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orders please add \$25. SUBMISSIONS

(613) 231-8476.

CANADA

Published by

Diplomat & International Canada welcomes submissions. Contact Jennifer Campbell, editor, at

editor@diplomatonline.com or

DIPLOMAT & INTERNATIONAL

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Volume 23, Number 3

Paul Cavanaugh **BOOKS EDITOR** George Fetherling CONTRIBUTING EDITOR CULTURE EDITOR

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Top of the World

uman potential and productivity go hand in hand and the cover story in this issue of *Diplomat* celebrates both with a list of the 10 most productive countries in the world. Do you think of Switzerland as a gentle nation of mountains, lakes and cuckoo-clocks? Well, think again. The nation that brings us Swiss cheese tops our list of the world's most productive countries.

The rest of the list may carry surprises, as well. Where are India and China, two countries whose economic progress is so frequently in the news? Turns out they didn't make the most-productive list. While their GDP growth is impressive next to the inching-forward or stagnating numbers Western economies are producing, as writer Wolfgang Depner states, they just don't compete on the productivity scale. Both rely on cheap labour and natural resources while innovation, research and technological developments lag.

Mr. Depner also points out that his list, which takes into account quantifiable measures of productivity, was inspired by the World Economic Forums's *Global Competitiveness Report*. See the Top 10, and five runners-up, beginning on page 40.

As we put the final touches on this edition of *Diplomat*, we were impressed to see a news story that related directly to another feature of this issue, namely a book excerpt from the University of Toronto Press new release, *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Inter-* *ests, and Threats.* We are pleased to publish one of the essays from this book, Thomas Adams' *Shift to the Pacific.*

Mr. Adams argues that Canada must develop a naval presence in the Pacific, which is growing in geo-political importance. A news story in early June indicated that Defence Minister Peter MacKay agrees. He toured a site in Singapore, which is a potential hub for Canadian military operations, and announced that 1,400 Canadian sailors would take part in Pacific Rim exercises with allies. Clearly, Canada wants to cooperate with China while also making provisions against its expanding military strength.

Also in Dispatches, Gary Doer, Canada's ambassador to the U.S., offers up his major priorities for the job in front of him and *Diplomat* publisher Donna Jacobs visits Sri Lanka, which, she discovers, is open for business.

There's much else in this issue. Up front, we have a column by Fen Hampson — recently appointed distinguished fellow and director of the global security program at The Centre for International Governance Innovation — on the Arab Spring's aftermath. We have cartoons from around the world, an opinion piece by economists Brian Lee Crowley and Jason Clemens about Canada's supply management policies and an interview with Afghan Ambassador Barna Karimi.

In our Delights section, books editor George Fetherling brings us the fascinating tale of Jim Thompson, a silk merchant and diplomat who vanished in 1967. Margaret Dickenson offers Malaysian eats while Margo Roston takes us to the home of Taiwanese envoys David Lee and Lin Chih. Just in time for the 2012 Olympics in London, writer Laura Neilson Bonikowsky shares the story of Canada's first Olympian. In our Destinations section, we have two travel pieces — the first from Guatemala and the second from Jamaica.

We wish you a fine summer.

Jennifer Campbell is Diplomat's editor.

UP FRONT

Our cover image, which features a Swiss gent standing on top of a podium of the world, was produced by artist Anthony Tremmaglia. Our cover story, on the Top 10 most productive countries in the world, begins on page 40. Switzerland leads the way.



CONTRIBUTORS Gary Doer



Gary Doer became Canada's ambassador to the U.S. in 2009. Prior to that, he served as premier of Manitoba for 10 years. During that time, he worked extensively with American governors to enhance Canada-U.S. cooperation on trade, agriculture, water protection, climate change and renewable energy.

As Manitoba premier, Mr. Doer won three consecutive elections with successive increased majorities. In 2005, *Business Week* magazine named him one of the top 20 international leaders on climate change. His government introduced balanced budgets while in office but also reduced many taxes, including a plan to eliminate small business tax. As premier, he led investments in health care, education and training and infrastructure.

Ambassador Doer hails from Winnipeg. He is married and has two daughters.

Thomas Adams



Thomas Adams is an executive associate at Kreab Gavin Anderson, a global public relations and communications partnership in Bejing, China, where he advises corporations and other organizations on issues of strategic importance in business, finance and politics. Previously, he was research officer at the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies and then research program officer at the Canadian International Council (CIC) in Toronto. He holds an MA in political science from the University of Alberta in Edmonton.

DIPLOMATICA | CARTOONS

Political commentary from around the world



"The EU Ship" by Riber Hansson, Sweden



"National Debate" by Angel Boligan, *El Universal*, Mexico



"UN in Syria" by Emad Hajjaj, Jordan



"21st-Century Playground" by Mike Keefe, Cagle Cartoons

CARTOONS | DIPLOMATICA





"Romney Bedtime Story" by Daryl Cagle, MSNBC.com

"Assad Violence" by Jeremy Nell, The New Age, South Africa



"Kim Jong-un's Toy" by Martin Sutovec, Slovakia



"Aquaphant" by Bill Day, Cagle Cartoons



"Greek Problem" by Martin Sutovec, Slovakia



"Obama Gas" by Osama Hajjaj, Abu Mahjoob Creative Productions

DIPLOMATICA | CARTOONS



"Kony Cops — Internet Campaign" by Peter Broelman, Australia



"Obesity in the U.S." by Manny Francisco, The Phillippines





"Acropolis and a Shooting EU-star" by Riber Hansson, Sweden

"Rejecting Austerity In Europe" by RJ Matson, The St. Louis Post Dispatch



"Top of the Pyramid" by Emad Hajjaj, Jordan



"Merkel Gets a New Dancing Partner" by Riber Hansson, Sweden

CARTOONS | DIPLOMATICA



"Over The Falls We Go" by Christopher Weyant, The Hill

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"Icarus" by Christo Komarnitski, Bulgaria



"Poisonous Apple" by Petar Pismestrovic, Kleine Zeitung, Austria



"Australian Troops Pullout" by Peter Broelman, Australia



"U.S. Secret Extra Service" by Manny Francisco, The Phillippines



"Hollande Meets Merkel" by Christo Komarnitski, Bulgaria



"Only Hope" by Luojie, China Daily, China

After the Arab Spring, hurricane season



year and a half later, the "Arab Spring" protests that have swept the Arab world look a lot more like a clash of four seasons and not simply the onset of one. Its four Rs are revolution, rebellion, religion and recidivism.

As in the French and American revolutions, many of those who have taken to the streets in the Arab world seek human dignity and political order based on democratic values and the rule of law. But there is also the simple smell of rebellion in their efforts to toss out bad leaders who have long since lost their political legitimacy and grip on power.

Religion also lies at the roots of the Arab Spring. Islamists of both moderate and extremist persuasion are now vying for political power either at the ballot box or through the barrel of a gun. Some clearly hope to introduce Sharia law into the political life and constitutions of their countries. The rights of women and religious minorities will accordingly suffer if there are not countervailing guarantees.

The Arab Spring has also let loose longstanding tribal and sectarian animosities. Those clinging to power have not shied from manipulating so-called "ancient hatreds" for their own selfish purposes. Those who seek to topple dictators and reigning monarchs have also appealed to ethno-religious symbols and partisan ties. Recidivism is thus yet another feature of the Arab Spring.

In some cases, the Arab Spring has simply been superimposed on top of a continuing conflict as in the case of Yemen where social protest erupted during the sixth round of a civil war between the Yemeni Army and the followers of Hussein al-Huthy.

The final direction of the Arab Spring's winds is still uncertain. It courses through the different valleys of the Arab World



Protesters in Idlib, Syria

with unpredictable force and uncertain direction. But these winds are driven by some common elements.

Throughout the Arab world, this political hurricane has gotten its gigantic energy from intergenerational change and a massive demographic bulge of baby boomers who are now in their late teens or early 20s. The Arab World's young, like much of Europe and increasingly North America, are for the most part unemployed and deeply disenchanted. They blame their ill fortune on a predatory, dynastic power system that has survived for years on clientelism, cronyism and corruption.

Syria, for example, has a labour force of five million. Its economic growth averaged five percent per year in the five years leading up to the protests. The benefits of growth, however, were not distributed evenly. The Assad family and ruling Alawite minority controlled much of the country's key businesses and governance structures. Syria's official unemployment rate was eight percent. But the true figure was likely closer to 20 percent and even higher for youth and female unemployment. Economic growth, based largely on the county's oil and agricultural sectors, could not create sufficient jobs for the roughly 300,000 annual new entrants into the labour force.

The dynastic state is a prominent feature of all Arab Spring countries. In a real sense, the traditional monarchies of Qatar, the Gulf and Saudi Arabia are no different from Egypt, Syria, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen where, for many years, ruling families controlled the state and key sectors of the economy. In Egypt, the people were fed up with a corrupt dictator who wanted to transfer power to one of his two playboy sons. In Syria, the people clearly already had enough of the son of a dictator who, unlike his father, has been an inept power broker, though just as ruthless.

Another force of change is social media, which has been a key instrument of political mobilization and social protest in all Arab Spring countries. But the power and speed of the internet and mobile phones are not matched by equivalency in getting different groups to work together to build effective political coalitions, or to translate the power of the street into concrete plans of action based on a shared vision of the future. Arab Spring "revolutions" have generally tended to be leaderless with an opposition that is divided and weak.

There are two dominant patterns in the Arab Spring: the short track and the long track. Egypt and Tunisia were on the short track. Leaders were forced out quickly. A new political and institutional framework emerged in a remarkably short period of time and the process of writing new rules of engagement, negotiating new constitutional arrangements and holding parliamentary and presidential elections has already begun. Violence in short-track countries has also been somewhat limited.

In Egypt and Tunisia, the short track was helped by the fact that the military did not turn the full force of its guns against the people. This may have something to do with the conscript nature of the Tunisian and Egyptian armies and the relatively short period of service (one-totwo years), particularly for non-commissioned officers.

In those countries where the Arab Spring has taken the long track, things have been much more messy and violent. Libya, Yemen and Syria are illustrative examples. Ironically, the longer it has taken to get rid of the leader — and in the Syrian case he is still hanging on — the more fractured the opposition and the harder it has been to develop viable political coalitions which can work together and agree on common goals.

Finally, it bears mention that the Arab Spring is not just a domestic political phenomenon. It is having profound regional and geopolitical implications that we are only just beginning to grasp. It is generating new conflicts in the region while reigniting some old strategic rivalries. Left unattended, the escalation of these conflicts will be disastrous for regional and global stability.

Elections have failed to create stability in key Arab Spring countries. In Libya, for example, although oil production resumed shortly after Gadhafi's fall, the security situation deteriorated rapidly. In the absence of any kind of proper and effective national military or police force, local militias and armed gangs have run amok in Libya's cities, towns and villages. Strong separatist forces are also at play. Libya risks being torn apart by longstanding regional and tribal rivalries and by those who oppose even a return to the loose federal arrangement of the 1950s before Gadhafi seized power.

The real message behind the recent Egypt's presidential election is that the *ancien regime* is alive and well, but that the country is also deeply polarized. Egypt's young revolutionaries can take much of the credit for toppling Egypt's aging dictator Hosni Mubarak. However, like student protesters in France in 1968, many of Egypt's young revolutionaries are selfdescribed anarchists.

There may be other parallels, too. De

Gaulle eventually forged his own separate pact with France's unions and sidelined the students. Egypt's three political elephants — the Muslim Brotherhood, the residue of the Mubarak regime and the military — may be forced to do the same.

Although the Egyptian economy in the final years of Mubarak's rule was chugging along at a respectable rate of growth, in the range of 4 to 5 percent GDP, it tanked during the revolution. Current growth is an anemic 1.4 percent. This is far below the 7 to 8 percent needed to provide jobs for young Egyptians who are entering the workforce in massive numbers. The country's coffers are also running dry after Egypt's military rulers turned down a major IMF loan last year. The Saudis have extended a helping hand with a \$1 billion loan offer, but that is not going to be enough to pay the bills for very long.

Egypt's new president has a lot on his plate and not much time to deliver the goods. He is also going to have to work with Egypt's Islamist-dominated parliament to write a new constitution, which will mean shedding some of his presidential powers.

The conflict in Syria is a deadly tussle among competing narratives in the Arab Spring. Syria's protestors seek dignity, justice and an alternation of power. But the rebellion against Assad is rapidly turning into an all-out civil war as Syria's neighbours — Iran, Turkey, Lebanon, Saudia Arabia, Qatar — exploit the country's internal religious and sectarian differences.

Syria's opposition is divided and confused. Unless its members can create some kind of common front around a key set of shared political goals, Syria's future is anything but assured.

As one young Syrian female youth activist said recently: "We have two movements in Syria right now, but the civil movement has to eventually supplant the military movement. The regime can deal with the military movement but it won't be able to defeat a united civil front. That is because the day civil activists can occupy the major squares of Aleppo and Damascus, the regime will fall."

This young woman, wise beyond her years, also observed: "In politics, you have solutions — but not one solution." That is Syria's challenge. It is also the challenge for the rest of the Arab world.

Fen Osler Hampson is a Distinguished Fellow and Director of the Global Security Program at Canada's Centre for International Governance Innovation.



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Supply management: an antiquated barrier to trade

By Brian Lee Crowley and Jason Clemens



The net effect of controlling domestic supply and prices while blocking foreign competition for agricultural commodities is higher domestic prices for basic food items such as milk, cheese, poultry and eggs.

he Conservative government of Stephen Harper has made it increasingly clear that international

trade is one of its top economic priorities. Whether through expanding existing trade agreements (such as building on NAFTA) or negotiating new deals with the European Union, Japan, Korea, and the Trans-Pacific Partnership, Ottawa is placing ever-growing emphasis on trade deals as a way to open markets and diversify risk. But all is not clear sailing: In particular, the government's trade ambitions risk foundering on its insistence on maintaining its outmoded policy of supply-management (SM) in several agricultural fields.

SM did not prove too great an obstacle in the yet-to-be-concluded talks with the EU on trade opening with Europe. That's in part because the EU itself practises a high degree of protectionism in matters agricultural. On the other hand, while freer trade with Europe is a prize worth having, the truth of the matter is that Europe is in difficult economic circumstances and growth there will remain paltry for the foreseeable future.

Ottawa's eyes are therefore fixed on a much richer prize: the fast-growing economies of the Pacific Rim. The most promising route to open access to the most important Pacific markets is through the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). There's the rub, however, for the TPP contains a number of nations, including New Zealand and Australia, who in recent decades have rid themselves of policies analogous to Canada's SM. They did so in part to gain access to coveted foreign markets, and paid an uncomfortable domestic price for the privilege. They see little reason why Canada should enjoy the kind of valuable trade access they have achieved without paying a similar price of admission.

Indeed, SM is an antiquated policy that damages consumers here at home while impeding access to foreign markets. It would have to deliver startling benefits to counterbalance such disadvantages. Does it? Let's start with a definition. Supply management, which covers such agricultural sectors as dairy and poultry, provides producers with the power to set domestic prices (loosely based on the "costs of production") while protecting the market from foreign competition through high import tariffs. In addition, domestic production is controlled through the use of production quotas. Put simply, supply management creates enormous powers (and accordant benefits) for domestic producers at the cost of foreign competitors and domestic consumers.

In an essay for our institute, noted Nipissing University economics professor Christopher Sarlo examined the transfer to producers implicit in supply management. The net effect of controlling domestic supply and prices while blocking foreign competition for agricultural commodities covered by supply management is higher domestic prices for basic food items, which include chicken, eggs, milk and cheese.

Professor Sarlo highlights the effect

of supply management on several dairyrelated products to emphasize the effect on prices. For example, Sarlo quotes a study comparing prices in Australia and New Zealand — which are basically open markets - to those observed in Canada, which has an essentially closed market, as well as the United States, which is also a somewhat closed market but not to the same extent as Canada. In 2009, the Canadian price of milk was calculated to be 38 percent higher than in the United States and 42 percent higher than in Australia. Similarly, the price of butter was 26 percent higher than in the United States and 57 percent higher than in Australia.

In a rough sense, there is an income transfer from Canadian households to farm producers covered by supply management through higher prices for food goods. However, the transfer is not equally borne by all families. As Sarlo demonstrates, the percentage of a household's average income spent on food items varies considerably, with poorest households hit hardest.

For example, low-income households spend almost 24 percent of their average income on food items. Those in the next group, lower middle-income households, spend nearly 15 percent of average income on food. On the other end of the scale, higher income households spent a little under 6 percent. Simply put, the overwhelming burden of higher prices for basic food items is borne by lowerincome individuals and households. Thus, the true nature of the transfer imposed by supply management is to take income from essentially lower-income households and individuals and transfer it to a small, select group of farmers covered by supply management.

The egregious nature of the income transfer implicit in supply management should be enough to motivate reform. Due to a combination of vested and powerful special interests coupled with a romantic view of farming, reform of supply management to-date has been minimal. However, the growing obstacle SM poses to future trade deals may be the necessary catalyst for real reform.

The Asia-Pacific region contains many of the world's fastest growing economies. As Carleton University professor Ian Lee describes in another essay, the trade opportunities represented by deals with countries in this region, or better still the region as a whole, are immense. The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) originally included Brunei, Chile, New Zealand and Singapore. The initial deal was approved in June 2005, and came into force in May 2006. The aim of the trade pact is to further liberalize trade across signatory countries while also bringing into force agreements on the environment, labour, property rights and government procurement.

Six additional countries (Australia, Malaysia, Peru, Japan, the United States and Vietnam) are currently negotiating to enter the TPP, although Japan's ability to approve a negotiated deal has been compromised by domestic political considerations. Canada has signalled its interest and intent to enter the TPP.

The opportunity for Canada is unmistakable. The countries covered by the TPP, not including the United States, possessed \$2.3 trillion in GDP in 2010 and a population base (i.e., potential customers) of 195.6 million people. In addition, these countries are generally growing much faster than Canada's current principal trade partners (the United States and Europe). For example, Singapore (14.5 percent), Chile (5.2 percent), Malaysia (7.2 percent), Australia (2.7 percent), and Vietnam (6.8 percent) are all recording growth in real GDP in excess of the United States and Europe. In addition, these countries have much brighter growth prospects for the future compared with the United States and Europe, both of which face deep structural challenges over the coming decade.

If Japan were to join, another \$5.5 trillion in GDP plus 127.6 million customers would be added to the TPP region. In addition, there are nine other APEC countries that could reasonably be expected to join TPP in the near future, including China, South Korea, Russia, Taiwan and Thailand. Collectively, they represent another \$10.3 trillion in GDP and 2.0 billion people.

Canada's entry into the TPP is not, however a given. The United States, New Zealand and Australia have all expressed strong reservations for Canada's entry based on our support for supply management. For example, New Zealand Trade Minister Tim Groser stated on Nov. 23, 2011: "Canada follows a policy that many governments used to follow but most have moved forward. It is called supply management. It is completely inconsistent with tariff elimination. We will be looking for clear political signals of a reasonably broad-based understanding that it is not just a matter of turning up at the club and demanding membership."



REAMSTIME

Supply management permits poultry farmers to collectively control the quantity of poultry and eggs produced as well as to set industry-wide pricing.

The former U.S. trade representative, Ambassador Clayton Yeutter, stated the obstacles for Canada more bluntly on April 12, 2012: "Canada needs to address policies in its dairy and poultry sectors that are opposed by the U.S., Australia and New Zealand before it can join TPP. Canada currently limits foreign access to its dairy and poultry markets through a system of supply management."

The opposition by both New Zealand and Australia is to some extent understandable given the wrenching reforms that both countries undertook to eliminate SM in their countries. The result of the opposition of these countries is that Canada will find it very challenging to gain admission to a critical trade bloc, which includes enormous exporting, investing and importing opportunities, unless it tackles supply management in a fairly fundamental manner.

It seems almost unfathomable that Canada would forgo the immense opportunity to enter the TPP and gain access to large growing markets in order to defend an outdated model of agricultural support, which entails a regressive transfer of income and unjustified privileges for a small minority of farmers.

Brian Lee Crowley, PhD, is managing director and Jason Clemens is director of research for the Macdonald-Laurier Institute (www.macdonaldlaurier.ca), which recently released a collection of essays examining issues associated with supply management in Canada.

Creating perfect smiles

By Gloria Wong

www.ords that describe Canadian volunteers overseas — modest, polite, friendly, empathetic, inclusive, thoughtful, but most of all good friends and partners.

These were the words that inspired Kimit Rai to found Canadian-led surgical group Operation Rainbow Canada (ORC) in 1998. The mandate of ORC is to provide free cleft lip and palate surgery to impoverished children in developing countries.

Dr. Rai is a Canadian immigrant born of humble circumstances to refugee parents who fled to Malaysia from Northern India. As a child, he witnessed unspeakable cruelties during the Japanese Occupation in Malaysia. He developed his surgical skills in the Malaysian army as a surgeon, but he was disturbed by the violence of war. When an opportunity to study plastic surgery came up at the University of British Columbia, he moved to a new country, untouched by war on its citizens for the last 100 years.

He met and married a Canadian nurse (Linda). For years, Dr. Rai was busy with his surgical practice and raising a family. Then a chance meeting with an American doctor, Bill Riley, led him to join a surgical mission in the Philippines. Surgical nurses Cory Bach and Mary McLaren followed Dr. Rai on subsequent missions. A couple of years later, the three Canadians started Operation Rainbow Canada.

Cleft lips and palates aren't life-threatening conditions. In Canada, babies are operated on quickly and safely. But in developing countries, without affordable options to repair this birth defect, children can grow up with dental or speech problems, difficulty eating and social stigmas. In some cases, eating difficulties are fatal.

Cleft lip and palate surgery is relatively safe and simple and the healing period is quick. Families come in despair and when they see their children post-surgery, their faces reflect overwhelming joy.

Fourteen years and 20 missions in nine countries later, Dr. Rai and his team of Canadian medical professionals are still going strong. ORC has helped thousands but there are so many more in need. His energy is renewed by each mission.

"We look after poorly dressed children with no money to pay. When they come in, they just stare at your face, hoping that



Nurse Heather Posno holds a baby while anesthetist Clayton Reichert looks on during a ORC mission to Cambodia earlier this year.



A Cambodian baby, just after coming out of surgery.

somehow you will give them a chance. They don't speak your language. You don't speak theirs. But the amount of trust they give you is very humbling".

Most of Dr. Rai's mission and his operations/fundraising support team have been with him from the beginning. Ensuring the organization has enough funds to carry on the surgical work is as important as having the medical expertise.

Everyone on this multi-cultural team knows that, each spring and fall, there are

hundreds of children and their families waiting for them. They gather supplies and instruments and travel as a group. The rest of the year, they raise money. The small organization is entirely volunteerbased — it has no offices and brochures are kept to a minimum. Donations come mostly from members, friends and family. Occasionally ORC receives sponsorship from strangers who are touched by their work. Ottawa artist Kym Shumsky donated the proceeds from "100 Strangers," a photography exhibit, to ORC.

Each surgical mission costs about \$28,000 in supplies alone, and up to \$70,000 total, including the price of plane tickets, food and accommodations (if the latter two are not provided by the host country, which is sometimes the case).

