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DISTRIBUTION

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SUBSCRIPTIONS: Diplomat & International Canada

is published four times a year. Rates: one year

\$39.80. For Cdn. orders, add 13% HST. U.S. orders,

add \$15 for postage. All others, add \$25.

PRINTER: Dollco Print Solutions Group

DIPLOMAT & INTERNATIONAL CANADA

SUBMISSIONS: Diplomat & International Canada

welcomes submissions. Contact Jennifer Campbell

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E-mail: info@diplomatonline.com

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Published by Sparrow House
Enterprises Inc.



Volume 30, Number 4

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ISSN 1190-8343 Publication Mail # 40957514. Return undeliverable Canadian copies to: Diplomat Magazine, P.O.

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Territorial disputes abound

When Russia invaded Crimea in 2014, the world was a little shocked at the brazenness with which President Vladimir Putin and his disguised military moved in. It's something that caused Russia's ouster from the then-G8, but that hasn't seemed to faze Putin. They're major ones, but Crimea and Donbass are just two of the territorial disputes noted by writer Wolfgang Depner in our cover story, which lists others, among them the Arctic and the moon.

More recently, prevalent incursions include the disputes around the Strait of Hormuz and the flare-up between India and Pakistan in Kashmir last summer. And front and centre are the massive protests in Hong Kong.

There are also some long-simmering disputes, such as that between Israelis and Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank and the one between China and Taiwan, which saw a few years of dormancy, only to storm back on the international stage when Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-wen was elected in 2016. And that's not China's only territorial dispute. It also has a spat with Japan over some islands in the South China Sea. Taiwan also claims ownership of those.

Further in our Dispatches section, we feature another international rogue nation — Iran. Joe Varner writes that the latest developments in Iran could well result in sharp increases in oil prices, causing a recession after the U.S. election in 2020. But, there's a silver lining for Canada's energy sector, he posits, in the next year and beyond.

Also writing about Iran, David Kilgour offers a brief history of the country and what can be done about its international

meddling in Syria and Yemen. He says the idea of regime change should not be abandoned.

Since Canada has a federal election in October, we polled all six federal parties, asking them for their Top-5 foreign policy priorities. Climate change, not surprisingly, was No. 1 for three. Iran, China, Israel and Russia — all countries in our territorial disputes package — were on the list for Andrew Scheer's Conservative Party.

Finally, in Dispatches, Robert I. Rotberg brings us part two of his writing on the looming extinction of many African mammals, thanks to the whims of rich Chinese patrons. Lions, leopards, pangolins, giraffes and donkeys are all on the list.

Up front, Fen Hampson and Derek Burney offer a new global strategy for Canada. We also have my interview with Pedro Antunes, chief economist at the Conference Board of Canada. His biggest global concern? The escalating trade war between the U.S. and China.

In our Delights, section, we have plenty of temptations. Books columnist Christina Spencer offers titles on Chernobyl, feasts that forwarded diplomatic efforts throughout history, and Rwanda.

Food writer Margaret Dickenson has three delectable recipes for a fall feast and writer Patrick Langston and photographer Ashley Fraser take us on a tour of the Japanese ambassador's palatial abode on Acacia Avenue in Rockcliffe Park.

As always, Peter Simpson gives us a guided tour of what's coming up for autumn gallery highlights and Patrick Langston has the low-down on what to do within driving distance of Ottawa this fall.

Unfortunately, wine columnist Alex McMahon has penned his final column for *Diplomat*, this one on Quebec wines. We wish him well and look forward to welcoming a new columnist for our first edition of 2020.

Finally, Bulgarian Ambassador Svetlana Stoycheva-Etropolski writes about her country in our Destinations section and she even provides us with a recipe for a tasty traditional Bulgarian dish.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

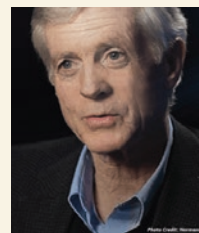
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Joe Varner



Joe Varner is a consultant on defence diplomacy, strategic intelligence, military operations, counter-terrorism, and emergency disaster management. He served as director of policy to the minister of national defence and minister of justice (Peter MacKay) and senior policy adviser to the leader of the opposition in the Senate. Joe has also served since 2015 as an adjunct faculty member with the American Military University, which delivers online lessons on intelligence, security and emergency and disaster management, and was program director for homeland security and taught from 2001 to 2009.

David Kilgour



David Kilgour is co-chairman of the Canadian Friends of a Democratic Iran, a director of the Washington-based Council for a Community of Democracies (CCD), a fellow of the Queen's University Centre for the Study of Democracy, a director of the New York-based NGO Advancing Human Rights and a director of the Ottawa Mission Foundation. First elected to the House of Commons in 1979, he was re-elected seven times, most recently in 2004. During his time in Parliament, he was deputy speaker and chairman of the committees of the whole house, secretary of state for Latin America and Africa (1997-2002) and secretary of state for Asia-Pacific (2002-2003).

UP FRONT

In our cover photo, amphibious assault ship *USS Boxer* crosses the Strait of Hormuz, ensuring maritime stability and security in the region. The Strait is among the world's Top-10 territories under dispute. You'll find them all in our cover story, which starts on page 41.



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Political commentary from around the world



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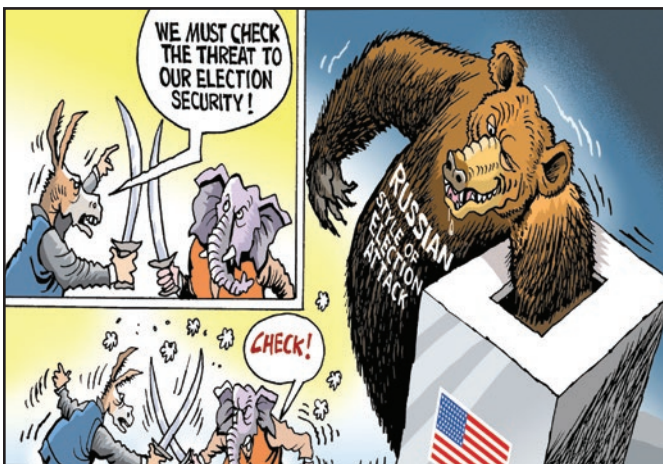
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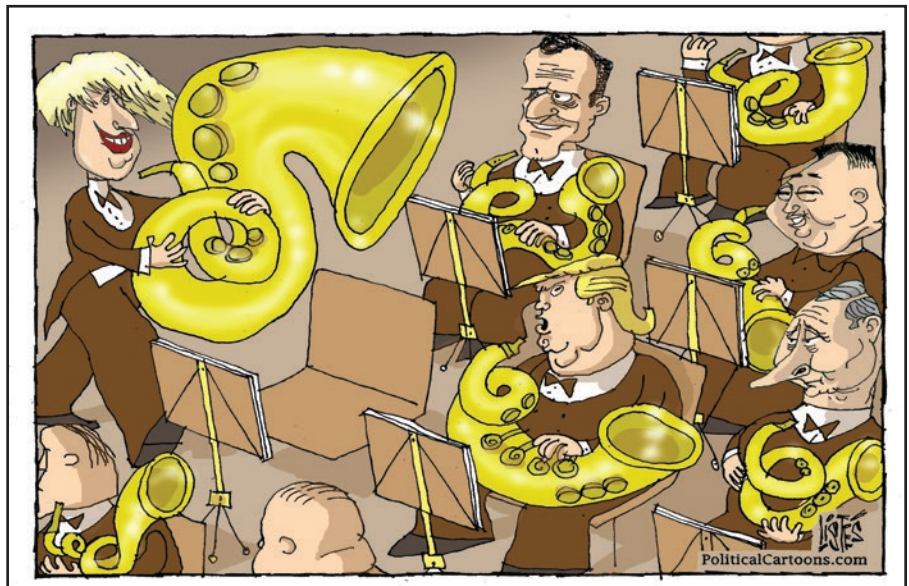
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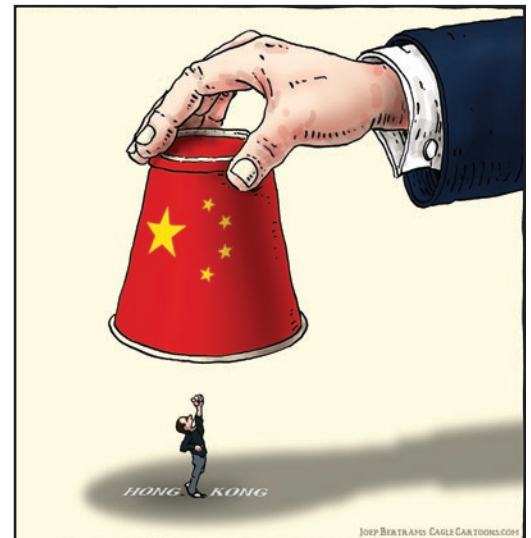
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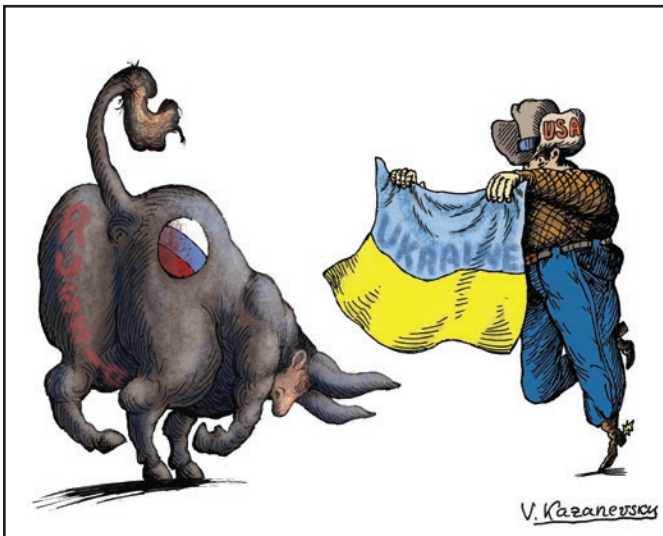
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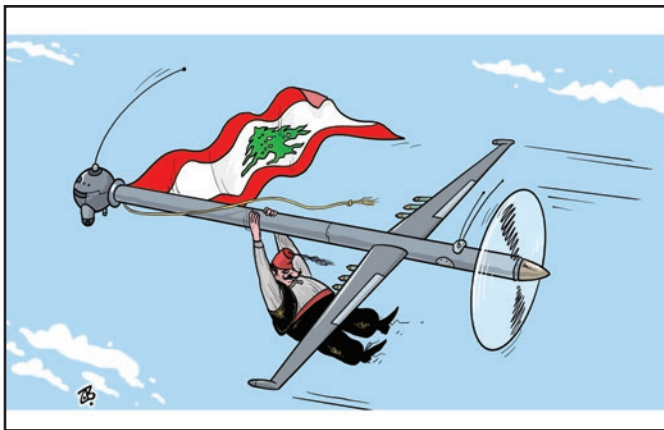
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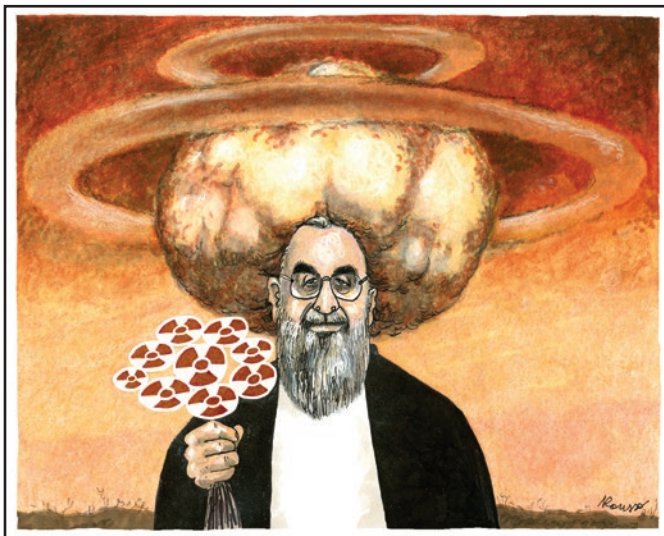
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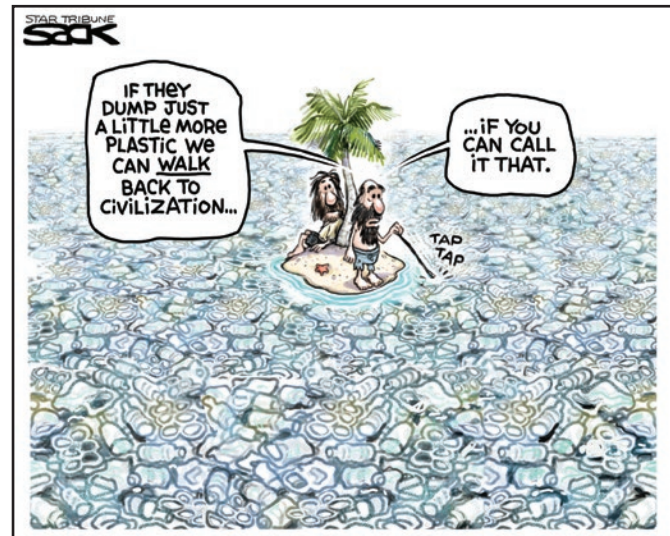
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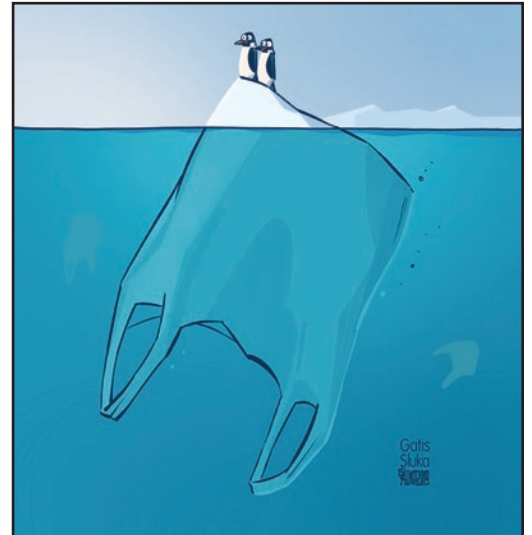
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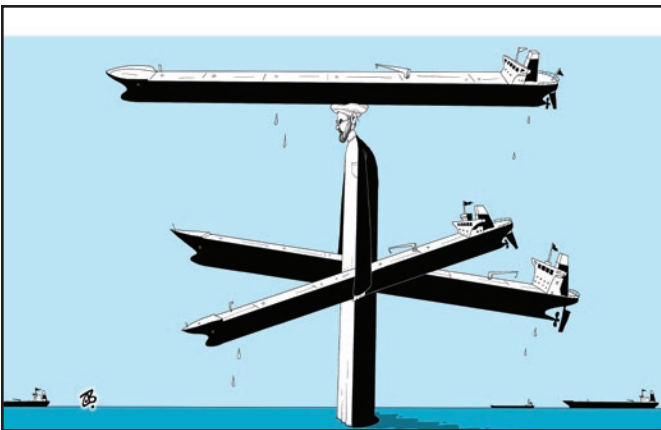
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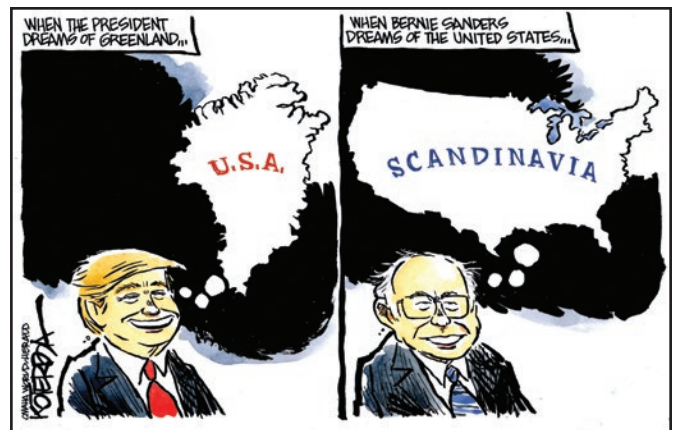
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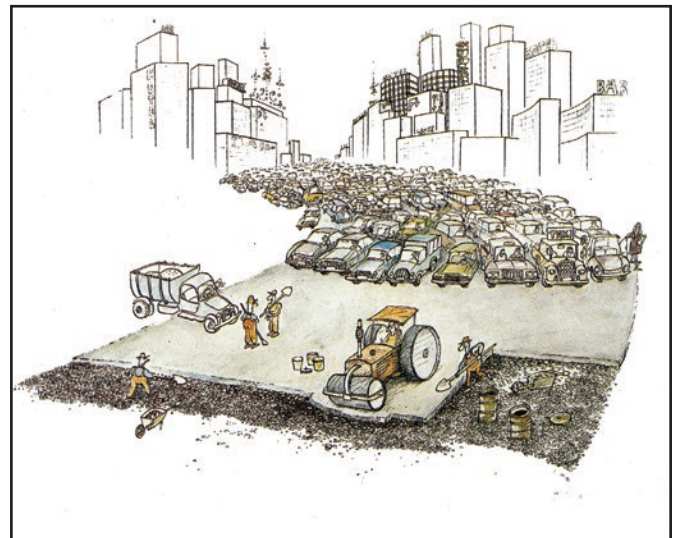
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Someone gave him his own missile launcher, by Jos Collignon, *De Volkskrant*, The Netherlands



Infrastructure, by Pavel Constantin, Romania

A new global strategy for Canada



There are strong reasons for Canada and China to deepen trade and investment ties. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is shown here with Li Keqiang, premier of China's State Council, who visited Canada in 2016, when the relationship wasn't as tenuous as it is now.



Fen
Hampson



Derek
Burney

One of the first responsibilities of Canada's new government on taking office will be to define a new global engagement strategy in a turbulent world that is threatened by the triple perils of populism, protectionism and authoritarianism.

The bedrock of Canada's foreign policy and international engagement has been a strong economic and political relationship with the United States. That bedrock is now crumbling as the U.S. erects unilateral barriers to trade and investment and the new "normal" is a less open, more restrictive and increasingly volatile relationship with our southern neighbour.

Some years ago, well before Donald Trump emerged on the U.S. political scene, we presented new ideas about why Canada should diversify economic ties from excessive dependence on the United States in our book, *Brave New Canada*.

What was then desirable is now imperative. The new government must work assiduously to reduce Canada's economic reliance on the United States by erecting new gateways to the markets of the Indo-Pacific region and deepening Canada's economic ties with the rest of the world. At a time of growing geostrategic tensions and great power rivalries, Canada must also reinvigorate its longstanding political and security partnerships and make the requisite investments in its armed forces in order to defend Canadian interests and promote global stability.

In the course of renegotiating the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with the Trump administration, the Trudeau government's priority for Canada (and Mexico) was one of prudent defence. Operating against the imminent threat of

abrogation, Canada and Mexico sought to ignore Trump's verbal barbs and resist the worst of the U.S.'s one-sided demands. Ultimately, negotiators managed to preserve much of the original NAFTA agreement with some updates and modernization elements, along with concessions by Mexico (on autos) and Canada (on dairy) that enabled Trump to declare "total victory." The Americans made no concessions, but did relent on some of their most egregious initial demands — revoking the Dispute Settlement mechanism, inserting a sunset clause and insisting on a completely one-sided Buy America segment. Given the options, the result was a respectable salvage operation, but little more than what some Mexicans cheekily describe as "NAFTA 0.8." But we are still only half-way there and ratification of the deal by the U.S. Congress as Americans enter their own election season is by no means assured. The last thing that Democrats who control the U.S. House of Representatives want to give Trump is a political win that he can then wave in front of voters.

There are strong reasons for Canada and China to deepen trade and investment ties, especially as China is poised to become the world's biggest economy. China needs much of what Canada has in abundance — agricultural products, energy and mining resources and selective high-tech and services expertise. China, in turn, has consumer goods and increasingly sophisticated technology to boost Canadian manufacturing and service and supply chain efficiencies.

However, Canada's relations with China have gone from bad to worse. When Canada moved, at the U.S.'s request and in accordance with a formal agreement, to extradite Meng Wanzhou, the CFO of Huawei and the daughter of the company's CEO, it quickly aroused the wrath and blunt bully tactics of Beijing. Two Canadians, including one former diplomat, were incarcerated under brutal conditions on dubious espionage charges. Two others already in prison for drug smuggling were suddenly given death sentences.

Adding insult to injury, China blocked imports of Canadian canola on spurious scientific grounds and then completely banned Canadian meat allegedly because of fraudulent certifications. Efforts at dialogue were spurned. China made it clear that relations would remain frozen until Meng was released from custody in Canada.

Attempts by the Canadian government to resolve matters with Beijing have gained little traction, but recalibrating relations with China should be a major priority for the new government. However, it will require deft diplomacy, a firm and steady hand and none of the virtue-signalling, especially on trade, that so roiled the Chinese when the Trudeau government first tried to initiate free-trade talks to put relations on a course that advances Canadian interests.

As the world's biggest democracy, India, too, requires a new engagement strategy that puts behind the fiasco and lingering bad taste of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's ill-fated February 2018 fashion tour to India. As a rising economic powerhouse that will one day rival China, India is a more compatible player for Canada. The next government should give India pride of place and make it a greater priority for Canadian exports and investments. It should also sublimate domestic political antics directed at courting special political favour with groups, such as Canada's Sikh community, that run counter to the national interest.

Concrete action is also required on other fronts.

First, the government's priority must be to establish internal free trade. The International Monetary Fund estimates that genuine interprovincial free trade would lift Canada's GDP by four per cent, far more, in fact, than the revised NAFTA, even if it is ratified. Free trade among Canadian provinces would strengthen our competitiveness and bolster plans for global diversification, but it can only be achieved if there is a firm lead from Ottawa, which has significant constitutional authority, and support from a few enlightened provincial premiers.

Second, the private sector must be more assertive and creative in exploiting preferential market-access opportunities provided in trade agreements with the European Union, South Korea and with member countries that have so far ratified the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) — Japan, Canada, Australia, Mexico, Singapore, New Zealand and Vietnam. Thus far, only our agricultural exporters have been noticeably active. Manufacturers and service providers need to move beyond the comfort zone of their North American cocoon.

Canada's bilateral trade with its CPTPP partners totalled \$71.3 billion in 2016, greater than total trade with Mexico, its third-largest bilateral trade partner. Canada's exports to the EU totalled \$66 billion in the third quarter of 2018, a 3.9-per-cent increase from the equivalent period in 2017 before CETA had come into force. And since CETA took effect, Canadian imports from the EU totalled \$89.2 billion, a 10.8-per-cent increase. In 2017, two years after the Canada-Korea deal came into force, Canadian exports to Korea increased to \$6.5 billion compared to \$6 billion in 2014, the year before the deal was finalized. The CPTPP is still too new to have comparable statistics.

Third, on national security, we have to stop dithering and chart a more coherent focus on defence procurement to ensure that we are able to perform a realistic role in our own defence, specifically in the Arctic, which is rapidly becoming a region of interest for major global powers.

Fourth is cyber security, which many see as the most serious future threat to the globe. We need a more integrated and effective structure for operational surveillance as well as "Made in Canada" technologies that would give us the capability to monitor and counter threats from various sources, especially China. We should

actively pursue global standards that would help constrain disruptive cyberattacks on essential infrastructure.

Fifth, Canada should act in concert with others to re-invigorate multilateral institutions, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) that are essential to our future prosperity and security. A rules-based regime for trade needs to be reinforced. NATO needs a mission refit that would, among other things, focus more on threats from cyberattacks and collectively stem abuses by dictators and despots who have forced millions of their citizens to seek refuge outside their own country. NATO member countries agreed to pay two per cent of GDP as their contribution. Canada's estimated 2018 contribution was 1.23 per cent, down from 1.36 per cent in 2017 — well short of its commitment.

Canada should also be more selective in support for global institutions that have outlived their utility or are being poorly managed and are corrupt, such as the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. (Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands have frozen funding to the agency after a leaked internal report found senior officials were involved in "sexual misconduct, nepotism, retaliation, discrimination and other abuses of authority for personal gain, to suppress legitimate dissent, and to otherwise achieve their personal objectives.")

Finally, since no G20 country is meeting its Paris Accord obligations and the U.S. has withdrawn from the accord, a major diplomatic initiative is needed to re-engage the U.S. and recalibrate more balanced and achievable commitments on climate change, primarily from the big emitters — China, the U.S. and India. Canada can best contribute, not with a check-board of tax and cap-and-trade schemes that are neither effective nor equitable, but with a realistic and broadly gauged regulatory and technological pledge to ensure that emissions reductions to the 1.6 per cent we contribute globally are matched by equivalent reductions by others.

Derek Burney is a former ambassador of Canada to the U.S. and a senior partner with the Burney Investment Group in Colorado. Fen Osler Hampson is Chancellor's Professor at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University. This article is adapted from an essay Burney contributed to San Francisco Xavier University to commemorate the opening of the Mulroney Institute.

Pedro Antunes, chief economist at the Conference Board of Canada

'The most concerning piece is the trade war between China and the U.S.'

Pedro Antunes is the Conference Board of Canada's chief economist. He joined the organization as an economist in 1991, after working with the Canadian forecasting group at the Bank of Canada. He has moved progressively into more senior positions. Prior to his current role, he was responsible for custom research work and economic analysis at the Conference Board.

In addition to publishing regular forecasts, he researches the impact of demographic change on the fiscal sustainability of health care, productivity and long-term economic growth. He has contributed to several international projects, helping decision-makers in Tunisia, Morocco, Jordan and Ukraine develop appropriate forecasting and policy-analysis tools. He sat down with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell.

***Diplomat* magazine:** What's going right in the global economy?

Pedro Antunes: (Laughs.) What's wrong with it might be more of a question. Well, I guess when you look globally, I would go back to 2018. In 2018, we were finally starting to see the stars align in some way and I think some of that's still true, in the sense that there were no major regions in the globe in recession. If we go back to early 2010 and 2011, we had Japan, we had the euro crisis. Then in 2015, resource prices collapsed, so Russia and Brazil were in real trouble in the sense that growth was actually negative. And in our own backyard, we had Alberta and Saskatchewan suffer the same kind of impacts.

When we got to 2018, it's not as though anyone was doing tremendously well, but we didn't see major recessions around the world so it did seem as though global growth was getting a little bit better. Despite all of the protectionism, we did see trade volumes increase significantly in 2017 and 2018, so that was good news. But now, unfortunately, a lot of that has kind of gone away. I would say we're still in a situation where we're not seeing major recessions although there are some problem areas for sure. The global economy is still expanding, although at a lesser pace than

we saw in 2018. Global trade is [also] still expanding, although at a lesser pace.

Going forward, most of the concerns are around risks. Where are some of these major geopolitical impasses? First and foremost, it's trade issues with respect to the U.S. and China, with Canada and China. Where are the politics taking us? Those are issues. Aside from tariffs and all these other risks is the lack of independence for the Fed in the U.S. We've only seen a few modern economies in the world where there's been a push against the autonomy of the central banks. This is concerning. The U.S. is one and Turkey is the other.

DM: Trump's bullying the Fed is a big one, isn't it?

PA: I'm not sure why financial markets aren't scared silly over that. But so far so good. To have a U.S. president push his views on the central bank is something that really moves away from what economists have been talking about for years. It's a bit concerning.

DM: On trade, do you think Canada is falling behind?

PA: It's a real problem for Canada. It's such a big story, I don't know where to start. There are two issues. One is a capacity issue. When we think about our major export categories going into the U.S. with higher value-added exports like machinery, equipment, transportation, autos and parts, etcetera — where the problem has been, stems from the lack of investment in Canada.

When we think of our economy on the supply side, we think of it like a firm. We think about the amount of labour we have, we think about productive capital that we have and that, along with productivity, allows us to generate output or GDP. The problem for Canada has been that yes, we saw the resource sector take a big hit in 2015, but at the same time, the narrative was that we'd see a huge amount of investment in our traditional sectors, like manufacturing. We've been waiting for that for four or five years. In recent quarters, that automation and retooling investment has been bouncing around a bit, but the levels are still very weak and





'If everyone believes there's going to be a recession, there will be.'



'We're not going to perform well in 2019 with respect to trade with China.'



'We also need to acknowledge that when you open up borders, some industries will lose.'

the amount of capital accumulation is almost nil. When you think about machinery, equipment, automation, the amount of investment is barely keeping up with depreciation. For a developed economy, where we're seeing the capital-labour ratios — the amount of capital per worker — declining, this is not good news and it shows up in our productivity.

That's part of the story, but for the trade piece, when I think about our trade with the U.S., it's about capacity. We haven't had the investment and we can go on at length about why [that is.] Let's start with [too high] corporate tax rates, [needing a] more friendly business environment, especially if you're a polluter. Let's go to the uncertainty around trade — will we have access to the U.S. consumer? All of these things are creating a lot of uncertainty and investors are choosing to go elsewhere with respect to those traditional investments.

That's the supply side issue. The other issue is our big markets — the U.S. and China. The U.S. is our biggest market; 75 per cent of our exports go to the U.S. and only 4 per cent go to China. But guess what? China has allowed us to grow our trade very nicely over the last number of years. In 2018, we grew exports into China by 17 per cent or \$4 billion worth of extra revenue. It's all in agri-foods. This year, with the Huawei issue, we've been hit on all of those. You can take a look at the trade data and see the biggest categories where we trade with China — canola, soy, peas, red meat products — those have all been hit and we're just not sure what's going to happen. It's a huge concern. We're

not going to perform well in 2019 with respect to trade with China. What's the future hold? Can we diversify our exports elsewhere? We have seen canola move into other markets, but at a reduced price.

DM: In thinking about the G7 that took place in August, how can global leaders minimize the trade chaos that U.S. President Donald Trump's causing?

PA: In some respects, the U.S. has a quarrel with China because China ascended to the WTO under the premise that it would open its market and move away from state-owned enterprises. So I do think the U.S. has a legitimate issue to contend with. I do want to make that point. The rest of the world, and the U.S. as well, depends very much on China. They're gaining importance, but they're really not opening their markets. Whether the Chinese really have a free-floating exchange rate — I'm very doubtful of that. I suspect it's very much managed in their system.

So I think the U.S. has a legitimate case, but is [the U.S.] going at it the right way? It's tough politics, for sure. Although the U.S. has a legitimate beef, it has also applied tariffs with every G7 country — even its dearest allies and friends, like Mexico and Canada. It's not been fruitful in the sense of keeping its allies close.

I think there's a misunderstanding by the U.S. administration around what the benefits of trade are. The administration has portrayed the difficulties in restructuring and manufacturing with some of their traditional industries as a trade issue, but it's had more to do with automation.

Canada's lost just as much in terms of its manufacturing workforce.

Automation is taking over the world. I think there's a misunderstanding or a misrepresentation over what that restructuring was about. To put up tariffs on steel and aluminum and pretend that this will bring back some of these industries is false. How you deal with it from a G7 perspective, it's a tough situation. I think you continue to try to message your beliefs, what the truth is. Try and tell the truth as much as possible and hopefully somebody will listen.

We also need to acknowledge that when you open up borders, that does increase competition and some industries will lose. I think we perhaps have failed to acknowledge that to the extent that we should. Perhaps the U.S. wouldn't be in this situation if there'd been more acknowledgement of that.

DM: What countries should Canada be pursuing for free trade agreements?

PA: I think we've done really quite well in terms of bilateral trade. The government has been focused on it. What else could you do when your biggest partner isn't so open to trade anymore? We did a lot as the dollar appreciated very strongly in early 2000 and then in 2011 and 2014. There were some natural pressures to diversify our trade. In the meantime, Canada's been working very hard on trade deals all over the world. There are many that are still in progress. The CPTPP [The Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership] is coming to fruition, the European trade

agreement was a great opportunity. We're a small market in comparison to the EU, there is a lot of opportunity there. Canada was pretty slow to get into China, though we've done better in the last 10 years.

