

Diplomat &

INTERNATIONAL CANADA

FALL 20 | OCT-DEC



Shifting alliances

**OLD EMPIRES EXPAND
TO CHALLENGE BORDERS**



**PLUS
AFRICA'S STRONGMEN
DECIDE TO STAY
AND
HOW COVID IS SLOWING
THE FIGHT AGAINST TB**



ESTABLISHED 1989 CDN \$9.95

PM 40957514

Books on Nancy Pelosi, Donald Trump and MBS
The inherent white privilege in the **wine industry**
Art on show in Ottawa, ready for distanced visits
Consider travel to **Morocco** once COVID bans lift





OTTO'S  OTTAWA



DRIVING FORWARD.

BMW DIPLOMATIC SALES & ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.

STRONGER TOGETHER.

In the face of these challenging times, Otto's BMW and Canada's Official BMW Diplomatic Sales Centre are committed to ensuring that we continue to meet your individual needs and unique requirements as a member of our diplomatic community. Because to us, you are a very special customer.




EXCLUSIVE PRICING BENEFITS
PERSONAL CUSTOMER CARE

WORLDWIDE WARRANTY & SUPPORT
FINANCIAL FLEXIBILITY



Felipe Ochoa, Sales Manager • f.ochoa@bmwottos.ca

The name you've trusted for over 50 years.

Otto's BMW, 660 Hunt Club Road, Ottawa, ON K1V 1C1 • Tel.: +1 613 725 3048 • bmwottos.ca • bmwdiplomaticsales.ca   



Best Indian in Ottawa

Thali

136 O'Connor St. Ottawa, ON K2P 2G7
613.594.4545 | thaliottawa.ca

Sezlik.com

OTTAWA LUXURY PROPERTIES

#1 in Ottawa*

WATERFRONT



WINDING WAY - \$3,750,000



ROCKCLIFFE PARK - \$3,350,000



DUNROBIN SHORES - \$3,200,000



ROCKCLIFFE PARK - CALL FOR PRICE



ROCKCLIFFE PARK - \$2,225,000



MANOTICK - \$1,990,000



ROTHWELL HEIGHTS - \$1,950,000



LOWER TOWN - CALL FOR PRICE



ROCKCLIFFE PARK - \$1,579,000



NEW EDINBURGH/LINDENLEA - \$1,290,000



NEW EDINBURGH/LINDENLEA - \$1,089,000



BYWARD MARKET - \$970,000

Discover what working with Ottawa's best can do for you!



613.744.6697



Charles Sezlik, Dominique Laframboise, Sara Adam Sales Reps. and Trystan Andrews, Broker.

* CHARLES SEZLIK - #1 ROYAL LEPAGE REALTOR IN EASTERN ONTARIO, 43 +/- OFFICES, 1150 +/- REALTORS, BASED ON GROSS CLOSED COMMISSIONS 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019.



PUBLISHER
Donna Jacobs

PUBLISHER IN MEMORIAM
Neil Reynolds

EDITOR
Jennifer Campbell

ART DIRECTOR
Paul Cavanaugh

BOOKS COLUMNIST
Christina Spencer

FOOD COLUMNIST
Margaret Dickenson

STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER
Ülle Baum

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS
Adeyinka Asekun
Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock
Fen Hampson
Akylbek Kamaldinov
Patrick Langston
Souriya Otmani
Jen Pendergast
Robert I. Rotberg
Peter Simpson
Joe Varner
Orlando José Viera Blanco
Fadi Ziadeh

CONTRIBUTING PHOTOGRAPHERS
Mike Beedell
Larry Dickenson
Margaret Dickenson
James Park

BUSINESS MANAGEMENT
Jessie Reynolds O'Neil

WEBMASTER
Gilles Laberge, www.redrocket.ca

DISTRIBUTION
Pierre Pagé and Peixian Han

OFFICE LIAISON
Sharleen Tattersfield

ADVERTISING INQUIRIES
Contact Donna Jacobs, donnajacobs@gmail.com,
(613) 794-7654.

DIPLOMAT & INTERNATIONAL CANADA
SUBMISSIONS: *Diplomat & International Canada*
welcomes submissions. Contact Jennifer Campbell
editor@diplomatonline.com or (613) 291-2901.

ADDRESS: P.O. Box 1173, Station B
Ottawa, Ont., Canada K1P 5R2
Phone: (613) 794-7654
E-mail: info@diplomatonline.com
www.diplomatonline.com

Published by Sparrow House
Enterprises Inc.



Volume 31, Number 4

Table of CONTENTS

DIPLOMATICA |

Cartoons from around the world	8
Fen Hampson: COVID-19 is decimating the global economy	14
Questions Asked: Goldy Hyder — COVID's economic effects	18
Notes from the field: SchoolBOX's global educational programs	24
Good Deeds: Making masks for the masses	25
Trade Winds: Lebanon, Venezuela and Nigeria	26
Diplomatic Agenda: Kazakhstan's reform plans	30

DISPATCHES |

Border imbalances

Who's making friends with whom in the world	32
---	----

African leaders and their predilection for prolonged power	42
COVID's disruption in the fight against TB	46

DELIGHTS |

Books: On MBS, Nancy Pelosi and Donald Trump	50
Entertaining: Three recipes that celebrate autumn's bounty	56
The Art World: What's showing in Ottawa galleries	62
Wine: The white privilege in the wine industry	66
Envoy's Album: Photos from distanced diplomatic happenings	72

DIGNITARIES |

New arrivals in the diplomatic corps	70
--	----

DIPLOMATIC LISTINGS	76
--------------------------------------	----

DESTINATIONS |

Patrick Langston on summer adventures around Ottawa	80
Consider Morocco when travel restrictions lift	82
Photo Finish	90

COVER PHOTO: ISTOCK/DINN

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. The publisher assumes no responsibility for unsolicited material.

No part of this magazine may be reproduced in any form without written permission from the publisher. © 2007
ISSN 1190-8343 Publication Mail # 40957514. Return undeliverable Canadian copies to: Diplomat Magazine,
P.O. Box 1173, Station B, Ottawa, ON K1P 5R2

THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THE ARTICLES ARE THOSE OF THE AUTHORS.

INDIVIDUALLY WRAPPED MASKS



\$14.95 Box/50

3-PLY MEDICAL GRADE

CLEAR PLASTIC
MASK HOLDER
FREE WITH CASE
PURCHASE

LIMITED TIME ONLY!

 **ClearMask™**
Clarity. Comfort. Connection.

SAVE \$105.00

while quantities last

TOUCHLESS
FOOT PEDAL OPERATED
HAND SANITIZER STATION

NO BATTERIES, NO INSTALLATION
WORKS WITH ANY PUMP BOTTLE



 **Shield**

FREE SHIPPING!

USE PROMO CODE:

FREESHIPCANADA

AdvanTech Sterilizers, Inc

800-701-0186

www.advantechsterilizers.ca

ABBOTSFORD, BRITISH COLUMBIA



MEETS
ASTM LEVEL 3
REQUIREMENTS

MADE IN THE
USA!



The shifting global sands

When Israel, UAE and Bahrain announced they were normalizing relations, it was a bright spot in an otherwise grim landscape of escalating tensions in places such as Azerbaijan and Armenia, military buildups by China on its border with India and ominous moves on several fronts on the part of Russia.

To take stock of all of the shifting, defence expert Joe Varner broke it all down into regions by instigator and details his findings in our cover story. Like Russia, China is also appearing bolder in its actions in and around the South China Sea and in its dealings with neighbours such as Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Also in our Dispatches section, Africa columnist Robert I. Rotberg examines the situation in Africa when it comes to leadership on the continent. As he puts it, "Autocrats, even democrats, always find it hard to give up office — especially in Africa. Likewise, no matter how often the African Union condemns military coups, and sanctifies elected heads of state, soldiers oust politicians and refuse to stay in their barracks." The latter is the case in Mali, where the military orchestrated a coup through which president Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta, prime minister Boubou Cissé and the entire cabinet resigned from office. Others, such as the presidents of Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire, have decided their citizens need them so much, they'll go against the constitution and serve third terms even though each has already served two five-year terms.

We also feature the results of a global survey of tuberculosis and the ways in

which COVID-19 has distracted from the fight against the disease. Too often we in the West think of diseases such as TB and malaria as eradicated because they're not on our doorsteps, but they are alive and well elsewhere. The study found that 6.3 million people will develop TB by 2025, due to COVID-related diversions of health-care services, and another 1.4 million will die from TB.

Up front, Fen Hampson looks at how democracy is being imperilled by corruption, with such examples as Belarus and Ukraine, and he suggests an International Anti-Corruption Court, as some are calling for, could help alleviate some of these problems.

We also have my interview with Goldy Hyder, president and CEO of the Business Council of Canada. He spoke at length about how COVID has affected his members and what governments need to do to get their economies back on track.

In Delights, books columnist Christina Spencer writes on books about Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, U.S. House of Representatives Speaker Nancy Pelosi and U.S. President Donald Trump. The Trump book is from the point of view of former national security adviser John Bolton.

Food columnist Margaret Dickenson offers recipes that take advantage of autumn's bounty and wine writer Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock writes about the inherent white privilege in the wine industry. Arts writer Peter Simpson offers his take on the best shows to see in Ottawa, at a distance from others, of course.

Patrick Langston takes readers on a whirlwind tour of COVID-friendly activities in and around Ottawa.

Also in our Destinations section, Moroccan Ambassador Souriya Otmani offers a tour of her country's many charms — from the legendary Casablanca to the port of Tangiers, with many Moroccan delicacies in between.

Finally, a note about format: We are continuing to publish in a digital format only because most offices remain closed.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

CONTRIBUTORS

Fen Olser Hampson



Fen Hampson is a former director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA) (2000-2012). He is currently Chancellor's Professor and professor of international affairs at NPSIA. He has served as director of the Global Commission on Internet Governance (GCIG) and is the president of the World Refugee & Migration Council. He holds a PhD from Harvard University where he also received his master's degree. He is the author or co-author of 14 books and editor or co-editor of 30 other volumes. He is a frequent commentator and contributor in the national and international media.

Robert I. Rotberg



Robert I. Rotberg, president emeritus of the World Peace Foundation and founding director of Harvard Kennedy School's Program on Intrastate Conflict, is the author of *Things Come Together: Africans Achieving Greatness* (2020) and *Anticorruption* (2020). Among his many earlier books are *Africa Emerges* (2013), *The Corruption Cure* (2017), and *Canada's Corruption* (2018). He was a Senior Fellow CIGI and Fulbright professor at Carleton and Waterloo universities. He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences. His blog is *Africa & Asia: Key Issues*.

UP FRONT

In our cover story on the strategic alliances that are being created in the COVID-19 world, writer Joe Varner examines a number of geopolitical skirmishes — from Russia to China to the Middle East. Our photo suggests that the old world order is in turmoil as new alliances take shape. This story starts on page 32.



GOLDART

J E W E L L E R Y



722 BANK ST. 613.230.5333 GOLDART.CA

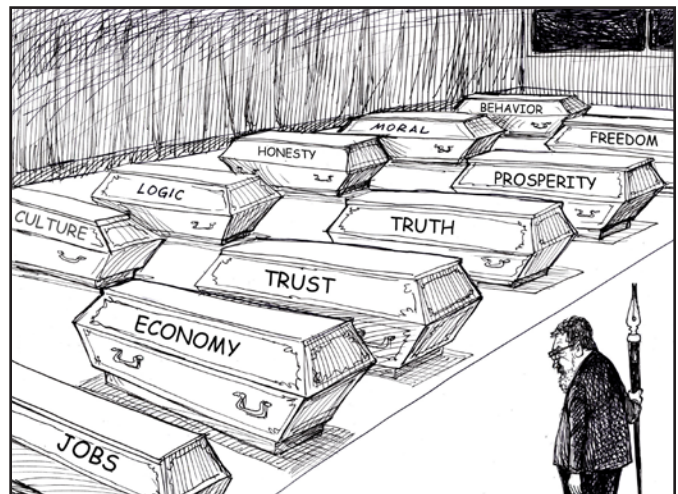
Political commentary from around the world



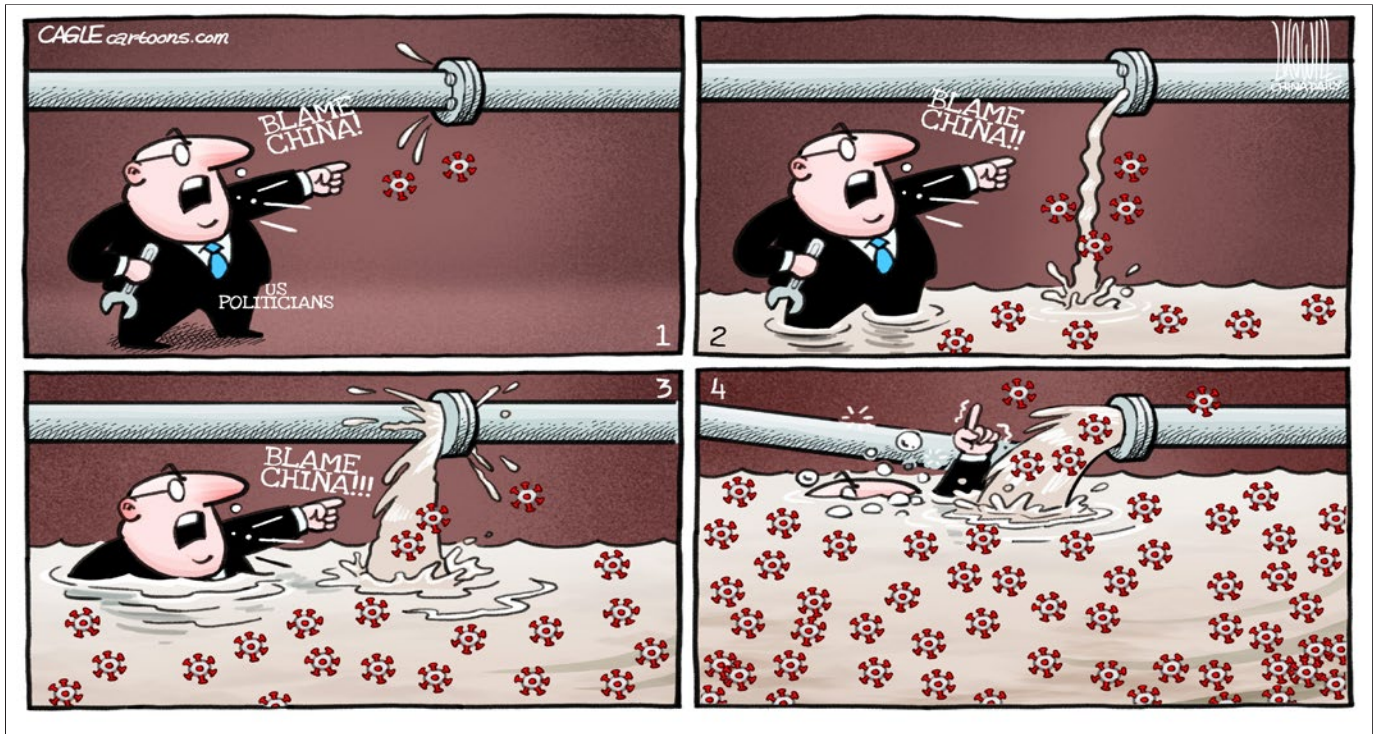
Casting ballots 2020 by Dave Granlund, *PoliticalCartoons.com*



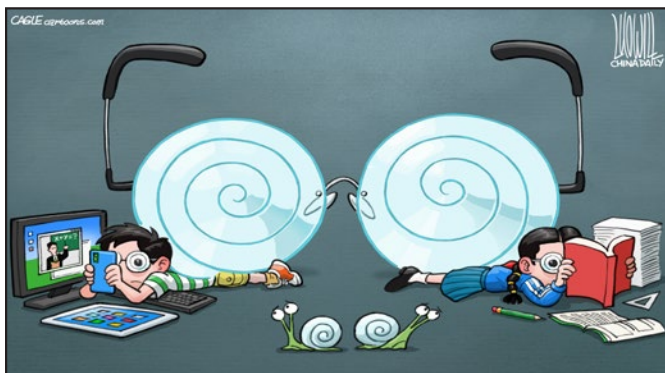
Climate change migration by Peter Kuper, *PoliticalCartoons.com*



Corona victims by Petar Pismestrovic, *Kleine Zeitung, Austria*



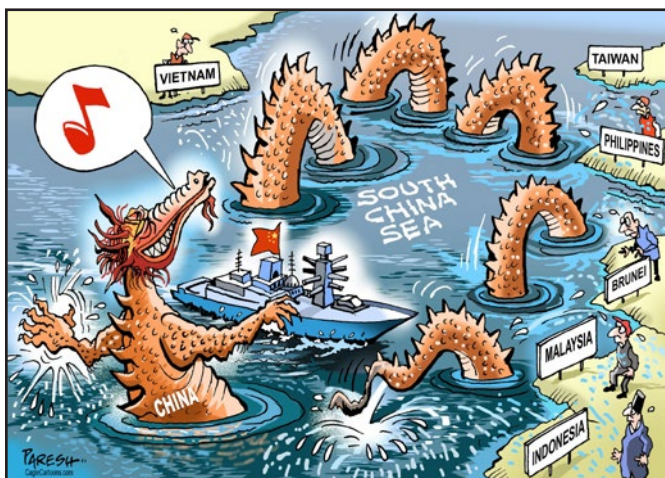
'Fixing' the problem by Luojie, *China Daily*, China



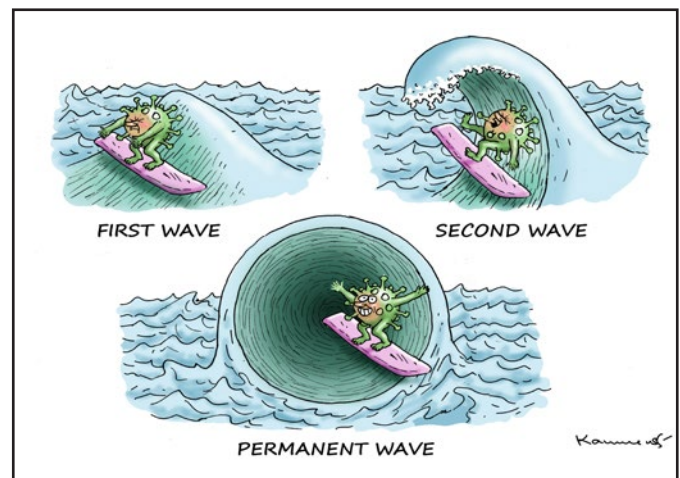
A looming crisis by Luojie, *China Daily*, China



Putin manspreader in Belarus by Schot, *De Volkskrant*, Netherlands



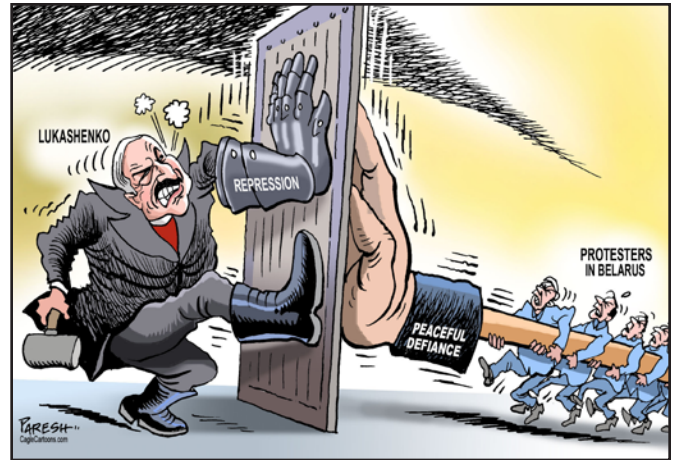
China expansion in sea by Paresh Nath, *U.T. Independent*, India



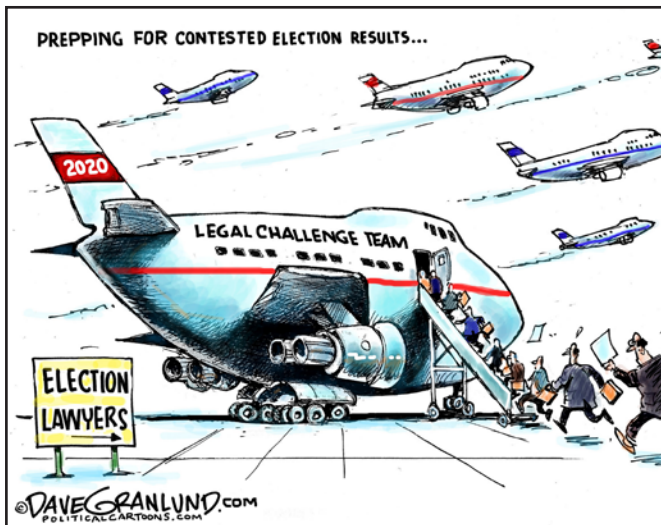
Permanent wave by Marian Kamensky, Austria



Freedom for Emad by Nikola Listes, Croatia, *PoliticalCartoons.com*



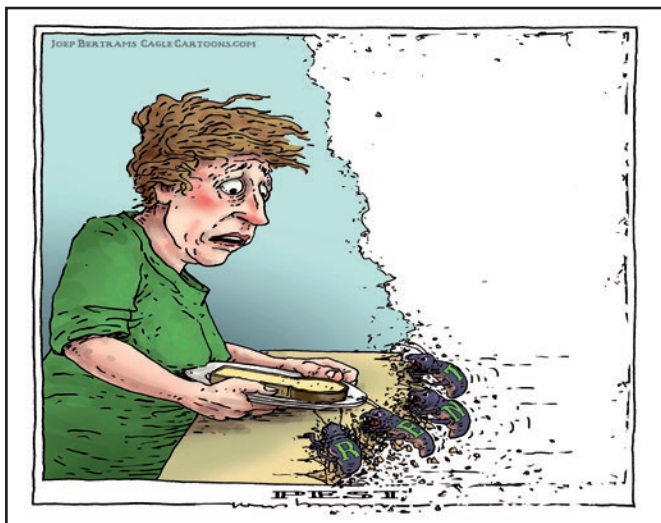
Lukashenko and protesters by Paresh Nath, *U.T. Independent, India*



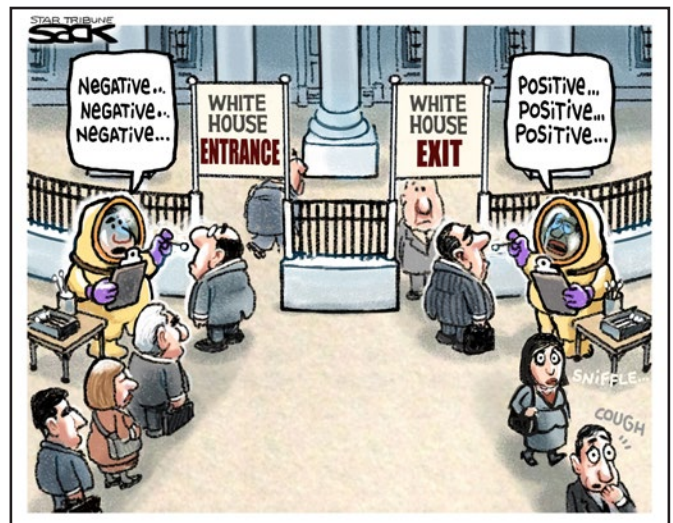
Election 2020 lawyers by Dave Granlund, *PoliticalCartoons.com*



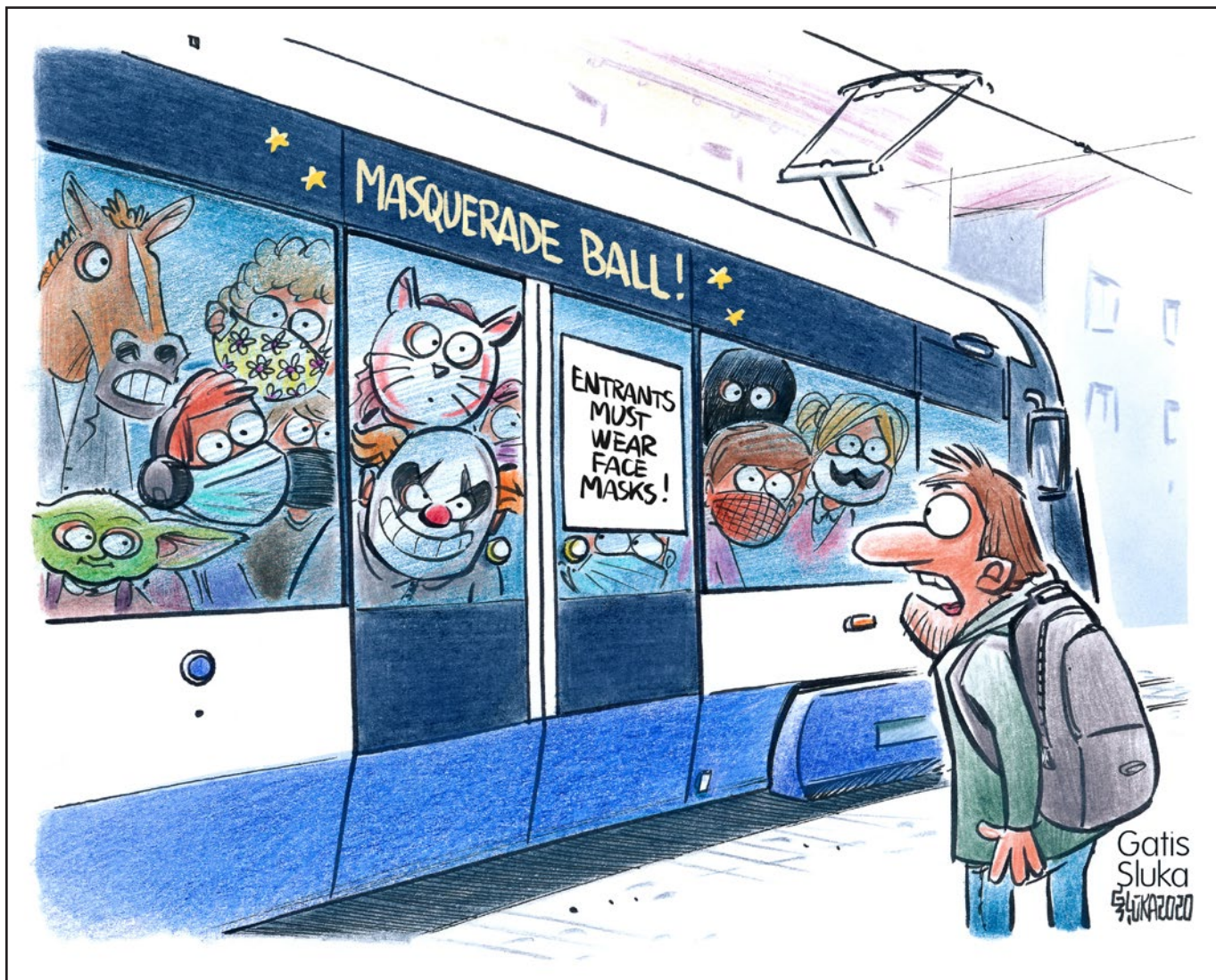
Russian-Syrian relationship by Emad Hajjaj, *Alaraby Aljadeed, London*



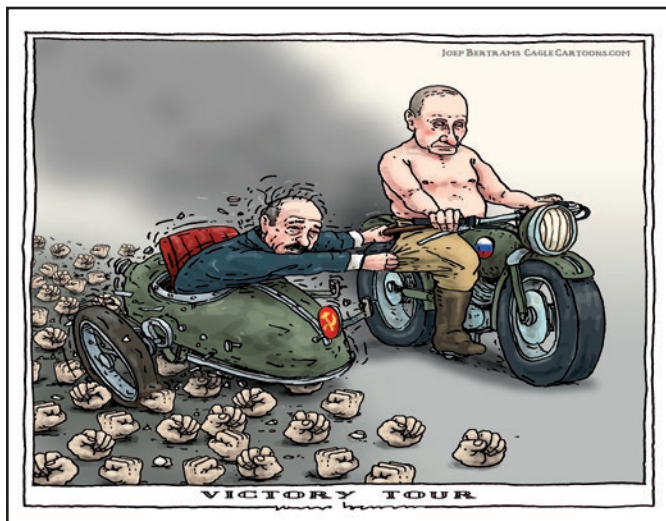
It's a pest by Joep Bertrams, Netherlands



White House hot zone by Steve Sack, *The Minneapolis Star-Tribune, U.S.*



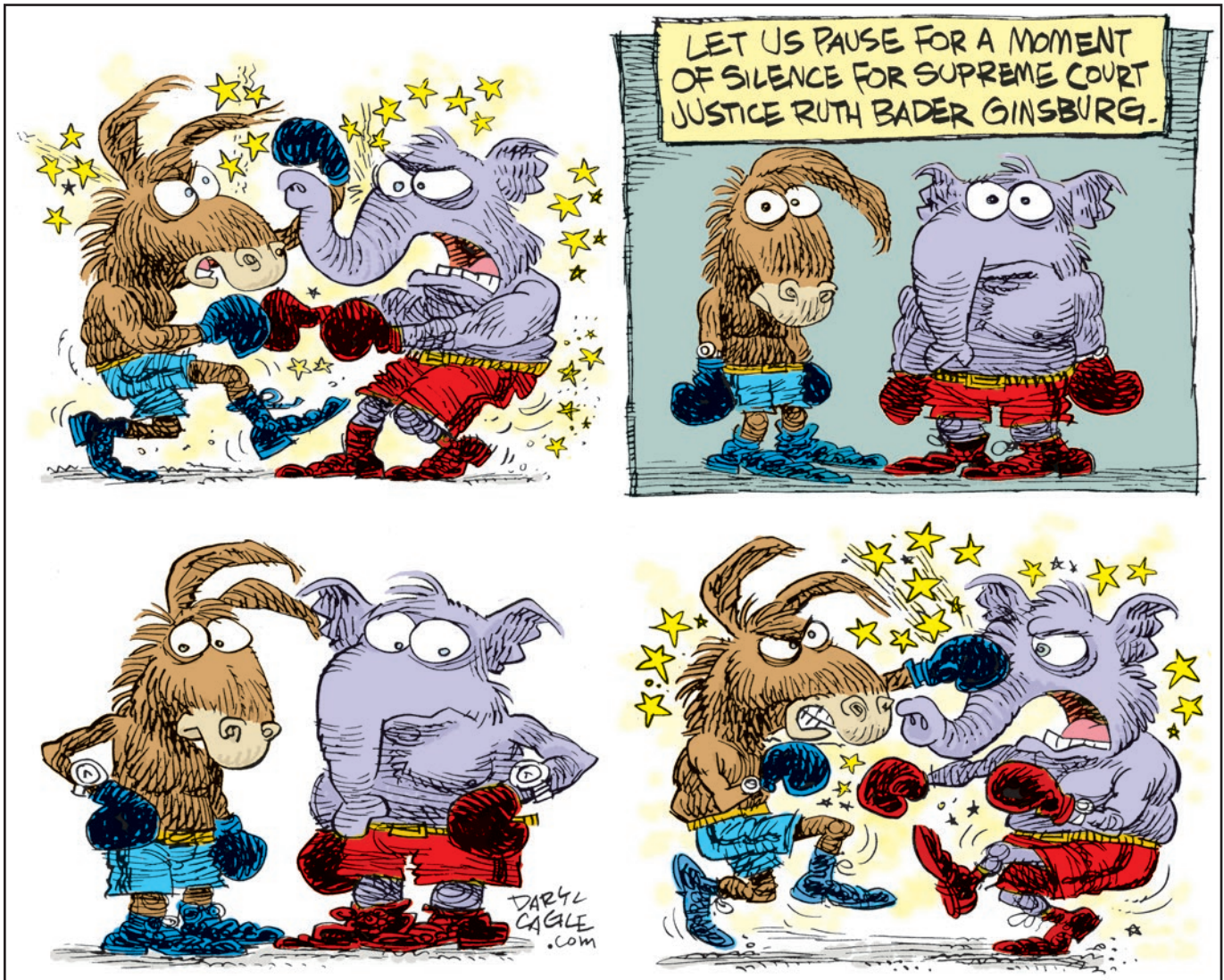
Masquerade ball by Gatis Sluka, Latvijas Avize, Latvia



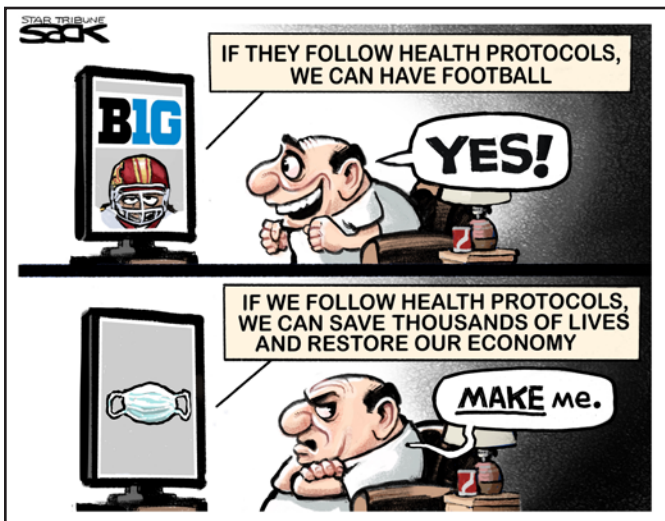
Victory tour by Joep Bertrams, Netherlands



The pandemic by Osama Hajjaj, Jordan



RBG Moment of silence — revised by Daryl Cagle, CagleCartoons.com



Masks and sports by Steve Sack, *The Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, U.S.