Dr. Rai says the most heart-breaking part of a mission is turning away people who have travelled so far and waited so many days. "Just one more...just one more" is the mantra of mission coordinator Mary McLaren.

"The team is frequently exhausted," Dr. Rai says. "And we cannot risk patient safety. But the crushing disappointment on their faces haunts me for weeks afterwards."

In recent years, ORC has concentrated its efforts in Cambodia and India. It is always looking, however, at more ways to help other countries in need.

One of the most effective ways to help a country is by training local medical practitioners. Canadian residents in plastic surgery and pediatrics can also gain valuable experience from the intensive handson training provided by an ORC mission. This experience will then benefit Canadian patients when the residents return home to practise in their fields of specialty.

Each country expresses thanks differently. In China, there are speeches; in Mexico, wrapped gifts. In India, there are hugs; in the Philippines, baskets of fruits and vegetables. In Lebanon, they receive pistachios; in Cambodia, fragrant flowers and bows. But each volunteer will tell you there are no words or gifts that trump the perfect smile of a child whose potential will not be limited by the way he or she looks.

Gloria Wong is a volunteer for ORC.

Paying it forward, Korean-style

he idea of "paying it forward" has always been something that appealed to departing South Korean Ambassador Nam Joo-hong and that's exactly what he did in April, just days before he was unexpectedly called home for a new, high-profile job in Korea's national security.

The Rolling Rampage on the Hill is put on by the Canadian Foundation for Physically Disabled Persons to raise awareness about sport for people with disabilities. The event's mission, said founder and retired Senator Kim Kochhar, is to make people aware that being in a wheelchair doesn't prevent them from being athletes. "A wheelchair isn't a sign of a disability, but a symbol of freedom for people who cannot walk," Mr. Kochhar said.

The event brings wheelchair athletes from around the world to Ottawa to race in a 10-kilometre event (that's 18 loops on Parliament Hill). The winner receives \$30,000 — which is provided by Scotiabank. Athletes pay \$1,000 to enter the race, with funds going to the foundation. This year's event attracted 13 of the world's best wheelchair athletes and the Korean embassy — the only diplomatic mission to participate — helped pay some of the expenses for Gyu-Dae Kim, the Korean athlete who raced. The embassy gave \$2,000 in sponsorship money.

The embassy also formed a large cheerleading contingent for Mr. Gyu-Dae and



Koreans take part in the Rolling Rampage on Parliament Hill. Ambassador Nam Joo-hong is in the front row, centre, wearing a white ball cap with his hand in the air.

used the event to help publicize a full year's worth of events in 2013, which will mark the 50th anniversary of Canada-Korea diplomatic relations. Finally, the embassy agreed to encourage other diplomatic missions to participate in next year's event, specifically Japan and New Zealand, which both had athletes present.

"I am proud to have been able to help support such a worthy cause," Ambassador Nam said. "Participating in charitable events is important both to me personally and also to the Republic of Korea, as Koreans have progressed to a position where we are able to give back to international charities after having been a receiving nation in decades gone by."

In addition to the professionals' race, the Rolling Rampage invites a number of school children to watch the big race and to participate in relays of their own. There's also a wheelchair relay for parliamentarians and diplomats. Mr. Nam joined in that race and discovered it's harder than it looks: "I happily participated in a short wheelchair relay race," the ambassador said. "The professional athletes make it look effortless, but let me tell you, this apparent ease is the result of their hard work, dedication and mastery of the sport.

"The parliamentarians, men in uniform, and diplomats like me needed every ounce of concentration just to keep the wheelchairs going in a straight line. As my fellow relay racers can surely attest, racing in a wheelchair for the first time is a humbling experience."

When he left Ottawa, the ambassador (who, along with his wife, Mi-sook, a professor of English literature, was very active in the diplomatic community), said he would always fondly remember his time in Canada. "I will miss the kindness of people I have met during my stay," he said. **D**



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Chamberfest 2012 stars 450 artists

The 19th annual Ottawa International Chamber Music Festival takes place between July 26 and August 9. This summer's edition presents more than 450 artists and 100 concerts and events over 15 days of musical celebration in the nation's capital.

Canadian Brass opens Ottawa Chamberfest 2012, July 26 at Dominion-Chalmers United Church, with its legendary musical theatrics: the first of several high-profile performances that include Nash Ensemble of London (July 28); Janina Fialkowska (August 4); Louis Lortie and Augustin Dumay (August 7); and France's rock-star chambristes, Quatuor Ebène (August 9), who also display their impressive Jazz chops at an August 8 Late Night concert at Saint Brigid's Centre for the Arts.

Star power abounds at Ottawa Chamberfest 2012, as iconic Canadian actor Gordon Pinsent takes the stage July 30 with James Parker, of the Juno® awardwinning Gryphon Trio, to narrate *The Carnival of the Animals* by Camille Saint-Saëns and Strauss' musical treatment of Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*. Also on tap is Arcade Fire bassist Richard Reed Parry (August 4), who performs his avant-garde compositions with Montreal's Warhol Dervish, an unorthodox chamber music collective featuring some of Canada's most interesting and creative young musicians.

Complete programming details are available at www.OttawaChamberfest. com. A 56-page festival guide is available as a digital download from the website, or in print form by calling Ottawa Chamberfest at 613-234-6306. Passes, flex plans, miniseries, and single tickets may be purchased at the Ottawa Chamberfest box office (4 Florence Street, Suite 201), online at www.OttawaChamberfest. com/tickets, or by calling 613-234-6306.



Janina Fialkowska, recipient of the Governor General's 2012 Performing Arts Award, will play Schubert and Chopin on August 4.



Award-winning Canadian actor and playwright Gordon Pinsent, shown here at the May 21 launch party for Ottawa Chamberfest 2012, makes his debut at Chamberfest this year.



DIPLOMATICA | DIPLOMATIC AGENDA

Chile, 'pioneer' in free trade



FIRST NAME: Roberto Cristian

LAST NAME: Ibarra

CITIZENSHIP: Chilean BECAME AMBASSADOR TO CANADA:

June 16, 2010
PREVIOUS POSTINGS: Argentina

Brazil, Germany, Italy, the EU (Brussels), Malaysia and Bolivia

hen Chile joined Brunei, New Zealand and Singapore as founding members of the Trans-Pacific Partnership in 2006, it was no accident. Chile's first big step toward becoming a pioneer country — one that has been working for decades to achieve better conditions for worldwide trade, particularly within the Pacific basin area - took place when we joined APEC in 1994. This early understanding of the need to expand our economic activities towards new markets, thereby boosting economic growth rates and bringing economic stability and prosperity, was a turning point for our country in the international trade field.

Since then, Chile has been feverishly

in a successful alliance that this year celebrates its 15th birthday. Some of our other notable free trade partners include Mexico (1999), the European Union (2003), United States (2004), South Korea (2004), China (2006,) Japan (2007) and India (2007) and recently, we signed trade agreements with Malaysia and Vietnam, Japan, among others.

signing free trade

agreements — it

now has 23

agreements with

60 countries. Canada has

been there since

the very begin-

ning when it

signed an FTA

in 1997 and has

become one of our most valu-

able partners

Since its inception, more countries (Australia, U.S., Peru, Vietnam, Japan and Malaysia) have joined the TPP's founding four, and the agreement has been called the most important growing Free Trade Zone in the world because it brings together developed and developing economies both in Asia and America. Its ambitious goal is to create an intercontinental free-trade area, and it has become particularly innovative in matters not covered yet by previous treaties, including regulatory coherence, competitiveness and business facilitation. These are the topics of the 21st Century.

The new advantages

From the Chilean perspective, the benefits of joining the TPP are found in trade of goods, regulatory services, investments and in solving possible trade differences among all nine parties.

The experiences of APEC and studies from the World Bank show that existing trade agreements have a ways to go. The TPP improves on other agreements, partly because transportation costs could be lower. It's also expected that the TPP will benefit not only large corporations but also small and medium enterprises. I should also point out that the TPP is meant to be complementary to APEC, and not competitive with it.

Lastly, it is important to mention that the TPP offers potential for government procurement, something that is currently contentious in the Canada-Europe agreement currently being negotiated. And, it may also end up with better tariff reductions than in bilateral agreements. In the same sense, the TPP will complement bilateral agreements previously signed, which, for example, may not contain chapters on services and investments.

Another advantage of multilateral trade



Leaders of TPP member states and prospective member states at a summit in 2010. Chilean President Sebastián Piñera is fourth from the left.

DIPLOMATIC AGENDA | DIPLOMATICA

agreements is the potential for a wide variety of suppliers to produce one end product. If a good is made in Chile, with materials from Vietnam and Malaysia, each of those three economies benefits.

Like other existing agreements, the TPP will incorporate an important institutional mechanism of administration in which all countries will participate. This structure will include technical committees for the most important sections of the agreement. Member countries will be able to consult those committees to settle trade differences.

The negotiation process

The latest negotiation process which started in March 2010, has been slower than expected but progress is still undeniable. Negotiations were expected to close in November 2011, during the APEC Leaders' Summit in Honolulu but due to the great number of actors, it was not possible to conclude the negotiations then. But leaders of the nine member countries announced the general framework of the agreement, including long-term goals and the general scope of the future agreement. Further progress was expected in June 2012, when APEC's Ministers of Commerce Summit took place. So far, five rounds have been scheduled for 2012, as well as other inter-sessional meetings.

Heading for new developments

An important element of discussion at the APEC Summit was the possible accession of new members to the negotiations process. Canada, Japan and Mexico have formally expressed their interest in joining the process. At this stage, for practical purposes, the use of bilateral consultation before the entrance has been upheld in order to discuss the admission of future partners. Chile's view on new membership has always been favourable. Getting additional qualified members involved in the agreement unquestionably results in more winners in the general outcome. Since Canada is a relevant free-trade partner and main investor in Chile, we welcome its entry.

The visit by Prime Minister Stephen Harper in Chile in April reinforced our mutual engagement for prosperity in the region. The chance to capitalize on the additional advantages that come from sharing access to the Pacific Coast offers a huge potential in reaching attractive Asian markets. Such a promising possibility deserves to be explored by two traditionally good partners. **D** fering Exclusive

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DIPLOMATICA | QUESTIONS ASKED

Afghanistan's ambassador: thank you, Canada

Barna Karimi, Afghanistan's new ambassador to Canada, has a varied background which most recently included two key jobs in Afghanistan — first working as President Hamid Karzai's deputy chief of staff (2005-2007) and then working for him as a deputy minister (2007-2011). But he comes with corporate and cultural distinctions, too. For four years (2001-2005), he was president of Alma USA Enterprise Inc. (a wholesale company) in Los Angeles and for four years before that, was general manager of Triton Inc. (a shoe company). He has a master's degree in business and yet he has published one book of his own poetry and another of Japanese poems he translated to Persian from English. He joined Diplomat's editor, Jennifer Campbell, to discuss his plans in Canada.

Diplomat magazine: You've restructured the embassy since you arrived. Can you explain your approach?
Barna Karimi: I divided the whole embassy into five sections.
No. 1 is diplomatic and government relations — this can go both ways, with Canadian issues and Afghan issues.

No. 2 is economic and development relations. This includes CIDA, the ministry of mining and commerce in Afghanistan and the private sector relationship here. We've already started talking about a Foreign Investment Protection Agreement between Afghanistan and Canada and we're talking about a mining symposium in Toronto.

No. 3 is public outreach and community relations. This means reaching out to Afghan Canadian citizens and to Canadian citizens. With Canadians, my priority is to make sure I call on some of the families who lost people in Afghanistan to convey a message of condolence and my appreciation for the loss they bore in Afghanistan. I want to tell them how grateful we are for the assistance the Canadian people provided to Afghanistan and how much better our lives are for those losses, both in resources and also in quality of life. This is a priority. And, of course, I want to reach out to the academic community, the universities, and to start a relationship with universities in

Afghanistan. I will work on culture issues, exchanges we can have in terms of exhibitions or literary work.

No. 4 is media relations.

No. 5, the last one, is the administrative and finance issues that every corporation has [a jocular reference to his business background.] This is a new embassy. I have a good team around me.

DM: You've recently taken up your new position as ambassador to Canada. Did you bring family with you?

BK: Yes. I have a wife, Storai Karimi, and I have a two-year-old daughter, Maral. She will attend daycare and I'm in inclined to send her to a French daycare because she'll learn English anyway. She is a U.S. citizen so she may eventually live there. I want her to take a gift from Canada when she leaves, so maybe that will be [an ability to speak] French. My wife will go to college. She goes to the gym four times a week so she'll be busy.

I have published two books. One was a collection of poems I wrote and published in 2003 in Los Angeles. In English, the title is *Story Tellers of Fire in Acacia*. It's [written] in Persian. My second book, *Blossom Will Go to Heaven*, is a translation of Japanese poems. I translated them from English to Persian. I've also translated or written more than 100 articles on Afghanistan, Persian literature and philosophy.

DM: Your country has negotiated a 10year security partnership with the U.S., which obviously signals a long-term commitment by our neighbour. Can you tell us in some detail what this agreement provides?

BK: The first section is on general understandings within the agreement. The second is on the [legal] status of the partnership and on the Afghan constitution. The third is on support for the Afghan national security forces. It's a commitment that [the United States] will support Afghan forces. The last section is on the development of economic growth in Afghanistan, on good governance and anticorruption. This is the structure of the strategic partnership. [The agreement] is in the final stages so I can't comment on details.

By signing this strategic partnership, I'm very hopeful we'll have a much clearer framework of partnership between Afghanistan and the United States.

As you know, we're signing a lot of strategic partnerships. We're hopeful we'll sign one with Canada. These strategic partnerships will bind us to certain commitments that both parties make in terms of improving the lives of citizens in Afghanistan, whether through governance and developmental assistance or assistance for security. And assistance when it's needed. Unfortunately, Afghanistan's geographic location makes us vulnerable. The [U.S.] strategic partnership will help assure us that [assistance] will be there when it's needed.

Also, this partnership will bring us closer to Afghan sovereignty, or full sovereignty, because right after this, there will be more talks on how the international security assistance forces will conduct operations in Afghanistan. We already have an agreement on Afghan control of detention centres. This will make us more responsible and give us more authority. Those two things come hand in hand.

DM: What would you like NATO's role to be, beyond 2014?

BK: We want support, both financial and technical. Long-term support is needed to make sure we secure Afghanistan, bring civility and defend it against terrorism. The world put a big price on Afghanistan's security. They spent a lot of money and lost a lot of lives. After losing the lives, and after putting a lot of money and resources on the ground, I don't think the objective was to leave Afghanistan without any plan of how it

will stand on its own two feet.

If NATO just leaves, Afghanistan could turn back to the way it was before 2001. In terms of having assurances that Afghanistan won't fall back into a land where terrorists can create camps and one day attack Western countries, I think it's better to have a programmatic approach to what happens after 2014. A long-term commitment is profitable for the West and for Afghanistan. In a way, I think it will help the Afghan government to stand on its own but it will also give peace of mind to Western countries that Afghanistan won't become a land where terrorists can plan attacks against NATO countries.

We want our NATO allies to support us but this support should not be at a cost of sovereignty for Afghanistan. We should take full responsibility and take the lead — with the support of our international friends. We gave these countries assurances we will defend, secure and stabilize [our country].

DM: You talked about how much Western countries have spent, both in terms of dollars and lives. How much longer can you expect this to continue?

BK: I was in Washington in February when one of our ministers of mines presented a roadmap for mining in Afghanistan to members of a think-tank. This roadmap was a good alternative to donor fatigue in Afghanistan. If everything goes according to the plan, in 2023, Afghanistan will have a little more than \$500 billion in revenues from the mining sector alone. Now I think, if we synchronize our efforts with those of the international community, that we will have a deadline for [the time] when Afghanistan will be

fully self-sufficient. I'm not saying that one day we won't need anything from the world but at least we'll be self-sufficient in our resources.

DM: How would you describe the security situation in Afghanistan currently? **BK**: It's improving. What you see in the media is totally different from on-the-ground. Instead of holding territories, the insurgents are just using IEDs and suicide attacks. This means they don't have freedom of movement anymore. Last time I travelled in Kandahar, about two months ago, I drove to four districts with the governor — I actually drove there. That means security has improved rapidly. I couldn't even drive freely around the city of Kandahar a year-and-a-half ago.

We are making a lot of gains in terms of security. In terms of stability, we now have the local police program, the district delivery program. This is stabilizing areas. We have freedom of movement between some of the villages and we have revived the government services in many districts. That means it's much better. In Afghanistan, we don't need security; we need stability. Stability comes when you have governance actually take over the securing of perimeters.

We're making sure we have more presence of government. Before the military operation in Panjwai, we had only two employees there — the district governor and the chief of police. Now we have more than 50. That brings stability.

The security situation is better. Of course, incidents happen and we all saw that in the last incident in Kabul [in April] the Afghan security forces did a great job.



DIPLOMATICA QUESTIONS ASKED



This is the plaque an Afghan man showed Mr. Karimi before he came to Canada. It's mounted on a courthouse Canadians helped build in Kandahar.

DM: So you feel there's real progress? **BK**: Yes. If they have the right equipment and training, they'll do just as well as the international forces. But we don't have a lot of technical capabilities and training and we appreciate what the Canadian government is doing to support Afghan police with this training.

DM: Which Canadian soldiers' families will you visit? How will you decide? **BK**: I'm going through the right channels. I want to make sure they're comfortable with meeting. I respect the privacy of some of these families who probably don't want to see me. Whoever wants to see me, I'm here to make sure I pay my respects.

DM: You are a former employee of Hamid Karzai and therefore must know him well.

BK: I was his deputy chief of staff and deputy minister. I worked with him very closely in the last six years. Probably one of the reasons he sent me here is because he knows how important this mission is. He wanted to put his trust in a person like me to make sure I do a good job.

DM: How confident are you in his leadership?

BK: I'm very confident and I know him personally. He doesn't compromise on the sovereignty of Afghanistan; he doesn't compromise on the lives of Afghan civilians. He doesn't compromise on national territory, on our values. For that, I have a great respect for him. He's been a great leader and he's done a lot for that country. Everybody has the right to criticize and there are things that might not look right in our eyes that do look right in his eyes. But that doesn't mean he's not thinking about Afghanistan. These four things [on which] he doesn't compromise make him a good leader. That's what Afghanistan needs.



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1.866.323.1107 MintoSuiteHotel.com **DM:** How important is Canada to Afghanistan?

BK: It's very important that we have Canada as a friend. One day [Canada's economic assistance] will drop to zero but we know we have a friend on this side of the world. That's Canada. We can count on Canada. To pay back, I'm working very hard to make sure Canadian people benefit from Afghanistan, to make sure the private sector invests and creates jobs for Canadians. This will one day be a two-sided relationship, a profitable partnership one day between the two countries. I'm setting that as an objective right now.

DM: What would you tell Prime Minister Stephen Harper?

BK: There are a lot of things. It's not just police trainers. I want a strategic partnership with Canada. I want a foreign investment protection agreement so Canadians can feel comfortable going to Afghanistan. I want support, along with the police trainers, I want counter-IED technical assistance. I want the development assistance of CIDA because, among the donors, CIDA is doing a very good job in my country, particularly on education and environmental issues. I would ask him to sustain the support. We always ask for increases [though we] understand budget restraint and cuts. Assistance is very much appreciated and makes a lot of difference.

DM: How do Afghans view Canadians? Be honest.

BK: For the last four years, I was in charge of local governments and travelling quite often to Kandahar, where the Canadian soldiers are stationed. At that time, I didn't think to ask about Canadians specifically because we saw Canadians as NATO forces. But when I was appointed ambassador, I travelled back to Kandahar and I asked people about Canadians. And you know what? They're really happy about what the Canadians did. In one case, an old man actually took me to the courthouse that was built by Canadians. He showed me a stone [plaque on the building.] He showed me how much he appreciated that courthouse which they wouldn't have without Canadians. It was very touching.

We never had any problems with Canadians in terms sharing information or coordinating projects. We had a lot of problems with other countries but we worked very hard to program Canadian funding in Afghanistan. It was well-programmed.

DM: You say you've been instructed to improve Afghanistan's image in Canada, both with the public and the media. How important is this?

BK: This is a priority for me. We're a poor country. We know that. Every time you turn on TV, you see poverty or suicide attacks and the Taliban. I've got pictures I printed today. I want to hang them in the embassy — nature photos, pictures of people working, beautiful scenes. That's the real Afghanistan. We're not the terrorism capital of the world, or the poverty capital of the world. We have a lot of good things. As a person with a background in culture, I can do a much better

job of showing the real Afghanistan. I will call on fellow Afghans in Canada to show that side as well.

DM: Has family income increased in the past decade? Has poverty decreased?

BK: Tremendously. Life expectancy and quality of life have been upgraded. In terms of government, salaries have tripled in the last 10 years. This should, of course, reduce corruption. But a lot of people also work for international agencies. When [these agencies] leave the country, it will create a dilemma because people's lifestyle is now set to a higher standard. It might be difficult to attract [people] to Afghan institutions. We will need a strong private sector to employ some of these people.



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For business or for beaches, choose Ecuador



By Andrés Terán-Parral Ambassador of Ecuador

or the embassy of Ecuador, boosting
 trade and investment with Canada is a key goal.

On the trade side, the potential to increase bilateral commerce is accentuated by our interestingly diverse products. Ecuador exports oil, bananas, shrimp, fish, flowers, tropical fruits, cacao, coffee and industrialized products such as textiles, car parts, software and canned tuna. Recently, Ecuador has also begun to export gold, silver and copper. In 2011, Ecuador exported to Canada a total of \$86.5 million with gold, roses, shrimp and hearts of palm among the most significant products.

Trade between Ecuador and Canada is complementary. Canada sells industrialized products related to innovation, science and technology, as well as wheat. Canada's exports to Ecuador also include newsprint, aluminum wire, radio navigational aid apparatus, roasted and unroasted malt for beer and fertilizers for agriculture. In 2011, Ecuador purchased \$246.4 million worth of Canadian products.

Ecuador believes that Canadians are serious investors, who respect their economic commitments and the environment, and are concerned with the welfare of local communities. For this reason, one of our main goals is to attract Canadian investors to Ecuador. In mining, several large Canadian companies are negotiating large-scale mining contracts with the state of Ecuador. Kinross is in the final stage of the negotiation process and Iamgold, International Minerals and other companies are already having preliminary conversations. Ecuador also has large and significant proven reserves of oil and many areas where oil and gas exploration is needed.

Several large infrastructure projects are underway, including hydroelectric power plants, a new oil refinery and the Quito In-



The climate of Ecuador's capital city of Quito draws tourists to its mountains for relaxation and adventure.

ternational Airport, under construction by the Canadian company AECON. The new airport is scheduled to begin operating in October. Canadian investors are developing several seaside real estate projects.

The climate of Ecuador draws enthusiasts to its beaches and mountains for relaxation and adventure. And eco-tourism, as elsewhere around the world, is increasingly popular. Ecuador also boasts a huge area of Amazon jungle that is worth visiting if you wish to enjoy a natural and exuberant environment.

With a small territory (half the size of Manitoba), Ecuador is listed among the countries with the greatest biodiversity in the world. Important deep sea ports on the Pacific Ocean and airports in a number of cities connect Ecuador with the rest of the world. A network of first-class modern highways criss-crosses the whole country. The Galápagos Islands, located 1,000 kilometres (620 miles) off the mainland, are a tourist destination that most Canadians are unaware of and which we are keen to promote and develop.

