There is another innovation that could deter kleptocracy and indirectly, but profitably, help to dampen the supply side of migrancy. If an international anti-corruption court, mooted by an American federal judge and since supported by leaders of the United Nations, Africa, Europe and Latin America, could be established to bring large-scale corrupt politicians to the bar of justice, many of the most poorly led African nations would begin to pay attention to the needs of their peoples, and migration would slow. Europe and North America could help to create such a court.

The movement of migrants from inner Africa to Libya and around the West African coast will cease only when the pull of Europe becomes less attractive or much more costly or, significantly, if the push of economic or moral destitution in Africa is relieved by gainful, sustaining opportunities at home.

Robert I. Rotberg's most recent book is *The Corruption Cure: How Leaders and Citizens Can Combat Graft* (Princeton University Press, 2017). He also edited the most recent special issue of the *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*. It is devoted to Canadian corruption.

The Confucius Institute quandary

By Doris Liu and David Kilgour

The Confucius Institutes (CIs), ostensibly benign Chinese language and cultural agencies, are funded and overseen by the Beijing party-state through an office commonly known as Hanban, but are physically embedded in foreign universities and schools. There are today about 513 institutes and 1,074 Confucius Classrooms in 140 countries on five continents, including about 30 in Canada and 450 in the U.S.

The government of China has, since 2004, spent more than \$2 billion US to support them. Typically, a host institution receives \$100,000-\$150,000 yearly from Beijing to run Confucius Institute (CI) programs, plus cost-free Chinese instructors and textbooks. There are free trips to China for administrators and opportunities to recruit more Chinese students, who often contribute significantly to the revenues of educational institutions outside China.

In 2013, McMaster University in Hamilton became the first university in North America to close its CI after a five-year term. "Concerns were raised that the hiring decisions in China did not reflect the practices of the university," McMaster stated in its announcement. Specifically, CIs ban practitioners of Falun Gong, an exercise and meditation movement that has been persecuted brutally across China since 1999, from being CI instructors.

Sonia Zhao, then 25, was permitted to teach at McMaster's CI only after she signed a hiring contract with Hanban, which included a clause: "No participation in illegal activities such as Falun Gong." In fear of being identified as Falun Gong, which she was, Zhao signed without comment. When she completed her contract, she sought asylum in Canada, telling her story to Ontario's Human Rights Tribunal.

"McMaster University is giving legitimization to discrimination and opening its campus to more infringements of their own policies," Zhao wrote. McMaster decided to close its CI when Hanban refused to rescind the policy under which tens of thousands of instructors such as Zhao have been recruited and sent across the world.



Protesters from the Tibetan community rally against the Confucius Institute in front of the Toronto District School Board, in October 2014.

McMaster and Zhao are featured in a new Canadian documentary film, *In the Name of Confucius*, directed and produced by Doris Liu, co-author of this piece, who was born in China, but now lives in Canada. Liu also followed the five-month-long protest against the Toronto District School Board's (TDSB) plan to open the world's largest CI. In 2014, trustees were provided with samples of party-state propaganda in teaching materials used by CIs, including songs praising the Communist Party and its erstwhile leader, Mao Zedong (who is documented as loathing Confucius). The trustees heard Zhao's story, including how she was trained by Hanban to avoid topics such as Tibet and Taiwan, and to give the Beijing party-line if she could not change a discussion topic. In a public hearing, a Tibetan student whose father was shot by the People's Liberation Army told trustees that the CI director at Brock University would not allow a Tibetan student to display a Tibetan flag at an event to celebrate various nationalities on campus.

The Coquitlam School District in British

Columbia held an exhibition about beautiful "new" Tibet, where the photos on display were all taken by the party-state's *Xinhua News Agency*. School officials told Liu in an interview that they visited China four or five times a year and received \$1 million worth of gift books when its CI opened. The University of Maryland, the first university in the U.S. to host a CI, held an exhibition on Tibet at which a Chinese diplomat attacked the much-admired Dalai Lama in his speech.

James Turk, former executive director of the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT), told Liu that CAUT asked the Canadian CI host universities and colleges for their agreements with Hanban, but failed to obtain a single one. Liu's efforts to interview officials of seven CI host institutions in Ontario and B.C. were met with rejections or with interviewees walking away when asked probing questions. Brock University asked Liu to sign a media consent that gave the university the right to pre-screen and withdraw any interview content it deemed

inappropriate. When Liu refused to sign, Brock cancelled her interviews.

In her documentary, Liu interviewed scholars and China experts, including Michel Juneau-Katsuya, former Asia-Pacific chief of the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS), who warned TDSB trustees at a public hearing that CIs have been used by the Chinese government as a tool of “soft power” and as a spy agency, and that certain CIs in Canada were under investigation.

There are educators who now take the CI threat seriously. On four separate occasions, the University of British Columbia rejected Hanban’s approach to open a CI. Academic staff at the University of Manitoba successfully prevented the administration from inviting one onto their campus. In 2013, concerned with the consequences for academic freedom, CAUT called on all Canadian universities and colleges to sever ties with CIs. The Université de Sherbrooke removed itself from a CI partnership. In October 2014, TDSB trustees voted overwhelmingly to terminate their CI agreement.

In the U.S., the American Association of University Professors issued a similar statement in 2014, urging American universities and colleges to reconsider their relationships with CIs. After 107 professors signed an anti-CI petition, the University of Chicago closed its CI. Penn State University soon did likewise. Earlier this year, the New York-based National Association of Scholars published a comprehensive report detailing concerns and recommending that all U.S. universities and colleges either close their CIs or reform them significantly, so that academic integrity is no longer compromised.

In Europe, Stockholm University, the first on the continent to host a CI, closed it after 10 years of operation; two other Swedish universities did so as well. A German university gave up its plan to open a CI in 2015. In France, the Lyon CI ceased its activities in late 2013. The newest CI in Spain is facing internal doubt from faculties at host universities and public protests. In late August, an anti-CI campaign was under way to pressure the administration of Zaragoza University to suspend the CI classes that were to start in September.

In Sydney, Australia, more than 10,000 signed a petition to protest Confucius Classrooms across New South Wales. That state’s education minister saw no problems with CIs, but a number of revealing media articles and reports have now appeared on Chinese party-state penetration



Protesters of Confucius Institutes rally in front of the Toronto District School Board in October 2014.

across Australia, detailing how western universities are becoming a front line for the party’s ideological wars.

Since the McMaster decision, the growth of the Confucius Institutes has waned. According to Hanban’s annual report, China launched only 13 new CIs and 73 Confucius Classrooms in 2016. To be sure, the regime is not reducing its efforts to influence the world — spending an estimated \$10 billion annually on external propaganda, including CIs, which is described by the party as “an important part

of China’s overseas propaganda set-up.”

Educational institutions in democracies that continue to host Confucius Institutes/Classrooms should review their participation so as to respect their own academic independence. In the case of Canada and other nations with entrenched charters of rights, hiring discrimination based on belief or non-belief is unconstitutional.

Doris Liu is a journalist and documentary filmmaker. David Kilgour is a former MP and minister of state.

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Putin's plan for the west

By Derek Fraser



Pro-democracy protesters at Euromaidan in Ukraine in 2013. Russia's invasion of parts of Ukraine was an effort to be recognized as a great power.

According to press reports, U.S. President Donald Trump, in his desire for reconciliation with Russia, was initially considering removing sanctions on Russia and recognizing a Russian zone of influence in Eastern Europe.

In fact, Trump might not have achieved reconciliation through such measures. What Russia seeks is more than a zone of influence: It wants to be recognized as a great power with a veto on all questions affecting Russian security, including the activities of NATO and the EU.

To understand Russian goals, we have to look at the roots of Russian policy towards the west. European Russia, like France, Germany and Poland, lies on the North European Plain. Like these states, it therefore lacks geographical defences against attack, and has historically regarded its principal neighbours as its enemies.

The west European states, as a result of their experience during the Second World War, resolved after the war to follow a new course. By creating common European and Atlantic institutions, the west

Europeans came to regard their neighbours as their friends, and to recognize that international relations did not have to be a zero-sum game.

For the Russians, however, the Second World War had reinforced their traditional view that their neighbours were their enemies unless they were under Russian control, and that the defence of Russia required pushing its boundaries as far west as possible.

According to this view, therefore, the end of the Cold War and the break-up of the Soviet Union were disasters not

mitigated by any understanding with the west on future relations. The west promoted democracy and was open to the integration of East European states into Euro-Atlantic Institutions. Russia sought instead to recover its position as a great power, including a zone of influence.

Putin pressures NATO and the EU

Russia's boundaries had been forced back to where they were at the time of Peter the Great. As a result, Russia has never really accepted the independence of the other former Soviet Republics. It sought from the beginning to exercise its tutelage over them, and has been prepared to stop them, by force if necessary, from acting contrary to Russia's strategic interests. One of Russia's means of achieving control over these states has been through fostering "frozen conflicts" — Transnistria in Moldova, Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia, Nagorno-Karabakh between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and now the Donbas in Ukraine.

Russia's treatment of its neighbours was — and is — in violation of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Accords and all the agreements signed at the break-up of the Soviet Union, asserting the principles of the sovereign equality, territorial integrity and right to self-determination of all states.

Russia had also lost status with the west. Russia's views were ignored in the Kosovo war of 1998-99, and in the Iraq conflict of 2003. Moreover, in both wars, the west attacked without the approval of the UN Security Council.

To the Russians, the United States' withdrawal from the anti-ballistic missile treaty in June 2002 and its plans to deploy a missile-defence system against Iran, with installations in Poland and the Czech Republic, were further signs that the United States did not consider Russia its strategic equal.

Then there was the slow expansion eastward of the EU and NATO. For the Central and Eastern European countries, the attraction of NATO and the EU were considerable. They believed in European integration. They wanted to consolidate their new democracies. They sought economic prosperity by lowering barriers and introducing reform. They wanted to avoid falling back under Russian control.

NATO and the EU were initially reluctant to admit the newly independent countries. In 1999, however, NATO accepted Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland. NATO then received Slovenia, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Romania and

the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 2004. In the same year, the EU admitted Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Cyprus and Malta.

Since then, the two organizations have expanded south into the Balkans, but because of Russian opposition, no other former Soviet republics have been admitted. Since 2004, the EU has offered those states, including Russia, only free trade and economic co-operation. Ukraine's associate member status offers no assurance of full membership.



Russian President Vladimir Putin and Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov at the United Nations. Putin has put the former Soviet republics in their place when it comes to allegiance to Russia versus the west.

For the Russians, the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council, established in 1997, and the EU-Russia Partnership Agreement of the same year, were not adequate compensation for western intrusion into the Soviet Union's former area of control.

Then, to add to Russian disquiet, came the "Colour Revolutions" in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan from 2003 to 2005, which, to Putin's conspiratorial mind, were western-organized, and in any case, could threaten his hold on power. Putin has also held the United States responsible for the Muslim uprising in the Russian Caucasus, the Arab Spring revolutions and the overthrow in 2014 of president Viktor Yanukovich of Ukraine.

Observers differ on to what extent the change, around 2004, in Russian policy towards one of increasing authoritarianism at home, and hostility toward the west,

resulted from these events, or to what extent it resulted "more from Russian political and strategic culture as well as the persona of Putin."

Russia wants zone of influence

In his broadside against U.S. domination at the Munich Security Conference in February 2007, Putin, among other demands, called for a "new architecture of global security in which NATO would have to heed the opinion of Russia and others before acting." A year later, in April 2008, at the NATO Bucharest Summit,

Putin warned then-president George H.W. Bush against putting Ukraine and Georgia on the path towards NATO membership. If this happened, Putin threatened to dismember the two countries. In response, Germany and France vetoed any consideration of Ukraine's and Georgia's applications. Nevertheless, in August of 2008, Russians goaded Georgia into a war, apparently in order to mark out Russia's zone of influence.

Russia followed up in the same year with two diplomatic initiatives that were designed to block any further EU or NATO expansion, and to facilitate bringing the other former Soviet republics back under its control. President Dmitry Medvedev proposed a European Security Treaty that would have given Russia a veto over any activities of NATO that Russia considered a threat to its security.

The treaty would also have dropped

the Helsinki principles of the equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the inviolability of borders, non-intervention in internal affairs and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The treaty would thus have the effect of

Russia wants “to be the heart of greater Eurasia, a region of peace and co-operation. The subcontinent of Europe will also belong to this Eurasia.”

The Russian proposals for “a common European security and co-operation

demonstrations Putin has blamed on the Americans — Russia has become more active in pursuing its goals.

Misinformation and cyber attacks

Since 2012, there have been many Russian speeches and articles advocating a return to the Yalta-Potsdam or Cold War system of east-west relations, in which the Soviet Union had a recognized zone of influence and a veto on issues affecting its interests.

More recently, some Russian commentators have suggested that a global concert of nations was what Russia sought. It is not clear what difference this change in designation would make in Russia’s goals.

In pursuit of its aims, Russia has also devoted considerable effort to conducting a misinformation campaign, cyber attacks and spending large sums to support populist parties in Europe and the United States, so as to weaken the cohesion of NATO and the EU.

Russia has increased its pressure on the other former Soviet republics. In August 2013, Ruslan Pukhov, director of the Moscow-based Centre for the Analysis of Strategies and Technologies, which is close to the Ministry of Defence, and the author of an authoritative study of the new Russian military doctrine, declared that, in order to achieve the aim of the Russian National Security Doctrine-2020, namely, the renaissance of Russia as a great power, Russian dominance over the other former Soviet Republics had to be restored. Under the Russian Military Doctrine, Russia could, if necessary, use force to achieve its objectives.

The foreign policy concept makes it clear that Russia expects other former Soviet republics to give priority to integrating within the former Soviet Union and not to their relations with other states.

Russia has developed various policies for exerting pressure on its neighbours to do its bidding.

One of the instruments for re-establishing Russian dominance is the Eurasian Economic Union, or as it is known, the EEU, of former Soviet republics. The Russians hope that the EEU will grow into a geopolitical bloc. So far it has attracted only four other members — Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia and Kyrgyzstan — out of the original 15 former Soviet republics.