Battle of the candidates by Dario Castillejos, Oaxaca, Mexico



Huawei ban by Luo Jie, China Daily, China



Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict by Paresh Nath, U.T. Independent, India



Farm debt by Bart van Leeuwen, PoliticalCartoons.com



U.S. poll campaign by Paresh Nath, U.T. Independent, India



Medals for Putin by Nikola Listes, Croatia, PoliticalCartoons.com

Wholesale corruption causing a democracy deficit



Fen
Hampson

When Canadian foreign minister François-Philippe Champagne touched down in Beirut in late August to survey the damage from the disastrous explosion that killed hundreds, injured thousands and left hundreds of thousands homeless, he had a clear message for Lebanese President Michel Aoun: Canadian aid would be contingent on “real reforms” to the country’s political system.

The blast not only tore a gaping hole in a city that used to be the jewel of the eastern Mediterranean. It exposed the glaring incompetence, negligence and corruption of its dysfunctional political elites who had allowed a massive stockpile of highly volatile ammonium nitrate to sit unsecured in the city’s harbour, despite numerous warnings from lower-level officials about the dangers. The explosion has served to amplify calls for fundamental political change that started in October 2019 from citizens who are clearly frustrated with an entrenched political class and democracy that does not deliver for them.

Lebanon is an extreme example of the lethal threat that sectarianism, cronyism and endemic corruption can pose to countries and their political institutions, if left unchecked. But Lebanon is not unique. Many countries around the world confront similar problems with endemic corruption undermining political, social and economic stability.

Authoritarian regimes can fall when a fed-up public takes to the streets in revolt against their corrupt leaders. Belarus’s dictator, Alexander Lukashenko, is a case in point. Thousands joined protests in the country calling for his resignation following a disputed election involving massive voter fraud and manipulation by his government. Electoral malfeasance is not new in Belarus, but citizen frustration with how the government failed to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic has been a key factor. Bad governance and the effects of



In Ukraine, shown here during a pro-European Union demonstration in 2013, new democratic institutions that were established in the aftermath of successive revolutions continue to be imperilled by cronyism.

grand corruption are not found just in autocracies. The problem is just as acute for the world’s democracies, especially those that are fledgling and emergent. Many are being undermined by the pernicious and corrosive forces of corruption, which is causing the public to lose faith in their leaders and political institutions.

In August, Mali’s President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta, who was democratically elected in 2013, and then again five years later, was forced out of office in a coup led by members of his own military. Demonstrations in the country against his corrupt regime had been going on for many months following disputed legislative elections and growing unhappiness with his government’s handling of the country’s Islamic insurgency and basic issues such as policing, electricity, water and schools. Once considered a model of democracy in the region, Mali has lost that title even though the coup leaders committed themselves to setting up a civilian transitional government and holding new, free and fair elections. Notwithstanding the billions of foreign aid dollars and military assistance that have been pumped

into one of Africa’s poorest and most conflict-racked countries, including a total of \$1.6 billion from Canada alone, Mali still struggles with a highly dysfunctional government and fundamentally flawed political system that cannot deliver democratic accountability and public services that citizens deserve. The current crisis is directly affecting 4.3 million people or almost a quarter of Mali’s population. Since 2018, more than half a million of its citizens have been internally displaced. Continuing conflict is contributing to major food shortages, which have been exacerbated by lack of rain and growing desertification resulting from climate change. This can further destabilize the entire Sahel region, which is already grappling with the spread of violent religious extremism and governments beset by similar democratic deficiencies.

Ukraine is another example of a country where relatively new democratic institutions that were established in the aftermath of successive Orange (2004-2005) and Maidan (2014) revolutions continue to be imperilled by cronyism and corruption. A steady succession of political leaders in

the country has vowed to fight corruption and embark on a reformist path only to succumb to the power of the country's oligarchs (some of whom control its media) and Ukraine's Russian-backed old guard.

In a worrying trend, leading Ukrainian anti-corruption advocates have been subjected to political and violent physical attacks. This past summer, Vitaliy Shabunin, who is one of the country's most prominent voices for reform, had his home fire-bombed by arsonists. Although he and his young family were not at home at the time, the incident showed the real dangers to which outspoken activists are exposed. Ukraine's international partners and President Volodymyr Zelensky roundly condemned the arson attack.

As the Washington, D.C.-based think-tank, the Atlantic Council, observes, "Zelensky was propelled to power in spring 2018 on a populist wave that owed much to his outsider credentials and campaign trail promises to end the culture of corruption which most Ukrainians blame for the country's woes. Since winning the presidency [however], he has struggled to live up to this billing. Zelensky has repeatedly failed to act in defence of anti-corruption figures and has dismissed numerous reformers from senior government positions while appointing dubious figures with ties to discredited former administrations."

A comprehensive survey of the state of

democracy around the world — the *Global Barometer Surveys* — finds that democracies today are under unprecedented duress, and that no region is untouched

**WHAT'S MOST
TROUBLING IS THAT
SURVEYS OF PUBLIC
OPINION FIND:
"CITIZENS AROUND THE
WORLD ARE BECOMING
MORE CRITICAL OF
GOVERNMENT AND
POLITICAL LEADERS"
AND THAT GROWING
PERCEPTIONS OF
CORRUPTION ARE A
MAJOR FACTOR IN
THEIR LOSS OF TRUST.**

by the pressures of rising authoritarianism, populism and stagnation. Although the survey finds important variations in the factors that are contributing to what it refers to as the world's "democratic recession," a common theme affecting the level of trust citizens have in their democratic institutions is "perceptions of corruption." As the study underscores, "corruption is negatively correlated with... support for democracy across all regions," concluding that "Good governance is an essential prerequisite for democratic support." What is most troubling is that surveys of public opinion find: "Citizens around the world are becoming more critical of government and political leaders" and that growing perceptions of corruption are a major factor in their loss of trust.

Among the other interesting findings of the survey is that citizens, in general, "are more likely to think that corruption in the national government is more pervasive than in local/municipal government." The young, on average, are much more inclined to believe than senior members of society that government at all levels is corrupt. Interestingly, women in some countries such as China, Taiwan, Malaysia, South Africa and El Salvador are more likely to perceive corruption in local and national governments than men. Those with higher levels of educational attainment are most critical of corruption,



Belarusians call for the resignation of dictator Alexander Lukashenko following a disputed election involving massive voter fraud and manipulation by his government. Citizens are fed up, partly due to Lukashenko's poor handling of the COVID-19 crisis.



Belarus dictator Alexander Lukashenko's regime could fall now that the public has taken to the streets to revolt against his corrupt practices.

whereas those with little or no education are less so. On a cross-regional comparative basis, perceptions of corruption for all levels of government are highest in Latin America and the Arab world and somewhat lower in Africa and East Asia.

According to the World Bank, endemic corruption also poses a major threat to poverty alleviation and to prosperity, and disproportionately affects the poorest members of society, who typically pay the highest percentage of their income in bribes to unscrupulous officials. The World Economic Forum (WEF) estimates that corruption, bribery, theft, tax evasion and other illicit financial flows cost developing countries US\$1.26 trillion per year. That is more than half of Canada's GDP and "is enough money to lift the 1.4 billion people who get by on less than \$1.25 a day above the poverty threshold and keep [them] there for at least six years," according to the WEF. And Western countries are not exempted from the corruption scourge. The countries of the European Union have collectively "lost" \$132 billion annually to corruption.

The pandemic the world is currently facing may also increase levels of corruption and accelerate the "democratic deficit" as public health systems are exploited by profiteers and rapacious of-

ficials who are using the crisis as a pretext to short-circuit democratic institutions and curtail civil liberties. Public health systems generally present a risk for rampant theft and exploitation anyway. In a pre-COVID study, the U.S. National Academy of Sciences found that, on an annual basis, roughly \$455 billion of the \$7.35 trillion that is spent globally on health care is lost to fraud and corruption. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 45 per cent of citizens in a global survey believed the health sector to be "corrupt" or "very corrupt." The WEF warns that as governments around the world pour millions of dollars, if not billions, into the health sector to combat the pandemic, corruption in the health sector will grow exponentially.

To address this problem, the WEF is urging the formation of "a coalition of civil society, business leaders and dedicated government officials and funders to strengthen government accountability and effectiveness and change the trajectory of this pandemic and our futures." However, such a coalition should also target its efforts at promoting wider institutional reforms to address other chronic sources of corruption. These include corruption in state-owned enterprises, "grand corruption" in government procurement of

goods and services (public procurement accounts for more than a third of GDP in many advanced industrial economies and the figure is higher in many developing and emerging market economies) and corrupt practices to secure wealth in natural resource exploitation.

There have been notable advances in some countries to meet the anti-corruption challenge. Ukraine established its own High Anti-Corruption Court in 2018, under strong pressure not just from local activists, but also from the United States, the International Monetary Fund and G7 countries, including Canada. Such efforts followed the earlier actions of the reform-minded Maidan government to publicly name and shame corrupt judicial officials. The court officially began operations last year and is supported by Ukraine's anti-corruption bureau and specialized anti-corruption prosecutor's office. To be effective, however, these bodies must have the political will to enable them to operate independently with sufficient financial resources and trained staff, access to information and a role for Parliament in taking action on their findings.

After much debate and public pressure, the European Union created a European public prosecutor's office in 2017, which is scheduled to begin operations by this

year's end. The office will have the authority to "investigate, prosecute and bring to judgment crimes against the EU budget, such as fraud, corruption or serious cross-border VAT [tax] fraud." (The EU's existing bodies lack the necessary authority to carry out criminal investigations and prosecutions.) An International Anti-Corruption Court, as some are now urging, could also serve as a useful complement to these efforts.

Functioning, resourced and professional legislatures are crucial for democratic accountability. Support should also be directed at strengthening legislative competence and oversight. Key priorities are: holding the executive branch of government accountable and ensuring that the management of public accounts is fiscally transparent and that there are proper avenues for legislative and public participation in public finance oversight.

Ultimate political accountability rests with those who hold elected office. Strong and effective parliamentary institutions, which have the legislative authority and competence to oversee how public funds are spent, will serve as the best defence against corruption, and help restore citizens' faith in their political institu-

tions and leaders. Accordingly, legislators need the requisite knowledge and training, along with skilled staff and the right organizational structures to exercise their oversight functions and serve the public interest. Relevant examples of such efforts include, for example, multi-stakeholder training on anti-corruption by the office of the co-ordinator of Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe in Kazakhstan or the mentoring efforts of the Commonwealth Secretariat in different countries to develop anti-corruption legislation. Finally, though among the most mistrusted institutions in many countries, political parties are an essential component of a competitive, rules-based democratic system. Support for policy-based, professional political parties that can channel public frustrations and aspirations is a very difficult task, but it can and should be done and not just by countries like the United States, which has provided such assistance through its National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute. We also need "democracy-sensitive" response and post-COVID recovery assistance as a recent report by Sweden's IDEA Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance,

which was supported and endorsed by Canada's pro-democracy Parliamentary Centre, urges.

Unfortunately, in recent years, it has not been fashionable in development circles to support the strengthening of legislative institutions, especially in their oversight roles and responsibilities as Canada's own overseas development assistance policies, which are focused *inter alia* on gender equality, human dignity, environment and climate action and various forms of "inclusive governance," attest. Further, many international partners judge support for political party development as too risky. But as painful experience in Lebanon, Mali, Belarus, Ukraine and a long list of other countries underscores, good money will be chasing bad unless there is a corresponding effort by donors to focus their spending and capacity-building efforts on the core foundational requisites of "good governance" and to deliver more than stern lectures to corrupt leaders in countries where democracy has failed.

Fen Osler Hampson is Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University and a board member of the Parliamentary Centre.

Posted? I KNOW



CORPORATE & INTERNATIONAL MOVES

Follow me on social media:









Teresa Whitmore

LOCAL SALES REPRESENTATIVE & INTERNATIONAL REALTOR®

📞 613.899.4776
☎ 613.236.5959





TeresaWhitmoreHomes.com

Teresa@TeresaWhitmoreHomes.com

Goldy Hyder, CEO, Business Council of Canada

Immigration, trade, investment: The ingredients for growth



Before joining the Business Council of Canada in 2018, Goldy Hyder was president and CEO of Hill + Knowlton Strategies Canada, a communications firm. Prior to that, he was director of policy for former prime minister Joe Clark. A regular commentator in the Canadian media, he hosts the *Speaking of Business* podcast, which invites innovators, entrepreneurs and business leaders to share their views. The council, founded in 1976, is a non-profit, non-partisan organization representing the chief executives and heads of 150 leading Canadian businesses that employ 1.7 million Canadians. Its membership spans every major industry across the country. Hyder sat down with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell, in September.

Diplomat magazine: What are the top three issues facing Canada's economy and can you offer a solution for each?

Goldy Hyder: I think the very first thing that's critical for not just the Canadian economy, but for the global economy, is this next period of what I call co-existing with COVID. This is the new normal until it isn't. The health priorities really trump all else because the best stimulus for your economy is a healthy population and a population that's mobile and feels safe to go out, to travel, to shop, to spend money. That's only going to come about if we take care of the health issue, first and foremost.

Second, there's the reality of a couple of things related to the economy. One is that the virus definitely has a socio-economic discriminatory feature about it. It is hurting those who are at the lower end. That's why we supported our government's response to effectively put a floor for the collapse of the individual so you don't have people in the streets or people wondering where the

next meal is coming from. We support that and we congratulated the government for moving pretty quickly to get that done. That's helped the individual, without a doubt. But we also are now seeing the consequences of those businesses that have been distressed as a result of not just the virus, but more important, following the rules of the land created as a result of the virus — quarantines, border closures, restrictions on mobility and transport and travel, right from airlines to public transport.

There are a number of distressed industries and sectors that are still going to need support. It's great we did what we could for the individual, but we also need to do it for those businesses. You've got airlines, retail sector, hospitality and tourism. In many ways, a lot of this stems from [the] strategy to come out of the virus. How do you come out of it in a way in which you're able to leverage the resources — human and otherwise — that you had before? You ask yourself, 'How important is it that we have a national airline or two? How important is it that we have a tourism industry, when you consider that 90 per cent of Canada lives within two hours of the U.S. border, where most of your tourists come from?' We've got very strong relationships with Asia, where a lot of our tourists come from. One of my members is Rocky Mountaineer. I'd encourage any diplomat to take advantage of that when it's open again. It's a luxury train from Calgary to Vancouver with a stop in Jasper and allows you to experience the majesty of the Rocky Mountains. We need [businesspeople like] them to make it. If you're complying with the rules that say you can't generate revenue for your business as a result of the policies, something's got to give. I think it's got to give on the fairness question. Is it fair that companies that are following all the rules are now at a point where their very existence is at stake? So I think government has to deal with it.

For the third one, I would just look a little forward because I think that there will be positives and negatives coming out



"The virus definitely has a socio-economic discriminatory feature about it. It is hurting those who are at the lower end."



"[COVID]'s forcing a lot of people to look at their business and it's a tremendous opportunity — especially for small business."



"If you produce the vaccine in country X or Y, it's of no use to you if you don't share it with countries A to Z."

of this virus that we need to be careful of. I consider COVID to be yet another disrupter. On the one hand, it's been an accelerator for business to get to where they were going. What might have been three to four years away is now happening in three to four months. It's forcing a lot of people to look at their business and it's a tremendous opportunity — especially for small business. Many have just been targeting a local audience, but the market now is effectively the whole world. You can go anywhere in the world and sell your product from your basement. There's a resilience streak in us and that's been helpful.

There's also an innovative streak in us — how quickly did our members adjust and start the process of dealing with the new world order? How many have pivoted very quickly to manufacturing PPEs? From multinationals like CAE, Linamar, Magna — all of them produced ventilators and we've got 3M making the masks. Dani [Reiss, CEO] at Canada Goose, well known around the world for fur and winter jackets, is now making medical PPE attire for our health professionals. [COVID] showed an innovation ability. These things will serve us well coming out of this. We've seen that our governments can move quickly, so maybe regulatory reform won't take 10 years. Maybe we can get them to act faster on some things. We've seen that our small businesses can be resilient and take advantage of our technology. Our large businesses can pivot and really respond to the challenge of the time and rise to the occasion. I think all of those are very positive things, in a very

difficult situation.

The flip side of that has more to do with human nature. I worry about the rise of populism around the world. I worry about the rise of xenophobia around the world. I'm concerned about [adequate] support for trade and investment and I'm particularly concerned [if we are not] maintaining support for immigration. Not just for Canada, but for many countries around the world, those are the three pillars for their economy, the three legs of the stool: trade, investment and immigration. We need to make sure our citizens know that we understand their short-term anxiety and why they feel the weight that they do, but they need to know that the path back to prosperity is paved on the road of immigration, trade and investment. There's just no two ways about it, particularly for Canada, whose history is all of those three things. I think we have to be conscious of that.

The virus is a call to the global community to get its act together. My wife saw something on the internet way back in March and, as a person of faith, it's just stuck with me. The saying she saw was 'Are we the virus and is COVID the vaccine?' I found that extremely profound. I can't stop thinking about it because I see people treat each other better, in terms of caring for each other. I see people helping people. This has been a great equalizer, as my friends in the labour movement — [Unifor's] Jerry Dias and [Canadian Labour Congress'] Hassan Yussuff and others — point out to me. It's interesting how the front-lines are labour workers and they're the ones who kept things go-

ing. The hashtag 'we're in this together' needs to be more than a hashtag. It needs to be a philosophy, an ideology and the learning that comes out of this.

DM: So what does all that add up to for your work?

GH: I think it's also a case for globalization and multilateralism, both things that have been on trial over the past four years, coinciding with the U.S. election. But this is a strong opportunity to make a case for them. If you produce the vaccine in country X or Y, it's of no use to you if you don't share it with countries A to Z. The value of the innovation is the sharing. It's a great reminder that from a health perspective, the solution will be truly multilateral. An economic argument is how do you come out of a global recession by yourself or with just one or two other countries that you do business with? The truth is that we all have to get out of this, and to do that, we've got to pay attention to the global challenges that we face, that brought us into this recession.

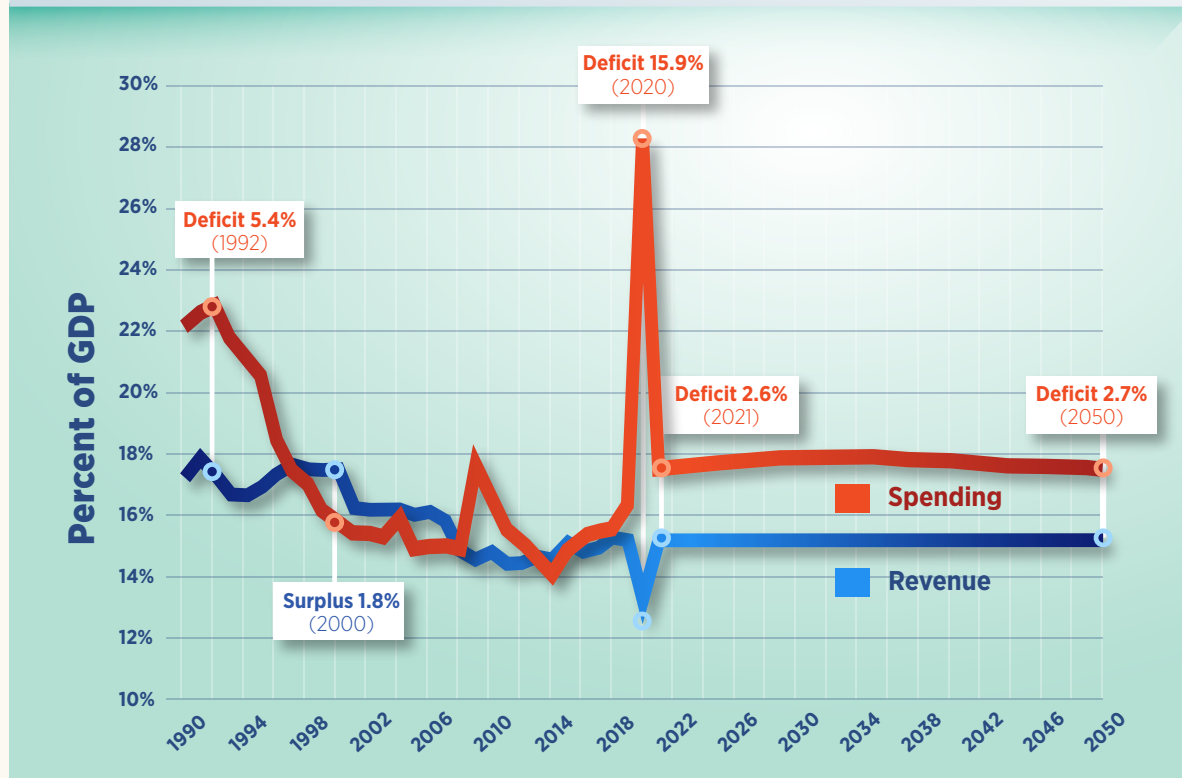
There are a lot of opportunities. As businesses, we hope this creates some momentum for a modernized, rules-based approach to trade and globalization around the world. Led by my friend Jim Carr, the Ottawa Group has been instrumental in keeping the flame on multilateralism and rules-based order alive and well. I think it's extremely important now, more than ever.

DM: Are we up for it?

GH: When people ask me what keeps me



Without a change in policy, the federal budget will not be balanced for at least 30 years



The B.C.-based Fraser Institute reports that without a federal policy change, the federal budget will not be balanced for at least 30 years. The above graph illustrates that point, from the report, *Canada's Aging Population and Long-Term Projections for Federal Finances — 2020 Update* by Jake Fuss and Steven Globerman. The Fraser Institute's *Prime Ministers and Government Spending, Updated 2020* report finds that total per-person spending in 2020 will reach \$13,226, including \$3,920 per Canadian in COVID-related spending. This represents a 46.6-per cent increase over the previous highest spending level reached in 2019 of \$9,041. Crucially, 2020's total program spending, after adjusting for inflation, is 50.7 per cent higher than per-person spending during the 2009 recession, and 74.5 per cent higher than the highest point of per-person spending during the Second World War.

up at night, that's the answer I give. Are we, as humans, up for this enormous challenge? I go back to that saying my wife saw. If it lasted three weeks or three months, I'm pretty sure we'd go back to regularly scheduled programming. But we might be in it for three years. Now the question becomes, are we going to change or go back?

My master's thesis was actually about policy-making in times of crisis. And of the conclusions I reached, one is don't do it. You're so influenced and jaded by the moment that you think the exception is going to be the rule. But no, big picture, this is an exception; it's an interruption. It's inconvenient, it's frustrating, but it's a small picture of your life and the life of your nation. No. 2 was the field is littered

with futurists who have, in crisis after crisis, predicted that things are forever going to change. I believe very strongly that that is a gross overstatement. What happens is the pendulum swings a little this way and a little that way, but over time, it settles right back into this area called human nature. We're going to hug again, we're going to fly again, we're going to cruise again and we're going to be at offices and do lunches again. We'll have galas again and yes, we're going to have conferences again. Human nature wins out. Same thing when it comes to the issue of trade. There are a lot of predictions out there about on-shoring and near-shoring and how it's not going to be the same again. Well, did you know it takes 1,400 parts to make a ventilator? Do you think any one

country has all 1,400 parts?

So that trade resiliency will be there. The other thing that will drive it is human nature and consumer behaviour. So long as people want the best product at the best price, we're going to have trade. If people want to pay \$5,000 for their iPhone, maybe it can be manufactured in some other country, but if they want to pay \$1,000, there are only a handful of countries that can do it at that price and do it well. That's not to say I don't believe diversification will happen. That will continue and probably accelerate as a result of the uncertainty that we've experienced with some of the larger trading partners.

DM: You've touched on this a bit already, but would you share some examples of

how Canadian businesses have managed — which have fared the best and the worst?

GH: This is truly a case of the good, the bad and the ugly. There have been a lot of companies who have been able to do a lot of good for the country's economy. If you think of our telecommunications companies, for the longest time it was a toss-up for Canadians about whether they liked their telcos or their banks less. Now they appreciate both of them a heck of a lot more. That technology that allowed them to work from home and stay in touch with their families and to maintain relationships with their colleagues was [essential.]

You look at the banks. It was their decision to put in place relief on mortgage payments. These are actions that not enough CEOs get credit for. In the case of telcos, many are focused on connecting rural Canada to the rest of Canada. They're focused on Indigenous connectivity because they see opportunities for Indigenous groups to build businesses and take advantage of education online. Our logistics companies — people who made sure those packages arrived at your door — these are all companies that did a good job and, by the way, many of these companies were actually adding employees.

If you think about our essential services, like grocery, lots of people made sure things were in their aisles. Setting aside the surge on toilet paper purchases, the fact is Canadians, for the most part, could get what they needed at the grocery store.

We have to credit our border officials who managed the flow of our essential goods and services coming in and out of borders. Full credit to them.

Most important, I see a tremendous linkage with the supply chain. I feel like, for the last six months, I've been an advocate for small business interests more than big business interests. Many large businesses are able to fight their way through this, but we worry about the integrity of the supply chain. Is the caterer there when I come back? Is the bakery there, the coffee shop, the favourite restaurant? We're worried about that, so that's why we've put so much into our [recommendations for a] responsible restart to our economy.

Then there's a group of companies, from airlines to transportation writ large, tourism, hospitality. And let's not forget our energy industry, which is essential for a wide range of reasons. It's another punching bag for many and wrongly so. It's one of the most innovative and resil-



Hyder: "We have to credit our border officials who managed the flow of our essential goods and services coming in and out of borders. Full credit to them."

ient industries that we have and one of the most high-demand industries around the world. They faced a double whammy or triple whammy — a perfect storm if there ever was one. The barrel was selling at a negative number, for God's sake. But they're persevering. They haven't lost any of their commitments to the need to be leaders. We can't forget about that part of our economy because it's critical to our recovery.

We need to have a safe and responsible restart to our economy. We can do this — we're compliant, and we'll listen to what people tell us to do.

DM: What numbers do you have on the costs of the lockdown so far?

GH: The easiest metric right now is the deficit. It's now at approximately \$380 billion.

Overall, we're keeping an eye on that deficit. We believe very strongly that any government needs to have an actual plan, a growth strategy and that inherent in that is the need for fiscal anchors. What is an acceptable level of deficit and debt? If I have a caution for governments around the world, it is this: Yeah, we have a low interest rate environment today, but if you don't know your history, you're doomed to repeat it. The fact is our global solution to our economic crisis is inflation. We will ultimately need to inflate our way out

of this mess. To have inflation, you need growth; to have growth, you need a plan.

DM: How much longer do you expect government will continue to support business?

GH: I'm extremely empathetic. I've had these conversations with our government, on the moral hazard here. As I said to one minister, 'I'm glad it's you having to make those decisions and not me because it's very, very hard.' We also know this can't just go on forever.

I think the description that I've used is it's a funnel. At the beginning, [we threw] everything at it because we had no idea what we were dealing with and we knew that we don't want chaos in our streets or anarchy. We wanted to get ahead of this to the best of our ability. At the end of the day, governments were fairly quick to respond.

Businesses did their part. I know of many employers — members of mine — who kept their payrolls going, even when there wasn't work. They did a lot of things. We have a link on our website where we tracked all of the good things businesses did to mitigate harm and prevent the chaos no one wants to see. I applaud government and business leaders working with labour leaders who were able to make sure Canadian people were protected and as safe as possible. As time



At the start of the pandemic, grocery workers became front-line workers and heroes for keeping the shelves stocked and food supplies moving.

passes, the funnel narrows. We peaked at 16 per cent unemployment. It's down to about 10 per cent now. It might go up a little bit, but I doubt it will go past 15 per cent. So let's narrow cast on who needs the help — individuals and businesses. If there's a criticism I can offer, we would have preferred a more sector-focused response from a business perspective as to who really needs the help. Even in the case of individuals. We needed to take less of a blanket approach and we certainly need to do that now.

The fiscal risks that are out there, from downgrades to rising inflation to managing other crises that might emerge — we have restricted our capacity. My first advice to our new finance minister when she called was very simple — recognize we are in the crisis, in a period of tremendous risk and uncertainty for an undefined period of time and the best advice I can give you is to preserve fiscal capacity to deal with the actual crisis. I think they've come around to that now. We're happy that we were able to influence and have government come around to that because it's a very legitimate, real, honest concern. Just driving the country into massive deficit and debt — that's unsustainable practice

on the part of any country, no matter what its fiscal situation is. Even if it can mount up, as the U.S. has done, unheard-of deficits.

Never underestimate the collective wisdom of the Canadian public. We're a smart group of people. Be honest with us, tell us what you need us to do, and we'll do it. We will get through it together.

DM: Say support stopped soon, do you have an estimate on how long it'll take to pay back the debts we've incurred so far?

GH: In conversations I've had with my members — and you'd have a good sense of who they are, they're half of the Toronto Stock Exchange — our view is this is no time for austerity. No one I've spoken to in business is advocating austerity. This is a time for what we describe as intentional accretive spending, which comes from a plan. Make the spending that helps those who are truly in need of support for their very livelihoods.

Make sure that when you are spending on programs, that it addresses long-standing competitiveness and productivity issues in the country. Let's invest in a skills and training agenda and do so in partnership with business and labour and others.

Let's invest in our technology. Let's make sure Canadians are connected from coast to coast to coast. And give equal opportunity for people in rural Canada and Indigenous communities and women starting businesses. Let's invest in childcare. Childcare is a great example of an accretive investment that allows us to address an actual issue. The issue is that we're aging, we're seeing a dramatic decline in immigration because of COVID. Many people have taken early retirement.

It would be remiss of me not to point out the importance of innovation from a climate perspective. No one is opposing or discounting climate change anywhere that I know of, except maybe a few places down south. We all get it. Let's invest in R&D. Hydrogen could be a big solution, but it's not imminent. When can we have an adult conversation about nuclear again?

As governments look at what to do, Job 1 is to focus on the actual crisis and keep us safe. Invest in health care, PPEs, vaccine research. At the same time, help those who desperately need the help because they're unemployed or have no chance to come back and then let's make sure our spending is done wisely. Our kids are

already in debt. Now we're spending our grandchildren's money.

DM: You've made international outreach a big part of your mandate. But should we be looking globally when there are so many domestic problems?

GH: Yes, we should. A big part of my job that I thoroughly enjoy and miss



As the pandemic hit, Canada Goose pivoted from a supplier of winter parkas to a supplier of PPE for front-line workers.

immensely is the interaction with the diplomatic community in Ottawa. It's very important to our members and it's very important to Canada. What I have learned from them about COVID management on their side has been instrumental in helping us shape our communications and our narrative. Here's what they did in Denmark for schools; here's how Taiwan was able to not lock down its economy; here's what Korea is doing on the issue of mobility; here's how Japan handled the outburst in Tokyo. There's a lot to learn from each other. I'm [eager] to get back to more robust engagement with our diplomatic community.

DM: Where should Canada be focusing on new trade agreements — those that are in negotiation and those that haven't started?

GH: My answer might surprise you. I feel that governments have more than done their job in building the trade opportunities that are necessary for Canadians to do business around the world. That's not to say 'don't do any more.' Sure, if you want to sign a deal with the U.K., let's get that done. If we want to add some countries to the CPTPP, let's be open-minded. I know Thailand and others have keen interest in joining. But the big fish — with China and India — are a long road. They already have been, but you can't ignore the soon-to-be largest economy nor the

soon-to-be largest-populated country. We've got to be mindful of that. But the truth is, I look to business leaders in our country and I say to them, 'The ball is in our court now. You've been taking advantage of the low-hanging fruit, which is NAFTA, and that makes a lot of sense.' It's going to continue to be a large part of our trade relationship, but I think NAFTA should act as more of a bloc. The world is breaking up into trading blocs. And I look to existing agreements. The opportunities that CETA and CPTPP represent for Canadian businesses is enormous.

DM: I keep reading that globalization and the free market are dead. You don't agree?

GH: As I said, this disruption is a reminder of just how interconnected we are — our health and our economies. I don't know a better poster child for globalization and multilateralism than to say 'Newsflash! No one country or region is getting out of this until we all figure it out together.'

DM: What work are you doing with the World Trade Organization?

GH: I'm the co-chair of Canada's contribution on the WTO committee.

DM: How would you address our productivity issue in Canada?

GH: Canada has had the luxury of geography, but it's also been a curse. We've been too complacent and a little too comfortable over the course of 150 years. As I like to say, 'For 75 years, the Brits had us, for 75 years the Americans had us. Now nobody has us. Mom and Dad have thrown us out of the house. We have to figure out what we want to be when we grow up and that requires a concerted collaborative effort in building a strategy for growth.' When you do that, you'll discover there are several self-made issues — regulatory burdens, interprovincial trade barriers, 13 securities regulators. There are things that we've done to ourselves. Now we need to fix them. Let's make sure we use this moment to address some of those things because the sky is the limit for Canada in terms of economic growth and prosperity. Let's leverage our strengths: pro-immigration, pro-trade and pro-investment. Those are the ingredients that are necessary for growth. ▢

**Local Service in Ottawa since 1988
with Quality Flags, Banners and Flagpoles.**



Flags of All Nations • Friendship Pins • Flag Repair & Rental Services... and more.

THE FLAG SHOP®

There's a lot more to us than flags!