All this potential will result in an increased demand from passengers and cargo that will require the establishment of direct air routes to facilitate exchanges between Canada and Ecuador. We are in preliminary negotiations for an air services agreement.

In the hopes of facilitating and promoting trade between both countries, Ecuador presented Canada with a draft trade agreement for development, compatible with GATT rules, based on the principles of special and differentiated treatment for less-developed economies, protection of sensitive sectors, respect for the environment and human rights, as well as cooperation to promote trade.

Ecuador has national legislation related to the organization and registration of companies, protection of investments, transfer of profits abroad and special tax incentives for foreign investors.

Ecuador has offices in Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. All are willing and able to provide assistance and information. We are in the process of opening more offices in other provinces. Our embassy in Ottawa, with its commercial and consular section, will gladly assist companies and business people interested in doing business with our country.

Andrés Terán-Parral is ambassador of Ecuador. Reach him at embassy@embassyecuador.ca or 613-563-8206 / 613-563-4286.

Malaysia: Harness our country's growth



By Dato' Hayati Ismail High Comissioner of Malaysia

alaysia is one of the top five most competitive countries in the world for international trade, according to the *World Competitiveness Yearbook 2011*. Despite the world economic downturn, Malaysia enjoyed a trade surplus of US\$38.97 billion in 2011, an increase of 8.7 percent in total trade from the previous year.

Trade between Malaysia and Canada is not large. Malaysia's trade with Canada was only US\$1.83 billion or 0.44 percent of its global trade in 2011. Likewise, Canada's trade with Malaysia was only US\$2.94 billion or 0.32 percent of Canada's total global trade.

Malaysia is one of the world's leading exporters of semi-conductor devices and electrical goods and appliances, which are the top exports to Canada. Others include furniture, rubber products and metal manufactured items as well as textiles and clothing. In 2011, exports to Canada were valued at US\$909 million or 0.4 percent of Malaysia's global exports.

Imports from Canada were mainly chemical products, electrical and electronic parts, machinery equipment, processed food and transport equipment. In 2011, exports from Canada to Malaysia totalled US\$774 million or 0.17 percent of Canada's global exports.

Canada is a source of foreign investments in both the manufacturing and services sector in Malaysia. Canadian companies such as the Bank of Nova Scotia, Talisman Energy Inc., Manulife Financial Canada and Research in Motion (RIM) maintain branches or regional headquarters in Malaysia. New investments in 2011 were mainly in electrical and electronic products, machinery and equipment, nonmetallic minerals products, rubber prod-



Malaysia has a vibrant business sector, centred around its tallest skyscraper, the Petronas Twin Towers.

ucts and furniture and fixtures. Notable Canadian manufacturing companies in Malaysia are Celestica, ATS Automation, Teknion and Solmax.

Malaysia is keen to attract high technology companies from Canada to establish itself as the region's engineering supporting outsourcing hub as well as a specialised high-value, high-quality machinery and equipment production hub.

Malaysia is a competitive investment destination for many reasons. Its competitiveness ranking speaks for itself: A.T. Kearney's 2012 FDI Confidence Index ranks it the 10th most attractive destination for FDI; the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business Report 2012 puts it in 18th position, ahead of Germany, Japan, Switzerland and Belgium; and A.T. Kearney's 2011 Global Services Location Index calls Malaysia the third best destination in the world for outsourcing activities, after India and China.

The government ensures a business environment that provides companies with the opportunities for growth and profits. Foreign investors can hold 100 percent of the equity in all investments in new projects, are allowed to employ expatriates where such skills are not available and are offered a wide range of tax incentives such as the Pioneer Status and the Investment Tax Allowance. Industrial relations are harmonious, with minimal trade disputes.

Malaysia offers an educated workforce — the quality is one of the best in the region. Literacy levels are high, workers entering the job market have at least 11 years of basic education.

The cost of studying in my country is very affordable and Malaysia would like to host more international students, including Canadians. Many Malaysians have also graduated from Canadian universities and they not only provide valuable connections to Canada, but also the skills sought by global companies.

Malaysia has one of the most developed infrastructures among the industrializing countries of Asia. There are more than 200 industrial parks and 18 free industrial zones, along with special incentives to attract investments and the creation of several special economic zones such as the Iskandar Development Region. The country not only provides the strategic location with the physical and economic infrastructure for international investments but also the right ingredients for people to invest, work, live and play. The telecommunications network uses the latest digital and fibre-optics technology to provide high-quality telecommunication services at competitive prices.

Malaysia's market-oriented economy has created a vibrant business environment. The rapid embrace of the knowledge economy allows companies to operate in an environment that is geared toward information technology. A welldeveloped financial banking sector and sophisticated financial facilities are available. There are robust and highly competitive small-and-medium scale industries.

Malaysia also offers quality of life. Expatriates will enjoy a safe and comfortable living environment with modern amenities, good health care and medical facilities, excellent educational institutions and world-class recreational sports facilities — at costs much lower than in their own countries. The diversity of cultures, a heritage derived from its racial mix of some of the oldest civilizations — Malay, Chinese and Indian — has turned Malaysia into a microcosm of Asia. Most Malaysians are able to speak at least two languages.

Life in Malaysia is an unsurpassed adventure. From beaches to national parks to shop-until-you-drop experiences to culinary delights and Formula One races, Malaysia has it all, including island retreats and the best diving spot in the world, Sipadan. It is not surprising, therefore, that Malaysia has become one of the Top 10 most visited countries in the world today.

Dato' Hayati Ismail is Malaysia's high commissioner to Canada. Reach her at hayati@kln.gov.my or (613) 241-5182.

'Made in Slovakia' — for Canadians



By Milan Kollar Ambassador of Slovakia

Solvakia, one of the world's youngest countries, has in nearly 20 years of its independence managed to achieve results that should make its people proud. Slovakia has become a fullfledged member of such prestigious clubs as OECD (2000), EU and NATO (2004), the Schengen Area (2007) and Eurozone (2009).

Canada, one of the world's most developed economies, has been an interesting prospective partner of Slovakia in such areas as trade and investments, research and development, innovations and industrial technologies.

In 2011, the bilateral trade between Slovakia and Canada reached \$240 million, a remarkable increase of 40 percent compared to the previous year. Slovakia's exports to Canada were worth \$169.7 million in 2011, a 46 percent year-on-year growth.

Currently, Slovak exports to Canada are highly dependent on one export commodity — automobiles, representing 72 percent of Slovakia's total exports in 2011. Other Slovak products are exported to Canada in much smaller volumes, including furniture (4 percent of total exports), metal structures (3 percent), various plastic materials (3 percent), various plastic materials (3 percent), mechanical equipment, such as elevators and forklifts (3 percent), textiles and fabrics (2 percent), footwear (1.9 percent) and electrical equipment (1.5 percent).

Canadian exports to Slovakia reached \$70.3 million in 2011, a 28-percent growth compared to 2010. Coal is Canada's leading export commodity (42 percent), followed by pharmaceutical products (11 percent), machinery and equipment (7 percent), textile yarns (5 percent), telecommunications equipment (4 percent) and vegetables (3.5 percent).



The main square in the city of Banska Bystrica.

In spite of a relatively dynamic bilateral trade in 2011, there are still ample opportunities for both sides. The trade exchange between our countries should not be based on one or two commodities only; we should diversify the exports between Slovakia and Canada towards higher value-added products and services for the benefit of both countries. We would like to see more industrial goods (machinery, electrical equipment) and consumer goods (for household and personal use) labelled "Made in Slovakia" sold in the Canadian market. When Canadians buy the perfect Audi Q7, the new Volkswagen Touareg or Porsche Cayenne or a nice piece of IKEA furniture, very few know they were likely made in Slovakia. That needs to change.

Also, we would like to invite Canadian companies to Slovakia — bringing with them state-of-the-art and innovative technologies and investments into our industry, infrastructure, tourism and professional services sectors. Beyond this, rather than a limited, 5.5 million-strong consumer zone, Slovakia should be perceived as a strategically located Central European hub, a gateway to both the EU domestic market and to East and South European countries outside the EU.

Slovakia offers its Canadian partners a stable political and business environment and a steadily growing economy. The GDP growth rate in 2011 was 3.3 percent with predicted 2 percent growth for 2012. According to the *Doing Business Report* 2012 prepared by the World Bank Group, Slovakia ranked 48th, the highest among the Central and East European countries. A simple, 19 percent flat-rate corporate and personal income tax is worth noting, in addition to a highly skilled workforce, relatively low cost of labour (the average nominal monthly salary is C\$1,040), a labour code offering considerable flexibility and the highly innovative potential for research and development projects.

I would like to point out the many benefits that the EU membership brings to Slovakia, including almost unlimited access to the 27-nation market with a consumer class of 496 million people, a transparent and stable legal environment, access to the EU structural funds, less regulated migration of its workforce, and a single currency — the Euro.

Slovakia, we hope, will not evoke only business and investments in the minds of Canadians. It is also an attractive tourist destination rich in history and culture, with an abundance of natural beauty (mountains, caves, lakes) and attractions and relaxation for all ages. Consider that it has more than 100 castles and chateaus, several UNESCO world heritage sites, nearly 100 destination spas — all located within 49,000 square kilometres (18,920 square miles). And, last but not least, we mustn't forget the warm-hearted, welcoming people with their interesting folklore traditions and tasty cuisine.

Slovakia has high expectations for the impact of the negotiated Canada-European Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) on Canada and Slovakia bilateral trade and investment activities. Therefore, from Slovakia's perspective, this is the right time to show Canada's business community, in a more dynamic way, the advantages and possibilities of Slovakia vis-à-vis other European countries.

The Slovak embassy in Ottawa is prepared to assist all Canadian companies, entrepreneurs or individuals interested in the trade and investment opportunities and tourism in this lovely country.

Milan Kollar is ambassador of Slovakia to Canada. Reach him at emb.ottawa@ mzv.sk or (613) 749-4442.

Shifting our guns to the Pacific

Why Canada must hope for peace and prosperity in the Far East — but prepare for war

SPECIAL BOOK EXCERPT By Thomas Adams



Navy sailors from the People's Liberation Army stand at attention on a ship in Qingdao, China.

www.ithin the last few decades, the world centre of gravity has moved from the Atlantic to the Pacific. By virtually any metric, whether it is economic power, military power, political power, or global influence, the world centre of power has come to reside in the Pacific — with China at the heart of this profound transition.

Numerous issues in the security realm make the region a potentially volatile one. As the result of regional rivalries, the importance of the region's economies, and ongoing military build-ups, the Asia-Pacific region has been likened aptly to the powder keg of Europe prior to the outbreak of the First World War.

These issues, in turn, have the potential to affect Canada's national security inter-

ests, whether directly or indirectly. However, Canada's leaders have not grasped the enormity of the paradigm shift that, for the first time in five hundred years, Europe no longer sets the global agenda.

This essay argues that Canada needs to engage the Asia-Pacific region more substantially in order to defend and advance its national interests. It makes that argument by reviewing the regional context — its importance in the global economy, trade and commerce, and the security environment — and, in so doing, identifies the ways in which Canada's security interests could be harmed. It concludes by putting forth two sets of strategic policy prescriptions: first, to continue to engage China, while at the same time hedging against it strategically; and second, to reorient Canada's naval emphasis from the Atlantic to the Pacific in order to deal with threats and contingencies in that quintessentially maritime realm.

The centre of global economic power, trade, and commerce now resides in the Asia-Pacific region. China, Japan, and South Korea are the world's second-, third-, and 15th-largest economies in the world. Northeast Asia, that is to say China, Japan, and South Korea, constitutes one of the great regional dynamos that drive the global economy.

In particular, the Chinese economy has performed in a way that is little short of stellar and indeed historic in its breadth and depth: double-digit growth, or roughly 10 to 11 percent growth per annum for almost 30 years. By most indi-
cations, China will continue to be a major economic force for decades to come and might even overtake the United States as the world's largest economy.

So China has become the classic *entrepôt*, the great engine replacing Japan as the animator of Asian economies, though Japan still has an economy that easily eclipses that of most other countries. We are looking at a new world altogether.

In 2008, merchandise imports and exports destined for and originating from Asia accounted for approximately onequarter of all global merchandise trade, with China as the world's second-largest exporter and third-largest importer of goods, and Japan as the fourth-largest importer and exporter of goods. In the same year, over 5.5 percent of Canada's exports were destined for Asia, while over 15 percent of our imports originated from Asia. The world's busiest ports are located in China, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan.

China, by 2015, has an ambition to be the world's greatest shipbuilder with the biggest and most productive shipyards in the world, though perhaps not the greatest high-end shipbuilder, as that credit would probably still reside with Japan and South Korea. It will also have the biggest megaports in the world, as well as the biggest production of containers.

Additionally, the region is also home to the world's most important sea lines of communication for trade and commerce. Over 50,000 ships pass through the Strait of Malacca each year, transporting over one-third of all global trade and half of the world's oil, including 80 percent of China's and Japan's energy imports. The 960-kilometre strait lies between Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, the last being home to the world's busiest port, and represents the world's most critical strategic chokepoint.

China's unprecedented economic growth has provided the means by which it has been able to embark on its substantial military modernization. And despite a long tradition of continentalism, China has now become increasingly Mahanian in outlook. (Arthur Thayer Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History* was one of the most important books on military strategy in the first half of the 20th Century. It was published in 1890.)

Certainly the appetite for international energy has contributed in part to China's becoming a maritime power. In their search for energy, the Chinese are becoming increasingly exposed and vulnerable to the vagaries of the maritime realm, as their sea lanes stretch back across the Indian Ocean to Africa or across the Pacific to South America and elsewhere. They are acquiring blue-water appetites and a desire to have an ocean-going naval presence.

As such, one of the primary characteristics of China's military modernization is the development of power-projection capabilities. Advanced submarines, surface combatants, and (eventually) aircraft carriers are all key components of China's military modernization, meant to provide it with the ability to project power abroad to advance its national interests.

Another part of the reason for the growth of Chinese military power is to enable China to protect its own borders and to shape the strategic environment in which the future of Taiwan may be decided.

The status of Taiwan is still a matter of dispute between the island's leaders and the Chinese Communist Party. Taiwan is for all intents and purposes a *de facto* state, albeit not one recognized officially as a *de jure* one. Taiwan wishes to obtain such recognition, while China desires to incorporate the 'renegade province' into the mainland.

Were the island to become reunited with the mainland, China would have the

Mongolia

China

Laos

Bhutan

Bangladesh

Myanma

ability to project naval power more readily throughout the region and beyond by virtue of having unencumbered blue-water access through naval bases on the island.

Currently, China has over 1,000 ballistic missiles pointed directly at the island in order to deter it from declaring formal independence, and the number of missiles continues to grow. Meanwhile, Taiwan relies on the Taiwan Relations Act passed by the U.S. Congress in 1979, in which America undertakes to provide the island with the military equipment needed to defend itself, while pledging to come to its aid in the event of an unprovoked attack by the mainland.

The China-Taiwan situation is the flashpoint most likely to bring American and Chinese military forces into direct conflict with each other, with potentially far-reaching or even catastrophic consequences.

Elsewhere in the region, the divided Korean Peninsula remains one of the most militarized places in the world. The ceasefire agreement signed in 1953 by North Korea and U.S.-allied forces has not yet been replaced with a permanent peace agreement. As a result, approximately 25,000 American troops are stationed south of the demilitarized zone to supplement South Korea's 687,000 troops.

The Democratic People's Republic of

Japan

Yellow Sea



South

China Sea

More than 50,000 ships pass through the Strait of Malacca each year, transporting more than one-third of all global trade and half of the world's oil, including 80 per cent of China's and Japan's energy imports.

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Korea is home to the world's fifth-largest army; over 1 million troops are stationed just north of the demilitarized zone, as are hundreds of tanks and aircraft, and thousands of artillery pieces. For the last couple of decades, Pyongyang has been steadfastly developing a ballistic missile and nuclear weapons capability.

Fortunately, since the end of hostilities in 1953, U.S. and Republic of Korea forces have arguably deterred a second North Korean invasion of the South. Tensions along the demilitarized zone remain high, however. Should war break out on the peninsula, U.S. and South Korean forces would undoubtedly prevail and, in all likelihood, bring about the end of the North Korean regime.

But the war would be tremendously bloody: Seoul would most likely be obliterated by the thousands of artillery pieces and missiles pointed at it; Japan might be



A boarding party team conducts a small-arms proficiency shoot onboard HMCS Charlottetown in the Gulf of Aden while on Operation ARTEMIS in May.



The bulk of the Canadian navy has always been stationed in Nova Scotia where this training exercise, also involving Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), took place. Author Thomas Adams argues that Canada should move part of its naval forces to the Pacific.

attacked with ballistic missiles, possibly armed with weapons of mass destruction (WMD); and depending on the state of North Korea's WMD and missile capabilities at that time, the American homeland might itself be attacked directly.

While America, China, Japan, and South Korea all wish to see the complete dismantlement of North Korea's WMD programs and the reduction of hostilities across the demilitarized zone, they also desire to prevent the sudden collapse of the northern regime. The costs of unification would be tremendous, a humanitarian crisis might ensue, and the status of U.S. forces on the peninsula (and in Japan) would be called into question.

The China-Taiwan and Korean Peninsula flashpoints highlight a related issue: the endemic proliferation of WMD and ballistic missiles in Northeast Asia. China has more than 1,000 short- and mediumrange ballistic missiles on its coast pointed at Taiwan and approximately 30 intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of reaching the North American continent. As evidenced by recent tests and pronouncements, North Korea appears wholly unwilling to halt its development of nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missile capabilities and has shown itself willing to sell missiles and nuclear technology to the highest bidder, including countries such as Iran. Both America and Japan have missile defence assets deployed in the region to counter those threats, and Taiwan has shown interest in acquiring such a capability.

Since the early days of the Cold War, America's forward presence in Northeast Asia has brought relative stability to an otherwise unstable region. For better or worse, the United States is the great balancer by virtue of some 58,000 forwarddeployed U.S. forces in South Korea and Japan and security partnerships with other regional states.

America's unofficial support for Taiwan has arguably deterred an unprovoked Chinese attempt to reunify the island with the mainland by force. Its security guarantee to Japan precludes that country's need to fully arm itself above and beyond the limits allowed by its constitution, which in turn has served to placate its neighbours' fears of a remilitarized Japan. And America's forward deployment of troops in South Korea has deterred another North Korean invasion.

Thus, a contraction of America's presence in the region would compel those who currently rely on U.S. security guarantees to provide for their own security to a far greater extent than they do already.

Such an outcome would be further exacerbated if China does not become more transparent about its military modernization and its overall intentions in the security realm. This would further add to existing suspicions in the region and might lead to miscalculation and even war. So while there is a great deal of anti-Americanism in Asia at the grassroots and elite levels, many are hedging their bets over and against China. What, they ask, is China's endgame? The message is, 'Do not let the Americans leave Asia.'

All of this illustrates the importance of the region to the global economy and the delicate and intricate security dynamics present there. Though it may not be readily apparent to most Canadians, what happens in the Asia-Pacific region can affect Canada's national security interests directly and indirectly. Canada's interests have the potential to be harmed as a result of instability in the Asia-Pacific regional security environment.

First, the disruption of trade and commerce: As a trading nation, Canada relies heavily on a secure and stable trading environment. As noted above, China, Japan, and South Korea are the world's second-, third-, and 15th-largest economies, and Taiwan is the twenty-fourth largest.

Those countries are home to some of the world's busiest ports, and the volume of trade taking place within and emanating from the region is significant. A severe disruption of global commerce in the region would pose a clear danger to Canadian interests. Unfortunately, it is possible for some or all of these states to become involved in a military conflict with one another. It is also likely that the United States would itself become militarily involved, whether over the China-Taiwan situation. the Korean Peninsula, or some other issue. The repercussions for the global economy generally and Canada specifically from a regional war could be devastating.

It is also possible that the Strait of Malacca would be severely compromised. Acts of piracy or terrorism or a regional power blockading the strait as part of a larger regional conflict would produce farreaching consequences for international trade and commerce.

We could see a substantial rise of shipping insurance rates, demonstrated by the recent increase due to the incessant pirate attacks of ships off the Somali coast. To avoid the threat of piracy, shipping companies might be forced to use alternative routes to reach their destination. However, this would lead to increased travel times, travel costs, insurance premiums, and costs for the exporter to ship products. This in turn would lead to reduced sales on the production side and increased prices for the consumer.

In addition, the fragile oil market could be further threatened as a result of illegal seizures of oil tankers, thereby leading to increased prices in oil at home. Overseas threats, while far from our shores, can nonetheless wreak havoc for Canadians at home.

Second, the rise of China. As the result of the size of its economy, the nature and scope of its military modernization, and its growing regional and global influence, China will increasingly become a critical determinant of the security environment in Northeast Asia and the wider AsiaChina), as the former wishes to maintain, if not expand, what it already has, while the latter desires its own piece of the pie, at the expense of the former. War has often been the result and has decided the ultimate apportionment of regional and global spoils.

China is the most likely candidate to challenge America's unrivalled power, and there is already competition between Washington and Beijing for influence in the Asia-Pacific region. Should China seriously challenge or disrupt the regional and global status quo (e.g., through an unprovoked attempt to incorporate Taiwan into the mainland by force), its actions might elicit a serious response from the United States.

To some extent, the United States and its security partners in the region are already preparing for such an eventual-



Though Sino-Canadian relations have traditionally been good, political relations cooled when Prime Minister Stephen Harper came to power in 2006. He made his first state visit in 2009, and another in February 2012, where he once again met Chinese President Hu Jintao.

Pacific region. It is conceivable that China will wish to carve out a bigger role for itself in its own region, if not on the entire world stage, commensurate with its ever-growing economic and increasingly military power.

Throughout history, such behaviour has typically resulted in conflicts of interest between the status quo power (e.g., the United States) and the rising power (e.g., ity. As the American presence in the Asia-Pacific region provides a modicum of security and stability in an otherwise volatile region, the rise of China at the expense of U.S. power and influence could have a profoundly detrimental effect on regional security and the security interests of the region's key players. As Canada is America's neighbour, largest trading partner, and closest military ally, the state

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The Asia-Pacific region is quintessentially maritime, and this fact has been further underscored by the dramatic growth of regional navies.

of Sino-U.S. relations will necessarily have implications for Canadian foreign and defence policy.

Thus, we have seen that the remarkable growth of China is as much an issue for Beijing as it is for Washington, London, New Delhi, and the other great capitals of the world. They are all caught in the crossfire of those who see China as an opportunity and those who perceive it as a challenge. And that ambiguity is playing itself out in many corners of the globe. We can see it, for example, in Washington, where some have coined the curious conflation 'congagement.' Are they engaging China? Are they containing China?

Of course, one can advance persuasive arguments that China constitutes a threat to the new world order. And indeed, one has only to read U.S. Department of Defense publications that highlight the relentless growth of the Chinese military. As Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld asked publicly in Singapore several years ago, "Since no nation threatens China, one must wonder: Why this growing investment? Why these continuing large and expanding arms purchases? Why these continuing robust deployments?"

So while there is much admiration for China, there is also a great deal of uncertainty, even ambiguity, about how to position oneself over and against China, whether one is in Singapore, Malaysia, Australia or India.