When we think about where global growth is going to happen, think about Asia. If you include India (1.37 billion population) and China (1.43 billion) and the ASEAN economies (622 million), I think we're talking about more than 44 per cent of the world's population. We're talking about economies that are growing at 6 per cent. India has done quite well to try and unify that market and make it an easier place to trade. We're thinking about a deal with India. With the ASEAN economies, Canada is looking there, too. Some of those economies are growing — Thailand, Philippines, Vietnam.

DM: What's Canada's best approach to trade with China?

PA: It's a political issue. It eludes me what's going on there behind closed doors. We've been stuck in a very difficult situation. [Some have said] we could have been conveniently incompetent on the extradition piece, but I think we're stuck in this at this point. We're a net importer from China, but can we really hurt the Chinese export market? We're really not in a position where we can bargain very strongly against an economy that will not necessarily feel big consequences. We've leveraged what we can, we've made our grievances quite well known. I think the best practical approach is to try and facilitate our exports to other areas. We've had some success with canola just recently. The prices are down about 10 per cent, which isn't bad. With some of these crops, the swings can be great. A 10 per cent hit [isn't bad] — at least they're able to clear inventories.

DM: Looking at the economy globally, what are some trouble spots and how does one remedy those?

PA: The most concerning piece is the trade war between China and the U.S. that keeps escalating. I think we may continue to see that. What's surprising is how a tariff war translates into a recession. It does so by affecting prices for consumers. The first thing we should be seeing is U.S. consumer prices ratcheting up. And let's not forget that the U.S. consumer is 75 per cent of the U.S. economy or 14 to 15 per cent of global demand. That's how the recession would happen. The problem I'm having with this is that yes, we keep seeing tariffs come in, but



Atunes said dealing with Trump as a G7 member requires leaders to "tell the truth as much as possible and hopefully somebody will listen."

we're not seeing it on the bottom-line inflation numbers for the U.S. I would say it's concerning. The U.S. continues to threaten with these tariffs, but right now, the biggest concern I have is not so much with the tariffs having an impact on prices, it's more the tariffs having a psychological effect on markets. If everyone believes there's going to be a recession, there will be.

If we start to see inflation come up in the U.S., that will be a clear sign that we're starting to have an impact and this is where the Fed will be stuck because what is your solution to a softening economy? It's lower rates, but you don't lower rates when you're trying to control inflation. What you want to do is just the opposite.

Typically, when an economy slows down, there's excess supply, prices come down and that's when you get your recession. But so far, so good. The wholesale retail industries are very competitive in the U.S. There are things around automation that are helping to keep prices down. [Still,] a 25-per-cent tariff is a big tariff, so why isn't it showing up in inflation?

Similarly for the Chinese market — it's one that's becoming much more consumption-dependent. We can sell higher-value goods into that market because they're a consumer economy. The Chinese are targeting tariffs on agri-food, which should

bolster prices in that market, which is the second-largest consumer market in the world. Certainly for many goods it is. They're consuming more autos in China than they are in the U.S., also more lobster, Cuban cigars — you name it.

At the Conference Board, we keep talking about lagging productivity. I've lived through this before. [Information technology] was going to change the world. Maybe it did, but we didn't see it in the numbers. Now it's blockchain, AI [artificial intelligence], automation that's going to change the world, but we don't see it in surveys from Statistics Canada. I hear people saying AI is going to disrupt the workplace and we'll see all these workers leave, but [it's not happening.]

These disruptions would be positive because they generate productivity gains, which is more income for the same inputs. We're just going to see more income per hour worked. So yes, if these disruptions happen very quickly, that would be a concern, but at the same time, I doubt it'll happen that fast. We need solutions to our labour market challenges to up our productivity and up our ability to grow our economy.

DM: Can you talk a little bit about more the cure for low productivity?

PA: For us, the definition of productiv-

ity is the amount of income per hour worked. If I'm digging holes with a shovel or backhoe, there's a huge difference in my ability to produce. That's a clear piece and to me, that's of most concern. We saw our employment grow. It'll grow by more than two per cent this year and our capital-to-labour ratio is going to erode in 2019. We know that has a negative impact on productivity. Unless we're not measuring correctly, it doesn't look good.

The other thing that affects productivity is the efficiency with which capital and labour mix to produce output — the magic. We call that total factor productivity. The point being that there are things that happen within the production process that are harder to measure. You can think about companies that come up with more efficient processes, workers who are more highly trained. We can capture that in some respects. We try and gather benchmarks that may help us. Is it investment in R&D? Is it new technology? Products?

On the second measure, we do an innovation score card for Canada and we don't really rank [all] that well. It's not a Canadian problem. You look at productivity in all of the developed economies and it's not good.

DM: What do you do about it?

PA: I would start with the capital-to-labour ratio piece. It's the investment piece. We need to make sure Canada is a more business investment-friendly environment. How do you do that? We talked a little bit about tax rates. We aren't competitive with the U.S. on tax rates. When you look at the effective rates — the amount of tax paid by corporations to the state and federal level as a share of profits — the U.S. is very heavily subsidized for investment. [Corporate taxes] are actually really low in the States, especially after

January 2018 when they came down significantly. Do we want to be competitive on tax rates and have a deficit that's five per cent of GDP? It's a tough situation. Signing CUSMA [the Canada-U.S.-Mexico Agreement] and seeing if we can get that ratified, that would be helpful even though CUSMA's not perfect.

DM: Are you worried about a global recession or regional ones?

PA: Because we haven't seen inflationary pressures, the effects of tariff wars haven't shown up yet. The biggest concern is that there's enough uncertainty and volatility in equity markets right now, so there's an expectation that, sooner or later, we'll hit a business cycle. But what concerns me is that self-fulfilling prophecy. What's happening with bond yields [is worth noting]. We're seeing enough concern that people are willing to take very low returns on safe money. In Europe, people are willing to take 10-year bonds at a negative interest rate because they feel that that's where they can more safely hold their money.

There's enough belief out there that interest rates are coming down and you might see a slowdown, that it starts to be a concern. Things have been a little better in equities, but they're bouncing around. Since 2008, when we saw the effects of panic, we're all more attuned to the effect that business and consumer confidence can have on the economy.

Up until then, I would have said it's really hard to see the U.S. economy going into recession without some major shock — a financial crisis or an oil price shock or something. Right now, the U.S. economy is firing on all cylinders. The labour markets are really tight, we haven't seen this erosion in purchasing power in part because inflation continues to be low and real wages are starting to pick up.

For regional recessions, some parts of Canada have been [in recession]. The outlook for Alberta and Saskatchewan [is that they] are seeing modest declines in GDP for this year. Both of those economies are still dropping off. Commodity prices are weak and the investment environment is very weak, so we're seeing those economies still suffering.

DM: With low interest rates, are Canadians carrying too much debt?

PA: For Canada, the biggest concern is some sort of collapse in home prices. People are concerned about home prices being overvalued and that leaves a lot of households in a difficult financial situation because they're heavily indebted, there's no doubt. But I don't see [the collapse happening] because I think households in Canada have been fairly rational. They've chosen to buy the most expensive real estate they can afford with their credit. It's been a very rational choice because home values are appreciating. It's either that or you put your money in the bank and you lose on it.

The other thing I would say is that when you look at interest costs and take both mortgage and other credit [into account], we're at record low levels despite the fact that we have a lot of debt. If you add on principal, we're starting to inch up a little higher. Some households would be stretched if interest rates came up, but that doesn't look like it's going to happen. The only other thing that could happen would be a collapse in home prices. We've thrown the gamut [at controlling home prices] to try to slow price appreciation and we've had some success. The last thing we want is a government policy that would actually see a drop in prices by 10 or 20 per cent. Instead you want to slow home price appreciation.

I just don't see [debt] as an issue. De-



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mand is real, solid. There is some influence of foreign buying, for sure. We've seen some of the impacts of that. We've seen the prices come off on higher end homes. And then we've seen some effects of government policies, such as tightening up of mortgage rules and then loosening them. I would say governments have had some success.

DM: When the tightening comes, how dangerous is it to increase rates and cause foreclosures and bankruptcies?

PA: I would agree that there is some risk if we had to increase rates, but at this point, I just don't see it happening. I think governments are tending to go the other way. In Canada, we're not really in a tariff war with anybody, so there's no reason for prices to come up here unless they start coming up in the U.S. and then there are impacts of imported inflation, but really, we haven't seen that.

DM: In 2017 and 2018, was government spending too high and if so, what were/are the tax-increase implications of that?

PA: It goes to the question of sustainability for the federal government. Of course, the government is in a pretty good position. We've seen government revenues

come in better than expected since the [Liberals] came in. That's been very positive. We could have done a little bit better in terms of at least targeting a balanced budget somewhere down the line. The reason isn't that it's not sustainability, it's that if your fiscal anchor is debt to GDP, that's fine, that can only go the wrong way in the case of a recession. Our sense was that federally, it's sustainable. Yes, there's still a gap in infrastructure and there are a lot of things that need fixing. It would also be nice to see the government being able to do that with some plan down the road to a balanced budget.

The other piece is that the provinces aren't in such great shape. Often the federal government hasn't had to be the backstop to any of the provinces. When the ratings agencies are looking at Canada, that's in the back of their minds. Our fiscal situation is looked at holistically. When we look at the provinces, a number of them are in difficult shape. [Newfoundland and Labrador, Ontario, Alberta and Saskatchewan are the in the worst shape.] Those challenges are because of health care expenditures and demand for health care though it's seemingly not the big item on the agenda for the next election.

DM: Is the spending a stimulus or just a

pre-election vote ploy?

PA: I think governments are always influenced by the calendar of events that is a four-year period for elections. However, I do think that time and again, we have seen the books come in better than expected. We could have put some of that aside and not necessarily spent it all. We pretty much spent every cent available to keep that deficit at its target. It's not great — the deficit is just below 1 per cent of GDP — \$20 billion. But the U.S. is at 5 per cent of GDP.

DM: How is Canada doing in terms of GDP growth?

PA: This goes back to that story about investment. If I can go back to that narrative where we saw oil prices collapse and we said the energy sector isn't going to drive growth. In 2011 to 2013, Alberta was a huge driver in income creation in Canada. The narrative was that we're going to see more balanced growth across the country. Ontario and Quebec and other provinces will do better and we did see that for a while. The dollar deteriorated, but the trade sector did come back. But the problem has been that that evaporated very quickly because we weren't investing. We were very quickly at full

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capacity on trade. What comes next? Investment. But it didn't come and it didn't come. That was [partly] caused by uncertainty around CUSMA. All of that causes some grief, but even as that got resolved, we haven't seen investment pick up.

In essence, it's been very disappointing on the investment side. We've actually done not too badly because we've covered up that lack of investment and productivity with government spending and household spending. Consumers have been driving everything that happens. We talk about a trade and export open economy, but that's not what's been driving growth; it's been the consumer. How long can that keep going? We keep saying the consumer's going to deleverage next year and we'll see investment do better, but we're not seeing that panning out. That's the biggest concern or challenge. Is Canada's economy doing well? Well, we're not doing well because the supply side doesn't have the investment, the labour supply isn't growing by much. Supply-side economy is capital, labour, we've upped immigration, but there's limited availability of labour. The capital-to-labour ratio is deteriorating, and productivity growth is nil.

We're essentially a weak economy.

We're looking at 1.4 [per cent growth] for 2019; perhaps 1.9 for 2020. I'm worried about [getting to] that number for 2020 for all of the reasons we've talked about, but mostly about the trade issues. And if we get to 2 per cent, that's essentially our capacity. Not that long ago, we had an economy that could grow at 2.7 per cent because we had so much investment. Given the productivity numbers, the labour force growth and the investment we currently have, our potential for growth is well below 2 per cent right now.

DM: Housing costs are high because of low interest rates, which is causing a housing shortage. How do governments solve that?

PA: Housing is a market issue. I'm just finishing a paper on immigration that talks about how to get people to go outside the greater Toronto area. One way to do that is that housing costs are cheaper. I think that's one natural way to help balance some of these things that are happening. In our report, we also talk about some policy recommendations that governments may look at to help move these things as well. The idea that governments should go into cities with big major investments in affordable housing

— I'm just not sure that's the right policy. There is affordable housing, it's just not in the GTA.

DM: How much do provincial barriers to trade harm business in Canada? Estimates say removing them could substantially increase GDP.

PA: This has been such a thorn for so many years. Unfortunately, we've had more success at aligning the provinces when we've signed free trade agreements with other countries.

Here in Canada, there are all kinds of things, especially when it comes to some of our supply-managed products and our alcohol and tobacco. It does affect our ability to sell within our market first and we do know that success at home can help breed success abroad. If you have a certain critical mass, it's easier to export. The cost of having all these regulations is hard to get at because they're across so many different areas. We did look at the benefits of standards. We do know that when you align things in certain industries, it does help growth. But with respect to just saying we have so many non-tariff barriers, if we were to eliminate them, what would it save? It would obviously have a positive effect. There's no doubt. ■

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PINKK fosters female leaders in Senegal

By Margaux Stastny

At just 16 years old, Amy Mandiang's dream is to become a doctor and her work as a volunteer "nutrition champion" in her community is a stepping stone on that path. Amy is a member of the Young Girl Leader Club in Kolda, Senegal, an initiative of Nutrition International's *Projet intégré de nutrition dans les régions de Kolda et de Kédougou* (PINKK), conceived to empower young women and instill good nutrition and hygiene practices in their communities.

Launched in December 2015, PINKK focuses on the Kolda and Kédougou regions of Senegal, areas with some of the highest food insecurity rates. Knowing there is no single solution to tackle the challenge of food shortage and long-term hunger, the project's approach has been to implement broad, targeted interventions that include nutrition, hygiene, health care, agriculture and business development — all with the direct involvement of community members such as Amy.

The Young Girl Leader Clubs are key to this broad-based solution. PINKK provided support to 30 existing clubs and funded the creation of an additional 15 in more remote areas, connecting more than 1,400 adolescent girls. As part of her club membership, Amy received nutrition and hygiene training. Now, she visits three families and shares her knowledge, instructing the children and their mothers on the benefits of regular handwashing, food sanitation and nutrition for a diet that ensures children grow up healthy.

Children in Kolda frequently suffered from diarrhea, due in part to not understanding the importance of handwashing. Thousands of Senegalese children die yearly of diarrheal diseases and acute respiratory infections; a huge portion of these deaths could be prevented by washing hands with soap and running water.

During one of her visits, Amy teaches two-year-old Adana how to use the "tippy tap," installed with training and support from PINKK and located outside, near most of the houses in the village. The tippy tap is an effective and simple hygiene solution in areas without running water. Consisting of a soap stand and a plastic bottle filled with clean water collected earlier from the well, the tippy tap disburses water with the press of a foot



Amy Mandiang demonstrates the use of the 'tippy tap,' which dispenses clean water and soap for handwashing and is used in areas without running water.

pedal. Tippy taps can be built at a minimal cost and effort using available items, and are simple to use.

After they have washed their hands, Amy and Adana share a papaya, and Amy explains its benefits — a rich source of micronutrients such as vitamin A, critical for children under five to boost their immune systems and prevent blindness. In an area where malnutrition and child mortality rates are high, a more diversified diet, complete with essential micronutrients, is a simple and cost-effective way to ensure children's survival and good health.

Papaya trees are now widespread in the village, thanks to PINKK's support for farmers growing nutrient-rich foods. It distributes fruit tree seedlings and seeds. Amy understands the nutritional benefits of fruit and vegetables, and helps her mother tend their family garden.

"In the past, only a few people maintained gardens. Now that I know how different foods can be good for health, especially for children, I encourage everyone to do it," Amy says.

Amy's self-assurance is all the more impressive, considering the traditional barriers faced by young women in Kolda. Education often comes second to making ends meet, particularly for girls who must care for siblings, fetch water and cook. Little information on reproductive health

also means the number of teenage pregnancies and early marriages is particularly high, leading to further school dropouts.

"Because of their gender and young age, girls in Kolda are more susceptible to fall victim to violence, female genital mutilation and early pregnancy," says Cheikh Tidiane Samb, regional nutrition and public health co-ordinator at Nutrition International. "It is critical to strengthen girls' leadership to enable them to defend their interests and needs at the community level. In short, to be recognized."

The clubs have helped girls achieve this aim by teaching them topics such as sex education and encouraging them to stay in school. As a result, Amy and her friends are a new, confident breed of young women better equipped to serve their communities. Club members spread the message to their friends at school and the young girls they mentor.

"School is important for girls; it can help them get good jobs and the means to look after their families," Amy says.

The volunteer activities supported by PINKK, a collaboration between Nutrition International, World Vision Senegal, World Vision Canada, Développement international Desjardins, the government of Canada and the government of Senegal's Cellule de Lutte contre la Malnutrition, have given young women the expertise

and confidence to take on community leadership roles. Strong ownership of health and nutrition activities is a key part of PINKK's sustainability strategy, ensuring people have the resources required to implement and innovate beyond these valuable advances in the future.

Nutrition International places women and girls at the heart of its work because the heaviest burden of malnutrition is borne by women and girls — particularly teens. Despite the fact that in many countries women plant the food, work the fields, harvest the crops and cook the meals, they often eat last and least. As a result, more than one billion women and girls around the globe are malnourished.

That is why Nutrition International has made adolescent nutrition a priority. Adolescent girls have been overlooked for targeted nutrition interventions, despite adolescence being the fastest development period after infancy. Considered a second window of opportunity for catch-up growth, height, muscle and bone mass increase and every system and organ in the body matures. Yet of the 600 million adolescent girls living in low-income countries, an estimated 30 per cent are anemic.

Malnutrition negatively impacts not only a girl's physical and mental development, but also her ability to fully participate in life. Anemia results in low energy levels, making it hard to concentrate in class or make it to school at all. This may keep a girl from graduating and prevent her from obtaining a better job and a higher income. If she eventually chooses to become a mother, she faces increased risk of complications for herself and her baby. Anemia jeopardizes her dreams.

Nutrition International is an Ottawa-based global nutrition organization that delivers high-impact, low-cost nutrition interventions, global, national and community advocacy, technical assistance and knowledge generation. It works on the ground with trusted implementers, local governments and innovative partners to ensure girls have the nutrition they need to thrive. Through a combination of weekly iron and folic acid supplements, nutrition education so girls understand the impact of nutrition on their own lives and government advocacy to help create policies that prioritize nutrition, we help ensure girls such as Amy have the tools they need to build the life they want.

Margaux Stastny is director of advocacy and communications for Nutrition International. See www.nutritionintl.org for more.

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Georgia highlights SOS Children's Villages' work

Georgian Ambassador Konstantine Kavtaradze has a special connection to SOS Children's Villages and that's why he chose to help the organization raise awareness of its practical work by hosting a reception at Ottawa's historic Rideau Club.

SOS Children's Villages is an international charitable NGO that focuses on caring for abandoned and orphaned children all over the world.

"The president and CEO of SOS Children's Villages Canada approached me," the ambassador says. "I genuinely try to do a lot of promotional events on Georgia in Canada, but I also want to help local Canadian organizations."

The organization was marking its 50th anniversary in Canada, which the ambassador agreed was a reason to celebrate.

His personal connection with the group dates back to his early days with the Georgian foreign ministry, shortly after the fall of the Soviet Union.

"Together with colleagues, we started to create new structures and I remember the challenges that we faced at that time with this newly independent state. Between 1991 and 1994 was a difficult period. State institutions were weak. There were refugees, internally displaced



From left, Austrian Ambassador Stefan Pehringer, Senait Gebregziabher (SOS Children's Villages), SOS CEO Thomas Bauer, MP Garnett Genius and Ambassador Konstantine Kavtaradze at the reception.

people. Among them, many children were forced to leave their homes."

He was, at the time, responsible for working with international humanitarian organizations.

"We approached different international agencies — the United Nations, the Red Cross, Red Crescent, Save the Children, Oxfam and others," Kavtaradze explained. "I also got in touch with SOS Children's Villages International and it was one of the first to respond."

Soon after, he says, the organization started to build nice houses on the outskirts of Tbilisi to shelter abandoned children. Its goal is always to ensure children have access to essential services such as health care and education and, in cases where there are parents, it ensures that they're able to find jobs. If parents can't take care of their children, SOS finds the children a loving home.

"Today SOS Children's Villages is

very active in Georgia," the ambassador says. "They have centres [for abandoned children.] They're taking care of 180 children in those centres and they have four SOS youth facilities. They also have a vocational training centre. It is a very solid organization that isn't just talking about helping, it's providing practical help."

Kavtaradze invited representatives from Global Affairs Canada and members of the community to the reception.

"When someone does something good, it's a necessity to thank them," he says. "That was the essence of the idea for the reception. I believe that the most important politics are relations between people. This is the biggest thing that any ambassador or embassy can do."

Thomas Bauer, CEO of SOS Children's Villages, said he was grateful for the support and honoured to have been hosted by the ambassador. ■

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Unlocking South Africa's oceans economy



By *Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo*

At the southern tip of Africa, perfectly nestled on three sides by the warm Indian Ocean on the east, the cold Atlantic Ocean on the west and further south by the Antarctic convergence lies one of the most beautiful countries in the world — South Africa. The country's indisputably breathtaking and wide-ranging landscape, picturesque beaches with 3,900 kilometres of coastline, vibrant cultural diversity and a host of other attractions make it one of the most sought-after tourist destinations.

South Africa has relied mainly on its land resources to support its mixed economy. The global upsurge in marine and ocean economies has coincided with South Africa's realization that its oceans are a resource that can help it grow the economy and create jobs.

South Africa's oceans have been globally framed as "a new frontier," given their quantities of untapped resources. With a total ocean territory of about 1.5 million square kilometres, exceeding its 1.2 million square kilometres of land territory, South Africa's waters have huge potential to boost economic growth by an additional US\$13.6 billion GDP by 2033. Its 2018 GDP was US\$366 billion.

Driven by an urgency to deliver on its national priorities, the government has introduced a program called Operation Phakisa, loosely translated as "move fast or hurry." Operation Phakisa is premised on the Malaysians' "Big Fast Results" methodology, which allowed Malaysia to transform economically within a short time. The South African government has gathered South African maritime professionals and experts at study labs to reappraise its maritime sector.

Ocean economy "refers to that portion



South Africa's oceans — the Atlantic and the Indian meet here, at Cape Point — play an important role in its economy.

of the economy that relies on the ocean as an input to the production process or which, by virtue of geographic location, takes place on or under the ocean."

South Africa's approach to oceans economy development is premised on six areas: marine transport and manufacturing, marine and coastal tourism, offshore oil and gas exploration, marine-protected areas and ocean governance, aquaculture and small harbours and coastal property development. This approach has created 7,093 direct jobs and it should create more than one million by 2033.

South Africa is located near the world's major shipping routes, with its exclusive economic zone (EEZ), which sees approximately 30,000 vessels sailing through annually. The ports remain a key link between the east and west in the transportation of goods and a key strategic point of entry into Southern Africa.

South Africa's neighbouring states — especially landlocked Southern African Development Community countries — depend on South Africa's extensive and sophisticated world-class maritime infrastructure to facilitate their trade with the rest of the world. In the South Africa-Canada portion, 2017 merchandise trade totalled \$1.27 billion — \$354 million in Canadian exports and \$917 million in imports from South Africa.

Marine manufacturing, which includes ship and rig repair, refurbishment and boat building, is prioritized to meet the growing demands of shipping and the African offshore oil and gas industry. South Africa currently services four rigs annu-

ally and there are an estimated 80 oil rigs in the Western Cape.

The government has invested US\$4 billion to upgrade ship repair facilities, outer dry-dock caissons, slipway and lead-in jetties. Further expansion includes 20 new cranes and private-sector investment for a large-capacity floating dock to accommodate vessels that cannot be serviced by the existing ship repair facilities.

Coastal and maritime tourism plans aim at growing a world-class, sustainable destination that leverages the country's competitive advantages in nature, culture and heritage. Tourist activities range from boat-based whale-watching to scuba diving and shark cage-diving.

The EEZ has about 9 billion barrels of oil and 60 trillion cubic feet of gas. There are plans to drill 30 deep-water and gas-exploration wells within the decade. Should large-scale exploration take off, 370,000 barrels of oil could be produced each day over the next 20 years.

These projects will put unprecedented pressure on the ocean and should be weighed against the risk of major oil pollution and massive expenditure. Government has put in place measures to balance the preservation of a healthy ocean while increasing economic activity. Those measures include conducting emergency response drills to initiate the creation of world-class oil-spill response capacity.

Aquaculture is a relatively undeveloped area despite its contribution to global food security. South Africa harvests nearly 600,000 tonnes of fish a year; however, its fish stock has become limited. Aquaculture production currently focuses on abalone, oysters, mussels, finfish and trout.

As South Africa celebrates 25 years of democracy, it uses this milestone to reflect on its successes and missteps. The promise of this new frontier allows it to look to the future. Already a G20 member with a diversified economy, it seeks to boost its GDP with the understanding that the success of the ocean economy approach is possible if all stakeholders work together.

Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo is South Africa's high commissioner to Canada. Reach her at rsafrica@southafrica-canada.ca or (613) 744-0330.

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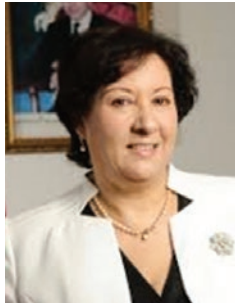
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Morocco: A dynamic emerging economy



By Souriya Otmani

Morocco's King Mohammed VI believes in expanding the country's development, focusing on strengthening the competitiveness of its economy. To that end, the government has prioritized economic diversification and trade alongside political, economic and social reforms.

So far, the reforms have yielded good results and, as a testament to the country's economic potential, several multinational companies have moved all or part of their production to Morocco. In 2012, Renault opened the biggest car factory in North Africa, in Tangiers, where it produces cars for emerging markets; PSA Peugeot Citroen followed with an investment of US\$615 million, making Morocco Africa's leading car manufacturer and a key supplier for European auto factories. Other international corporations, including Bombardier, Boeing, Airbus, Delphi, Dell and GDF Suez have followed suit and undertaken major investments in Morocco.

Reasons for this include the low cost of production, the well-qualified workforce, banking benefits encouraging companies to do business in Morocco, including the relaxation of the strict convertibility regime of the dirham for foreign investors, low tax rates and additional incentives, such as zero tax for the first five years of operation, big reductions on VAT and customs duties, and access to a market of nearly one billion consumers, thanks to free-trade agreements (FTAs) with the European Union, the U.S., and Turkey, to name a few, and a business climate that is continuously improving as the government aims to make investment even easier. Furthermore, Morocco ranks 60th of 190 countries on the World Bank's latest



Morocco has worked hard to strengthen the competitiveness of its economy. Shown here is the tramway in Casablanca.

Doing Business 2019 report.

In addition, Morocco is known for its transport infrastructure, which the World Economic Forum calls the best in Africa and includes world-class roads, airports and the Moroccan high-speed railway, the first of its kind in Africa.

In addition to its port facilities in Casablanca, Morocco boasts a world-class facility, Tangier Med Port, which is still being expanded. The second and final phase of this mega-hub "Tangier-Med 2" opened in June 2019, becoming the largest transshipment hub in the Mediterranean and Africa and one of the 20 largest ports in the world, with the ability to handle up to 9 million containers. With links to nearly 186 ports in the world in 77 countries, it ranks 17th in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) shipping connectivity index.

With respect to trade- and investment-facilitating measures, the Moroccan Investment and Export Development Agency (AMDIE) is a new one-stop-shop for investors and exporters. AMDIE is responsible for promoting national and foreign investment, as well as the export of goods and services, and is committed to supporting all economic actors throughout their projects' life cycle.

Finally, Morocco has initiated a diversification strategy targeted at developing high value-added sectors, such as automotive and aeronautical. As part of this initiative, Morocco has integrated industrial platforms (P2I), providing access to infrastructure, such as the Nouaceur industrial zone on the outskirts of Casablanca. This

is basically a free-trade zone to help foster new businesses by offering a preferred taxation framework, not to mention a great number of adapted services. Bombardier Aerospace took full advantage of this option.

Renewable energy is a key sector priority for foreign investment. Morocco is currently one of the fastest-growing renewable energy markets in Africa with an ambitious solar energy plan that features investment of US\$9 billion by 2020. By 2030, Morocco aims to be generating 52 per cent of its electricity from renewable energy, mainly solar, wind and hydro-electric power. To that end, the Noor Concentrated Solar Power (CSP) Plant is the largest of its kind in the world.

Economic and trade relations between Morocco and Canada have seen a steady rise and today many Canadian corporations have established successful operations in Morocco. However, the current volume of trade, which totalled more than \$896 million in 2018, does not reflect our real potential as trading partners. Morocco mostly imports cereals, fertilizers, machinery and mechanical appliances from Canada, while exporting citrus fruits and nuts, fertilizers, articles of apparel and clothing accessories and seafood.

The Kingdom of Morocco welcomes Canadians to take advantage of its investment and trade opportunities and benefit from the facilitating measures adopted by the government. Indeed, Morocco can be Canada's gateway into Africa, where Moroccan companies and businesspeople are already playing a leading role.

My country offers a platform for Canadian businesses willing to expand in Africa, and we offer a stable place to do business, especially as Morocco's largest city, Casablanca, is increasingly recognized as an important African financial centre. In fact, Casablanca Finance City, which was officially launched in December 2010 as a financial and economic hub from which to drive investment into Africa, has, since 2015, ranked first in Africa in terms of the competitiveness index for financial hubs.