Tel: (613) 789-5456 / Toll Free: (800) 556-3524

838 Bank St. Ottawa, ON ottawa@flagshop.com www.flagshop.com

SchoolBOX: With education, anything is possible

By Jen Prendergast

Like many young children in Nicaragua, Robinson didn't like going to school. He did not want to learn in a dirty and structurally unsound classroom, and often found it difficult to follow what the teacher was saying. When a group of international volunteers with the Canadian charity SchoolBOX first met Robinson in 2010, he was a shy and withdrawn 11-year-old who had dropped out of school three years before, without having graduated from kindergarten.

The SchoolBOX team could tell Robinson had a desire to learn and the potential for an incredible future, so the volunteers kept on trying to engage him. Ronald Chavarría began mentoring him and with the encouragement of teams of local and international staff, Robinson re-enrolled in classes and began to work his way through elementary and high school.

A full 10 years on, Robinson is a young man with a bright future. He is in his fourth year of high school and plans on graduating next year. He dreams of studying digital marketing or medicine. They're big dreams, considering he was out of school a few short years ago. He also works hard to help others, including through his job at his local soup kitchen and volunteering with SchoolBOX.

Robinson is just one of the thousands of children in Nicaragua and Northern Canada that SchoolBOX enables to thrive through education. "The Little Charity That Could," SchoolBOX was born in 2006 from a chance encounter when founder Tom Affleck was travelling in Nicaragua and gave a gift of a notebook and pencil to two young girls he met. The father of one of the girls remarked that now she could attend school and Affleck returned home to Almonte, Ont., with a new dream of making education possible in Nicaragua.

He worked with Chavarría, and with fundraisers here in Canada, to begin distributing school supply packages to rural communities throughout Nicaragua. In a country where most families live on less than \$2 a day and barely half the children graduate Grade 6, it quickly became clear that there was a huge need and that many more children could benefit from this small, but critical, helping hand.

Since then, SchoolBOX has provided more than 160,000 school supply packages to thousands of children. Packages



Students at SchoolBOX partner schools receive school supplies every year. These packages are important — they can mean the difference between going to school and dropping out.

are delivered through schools, so that all children in the class benefit equally. Each teacher also gets a special kit.

The charity's ambition doesn't stop at distributing school supplies. SchoolBOX builds classrooms and libraries for the schools it serves, working with the ministry of education and other local partners to ensure the schools it builds will keep receiving support and funding in the future. Classes that were previously housed in open air ranchos, borrowed houses and dilapidated buildings have been transformed when SchoolBOX construction crews, with assistance from the neighbouring community and international volunteers, create a safe, sanitary classroom that communities can use for generations. Since its inception, SchoolBOX has built 118 classrooms all over Nicaragua.

Completing elementary and even secondary education vastly improves students' prospects for earning, employment and even basic health and well-being. For girls and young women, each extra year's education increases income by as much as 20 per cent and improves their health and that of their children and family. For boys, the statistics may not be quite as powerful, but the benefits are nevertheless hugely significant for the young man he becomes, and his family and community, too. Education has undoubted benefits.

SchoolBOX is committed to continuing to help children such as Robinson, and with bright and welcoming schools and the supplies to enable them to learn and contribute throughout their school years, thousands more children will have the opportunity to turn their lives around. Each summer, Robinson travels 120 kilometres to Managua and stays with the SchoolBOX team to help package school supplies. He knows how much of a difference SchoolBOX made to his life. By volunteering and encouraging others to stay in school, he is helping to build dreams — and make them come true.

COVID-19 has put SchoolBOX's 2020 projects on hold, but the charity is determined to come back strong when activities are able to start up again. Executive director Jonathan Tam is optimistic SchoolBOX will be back when the time is right.

"Our goal is to continue to empower students and teachers in our partner communities in Nicaragua when things are safe again and the economy is recovering. We look forward to continuing our mission of making education possible."

Because, as Robinson says, "With education, anything is possible."

Jen Prendergast has been a volunteer writer with SchoolBOX for the past two years.

Addressing a problem head-on

Two diplomatic spouses in Ottawa have been busy making masks since COVID-19 hit in March.

"I was doing some research and the more I read, the scarier it was," says Inara Eichenbauma, wife of Latvian Ambassador Karlis Eichenbaums, about the pandemic. "Then I started asking what one could do. I decided I could make face masks since you were not able to buy them at the time."

There was one snag in the plan: For the first time in her diplomatic life, she didn't bring her sewing machine with her to Canada. But a Canadian friend offered her one and her mask-making project began. Her husband kicked off material donations by giving her one of his shirts.

"This mask project was my personal contribution against COVID-19," Eichenbauma says. "I don't sell them. It was first for family and friends from the U.S., Netherlands, Belgium and Latvia, then staff of the embassy and colleagues and their family members."

She estimates she's made about 500 in



Eichenbauma's colourful array of masks

total and says "it's not much — it's just my personal contribution."

She's also made medical caps for doctors, and masks for employees at Global Affairs Canada and residents of the Perley-Rideau Veterans' Health Centre, where



Inara Eichenbauma, wife of Latvian Ambassador Karlis Eichenbaums, has been making masks for people in need since the pandemic hit back in March.

she previously volunteered. She then expanded her reach to Ottawa-based Latvian seniors as well as Ottawa school children and their parents.

She has done a combination of pickups and deliveries of her masks and many Canadian friends have donated material.

"Such projects really bring people together," she says. "There's so much goodness that comes out."

Across town, Margaret Dickenson, widow of late Canadian ambassador Larry Dickenson, is also making masks as part of the Army of Masks initiative, begun by her daughter, Tonya. She started it with two friends she met when she lived in Abu Dhabi, UAE. One has since relocated to Qatar and the other is based in Florida.

With an app and a website, Army of

Masks connects people who are willing to volunteer to sew masks for people who need them. So far, the "army" has produced more than 53,000 masks and given them all away. The original idea was to give two masks to every North American in need of them.

"When this first hit, we knew that the virus would know no borders," Tonya Dickenson says.

Some of her most prolific volunteers, including a small group of Filipino ex-pats based in Toronto, are making as many as 200 masks a day.

In Ottawa, many masks — often 500 to 700 at a time — have gone to food banks, and Carefor, which offers professional services such as nursing and in-home physiotherapy and personal support services such as Meals on Wheels and transportation. ■

Lebanon: Where trade opportunities abound



By *Fadi Ziadeh*

Lebanon is strategically located at the intersection of Europe, Asia and Africa on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea and is characterized by a free market economy with the most liberal investment climate in the Middle East region. Despite its challenging regional environment and the recent economic stress, the government recently announced a new economic plan aimed at working on multiple reforms in different areas.

These plans will set the stage for Lebanon to embark on a bold infrastructure rehabilitation program that will unlock investment opportunities in multiple sectors, including, for example, cloud data centres, airport expansion and expressways. Moreover, several new industrial zones are being developed in Lebanon, increasing competitiveness in the industrial sector and attracting foreign investors and companies wanting to help rebuild neighbouring countries. In addition, the government has introduced a series of incentives, including tax exemptions for offshore companies looking to use Lebanon as an export hub in the Middle East.

Lebanon's principal sectors are agri-food, agriculture, tourism, ICT and services, including those in the financial and medical fields. The World Economic Forum's *Global Competitiveness Report* ranked Lebanon 10th among 141 countries surveyed for "ease of finding skilled employees." When it comes to digital skills among the working population, the country ranks 23rd worldwide. These statistics open the door to foreign companies searching to outsource some of their services at a lower cost, without affecting quality.

Trade and investment relations be-



Beqaa Valley is at the centre of the Lebanese wine industry, which dates back 5,000 years to ancient Phoenician times.

tween Lebanon and Canada have always been solid, however a closer look at the trade balance reveals much room for improvement. Lebanon's exports to Canada total US \$21 million, mainly in agri-food products such as wine and processed foods. Lebanon imports US \$110 million in goods from Canada — mainly vehicles and pharmaceutical products.

Lebanese wine looks promising in the Canadian market. My country has fertile soil, excellence in production, expertise developed over centuries and a distinguished reputation earned at international wine-tasting events. Moreover, Lebanese cuisine is popular worldwide for its richness, taste and diversity. It has been made accessible through the Lebanese processed food industry, which is known for fine quality.

Lebanon is also interested in co-operating with Canada to attract investments in the many sectors in which Canada shows expertise and know-how, including

renewable energy, infrastructure projects, gas drilling, waste management and information and communications technology. It's also worth mentioning that Lebanon is the first Arab country to endorse the legalization of marijuana for medical use, which creates new research and trade opportunities that could be beneficial to both countries.

Away from trade and economy, Lebanon remains an exotic destination for tourists wishing to explore its ancient historical gems, hike its breathtaking trails, take part in spiritual journeys or party in Beirut, ranked third in the world as a nightlife city, and taste the best street and high-end Lebanese food. Lebanon is a small, multilingual haven of culture and diversity that is worth the journey.

Fadi Ziadeh is the ambassador of Lebanon in Canada. Reach him by phone at (613) 236-5825 or at ambassador@lebanonembassy.ca.

Canada-Venezuela: Preparing for trade



By Orlando José Viera Blanco

Writing on trade between Venezuela and Canada may seem like an exercise of fiction. As such, we invite you to think in terms of scenarios, strategies and systems.

Venezuela is now considered, for the most part, a failed state, with all the internationally recognized economic indexes pointing down. There's hyperinflation. Domestic currency depreciated 8,034 per cent in 2019 and 526 per cent in the first eight months of 2020. And there's corruption. Transparency International's 2019 Corruption Perception Index ranks Venezuela 173rd of 180 countries. Economic Freedom ranked it 179th of 180 countries on its index. And economic rankings are not the only precarious indicators. In addition, the rule of law, a critical foundation for trade, is also absolutely absent now.

Given this difficult situation, the question is: "What can be done regarding trade between Canada and Venezuela?" Even in recent years, trade was more active. In 2017, it totalled \$215.3 million, with Canada sending \$197.3 million worth of goods and Venezuela sending \$17.9 million to Canada. In 2018, volumes predictably fell. Canada exported just \$83 million and Venezuela sent just \$21.6 million to Canada, for a total of \$104.6 million in two-way trade. Canada sends mineral products, vegetable products, machinery, transportation equipment and pulp while Venezuela sends chemicals, base metals, prepared foods, live animals and wood.

Getting trade back on track will involve work by all interested stakeholders. They include the Canadian government, provincial governments, the private sector — from financial institutions to corporations and entrepreneurs — along with the Venezuelan interim government, the



Canada considers Juan Guaidó to be the interim president of Venezuela.

Venezuelan diaspora and Venezuela's surviving associations, corporations and entrepreneurs.

Trade is essential for reconstruction, which will come with huge growth in every respect. Trade will be impacted by the dynamics of reconstruction and, at the same time, reconstruction capacities will be impacted by trade and investment. All the reconstruction scenarios will be influenced by institutions, infrastructure, logistics for commerce and Venezuela's ability to deal with urgent, critical and important needs in almost every aspect of life. Needless to say, needs in health, food, energy, infrastructure, security and safety, fuel and services are at the top of any list.

Inter-American Development Bank analysts offer a picture on Venezuela's recovery: "The economy is thus expected to grow by 11 per cent coming out of the emergency to recover some 35 per cent the next year and then grow by around 12 per cent in the following five years to gradually even out at a 6 per cent growth rate in the long run." In short, it's a road with challenges, as well as opportunities.

Any political change will come with phases of emergency recovery, institutionalization, stabilization, sustainable growth and with meaningful multilateral, public and private investment.

Our first approach would be to open the discussion and be open to change.

Thinking ahead is key for corporations, provinces and individuals.

Second, we would suggest thoughtful discussions, rigorous analyses and strategy development and planning exercises. Agility on these tasks is crucial as they will determine who will identify, engage and develop opportunities with Venezuela. Revisiting the past — successes and failures — and learning from it is imperative. Key strategies on finance, corporate compliance, organization, alliances, security and deployment will require thoughtful decision-making.

Canadian provinces should consider the role they can play. Billions invested in Venezuela in the '90s and early 2000s came from different provinces. Each of them has different competitive advantages. Solutions to key Venezuelan issues could come from some of them. Just to mention a few, Alberta, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and Quebec could trade with Venezuela on services and products that include food, health, energy, knowledge and equipment. Provinces should assign talent to think about opportunities.

By working together, partners can help to design strategies and better envision how to tackle the complexity of the work ahead in Venezuela. It is particularly important when many sectors and areas are, themselves, in the midst of change and reconstruction. Local knowledge and the diaspora will be key to adding intelligence and a sense of reality to planning, preparation and execution.

As mentioned, the diaspora could play an important role as "antennas, bridges, and springboards," as suggested by World Bank economist Yevgeny Kuznetsov. The diaspora itself can systematize its contribution and joint efforts by aligning strengths, capacities and knowledge.

Canada has played an important role in standing up for human rights and democracy in Venezuela and we hope it will have an unforgettable role in its reconstruction.

Orlando José Viera Blanco is the ambassador of Venezuela to Canada. He represents the Juan Guaidó presidency. Reach him at ovierablanca@ca.embajadavenezuela.org or by phone at (786) 384-1070.

Time to build the Canada-Nigeria bridge



By Adeyinka Asekun

This is the right time to build a viable and sustainable bridge between Canada and Nigeria, using global trade and investment as drivers. This bridge should enable Nigerian and Canadian companies to jointly develop and commercialize products and services that satisfy the needs of potential buyers around the world.

Today, the Canada-Nigeria trade relationship is the result of limited thinking. Thinking about Canada as a market for more Nigerian fossil oil, cocoa and fruits is too limiting. Likewise, thinking about Nigeria as a market for Canadian cereal, beverages and vehicle parts is just as limiting.

A new mindset is required. What should drive thinking of this trade and investment relationship is the portfolio of opportunities that companies in both countries can jointly exploit to satisfy the needs of potential customers worldwide.

There are areas where Nigeria has significant resources and Canada has considerable experience and competence. These are areas where companies in the two countries can collaborate for mutual benefit, using business models that work in a digital and global dispensation.

Nigeria is the largest economy in Africa with a GDP of approximately US \$450 billion. It also has the largest population on the continent at 207 million. Almost one in every five Africans is a Nigerian.

Add to that the fact that Nigeria has the seventh largest population in the world and is expected to have the third largest by 2050. Nigeria has a labour force of more than 100 million that is skilled, trainable and inexpensive, making it an attractive resource worthy of investment to address the needs of global markets.

Nigeria has a large young population



Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau met on the margins of the 33rd OAU Summit in Addis Ababa in February 2020.

(the median age is 18.1) that is tech-savvy and the country ranks eighth globally in terms of internet penetration.

Nigeria ranks ninth in most available arable land in the world, most of which is uncultivated. Among the diverse crops grown in Nigeria are the following: cocoa beans, groundnuts, yams, cassava, palm kernels, maize, rice, sorghum, gum arabic, bananas and ginger. Nigeria has the potential to develop a very successful livestock sub-sector and has 44 solid minerals in proven commercial quantities, including gold, iron ore, lead and zinc, barite, tantalite, bitumen and coal. Mining contributes less than 0.1 per cent to Nigeria's GDP.

Between 2015 and 2019, Nigeria was one of Canada's top-three trading partners in sub-Saharan Africa. The total value of imports from Nigeria was \$4.4 billion, with fossil fuels accounting for an overwhelming 96 per cent. The total value of Canadian exports to Nigeria over the same five-year period was \$2.2 billion, with cereals and beverages along with motor vehicles and machinery accounting for 93 per cent of those exports. In 2019, the value of what Canada imported from Nigeria was around \$295 million while the value of what Canada exported to Nigeria in 2019 was \$505.6 million.

The value of two-way trade between the two countries in 2019 was \$800.3 mil-

lion. To put matters in perspective, this figure represents 17 hours' worth of trade between Canada and the U.S., so while Nigeria may be a top trading partner for Canada in sub-Saharan Africa, this does not translate to a significant amount of trade in real terms and it speaks to Canada's relative absence on the African continent.

Total Canadian direct investment in Nigeria in 2019 was \$390 million, while total Nigerian direct investment in Canada in the same year was \$934 million. Nigeria's investment in Canada was 2.4 times Canada's investment in Nigeria. In the first seven months of 2020, Canada's exports to Nigeria represented 0.1 per cent of its total exports and Canada's imports from Nigeria during the same period represented 0.1 per cent of its total imports.

This article seeks to advance the notion that it's time for Canada and Nigeria to have a new mindset about what Canada means to Nigeria and what Nigeria means to Canada. This new mindset should be driven by efforts between Nigerian and Canadian companies collaborating to satisfy the needs of consumers in their countries and in global markets.

Adeyinka Asekun is the high commissioner for Nigeria. Reach him at (613) 564-0077 or email him at chancery@nigeriahcottawa.ca.



HB GROUP

Restorations, Renovations, Real Estate and Rentals



It is with great pleasure that we announce Snookie Lomow, President of Snookie Lomow & Associates Inc, will be representing Highbridge Construction a reputable restoration and renovation company. As well, she will represent HD Property Management Group, a long and short term property rental service for your staff accommodation requirements.

The addition of Snookie Lomow to Highbridge Construction and HD Property Management Group positions the newly formed Highbridge Group to offer the highest quality services in the renovation, restoration, real estate and rentals fields. This all-encompassing service was designed with diplomats and embassies in mind. Having a diverse service provider available in these spaces will help seamlessly provide the highest quality service in all relevant fields that has been desperately lacking. Trust is key to every relationship and with Snookie on the team the Highbridge Group is excited to build this trust one client at a time.

Snookie brings a world of experience to our businesses. She will use her expertise in working with the Diplomatic Corps and business community to assist with all their staff accommodations requirements as well with any renovation or restoration projects.

Snookie is best known for her role in the Ottawa 2017 celebrations where she was the producer and developer of the Ottawa Welcomes the World series of events that brought together 88 countries in a series of 45 events during the course of Canada's 150th anniversary year that saw over 240,000 attendees at her events.

She has run her own consulting firm doing business development and large-scale events for over 18 years working specifically with the diplomatic, international and local business community. Prior to that she has lived and worked abroad on diplomatic posting with her husband. She has had careers in the clothing business as a fashion buyer, retailer sector as owner of a \$3M sales agency and worked for Global Affairs Canada developing programs and activities to build exports amongst SME's as well as coordinating large scale business marketing events.

Snookie can be reached any time at:

Cell: 613 863 0212

**Email: snookie@snookielomow.com
or snookie@highbridgeconstruction.com**

**Highbridge Construction & HD Property Management
2555 Blackwell St Unit 105A
Ottawa, ON K1B 4E4
HQ: 613 518 6563
highbridgeconstruction.com**

'A state that listens to the voice of the people'



FIRST NAME: Akylbek

LAST NAME: Kamaldinov

CITIZENSHIP: Kazakh

PRESENTED CREDENTIALS AS

AMBASSADOR:
June 29, 2018

PREVIOUS POSITIONS: Deputy foreign minister and ambassador to Japan

June 2020 marked one year since Kassym-Jomart Tokayev became president of Kazakhstan. During his first year in power, Tokayev ensured a smooth and stable transfer of power, which is a key condition for political and economic development of the country. The period of political transition in Kazakhstan has coincided with global changes and challenges and Tokayev had to look for new solutions while also sticking with his general strategy for Kazakhstan's reforms and development.

As part of this strategy, he has established internal political initiatives with such slogans as: "a state that hears," "different opinions; one nation," "successful economic reforms are impossible without modernization of the country's socio-political life," "strong president; influential Parliament; accountable government."

One of the key points of Tokayev's presidential agenda was the creation of the National Council of Public Trust, which includes well-known politicians, public figures, economists and intellectuals. The work of the council is carried out in political, social and economic arenas, with the most urgent and acute issues of state development included on its agenda. Based on the results of several meetings with the president, the council developed and adopted a package of important political reforms with amendments to the laws on peaceful assembly, elections, political parties and enshrining in practice the principles of political pluralism.

The reforms include accession to the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. (The covenant guarantees right to life, electoral rights, rights to due process and

fair trial, as well as freedom of religion, speech and assembly. And the optional protocol gives the United Nations the right to hear from victims of violations of the protocol.) Further reforms include strengthening legislation on

the right to political rallies and developing a multi-party system.

In September 2020, Tokayev delivered his annual address to the nation, this time titled "Kazakhstan in the new reality: Time to act." The speech highlighted seven key principles of the new economic course for the country: equitable distribution of benefits and responsibilities; a leading role for private entrepreneurship

through support and development of SMEs; fair competition; increased productivity; complexity and technological effectiveness of the economy; development of human capital; "greening" of the economy through environmental protection; as well as adoption of well-grounded decisions by the state and responsibility for them before society.

In his address, Tokayev pointed out that a new model of government should be introduced. He highlighted that "reforms in this area should be carried out systematically. Let's start by changing the approaches to public administration, personnel policy, decision-making systems and responsibility for their implementation." The government will create an agency for strategic planning and reforms, which will become the central link of the entire system of state planning. He also outlined the creation of a supreme presidential council for reforms, whose decisions will be final. And he noted that a reboot of the civil service system is re-



The Ak Orda Presidential Palace in Astana — the official workplace of the president of Kazakhstan — is one of many architectural jewels in the new portion of the capital.

quired and the reform of the entire quasi-public sector must be continued.

A brand-new program solely dedicated to the development of the domestic agro-industrial sector will be mapped out, according to the president. He emphasized that measures are urgently needed to increase productivity, moving away from production of raw materials to developing warehouse and transport infrastructure. He also focused on supporting entrepreneurship and paying special attention to medium-sized businesses.

"Such companies should be focused not only on the domestic, but also on foreign markets," he stated. "Their export support should be strengthened."

Other top priorities include balanced territorial development; the social well-being of citizens; safety and protection of children's rights; accessible and quality education; development of a health-care system; protection of biodiversity; digitalization as a basic element of all reforms; and civil participation in governance of the state.

Tokayev pointed out that "no aspect of socio-economic development can be successfully implemented without the rule of law and guaranteeing the safety of our



Kassym-Jomart Tokayev became president of Kazakhstan in June 2019. He has an ambitious strategy of reform for the country.

citizens. 'A state that hears' is, in fact, the concept of building a 'fair state.' It is not enough just to hear and see the problems

of citizens; the main thing is to correctly and objectively respond to them. There is a lot of work ahead to develop new standards for serving the interests of citizens. The law enforcement and judicial systems play a key role in this. Reforms are absolutely necessary here."

Tokayev refers often to the words of famous Kazakh poet Abai Qunanbaiuly, whose 175th birthday is being celebrated in Kazakhstan in 2020 and whose works have been translated into many languages. Earlier, Tokayev had stated that: "My concept of 'a state that listens to the voice of the people' was proposed in order to develop the idea of a just society."

These days, Kazakhstan continues to confront the COVID-19 pandemic that threatens the entire global community. The government has mobilized all resources to protect the life and health of Kazakh citizens. According to the president, "the fight against coronavirus clearly demonstrated the [true nature] of people: Mutual assistance, compassion and readiness to jointly confront an unprecedented disaster. In such difficult conditions, our main task is to maintain social and economic stability, employment and incomes of the population." ■



SAVING
LIVES
CHANGING
LIVES



f Join us @WorldFoodProgramme

Follow us @WFP_Canada

Famine still threatens millions in Yemen

WFP/Mohammed Nasser

The UN World Food Programme is feeding **over 12 million people** a month.

Our support has so far saved Yemen from the brink. **It must continue.**

Money alone won't end hunger in Yemen. Yemen needs lasting peace. But until the weapons fall silent, your contribution could **keep a child alive.**

Every donation helps.


Please give now: wfp.org/food



Belarusians have taken to the streets to protest against Alexander Lukashenko's corrupt government. We may be about to see a Russian hybrid intervention in Belarus to force a merger with Russia on President Vladimir Putin's terms. 'Little green men' — Russian soldiers as were seen in Ukraine when Russia invaded — have started to appear around Minsk in support of Lukashenko.

Shifting alliances

Joe Varner looks at the ways in which allies have shifted their priorities, and therefore their allegiances, in the time of COVID-19.



Time does not stand still in life and certainly not in international affairs. The year 2020 has been one of change for the world's foremost military alliance and NATO's relationship with Turkey. The Russian-led Commonwealth of Independent States and its Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) — that, in some ways, replaced the Cold War-era Warsaw Pact — saw continued fighting along its frontier with the West at several locations, particularly the Donbass in Ukraine, and a massive revolt in Belarus after the government was accused of stealing democratic elections.

Israel started the process of formalizing its relationship with the Gulf Co-operation Council or Peninsula Shield States in surprise bilateral peace treaties. China, which does not have formal allies, found much of Asia and the Western world pushing back on its management of the COVID-19 pandemic, while its revisionist view pushed once non-aligned India into a closer bilateral relationship with the United States, Japan and Australia, with the possibility of a larger multilateral framework in the future. So, what is the impact of changes in alliances on Western interests in Europe, the Middle East and Asia?

NATO and Europe

NATO always has a series of problems, both internal and external, with a resurgent Russia at its gates and a new interest in containing and confronting China, but it remains the world's most successful and most powerful military alliance. There is the ongoing squabble between the U.S. and its NATO allies over burden-sharing and defence spending to meet the agreed NATO target of two per cent of GDP. In its sister European Union ally, there is the burden of Brexit and what appears to be the rise of right-wing political parties in response to Russia and the European Union's border and immigration policies that have antagonized several states within the organization and altered their domestic political environments. In real terms, this is not new and it is not a show-stopper. The debate over defence spending and burden-sharing goes back to at least the Vietnam War and the U.S. involvement in South East Asia that seemingly lowered its commitment and funding for NATO. It is not a new product of Donald Trump's making; it is an old debate, although the shoe is now on the other foot. Russia remains a threat, particularly to the Baltic States, Poland and other NATO frontline states in Central Europe and non-NATO Ukraine and Belarus. Russia and China have carried on with a program to divide and subvert NATO and the European Union for their own interests. Serbia is rapidly becoming Beijing's main hub in Europe for the purposes of sowing discontent in the EU, replacing Russia as Belgrade's main influencer. While recent elections in Montenegro saw the long-serving pro-NATO government lose its majority in the House to a series of opposition groups that are viewed as pro-Russian, it is unlikely to change its position on the EU and NATO. The China threat is a new security problem, but one that will be discussed later.



Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's unpredictable regime is a challenge for NATO.

The big challenge to NATO and its cohesiveness is the unpredictable nature of member state Turkey and the administration of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, which is acting more like the West's "frenemy," Pakistan, than a reliable ally. Turkey has found itself increasingly engaged in the Middle East and North Africa

to follow its own interests at the expense of others. Some suggest that the Turkish government would like to see a return of some form of modern Ottoman Empire. Relations between Turkey and NATO, the European Union and Israel have declined over time with Erdogan's increasingly Islamist government and the failed military coup in 2016. It is also fair to say that there are faults on both sides in the dealings of the U.S., NATO, the European Union and Israel with Turkey. Turkey's choice of Russia's S-400 air defence system over its participation in the U.S.-led F-35 fighter program, its embroiling itself in the Syrian civil war and now Libyan civil war at Western expense and without regard for Western allies, such as Kurdish forces fighting against ISIS, is a major concern. Its on-again-off-again relationship with Russia, the off part exemplified in its fighting Russian mercenaries in Libya, is troubling to say the least. Recent sabre-rattling with NATO ally Greece in the Aegean Sea, its incursion into Egyptian waters for "seismic research" with military escort after a Greek-Egyptian demarcation deal in the Western Mediterranean and its threatening of a French warship at sea off Libya are all matters of grave concern. While Turkey's increasingly aggressive and in-



Shown here is Tskhinvali after Georgian artillery bombardment in 2008 when Russia invaded the South-Ossetian enclave of the former Soviet republic.

interventionist behaviour can't be ignored, there is no real mechanism for restricting it from the privileges of NATO membership, including mutual defence. The massive Turkish airbase at Incirlik remains a key asset in the region, as it is home to substantial U.S. air power and approximately 50 U.S. B61 nuclear gravity bombs that remain vulnerable to Turkish interception should Washington try to remove them. What would ensure Turkish national security and interests in the region more than its own nuclear deterrent?

Russia and its "frozen wars"

Since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, Russia's military operations have focused almost exclusively (with the exception of the Syrian civil war, the Libyan civil war and Venezuela) on its neighbours — the former Soviet republics. Russia has staged interventions to "protect" ethnic Russian populations, but that actually further inflames ethnic conflict and creates tense and unstable "frozen zones," allowing Russia to exert influence over regions and events at the expense of the U.S., NATO and Western interests. It also gives Rus-



Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko is being supported by Russia while his citizens protest in the street.

sia a degree of strategic depth to its front with NATO that was lost with the collapse of the old Soviet Union in a new buffer zone that replaces its Warsaw Pact predecessor. During the Cold War, Moscow intervened in countries both near and far from its borders, including Afghanistan, Angola, Cuba and Vietnam, but overseas operations were not its strong suit and



Russian forces have entered Belarus for joint war games with its forces and Russian Federal Security Service advisers are reportedly on the ground there.

were outside the Kremlin's comfort zone. Russian military operations under way in Syria and Libya and potentially Venezuela are, in some respects, a return to the dreams of the Soviet past. But it is the affairs of its neighbours that concern Russian President Vladimir Putin more than anything else. In a speech before the Commonwealth of Independent States in 2014, Putin promised to protect Russia's brothers abroad with every available means. He has made it crystal clear that his driving ambition, his dream, is to rebuild the Soviet empire and restore Russia to its previous greatness.

NATO's most vulnerable Baltic members — Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania — have all been targeted by Russia's "political warfare." Political warfare, or what

NATO would call hybrid warfare, combines political, economic, informational and cyber assaults against sovereign nations, designed to achieve strategic objectives while falling below the target state's threshold for a military response. Poland has also been subject to subtle Russian intervention and political games. Russian-backed separatists began fighting Ukrainian government forces in April 2014 and the Kremlin has sent thousands of troops and advanced weapons systems across the border into Ukraine to support the fight there on the ground. In 2014, Russia successfully annexed the whole of Crimea through the use of "little green men" and hybrid warfare. We may well be about to see a similar Russian hybrid intervention in Belarus to force the merger with



This map details the long-simmering dispute between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh, which reached the boiling point this autumn.



Pro-war demonstrations such as this one from July have been taking place in Azerbaijan.

Russia on Putin's terms. Russian forces have entered the country for joint war games with Belarusian forces, Russian Federal Security Service advisers are reportedly on the ground, and "little green men" have started to appear around Minsk in support of Belarusian President Alexander Lukashenko. Most recently, Russian airborne forces that have seen action in Ukraine entered Belarus in what looks like the start of a permanent Russian military presence on Belarusian territory. The 27th Guards Motor Rifle Brigade seems to be engaged in intensive operations and is

likely to play a key role as well. Russia has announced that the CSTO would carry out its annual "unbreakable brotherhood" war games in Vitebsk, Belarus, on Oct. 12-16, with troops from Russia, Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Typically, unbreakable brotherhood has been cast as a peacekeeping exercise, but this has been cited as a command-staff level exercise with an unspecified number of troops. Whether Minsk faces absorption or just becomes another frozen war is open to question.

Further to the south, Transnistria, a thin

strip of land between the Dniester River and Ukraine that most of the world recognizes as part of Moldova, is populated largely by Russian-speaking Slavs. It declared its independence in 1990, and war with Moldova followed two years later. The fighting ended after four months, and Russian-led negotiations and "peacekeepers" have ensured its survival to this day as a de facto independent state at the expense of Moldova and, to a lesser extent, Romania.

In Eurasia, Russian intervention in South Ossetia and Abkhazia continues and Georgia has accused Russia of intervening to keep Georgia from seeking closer ties with NATO and the West. South Ossetia has fought three wars of succession with Georgia — in 1991, 2004 and 2008. In 2008, Russia invaded Georgia. Russian intervention allowed South Ossetian forces to consolidate control of their territory in five days of fighting. Afterward, Russia recognized South Ossetia and Abkhazia as sovereign states and Russia and Abkhazia signed a treaty that gave Moscow control of its military and economic affairs and called for the establishment of a joint Russian-Abkhazian military force.

Finally, Azerbaijan and Armenia have been in a state of war for three decades over Nagorno-Karabakh, which declared its independence as the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. Most of the population is ethnic Armenian, but the region is recognized internationally as part of Azerbaijan. The Nagorno-Karabakh Republic has acted as an independent country since the early 1990s, with Russia as chief peace negotiator. Russia maintains the option for direct military intervention on Armenia's side if Azerbaijan should move against the breakaway republic.

On Sept. 27, following the Russian-led Kavkaz-2020 war games, Azerbaijani forces attacked Armenian forces all along the frontier with Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia, on a high state of readiness coming off exercise Kavkaz, counter-attacked. Russia, poised to intervene on Armenia's side, pushed for renewed never-ending peace talks under Russian supervision, while Azerbaijan, supported politically and militarily by Turkey, pushed back militarily with direct Turkish support and Turkish-supplied Syrian mercenaries. As a sign of increased escalation, a Turkish F-16 fighter plane shot down an Armenian Su-25 aircraft and fighting expanded outside the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh region. Iran, while officially claiming neutrality, has built up military forces on its borders

with Armenia and Azerbaijan, in part to discourage its Turkish border provinces from pushing for independence, but also because of regional rivalry with Ankara and its close relationship with Russia.