Third, the proliferation of WMD. An interstate missile exchange as part of a larger regional war would severely disrupt the regional and thus global economy upon which Canada's prosperity is highly dependent.

A direct ballistic missile attack against the American homeland as a result of a regional conflict would wreak tremendous damage, not only against the U.S. population, but also its economy, upon which Canada's own economy depends so strongly.

It is also conceivable that a missile could strike a Canadian population and economic centre — either intentionally or as a result of a misfire. Moreover, should American security guarantees to its key allies be called into question, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan might develop their own nuclear and ballistic missile capabilities that could greatly increase regional instability.

An appropriate question to ask is, 'What is Canada's view of the Asia-Pacific security environment and the rise of China as it relates to Canada's security interests?' Unfortunately, the answer to this question continues to be, 'Not much.' Both the 2005 Defence Policy Statement and the 2008 Canada First Defence Strategy combined make mention of Asia seven times and China once.

The 2005 Defence Policy Statement, for instance, notes that 'long-standing tensions remain' in Asia and that even though those 'hot spots . . . are unlikely to erupt into major regional wars in the near future, the possibility cannot be discounted. North Korea's nuclear brinkmanship and ongoing tensions between Taiwan and China remain serious concerns in the region.' In order to contribute to international stability in the Asia-Pacific, the Department of National Defence will engage in 'defence diplomacy' in the region.

The Canada First Defence Strategy says even less: 'The ongoing buildup of conventional forces in Asia Pacific countries is another trend that may have a significant impact on international stability in coming years.'

As discussed, several issues in the Asia-Pacific region can have both direct and indirect negative consequences for Canada's security interests. As security abroad helps ensure Canadian security and prosperity at home, Canada needs to make effective contributions to security in the region. It can also do so with two sets of prescriptions: first, engage with, but strategically hedge against, China, and second, shift naval assets from the Atlantic to the Pacific in order to deal with immediate and potential security threats.

Canada should engage China as much as possible to advance our mutual interests in the economic and security realms. Though Sino-Canadian relations have traditionally been good, political relations cooled significantly after the Conservative Party came to power in 2006. Fortunately, after three years in office, Prime Minister Stephen Harper made his first state visit to China in December 2009.

This was a positive first step towards restoring the relationship. There is much to gain from such engagement with China, not the least of which is the great potential of Chinese foreign direct investment in Canada and the tremendous market opportunities in China for Canadian exports. Continued engagement could also encourage China to become more transparent about its intentions in the security realm.

At the same time, Canada should hedge strategically and if necessary be prepared to stand firm with the United States and other allies against China, should Beijing attempt to revise the regional and global status quo forcefully. Amicable, simultaneous relations with both America and China are in Canada's best interest.

Ultimately, however, our economic and security interests lie primarily with the United States. As Canada's security and prosperity depends to a large extent on America's global pre-eminence, the rise of China — at the expense of a significant decrease in American power - would not be in our interest, especially if Sino-U.S. relations turned decidedly sour. Unfortunately, no one is as yet certain about China's true intentions in the regional security architecture. To wish for the best - that China might have a 'peaceful rise' - while not preparing for the worst could compromise Canada's interests. As such, Canada must be sufficiently realistic to avoid basing its security on purely wishful thinking.

For all of Canada's naval history, the emphasis has been on Atlantic operations. There has been a natural tendency toward that approach, given the transatlantic nature of historical links between North America and Europe. These links have been solidified militarily through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in which Canada's primary naval role has been antisubmarine warfare in the Atlantic.



The U.S. Navy base in Yokosuka, Japan.

Correspondingly, the bulk of the Canadian navy has always been stationed in Halifax, Nova Scotia, with a smaller force stationed in Esquimalt, British Columbia. Despite the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, and despite the fact that the global centre of political, economic, and military power and influence has since shifted towards the Pacific, the Canadian navy remains primarily Atlantic-centric.

It is no surprise that the Americans have moved the bulk of their naval forces into the Pacific in recognition of new geostrategic realities, and Canada's security interests would be well served by a similar shift in focus for the Canadian navy.

The most direct and meaningful way in which Canada can contribute directly to a secure and stable Asia-Pacific region in concert with its partners and allies is through forward deployment of its naval forces — a shift of Canada's naval assets from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The Asia-Pacific region is quintessentially maritime, and this fact has been further underscored by the dramatic growth of regional navies and the critical importance of regional sea lines of communication for the movement of prodigious amounts of exports. Thus, the Canadian navy is an obvious vehicle for telegraphing Canada's national resolve. Clearly, Canada will always be a modest player in the region, but current trends point invariably towards the emergence of maritime coalitions designed to secure the ocean commons, facilitate the untrammelled movement of global commerce, and provide relief from disasters - natural and otherwise. Thus, the Canadian navy can contribute materially to the maintenance of peace and good order at sea. Hopefully, coalition operations of the sort witnessed in the anti-piracy campaign off the Horn of Africa will foster interoperability among navies and co-opt those navies that are a source of concern in a number of quarters throughout the Indian and Pacific Ōceans.

Greater Canadian naval involvement in those seas raises questions about rebalancing the navy — a subject of discussion over many years. This will no doubt happen in the fullness of time as the navy of the future emerges and the incontrovertible nature of Asia's military and political power turns Ottawa's gaze towards the Pacific.

Excerpted from *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats,* edited by David S. McDonough, © University of Toronto Press, 2012.

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II II

Switzerland has been ranked the most productive economy in the world by the World Economic Forum for three years running. This is a photo of its largest city, Zurich.

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Superstar Nations

The 10 most productive countries on Earth — and five contenders

By Wolfgang Depner

he Age of Expectations, published in 1994 by American economist Paul Krugman (who has since become a Nobel laureate) opens with the following observation: "Productivity isn't everything, but in the long run it is almost everything. A country's ability to improve its standard of living over time depends almost entirely on its ability to raise its output per worker." This conclusion (with its subtle nod towards John Maynard Keynes' famous aphorism) designates productivity as the decisive source of human prosperity and advancement, for unproductive societies will likely lack sufficient means to expand their scientific, cultural and artistic horizons.

But this perspective should not lead us to the inevitable conclusion that higher productivity will inherently improve the human condition, assuming we can agree on a definition of productivity. The definition, which Krugman advances, appears as only one of many and merely hints at the complexity of the concept.

Consider the following. Which reasons motivate us to be productive? How does a person's productivity (and its underlying motivations) impact our relations with other humans? With other living beings and the natural environment? How do we measure and reward productivity? Which activities are productive and which are not? How do we deal with individuals deemed to be unproductive because of their age and other conditions, some of which may entirely immutable? Is it even appropriate to tag individuals with labels such as productive and unproductive?

Questions of this sort have sourced philosophical debate since Classical Greece through the Enlightenment into Modernity and beyond. They have also led humanity into some dark, depraved corners. This list of the Ten Most Productive Countries does not dare to offer any answers to such fundamental questions, for they would break the bounds of this volume. It instead focuses on the more quantifiable dimensions of productivity.

First a few words about two notable countries, which did not make this list — China and India. While their respective gross domestic products might be impressive when held up against the anemic numbers of many western economies, their overall economies are nowhere near as productive. An over-reliance on cheap labour and natural resources characterizes their economies, while other key sources of productivity such as innovation, research and technological adaptation remain under-developed. Finally, both countries are still building productive institutions.

Large parts of both countries still lack the necessary physical infrastructure to ensure the efficient movement of goods, services and people. Their educational, social and political institutions are also deficient in many ways. Of particular concern is the issue of corruption, which is rampant in both countries. It wastes resources that could be used to improve productivity, undermines property rights (the basis of production) and creates uncertainty.

China's government compounds the sin of corruption through an opaque justice system and undue interference in all matters social, economic and political. Its treatment of certain groups, such as ethnic minorities, women and migrant workers is further evidence of a society that diminishes human potential - and by extension productivity - through choices rooted in questionable ideology. This critique, however, does not mean that China and India will not eventually catch up with productivity leaders such as Switzerland, Singapore and the Nordic countries. But their lead is by definition temporary and, if current trend lines continue, tenuous.

In conclusion, some final words about methodology. This list draws much inspiration from the Global Competitiveness Report, which the World Economic Forum has published since 2004. Its suitability stems from the fact that it draws a direct link between productivity and the presence (or absence) of 12 pillars of economic competitiveness - institutions, infrastructure, the macro-economic environment, health and primary education, higher education and training, goods market efficiency, labour market efficiency, financial market development, technological readiness, market size, business sophistication and innovation. Such quantitative rankings face the charge of lacking context and this list tries to answer this concern by including, where appropriate, relevant contemporary and historical details.

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Switzerland tops the list. Here, industrial Zurich is shown.

1. Switzerland

So what do the Swiss truly think about the monumental movie, The Third Man? The question begs, because the most memorable line of this 1949 classic film noir about greed and deception, filmed on location in the ruins and rubble of post-war Vienna, casts a critical conclusion about the Swiss condition. Penned by English writer Graham Greene and delivered with delicious irony by screen legend Orson Wells as black market profiteer Harry Lime, it reads as follows: "You know what the fellow said - in Italy, for 30 years under the Borgias, they had warfare, terror, murder and bloodshed, but they produced Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci and the Renaissance. In Switzerland, they had brotherly love, they had 500 years of democracy and peace - and what did that produce? The cuckoo clock." Ouch.

While this sentiment may strengthen certain cultural stereotypes about the Swiss as the Stepford Wives of Europe in stoking a fleeting but inappropriate sensation of *Schadenfreude*, it nonetheless critically misjudges one of the prettiest and most productive corners of the world. *The Global Competitiveness Report*, published by the World Economic Forum, ranked Switzerland as the most competitive economy in the world for three years running from 2009/10 through 2011/12 and this author finds few, if any reasons to disagree with this conclusion.

Yes, one cannot deny that Switzerland would not have been able to secure its current state without having made certain ethical sacrifices in the past, namely its historical decision to bank with funds from less-than-savoury sources in exchange for relative silence about their origins. This said, Switzerland ranks among the global leaders in innovation, technological readiness and labour market efficiency. The scientific institutions of the country are among the best in the world, its courts and bureaucracy inspire nothing but confidence and its excellent infrastructure ensures that business runs like, well, clock-work. One could go on and on about the various virtues of Switzerland, but that would be rubbing it into the faces of it neighbours, particularly Italy, which recently had to deal with another generation of corrupt and feckless politicians during the last 30 years. And all they ever produced was a society teetering on the edge of economic and moral bankruptcy, yet unwilling to reform and blind to reality. This begs another question: who truly lives in a cuckoo-land cloud?

2. Sweden

Scandinavian governments frequently confront the charge that their policies extinguish the flames of entrepreneurialism in lighting the way towards a socialist utopia. While this critique duly acknowledges certain undeniable dimensions of the Nordic development model, such as its rigid labour market and high taxes, it discounts the superior public and private institutions that characterize Northern European societies.

Consider Sweden, one of three Scandinavian countries to crack this countdown. Its government institutions have received gushing praise from the World Economic Forum for being efficient, trustworthy and transparent, whereas private institutions have received equally high marks for their ethical and open behaviour. Who dares to make comparable claims about the contemporary state of public and private governance in many western countries, including the United States and to a lesser degree, Canada?



Sweden's government institutions receive high praise from the World Economic Forum. This is Stockholm's central railway station.



Singapore has invested significantly in physical infrastructure and social institutions.

Sweden has complemented this institutional efficacy (with its obvious economic benefits) with a dual commitment towards higher education and technological innovation, one reinforcing the other. In 2011, Sweden spent an estimated 3.3 percent of its gross domestic product on research and development, a ratio on par with Japan and ahead of all other G8 members, including Canada, which invested 45 percent less. Not surprisingly, Sweden boasts one of the highest ratios of scientists and engineers per million people with just over 6,000 — a figure in league with Japan and behind leader Finland.

Yes, one could make the case that Sweden could do more to liberate its labour market and scale down programs that coddle its participants. But this supposed cushiness also has advantages. Measures that encourage fathers to take paternal leave are receiving credit for strengthening social cohesion by lowering divorce rates, whereas generous state support for women has boosted growth in more than one way. Freed from the choice of working or raising children, Swedish women have done both, as the country has one of the highest female participation rates (around 70 percent) and birth rates (two children per woman).

In fact, recent research suggests insolvent southern European countries could raise their dropping standards of living and baby numbers by following the Swedish model, a move that would also require some significant changes in local sexual mores. Put plainly in a way that even Silvio Berlusconi could understand, no more demeaning Bunga Bunga parties. But Canadians might also benefit from emulating Sweden's leadership in technological innovation. Stephen Harper, before becoming prime minister, once declared: "Canada is a Northern European welfare state in the worst sense of the term, and very proud of it." If he meant to compare Canada with Sweden, we should do so well.

3. Singapore

The Lion City poses a puzzle. On one hand, it is perhaps nothing less than proof that a small country with few (if any) natural resources can achieve global significance. Yes, this multi-ethnic island nation of 4.7 million has the benefit of 'guarding' one of the most important maritime straits. But such narrow determinism would dismiss the historical choices Singapore has made in leveraging its strategic location.

Investing in physical infrastructure and social institutions, Singapore has created an economy in which the virtual absence of corruption has ensured the efficient allocation of resources — financial or otherwise. This focus on productivity permeates all aspects of society. Government works closely with business in building future capacities through institutions such as the National Productivity Board (NPB) and has launched campaigns designed to change public attitudes towards work, as it did during the early 1980s, when Teamy the Productivity Bee buzzed through state-controlled television and newspapers as a national mascot.

More contemporary measures have focused on reinforcing educational standards and training. And yet recent years have seen also the rise of a virtual cottage industry probing Singapore's stagnating productivity. A survey by the *Strait Times*, published in 2010, found that the country's average productivity has grown by just one per cent during the preceding decade. "Declining productivity is a drag on the country's potential economic growth, and the global economic malaise of 2008 and 2009 has drawn attention to the urgent need to address this challenge," said Eugene Tan, assistant professor of law at the Singapore Management.

So what lies behind such concerns? Some have blamed the global recession itself. Others have focused on changes in the nature of the economy in suggesting that current corporate structures in Singapore deny workers the necessary autonomy and flexibility to succeed in the emerging knowledge economy. While others must decide which of these theories holds true, Singapore must once again make some decisive choices. So far, they have chosen well.

4. Finland

The second of three Scandinavian countries on this list, Finland is the only member of this trio that holds membership in both the European Union and the Euro currency zone. Sweden and Denmark also hold EU membership but continue to use their own currencies. But if this difference distinguishes Finland from its Nordic neighbours, it shares their drive for technological innovation and institutional efficiency.

Consider corruption. In 2011, Finland joined Denmark as the second least corrupt country in the world, behind New Zealand, according to Transparency International. Sweden, Singapore and Norway

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Finland and its capital, Helsinki, share their Nordic neighbours' drive for innovation and institutional efficiency.

rounded out the category of countries said to be "very clean" of corruption. Finland has also spent significant resources on higher education and training in providing its workforce with the necessary skills to keep up with changing environments.

This flexibility will continue to be tested in the near future as cell phone maker Nokia — once a market leader and national symbol of Finnish ingenuity — continues to restructure. With Apple dominating the global market for 'smart phones' and other mobile devices, Nokia has had to cut some 4,000 jobs across Europe as it re-designs its product and manufacturing lines. This decision has not even spared Finland, where the company recently eliminated up to 1,000 jobs at its plant in Salo.

Notwithstanding this particular blow to Finnish national pride, the overall economy remains strong. In fact, European leaders are counting on Finland to play a quiet but powerful part in dealing with the European sovereign-debt crisis. As unappealing as this prospect may appear to voters of the True Finns, a populist outfit with some recent electoral success, most Finns appear to be comfortable with their place in Europe, as evident by their recent election of Sauli Niinistö, a pro-Euro president. But if the current state of the Eurozone continues to be unsettled — a charitable use of language - Finns may soon rue the day when they adopted the Euro. (It could be the little thing that makes all the difference — and not for the better.)

5. United States

While the largest economy of the world easily earns the United States a spot on this list, it would have been higher if this ranking had appeared several years ago. (In 2009, the U.S. placed second in the *Global Competitiveness Report* released by the World Economic Forum; two years later it fell to fifth).

So what caused this slide? Much of it stems from a fundamental disagreement about the very source of productivity among members of the political elite, who have increasingly retreated to their own ideological corners.

Contemporary Republicans (who have been more than reticent to participate in reasoned debate in sometimes resorting to political blackmail) will insist excessive regulation and taxation has spread entropy throughout American society which functions best when left to its own devices, whereas leading Democrats (particularly but not exclusively President Barack Obama) will argue that the United States can regain its dynamic nature by investing in new social, economic and physical institutions.

While either perspective offers compelling points in favour of its respective case, neither offers a complete theory that could inform a comprehensive course of action. Few would deny that the flexibility of U.S. markets has fueled much of the economic fire that shone so brightly for much of the post-war era. But this sort of flexibility also depends on the availability of certain facilities, namely well-maintained public infrastructure and well-funded educational institutions, conditions Republicans rarely consider in their dogmatic elegies to entrepreneurialism.

But if Democrats are quick to quote the historic accomplishments of the New Deal and the G.I. Bill as cornerstones of American supremacy, they hesitate to acknowledge their ongoing role in fostering attitudes of dependencies by maintaining the fiction that inter-generational welfare programs will never run out of funding. Yes, Republicans practised their own version of welfarism during the era of Reagan and Bush the Younger by cutting corporate taxes in the middle of questionable, perhaps unjustifiable, military adventures.

This does not, though, absolve Democrats from shouldering their share of the blame in running up a public debt that could land the U.S. lower down this list



IEAN-CHRISTOPHE BENIC

The United States is the largest economy in the world but lost its No. 2 position in world productivity listings partly because Congress and the Obama administration can't agree on a successful bi-partisan economic policy. Shown here is Times Square in Manhattan.

in the future. The perverse brinkmanship permeating American politics, which ultimately favours the grinding gridlock of the status quo, speaks to this collective failure. Americans are getting wise to this fact, in showing little respect for their political institutions. Unfortunately, it is almost the only thing on which they can agree.

6. Germany

Pop-Quiz. Who works longer hours? Germans? Or Greeks who, according to German Chancellor Angela Merkel, would do well to work more and vacation less, as she famously insinuated. The answer, of course, duly embarrasses Merkel, Europe's



Much of Germany's success (seen here is Frankfurt), is due to tough labour policies introduced by former Chancellor Gerhard Schröder.

supposedly most powerful politician.

Statistics show that Greeks get as many legal vacation days as Germans (20) and retire at almost exactly the same age as the Teutonic workaholics north of the Alps, specifically just short of 62.

But if these statistics challenge the myth of lazy southern Europeans, they implicitly confirm the status of Germany as the productive engine of the Eurozone. Simply put, Germans do far more with less than most of their competitors. Denounced as the "sick man of Europe," Germany has regained its global economic edge during the course of the last decade through policies designed to improve productivity.

Much of the credit belongs to an ironic figure - Gerhard Schröder, Merkel's Social Democratic predecessor. His Agenda 2010 might have done damage to German notions of solidarity and cost him his job, but it also deregulated the German labour market and restrained wage growth, measures that ultimately released entrepreneurial creativity and preserved German manufacturing.

True, the struggling economies of southern Europe neither possess the political institutions nor the physical infrastructure of Germany and it is rather unlikely that they will be able to replicate them in the near-to-medium future. This said, Germany's experience emphasizes the potential efficacy of the reforms currently underway in southern Europe and prove the importance of productivity. If the German economy continues to exceed expectations - admittedly a big if in light of current circumstances — Germans might finally be due for some additional vacation time.

7. The Netherlands

Recent headlines have painted a rather unflattering image of the Netherlands as a locus of political instability, dripped in xenophobia, rife with religious intolerance. The Economist punned in April that the country found itself in a "deep Rutte," a reference to Prime Minister Mark Rutte, whose minority government fell after the controversial opponent of Muslim immigration, Geert Wilders, withdrew his support. While it remains uncertain whether Geert's spectre will continue to haunt the Netherlands following September elections, less sensational, more sober accounts have accentuated several aspects of Dutch society worthy of accolades.

The World Economic Forum (WEF) praises business in the Netherlands for being "sophisticated," "innovative" and "aggressive" in utilizing new technologies to improve productivity. Fifth-largest in the Euro zone, it is known for its petro-chemical, engineering and agricultural sectors. Its highly mechanized agricultural industry employs only two percent of the labour force, but produces large surpluses for the food-processing industry and for exports, according to the CIA World Factbook. The WEF gives high marks for the country's "efficient" markets and "excellent" educational system.



The Netherlands (shown here are parliamentary buildings in The Hague) combines efficient markets, excellent schools and world-class infrastructure.



Japan is a leader in technological innovation and research, but it also leads in public debt as a share of GDP. Tokyo is seen here.

And "last but not least, the quality of its infrastructure is among the best in the world." While the authors of this assessment register the country's deficit (which ultimately caused the demise of Rutte's government), they nonetheless praise its broader macro-economic climate. In short, the Dutch have much of which they can be proud. This said, it would be a mistake to dismiss the importance of social capital as a source of productivity. By this measure, Wilders and his sympathizers have contributed to a far more dangerous deficit.

8. Japan

Popular western attitudes and anxieties about the undeniable efficiency and occasionally questionable ethics of the Japanese workplace arguably peaked during the 1980s with a proliferation of journalistic pieces that probed the secret of Japan's success. *Gung-Ho*, a movie starring Michael Keaton as a middle manager who must reconcile competing work cultures in a fictional American auto plant under Japanese ownership, articulated this subject in an artistic manner.

Varying in tone from gushing to gnashing, these various treatises often depict Japanese workers as relentless drones, whose equally ruthless managers push them to the point of exhaustion, if not death itself. *Karoshi* — the state-recognized occupational hazard of death by overwork — dates back to the post-war boom of the 1960s and continues to claim modern victims, with some 150 cases annually.

This phenomenon continues to cast a cloud on Japanese society, as it attempts to recover from the twin disasters that befell it last year — the devastating Tsunami of March 2011 and the related nuclear meltdown at the Fukushima Daichi Nuclear Power Plant. The incident has, in turn, inspired introspection across all sections of society, one hopes, in favour of more caring and considerate sensibilities.

This said, Japan continues to drop in rankings that track productivity. While the country continues to enjoy a competitive, if not leading, edge in terms of technological innovation and research, according to the World Economic Forum, Japan also leads another category — public debt as a share of gross domestic product. In 2010, it exceeded 220 percent according to the World Economic Forum, a figure sure to inspire another round of fear and loathing, but for entirely different reasons.

9. Denmark

One can argue Denmark has made news for all the wrong reasons in past months. Scandals of various sorts, some political, some personal, some petty, have pushed the popularity of the country's first female prime minister, Helle Thorning-Schmidt, into the deep end. Her left-leaning coalition is also struggling to revive a malingering economy. GDP fell by 0.8 percent in the third quarter of 2011, and growth is forecast at a sluggish 1.0 percent for 2012.

Perhaps worse, sentiments hostile to immigration and deeper integration with the rest of Europe have spiked. But such developments, as unpleasant as they might be, should not distract from the solid fundamentals Denmark has furnished in building one of the most productive and prosperous economies. Political scandals come and go and Denmark is hardly the only country struggling with the ongoing recession.