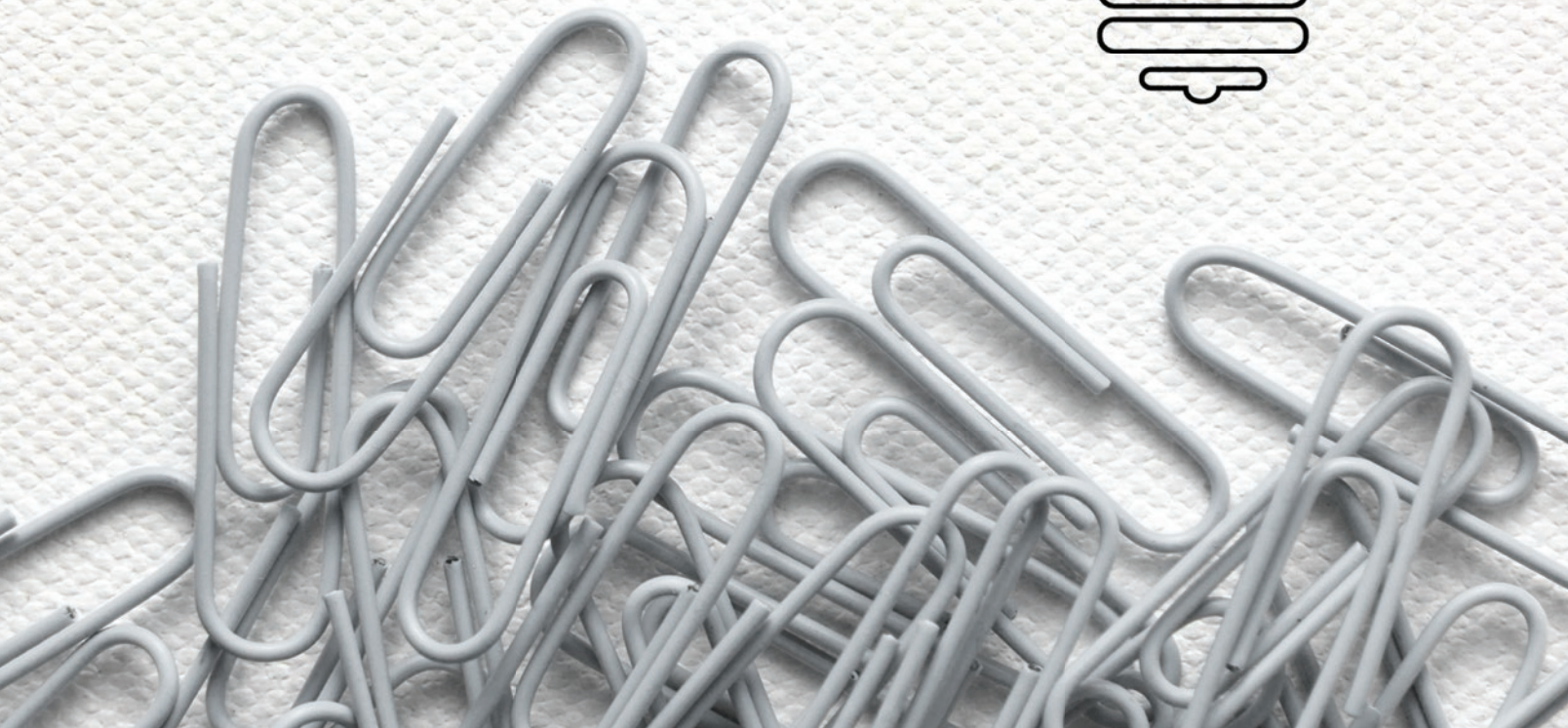
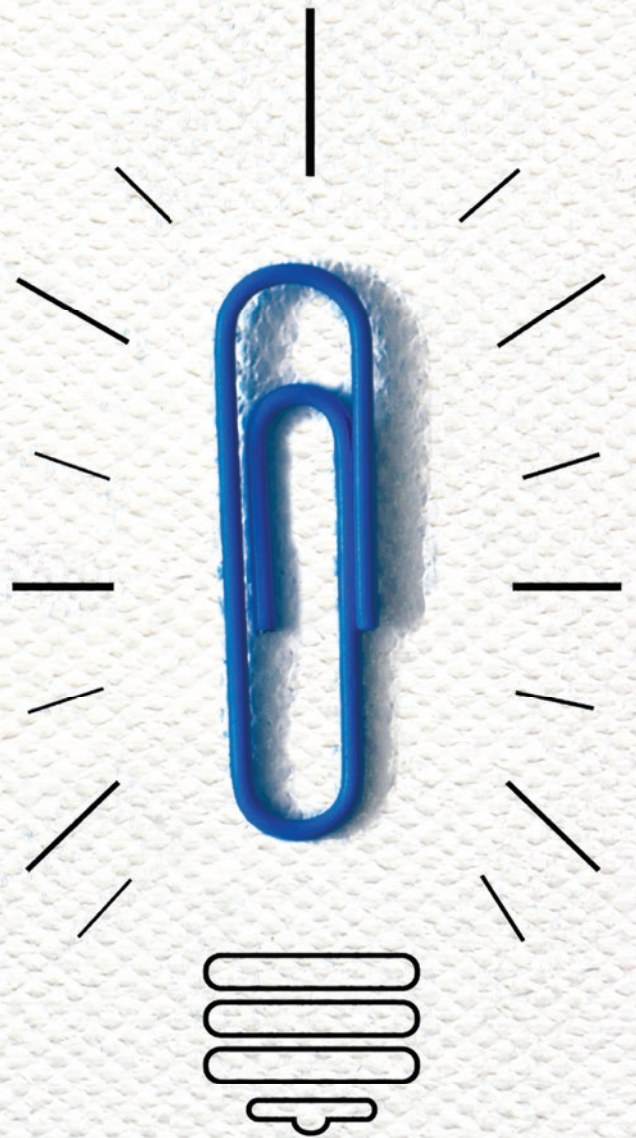
Souriya Otmani is the ambassador of Morocco. Reach her at sifamaot@bellnet.ca or (613) 236-7391.

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Colombia: Traditional trade, ideas and art



By Federico Hoyos

Colombia's commercial relationship with Canada has grown over time, and our goal and responsibility is to ensure continued growth in the import and export of new goods and services, but also of ideas and art.

In 2018, exports from Colombia to Canada were worth \$865 million. Of this, 64 per cent belonged to the mining and energy sector; the rest included coffee, flowers and processed foods. It is likely that one of the cups of coffee you had this week was made from Colombian beans and the roses you bought recently as a gift or to decorate your house came from our country as well. And if, by any chance, your coffee was not from Colombia, give yourself a gift and try a cup of our amazing product.

Canada, meanwhile, sent nearly \$746 million worth of goods to Colombia, including cereals (wheat, barley), machinery, vegetables (pulses such as lentils, peas, chickpeas) and paper fertilizers.

All of the above is exciting and positive; however, we want to broaden the spectrum of the goods we export and look to the industries of the 21st Century. Let's talk about some of them.

Colombia has the most stable levels of solar radiation in Latin America. Even though 70 per cent of our energy matrix is clean, mainly because of hydro, our country only produces 50 megawatts of energy from non-conventional sources such as the sun and wind. Our government has established an ambitious goal, which is to increase production of clean and non-conventional energies to 1,500 megawatts over the next three years. To do so, we are inviting renewable energy bids so companies from all around the world can participate in this national goal. We hope



Colombia, whose capital of Bogotá is shown here, has had a free trade agreement with Canada since 2008 and last year, it sent \$865 million worth of exports to Canada.

many Canadian companies can take part in this process. As a government, we are determined to make Colombia a leader in sustainability. It is pertinent to highlight that Colombia only emits 0.4 per cent of global carbon emissions, but is one of the 20 countries most vulnerable to the effects of global warming.

Second, let me refer to the importance and focus we have on the creative industries and the orange economy. President Ivan Duque has been one of the most avid promoters of cultural industries as engines of economic growth. Our talents appear in literature, movies, design, programming, digital development, theatre and the arts overall. This segment of the Colombian economy represented 3.4 per cent of our GDP last year, and our government's goal is to reach six per cent by 2020. In order to promote these new industries, the government established a seven-year exemption of income tax for such industries that move to and invest in Colombia. We strongly believe in the necessity of growing the economy in a sustainable manner, and as such, we found a way to do so through these creative industries.

Finally, let's talk about tourism. Duque has called tourism "our new oil." We are a country rich in biodiversity, with two oceans, deserts, mountains and Amazonia, all of which make us a territory of un-

imaginable tourism opportunities. Visitors can experience our natural beauty as well as our growing and modern cities, with true examples of social innovation, as in Medellín, but also of unique gastronomy, design and art production. In order to promote investment and tourism in Canada, in May 2019, our government lifted the entry fee that Canadians previously had to pay on arrival.

I'm deeply honoured to represent Colombia in Canada. Our love for and interest in nature, sustainability, diversity and innovation as an engine to thrive in the 21st Century unite us as countries. The free trade agreement we have had with Canada since 2011 is a concrete tool to seek bilateral investment and growth in the exchange of services and goods. We both can continue to prosper as nations by deepening our understanding of each other and strengthening economic ties. We are open to sharing more with you over a cup of coffee and a piece of Colombian chocolate at our embassy or anywhere else in Ottawa, or in any other Canadian city or town. I'm looking forward to hearing from you.

Federico Hoyos is Colombia's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at federico.hoyos@cancilleria.gov.co or (343) 999-2064.

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Peru's role in the global arena



FIRST NAME: Roberto
LAST NAME: Rodríguez Arnillas
CITIZENSHIP: Peruvian
PRESENTED CREDENTIALS AS AMBASSADOR: June 29, 2018
PREVIOUS POSTINGS: Ecuador, Brazil and the United States (New York and Washington)

In the past two decades, Peru has consistently been regarded as a country with great economic potential and one that has made the most progress in terms of development in South America, having overcome the years in which it was mired by recession, hyperinflation, terrorism and an inefficient bureaucracy.

With the turn of the century, thanks to successful democratic transitions of government and economic reforms that began 25 years ago, Peru has improved its economic performance by applying sound public policies. The conviction that free trade leads to positive impacts has also helped.

In 2017, Peru had a per capita gross national income of US\$5,960, positioning the country in the group of upper-middle-income nations.

Successive governments have taken advantage of this continuously positive economic trend and implemented policies to tackle urgent social demands, especially targeting the population living in poverty. In fact, Peru has managed to dramatically reduce the incidence of poverty from 55 per cent to 21 per cent of its population between 2007 and 2018. Moreover, in just five years, 7 million Peruvians have been lifted out of poverty, with monetary poverty having diminished at a rate of 16.8 per cent between 2008 and 2018.

Peru has worked in line with the targets set out by the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development and has shown progress in various indexes, including the reduction of chronic malnutrition in children under five years of age, from 18 per cent in 2012 to 13 per cent in 2017; increasing the rate of births attended by qualified health practitioners from 86 per cent in 2012

to 93 per cent in 2017; diminishing the rate of death in children under five years of age from 21 per 1,000 in 2009, to 15 per 1,000 in 2017 and widening the coverage of the basic level of education and of access to potable water.

Public policies

have also tackled inequality and the results are clearly laid out in the last issue of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report for Latin America and the Caribbean. The document found that for the period between 2003 and 2013, the Gini coefficient [measuring income inequality, with 0 being a perfect score] had an average annual improvement of -1.67 per cent, a better rate than the Latin American average (-1.13 per cent), and that Peru's growth in labour productivity per person employed (3.4 per cent) and per hour of work (3.7 per cent) has been one of the highest in Latin America between 2003 and 2013.

Since the 1990s, Peru has implemented significant public service programs, particularly in low-income urban areas. Examples of these programs were the expansion of access to water connections and granting property titles, as well as loans, so that informal settlements could make necessary home improvements.

Moreover, in the past 10 years, Peru has applied an inclusive approach to growth, improving the lives of those in the lowest income tier. Social programs focus on the poorest families and those families now have sufficient resources to invest in their future, assuring that their children — especially girls — go to school every day and have access to health services for vaccinations and checkups.

Still, even with those important steps to combat poverty and achieve sustainable development, there is much to improve. Approximately 70 per cent of Peruvians are employed in the informal sector (one of the highest in Latin America). The country must help them, and close the gap between urban and rural poverty. There are still insufficient investments in the health and education sectors.

Peru in the international arena

Peru has a long-standing tradition of fostering multilateralism as an effective way to deal with global challenges, such as preserving international security and peace, and promoting our cherished values of democracy and the defence of human rights.

I would like to highlight, in particular, two tangible examples of how Peru has effectively worked with international partners in the regional and global arena in the past two years: As a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (2018-2019) and as one of the countries vying to resolve Venezuela's humanitarian crisis as part of the Lima Group of countries.

The Lima Group came to be in Peru's



Peru — its capital, Lima, is shown here — reduced poverty from 55 per cent to 21 per cent between 2007 and 2018 and in the past five years, seven million Peruvians have been lifted out of poverty.

capital Aug. 8, 2017, as a flexible mechanism that brought together countries of the hemisphere, including Canada. Together with regional partners, Peru has followed a consistent position in defending and supporting the only democratically elected institution in Venezuela, the National Assembly. As such, and according to Venezuela's constitution, Peru has recognized Juan Guaidó, chairman of the National Assembly, as the acting president of Venezuela. He is leading a transitional government towards free, fair and transparent elections.

The countries of the Lima Group consider that through various diplomatic and economic measures, enough pressure can be exerted so that the popular demand for democratic change can finally arrive in Venezuela. Peru, as a responsible and empathic neighbour, has welcomed more than 750,000 Venezuelans and has received the biggest number of refugee claimants in the region (reaching 192,500 at the end of 2018, according to the United Nations). Being a first-hand witness to the Venezuelan humanitarian struggle, Peru seeks to end the crisis and allow the return of the diaspora who have been forced out of their country.

Peru has also been actively voicing

its concern about the Venezuelan crisis through the Organisation of American States (OAS), and it has even referred it to the International Criminal Court, in a joint action with Argentina, Canada, Chile, Colombia and Paraguay, asking for an investigation into the alleged commission of crimes against humanity.

In the global sphere, Peruvian diplomacy has actively worked on preventing conflict and attaining sustainable peace with a holistic vision that includes targeting the structural causes of conflict and staying alert to new threats to international peace and security.

At the end of 2019, Peru will conclude its two-year tenure as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, the fifth time it has assumed such responsibility since the creation of the United Nations in 1945. During this latest stint, Peru has tried to highlight the close linkage between conflict resolution and economic and social development, and to intensify the debate on the connections between international terrorism and organized crime.

Peru has participated in 22 United Nations missions since 1958 and is the fifth largest provider of troops working on peacekeeping operations in the Americas. Peru has been involved in six peacekeep-

ing missions in recent years, including Haiti (MINUSTAH), which concluded in April 2017, and the Central African Republic (MINUSCA).

It has also emphasized the role of youth and women as positive agents of change in all phases of conflict. With 12 per cent of its forces consisting of female peacekeepers, Peru is bound to reach the recommended UN target — 15 per cent — for the deployment of female officers in 2020.

As Peru continues its path to development, new roles are emerging in the international arena. Collaboration with strong and reliable countries, such as Canada, will have a key role, as has been shown in the Venezuelan crisis. However, there are further examples to work on, such as partnering in the provision of co-operation with third countries or what is known as "triangular co-operation," or joining efforts in the fight to combat and adapt to climate change.

In 2019, as Peru and Canada celebrate the 75th anniversary of having established diplomatic relations, both countries are committed to working closely towards a new and modern vision of our bilateral relations that builds upon the solid and reliable ties that we have achieved to this point. ■

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Disputed territories

Wolfgang Depner surveyed the planet's Top-10 most dangerous dispute zones and came up with this list.

Problems of territoriality lie at the heart of global politics, especially among those who subscribe to realist theories of international relations.

If we accept their argument that the international community consists of independent states that exist in an environment of anarchy thanks to the absence of a global authority, then any study of their relations inevitably focuses on their boundaries. As philosopher Max Weber said, a state is a "human community that claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory."

Or as Jeremy Larkin, lecturer in international relations at Goldsmiths, a college of the University of London, puts it: "All states, regardless of historical and geographical variables, are assumed to have some physical extension in space, to occupy an identifiable place on the surface of the Earth, to have borders that clearly distinguish inside from outside and self from others."

But if ability to “distinguish inside from outside and self from others” appears as an element of statehood, it is a necessary but insufficient condition for it.

Equally necessary is Weber’s point about the exercise of exclusive authority — the concept of sovereignty — within that territory. It is one thing to claim a set of boundaries, it is another to control the space within them, as the Communist government of mainland China has discovered in Hong Kong, where protesters have challenged its authority. (Whether this authority is legitimate is another question.)

But if these points have “assumed the status of a common-sensical, self-evident truth,” as Larkin writes, it has not always been this way.

As he writes, the concept of territoriality in modern international relations is a social construct that only fully emerged in the period after the end of the 30 Years’ War (1618-1648). When married with the ideas of national self-determination (late 18th and early 19th Centuries) and social Darwinism (late 19th, early 20th Century), it subsequently contributed to the catastrophes that defined the first half of the 20th Century.

They, in turn, have inspired international institutions and instruments that attempt to ameliorate territorial conflicts, in line with the liberal school of international theory.

This said, powerful actors with nationalistic agendas in North America, Asia, Europe and the Middle East have since regained the upper hand in this conflict between realism and liberalism by either emphasizing their own territorial integrity, or worse, revising the borders of others.

This list of the 10 most important unresolved territorial disputes draws attention to this dynamic.

To be clear: Territorial disputes have always been, and will be, features of international systems, and every dispute described in this list has had a long history dating back decades, if not centuries, as in the case of the ethnic-religious conflicts that continue to rile the “near abroad” of Russia.

But their saliency has risen in what Ian Bremmer, president of Eurasia Group, and Nouriel Roubini, professor at New York University, have described as a G-Zero World, in which no nation is either willing or capable of guiding the international system, be it through the punishment of pariahs or the provision of public goods. In this world, deprived of global leadership and defined by increasingly dysfunc-

tional global institutions and instruments, states will increasingly find themselves on their own, a condition some actors actually encourage.

As cacophony replaces co-operation, conflict will become more likely, and many observers have already argued that we currently find ourselves in the middle of a new Cold War between the declining United States and emerging China, with neither side concerned about any collateral damage that they might be causing to the larger international system.

So what stands out about the list? As already mentioned, many of these conflicts have had a long history, often involving key historical events themselves. Second, they unfold within larger conflicts. For example, the conflict between China and Taiwan is not just about the status of Taiwan. It is also about the conflict between China and the United States. Third, these territorial conflicts serve domestic purposes. For example, when Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu promised to annex the West Bank — the very core of a future Palestinian state — earlier this year, he did so for electoral purposes and greater security. He tried the same gambit when Israelis went to the polls again in September.

Domestic politics also explain the recent move by Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi to strip the Indian part of Kashmir of its previously enjoyed autonomy rights in playing to his nationalistic base. Another example concerns Russia. It finds itself in the middle of multiple territorial disputes with its neighbours, but has shown little interest in solving them, partly because Russian President Vladimir Putin uses them to stoke nationalist sentiments against the West, thereby distracting the Russian public from domestic problems. This is partly because Putin continues to see Russia as a genuine global power. This said, it is also important to acknowledge that these territorial claims reflect — at least in the minds of those who pursue them — attempts to resolve genuine security problems. Finally, none of these conflicts is “local.” Any prolonged tensions in the South China Sea would not just reverberate through the immediate region, but also impact other parts of the world, be it through global stock markets, or, less abstractly, by disrupting global supply lines.

1. China-Taiwan (and fallout from Hong Kong protests)

It’s a global drama by any measure: the fate of the sometimes violent anti-main-

land China protests in Hong Kong that have sometimes sent more than a million defiant citizens into the streets. And it resonates with special significance among the 24 million or so residents of Taiwan.

When the former British Crown colony returned to mainland China in 1997 under the formula of “one country, two systems,” Hong Kong also became a possible model for the future of Taiwan, which Beijing considers a breakaway province. Chinese President Xi Jinping himself raised it in January 2019, when he called on Taipei to start unification talks on that basis. Taiwanese leaders, starting with President Tsai Ing-wen, rejected his demand and questioned Beijing’s commitment to the “one country, two systems” approach. Months later, events in Hong Kong have confirmed these fears, and Chinese actions in Hong Kong have confirmed the worst suspicions of those who also read Xi’s speech as a veiled threat of invasion should Taiwan ever declare independence.

First, the good news. According to a report to the U.S. Congress — the latest China Military Power Report — China currently lacks the means to invade Taiwan. While mainland China’s People’s Liberation Army (PLA) continues to “improve training and acquire new capabilities for a Taiwan contingency,” the report finds “no indication that China is significantly expanding its landing ship force necessary for an amphibious assault on Taiwan.”

Now, the bad news. Cross-strait relations between China and Taiwan have become increasingly prickly because of recent developments, starting in January 2019, when Ing-wen challenged the 1992 Consensus, an agreement that acknowledges the existence of one China. But it also allows for their varying interpretation on China’s legitimate government. This ongoing historical conflict followed the Chinese civil war from 1945 to 1949 in which the Communists, led by Mao Zedong, defeated the Nationalists’ Kuomintang Party under Chiang Kai-shek, whose government, assets, partial military and followers moved to Taiwan (then called Formosa). According to the interpretation by the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations, the core of the 1992 Consensus consists of the “tacit agreement” that Taiwan will not seek independence.

By questioning the 1992 Consensus, Ing-wen leaves open the possibility that Taiwan could declare independence, one of the scenarios that the PLA had previously identified as a reason for the use of force. While presidential elections in 2020



will test the popularity of Ing-wen and her diplomatic ideas, China has already signalled its displeasure by accusing Taiwan of “pursuing a path of separatism” while refusing to rule out China’s use of force.

All of this has happened after Taiwan purchased military equipment worth more than \$2.2 billion from the United States, and began a diplomatic charm offensive during which Ing-wen met with the United Nations ambassadors of the countries that recognize Taiwan, despite pressure from China.

While not a member of the United Nations, Taiwan maintains an unofficial consular office not far from the UN and formal diplomatic ties with 16 UN members, mainly from Latin America, the Caribbean and the Holy See. Taiwan also maintains unofficial ties with 50-plus other UN members. This said, the number of countries that recognize Taiwan as the sole representative of China has been dropping. (Taiwan, for its part, recognizes every UN member except for China and North Korea.)

Taiwan can continue to count on U.S. support, which intensified when then-U.S.-president-elect Donald Trump accepted a congratulatory call from Ing-wen in December 2016. The 10-minute phone call upended almost four decades of

American policy, because no American president had spoken with a Taiwanese leader since 1979, when the United States withdrew diplomatic recognition of Taiwan under the “One China” policy that accepts mainland China (the People’s Republic of China) as the sole government of China. Trump, being Trump, then bragged about the phone call on Twitter and further raised doubts when he said that the United States did not have to follow the policy.

Interpretations of this move varied, from deliberate provocation of Beijing to rookie mistake to clever negotiating ploy. Beijing downplayed the incident, arguing that Trump had fallen for a “little trick” played by Taiwan, but it now appears it was part of a larger strategy aimed against China that has relied, for the most part, on economic tools.

But Taiwan remains the one place where U.S. and Chinese military forces are the most likely to clash. U.S. Navy ships routinely transit the Strait of Taiwan on the premise that they are international waters, but they’re also signalling to China that the United States won’t accept efforts to push it out of the region. China routinely conducts live-fire exercises in the area, and while China has committed itself to peaceful unification, it has never ruled

out the use of force.

2. Strait of Hormuz Region

As the only route to the open ocean for one-sixth of global oil production and one-third of the world’s liquefied natural gas (LNG), the 39-kilometre-long Strait of Hormuz, lying between Iran and Oman, is the world’s single most important oil passageway.

As events during the summer of 2019 have shown, conflicts along this global chokepoint can rattle markets and raise the spectre of war throughout the Middle East.

Perhaps lost in this tableau of tension is the disputed status of three local islands near the Strait. While Abu Musa, Greater Tunbs and Lesser Tunbs add up to fewer than 26 square kilometres of sand and scrub, they screen the entrance into the strait.

Iran has, on several occasions, threatened to close the Strait of Hormuz if the United States or Israel launch a military attack against its nuclear installations, and the islands would likely play a significant role in any Iranian counterstrike against shipping.

The origin of this dispute dates to the late 19th Century, and for decades, Iran and United Arab Emirates claimed sovereignty over the islands, with Iran seizing them in 1971, just before the UAE formally declared itself an independent state.

Since then, Iran has militarized them with small boat harbours, airstrips and, as reported by *Forbes*, “presumably, a full suite of missiles, radars and other surveillance gear.”

These islands, themselves part of a broader network of forward maritime outposts, have allowed Iran to “advance a strategy of bravura and bluster” that extends its influence.

“Ultimately, Iran has been too successful in demonstrating that small maritime holdings,” *Forbes* notes, “when combined with continuous bellicose provocation, are force multipliers.”

Regional and international efforts to resolve this territorial conflict have been ongoing and actually resumed in late July 2019, when a UAE delegation travelled to Iran. The development marked an easing of tensions between the countries, which have also found themselves on opposite sides of the civil war in Yemen, with Iran backing Houthi rebels in Yemen, while the UAE has joined Saudi Arabia in sending money and men in support of Yemen’s official government.

These talks have coincided with a scale-



Hong Kong's protests against mainland China resonates with some of the 24 million residents of Taiwan, which Beijing considers a runaway province.



American naval personnel provide security aboard the amphibious dock landing ship *USS Harpers Ferry* during a Strait of Hormuz transit.

back of UAE's involvement in Yemen, suggesting that the recent run of tensions in the region marked a peak, if only for the present.

3. Israel-Palestine territories (West Bank/Jerusalem/Gaza) and Israel-Syria (Golan Heights)

To sample the current opinions of some Israeli historians about the future of their country is to drink deeply from a well of despair.

In commemorating the late liberal Israeli author Amos Oz, Israeli author-historian Tom Segev argues in *The New Yorker* that the prospects for a viable peace between Israelis and Palestinians have been fading since 1993, when the Oslo Accords inspired Arab terrorism and the assassination of Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin in November 1995 by an ultranationalist opposed to a Palestinian state existing next to Israel. Within months of "one of history's most effective political murders," Benjamin Netanyahu started to steer Israel towards its current settlement policies in the West Bank. Almost 25 years later, Israeli settlers in the Occupied Territories now number nearly half a million, "in effect foreclosing on the idea of a two-state solution," Segev writes.

Israeli historian Ilan Pappé agrees with the futility of pursuing a two-state solu-

tion in arguing for a pacifistic and humanistic alternative to Israel in the form of a binational state with a socialist economic system and equal rights for all its citizens, contrary to the current apartheid-like state, as he describes Israel.

If Pappé is pro-Palestinian, fellow historian Benny Morris predicts a future in which demographic developments will render Jews a persecuted minority in their own state, with the lucky ones able to escape to the United States.

For all their differences, these perspectives are pessimistic about the current viability of the land-for-peace formula behind the Oslo Accords, the idea that Israel would eventually withdraw to the borders of 1967 in exchange for formal recognition by a future Palestinian state.

While the two-state solution enjoys broad formal support in the United Nations General Assembly and among key powers in Asia and Europe, developments, namely the expansion of Jewish settlements in the West Bank, the very location of a future Palestinian state, and divisions among Palestinians themselves, have steadily worked against it.

As Canadian Michael Lynk, the special rapporteur appointed by the UN Human Rights Council recently said, the UN considers Israeli settlements illegal. But factionalism between Fatah — the more moderate Palestinian authority in the West

Bank — and Hamas — the radical Palestinian authority in the Gaza Strip with a long history of deadly attacks against Israelis — has played into the hands of



The idea that Israel would eventually withdraw to the borders of 1967 in exchange for recognition by a future Palestinian state seems unlikely today.

those who see the Palestinians as obstacles to peace and progress.

So what is to be done? The latest efforts, as proposed by Jared Kushner, the son-in-law and senior adviser of Donald Trump, focus on peace through prosperity as part of a larger, yet-to-be-released Middle East peace plan described as the “deal of the century.”

Critics, including *The Wall Street Journal*, hardly a liberal outlet, argue that this idea ignores the facts on the ground. They question the impartiality of the United States after its 2017 decision to formally recognize Jerusalem as Israel’s capital, a major diplomatic affront to the Palestinians who also claim it.

Ordinary Palestinians in the West Bank, for their part, face difficult choices. Violent resistance appears ineffective in the face of superior Israeli forces, yet few see other alternatives. The prospect of peace through prosperity as promised by current negotiations might be appealing, but many are not buying the hype for any number of reasons. They include infrastructure deficiencies, barriers to the movement of goods and people and the absence of predictable rules. Ultimately, many Palestinians see current efforts as a cynical bribe to buy off a long-cherished dream.

As for the Golan Heights, Israel continues to occupy it for security reasons, and like the West Bank and Gaza, it remains a flashpoint of tensions, as Syria recently reiterated its right to recover the Heights.

4. India-Pakistan (Kashmir)

“We want revenge, not condemnation. It is time for blood, the enemy’s blood.” So spoke Arnab Goswami, one of India’s most prominent television journalists after a male suicide bomber had killed more than 40 Indian paramilitary soldiers on Feb. 14, 2019 in Pulwama, a city in the Kashmir region.

The suicide bomber was a member of Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM), a Pakistan-based group that aims to unite the Indian portion of Kashmir with Pakistan through attacks on symbols of the Indian state.

Goswami and other bellicose moderators baying for blood received their wish days later when India, having accused Pakistan of harbouring the group, launched airstrikes on Feb. 26 against what it says was a JeM training facility beyond the de-facto border that divides India-administered Kashmir from Pakistan-administered Kashmir following a war between the two countries in 1971.

Developments escalated quickly from there. A Pakistani counterstrike on Feb. 27 sparked an aerial battle that led to the downing of two Indian jets and the cap-

ture of an Indian pilot by Pakistani forces. Video footage showing the pilot bloodied and bruised only heightened tensions and fear of a full-out war between two nuclear powers prompted calls for restraint from leaders around the world.



The battle between India and Pakistan over Kashmir dates back to 1947, with flare-ups in 1965 and 1999 and again in 2019.

Both sides eventually de-escalated their rhetoric by sending signals of restraint. Pakistan, for example, quickly released a new video of the captured pilot showing him cleaned and sipping tea before eventually releasing him. But the episode was nonetheless a terrifying reminder of the incendiary potential that the Kashmir conflict bears.

The split itself dates back to the hasty and poorly planned partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947. Once a princely state, Kashmir found itself free to choose between India and Pakistan following partition. Both governments soon pressured Kashmir, which eventually sought military help from India, after rebels sponsored by Pakistan seized control of western Kashmir. India agreed to the aid, but only after Kashmir had formally become India’s.

Two years of war followed, ending with a ceasefire sponsored by the United Nations.

Kashmir was also the primary cause of conflict between the two countries in 1965 and 1999. The 1971 war that led to the independence of Bangladesh also flared up in Kashmir.

So Kashmir has been a fault-line, if not

the fault-line, of Indo-Pakistani rivalries since 1947, with both claiming full control of the region for apparent reasons.

For India, Kashmir is the place to showcase the rights of Muslims within Indian society, as its 45-per-cent share of Kashmir is the only Indian region where Muslims constitute a majority, at 60 per cent of the local population. This is also the reason Kashmir is so important to Pakistan and its self-image as the Muslim homeland on the subcontinent.

The respective regions of Kashmir under Indian and Pakistani control are also far from homogeneous, with groups on either side of the border chafing under their respective governments. Finally, China also plays a small but important part through its own claims to the region.

While these political complications are familiar, the complexity of their interactions has changed. Modern information technologies can quickly condense and convert news of local tensions in the re-

gion into national grievances with global consequences. Fed by nationalistic furor, decision-makers on both sides might soon find themselves prisoners of cascading events that they might have started, but can no longer stop.

5. China, the Philippines and others (South China Sea)

Thucydides' Trap refers to the theory that war is the likely outcome whenever a rising power rivals a ruling power, and the South China Sea, along with the Taiwan Strait and the East China Sea, are the most likely places where it could snap into place.

It is hard to overstate the importance of the South China Sea to global commerce. In 2016, goods worth US\$3.37 trillion passed through the area, including large amounts of oil and liquefied natural gas. More than 80 per cent of Japanese, South Korean and Taiwanese oil imports travel through the South China Sea. Overall, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development estimates that one-third of all global shipping passes through the area, with China holding the lion's share. (By way of background, China exported goods worth \$874 billion through the area in 2016, while importing goods worth \$598 billion).

In short, the South China Sea is an essential maritime crossroads for trade for many of the world's largest economies, starting with China, but also the already-mentioned Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, as well as Vietnam, among others.

But the region is not just a "vital artery" of global trade, as the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies writes. It is also an untapped depository of strategic resources, with an estimated 11 billion barrels of untapped oil and 190 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. Disputes over who owns which share of this would-be bounty date back to the 1970s, but have significantly intensified in recent years, during China's economic and — therefore — political rise.

China, for example, claims sovereignty over the Spratly and Paracel island groups and other land features within its self-proclaimed "nine-dash line," which runs as far as 2,000 kilometres from the Chinese mainland, claiming 90 per cent of the contested waters. Citing unclear "historical maritime rights," China claims that it owns any land or features contained within the line, which comes within a few hundred kilometres of the Philippines, Malaysia and Vietnam. China has also



Chinese bombers have conducted drills on Woody Island in the Paracel Islands, where Chinese interests clash with Vietnamese and Taiwanese interests.

claimed sovereignty over the waters in the area, as well as its "seabed and subsoil thereof."

The Economist reports that these "absurdly aggrandizing territorial claims" have sparked tensions with neighbours both near and far, including the Philippines, which found itself on the winning side of a 2016 tribunal ruling that found that Chinese claims justified by the "nine-dash line" could not exceed its maritime rights under the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention, which states that nations have sovereignty over waters extending 12 nautical miles from their land and exclusive control over economic activities 200 nautical miles out. Yet China

has shown little interest in fulfilling the binding ruling. It has actually gone out of its way to create facts on the ground by transforming reefs in the Spratly Islands group, claimed by the Philippines, into island fortresses.