By early October, Armenia claimed its military had destroyed 137 of Azerbaijan's main battle tanks; meanwhile, Azerbaijan claimed to have destroyed 130 Armenian tanks and amphibious combat vehicles. Both countries stand accused of attacking civilian targets and atrocities have been reported. Recent fighting has seen Azerbaijani forces reportedly take control of 13 more Armenian-held settlements and shelled civilian settlements, including the town of Martuni and four villages, while Armenian forces were shelling the Agjebedin, Tovuz and Dashkesan regions. Azerbaijani forces allegedly have occupied a stretch of the border between Azerbaijan and Iran located in the southern Nagorno-Karabakh area. Human Rights Watch has documented four incidents in which Azerbaijan has used Israeli-produced cluster munitions and dual-purpose submunitions banned by international convention in 2008 by 110 countries. However, Armenia and Azerbaijan are not parties to the treaty. Ganja, the second largest city in Azerbaijan has come under Armenian missile attack at least six times with 25 reported civilian deaths, 125 injuries and dozens of buildings destroyed or damaged. It is a sign of further escalation as it is located 97 kilometres north of the Nagorno-Karabakh line of contact and has only a dual-use airport as a possible military target.

Casualty figures on both sides are hard to confirm, but, as of Oct. 22, the Armenian government claimed that more than 900 soldiers were dead while Azerbaijan has not released any military casualty figures, but losses are believed equally high. Putin stated that his intelligence suggested both sides had lost more than 2,000, with the combined death toll approaching 5,000. The bloody war in the 1990s killed 30,000 people and displaced millions before a ceasefire took hold. The European Union, France, Russia and the U.S. have all called for the fighting to stop and for peace talks, mediated by Minsk group — France, Russia and the U.S. Two Russian attempts to negotiate a ceasefire have so far failed and U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo held talks with the Azerbaijani and Armenian foreign ministers on Oct. 23. On Oct. 25, President Trump announced that both sides had agreed to a ceasefire, which crumbled almost immediately.

Thus, Russia continues to use its near

abroad policy to keep the West at bay with frozen conflicts, and to continue to exert influence throughout the region to Central Asia and the edge of the Middle East.

Israel and the Gulf States

The September announcement by Israel,

like so many changes in geopolitics, that friendship appears to have waned. Bahrain and Saudi Arabia have given Israel permission to fly over their territory to the UAE and one can now find kosher meals in Abu Dhabi.

In late October, the U.S. announced



Israel, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain have normalized their relations and Oman and Saudi Arabia may at some point follow suit. Iran, Qatar and Turkey have criticized these moves.

the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain of the normalization of international relations and the Israel-UAE peace treaty, known as the Abraham Accord, has taken many by surprise outside the region and is viewed as a foreign policy victory for U.S. President Donald Trump and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. In real terms, it is a sign of normalization between Israel, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, and of continuing military and intelligence co-operation and collaboration that has been building over time to confront the common threat of Iran and its proxy militias throughout the region. Saudi Arabia might follow the UAE and Bahrain after the death of its current king and the ascension of his son, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, to the throne.

Iran, Qatar and Turkey have all criticized the deal. Turkey and Israel used to be close allies on NATO's southern flank and it was Israel's role to protect Turkey from Soviet-era client state Syria in a confrontation between East and West, but,

Sudan would seek to normalize relations with Israel. There are rumours that Morocco and Oman might also move forward with recognition of Israel, but Oman said that it would await the outcome of the U.S. presidential election.

Prior to this chain of events, Egypt and Jordan were the only other Arab countries in the Middle East to officially recognize Israel, after signing peace treaties in 1979 and 1994, respectively. Mauritania, a member of the Arab League in northwest Africa, established diplomatic relations with Israel in 1999, but later severed ties in 2010. This new development is also helpful to an Israel-friendly India that is also heavily invested and interested in the Persian Gulf region.

This normalization of relations between Israel and the Gulf States comes amid reports of Chinese and Saudi nuclear co-operation and expansion of Saudi Arabia's ballistic missile program through purchases from China. Saudi Arabia and China have constructed a facility

for extracting uranium yellowcake from uranium ore in the kingdom — a key component to nuclear bomb-building. The extraction is a first step in the process of obtaining uranium for later enrichment, for use in a civilian nuclear reactor or, enriched to much higher levels for nuclear weapons. Saudi Arabia, a signatory to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, has bristled at nuclear weapons in the Gulf region and has no known nuclear weapons program. Its officials have presented the view that it might be something the kingdom should consider to counter Iran. In 2018, bin Salman publicly warned, “If Iran developed a nuclear bomb, we will follow suit as soon as possible.” Satellite imagery, first reported by the *Washington Post* in January 2019, suggested Saudi Arabia had constructed a ballistic missile factory that appeared to match technology produced by China. It should be remembered that Saudi Arabia has a limited ballistic missile arsenal, consisting of Chinese Dongfeng-3 medium-range ballistic missiles, and, reportedly, the Dongfeng-21 MRBM. Although China originally designed both to carry nuclear payloads, they were reportedly modified to deliver conventional warheads before being transferred to Saudi Arabia and both are siloed in the desert. China’s attempts to “buy” key U.S. allies such as Saudi Arabia and disrupt regional alliances such as the Gulf States should not be underestimated even when Beijing’s chances of success seem remote.

All of this is set against the concerning fact that the breakout time Iran needs to manufacture fissile material for two small nuclear bombs as of September 2020 is between 5.5 months and a year, according to a recent report by the Institute for Science and International Security. The most recent International Atomic Energy Agency report warns that Iran’s enrichment of uranium to 4.5 per cent instead of 3.5 per cent saves Tehran about a quarter of the time needed to produce weapons-grade fissile material in the range of 25 kilograms of enriched uranium for a bomb. Obviously, this is very concerning to Western interests in the region. Perhaps the time has come, given events in the region, to revisit the idea of a Middle Eastern Central Treaty Organization security alliance to bolster Western interests in the region and to link up with an Asian NATO or revamped SEATO in Southeast Asia.

China and the Indo-Pacific

Driven in part by China’s aggressive actions in the South China Sea, strategic competition with the U.S., its continued

incursion and military buildup in or near Indian territory in the Galwan Valley in Ladakh, its Belt Road Initiative and its challenging behaviour coming out of the COVID-19 pandemic, many Asia-Pacific countries are pushing back. The former Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan remain largely under Russian influence, but with fierce competition from the U.S. and, increasingly, China, which has territorial claims over the area. Tajikistan has been the centre of competition, with the Tajiks, barely denying a secret Chinese base in the Pamir Mountains opposite Afghanistan. China holds 40 per cent of Tajikistan’s external debt and Chinese investment largely holds control over Dushande’s economy. For its part, China has been rallying opposition to India in Bhutan and Nepal, with each proxy state putting some degree of pressure on India’s extended frontier. Pakistan, which increasingly seems to see its self-interests more linked to China than the West, has also acted as a Chinese proxy, putting forces on alert and moving them to the frontier with India. The Pentagon’s own recently released annual report on Chinese military power underlines the strategic,

economic and military challenges posed by China. For the first time, China has the world’s largest navy, with 350 ships and submarines, whereas last year it ranked as largest in the region. By comparison with global commitments, the U.S. navy has only 295 warships and submarines. China now has two aircraft carriers and two amphibious assault ships and more of each being built. China’s military has already surpassed the U.S. in three areas: shipbuilding, land-based conventional ballistic and cruise missiles and integrated air-defence systems.

The Pentagon report also revealed that China was in the process of trying to double the size of its nuclear arsenal, which is now in the range of 200 warheads, to more than 400 in the coming decade. Numbers do not tell the whole story though — there are still many areas where the U.S. and its allies hold a qualitative advantage, but those areas are narrowing. The report also cautions that, in addition to its military base in Djibouti, China is planning for additional overseas military logistics facilities in Myanmar, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, United Arab Emirates, Kenya, Seychelles, Tanzania, Angola and Tajikistan. China’s strategic



China’s continued incursion and military buildup in or near Indian territory in the Galwan Valley in Ladakh has many Asia-Pacific countries pushing back.



An Indian navy MIG-29K Fulcrum aircraft flies over the aircraft carrier USS Nimitz in the Bay of Bengal during Exercise Malabar between the Indian navy, Japanese maritime self-defence force and U.S. navy. It addresses shared threats to maritime security in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region.

support force runs tracking, telemetry and command facilities in Namibia, Pakistan and Argentina. It should be noted that with tensions at a high point, Pompeo in July rejected China's claims to up to 90 per cent of the South China Sea as "completely unlawful," lending support to rival claimants Vietnam, the Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia and Taiwan.

After a decade in the wilderness, the security quadrilateral dialogue between Australia, India, Japan and the U.S. returned to prominence in 2017 and has been gaining momentum since in the face of a growing hegemonic China. There is little secret that some U.S. officials view the "quad" as the basis for an Asian NATO or a reincarnated SEATO to form an alliance of like-minded nations to contain and, when necessary, confront an increasingly assertive Beijing. Many observers cite Australia's likely participation in joint India, U.S. and Japanese Malabar naval exercises in the Indian Ocean and Australia's return to the war games for the first time since 2007 as signs of the building momentum for a new strategic alliance. The U.S. would like to see the group expanded to include Vietnam, South Korea and New Zealand. On Sept. 11, 2020,

India and Japan signed a mutual logistics support agreement (MLSA) to back each other's forces from their national territory and bases. The exercises later this year are expected to set the tone for the signing of a MLSA for reciprocal access to bases, medical and training facilities, spare parts and fuel between India and Australia. Informal trade talks between India and Japan may see Australia join the discussions in a bid to limit China's economic clout. Indonesia also looks set to join India and Australia in bilateral summits in the coming weeks on forming a bloc to confront Chinese aggression in the South China Sea, South Pacific and Western Indian Ocean, where their national interests under threat from China intersect. The U.S. and Maldives signed a bilateral defence and security co-operation agreement in September that further strengthened India's position in the Indian Ocean while thwarting China from a potential strategically placed client in Malé. It will also be interesting to watch how Russia — a major arms supplier to India — deals with China, its strategic partner, but not ally, should things heat up further on the Indo-Sino border. Will Russia be forced to make unexpected choices between the dragon and the tiger?

China's nuclear push and No. 1 naval rank

Recently, Thailand's fear of being trapped in China's Belt Road Initiative and accompanying crushing debt forced it to cancel the controversial Chinese Kra Canal project that would have allowed shipping to pass from the Indian Ocean to the Western Pacific through Thailand's Kra Isthmus without going through the naval chokepoints of the Malacca Straits and Sunda Strait to the south. More to the point, this canal, when completed, would have allowed the Chinese navy to quickly move ships between its newly constructed bases in the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean without diverting them more than 1,125 kilometres south to round the tip of Malaysia. The canal project also had the potential to split Thailand's Muslim and Malay populations and the powerful Thai army. Thailand also postponed the purchase of two diesel-powered patrol submarines worth US \$724 million, highlighting China's loosening grip on its allies in the Indo-Pacific region. Thai political parties also argued that the canal project would threaten the interests of Myanmar, Cambodia and Thailand, by extension, as Cambodia and Myanmar are weak states, highly vulnerable to Chinese influence and pressure.

Once seen as a potential U.S. ally, Cambodia seems to be returning to the Chinese orbit in ASEAN geopolitics, pulling down U.S.-built infrastructure at its strategic Ream naval base in favour of new Chinese facilities and dredging for a deep-water port that might allow for the basing of larger Chinese warships.

In a related matter, David Stillwell, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asia and the Pacific, warned that Beijing was manipulating the water flows of the Mekong River with upstream hydroelectric dam projects to the detriment of Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam and Myanmar. China's Mekong projects have sent a shiver through the Southeast Asian region, with many states fearing China may turn off the taps to their river, which is linked to economies that support 60 million people. It's a move that would, in effect, weaponize the water supply. The Philippines appears as the odd man out in the region, as it is still trying to straddle an increasing gulf between an aggressive China and the U.S., its traditional ally. Philippines Foreign Minister Tedoro Locsin recently threatened to sanction and ban 24 Chinese companies listed by the U.S. as helping Beijing to build and fortify artificial islands and islets in the South China Sea.

But the Philippines sat out recent U.S.-led military exercises in the disputed South China Sea so as not to antagonize China, all while building up its own presence in the Kalayaan Island Group, located off Palawan. The Republic of Palau, for example, between Guam, the Philippines and Indonesia, is asking the U.S. to build bases on the island to counter China.

Support for Taiwan, open South China Sea

Beijing's belligerence toward Taiwan, which increased with a series of incidents and threats during the pandemic, has opened a space in the international community for greater recognition of Taiwan and potentially full-scale rearmament, something that has been unthinkable in the past decade for fear of a Chinese invasion. The Chinese leadership views Taiwan as a renegade province that needs to return to its fold.

The U.S. Senate is now looking at a further expansion of its trade relationship with Taipei in partnership with its bilateral defence relationship. Despite the history shared by Japan, Taiwan and China, and Tokyo's seizure and occupation of Formosa prior to the Second World War (1939-1945), Japanese security is as linked to Taiwan's security as U.S. security interests in Asia are tied to Japanese security. The Czech Republic and Germany have sent representatives to Taipei only to be scorched by Chinese threats and rhetoric. The threats prompted a warning to Beijing from German Chancellor Angela Merkel that Europe stands together and to cut the threats. First the United Kingdom, then France and now Germany have adopted Indo-Pacific strategies to engage with the region, maintain the rule of law and the liberal world order and to contain China. Britain and France have expressed an interest in seeing freedom of navigation operations (FONOPS) in the South China Sea be maintained and, if necessary, by outside powers. Canada's *HMCS Winnipeg* just completed a FONOPS in the straits between China and Taiwan as part of Canada's commitment to ASEAN security. The U.S., U.K., Europe, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have become concerned by China's repression of its own Tibetan and Uighur populations and Hong Kong.

Japan, for its part, has faced the Chinese and North Korean challenges with a debate over changing its pacifist post-Second World War constitution. It should not be forgotten that Japan has been called a nascent nuclear power. Should it change its current constitution, Japan has a stockpile of nuclear weapons-grade ma-



The Chinese leadership views Taiwan as a renegade province that needs to return to the Chinese motherland through reunification or war.

terial — enough to create 80 warheads and long-range rockets for its space program that could form the basis of a Japanese nuclear deterrent in short order. This might prompt other neighbours to follow a similar path in the face of increasing Chinese military strength. The 2020 *Defence of Japan* white paper offered a strategic overview of its perception of the global security environment and detailed its defence strategy. The paper outlined increased concern about China's maritime posturing on the disputed Senkaku Islands, concern over North Korea's missile and nuclear program and continuing strategic partnership with the U.S. The document also warned it is closely monitoring Russia's growing military co-operation with Beijing after a July 2019 joint air patrol between two of Russia's Tu-95 strategic bombers and their

Chinese H-6 counterparts took place over the Sea of Japan and the East China Sea. In the 2019 fiscal year, the Japanese air self-defence force scrambled 947 times to deal with Chinese or Russian air incursions and the intrusions have risen sharply in the past decade. The white paper also described India as a partner in Japan's drive to build further defence partnerships with several countries that are key to its security mandate. The paper also outlined plans to convert a Japanese helicopter destroyer, *JS Izumo*, one of two of the class, to an aircraft carrier with F-35s.

Which brings us to South Korea, which is under pressure from the U.S. to take on more of the financial burden of U.S. troops based there, from its sabre-rattling neighbour, North Korea, and faces increased historic tensions with Japan. It is



The Liancourt Rocks, known as Dokdo in Korean, are a group of small islets in the Sea of Japan. South Korea controls them, but Japan still claims sovereignty over them.

the increased tensions with Japan that are among the most interesting phenomena in alliance dynamics in Asia and a real threat to U.S. interests, as it tries to build a coalition to restrain a revisionist China. At the centre of the dispute is South Korea's demand for reparations from its former colonial master, Imperial Japan, from 1910-1945. The two countries have fought wars against each other back to the 7th Century, with Japan threatening invasion every time up to 1945. Another source of conflict between the two critical U.S. allies in the region is that Japan still claims sovereignty over the Liancourt Rocks, a group of small islets in the Sea of Japan. South Korea controls the islets, known as the Dokdo, and rejects Japanese claims to the area. It is joined in rejecting Japan's claims to the Dokdo by North Korea. In 1965, Japan and South Korea signed a treaty to restore diplomatic relations and Japan provided more than \$800 million in financial help and compensation to put aside its colonial misdeeds, and from Japan's perspective, it was a done deal. But successive South Korean governments have argued that the deal failed to compensate Korean comfort women and limited individual rights to seek compensation for forced labourers under Japanese colonial rule. The issue flared again in 2018, when South Korea's top court ordered a Japanese firm to compensate Koreans they used as forced labour. Mitsubishi Heavy, one of the firms involved, refused to comply with the court order, and two other companies' assets were seized in South Korea. In August 2019, Japan retaliated by announcing it was going to remove Seoul's favoured

trade partner status and imposed export controls on key companies, such as Samsung. Seoul then announced it had decided to end the country's intelligence-sharing pact because of the decision. South Korea has since backed off that threat and the spat seemed to cool under U.S. pressure.

North Korea, for its part, has continued its close alliance with China, its strategic partnership with Russia and its nuclear and missile co-operation with Iran.

Pyongyang's recent annual Workers' Party of North Korea Foundation Day parade featured a variety of military weaponry from conventional to nuclear-capable weapons systems. But pride of place went to an advanced multiple nuclear warhead-armed intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM). It appears to be the largest liquid-fuelled ICBM in the world and is deployed from a new heavy road-mobile transporter erector launch vehicle.

Based on open-source material and initial analysis from a variety of think-tanks, a road-mobile ICBM and transporter erector launch (TEL) vehicle of this size has a huge signature in a country with only 31,000 kilometres of roadway, of which a little more than 1,700 kilometres is actually paved, making it vulnerable to discovery and attack before launch.

The size, power and payload of the rocket make it perfect for city-busting attacks on the continental United States' 48 states between Canada and Mexico, and, by extension, most of North America. It is geared to overwhelm U.S. missile defences and even a small force would provide the basis of a credible deterrent where some

warheads would get through to target North American cities, including Canadian cities such as Toronto and Ottawa. It is geared to overwhelm U.S. missile defences that fire a salvo of four interceptors at each warhead.

Reasons for optimism and concern

So far, 2020 has been a year of change on the international security scene. There have been several changes in the existing global alliance system that have potentially positive and negative impacts on Western strategic interests in Europe, the Middle East and Asia. NATO's relationship with Turkey and the Erdogan regime's attempts to follow its narrow national security interests at the expense of its allies has undermined the Atlantic community's cohesion on the Southern flank. Russia's history of using hybrid warfare, direct military intervention and diplomacy in its "near abroad," continues to threaten NATO frontline states and destabilize Central Europe, particularly Moldova, Ukraine and now Belarus.

Belarus may be swallowed whole by Russia should its dictatorial regime not find a way to quell pro-democracy riots throughout the country and Russia's territorial ambitions. Meanwhile, Israel's moves to normalize its relationship with Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States represent a potential boon to the West, in terms of trying to contain and manage Iran. The wild cards not yet played that could limit Western interests in the Middle East are a potentially nuclear-armed Saudi Arabia that faces off with an increasingly likely nuclear-armed Iran. As well, the Iraqi government's attempts to walk the tightrope between being a U.S.-NATO client state and living in what Ankara and Tehran view as their sphere of influence, complicated by Iranian hybrid warfare attempts to use allied Iraqi Shia militia to force the U.S. and NATO from Iraqi territory, are an added threat to the region and Western interests.

In Asia, outside of ASEAN, where bilateral military structures tend to outweigh large multilateral military alliances, we may be about to witness a sea change that favours Western strategic interests, should India be brought fully into the Western camp and be leveraged to link Western allies both east and west of the Indian Ocean, and beyond.

Joe Varner wrote *Canada's Asia-Pacific Security Dilemma*. He is also a former director of policy in the minister of national defence's office and an adjunct scholar at West Point's Modern War Institute.

Two steps forward; one step back



Senegalese peacekeepers take part in a military operation in the centre of Mali. In August, a military junta moved President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta out of the presidential palace.



Robert I.
Rotberg

Autocrats, even democrats, always find it hard to give up office — especially in Africa. Likewise, no matter how often the African Union condemns military coups and sanctifies elected heads of state, soldiers oust politicians and refuse to stay in their barracks. Equally, there are authoritarians who abuse and assassinate their opponents,

snuff out those who favour widespread political participation and brutalize their citizens. Fortunately, these are not the only African stories: Across the 49 states of sub-Saharan Africa there are at least several whose leaders are widening the political arena to maximize inputs from constituents and are moderating the grip of dominant political party machines.

To have and to hold

Alpha Condé of Guinea and Alassane Ouattara of Cote d'Ivoire are the most recent heads of state to succumb to the incubus of third-term-itis. Despite constitutional provisions that limit presidents to two terms, Condé, 82, and Ouattara, 78, decided recently that their countries needed their continued leadership too urgently to leave office after just two terms

of five years each.

In a referendum sponsored earlier this year by Condé, the people of Guinea voted overwhelmingly to permit him to run for a third term. After all, Condé regards himself as indispensable. His ability to rule Guinea well is little questioned by the strongman president nor by his ruling party or those who are provided with jobs and food by him and his party. But Condé has also run roughshod over his cowed opponents, locking up dozens of political prisoners in the last five years, and curtailing freedom of speech and the press. Massive protests erupted earlier this year over his ambitions to be a third-term president. They were beaten back by soldiers, with many fatalities. Condé's anointment came after a fake election in October. Despite iron ore and bauxite deposits, Guinea's

per capita GDP in 2018 was only US \$878. Corruption is rife. Condé has so far done little to improve the economic prospects of his 12 million citizens.

Ouattara is much more of a tolerant democrat. A northerner excluded from electoral politics by Laurent Gbagbo, his predecessor, Ouattara emerged from a bitter south-north civil war as president of the francophone republic, peacemaker



Despite constitutional provisions that limit presidents to two terms, Guinea's Alpha Condé, 82, decided his country needs him too badly to leave office after two five-year terms.

and an organizer of successful economic development. His country grows cocoa in abundance, and coffee. Its GDP per capita is a healthy US \$1,715. Cote d'Ivoire, with a population of 25 million, is much better placed in the 2020s than ever before, largely due to Ouattara's sensitive leadership.

There are good arguments why someone of Ouattara's demonstrated talents should continue to exercise those gifts in his country. But, in the manner of U.S. president George Washington, Ouattara decided earlier this year to stand down after two terms and make way for prime minister Amadou Gon Coulibaly. That plan was proceeding well until Coulibaly suddenly died in March. Rather than seek a replacement candidate, Ouattara and his ruling party opted to declare force majeure and put Ouattara forward as the presidential candidate in elections scheduled for late October. The party's lame and specious argument is that since Ouattara's first term as president began before the new constitution with its two-term limit was enacted in 2016, he has really only served one term, not two. There are two strong opposing candidates; Ivoirians will decide whether to stick with the president they know or choose an even earlier presi-

dent or a disciple of Gbagbo's. At least in this case, unlike in Guinea, there is choice.

When earlier democratically chosen presidents of Malawi, Senegal and Zambia tried to hang on beyond their allotted two terms they were rudely rebuked by their constituents. But Yoweri Museveni in Uganda, Idriss Deby in Chad and Isaias Afwerki in Eritrea have established themselves as presidents for life (in a manner pioneered decades ago by Kamuzu Banda in Malawi, Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia and Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe). They cripple potential dissidents and opposing political movements by any and all forceful means, shutting down dissenters and rounding up all manner of opponents.

The coup in Mali

In August, after weeks of citizen protest in the urban centres of southwestern Mali, a military junta moved President Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta, 75, out of the presidential palace and sequestered him and other elected officials in its cantonment outside of Bamako. Protesters had clamoured for Keïta's fall because of his administration's perceived corruption and its inability to combat Islamist jihadi movements in the country's northern desert and Sahel regions. The power of the Islamists, particularly those allied with the Islamic State (ISIS) and al-Qaeda in the Maghreb

(AQIM), has grown in recent years despite the countervailing efforts of 5,000 French troops, a smaller contingent of Americans, French and American air cover and satellite intelligence, and the (mostly weak) efforts of the Malian army.

The African Union and the Economic Commission of West African States (ECOWAS) excoriated the coup-makers and demanded that electoral legitimacy be restored to Mali. In early September, the soldiers were saying, instead, that they will govern the country for two years, down from three, and then restore an electoral democracy. How they run it in the interim, and whether and when they give control back to civilians, will depend on how forceful ECOWAS can be, and how the soldiers initially administer a country still largely split between restive agriculturally minded southerners and northern pastoralists plagued by raids by Islamists.

Mali could indeed fall apart, or split in two. Today, and throughout the Keïta regime from 2013, only foreign legions kept it together. Moreover, within the last year, the Islamist rebels of ISIS and AQIM have gained strength, raiding much of Mali and sections of northern Burkina Faso and western Niger with unexpected impunity. Even experienced and well-led French forces, who know the terrain and have been curtailing the Islamists since



Ismaël Wagué, up front at left, is a Malian military officer now serving as the deputy chief of staff of the Malian Air Force.



Calmer times: UN Peacekeepers from Chad march during the official inauguration of Mali's newly elected president, Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta, in Bamako. He's since been removed by a military junta.

2013, cannot seem to extirpate either of the insurgent movements.

The modern autocrats

When President Paul Kagame of Rwanda kidnapped or lured (stories differ) Paul Rusesabagina, the celebrated hero of *Hotel Rwanda*, to Kigali in September, he was perpetuating a long-practised despotic pursuit of former colleagues or potential rivals who oppose his paramount chiefship of Rwanda; Kagame orchestrated an abandonment of presidential term limits

and can (legally) serve as president (he began in 2005) until 2034. Kagame says Rusesabagina will get a fair trial for treason in Rwanda, a country where judges jump to Kagame's wishes.

This is hardly the first time that Kagame, who tightly controls an other-



Rwandan President Paul Kagame orchestrated an abandonment of presidential term limits and can now legally serve as president until 2034.

wise well-administered country that is growing well economically and has a low incidence of COVID-19, has taken a vociferous opponent out of circulation. He had his people strangle Patrick Karegeya, a former Rwandan spy chief, in a Johannesburg hotel room in 2013. He sponsored the assassination of Seth Sendashonga, sometime minister of interior, in Nairobi in 1998. They were both former colleagues

who had fled Rwanda to escape Kagame's iron fist. Earlier this year, a prominent singer who opposed Kagame was found dead in his prison cell, supposedly by suicide. There is no free press or free expression of dissenting ideas in Rwanda.

Another democratically elected leader, President John Magufuli of Tanzania, turned from ruling on behalf of his 75 million people to ruling largely for himself. Magufuli is up for re-election in October, and potential opponents and others who criticize his rule have been locked up or eliminated. Magufuli has also managed

WHEN PRESIDENT PAUL
KAGAME OF RWANDA
KIDNAPPED OR LURED
(STORIES DIFFER) PAUL
RUSESABAGINA, THE
CELEBRATED HERO OF
HOTEL RWANDA, TO
KIGALI IN SEPTEMBER,
HE WAS PERPETUATING
A LONG-PRACTISED
DESPOTIC PURSUIT OF
FORMER COLLEAGUES
OR POTENTIAL RIVALS...

arbitrarily to take over the operating mechanisms of the long dominant Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Revolution) party and to neuter opponents within the party as well as the nation. Magufuli has denied the existence of the coronavirus in Tanzania, and refused since April to divulge numbers of deaths.

One more example of despotism is President Emmerson Mnangagwa's regime in hapless Zimbabwe. Taking over from dictator Robert Mugabe in 2017, Mnangagwa, a former intelligence chief with military support, promised a return to democracy and sensible economic policies. Instead, in September, inflation was running at 800 per cent per annum, the supposed Zimbabwe dollar was worth



Tanzanian President John Magufuli has turned from ruling on behalf of his 75 million people to ruling largely for himself, writes Robert I. Rotberg.

a fraction of a real U.S. dollar, supermarket shelves were bare and famine was spreading rapidly over large swathes of Zimbabwe (and Malawi, Mozambique, and Zambia). A leading journalist who uncovered corruption by the health ministry in the distribution of coronavirus supplies was promptly jailed without a hearing for six weeks, being finally released on bail in September, pending trial. Another 20 or so prominent members of opposition parties still languish in detention.

The good news

In contrast to these backslidings among some of the key leaders in sub-Saharan Africa, President Cyril Ramaphosa of South Africa (whom we profiled in *Diplomat* in Summer 2018) has increased his popular appeal by deftly taking an appropriately strict line regarding the coronavirus and by winning a major struggle within his own African National Congress (ANC)



Côte d'Ivoire President Alassane Ouattara has decided his country needs his leadership beyond his first two five-year terms.

over corruption. In July and August, Ramaphosa managed to oust several figures blocking the ascendancy of his pro-democratic faction within the ANC, which rules South Africa through its parliamentary majority. Many of those who lost their positions within the party were accused of corruption, as well as impeding Ramaphosa's attempts to make the ANC more accountable and transparent. In September, as well, former president Jacob

Zuma went on trial for massive corruption after long delays.

South Africa has suffered from the coronavirus more than most other sub-Saharan nations. Nearly 709,000 people have tested positive and, by mid-October, 18,492 had died in the pandemic. South Africa, under Ramaphosa, locked down earlier than



South African President Cyril Ramaphosa sets a good example in Africa, having worked hard to curb COVID-19.

any other African country and kept its people largely in quarantine, with masks, until July, thus limiting the spread of the deadly virus. Admittedly, South Africa has the best testing regime in Africa, and its numbers are partially a result of more tests and better reporting than elsewhere on the continent. In any event, Ramaphosa is widely credited with saving South Africans from even more fatalities and for producing a better result overall.

It is too early to know whether Lazarus Chakwera, president of Malawi, will have the same influence on COVID-19 results in his exceedingly poor country. Only elected president in June, he immediately imposed mask-wearing, physical distancing and many other sensible restrictions on his 19 million citizens. He took responsibility for curtailing the disease much more seriously than did his predecessor and most of his peers across Africa. He also made a series of appealing statements about the restoration of democratic practices in a nation that has suffered bouts of authoritarianism and corruption since the ouster of dictator Kamuzu Banda in 1994. He promised to declare his personal assets annually — a first for Malawi and most African nations — and to establish an independent

anti-corruption bureau to investigate those who steal from the public. He even said he would introduce legislation to reduce the powers of the executive presidency.

In his forthright inaugural address in July, Chakwera said: "It is no secret that we have had one administration after another shifting its post to the next election, promising prosperity, but delivering poverty; promising nationalism, but delivering division; promising political tolerance, but delivering human rights abuses; promising good governance, but delivering corruption; promising institutional autonomy, but delivering state capture." The nation had been left in "ruins," so Chakwera pledged to get rid of the rubble of corruption and to replace lazy officials with energetic, conscientious ones. Government, he said, is service.

Other African presidents have entered office with equally positive messages and perhaps even the intention of being effective and accountable heads of state. If Chakwera can turn his promises into reality, Malawi will be the better for them, and Africa will have a rare victory for representative democracy.

Mixed messages

Ramaphosa and Chakwera, and the democratic series of presidents of Botswana and Ghana, may be exceptional outliers in sub-Saharan Africa, just as autocrats such as those in Equatorial Guinea, Niger, Gabon and the other countries discussed in this article, may be extreme examples of sub-Saharan Africa's oscillation between high-handed denials of human rights and civil liberties and politics in which political participation and good governance are the norms. As, across the sub-continent, the middle class grows, as educational opportunity advances, and as mobile connections to the rest of the globe grow stronger, so the practices of the outliers should become more common everywhere. As Africa slowly emerges from the coronavirus pandemic, the middle class will want such improvements more and more.

Robert I. Rotberg is the founding director of Harvard Kennedy School's Program on Intrastate Conflict and was Fulbright Distinguished Professor at Carleton and Waterloo universities. He wrote *The Corruption Cure* (Princeton University Press, 2017) and published *Anticorruption* (MIT Press) and *Things Come Together: Africans Achieving Greatness in the Twenty-first Century* (Oxford University Press) in August. rirotberg@gmail.com

COVID disrupts fight against TB

6.3 million people will develop TB by 2025 due to COVID-related diversions of health-care services; another 1.4 million will die.



Doctors in a TB hospital in Afghanistan analyze some test results. TB has become a more pressing problem as COVID concerns have overtaken efforts to curb it.

Editor's note: The TB/COVID-19 Civil Society Organizations working group wrote a report titled The Impact of COVID-19 on the TB epidemic: A community perspective. We excerpt the executive summary and key findings here.

Tuberculosis is the world's leading infectious disease, killing approximately 1.5 million people each year. Despite global and national efforts to end tuberculosis (TB) and the availability of cost-effective medicines to treat and cure it, too many people continue to suffer from this old disease. In response to early warnings that COVID-19 was having a devastating impact on people affected by TB and TB programs around the world, 10 global networks quickly came together to take action. They launched a civil society-led survey, aimed at enriching our understanding of experiences in various regions and key stakeholder groups, with the following objectives:

- To identify critical gaps and needs in TB

services resulting from the pandemic and raise awareness among national governments, program implementers, policy-makers, parliamentarians and the wider global health community;

- To raise the voices of TB-affected communities and civil society to ensure their ideas and concerns were incorporated into national, regional and global responses;
- To support greater alignment of TB and COVID-19 priorities and services at the country level;
- To work collaboratively to ensure coordinated advocacy efforts and concrete political actions to address identified gaps in funding, resources, and services;
- To strengthen engagement of and relationships across TB-affected communities and civil-society networks engaged in the fight to end TB.
- The findings of the survey offer a grassroots perspective on how COVID-19 is impacting five key stakeholder groups, namely, people with TB, front-line health-care workers, program and policy officers,

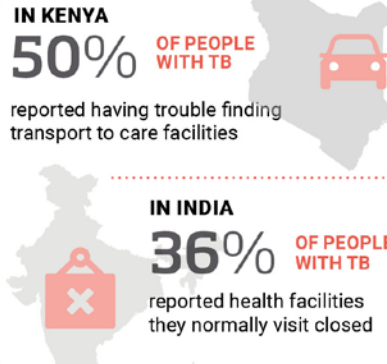
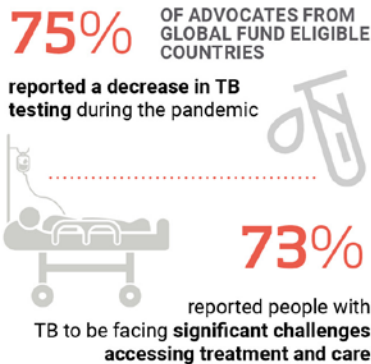
TB researchers and TB advocates. The report provides a summary of findings for each stakeholder group.