More troubling is the country's growing rejection of diversity. This tendency — which has also intensified in other parts of Europe — is a detriment to social cohesion and productivity. Aging societies with



Inspite of recent economic troubles, Denmark (Copenhagen is pictured here) is one of the world's most productive and prosperous countries.

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stagnating birth rates cannot afford to push immigrants to the margins of social and economic life if they wish to maintain their material well-being and comfort.

10. Hong Kong

Asia's economic ascendancy has been impressive but uneven. China and India are on their way towards becoming global powers (if they have not achieved this status already), but both countries continue to confront significant social disparities and institutional deficiencies, which may delay their departure towards higher ground. Prominent regional players such Indonesia, Pakistan and Bangladesh possess all the potential in the world to play more prominent parts, but remain prostrated for a number of reasons.

As this list suggests, the rise of Asia has revealed itself most clearly in small urban locales such as Singapore and Hong Kong. Like Singapore, Hong Kong depends heavily on international trade and finance. Like Singapore, it has responded to this exposure by building and maintaining



Hong Kong, which depends heavily on international trade and finance, has long been China's window on the international financial market.

superb transportation facilities. Its efficient goods, labour and financial markets are also capable of catching shifting winds, now primarily blowing from the Chinese Mainland.

Under the "one country, two systems" governance formula, Hong Kong has long become Beijing's window on the international financial market. But the similarities between Hong Kong and Singapore only go so far. Whereas Singapore continues to invest heavily in its long-term productivity through education, Hong Kong remains a relative laggard. Its education system may be of high quality, but participation rates remain below the levels found in other economies. The limited availability of scientists and engineers also limits Hong Kong's innovative capacity.

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CONTENDERS

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom would have likely cracked the Top 10 were it not for its contemporary macro-economic climate characterized by sluggish growth and rising debt. Since 2002, the country's debt has risen from 29 percent to 66 percent of GDP in 2012, spiking after 2008. While the public debt level of the United Kingdom is neither near its historical high nor levels seen elsewhere in Europe and North America, it is nonetheless concerning, because debt acts as a break on the provision of services that enhance human capital (health and education) and technological innovation. Public funds that service debt interest payments cannot pay for hospitals, university research labs and improved infrastructure. So far, the United Kingdom has yet to pay the price for its rising debt. But the time may yet come when the United Kingdom may lack sufficient means to pay both its creditors and restructure its economy to make it less dependent on financial services.

Taiwan

From 1998 through 2008, Taiwan raised its labour productivity by 5.3 percent. During the same stretch, only Sweden (5.4 annual percent) and the Republic of Korea (7.9) exceeded the performance of Taiwan, whose manufacturing clusters rank among the most modern in the world. Relatively low labour costs and high levels of technological innovation continue to propel Taiwan up the Asian economic rankings. This said, Taiwan's public institutions could benefit from improvements. Transparency International ranked Taiwan 32nd on its 2011 index measuring perceived levels of public sector corruption, a far distance from productivity leaders such as Denmark and Finland (both tied for 2nd), Sweden (4th) and Singapore (5th).

Canada

By many measures, Canada has the potential to be among the most productive economies in the world. Various indices praise the country's human capital, and its institutions enjoy a reputation for being efficient and ethical. And yet Canada is still trying to catch up with the rest of the field as it dropped two spots to 12th on competitiveness index produced by the World Economic Forum. So what is behind this condition? Much of it has to do with Canada's mediocre record on investing in new technologies and in research and development.

Qatar

Volatilities in the global market for energy resources will likely shape the economic fortunes of this Gulf Emirate for the foreseeable future. But if the very foundation of Qatar's prosperity fuels uncertainty, the leadership of Qatar has taken steps to ensure its long-term prospects by investing in high-quality institutions. Qatar is also a leader in the procurement of new technologies. But efforts to diversify the economy have yet to receive a full endorsement from the international business community.

Norway

Like its Nordic neighbours, Norway has managed to build an economy whose productivity is high as its wages. But if it shares many institutional commonalities with Sweden and the like, it does differ on two counts – access to sizable natural resources, namely oil, and an infrastructure with room for improvements.

The Big Six Goals: Canada's priorities in the U.S.

By Gary Doer

Canadian Ambassador to the U.S.

anada and the U.S. have the closest and most integrated partnership in the world. As Prime Minister Stephen Harper said on a recent visit, "We are partners, neighbours, allies and, most of all, we are true friends." A recent Gallup poll found that the American public agrees, with 96 percent of Americans having a positive view of Canada, the highest of any country in the world.

This relationship is underpinned by the largest bilateral trading relationship in history, with more than \$1.9 billion worth of goods and services crossing our borders every day. This trade and investment is so important to the prosperity of Canadians that ensuring its continued growth and avoiding protectionist measures is always an absolute priority in Canada-U.S. relations. However, this trade is equally important to the U.S., as Canada is its largest customer of goods and services, purchasing more than the entire European Union combined.

Canada and the U.S. also work closely together across a broad spectrum of issues, including the defence of our continent, the security of our shared border and the joint stewardship of our common environment, including the more than 300 lakes and rivers that flow across our borders.

On the world stage, Canada and the U.S. cooperate in pursuing our shared goals, both bilaterally and through multilateral institutions such as NATO, the OAS and the UN. All of which means that staff in our embassy are engaged on issues ranging from the specific and local to some of the most complicated geopolitical questions of the day.

While each of these issues merits attention, I'd like to focus on a few specific priorities that occupy much of my time - and which are crucial to advancing our partnership even further:

1: Beyond the Border

In February, Prime Minister Harper and President Barack Obama issued the Beyond the Border Declaration, which established a renewed long-term partnership



Gary Doer, Canada's ambassador to the U.S., meets U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Canadian Foreign Minister John Baird outside Mrs. Clinton's office in Washington.

built upon a perimeter approach to security and economic competitiveness. This approach aims to accelerate the legitimate flow of goods, services and business travellers through a new focus on cooperation both at, and away from, our border.

The leaders also created the Regulatory Cooperation Council (RCC) to better align our two countries' regulatory approaches. While regulations are important, there are many examples where different regulations lead to additional costs for businesses and consumers, while offering no additional protection for health, safety or the environment. As my friend, U.S. Ambassador to Canada David Jacobson, is fond of saying, why should the Cheerios

he eats in Ottawa be any different than those available in the United States?

After 10 months of intense effort by officials in both countries, the president and prime minister announced twin action plans in December.

The Perimeter Security and Economic Competiveness Action Plan sets ambitious, but achievable, goals in four areas: addressing threats early; trade facilitation, economic growth and jobs; integrating cross-border law enforcement; and critical infrastructure and cyber-security. In total, our two countries are working on more than 30 initiatives that will be implemented over the next three years.

An early success has been the mutual

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recognition of air cargo security, meaning that air cargo now needs to be screened only once, at the initial point of origin, thereby reducing delays and the economic costs of screening the same cargo twice.

The Action Plan on Regulatory Cooperation will help reduce barriers to trade, lower costs for consumers and business and create economic opportunities on both sides of the border. As a starting point, the RCC identified 29 initiatives in four sectors: agriculture, transportation, health and personal care products and the environment.

In both cases, these action plans are practical roadmaps for joint efforts to make our border more secure and our economies more productive. Together, these plans represent the most significant steps forward in Canada-U.S. cooperation since the North American Free Trade Agreement.

2: Detroit River International Crossing

The Canada–U.S. relationship is built on trade and nowhere is that more pronounced than in the Detroit-Windsor corridor, part of the economic and manufacturing heartland of North America.

Approximately 25 percent of U.S.-Canada trade in goods, worth more than \$120 billion, crosses the Ambassador Bridge, the only one linking Detroit and Windsor, every year. And, while the Ambassador Bridge has served the region well, it has increasingly become a bottleneck, creating significant congestion in both Windsor and Detroit. In addition, the economic implications of any closure of the 83-year-old bridge would be devastating.

To alleviate these problems, Prime Minister Harper and Michigan Governor Rick Snyder recently announced an agreement between Canada and the State of Michigan to build a new publicly owned bridge between Windsor and Detroit. This bridge will connect to the highway systems in each country and lead to greater efficiency, security and ease of travel at the border, as well as creating thousands of construction jobs in Ontario and Michigan.

With the strong support of businesses, unions and all levels of government on both sides of the border, this project will ensure there is sufficient border-crossing capacity to allow the continued economic growth of this vital region, and we will work with the State of Michigan and the U.S. government to ensure construction begins on the new crossing as soon as possible.



The Ambassador Bridge between Detroit and Windsor is heavily trafficked. The new Detroit River International Crossing project would add a second bridge to the region.

3: The Energy Partnership

Canada and the United States have the closest energy relationship in the world, with Canada the leading supplier of all forms of energy to the United States.

The electricity grid in Canada and the U.S. is completely integrated. Canada supplies a significant portion of the electricity to the U.S. Northeast, Upper Midwest and Pacific Coast. With renewable hydroelectricity counting for more than 60 percent of Canadian production, clean Canadian electricity is a key element in ensuring energy security and addressing climate change.

There have also been significant increases in Canadian oil sands production over the last 20 years, which has found its way to U.S. markets beyond the traditional upper Midwest, helping to displace offshore imports. With continued expansion of Canadian production, as well as U.S. production in Montana and North Dakota, new pipelines, such as Keystone XL, are needed to reach refineries on the U.S. Gulf Coast. While disappointed in the decision to delay construction of the Keystone XL pipeline, we are confident the new route proposed in Nebraska will allow for its approval in due course.

Americans readily understand the economic and energy security benefits that result from expanded oil sands production and transportation — not least because more than 1,000 U.S. companies directly supply oil-sands producers. This is why every poll indicates that a substantial majority of Americans favour building the Keystone XL pipeline. A recent Pew Research Centre report put support at 66 percent.

There are environmental concerns about oil-sands production that remain and need to be addressed. However, many claims about the oil sands are "frozen facts," which are at least 10 years old and fail to take into account recent improvements in environmental performance. In fact, when evaluated on a full life-cycle basis, emissions from Canadian oil sands products compare favourably to other forms of heavy crudes consumed in the United States, and are even less GHGemitting than some, such as California Heavy Crude.

That said, there is more that must be done, which is why Canada and the U.S. are working together to reach our common target of reducing GHG emissions to 17 percent below 2005 levels by 2020. We are coordinating through the Clean Energy Dialogue, and Canada and the U.S. have both made substantial improvements through aligning our light- and heavy-duty vehicle emissions standards. This is particularly important for Canada, where transportation is the leading cause of emissions.

4: Trans-Pacific Partnership

The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and NAFTA fundamentally changed the Canadian economy, fuelling growth in the

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DISPATCHES | CANADA-U.S. RELATIONS

world's largest economic relationship and resulting in annual two-way trade of more than \$700 billion. Building on this success, Canada is pursuing an aggressive protrade strategy around the world, which includes an effort to join negotiations for the Trans-Pacific Economic Partnership (TPP). The nine members seeking to negotiate the TPP, including the U.S., represent a market of more than 505 million people and a GDP of more than \$17 trillion.

Of the submissions made to the U.S. federal register in relation to Canada's application, 90 percent were in support, which makes sense because of the integrated nature of our economies. Canadian and U.S. companies don't just sell things to each other; they make products together — with some products crossing the border several times before completion. Because of these integrated supply chains, it is important that both countries are included in the TPP to gain full advantage of new markets.

We continue to discuss this issue with both the Obama Administration and members of Congress to make sure they understand the benefits of Canada joining the TPP, for both Canadian and U.S. businesses.

5: Transboundary Water

Canada and the United States share three oceans and thousands of miles of fresh water, including the Great Lakes, which contain approximately 21 percent of the world's supply. This shared resource means that trans-boundary water cooperation has always been a key part of our relationship. In fact, one of the fundamental treaties guiding Canada-U.S. relations is the Boundary Waters Treaty, which has provided the principles and mechanisms to jointly manage our shared waters since 1909. Over the past couple of years, Canada and the U.S. have worked closely together to manage a number of issues, successfully protecting the Flathead River Basin and



Canada and the U.S. share "common cause" on many issues, including the Arctic.

working towards long-term solutions for flooding in trans-boundary areas.

A key focus this year has been modernizing the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement, which has a 40-year legacy of bi-national success in restoring and maintaining Great Lakes water quality. This agreement outlines Canada's commitment to work with the United States to restore and maintain the chemical, physical and biological integrity of the waters of the Great Lakes Basin Ecosystem, and we are working closely with the U.S. to both renew and modernize the agreement to address current and emerging issues. One particular threat is invasive species, and Canada has recently announced \$17.5 million to be spent over the next five years on prevention, early warning, rapid response and management and control of Asian Carp, to ensure they do not enter the Great Lakes.

6: Canada and the U.S. in the World

Canada and the U.S. share "common cause" on a wide spectrum of critical foreign policy issues, including in the Middle East, Afghanistan, the Arctic and the Americas, at multilateral institutions such as the UN, NATO, the G8 and the G20 and on important themes such as non-proliferation and disarmament, human rights and democratic development. Approaches and nuances between our two countries differ from time to time. It is in our mutual interest, however,

to work together in advancing our common agenda, whether bilaterally, in small groups of like-minded countries, or through organizations such as NATO and the UN.

This need to work closely together has been evident over the past tumultuous year in the Middle East and North Africa. Canada has worked closely with our partners, providing both military assets and the leadership of Lieutenant-General Joseph Jacques Charles Bouchard to an unprecedented coalition charged with protecting civilians in Libya. The situation in Syria has proven more challenging. Despite the best efforts of many, the international community has failed to respond with the same unanimity of purpose. Despite these challenges, Canada has worked actively with the U.S. and others to implement sanctions and isolate the Syrian regime, demanding with one voice that the Assad regime must end. Canada and the U.S. also share a common concern with Iran's nuclear program and its persistent violations of human rights, and have worked closely with our partners to put in place a tough sanctions regime.

Closer to home, the Arctic is an important part of Canada's foreign policy, and strategically engaging partners such as the U.S. is an important part of our approach. Our work with the U.S. includes issues related to the Beaufort Sea, the continental shelf, a mandatory code for polar navigation, arctic science and Aboriginal issues. Canada will chair the Arctic Council starting in 2013, followed by the U.S. in 2015, which may be a further opportunity to pursue issues of a common agenda.

While Canada and the U.S. play different roles on the world stage, the shared values that guide our approach to international affairs, most notably those of freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law, ensure that we will continue to work together in the pursuit of our common goals on a wide range of issues.



Ebullient Sri Lanka: making up for lost time

By Donna Jacobs



Sri Lanka's capital of Colombo is a bustling metropolis.

f you are lucky enough to have a week in Colombo, Sri Lanka's capital city, you can:

• See more vividly coloured gems in one hour than you'll see in a lifetime small piles of cut sparkling sapphires (deep blue to pink, yellow and orange), topaz, moonstones from several dollars to \$125,000 (for 50-carat blue sapphire in a diamond-studded platinum setting).

• Watch dinnertime at an elephant orphanage (and a tiny elephant repeatedly putting his trunk into the mouth of his huge parent who, every time, stops eating to give a tender squeeze).

• Find out why the London Stock Exchange searched the world for a technology platform to execute trades in milliseconds, and found one that it relies on for 750,000 trades a day. (The LSE liked the Sri Lankan technology so much, it bought the company).

• Discover why a Canadian rubber company — the world's largest producer of rubber-based products — centred its operations in Sri Lanka 28 years ago, and why an Italian apparel company keeps opening new factories there.

• Go for a downtown thrill ride as the driver of your open-air, three-wheel *tuk-tuk* expertly weaves through traffic, perpetually an inch from collision.

• Drive through the nearby mountains and stop to buy a couple of bright yellow beverage coconuts. Your guide hacks off the top, throws his head back and neatly drinks the tangy milk. (If you, too, bypass a straw, prepare for a coconut milk bath.) Afterwards, he cracks open the coconut and, using a piece of the shell, scoops out the coconut jelly.

• Buy a dense, foot-long banana, unlike any you have tasted, for a satisfying 20-cent meal.

• Visit an unimaginably ornate Hindu shrine that is literally covered in vividlypainted carvings, a Buddhist temple whose statue looms higher than two storeys, a historically-fascinating Dutch Reform Church built in 1749 (and still in use), and the famous candy-striped Jumi-Ul-Alfar Jummah Mosque in Colombo's lively Pettah district.



Sri Lanka High Commissioner Chitranganee Wagiswara wanted Canada to be part of the international coverage of Sri Lanka's huge EXPO

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2012 — with its invitation to journalists, investors and government delegations from around the world. The reason? Sri Lanka has a simple message to get out: After 30 years of violent civil war, "We're open for business."

And the official suggestion is equally simple: "Grab onto the tail of this emerging tiger." Or, alternatively, in business lingo: "Get in on the ground floor." Labour costs are still low in this high-tech savvy, English-speaking democracy, strategically located just off the coast of a BRICS country. Sri Lanka sits like a pendant-shaped jewel off India's southeast coast, in the Indian Ocean.

People don't easily talk about the brutal, economy-destroying civil war between the Sri Lankan government and the separatist LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) who live in the north and east.

With peace declared after the Sri Lankan military defeated the LTTE in 2009 — a year in which, according to some estimates, more than 10,000 people were killed, many of them civilians — the long dammed-up economic impetus is poised to burst over the floodgates. (Speaking of which, the government recently signed an MOU with Korea to partner in building a hydroelectric power plant — just one of many partnerships it is working on that express the EXPO theme: Partnering with the Hub of Asia.)

It was a war so devastating, with the bitterness that only civil war can produce — and this contained on an island — that scarcely a family emerged without injury or death. One driver told a fellow journalist simply: "My wife and I would never leave the house at the same time, in case we made our children orphans."

Now the country has an "image problem" internationally, with war atrocities and possible crimes against humanity documented on both sides. The general population, though, has largely turned its back on the past and is racing to make up for lost time. Sri Lankans will quickly remind you that only 10 percent of Tamils were members of LTTE.

Resettlement is well underway. According to the South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP), 97 percent — or 270,000 — displaced people have returned to their places of origin in the north and east. There is no terrorist threat in Sri Lanka itself, says the portal, though the LTTE network remains active abroad.

The matter of massacres and terrorist bombings is under investigation by the UN. Of 11,500 Tamil Tigers who were



The famous Jami-Ul-Alfar Jummah Mosque in Colombo's lively Pettah district

arrested or who surrendered, says the SATP, 8,500 "have been rehabilitated and reintegrated." Criticism for keeping the remaining 3,000 imprisoned without charges prompted the government to state recently that charges against them will be expedited (including those of war crimes).

President Mahinda Rajapaksa, in his traditional white robes and red scarf, formally opened the three-day EXPO 2012 after lighting the ceremonial lamp. "We will not allow the forces of separation to rise again," he told his international audience on March 28. "We are finally on the path of peace and reconciliation — it is our commitment to our people."

More than 1,000 people attended EXPO 2012 from 50 countries to look over 2,000 product displays, from Ceylon apparel and ornately packaged world-famous Ceylon tea to gems and jewelry; from spices, fish products, biscuits, spices, coconut-based products, gifts, footwear and leather products to green printing, from food and beverages to such rubber products as tires.

"Exports more than doubled in the past year," said President Rajapaksa. They now contribute nearly 17 percent of the country's GDP. The goal for 2015 incorporates a billion-dollar-a-year growth objective: exports of US\$15 billion with a GDP target of US\$20 billion by 2020. Sri Lanka has signed free trade agreements with both India and Pakistan. Foreign direct investment, US\$1 billion in 2011, is projected to double this year.

The Governor of the Central Bank of Sri Lanka, Ajith Nivard Cabraal, said GDP growth hit 8.3 percent in 2011, debtto-GDP ratio was the lowest in 30 years and inflation has been wrestled from 30 percent to 5 percent. The country aims for per capital income of \$3,000 by 2015 and \$4,000 income by 2016; it was just above \$1,000 in 2003. He laughed: "Not too many politicians are keen to commit to a number."

From a day-long symposium of testimonials, one of the more remarkable stories came from Verona, Italy. Dr. Sandro Veronesi, chairman of Calzedonia, wanted to set up clothing factories in Sri Lanka in the 1990s. His advisers were aghast: "You are crazy. There's a war there. There are terrorists. Go to China. Everyone goes to China."

No doubt cementing his reputation as a

EMERGING TIGER | DISPATCHES



In Sri Lanka, you may watch dinnertime at an elephant orphanage although the fact that they're sometimes chained (see this elephant's right front leg) concerns some visitors.

madman, he not only set up an undergarment and swimwear factory in Sri Lanka in 1999, but kept on building them to expand his leisurewear line.

He lists Sri Lanka's virtues: a small, uncomplicated bureaucracy, Board of Investment support, English-speaking workforce down to middle-management level and favourable regulations for foreign investors. With a worldwide workforce of 9,000, the company produces more than 100 million items from numerous factories in Sri Lanka and Europe. Downsides are shortages in textile and fabric supply, a small internal market and temporary withdrawal, based on human rights concerns, of the EU's tariff concession, which, he says, reconciliation should restore.

The London Stock Exchange's general manager for technology services, Mark Harries, told the story of a world-wide search for a high-performance company. They chose Millennium IT, started by Tony Weeresinghe in Sri Lanka in 1996. "Today we trade on systems developed in Sri Lanka from scratch – that is, several billion in USD and an average 750,000 trades a day." The exchange liked Millennium so much, it bought the company. Why Sri Lanka? Mr. Harries says it's the top-notch graduates, a growing economy, Board of Investment assistance and incentives, local talent base and proven track record as a BPO (business process outsourcing) provider. Drawbacks are the distance from London, infrastructure — "improving but a ways to go" — brain drain and staff churn from increasing competition for the local talent pool.

HSBC's global head of business services, Ian Ogilvie, described how the bank set up shop in Sri Lanka in 2004 with 2,000 employees who support 173 processes in 23 markets. He cited low-cost, highquality, high-loyalty workforce, 91 percent literacy rate with English-speaking capabilities and a 120-year history in the country. (English, Sinhala and Tamil are the predominant languages). While infrastructure is not "quite there yet," and not everything is computerized, manual operations are a "staggering" 99.999 percent accurate.

Marc Guay, vice-president of Torontobased Strategic Initiatives Camoplast Solideal, said his company has been in Sri Lanka for 28 years. Solideal is the world's largest maker of tires, 97 percent of them manufactured in Sri Lanka. Brands include Loadstar and Unitrac tires, wheels and tracks with company sales exceeding \$1 billion and a worldwide workforce of 9,000 — 70 percent of them working in Sri Lanka.

Adolf Peretti, a gemologist with 25 years as lab director for GRS Bern Research, samples mines in Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Magagascar, Vietnam, Tajikistan and Myanmar. He is a big fan of Sri Lankan jewels for their size and clarity — many of them hand-mined in the countryside some 160 kilometres (100 miles) from Colombo. As the world's largest supplier of sapphires greater than 100 carats, the country holds records for blue, yellow, pink and orange sapphires.

The misnamed 563-carat star sapphire, the Star of India and the 182-carat Star of Bombay, another Sri Lankan stone, are displayed in U.S. museums. The Ray of Treasure Chrysoberyl Cat's Eye of 105 carats remains in Sri Lanka. The Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto has the Star of Lanka, a 193-carat, oval, cabochon-cut, high-domed, blue star sapphire.