Chinese strategic bombers have conducted takeoff and landing drills on Woody Island in the Paracel Islands, where Chinese interests clash with those of Vietnam and Taiwan.

The United States, meanwhile, has challenged Chinese claims through Freedom of Navigation Operations, sending ships and airplanes through the area in defiance of the Chinese argument that foreign militaries cannot conduct intelligence-



A Taiwanese Coast Guard vessel and a Japanese Coast Guard vessel patrol the waters around the disputed Senkaku Islands, as the Japanese call them, or Diaoyu Islands, as the Chinese call them. Japan, China and Taiwan all claim ownership of the uninhabited islands.

gathering activities, such as reconnaissance flights, in its exclusive economic zone. According to the United States, they can under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

This is where Thucydides' Trap comes into play. While China may feel it acts in self-defence by expanding its military capabilities in the region — an area of genuine strategic importance for economic reasons — others interpret China's actions as aggressive, if not hostile. Escalation begets escalation and eventually the trap springs.

6. China and Japan, among others (East China Sea)

Nearly 75 years after its conclusion, the Second World War continues to cast a shadow around the world, and many will inevitably interpret contemporary developments through its lens. The Second World War remains an especially divisive

subject in the relations between Japan and China. China's suffering at the hands of Imperial Japan can be compared to that of the Soviet Union at the hands of Nazi Germany, with one of the differences being that Japanese aggressions and atrocities against China — known as the Rape of Nanking (1937) — predate the agreed-upon starting point of the Second World War (1939) and the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. (1941) by years. Modern-day Japan, like modern-day Germany, bears no resemblance to the country that waged war on its neighbours.

Yet controversies continue to simmer just below the surface, despite the existence of a friendship treaty signed 40 years ago. Whitewashing descriptions of the war found in Japanese textbooks and visits by Japanese politicians to religious shrines honouring war criminals have caused tensions in the past. Japan's neighbours also continue to monitor ef-

forts aimed at changing Japan's post-war pacifistic constitution. Though those attempts have so far proven unsuccessful, any successful changes in the future could thicken this tableau of grievances by stoking anti-Japanese sentiments in the region.

As for Japan, it sees China as an economic rival whose economy has surpassed its own, and a country eager to match its global economic clout with commensurate military might. China also impacts Japanese security through its regional ally, North Korea, whose nuclear and ballistic capabilities remain the source of grave, if not existentialist, concern. Yet Japan finds itself increasingly marginalized from diplomatic discussions, a situation made worse by fraying ties with what should be a natural ally, South Korea.

As if all these circumstances are not complicated enough, Japan and China have also made overlapping claims to five uninhabited islands and three rocks in the



Iranian President Hassan Rouhani, Russian President Vladimir Putin and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan met in 2019 to discuss the future of Syria.

East China Sea — the Senkaku Islands as the Japanese call them, or the Diaoyu Islands, as the Chinese call them.

Japan currently administers the islands, but China and Taiwan have made claims to them.

The land itself is not valuable, but the sea around it — or better, what lies underneath the seabed — could be, as the East China Sea contains oil and natural gas, with the actual amount subject to speculation.

The islands themselves also lie within the Acheson Line, a U.S. defensive perimeter running from the Aleutian Islands of Alaska through Japan's Ryukyu Islands to the Philippines, bearing the name of Dean Acheson, secretary of state under Harry S. Truman. As such, they are part of a larger security infrastructure, a sort of maritime trip wire.

To ease tensions along it, China and Japan have recently agreed to a series

of measures, including a hotline, for the purpose of defusing the type of maritime confrontations that have roiled relations in the past.

7. Syria-Turkey (Kurdish areas)

When Russian President Vladimir Putin hosted Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Iranian President Hassan Rouhani at the Russian resort of Sochi in February 2019 to discuss the future of Syria, it was not hard to draw comparisons with the Yalta Conference of 1945, when the then-allied United States, Britain and former Soviet Union discussed the post-war future of soon-to-be defeated Nazi Germany and the rest of Europe.

While the analogy only goes so far, Putin, Erdoğan and Rouhani can be confident in the knowledge that they can count themselves among the winners of the Syrian civil war — at least for now. Their

respective contributions to the regime of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad have earned them a compliant client of diminished status.

It is telling that al-Assad has been conspicuous by his near-absence from diplomatic gatherings, which his patrons have organized, ostensibly for his benefit. This was the case in February 2019, when the three self-appointed “guarantor countries” pledged to preserve the territorial integrity of Syria.

This promise, however, is not just a warning to other foreign actors (the United States and Israel), and internal opponents of the al-Assad regime, including the Kurds and remaining rebels, but also an implicit acknowledgement that Turkey and Syria have their own mutual history of territorial disputes that could easily flare up again.

An historical source of conflict between *continued on page 52*

10 long-simmering and newer conflict zones

1. Kosovo-Serbia (northern Kosovo)

A century ago, following the First World War, diplomats stitched strands of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire into the state that was Yugoslavia during the Paris Peace Conference.

Multiple wars with some of the worst human rights abuses in recent memory have since shredded their work into a pastiche of states whose mutual bonds consist of shared suspicions that border on open hostility. Relations between Kosovo and Serbia offer the best view of this topography of tension.

More than one decade after Kosovo declared independence from Serbia in 2008, the boundaries of both remain in doubt, with consequences for regional, even global, stability.

Neither recognizes the other, and each can count on a powerful cast of supporters on the international stage. Exactly 100 members of the United Nations, including the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Germany, recognize the independence of Kosovo. Meanwhile, Russia, India, China and a handful of European Union members (including Spain) support Serbian claims to Kosovo.

These opposing international coalitions have accorded this regional conflict on the southeastern fringes of Europe global salience that far exceeds the respective significance of the principal actors. Home to fewer than two million people, Kosovo is barely larger than Cape Breton Island, while Serbia, with its seven million, is hardly larger than New Brunswick.

Yet the obstacles between them remain immense and inspired a simple remedy: a swap of contested territories with an accompanying exchange of populations.

Under the proposal, Kosovo would receive the Presevo Valley with its mostly ethnic Albanian population in southern Serbia, while Serbia would regain full control of a region in northern Kosovo mainly populated by Serbs.

The appeal of this idea is apparent: Muslim Kosovars would live in Kosovo, while Orthodox Christian Serbs would live in Serbia. In exchange for this territorial trade, both countries would recognize each other, thereby paving the path for Kosovo to become a member of the UN and for both to join the European Union.

Yet this tempting idea bears many dangers, key among them the precedent it would set: If both parties agreed to change now, what would stop competing ethnic groups elsewhere in the region from making comparable demands?

The whole idea also echoes a past period of international relations, when the drawing of political borders was the domain of large powers, done above the heads of smaller parties.

2. Arctic

If the Antarctica treaty aims to avoid “international discord” (see entry below) in the South Pole region, the North Pole is becoming increasingly rife with rivalries. While territorial disputes in the region predate the Second World War and the Cold War, changes in the global climate continue to whet the commercial ambitions of Arctic countries. This dynamic accounts for Donald Trump’s offer on behalf of the United States to purchase Greenland.

In June, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo identified the Arctic’s rapidly shrinking ice levels as a business opportunity in downplaying the existentialist threat that climate change poses. “The Arctic is at the forefront of opportunity and abundance,” Pompeo said during a recent meeting of the Arctic Council in Finland. “It houses 13 per cent of the world’s undiscovered oil, 30 per cent of its undiscovered gas, an abundance of uranium, rare earth minerals, gold, diamonds and millions of square miles of untapped resources, fisheries galore.” During that same occasion though, Pompeo’s rhetoric also previewed the tensions that lie ahead when he rattled off a series of warnings aimed at Russia, China and Canada over “illegitimate” claims in the region concerning issues such as the Northwest Passage and the Beaufort Sea.

3. Antarctica

In 1960, *The New York Times* called The Antarctica Treaty “a bright spot in an otherwise gloomy landscape of international relations.” Sixty years after its signing in 1959, the sentiment remains true. Developed after clashes between Argentina and the United Kingdom in 1948 and during the early days of the Cold War, the treaty reserves the continent exclusively for “peaceful purposes” in elevating collective goals such as scientific inquiry and environmental protection above resource exploitation and territorial ambitions. Specifically, Article IV states that no “acts or activities taking place while the present treaty is in force shall constitute a basis for

asserting, supporting or denying a claim to territorial sovereignty in Antarctica or create any rights of sovereignty in Antarctica. No new claim, or enlargement of an existing claim, to territorial sovereignty in Antarctica shall be asserted while the present [treaty] is in force.” This said, the treaty’s language also recognizes sometimes overlapping territorial claims by Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway and the United Kingdom, as well as the rejection of those claims by others. The United States and Russia also maintain a “basis to claim” territory without having made a claim themselves. In short, the treaty tries to preserve the status quo, perhaps a futile effort in light of technological and climatic developments that would improve access to Antarctica’s long-term prize — oil, natural gas and ores. The current ban on mining could come up for review in 2048 and by that time, the region and the world could look very different.

4. Cyprus (Turkish Republic of North Cyprus Turkey / Cyprus)

Niayazi Kizilyurek became an historic figure in May 2019 when he joined the European Parliament as the first Turkish Cypriot, while running for a Greek Cypriot party. Kizilyurek, in other words, personifies what many on and off the Mediterranean island envision: a future beyond the divisions that have separated the island into a Greek-speaking south and Turkish-speaking north since July and August of 1974, when the Turkish army invaded northern Cyprus to first forestall Greek annexation of the entire island, then expanded its initial gains following failed peace talks. These events led to the current split of the island into the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which only Turkey recognizes.

While the list of failed proposals to unite the island appears long, many considered Kizilyurek’s election a catalyst that could reignite reunification efforts. Months later, this optimism has been lost as territorial tensions flare up again.

The irritant has been Turkey’s decision to drill for gas off Cyprus’s coast following its discovery this year. Cyprus considers the Turkish drilling sites part of its own exclusive economic zone. Ankara argues that Cyprus cannot unilaterally make agreements about exclusive economic zones and energy explorations with surrounding countries. Turkey also claims the area as part of its continental shelf.

Turkey’s decision to drill appears

to pursue a larger goal: to force deeper economic ties between the northern and southern parts of the island, and thereby expand Turkey's influence on the island beyond its existing domain.

The European Union, which has not taken kindly to these moves, imposed sanctions on Turkey for what it calls "illegal drilling" in the territorial waters of a member state. Yet Turkish officials appear unimpressed for reasons that speak to the tense and ultimately unbalanced relations between the European Union and Turkey. Thanks to the cash-for-refugee program signed in 2016, Turkey has practically served as Europe's bouncer in stopping migratory streams from the Middle East and elsewhere, with millions of refugees already in the country remaining in limbo.

Their presence has become increasingly unpopular for multiple, but mainly economic, reasons and Turkey has already shown its willingness to use them as leverage by threatening to "open the gates," as it did in 2016.

A comparable move could force the EU to choose between two unappetizing options: tolerate Turkish incursions into Cyprus's territory, with the accompanying loss of credibility, or respond with tougher measures that would only worsen relations with Turkey, an important regional actor in an already volatile region.

5. Southern Kuril Islands

Following the end of the Second World War, the Soviet Union occupied all of the Kuril Islands, with Japan challenging Russian control of the four most southern ones. Their disputed status has delayed a formal peace treaty between the two sides, and remains an ongoing irritant in Russo-Japanese relations. When Tokyo circulated a map during the recent G20 meeting in Osaka that showed them as part of Japan, Russia filed an official diplomatic protest. Japan then did the same after Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev visited one of the islands, dashing hopes of a resolution — at least for now.

6. Abyei, Sudan/South Sudan

Decades of civil war have led to the split of Sudan into a scaled-down version of Sudan and South Sudan. Yet nearly a decade after this division, the demarcation line remains an area of deadly violence. Consider the region of Abyei, an oil-rich area claimed by both Sudans, where the presence of a United Nations peacekeeping mission has failed to curb the violence. In fact, the mission has come under fire itself. (While the region voted

to join South Sudan, the legitimacy of this outcome is questionable, after members of the Misseriya tribe refused to participate in the referendum, thereby leaving the local Dinka to determine the eventual outcome). This said, tensions along the Sudan-South Sudan border merely appear representative of the internal strife that has gripped both Sudans.

7. Tibet

The preservation of Tibet's cultural, religious and linguistic identity — not the restoration of its independence — now drives the Dalai Lama. "It's no longer a struggle for political independence," he said in a recent interview. China, however, continues to speak of "external separatist forces" in relation to Tibet as per China's white paper titled, China's National Defense in the New Era, released in July. It accuses the Tibet leadership of posing "threats to China's national security and social stability."

While such claims stretch credulity, China remains extremely sensitive to any pro-Tibetan sentiments 60 years after Chinese forces throttled an uprising.

8. Transnistria

The self-proclaimed Pridnestrovian Moldovan Republic officially belongs to the Republic of Moldova, but has nonetheless managed to survive as a de-facto relic of the Cold War by the graces of Moscow. Snaking along the Dniester River for the most part, it exists in the same category as South Ossetia and Abkhazia: small embers of land with which Russia can easily stoke broader conflicts.

9. Beaufort Sea

Environmentalists have denounced the immediate exploration of portions of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska as an unnecessary destruction of one of the most pristine and precious pieces of nature, with one *New York Times* columnist comparing this decision to junkies who "stoop low enough to steal their mothers' jewels" to satisfy their habits. "Part of the tragedy of the Arctic Refuge is that its integrity is to be sacrificed, not to meet a national emergency or vital economic needs, but out of spite," writes William deBuys, a conservationist. American ambitions in the refuge, believed to sit atop one of the last great onshore oil reserves in North America, also concerns Canada. Detrimental environmental effects will inevitably impact Canada, and the current run-up to drilling on the American side draws attention to the U.S.-Canada

dispute over the exact location of the maritime border in the Beaufort Sea. Both claim a pie-slice-shaped piece of the Beaufort Sea, whose icy waters also cover large oil and gas reserves.

10. The moon

As various state and non-state actors rush to return to the moon with their eyes towards a permanent presence, it is worth remembering that the 1967 Outer Space Treaty governing the activities of states on celestial bodies prohibits any national government from claiming any territory in space as their own. Follow-up



The 1967 Outer Space Treaty prohibits nations from claiming any territory in space as their own.

agreements have since confirmed this approach. But critics wonder whether it will stand up to challenges by pointing to the absence of international institutions capable of enforcing it. The world's three leading space powers — the United States, Russia, and China — along with some member states of the European Space Agency and Japan have also refused to sign the 1979 Moon Treaty, a follow-up to the 1967 Outer Space Treaty.

The most recent successful moon venture was China's January 2019 landing on the 'dark side of the moon' — the side not visible from Earth. The Chang'e 4 — a combined space lander and rover will probe soil composition and carry on astronomical studies. It is partial fulfilment of President Xi Jinping's 2013 promise upon becoming president: "The space dream is part of the dream to make China stronger."

Unless agreed upon by an international regulatory body, the Moon Treaty prohibits states from exploiting the moon for commercial gains, including mining. It discusses the principle that the moon is to be regarded as belonging to all humanity, including the idea of sharing resources obtained there. The three major refusniks consider it too restrictive.

both countries has been the status of Hama province. France — Syria's former colonial master — transferred the region to Turkey in the late 1930s as part of deepening diplomatic ties, much to the chagrin of Syria, which officially considers this "lost province" still part of its own sovereign territory following Turkey's official annexation in 1939.

A more immediate concern for both sides is the continued existence of Rojava, the name of the Kurdish-controlled area that juts out like a triangle into the north-eastern corner of Syria with the Euphrates River as its base. Syria, which stands to lose one-third of its territory, and Turkey are among the enemies of this embryonic Kurdish state, yet they appear at odds over their next steps.

While al-Assad's regime has focused its attention on the last rebel stronghold of Idlib in the northwestern corner of Syria, Turkey has been toying with the idea of a more forceful intervention into Syria that would go beyond efforts in early 2018 when it sponsored and supported an invasion and occupation of the Kurdish enclave of Afrin.

Such a move would not only further sour relations between Turkey and the United States, which broadly backs the Kurds, but also unleash an unpredictable dynamic in the region.

This fear of an unco-ordinated Turkish intervention rings loud and clear through the final declaration of the Erdoğan-Rouhani-Putin summit, which commits its signatories to "co-ordinate their activities" in northeastern Syria to "ensure security, safety and stability in this area, including through existing agreements, while respecting sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the country."

While internal strife defines the Kurdish area of northwestern Syria, the continued and growing presence of something resembling a Kurdish state might well convince Erdoğan to break that deal.

8. Russia-Ukraine (Crimea/Donbass/Sea of Azov)

The election of former comedian Volodymyr Zelensky as the new president of Ukraine in April 2019 could have marked a turning point in its relations with Russia.

Zelensky — unlike his predecessor, Petro Poroshenko, whom he defeated by a wide margin — had campaigned on a conciliatory approach towards Russia following its illegal annexation of Crimea in March 2014 and its continuous support for pro-Russian separatists in the Donbass region of eastern Ukraine.

Several factors accounted for this shift. They include public opinion (75 per cent of Ukrainians said in a survey that they would support direct talks with Moscow to restore peace to the Donbass) and the realization that Russia holds — at least for now — the better cards in this conflict, which has so far killed 13,000, driven at least 1.6 million from their homes, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and transformed one of the most productive regions in Europe into a muddle of physical devastation and death.

Yet Russian President Vladimir Putin has chosen to respond with confrontation. Hours after Zelensky's election, Moscow sped up the issuance of Russian passports to residents living in the disputed regions.

While Putin defended the move on humanitarian grounds, it sparked sharp protest from Western voices, who denounced it as a provocation straight out of the Russian playbook for so-called frozen conflicts, "nasty small wars," according to *The Economist*, that deliberately remain unresolved with the larger purpose of undermining the development of neighbouring countries by way of challenging their territorial integrity. As *The New York Times* wrote, by populating the disputed area with Russian citizens, Moscow creates the very excuse to intervene on their behalf in the future, should the need ever

be invented or emerge.

The Donbass is, of course, not the only region where Russia can and has tested the mettle of Ukraine. By building a bridge over the Strait of Kerch, Russia has not only physically connected Crimea to the rest of its realm; it is also slowly choking parts of the Ukrainian economy. The bridge has limited the size of ships that can now enter the Sea of Azov from ports outside of it, and worse, works like a maritime rampart from which Russia can control shipping traffic.

This new reality has hurt business in the Ukrainian port cities of Berdyansk and Mariupol, with the latter being a key industrial and logistical centre in the Donbass region, not far from areas that Russian separatists control.

It is against this background that Ukrainian and Russian naval forces clashed in November 2018, with Russia capturing 24 Ukrainian sailors when their ships tried to pass through the Strait of Kerch to reach Mariupol. Their return in September as part of a larger exchange between Russia and Ukraine has eased current tensions, but hardly changed the larger dynamic.

9. Russia, Georgia, along with a host of other countries (Caucasus Region)

Poorly chosen words can easily cause an eruption in the Caucasus, a simmering



Soldiers without insignia patrol Crimea following Russia's illegal annexation of the territory in March 2014. The dispute, now in its fifth year, continues.

cauldron of ethnic, religious and political conflicts created over centuries, if not millennia.

Consider what happened in July 2019 when a Georgian television journalist called Putin a “filthy invader” live on air. The Russian response to this insult was almost immediate, in the form of a flight ban that hit Georgia’s tourism industry, a major source of foreign revenue. (Georgian officials estimated the absence of about one million Russian tourists — about 70 per cent of the annual total — will cost their economy \$710 million in lost revenue).

The insult-riddled rant triggering the Russian response came after a visiting Russian legislator had spoken Russian from the speaker’s chair of the Georgian parliament in Tbilisi days earlier. The short speech sparked protests inside and outside of the building, with many protesters accusing the government of collaborating with Russia over the status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, two regions officially part of Georgia, but effectively under Russian control, after they had refused to recognize Georgian rule following the break-up of the Soviet Union.

Russia (along with, by latest tally, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Nauru and Syria) recognizes the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia following a short war between Georgia and Russia in 2008.

With a combined population of 290,000 people and an area of 12,560 square-kilometres, both regions account for 6 per cent of Georgia’s population and 20 per cent of its territory.

For Russia, Abkhazia and South Ossetia represent the means to a larger end, namely denying Georgia deeper relations with the West, including membership in NATO.

Another hot spot in the Caucasus is the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, two former Soviet republics locked in a decades-long dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh, a majoritarian ethnic Armenian enclave inside Azerbaijan’s international borders.

Armenians and Azerbaijanis have contested the area before, during and after the Soviet period, with ethnic violence during the final days of the Soviet Union escalating into a war that lasted six years (1988-1994), claimed a combined 20,000 lives and displaced hundreds of thousands. The area itself remains under the control of ethnic Armenians, who have declared its independence, though that move was recognized by none.

While the Organization for Security



South Ossetia, shown here, and Abkhazia, are officially part of Georgia, but effectively under Russian control.

and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has been trying to convert the 1994 ceasefire into a permanent resolution, armed flare-ups continue to threaten the fragile truce in the area.

Russia’s role in this conflict is more complex. It has counselled restraint whenever full-blown war between Armenia and Azerbaijan looms on the horizon and has hosted negotiations, as recently as April 2019, following another flareup, as co-chair of the OSCE’s Minsk Group, along with France and the United States.

But Armenia and Azerbaijan are suspicious of Russia’s motives. Armenia’s

status as Russia’s lone remaining ally in the region has raised questions about Russia’s impartiality. Armenians, meanwhile, might ask themselves how much actual influence they enjoy in Moscow, since Russia also sells weapons to Azerbaijan. In fact, it has been the main supplier of arms to both sides. Russia, in other words, profits from instability.

10. Korea

The list of issues dividing the Koreans — which technically remain at war — is a long one, starting with North Korea’s nuclear and ballistic capabilities, the existence of which pose a global security threat. It also includes a dispute about maritime borders, specifically the status of what the literature describes as the The Northern Limit Line, the inter-Korean maritime border claimed by South Korea, but challenged by North Korea. Both sides have exchanged fire at that location in the past and it looms large in the public consciousness of both Koreans. A brief 2002 naval battle inspired one of South Korea’s highest grossing films and security lapses along the line have recently led to the sacking of a South Korean general after a wooden fishing boat carrying four North Korean defectors managed to cross the intensely monitored sea between the two countries and dock undetected. Notably, two returned.



North and South Korea have exchanged fire at the Northern Limit Line in the past and it looms large in the public consciousness of both countries.



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The next potential oil crisis

By Joe Varner



The aircraft carrier *USS Dwight D. Eisenhower* patrols the Strait of Hormuz, where Iran seized a British oil tanker earlier this year. As the Iran crisis intensifies, we could see a dramatic spike in oil prices, followed by a recession in late 2020.

As the Iran crisis intensifies, we could potentially see a spike in oil prices like the sharp increases we witnessed in 2008 in the lead-up to a major recession. Many observers believe that the next likely recession is in the offing for the later quarter of 2020, following the U.S. presidential election, according to Erik Sherman, writing in *Fortune* magazine. This could present significant opportunities for Canada's energy sector over the next year and beyond.

In the period from 2003 to August 2006, crude oil prices rose from \$30 a barrel to \$60 a barrel and then spiked in July 2008 to \$147.30, according to Reuters. A major recession followed, and by December 2008, prices had started a downward trend and stabilized at \$32 a barrel. Geopolitical

events in North Korea, with missile tests, war between Israel and Lebanon, tensions over Iran's nuclear program, and Hurricane Katrina — all in 2006 — started the upward push to 2008. China's increased need for oil and investor speculation furthered the rising prices until they spiked. Sadly, the same political climate and strategic conditions plague us today.

North Korea now has intercontinental ballistic missiles that can reach the entire continental United States, and its edgy relationship with President Donald Trump could turn at any moment. China's continued push to annex the entirety of the South China Sea has the effect of limiting, or at worst, shutting down any oil or natural gas exploration in the region. The destabilization and pending collapse

of Venezuela under its tired, illegitimate socialist regime continue to put pressure on oil prices as OPEC production comes under further pressure.

Israel and Syria, Israel and Lebanon and Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Cooperation Council remain in a state of "daggers drawn" over increased Iranian activities geared to destroy the Jewish State, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Middle East order, according to *The Times of Israel*. China and India's need for oil has only increased, while Japan's dependency on Gulf oil has not changed and speculators as investors never leave us.

In short, we could well be on the precipice of another oil price spike as the United States and Iran face off in a much more serious manner than they did in 2008. In

May 2019, four oil tankers faced attack in the Persian Gulf by Iran and its surrogates, followed by two more tanker attacks in June, resulting in a four-percent increase in crude oil prices. At the same time, Iran likely on its own, and with the assistance of its regional Shiite militia forces, has repeatedly attacked or sabotaged Saudi oil infrastructure putting further pressure on the Middle East supply. It is important to note that 21 per cent of the world's crude oil supply and 76 per cent of Asia's runs through the Persian Gulf to market and the strategic naval chokepoint of the Strait of Hormuz. As well, 30 per cent of the world's liquefied natural gas also transits the strategic strait. In July, in what has become a "tit for tat" approach to seizing oil tankers, a United Arab Emirates-owned, Panamanian-flagged tanker ceased communication and mysteriously found itself in Iranian hands, then in an Iranian port, with the captain and crew silenced.

Iran has seemingly adopted the Russian approach to hybrid warfare in the Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean, once known in Cold War (1946-1991) days as "active measures." To date, after a series of Israeli strikes on Iranian targets in Syria and Lebanon, and their surrogates, Iran has still apparently not retaliated. It has conducted its clear and incremental escalation in the Persian Gulf and its attacks on regional players in the same manner, thus avoiding direct U.S. intervention. Iran, now under increasingly harsh American sanctions since the U.S. withdrawal from the nuclear deal, has no reason to stop until checked. It can continue with pin-prick attacks, warding off U.S. punishment with the threat of a much wider conventional war. It is important to note that the U.S. and its allies have increased readiness in the region and buildup strike forces, but to date have employed them only for deterrence purposes and not attack.

Britain, Japan and India have dispatched — or are in the process of dispatching — ships to the region for what appears to be the start of an armed escort regime as the U.S. did at the height of the Tanker War of 1987-88. It is likely only a matter of time before Chinese warships appear on the horizon, given the People's Republic's unquenchable thirst for oil, unless Beijing reaches a deal with Tehran to avoid attack and seizure of its oil shipments. Russia, for its part, will likely continue to give Iran lukewarm support as it has in Syria and Lebanon, as a significant part of Russia's own economy is powered by oil and natural gas sales abroad. Any increase in crude oil prices helps Russia

just as much as it does the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

In summary, we can expect to continue to see Iranian hybrid attacks on, and seizures of, oil tankers and other shipping in the Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea and potentially the Indian Ocean while

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avoiding U.S. military action and retaliation. A likely armed escort regime is in the offing for tankers and other valuable commodities moving through the Gulf region where the Strait of Hormuz provides Iran with the perfect opportunity for a strategic

naval chokepoint. At one point, the strait is only 36 kilometres wide, with shipping lanes going either direction. As the U.S. continues to ratchet up economic pressure on Iran, the Islamic Republic is bound to follow suit while continuing to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons.

Given the other global flashpoints in the Pacific — such as the South China Sea and North Korea, as well as in Venezuela, the Middle East, and even Ukraine, Georgia and the Baltic States with Turkey and its faltering NATO membership — further increases in crude oil prices can be expected. That also means spikes as tensions simmer, the thirst for oil in Asia grows and the spectre for strategic military miscalculation becomes the backdrop to the Iran crisis. Canada, with the world's third-largest reserve of crude oil and its relatively secure geography, bridging West to Asia and East to Europe, could potentially be a happy beneficiary of increased oil prices and market share as Asia, in particular, looks for more secure sources of oil to feed its ever-growing economic engine.

Joe Varner is a consultant on defence diplomacy, strategic intelligence, military operations, counter-terrorism, and emergency disaster management.

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Iran's tumultuous history

By David Kilgour

An earlier movement to establish democratic national governance in Iran was derailed in 1953 when a U.S.-backed coup toppled the elected Mosaddeq government in a dispute over an oil company's nationalization.

The ensuing monarchy of the Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, which became increasingly autocratic, was overthrown by a revolution in 1979 that was later subverted by Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, whose governance model proved extremely oppressive. Fortunately for other nations, he largely confined himself to religious tyranny within the renamed Islamic Republic of Iran.

Since Khomeini's death in 1989, more collective clerical rule has projected violence at home and internationally, hitting France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, the United States, Argentina, Austria and Britain. There were also regional interventions in Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Afghanistan and Yemen.

The People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI — also known as MEK) broke from Khomeini after the 1979 revolution and eventually incurred his full wrath.

The Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988) caused enormous human losses on both sides, including the deaths of many Iranian child soldiers. The hostilities provided cover for Khomeini to crush dissent; by 1986, under French president François Mitterrand, several thousand PMOI refugees had been expelled from France as part of a deal whereby Khomeini released French nationals from Lebanon. About 3,000 PMOI relocated to a desert in Iraq, where they built Camp Ashraf and continued to fight Khomeini until the war ended in mid-1988. Khomeini's religious decree that summer against political opponents resulted in the inhuman massacre of approximately 30,000 mostly PMOI political prisoners.

When a U.S.-led coalition, under U.S. president George W. Bush, invaded Iraq in 2003, all Ashraf weapons were voluntarily surrendered. In 2009, the U.S. government, under president Barack Obama, violated its commitment to protect Ashraf residents by transferring their protection to the Iraqi government of Nouri al-Maliki, who ulti-



Movements to establish democratic national governance in Iran have always failed. These demonstrators in Qom are challenging the Iranian government's financial corruption.

mately proved to be a puppet of Tehran. Iraqi attacks on unarmed Ashraf residents in 2009, 2011 and 2013 resulted in deaths, injuries and hostage takings.

In 2016, the survivors moved to Albania. Since then, international support for the PMOI has grown to a point where, at the formal opening of Ashraf 3 near Tirana this past July, 50 nations were represented by political and civil society leaders.

Canada's team was led by former prime minister Stephen Harper, but long-time Canadian supporters of the PMOI include both Liberal and Conservative parliamentarians. The large U.S. delegation comprised mostly Republicans, but also Democrats, including former senator Joe Lieberman. American soldiers who once protected Ashraf 1 spoke eloquently,

and former American diplomat Lincoln Bloomfield debunked a massive media disinformation campaign directed primarily in Western democracies against the PMOI by the Islamic mullahs.

The National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI) is an umbrella opposition of which PMOI is a member and its backbone. PMOI President Maryam Rajavi's 10-point platform includes calls for free and fair elections, gender equality, separation of church and state, the rule of law, regional peace and a nuclear weapon-free Iran. This aligns with the democratic world's principles and core values.

Meanwhile, the Tehran regime has transformed blackmail and hostage-taking into the means of extracting concessions from the West — a strategy bolstered by

the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps' assistance to extremist proxies, including Hezbollah in Lebanon, the Houthis in Yemen, Hashd-al-Shabi in Iraq and Hamas in the Palestinian territories. Tehran is partly responsible for the deaths of myriad Syrian civilians and its now approximately six million refugees.

The world has also witnessed the crackdown waged by Iranian authorities against human rights lawyers over the past two years, with courts handing out increasingly harsh sentences. On July 30, for example, a Revolutionary Court in Tehran upheld a 30-year prison sentence with 111 lashes against Amirsalar Davoudi, a human rights lawyer and defender of several political activists.

The tide does appear to be turning. The mullahs have been facing widespread protests, especially among youth, while the economy has crumbled to a GDP per capita of about US\$7,000, in part from years of rampant corruption, bad policies and Washington's adoption of a "maximum pressure" strategy. The world has recently seen an increase in Tehran's policy of creating regional crises by illegally attacking and seizing commercial ships in international waters, most recently in the key shipping lanes of the Strait of Hormuz, and shooting down an American drone.