People with TB: People with TB from Kenya and India reported significant challenges in accessing TB services during the pandemic and associated lockdowns. Difficulty finding transport to access TB care, changes in TB services and fear of contracting COVID-19 during a health-care visit were cited as key barriers. People with TB also reported experiencing increased stigma due to the similar symptoms of both respiratory diseases. While most people with TB were given additional medicines to continue treatment at home, they expressed a clear and urgent need for immediate non-medical support, including nutritional, economic and psychosocial support.

Frontline health-care workers: TB front-line health-care workers reported significant reductions in TB care due to the

Key Findings

01 COVID-19 has had an enormous impact on the number of people seeking and receiving healthcare for TB.



[GLOBALLY] Policy and program officers reported significant drops in TB notification



Build back better:

There is an urgent need for a recovery plan to get TB responses back on track to reach United Nations High-Level Meeting (UNHLM) TB targets and commitments to end TB by 2030. COVID-19 has demonstrated the important role that affected communities play in responding to health crises, reporting barriers to access, supporting peers and filling gaps in services. The pandemic is an opportunity for national TB responses to be more people-centred and to involve communities.

pandemic. The main reasons for interruptions related to the redeployment of essential resources and personnel to respond to the public health crisis at hand and generally weak health systems struggling to cope with an influx in demand on services. Participants around the world reported a lack of personal protective equipment (PPE) and underscored how the unsafe and challenging working conditions were resulting in low morale and mental health issues. There is an urgent need for increased support, including investment in PPE, personnel, supplies and tools, as well as innovations in programming to offer quality digital and community-based care.

Policy and program officers: Responses from policy and program officers revealed that TB services and program resources had declined significantly because of the pandemic. TB notifications have decreased drastically and personnel are being redeployed to respond to COVID-19. Participants from the U.S. and countries implementing the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (Global Fund) reported decreases in the number of TB-afflicted people accessing care, as well as increases in stockouts of or delays in TB medicines. Interruptions to TB programs included programmatic capacity, stigma and fear, human-rights violations and other psychosocial factors that impeded people with TB from accessing TB services. Programs are being adapted and need further financial support to increase and sustain the innovative mechanisms

being deployed, such as telemedicine and family- or community-based care. The significant investments currently being made to respond to COVID-19 should be leveraged to strengthen the TB response.

TB advocates: Individuals employed with civil-society or non-governmental organizations working to end TB, or who identified as a TB advocate or TB survivor from Global Fund-implementing countries, expressed deep concern for TB advocacy and people with TB as a result of the pandemic. Diverted political and media attention to COVID-19 was said to be seriously affecting advocacy work. Participants also raised alarm bells about people with TB not being able to access care and social support, and community support groups not being able to reach affected communities during lockdowns. Human rights issues, including stigma, economic inequalities, food insecurity, and fear were cited as key challenges in responding to COVID-19 and TB. To tackle the challenges at hand, advocates called for a strengthening of TB-affected communities' capacity and engagement in the fight to end the epidemic and pandemic.

TB researchers: TB researchers around the world reported significant interruptions in TB research associated with a diversion of personnel, equipment and funding of COVID-19 over TB. Survey participants repeatedly noted existing lab space and infrastructure being closed during lockdowns or repurposed for COVID-19. Similarly, respondents experienced re-

duced access to research participants due to immobility during lockdowns. There is unified demand from TB researchers for additional and continued resources for TB and for research investments in COVID-19 to be leveraged for TB. TB research and infrastructure are currently being leveraged for COVID-19-related research.

The survey's findings complement reports on the devastating impact of COVID-19 on efforts to end TB published by the Global Coalition of TB Activists, Stop TB Partnership, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (Global Fund), the Global TB Caucus, the Americas TB Coalition and Stop TB Partnership Indonesia. Assessments and modelling done by the Stop TB Partnership, Global Coalition of TB Activists, Imperial College London and the World Health Organization show that an additional 6.3 million people will develop TB by 2025 due to COVID-19-related disruptions of TB services, while an additional 1.4 million people will die. Similarly, a recent report by the Global Fund warned that progress made in the fight against HIV, TB and malaria over the past two decades is at serious risk, estimating that deaths from the three diseases could double if health and social support systems are overwhelmed, prevention, diagnosis, treatment and care programs are disrupted, and resources are diverted. The COVID-19 pandemic is badly disrupting TB services everywhere and threatens to reverse hard-won gains in the fight to end the epidemic and achieve the UN High Level Meeting targets, the End TB Strategy, the Global Plan

Key Findings

02 COVID-19 is driving people with TB into poverty, and social isolation is increasing inequities and human rights related barriers to TB services.

Qualitative and quantitative findings indicate that people with TB urgently need nutritional and socioeconomic support.

70%

OF KENYAN RESPONDENTS reported not receiving enough support during the pandemic.



50%+

OF PEOPLE WITH TB IN KENYA said they felt shame because of the similar symptoms of TB and COVID-19

50%+

OF PEOPLE WITH TB IN KENYA AND INDIA said they feared contracting COVID-19 at a health facility,



61%

OF ADVOCATES FROM GLOBAL FUND ELIGIBLE COUNTRIES



reported an increase in misinformation and stigma in relation to people with TB, identifying stigma, human rights barriers, and fear as serious challenges to effective TB and COVID-19 responses.

Provide social protection:

COVID-19 has emphasized the critical importance of social protection systems. There is an urgent need to promote equity and access to financial support, transportation, healthcare and food for all people with TB, free from discrimination, and to involve communities.

to End TB 2018–2022 and the Sustainable Development Goals.

The impacts of COVID-19 are not being felt equally across or within countries. Prior to the pandemic, every year approximately 100 million people were pushed into poverty because of health-care-associated costs, and half the world's population did not have access to the health care they needed. These already vulnerable populations are being disproportionately impacted by COVID-19 and are the same people hit hardest by TB: children, people living with HIV/AIDS, mobile populations (migrants and refugees), Indigenous groups, miners, prisoners and people who use drugs. We know that the challenges and barriers to accessing COVID-19 and TB services disproportionately affect those who are most vulnerable and/or already marginalized. This impact is a particular concern from the perspective of human rights, stigma and gender.

As civil-society groups and people affected by TB, we report on our findings intending to outline concerns and needed actions with a people-centered lens and language that reduces stigma. Our findings present lived experiences, lessons learned, advocacy recommendations and opportunities for mitigating the damage done by COVID-19 to get countries back on track to elimination targets, as well as for "building back better" to end TB. The urgency and need is great, which is why we will continue to co-ordinate and ensure the findings of this initiative are used to mobilize and equip advocates to take action around the world. We urge the global

community to activate a multidisciplinary, emergency "all hands on deck" response to COVID-19 and TB. We know that united our calls will not go unheard.

Key findings

1. COVID-19 has had an enormous impact on the number of people seeking and receiving health care for TB.

Around the world, more than 70 per cent of health-care workers reported a decrease in the number of people coming to health facilities for TB testing. Health-care workers also reported reductions in the number of people with TB coming to facilities for treatment: 45 per cent in the U.S. and 63 per cent in Global Fund-implementing countries.

In Kenya, 50 per cent of people with TB reported having trouble finding transport to care facilities, while in India, 36 per cent of people with TB said the health facilities they normally visited were closed.

Around the world, policy and program officers reported significant drops in TB notifications (88 per cent in Global Fund-implementing countries and 68 per cent in the U.S.). 70 per cent of officers from Global Fund-implementing countries reported a decrease in the number of TB-affected people receiving treatment.

Seventy-five per cent of advocates from Global Fund-eligible countries reported a decrease in TB testing during the pandemic, while 73 per cent reported people with TB to be facing significant challenges accessing treatment and care.

2. COVID-19 is driving people with

TB into poverty, and social isolation is increasing inequities and human rights-related barriers to TB services.

Qualitative and quantitative findings indicate that people with TB urgently need nutritional and socio-economic support. Seventy per cent of Kenyan respondents reported not receiving enough support during the pandemic.

Advocates and health-care workers called strongly for people with TB to be provided with nutritional support and transport costs to and from clinics.

More than half of people with TB in Kenya and India said they feared contracting COVID-19 at a health facility, while more than half of people with TB in Kenya said they felt shame because of the similar symptoms of TB and COVID-19.

Sixty-one per cent of advocates for Global Fund-eligible countries reported an increase in misinformation and stigma in relation to people with TB, identifying stigma, human rights barriers and fear as serious challenges to effective TB and COVID-19 responses.

3. Health systems everywhere are weak and ill-equipped to respond to simultaneous COVID-19 and TB epidemics.

There is not enough PPE for people working in TB around the globe, resulting in unsafe and challenging working conditions. Sixty-nine per cent of health-care workers in Global Fund-implementing countries and 36 per cent in the U.S. reported a lack of PPE to safely care for people with TB and COVID-19.

Across public and private settings,

Key Findings

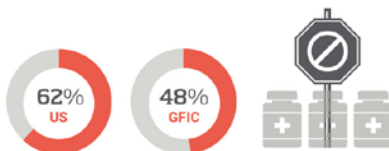
03 Health systems around the world are weak and ill equipped to respond to simultaneous COVID-19 and TB epidemics.

GLOBALLY

There is not enough personal protective equipment (PPE) for people working in TB, resulting in unsafe and challenging working conditions



Healthcare workers reported lacking PPE to safely care for people with TB and COVID-19.



Policy and program officers reported an increase in stockouts and delays of TB medicines

ACROSS BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SETTINGS

65%+ POLICY AND PROGRAM OFFICERS

reported healthcare facilities to be reducing TB services during the pandemic.



Strengthen healthcare:

Frontline health care workers and health volunteers have been the first line of defence against COVID-19 around the world. Yet, COVID-19 has weakened health systems everywhere, forcing healthcare workers to contend with unsafe working conditions. Healthcare systems need to address TB and COVID-19 in an integrated way. Fever and cough are symptoms of both TB and COVID-19, and simultaneous screening and diagnostic services are needed in both public and private health sectors.

more than 65 per cent of policy and program officers in Global Fund-implementing countries and the U.S. reported health-care facilities to be reducing TB services during the pandemic. Similarly, more than half of health-care workers around the world said the facility at which they worked had decreased TB services.

Sixty-two per cent of policy and program officers in the U.S. and 48 per cent in Global Fund-eligible countries reported an increase in stockouts of TB medicines.

Health-care workers globally said capacity issues were affecting their ability to provide TB care and diagnostics services.

Fifty-nine per cent of advocates in Global Fund-implementing countries reported resources for people with TB being diverted to the COVID-19 response.

Fifty-seven per cent of TB researchers globally said they did not have the necessary resources to conduct important TB research during the pandemic.

4. People working in the TB field are seeing significant interruptions and diversions of their work and research to COVID-19.

A majority of TB policy and program officers reported being reassigned to respond to COVID-19 (87 per cent in the U.S. and 59 per cent in Global Fund-eligible countries).

TB researchers around the world reported work/travel disruptions (90 per cent), delays in research (81 per cent) and employees being redirected to work on COVID-19-related projects (73 per cent).

Globally, more than half of all health-

care workers reported reductions in TB services where they worked, particularly in private settings.

Advocates from Global Fund-implementing countries expressed frustration with political attention being diverted to COVID-19 and its dominance of the information and media space.

Sixty-nine per cent of advocates from Global Fund-eligible countries said their work with TB-afflicted people had decreased during the pandemic.

5. Those working in the TB field are reporting a large decrease in funding for TB.

Fifty-three per cent of advocates from Global Fund-implementing countries said funding for TB was diverted to the COVID-19 response, while 51 per cent said donor support for TB had decreased.

Sixty-five per cent of policy and program officers from Global Fund-implementing countries said TB funding was being diverted to the COVID-19 response.

All groups called strongly for additional funding and increased resources to respond effectively and safely to COVID-19 and TB.

Thirty-four per cent of TB researchers said their funding for TB had decreased since the beginning of the pandemic.

6. On a positive note, countries have swiftly responded to pandemic-related disruptions by innovating in TB service-delivery. Respondents identified significant opportunities for innovation and adaptation in service-delivery in the current context.

More than half of people with TB in Kenya and India reported having received additional medicine to continue treatment at home. Health-care workers likewise reported sending people with TB home with treatment during the pandemic (78 per cent in Global Fund-implementing countries and 57 per cent in the U.S.).

Sixty per cent of researchers around the world said COVID-19-related research projects on which they were working could be repurposed or leveraged for TB.

Policy and program officers lauded program innovations to boost virtual care and support, as well as TB community-led initiatives being adapted to incorporate TB- and COVID-19-related challenges, producing real-time information on accessibility, acceptability, availability and quality of services.

Respondents reported the successful use of innovative solutions in telemedicine and digital health (video, phone, WhatsApp, apps, social media, etc.), as well as greater family and community support for people on TB treatment.

All groups emphasized that people-centred adaptations and empowering measures should be sustained beyond the COVID-19 pandemic.

All groups identified an opportunity to strengthen the TB response during the pandemic: Investments in COVID-19, such as in contact-tracing or diagnostic capacity, can be leveraged for TB, while heightened interest in and awareness of infectious respiratory diseases and global health offer an entry point for increasing the political will to end TB. ■

A trio of top players: MBS, Pelosi and Trump



Christina
Spencer

MBS: The Rise to Power of Mohammed bin Salman

Ben Hubbard

Tim Duggan Books, Random House, 2020

384 pages

Hardcover: \$36.63

Kindle: \$17

At one point in early adulthood, Mohammed bin Salman, now the crown prince of Saudi Arabia, coveted land from a man who would not sell it, so he demanded that the cleric in charge of the land registry simply sign the property over to him. When the cleric refused this illegal transaction, the young prince “sent him an envelope with a bullet in it,” writes author Ben Hubbard. It was an early example of what was to come as the young Saudi began climbing the family ladder toward ultimate power.

MBS, as he is often called, was never supposed to become the crown prince. Yet today he is the de facto ruler of Saudi Arabia, a powerful and divisive figure whose character seems made up of equal parts genuine desire to modernize and ruthless authoritarianism.

Because he was dozens of rungs down the ladder of succession (the sixth son of the 25th son of the king who founded Saudi Arabia, to be exact), little is known about the young MBS. Unlike his many relatives in the constantly proliferating House of Saud, “he never ran a company that made a mark. He never acquired military experience. He never studied at a foreign university. He never mastered, or even became functional, in a foreign language,” Hubbard writes. But in a conservative kingdom, he was an early adopter of modern technology and social media. And, says Hubbard, “his deep understanding of the kingdom and its society would enable him to successfully execute



Mohammed bin Salman, known as MBS, was never supposed to become the crown prince of Saudi Arabia, yet today, he is its de facto ruler, whose character seems to be made up of equal parts genuine desire to modernize and ruthless authoritarianism.

moves that few thought possible.”

By sheer chance — a series of deaths over time of key figures inside the royal family, MBS’s father, Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, became king in 2015. The young MBS had been close to him, and King Salman granted him important portfolios, including defence and the chairmanship of the massive oil company, Saudi Aramco. The crown prince, though, was his uncle, Mohammed bin Nayef.

Early in 2016, the kingdom announced a crackdown on corruption, including 47 executions. Then came an announcement that Aramco would be modernized through a share offer. MBS, already consolidating power, had begun to weave a narrative about a modern Saudi Arabia based on transparency and ending corruption. He had some of the world’s most prestigious business experts create a reform document called Vision 2030.

He stripped the religious police of most of their repressive powers while courting “young, tech-savvy clerics.” He dazzled global high-flyers from Richard Branson of the Virgin Group to Thomas Friedman of *The New York Times*. He met with Tim Cook at Apple and Mark Zuckerberg at Facebook. He began loosening social and entertainment restrictions inside the kingdom, recognizing that young, educated Saudis could not live contentedly in the “excruciatingly boring” kingdom of his elders. He also became good friends with



Jared Kushner (“the two princelings,” Hubbard calls them).

In keeping with the over-the-top spending habits of Saudi royals, and his own growing wealth and influence, MBS bought one of the world’s largest and most sophisticated yachts — for \$456 million — and the “world’s most expensive house”: a French château with a gold-leafed fountain and a moat of glass walls.

And he tolerated, for a time, the mild criticism of a Saudi journalist named Jamal Khashoggi.

But MBS clearly wanted more, and he began with unceremoniously forcing Crown Prince Mohammed bin Nayef to renounce his position — by having him arrested, withholding his diabetes medication and refusing him food until he signed away his title to his nephew. MBS would later try unsuccessfully to force out the prime minister of a sovereign nation — Lebanon — through much the same method, kidnapping and roughing him up. He began a destructive, bloody bombardment of Yemen. He purged dozens of Saudi princes who could be potential threats to his power.

Yet, having charmed so many in the West, he was indulged by world leaders

because of his goal of modernization — until the Khashoggi affair.

The gruesome death of Khashoggi, killed by Saudi agents inside the Saudi embassy in Ankara, Turkey, in 2018, where he was likely suffocated and his body dismembered, reverberated worldwide, perhaps for the first time illustrating to those outside Saudi circles the ruthlessness of the MBS machine. The fact that Khashoggi, while criticizing some Saudi policies, was never a dissident in the traditional sense and never called for the overthrow of the regime, made not a jot of difference to MBS: He had to go.

While the CIA concluded that MBS “likely ordered the crime,” the Trump regime took only minimal punitive action, sanctioning 17 individual Saudis. But others disassociated themselves from the bloody policies of MBS. To the world, Hubbard writes, “Khashoggi’s killing was a wake-up call. In a few weeks, it flushed away much of the goodwill and excitement that MBS had spent the last four years generating.” (A lawsuit launched this summer by a former Saudi spymaster who lives in Canada and maintains MBS tried to assassinate him, too, suggests that the Khashoggi killing was hardly a one-off idea.)

But how much does world opinion matter to MBS? By his 34th birthday in 2019, the crown prince had “eliminated his rivals, extended his control over the essential organs of the Saudi state and solidified his position as the kingdom’s undisputed centre of power.”

Now, Hubbard writes, the question is whether his bloody purges of enemies are “the youthful acts of an inexperienced ruler ... Or do they spring from deeper in his character?” The world will likely have decades to find out.

Pelosi

By Molly Ball

Publisher: Henry Holt and Company, 2020

Pages: 336 pages

Kindle: \$16

Hardcover: \$27.88

When Nancy Pelosi was first elected to the U.S. Congress in 1987, there were only 23 other women in the 435-member House of Representatives. None of the significant House committees was chaired by a woman, and there wasn’t even a women’s washroom near the House floor.

The U.S. Congress in the Reagan-era 1980s was still very much an old boys’ club, where, even within the Democratic Party, women’s opinions were rarely

sought and not particularly respected. Instead, as author Molly Ball writes of the political environment of the day, “the men were always winking, cracking jokes, laughing at (women) ... Behaviour that today would be considered sexual harassment was rampant and unremarkable.”

This is the backdrop against which Nancy Pelosi rose from junior congresswoman to Speaker of the House of Representatives — one of the most powerful political jobs in the U.S. While today we sometimes take for granted that, in democracies, women can win any position (Canada has a female deputy prime minister; Germany a female chancellor, for example), Pelosi’s story is a reminder that gender still matters in the halls of power.

Born into a political family — her father was a multi-term Democratic congressman and mayor of Baltimore — young Nancy watched as her five brothers were raised and groomed to enter politics. She married straight out of college and had five children of her own. Her husband’s successful career in finance took her first to New York, then to San Francisco, and the family was comfortably well off.

In fact, because they owned the biggest house among their circle, Pelosi hosted frequent fundraisers for the Democrats, honing skills that would serve her well later on: “the ability to seek and return favours, the ability to flatter the egos of larger numbers of people who believe themselves very important” and so on, Ball writes. Pelosi developed deep contacts inside and outside the party, having learned from her father that “a politician’s job is to help anyone who asks.” Eventually she chaired the California Democratic Party. She had a flair for organization and strategy, and she was the only one apparently surprised when she was tapped to run for Congress in 1987. She was 47.

From the start, Ball writes, Pelosi was determined to pursue a progressive, liberal agenda regardless of what the boys thought. She campaigned to help AIDS victims at a time when American politicians still shied away from discussing the “gay disease,” let alone the rights of homosexuals. She took a vocal stand against the crackdown at Tiananmen Square, railing about China’s human rights record, even as Democratic president Bill Clinton worked to regularize trade policy with Beijing.

Pelosi also turned out to be a veritable money machine (after two years in Congress, she was the leading Democratic fundraiser in the House, a skill that can never be underestimated in U.S. politics).



After U.S. President Donald Trump was elected in 2016, Democrats realized that House Speaker Nancy Pelosi was not a “relic of the past,” but rather, an experienced and savvy leader who would work hard to keep the administration honest.

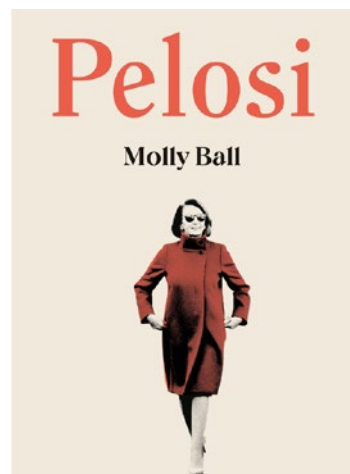
In 2001, she was elected House minority whip, and a year later became minority House leader. “She was the only woman ever to be part of a meeting between the president of the United States and the leaders of the legislative branch,” Ball notes.

Pelosi’s big strength, aside from her astonishing fundraising prowess (she brought in \$7 million for the 2002 congressional races), was her ability to count the votes accurately, negotiate with everyone and anyone and trade favours with congressional representatives from both sides of the floor in order to move legislation through. She was, as one fan put it, not ideological, but “operational.” Her style, Ball writes, was to be over-prepared, hyper-attentive to detail and “decisive to a fault.” She was also a rather wooden speaker. She distrusted the press and had “a tendency to hold grudges.”

And she could sometimes send mixed messages, as in her stance on the invasion of Iraq by George W. Bush. While she opposed the war, she tried to walk a line by still supporting the troops. “The distinction may have been clear in her mind, but it came off as contradictory,” Ball writes.

Under Pelosi’s leadership, the Democrats finally took control of the House of

Representatives in 2006 — making her the first female Speaker of the House in U.S. history. Just two years later, Barack Obama was elected president. One might think



the feisty female House leader and the ground-breaking black president would hit it off. But according to Ball, they did not.

Obama, she writes, seemed to feel little need to work with Pelosi, having run as a Washington outsider who, naïvely, thought he would build consensus across

party lines. Pelosi, on the other hand, felt that with Democrats controlling both Congress and the presidency, the time had come to get things done. But, the White House “seemed to want to get its way on policy without taking any responsibility for the legislation itself.” Obama, in other words, would take the glory, but the fights on the floor, the behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing, and the inevitable and occasional failures — all would rest at the House leader’s feet. When, after bitter battles, health care reform finally made it through the Byzantine process that is American politics, many thought the credit should have gone to Pelosi, not Obama.

The Obama presidency, Ball writes, was “a Groundhog Day cycle of crisis” featuring “marginalized Democrats, recalcitrant Republicans, a White House unwilling or unable to strategize around them ... and a government that could barely keep the lights on.” Pelosi, who at this stage in her career had a long track record of successfully working both sides of the House, “was still routinely cast aside.”

Throughout the Obama years, and becoming much worse under the Donald Trump presidency, Pelosi would endure outrageous personal attacks. The GOP,

for instance, began an online fundraising campaign called FireNancyPelosi.com, featuring an image of her raising her fists against a background of flames. “Fire Pelosi” yard signs and ball caps were sold to Republican supporters. During one election cycle, Republicans aired more than 160,000 anti-Pelosi advertisements, at a cost of \$70 million. Even Obama insiders failed to respect her. “Behind her back, they called her ‘Nasty P,’” Ball writes.

By 2016, Pelosi, now in her mid-70s, was seen by many within her own party as “a relic of the past.” Then Donald Trump won the presidency, and it did not take long for Democrats, and many Americans, to appreciate that there was at least an experienced and savvy Democratic House leader to try to keep the Republican president and his administration honest. Pelosi held on to her job, and the Democrats won the House in 2018, though the GOP spent more than \$100 million on ads attacking Pelosi personally during the campaign.

In Ball’s telling, Pelosi’s own reputation as an ossified Miss BossyPants turned around during the federal government budget shutdown of Christmas 2018. Trump demanded money to build his wall on the Mexican border; the Democrats stood firmly against it, saying that if he wanted to keep government running, he would have to forget funding for the wall. A frustrated Trump told Pelosi and Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer that he would take responsibility himself for the looming shutdown. Pelosi had manoeuvred him into taking the blame. Appearing at a press conference later, wearing a rust-red coat and sunglasses, she was “the coolly collected woman who’d flustered the raging president without breaking a sweat,” says Ball. With that image, Pelosi “went from bogeyman to icon.”

How is Pelosi seen today? The author admits that, on starting research for the book, she did not expect to find Pelosi “particularly compelling.” But the Speaker’s story, she concludes — one of standing up to men and wielding power alongside them to do good for the U.S. — is “extraordinary.”

The Room Where It Happened: A White House Memoir

John Bolton
Simon & Schuster, 2020
592 pages
Hardcover: \$30
Audio book: \$55.84
Kindle: \$17

If you were a loyal adviser to China’s Xi Jinping, Iran’s Hassan Rouhani or North Korea’s Kim Jong Un, you would have given your boss a copy of John Bolton’s book the day it was published. It is a savage recounting of Donald Trump’s incoherent attempts at foreign and security policy — useful insight for anyone facing off with the U.S. over, say, global trade, terrorism or nuclear disarmament.

For the rest of us, *The Room Where It Happened* is yet another wince-inducing chronology of ineptitude, infighting and psychological dysfunction in the White House. Bolton views events through the unique lens of the national security portfolio, and given what he relates, it’s no wonder the White House tried to stop publication of this memoir.

Bolton’s title is apt: For a year and a half, the former UN ambassador and



Former U.S. national security adviser John Bolton’s book is a wince-inducing chronology of ineptitude, infighting and psychological dysfunction in the White house.

hawkish veteran of the Reagan and two Bush administrations struggled to manage security hot potatoes for the president, meeting regularly with Trump and other top cabinet officials face to face. “Trump’s favourite way to proceed was to get small armies of people together, either in the Oval [Office] or the Roosevelt Room, to argue out all these complex, controversial issues. Over and over again, the same issues. Without resolution, or even worse, one outcome one day and a contrary outcome a few days later. The whole thing made my head hurt,” Bolton writes. It’s one of his more flattering observations.

In Bolton’s telling, indecision, inconsistency and emotion marked Trump’s every major security decision. Take the Iran drone attack, for instance. Trump had triumphantly withdrawn the U.S.

Rideau Optometric
Contact Lens & Eye Care Clinic

Vision care solutions as diverse as your needs

Rideau Centre
St. Laurent Centre
Place d’Orleans

613-567-0800
www.RideauOptometric.com

Activa Physiotherapy Clinic

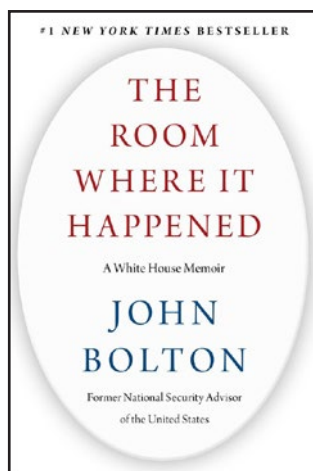
200 Rideau Terrace
Suite 202

613-744-4188

Orthopedic & Sports Injury
Neck & Back Pain
Motor Vehicle Accidents
Manual Therapy
Massage Therapy RMT
Acupuncture
Personal Training

from the Iran nuclear deal negotiated by Barack Obama, but when Iran began attacking tankers in the Gulf of Oman, the president hesitated to act. Then Iran shot down a U.S. surveillance drone, reportedly in international air space. The president's senior military, security and foreign policy advisers, including Bolton, agreed the U.S. should strike back in a "proportional" way, targeting three sites along Iran's coast. Trump enthusiastically approved. The strike was set for 9 p.m. one evening.

Instead, Trump called it off at 7:30 because, he told Bolton by phone, a White House official had suggested there might be 150 Iranian casualties. Nobody knew



where that number had come from but the president was worried about TV images of body bags. "The figures were almost certainly conjectural, but Trump wasn't listening," writes Bolton. "There was no explaining to be done." There was also no immediate retaliation against Iran, no message sent. Trump's pattern was to talk a tough game, but seldom follow through.

Trump was also given to foreign policy rambles whenever officials tried to focus him on one issue. For example, he wanted American troops out of Afghanistan (indeed, he wanted them out of just about everywhere) and had authorized Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to start negotiations on this. But during a typical meeting on the topic, described by Bolton, the president first confused the current Afghan president with the former one, then "repeated one of his hobbyhorses, namely that it was cheaper to rebuild the World Trade Centre than to fight in Afghanistan, inconveniently ignoring the loss of life in the 9/11 attacks.

"The discussion meandered around for a while, with Trump asking me why

we were fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan, but not Venezuela," Bolton continues. Then the president complained about Congress's refusal to fund the Mexican border wall. Then he wondered "Why are we in Africa?" In another meeting on Afghanistan, Trump criticized U.S. military programs in Africa, dissed the 2018 NATO summit, denounced the ongoing U.S.-South Korea war games, touched on security in Greenland, threatened to pull U.S. troops out of Germany, switched to the situation in Kashmir. Focus, in other words, was nigh impossible to attain.

Much has been written about Trump's belief that he is a master negotiator, that only he can get a deal done — and that it will happen in dramatic, TV-friendly fashion. This mentality was behind his desire to meet in person with North Korea's Kim Jong Un in Singapore. "I want to go. It will be great theatre," he told a highly skeptical Bolton. And perhaps it was. But it didn't move North Korea one inch on renouncing nuclear weapons. Nonetheless, Trump seemed smitten with Kim. By the time of a second summit, in Hanoi, both sides were frustrated no meaningful nuclear deal was yet at hand and they argued over a final communiqué. Kim, looking clearly unhappy, "lamented that he felt a barrier between the two leaders, and felt a sense of despair. Kim was smartly playing on Trump's emotions and I worried it might work," Bolton writes. "Trump said he wanted Kim to be happy. No words for that."

China's Xi also knew how to play the president. The Chinese company ZTE had broken American law by violating U.S. trade sanctions with Iran and North Korea and had been successfully prosecuted by U.S. justice. Violations had continued, however, which could mean significant fines for ZTE, and cutting it off from the U.S. market. When Xi raised this personally with Trump, the president said he had told his officials to "work something out for China." Xi replied that if that happened, he would owe Trump a favour. Later, before a G20 meeting in Osaka, Trump talked to Xi by phone about the next presidential election, says Bolton, "alluding to China's capability to affect the ongoing campaigns, pleading with Xi to ensure he'd win ... He stressed the importance of farmers, and increased Chinese purchases of soybeans and wheat in the electoral outcome." Trump also wanted a trade deal with the Chinese, and Xi was amenable to restarting talks. Gushed Trump: "You're the greatest Chinese leader in 300 years!" He amended it a

few minutes later to "the greatest leader in Chinese history."

Bolton's book is not kind to Trump. Nor is he kind to many high-profile people around Trump: former secretary of state Rex Tillerson ("susceptible to capture by the State Department bureaucracy"); former defence secretary John Mattis (who "had a high opinion of his own opinion"); former UN ambassador Nikki Haley ("untethered" ... "a free electron"); and others whom the president initially appointed. He felt the "axis of adults" in Trump's original power circle had treated the president poorly. Yet he himself eventually resigned too, unable to manage a man who set policy by "personal whim and impulse."

"Trump," Bolton writes, "was not following any international grand strategy, or even a consistent trajectory. His thinking was like an archipelago of dots (like individual real estate deals)." Later, he summarizes: "It was like making and executing policy inside a pinball machine, not the West Wing of the White House."

At the end, one is left wondering: If Trump could not get along with a hawk like John Bolton, an unapologetically partisan Republican who despised Obama, the Democrats and the press, who on Earth could the U.S. president get along with — aside from thugs and dictators?

MORE READING:

Becoming Kim Jong Un: A Former CIA Officer's Insights into North Korea's Enigmatic Young Dictator

Jung H. Pak

336 pages

Ballantine Books, Random House

2020

Kindle: \$16.99

Hardcover: \$28.24

When North Korean dictator Kim Jong Il died in 2011 of "overwork" (likely heart issues), many predicted the Hermit Kingdom would rapidly fall apart. How could his son, Kim Jong Un, an heir only in his mid-20s with no leadership experience, hold together a country that was "poor and isolated, unable to feed its own people?" How would the country's elders ever accept his authority?