For Russia, Ukrainian membership in the EEU is key to the success of the organization. Ukraine’s associate membership in the European Union excludes that possibility.

In September 2013, a few months before Russia’s actions in Crimea and the Don-



A Russian BMP-2 in South Ossetia during the 2008 South Ossetia War between Georgia and Russia.

making it harder for the west to criticize Russian actions in the former Soviet Union and of facilitating Russian pressure on the other former Soviet republics.

Flowing from the idea of a European Security Treaty, Russia proposed a Union of Europe between Russia and the EU. The union would have co-ordinated energy, military, political and strategic matters, and prevented either side from strengthening security at the expense of the other. The union could thus have blocked the EU from acting independently of Moscow.

The combined effect of the European Security Treaty and the Union of Europe would have been to exclude North America from Europe.

Instead, Sergey Karaganov, the honorary head of Russia’s influential Council on Foreign and Defense Policy and a leading adviser to the Presidential Administration of Russia, told Germany’s *Der Spiegel* that

framework” remain the basis of Russian western policy. They have been regularly reaffirmed. The November 2016 “foreign policy concept” finds that the lack of a concrete western response to the Russian proposals has “resulted in a serious crisis in the relations between Russia and the western states.” This past September, Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov declared, “We all want to form a security space in the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasia that is equal for all. None of us will try to improve one’s own security at the expense of the security of others. Unfortunately, these declarations remained on paper as political promises. Our attempts to make them legally binding were rejected by western countries.”

Since the massive demonstrations in Moscow and St. Petersburg in 2011-12 protesting the rigged presidential elections of 2011, and Putin’s return as president —

bas, Putin's point man for developing the Eurasian Economic Union, Sergei Glazyev, warned Ukraine that should it sign the association agreement with the EU, it would violate the Russia-Ukraine Treaty on Strategic Partnership and Friendship of 1997, under which Russia guaranteed Ukraine's territorial integrity. Then Russia could no longer guarantee Ukraine's status as a state and could possibly intervene if pro-Russian regions of the country appealed to Moscow.

At various times and in various ways, Russia has also called into question the statehood of Kazakhstan, the Baltic states and Belarus. It has especially warned Moldova, Belarus and the Baltic states that they should consider events in Ukraine and draw conclusions.

Since 2001, Russian law has allowed Russia to annex other states or territories, a provision it used in the annexation of Crimea.

Since 2009, Russian law has allowed Russian armed forces to be used to intervene in support of Russian speakers abroad. The foreign policy concept sets out the obligation to protect Russian citizens and compatriots abroad, a principle that was invoked to justify the attack on Ukraine.

"Protecting" Russian citizens by armed foreign interventions

Under Russian law, since 1999, the term "compatriot" has included Russian citizens former Russian citizens, and descendants of the citizens of the former Soviet Union or the Russian Empire — in other words, almost the entire population of all former Soviet republics, as well as that of Poland and Finland. In 2014, Putin warned Kazakhstan that it had to remain part of the Russian world. In June last year, the speaker of the federation council, Valentina Matviyenko, warned that Russia would not sit idly by when Russians, ethnic Russians or Russian compatriots in Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Belarus or Moldova were the objects of oppression and persecution.

The latest foreign policy concept also brings back into effect the policy under which the Soviet Union invaded Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 in order to restore Communism. The doctrine states that it is Russian policy to assist members of the Collective Security Treaty Organization, whose membership is almost the same as that of the EEU, "in eliminating the existing and preventing the emergence of the new hotbeds of tension and conflicts on their territory;"

The official Russian press has made it clear that future "Colour Revolutions" will not be tolerated.

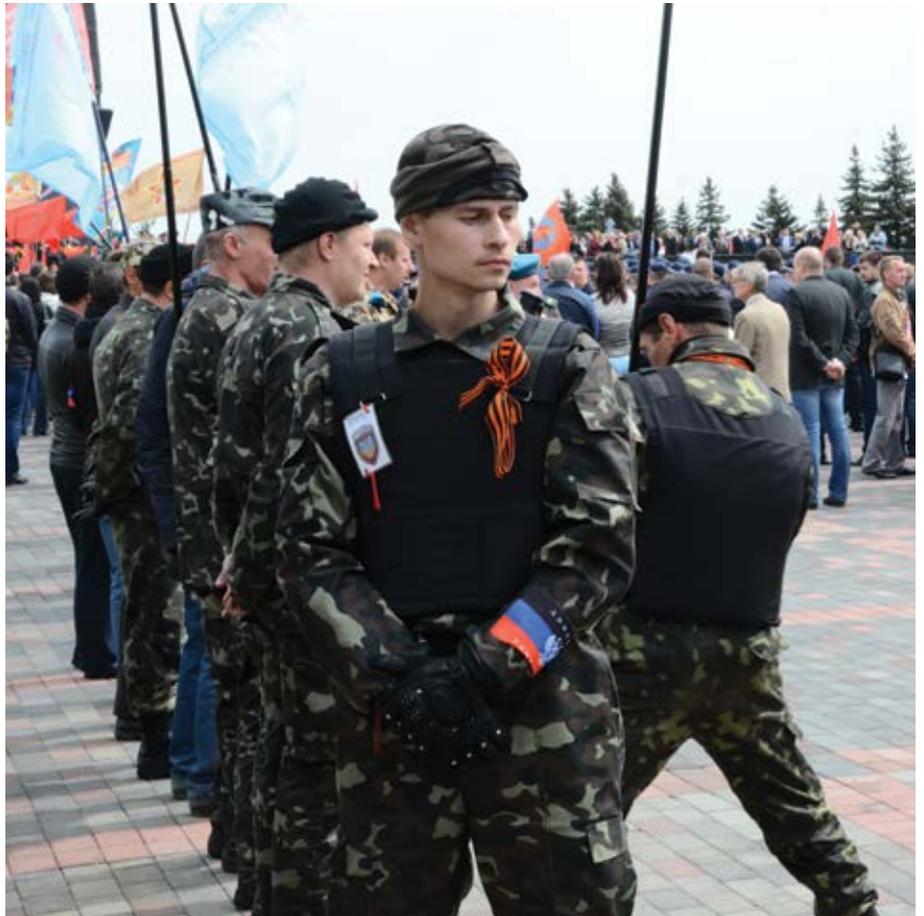
Russia placed the Baltic states under strong political and military pressure before NATO stationed troops on their territories. Most recently, Belarus has borne the brunt of Russian pressure.

In view of the deep differences on Europe between Russia and the west, there is likely no quick fix to east-west tensions.

An end to sanctions and recognition

Soviet states if they gave up their nuclear weapons. This abandonment would undermine the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

It will be several years before a compromise between the conflicting interests of Russia and the west can be worked out. In the meantime, east-west tensions can become more dangerous than during the closing phase of the Cold War because the old rules of conduct have largely disappeared. What is now required is to



Russian soldiers in Donetsk: The city was one of the centres of the 2014 pro-Russian conflict in Ukraine.

of a Russian zone of influence might not, therefore, achieve reconciliation. Instead, it might make matters worse. The foreign policy concept suggests that recognition of a Russian zone of influence would not end Russia's attempt to neuter the EU and NATO. Without sanctions and western support for Ukraine, recognition could lead to the subjugation of Ukraine and some other former Soviet republics, as well as a shift in the balance of power. Finally, it would undercut the Budapest Memorandum of 1994, under which the United States and others gave security assurances to Ukraine and other former

be prudent in both words and deeds; to maintain, and possibly strengthen, sanctions and deterrence; to combat Russian misinformation and cyber-attacks and support for populist parties in western Europe and the United States; and finally, to continue to talk to the Russians, both to avoid military collisions and to look for areas of agreement and common interest, including negotiating nuclear arms reductions.

Derek Fraser is a retired Canadian diplomat who was once ambassador to Ukraine.

Russia's revolutionary ideas



George Fetherling

Canada is celebrating its 150th birthday this year and on the other side of the world perhaps the most profound such observance right now is the centenary of the Russian Revolution of 1917. Several important new books on the subject are being published. All of them struggle, some more successfully than others, to explain the incredibly complex web of events that made Russia view the west as its enemy and vice versa.

S.A. Smith of Oxford University is certainly one of the most important historians in the crowded field of Russian studies. He holds the unusual distinction — unusual for someone in the west at least — of having been educated at universities in Moscow and Beijing. He has published noted books on each of these countries' communist revolutions, not to mention a work comparing the two. Some years ago, he wrote an excellent beginners' guide to the Russian uprisings in the wonderful Oxford University Press called *Very Short Introductions*. His new title, *Russia in Revolution: An Empire in Crisis, 1890-1928* (Oxford, \$34.95), is like a vast enlargement of the small one, taking into account a great deal of fresh research and thought.

The two dates he uses as bookends in his title are somewhat elastic. Yes, they encompass the period when the Russian Empire fell and the Soviet Union sprang up in its place, but why those two dates in particular? Well, 1890 was probably the apex of czarist economic expansion, industrialization and infrastructure-building (as seen by the fact that the Trans-Siberian Railway was just being built). The year 1928 is more firmly fixed in history. By then, Stalin was already in charge and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had begun collectivization and the first five-year plan was under way.

In a nutshell, what caused the Russian Revolution? Despite the way it was governed, the Russian Empire and its aristoc-



On Oct. 25, 1914, Lenin's Bolsheviks finally won control of Petrograd. The following day, in a masterpiece of symbolism, they stormed the czar's Winter Palace.

racy in particular were no less sophisticated than the British or the French ones, but were, to say the least, much more resistant to change. Until Russia's status quo began to crumble, for example, the country still followed the Julian calendar, which lagged behind the Gregorian calendar that other western countries had been using for generations. The Russians were thus 12 days behind everyone else (later, 13): a small but telling point. And, again as compared to the other European imperial powers, Russian society was far more cruel.

The time of troubles redux

Tyrannical czars and emperors, including nonetheless remarkable ones such as Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, enforced a culture of terror that dragged on for century after century. The last Russian dynasty, the Romanovs, of which these two Greats were part, had begun on a promising note with the first Michael bringing an end to what is called the Time of Troubles. But, of course, new and different troubles began to replace the old ones. In Simon Sebag Montefiore's ironic

and euphemistic observation, Russian leaders went along ruling as they always had done, with an “effulgent majesty” that they attributed to God. This delightful phrase is found amid the horrors described in his book, *The Romanovs: 1613-1918* (Knopf Canada, \$37.50). The rumbling of the masses grew louder and louder. In 1887, Alexander Ulyanov was executed for plotting to assassinate Czar Alexander III. In 1895, Ulyanov’s younger brother, who took the name V.I. Lenin, was sentenced to 13 months in solitary and three years in Siberia.

In 1896, when Lenin was still incarcerated, Nicholas II was crowned, unaware, of course, that he would be the country’s last czar (yet suspecting that he might be the last Romanov one, because his only son was a hemophiliac). For a while, certain events — sometimes important ones — hinted that conditions might be improving. But we can see now that once the tipping point was reached and events began to get out of hand, the decline into chaos was inevitable.

Russians at this time were quite expansionist with respect to the farthest reaches of the empire in the east (consider the Trans-Siberian Railway once again). They controlled Vladivostok, but needed another seaport, one that could operate year round. In 1904, they provoked a war with Japan, hoping to establish a port on the Korean Peninsula (which Japan had recently captured). All the smart money was on Russia, but such bets were folly. Japan opened with a sneak attack on the Russian squadron at Port Arthur. They then carried on into 1905, decimating not only Russia’s navy, but also the czar’s troops on land.

As Nicholas was losing the war, he was losing his authority as well. To bolster his position, he called a conference of regional governors and promised to institute various social reforms. But the changes were never enacted. People were becoming increasingly radicalized. From his exile in Switzerland, Lenin awaited his opportunity to pounce. Before he could do so, however, a mob of angry workers marched on the czar’s Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. In what became known as Bloody Sunday, Nicholas’s forces massacred hundreds of them, setting off riots and work stoppages nationwide.

In sympathy, the starving crew of the battleship *Potemkin*, part of the Black Sea fleet, mutinied. Nicholas responded to such disturbances with a promise of civil liberties and a new legislative structure, to be reinforced by a constitution called the Fundamental Laws. In that way, he took

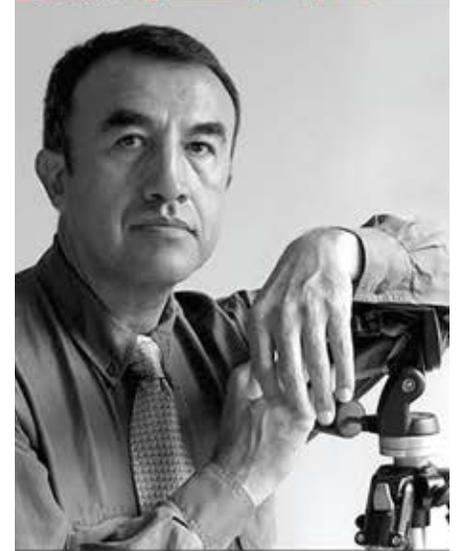
the air out of the attempted revolution of 1905, but he wouldn’t survive the vastly bigger one to come.

What did the czar know and when did he know it?

Retelling these famous events is easy enough. Interpreting the czar’s thought processes, not only then, but in the world war that soon set Europe ablaze, is far more difficult. Robert Service, in *The Last of the Tsars: Nicholas II and the Russian Revolution* (Macmillan, \$32.99), and Dominic Lieven in *The End of Tsarist Russia: The March to World War I & Revolution* (Penguin Random House, \$24 paper), do their damndest.

The Great War, as it came to be called — the war to end all wars, as people said hopefully — broke out in the summer of 1914. Czar Nicholas aligned himself with the Germans and Austrians against the British and others, and in September took command of the Russian army. But on March 2, he abdicated. The very next day, St. Petersburg was rechristened Petrograd and made the headquarters of the new provisional government that was thrown together to continue the old ways while fighting the growing radical threat. Exactly one month later, Lenin ended his exile in Zurich and arrived back home in a sealed train arranged for him by the Germans. Another important new book, *Lenin on the Train* by Catherine Merridale (Metropolitan Books, \$42), describes (and dissects) the scene with considerable skill.