An unfreezing of some Iranian assets is variously valued at between US\$50 billion and \$150 billion under an Obama-led deal in order to halt Iran's nuclear-weapons development. That, and the West's removal of UN sanctions under the July 2015 nuclear agreement — the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) — hasn't resulted in Tehran moderating its conduct. Nor has it improved the well-being of Iranians. The mullahs are emboldened to continue their destructive policies at home and regionally with billions of dollars essentially placed in their coffers (one U.S. Treasury estimate was \$56 billion).

With the drums of war sounding, the international community should strive to lower the regional diplomatic temperature. It was extremely unwise for U.S. President Donald Trump to discard the JCPOA; launching a military strike without any international support would cost many more lives and place Americans across the Middle East at risk.

Struan Stevenson, Scotland's representative in the European Parliament for 15 years and now co-ordinator of the Campaign for Iran Change, observes, "For four decades, the Iranian people have put up with rampant corruption, [and] unchecked abuse of human rights... Irani-

ans are angry, frustrated and demanding regime change."

Robert Farley, a visiting professor at the U.S. Army War College, says: "... a military campaign to overthrow the Islamic Republic has little prospect for success because the U.S. lacks regional bases necessary to build up the forces that would be required to invade Iran, destroy its armed forces, displace the revolutionary regime in Tehran, and then control the country on behalf of a new, more amenable government."

Regime change, Farley concludes, is unlikely to succeed, and is more likely to exacerbate the problems it was designed to solve. By targeting Iran's economy, however, including oil installations and

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transport infrastructure, he judges the U.S. could effectively destroy its oil industry, at least in the short term, and cause serious economic damage to the Islamic Republic (not to mention its trading partners).

Such a campaign, he adds, could cause significant long-term damage to Iran's military, economic and scientific infrastructure, setting back Tehran's military ambitions in the region. "This outcome is probably most amenable to U.S. [Muslim] allies in the Middle East, who don't worry overmuch about the prospect of committing the United States to an open-ended military conflict with Iran."

To hold Iran within the JCPOA, the EU has announced a multimillion-euro credit line to ease trade between it and Tehran. Tehran has already increased uranium enrichment purity levels over the 3.67-per-cent limit. Some worry that the breakout time for Tehran to build a nuclear bomb could soon fall below a year. The EU argues that breaching the limit doesn't violate the JCPOA, claiming it is entitled to take reversible steps to suspend parts of the deal if another signatory has failed to keep a commitment, notably the undertaking to boost trade between the EU and Iran.

The EU affirms that the proposed credit line should be seen by Tehran as manifest-

ing an intention on the part of Europe to launch a trading mechanism that will allow companies to trade with minimum access to the banking system. Most observers recognize that the situation could quickly spiral out of control, with the International Atomic Energy Agency promptly declaring Iran in breach of the deal. France, Germany and Italy are raising concerns about Iran's ballistic missile program, saying it's designed to be capable of delivering a nuclear payload.

In mid-summer, diplomats from the EU, Germany, France, Britain, China, Russia and Iran prudently recommitted to salvaging the JCPOA. Iran wants the remaining parties to offset the sanctions that Trump reinstated after withdrawing from the deal. A summit meeting of foreign ministers is to follow, with the hope that they will commit to offsetting the effects of American sanctions in order to prevent the further erosion of an uneasy regional peace.

In the meantime, an investigation by *The New York Times* indicates that China and other countries are receiving oil shipments from a larger number of Iranian tankers than previously known, defying sanctions imposed by Washington to choke off Iran's main source of income. The movements of more than 70 Iranian tankers were examined since May 2, when U.S. sanctions took full effect.

Following the path of continued appeasement and all the problems that resulted under the nuclear deal presupposes that the Islamic dictatorship will continue. The softer alternative is also tacit acceptance of its ongoing atrocities and continued export of terrorism.

The hope of regime change should not be abandoned. Shirin Ebadi, Iran's Nobel Peace Prize-winning human rights lawyer, advocates peaceful regime change by enacting a secular constitution based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. She calls for sanctions that "weaken the regime, but do not hurt the people themselves." Tougher comprehensive sanctions by most nations, and getting governments to close their Iranian embassies, as Canada did, would keep pressure on the regime without imposing real pain on citizens or provoking a war.

David Kilgour is co-chairman of the Canadian Friends of a Democratic Iran, a writer, activist and former member of Parliament. He was secretary of state for Latin America and Africa (1997-2002) and secretary of state for Asia-Pacific (2002-2003).

Hong Kong nears an abyss

By David Kilgour

Distinguishing facts from propaganda during two months of pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong is difficult, but important realities now appear clear.

The government of China solemnly agreed to special status for Hong Kong in the 1984 Sino-British Joint Declaration. It promised a “high degree of autonomy,” and declared that democracy, the rule of law and basic human rights would be maintained under the “one country, two systems” model for 50 years.

Beijing has systematically violated these commitments since the 1997 handover, especially in recent years. Its appointed Hong Kong government has opted not to safeguard its autonomy. This harms the city, including its estimated 300,000 Canadian residents, and the vast amount of investment that now enters China through it in large measure because of the still-exemplary legal system.

Beijing’s 2014 White Paper on Hong Kong effectively dismissed the continued applicability of the joint declaration. It refused to honour long-promised democratic reforms in 2014 and 2015. Some elected legislators were barred from taking up their office in the partially democratic Legislative Council. Some candidates were barred from running for office. Pro-democracy protesters faced harsh sentences; a political party was banned.

A proposed extradition law from Hong Kong chief executive Carrie Lam would have allowed the removal of persons in transit and political dissidents from the city to mainland China to face an Orwellian system without fair trials or judicial independence, and with widespread torture, forced confessions and executions.

The bill brought a million Hong Kongers into the streets on June 9. Three days later, protesters at a second demonstration were met with police tear gas, pepper spray, rubber bullets and batons. Later, Lam announced she would “suspend” the measure, but protesters demanded its complete, unconditional and permanent withdrawal. A week later, two million persons took to the streets. Lam has since withdrawn the bill, in the aftermath of yet more protests.



There have been violations of press freedom in Hong Kong as journalists have been targeted and rioting charges have been used against protesters, such as those seen here.

Police brutality and political prosecution together form a toxic mix guaranteed to stir greater protests. The main fuel for the anti-extradition bill protests has been ongoing violations of fundamental rights and freedoms by Hong Kong police. Their dangerous and indiscriminate use of deterrents has resulted in serious injuries.

There is also significant evidence that the police have colluded with violent triad gangsters to deter protest and curry favour with the People’s Liberation Army garrison in Hong Kong, which wants to crush the democracy movement.

Michelle Bachelet, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, says there is “credible evidence” that the police have acted in ways that are “prohibited by international norms and standards,” and has called for a robust independent inquiry.

Protesters recently occupied Hong Kong’s international airport, causing it to shut down. A police officer set upon a peaceful female protester, provoking violence, as a protester grabbed the officer’s baton and started to beat him with it. The officer drew his gun, but fortunately no one was killed.

With Chinese troops reportedly massing at the border, chief executive Lam’s lack of independence from Beijing’s party-

state and the protesters’ fear of losing the little control they now have over their future, the situation is highly volatile. Everything feasible must be attempted to dissuade Beijing from storming Hong Kong.

Much of the world with independent media appears to be watching Hong Kong intently. There have been violations of press freedom, as journalists have been targeted. Rioting charges are being used against protesters as a deterrent. Injustice, violence and hatred will only produce more of each. Protesters have won hearts and minds around the world, but such support could be lost quickly if they engage in systematic violence. The widely viewed public apologies from airport protesters for disrupting travellers were a good first initiative.

Hong Kong’s Lam and other officials must also reflect on the actions that led to the situation. Their failure to listen and defend the quest of most residents for democratic institutions is ultimately responsible. Above all, both sides now need to step back and seek an immediately peaceful way to move towards a serious dialogue about political reform.

David Kilgour is a writer, activist and former member of Parliament.

Five foreign policy priorities



"Democracy, human rights, international law, environmental protection and economic policies that work for everyone will be at the heart" of the Liberals' foreign policy, says Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

Diplomat magazine asked all five federal party leaders to provide us with their top five foreign policy priorities in advance of the October election. Note: The Liberals didn't give us five priorities, choosing instead to send a few paragraphs. We've run them as we received them.



ANDREW SCHEER Conservative Party of Canada

1. China

We have witnessed total weakness in how this government has handled China's detention of two Canadians, and China's totally unjustified trade actions directed against Canadian farmers. Justin Trudeau has declared his "admiration" for "China's basic dictatorship" and has done nothing but get bullied since. Canada's relation-

ship with China needs a total reset. We should engage with the Chinese in a way that seeks to advance our interests.

2. Russia and the Arctic

Vladimir Putin cannot be allowed to act with impunity when it comes to his military adventurism. To address the increasing threat to our Arctic sovereignty posed by Russia, China and others, we must reinforce Canada's standing as a maritime nation. We will do more to show the world that Canada is an Arctic power. Above all, we must establish, without a doubt, everywhere in the world, that our sovereignty over the North is non-negotiable. The Arctic does not only belong to us. It is us. And that includes the Northwest Passage. We will begin the process of upgrading the Royal Canadian Navy's submarine capability. The Australian government has initiated a multi-year strategy to increase

its future submarine capability. Canada can look to these and other international models as we seek to ensure we also have



Conservative Party leader Andrew Scheer

the capabilities that are necessary to effectively protect our national waters.

3. Israel

To stand up for pluralism and democracy, Canada must renew our support for Israel and its inherent right to defend itself. Terrorist groups such as Hamas and Hezbollah have absolutely no interest in peace. Since [the group's] inception, the leaders of Hamas have been trying to destroy Israel. The reality of the Middle East is this: If Israel's enemies were to lay down their arms tomorrow, there would be peace. If Israel were to lay down its arms, there would be no more Israel. The current government has abandoned Canada's principled support for Israel by abstaining in key votes in the United Nations. When Israel's borders come under attack from Hamas terrorists, Canada must support Israel's right to defend itself and recognize Hamas' direct responsibility in inciting violence and the loss of life. Canada must be ready and reliable when Israel needs to count on its democratic friend and ally. We will recognize the fact that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel.

4. Iran

The Iranian regime must be held accountable for its state-sanctioned sponsorship of terror and the constant threat it poses to its own people, its neighbours, and to Israel, Canada's foremost friend in the Middle East. Canada must do all it can to ensure that the people of Iran soon enjoy the same freedoms that we enjoy. We will immediately act to list Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps as a terrorist entity, as well as make full use of the Magnitsky Law to punish Iran's worst human rights offenders.

5. Religious Freedom

Societies that protect religious freedom are more likely to protect all other fundamental freedoms, leading to greater stability and prosperity for their people. In a time when freedom of religion and belief is under increasing threat internationally, Canada must stand resolutely behind governments that advocate for religious pluralism, both among religious communities and at the state level. At the same time, Canada must not back down from criticism and condemnation of entities or state actors that threaten the ability of religious minorities to freely practise their faith, without fear of persecution and marginalization. Conservatives have always taken steps to defend religious freedom, particularly for religious minorities who

face persecution from authoritarian regimes. This is why we created the Office of Religious Freedom. The Liberals inexplicably closed this office and its replacement does little more than operate a Facebook account. This is unacceptable and a waste of taxpayer dollars.



JAGMEET SINGH

New Democratic Party

1. Fighting climate change abroad

As we work hard here at home to confront the climate crisis, Canada must also take a global leadership role in helping low-income countries deal with the impacts of climate change. Never again do we want Canadian leaders to stand in the way of international action on climate change. Canada must step up and be a global leader in tackling climate change by doing more to help developing countries cope with the impacts of climate change, and working with partners in North America



NDP leader Jagmeet Singh

to advance GHG emissions reductions and protect biodiversity. Trade agreements must have high environmental standards to prevent the offshoring of pollution. We will make climate change a priority in our international diplomatic efforts, pushing other major economies such as Russia, China, India and the United States to do their part.

2. Disarmament

Canada has a proud history of promoting global disarmament. However, Canada's

more recent actions have undermined this record and Canada is becoming an increasingly important global arms merchant, threatening to undo the good work the country has done to promote disarmament. For decades, the NDP has been the only major political party advocating for peace and disarmament. The NDP is leading the conversation with important proposals that would make our world safer. Global peace and security demand serious efforts at disarmament. The Canadian government should live up to its proud history by engaging fully in disarmament negotiations, complying fully with the requirements of disarmament treaties and

**"THE UNITED NATIONS IS A DYSFUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION IN WHICH NON-DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES, BECAUSE OF THEIR LARGE NUMBERS, HAVE THE MOST INFLUENCE."
— MAXIME BERNIER**

supporting disarmament efforts worldwide. The NDP will also make sure that Canadian-made weapons are not fuelling conflict and human rights abuses abroad. Lastly, Canada should join the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and work with international partners toward a nuclear weapon-free world.

3. International development

A defining feature of social democracy is solidarity with people around the globe — particularly the poor and powerless, those facing persecution and victims of conflict. New Democrats believe support for human rights is the central value of an independent foreign policy. We believe Canada has an obligation to share its wealth with the world's most poor and vulnerable. A New Democratic government is committed to boosting Canada's international development assistance, with the goal of contributing 0.7 per cent of our gross

national income to international aid. Canada must do its share to help achieve the United Nations sustainable development goals for 2030, including alleviating poverty, ensuring decent work, protecting the rights of Indigenous communities and supporting global peace and justice. To improve global health, Canada should contribute more to The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria to end these epidemics and support health-care systems in developing countries.

4. Human rights respect and enforcement

The respect and enforcement of human rights through multilateralism across the planet will be an important priority for the NDP. Not only will we not be shy to denounce other countries' leaders when they are violating human rights, the NDP will also hold Canadian companies to a high standard of corporate social responsibility at home and abroad — and ensure they meet it. Upholding the rights of women and girls will always be central to New Democratic foreign policy, and we will step up efforts to promote gender equality abroad with a strong international agenda to promote rights, security and access to education for women and girls, including ensuring that women have a seat at the peace table. A truly feminist foreign policy needs more than words — it needs money. The National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security is nothing more than rhetoric without a dedicated line in the budget.

5. Multilateralism and peacekeeping

New Democrats believe Canada has a meaningful role to play on the world stage. Canada's foreign policy should be serious and must follow through on its international obligations. We should hold to the letter and the spirit of the agreements we sign, participate fully in international negotiations and comply with the binding resolutions of international organizations. These are the actions of true global citizens. These actions are also necessary to stop the real and sad decline in Canada's global standing. Canada should renew its commitment to peacekeeping and must stand by its promises to the international community. The current government over-promises and under-delivers. Through peacekeeping operations Canada makes an important contribution to global peace and security and protecting the world's most vulnerable — that is why it matters to fulfil our promises. Under a New Democratic government, Canada will be a force for peace.



JUSTIN TRUDEAU

Liberal Party of Canada

We are living in a time when the international order and the multilateral institutions that underpin it are under greater strain than perhaps any moment since the Second World War. Economic anxiety is fuelling rising populism. Climate change has become an existential threat.

Countries, such as Canada, understand that a stable, safe and prosperous world is in our interest. The challenges we face — providing a brighter future for the middle class, fighting climate change, ensuring that free and fair trade benefits everyone, and maintaining international peace — require global solutions.

Under a Liberal government, Canada will continue to step up on the world stage, including by expanding our leadership within such institutions as the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the G7, the G20 and others. Democracy, human rights, international law, environmental protection and economic policies that work for everyone are at the heart of these efforts.

Canada has a proud tradition of solving international problems, defending individual rights and building a better world for all. This tradition forms the basis of our foreign policy and will continue to do so.



ELIZABETH MAY

Green Party of Canada

1. The climate emergency

Our planet is in a climate emergency. The UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change says each nation must contribute to ensuring that the global average temperature doesn't rise more than 1.5°C over pre-Industrial Revolution levels. If not, we risk runaway global warming and the potential extinction of most species on Earth, including humans. Holding to 1.5°C is not negotiable; it is do or die. The Green Party has an ambitious yet achievable plan that will meet Canada's obligations to the international community. Our "Mission: Possible" is the most comprehensive Canadian Action Plan to combat the climate emergency and includes setting a target

to reduce GHG emissions 60 per cent by 2030 (against 2005 levels) and achieving zero emissions by 2050; modernizing and "greening" Canada's east-west electricity grid; ending foreign oil imports; banning fracking and maintaining carbon pricing. Our plan guarantees a just transition to a green economy that leaves no Canadian behind and that creates millions of well-paying jobs, working in partnership with Canada's Indigenous peoples and every part of our national community.

2. Global migration

In 2018, the United Nations reported 24.5 million registered refugees; 68.5 million individuals forcibly displaced due to persecution, conflict, violence or human rights violations; and 18.8 million displaced by environmental disasters. The International Organization on Migration expects that events related to the global climate emergency (including extreme weather events, sea-level rise, water scarcity and environ-



Green Party leader Elizabeth May

mental degradation) will trigger large-scale migration and displacement, and that the world can expect up to one billion environmental migrants by 2050. Canada must prepare for this challenge. The Green Party will lead a national discussion to define "environmental refugee" and will advocate for the inclusion of environmental refugees as a refugee category. We will revamp Canada's immigration policies to ensure that we are prepared to accept conflict and environmental refugees, in keeping with our identity as a just, fair and open country.

3. Fighting the global erosion of fundamental human rights

We are living through a troubling era in

which hate, fear and division threaten global peacemaking and the fundamental freedoms of the world's most vulnerable peoples. In the last few years, civil society activists and multilateral institutions have continuously sounded the alarm on the erosion of human rights. The 2019 *Rule of Law Index*, which measures respect for the rule of law internationally, reported a troubling decline in respect for fundamental human rights worldwide. The attacks on civil society groups and a worrying resurgence of sectarianism, populism and authoritarianism have contributed to this erosion. The Green Party of Canada is committed to intensifying our efforts to promote respect for basic human freedoms. Internationally, we are committed to the protection of human rights defenders, the last frontier against state abuse, and to reversing the systemic deterioration of fundamental aspects of the rule of law.

4. Achieving the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals

The Green Party of Canada is united with the global community in a commitment to meeting the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs are 17 interconnected targets covering is-

**"ISOLATIONISM COUPLED
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—YVES-FRANÇOIS BLANCHET
BLOC QUEBECOIS**

such as poverty, climate change and peace and justice, to be achieved by 2030. They offer a blueprint for how the world can tackle our greatest challenges in a just way that leaves no one behind. If there is any chance of meeting the SDGs by 2030, wealthy nations, such as Canada, will need to step up and take a visible leadership role. The Greens will do this. In order to achieve sustainability and provide for the needs of present and future generations, the current unchecked and unequal distribution patterns in growth, global consumption and population can and must be reversed.

5. Ban on nuclear weapons

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists has chosen to keep its Doomsday Clock set at two minutes to midnight for a second

year, citing a lack of progress on the dual threats of climate change and nuclear war. This is the closest the clock has ever been to midnight since the end of the Cold War. Yet, the current government has shown no leadership on nuclear disarmament, and it failed to attend the 2017 Conference for a Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. The Green Party of Canada will ratify this treaty, adopted by 122 countries at the conference, and will promote the effective deployment of multilateral mechanisms aimed at eliminating all nuclear stockpiles and preventing the rebuilding of nuclear arsenals. We will reclaim our country's traditional leadership role on disarmament, advocating the conversion of all military industries in Canada and worldwide towards peaceful and sustainable purposes. We will do this by acting multilaterally, notably through the United Nations.



YVES-FRANÇOIS BLANCHET

Bloc Québécois

1. Climate change

Climate change is the most urgent challenge facing mankind. Greenhouse gases don't respect political borders and only a concerted global effort can be effective. The Paris Accord, which sets global warming objectives, is a good first step, but it falls short of setting binding obligations in terms of GHG emissions. It should be our most urgent task. We should work side by side with the most proactive nations, especially in Europe, and press countries who neglect to do their part, including a carbon tariff, if need be. Of course, our ability to achieve it depends on the exemplarity of our own behaviour in the areas of energetic transition and environmental protection. A coherent foreign policy requires that we adopt much more ambitious targets and prevent Alberta's oil industry from growing even more.

2. Push the "reset" button on trade

The World Trade Organization is paralyzed. Its golden rule — deregulation and liberalization — does not address the challenges we face today. The limitless global competition applies pressure on environment, food safety and labour regulation, driving up income inequalities and social tensions. A trade model that favours the exploitation of the south, the de-industrialization of the north and the depletion of



Bloc Québécois leader Yves-François Blanchet

natural resources is not viable. We need to take a new approach, where trade law reflects the advances in international law; where the products that circulate freely are those produced in keeping with the major international agreements, including on environment and labour; where trade becomes a real development tool. Everything must be on the table, including the integration of the WTO into the UN system. If we don't come up with such an alternative, the population will continue to see the outside world as a threat, leading to a rise of populism and protectionism in a less stable and friendly world where the politics of power — be it American, Chinese or Russian — will replace international co-operation and multilateral agreements.

3. Multilateralism

Isolationism coupled with a patchwork of bilateral agreements is, at best, a 19th-Century response to 21st-Century global challenges. Global challenges require global responses. The planet is getting smaller. The problems that were distant yesterday now directly impact us through mass migrations, economic turmoil, nuclear threat or environmental catastrophes. International co-operation has never been more important, and we must do our part to rehabilitate it. We should better fund UN institutions, refuse to be part of military actions that are inconsistent with UN resolutions and international law and strengthen our arms-export control to uphold humanitarian law. Before taking strong positions on the international stage, intense coalition-building efforts will be necessary if we don't want to be left alone when a conflict occurs, as is currently the case with China

and Saudi Arabia. This is the cornerstone of Bloc Québécois foreign policy.

4. Tax base erosion

Direct investments in tax havens are growing twice as fast as the global GDP. Transnational corporations, especially those involved in immaterial economies, such as the internet and the financial sector, often avoid taxation altogether. It's unfair to taxpayers who pay their share and problematic for governments around the world, who must deal with a smaller tax base, permanent deficit and harsh austerity. The OECD's base erosion initiative is interesting, but, as we often see in consensus-based international institutions, the slowest walker determines the speed of others. We must do more. The French government's decision to tax the internet multinationals based on their local activity rather than the location of their shell companies is good policy. We must support it, implement similar legislation and try to build a coalition of like-minded countries who want to curb the excessive pressure that those giants exert on tax, culture and society.

5. Give Quebec access to the world

Be it in terms of culture, economic structure, social programs or, more generally, influence, Quebec is a bridge between North America and Europe. If we want to develop our full potential in the numerous areas of international co-operation, we shouldn't be limited to negotiating with N.B. or Ontario. The Constitution doesn't specify whether the federal or provincial level of government has the authority to conduct international relations, including treaty-making. The internal distribution of legislative powers should guide the way international relations operate. Still, the federal government continues to act unilaterally on the global stage, even if the Quebec government considers its actions inconsistent with the federal and binational nature of the country. In the event of a minority parliament, the Bloc Québécois will use its enhanced influence to open a window to the world for Quebec.



MAXIME BERNIER

People's Party of Canada

1. A Canada-first approach

The exclusive priority of the government



People's Party of Canada leader Maxime Bernier.

of Canada on the international scene should be to manage our relations with other countries in order to protect and further the interests of Canadians. Canada needs a common-sense foreign policy focused on the security and prosperity of Canadians, not an ideological approach that compromises our interests.

A People's Party of Canada government will continue to work closely with our Western allies to maintain a peaceful international order, but will not get involved in foreign conflicts unless we have a compelling strategic interest in doing so.

2. Against United Nations globalism

There is a growing trend to dilute national sovereignty, and to favour increased international policy co-ordination as well as the redistribution of wealth from rich to poor countries under the supervision of the United Nations.

The United Nations is a dysfunctional organization in which non-democratic countries, because of their large numbers, have the most influence. This leads to ridiculous situations. For example, several of the member states on the UN Human Rights Council are among the worst human rights offenders in the world. As one country among almost 200, Canada has no interest in seeing the UN grow into a more powerful, quasi-world government.

A People's Party of Canada government will withdraw from all UN commitments, including the Global Compact for Migration and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, that threaten our sovereignty, and reduce our presence in UN institutions to a minimum.

3. Relations with the United States

Our relations with our American friends and neighbours is the most important of all our external relations. The United States is by far our main trading and defence partner, and there is simply no way for Canadians to have security and prosperity if this relationship is not properly managed. This will remain the case even with the emergence of other major world powers such as China and India in a multipolar world.

A People's Party of Canada government will prioritize relations with, and work with the Trump administration, or whoever occupies the White House, to reinforce our friendship and co-operation.

4. Relations with China

The arbitrary arrest of Canadians by the Chinese government and the attacks on our exports are very preoccupying. The Chinese government must understand that we have rule of law and cannot simply release Huawei's Meng Wanzhou because they ask for it.

We want to be friends and trade with China, but only if they respect us and don't kidnap our citizens and try to bully us. This friendship must be based on our country's security and economic interests.

A People's Party of Canada government would look at all diplomatic options to convince the Chinese government to free the Canadians and to re-establish normal commercial exchanges. We have to be realistic. We cannot interfere directly in China's legal system and impose our Western conception of human rights. But if they cannot follow basic rules of civilized countries, we will need to review and scale down our relations with them.

5. Abolish foreign development aid

There is no persuasive moral or economic efficiency argument for development aid. Countries that remain poor are those from which governments are still crushing private initiative. Until they liberalize their economy and free their citizens, no amount of development aid will solve their problems. Rather, it creates a cycle of dependency and often helps these authoritarian governments stay in power.

A People's Party of Canada government will save billions by phasing out development aid and focussing Canadian international assistance on emergency humanitarian action in cases such as health crises, major conflicts and natural disasters. ■



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Africa's vanishing animals



To serve an Asian market, leopards are hunted for their claws and teeth while poisoned lions are hunted for their hacked-off faces and paws.



Robert I.
Rotberg

Note: This is part two in a series of two.

Africa's animals are being driven towards extinction, largely because of Chinese-sponsored poaching, but also because of rising Indigenous human populations and their pressure on available grazing land. As we saw in my last column ("Killing Off Africa's Iconic Animals, Summer, 2019) elephants and rhinoceroses are at the greatest risk; poachers are killing both big animals for their tusks and horns. But giraffes, lions, leopards and pangolin, a

scaly anteater, are at equal risk.

Asians covet exotic animal parts for jewelry and to provide ingredients for Chinese folk medicine. They even relish boiled up donkey skins, again for medicinal purposes. The result of all of this consumer demand is rapidly diminishing numbers of wild African animals — intense losses that threaten African livelihoods as well as the balance of life across African savannas and rainforests.

Giraffe and okapi

Unlike their taste for boiled up tusks and horns, Chinese do not usually devour parts of the much more numerous ungulates that proliferate on the semi-arid, open woodlands of much of middle Africa. But they do purchase jewelry and other items made from giraffe tails and head horns — flywhisks, good-luck bracelets and strings on which beads are strung. These consumer demands, plus the loss of their favoured habitat because of Afri-

can population increases, have helped to reduce giraffe numbers appreciably, from 165,000 in 1985 to 97,000 today. Zebra numbers are also declining, as are some of the larger antelopes such as eland and hartebeest.

The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) calls the dramatic plunge in giraffe numbers a "silent extinction." It elaborates on three drivers towards extinction, one being illegal hunting — largely for bush meat. The second is civil wars in such places as the Democratic Republic of Congo (where the okapi subspecies of giraffe lives), South Sudan and the Central African Republic. The third is habitat degradation caused by climate change and the eradication of acacia trees to make way for expanding agricultural settlements. Giraffes graze primarily on the leaves of acacia and mimosa trees, eat seeds and buds from the same trees and consume hundreds of pounds of such herbivorous fodder each week.

Lions and leopards

Lions are being poached in a serious manner for the first time. The kings of the jungle are being killed so that their faces and paws can be hacked off and shipped along with rhino horns and elephant tusks to Asia. Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Uganda have all reported depredations of this kind, and the wanton practice may also have spread to Kenya and Botswana. As it happens, it is far easier to poach lions (despite their feared reputations) than elephants or rhinoceroses. Lions scavenge, so poachers need only snare an antelope, poison the carcass and wait. There are more poachers than game rangers, too. In one park in Mozambique, there are at least a dozen separate lion-poaching syndicates.

Once poisoned with Aldicarb or other common pesticides, the paws and face are easy to cut off the dead lion and are jointly worth about \$2,000 to \$4,000 to the poachers. In Asia, the claws and teeth become pendants and other forms of jewelry. On a regular Chinese online purchasing site, anyone can order a lion tooth pendant for \$126. Sometimes lion bones are also taken for use in traditional African religious ceremonies and magic or, in Asia, as substitutes for increasingly rare tiger bones. The lion bones can be used to make (fake) tiger bone wine; it treats various ailments and is said to give drinkers “the strength of a tiger.” But bones are harder to carry and smuggle than faces and claws. Transported to China, Vietnam and Malaysia together with tusks and horns, these lion parts may just be another way of making money now that there are fewer rhinos and that the remaining rhinos are much better protected than before.

Leopards can also be hunted for their claws and teeth, and for the same ultimate Asian uses. As elusive and often singular animals, they might be thought to be spared poaching and habitat loss, but leopards can also be tempted by poisoned carcasses and threatened by villagers who blame them for losses of sheep or goats. The IUCN classifies African leopards as “vulnerable.”

Pangolin

Chinese consumers also lust after the meat, scales and other body parts of the four pangolin species that are found in Africa and rarely ever glimpsed by tourists or African farmers. Three of these four species of scaly anteaters live in the deep forests of Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and the two Congos; the tree-dwelling, white-

bellied and black-bellied pangolins each weigh as much as a small rabbit, up to 3.1 kilograms. Temnick’s ground-dwelling pangolin is much larger and heavier, weighing up to 11 kilograms. It is found across the savanna in a dozen countries.



The Chinese purchase jewelry and other items made from giraffe tails and head horns.

A pangolin is a very slow-moving anteater, covered with hundreds of armoured scales made of keratin. Nocturnal, it spends its life searching for its favourite food, sometimes in trees swinging from long tails, but also keeping a low profile along the ground to avoid predators. Pangolin dig 27-metre-long burrows and can even swim across rivers to escape attackers. They use their long claws to tear apart insect nests. Then they feed by sticking tongues longer than their 48-centimetre bodies deep into the nests to acquire various kinds of ants and termites. Researchers estimate that a single pangolin can consume 70 million insects a year, thus helping to regulate insect numbers.

There may be more than 600,000 pangolins ridding Africa of ants annually, and thus nothing to worry about. But we do not really know how many pangolin exist and, at the rapid rate that pangolin skins and scales are being seized at African ports, they may soon be gone. They are among the most heavily trafficked wild animals in the world. Moreover, it is likely

that customs and other port officials are blocking the export of all but a tiny fraction of pangolins trafficked out of Africa, en route to Asia. One detailed study of 100 areas in forested Africa over almost 40 years discovered that at least 400,000 pangolins are hunted annually for their meat and for export. Asians are buying pangolin directly from local hunters in places such as Gabon.

The poaching process is dead easy. For millenniums, when attacked, pangolin rolled up into a tight ball, protected by their impenetrable scales. That procedure worked until now against predator animals. But poachers simply pick up the conveniently arranged pangolin and carry them away to be killed. More than 300 a day are killed.

Pangolin meat (there are critically endangered Asian species, also) is considered a delicacy in southern China. Pangolin scales are prized as an ingredient in traditional Chinese medicines. When WildAid surveyed Chinese consumers, 70 per cent believed that pangolin meat and other products could cure rheumatism and skin diseases if mixed into a wine or taken as a powder. Pangolin penises possess aphrodisiacal properties, or so many Asians believe. All three products are easy to find in shops in Hong Kong, as well as in major mainland Chinese cities. Nearly four grams of pangolin scales was worth \$38 in Hong Kong markets in mid-2019. Sometimes merchants grind the scales into powder, the better to avoid detection and the better to blend into medicinal soups.