Beyond quality, Sri Lanka's ancient gem culture, said Mr. Peretti, has "preserved the natural and sustainable ethical mining practices which employs hundreds of thousands of workers."

Dr. Paolo Bray is founder and chief executive director of Friend of the Sea, and its companion program, Earth Island Institute. He has successfully campaigned against purse seine netting that deliberately drowns dolphins and accidentally kills sea creatures trapped with them, and against the use of explosives that killed seven million dolphins between the 1950s and the 1980s. According to Earth Island Institute, in the Eastern Tropical Pacific Ocean region, virtually only Mexican, Venezuelan and Colombian tuna vessels still chase and net dolphins in order to capture the tuna that swim with them.

Friend of the Sea opposes shark finning and fishing in marine protected places and carries out onboard international monitoring of all steps of fish production. So far, 250 companies in some 48 countries have enlisted in some or all of the NGO's programs to receive Friend of the Sea certification for their products.

Thailand's 12 major tuna companies applied for certification in February, bringing to more than 40 percent the world's tuna industry that has signed onto the certification program which promotes sustainability for both fisheries and aquaculture. Sri Lanka, said Dr. Bray, has a "very

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important achievement" in its sustainability — selective artisan fishing that uses multiple hooks.

Assistant U.S. trade representative of South and Central Asia Michael J. Delaney, who led the U.S. business delegation, called the U.S. consumer probably "the largest single employer of Sri Lanka's workforce" as recipient of the largest export item — apparel. In 2011, of US\$4 million in apparel exports, 40 percent (US\$1.6 billion) went to the U.S.



Many sectors of Colombo remain poor, but the streets and sidewalks bustle with traffic and pedestrians as small shops serve local commerce.

"Complete (political) reconciliation will take some time," he said. "I have been visiting Sri Lanka for a long time." He first went there as a photographer, stayed with a fish seller for two weeks and discovered that Sri Lankans are "fiercely devoted to family and there are few ideologies" which motivate them.

His recipe for speeding growth: Boost the value of exports — gemstones, agricultural products, apparel and intellectual property by developing value-added products, preserve Sri Lanka environmental heritage and reap the eco-tourism rewards. "You could become a green version of Singapore."

He concluded: "We [the U.S.] will do anything we can to assist you."

A MEMORABLE DAY OR TWO IN SRI LANKA

If you have a day or two in Colombo, you'll have no trouble filling them memorably.

The Gem Museum on Galle Road displays raw semi-precious stones and shows an interesting movie on gem mining. Upstairs is Christina's Fine Gemstone Jewellery outlet. For \$125,000, you can buy a 50-carat blue sapphire in a diamond-studded platinum setting. If you order a simple setting, you can choose a gem one day and pick up the jewelry the next.

Do pay a visit to the Dutch Reformed Church for a fascinating historical tour with guide Arulpragasam Dewapragsam; visit the astonishingly ornate, intricately carved Hindu Temple Sivasubramania Swami Kovil and the magnificent Gangaramaya Buddhist Temple with its two-storey golden Buddha statue.

If your schedule is jammed, you can ask permission to go for a swim at the Mount Lavinia Hotel. Though guide books say a miniumum 10-hour stay is necessary to use the private beach, my ever-helpful driver/guide, Tuan Saraph, who works for the Cinnamon Grand Hotel, managed to get permission for a 6:30 a.m. swim. Watch out for the big waves!

If you have one day to venture outside Colombo, you can have a truly remarkable set of experiences.

Start early — you'll need to — for the lovely three-hour ride to Kandy, which route takes you past rice paddies, roadside stands with avocados, bananas, pine-apples, coconuts, cashews and all manner of vegetables. Tuan, open to endless questions, described his typical dinner of rice with green bean-and-broccoli curry; curried egg, beef, fish or roasted chicken and salad.

Visit the huge, hilltop Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. Tradition says that after Gauthama Buddha was cremated in India in 543 B.C., the tooth was removed from the ashes and smuggled to Sri Lanka in the hair of a princess. It arrived in Kandy and was installed in the temple in the late 1500s. It is not visible to visitors and worshippers.

Fascinating and explorable, Sri Lanka is 453 kilometres (281 miles) long and 240 kilometres (149 miles) at its greatest width. Its topography varies from low-lying land to nine peaks higher than 2,100 metres (6,890 feet). According to the award-winning *Bradt Guide: Sri Lanka* by British-born Sri Lankan resident Royston Ellis, 13 percent of the land is set aside as wildlife and nature conservation areas.

Wildlife abounds, with 435 recorded birds, 92 species of mammals (including leopards, jackals, deer, and monkeys), 107 fish species, 54 amphibian species, 74 species of four-legged reptiles and 81 species of snakes. Of the 830 native flower-ing plants, 230 are in danger of extinction.

The Pinnawela Elephant Orphanage is a two- or three-hour drive northeast from Colombo. Try to see the 80 elephants at feeding time — a half-hour before their 10 a.m. or 2 p.m. bathing. Some are rescued from injuries, abuse or are orphaned. By one estimate, upwards of 150 elephants are killed a year and 60 people die in territorial conflicts.

Sadly, at the orphanage, when they are not bathing or eating, they are frequently corralled and sometimes chained. A solitary blind elephant is chained under a roofed corral and his leg is raw from his tether. Some visitors come away distressed that he cannot move freely in a safe enclosure. That said, one could sit for hours and watch the elephants eat and interact.

For a few dollars, you can feed a large elephant (this one was an old female) temporarily tethered to a feeding hut. She tolerates being petted on her trunk only while the chunks of watermelon and pineapple keep coming, so, of course, they do.

In 2010, 600,000 tourists visited. The 2012 target is 2.5 million. If you're in Sri Lanka for a week, you will find places for surfing and scuba diving among coral reefs and shipwrecks, for exploring ancient cities, rainforests, World Heritage archeological sites, spice gardens, tea estates, temples and festivals, nature reserves, waterfalls, caves and ancient paintings.

Perhaps do it soon, before a travel-hungry world discovers Sri Lanka.

Donna Jacobs is *Diplomat's* publisher.

Rape as a weapon of war: then and now

"It has become more dangerous to be a woman fetching water or collecting firewood than a fighter on the frontline."

 UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Margot Wallström, 2012

UN BACKGROUND REPORT

The victims of modern armed conflict are far more likely to be civilians than soldiers. According to UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict, the vast majority of casualties in today's wars are among civilians, mostly women and children. Women in particular can face devastating forms of sexual violence, which are sometimes deployed systematically to achieve military or political objectives.

Rape committed during war is often intended to terrorize the population, break up families, destroy communities, and, in some instances, change the ethnic makeup of the next generation. Sometimes it is also used to deliberately infect women with HIV or render women from the targeted community incapable of bearing children.

In Rwanda, between 100,000 and 250,000 women were raped during the three months of genocide in 1994.

UN agencies estimate that more than 60,000 women were raped during the civil war in Sierra Leone (1991-2002), more than 40,000 in Liberia (1989-2003), up to 60,000 in the former Yugoslavia (1992-1995), and at least 200,000 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo during the past 12 years of war.

Even after conflict has ended, the impacts of sexual violence persist, including unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections and stigmatization. Widespread sexual violence itself may continue or even increase in the aftermath of conflict, as a consequence of insecurity and impunity. And meeting the needs of survivors — including medical care, HIV treatment, psychological support, economic assistance and legal redress requires resources that most post-conflict countries do not have.

For centuries, sexual violence in con-



A woman from Kassab camp for Internal Displaced Persons (IDP), in Kutum (North Darfur), shows her sorrow for the increase of rapes in the area.

flict was tacitly accepted as unavoidable. A 1998 UN report on sexual violence and armed conflict notes that historically, armies considered rape one of the legitimate spoils of war. During World War II, all sides of the conflict were accused of mass rapes, yet neither of the two courts set up by the victorious allied countries to prosecute suspected war crimes — in Tokyo and Nuremberg — recognized the crime of sexual violence.

It was not until 1992, in the face of widespread rapes of women in the former Yugoslavia, that the issue came to the attention of the UN Security Council. On Dec. 18, 1992, the council declared the "massive, organized and systematic detention and rape of women, in particular Muslim women, in Bosnia and Herzegovina" an international crime that must be addressed.

Subsequently, the Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY,1993) included rape as a crime against humanity, alongside other crimes such as torture and extermination, when committed in armed conflict and directed against a civilian population. In 2001, the ICTY became the first international court to find an accused person guilty of rape as a crime against humanity.

Furthermore, the court expanded the definition of slavery as a crime against humanity to include sexual slavery. Previously, forced labour was the only type of slavery to be viewed as a crime against humanity.

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR, 1994) also declared rape to be a war crime and a crime against humanity. In 1998, the ICTR became the first international court to find an accused person guilty of rape as a crime of genocide (used to perpetrate genocide). The judgment against a former mayor, Jean-Paul Akayesu, held that rape and sexual assault constituted acts of genocide insofar as they were committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, the Tutsi ethnic group.

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, in force since July 2002, includes rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or "any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity" as a crime against humanity when it is committed in a widespread or systematic way. Arrest warrants issued by the ICC include several counts of rape as both a war crime and a crime against humanity.

Although changing international and national laws are major steps towards punishing and ending sexual violence, they cannot be successful without a fundamental change in people's attitudes towards the sexual abuse of women.

"Right now, the woman who gets raped is the one who is stigmatized and excluded for it," says Dr. Denis Mukwege Mukengere, director of Panzi hospital in Bukavu in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. "Beyond laws, we have to get social sanction on the side of the woman. We need to get to a point where the victim receives the support of the community, and the man who rapes is the one who is stigmatized and excluded and penalized by the whole community."

The United Nations Security Council has done much in recent years to help raise awareness and trigger action against sexual violence in conflict:

• Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) called on member states to increase the participation of women in the "prevention and resolution of conflicts" and in the "maintenance and promotion of peace and security." It called upon parties involved in armed conflict to abide by international laws that protect the rights of civilian women and girls and to incorporate policies and procedures that protect women from gender-based crimes such as rape and sexual assault.

• Security Council resolution 1820 (2008) called for an end to the use of brutal acts of sexual violence against women and girls as a tactic of war and an end to impunity of the perpetrators. It requested the secretary-general and the United Nations to provide protection to women and girls in UN-led security endeavours, including refugee camps, and to invite the participation of women in all aspects of the peace process.

• Security Council resolution 1888 (2009) detailed measures to further protect

women and children from sexual violence in conflict situations, such as asking the secretary-general to appoint a special representative to lead and coordinate the UN's work on the issue, to send a team of experts to situations of particular concern, and to mandate peacekeepers to protect women and children.

• Security Council resolution 1889 (2009) reaffirmed resolution 1325, condemned continuing sexual violence against women in conflict situations, and urged UN member states and civil society to consider the need for protection and empowerment of women and girls, including those associated with armed groups, in post-conflict programming.

• Security Council resolution 1960 (2010) asked the secretary-general to list those parties credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for patterns of sexual violence in situations on the council's agenda. It also called for the establishment of monitoring, analysis, and reporting arrangements specific to conflict-related sexual violence.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE

Selected edited excerpts from the UN Security Council debate (February, 2010) on sexual violence as a weapon of war: **Anne Anderson, Ireland:**

The [Wallstrom] report addresses a range of specific situations spanning four continents, all of them deserving our attention. In some of these situations, conflict still rages; others are post-conflict but still dealing with a poisonous legacy. Côte d'Ivoire, Libya and South Sudan are among the more recent ugly chapters. The sexual violence being unleashed in Syria, with male detainees as particular targets, deserves our unequivocal condemnation. I will comment on three points.

The first point is a case study on ending impunity. We all recognize the simple equation: impunity for perpetrators of sexual violence guarantees that the virus will spread; conversely, ending impunity and making the perpetrators pay will act as a deterrent.

The first step in ending impunity is the systematic gathering of credible evidence. The secretary-general's report gives a sense of the progress being made in that regard. For the first time in a report of this nature, the secretary-general has named individuals on the basis of credible reports of culpability.

My second point is that women are not a footnote; and Somalia is a case study in that regard. The secretary-general's report sets out the scale of sexual violence in Somalia: the crimes of Al-Shabaab; the groups of men in Mogadishu; the rapes and gang-rapes in camps in Kenya; and the chronic and largely unaddressed sexual violence in Puntland.

My third point pertains to the responsibilities of United Nations peacekeepers, and Chad is the case study. The secretarygeneral's report sets out steps being taken to improve the training of peacekeepers with regard to conflict-related sexual violence. The Department of Peacekeeping Operations and UN-Women collaboration in that regard is peacekeepers must be the



VERBATIM | DISPATCHES

highest. The blue helmet is designed to inspire confidence and trust; it is unthinkable that in any circumstance it should instil fear of rape or sexual violence.

Ron Prosor, Israel:

Today's discussion is about our collective responsibility to give voice to the voiceless. An increasing number of conflicts around the world are made even more horrific by the use of sexual violence. These are often the most disturbing and the most hidden elements of conflict. Yet, the number of victims is staggering, and it continues to grow every day. Each one of these people has a name and has a family.

The victims are women like Honorata, a young mother from the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, who was held for nearly a year by armed militias and raped daily in captivity. After Honorata escaped, the stigma of her rape caused her family to reject her, leaving her alone and impoverished.

The victims are women like Layla, a teenager from Iran who was detained for two months during the country's protests in 2009. In a report last year on the PBS television channel, Layla described her treatment by the Iranian authorities. She said, "When they were raping and torturing me, and putting out cigarettes on my body, nobody knew... Death was a desire for me. I wanted to die."

Testimonies like Layla's remind us that the systematic use of sexual violence is often the calling card of the most brutal regimes and militias in the world. Statesponsored rape has served as a primary tool of dictators from Al Qadhafi in Libya, Al-Assad in Syria to the ayatollahs of Iran. Armed groups in Africa — from the Democratic Republic of the Congo to Somalia — are using sexual violence to spread terror, instil fear and shatter lives. These tyrants, those warlords and criminals know that they leave scars not just on individual victims, but on families and communities.

Major General Patrick Cammaert, (former commander of United Nations peacekeeping forces in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, said:

"Rape is an extremely cheap weapon, but has vast and far-reaching effects. With the single weapon of rape, soldiers and militants can disrupt and destroy the fabric of society. Rape sows fear; it spreads sexually transmitted disease. It excludes women from participation in civic life."

In the last year, the instances of sexual violence have only increased. We must act with common purpose in the face of these



Sudanese women venture out of an IDP camp to collect firewood. They fear being raped when they leave home so they're escorted by South African peacekeepers.

atrocities. We must have zero tolerance for the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war. Israel was proud to sponsor resolution 1960 (2010) and the previous resolutions on women and peace and security. It is time for the international community to breathe life into the words contained in these resolutions with concrete actions on the ground.

Zahir Tanin, Afghanistan:

With the end of the Second World War in 1945, humanity was saved from another world war, but was not spared the effects of war and atrocities. More than 20 million people were killed in the 265 wars and conflicts between 1945 and 1990 and in the 186 wars and conflicts that erupted from 1990 to the present.

In the 1990s, after the Cold War, we increasingly faced a new form of war, with a decrease in the number of inter-state conflicts and an increase in the prevalence of intra-state tension and violent non-state actors. That brought new waves of atrocious horrors, including in my country, Afghanistan. The atrocities emerging from the conflicts of the 1990s, including genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity, raised a tenacious challenge for the international community and, subsequently, fuelled the prompt application of international laws and norms in response.

While sexual violence is embedded within the definition of war crimes and crimes against humanity, the international community should take a holistic approach to those atrocities, as they cannot be separated from one another. Furthermore, every atrocity is spawned from the all-encompassing destruction of society caused by war. We cannot truly stop atrocities such as sexual violence without ending the violence, war and conflict that breed them.

[Another] aspect is the breakdown of cultural values. War is pervasive. It destroys the common understanding of decency and respect for human rights. It kills morals. It breaks down social contracts. It erodes solidarity and trust. As I saw in my own country, war and conflict resulted in the corrupting prevalence of a militant culture, countering society's values, based on tolerance and respect. What emerged was, in fact, a militant anti-culture, caused by war. Crimes against Afghan people were committed and human rights violations were extensive, especially violence against women. We saw what had never before been seen in the history of Afghan women — a sequence of killing, maiming and violence.

However, in the past 10 years, after the fall of the Taliban, the government of Afghanistan, with the support of the international community, has worked to put an end to violence in the country. That is essential to security and to protecting the rights of women, men and children.

Afghanistan adopted a law on the elimination of violence against women, which has provided the government with stronger judicial means through which we can combat sexual violence more effectively. That is real progress toward breaking the silence with regard to violence and sexual violence. We are confident that, in the years to come, our efforts will yield more results and that women will be safer and more respected and will receive the justice they deserve.

The president of Afghanistan also established a commission on the elimination of sexual abuse of children and of women and encourages relevant reporting to it.

Afghanistan acknowledges that the accomplishments that we have outlined are only the first steps towards achieving gender equality and the improvement of the position of women. The Afghan government will therefore continue its effort to eliminate sexual violence and to advance women's rights and empowerment. However, we need not only the support of the international community, but its awareness not to forget the violence that affected the lives of women, men and children. We must work together to ensure that such atrocities will never happen again. **D**

l, spy

A remarkable true story of enterprise and espionage, of mystery and mayhem, in the Far East



im Thompson was the best-known western businessman in Thailand, arguably the best known in all of Southeast Asia. Then one day, during a brief holiday in the highlands of Malaysia, he simply vanished — and became famous round the world for his mysterious disappearance. The military and civil authorities of three countries carried out extensive searches and investigations. They were aided or hindered by Thompson's family and friends, professional trackers, helicopter pilots, local tribal peoples, a squad of Ghurkhas, an assortment of soothsayers and mystics (one of them a Jesuit brother), and the usual crowd of busybodies and reward-hunters - all of them egged on by such powerful forces as Time magazine. Almost as soon as he went missing, crackpots and publicity-seekers would report sighting Mr. Thompson in bizarre locations, just as people would do with respect to Elvis Presley a decade later.

No one has ever proved what happened to Mr. Thompson (who, after seven years, was declared legally dead in 1974). Right from the beginning, however, there have been many competing theories, which continue to be reflected in the ongoing stream of literature on the subject. Some believe Mr. Thompson, who was known as the Thai Silk King for the way he made a fortune invigorating the country's silk industry beginning in the late 1940s, was kidnapped by Chinese gangsters, even though no ransom demand was ever received. Still others argue he was captured, and presumably killed, by one or another Thai political faction, for the victim was deeply involved in the inner-workings of that coup-prone nation. In his 1970 book Bangkok: The Story of a City, the English novelist Alec Waugh (el-



One of Bangkok's most visited landmarks — the extraordinary canal-side residence Jim Thompson built for himself.

der brother of the more prominent Evelyn) summarized the numerous theories without voting for any, though between the lines he seemed to express sympathy with *Time*'s predictable view that communists were behind it all.

The most prolific writer on the subject, and in stylistic terms the most pleasing, is William Warren, the elder statesman of the conspicuously large community of expat English-language authors in Bangkok and a true gentleman known to all. He first met Jim Thompson on arriving in Bangkok in 1959 and has written about him frequently in such books as *The Jim Thompson House* (US\$20) and, more recently, *At the Table of Jim Thompson* (ditto). The former concerns one of Bangkok's most visited landmarks, the extraordinary canal-side residence that Mr. Thompson constructed for himself and his collection of Asian art by reassembling and joining together five traditional teak houses taken from the ancient capital of Ayutthaya. The latter work deals with the chain of three high-end Bangkok restaurants that strive to recreate the cuisine that Mr. Thompson, a compulsive and convivial host, served to guests. Both are published in Singapore by Archipelago Press.

So too is Jim Thompson: The Unsolved Mystery (US\$12.50), first released in 1969 and revised several times since then. In it, Mr. Warren recalls his friendship with the book's subject and weighs the numerous theories. In the end, he concludes that Mr. Thompson either perished in some accident or else committed suicide (for his personal and professional lives were often at hazard with the sunny urbane face he showed the public). Mr. Warren doesn't dignify the pet theory of another often-reprinted work, Solved! The "Mysterious" Disappearance of Jim Thompson, the Legendary Thai Silk King (Word Association Publishers, US\$10.95). Solved! is the work of Edward Roy De Souza, a rather odd Singaporean prose stylist indeed, who believes that Mr. Thompson was murdered because he was using the internationally regarded Jim Thompson Thai Silk Company as a front for drug trafficking. Of course, that's not to dismiss the suggestion that Mr. Thompson had what might be called interesting friends. That was never a secret. Yet it is only now that we have a book that soberly assembles pieces of the jigsaw puzzle, including many not previously known to us: The Ideal Man: The Tragedy of Jim Thompson and the American Way of War by Joshua Kurlantzick (John Wiley & Sons Canada, \$30.95).

James Harrison Wilson Thompson, born in 1906 and trained as an architect, was an American aristocrat who grew up in Delaware with people named Rockefeller and du Pont. His maternal grandfather was a Union general in the American Civil War who, interestingly, entertained members of Siam's royal family when they visited the U.S. In the Second World War, Jim Thompson was recruited into the Office of the Strategic Services by its aptly named leader, Wild Bill Donovan. He served first in Europe, once parachuting into France behind the German lines to blow up bridges. Later he was sent to Thailand, where he helped organize the Free Thai resistance movement against the Japanese, who had been welcomed by Thailand's ruler, Field Marshall Phibul (that is, Phibul Songkhram, but known by

his forename alone, as is Thai practice). After V-J Day, Mr. Thompson remained in Bangkok, spying for the U.S. government despite his evolving sympathy for those whom Washington, for all its anti-colonialist rhetoric, most feared: the nationalist insurgents not only in Thailand but also in the French territories of Laos, Cambodia, and the three other colonies that made up what's now Vietnam.

Jim Thompson was typical of the OSS, which relied heavily on members of such institutions as Yale's Skull and Bones and Princeton's various dining clubs. But he was unusual, dangerously so, in that his sympathies were with Pridi (that is, Pridi Banomyong, the leader of Thai's pro-democracy opposition, who might be called the Franklin Roosevelt of Thailand, in contradistinction to Phibul, its Chiang Kai-shek). Still a patriotic American but one increasingly at odds with the hardline policies that gripped the U.S. after Mao Zedong's triumph in China, Mr. Thompson wanted to set up his own freelance intelligence network for feeding information back to Washington.

In this, he would be competing with another American spy, Willis Bird, who is said to have been the inspiration for the title character in William Lederer and Eugene Burdick's novel The Ugly American. Mr. Bird was also going rogue but in support of the pro-fascist forces inside the country, operating a gun-running ring for private profit and advancement of his own beliefs. As for Jim Thompson, Mr. Kurlantzick, who is a thorough, diligent and cautious reporter, will say only that "according to several sources, some of the Southeast Asian fighters depended on Jim Thompson [who,] with his knowledge of arms stocks and his contacts among the Thai leadership, could arrange arms deals for insurgents more easily than any Thai broker." The author continues: "Because of his old OSS ties, Thompson knew where the United States had left arms caches in Southeast Asia after World War II, and he and other former OSS men, who enjoyed the immunity of working for the new world power, supposedly could get these weapons without having to wade through a thicket of Thai police and other officials asking for bribes."