Conditions in Petrograd became increasingly perilous: the familiar combination of food shortages and street-to-street fighting that we see today almost daily in various parts of the Middle East. Large groups of people were rioting in the streets. Lenin’s political party, the Russian Social Democratic Party, was now split. His faction, the Bolsheviks (the word means “the majority”), tried to engineer a coup against the provisional prime minister, Alexander Kerensky. At the same time, the provisional government’s new supreme general, a man named Kornilov, was plotting a coup of his own from the opposite political pole. Neither plot was successful, yet huge volcanic events were not far away. On Oct. 25, Lenin’s Bolsheviks finally won control of Petrograd. The following day, in a masterpiece of symbolism, they stormed the czar’s Winter Palace. These events are called the October Revolution, though they took place in November by the calendar then in use, which Lenin abandoned early the following year.



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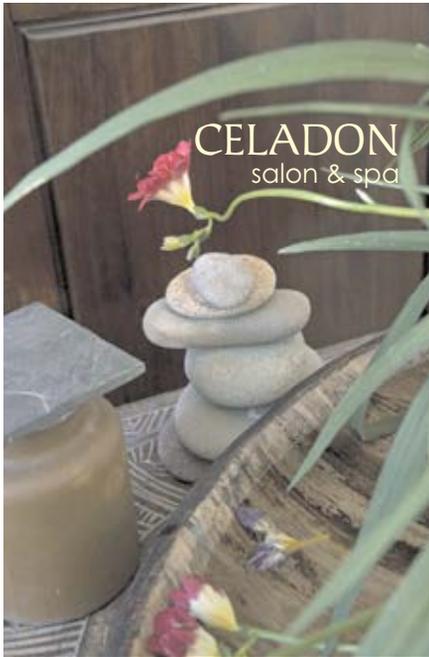
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One damn thing after another

Lenin had been saying for years that once he attained power, he would withdraw his country from the European war and let all the capitalists fight it out amongst themselves. The Allies, in particular the British, were horrified at the prospect that additional German armies would be fighting them and not the Russians. A great deal of time, money and espionage energy was spent trying to dissuade Lenin or thwart him. One of the hidden delights in Helen Rappaport's new book, *Caught in the Revolution: Petrograd, Russia, 1917 — A World on Edge* (St. Martin's Press, \$38.99), is her description of Somerset Maugham's role in this diplomatic campaign. Highly skilled British spies, such as Robin Bruce Lockhart and his friend, Sidney Reilly,



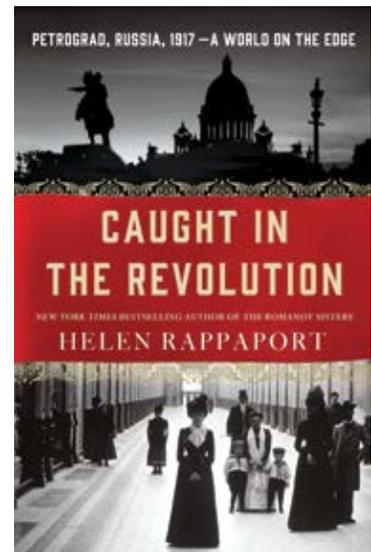
Author Helen Rappaport

were part of this effort. And then there was Somerset Maugham, of all people.

Maugham was then best known as a successful West End playwright rather than as a novelist. The precursor of MI6 got the idea that he could help change Lenin's mind (though Lenin was a man whose threat was his bond). Maugham's qualifications were that he knew a smattering of Russian and had read some Chekhov. He lived in fine Russian hotels and enjoyed great quantities of caviar

and vodka "at the expense of two governments" and cabled encrypted gossip to his handler. In the code book, "Davis" meant Lenin, "Cole" meant Leon Trotsky and "Eyre & Co." meant His Majesty's government. (After the war, he wrote popular spy stories for a while.)

Early in 1918 — towards the end of the war, in which the Americans had joined the previous year — Lenin made his separate peace with Germany. Had he not done so, the war might easily have dragged on. At the same time, he gave the Bolshevik party a new name: the Communist Party (and moved the capital to Moscow). Shortly afterwards — about six weeks before Czar Nicholas and his family were murdered — Lenin was badly wounded

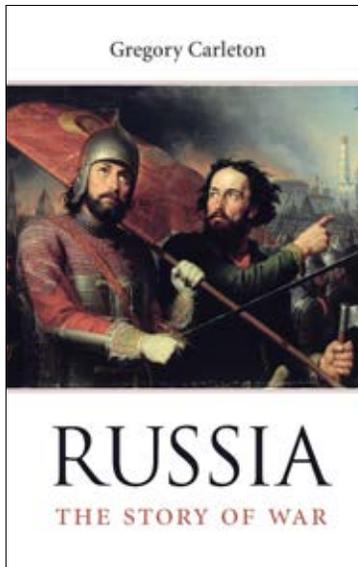


in an assassination attempt, and for the next two years was largely occupied with winning the Russian Civil War, in which various armies raced back and forth across the interminable landscape.

Lenin's communist Red Army fought the White Army. The latter was a looser organization, counting in its ranks both socialists and monarchists, for instance. The Green Army, one could say, didn't take sides: it battled both the Reds and the Whites equally. It was a civil war with many unusual features, including a White army under the command of an admiral. Then there was the Czech-Slovak Legion, 50,000 strong, who were stranded in Siberia, but hijacked the Trans-Siberian Railway and fought their way out, eventually creating their own country: Czechoslovakia. The story is well told in Kevin J. McNamara's new book, *Dreams of a Great Small Nation* (Public Affairs, \$37.50).

Officially, the civil war ended in 1920, but was still being fought on a smaller scale in 1922 when the U.S.S.R. was formed and Lenin quit politics after suffering two strokes. In the Russian part of northern Asia there were stray outbreaks of fighting even in the mid-1930s. Lenin had died in 1924, so that was Stalin's problem.

One final book on the subject. *Russia: The Story of War* by Gregory Carleton (Harvard University Press, \$29.50) is a deeply



thought-out and beautifully written inquiry into how “war saturates Russian culture” and always has done. The author means not merely the arts, but the very society itself. “Other nations fight, die, attack, defend, but no other [the Russians believe] has faced such a persistent wave of challenges and threats from century to century. This perceived distinction is so great that it serves as the foundation for a Russian myth of exceptionalism.”

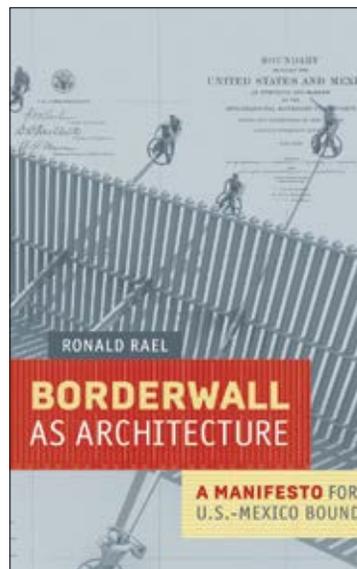
And briefly...

Will U.S. President Donald Trump actually build a wall between the U.S. and Mexico (or rather extend the sections constructed during the Bill Clinton and George W. Bush administrations, and join the new and old bits together to make a single continuous barrier)? He keeps saying he will, but the picture of it in his mind seems to change shape. As of this writing, his latest idea is to construct the barrier out of giant solar panels so as to pay for the construction by selling the energy the project would generate.

At least some apparent experts have pronounced this scheme unworkable. Then there's Ronald Rael, a professor of

architecture at the University of California at Berkeley who briefly takes the idea seriously in his highly unusual book, *Borderwall as Architecture: A Manifesto for the U.S.-Mexico Boundary* (University of California Press, \$29.95 paper). This is a work that harks back to the days of Buckminster Fuller and Marshall McLuhan — especially the latter. Rael tosses out ideas on nearly every page, seemingly for the fun of doing so.

Here are some of his notions: a wall made of mesh so that an American horse and a Mexican one can race each other along its path, or a wall that becomes invisible when the air above is heated to the point at which one sees not the real wall, but merely a mirage. Other thoughts



include teeter-totters so that a child in Mexico can see-saw with an American kid on the other side of the divide. But Rael has a serious message as well. He thinks the idea of a wall is farcical and would not limit illegal immigration.

A sober discussion of various present-day border walls can be found in Marcello Di Cintio's relatively recent book, *Walls: Travels Along the Barricades* (Goose Lane, \$29.95). In the end, I suppose, the sorts of walls discussed in such books either work or fail according to their intentions. The Great Wall of China was built to bar invaders from the north. But China was overrun anyway. By comparison, Hadrian's Wall, built across the narrowest part of Great Britain in the 1st Century BCE, wasn't so much an obstacle to kept people out as it was a means of regulating the flow.

An author himself, George Fetherling's new novel is *The Carpenter from Montreal*.

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Vietnam's complex cuisine



Margaret Dickenson

Vietnam, a long, narrow country, lies south of China, east of Laos and Cambodia and west of the South China Sea. The Vietnamese trace their origins back more than 4,000 years to the Red River Delta around Hanoi where area farmers became renowned for their rice cultivation. Beginning in the Second Century BC, the Vietnamese repeatedly had to face periodic Chinese aggression; however, in the 19th Century, Vietnam became a united state. Despite a period of humbling French colonialism and, more recently, the devastating American intervention, Vietnamese pride prevailed. Yet these intruders, particularly the Chinese and French, left an indelible mark on the food history and culture of Vietnam. Outsiders figure prominently in the country's long history, due, in part, to its lengthy coastline. Vietnamese cuisine is an adaption to their own palates of Chinese, French, Indian and Japanese culinary traditions. Add to that mix a diverse topography, from sandy coasts and fertile highlands to forested mountains and waterlogged rice paddies.

Vietnamese Ambassador Nguyen Duc Hoa emphasizes that geography, too, plays a critical role. Vietnam can be divided into three regions — northern, central and southern — which complicates the assumption of what can be considered an overall Vietnamese cuisine. Climate in the north is difficult and its four seasons considerably limit the availability of ingredients, resulting in a major dependence on rice and the need to create recipes with a modest spectrum of ingredients. The hot weather of the south, with just a wet and a dry season, allows for a more relaxed lifestyle featuring an abundant quantity and variety of produce. Fresh ingredients all year around are key to the south's simple and appealing cuisine.

Vietnamese cooking is one of the healthiest in the world. It's all about fresh-



Margaret Dickenson's Vietnamese Quick-Skillet Barbecued Ribs

ness, locally sourced and seasonal ingredients, minimal use of dairy and oil, plus a strong reliance on vegetables and herbs.

Balance: Five flavours, five senses

The Asian principle of five elements strongly influences Vietnamese cuisine, which achieves a unique level of refined complexity through the balance of the five flavours — salty, sweet, sour, spicy and bitter — as well as an appeal to our five senses — sight, smell, taste, hearing and touch. Dealing first with the latter, the expression “we eat with our eyes” puts a focus on colourful, well-arranged food. An appeal to the senses continues with aromatic ingredients such as herbs and the blending of the flavours that linger on the palate. The crunch of crispy morsels emits sound and diners can even experience the sensation of touching food.

The saltiness from the five flavours either comes from salt or fermented sea-

food sources, with fish sauce being the most common and so fundamental to the cuisine that a bowl of rice simply drizzled with fish sauce might be considered as a meal in itself. The best fish sauce — virgin-pressed, like olive oil — is made from only two ingredients, small fish (usually anchovies) and salt. The ingredients are layered in wooden vats, weighted down to keep them submerged in their own liquid and stored for up to a year in a hot environment. The resulting dark brown, pungent extract, considered an “extra virgin” fish sauce called *nuoc mam cot*, is reserved for table use. A second extraction, where salt and water are added to the already fermented fish, produces the cooking variety. Particularly in the south, a rather foul-smelling violet paste of salted fermented shrimp, crab or various types of fish provides a salty dimension when stirred into noodle soups.

Although northerners do not typically

like sweets, underlying notes of sweetness do enhance sweet and savoury dishes. Sweetness comes from sugar, sugar cane, fruit, as well as vegetables such as squash and pumpkin, which, when cooked, impart a succulent sweetness to soups, meats and seafood. The broth — or the “soul” — of the well-known classic Vietnamese soup known as *pho* is made of fish or meat and relies on the delightful intrinsic sweetness released from slowly boiling bones for hours.

Sweetness is counter-balanced by the sour tastes of tart fruits such as citrus fruits, tomato and seasonal *dracontomelon*. Fresh lime juice is added to noodle soups and dipping sauces. The juice of *kasamansi*, a small, green-skinned, orange-fleshed citrus fruit, mixed with salt and pepper, becomes a versatile dipping sauce for meat, seafood and omelettes. In the south, tamarind functions as the souring agent in *canh chua*, a fish and vegetable soup. In the north, some commercial kitchens, and to a lesser extent, home cooks, may opt to use vinegar. Sour foods typically create balance in hot, spicy dishes.

Most Vietnamese dishes call for an abundant use of fresh herbs including cilantro, basil and mint, but only a selective use of spices. Spices are regional, and with the exception of central Vietnam, dishes are generally not overly spicy. With Vietnam being a major producer and exporter of peppercorns, ground white and pungent black peppercorns season a wide spectrum of dishes from rice porridge, called *chao*, to beef stews. Other favourite spices include star anise and cinnamon, and mainly in the south, curry introduced by Indian traders. Curry chicken with coconut milk and lemongrass and curried beef come across as more aromatic than fiery hot.

The Vietnamese infuse bitterness with bitter cucumber, grapefruit, wild seeds and an herb referred to as knotgrass.

Rice and other staples

At the core of Vietnamese cuisine lies rice. The imperial court served rice with salt to esteemed guests. Today, locals enjoy rice once or twice every day and on special occasions, offer a bowl of rice to deceased ancestors. Rice accompanies a myriad of stir-fried meat, fish and vegetable dishes. It is fried in a wok with vegetables, eggs and other ingredients, then topped with sautéed coriander and small clams, or is broken into small pieces, then steamed and piled high with barbecued pork, an egg and cucumber, and served with a dipping sauce. In central and southern



Vietnamese cooks wrap almost anything. These are their legendary salad rolls which are, in this case, rice paper wrapped around shrimp, vermicelli noodles and vegetables.