The smugglers

In July 2019, Nigerian officials confiscated nearly a tonne of pangolin scales destined for China. Early in 2019, Hong Kong officials found 360 kilograms of pangolin scales secreted along with US\$1 million worth of purloined mobile telephones and digital cameras. The scales had a street value of about US\$300,000. A few months before, the same sleuths intercepted 8.1 metric tonnes of scales — the biggest haul ever recorded — on its way from Nigeria to Vietnam. In mid-2019, an even larger shipment was confiscated. Singaporean authorities discovered containers holding 12 metric tonnes of pangolin scales that also came from Nigeria and were being transshipped to Vietnam.

Between 2013 and 2017, inspectors in Hong Kong — the gateway to southern China — confiscated 39 metric tonnes of pangolin carcasses and scales, representing probably tens of thousands of animals. They had arrived primarily from

Cameroon and Nigeria. The UN Office of Drugs and Crime reported that the Hong Kong confiscations represented almost 50 per cent of the pangolin products seized globally in just three years. The amounts of pangolin collected by the authorities went on to double between 2017 and 2018. The traffic in pangolins is clearly massive and profitable. And, in terms of the usual concerns for illegal ivory- and rhino-horn smuggling, the pangolin commerce crawls under most radar.

Domestic donkeys

Donkeys, the mainstay of rural transport in at least two dozen countries across the continent, are now in high demand in China. There is widespread fear in a number of African countries that if Chinese merchants keep bidding up prices for African donkeys, none will remain in five years. These are domesticated and hardly wild animals, but for centuries they have been a fixture fundamental to upward mobility for Indigenous subsistence farmers and traders. Indeed, donkeys were first domesticated centuries ago in Africa. Donkeys are adept at drawing heavy loads and are easy to handle.

Ethiopia is estimated to have seven million donkeys, more than any other nation across the globe. Another six million exist in a variety of other African nations. But, because of Chinese tastes and beliefs, African donkeys are now worth more dead than alive.

Thanks to strong new Chinese demand, dedicated slaughterhouses for donkeys have been constructed, often financed by China, in Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Namibia and Niger. In some countries, donkey hides now fetch \$500 each; a decade

ago \$100 would have been a welcome price.

In Kenya, the donkey population has fallen in the last decade by more than 30 per cent, from 1.8 million to 1.2 million animals. There are three licensed slaughterhouses in Kenya. In 2018 and 2019, they were butchering 1,000 or so donkeys a day to supply skins and meat to China. The returns at the slaughterhouses are so appealing that thieves began rustling donkeys and driving them illegally to slaughterhouses; in Kenya, at least, there is a thriving black market in donkeys — all to satisfy Chinese tastes.

This intensified demand and the high prices now common in the donkey trade have driven governments in Niger and Burkina Faso to ban the export of donkey skins to China. Twelve other African nations, including Botswana, Ethiopia, the Gambia, Ghana, Malawi, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe have also closed their specialized slaughterhouses or prohibited any sale of donkey hides or remains beyond their borders, especially to China.

Most of the skins and other donkey remains nevertheless travel across the sea to end up in an otherwise unprepossessing eastern Chinese county called Dong'e, situated on the left bank of the Yellow River, 100 kilometres upstream from Jinan, the capital of Shandong Province.

Dong'e is where nearly all of the world's ejiao — a gelatin boiled down from donkeys — is now made from four million skins a year. Supposed curative powers once again drive demand. Consuming ejiao, billboards shout, will guarantee long lives, help lose weight and boost energy. It is often prescribed to

fix urinary, gynecological, cardiovascular and other complaints, and has been a folk remedy for hundreds of years. It is hyped as a cancer preventer. As a blood tonic and thinner, it supposedly fixes anemia, removes acne and improves libido. As a supposed wellness product for the rising middle classes, it can be purchased as a face cream, a candy, or even a liqueur. As Africa is denuded of donkeys, Chinese consumers presumably feel a spurious rise in their sense of health.

What can be done?

Chinese and Vietnamese authorities know that the massive poaching trade continues alongside the even larger import of donkey hides. They ought to be able to stop it, or at least slow the loss of African lions, leopards and pangolin and perhaps the taking of donkeys. Unfortunately, China has yet to educate its consumers to disdain the African animal components of traditional medicine. Too many now middle-class and wealthy Chinese (and Vietnamese) believe that ground-up animal horns, skins and private parts will convey strength. And jewelry made from African animals flaunts prosperity. A Chinese crackdown on Asian demand is the only way to turn back the threat of silent extinction. Africa's animals will continue to vanish unless Asian governments stifle consumer demand.

Robert I. Rotberg is the founding director of Harvard Kennedy School's program in intrastate conflict, president emeritus of the World Peace Foundation and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His latest book is *The Corruption Cure*. (Princeton, 2017)



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Chernobyl's untold story



In his book on Chernobyl, author Adam Higginbotham delivers a "vivid narrative, richly supported by science, history and political context," writes columnist Christina Spencer. Shown here is an abandoned building in Pripjat.



Christina
Spencer

Midnight at Chernobyl: The Untold Story of the World's Greatest Nuclear Disaster

By Adam Higginbotham

561 pages

Simon & Schuster, 2019

eBook \$14.99

Hardcover: \$29.95

Paperback: \$18.00

Audio download \$23.99

On the night of April 26, 1986, a young engineer, Leonid Toptunov, working in the control room of Reactor 4 at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Complex in Ukraine, made an error during a test of the emergency water-cooling system. The mistake, which ought to have been correctable, instead was the start of a destructive chain reaction in a structure that had been built by cutting corners and using substandard materials and whose very design was fundamentally flawed. A rapid steam buildup in the reactor spurred an explosion so forceful that it blew off the 2,000-tonne concrete and steel roof. "The temperature inside the reactor rose to 4,650 degrees centigrade — not quite as hot as the surface of the sun," writes author Adam Higginbo-

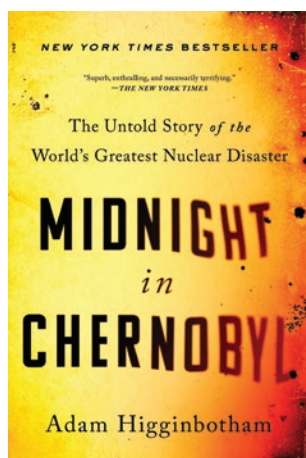
tham. The reactor's graphite rods caught fire, there was a second explosion, and the catastrophe swiftly escalated.

Chernobyl, even today, fascinates us, in much the same way as stories of the *Titanic* do: an epic disaster apparently driven by hubris. But Higginbotham delivers so much more in this vivid narrative, richly supported by science, history and political context.

In the immediate aftermath of the explosions, radioactivity blanketed the landscape at levels not even measurable by much of the equipment on hand. It invaded the ground, the water and the air, forcing the evacuation of tens of thousands from the Soviet nuclear workers' city of Pripjat (although not for a full 32 hours after the explosion, as authorities

tried to suppress details, sealing off the city and cutting phone lines instead), and coughing out a poisonous plume over much of Ukraine, Belarus and Eastern Europe.

Despite the accession of Mikhail Gorbachev, architect of *glasnost*, to the top echelons of the Soviet leadership — for Ukraine was still part of the Soviet Union at the time — the government remained silent; only when inexplicably high levels of radiation were picked up in Scandinavia, carried on the winds, did the Soviets reluctantly begin telling the world what had happened. It took the TASS news



agency three days to issue a statement. *The Ukrainian Workers'* daily buried its Chernobyl story "below the Soviet soccer league tables and coverage of a chess tournament."

The official death toll, based solely on numbers from a single Moscow hospital that treated workers and rescuers who were exposed to staggeringly high levels of radiation, was eventually put at 31. In fact, in the weeks, months and years after, thousands died or suffered serious radiation-linked illnesses and cancers. The United Nations and International Atomic Energy Agency would eventually settle on 4,000 as the death toll attributable to Chernobyl, though other experts believe it is higher. As Higginbotham points out, "17.5 million people, including 2.5 million children under seven, had lived in the most seriously contaminated areas of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia at the time of the disaster." And hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens had been enlisted to help with the cleanup, often wearing no significant protection against the astronomical radioactivity levels around them.

Higginbotham's description of the Chernobyl accident is meticulous, but it is his in-depth descriptions of the lives of the

people and eyewitnesses at the heart of the crisis that elevate this work. Through their eyes, readers see the bewilderment, fear, bravery, ingenuity and, sadly, evasion that spurred many to act as they did.

For example, readers meet Toptunov, the young engineer, who, despite the initial error, acts with compelling bravery; Viktor Brukhanov, the plant director who oversaw the building of the Chernobyl complex, but who realizes as he gazes at the disaster: "I'm going to prison"; Alexander Yuvchenko, a senior mechanical engineer whose personal battle against radiation poisoning unfolds in gruesome detail; the Politburo players, the doctors, even the architect of the workers' city of Pripyat. Higginbotham began personal interviews with participants and eyewitnesses in 2006, and sorted through thousands of pages of reports and declassified documents to frame this retelling.

The extraordinary human stories, however, don't replace hard facts. For lay readers, there is a straightforward explanation of the principles of nuclear power and of radioactivity, from Marie Curie to the atom bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There's a reminder of Britain's 1957 Windscale breeder reactor fire, details of which were not fully acknowledged for three decades; and of the partial meltdown at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania in 1979. But it's clear that a unique set of philosophical and political circumstances led to events at Chernobyl.

After the Second World War, the Soviet Union competed for scientific dominance with the United States. The Soviets built the world's first reactor to use nuclear power for civilian purposes. But in the Communist world, science was as much about politics as it was about expertise. There was "unquestioning obedience" to authority and a "sullen indifference to individual responsibility, even in the nuclear industry," Higginbotham writes. From the start, significant safety flaws existed in the design of Soviet RBMK power reactors, and the few who pointed out the potential for disaster were either ignored or suppressed.

The Soviet government's evasions and flat-out lies about Chernobyl do not, however, lead the author to suggest that Western countries are saintly in their own approach. Global nuclear power ambitions, muted post-Chernobyl, began to enjoy a resurgence in the 2000s — until a March 2011 loss of coolant led to a reactor meltdown at the Fukushima plant in Japan. "Sweeping away the convenient fallacy that what had happened in



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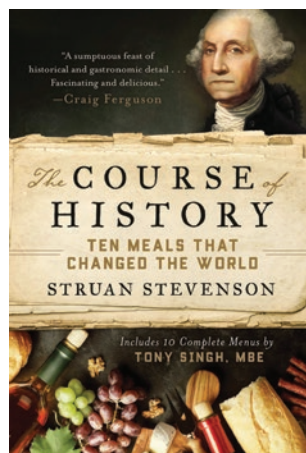
Chernobyl had been a once-in-a-million years fluke, the Fukushima accident stifled the nuclear renaissance in the cradle," Higginbotham notes.

He leaves us mourning Chernobyl's victims, and, more broadly, questioning the wisdom of nuclear power — anywhere in the world.

The Course of History: Ten Meals That Changed the World

By Struan Stevenson
Recipes by Tony Singh
Simon & Schuster, 2019
269 pages
\$34.99 (hardcover only)

No one else was in the room where it happened, goes the song from the popular musical, *Hamilton*. But former British politician Struan Stevenson pries open the door to that room in an unexpected way: through a dinner menu. U.S. secretary of state Thomas Jefferson, no slouch in the world of diplomacy, served up a multi-course meal to treasury secretary Alexander Hamilton and House of Representatives leader James Madison one evening



in June 1790 as the three senior American statesmen tried to bridge their differences over the shape of their fledgling nation's post-revolution government.

"As a lifelong politician," writes Stevenson, "I have witnessed 'dining diplomacy' firsthand." Food, he asserts, has been used "throughout history as a means of persuasion." His chapter on Jefferson, Hamilton and Madison is but one illustration of that thesis.

Stevenson's, um, easily digestible tome recounts 10 historical events in which momentous decisions were made around the dinner table, or were strongly influenced by a meal. They range from Bonnie Prince Charlie's botched Battle of Culloden (the

Scottish prince dined royally the night before, as his soldiers starved); to the sumptuous meal served up at the 1814 Congress of Vienna by Emperor Francis I in order to keep a variety of big-ego players talking to each other after Napoleon's exile to Elba; to the unfortunate 1914 decision of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, nephew of the Hapsburg emperor, to stay the night after dinner in the Bosnian Hills for a quickie tour the next morning of Sarajevo; to Adolf Hitler's lunchtime intimidation of Austrian chancellor Kurt Von Schuschnigg, triggering the union of Germany and Austria in 1938; to Winston Churchill's birthday banquet in Tehran with U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt and Soviet leader Josef Stalin, where the trio cobbled together plans that would ultimately defeat the Germans in the Second World War.

Stevenson's vast knowledge of diplomatic history is on display throughout: for instance we learn that Roosevelt couldn't really figure out Stalin, but "quickly realized that making a fool of Churchill was the best way to endear himself to the Soviet leader." We learn that Hitler chose the generals who would attend his luncheon with the Austrian chancellor mostly on the basis of how "brutal-looking" they were. We learn how deftly the French foreign minister, Talleyrand, was able to represent the interests of France — a defeated power — at the Congress of Vienna.

But it isn't just the story of dinner-time diplomacy that makes this book interesting; it is the research on the meals themselves. Stevenson teams with British celebrity chef Tony Singh to carefully recreate the recipes for each of the 10 historical events.

This meal, for instance, was arranged for the stellar heads of state who gathered in Vienna to carve up Europe after Napoleon: Russian caviar; pâté de foie gras de canard; consommé; Styrian carp with root vegetables and caraway seed potatoes; roast partridge with cabbage parcels; "fromage;" and orange-flower and pink-champagne jelly. Detailed recipes for each appear, and some chapters also offer up alternative cooking methods.

And the wine.... diplomatic friendships have ever been forged over a tippie or two. Take the Jefferson dinner, for instance. As the former American ambassador to France, Jefferson was, naturally, a wine connoisseur. Here's what he served up in the room where it happened: Graves, from the heart of Bordeaux; Vino Nobile di Montepulciano; Chambertin; unusual non-mousseux white wine from Monsieur

Dorsay in the Champagne Region; and cognac. All appropriately matched to the right part of the meal, *bien sûr*. Is it any wonder that Jefferson, Madison and Hamilton emerged from that room with a deal on their country's war debts and a location for a permanent capital?

Mind you, meals don't always turn out this well. Stevenson also notes that Hamilton died in a duel with vice-president Aaron Burr in 1804 — a duel triggered "somewhat ironically, by an insult at a dinner party."

Media and Mass Atrocity: The Rwanda Genocide and Beyond

Edited by Allan Thompson

Centre for International Governance Innovation, distributed by McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019

637 pages

Hardcover: \$29.41

Kindle: \$24.30

On April 6, 1994, a plane carrying Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana and the president of Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira, was shot down, unleashing a deluge of violence that ended a ceasefire between the Rwandan government and rebels and began a spree of cold-blooded slaughter by Hutu extremists of both ethnic Tutsis and moderate Hutus. These latter killings, often involving hacking people to death with machetes, were organized and co-ordinated acts. Barely three weeks into the massacre, the BBC began calling the cascade of blood-letting by the Hutu extremists a "genocide." The term was accurate: In three months, at least 500,000 civilians were killed.

Twenty-five years later, a new collection of essays edited by Canadian journalist Allan Thompson tries to draw lessons about the role of the news media during the killings — and asks how things might be different in the modern era of cellphones and social media.

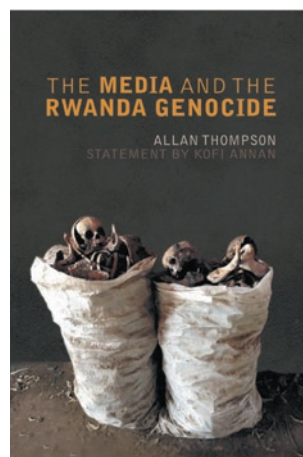
Implicit in many articles in this collection is the notion that Rwandan local media — primarily *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTML)* — played a significant role in fuelling the genocide by indulging in hate speech, egging on the killers and even giving instructions on where to find people targeted for death. Also repeated is the idea that the international media ignored or did not understand what was happening in Rwanda.

Canadian Gen. Roméo Dallaire served as commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, a mission repeatedly prohibited from intervening to

prevent the slaughter in the tiny African Great Lakes nation. And so Canadians, fascinated as they continue to be about peacekeeping, have a direct interest in the lessons to be learned from this disaster.

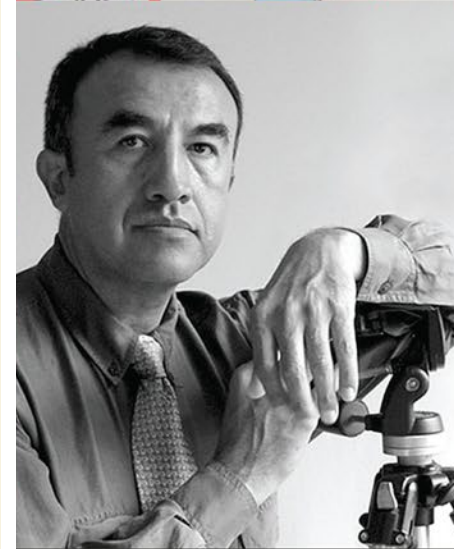
This book's many chapters were preceded by an international round table of experts — both journalists and academics — studying the media during the genocide. Some writers were direct eyewitnesses to the killings — Mark Doyle, for instance, provides a riveting account of how the few international journalists on the ground came to understand they were witnessing something much worse than a civil war — while others approach the topic from the perspective of social science and what modern research tells us about the media's influence in the 21st Century.

There is no broad agreement in this



book about the media. Dallaire, a direct and often helpless witness to the carnage, writes of Rwandan radio station RTML: "The génocidaires used the media like a weapon. The haunting image of killers with a machete in one hand and a radio in the other never leaves you." He asserts that, "the use of hate media by proponents of the genocide had an impact on events." RTML, he says, was "the voice of the devil in Rwanda ..."

A few pages later, academic Scott Strauss contradicts the general, saying "much of the conventional wisdom on hate radio reproduces simplistic models of political behaviour that attribute little or no agency to Rwandans and minimize the context in which extreme violence took place." Strauss examined such issues as when the bulk of the massacres happened versus when RTML was actually exhorting people to kill others; and he surveyed many of the convicted perpetrators later on in prison to find out what motivated them. His work suggests that the radio's



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hate broadcasts in fact “had a marginal effect” on the slaughter. His research also leads him to believe that some of the most incendiary things *RTML* is said to have broadcast may not, in fact, have ever been aired.

This compilation also addresses the state of modern media. Geoff York, a *Globe and Mail* reporter and long-time Africa hand, writes about the impacts of the internet and social media — most notably the popular WhatsApp messaging system — in countries such as Sudan, Kenya and South Africa.

The book closes with a chapter by Thompson on how today’s powerful internet research tools have allowed a host of “open source investigators” to help professional journalists discover and verify events that would otherwise be kept secret by governments. In one example he cites, the BBC collaborated with a host of open-source users of Google Earth to discover and verify a gruesome amateur video, likely shared first on WhatsApp, of two women and their small children being killed, execution-style, in northern Cameroon by government soldiers. The example is one possible means by which modern journalism, limited by the costs of international travel or the dangers of putting correspondents permanently on the ground — might still get the story.

Would modern journalistic tools have made a difference in Rwanda, though? If world leaders had seen a rush of livestreams on their phones detailing the daily carnage in Rwanda, would the UN, the rest of Africa or the Western powers have intervened to save hundreds of thousands of lives? That answer is far from clear.

Other reading:

Cyberdiplomacy: Managing Security and Governance Online
By Shaun Riordan

Publisher: Polity Press, 2019
160 pages
Kindle: \$10.91
Hardcover: \$52.46
Paperback: \$19.95

Although diplomacy, as we’ve seen in *The Course of History* (reviewed above), was once practised over a fine meal with one’s peers, the modern foreign service officer must focus on the essential, though less delectable, tools of cyberspace. Shaun Riordan suggests that, so far, it’s not going well. While “ambassadors blog, first secretaries tweet and third secretaries have pages on Facebook,” these platforms can frustrate diplomacy as much as help it. And they certainly can’t replace it. “Diplomats and scholars need to raise their game,” he warns. Can diplomats apply their own unique skill and perspective to help resolve issues around internet governance, global cybercrime and information warfare? It’s imperative that they learn to engage properly.

The Mission of a Lifetime: Lessons from the Men Who Went to the Moon

By Basil Hero
Grand Central Publishing
Hachette Book Group, 2019
304 pages
Kindle: \$13.19
Hardcover: \$15.26
Audio CD: \$25.37

In 2017, 18,300 people applied to NASA to fill 14 astronaut jobs, proof that humankind still feels drawn to the exploration of space. Yet, Basil Hero also notes, no human has left low Earth orbit since 1972. The people who have left our planet are, therefore, “history’s most elite fraternity.” Mindful of the passage of time, Hero set out to speak to the remaining dozen of the 24 people who have journeyed to the moon to get their impressions of the cur-

rent state of space exploration — and its future. The characteristics of these men, dubbed the “Eagles,” reflect consistent strengths: “courage, quiet patriotism and conquering fear.” Among the many books available over the past year on the moon landing and space program, this one endures for its success in defining “the right stuff.”

No Friend but the Mountains: Writing from Manus Prison

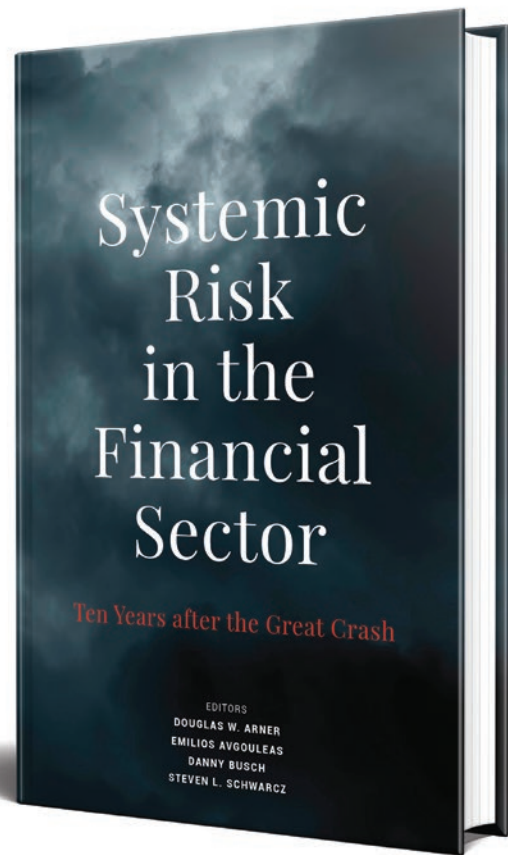
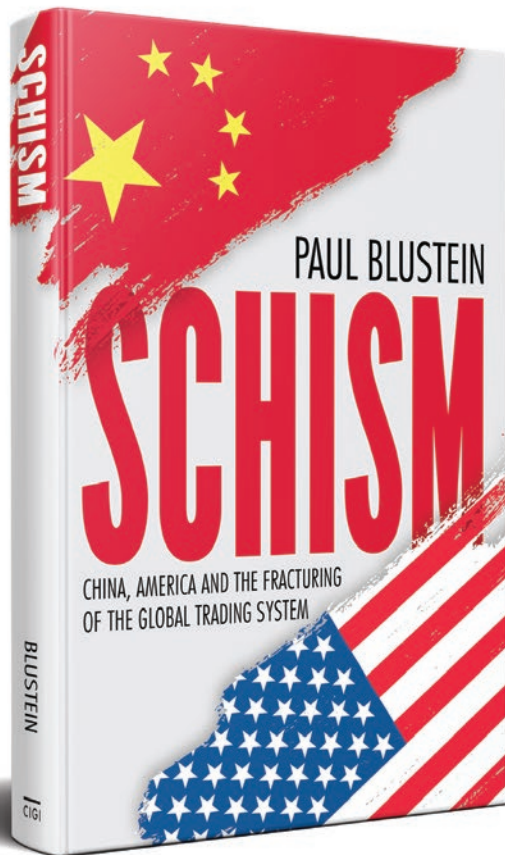
By Behrouz Boochani
Anansi International, 2019
416 pages
Paperback: \$19.80
Kindle: \$9.99

Kurdish poet Behrouz Boochani wrote this book, in Farsi, on his mobile phone, the only medium available to him as a detainee in Manus Island’s “Regional Offshore Processing Centre” — effectively a prison camp set up by the Australian government in Papua New Guinea so that thousands of asylum-seekers would not reach Australian soil. Boochani’s observations were smuggled out via thousands of WhatsApp text messages, since Australia sought to curb information from its offshore detention centres, where violence was frequent, conditions poor and human rights routinely ignored. Published initially in 2018, this indictment of refugee policy in one Western nation became available in Canada earlier this year. At the time of writing, Boochani was still confined to the island, though the processing centre had been closed.

Christina Spencer is the editorial pages editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*. She holds a master’s from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University, and is a past winner of National Newspaper Awards for international reporting and editorial writing.

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COMING THIS FALL



Schism China, America and the Fracturing of the Global Trading System

Paul Blustein

SEPTEMBER 10, 2019

An engrossing account of China's rise as an economic juggernaut and the saga leading to trade war with the United States.

Systemic Risk in the Financial Sector Ten Years after the Great Crash

Douglas W. Arner, Emiliios Avgouleas, Danny Busch and Steven L. Schwarcz, Editors

OCTOBER 15, 2019

The 2008 global financial crisis brought the world's economy closer to collapse than ever before. Has enough been done to prevent another crisis?

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Cooling down: Warming recipes for autumn

Photos by Larry and Margaret Dickenson



This straightforward recipe for Salmon-Crowned Crêpes is a tasty breakfast and offers a perception of extravagance to guests.



Margaret
Dickenson

With fall upon us, we must take advantage of the last garden-fresh produce, herbs and edible flowers. There are also several special occasions for family and friends to gather together, particularly as the holiday season approaches. My Salmon-Crowned Crêpes, versatile Stuffed Fresh Pears and Lobster in White Wine Shallot Cream

Sauce will offer much satisfaction and might even merit some “wows” from your guests.

Salmon-Crowned Crêpes

Makes 4 servings

For a fabulous breakfast, this recipe for Salmon-Crowned Crêpes will always prove to be a winner. The presentation, flavour dimension and perception of extravagance are sure to thrill guests.

- 1 cup (250 mL) crêpe batter (recipe follows)
- ¼ cup (60 mL) Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise, divided (recipe follows)
- 3 oz (85 g) smoked salmon
- 3 oz (85 g) barbecued smoked salmon
- 2/3 cup (170 mL) sour cream
- ¼ cup (60 mL) caviar

16 plumes of fresh dill weed

1. To make ½ cup (125 mL) of Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise, thoroughly mix together ½ cup (125 mL) of mayonnaise, 2 tsp (10 mL) of peeled and grated fresh gingerroot, ½ tsp (2.5 mL) of granulated sugar and a pinch of wasabi paste. Store refrigerated in an airtight container. It will retain its quality for weeks.

2. Half an hour before serving, prepare 16 small crêpes (diameter: 4-inch or 10-cm). For each crêpe, drop 1 tbsp (15 mL) of crêpe batter onto a non-stick skillet or crêpe pan and quickly spread the batter in a circular manner using the underside of the spoon, working from the centre toward the outer circumference of the enlarging crêpe. Using a pancake flipper, carefully peel the crêpe from the skillet,

turn and cook the second side briefly (a matter of seconds). Transfer the crêpe to a plate and pile in a stack. (If not using immediately, cover with wax paper, place in a plastic bag and refrigerate.)

3. For individual servings, arrange 4 crêpes on each of 4 large dinner plates and cover with wax paper until ready to assemble.

4. To assemble, just before serving, spread ½ tsp (3 mL) of Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise over the central area of each crêpe and add 1 tsp (5 mL) of sour cream, spreading it over and beyond the mayonnaise.

5. For each serving, add ¼ of the smoked salmon to 2 of the crêpes and ¼ of the barbecued smoked salmon on the other two crêpes.

6. Dot each portion of salmon with about ½ tsp (3 mL) of Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise and ¾ tsp (4 mL) of sour cream before topping with ¾ tsp (4 mL) of caviar and garnishing with a small plume of fresh dill weed.

Crêpe Batter

Makes about 2 2/3 cups

Incorporate crêpes into recipes for breakfast, hors d'oeuvres, appetizers, main course dishes and desserts. I usually make crêpe batter in large quantities (i.e., 3 times the recipe below) and freeze it in 1- or 2-cup (250 or 500 mL) portions. A stack of freshly cooked crêpes only takes a few minutes to prepare, especially if one uses several skillets at a time. (Note: I never prepare crêpes to freeze them for use later.)

1 cup (250 mL) all-purpose flour
1½ tsp (8 mL) granulated sugar
1/8 tsp (pinch) ground ginger
2 eggs
2 egg yolks
1½ cups (375 mL) milk, divided
¼ cup (60 mL) unsalted butter or margarine, melted

1. In a medium-sized bowl, sift together flour, sugar and ground ginger.
2. In another medium-sized bowl, using an electric mixer, beat together eggs, yolks and ¾ cup (about 180 mL) milk.
3. Continuing to beat constantly, gradually add ½ cup (125 mL) of flour mixture, then remaining milk (¾ cup or 180 mL) and remaining flour mixture (½ cup or 125 mL). Beat to form a smooth batter.
4. Beat in melted butter. (Note: If batter is not perfectly smooth, pass it through a course-mesh sieve.)
5. Allow batter to rest for at least 30 minutes before using.



Lobster in Shallot Wine Sauce

Make-ahead tip: Crêpe batter may be prepared and stored refrigerated in an airtight plastic container for up to 2 days or frozen for months.

Lobster in White Wine Shallot Cream Sauce

Makes 4 servings

Determined to give lobster my own twist, I have combined deliciously mellow lobster and sautéed mushrooms with more dynamic flavours. The slightly tart edge of a White Wine Shallot Cream Sauce and sun-dried tomatoes plus the zip of garlic and chili paste, make this lobster recipe an unusual treat. Fresh whole lobsters or frozen lobster tails may be used.

1 cup (250 mL) White Wine Shallot Cream Sauce (recipe follows)
3 oz (85 g) fresh shiitake mushrooms (caps only), sliced thinly
2 1/2 oz (75 g) fresh white or cremini mushrooms, sliced
4 tbsp (60 mL) butter, divided
To taste, salt and crushed black peppercorns
1/3 tsp (2 mL) finely chopped fresh garlic
1/4 tsp (1 mL) sambal oelek red chili paste
3 tbsp (45 mL) julienned sun-dried tomatoes in seasoned oil (drained)
9 oz (250 g) fettuccini or linguine (regular,

squid ink or spinach)
6 to 8 lobster tails (shells on; each at least 3½ oz or 100 grams), fresh or frozen or four whole lobsters, steamed and shelled — about 1½ lb or 675 g each.

Garnish (optional)

Cooked whole young carrots and/or asparagus spears
Microgreens or sprigs of fresh herbs

Aioli Mayonnaise:

¾ cup (180 mL) mayonnaise
1½ tsp (8 mL) finely chopped fresh garlic

1. Prepare White Wine Shallot Cream Sauce; set aside.
4. Prepare Aioli Mayonnaise by whisking together mayonnaise and garlic; set aside.
5. In a very large skillet with only 3 tbsp (45 mL) of melted butter, sauté mushrooms over medium-high heat; season to taste with salt and crushed black peppercorns; remove from heat when browned.
6. Gently heat White Wine Shallot Cream Sauce over medium-low heat in a medium-sized saucepan. Stir in garlic, chili paste, sun-dried tomatoes and sautéed mushrooms to produce a sun-dried tomato and mushroom sauce. (Add a little heavy cream to thin the mixture if desired.) Cover and set aside. (Makes

initially about 1½ cups or 375 mL of sauce; however more cream and pasta water will be added before serving.)