So much for skepticism. Today, the younger Kim has centralized power, removed or marginalized rivals who might have challenged him and adopted new weapons (cyber warfare, for instance) alongside Pyongyang's ongoing nuclear

program. He has stood face to face with an American president, Donald Trump, and not blinked. Still, not much is known about him personally. Author Jung H. Pak, a CIA analyst, attempts to fill in more details about the man and his ambitions for North Korea.

The Fight for History: 75 years of Forgetting, Remembering and Remaking Canada's Second World War

Tim Cook

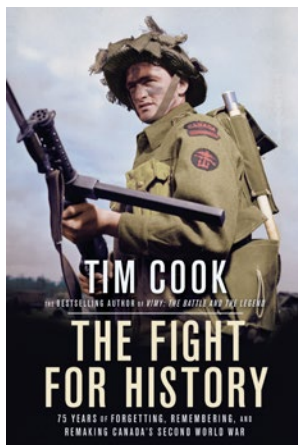
487 pages

Allen Lane Canada, Penguin Random House Canada, 2020

Kindle: \$17

Hardcover: \$22.50

Even though they were part of a victorious allied effort from 1939 to 1945, "Canadians did not see themselves as a warrior people," writes Tim Cook in his latest examination of the nation's military past. Canada's defence minister of the immediate post-Second World War era, Brooke Claxton, felt no one would be interested in reading about that conflict. And indeed, for a time, the events of that war seemed to be pushed aside from collective consciousness, despite Canada having 1.1 million men and women in uniform



and despite 45,000 of them being killed. Canadian veterans were mostly silent on the conflict and novelists and filmmakers were indifferent.

Cook's mission in this book is to chronicle why and how this seeming neglect of such a major historical event happened, and how the country's memory was rekindled in the 1990s with a "concentrated effort" to restore the Second World War to a prominent place in Canadian history.

Haldane: The Forgotten Statesman Who

Shaped Britain and Canada

John Campbell, in collaboration with Richard McLaughlan

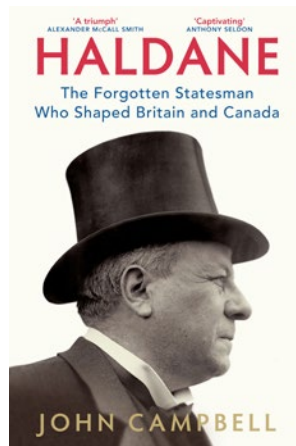
McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020

483 pages

Kindle: \$39.96

Hardcover: \$49.95

Most Canadians have probably not heard of Richard Burdon Haldane, yet this scholarly, renaissance-minded minister in the British government prior to the First World War had a hand in everything from the creation of MI5 to the London School of Economics to the British Expeditionary Force. As a statesman, writes author John

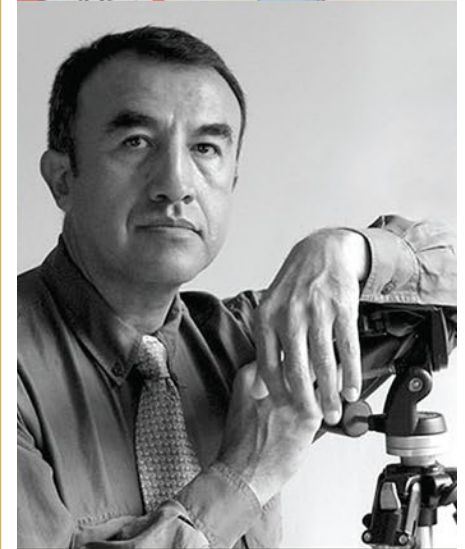


Campbell, he was even known to best Winston Churchill on occasion. But Haldane was disgraced in 1915 and dismissed from cabinet, wrongly accused of being a German sympathizer as Europe plunged into war.

For Canadians, however, his influence over the interpretation of the Canadian Constitution is a compelling part of his story. A member of the judicial committee of the (British) Privy Council, he sat on more than 30 Canadian appeals, helping to interpret the division of powers between the federal and provincial governments as set out in the *British North America Act 1867*.

Campbell writes it is "high time" Haldane resumed his rightful place in British and Canadian history.

Christina Spencer is the editorial pages editor of the *Ottawa Citizen* and the inaugural recipient of the Claude Ryan Award for Editorial Writing at the 2017 National Newspaper Awards. She has a master's in international affairs from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University.



Sam Garcia

Freelance Photographer

Diplomatic Functions

Presidential and Ministerial Visits

Social Events

Cultural Events

Corporate Events

Private Parties

Tel. (613) 614-0950

samgarciaphotography@yahoo.com



Fall harvest bounty beckons



Black Bean Salad served in seasonally appropriate fashion in a whole roasted pumpkin adds excitement to a harvest or Halloween table.



Margaret
Dickinson

Leaves bursting into a glowing spectrum of warm colours, days becoming shorter and cooler, pumpkins appearing by the truckloads — all announce the arrival of autumn and a time to give thanks for our blessings. Observing the long-standing tradition, we gratefully celebrate Thanksgiving Day with a special harvest dinner shared with fam-

ily and friends — at least in non-COVID times. Pumpkin, no doubt, will make an appearance on some fall harvest tables and menus. Bon Appetit!

Black Bean Salad

Makes 4 ½ cups or more than 1 litre

Tasty, colourful, addictive, might best explain what can be anticipated with every bite of this salad. To add an extra touch of excitement, particularly to Thanksgiving dinner, present the salad in a seasoned and baked whole pumpkin. Don't hesitate to scoop out and serve some of the pumpkin as well.

1 can black beans (540 mL or 19 fl oz)
1 cup (250 mL) corn kernels, cut from cooked cobs

¾ cup (180 mL) fresh mango, diced (¼-inch or 0.6-cm)

3 tbsp (45 mL) sundried tomatoes in seasoned oil (excess oil shaken off), very coarsely chopped

18 red grape tomatoes

6 tbsp (90 mL) fresh coriander leaves, coarsely chopped

2 ¼ tsp (11 mL) cumin powder, or to taste

1 ⅓ tbsp (20 mL) Tangy Asian Dressing (recipe follows)

To taste, salt and crushed black peppercorns

1 cup (250 mL) avocado, diced (¼ inch or 0.6 cm)

Garnish (optional)

Microgreens or sprigs of fresh herbs

1. Drain and rinse beans very well; place

between paper towels until excess liquid is removed. (Yields 1½ cups or 375 mL of beans).

2. On a large platter, with a fork, gently toss beans, corn, mango, sundried tomatoes and grape tomatoes.

3. Sprinkle with cilantro and cumin powder; toss.

4. Drizzle with Tangy Asian Dressing and toss gently. Add salt and crushed black peppercorns to taste (as well as more cumin powder if desired) and toss.

5. Carefully and evenly incorporate diced fresh avocado.

Tangy Asian Dressing

Makes ¾ cup (180 mL)

If you delight in a true burst of Asian flavours, this dressing will soon become a favourite. Not only is it a versatile salad dressing, but you can also drizzle it over raw or cooked veggies or vermicelli noodles, or serve it as a dipping sauce (e.g., with spring rolls).

5 tbsp (75 mL) sesame oil

2 ½ tbsp (38 mL) of rice vinegar

2 ½ tbsp oyster sauce

1 ½ tbsp (23 mL) minced fresh garlic

2 to 3 tsp (10 to 15 mL) Indonesian hot chili paste (sambal oelek) or ¾ tsp (4 mL) sriracha

2 to 2 ½ tsp (10 to 13 mL) peeled and grated fresh gingerroot

1. In a small bowl, thoroughly combine sesame oil, rice vinegar, oyster sauce, garlic, hot chili paste and ginger.

2. Place in a well-sealed jar and refrigerate. (Dressing may be stored refrigerated for up to several months.)

Roasted Whole Pumpkin

Pumpkins make their entrance only once a year, in the fall. Why not welcome them into your culinary repertoire? What could be more dramatic than giving a whole baked pumpkin a star role at your table — be it as a serving vessel, a centrepiece, part of the meal itself or as all of the above? Set your imagination into high gear in deciding what to serve from it — a soup, a salad, a stew, a pilaf, a medley of vegetables.... Regardless of your choice, the concept alone is certain to be a hit. (Note: If desired, also serve portions of the pumpkin, or save it for another meal.)

1 whole pumpkin*

Olive oil (preferably garlic-infused)

To taste, ground nutmeg, garlic powder, salt and crushed black peppercorns

1. Wash and dry the pumpkin thoroughly.

2. Carefully slice off the top of the pumpkin to create a lid.

3. With a soup spoon, scrape away all of the pithy interior and seeds to create a vessel.

4. Rub all exterior and interior surfaces of the lid and vessel with olive oil.

5. According to taste, sprinkle all interior and exterior surfaces evenly with nutmeg, garlic powder, salt and crushed black peppercorns.



Cumin Pork in Grape and Mushroom Sauce is an interesting main course when served with cooked asparagus spears and long young carrots.

6. Wrap the lid and vessel separately in heavy-duty aluminum foil and place in the centre of a preheated 350 F (180 C) oven. Bake until the flesh of the lid and vessel are tender. (Note: The lid will bake much faster than the vessel.)**

* The size of the pumpkin should reflect the capacity of the vessel required.

** Baking time will vary according to the size and variety of the pumpkin chosen. (e.g. For a common-type pumpkin, the lid may take about 30 minutes and the vessel about 1 ½ hours.)

Cumin Pork in Grape and Mushroom Sauce

Makes 4 servings

An exquisite wine sauce, combining

grapes and mushrooms with the cumin, makes this grilled pork recipe unique. It is quite simple and quick to prepare. I like to serve the pork over flavoured fettuccine or linguine. Just don't overcook the meat. The recipe may also be prepared with veal.

Accompaniment tip: Drizzled with sesame oil, cooked spears of asparagus or peeled long young carrots (with "tufted tops"

attached), make the entire combination a winner.

4 pork loin chops* (each about 6 oz or 175 g)

2 tbsp (30 mL) olive oil (preferably garlic-infused)

1 tbsp (30 mL) ground cumin, first addition

To taste, salt and crushed black peppercorns

8 oz (225 g) mushrooms,** sliced

4 tbsp (60 mL) garlic butter, divided

10 oz (280 g) uncooked fettuccine, linguine, or spaghetti (e.g., Italian herb, spinach, tomato basil)

2 tsp (10 mL) vegetable oil

¼ cup (60 mL) chopped fresh parsley leaves



The touches of ginger, maple extract and Armagnac make this pumpkin pie a year-round delight.

1 ¼ cups (300 ml) seedless green grapes, halved

Sauce:

1 cup (250 mL) heavy cream (35 per cent fat)

1 ½ tbsp (23 mL) cornstarch

1 tbsp (15 mL) Dijon mustard

1 tbsp (15 mL) ground cumin, second addition

1 ½ tsp (8 mL) finely chopped fresh garlic

1 cup (250 mL) dry white wine

1 tbsp (15 mL) instant beef bouillon powder

Garnish: (optional)

Edible flowers and/or sprigs of fresh herbs

1. Rub exterior surfaces of pork chops with garlic-infused olive oil; sprinkle with 1 tbsp (15 mL) of cumin; season with salt and crushed black peppercorns; set aside.

2. To begin making the sauce, in a small bowl, whisk together cream, cornstarch, mustard, garlic and 1 tbsp (15 mL) of cumin to form a smooth mixture.

3. Pour wine into a medium saucepan over medium-low heat; add instant beef bouillon powder and stir to dissolve. Whisking constantly, add cream mixture and continue whisking until sauce comes to a boil and thickens; remove from heat. Makes 2 cups or 500 mL.

4. In a large non-stick skillet over medium heat, sauté mushrooms in 3 tbsp (45 mL) melted garlic butter until lightly browned; transfer to a plate. Clean skillet.

5. Cook pasta in an abundant amount of salted boiling water until al dente. Drain well, reserving ½ cup (125 mL) of liquid. Rinse pasta with cold water, drain well and toss with remaining 1 tbsp (15 mL) of melted garlic butter. Set aside.

6. About 15 minutes before serving, pour 2 tsp (10 mL) of vegetable oil into a preheated skillet over medium heat; add pork chops and grill for 2 to 3 minutes per side or until just barely “medium” in doneness (160° F or 70° C) to avoid overcooking of the final dish. Immediately transfer pork from skillet to a warm platter and cover with aluminum foil with the shiny side down.

7. Pour sauce into skillet set over medium-low heat and scrape brown bits from bottom of skillet into sauce. Add mushrooms plus any juice and parsley, heat mixture. Note: If necessary, to thin the sauce, add some reserved liquid from cooking the pasta.

8. A few minutes before serving, add grapes, cooked pork*** and any meat juice; heat through. Avoid overcooking the grapes and pork.

9. To serve, arrange heated pasta in 4 individual bistro bowls or on 4 large dinner plates, bathe with sauce and top with the pork. If desired, garnish with edible flowers and/or fresh herbs.

* Option: 1 ½ lbs (675 g) pork tenderloin sliced into ¾ inch (2 cm) thick medallions.

** A combination of cremini, shiitake, small oyster, etc. Small mushrooms may be left whole if desired.

*** If desired, cut pork chops/medallions into ¼-inch (0.6-cm) slices.

Make-ahead tip: The recipe may be prepared hours in advance to the end of step 4.

If necessary, refrigerate the uncooked pork, cooled sauce and sautéed mushrooms until about 30 minutes before serving.

Margaret's Easy Pumpkin Pie

Makes 1 pie (diameter: 9 inches or 23 cm) or 8 servings

Pumpkin pie is one of the quickest and simplest desserts to make, as long as you have a great recipe and a technique that works for you. This recipe involves blind baking (pre-baking) the crust in advance to ensure crispness. The touches of ginger in syrup, maple extract and Armagnac make this pumpkin pie a year-round delight. The pie's "blooming flower" application will be its crowning glory — with little effort.

1 unbaked 9-inch (23 cm) pie crust* (not pricked), chilled
 ½ cup (125 mL) brown sugar (lightly packed)
 1 tsp (5 mL) ground cinnamon
 ½ tsp (3 mL) ground ginger
 ¼ tsp (1 mL) each of ground nutmeg, ground allspice and salt
 2 eggs
 1 ½ cups (375 mL) heavy cream (35 per cent fat)
 1 tbsp (15 mL) Armagnac (first addition)
 1 tbsp (15 mL) ginger in syrup, finely chopped
 1 tsp (5 mL) maple extract
 2 cups (500 mL) canned pumpkin purée (not pie filling)

Decorative "Blooming Flower" (optional)
 3 tbsp (45 mL) sour cream
 1 tsp (5 mL) Armagnac (second addition)

Garnish (optional)
 2 cups (500 mL) Whisky Whipped Cream** or whipped cream
 ground cherries

1. Prick bottom and sides of chilled pastry shell in many places to prevent puffing during baking. Blind bake shell by lining it with aluminum foil and completely filling with pie weights or dried beans. Place the pie shell in the freezer while the oven is heating. Bake pie shell on bottom rack of a preheated 425 F (220 C) oven until shell is firmly set (about 10 minutes or so). Remove foil and beans. Return to oven and bake until shell is crisp and slightly coloured (about another 5 minutes).

2. In a small bowl, combine brown sugar, cinnamon, ground ginger, nutmeg, allspice and salt.

3. In a large bowl, whisk eggs lightly;

add heavy cream, 1 tbsp (15 mL) each of Armagnac, ginger in syrup and maple extract; whisk thoroughly. Blend in pumpkin and sugar-spice mixture; stir to combine well; set aside. (Note: Mixture is thin.)

4. To make a white decorative pattern on the pie, stir together sour cream and 1 tsp (5 mL) of Armagnac; place in a small plastic bag; close bag with an elastic band and snip off one corner of bag.

5. Pour pumpkin filling into pie crust. To make a decorative white floral blossom design on surface of pie, work very quickly starting at centre of pie and pipe sour cream-Armagnac mixture in a spiral pattern over entire surface of pumpkin filling. Then, beginning at the outer edge of the pie and working toward the centre, draw the tip of a dinner knife (in a shallow manner) through the sour cream and filling; repeat to divide surface into 12 or more wedges of equal size.

6. Cover edges of pie with 2-inch- (5-cm-) wide strips of aluminum foil (shiny side out) to prevent excess browning. Bake pie on bottom rack of a preheated 350 F oven (180 C) until a knife inserted midway between crust and centre comes out clean (about 45 minutes or more. Note: The centre may still be just slightly soft.) Cool pie on a cooling rack, then refrigerate until ready to serve.

7. Cut pie into wedges and serve with Whisky Whipped Cream. If desired, garnish with ground cherries.

* Homemade or commercial. Note: For a homemade crust, roll out pastry on a lightly floured surface to form a circle 2 inches (5 cm) larger than top diameter of pie plate (thickness: 1/8 inch or 0.3 cm). Fold in half and transfer to pie plate. (Avoid stretching pastry.) With scissors, trim pastry, leaving a ¾-inch (2 cm) overhang beyond rim of pie plate; fold under creating a thick double layered edge on rim; flute edge with thumbs and fingers. Place in the freezer to chill for 30 minutes.

** To make 2 cups (500 mL) of Whisky Whipped Cream, place 1 cup (250 mL) of chilled heavy cream in a medium-sized chilled bowl and beat with chilled beaters at high speed until cream begins to thicken. Gradually add 2 ½ tbsp (38 mL) of icing sugar and continue beating until soft peaks form. Drizzle with 1 1/3 tbsp (20 mL) of whisky and beat until firm peaks form.

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

Feel At Home



Spacious suites in the heart of Ottawa!

With far more space than an ordinary hotel room, our suites give you relaxing sleeping and living areas. Available with one or two bedrooms, enjoy a full kitchen, free Wi-Fi and other home-like amenities.



- Steps from shops, restaurants, attractions & entertainment
- Easy access to business district, government offices, embassies
- Indoor pool, 24-hr fitness facility
- Free local calls & daily newspaper

Extended Stay Rates Available

LES SUITES

HOTEL OTTAWA

130 Besserer Street
 1-800-267-1989 | 613-232-2000
les-suites.com



**WHERE
ROOMS
BECOME
AMAZING**

CADIEUX INTERIORS.ca



1280 OLD INNES RD., OTTAWA - INTERIOR DESIGN HELP AVAILABLE

Making something of 2020's 'manic muddle'

By Peter Simpson



Michael Harrington's show of new work takes place at Galerie St-Laurent + Hill Nov. 12 to Dec. 1. His work is fitting for COVID lockdowns, he says, as it addresses "alienation, loneliness and the marginal male type."

Editor's note: Make sure to call a gallery before heading out, in case a COVID flare-up has forced the closing of location.

Moyra Davey: *The Faithful*, is the National Gallery of Canada's first exhibition devoted to the Canadian conceptual artist, and the timing may be perfect.

The exhibition seems ideally suited to help make something of the manic muddle that has been 2020, a year of fragmented politics and fractured discourse, when everything seems tentative and vulnerable, when change comes upon us with destabilizing carelessness. It's a year when it seems impossible to focus on anything,

for everything moves too quickly.

Hence the fit of Davey's work, of which National Gallery associate curator Andrea Kunard writes, "Fragments of stories interweave and images of images appear and disappear, sometimes maintaining an enigmatic relation to the narrated accounts. The camera — video and still — functions as a device of focus and concentration; the framing, movement and restlessness of the work reflecting states of being and consciousness," Kunard wrote in the gallery's magazine.

The words almost sound like a description of the year, which has wound past us like jumpy images from a broken projector. Even Davey's 2007 series, in which

she mailed photographs to people and then gathered them back up for exhibition, seems especially relevant in a year when the postal service has been a major concern in an unfortunately historic federal election in the United States.

The Faithful will include 54 photographs and seven films that the New York City-based Canadian has produced over her career. A highlight will be the 2019 project *i confess*, "an intimate portrait of the events that shaped Davey's youth in Ottawa and Montreal in the 1960s and 1970s," when her father was one of Pierre Elliott Trudeau's advisers at the time of the October Crisis.

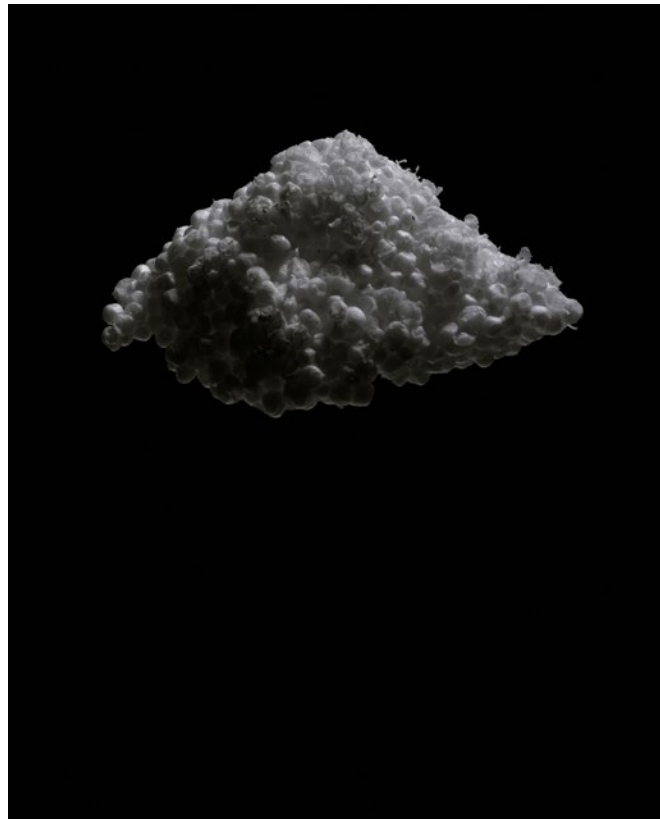
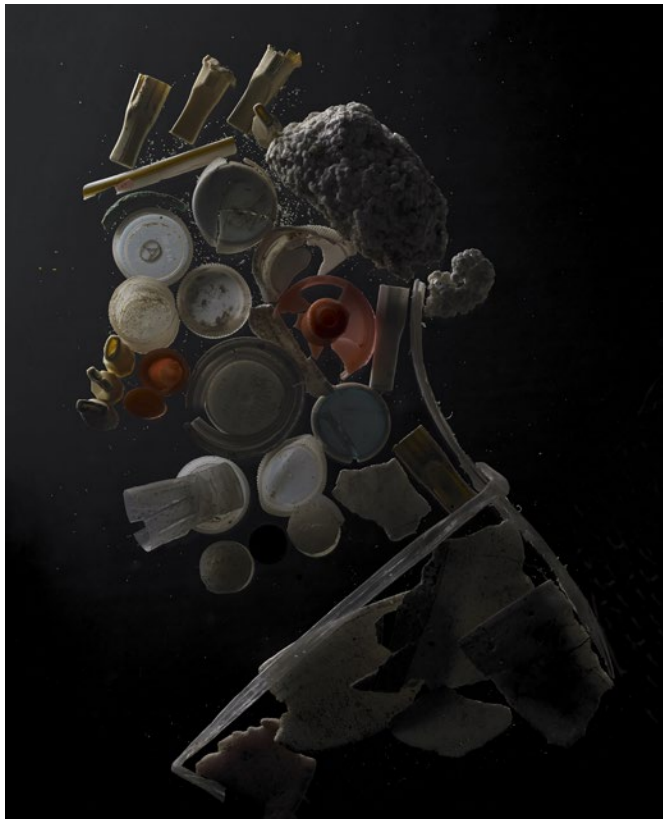
"A highly topical film, the work intertwines stories and images that address the



Equal Time by Norman Takeuchi shows Nov. 13 to Dec. 23, at Studio Sixty Six. His work focuses on the duality of being Japanese and Canadian.



Newsstand No. 19 by Moyra Davey is part of an exhibit called *The Faithful* at the National Gallery of Canada until Jan. 3.



The Ottawa Art Gallery is showing photographs by John Healey in an exhibit called *Plastic Beach*, which runs until Nov. 25 in the Sky Lounge. He creates images out of the garbage he finds on the shores of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence Seaway. Above is a portrait of a man made of cup lids and bits of plastic and a cloud made of Styrofoam.

subjects of poverty, racism and language in North America," say the exhibition notes. "Davey also evokes her childhood memories from this pivotal moment in Quebec's history." *Moyra Davey: The Faithful* continues to Jan. 3.

More pandemic-relevant work

Another exhibition that fits the pandemic times is that of Michael Harrington's new works at Galerie St-Laurent + Hill.

"My reaction to the lockdown was strange because much of my work has addressed alienation, loneliness and the marginal male type (the non-alpha male, perhaps)," Harrington says. "In the time of lockdown, these works would take different meaning and perhaps a more obvious interpretation from a viewer... I began, like many others I'm sure, to appreciate the importance of relationships and family in times of crisis."

Harrington's paintings (and occasional drawings) have often portrayed pastoral landscapes, where human figures — almost always males — "interfere with the traditional beauty of the landscape... or to suggest menace."

The new works, mainly gouache on watercolour paper, still look at human

figures in pastoral landscapes, but the figures are less disruptive because they are "couples seeking peace and relief from stress through pastoral walks or hikes."

Harrington's new works show from Nov. 12 to Dec. 1. Also watch for new works by Ottawa's Leslie Reid, whose work hangs at the National Gallery and elsewhere, Dec. 3 to 23.

Galerie St-Laurent + Hill is at 293 Dalhousie St. galeriestlaurentplushill.com

Showing at other galleries

Studio Sixty Six: *Equal Time*, works by Norman Takeuchi, takes place Nov. 13 to Dec. 23 at 858 Bank St. The duality of being Japanese and Canadian has long been the focus of Takeuchi's work, at base born of his early memories of the B.C. interior, where his parents were sent as Japanese-Canadians during the Second World War.

"I still make references to the internment camps because it is never far from my mind — a period that has shaped who I am — but my work now also pays tribute to the strength and determination of the Japanese Canadians who have been able to rebuild their lives and once again become productive members of Canadian

society," Takeuchi says. "The paintings represent an uneasy search for harmony and balance between the two worlds, but ultimately, they are a celebration of my Asian heritage. I have learned to embrace the two cultures." studiosixtysix.ca

Carleton University Art Gallery: *The Stonecraft Symposium: To Be Continued* features various artists, Sept. 24 to Dec. 12 at the gallery in the St. Patrick building. There are multi-media components to the exhibit, including a podcast, gatherings and *Troubling the Queer Archive*, an exhibition with works by Barry Ace, Rosalie Favell, Howard Adler and others. cuag.ca

Ottawa Art Gallery: *Plastic Beach*, photographs by John Healey, runs until Nov. 25 in the Sky Lounge. It's a selection of photographs by Healey, winner of the Project X Photography Award. In Healey's inspired but heartbreaking photographs, he creates images out of humans' garbage found on the shores of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence Seaway — a portrait of a man made of cup lids and other bits of plastic, or a cloud made of Styrofoam. It's a highly effective reminder of how we're filling our waterways with trash. oaggao.ca

John McCrae Gallery at the Canadian War Museum: *Forever Changed — Stories from the Second World War*, opens Nov. 6 at 1 Vimy Place. The show includes artifacts and stories that share how the lives of Canadians were changed by the war that ended 75 years ago. warmuseum.ca.

Sivarulrasa Gallery: The gallery's sixth anniversary show features work by 25 different artists, Nov. 25 to Dec. 30 at 34 Mill St. in Almonte. sivarulrasa.com/

Orange Gallery: New works by Lorena Ziraldo takes place Nov. 11 to 29 at 290 City Centre Ave. Ziraldo's polychromic paintings might be a portrait of the Queen or a random stranger. They often seem to be about the relationship between people and art — something to consider while looking at her art. orangeartgallery.ca.

L.A. Pai Gallery: *Sunset Cruise*, sculptures by Lisa Creskey, takes place Nov. 5 to 25 at 13 Murray St. Through her ceramic sculptures, Creskey seeks to understand how "individuals are attempting to mentally process and understand climate change." She incorporates imagery of a recently discovered prehistoric toothed Arctic bird and out-of-place humpback whales "to create a surrealist, organic landscape in contrast with the mechanical imagery of an icebreaker ship" — perhaps a vessel sent to push human encroachment even further into the beleaguered polar ecosystems. Also, watch for the gallery's annual holiday sale of art and unique jewelry, opening Dec. 5. lapaigallery.com.

SPAO: *Rem(a)inder*, photographs by Jennifer Stewart and Hannah Evans, takes place Nov. 6 to Dec. 18 at the School of Photographic Arts gallery, 77 Pamilla St. It's a photo-based installation that "explores the ephemera of relationships, mental health during breakups, exploration of sexuality and finding relief of emotions through the artistic process." spao.ca

Wall Space Gallery + Framing: *You Had to Be There*, paintings by Brian Harvey, runs from Nov. 7 to 28 at 358 Richmond Rd. Incidental moments can last as memories. Harvey aims to capture those "seemingly incidental moments" in paint, "giving weight and permanence to the gossamer and the intangible." wallspacegallery.ca

Contact arts writer Peter Simpson at pete@petersimpson.ca with details of your upcoming art exhibitions.



In *Sunset Cruise*, ceramic sculptor Lisa Creskey seeks to understand how "individuals are attempting to mentally process and understand climate change."



This piece is part of a show at the Carleton University Art Gallery titled *The Stonecraft Symposium: To be Continued*. It features various artists and runs until Dec. 12.

The inherent white privilege in the wine industry



Tristan
Bragaglia-
Murdock

Wine is complex. For fruit that goes through fermentation naturally, it sure does have a lot of hang-ups.

Buried under its generations of pretension lies the root issue: racism. At its core, wine holds an overwhelming amount of underlying white privilege, namely land ownership, winemaking, farming and fine dining.

I spoke with industry professionals — Black, Indigenous and people of colour (BIPOC) — who operate their own wineries as well as some from a top Canadian restaurant, about racism, operating within a white-dominant industry and about the steps required to bring about equality and change.

“Racism exists in our industry and it comes from guests as well as colleagues,” says Bernard Joseph-Lemoyne, sommelier at Ottawa’s exclusive fine-dining restaurant, Atelier. A first-generation immigrant from Zambia, he’s been working in restaurants for 15 years and has focused on wine for the past eight years.

Having a position in management has helped in defusing racially ignorant or aggressive situations. Overt displays aren’t the only issue, he says. Rather, it’s the subtle, constant reminders; many times at wine events or seminars, he is the sole Black wine professional. Embracing his position, he aims to make necessary changes to move BIPOC into visible positions within restaurants, be it chef, sommelier or owner.

Rajen Toor, winemaker at Ursa Major in B.C.’s South Okanagan, has grown up surrounded by vines. His family has been farming the Black Sage Bench region for the past 25 years and recently he’s started his own project. He’s candid in saying that he’s still figuring out his style, though his aim is to “tiptoe the very fine line between creative artistry, balance and elegance.”



Nk'Mip Cellars, North America's first Aboriginal-owned and operated winery, is located on the traditional territory of the Osoyoos Indian Band. Below, Justin Hall is a winemaker and member of the Osoyoos Indian Band.

Toor notes that much of the fieldwork is done by labourers from abroad, though he hopes to see more BIPOC in winemaking and lab roles — “predominantly white jobs” — rather than in the fields tending to vines.

Toor is looking to grow the industry beyond his own needs, knowing that diversification will bring innovation. Volunteering with Vinica, a mentorship program that focuses on diversifying the wine industry for people facing systemic barriers, he hopes to guide and share his experiences in the B.C. wine industry in hopes of diversifying the community and raising the bar.

Further south, around Osoyoos Lake, lies Nk'Mip Cellars, North America’s first Aboriginal-owned and operated winery. Endowed with awards throughout the years, the winery is located on the traditional territory of the Osoyoos Indian Band (OIB). Nk'Mip’s winemaking focus has been on land stewardship, reflected in its vineland and the effort put into each bottle.

“Businesses thrive here because of our



NK'MIP CELLARS / MILK CREATIVE COMMUNICATIONS



**Appliances
designed
to fit
your life.**

FOLLOW US TO GET OUR BEST DEALS



Your Local Appliance Expert

(613) 521-5002 | 1915 BANK STREET, OTTAWA ON UniversalAppliances.com





Rajen Toor, winemaker at Ursa Major in B.C.'s South Okanagan, has grown up surrounded by vines. His family has been farming the Black Sage Bench region for the past 25 years. One of his wines is pictured below.



location, the richness of our land, and because we want to do business with the world," states the OIB's mandate online. "We strengthen our future by protecting our past." Historically, agriculture in the area focused on tobacco and cattle. Currently, national acclaim for their wines is a driving force for their community and regional tourism.

In Ontario, low-intervention wine- and cider-maker Tariq Ahmed (full disclosure: my boss) says his main concern is regarding land ownership. Access to capital is a challenge; Revel Cider and iBi Wines were built on a lean business model.

"Historically, people of colour have not had the same access to capital." Ahmed explains further: "Our highest-margin revenue stream is attached to having land. If you don't have access to capital, you can't own land and then you're stuck selling in the lowest margin revenue streams, which

sets you back as a business."

Despite the lean business model and small staff, Ahmed has promised a donation of \$500 with every new bottle release in order to help combat racism and other issues affecting BIPOC. On Revel's Instagram page, he states: "Systemic racism is not something that disappears next week. If we can afford this as a tiny operation eking out an existence, I know that a lot of the rest of you can, too."

Barriers are being torn down and doors are opening for wine professionals of colour across Canada, thanks to the efforts of the small group of driven professionals using their influence to make change.



Wine- and cider-maker Tariq Ahmed says his main concern about wine's inherent white privilege is land ownership.

"We are seeing it in vineyards and restaurants across South Africa," says Joseph Lemoyne. "If the most racialized country in Africa can do it, so can we."