Vietnam, sticky or glutinous rice becomes a robust breakfast treat, known as *xoi ngo*, when served plain or combined with dried corn or pulses, but virtually always topped with a tasty sprinkling of salt, sugar, sesame seeds and crushed peanuts. Glutinous rice along with sugar and coconut milk form the basis for local sweets, or rice can be layered with pork, then wrapped in banana or bamboo leaves and steamed to create the specialty known as *banh chung*. The versatility of rice, once soaked and ground into flour, seems limitless. It's used to make everything from noodles, crackers and sweets to translucent rice paper, which, when dampened, serves as a wrap for salad rolls. The ambassador points out that during troubled times, struggling citizens also relied on

sweet potatoes and casava.

Vietnamese people love noodles and eat them daily, sometimes at every meal and even as a snack. Types vary, with rice, wheat, mung bean and egg being the most common. They come in different shapes, thicknesses, textures and colours. Although many noodle dishes, such as *pho*, are ubiquitous throughout Vietnam, regional specialties exist. Besides *pho* and other dishes, the northern area can rightly sing its own praises for its *bun cha*, barbecued sliced pork or pork patties served with vermicelli rice noodles, and *banh cuoh*, freshly made and steamed noodle sheets which are then stuffed with a filling of seasoned ground pork, mushrooms and shallots. Central Vietnam remains renowned for its *cao lau*, an exquisitely

light and complex dish featuring coarse, dense-textured noodles made from a labour-intensive dough. The process involves grinding broken rice into a powder, soaking it in tap water spiked with lye water coming from certain local wells that are naturally infused with tree ash. The resulting noodles have a muddy brown colour and a subtle, smoky taste. Once cooked, these noodles are doused with a bit of robustly flavoured sauce, then crowned with slices of stewed pork, blanched bean sprouts, fresh greens and herbs and crunchy croutons of the same dough.

Southerners take pride in *bun mam*, a robust steamed rice vermicelli soup loaded with bold and clashing colours, flavours and textures — pungent, fishy, sweet, sour, dark, velvety and crunchy — all competing to dominate the palate. Often referred to as “Mekong in a bowl,” its main elements include rice noodles in a fish-paste broth, greens and pieces of *bac ha*, the fleshy, very thick stem of the taro plant with a web-like structure that traps the broth, offering an experience similar to that of bread dipped in soup. Two noodle dishes popular across the country are mung bean starch noodles eaten with steamed fish or stir-fried with crab meat, and very thin rice flour noodles, shaped into rather fragile nests that are rolled into salad leaves along with grilled meat. The Vietnamese also add Chinese-style noodles to soups or fry them before topping with a stir-fry of seafood, meat and vegetables in a gravy-like sauce.

The Vietnamese wrap almost anything in translucent rice paper rolls — steamed fish, grilled meat, chicken, shrimp, pork, rice noodles, lettuce, herbs, even slices of star fruit and green banana. Types vary and include do-it-yourself rolls, deep-fried spring rolls and fresh salad rolls.

Vietnamese people particularly enjoy chicken and pork. Barbecued marinated pork can fill breakfast baguette sandwiches or it can be stacked onto broken rice. The ambassador’s wife, Nguyen Anh Thu Tran, notes that more beef is being used today than previously. It appears in *pho*; it can be pan-fried as steak, slow-cooked with tomato to make a stew, or skilfully wrapped in wild pepper leaves and grilled. She also says “less popular” goat tends to be eaten with beer and alcohol.

The country’s river deltas and long coastline supply an abundance of seafood and fish. Fresh-water catches include catfish, snakehead fish and small clams destined to be consumed with rice, in a broth with noodles, or simply scooped up

on rice crackers. Flooded paddies provide tiny crabs. Their pulverized shells are used to make a crimson broth for a thin rice noodle dish with tomatoes, while golf ball-sized snails become part of noodle dishes such as a snail soup, called *bun oc*, or can be chopped with lemongrass and herbs, packed into escargot shells and steamed.

Vegetables cover the gamut from ordinary to extraordinary and include fiddleheads, water spinach and a parade of blossoms. Vietnamese people like leafy greens such as lettuce, watercress and mustard and use them in crispy pork and shrimp pancake rolls that are dipped in fish sauce. A treasure trove of fruits range from mangoes, guavas, lychees and passion fruit to the deliciously exotic mangosteen. Young jackfruit tends to be used more like a vegetable. It is often shredded, drizzled with fish sauce, sprinkled with crushed peanuts and served as a side.

The sweet stuff

Desserts and sweets are very popular, particularly during festivals. They include traditional cakes enriched with lotus and sesame seeds and peanuts, French crême caramel, ice cream, yogurts, cold sweet soups with a tapioca and coconut-milk base and shaved ice garnished with all sorts of bits and drizzles.

Meals strive to respect the concept of yin and yang by balancing food with the environment through the “heating” and “cooling” power of certain ingredients. Traditionally, a typical Vietnamese meal consists of rice or noodles, a meat or seafood dish, vegetables, soup and dipping sauces. But with today’s busy lifestyle, weekday dinners tend to be simpler affairs. All dishes are placed in the centre of the table to be shared.

Certainly, street food stalls appear everywhere in cities, offering tempting fare from charcoal-fired lemongrass and sugar cane skewers of chicken, beef and shrimp to stir-fried snails, fish in banana leaves, lotus leaf-wrapped sticky rice combinations, fried crickets and hard-boiled duck embryos.

To taste Vietnamese cuisine, please try my Quick-Skillet Barbecued Ribs.

Vietnamese Quick-Skillet Barbecued Ribs

Makes 4 servings

3 1/4 lb (1.4 kg) pork back spare ribs
2 tbsp (30 mL) brown sugar
1 2/3 tbsp (23 mL) soy sauce
1 2/3 tbsp (23 mL) fish sauce



2 tsp (10 mL) minced fresh garlic
1 tsp (5 mL) peeled and grated fresh gingerroot
1/3 tsp (2 mL) ground star anise
1/3 tsp (2 mL) five-spice powder
1 tbsp (15 mL) canola oil

Garnish

Sprigs of fresh herbs such as cilantro, mint, chives
Edible flowers (optional)

1. Remove membrane from underside of ribs by loosening a corner (at the wide end) with a sharp pairing knife. Grasp the membrane and pull gently but firmly to peel off membrane.
2. Cut ribs into single units.
3. In a small bowl, mix together brown sugar, soy sauce, fish sauce, garlic, ginger, star anise and five-spice powder.
4. Heat oil in two large heavy non-stick skilletes over medium heat. Stir-fry ribs (lowering heat as necessary) until browned on all sides. Cover, reduce to lowest heat and cook for about 10 minutes.
5. Transfer ribs to a platter. Clean skilletes thoroughly and return to low heat.
6. Return ribs to skillet. Pour spice mixture over ribs and cook for about five minutes, turning constantly with a silicone spatula and, if necessary, adjusting seasoning as desired.
7. Serve the barbecued ribs with rice, a papaya and mango salad (or salsa) and other accompaniments of choice; garnish with sprigs of fresh herbs.

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

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Winning Rieslings from Canada and beyond



Pieter
Van den Weghe

If wine grapes were people, Riesling would have a large and crazy family. The personalities on one side would be sweet and affectionate, the other dry and austere. In between, there would be all sorts that are combinations of the two, but all would have their own sense of balance, poise and focus. And they would probably throw a great party.

Born somewhere in Germany's Rheingau, Riesling has a long and noble history. The first documented mention of the grape dates back to the 1430s, and DNA profiling has shown that it might be a grandfather to Chardonnay and Gamay Noir. From Germany, it spread across

the wine-producing world, and fantastic Rieslings now come from Austria, France's Alsace, the U.S. northwest, Australia's Clare Valley and New Zealand. Canada also produces great Rieslings in Ontario's Niagara Peninsula and Prince Edward County and in B.C.'s Okanagan Valley.

Riesling's many styles range from lush and sweet to bone-dry. Whatever the level of sweetness, the grape rarely lacks aromas and flavours. Riesling also easily expresses the qualities of where and when it's grown. It also typically produces fantastic wines in challenging, cool years.

And, through it all, the grape is profoundly defined by its acidity. Every quality wine grape possesses some level of acidity, but these qualities are the cornerstone of how Riesling tastes and feels. It is Riesling's naturally abundant acidity that keeps the wines from descending into cloying and undrinkable messes. Despite their sometimes audacious level of sweetness, they are still poised and elegant.

Fittingly, the largest amount of Riesling is planted in Germany. While much sweet

wine was made in the past, the general style of German Riesling continues to move towards drier wines. Every one of the country's wine regions produces the grape, but some of the best are from the Mosel-Saar-Ruwer. Being a cool area, the best grapes ripen on perilous, exposed slopes. A brilliant example of this is the 2014 Vollenweider Wolfer Goldgrube Riesling. Sourced mostly from old, ungrafted vines dating back a century, the wine is intensely aromatic and flavourful with mineral and crushed rock. Higher in alcohol than many others in the region, it has a distinct sense of balance. This drier Riesling is available from \$44 at Vintages.

The Humbrecht family has produced wine in France's Alsace region since the 17th Century. Today, Domaine Zind Humbrecht produces delicious biodynamic wines from 40 hectares of vineyards. Its 2015 Riesling is a good example of the region's perfumed, dry wine that has a fuller body than most German offerings. It offers excellent value at \$27 from the SAQ.

A brilliant example of Riesling's potential in the Okanagan Valley is the 2015 Tantalus. Established in 2004, the winery overlooks Kelowna and Lake Okanagan. The vineyard was first planted in 1927 and is British Columbia's oldest continuously producing site. Today, grapes are farmed naturally, with a commitment to sustainability. Winemaking focuses on intensive hand-sorting and small-batch fermentation. Citrus and minerality dominate in the 2015 vintage, while the wine retains the precise and invigorating expression of Riesling for which Tantalus is known. This is good value for \$31.50 from the SAQ.

Niagara is home to many fantastic Rieslings, but Charles Baker makes one of the best. Using the facilities at Stratus Vineyards, Baker and Stratus winemaker J.L. Groulx produces only two wines. Both are single-vineyard Rieslings, and the Picone Vineyard came first. The 2013 vintage of the Picone, available either at Vintages or directly from the winery for \$35.20, is a brilliant example of what Riesling can achieve. Aromas of flowers and tree fruit dominate, while lime and stone flavours show up on the tongue. This is a precise and intense Riesling capable of more than a little evolution with some aging.

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

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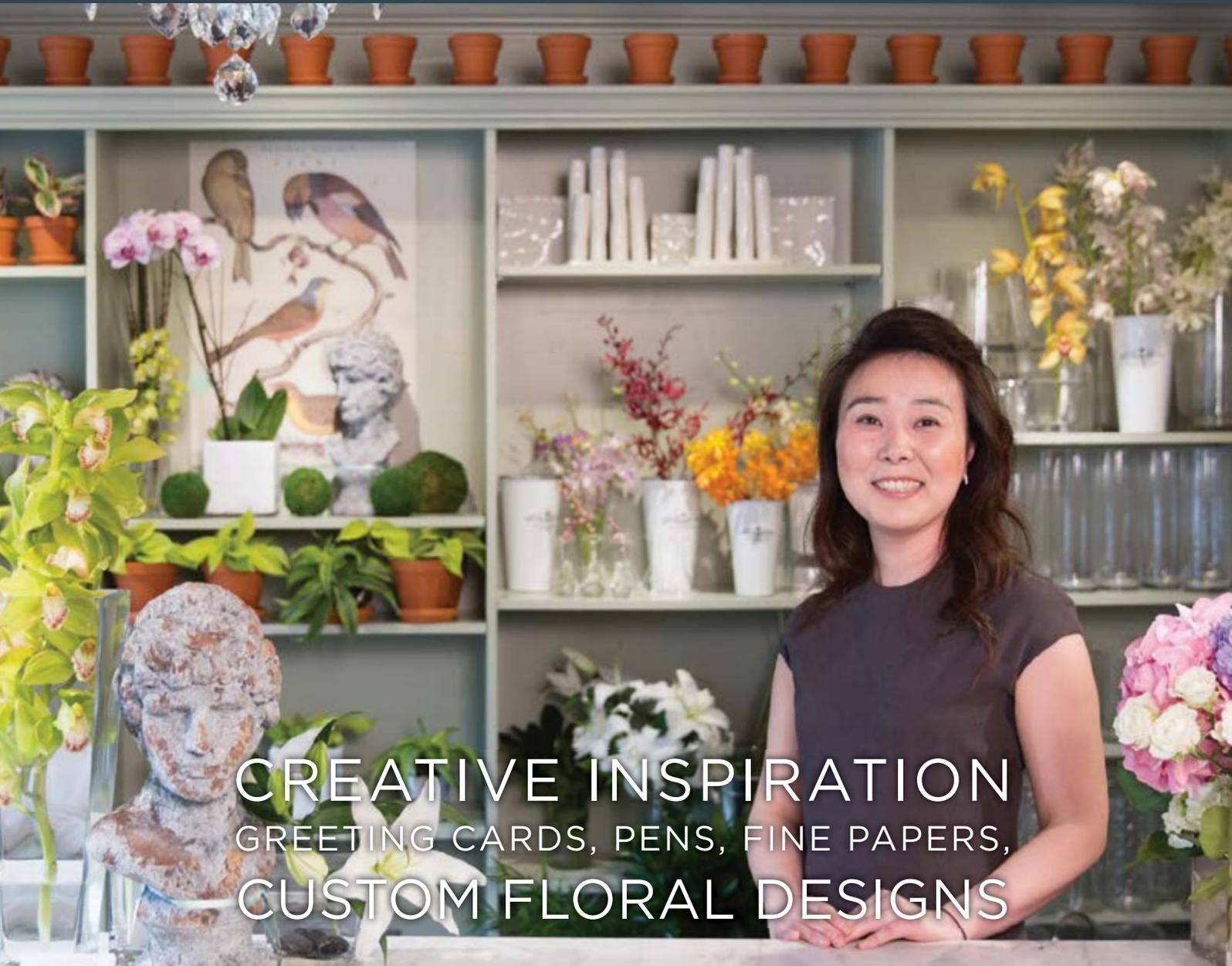
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The castle Birkett built

Photos by Ashley Fraser



Hungarian Ambassador Bálint Ódor and his wife, Lili Franciska Török, live in an urban home known as Birkett's Castle on Metcalfe Street.