In an interview with Mr. Kurlantzick, Rolland Bushner, the U.S. ambassador to Thailand from 1948 to 1952, damned Mr. Thompson as "kind of a romantic. He'd get carried away advocating for these people, like the Vietnamese, like Ho Chi Minh, who was a friend of his, but he didn't



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Jim Thompson's silk shops still exist in Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia and New York City.

understand the politics of it, that he could get in trouble for what he said." Trouble could take the form of actions as well as loose talk or overly candid cablegrams. Mr. Thompson, whose marriage back in the States broke up once he failed to leave Asia after the war, was having an affair with the wife of Charles Yost, another senior American diplomat in Thailand (later the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations during the Richard Nixon administration).

The U.S. became increasingly serious about Thailand, which it believed might become the only stable pro-American country in the region as French rule over Indochina weakened. One sign of such growing concern, and growing bad news for Jim Thompson, came when his old boss Wild Bill Donovan succeeded Rolland Bushner as ambassador. Mr. Donovan was free to take up the posting because the OSS had been disbanded not long after the war, supplanted by the new Central Intelligence Agency, which was even more hostile to people such as Jim Thompson, whom it probably considered not even a respectable pro-American entrepreneur but only a freelance of uncertain allegiance. CIA personnel were forbidden to meet or talk with Mr. Thompson, whom the FBI was investigating as well.

Mr. Thompson was still an anti-communist. He was alleged to keep cyanide tablets in his Bangkok bedroom should the communists stage a coup in that city of coups. But he felt that Ho and the others weren't communists, certainly not first and foremost, but socialists and, most of all, nationalists who wanted their countries back. As time went on, Mr. Thompson also lost much of his support among Thais as the country tumbled through a prolonged series of political and constitutional crises and Pridi, who served as prime minister only briefly, was driven into exile, first in China and eventually in France (where he died in 1983, age 73).

Mr. Kurlantzick is much too sophisticated a writer on politics to fall back on lame conspiracy theories. He is an excellent explainer and interpreter with a special grasp of the history of American foreign policy and the turmoil that Southeast Asia endured in the second half of the 20th Century (including, for example, such unanticipated developments as a threeway civil war in Laos).

What he does conclude is that, given "America's staunch support for the conservative leadership in Thailand and in Vietnam, Thompson's views could [have] put him in danger. He openly questioned the Thai leadership and worried that America's policies were hindering democracy in Southeast Asia and turning the United States into a new type of colonialist." Less we miss the importance of this sentence, he adds, as his book draws to a close, that Jim Thompson "had increasingly become a nuisance if not an outright danger to the Thais and their American allies...."

Is that all there is to say? Perhaps not. The Jim Thompson case has now engaged the considerable forensic skills of Charles Nicholl, the wonderful British literary historian (one might almost say "literary detective") whose books include some of the most significant modern biographical studies of Elizabethan figures such as Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe and Sir Walter Ralegh (scholars no longer spell the name "Raleigh," feeling that "Ralegh" more accurately reflects its West Country origins). Prof. Nicholl consistently receives high honours for his work, including, most deservedly so, the magnificent biography *Leonardo da Vinci: The Flights of Mind* (2004). His new book *Traces Remain: Essays and Explorations* (Penguin Canada, \$32) takes a hard look at the site of Jim Thompson's disappearance and brings us up-to-date in a footnote that, like all his footnotes, is fascinating, if also, in this instance, a trifle long.

Prof. Nicholl describes "a recent flurry in the Malaysian media [that] may be worth mentioning. According to a Cameron Highlands hotel manager, Mr. Lim Wai Ming, a local farmer on his deathbed confessed to his family that 'he had once knocked down and killed a European man and buried him in an unmarked grave.' This claim is unsupported — no name for the farmer, no location for the grave - but a former Malaysian police officer, Captain Philip Rivers, backed up the possible connection with the Thompson case. 'In 1967, it was rumoured that a lorry had struck Thompson on the road, but this was not reported to the police. It was said the driver in his panic placed the body on to the back of his vehicle, drove off and buried the body in the outskirts of a vegetable patch. An alternative story says the culprit was driving a timber lorry and the body was disposed of in a sawmill' (The Star, Kuala Lumpur, 23 March 2010). A few days later Rivers added a further twist. In about 2000, he claimed, when the old hospital at Tanah Rata was transferred to new premises, a box was found containing human bones which had been 'brought by an *orang asli* [forest tribesman] from the jungle' (*Ipoh Echo*, 1 April 2012). He speculated that these bones might be Thompson's and urged local authorities to have them tested, but as far as I know, this has not been done."

Was there a plot? And if there was, has it thickened or thinned? Who's to say?

Canadian/Chinese relations: the early days

book on the order of John D. Meehan's *Chasing the Dragon in Shanghai: Canada's Early Relations with China, 1858–1952* (UBC Press, \$32.95 paper) has been needed for a long time. As the author, a Jesuit scholar in the best tradition, states early on: "Few commentators have seen the need for a comprehensive history of Canada's Pacific relations. Despite [most historians'] North Atlantic focus, Asian nations, particularly China, had a significant impact on the lives, work, and imagination of many Canadi-



Shanghai as it looked in the 1930s.

ans." Similarly, Norman Bethune or the thousands of Canadian missionaries were not alone in the impact they themselves had on China. There were Canadian scoundrels, too, such as Two-Gun Cohen, the Nationalist mercenary, and Trebitsch Lincoln, a spy, Anglican curate and later Buddhist monk who supported the warlords on the other side. Mr. Meehan's deals with all of these but is primarily concerned with the little-known story of Canada's early attempts at forming a foreign policy towards China and the way such efforts benefitted Canadian business.

The opening date of 1858 in the book's subtitle is an editorial conceit. That was when Lord Elgin, who had been the governor general of Canada a few years earlier, arrived in Shanghai, which was even then China's principal city. There he proceeded to wage war until he had captured the imperial seat of Beijing — technically on behalf of the entire British Empire, including ourselves. The book's closing date, 1952, was when Canada finally closed its diplomatic and consular shops in the new People's Republic, signalling a period of darkness that lasted two decades. The span of time between the two dates is when Canada, increasingly seen as a distinct strain of British diplomacy and finally, of course, a voice of its own, did much of its best work, however small the scale.

Japan, not China, was Canada's largest trading partner in the Pacific. In 1930, Shanghai, population four million, was the sixth-largest city in the world. Of the 60,000 resident foreigners there, a mere 250 were Canadian. Modest though it seemed, the Canadian presence had been built up slowly over the years. When, in 1909, Mackenzie King visited Shanghai for a conference on opium (which Canada had banned the year before) he found copies of the Toronto Globe hanging on rods in the Shanghai Club on the famous Bund, where Canada would locate its trade offices later on. By the time Vincent Massey landed in 1931, heading the Canadian delegation to the Institute for Pacific Relations conference, Canadian businesses were profitably established there. The list of them included not only the Canadian Pacific steamship line but also, for example, a number of Canada's largest and richest insurance companies such as Sun Life.

Chinese immigration to Canada was another major concern of course. In 1913, 7,444 Chinese immigrated to Canada despite ever-worsening restrictions, such as the notorious "head tax," brought about by the demands of the western provinces. In 1923, a new act effectively banned Chinese immigration altogether; the legislation wasn't abolished until 1947. Such racism at home hardly made the job of Canadian diplomats in China, or Canadians there for whatever purpose, any easier. But then the underlying lesson of Mr. Meehan's narrative is that meaningful interaction with China was always exceptionally difficult, what with China's failing imperial system succeeded by unstable attempts at republican government, followed by Chiang Kai-shek's brand of fascism, a Japanese invasion, and a long civil war. During the Second World War, China, again fighting the Japanese, was aligned with the Allied powers. Only then did China and Canada reach their peak of mutual co-operation and respect.

Two figures in *Chasing the Dragon in Shanghai* seem to stand out in invisible italics. One is a Methodist cleric, scholar, linguist, lexicographer, Canada-booster — and humanitarian: Rev. Donald Mc-



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DELIGHTS | BOOKS

Gillivray (1862–1931) of the Christian Literature Society, a familiar figure in the wretched slums of Shanghai. The other is Victor Wentworth Odlum (1880–1971), a far-right Liberal and Vancouver businessman who held the rank of general in both world wars. In 1943, when the invading



Japanese had driven Chiang Kai-shek's forces 1,500 miles up the Yangzi River from Shanghai to Nanjing to Wuhan and finally to remote Chongqing, General Odlum was appointed Canada's first ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to China. This required him to arrive in the temporary capital of Chongqing by plane, landing on a sandbar in the river as the city had no airport. When Imperial Japan formally surrendered on the U.S. battleship Missouri in 1945, ending the war, he signed the document on behalf of Canada — but did so on the wrong line. Nevertheless, the treaty was legal and the peace went right ahead.

General Odlum is among the great many diplomats, journalists, spies, scholars and Old China Hands who populate *Pursuing China* (University of Alberta Press, \$34.95 paper) by Brian L. Evans, a pioneer in the growth of Chinese studies in Canadian universities and, later, a junior diplomat himself. His book makes compelling reading but it is an odd affair at times. It begins as an evocative memoir of growing up in rural southern Alberta during the Depression and the war years (and of marrying his high school French teacher). One of his contemporaries in tiny Taber, Alberta, is a Chinese-Canadian named Herbert How whose family's background first ignites young Brian's interest in studying Chinese history and culture. He was coming of age, however, at a time when pursuing China was no easy matter.

The communist victory there in 1949 helped to fuel McCarthyism in the U.S., resulting in, for example, the censoring or outright banning of many scholarly works on contemporary China. The American academic community, he writes, more or less "turned to the study of Taiwan and closed itself off from the New China." The atmosphere "further fuelled my anti-Americanism and turned me toward London." For Britain, which had recognised the new People's Republic in January 1950, had a long history of such scholarship. Prof. Evans went to London to study at the esteemed School of Oriental and African Studies (known in jest as the School of Ornamental and Accidental Studies). His doctoral topic concerned "the history of French, British, and Chinese diplomacy regarding China's southwest frontier in the last half of the nineteenth century." But the fact that he was appalled by America's new concern with the "loss" of China to communism doesn't mean he was sympathetic towards Mao Zedong. China's Great Leap Forward, intended to redraw and animate the country's economy, instead led to economic collapse and a famine "in which an estimated twenty million people starved to death [...] In three years the Leap was over and China sought wheat from Canada to help feed its people."

Canada, however, was in no position to be smug. Chinese studies were routinely neglected at universities here. (In 1937, McGill simply gave away its important research collection of 5,000 Chinese books to Princeton in the United States.) The only exception was in Toronto, where interest in the subject was kept alive by a large community of people who had done missionary work in China. Prof. Evans did a great deal to correct this situation when he joined the University of Alberta faculty.

Oddly, it was only in 1964 that he visited China for the first time. Much later, once the Trudeau government recognised the PRC, he signed on as a cultural officer at the Canadian embassy in Beijing. It's at this point that the tone of the book changes sharply, to use an adverb that is appropriately double-edged. The book's unfortunate subtitle is "Memoir of a Beaver Liaison Officer". This refers to an anecdote about how the author was put

in charge of caring for a group of beavers sent to China as an official gift, in return, it was hoped, for a panda. The whole last section of the book suddenly becomes rather arch, not to say smart-assed. For example, Prof. Evans is vicious in describing a flying visit to Beijing in 1973 by Jeanne Sauvé, who was then secretary of state for science and technology (and later, of course, governor general). He leaves an impression of her as having been snobbish, uncaring and gauche. But then he himself isn't always the soul of tact. He remembers that Madame Sauvé brought along her friend Sylvia Ostry, the economist, who said such things as "What do you have to do to get a steak in this goddamned country?"



AND, BRIEFLY...

For reasons having to with both climate change and sovereignty, all of us have become increasingly concerned with Canada's portion of the Arctic - and with those of the other Arctic nations as well. Yet it's difficult for us to see the whole situation with the detachment and exactitude that Sara Wheeler, the British travel writer, brings to her new book The Magnetic North: Notes from the Arctic Circle (Farrar, Straus and Giroux/Douglas & McIntyre, \$26). As in her previous books, especially Terra Incognita: Travels in Antarctica, she perfectly balances personal experience, description and observation with research, history and science - all in the right proportions. Alas, the photos are reproduced rather poorly.



Author Xiaobing Li

Xiaobing Li, a Chinese-born American academic, does something quite worthwhile in *Voices from the Vietnam War: Stories from American, Asian, and Russian Veterans* (University of Kentucky Press, US\$25 paper). Our library shelves are heavy with recollections by U.S. veterans of the Vietnam War — and with more examples by Vietnamese veterans than you might expect to have been translated into English or French. Prof. Li looks farther afield, setting down the stories of, for example, Russian missile experts and Chinese railway-builders seconded to North Vietnam, or a South Korean battlefield surgeon working with the Americans. Their perspectives help to round out the picture of that war. The same author previously published A History of the Modern Chinese Army (in which he once served). Now the subject is updated a bit in the revised edition of A Military History of China (also University of Kentucky Press, US\$25 paper). The editors, David A. Graff and Robin Higham, assemble a wide range of academics and independent scholars from the U.S., Canada and, of course, China. This type of symposium-between-covers is an ever-growing part of academic publishing. Another fresh example is Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats (University of Toronto Press, \$27.95 paper). The editor, Donald S. McDonough, gathers a sampling of academic and military thought from Americans and Britons as well as Canadians. Among the latter are Senator Hugh Segal and J.L. Granatstein, the historian. (See an excerpt from one of the essays, "Shift to the Pacific" by Thomas Adams, beginning on page 38 of this issue.)

The idea of travel literature organized around some framing device (or editorial gimmick) never seems to grow stale. Authors of such books often set out to follow in the footsteps of - well, somebody, just about anyone, who went before. In Landfalls: On the Edge of Islam from Zanzibar to Alhambra (John Murray, \$16.99 paper), Tim Mackintosh-Smith shadows Ibn Battutah, a Medieval traveller from Tangier. Much more imaginative is Rachel Polonsky's book Molotov's Magic Lantern: Travels in Russian History (Farrar, Straus and Giroux/Douglas & McIntyre, \$31). The author is a British writer who moves to Moscow and finds the residence once occupied by Vyacheslav Molotov (1890–1986), the old Stalinist associated with the notorious Hitler-Stalin nonaggression pack of 1939. Inside she discovers his personal library, still intact (as well as his magic lantern). Ms Polonsky then traipses round the new Russia, visiting the places that Molotov knew from his personal reading: sites associated with Pushkin, Chekhov, Dostoevsky, and others. Sounds a bit contrived but it all works beautifully.

George Fetherling's book *The Writing Life: Journals* 1975–2005, edited by Brian Busby, will be published by McGill-Queen's University Press in the spring.

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DELIGHTS | SCIENCE

A noted astronomer checks out the coming Mayan doomsday



A wooden Mayan calendar, made in Mexico as a handicraft.

he American-made disaster film 2012 was one of the most profitable disaster movies of all time (earning US\$700 million). Released on Friday, Nov. 13, 2009, director Roland Emmerich's fictional portrayal of global cataclysm exploited the approach of the year 2012 when, according to best-selling doomsday prophets, the world would end precisely (they said) as the Mayans predicted it would: on Dec. 21, 2012, the winter solstice. The film's motto referenced the Mayan connection: "We were warned." Astronomer E.C. Krupp, director of the Griffith Observatory in Los Angeles, was one of a number of scientists to write essays telling anxious people to relax.

First published in *Sky and Telescope* magazine, Dr. Krupp's analysis of the frightful film was placed on NASA's website — where it remains.

With the approach of Dec. 21, 2012, *Diplomat* decided Krupp's explanation of the Mayan calendar is timely once again.

SCIENCE | DELIGHTS



By E.C. Krupp

he year 2012 is acting like a badlybehaved celebrity. Frightful rumours and gossip are spreading. More than half-a-dozen books are marketing astronomical fears of the end-oftime. A US\$200 million disaster movie opens on Friday, Nov. 13 [and] seems designed to break all records for disaster spectacles — with cracking continents, plunging asteroids, burning cities and a tsunami that throws an aircraft carrier through the White House. Other major movies with 2012 doomsday [dates] are reported to be in the works.

Anyone who cruises the internet or allnight talk radio knows why. The ancient Maya of Mexico and Guatemala kept a calendar that is about to roll up the red carpet of time, swing the solar system into transcendental alignment with the heart of the Milky Way and turn Earth into a bowling pin for a rogue planet heading down our alley for a strike.

None of it is true. People you know, however, are likely becoming a bit afraid that modern astronomy and Maya secrets are indeed conspiring to bring our doom. If people know you're an astronomer, they will soon be asking you all about it.

Here is what you need to know.

Birth of a Notion

We've had similar scares in the recent past, but none quite like this. The last time the world got all worked up over the mystical turning of a calendar was the false Millennium of Jan. 1, 2000. Never mind the actual Y2K computer-date bug. True-believer authors (and their imitators) published scary and/or hopeful books about the moment's prophetic potential to catch an immense cosmic wave and change everything for either good or ill. Borrowing a forecast from Nostradamus, the 16th-Century French riddler, author Charles Berlitz predicted catastrophe in his 1981 book Doomsday 1999. Berlitz (fresh off books on Atlantis and the Bermuda Triangle), warned that 1999 could



How better to dispossess people of their belief in the perfect (and apparently frightening) alignment of the planets on Dec. 21, 2012, than to map their locations? "It is obvious the planets are not all lined up, as is often claimed," said Dr. E.C. Krupp, director of Los Angeles' Griffith Observatory, which produced the diagram.

inflict flood, famine, pollution and a shift of Earth's magnetic poles. He also spotlighted the planetary alignment of May 5, 2000, and warned that it could bring solar flares, severe earthquakes, "land changes" and "seismic explosions."

In the 1990s, an entire "Earth Changes" movement swelled into being as the end of the century neared, with all sorts of millennial expectations — earthquakes, plagues, polar axis shifts, continents sliding into the sea, Atlantis rising and more. In England, (on the other hand), the *Sun* tabloid predicted a "marvelous millennium of joy, peace, prosperity."

When Jan. 1, 2000 came and went with nothing worse than ski-lift passes printing the date as 1900, the focus shifted to "5/5/2000" several months later. Most believers in the power of planetary alignments forgot the failure of earlier line-ups to induce disaster. The "Jupiter Effect" cataclysm predicted for March 10, 1982 (named for the 1974 book about it by John Gribbin and Stephen Plagemann) commanded headlines but never materialized.

Throughout history, end-of-the-world movements missing their mark number in the "hundreds of thousands, at the very least," says Richard Landes, historian at Boston University and director of its Center for Millennial Studies. But people eager for the world to end are not to be denied, and this time, of course, all will be different.

The Rollover

What exactly is the Maya calendar about to do? On Dec. 21, 2012, it will display the equivalent of a string of zeros, like the odometer turning over on your car, with the close of something like a millennium. In Maya calendrics, however, it's not the end of a thousand years. It's the end of Baktun 13. The Maya calendar was based on multiple cycles of time, and the baktun was one of them. A baktun is 144,000 days: a little more than 394 years.

Scholars have deciphered how the Maya calendar worked from historical texts and ancient inscriptions, and they have accurately correlated so-called Maya Long Count dates with the equivalent dates in our calendar. Just as we number our years counting from a historically and culturally significant event (the presumed birth year of Christ), Maya times were numbered from a date endowed with reli-

DELIGHTS | SCIENCE





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An ancient Chichenitza Mayan Temple in Mexico.

gious and cosmic significance: the creation date of the present world order. A Long Count date is the tally of days from that mythic start-up. Most experts think the start point corresponds to Aug. 11, 3114 B.C.

Most of the Maya calendar intervals accumulate as multiples of 20. An interval of 7,200 days (360×20) was known as a katun. It takes 20 katuns to complete a baktun ($20 \times 7,200 = 144,000$ days). Although some ancient inscriptions turn 13 baktuns into an important reset milestone, others imply that the calendar simply keeps running. For instance, it takes 20 baktuns to make a pictun.

No one paid much attention to the end of Baktun 13 until fairly recently. In 1975 Frank Waters, a romantic and speculative author, devoted a brief section to the subject in his book *Mexico Mystique*. He identified the 13-baktun interval as a "Mayan Great Cycle," overestimated its duration as 5,200 years, and equated five such cycles with five legendary eras, each of which ends in the world's destruction and rebirth. There is no genuine Maya tradition behind any of this.

Waters also miscalculated the date when the calendar would supposedly pull down the shades. "The end of the Great Cycle . . . will occur Dec. 24, 2011 A.D.," he announced, when the world "will be destroyed by catastrophic earthquakes." Exact date aside, the doomsday ball was now rolling.

Another book in 1975 also spotlighted the Maya calendric roundup. Dennis and Terence McKenna discussed it in *The In-* visible Landscape: Mind, Hallucinogens, and the I Ching. That book at least got the Baktun-13 end date right: Dec. 21, 2012. It also noted that the date is the winter solstice, when the Sun will be "in the constellation Sagittarius, only about three degrees from the Galactic Centre, which, also coincidentally, is within two degrees of the ecliptic." The McKennas continued: "Because the winter solstice node is precessing, it is moving closer and closer to the point on the ecliptic where it will eclipse the galactic centre." In reality, this event will never happen, but it hardly matters. The McKennas linked the whole arrangement with the concept of renewal and called 2012 a moment of "potential transformative opportunity."

Broader interest in 2012 caught on beginning in 1987. In The Mayan Factor: Path Beyond Technology, José Argüelles (an "artist, poet, and visionary historian," according to the dust jacket) linked the 13-baktun period with an impalpable "beam" from the centre of the Milky Way Galaxy. According to Argüelles, the Maya knew when we entered this beam and when we would leave it, and set their 13-baktun cycle to mark our passage through it accordingly. The beam, he asserted, operates as "invisible galactic life threads" that link people, the planet, the sun, and the center of the galaxy. Neither Maya tradition nor modern astronomy supports a belief in any such beam. It stemmed instead from Argüelles's personal philosophy, which emphasizes "the principle of harmonic resonance." Argüelles also concluded that the planets are "orbiting harmonic

SCIENCE | DELIGHTS

gyroscopes" that "play a role in the coordination of the beam," which advances the development of anything with DNA. The year 2012, therefore, will bring a rosy version of the apocalypse.

If this sounds a bit familiar, you're right. In 1987, Argüelles and his followers predicted, with worldwide fanfare, that Aug. 16-17 of that year would bring a Maya-Galactic "Harmonic Convergence." That event turned into a global phenomenon, with thousands gathering at Earth's "acupuncture points" to create a "synchronized and unified bio-electromagnetic collective battery." Unfortunately, the date passed with nothing more than colourful newspaper stories and a Doonesbury satire. (A character explains earnestly that the alignment could bring either "mass unification of divine and earthplane selves," or perhaps nuclear annihilation. "Either way there will probably be a crafts fair.")

Galactic guessing games

Fast-forward to 1995. That year John Major Jenkins packaged several of these themes into Maya Cosmogenesis 2012. According to Jenkins, the winter-solstice point and the centerline of the Galaxy will line up exactly on Dec. 21. Arguing that this motivated the Maya to contrive the calendar to end on that date, Jenkins concludes that it will be "a tremendous transformation and opportunity for spiritual growth, a transition from one world age to another."