5. Cook fettuccini in an abundant amount of boiling salted water until al dente (tender but firm). Drain well, reserving about ½ cup (125 mL) of drained pasta water. Toss fettuccini with remaining butter and set aside.

6. Meanwhile, at the cut end of the lobster tail, insert the handle of a regular teaspoon into the entire length of each lobster tail between top shell and the flesh to keep the tail straight during cooking. Drop lobster tails into a large pot with an abundant amount of salted boiling water over high heat. Bring water back to a boil and immediately reduce heat to a gentle boil. Cook lobster until thick part of meat just turns opaque (about 3 to 4 minutes). Drain immediately; plunge cooked tails briefly into cold water to stop the cooking process, drain and remove spoons.

7. Cut away the shells and remove the tail meat in one piece. Cut tails into ½-inch (1.25 cm) medallions, keeping medallions of individual tails together. If desired, place on a parchment-lined baking sheet, cover loosely with aluminum foil (shiny side in) and briefly keep warm in a preheated 150° F (65° C) oven.

8. Immediately before serving, reheat pasta. Using tongs, transfer the pasta in equal portions to 4 preheated individual large bowls or plates, twisting it into a pile formation.

9. Meanwhile, reheat the sun-dried tomato and mushroom sauce, adding more heavy cream and some reserved pasta water to make the sauce light and more fluid. Bathe each serving of pasta with ¼ of the sauce, arrange ¼ of the lobster medallions around the base of the pasta, and artistically garnish with cooked vegetables and microgreens/fresh herbs. Serve immediately with Aioli Mayonnaise to be passed at table as a dipping sauce for the lobster, if desired.

White Wine Shallot Cream Sauce

Makes 2½ cups (about 625 mL)

This basic white sauce, with a white wine edge, is extremely versatile and appealing. It is delightful with chicken, veal, fish, seafood and sweetbreads. (Placed in an airtight container, this sauce freezes well for months.)

1 1/3 tbsp (20 mL) instant chicken bouillon powder

1½ cups (375 mL) hot water

3 to 4 tbsp (45 to 60 mL) finely chopped

shallots

½ tsp (3 mL) finely chopped fresh garlic

½ tsp (3 mL) peeled and grated gingerroot

2 tbsp (30 mL) butter

¼ cup (60 mL) flour

1 cup (250 mL) dry white wine

½ cup (125 mL) heavy cream (35 per cent)

To taste, salt and pepper

1. Dissolve instant bouillon powder in hot water; set aside.

2. In a small saucepan over medium heat, sauté shallots, garlic and ginger in melted butter (reducing heat if necessary) until shallots become translucent, but not brown. Blend in flour; cook for 1 minute.

3. Add bouillon to saucepan along with wine, whisking constantly to form a smooth sauce. Reduce heat to low; allow sauce to simmer gently for a few minutes, stirring occasionally.

4. Stir in cream; bring back to a simmer; remove from heat. Season with salt and crushed black peppercorns to taste.

Stuffed Fresh Pears with Goat Cheese

Makes 4 servings

If you enjoy starting a special occasion breakfast with a rather original fruit appetizer, this creation will undoubtedly do the

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trick. You can also serve it as an appetizer, or even instead of a “cheese” course at an elegant dinner.

2 well-ripened Bosc pears (each: 4½ oz or 125 g)
¼ cup (60 mL) soft unripened goat cheese
3 tbsp (45 mL) toasted pecan pieces
Fresh herb leaves (basil, mint) and/or edible flowers (violas or pansies), optional

Sesame Balsamic Sauce

2 to 2 ½ tbsp (30 to 38 mL) sesame oil
3 tbsp (45 mL) Balsamic Vinegar Syrup*

1. Make the Sesame Balsamic Sauce by whisking sesame oil into Balsamic Vinegar Syrup for several minutes to create a fairly thick syrupy drizzle that, when applied, will retain a thread-like path.
2. Peel the Bosc pears, keeping the stems intact; cut pears in half vertically to create four half pears.
3. Scoop out core sections and fill each with 2 to 3 tsp (10 to 15 mL) of soft unripened goat cheese.
4. For individual servings, arrange each goat cheese-garnished pear half on 4 separate dinner plates, using the remainder of the goat cheese to secure the pear halves in the desired position.
5. Drizzle each filled pear half and plates with about 2 tsp (10 mL) of Sesame Balsamic Syrup. (Store remaining sauce refrigerated in an airtight container.)
6. Press about 2 tsp (10 mL) of toasted pecan pieces into the goat cheese filling and over the surface of each pear half. Garnish if and as desired, with fresh herbs and edible flowers.

* To make 3 tbsp (45 mL) of Balsamic Vinegar Syrup, place 1/3 cup (80 mL) of balsamic vinegar and 2 tbsp (30 mL) of granulated sugar in a small non-stick skillet over medium-low heat. Stir constantly with a silicone spatula until sugar dissolves and mixture comes to a boil. Reduce heat to low and allow mixture to simmer, stirring constantly until the reduced syrup coats the back of a regular teaspoon well (i.e., until reduced to about 3½ tbsp / 53 mL). Remove from heat immediately, transfer to a glass jar equipped with a metal teaspoon (to avoid cracking the jar). Allow sauce to cool before screwing on the lid; refrigerate, allowing the sauce to chill thoroughly and thicken.

Margaret Dickenson is a cookbook author, TV host, menu/recipe developer and a protocol, business and etiquette instructor.



Stuffed Fresh Pears with Goat Cheese make a nice breakfast dish or an unexpected appetizer.



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Japanese art featured at two Ottawa galleries

By Peter Simpson



Hanran: 20th-Century Japanese Photography is showing at the National Gallery of Canada. Shown here is Kuwabara Kineo's 1936 photograph titled, *In front of the Imperial Palace (the Day after the February 26 Incident)*.

Japan and its history — at home and in Canada — star in Ottawa's fall calendar of art, with three exhibitions at two institutions. War, and its abettor xenophobia, will cast a shadow over all.

The largest of three exhibitions will be *Hanran: 20th-Century Japanese Photography*, which opens Oct. 11 at the National Gallery of Canada. More than 200 works from 28 photographers will call attention "to the costs of nuclear warfare and Japan's extraordinary recovery."

The word *hanran* comes from the Japanese word for "flooding, overflow or deluge," the gallery's notes say, and it seems an apt descriptor for the years covered by the exhibition, from the 1930s to the 1990s.

The period straddles the rise of Shinko Shashin, the avant-garde "new photography" that gained a foothold among Japanese artists in the 1930s, and was perfectly timed to chronicle the country's cataclysmic years during and around the

Second World War.

"Waves of photographic activity ebb and flow between realism and fabrication, tradition and modernity," the exhibition notes say. As the nation struggled, suffered and regrew, the new photographers documented how society and people changed. Meanwhile, "Japanese industry developed some of the best camera equipment and film in the world."

Hanran was originally exhibited at the Yokohama Museum of Art, where National Gallery interim chief curator Ann Thomas selected the images to be displayed in Ottawa. In a release, Thomas speaks of "the extensive range of styles and approaches to photography in this one exhibition; there's modernist collage, documentary photojournalism, and radical practices, where it becomes even more political from the social and aesthetic points of view."

Hanran continues until March 22. See

more details and images at gallery.ca.

Two shows at Carleton University Gallery

Two exhibitions now open at the Carleton University Art Gallery speak to the dismal experience of Japanese-Canadians who were interned in camps in Canada during the Second World War.

In the exhibition *Sites of Memory: Legacies of the Japanese Canadian Internment*, Canadian artists Emma Nishimura, Cindy Mochizuki and Norman Takeuchi "negotiate the complexity of reflecting on this traumatic history," says the exhibition note, "while articulating a delicate balance between remembering and forgetting."

The works from Takeuchi, the Ottawa artist, are large paper kimonos that tell stories of internment camps in Canada. The kimono that represents the prison camp Angler, with a large red spot on its back, tells a tale that may horrify Canadians who would believe our country is

above ruthlessness. Angler, Takeuchi says, “became infamous for the red circles that were sewn onto the backs of jackets that were issued to the prisoners. Although the circles looked like the rising sun, they were actually targets for the guards to aim at, should anyone decide to escape. No one did.”

The second exhibition is *Inheriting Redress: The Ottawa Japanese Community Association Archive*. The collection “brings together archival documents, memorabilia, photographs and other objects held by the Ottawa Japanese Community Association and individual community members who were active in the redress campaign in the 1980s,” say the notes, in reference to the Canadian government’s formal acknowledgement of the internment of its Japanese citizens during the war.

“It’s unfortunately an extremely relevant topic of conversation, given what’s going on in the world,” says Emily Putnam, who curated or co-curated both exhibitions at CUAG. Political calls in the United States for a ban on Muslim visitors and the forced separation of refugee families are “strikingly similar” to the conversation that led to the internment of Japanese Canadians, Putnam says.

Both exhibitions continue to Jan. 26. cuag.ca.

Indigenous art at the OAG

The Ottawa Art Gallery has another significant exhibition of Indigenous art in *Inaabiwin*, with works by Scott Benesiinaabandan, Hannah Claus, Tanya Lukin Linklater, Meryl McMaster and Greg Staats, with “a poetic response” by Billy-Ray Belcourt.

The exhibition will explore Indigenous relations with “memory, body, land, material objects and identity,” the gallery says. “...Each artist opens doorways into thinking about the relationships that exist within and around us.”

Inaabiwin opens Oct. 4 and continues to Jan. 19. In the Anishinaabemowin language, the word *inaabiwin* means “movement of light,” and describes lighting. The title is apt, as *Inaabiwin* takes place in conjunction with *Àbadakone* — or “Continuous Fire” — the major exhibition of contemporary Indigenous art from around the world that opens Nov. 8 at the National Gallery. oaggao.ca

City acquisitions on display

The City of Ottawa acquires a lot of art — through purchase, donation or commission — and the past year’s new works



Norman Takeuchi’s kimonos reference Canadian camps where Japanese-Canadians were interned during the Second World War. This one is from *Sites of Memory: Legacies of the Japanese Canadian Internment* now showing at Carleton University Art Gallery until January.



Murmur by Meryl McMaster is one of the works in a group show titled *Inaabiwin* at the Ottawa Art Gallery until January. The show also features work by Scott Benesiinaabandan, Hannah Claus, Tanya Lukin Linklater and Greg Staats with a “poetic response” by Billy-Ray Belcourt.



Ice Blasting on the Rideau River, by Blazej Marczak, is among the 2019 acquisitions by the City of Ottawa and showing at Karsh-Masson Gallery.



Andrew Beck's new paintings will be featured in a show called *The Onlookers*, at Studio Sixty Six from Nov. 1 to 17.



New works by Suzanne Joubert, of Montreal, a member of the Royal Canadian Academy of Art, will be on display from Oct. 3 to 27 at Galerie Jean-Claude Bergeron.

will be on display in two exhibitions at City Hall.

Signal: 2019 Additions to the City of Ottawa Art Collection opens Nov. 21 (to Jan. 12) at Karsh-Masson Gallery, and includes donations and the city's commissions. The "direct purchase" exhibition opens Dec. 12 (to Jan. 12) at the adjacent City Hall Art Gallery.

The annual exhibition(s) are always a mish-mash of subject, media and style, as there's no guiding theme to bind them together. This year, they include 78 works purchased by the city — from 45 artists, 17 of whom are new to the city's collection. There are 23 donations and 25 commissions, most notably the art commissioned for the city's 13 new LRT stations.

The LRT commissions — including Jyhling Lee's *National Garden* in stainless steel at Tremblay Station, and Derek Root's *Gradient Space* in glass at Tunney's Station — will be unveiled as the line is completed, and will be represented in the exhibition with photographs and, perhaps, artists' sketches and small models. (The URLs for the galleries are too long to include here, and a quick Google search is better.)

From fantastical to subdued

Ottawa's Drew Mosley creates fantastical paintings of woodland creatures, and his new work will be featured Nov. 2 to 23 at Wall Space Gallery, 358 Richmond Rd., next to Mountain Equipment Co-op.

Mosley, a carpenter by trade, is self-taught and his work is often seen in mu-

rels around central Ottawa. Wall Space will host a reception with the artist from 5 to 7 p.m. on Nov. 2.

Also at Wall Space will be new paintings from Ottawa's David Lidbetter, from Nov. 30 to Dec. 14. Expect to see "intrepid and transient landscapes that celebrate Canada's beauty."

Lidbetter's work is moody, sometimes austere, as he strips the land of garish colours seen in tourist-friendly landscapes in favour of subdued, earthy tones. An artist's reception will take place from 5 to 7 p.m. on Nov. 30. wallspacegallery.ca

Other shows

Sivarulrasa Gallery: 34 Mill Street, Almonte presents *Canadiana II* — works by Nova Scotia's Susan Tooke, Ontario's Jane Irwin and Alberta's Gillian Willans. Oct. 11 to Nov. 17. Vernissage from 3 to 6 p.m. on Oct. 19. sivarulrasa.com

Studio Sixty Six: *The Onlookers*, new paintings by Andrew Beck, Nov. 1 to 17. Opening reception from 6 to 9 p.m., Nov. 1. studiosixtysix.caom

Galerie Jean-Claude Bergeron: *J'habite ma propre demeure*, new works by Suzanne Joubert of Montreal, a member of the Royal Canadian Academy of Art takes place from Oct. 3 to 27. galeriejeanclaudebergeron.ca

Peter Simpson is an Ottawa writer and regular contributor to ArtsFile.



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They make wine in Quebec?



Alex
McMahon

Yes, they make wine in Quebec — and in a few cases, some of my favourite wines in the country. Historically, due to the brutal winters, producers in the province mainly planted hybrid grape varieties (grapes developed in a lab to be able to withstand colder temperatures), which can certainly make tasty wines, but rarely offer the same depth as *vitis vinifera* or European grape varieties, which are used in most high-quality wine production. The harsh conditions also mean that for many, liberal use of chemicals both in farming and winemaking is very tempting.

The result has been wines that have lacked character and quality. In recent years, however, a few courageous and innovative producers in and around the Eastern Townships have captured the attention of wine professionals and wine lovers alike and have developed a much-deserved cult following. The incredibly challenging but unique terroir paired with the natural talent of these winemakers are no doubt major factors in contributing to why I (and so many others) are so taken



Michael Marler and Véronique Hupin, of Les Pervenches, work the vines at their winery.

by these wines, but I see a few other factors as well. Many wine lovers, myself included, are unapologetically more partial to wines that are produced with organic grapes and fermented without the addition of yeasts or chemicals. Unlike the other major wine regions in Canada, all the most celebrated Quebec vigneronns seem to adhere to these philosophies.

In Magog, Frédéric Simon and his wife, Catherine Bélanger, of Pinard et Filles have planted a small vineyard that consists entirely of *vitis vinifera* grape varieties (Chardonnay, Riesling, Savagnin, Pinot Noir, Gamay, Dornfelder, Cabernet Franc and Pinot Meunier). The grapes are farmed organically (although they aren't certified organic) and the wines, which feature beautiful labels designed

by Quebec artist Marc Séguin, are every bit as beautiful as they look. These natural wines — which contain no additives, with the exception of sometimes a small dose of sulphur — are bright, fresh and drinkable.

Nearby, in Farnham, you'll find Les Pervenches and very likely Quebec's oldest Chardonnay vines, which were planted in 1992. Mike Marler and Véronique Hupin purchased the small vineyard in early 2000 and have been working the land according to organic and biodynamic principles since 2005. Like Pinard et Filles, Les Pervenches works with a combination of vinifera and hybrid grapes and the vintners aren't afraid to be playful, often blending reds and whites together and experimenting with skin maceration. The wines are incredible, almost always fresh and bright, while at the same time textural and complex.

Also be sure to keep an eye out for the wines of Matthieu Beauchemin at Domaine du Nival. He is making brilliant wines from Pinot Noir, Gamaret, Vidal and Albariño.

Unfortunately, due to some archaic laws, it's nearly impossible to procure these wines in Ontario, so I encourage readers interested in trying these vintages to either contact the wineries directly to purchase or to visit Soif Bar à Vin in Gatineau. It features many of these wines and very often by the glass.

Alex McMahon is the wine director at Riviera restaurant in Ottawa.

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A monumental residential balancing act

By Patrick Langston

Photos by Ashley Fraser



Waterstone, the official residence of Japanese Ambassador Kimihiro Ishikane and his wife, Kaoru, is a heritage building that was completed in 1930.

The trick to designing a monumental home is to avoid overwhelming those who live and visit there. Prominent Ottawa architect Allan Keefer achieved that delicate balance almost a century ago when he designed Waterstone, acquired by the Japanese government as its official ambassadorial residence in 1958.

It is currently home to Ambassador Kimihiro Ishikane and his wife, Kaoru, who took up their posting in 2017.

The limestone mansion, a heritage building, was completed in 1930 for Fred E. Bronson, president of the Bronson Com-

pany and chairman of the Federal District Commission, which later morphed into the National Capital Commission. His grandfather was lumber baron Henry Franklin Bronson.

Mature pines now tower over the rolling, manicured grounds at 725 Acacia Ave. in Rockcliffe Park. In mid-summer, second-storey window boxes bloom with flowers, and casement windows are wide open above to welcome in the fresh air. The entrance to the Tudor Revival-style home is through a massive porte-cochère, through which one fancies horse-drawn carriages passing, even if Bronson was

wealthy enough to own a fleet of automobiles.

Inside, it's all about balance. The wood-panelled library, where we have our initial chat, is Ishikane's favourite room. "I like this room. Especially during the winter-time, we use the fireplace," says Ishikane, who was previously posted to ASEAN. "The wood gives a very comfortable ambience." He explains that the room is often used for smaller receptions. An intricately carved wood ceiling would lend warmth to those get-togethers, while the three niches along one wall, each holding a blue-toned piece of Japanese porcelain,



Japanese Ambassador Kimihiro Ishikane and his wife, Kaoru, are comfortable in their residence in the heart of Rockcliffe Village.



The panelled library is the ambassador's favourite room.



This plate is among the many decorative items in the home..

add a quiet pop of colour.

Next to the library is the living room, with its burnished wood accents and restful white brocade furniture (hence its moniker, the “White Room.”) This is a big space, large enough to have seated 70 people when, earlier this year, the ambassador and his wife hosted a charity concert in support of the Friends of the National Arts Centre Orchestra, which raises funds for the orchestra and the education of aspiring young musicians.

In one corner of the living room sits a gleaming piano, which was played at the concert by Dr. Vadim Serebryany of Ithaca College in New York. He, along with Yosuke Kawasaki, concertmaster of the NAC Orchestra, were the featured performers.

When we visit, the piano is silent and home to an official photo of the newly installed Emperor Naruhito and his wife, Empress Masako. Next to it reposes a brilliant white and red origami crane, one of many made by Kaoru Ishikane to comfort victims of the 2011 Japanese earthquake and tsunami. The juxtaposition of official portrait and handcrafted symbol of hope and healing makes for a powerful yoking of the grand and the very personal.

“When I was a child, my mother taught me [to make origami.] Nearly every



The sunporch, a portion of which is seen here, where less formal meals at the Japanese ambassador's residence take place.



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The smaller wood-panelled reception room is reserved for more intimate gatherings.



The main reception room is furnished with a grand piano and can accommodate up to 70 people for a sit-down concert.

mother teaches her child," says Kaoru, who is also a trained flower arranger and a member of a local walking group. She's especially fond of Almonte, with its antique shops and pretty Mississippi River.

Elsewhere in the living room — like the rest of the home, its floor is made of wide, pegged boards — is a large painting of a maple tree in the fall with a misty Parliament Hill in the distance. It's the work of Japanese-born, Ottawa-dwelling artist Mitsugi Kikuchi.

"I love this one," says Ishikane. "This is Ottawa with some flavour of Japan."

Formal dinners in Waterstone take place in the dining room. Large enough to

**FORMAL DINNERS IN
WATERSTONE TAKE
PLACE IN THE DINING
ROOM. LARGE ENOUGH
TO SEAT UP TO 18, IT'S
WARMED BY WOOD-
PANELLED DOORS AND
QUIETLY ELEGANT
HUTCHES AND
SIDEBOARDS.**

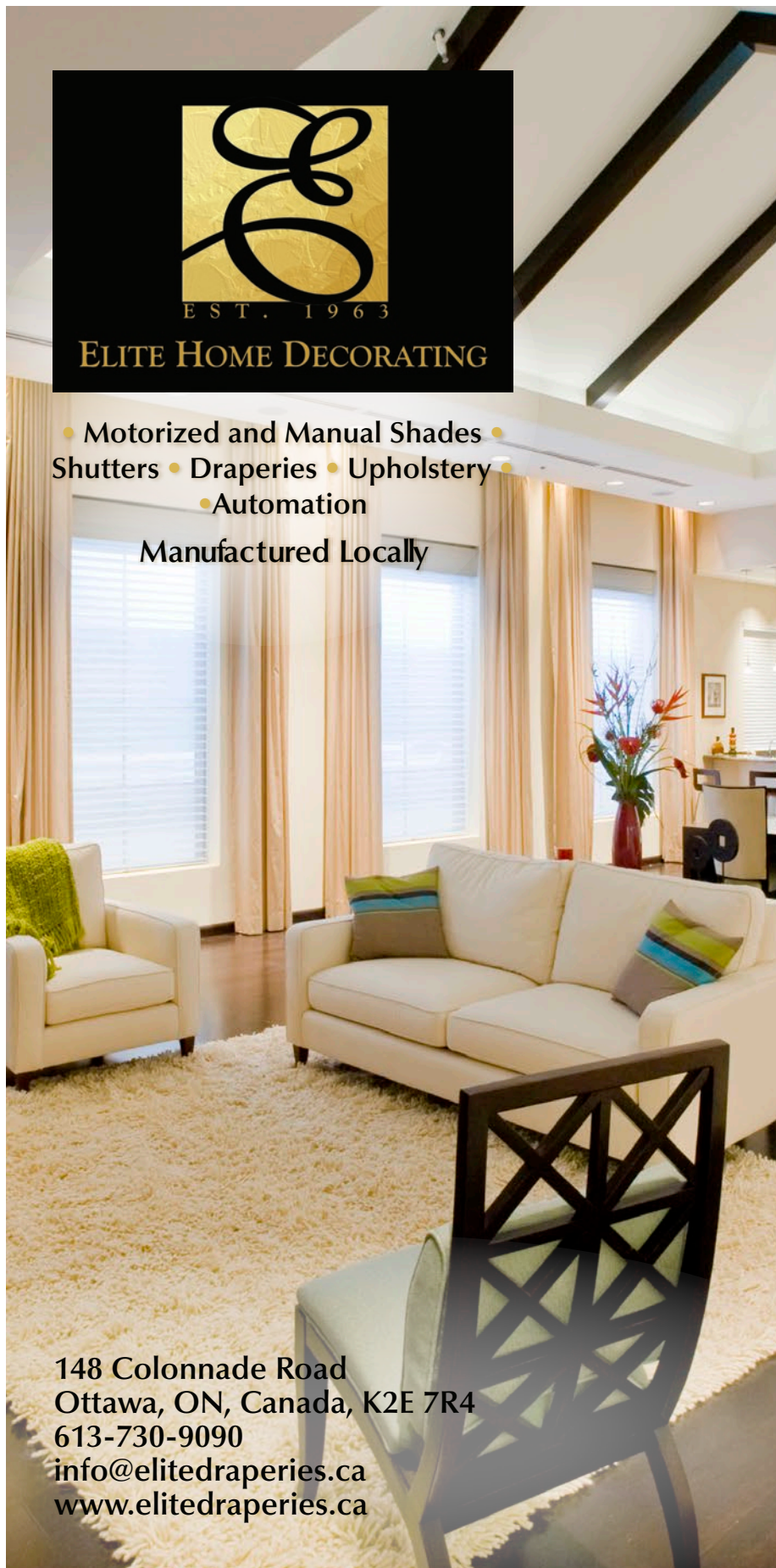
seat up to 18, it's warmed by wood-panelled doors and quietly elegant hutches and sideboards. Kaoru enthusiastically points out the pineapple design of the exquisite drawer pulls on one of the sideboards, explaining that the fruit is a symbol of hospitality.

Meals in the dining room are generally served in eight-course kaiseki fashion, a fish appetizer, soup, tempura and a beef main course are usually part of the blend. Ishikane is quick to mention that, along with sake, other Japanese wines are often served. "We are starting to have some very good ones: Pinot Noir, Sauvignon."

Less formal meals are taken in the sunroom (the "Plant Room") overlooking the stone terrace and grounds beyond. Painted white and with an airy feel, thanks to large, mullioned windows, it features a round dining table, comfy-looking wicker furniture and, of course, plants.

It's used for lunch or dining when there are four or five people, says Ishikane. "The plant room is a very intimate one."

Patrick Langston is an Ottawa writer.



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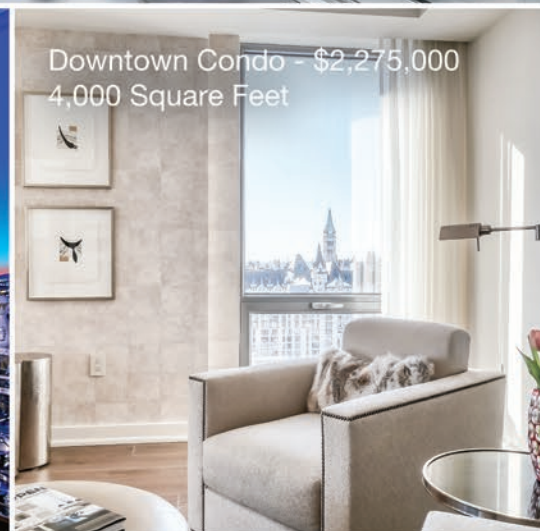
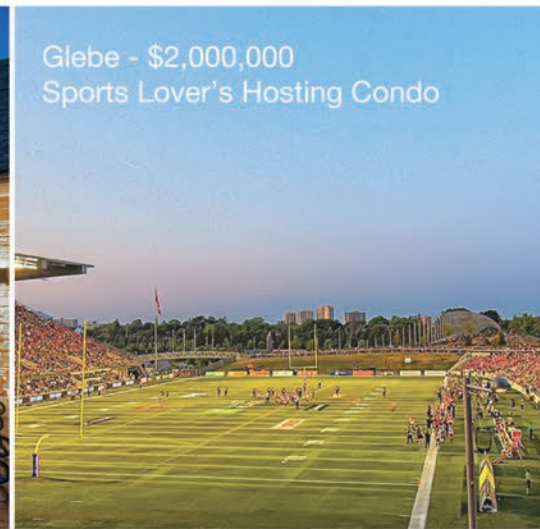


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New arrivals

Anahit Harutyunyan
Ambassador of Armenia



Ambassador Harutyunyan joined the foreign ministry in 1997 as an attaché. She then became head of the Turkey desk and then second secretary at the embassy of Argentina.

In 2008, she returned to headquarters in the department of countries in the Americas. She was then chief specialist of the external relations department in the office of the president.

In 2011, she was named first secretary and later that year, was sent to the embassy of Belgium in that position. From 2014 to 2018, she served as assistant to the foreign minister. In 2018, she became deputy chief of mission and later chargé d'affaires to the UN and other international organizations in Geneva.

She has a master's in Southeast European Studies from Athens University in Greece. She speaks Armenian, Russian, English, Spanish and Turkish.

Marko Milisav
Ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina



Ambassador Milisav graduated from the University of Belgrade's faculty of political science in 2009. From 2010 to 2018, he worked in social and child welfare with the

Child Welfare Fund of Republika Srpska, and as a general manager of the Centre for Social Welfare of Bijeljina. From 2014, he was a member of the supervisory board of professional social workers and numerous working bodies of the ministry of health and social welfare.

Since 2017, he has worked on the protection of workers' rights, has served as president of the Trade Union Fund for Child Welfare and has been a member of the supervisory board of Republika Srpska.

As an expert in the analysis and observation of the election process, he has participated in domestic and international observation missions in Ukraine and Kosovo.

He is married to Rada Milisav.

Mauricio Ortiz Ortiz
Ambassador of Costa Rica



After completing studies in international trade and industrial engineering, Ambassador Ortiz has spent his career as an entrepreneur, running APA Worldwide, a logistics

and international transportation firm based in San José, Costa Rica.

He has also served in various other capacities over the years, first as vice-president of National Academy Morista, then a board member of the National Oil Refinery. He was an adviser to the secretary of sports for Costa Rica and vice-president of the Costa Rica-Colombia Chamber of Commerce as well as the Costa Rica-Brazil Chamber of Commerce. He was also a member of the Costa Rica-U.S. Chamber of Commerce service committee. He has also authored a book and produced a documentary.

Ambassador Ortiz is married to Rosiris Valverde Jimenez and has two sons.

Borek Lizec
Ambassador of the Czech Republic



After completing an undergraduate and master's degree in international relations and trade at the University of Economics in Prague, Ambassador Lizec worked

briefly for an import-export company before joining the foreign ministry in 1999. He started his diplomatic career in humanitarian assistance and counter-terrorism before he was sent as deputy consul general in the new consulate general in Chicago in 2005. He remained there for three years before becoming the spokesman and general assembly co-ordinator at the United Nations in New York.

On returning to headquarters, he became an adviser to the secretary general and deputy minister and then an economic expert in bilateral economic relations. He was deputy director of the public diplomacy department from 2011 to 2014 and then became consul-general in Chicago for five years.

The ambassador is married to Katerina Lizcova Kulhankova.

Hanne Fugl Eskjaer
Ambassador of Denmark



After extensive studies in political science, Ambassador Eskjaer joined the foreign ministry as head of section in the Russian and Eastern Europe department. She was

head of section in the United Nations department before being named first secretary at the UN mission in New York for two years.

In 2003, she was deputy head of mission in the Czech Republic and then became European correspondent and assistant secretary to the foreign policy committee of the Danish parliament. She was a member of the globalization team on the foreign ministry's future before being named deputy head of mission in Syria for three years. She was ambassador to Bangladesh from 2013 to 2016 and was head of the department on Arctic Affairs and Northern America before coming to Canada.

She is married to Mikkel Fugl Eskjaer and has two children.

Roy Eriksson
Ambassador of Finland



After completing a master's in political science, Ambassador Eriksson joined the foreign ministry in 1990. A year later, he was sent to Turkey as deputy head of mission

and between 1995 and 1998, he held the same position in Ottawa. He returned to headquarters to work on trade policy before being sent to Germany in 2001. Three years later, he was made a counsellor on trade policy issues at the EU.

The ambassador returned to the foreign ministry to work on import policy and later, on issues relating to Central and Western Europe before becoming director of the unit for Latin America and the Caribbean.

In 2015, he became ambassador to Mexico with concurrent representation to Belize, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama.



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Wadee Batti Hanna Al-Batti Ambassador of Iraq



It's not every ambassador who can say they are a nuclear physicist, but Ambassador Al-Batti has a PhD in the subject. He began his career as a lecturer at the College of Science

at Al-Anbar University in Iraq, where he stayed for nine years. Eight years later, after living and working in Sweden, he joined the foreign ministry as ambassador. By 2010, he was ambassador to the Philippines, a post at which he spent nearly three years, after which he spent two and a half years as ambassador to Spain.

In late 2015, he became ambassador to Korea for two years, and then returned to a posting in the foreign ministry's human rights division. He became Canada's ambassador from Iraq in July 2019.

The ambassador speaks English, Russian, Swedish, Arabic and Syriac. He is married to Nadia Azahak Matti and has three children.