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We've all seen and heard of famous castles — Windsor Castle, Prague Castle, Mont Saint Michel, Ludwig's (Mad Max's) Castle in

Bavaria. Exotic locations, fantastic designs, tourist destinations.

And then there is Birkett's Castle. Whose, you ask? Birkett's? Where would that be? Try downtown Ottawa. Ask around about Thomas Birkett, a former mayor of Ottawa with grand ideas about how he wanted to live. Perhaps he didn't think of his house on Metcalfe Street in Centretown as exactly a castle, but in 1896, the wealthy hardware merchant made sure that all the accoutrements of fine living and showmanship were included in the plans for his Gothic Baronial-style

home. There are turrets, crenellated battlements (where soldiers could fire arrows at attacking enemies), rows of rectangular windows and stepped gables.

Birkett was mayor in 1891 and a Conservative member of Parliament from 1900 to 1904. His house certainly turned heads and perhaps drew some snickers, but after he died in 1920, it went on to host some imposing tenants. It was home to the Japanese embassy from 1926 to 1930 and later served as headquarters to a number of organizations including the Canadian Boy Scouts and the Canadian Heritage



This magnificent hand-carved staircase leads from the centre hall to a landing with a large stained-glass window.



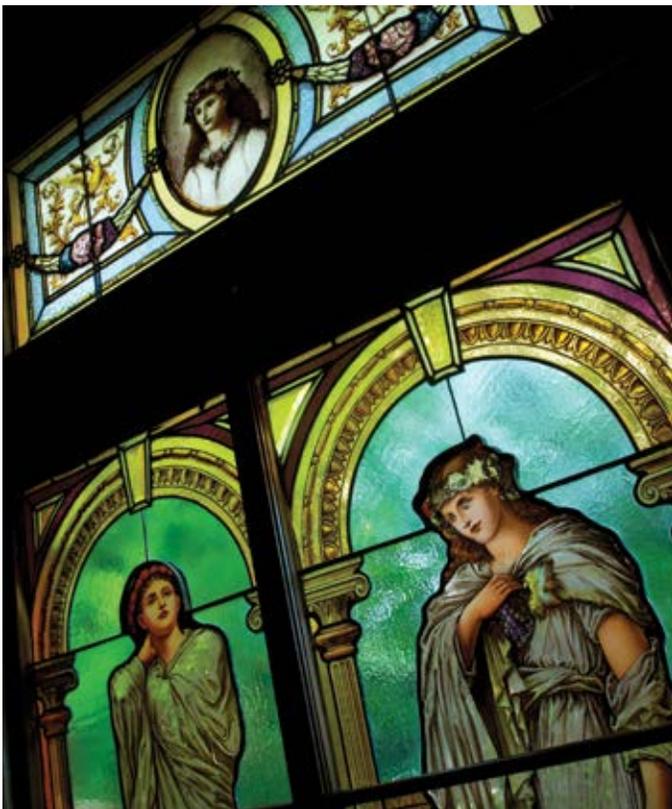
Ambassador Bálint Ódor and his wife, Lili Franciska Török.



The home's newly renovated sunroom is decorated in turquoise furniture.



The residence's pale pink dining room can seat 14 for a sit-down dinner, for which the couple usually serves Hungarian fusion cuisine.



The stained glass window at the top of the grand staircase has been lovingly preserved.



Details such as this wooden transom over the door appear throughout the home.

Foundation.

The government of Hungary bought the building in 1994, using the house as its ambassador's residence and a new wing on Waverley Street as embassy offices. In 1997, the embassy received a Certificate of Merit from the City of Ottawa for restoring and maintaining the building in its original style. Since then, the house received a heritage certificate of merit from the city, a point of great pride for



Greeting visitors in the residence's front hall is a bust of King Stephen I of Hungary.

Ambassador Bálint Ódor. The certificate hangs in the striking front hall, near the bronze head of King Saint Stephen, the first crowned king of Hungary.

Everywhere there are gleaming wooden floors, wood-framed windows and doors topped with intricate metal transoms, and there's a magnificent hand-carved staircase leading from the centre hall to a landing with a large stained-glass window.

Ódor and his wife, Lili Franciska Török, who are on their first posting abroad, are the fortunate residents of one of the capital's most distinctive homes, which is not only beautiful, but full of cultural treasures. The front door is heavy and Victorian, the pine floors inlaid.

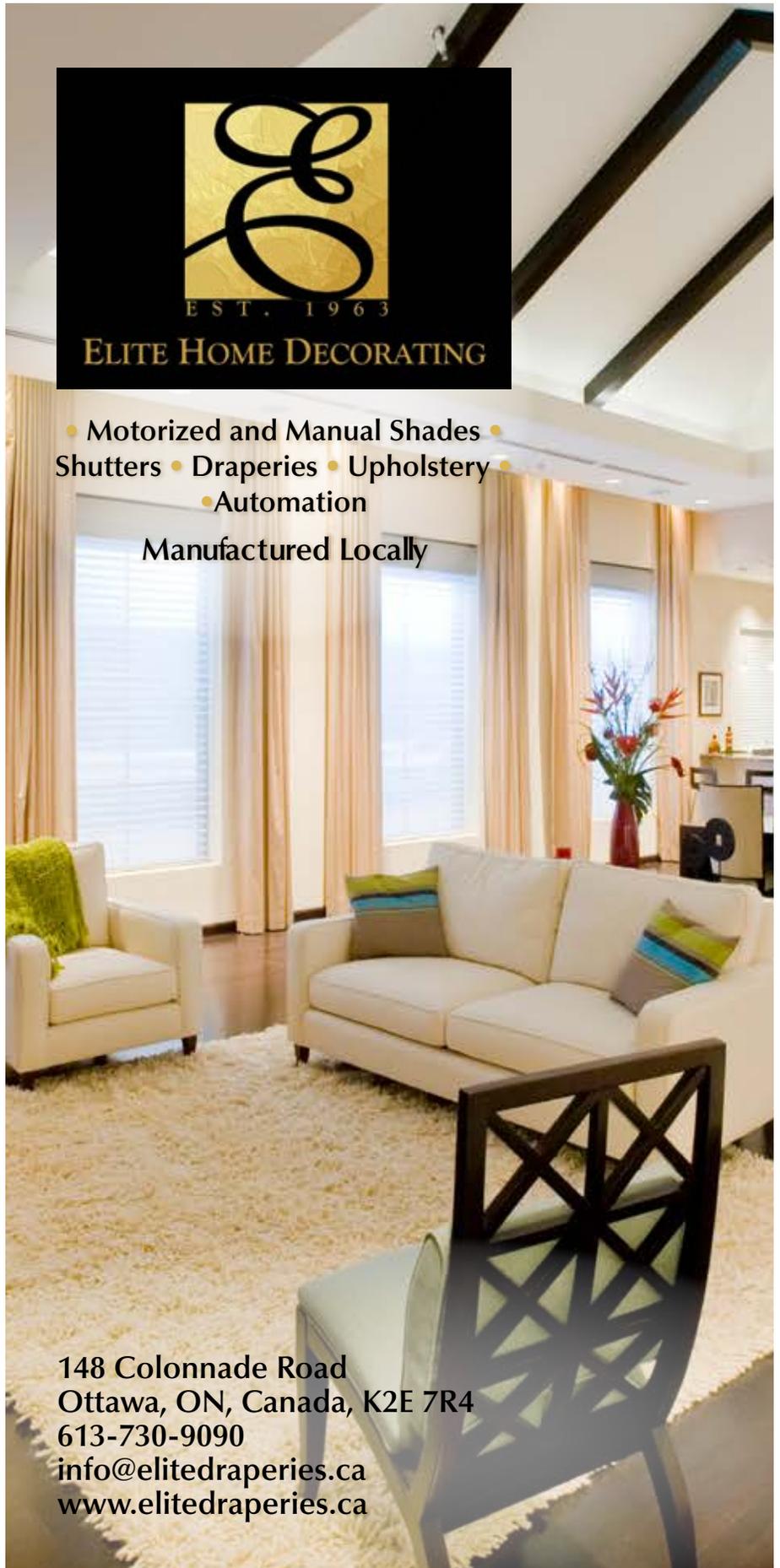
The main floor has two large receiving rooms — a main reception room with cream-coloured furniture, and an adjoining room with leather furniture and a small desk that the ambassador calls the library. A newly renovated sunroom, decorated with turquoise furniture, is the pride of the diplomatic couple. From the foundation, the home was totally restored two years ago to its original state, complete with tall leaded glass windows.

The entrance hall is covered with pink-patterned fabric wallpaper and detailed wood wainscoting, a Victorian detail repeated in all of the downstairs rooms. An exciting innovation in the residence is a piano donated to the embassy by the Royal Conservatory in Toronto, prompting Ódor, who arrived more than two years ago, to launch a series of cultural events featuring



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Hungarian artists and aptly dubbed the Concert at the Embassy Series.

He is also hugely proud of his Hungarian chef. "There is fierce competition among embassy chefs," he says, with a twinkle in his eye, "but ours is the best." The residence's pale pink dining room, which can seat 14 for a sit-down meal, usually serves fusion Hungarian food, he notes. Chicken paprikash, a classic Hungarian specialty, is prepared in a special way. For bigger receptions, they move the furniture and can host up to 150 guests. The house is equipped with a commercial kitchen.

Dinner is served on a hand-painted Herend dinner service, the famed fine porcelain from a small town in west Hungary. The embassy pattern is named after Queen Victoria, who ordered a set in 1851 and used it for the rest of her life. It's still in use by the British Royal Family.

Other cultural items deck the halls, so to speak. A beautiful collection of ceramic figures by Hungarian artist Margit Kovacs are treasured objects at the residence. A museum containing her work opened in 1973 in Szentendre, a town on the Danube River north of Budapest.

There is a bronze statuette of Hungary's most famous race horse, Kincsem, whose



The home features two large receiving rooms for diplomatic receptions, which the ambassador frequently hosts.



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name means “My Treasure” in Hungarian and who won an all-time record 54 races in 54 starts between 1876 and 1879. There’s also a Gobelin tapestry of King Matthias Corvinus, a renaissance king of Hungary, as well as oil paintings by Hungarian masters from the late 19th Century and copperplate etchings with views of Budapest that are all part of the cultural collection at the residence.

While the house looks large and imposing, there are just three bedrooms on the second floor, which is plenty of space for Ódor, Török and their two daughters, aged three years and six months. For Török, the location is perfect, with two parks, one with a pool, and the canal close by.

“We love to skate and we love the cold,” she said. “After just two weeks in Ottawa, I felt at home. It’s a wonderful place for young families.”

A small, beautiful heritage “castle” with cultural treasures, fine food, international visitors and small children seems the perfect combination for a smoothly running diplomatic life. And conveniently, Daddy’s office is attached to the residence.



The Royal Conservatory of Toronto donated this grand piano to the embassy, prompting the ambassador to launch a series of piano concerts at the residence.

Longtime journalist Margo Roston is *Diplomat’s* culture columnist.

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New arrivals

Levon Martirosyan
Ambassador of Armenia



Ambassador Martirosyan began his working life by doing his service in Armenia's armed forces for two years. In 1997, he completed his legal studies at Yerevan State University and started working as a lawyer. Four years later, he completed a master's of law in international human rights at the University of Essex's faculty of law.

In 2007, Martirosyan returned to Armenia, where he was appointed assistant to the prime minister. The following year, he became assistant to the president, a position he held until 2012 when he was elected deputy of the national assembly.

The ambassador founded two NGOs in the early 2000s — the Young Democrats' Union and the British Alumni Association. He's also the co-founder of the United Liberal National Party.

He is married with two children.

Noukpo Clément Kiki
Ambassador of Benin



Ambassador Kiki's appointment is a first for the man who's been a school teacher and administrator for the past 20 years.

Kiki studied physics at the Université d'Abomey Calavi and received a diploma from the faculty of engineering. He also studied in the arts faculty at the same university a couple of years later, completing a diploma in literature and geography and a certificate in physics. He later completed a certificate of proficiency for teaching secondary students from the Université de Parakou.

The ambassador speaks five languages: French, English, Gün, Fon and Yoruba. He is married to J. M. Sylvie Dossou and has three children — two daughters and a son.

Briunny Garabito Segura
Ambassador of the Dominican Republic



Ambassador Garabito Segura joined the diplomatic service in 1997. Prior to this post, he was ambassador to Colombia from 2013 to 2017.

The ambassador has a degree in philosophy from Santo Tomas University in Colombia. He has also completed studies in political management and governability from George Washington University and Universidad del Rosario and specialization in political sciences and international relations from Externado University.

In 2017, the Superior Council of Latin American Journalism awarded him a peace prize in Colombia for post-conflict efforts. He was also the recipient of 2015's diplomatic excellence award, given by the Dominican Republic's foreign ministry for the best administration among Dominican diplomatic missions.

The ambassador is married to Jenny Silva de Garabito, and they have two daughters. He speaks Spanish and English.

Peteris Ustubs
Ambassador of the EU



Ambassador Ustubs began his posting as the European Union's top diplomat in Canada in September 2017. Prior to his arrival in Canada, he served as a senior adviser on the Americas to the cabinet of Federica Mogherini, high representative of the European Union for foreign affairs and security policy and vice-president of the European Commission.

Ustubs has held senior positions with the European external action service, including director for west and central Africa. Prior to that, he was deputy head of cabinet for Andris Piebalgs, former European commissioner for development.

Ustubs joined the Latvian diplomatic service in 1993 and served as the representative of Latvia to the political and security committee of the EU, the foreign policy adviser to the prime minister and under-secretary of state and political director of the ministry of foreign affairs.

Kareen Rispal
Ambassador of France



Ambassador Rispal joined the foreign ministry in 1986 and began her service with the department responsible for atomic and space-related affairs before moving to the economic and financial affairs directorate.