Ursa Major, Revel Cider and iBi wines can be ordered online from www.ursamajorwinery.com and www.revelcider.ca respectively. Nk'Mip can often be found in the LCBO's Vintages section. Visit www.vinica.ca for more information on Vinica.

Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock is co-founder of Jabberwocky Bar in Ottawa. He currently works on the production floor and cellar of Revel Cider and iBi Wines in Guelph.

SAY YES TO BEAUTIFUL LEGS

LARGE VARICOSE VEINS

Ultrasound-guided injections
will eliminate them without surgery.


BROKEN CAPILLARIES ON YOUR LEGS OR FACE

Eliminate them with simple
saline injections.

Dr. Lucie BEAUPRÉ

Diplomate of the **American Board
of Venous and Lymphatic Medicine**

A striving team of 10 Doctors
Monday - Friday

medic  art

vein clinic

Ottawa

1335, avenue Carling, suite 600

613 722-0101

medicart.com

New arrivals

Larbi El Hadj Ali
Ambassador of Algeria



Ambassador El Hadj Ali is a career diplomat who joined the foreign ministry in 1983 Prior to arriving in Canada, he held several senior positions in the Department of Foreign Affairs. Since 2013, he has been adviser to the foreign minister. From 2008 to 2013, he was deputy director in charge of the United Nations. He served as deputy director of the partnership with the European Union between 2002 and 2004.

He served as minister at Algeria's permanent mission to the United Nations in New York from 2004 to 2008 and was a member of the Algerian delegation during Algeria's term on the Security Council (2004-2005). From 1996 to 2000, he was counselor in Brussels and previously to that, first secretary in Prague (1988 to 1992).

He is married with three children.

Maria Vass-Salazar
Ambassador of Hungary



Ambassador-designate Vass-Salazar has been a career diplomat for more than two decades. Prior to coming to Canada, she was head of the department for Northern Europe, overseeing bilateral relations with 13 European countries. Previously, she was head of the science diplomacy department, which promotes Hungarian science, technology and innovation internationally. Between 2011 and 2016, she served as deputy head of mission in London.

Prior to that she was posted to Washington, D.C., as political counsellor. There, she also served for one year as a Hungarian transatlantic diplomatic fellow at the U.S. State Department. She has served as head of section for NATO affairs and was assigned as a political officer to the Hungarian delegation to NATO when Hungary joined the alliance in 1999.

The ambassador-designate has a PhD in international relations from Corvinus University Budapest and a master's in history from Eötvös Loránd University. She is married with two children.

Eamonn McKee
Ambassador of Ireland



Ambassador McKee is a career diplomat who joined the foreign ministry after completing a degree in history. He also has a PhD from the National University of Ireland.

Initially, he worked in the Anglo-Irish division, which became the focus for his work for the following 20 years, including six years in Washington from 1990 to 1996. There, he worked with the U.S. on the emerging Northern Ireland Peace Process.

He was a member of the Irish government's team involved in the negotiation of the Good Friday Agreement and its implementation and served two years at the consulate general in New York.

In 2005, he joined Irish Aid (on the emergency humanitarian side), and later served as founding director of the conflict-resolution unit. He was then appointed ambassador to Seoul in 2009 and ambassador to Israel in 2013.

Sharon Joyce Miller
High Commissioner for Jamaica



Prior to coming to Canada this time, High Commissioner Miller was the ambassador to Brazil and before that, she was director of the economic affairs department at the foreign ministry and a member of the permanent mission to the International Seabed Authority. A career diplomat, she had also previously held the position of deputy high commissioner in Ottawa.

In addition, she previously served as deputy head of mission at the Jamaican Embassy in Washington, D.C., with concurrent accreditation to the permanent mission of Jamaica to the Organization of American States. Over her 35-year career, she has represented Jamaica in numerous international forums, and has also sat on various national boards and committees.

She holds a bachelor of science in public administration and has done graduate work in development studies.

She is married with two children.

Ines Coppoolse
Ambassador of the Netherlands



Ambassador Coppoolse joined the foreign ministry in 1992, serving in several positions in London and at The Hague, including work with the Sub-Saharan Africa department, consular affairs and the asylum department.

In 2001, she became head of the recruitment and selection section for three years, before being sent to Vienna as deputy permanent representative at the permanent mission to the UN. She returned to headquarters as deputy director of the Asia and Oceania department and then rejoined the human resources department as director.

In 2015, she went to Sweden as ambassador for five years, before her appointment to Canada.

The ambassador is married to Alexander Gerard Verbeek.

Jon Elvedal Fredriksen
Ambassador of Norway



Ambassador Fredriksen trained as an officer with the engineer corps of the Norwegian army and studied in Stuttgart, Germany, as well as at the University of Tromsø in Norway.

He started his career as a first lieutenant with the Norwegian Border Commissariat in 1995 and two years later, he joined the foreign ministry as an executive officer in Russian affairs. A year later, in 1998, he became consult at the consulate-general in Murmansk, Russia. He then went to the embassy in Moscow as first secretary. From 2004 to 2006, he was senior advisor at the ministry of industry and trade and for the following two years, he served as assistant director-general for Arctic and Russian affairs.

From 2008 to 2011, he was consul-general in Murmansk and then ambassador to Ukraine from 2011 to 2016. Following that posting, he served as diplomatic adviser to the prime minister of Norway until he was posted to Canada.

Non-heads of mission

Armenia
Arman Suflyan
Second secretary

European Union
Christian Klaus Burgsmuller
Deputy head of mission

Ana Isabel Guallarte Alias
Attaché

Finland
Kaisa Heikkilä
Minister-counsellor and
deputy chief of mission

Taina Elisa Karpenko
Second secretary and
consul

Germany
David Bracke
Assistant attaché

Christian Markus Schmitt
Assistant attaché

Rosa Kristina Sokolowski
Attaché

India
Nirbhay Bapna
Naval attaché

Israel
Amiram Jakira
Defence attaché

Ophir Keren
Attaché

Alexander Lipovsky
Second secretary

Japan
Yasuyuki Kimura
First secretary

Kazakhstan
Talgat Ketebayev
First secretary

Korea, Republic
Eunjee Lee
Second secretary

Seokhwan Yang
Counsellor

Lithuania
Inga Miskinyte
Deputy head of mission

Moldova
Petru Alexei,
Counsellor and chargé
d'affaires

Netherlands
Jaap Jan Speelman
Deputy head of mission

New Zealand
Scott Barrie Cordwell
Defence adviser

Emma Rennie
Second secretary

Spain
Salvador Maspoch Heins
Deputy head of mission

Switzerland
Ulrich Gustav Haug
Second secretary

Regula Marta Kurzbein
Deputy head of mission

Turkey
Ibrahim Filik
Attaché

Bahar Kaplan
Attaché

Kara, Ozkan
Attaché

Zeynel Sivri
Attaché

Tuncay Yildirim
Attaché

Murat Yildiz
Attaché

United Kingdom
Olivia Bellers-Ivson
First secretary

Douglas Gibson
Defence adviser

Michelle Jane Norman
Second secretary

United States of America
Zachary Robert Bailey
Second secretary

Katherine Ann Brucker
Deputy head of mission

Richard Keith Clark
Attaché

Bryan Joseph Ermatinger
Attaché

Elizabeth Marietary
Franolich
First secretary

Cassandra Hamblin
Attaché

Michael Joseph Kelly
First secretary

Shannon Tovan McDaniel
First secretary

Maria Elena Najera
Assistant attaché

Patrick Joseph Perriello Jr.
Second secretary

Molly Mulherin Sanchez
Crowe
First secretary

Jessica Susan Skrebes
Second secretary and
consul

Yemen
Abdulhakim Alhamadi
Minister and deputy head
of mission

GET GORGEOUS



EST. 1963

ELITE HOME DECORATING

ELITEDRAPERIES.CA | 613.730.9090

YOUR HOME IS A REFLECTION OF WHO YOU ARE.

That's why at Elite Home Decorating, our clients are the inspiration for every home we design. Locally made window coverings with over 57 years experience – we're here to make your dreams a reality.

*Ask us about the Home Accessibility tax credit, of up to \$10,000

MOTORIZED & MANUAL BLINDS • DRAPERIES • SHUTTERS
• UPHOLSTERY • INTERIOR DESIGN

ECLIPSE™
SHUTTERS

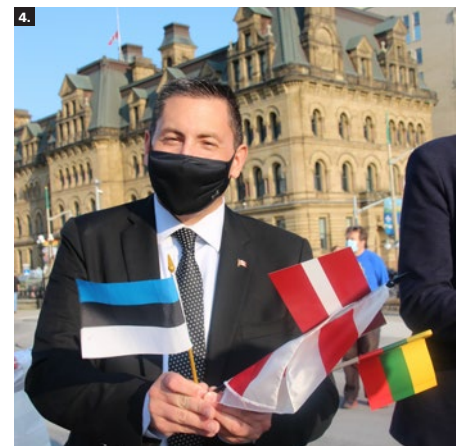
POWERED by
somfy®

HunterDouglas
WINDOW FASHIONS

VISIT OUR SHOWROOM & MANUFACTURING CENTER AT 148 COLONNADE ROAD, OTTAWA



1. Catherine Belanger, front, who is of Hungarian descent, hosted a lunch in honour of newly arrived Hungarian Ambassador Maria Eva Vass-Salazar, centre. They were joined by retired Canadian ambassador Lawrence Lederman. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. Estonian Ambassador Toomas Lukk attended Estonia's 102nd Independence Day celebration at Toronto's Estonian House. From left: Lukk, his wife, Piret, and Veiko Parming, president of Estonian House, stand in the grand hall. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. Members of the Ottawa Bonsai Society prepare for a virtual bonsai show at the Japanese Embassy. (Photo: Ottawa Bonsai Society) 4. Korean Ambassador Keung Ryong Chang attended a ceremony marking the first anniversary of the opening of the Ottawa Korean Library, operated by the Korean Community Association of Ottawa. He's shown here, far right, with, from left, Kim Sang Tae and Jeon Wooju. (Korean Cultural Centre) 5. Korean Ambassador Chang offered remarks at the Ottawa Korean Library event. (Embassy of Korea) 6. Winston Wen-yi Chen, representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, hosted a virtual event to mark the 109th National Day of Taiwan. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. Philippines Ambassador Petronila P. Garcia hosted a farewell dinner at her residence. From left: Carmen Barcena, head of ceremonial and protocol services; Barcena's daughter, Valora Engelman; Garcia and Rory Paner, executive assistant to the deputy chief of mission at the Japanese Embassy. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. The 5th Balts Unity Day took place on Parliament Hill next to the Centennial Flame. Lithuanian Ambassador Darius Skusevicius gave a speech. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. Latvian Ambassador Karlis Eihenbaums gave a speech and joined in the singing of the national anthem. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. MP Jamie Schmale, chairman of the Canada-Nordic-Baltic Parliamentary Friendship Group, holds the flags of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. He spoke at the Baltic event. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Inara Eihenbauma, wife of Latvian Ambassador Karlis Eihenbaums, and Inga Skruzmane, counsellor at the Latvian Embassy, attended the event. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. The 5th Balts Unity Day celebration on Parliament Hill was organized by three Baltic embassies and was well attended by communities of all three Baltic countries. (Photo: Ülke Baum)





1. A flag-raising ceremony in honour of the National Day of Chile took place at Ottawa City Hall. From left: Sara Cohen, director general for the Latin American and Caribbean Bureau at Global Affairs Canada; Stewart Wheeler, chief of protocol; Maria Cecilia Beretta, wife of Chilean Ambassador Alejandro Marisio; Michael Grant, assistant deputy minister for the Americas at Global Affairs Canada; Chilean Ambassador Alejandro Marisio; Honduran Ambassador Sofia Cerrato, Sonia Diaz, president of the Canadian-Chilean Women's Association of Ottawa, Jaime Contreras, former consul general of Chile in Montreal, and Chilean defence attaché Capt. Juan Soto. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

2. Chilean Ambassador Alejandro Marisio gave a speech at the flag-raising. He is shown with his wife, Maria Cecilia Beretta. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

3. Defence attaché Capt. Juan Soto and Jaime Contreras, former consul general of Chile in Montreal, attended the flag-raising ceremony. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

4. Michael Grant, assistant deputy minister for the Americas at Global Affairs Canada, delivered a speech at Chile's national day event. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

5. To celebrate Egyptian heritage month, Egyptian Ambassador Ahmed Abu Zeid, shown here, organized a virtual tour of history. The former Egyptian minister of antiquities and professor of Egyptology served as the expert from afar. Egyptian Heritage Month marked Egypt's National Day with cultural events across Canada (Photo: Ülle Baum)

6. Zimbabwean Ambassador Ruth Masodzi Chikwira and her husband, Stanford Shikwira, attended the annual diplomatic fly day. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



1. Kathleen Billen, president of the Heads of the Mission Spouses Association (HOMSA), president of the Europe group and wife of Belgian Ambassador Johan Hendrik Verkammen, hosted an event at her home to put together welcome gift bags for the members of HOMSA. From left: Dorota Skuseviciene, wife of Lithuanian Ambassador Darius Skusevicius; Victoria Carol Eriksson, wife of Finnish Ambassador Roy Eriksson; Billen; Piret Lukk, wife of Estonian Ambassador Toomas Lukk and vice-president of HOMSA's Europe group; and Jenni Ahlin, wife of Swedish Ambassador Urban Christian Ahlin. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. Adriana Patricia Anon Fernandez, wife of Uruguayan Ambassador Martin Vidal Delgado (left) received a HOMSA welcome gift bag from Piret Lukk. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Piret Lukk. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. Kathleen Billen shows the gift bags at in her home in Rockcliffe. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. Shown standing in front of the Belgian ambassador's residence are HOMSA Europe Group executive team members Piret Lukk, Jenni Ahlin, Victoria Carol Eriksson, Kathleen Billen and Dorota Skuseviciene. They prepared 75 welcome bags with European treats and delivered them to HOMSA members across the city. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

AFGHANISTAN

His Ex. Mohammad Hassan Soroosh
Yousufzai
Embassy of the Islamic Republic of
Afghanistan
240 Argyle Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1B9
TEL 613-563-4223 FAX 613-563-4962
contact@afghanemb-canada.net
www.afghanemb-canada.net

ALBANIA

His Ex. Ermal Muça
Embassy of the Republic of Albania
130 Albert Street, Suite 302
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL 613-236-4114 FAX 613-236-0804
embassy.ottawa@mfa.gov.al

ALGERIA

His Ex. Larbi El Hadj Ali
Embassy of the People's Democratic
Republic of Algeria
500 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N2
TEL 613-789-8505 FAX 613-789-1406
www.embassyalgeria.ca/eng.htm
info@embassyalgeria.ca

ARGENTINA

Embassy of the Argentine Republic
81 Metcalfe Street 7th Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6K7
TEL 613-236-2351 FAX 613-235-2659
ecana@mrecic.gov.ar
www.ecana.mrecic.gob.ar

ARMENIA

Her Ex. Anahit Harutyunyan
Embassy of the Republic of Armenia
7 Delaware Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0Z2
TEL 613-234-3710 FAX 613-234-3444
armcanadaembassy@mfa.am
www.armembassycanada.ca

AUSTRALIA

Her Ex. Natasha Smith
Australian High Commission
50 O'Connor, Suite 710
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L2
TEL 613-236-0841 FAX 786-7621
www.canada.embassy.gov.au

AUSTRIA

His Ex. Stefan Pehringer
Embassy of the Republic of Austria
445 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6M7
TEL 613-789-1444 FAX 613-789-3431
ottawa-ob@bmeia.gv.at

AZERBAIJAN

Mr. Fouad Aliyev
Chargé d'Affaires
Embassy of the Republic of Azerbaijan
275 Slater Street, Suite 1203
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H9
TEL 613-288-0497 FAX 613-230-8089
azerbaijan@azembassy.ca
www.azembassy.ca

BAHAMAS

His Ex. Alvin A. Smith
Bahamas High Commission
99 Bank Street, Suite 415
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6B9
TEL 613-232-1724 FAX 613-232-0097
ottawa-mission@bahighco.com
www.bahamas.com

BANGLADESH

His Ex. Mizanur Rahman
High Commission for the People's
Republic of Bangladesh
350 Sparks Street, Suite 1100
Ottawa, Ontario, K1R 7S8
TEL 613-236-0138 FAX 613-567-3213
bangla@rogers.com
www.bdhc.org

BARBADOS

His Ex. Reginald Richardo Farley
High Commission for Barbados
55 Metcalfe St., Suite 470
Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 6L5
TEL 613-236-9517 FAX 613-230-4362
ottawa@foreign.gov.bb

BELARUS

Embassy of the Republic of Belarus
130 Albert Street, Suite 600
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL 613-233-9994 FAX 613-233-8500
canada@mfa.gov.by

BELGIUM

His Ex. Johan Hendrik Verkammen
Embassy of Belgium
360 Albert Street, Suite 820
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 7X7
TEL 613-236-7267 FAX 613-236-7882
ottawa@diplobel.fed.be
www.diplomatie.be/ottawa

BENIN

Embassy of the Republic of Benin
58 Glebe Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2C3
TEL 613-233-4429 FAX 613-233-8952
ambaben@benin.ca

BOLIVIA

Embassy of the Republic of Bolivia
130 Albert Street, Suite 416
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL 613-236-5730 FAX 613-236-8237
bolivianembassy@bellnet.ca
www.emboliviacanada.com

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

His Ex. Marko Milisav
Embassy of Bosnia and Herzegovina
17 Blackburn Avenue,
Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 8A2
TEL 613-236-0028 FAX 613-236-1139
Email: info@bhembassy.ca
www.ambasadabih.ca

BRAZIL

His Ex. Pedro Henrique Lopes Borio
Embassy of the Federative Republic
of Brazil
450 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6M8
TEL 613-237-1090 FAX 613-237-6144
brasemb.ottawa@itamaraty.gov.br

BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

His Ex. Pg Kamal Bashah Pg Ahmad
High Commission for Brunei
Darussalam
395 Laurier Avenue East
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6R4
TEL 613-234-5656 FAX 613-234-4397
bhco@bellnet.ca

BULGARIA

Her Ex. Svetlana Sashova Stoycheva-
Etropolski
Embassy of the Republic of Bulgaria
325 Stewart Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6K5
TEL 613-789-3215 FAX 613-789-3524
embgottawa@hotmail.com

BURKINA FASO

His Ex. Athanase Boudo
Embassy of Burkina Faso
48 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J4
TEL 613-238-4796 FAX 613-238-3812
burkina.faso@sympatico.ca
www.ambaburkina-canada.org

BURUNDI

Mr. Emmanuel Niyonzima
Chargé d'affaires
350 Albert Street, Suite 410
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 1A4
TEL 613-234-9000 FAX 613-234-4030
ambabottawa@yahoo.ca
www.ambassadeduburundi.ca

CAMEROON

His Ex. Solomon Anu'a-Gheyle
Azoh-Mbi
High Commission for the Republic of
Cameroon
170 Clemow Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2B4
TEL 613-236-1522 FAX 613-236-3885
cameroon@rogers.com
www.hc-cameroon-ottawa.org

CHAD

His Ex. Mahamat Ali Adoum
Embassy of the Republic of Chad
350 Sparks Street, Suite 802
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 7S8
TEL 613-680-3322 / 613-421-1189
FAX 613-695-6622
info@chadembassy.ca
www.chadembassy.ca

CHILE

His Ex. Alejandro Marisio Cugat
Embassy of the Republic of Chile
50 O'Connor Street, Suite 1413
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L2
TEL 613-235-9940 FAX 613-235-1176
www.chile.ca

CHINA

His Ex. Peiwu Cong
Embassy of the People's Republic
of China
515 St. Patrick Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 5H3
TEL 613-789-3434 FAX 613-789-1911
chinaemb_ca@mfa.gov.cn
http://ca.china-embassy.org

COLOMBIA

Embassy of the Republic of Colombia
360 Albert Street, Suite 1002
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 7X7
TEL 613-230-3760 FAX 613-230-4416
embajada@embajadacolombia.ca
www.embajadacolombia.ca

CONGO

His Ex. Roger Julien Menga
Embassy of the Republic of the
Congo
info@ambacongo.us.org

CONGO (D.R.)

Mr. Lohaka Yemba
Chargé d'affaires
Embassy of the Democratic Republic
of the Congo
18 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J3
TEL 613-230-6582 FAX 613-230-1945
ambardcongocan@rogers.com

COSTA RICA

His Ex. Mauricio Ortiz Ortiz
Embassy of the Republic of Costa Rica
350 Sparks St. Suite 701
Ottawa, ON, K1R 7S8
TEL 613-562-2855 FAX 613-562-2582
embcr@costaricaembassy.com
www.costaricaembassy.com

CÔTE D'IVOIRE

His Ex. Gnagno Philibert Fagnidi
Embassy of the Republic of
Côte d'Ivoire
9 Marlborough Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8E6
TEL 613-236-9919 FAX 613-563-8287
acica@ambaci-ottawa.org
www.ambaci-ottawa.org

CROATIA

His Ex. Vice Skracic
Embassy of the Republic of Croatia
229 Chapel Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7Y6
TEL 613-562-7820 FAX 613-562-7821
croemb.ottawa@mvep.hr
ca.mvep.hr/en/

CUBA

Her Ex. Josefina de la Caridad Vidal
Ferreiro
Embassy of the Republic of Cuba
388 Main Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 1E3
TEL 613-563-0141 FAX 613-563-0068
embacuba@embacubacanada.net
www.cubadiplomacia.cu/canada

CYPRUS

His Ex. Vasilios Philippou
High Commission for the Republic
of Cyprus
150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 1002
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1P1
TEL 613-563-9763 FAX 613-563-1953
ottawahighcom@mfa.gov.cy

CZECH REPUBLIC

His Ex. Borek Lizec
Embassy of the Czech Republic
251 Cooper Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0G2
TEL 613-562-3875 FAX 613-562-3878
ottawa@embassy.mzv.cz

DENMARK

Her Ex. Hanne Fugl Eskjaer
Royal Danish Embassy
47 Clarence Street, Suite 450
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9K1
TEL 613-562-1811
ottamb@um.dk
canada.um.dk

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

His Ex. Pedro Luciano Vergés Cimán
Embassy of the Dominican Republic
130 Albert Street, Suite 1605
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL 613-569-9893 FAX 613-569-8673
www.dreembassy.org

ECUADOR

His Ex. Diego Stacey-Moreno
Embassy of the Republic of Ecuador
99 Bank Street, Suite 230
Ottawa, ON K1P 6B9
TEL 613-563-8206 FAX 613-235-5776
www.embassyecuador.ca

EGYPT

His Ex. Ahmed Abu Zeid
Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt
150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 1100
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1P1
TEL 613-234-4931 FAX 613-234-4398
egyptemb@sympatico.ca
www.mfa.gov.eg

EL SALVADOR

Embassy of the Republic of El Salvador
209 Kent Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1Z8
TEL 613-238-2939 FAX 613-238-6940
embajada@elsalvador-ca.org

ESTONIA

His Ex. Toomas Lukk
Embassy of the Republic of Estonia
260 Dalhousie Street, Suite 210
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7E4
TEL 613-789-4222 FAX 613-789-9555
embassy.ottawa@mfa.ee
www.estemb.ca

ETHIOPIA

Her Ex. Nasise Challi Jira
275 Slater St., suite 1501
Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5H9
613-565-6637 x 214 FAX 613-565-9175
info@ethioembassycanada.org
ethioconsulatecanada.org

EUROPEAN UNION

Delegation of the European Union
to Canada
150 Metcalfe St. Suite 1900
Ottawa, ON K2P1P1
TEL 613-238-6464 FAX 613-238-5191
Delegation-Canada@eeas.europa.eu

FINLAND

His Ex. Roy Eriksson
Embassy of the Republic of Finland
55 Metcalfe Street, Suite 850
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L5
TEL 613-288-2233 FAX 613-288-2244
embassy@finland.ca

FRANCE

Her Ex. Kareen Rispal
Embassy of France
42 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 2C9
TEL 613-789-1795 FAX 613-562-3735
www.ambafrance-ca.org

GABON

His Ex. Sosthène Ngokila
Embassy of the Gabonese Republic
4 Range Road, P.O. Box 368
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J5
TEL 613-232-5301 FAX 613-232-6916
ambgabon2000@yahoo.fr

GEORGIA

His Ex. Konstantine Kavtaradze
Embassy of Georgia
340 Albert Street, Suite 940
Ottawa, ON K1R 7Y6
TEL 613-421-0460 FAX 613-680-0394
ottawa.emb@mfa.gov.ge

GERMANY

Her Ex. Sabine Sparwasser
Embassy of the Federal Republic of
Germany
1 Waverley Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0T8
TEL 613-232-1101 FAX 613-594-9330
info@otta.diplo.de
http://www.ottawa.diplo.de

GHANA

His Ex. Joseph Ayikoi Otoo
High Commission for the Republic
of Ghana
1 Clemow Ave.
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2A9
TEL 613-236-0871 FAX 613-236-0874
ghanacom@ghc-ca.com
www.ghc-ca.com

GREECE

Embassy of the Hellenic Republic
80 MacLaren Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0K6
TEL 613-238-6271 FAX 613-238-5676
greemb.otv@mfa.gr
www.mfa.gr/canada

GUATEMALA

Embassy of the Republic of
Guatemala
130 Albert Street, Suite 1010
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL 613-233-7237 FAX 613-233-0135
embassy1@embaguate-canada.com
www.embaguate-canada.com

GUINEA

His Ex. Aly Diane
Embassy of the Republic of Guinea
483 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N1
TEL 613-789-8444 FAX 613-789-7560
ambaguiottawa@mae.gov.gn

GUYANA

High Commission for the Republic
of Guyana
123 Slater Street, Suite 902
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H2
TEL 613-235-7249 FAX 613-235-1447
guyana@guyanamissionottawa.org

HAITI

Embassy of the Republic of Haiti
85 Albert Street, Suite 1110,
Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5G4
TEL 613-238-1628 FAX 613-238-2986
amb.canada@diplomatie.ht

HOLY SEE

His Ex. Most Reverend Luigi Bonazzi
Apostolic Nunciature
724 Manor Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 0E3
TEL 613-746-4914 FAX 613-746-4786

HONDURAS

Her Ex. Sofia Cerrato
Embassy of the Republic of
Honduras
130 Albert St., Suite 805
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1B1
TEL 613-233-8900 FAX 613-232-0193

HUNGARY

Her Ex. Maria Vass-Salazar
Embassy of Hungary
299 Waverley Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0V9
TEL 613-230-2717 FAX 613-230-7560
https://ottawa.mfa.gov.hu/eng
mission.ott@mfa.gov.hu

ICELAND

His Ex. Pétur Ásgeirsson
Embassy of Iceland
360 Albert Street, Suite 710
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 7X7
TEL 613-482-1944 FAX 613-482-1945
icemb.ottawa@utn.stjr.is
www.iceland.org.ca

INDIA

His Ex. Ajay Bisaria
High Commission for the Republic
of India
10 Springfield Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 1C9
TEL 613-744-3751 FAX 613-744-0913
hicomind@hciottawa.ca
www.hciottawa.ca

INDONESIA

His Ex. Abdul Kadir Jailani
Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia
55 Parkdale Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1Y 1E5
TEL 613-724-1100 FAX 613-724-1105
info@indonesia-ottawa.org
www.indonesia-ottawa.org

IRAN

Embassy of the Islamic
Republic of Iran
245 Metcalfe Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 2K2

IRAQ

His Ex. Wadee Batti Hanna Al-Batti
Embassy of the Republic of Iraq
215 McLeod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0Z8
TEL 613-236-9177 FAX 613-236-9641
www.iqemb.ca
media@iqemb.ca

IRELAND

His Ex. Eamonn McKee
Embassy of Ireland
130 Albert Street, Suite 1105
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL 613-233-6281 FAX 613-233-5835
ottawaembassy@dfa.ie
www.embassyofireland.ca

ISRAEL

Embassy of Israel
50 O'Connor Street, Suite 1005
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L2
TEL 613-750-7500 FAX 613-750-7555
information@ottawa.mfa.gov.il
www.embassies.gov.il/ottawa

ITALY

His Ex. Claudio Taffuri
Embassy of the Italian Republic
275 Slater Street, 21st Floor
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H9
TEL 613-232-2401 FAX 613-233-1484
ambasciata.ottawa@esteri.it
www.ambottawa.esteri.it

JAMAICA

Her Ex. Sharon Joyce Miller
350 Sparks Street, Suite 910
Ottawa, ON, K1R 7S8
TEL 613-233-9311 FAX 613-233-0611
executiveassistant@jhcottawa.ca

JAPAN

His Ex. Yasuhisa Kawamura
Embassy of Japan
255 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9E6
TEL 613-241-8541 FAX 613-241-2232
infocul@ot.mofa.go.jp
www.ca.emb-japan.go.jp

JORDAN

His Ex. Majed Thalji Salem
Alqatarneh
Embassy of the Hashemite Kingdom
of Jordan
100 Bronson Avenue, Suite 701
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 6G8
TEL 613-238-8090 FAX 613-232-3341
www.embassyofjordan.ca
ottawa@fm.gov.jo (embassy)
ottawa-consular@fm.gov.jo (consular)

KAZAKHSTAN

His Ex. Akylbek Kamaldinov
Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan
150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 1603-1604
Ottawa, Ontario, K2P 1P1
TEL 613-695-8055 FAX 613-695-8755
Email: kazakhembassy@gmail.com
www.kazembassy.ca

KENYA

His Ex. John Lepi Lanyasunya
High Commission for the Republic
of Kenya
415 Laurier Avenue East
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6R4
TEL. 613-563-1773 FAX 613-233-6599
kenyahighcommission@rogers.com
www.kenyahighcommission.ca

KOREA, REPUBLIC

His Ex. Chang Keung Ryoung
Embassy of the Republic of Korea
150 Boteler Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 5A6
TEL 613-244-5010 FAX 613-244-5034
canada@mofa.go.kr
http://can-ottawa.mofa.go.kr

KOSOVO

His Ex. Adriatik Kryeziu
Embassy of the Republic of Kosovo
200 Elgin Street, suite 501
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1L5
TEL: 613-569-2828 FAX 613-569-4848
embassy.canada@rks-gov.net
www.mfa-ks.net

KUWAIT

Her Ex. Reem Alkhaled
Embassy of the State of Kuwait
333 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 1J9
TEL 613-780-9999 FAX 613-780-9905
www.embassyofkuwait.ca

LATVIA

His Ex. Karlis Eihenbaums
Embassy of the Republic of Latvia
350 Sparks Street, Suite 1200
Ottawa, Ontario, K1R 7S8
TEL. 613-238-6014 FAX 613-238-7044
embassy.canada@mfa.gov.lv
www.www.mfa.gov.lv/ottawa/

LEBANON

His Ex. Fadi Ziadeh
Embassy of Lebanon
640 Lyon Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 3Z5
TEL 613-236-5825 FAX 613-232-1609
info@lebanonembassy.ca
www.lebanonembassy.ca

LESOTHO

High Commission for the Kingdom
of Lesotho
130 Albert Street, Suite 1820
Ottawa, ON K1P 5G4
Tel 613-234-0770 Fax 613-234-5665
lesotho.ottawa@bellnet.ca

LIBYA

Mr. Omar Alghanai
Chargé d'affaires
Embassy of Libya
Suite 710, 170 Laurier Avenue W.
Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5V5
TEL 613-842-7519, 613-680-2009
FAX 613-842-8627
info@embassyoflibya.ca
www.embassyoflibya.ca

LITHUANIA

His Ex. Darius Skusevičius
Embassy of the Republic of Lithuania
150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 1600
Ottawa, ON K2P 1P1
TEL 613-567-5458 FAX 613-567-5315
ottawa@lithuanianembassy.ca
www.lithuanianembassy.ca

MADAGASCAR

Embassy of the Republic of
Madagascar
3 Raymond Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 1A3
TEL 613-567-0505 FAX 613-567-2882
ambamadcanada@bellnet.ca
www.madagascar-embassy.ca

MALAYSIA

Her Ex. Nor'aini Binti Abd Hamid
High Commission for Malaysia
60 Boteler Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8Y7
TEL 613-241-5182 FAX 613-241-5214
mwottawa@kln.gov.my

MALI

Her Ex. Fatima Braoulé Meite
Embassy of the Republic of Mali
50 Goulburn Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8C8
TEL 613-232-1501 FAX 613-232-7429
ambassadedumali@rogers.com
www.ambamalicana.com

MEXICO

His Ex. Juan José Gómez Camacho
Embassy of the United Mexican
States
45 O'Connor Street, Suite 1000
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1A4
TEL 613-233-8988 FAX 613-235-9123
infocan@sre.gob.mx
www.embamexcan.com

MOLDOVA

Embassy of the Republic of Moldova
275 Slater Street, Suite 801
Ottawa, ON K1P 5H9
TEL 613-695-6167 FAX 613-695-6164
ottawa@mfa.md
www.canada.mfa.md

MONGOLIA

His Ex. Ariunbold Yadmaa
Embassy of Mongolia
151 Slater Street, Suite 503 Ottawa,
Ontario K1P 5H3 TEL 613-569-3830
FAX 613-569-3916

MOROCCO

Her Ex. Souriya Otmani
Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco
38 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J4
TEL 613-236-7391 FAX 613-236-6164
www.ambamaroc.ca/Nouveau/site-
Amba.html

MYANMAR

His Ex. Kyaw Myo Htut
Embassy of the Republic of the Union
of Myanmar
336 Island Park Drive
Ottawa, Ontario, K1Y 0A7
TEL. 232-9990
FAX. 232-6999
meottawa@rogers.com