Ralechate Lincoln Mokose High Commissioner for Lesotho



After completing his studies, High Commissioner Mokose began his career as an assistant teacher in 1971. He continued teaching until 1992, eventually becoming a school

headmaster in 1987.

In 1992, he became the ministry of education's chief inspector for two years, after which he joined the foreign service and was appointed high commissioner to South Africa for five years, from 1994 to 1999. In 1999, he became ambassador to Denmark and held that post until he entered politics in 2002 as deputy speaker of parliament. From 2002 to 2010, he was minister of forestry and land reclamation and then became minister of agriculture and food security for two years. He was minister of water from 2015 to 2017 and then he returned to South Africa as high commissioner.

Ambassador Mokose is married and has three children and two grandchildren.

Nor'Aini Binti Abd Hamid High Commissioner for Malaysia



High Commissioner Binti Abd Hamid joined the foreign ministry in 1994, after completing a bachelor of arts in sociology and a master's of arts in applied linguistics.

Early in her career, she worked in the South Asia Division and was appointed second secretary at the mission in Bonn, Germany, in 1997. In 1999, she moved to Berlin. In 2001, she joined the multilateral political division at headquarters and then the East Asia division. In 2005, she became a counsellor at the embassy in Washington and was then promoted to minister-counsellor and deputy chief of mission. She was ambassador to Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in 2014 and returned to headquarters in 2018, working as director-general at the ASEAN-Malaysia National Secretariat, and then as deputy secretary-general in management services.

She is married to Hasdi bin Yusoff and has one son.

Mpoki Mwasumbi Ulisubisya High Commissioner for Tanzania



High Commissioner Ulisubisya studied medicine at the University of Dar Es Salaam from 1988 to 1994 and then did post-graduate studies in anesthesiology, earning a

master's degree from the same university in 2000.

Between 1995 and 1997, he worked as a doctor and then became a resident in anesthesia and critical care from 1997 to 2000. He continued to work in medicine, becoming director of Mbeya Zonal Referral Hospital in 2014. He also continued to study while working as a doctor. In 2011, he earned a master's in business administration from Mzumbe University in Tanzania. In 2014, he also became a founding fellow of the College of Anesthesiologists of East Central and Southern Africa. In 2016, he was named permanent secretary to the ministry of health.

The high commissioner is married to Bernadette Robert Shilio, who is also a doctor.

Non-heads of mission

Barbados

Andre Leslie Padmore
Counsellor

Belarus

Evgeny Russak
Minister-counsellor

China

Hongning Wang
Attaché

DR Congo

Lohaka Yemba
Minister-counsellor

Czech Republic

Jan Kubacka
Second Secretary

Egypt

Sherif Bedeir Hussein
Counsellor
Rehab Shawer
First Secretary
Mohamed Atalla
Attaché

Georgia

Nino Kharadze
Minister-counsellor

Germany

Arndt Uwe Wittig
Assistant attaché
Susanne Reihwald
Attaché
Michael Martin
Bartholmei
First secretary

Haiti

Djyna Haiti Seme
Second secretary

India

Kumar Sanjay
Attaché

Iraq

Amjed Al-Zanboor
Third secretary
Haedar Alaeed
Attaché

Israel

Ohad Nakash Kaynar
Minister-counsellor

Japan

Yasunori Nakamura
Second secretary
Ken Fujita
Counsellor
Shintaro Ito
Second secretary
Yoshifuru Yokoyama
Counsellor

Kazakhstan

Murat Rustemov
Counsellor

Kenya

Monica Wangai
Second secretary

Kuwait

Habeb Aldawila
Third secretary

Latvia

Inga Skruzmane
Counsellor

Lithuania

Kristina Seniavskiene
Counsellor

Mexico

Erick Zendejas
Hinestroza
Deputy naval attaché
Dulce Valle Alvarez
Minister
Jacqueline Marquez
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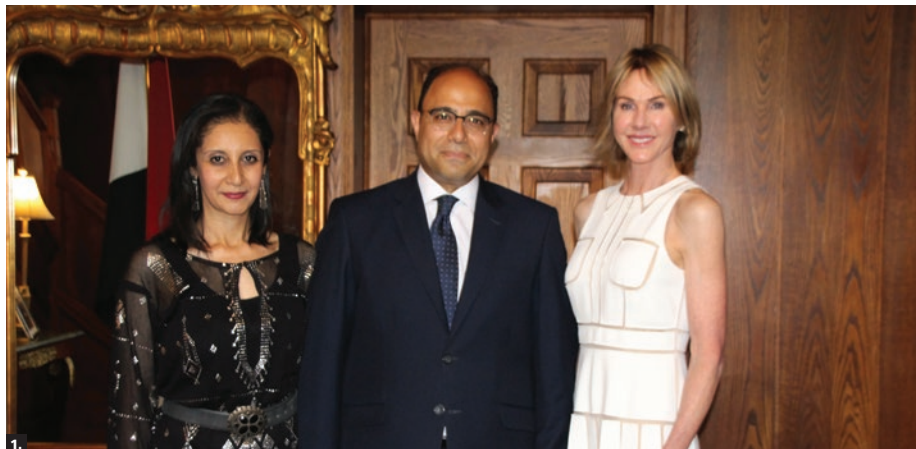
La meccanica delle emozioni



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1. To mark the 100th anniversary of the Latvian National Armed Forces, Latvian defence attaché Col. Agris Ozolins hosted a reception at the Army Officers' Mess. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. The Canadian Federation of University Women's "women helping Afghan women group" hosted a fundraising dinner at Ottawa Hunt and Golf Club. From left, Lorna Bickerton, convenor of the group; Roya Rahmani, Afghan ambassador to the U.S.; and group members Elizabeth Wilfrid and Hally Siddons. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. Olga Kamaldinova, wife of Kazakh Ambassador Akylbek Kamaldinov, hosted a Tusau Keser (cutting the fetters) ceremony and reception. This family — attaché-consul Aibat Akhtanov, his wife, Adina, and their daughter, Medina, in traditional Kazakh costumes — took part in the ceremony. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. The Chinese Embassy held a ceremony and dinner to thank retired professors Yves and Cynthia Bled for their donation of the exhibition "Understanding China Through Cartoons" and Indian Artworks of the Northwest Coast of Canada to the embassy. Cynthia Bled gave a talk. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. From left, Chilean Ambassador Alejandro Marisio Cugat, Ecuadoran Ambassador Juan Diego Stacey Moreno and Brazilian Ambassador Denis Fontes de Souza Pinto mark the 210th anniversary of the independence of Ecuador at the Royal Canadian Geographical Society. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 6. To mark the 25th anniversary of the Liberation of Rwanda, chargé d'affaires Shakilla K. Umutoni and her husband, Janvier I. Rurangwa, hosted a reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier hotel. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. To mark Egypt's national day, Ambassador Ahmed Abu Zeid hosted a reception at his residence. From left, Zeid's wife, Aliaa Adel Saadeldein Elsherif, Zeid and U.S. Ambassador Kelly Craft. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. The 14th Annual Serbian Festival, featuring folklore dancing and authentic food, took place on the grounds of St. Stefan Serbian Orthodox Church. Standing next to the Serbian flag is Teodora, a member of Kolo, a Serbian folk dance group that performed at the event. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Austrian Ambassador Stefan Pehring and his wife, Debra Jean Pehring, hosted a summer garden party at their home in Rockcliffe. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. Slovenian Ambassador Melita Gabric and her husband, Michael Raymond Benson, hosted a national day celebration at Ottawa City Hall. She is shown with Senate Speaker George Furey. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. The 11th Annual Harmony Iftar Dinner took place at the Sir John A. MacDonald Building. From left are Ayan Dualeh, chairwoman of the dinner, and retired Canadian diplomat Lawrence Lederman. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. To mark Europe Day, the Delegation of the EU and the embassies of several EU member nations hosted a day-long cultural fair at Lansdowne Park. Raizes de Portugal, a local dance group, performed at the Horticulture Building. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

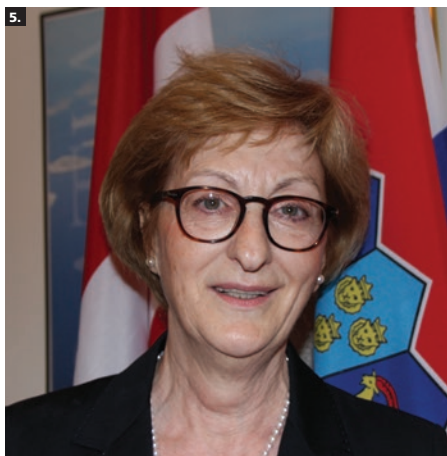




1. To celebrate the 72nd Anniversary of India's independence, High Commissioner Vikas Swarup and his wife, Aparna, hosted a dinner reception at the Delta Hotel. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. The U.S. Embassy hosted a Cajun Bayou country party at the National Arts Centre to celebrate July 4th. Dwayne Dopsie and the Zydeco Hellraisers performed. From left: deputy head of mission Richard Mills, Tanya Rowell, wife of Col. William (Bill) Rowell, and Rowell, senior defence attaché. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. The Taipei Youth Folk Sports group presented a cultural show at Carleton University. Taiwanese students performed. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. A conference on the 20th Anniversary of NATO's military engagement in Kosovo took place at the Rideau Club. Vasfije Krasniqi-Goodman, a Kosovo-born war survivor and activist, spoke. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Michael Eyestone, deputy director at Global Affairs Canada, met with Estonian Ambassador Toomas Lukk (not shown) prior to Eyestone's departure to become the first Canadian diplomat residing in Tallinn, Estonia. While working at the Canadian Embassy in Tallinn, he will also serve as the senior trade commissioner, covering Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. To mark the 92nd anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Col. Junhui Wu and his wife, Hongyan Yang, hosted a reception at the embassy. From left: Wu, Col. Acton Kilby, Department of National Defence, chargé d'affaires Mingjian Chen and MP Chandra Arya participated in the cake-cutting ceremony. (Photo: Tao Lei)



1. The Ottawa Service Attaché Association's Lame Ducks hockey team members and coaches attended a birthday party for Mexican defence attaché Pedro Judas Ornelas Cruz. From left back row: Coach Darcy Byrtus, ChangBae Yoon (Korea), Fernando San Martin (Peru), Ton Linssen (Netherlands), Pedro Judas Ornelas Cruz (Mexico), Tony Stibral (U.S.), Rob Worsham (U.S.), Jorge Castillo (Chile) and Denis Rouleau, coach (Canada). Front row: William Cabrera Castro (Colombia) and Eric Zendejas Hinestrosa (Mexico). Ornelas Cruz is holding a piñata in the shape of a hockey puck and the team logo. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. French Ambassador Kareen Rispal hosted a dinner cocktail reception, *La Soirée en Blanc*, at her residence. She is shown with Adrian Burns, right, chairwoman of the board of the National Arts Centre. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. To celebrate Throne Day, Moroccan Ambassador Souriya Otmani and her husband, Merouane Sadqi, hosted a concert and dinner for the Friends of the National Arts Centre Orchestra (FNACO) at their home. From left: Otmani and Albert Benoit, president of FNACO. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. Japanese Ambassador Kimihiro Ishikane hosted a reception for departing Japan exchange and teaching (JET) program participants at his residence. First secretary Yukako Ochi gives a toast. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Japanese Ambassador Kimihiro Ishikane and his wife, Kaoru, hosted a reception to launch an art show titled "Go Somewhere" by five female Japanese artists. Tsuboni Yonekura is shown with her work. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. Philippines Ambassador Petronila Garcia hosted an opening of an art exhibit by Frances Alcaraz. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. The 52nd ASEAN Day commemoration took place at the Embassy of Indonesia. Heads of mission and representatives of the ASEAN embassies in Canada are shown here. Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. The South African High Commission observed the 2019 International Nelson Mandela Day at the Ottawa Mission by doing volunteer work. High Commissioner Sibongiseni Dlamini Mntambo is flanked by Mayelinne De Lara of the International Public Diplomacy Council, left, and Aneesha Sidhu, manager for volunteer services at the Mission. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. Colombian Ambassador Federico Hoyos hosted a screening of the film *Botero* at the National Gallery of Canada. From left, film director Don Miller, María-José Jaramillo, Hoyos and film producer Eric Hogan. (Photo: Embassy of Colombia) 5. Croatian Ambassador Marica Matkovič hosted a national day reception at her embassy. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. Norwegian Ambassador Anne Ovind hosted the women heads of mission in Ottawa AGM at her residence. Ovind, right, stands with South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Dlamini Mntambo (Photo: Ülke Baum) 7. Russian Ambassador Alexander Darchiev and his wife, Tamilya Akhmetzhanova, hosted a national day reception at the embassy. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. Romanian chargé d'affaires Bogdan Manoiu and EU Ambassador Peteris Ustubs, with the support of Georgian Ambassador Konstantine Kavtaradze, Moldovan Ambassador Ala Beleavschi and Ukrainian Ambassador Andriy Shevchenko, hosted a concert and reception on Parliament Hill to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Eastern Partnership and the 5th anniversary of the signing of the Association Agreements between their countries. From left, Kavtaradze, Beleavschi, Ustubs, Manoiu and Shevchenko. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. A week-long international exhibition of Mongolian calligraphy took place at the Embassy of Mongolia. A group of participating Mongolian artists in national costumes stand in front of their artwork. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. To celebrate Belgium's national day and 80 years of diplomatic relations between Belgium and Canada, Ambassador Johan Verkammen and Kathleen Billen hosted a boat cruise and reception at Niagara Falls. Niagara Falls was illuminated with Belgium's National colours. Niagara Mayor Jim Diodati attended and spoke at the reception. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



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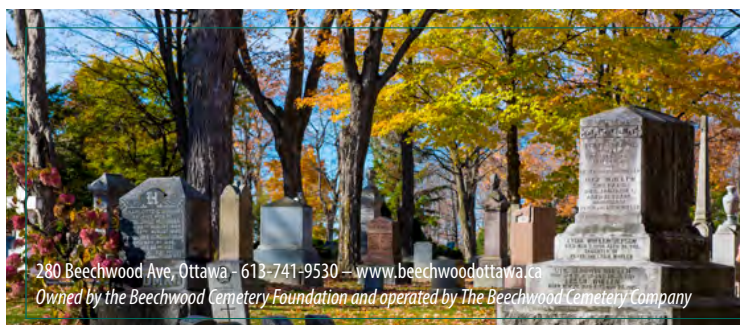
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Fall into autumn with these day trips

By Patrick Langston

The bright, crisp days of autumn are custom-made for day-tripping and overnights. Summer's wilting heat has vanished, snow hasn't yet arrived and fall's melancholy air throws life into sharper relief. So, pack a lunch — or at least your debit card — and head for the open road.

Tromping and shooting

Leading back-road photography trips has tickled the fancy of Picton-based guide/photographer Phil Norton, also known as the owner of County Outings, since 2012. Whether you're a novice clicker or a veteran seeking to polish your skills while discovering hidden treasures in Ontario and beyond, Norton's your man. He has a special fondness for Prince Edward County and the Quinte-Belleville region, including wineries, locally made chocolates and other delectables, but he's also been spotted leading winter daytrips to Westport and scouting out photo ops in Toronto's ravines. 613-827-3214, philnorton.net/countyphotographer/countyphotohome.html

Close to home

Just 20 minutes north of Ottawa along Highway 5, Chelsea is one of those spots we know exists, but rarely visit. Pity. Historic and unassuming, it's crammed with things to see and do, from the art at La Fab artists' co-op and gallery in the former rectory of St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church to the church itself, a Roman Baroque-themed structure built 140 years ago. Sunday masses in English and French are an opportunity to admire the church's stained-glass windows, frescoes and statuary. Also in Chelsea: Nordik Spa-Nature, integrated into the surrounding Canadian Shield; craft beer at the Chelsea Pub; and an entranceway to Gatineau Park. tourismeoutaouais.com/en/services_en/Chelsea. Tip: Chelsea hosts the second annual Gatineau Fiddle Festival Oct. 4 to 6 at Mill Road Community Space. The lineup includes Irish traditional fiddler Brid Harper, as well as players from Cape Breton, Manitoba and elsewhere. gatineauhillsfiddlefest.ca

Go ahead, be nosy

"Why did you paint this landscape?"



Picton-based guide and photographer Phil Norton, whose work is shown here, leads back-road photography trips, often in Prince Edward County and the Quinte-Belleville region.

"How did you become a sculptor?" "What do you think about while you're weaving?" One of the great things about studio tours is the chance to ask artists those kinds of questions, so when you buy something, you feel a more profound connection to their work. Poking around someone's studio also satisfies our basic nosiness, and there's nothing wrong with that. To top it off, you just may stumble across the perfect Christmas gift. The Red Trillium Studio Tour in West Carleton is a popular event. It runs Oct. 26 and 27. redtrilliumst.com

Past and present

If you missed it when it played here in 2017, the boisterous and touching *Old Stock: A Refugee Love Story* cavorts back into town Oct. 16 to 27 as part of the National Arts Centre's English Theatre

season. Big-bearded, larger-than-life performer Ben Caplan stars in the klezmer music-theatre hybrid about two Jewish Romanian refugees who immigrated to Canada in 1908. Written by celebrated Ottawa native Hannah Moscovitch, Christian Barry and Caplan, the show is rooted in the true-life story of Moscovitch's great-grandparents. It yokes classic immigrant narratives of hard luck and endurance with contemporary refugee crises. And yes, the show's name references prime minister Stephen Harper's use of the dog-whistle term "old-stock Canadians" during the 2015 federal election campaign. nac-cna.ca/en/event/21514, 1-888-991-2787.

Double, double toil and trouble

The Puritans would have shuddered at the thought, but Witchfest North Arts

and Culture Festival is into its third annual spiritual shindig in Toronto, Oct. 1 to 31. According to its website, the event celebrates the sacred feminine in the arts, is open to all and features art, workshops and, of course, mediums, Tarot card readers, palmists and others with a special connection to the otherworldly. witchfest-north.org. Tip: There are fewer tourists about in October, so take advantage of that while you're in Toronto by visiting Casa Loma. Built in 1914 on gracious grounds in what's now downtown, the heritage castle is chock-a-block with historical exhibits. 416-923-1171, casaloma.ca

Fall foraging

They look scrumptious, but you'd be wise to leave those wild mushrooms untouched until you've learned what's safe (and tasty) from veteran forager Bryan Dowkes. The man behind Foraged Ottawa, he leads monthly walks and workshops as late into the year as weather permits. He says fall is traditionally a bountiful time for mushrooms, nuts and berries. "I also introduce people to late forms of plants that may not be in season, but that are useful to get to know at different times of the year in order to help plan out future harvests." facebook.com/ForagedOttawa/

Silence, please

If you're visiting Montreal for any reason this fall — say, the Montréal Bach Festival, Nov. 22 to Dec. 7 (festivalbachmontreal.com), or the exhibition of Egyptian mummies at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts until Feb. 2, 2020 (mbam.qc.ca) — work in a side visit to Bota Bota. That's the Nordic-styled spa on a decommissioned ferry anchored in the Old Port heritage district. The spa offers everything from a sauna followed by a cold bath to food, including a simple tasting plate and a three-course meal. But, take note: talking is not permitted on the boat, where tranquility and rejuvenation are job one. 1-855-284-0333 botabota.ca

A rewarding amble

Sandy Hill is your go-to spot for a fall urban ramble. Bordered by Rideau Street, the Queensway, the Rideau Canal and the Rideau River, it's an expansive, generally well-kept area sprinkled with everything from embassies and high commissions, some built by lumber barons, to student housing, sleek infill homes and pockets of commercial activity. 346 Somerset St. E. is the former home of renowned Ottawa architect Francis C. Sullivan (a disciple of Frank Lloyd Wright, his designs include



Actor Ben Caplan helped create and stars in *Old Stock: A Refugee Love Story*, which is inspired by the true story of two Jewish Romanian refugees coming to Canada in 1908.

the Horticulture Building at Lansdowne Park). Laurier House, 335 Laurier Ave. E., was once home to prime ministers Sir Wilfrid Laurier and William Lyon Mackenzie King. It's closed for the winter, but still merits a walk-by. Just east of Laurier House, an unexpected alley makes for an intriguing shortcut between busy Laurier Avenue and elegant Wilbrod Street. Strathcona Park on the Rideau River is a tranquil spot any time of the year, and Le Cordon Bleu's eatery, Signatures Restaurant, is nearby at 453 Laurier Ave. E. Tip: The new Ottawa Art Gallery, 50 Mackenzie King Bridge, is open and free seven days a week. It features both special and permanent exhibitions. The in-house restaurant, Jackson, has brunch, small plates and a liquor licence. 613-233-8699, oaggao.ca

Historical textures

You'd never know it now, but Eastern Ontario's Mississippi Valley — a broad swath stretching from roughly Bon Echo Provincial Park in the west to Fitzroy Harbour in the City of Ottawa — once hosted a booming textile industry. Dozens

of mills operated, and Almonte ("Little Manchester") was considered the woollen capital of Canada. The Mississippi Valley Textile Museum in Mississippi Mills near Almonte does a bang-up job of representing a vanished way of life with exhibitions and special events as well as celebrating contemporary fibre art. "We showcase the textile arts with a backdrop of the textile industry," says executive director/curator Michael Rikley-Lancaster. Special exhibitions include Spirit Seeds, Oct. 26-Dec. 14, 2019; which spotlights Indigenous beadwork from the Great Lakes region. The laid-back museum is housed in a National Historic Site. mvtm.ca

A bird's-eye view

A drive through the Gatineau Hills is one way to view autumn's splendour. A notch up from that: a 30-minute helicopter flight over the Hudson Valley in New York State, the trees below aflame with colour. Heck, why not upgrade to the 45-minute flight and also fly over Sing Sing prison and Bear Mountain? The chopper lifts off from White Plains, about 57 kilometres from New York City, so you'd want to bundle the fall viewing with an overnigher in New York City, where there's not exactly a shortage of things to do. Helicopter tours cost US\$290 and are wheelchair accessible. wingsair.net/fall-foliage-helicopter-tour-from-westchester/ While you're in a New York state of mind, check out the full-day Hudson Valley Craft Brewery Bike Tour, which includes a stop at Captain Lawrence Brewing Company. Monthly Sunday tours until Oct. 27. More information: gothambiketours.com/portfolio-item/captain-lawrence-day-rides/

Time to reflect

Fall is when the year settles down to rest, and Beechwood Cemetery, south of Rockcliffe Park, is all about rest. Rolling terrain, mature trees and the gravesites of both the great — lumber magnate J.R. Booth and prime minister Sir Robert Borden among them — and the lesser-known lend the 64-hectare cemetery a dignity entirely its own. A National Historic Site, Canada's National Military Cemetery and other designations aside, it's simply a fine place to think and reflect — not bad pursuits in turbulent times. 613-741-9530, beechwood-ottawa.ca

Travellin' Patrick Langston is, at this very moment, likely on the road somewhere tracking down fun stuff to see and do. He supports the habit by writing for local publications.

Bulgaria beckons with cuisine, spas, history and resorts



The ancient city of Nessebar, which is on UNESCO's World Heritage list, is a popular Bulgarian resort destination. The coastal town has a beautiful sandy beach and a rich historical and cultural heritage.



By Svetlana Stoycheva-Etropolski

Travelling the world and getting to know new cultures and civilizations has enriched my life, but I always fall captive to Bulgaria's special charm. Every spot in my small home country has a beauty that will enchant the human heart.

Bulgaria is situated in southeastern Europe on the northeastern part of the Balkan Peninsula. Bulgaria is connected to the Black Sea and the Danube River. It finds itself in the transitional region between two climate zones, which gives it an exceptionally diverse climate. Its soil, vegetation and wildlife are also diverse. Nature has also given Bulgaria magical

sources of health and beauty. It has among the most abundant thermal water wealth in European countries. Indeed, its number of thermal deposits is the second highest in Europe. So far, more than 600 mineral springs have been discovered and studied in Bulgaria, and more than 80 per cent of them have healing properties and water temperatures from 20 to 101C.

The Thracians who inhabited these lands millennia ago, knew about the healing powers of mineral springs. In Roman times, some of the most famous balneotherapy facilities were established in Bulgaria. Whenever I am home, I try to enjoy the local natural resources and

always have an unforgettable and beneficial stay. The mineral water that can be found in, for example, Bankya, near Sofia, is famous for its healing properties. Other equally auspicious mineral springs can be found in Sandanski, Velingrad, Devin, Sapareva Banya and Hisarya. The modern spa centres that have been built around the hot springs attract visitors from all over the world because of their healing and recreational procedures — from mud therapy; chromotherapy, which uses colour and light; thalassotherapy, which uses sea water, to aromatherapy and massage.

Sandanski, located at the southwestern side of Pirin Mountain, is a favourite place of mine. Many travellers don't realize how picturesque the natural environment is in Bulgaria until they see Pirin National Park, with so much impressive nature. Its vicinity is abundant in cultural, historical and natural landmarks. The town is famous for its unique climate and mineral springs with temperatures of up to 83C. Many say a visit to these springs is the best natural treatment in Europe for bronchial asthma. The resort is also recommended for treatment of skin allergies. Just 24 kilometres from Sandanski is the museum town of Melnik. It is the smallest city in Bulgaria and home to some of the best wineries in the country. It boasts wines that are rich in taste and aroma.

The Bulgarian Black Sea resorts have their own natural resources that will serve up a perfect holiday. Their recreational compounds have a range of healing, rehabilitation and relaxation services. The city of Pomorie, for example, is a sanatorium resort based on the healing properties of the famous Pomorie mud. The wide beaches and modern mud therapy are things my husband and I like taking in while on vacation.

While it's nice to get away to smaller destinations, there's also no denying the appeal of vibrant, cosmopolitan cities. Sofia is not only the capital, but also the heart of Bulgaria. The city is surrounded by enchanting mountains. It has a 7,000-year-long history and is seen as an important crossroads on the Balkan Peninsula as well as a crafts and trade centre. Today, cultural life and the arts in Sofia are influenced by worldwide trends. A number of churches are worth seeing, including the most famous and impressive Boyana Church — a UNESCO World Heritage Site located on the outskirts of Sofia. According to UNESCO, this site is one of the most complete and perfectly preserved examples of Eastern European Medieval art.



The museum town of Melnik is Bulgaria's smallest city and home to some of the best wineries in the country. Melnik's wine is known for its rich flavour and aroma.



A total of 96 of Melnik's buildings are cultural monuments and its population is just 385 people.



Plovdiv is the second largest city in Bulgaria, selected as one of the European Union's two 2019 capitals of culture. It has unique cultural and historical heritage, which includes three main periods — Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Revival.



Bulgaria's spas that have been built around the hot springs attract visitors from around the world.

Bulgaria's museum villages and towns are also mesmerizing. There are many, and I will name just a few. Arbanasi is one of the most picturesque old villages in Bulgaria. It is located on a rocky plateau and presents a magnificent view towards the Medieval part of the old Bulgarian capital of Veliko Tarnovo. Arbanasi is famous for its distinctive residential architecture and churches, which abound with murals. The houses, more than 1,000, are astounding, with their rough exterior view and high stone fences. The churches, with their high solid outer walls, small windows and unbreakable iron-clad oak doors, are in keeping with the general architectural appearance of the village.

Bozhentsi is also a small village, an example of Bulgarian architecture from the Revival period. Its high stone fences, forged oak gates, narrow cobblestone streets, stone taps and bridges and small shops all have the unique feel of this heavenly spot. It is an ideal location for a quiet vacation, with good food and clear mountain air.

I always try to find time to visit Plovdiv, the second largest city in Bulgaria, selected as one of two 2019 European Union capitals of culture. It has unique cultural and historical heritage, which includes three main periods — Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Revival. Old Plovdiv is a special city, made up of archeological sites, galleries with interesting exhibits, ancient buildings, functioning temples with rich paint and wood-carving decorations, cosy cafés, excellent restaurants, beautiful art galleries, old and new houses with romantic yards and picturesque cobblestone streets.

I love the sea and Sozopol is the oldest town along the Bulgarian Black Sea. This town is a popular fishermen's village and big seaside resort. Numerous stone anchors and stocks dating from the First and Second Millenium BC have been discovered in Sozopol Bay. There is evidence of active maritime traffic since deepest antiquity. I like it because it is small enough for a casual stroll. I usually visit in September when the town hosts the Apollonia Arts Festival, during which visitors may enjoy many events, including plays, open-air concerts, chamber music, jazz concerts and films.

The ancient city of Nessebar, which is on UNESCO's World Heritage list, is another popular Bulgarian resort. The coastal town has a beautiful sandy beach and a rich historical and cultural heritage. Situated on a rocky peninsula on the Black Sea, the more-than-3,000-year-old site was originally a Thracian settlement. It is a lo-



The outstanding Rila Monastery is a good example of Bulgarian renaissance architecture and is a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It was built at its current location in the 14th Century.

cation where numerous civilizations have left tangible traces.

There are many holy monasteries and masterpieces of Bulgarian architecture, art and culture. I often return to Rila Mountain, the highest mountain in the Balkan Peninsula, and the outstanding Rila Monastery, a good example of the Bulgarian Renaissance and a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It was built at its present location in the 14th Century. The monastery library houses thousands of manuscripts and books, the oldest dating back to the 10th Century. An object of outstanding interest is the central wooden iconostasis with its wall of religious paintings and icons displayed in the main monastery.

Finally, I would invite you to Bulgaria to try traditional Bulgarian cuisine, which is colourful and rich in spices. In some places, recipes have been passed down from generation to generation and have remained unchanged for hundreds of years. The recipes include a large number of vegetables and herbs and spices, among which are garlic, black pepper, thyme, spearmint, savory, bay leaf, paprika, basil and oregano. Almost all Bulgarian dishes include parsley. Some dishes are cooked in clay pots and they vary by region. In

Bulgaria one can experience the taste of world-famous Bulgarian yogurt. Bulgaria produces rich white cheeses, herbal honey as well as very high-quality propolis (a substance bees make to seal their hives) with proven healing powers. Wine is integral to the history of Bulgaria and very much a part of Bulgaria's culture, customs and spirit. The country is divided into five wine regions, each with unique characteristics.

Finally, here are some Bulgarian gift ideas when you head back to your home country, for your family and friends: Rose oil products (with extract from the local variety *Rosa damascena*), items with hand-made embroidery, a piece of clay pottery, hand-woven lace and dolls in national folk costumes.

Wishing you happy travels.

Svetlana Stoycheva-Etropolaki is the ambassador of Bulgaria.

Tarator

This cold cucumber soup is a quick and easy Bulgarian recipe.

2 cucumbers
400 grams of plain yogurt

Crushed walnuts (to taste)
1 clove of garlic
Vegetable (olive) oil
A handful of dill, finely chopped



Preparation: Peel the cucumbers and cut them into small cubes. Put the yogurt in a bowl and stir, add the cucumbers and continue stirring. Gradually add ½ litre of cold water. More or less water may be needed, depending on the desired density. Use a pestle and mortar to crush the clove of garlic with some salt and add to the soup with the ground walnuts and finely chopped dill. Season with a little vegetable oil.

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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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Photographer Mike Beedell: "I met this fine-feathered fellow while ensconced in a bird blind and working on a documentary film on the return of wild turkeys to Ontario. With his bare blueish head and his red swinging wattles, the male wild turkey is an imposing bird in the bush. Only the males "gobble-gobble," while the females chirp and cluck. There is no monogamy in the turkey kingdom. The polygamous males will mate with as many females as they can get away with, and they also do not take responsibility for raising the chicks. So, essentially, the males are wonderfully colourful, strutting, libidinous, dead-beat dads. Wild turkeys prefer hardwood forests, open fields, grain-growing farms and marshy areas for their habitat. Here they can feed on berries, nuts and insects. Males weigh between 5 and 11 kilograms, while females range from 2.4 to 5.4 kilograms. Adult turkeys can boast as many as 7,000 feathers. Various wild turkey subspecies can be found in Mexico, the U.S., southern Ontario and southern Quebec."



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