In 1991, she became an adviser on humanitarian aid. From 1993 to 1997, she headed the external and commercial relations department of the inter-ministerial committee for European economic co-operation before becoming a policy officer on European affairs.

She then joined the legal affairs directorate until 2000 when she was named first counsellor to the U.K. After returning to Paris, she was named deputy director of European co-operation. In 2006, she was posted to France's permanent mission to the UN in New York.

She later served as director of sustainable development and public affairs with the Lafarge Group and then returned to the foreign ministry as director for the Americas and the Caribbean from 2014.

Rispal is married and has four children.

Sabine Sparwasser
Ambassador of Germany



For Ambassador Sparwasser, coming to Canada represents a return posting of sorts: She was consul general to Toronto from 2009 to 2013 and chargé d'affaires and deputy head of mission in Ottawa between 2003 and 2006. She also worked as an exchange officer to Canada for a year in 2002.

Since 2013, she's held positions in the foreign ministry, as head of the foreign service academy (2013-'15) and assistant deputy minister for Africa, Asia, Latin America, Near and Middle East as well as special representative of the federal government for Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Other postings have included Costa Rica, London, Brussels, Bonn and Paris. Sparwasser studied political science and international relations as well as German, French and English literature and linguistics. She speaks all three languages, plus Spanish.

Konstantine Kavtaradze
Ambassador of Georgia



Ambassador Kavtaradze began his career in broadcasting as assistant director of the Georgian TV and Radio Broadcasting Company before completing his two-year compulsory military service.

In 1990, he joined the foreign service as a senior specialist in the economic cooperation division and later at the international humanitarian division, which he later headed.

In 2000, he became head of the OSCE division and later, deputy director of international cultural relations. In 2001, he became director of that department and from 2004 to 2006, he was deputy minister of foreign affairs.

From 2006 to 2011, he was ambassador to Poland and from 2011 to 2015, he was ambassador to Sweden and Finland. Before being sent to Canada, he led the foreign ministry's Eastern Partnership Initiative.

Joseph Ayikoi Otoo
High Commissioner for Ghana



After completing legal studies, High Commissioner Ayikoi Otoo was called to the Ghana Bar in 1981.

He served as attorney-general and justice minister for a little more than a year in 2005 and 2006 and became a non-voting member of Ghana's parliament. He also led Ghana's delegation to international arbitrations and served on many statutory and constitutional bodies, including cabinet and sub-committees.

In 2007, he set up his own law office — Otoo & Associates — and remained there until he was appointed high commissioner to Canada.

Otoo has appeared on many television and radio programs as a political and social commentator. He has also written for Ghanaian newspapers as well as *Your Health Guide* magazine and the *Banking and Finance Law Journal* of Ghana.

Rima Alaadeen
Ambassador of Jordan



Prior to arriving in Canada, Ambassador Alaadeen was director of the North American department at the foreign ministry.

Between 2010 and 2015, she served as ambassador to Australia, becoming the first career female ambassador in the Jordanian foreign service. In 2012, she was appointed non-resident ambassador to New Zealand as well. She was also the first female diplomat to head a political department at the foreign ministry. She started her career in 1991 with postings to the UAE and Geneva.

Ambassador Alaadeen holds a bachelor's degree in law from the University of Jordan and a high diploma in diplomatic studies and comprehensive defence theories and studies. During her university years, she worked as an English news broadcaster at Jordan Television through the ministry of information.

She is married to Ghadian Daban and has two children.

Darius Pranckevičius
Ambassador of Lithuania



Ambassador Pranckevičius graduated from Vilnius University in 1992.

His foreign service career has seen stints with the Lithuanian embassies in Washington, DC and the Hague. He worked in the information and press offices of foreign ministry, as well as in economic relations and European integration.

Pranckevičius' first ambassadorial posting was as ambassador to Turkey from 2007 to 2010. During the latter three years (2008 to 2010), he was also ambassador to Iran, a posting he carried out from Turkey.

Between 2010 and 2014, he was back at the ministry as ambassador-at-large and representative at the political and security committee of the EU. From 2014 until his posting to Canada, he was director of the policy planning department.

The ambassador married and has one child. He speaks Lithuanian, English and Russian.

Ines Martinez Valinotti
Ambassador of Paraguay



Ambassador Martinez, a career diplomat, has studied law, international relations and aerospace policy and strategy. She is a graduate of the European Diplomatic Academy.

At the foreign ministry, she was a professor of treaty law at the diplomatic academy; director of integration and international transport; legal adviser for integration affairs within MERCOSUR; and director for human rights.

She was first secretary at the embassy in Brussels and the mission to the European Union. Some years later, she became permanent alternate representative to the Organization of American States in Washington, D.C.

Ambassador Martinez is a senior professor of international public law and air and space law at the National University of Asuncion.

She is married to retired ambassador Alfredo Canete; she has four children.

Andrzej Kurnicki
Ambassador of Poland



Andrzej Kurnicki holds a PhD in economics and is a specialist in finance, capital markets, private and investment banking.

In the 1980s and 1990s, he was a financial and investment adviser in the U.S. For many years, he was also an academic lecturer (University of Warsaw, Coventry University and Lazarski University) and program co-ordinator for students and senior managers in Poland and the U.S. Between 2014 and 2016, he served as head of the department of finance and banking at Lazarski University, and later, as head of its capital markets department.

He's organized international conferences for managers and private investors in Poland and the U.S. He was a student of Robert McTeera, president of the central bank (FED) in the U.S.

Ambassador Kurnicki currently chairs or participates in more than 40 panels and discussion boards in finance, investment banking and capital markets programs.

Joy Ruth Acheng
High Commissioner for Uganda



Joy Ruth Acheng comes to diplomacy from politics, but she began her career as a teacher. After completing a bachelor's degree in education at Makerere University in Kam-

pala, she taught part-time at St. Katherine and Aduku Senior Secondary schools.

Between 2002 and 2004, she became secretary for education and children affairs in the Apach District. She then completed a post-graduate diploma in public administration and management, before becoming a social worker at War Child Holland's Lira field office, a position she held between 2008 and 2010. Between 2011 and 2016, she was a member of parliament for the Kole District. Since 2013, she has been a board member at All Saint University in Lango.

High Commissioner Acheng is currently completing a master's degree at the Uganda Management Institute in Kampala. She is married and speaks three languages: English, Luo and some Kiswahili

Susan le Jeune d'Allegeershecque
High Commissioner for the U.K.



High Commissioner le Jeune d'Allegeershecque began her career with the foreign service in 1985 as a desk officer in the nuclear energy department. Two years later,

she was sent to Brussels as third secretary, which was upgraded to second secretary before she left the post in 1989.

She returned to headquarters for two years before being sent to Singapore as second secretary. After another return to the ministry, she was off for the next three years to Caracas as deputy head of mission. She then spent three more years in Bogota in the same position.

From 2005 to 2007, she was counsellor and consul general in Washington and was later sent as ambassador to Vienna (2012-2016). Prior to her posting in Canada, she was chargé d'affaires at the U.K.'s embassy in Paris.

The high commissioner is married and has two children.

Non-heads of mission

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Susan Joy Pullar
Counsellor
Peter John Beacroft
Second secretary

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Georges Patrick L. Franchomme
Defence attaché

Bosnia And Herzegovina

Zlatko Aksamija
Counsellor and chargé d'affaires

Brazil

Alcides Teixeira
Barbacovi
Defence and air attaché

Chile

Sebastien Eduardo Molina Medina
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First secretary
Gang Wang
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Katalin Oroszi
First secretary
Zoltan Jatekos
Second secretary

India

Rakesh Mohan
Second secretary

Indonesia

Fibria Rhischa Novyatasari
Attaché

Ireland

Laura Ann Finlay
Second secretary

Israel

Amos Nachmani
Defence attaché

Japan

Ami Taniguchi
Attaché
Saori Deguchi
Third secretary

Jordan

Fahed Faleh Alahmad Al Damen
Defence, military, naval and air attaché

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Kosovo

Blerta Ademi Beqiri
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Attaché
Hasham Almotawaa
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Robert Emil Tibbetts
Second secretary and consul
Miles Hollis Ketchum
Attaché
Dawn Lenay Welfare
First secretary
Steven Charles Teschendorf
Coast Guard attaché
Eric Crawford Hammarsten
Second secretary

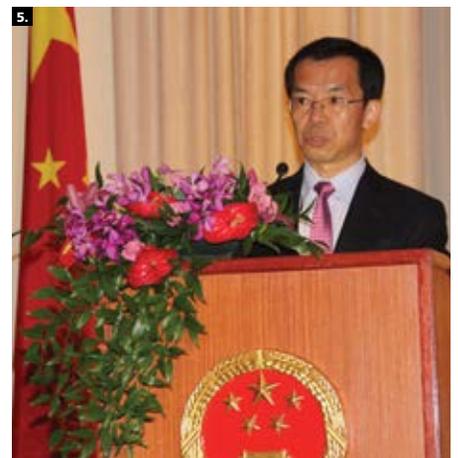


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1. Montreal's Bokréta Hungarian Folkdance Ensemble performed at a Hungarian Ottawa Welcomes the World event at the Horticulture Building, Lansdowne Park. Ambassador Bálint Ódor invited members of the public to join the dancers at the finale of the show. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. To celebrate Canada's 150th anniversary, Ambassador Ódor also hosted a concert by the Szentegyháza Children's Philharmonia at Centrepointe Theatre. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. The Taipei Economic and Cultural Office held a Taiwan culture day at the Horticultural building at Lansdowne Park as part of Canada Welcomes the World for Canada 150. These performers took part. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 4. The Czech embassy, along with 18 other embassies, partnered for a day-long cultural event at Lansdowne Park. Czech Ambassador Pavel Hrnčíř served Czech beer with the help of his assistant, Tereza Horanková, right. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. To bid farewell to Tunisian Ambassador Riad Essid and his wife, Shiraz, Lebanese chargé d'affaires Sami Haddad and his wife, Nadia, shown here, hosted a dinner at their residence. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. Korean Ambassador Maeng-ho Shin delivered opening remarks at the Korean Culture Fair at Lansdowne Park's Horticulture Building. The event was organized by the Korean Cultural Centre in association with the embassy in celebration of Canada's 150th birthday. (Photo: Ulle Baum)



1. Argentine Ambassador Marcelo Gabriel Suarez Salvia and his wife, Lucia Margarita Borjas de Suarez, hosted an independence day reception at Ottawa City Hall. They are shown with their daughters, Matilde and Catalina. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. Estonian Ambassador Gita Kalmet (left) stands with Alexandra Bugailiskis, assistant deputy minister for Europe at Global Affairs Canada, at a reception hosted by the Estonian embassy at the Canadian Museum of Nature to mark Estonia's presidency of the Council of the European Union. The event included an exhibition by Estonian fashion designer Anu Hint. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. Indian High Commissioner Vikas Swarup hosted a national day reception at the Delta Hotel. He's shown here with Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. Eleonore Wnendt, wife of former German ambassador Werner Wnendt, is shown with National Capital Commission CEO Mark Kristmanson at the official opening of the exhibition titled Canada and Germany: Partners from Immigration to Innovation at the International Pavilion for Canada 150. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. Chinese Ambassador Lu Shaye delivered opening remarks at the reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier in celebration of the 20th Anniversary of Hong Kong's return to the People's Republic of China. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. Former governor general David Johnston welcomed Italian President Sergio Mattarella to Rideau Hall during the president's state visit to Canada. (Photo: Ulle Baum)

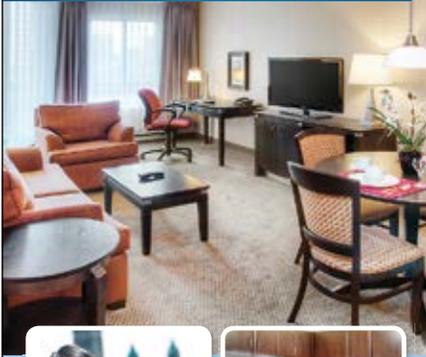


1. To mark the 119th anniversary of the Philippines' independence, Ambassador Petronila P. Garcia hosted a reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. 2. Russian Ambassador Alexander Darchiev (left) hosted a national day reception at the embassy. He's shown with Dmitry Basik, counsellor and chargé d'affaires of Belarus and his wife, Elizaveta. 3. The Tanzanian High Commission showcased its culture and economy at Lansdowne Park. Mariam Adam, of Zara Charity of Tanzania, and Fatma Amour took in some Tanzanian music at this Ottawa Welcomes the World event. 4. Barbados High Commissioner Yvonne Walkes hosted a tea party fundraiser and fashion show for the Errol Barrow Memorial Trust of Canada at her residence. From left: Walkes and a model, who is wearing a Chakou collection dress by designer Chakoutio Noubactep. 5. The Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Canada organized Taiwan Day at Lansdowne Park's Horticulture Building in celebration of Canada's 150th birthday. This woman is wearing Taiwanese Aboriginal dress. 6. At Ottawa City Hall, Slovak Ambassador Andrej Droba hosted the unveiling of Quilt of Belonging created by Canadian-Slovak artist Esther Bryan. MP Michelle Rempel, chairwoman of the Canada-Slovakia Parliamentary Friendship Group, stands in front of the quilt. (All photos: Ulle Baum)



1. The Chinese embassy's team, known as the Polar Pandas, participated in the Ottawa Dragon Boat Festival at Mooney's Bay. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. The U.S. embassy hosted a Fourth of July celebration at Lornado, the U.S. ambassador's official residence. Elizabeth Aubin, chargé d'affaires, and her husband, Daniel Aubin, hosted. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. Rafeya Bushenain, second secretary at the UAE embassy, held an exhibit of her photography at Art House Café. She is standing in front of one of her photographs. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. Venezuelan Ambassador Wilmer Omar Barrientos Fernandez hosted a national day reception at the embassy. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. Thai Ambassador Vijavat Isarabhakdi and his wife, Wannipa Isarabhakdi, hosted the "amazing Thailand festival" at Lansdowne Park's Horticulture Building as part of the Ottawa Welcomes the World Canada 150 initiative. This dancer in traditional dress was part of a cultural performance. (Photo: Ulle Baum)