NEPAL

His Ex. Bhrihu Dhungana
Embassy of Nepal
408 Queen Street
Ottawa, ON K1R 5A7
TEL 613-680-5513 FAX 613-422-5149
secretary_nepalembassy@rogers.com

NETHERLANDS

Her Ex. Ines Cooppolse
Embassy of the Kingdom of the
Netherlands
350 Albert Street, Suite 2020
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 1A4
TEL 613-670-6038 FAX 613-237-6471
Ott-cdp@minbuza.nl

NEW ZEALAND

His Ex. Martin Harvey
New Zealand High Commission
150 Elgin Street, Suite 1401
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1L4
TEL 613-238-5991 FAX 613-238-5707
info@nzhcottawa.org
www.nzembassy.com/canada

NICARAGUA

Her Ex. Maurizio Alberto Gelli
Embassy of the Republic of
Nicaragua
104 Black Maple Private
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 0T7

NIGERIA

His Ex. Adeyinka Olatokunbo
Asekun
High Commission for the Federal
Republic of Nigeria
295 Metcalfe Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1R9
TEL 613-236-0521 FAX 613-236-0529
www.nigeriahcottawa.ca

NORTH MACEDONIA

Embassy of the Republic
of North Macedonia
130 Albert Street, Suite 1006
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 613-234-3882 FAX 613-233-1852
ottawa@mfa.gov.mk

NORWAY

His Ex. Jon Elvedal Fredriksen
Royal Norwegian Embassy
150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 1300
Ottawa, ON K2P 1P1
TEL 613-238-6571 FAX 613-238-2765
emb.ottawa@mfa.no
www.emb-norway.ca

PAKISTAN

His Ex. Raza Bashir Tarar
High Commission for the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan
10 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J3
TEL 613-238-7881 FAX 613-238-7296
parepottawa@rogers.com

PALESTINE

Mr. Nabil Marouf
Chief representative
Palestinian General Delegation
18 The Driveway
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 9C6
TEL 613-736-0053 FAX 613-736-0535
palestinegd@gmail.com

PANAMA

Romy Vasquez Morales
Embassy of the Republic of Panama
130 Albert Street, Suite 803
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL 613-236-7177 FAX 613-236-5775
info@embassyofpanama.ca

PARAGUAY

Her Ex. Ines Martinez Valinotti
Embassy of the Republic of Paraguay
130 Albert Street, Suite 418
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 613-567-1283 FAX 613-567-1679
embaparcana@mre.gov.py
http://www.mre.gov.py/Sitios/
Home/Index/embapar-canada/
EN-CA

PERU

His Ex. Roberto Rodriguez Arnillas
Embassy of the Republic of Peru
130 Albert Street, Suite 1901
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL 613-238-1777 FAX 613-232-3062
emperuca@bellnet.ca

PHILIPPINES

Embassy of the Republic of the
Philippines
30 Murray Street,
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 5M4
TEL 613-233-1121 FAX 613-233-4165
embassyofphilippines@rogers.com

POLAND

His Ex. Andrzej Kurnicki
Embassy of the Republic of Poland
443 Daly Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6H3
TEL 613-789-0468 FAX 613-789-1218
ottawa.info@msz.gov.pl
www.ottawa.mfa.gov.pl

PORTUGAL

His Ex. Joao do Carmo Ataíde da
Câmara
Embassy of Portugal
645 Island Park Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1Y 0B8
TEL 613-789-0883 FAX 613-789-4236
embportugal@ottawa.dgaccp.pt

QATAR

His Ex. Saoud bin Abdullah Zaid
Al-Mahmoud
Embassy of the State of Qatar
150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 800
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1P1
TEL 613-241-4917 FAX 613-241-3304
amb.office@qatarembassy.ca

ROMANIA

Embassy of Romania
655 Rideau Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6A3
TEL 613-789-3709 FAX 613-789-4365
Romania@romanian-embassy.com
http://ottawa.mae.ro

RUSSIA

Ex. Alexander N. Darchiev
Embassy of the Russian Federation
285 Charlotte Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8L5
TEL 613-235-4341 FAX 613-236-6342
info@rusembassy.ca
www.rusembassy.ca

RWANDA

Prosper Higiro
High Commission for the Republic
of Rwanda
294 Albert Street, Suite 404
Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 6E6
Phone: 569-5420/22/24
Fax : 569-5421/5423
ambaottawa@minaffet.gov.rw
canada.embassy.gov.rw

SAUDI ARABIA

Royal Embassy of Saudi Arabia
201 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, ON K1N 1K6
TEL 237-4100 FAX 237-0567
caemb@mofa.gov.sa
www.saudiembassy.ca

SENEGAL

Her Ex. Viviane Laure Bampassy
Embassy of the Republic of Senegal
57 Marlborough Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8E8
TEL 613-238-6392 FAX 613-238-2695
Info@ambsenecanada.org

SERBIA

Embassy of the Republic of Serbia
21 Blackburn Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8A2
TEL 613-233-6289 FAX 613-233-7850
diplomat@serbianembassy.ca
www.ottawa.mfa.gov.rs

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

His Ex. Vít Koziak
Embassy of the Slovak Republic
50 Rideau Terrace
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 2A1
TEL 613-749-4442 FAX 613-749-4989
emb.ottawa@mzv.sk
www.mzv.sk/ottawa

SLOVENIA

Her Ex. Melita Gabrič
Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia
150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 2200
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1P1
TEL 613-565-5781 FAX 613-565-5783
vot@gov.si
www.ottawa.embassy.si

SOUTH AFRICA

Her Ex. Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo
High Commission for the Republic of South Africa
15 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 1M8
TEL 613-744-0330 FAX 613-741-1639
rsafrica@southafrica-canada.ca
www.southafrica-canada.ca

SPAIN

His Ex. Enrique Ruiz Molero
Embassy of the Kingdom of Spain
74 Stanley Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 1P4
TEL 613-747-2252 FAX 613-744-1224
emb.ottawa@maec.es
www.exteriores.gob.es/embajadas/Ottawa

SRI LANKA

High Commission for the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka
333 Laurier Avenue West, Suite 1204
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1C1
TEL 613-233-8449 FAX 613-238-8448
slhct@rogers.com
www.srilankahcottawa.org

SAINT KITTS & NEVIS

Her Ex. Sherry Tross
High Commission of St. Kitts & Nevis
421 Besserer Street
Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6B9
TEL 613-518-2447 FAX 613-695-2449
info@hcsstkittsnevis.ca

SUDAN

Embassy of the Republic of the Sudan
354 Stewart Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6K8
TEL 613-235-4000 FAX 613-235-6880
sudanembassy-canada@rogers.com
www.sudanembassy.ca/

SWEDEN

His Ex. Urban Christian Ahlin
Embassy of Sweden
377 Dalhousie Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9N8
TEL 613-244-8200 FAX 613-241-2277
sweden.ottawa@gov.se
www.swedishembassy.ca

SWITZERLAND

Her Ex. Salome Meyer
Embassy of Switzerland
5 Marlborough Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8E6
TEL 613-235-1837 FAX 613-563-1394
ott.vertretung@eda.admin.ch

SYRIA

Embassy of the Syrian Arab Republic
46 Cartier Street
Ottawa, ON K2P 1J3
TEL 613-569-5556 FAX 613-569-3800
culture@syrianembassy.ca
www.syrianembassy.ca

TAIWAN

Mr. Winston Wen-yi Chen
Representative
Taipei Economic and Cultural Office
45 O'Connor Street, Suite 1960
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1A4
TEL 613-231-5080 FAX 613-231-7112
publicaffairs@on.aibn.com
http://web.roc-taiwan.org/ca_en/index.html

TANZANIA

His Ex. Mpoki Mwasumbi Ulisubisya
High Commission for the United Republic of Tanzania
50 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J4
TEL 613-232-1509 FAX 613-232-5184
contact@tzrepottawa.ca
www.tanzaniahighcommission.ca

THAILAND

His Ex. Kallayana Vipattipumprates
The Royal Thai Embassy
180 Island Park Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1Y 0A2
TEL 613-722-4444 FAX 613-722-6624
contact@thaiembassy.ca
www.thaiembassy.ca

TOGO

Embassy of the Togolese Republic
12 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J3
TEL 613-238-5916 FAX 613-235-6425
ambatogoca@hotmail.com

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

High Commission for the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago
200 First Avenue, Third Level
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2G6
TEL 613-232-2418 FAX 613-232-4349
hcottawa@foreign.gov.tt

TUNISIA

His Ex. Mohamed Imed Torjemane
Embassy of the Republic of Tunisia
515 O'Connor Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 3P8
TEL 613-237-0330 FAX 613-237-7939
ambtun13@bellnet.ca

TURKEY

His Ex. Kerim Uras
Embassy of the Republic of Turkey
197 Wurtemberg Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8L9
TEL 613-244-2470 FAX 613-789-3442
embassy.ottawa@mfa.gov.tr
www.turkishembassy.com

UGANDA

Her Ex. Joy Ruth Acheng
High Commission for the Republic of Uganda
350 Sparks Street, Suite 1210,
Ottawa, Ontario, K1R 7S8
TEL 613-789-7797 FAX 613-789-8909
uhc@ugandahighcommission.ca
www.ugandahighcommission.ca

UKRAINE

His Ex. Andriy Shevchenko
Embassy of Ukraine
310 Somerset Street, West,
Ottawa, Ontario, K2P 0J9
TEL 613-230-2961 FAX 613-230-2400
emb_ca@ukremb.ca
www.ukremb.ca

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

His Ex. Fahad Saeed al Raqbani
125 Boteler Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 0A4
TEL 613-565-7272 FAX 613-565-8007
Consulate FAX 613-565-1444
ottawaemb.reception@mofaic.gov.ae

UNITED KINGDOM

Her Ex. Susan le Jeune
d'Allegeershecque
British High Commission
80 Elgin Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5K7
TEL 613-237-1530 FAX 613-232-0738
www.ukincanada.fco.gov.uk

UN REFUGEE AGENCY

Her Ex. Rema Jamous Imseis
UNHCR Representative in Canada
280 Albert Street, Suite 401
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G8
TEL 613-232-0909 FAX 613-230-1855
www.unhcr.ca

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Embassy of the United States of America
490 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 1G8
TEL 613-238-5335 FAX 613-688-3088
www.usembassycanada.gov

URUGUAY

His Ex. Martin Vidal Delgado
Embassy of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay
55 Metcalfe Street, Suite 800
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L5
TEL 613-234-2727 FAX 613-233-4670
urucanada@mrree.gub.uy

VENEZUELA

His Ex. Orlando José Viera-Blanco
Embassy of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela
32 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J4
TEL 235-5151 FAX 235-3205
embve.caotw@mppre.gob.ve
www.misionvenezuela.org

VIETNAM

His Ex. Pham Cao Phong
Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam
55 MacKay Street
Ottawa, K1M 2B3
TEL 613-236-0772 FAX 613-236-2704
vietnamembassy@rogers.com
www.vietnam-ca.com

YEMEN

His Ex. Jamal Abdullah Yahya
Al-Sallal
Embassy of the Republic of Yemen
54 Chamberlain Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 1V9
TEL 613-729-6627 FAX 613-729-8915
yeminfo@yemenembassy.ca
www.yemenembassy.ca

ZAMBIA

His Ex. Felix Nicholas Mfula
High Commission for the Republic of Zambia
151 Slater St., Suite 205
Ottawa, Ontario
K1B 5H3
TEL 613-232-4400 FAX 613-232-4410
zhc.ottawa@bellnet.ca

ZIMBABWE

Her Ex. Ruth Masodzi Chikwira
Embassy of the Republic of Zimbabwe
332 Somerset Street West
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0J9
TEL 613-421-2824 FAX 613-422-7403
zimottawa@zimfa.gov.zw
www.zimembassyottawa.com

Download the Beechwood Cemetery Planning eBook and learn the simple four-step planning process today!
landing.beechwoodottawa.ca/four-easy-steps



280 Beechwood Ave, Ottawa - 613-741-9530 - www.beechwoodottawa.ca

Owned by the Beechwood Cemetery Foundation and
operated by The Beechwood Cemetery Company



Autumn travel: Don't let COVID keep you confined

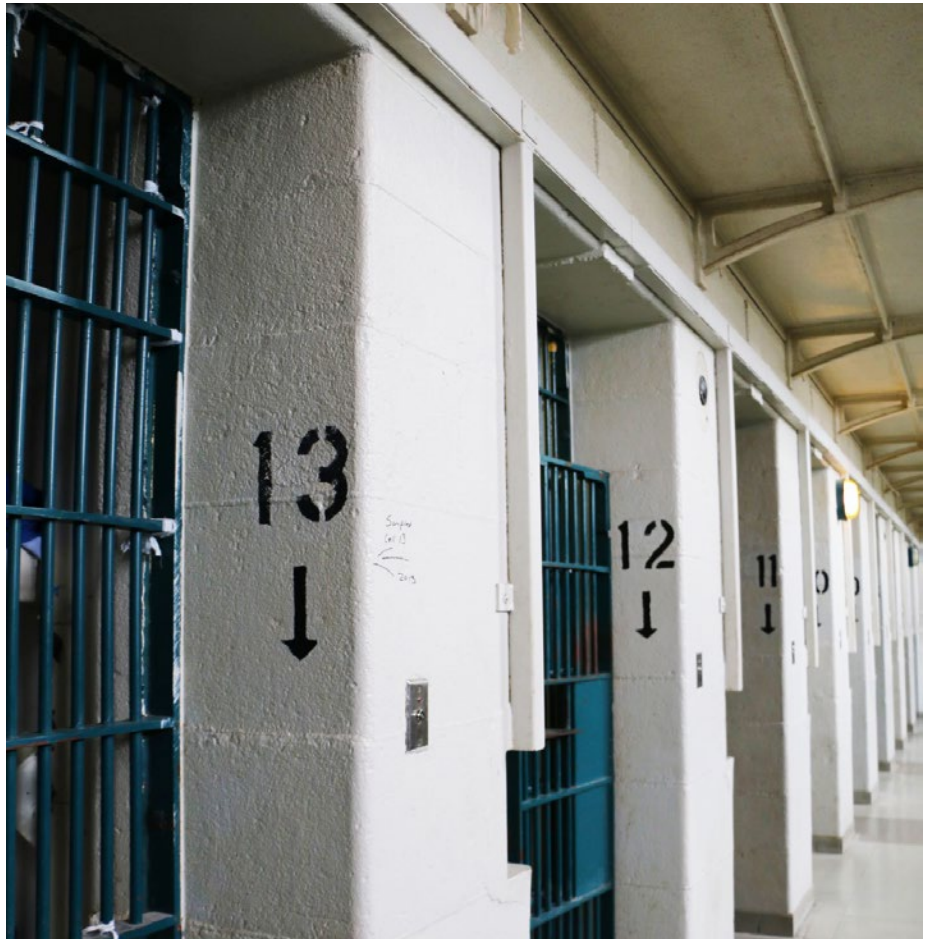
By Patrick Langston

Few of us are about to hop on a plane for a far-off vacation, but that doesn't mean we need to put travel on permanent lockdown. There are plenty of places to visit and things to see within easy driving distance of home, and autumn, when the weather is cooler and crowds smaller, is a great time to do it. We've come up with nine suggestions to keep you busy this fall.

Make sure you check before heading out, in case a COVID flare-up has forced the closing of an event or location. And remember to bring your mask and hand sanitizer.

Wine country: Thanks to the introduction of cold-climate hybrid grapes, which survive our brutal winters, Eastern Ontario has become a wine-producing area with its own unique vineyards and tastes. A day visiting some of these wineries means you not only get to load up on products not usually available in provincial liquor stores and restaurants (blame bureaucracy), but you can also drink in the region's gorgeous fall countryside. What's available? Everything from Merlots and Rieslings to rosés and Viogniers, some of them Canadian and international award winners. Some vineyards also offer ciders and other specialty items, tastings, tours and even areas where, in more clement weather, you can picnic. These are family-owned vineyards and sometimes part of larger farm operations, so you also get a highly personal touch and a good sense of Ontario agriculture when you visit. Check easternontariowines.com for a list of local vineyards.

Above and below: Arbraska Laflèche (The Arrow) Park in Val-des-Monts, Que., about 40 minutes north of Ottawa, has ziplines high in the air and caves deep underground. The ziptour is 67 metres high and runs across a lake, while the cave involves an expert-led trek through caverns in the Canadian Shield where the temperature averages 4 C. The park also offers aerial games and hiking trails. Children as young as five can participate, making it a good family outing. arbraska.com



The Kingston Penitentiary, a former maximum security prison, is a place you can visit, though it's doubtful you'll want to move in.

The big house: It's a place you visit, but would never want to live in. Kingston Penitentiary — generally known as the Kingston Pen — is a former maximum-security prison built in 1835 and closed in 2013. Forbidding on the exterior, grimly utilitarian on the interior, it once housed prisoners as young as eight years old, but received praise when Charles Dickens visited it in 1842, which may tell you something about how bad things were in his own country. You can tour Kingston Pen, which has been declared a National Historic Site, until the end of October, visiting a cell range, a metal shop, the recreational yard and other spots within the grim walls. The pen is wheelchair accessible, although some areas will be difficult

to reach. Visitors must remain masked and respect social distancing regulations, which is still better than being an inmate in the penitentiary's early days when prisoners could get the lash if they winked, laughed or even nodded at one another. kingstonpentour.com

More than one way to travel: Just because we're keeping close to home these days doesn't mean we can't venture into new territory via books and authors. The Ottawa International Writers Festival is the ticket, thanks to its Virtual Season running until the end of November. The festival has a mix of podcasts, live online events and other treats. They include an interview with esteemed historian Margaret

MacMillan about her new book, *War: How Conflict Shaped Us*; a podcast titled *Lies That Tell Us Truth* featuring novelists Farzana Doctor (*Seven*), Shani Mootoo (*Polar Vortex*) and Mona Awad (*Bunny*); and a live online session hosted by CBC's Shelagh Rogers speaking with acclaimed writers Jesse Thistle (*From the Ashes*) and David A. Robertson (*Black Water*). writersfestival.org

Human futility and a woodsy hike: If Percy Bysshe Shelley's 1818 poem *Ozymandias* is a literary testament to the inconsequentiality of humankind's endeavours, you could think of the Carbide Willson Ruins in Gatineau Park as a kind of local industrial equivalent. Willson, an ambitious and reportedly paranoid inventor, built a fertilizer production complex beside a waterfall near Meech Lake in 1911. The complex, including a power-generating station, was abandoned four years later when Willson was felled by a heart attack. Part of the complex burned down and the rest is slowly being taken over by forest — kind of the way a pedestal and a shattered visage from *Ozymandias*' statue were all that remained amid the "lone and level sands" of Shelley's landscape. The Carbide Willson Ruins and adjacent waterfall are a photographer's delight and a great spot to hike to from the P11 parking lot. ncc-ccn.gc.ca



The Carbide Willson Ruins represent what's left of a fertilizer production complex beside a waterfall.

Up, up and away: It's not exactly a best-kept secret, but the Canada Aviation and Space Museum in east-end Ottawa is just far enough off the beaten track that many of us never visit. That's a shame. Its well-planned exhibits tell the story of Canadian aviation from early days through to the Cold War and beyond, including the space shuttle's Canadarm and a nod to one of our specialties: bush flying. You can get up close and personal with the gleaming aircraft, which — even if we learned the physics of flight in high school — inevitably prompts the old question, "How the heck can these things get airborne, let alone stay up there?" There are also interactive exhibition galleries and flight simulators at the museum. The last hour each day is free, but you still need to get a timed ticket online in advance. Tip: The museum is on the Aviation Parkway and close to the Ottawa River Pathway, which is a lovely walk any time of the year, but especially in the autumn. Check Google Maps for parking lots near the pathway. ingeniumcanada.org

It's all about the colours: Among the lessons learned during the pandemic: The out-of-doors is not just an enriching place to be, it's safer than many indoor spots. Fall Rhapsody — the annual celebration of autumn's splendour in and around Ottawa — is a guide to urban and rural places to enjoy the changing of the leaves, fall-themed flower beds and the soft air of autumn. Some you'll already know, such as waterside Rockcliffe Park (an idyllic location for a late-season picnic) and the Gatineau Hills. Others might be new to you, such as Stony Swamp in southwest

Ottawa, described by the National Capital Commission as the most ecologically diverse protected area in the Ottawa Valley and home to a sugar maple forest, wetlands and more. Strap on your walking shoes; you'll be glad you did. ottawatourism.ca

Apples and shrieks: Continuing with the Halloween theme, Cannamore Orchard, near Crysler and about 40 minutes southeast of downtown Ottawa, offers Acres of Terror — "Eastern Ontario's Most Terrifying Halloween attraction" — until the end of October. The Spooky Wagon Ride, the House of Terror and other horrors are on the bill, with COVID-conscious witches and warlocks guiding masked groups of up to 12. The location is wheelchair accessible, and on weekends, the terrors are toned down during the day for young children. Being an orchard, Cannamore sells fresh apples and pumpkins (you can pick your own pumpkins on weekdays after Thanksgiving). There's also fudge, honey and other treats from local producers.

Tip: If you visit Cannamore on a Sunday, go by way of the village of Russell. Its small but sweet Keith M. Boyd Museum is open most Sundays and features exhibits such as Dr. Proudfoot's Dental Office and Loucks' Barbershop, established in 1913. (Haircuts were 25 cents back in the day.) Call ahead to ensure the museum is open. Visit russellmuseum.ca and cannamoreorchard.com for more.

Patrick Langston is an Ottawa writer who refuses to let COVID-19 derail his travelling ways.

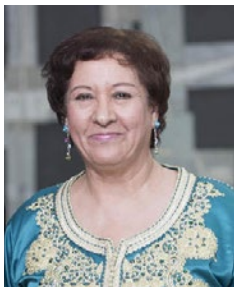


The Canada Aviation and Space Museum has well-planned exhibits and the last hour of each day is free, but you need to get a timed ticket online.

Morocco: A diverse land of many charms



Dakhla, tucked between the waters of the Atlantic and the sands of the Sahara, is the kitesurfing capital of Morocco.



By Souriya Otmani

Editor's note: When COVID-19 becomes controlled and travel restrictions are lifted, you may want to consider Morocco as your next destination.

Morocco's location at the intersection of Europe and Africa makes the country a real crossroads, flanked by the waters of the Mediterranean Sea and open to vast stretches of the Atlantic Ocean. This land is wealthy in contrasts, a destination that effortlessly entices you into two millenniums of history. Contrasting colours, a profound history, amazing landscapes, diverse climates and varied cultures are, for the most part, features of the mind-blowing gem that is my country — the Kingdom of Morocco.

Tradition and progress mix consistently in a one-of-a-kind environment. Since Morocco is home to considerable natural resources and a rich cultural heritage, tourism is a priority for the country. The

Atlantic Coast and the heavenly Imperial cities, the mountains, desert and oases attract more and more people to this sublime nation. Travelling from region to region in Morocco is like travelling from country to country. The variety of culture from one city to the next is striking.

These attractions make it a must-see destination for Canadians, which was much easier before COVID, thanks to direct flights from Montreal to Casablanca, operated daily by Royal Air Maroc and Air Canada. Not surprisingly, the country attracted 13 million tourists in 2019, contributing 11 per cent to the gross domestic product and acting as a driving force for economic, social and cultural development. The restoration of these flights should reinvigorate these numbers.



Al-Qarawiyyin University, in Fez, is the oldest existing university in the world. Fez is considered the intellectual and spiritual capital of the country.



In 2001, Jemaa el-Fna Square in Marrakech was proclaimed by UNESCO as a masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity.



The fortified Kasbah of Ait Ben Haddou in Ouarzazat is one of the world's cultural treasures. It is a UNESCO World Heritage Site and has been the backdrop to many Hollywood movies.

Tangier, a city straddling two worlds

Located on the Strait of Gibraltar, Tangier is a cosmopolitan city taking you to the past and present at the same time. There are treasures of Spanish-Moorish architecture and wondrous works by local craftsmen, as well as engaging festivals in non-COVID times.

The Kasbah and Mendubia Park are considered almost authentic medinas — historical districts that are typically walled, with narrow, maze-like streets. You will also discover Plaza de Toros, Cervantes Theatre and Café Hafa, where Sean Connery and the Rolling Stones have enjoyed mint tea.

Tangier embraces you in the maze of its streets, warms you on the sands of its beaches and shines its azure light upon you. This charming city has attracted illustrious artists, including Paul Morand, Samuel Beckett, Delacroix, Matisse, Tennessee Williams and the Rolling Stones. Some of the above have even chosen to settle there.



This is a traditional Moroccan home in Riad, and a symbol of the country's well-known hospitality.



Part of Chefchaouen's appeal comes from the strong blue and white colours on its buildings.



The different entryways and doors tucked into Chefchaouen's walls add to its charm.

Tangier also leans toward the modern: The city hosts a jazz festival every year and its Mediterranean Nights event celebrates its strategic position near three continents.

Chefchaouen: A blue and white dream

Chefchaouen is a perfect destination with a laid-back vibe. A significant part of the city's appeal comes from the strong blue and white colour on its buildings. The different entryways and doors tucked into the city's walls add to its charm. Chefchaouen is often said to have some of the prettiest streets in the world. Strolling here seems like moving through a dream.

But Chefchaouen is more than just a pretty face. The city is loaded with attractions, on account of its rich heritage. Its medina (fortress or citadel) is small, but authentic. Walk around its rear entryways for people-watching and absorb the smells of their lifestyle, including bread hot out of the oven and expertly cooked tagines.

Chefchaouen is also heaven for hikers. The encompassing mountains are brimming with enticing strolling trails. Choose any of them and find a totally extraordinary remote side of Morocco in its Rif Mountains.

Rabat: A vibrant capital

A modern capital and historic city, Rabat has many charms. Its alleyways and open squares are loaded with masterpieces. Visit the Kasbah of the Udayas, whose stupendous, lofty outline is softened by its surrounding green spaces. Not a long way past its dividers lies the Chellah, a necropolis that dates to the dynasty of Marinids. Entering the complex feels as though you're travelling to a different universe.

Rabat is also a modern capital that invests wholeheartedly in its green spaces. The city's cutting-edge energy policies are obvious in its infrastructure — from airports and tramways to shopping centres, bistros and cafés.

Rabat celebrates music like no other city: Mawazine, Chellah's Jazz and other festivals fill the air with cheerful sounds and rhythms from around the globe.

In 2012, UNESCO named Rabat a World Heritage Site. In February 2020, Rabat was named the African capital of culture for 2020 and 2021.

Marrakech a must

Located in southwestern Morocco within the foothills of the Atlas Mountains, Marrakech is the first of Morocco's four imperial cities (the other three are Fez, Rabat and Meknes). This unique city is nick-



Majorelle Garden in Marrakech is one of the most visited places in Morocco. A fusion of Moroccan traditions and contemporary flair that inspired designers such as Yves Saint-Laurent, Majorelle Garden features pools, fountains and plants from around the world.

named the “red city” in reference to the red shade of its city walls and sandstone structures.

A blend of traditional and contemporary, Marrakech holds the guarantee of unique sensations. Stroll around the Jemaa El Fna and the bazaars with their awe-inspiring hues and oriental aromas. Rides in horse-drawn carriages, sun-soaked terraces and various amusements both day and night will add to your stay.

Enjoy the architectural richness of the medina, which was designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1985, by visiting one of its many riads, small oriental palaces arranged around a central courtyard, or relax at the Menara, an oversized pooled garden typical of the city. Marrakech relies on its diversity to provide choice for its visitors.

Once you head out of the walled centre, you become immersed in contemporary Morocco. The Gueliz and Hivernage districts offer the most cutting-edge infrastructure, extravagant boutiques and international brands. All of this is in Marrakech’s own matchless style.



Menara Gardens in Marrakech is an 88-hectare (217-acre) oasis dating back to the 12th Century.

Essaouira-Mogador: Bride of the Atlantic

Set on the West Coast of Morocco, the fortified city of Essaouira earned its place on the UNESCO World Heritage list, with its medina and European military design.

The coastal town, once called Mogador, is a place where the good life and water-oriented leisure activities go hand in hand. Take a stroll around its ramparts, which filled in for the walls of Astapor, the red town on the TV series *Game of Thrones*.

Your walk can lead you to the fishing port and nearby, the fish market will entice you with the evening's fresh haul.

Every summer, this town fills with music as the Gnaoua World Music Festival celebrates the combination of North African and sub-Saharan rhythms.

Essaouira-Mogador is a bustling city Winston Churchill called "the nicest place on Earth to spend an afternoon" and, "The Paris of the Sahara."

Fez: The imperial pearl

Fez is the overseer of 13 centuries of Moroccan history, there are more than 13,000 historic buildings in the city.

Fez's reputation as the intellectual and spiritual capital of Morocco is well-deserved. Its medina, designated by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site; its al-Qarawiyyin University, the oldest within the Arab world; and the Roman ruins of Volubilis all speak to the city's fame.

In May, the city's squares and alleyways become animated with international music, as part of the Sacred Music Festival. It ranks alongside the Jazz in Riads Festival for the city's cultural highlights.

Dakhla: The pearl of southern Morocco

Lost between the waters of the Atlantic and the sands of the Sahara, Dakhla is a heavenly town in Southern Morocco. There are miles of sea shores all through the city that offer a chance to unwind or take part in water sports under the sun at a year-round temperature of 27 C.

Surfers, kitesurfers and windsurfers rush to Dakhla for the waves. The renowned Pointe du Dragon is also close by. Its breakers are praised among surfers.

And finally, as the culinary arts are an important part of any tourism experience, know that you're in for a gastronomic treat. The food of Morocco ranks second on lists of the world's best cuisines and is well worth exploring. You won't be disappointed by the variety, lively flavours and creative combinations that await you.

Souriya Otmani is the ambassador of Morocco to Canada.



Rabat is a modern city that invests wholeheartedly in its green spaces and its energy policies are cutting edge. Pictured here is its famous Avenue Mohammed V.



The fortified city of Essaouira earned its place on the UNESCO World Heritage list with its medina and European military design.



Lois Siegel

PHOTOGRAPHY

Special Event Photographer
Personalized Portraits
Parties and Fundraisers
Ceremonies

Lois has worked as a photographer
for the *Ottawa Citizen*
(Around Town and Diplomatic),
Ottawa Business Journal,
the *Glebe Report*, *Centretown Buzz*
and *Cinema Canada*.

(613) 830-2509

lois@siegelproductions.ca
siegelproductions.ca



Photo by Bill Blackstone

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



CANADIAN LIVE EDGE

Unique Wood Designs



Quilted Maple Table

Beautiful Live Edge Furniture | Designed and Built in Ottawa
Exquisite Canadian Creations



Walnut End Table with Turquoise



Rockcliffe Table



Mahogany Magazine Rack



Barn Beam Lamp

www.canadianliveedge.com

141 Grovemont Dr. Ottawa | 613.854.7717 | jeffreytracey@cox.net



MIKE BEDELL | WWW.MIKEBEDELLPHOTO.CA

Photographer Mike Beedell: "The great grey owl is one of the biggest of its species in the world. With its bright yellow eyes and huge feathered eye patches, it is an enchanting denizen of the forest. I met this fascinating avian hunter in the Gatineau Hills of Quebec. The great grey is the official bird of Manitoba. It was fascinating to watch it hunting as it scanned back and forth with a pivoting neck, incredibly sharp vision, hearing things my senses could never detect. Its vigilance and hearing are so keen it can hyper-focus on the location of voles and mice under the snow. To witness this avian mouser soar off its perch, then plummet into the snow and with its razor-sharp talons, capture a rodent, is one of natural history's great events. Perhaps a little too exciting for the mouse, however. As I spent time with this wise and patient hunter, I was delighted to be so accepted by it."

Accelerate your career. Without leaving your job.

Sprott's Professional MBA will equip you to lead with purpose in a changing world. It's a sound investment whose convenient Friday-Saturday format lets you balance work and life.

Our location in Ottawa, Canada's capital, is accessible from major cities, including Toronto, Montreal and Halifax.

sprott.carleton.ca/pmba

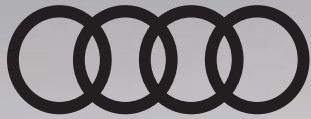
"The program is so practical. It allows me to implement what I am learning directly to my work and my team."

Yara Al Guindy, PMBA/21
Senior Manager, Marketing
Morneau Shepell, Toronto



Carleton
UNIVERSITY

SPROTT
SCHOOL OF BUSINESS



Greatness unlimited.

Fusing quattro DNA with an unstoppable attitude, this is greatness unlimited. This is the Audi Q7.

Representing your country is an honourable task: In the diplomatic service, perfection and outstanding performance are required on all levels. Anyone who is equal to this challenge also has the highest of standards when it comes to cars – and quite rightly so. We believe the premium selection of Audi vehicles will fulfill your requirements in unique style, performance and service. The Audi Diplomatic Sales team at Audi Ottawa and Audi West Ottawa are ready to help you decide on the Audi that meets your needs and exceeds your expectations. We are proud to offer our diplomatic community an exclusive offer.

Please contact one of our knowledgeable Audi Brand Diplomatic Sales representatives and find out more.

Audi Ottawa: Brendon Brazil | bbrazil@audiottawa.ca

Audi West Ottawa: Zel Lazovic | zlazovic@audiwestottawa.ca

Audi City Ottawa

225 Marche Way

613-231-2834

audicityottawa.com

Audi Ottawa

458 Montreal Rd

613-749-5941

audiottawa.ca

Audi West Ottawa

269 W Hunt Club Rd

613-723-1221

audiwestottawa.ca