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1. A Chinese delegation from Beijing attended a luncheon at Borden Ladner Gervais and heard a presentation about investment opportunities in Ottawa. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. UAE Ambassador Mohammed Saif Helal Al Shehhi hosted a reception at the embassy to present 15-year-old Alia Al Mansoori, winner of the UAE "Genes in Space Competition," with her award. From left: Al Shehhi, Al Mansoori and Sylvain Laporte, president of the Canadian Space Agency. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. To celebrate South African Women's Day, High Commissioner Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo hosted a high tea at the Westin Hotel. From left: Sophie Trudeau, wife of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, Zimbabwean Ambassador Florence Zano Chideya and Dlamini-Mntambo. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. A vernissage featuring several artists took place at the home of former ambassador Gabriel Lessard and his wife, Corinne Paollilo-Lessard. From left, Naira Velumyan, Alexey Klovov's agent; Madagascar Ambassador Constant Horace; Katia Paccagnini; Lessard; Mona Horace and Paollilo-Lessard. (Photo: Patrick Hollier)



1. The Ottawa Diplomatic Association AGM took place at the Westin. From left: South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo, Zimbabwean Ambassador Florence Chideya, Honduran Ambassador Sofia Cerrato Rodriguez, Jamaican High Commissioner Janice Miller and Barbadian High Commissioner Yvonne Walkes. 2. This Slovenian dance group performed at Slovenian Day at Lansdowne Park. 3. Cuban Ambassador Julio Garmendia hosted a farewell for minister-counsellor Deborah Ojeda. From left: Garmendia, Ojeda, consul Mailin Garcia and her husband Abel Colin. 4. The Saudi, UAE and Egyptian ambassadors held a press conference on the Qatar issue. From left, Naif Alsdairi (Saudi) and Motaz Zahran (Egypt). 5. An Indonesian festival took place at Lansdowne Park. This dancer performed in traditional dress. 6. A Pakistani showcase took place at Lansdowne Park. Here, Mayor Jim Watson, left, and High Commissioner Tariq Azim Khan sit on a Pakistani rug. 7. Player Hassan Qamar at a Cricket Cup match between the Toronto Pakistan XI and Ottawa Canada XI teams. (All photos: Ulle Baum)

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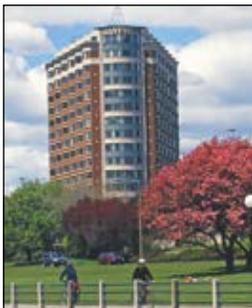
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An invitation to visit 'delicious Japan'



Enjoying cherry blossoms is a springtime rite of passage in Japan; they are shown against the country's iconic Mount Fuji.



By *Kenjiro Monji*
Ambassador of Japan

If you want a fresh experience from your overseas travel, visit Japan. Japan has been gaining popularity as one of the major tourist destinations in the world. In recent years, the number of foreign visitors increased significantly.

After achieving a decade-long goal of 10 million visitors in 2013, the number more than doubled in the following three years to top 24 million. Japan continues to push to attract a staggering 40 million by 2020, the year of the Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games. To welcome more visitors, great efforts are being made to develop tourism, including infrastructure improvements and personnel training.

Although the number of Canadian visitors has reached record levels for three years in a row, topping 270,000 in 2016, many Canadians still falsely think that travelling to Japan is expensive. While flights are more costly than those to Europe, good deals can be found. Once

you arrive in Japan, you can travel on a reasonable budget because we have a much wider price range for accommodation, meals and transportation than Canada. While you can splash out on luxury hotels, there are also many reasonably priced accommodations, such as business hotels. Likewise, there are many high-quality, yet inexpensive restaurants, including conveyor-belt sushi bars, noodle places and family restaurants. For transportation, the Japan Rail Pass, and the flat-rate air ticket service, both available only to foreign tourists, can be useful. In short, it is possible to visit Japan and have a wonderful experience without breaking the bank.

Another concern that Canadians may have is the language barrier. However, English signage and public announcements are prevalent in major cities. Japanese people, although not all fluent in English, are kind and friendly, and will be happy to try to help you. In Japan, the less Japanese you speak, the more help you will get.

Most foreign tourists visit Japan's prime destinations such as Tokyo, Mt. Fuji, Kyoto and Osaka. This itinerary is called the Golden Route. It covers major cities and regular tourist attractions. But there are many other fascinating places to visit in Japan. Some tourists, especially young ones, enjoy planning their own tours, themed around particular interests, such as skiing or snowboarding on Hokkaido's powder snow, hiking the 88 Temple Pilgrimage on the island of Shikoku, a 1,200-kilometre pilgrimage route; relaxing in hot springs in Kyushu, or enjoying beaches and marine sports in Okinawa. Also, the Anime Sacred Places Pilgrimage, where one visits the locations depicted in famous anime films, is very popular.

Lure of traditional washoku foods

I recommend you choose a culinary theme for your adventure because you can enjoy Japanese food regardless of the timing or what area of Japan you explore.

Japan is a hotspot for gastronomy. Tokyo has more Michelin-starred restaurants than Paris and London combined. In Tokyo, you can find dishes from all over the world, even including poutine and Beaver Tails. Tokyo is just the beginning of your culinary journey. You can enjoy great food throughout Japan.

Naturally, you should try washoku, Japanese traditional cuisine. Washoku was the top reason given by foreign tourists surveyed in 2015 for choosing to visit Japan. The number of Japanese restaurants in the world has exploded, reaching more than 89,000, including more than 2,600 in Canada alone. This was aided by the fact that washoku was recognized by UNESCO as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity while I was ambassador to UNESCO in 2013. Washoku is appealing because its cooking methods respect the inherent flavours of fresh, seasonal ingredients. This is combined with esthetic presentation and a sense of passing seasons. Washoku also encompasses regional differences so you can enjoy what is special, seasonal and local in each area you visit. Of course, washoku is known for its health benefits, too.

The price range for meals in Japan is



At an izakaya, you can enjoy "sakana," a snack that goes well with sake.



The small portions at izakaya allow you to try many different tastes with various kinds of sake.

very wide, from sumptuous banquets to casual eateries. Yet wherever you go, the quality and safety of food will be assured. The sales tax is just eight per cent and there is no custom of tipping. Eating out

costs less in Tokyo than it does in Ottawa.

Sake and izakaya (Japanese-style pubs)

Washoku restaurants typically specialize in a particular type of food, such as kaiseki



Customers can enjoy sake and food in a relaxed, inviting and comfortable atmosphere at an izakaya, quite often in the presence of its master or mistress.



Premium sake izakaya in back streets draw in the sake lovers with glowing paper lanterns at night.

(traditional multi-course meal), sushi, tempura, yakitori or ramen. In my capacity as Sake Samurai, a title I was awarded for my contribution to the global promotion of sake, I recommend that you go to an izakaya. Izakaya literally means “a house to stay and drink sake.” According to this definition, places resembling izakaya exist in many countries, such as pubs in the U.K., bars in Spain and beer halls in Germany. However, izakaya in Japan are unique. Japanese izakaya is somewhere between a bar, which mainly serves alcoholic beverages, and a restaurant, which mainly serves food. At izakaya, people can enjoy various alcoholic beverages as well as an extremely wide range of foods at very reasonable prices.

Also, izakaya have inviting and comfortable atmospheres, where customers, including first-time visitors, often become familiar and friendly with each other. It was at izakaya that I made the acquaintance of people outside of my business circle, including manga writers, who create the famous genre of Japanese comic books, storytellers, potters and photographers. I am sure that you will also be welcomed by friendly customers eager to help you enjoy izakaya. They may even share some of their favourite sake and food with you.

Izakaya can be found across Japan. Although many guidebooks on izakaya are available, asking local residents is an effective way to find a good one. Among the different types of izakaya, I strongly recommend premium sake izakaya. On izakaya menus, there are many simple dishes as well as exquisite ones made with delicious ingredients, especially seafood and vegetables, that are familiar to Japanese, but not well known in Canada. All of the dishes match very well with sake, although some consideration should be given to pairing.

Let me explain a little about sake, the national drink of Japan. Sake is a fermented alcoholic beverage made from rice and water, using koji (rice mould) and yeast. Some people mistake sake for a distilled spirit such as vodka, but sake’s alcoholic content is only slightly higher than that of wine, at around 16 per cent. The process of sake manufacturing is extremely complex. It requires a great deal of care and attention. Current methods of sake-making are said to date back to the 7th Century and it may be considered one of the oldest biotechnology industries.

There are several distinct types of sake, depending on the variety of rice and its polishing ratio, quality of water, kind of yeast, brewing temperature and other elements. It may seem a little overwhelming,

but, for a sake novice, remembering only three types of sake will suffice to begin with: Junmai-Daiginjo, Junmai-Ginjo and Junmai. Junmai Daiginjo has a strong aroma and pairs well with light-tasting dishes. Junmai has less aroma, but a full and rich body with a taste of rice. It is versatile, pairing well with a variety of foods, including stronger-flavoured dishes. Junmai-Ginjo falls in between these two. At izakaya, you can taste many other types, such as sparkling sake and aged sake. It is wise to seek advice on how best to enjoy sake, including serving temperature and food matches. You may not know that sake goes well with western cuisines, such as French or Italian. So you can enjoy sake even after returning to Canada.

Sake tours and sampling

To further explore sake culture, make a visit to a sake brewery. In Japan, there are about 1,400 sake breweries across all 47 prefectures. Most breweries welcome the public to view their facilities during the brewing season, from fall to spring. A growing number of breweries accept visitors throughout the year. There are some breweries near Tokyo that provide tours in English. Sake tourism is becoming increasingly popular in Japan, thanks to the co-operation of local municipalities.

At breweries, you can learn about the process of making sake and appreciate the tranquil atmosphere. You can taste specialty sake and, if you are lucky, freshly brewed ones. Comparing the taste of the water and the brewed sake is something you can only experience at breweries. As 80 per cent of sake’s volume comes from water, the characteristics of the local water are reflected in the final product.

It’s time to visit Japan

It is hard to sum up all that Japan has to offer to tourists. It is beautiful, kind, intriguing, traditional yet modern, and truly delicious. It can offer beautiful scenery that changes through four distinct seasons. There are world-class sightseeing spots and distinctive regional specialties. You can experience various arts and culture from traditional to contemporary and enjoy delicious Japanese cuisine and sake. Japan awaits you with her unique approach to hospitality. I hope that you will fully enjoy “delicious Japan.”

Kenjiro Monji is ambassador of Japan. For tourism information, visit ilovejapan.ca or info@jntoyyz.com or contact the Japan National Tourism Organization’s Toronto office.



Sake is amazingly diverse in terms of flavour, aroma and taste. Different temperatures and serving styles enhance the characteristics of each sake.



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Of humpbacks and humans

By Donna Jacobs

Photos by Mike Beedell



From January through April, the world's largest gathering of humpback whales takes place in waters of the Dominican Republic's 775-square-kilometre Silver Bank. Here, photographer Mike Beedell takes a photo of a curious whale.

— *Silver Bank Whale Sanctuary, Puerto Plata, Dominican Republic*

People say that absolutely nothing compares to swimming eye-to-eye with a 30,000-kilogram humpback whale with a body as long as a rail box-car. They're right.

The humans call her Canopy. She is famous among snorkellers for her friendly, relaxed and trusting way with humans and her affectionate behaviour towards her male calf.

Today, she is resting close to the ocean bottom of the Dominican Republic's Silver

Bank Sanctuary in a sheltered and shallow coral reef, ideal for a nursery. She surfaces only every 20 minutes or so. Unlike automatic breathers — humans and other land creatures — humpbacks are one of the many water mammals who are "conscious breathers." To survive, they must decide when to seek each breath of air.

Her calf has to breathe every four or five minutes. This means, to our delight as we swim above them, that we have a chance 10 times an hour to watch him surface and to be near him.

Sometimes he rises straight up from beneath the protective canopy of his

18-metre-long mother. But sometimes he also plays with us and bolts around, once just missing us with his pectoral fin. At one-third of their body length, an adult humpback's "pecs" are five metres long — the longest among cetaceans and the longest appendages of any living animal. Calves have to master manoeuvring their long pecs, much as human babies gain control over their arms.

With a 900-kilogram birth weight and measuring an average of three to four and a half metres long, a calf can create some wonderful excitement for the swimmers, whirling around them at great speeds.



The mother-calf relationship is fascinating to watch, with many displays of affection and even playfulness typical of land mammals, and varying with the distinctive personalities of the individual whales.

Most of the time, this calf spends only a few minutes at the surface, then slowly descends, sometimes to nurse. Sometimes he settles right across Canopy's massive head or lies under one of her pecks, which she opens to draw him in beneath her.

I am at some distance from the other swimmers when Canopy rises unexpectedly to the surface right next to me. We swam, eye to eye, with the greatest sense of peace imaginable.

This is what we all came for — and were privileged to experience. Privileged, also, because, in order to prevent excessive human contact with the whales, a permit system for vessels effectively allows only about 500 guests to visit the Silver Bank Sanctuary each year, including this expedition with the Florida-based Conscious Breath Adventures.

Waiting for whales and weather

The expedition's mother ship is the beautifully appointed 42-metre *Belize Aggressor IV*, the largest vessel to gain permission to travel to Silver Bank. Days begin waking up in a stateroom dominated by a huge picture window just above the water surface. Seeing down from the top deck of a

total of four, coffee in hand, with two fellow early risers, is a fine entry into the day. A big hot and cold breakfast buffet, featuring eggs made-to-order, follows. And then the wait...

Our captain, Gene Flipse of Conscious Breath Adventures, has led these expeditions for years and is expert in humpback behaviour and the ecology of the ocean. He and his crew are on constant lookout for whales we can find and swim with on a calm day. So are we.

In a big ocean, we are scanning the waves for a humpback whale blow — the telltale vapour from its two blow holes that appears as a tall plume of rising mist.

Sometimes the wind is too high for us to go out on one of the two tenders — the 7.6-metre fibreglass boats that ferry us to a whale blow, or on a hunt for whales.

Flipse has specially fitted his two identical boats with comfortable benches, a place to stash gear (snorkel, mask, fins, towel, jacket) and high visibility from 360 degrees. These tenders are humourously named *Pec* and *Fluke* (fluke for the signature and often-photographed beautiful tail of the humpback during a graceful dive).

The mother ship once carried the lyrical

Sundancer II name, but has been acquired by the Aggressor Fleet and now, the Belize-based ship goes by *Belize Aggressor IV* (incongruous, considering its mission is to conserve whales by introducing people to them in their water habitat.)

The weather this time of year — March — can be unseasonably windy, the ocean choppy. Around 8:30 a.m., if the winds are not too high, we will have 15 minutes to struggle into our wetsuits, pull together all our gear and line up to board a tender.

One of the tender captains takes us to the whale plume. As we approach, Flipse or Ben V. (our crew go by first names) dives in to precisely locate the whale. If the whale doesn't swim away, he points vigorously down as a signal for us to put on our masks, snorkels and flippers and line up to drop over the side into the water with as little splash as possible.

Calm snorkeling in flat water has little in common with the unusually incessant wind-driven 1.5-metre waves we are mostly swimming in. As a swell raises us up, we sometimes catch a glimpse of another swimmer or two from atop our watery hill. But then we drop down and are visually quite alone at the bottom of

the trough of pitching water.

It is a wonderful ride on this undulating roller coaster, though it is very reassuring to see the other swimmers, just in case we have drifted away from the group. Of course, we're under the watchful eyes of the tender captain. It doesn't happen to any of us, but underscores why we are told to stay together, yet try to arrange ourselves in a line so as not to disturb the whales with a bunched presence.

We stay with the whales either until they leave, or we trade off spots with our sister tender if that group has still not encountered whales.

If you're wet, it is easy to get cold in the fast-moving tenders. Wetsuits, operating on the principle that body temperature will warm the small layer of water between our skin and the suit, work fine in the water. Coats, sweaters and towels come in handy to stay warm on the tender. So does a hot shower, available in each stateroom.

To prepare for this experience, we are advised to practise with a snorkel, mask and fins. Gatineau-based photographer Mike Beedell has spent hours with my ship roommate and me in a local pool. In the pool, Beedell turns taskmaster, making us dive, deliberately having us fill our snorkels with water and teaching us how to clear them. What could be more attention-getting than his warning that a snorkel can easily "turn into a straw"?

Others on the trip are already wonderfully proficient and carry huge cameras. We are warned not to be so busy capturing images that we miss the experience. In fact, for the first time since I've known Beedell (having been on three other water-based expeditions with him,) one day he swims with us, but leaves his camera behind. The author and wildlife photographer's photos have appeared in *National Geographic*, *Canadian Geographic*, *Time*, and *Maclean's* among other publications. His arresting full-page wildlife photos appear in Photo Finish, the final page of each issue of this magazine.

Catapulting humpies

This sanctuary is a truly rare place on Earth for "humpies." They are an absolute favourite among whale watchers for their exuberant behaviours, friendly curiosity and even playfulness towards humans.

We see them breach — they catapult their enormous bulk straight up, almost to their tail and crash down on their side. In pec or tail slapping, they lie on their sides and repeatedly slap their pectoral fins or tails loudly. When spy-hopping, they

standing straight up with their heads out of the water to look around.

And, of course, they produce a fascinating range of sounds, which we hear through a hydrophone dropped into the water. We aren't lucky enough to pick up a "singer," always a male, whose precise song can last for 20 minutes and carry a full 30 kilometres. Those near it can feel it in the long bones of their legs and arms, their chest and abdomen as the water con-

and tells us: "If your eyes are closed up on deck, you're going to see humpback whales." And, to late-risers: "If you're not on deck at sunrise, look out the window from bed and do some whale watching."

In 1986, long before most countries were thinking of protecting the whales who visited their waters, the Dominican Republic set aside the Silver Bank Whale Sanctuary and 10 years later, greatly increased its size. It is now part of its huge Sanctuary for the



Members of the group photograph the male calf as his calm mother, named Canopy by whale researchers, surfaces for a breath.

tent of a human responds by carrying the sound waves as the ocean does.

Flipse has recorded several humpback whale songs on his website, which some people include as an extraordinary part of their computer's play list.

From January through April, the largest gathering in the world of North Atlantic humpback whales appears in the Dominican Republic's 775-square-kilometre Silver Bank. There, as many as 5,000 North Atlantic humpback whales gather to give birth to, or to court and mate. It is a scant 60 nautical miles north of Puerto Plata, on the country's north coast.

In his introductory evening audiovisual presentation, Flipse, exaggerating the plenitude of humpback sightings, laughs

Marine Mammals. While the world's first sanctuary was created in the Indian Ocean to manage southern whale populations, the Dominican Republic sanctuary was the first devoted solely to conservation. It's also a place to spot beaked whales, sperm whales and dolphins.

For thousands of humpbacks, it is their first and only stop, while others choose breeding grounds in nearby Caribbean locations. All are on their way south in the winter from northern locations — Iceland, Greenland, Canada's East Coast and Gulf of St. Lawrence and New England.

In their northern homes, an adult can eat 1,360 kilograms daily of tiny krill and other crustaceans, along with herring, capelin, salmon, mackerel, haddock and

pollock. Humpbacks are baleen whales who strain their food through long thin plates that culminate in a long brush-like fringe that hangs down from their upper jaw. With their now-enormous supply of blubber, they start an extraordinary migration — at thousands of kilometres, one of the longest in the animal world — to reach the warm waters.

According to the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

into each other. A female can sometimes be spotted on the sidelines watching this, often with an escort who may be a relative or a contender himself.

Sometimes in their exhaustingly forceful competition of push and shove, as the males compete for the right to mate with her — she will choose but one, if any — the apparently annoyed female will breach, launching herself half-straight out of the water and splash down with an

harvesting.

Once the pups are large, gaining weight at a fantastic rate, and ready for the long migration to the food-rich waters of the North Atlantic, the mother humpback travels with a year-old calf able to feed itself.

Our "home" boat

A word about the many hours aboard this beautifully equipped and well-staffed floating home. Besides having every convenience, from air conditioning to a huge plasma screen, it also has the capacity to desalinate 13,200 litres of water daily, making it drinkable for seafarers. The food Chef Jerry C. produces for every dietary preference is superb, ending each day with an elegant four-course, sit-down dinner.

At eight crew per maximum 18 visitors, the staff to guest ratio is high and produces an atmosphere of friendliness, genuine warmth and helpfulness from every crew member. The ship's first captain, Eddie A., who operates the vessel, gives a tour of the engine room and its desalination equipment, and also connects ship-to-shore phone calls. We wonder how *everyone* could be so engaging, and find it in themselves to begin so wholeheartedly with a whole new group the following week.

A land component provides the trip's *terra firma* balance. The first two days are "landed" ones, just east of Puerto Plata, in the tourist town of Cabarete. The first night's stay is at the charming Secret Garden resort, run by a couple whose breakfasts include homegrown fruits and vegetables. The other is at the Natura Cabana, a large resort and spa with a first-class restaurant. They are either on or a block from the wild, but swimmable, ocean along which we later took a peaceful trail ride on horseback.

And before our final night aboard the ship, Beedell took us on a photo expedition. It began with a cable-car ride to Puerto Plata's Mount Isabel de Torres with its botanical gardens, whose beautiful statue of Christ resembles the famous Christ the Redeemer in Rio de Janeiro.

Besides stunning views of Puerto Plata and its coast, we could look north to the Atlantic Ocean, which we briefly shared with humpback whales.

Donna Jacobs is *Diplomat's* publisher. The tour company's website is consciousbreathadventures.com and you can find Flipse's whale song recordings at consciousbreathadventures.com/singing/



Writer Donna Jacobs photographs a whale surfacing for a breath. These are the most-prized times for the snorkellers — a chance to be very close to the whales who sometimes sociably approach.

(NOAA), humpbacks have the longest migration of any mammal — the record being an 18,840-kilometre trip from American Samoa in the South Pacific Ocean to the Antarctic Peninsula. The much-studied route between Alaska and Hawaii clocked humpbacks travelling the 4,830-kilometre trip in just 36 days — averaging 135 kilometres per day.

Once they arrive at their southern destinations in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere in the Caribbean to mate, give birth and nurse, they do not eat.

Males, too, have journeyed to these tropical blue waters in a hormonal frenzy to win a female. These "rowdies" will compete with each other, racing along almost in synchrony, pushing and crashing

enormous wave and water displacement that shows her displeasure.

Humpbacks, with their lifespan of about 50 years, have given scientists time to photograph and identify thousands of them by the distinct patterns of their flukes and tail. This species is found in every ocean and a recent revision of their status acknowledges a rebound in their numbers. It limits endangered populations to four locations: Cape Verde Islands/northwest Africa, western North Pacific, Central America and the Arabian Sea, with one threatened species listing in Mexico. The chief causes of humpback whale deaths or low birth rates are entanglement in fishing gear, collisions with ships, harassment by whale watchers and



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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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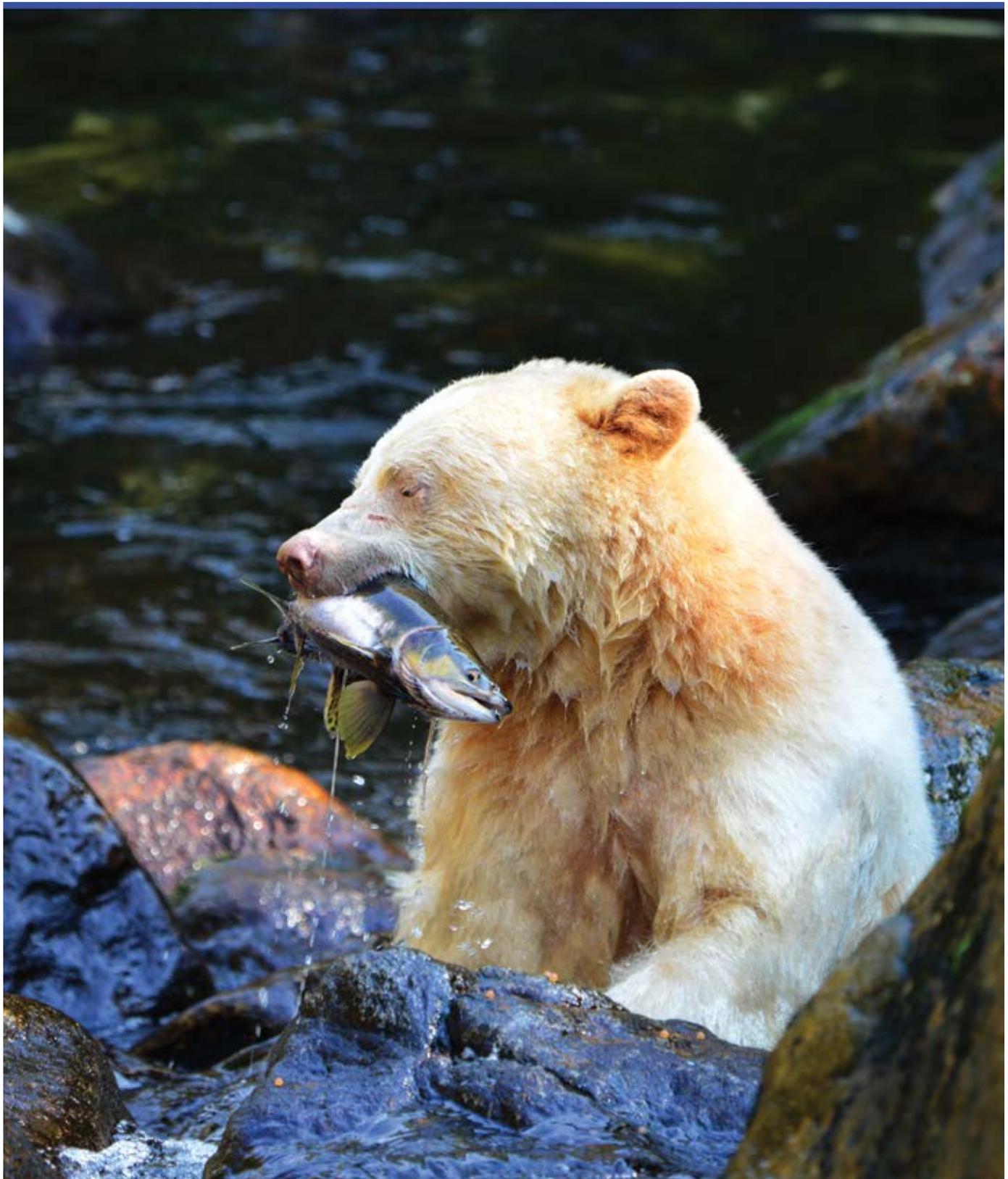
Lois has worked as a photographer for the *Ottawa Citizen* (Around Town and Diplomatica), *Ottawa Business Journal*, the *Glebe Report*, *Centretown Buzz* and *Cinema Canada*.

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Photo by Bill Blackstone



MIKE BEEDELL WWW.MIKEBEEDELLPHOTO.CA

Photographer Mike Beedell met this rare white Kermode bear, or "Spirit Bear," in the Great Bear Rainforest of northern British Columbia. This unique *Ursus americanus kermodei* sub-species of the black bear is British Columbia's official animal. Moments after catching his prize pink salmon, this fellow sat down on a lush green carpet of moss and treated himself to a succulent sushi picnic. There are approximately 400 of these creatures in the coastal area of B.C., from Prince Rupert to the northern tip of Vancouver Island. The Spirit Bear became the emblematic mascot for the campaign against the Northern Gateway Pipeline. Protesters said the pipeline threatened the animal's habitat and many of the indigenous communities of the region. In November 2016, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau said this was no place for a crude-oil pipeline and super-tanker traffic and cancelled the project.



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A woman with long brown hair, smiling, stands in front of a brick wall and a large wooden door. She is wearing a long white coat over a grey top and a white skirt with a green and pink floral pattern. She is also wearing black lace-up high-heeled shoes and a pearl necklace. The wooden door has two small, arched windows with metal grates.

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