In fact, astronomy cannot pinpoint such a "galactic alignment" to within a year, much less a day. The alignment depends on the rather arbitrary modern definition of the galactic equator, and/or the visual appearance of the Milky Way. There is no precise definition of the Milky Way's edges — they are very vague and depend on the clarity of your view. (Jenkins says



A carved stone Mayan calendar on tile background.

that he personally established the Milky Way's edges by viewing it from 11,000 feet, far above anywhere the Maya lived.) So to give a precise visual position for its centerline is not meaningful.

Jenkins did acknowledge that the winter-solstice sun actually crosses the centre of the Milky Way anytime between 1980 and 2016. Elsewhere he expands this approach zone to a 900-year period, and settles for an imprecise alignment to which Dec. 21, 2012, is arbitrarily and circularly assigned. Real astronomy does not support any match between the Baktun-13 end date and a galactic alignment. The advocates both admit and ignore this discrepancy.

It's almost a sidelight that the wintersolstice sun will never actually "eclipse" the galaxy's true centre, the point-like radio source marking the Milky Way's central black hole. Moreover, the wintersolstice sun won't even pass closest to it on the sky for another 200 years.



What did the Maya themselves think about End Times? There is no evidence that they saw the calendar and a world age ending in either transcendence or catastrophe on Dec. 21, 2012. Some Maya Long Count texts refer to dates many baktuns past 13 and even into the next pictun and beyond. For instance, an inscription commissioned in the 7th-Century A.D. by King Pacal of Palenque predicts that an anniversary of his accession would be commemorated on Oct. 15, 4772.

In all of the Long Count texts discovered, transcribed, and translated, only one mentions the key date in 2012: Monument 6 at Tortuguero, a Maya site in the Mexican state of Tabasco. The text is damaged, but what remains does not imply the end of time.

The Secret NASA Conspiracy

Some advocates for the 2012 catastrophe say that what will actually cause the devastation is an alignment of planets. There is no planet alignment on the winter solstice in 2012. Nonetheless, advocates of doom connect the fictional alignment to astrological predictions or groundless claims about a reversal of Earth's magnetic field and unprecedented solar storms. Many internet postings and guests on allnight apocalyptic radio have elaborated on these themes.

In particular, several threads of irrational thought have created an internet phantom, the secret planet Nibiru. It's the bowling ball, and Earth is the pin. There is no such planet, though it is often equated with Eris, a plutoid orbiting safely and permanently beyond Pluto. Some insist, however, that a NASA conspiracy is in play and that Nibiru, looming in on the approach, can already be seen in broad daylight from the Southern Hemisphere. It was supposed to become visible from the Northern Hemisphere, too, by last May, but like a fickle blind date, it stood up those awaiting it.

Others on the web, confused about the supposed alignment of the winter-solstice sun with the Milky Way's centre, have declared that the sun is now plummeting to the Milky Way's centre and dragging Earth with it. The predicted result? Earth's polar axis will shift. Most of what's claimed for 2012 relies on wishful thinking, wild pseudoscientific folly, ignorance of astronomy and a level of paranoia worthy of *Night of the Living Dead*.

E.C. Krupp is director of Griffith Observatory in Los Angeles.

DELIGHTS | **RESIDENCES**

A little country in the city for Taiwan envoys

By Margo Roston



The living room is a simple, bright space, decorated with imposing Chinese rosewood chairs and tables.

p a long shaded driveway, hidden from view on the eastern shore of McKay Lake, there's the home where David Tawei Lee, representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, and his wife, Lin Chih, a former banker and now an IT consultant, have lived for the past five years.

The residence is a lavish four-bedroom stone mansion designed by noted Ottawa architect Barry Hobin and built in 1989 for businessman Ronald Sumner. Mr. Sumner sold the luxe digs to Taiwan in 1994, thus providing the country's representatives with an elegant and almost country-like estate. From their large slate terrace, the couple can hear the call of bullfrogs, ducks and birds and, if they wish, they can take a walk through the woods on a countrystyle path behind their house.

A circular driveway invites guests to enter a small tiled foyer and, from there, into the vestibule leading to the two-level main hall and staircase of the house.

Dark oak flooring lines the living room — a simple, bright space with a marble fireplace topped with a cherrywoodengraved mantel and glass doors, which lead to the terrace overlooking the lake. French doors open to a sunken sunroom. The room is decorated with imposing Chinese rosewood chairs and tables carved with delicate oyster shell.
RESIDENCES | DELIGHTS



Dr. Lee and his wife, Lin Chih, in their living room.



Two calligraphic scrolls, by Hsu Shih-chang, president of China from 1918-1922, hang in the front hall.



The exterior of the home is a classic design, made to blend with its Rockcliffe surroundings by architect Barry Hobin.

DELIGHTS | RESIDENCES



Dr. Lee and his pooch, Chucky.





The country-style path behind the home.

The floors are covered with Chinese carpets and the walls with paintings and *objets d'art* from places as diverse as Central America, Africa and, of course. Taiwan. Most of the art belongs to the well-travelled couple, and that includes the Chinese landscape that dominates the room. An ebony Chinese Buddha comes from Swaziland and a carved wooden warrior, Chung Kuei, is poised near the door, ready to fight.

"He is always placed facing the front door," Dr. Lee laughs. "Just in case some vicious spirit comes in, he will be ready."

A delicate, jade-encrusted screen is one of the home's treasure while two calligraphic scrolls hang in the front hall. They are the handiwork of Hsu Shih-chang, president of the Republic of China from 1918-1922. They were a gift to Dr. Lee's grandfather, a financial backer of the president. The calligraphy was part of an examination undertaken by those wishing to join the government.

The house also contains a sunken study with a marble fireplace, enhanced with a burled walnut mantel and a large dining room with glass doors leading to the terrace. Charming pieces of Quemoy pottery are on display during the parties and dinners hosted by the couple. Quemoy is an island in the Taiwan Strait under the jurisdiction of Taiwan.

"We always serve Chinese food, of course," says Dr. Lee, who is very proud that a local publication picked his national day as the best diplomatic reception of the year.

"We work closely with the Chateau Laurier, where we hold the party, to make sure the food is as authentic as pos-

A kitchen worhty of Food Network.



Taiwanese pottery decorates the residence.

sible." While Dr. Lee agrees that Taiwan is not recognized everywhere, and he is not invited to all diplomatic events, he stresses that his office runs exactly like an embassy, communicating with a variety of government departments.

Perhaps one of the most dramatic stops in the house is the vast kitchen, a luxurious space that would show up well on a Food Network show. With its gray walls, white appliances and counters, it is an oversized playground for the residence's cook. Big enough to prepare for a banquet, there is also space for two breakfast tables and chairs and a TV area, complete with a small sofa.

Since almost every main-floor room leads to the large terrace, that's the spot where the representative holds garden parties, a place where guests can feel they are in the country. And if there is wind and rain, then it's a mere few steps to the large party room, an indoor swimming pool in a former life.

The diplomatic couple will leave Canada this summer and move home to Taiwan for the first time in 11 years. They were posted in Brussels and Washington before coming to Ottawa.

Dr. Lee has enjoyed Canada and Canadians, but winter wasn't his favourite time of year. And as for his adored schnauzer, Chucky, well he's the real diplomat in the family with four passports or rather, computer chips, of his own ... Canada, Taiwan, Belgium and U.S. Perhaps Chucky will look back happily to his comfortable Rockcliffe home and his regular promenades on the little path beside the lake.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.



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Malaysia's amalgamated cuisine



ood holds a privileged place in the lives of Malaysians. They love to eat and view food as an important (indeed serious) expression of hospitality. In fact, Malaysian High Commissioner Dato' Hayati Ismail insists that "guests must be fed regardless of the time of day — no questions asked."

Many may automatically assume Malaysian cuisine is like that of Thailand or Indonesia. After all, it shares borders with those countries.

In reality, Malaysia has a uniquely amalgamated food culture deeply steeped in centuries of history, external influences, assimilation and religious taboos. As far back as 200 AD, Malaysia has been a crossroads of cultures which, over the years, has continuously diversified Malaysian cuisine. The most significant period was in the 19th and 20th Centuries when a large number of workers from China and India came to Malaysia seeking employment in the tin mines and rubber plantations. Still others came as civil servants in the British administration until Malaysia's independence in 1957.

So it's no mystery why Malaysian cuisine is an exotic gastronomic adventure with Malay, Chinese and Indian cuisine taking centre stage. Each of these cuisines has its own distinctive flavours, style of cooking and service.

As the majority of Malays are Muslim, the high commissioner explains that virtually all food sold in Malaysia is assumed to be halal (that means there's no pork, and other animals are slaughtered according to Muslim rites). If non-halal food is sold, it is in a completely separate area of a shop or a supermarket.

In general, Malay cuisine tends to be spicy and pungent with the counter-balancing richness of coconut milk or grated coconut and the sweetness of sugar. The heat in Malay cuisine comes from chiles. Both dry and wet spices are used. Dry spices include the traditional native varieties (e.g., cumin, coriander, cloves and cinnamon) as well as Indian, Chinese and Arabic spices (e.g., pepper, fenugreek, cardamon). Wet spices, meanwhile, include such ingredients as ginger, garlic, shallots, onions, fresh chiles and fresh turmeric, which are pounded into a paste using a mortar and pestle. Malay cooking also incorporates lemongrass, kaffir lime and pandan leaves, fresh herbs and fish paste.

Rice is featured in virtually all Malay meals — breakfast, lunch, dinner. Fish, shrimp, cuttlefish, beef, mutton, chicken and vegetables are popular and are usually served with a side dish of spicy sambal sauce. A variety of the country's exotic array of tropical fruit — from mango to the infamous durian, which "tastes like heaven but smells like hell" — is served at the end of a meal. Sweet desserts prepared with ingredients such as palm sugar, coconut milk and flour, are reserved for afternoon tea.

All dishes, including dessert, go on the table at once and food is eaten with the tips of the fingers of the right hand and with a bowl of water to rinse one's fingers.

Of course, the best known Malay dish is satay. But the most original of Malay dishes is the rotie jala, a large lacy pancake. A spicy curry rotie jala is served at breakfast or tea time, and a sweet version with durian sauce for dessert.

In contrast to Malay, the widely popular Chinese cuisine is characterized by a delicate blend of herbs, sauces and spices, where fresh ingredients are a must and cooking styles vary according to the origin of the dish — Hokkien, Hakka, Hainanese, Cantonese, Szechwan or Teochew. Again rice is the staple grain — but noodles feature prominently as well. The oh-sopopular dim sum is served for breakfast, brunch or as a course in a meal. At meals, dishes come either in a course-type procedure (always for formal occasions) or they could be presented all at once which is usually done in homes or in restaurants. In the latter, damp towels replace the West's customary napkins.

When it comes to the Indian component of Malaysia's food culture, the most important feature is the imaginative use of spices and herbs. Hot, mild, pungent, bland — there is a combination to suit every palate. Where Westerners may happily use pre-made curry powder, Indian cooks understand that cardamom and cloves will make a mutton dish remarkable, and fenugreek will do wonders in a fish curry. Although Indian cuisine is known for its curries, accompanied by rice, side dishes, chutneys and yogurt, exciting too are the grilled meats, clay oven-baked tandoori chicken, a wide variety of unleavened breads (including naan), rice dishes (e.g., biryani, banana leaf, nasi kinder), noodle dishes (mee goreng memik) and vegetarian choices.

Significant too is Nyonya cuisine, a result of Chinese intermarrying with Malays and a unique blending of the two cuisines. Rich cakes made with sweet potato,



Fried Flat Rice Noodles with Shrimp

ENTERTAINING | DELIGHTS

glutinous rice and coconut milk are the preferred dessert. The eating implement? Chopsticks and finger tips.

In spite of all this cultural influence, the high commissioner says Malaysians do not think about seeking out a particular ethic food. "It is all Malaysian cuisine with a preference for a certain recipe that one feels the desire to eat at the moment, be it flat noodles made with rice flour, a spicy curry or perhaps Portuguese fish, marinated, put in foil and grilled." Extraordinary street food is also available all day and well into the night, making it a perfect supper stop for night clubbers, night workers, students and tourists.

Now, I invite you to try my version of a favourite Malaysian dish, fried flat rice noodles with shrimp. It is indeed quick and easy to prepare, as well as delicious. Bon appétit!

Fried Flat Rice Noodles with Shrimp

Makes 4 servings 1 lb (450 g) jumbo shrimp (21-30 count), unpeeled

14 oz (400 g) flat rice noodles 3 tbsp (45 mL) olive oil (preferably garlic infused), divided 1 tbsp (15 mL) minced fresh garlic

2 to 3 tsp (10 to 15 mL) Asian hot chili paste (such as Sambal Oelek) 3 tbsp (45 mL) sweet dark soya sauce 3 tbsp (45 mL) oyster sauce 1 1/3 tbsp (20 mL) fish sauce

3/4 cup (180 mL) chopped fresh chives 3/4 cup (180 mL) fresh bean sprouts 3 tbsp (45 mL) water

 Peel shrimp, keeping tails attached.
 Cook noodles in salted boiling water until just tender. Drain, rinse with cold water and toss with 1 tsp (5 mL) olive oil.
 Heat remainder of oil in a wok or very large non-stick skillet over medium heat. Add garlic and sauté until golden brown.
 Add chili paste, sweet soya, oyster and fish sauces; combine well.

 Quickly add shrimp and sauté for about one minute before adding the cooked noodles. Stirring constantly, sauté a few minutes until shrimp are almost cooked.
 Add chives, bean sprouts and water, toss and cook for another minute or two. Season to taste with salt. Serve promptly.

Margaret Dickenson wrote the awardwinning cookbook, *Margaret's Table* — *Easy Cooking & Inspiring Entertaining*, and she hosts the Rogers TV series, *Margaret's Table* (www.margaretstable.ca).



Why there may be more alcohol in your wine



Icohol is an obvious part of wine. It's expected to be there. However, there's a growing sense among wine drinkers that their drink is getting stronger. Chardonnay seems bigger. Côtes du Rhône tastes hotter. And they're right. It's not just a feeling. Over the last four decades, the amount of alcohol in wine has steadily grown. Varietals and wines which rarely reached more than 14 percent before now frequently crest above 15 percent. At times, certain Zinfandel, Amarone, Shiraz and Malbec, among others, can even top out at more than 16 percent.

These higher-alcohol wines aren't terrible or badly made. Many of them are quite delicious. But there seems to be no end to them and the reasons for this are many.

Wine-making has changed. Though generalizations and assumptions abound, there is a seed of truth that the spirit behind much table wine production has generally shifted from one of stewardship to one of creation. That is to say, the success and pleasure derived from wines has become less linked to the gentle mercies of any given vintage to the winemaker's skills and tools. Granted, there is a baseline of climate, grapes and vineyard condition required for any quality wine. However, there are now more highly developed procedures, including micro-oxygenation and reverse-osmosis, readily available to winemakers to alter their wines not just when they have to rescue a terrible harvest. It is the very design and intent of wine production which has changed. And it has done so in both the New and Old World.

Chief among what seems to be altering the style of production is the desire for rich and ripe wines possessing soft tannins and less obvious acidity. This style of dense wine with its velvety texture is



Birichino's Malvasia vineyard is producing some great white wine. Its 2010 is floral and citrusy while still dry and clear.

thought by producers to be both pleasurable for the general drinking public and found worthy of praise by the critics. As a result, grapes are left to hang and ripen for prolonged periods to maximize flavours and sugar and, conversely, lower acidity. Also, due to the continuing trend of hotter weather, certain areas, such as the traditionally hot climates of Europe, seem to have a difficult time not producing highalcohol wines.

That said, the Old World can still be the source for many excellent examples of lower-alcohol wines. A classic example is German Riesling, and a delicious expression of this is Weingut Vollenweider's 2008 "Wolfer Goldgrube" Kabinett Riesling. With only seven percent alcohol, much of the harvested grapes' sugars remain in this wine as a fairly gratuitous amount of residual sugar. However, the acidity in this wine is so vibrant that the sweetness, texture and flavours come across as electric, weightless and joyful. This is tremendous wine for only \$22 from Vintages.

But sweet wine is not the only option. If you want a dry wine with a reasonable level of alcohol, 13 percent in this case, there's Birichino's 2010 Malvasia Bianca. Malvasia is not a renowned grape varietal, and this wine is certainly not a common style coming out of California. Incredibly aromatic with lots of notes of floral and citrus, it's bright, dry and clear. Made by fantastic people, it's available through The Small Winemakers Collection wine agency for about \$22.

A tasty example of a lower-alcohol red (13.5 percent) from the Old World is Fattoria di Magliano's 2009 Sinarra. Though certainly not considered a classical representation of Italian wine, this delicious unoaked Tuscan blend of 95 percent Sangiovese and five percent Petit Verdot is packed with vibrant red fruit. The texture is fresh and incredibly food-friendly. This excellent wine can be purchased from the Stem Wine Group for \$23.

A Canadian candidate is made from a grape varietal often thought to be a high alcohol culprit: Syrah. The Okanagan Valley's See Ya Later Ranch makes a fantastic one, and their 2008 vintage is available from Vintages' online shop for \$25. With only 13.5 percent alcohol, the wine is very expressive with rich flavours of plum, chocolate and spice.

Alcohol is fundamental component of wine. Yeast creates it as a by-product of the fermentation process. Alcohol provides weight and structure. However, with the abundance of high-alcohol wines on the market, many wine drinkers are growing more sensitive to its presence. In the least, wines can seem unbalanced. At their worst, they're clumsy, cloying and dulling to the senses. Any of the four wines above will provide a great wine-drinking experience while not overwhelming the palette.

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

ENVOY'S ALBUM | DELIGHTS









This page: 1. The official opening of the Whales Tohora exhibition at the Canadian Museum of Nature was co-hosted by the New Zealand High Commission. From left, Canadian Museum of Nature CEO Meg Beckel, vice-chair Nicholas Offord and New Zealand Deputy High Commissioner Felicity Buchanan. (Photo: Martin Lipman) 2. Chinese Ambassador Junsai Zhang was the final speaker at Carleton University's Ambassadors Speakers Series (Photo: Patrick Hollier) 3. Nigerian Foreign Minister Olugbenga Ashiru signed a binational agreement with his counterpart, Foreign Minister John Baird in Ottawa. (Photo: Manuel Junior De La Cruz) 4. The second annual Bright Nights Baltic-Nordic Film Festival was launched at the Lithuanian embassy. From left, the Canadian Film Institute's Jennifer Zaret, Lithuanian diplomat Tomas Margaitis and Norwegian diplomat Synne Slettebo. (Credit: Ulle Baum) 5. The German Embassy hosted an evening at the National Arts Centre to celebrate Oscar Peterson's time spent in the Black Forest. From left, German Ambassador Georg Witschel, Matthias Brunner-Schwer and former Prime Minister Jean Chretien. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell) 6. Dancer Celine Dikaubas performs at Africa Day, an extravaganza at the Government Conference Centre, which brought together 30 embassies and high commissions for food and performances. (Photo: Ulle Baum)



DELIGHTS | ENVOY'S ALBUM











This page: 1. Prime Minister Stephen Harper and Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk visited the Library of Parliament during Mr. Tusk's May visit. (Photo: PMO) 2. Children from Fern Hill School took part in an art contest sponsored by the Netherlands Embassy called "van Gogh goes to school." Simone Bakker, second secretary for cultural and political affairs at the embassy, visited the school and children, from left, Marika Garzoni, Connor Douglas (grandson of former Canadian ambassador William Clarke) and Rohan Vermeij. (Photo: Natasha Moine) 3. Albanian Foreign Minister Edmond Haxhinasto visited Ottawa in May. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 4. Albanian Ambassador Elida Petoshati, right, and Lithuanian Ambassador Ginte Damusis enjoy Norway's National Day party (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. Norwegian Ambassador Else Berit Eikeland, right, and Israeli Ambassador Miriam Ziv at Norway's National Day party. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. Irish Ambassador Raymond Bassett hosted a St. Patrick's Day party, which Cicilia Rusdiharini, minister-counsellor for Indonesia, attended. (Photo: Ulle Baum)

ENVOY'S ALBUM | DELIGHTS











This page: 1. Bangladeshi High Commissioner Yakub Ali hosted a national day reception at the St. Elias Centre. From left, his wife, Mehera Yakub, Mr. Ali and Cuban Ambassador Teresita Vicente Sotolongo. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. Qatar Ambassador Salem Al-Shafi presented McGill University's Institute of Islamic Studies with a \$1.25 million gift from his country. Heather Munroe-Blum, principal and vice-chancellor of McGill, received the cheque. (Photo: Qatar embassy) 3. The Canadian Federation of University Women's Ottawa Diplomatic Hospitality Group, with Otto's BMW, organized a visit to Sucrerie du Terroir in Val-des-Monts for diplomatic spouses. Here, Hana Bartonova, of Slovakia, learns where syrup comes from. (Photo by Ulle Baum) 4. Mayor Jim Watson and Deputy Mayor Steve Desroches met with a South Korean trade delegation. From left, Steve Desroches, deputy mayor; Jung Min Kim, deputy minister, office for development and settlement of Sejong-City, and Mayor Jim Watson. (Photo: Roger Lalonde) 5. The Parnassos Hellenic Cultural Society and the embassy of Greece co-hosted a "celebration of Greek wines" at the Hellenic Centre. From left, Greek Ambassador Eleftherios Anghelopoulos and Slovak Ambassador Milan Kollár. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 6. National Gallery director Mark Mayer greets guests to the Netherlands' Queen's Day event at the residence of Ambassador Wim Geerts and his wife, Thea. (Photo: Ulle Baum)



DELIGHTS | ENVOY'S ALBUM



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This page: 1. Maria Yeganian, wife of Armenian Ambassador Armen Yeganian, hosted an event, which featured Armenian music and dances as well as ancient and medieval royal costumes. From left, Narine Panossian, Shaghig Reynolds, Maria Yeganian, Houry Avetisian, Gayane Panossian and Anna Bedrossyan after the cultural presentation. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. During a visit to Trinidad and Tobago, Gov. Gen. David Johnston and his wife, Sharon, participated in a wreath-laying at St. James Commonwealth Military Cemetery. (Photo: MCpl. Dany Veilette) 3. Finnish Ambassador Risto Piipponen and his wife, Marjatta, hosted a gathering to watch the men's championship hockey game between Canada and Finland. From left, Finnish fans Deborah Nieminen, Marjatta Piipponen, Linda Keep and Petra Erkkila. (Photo: Ulle Baum)

ENVOY'S ALBUM | DELIGHTS



This page: 1. The Canadian Federation of University Women's diplomatic hospitality group held a fashion show at Fairmont Chateau Laurier, featuring the work of designer Elena Hinke. From left, Francilia Greaves, wife of Barbados High Commissioner Evelyn Greaves, organizer Ulle Baum and Masako Ishikawa, wife of Japanese Ambassador Kaoru Ishikawa. The event marked the Chateau's 100th birthday and attracted guests from 35 countries. 2. The embassy of Azerbaijan held a national day reception at the Westin Hotel. Ambassador Farid Shafiyev, his wife, Ulkar (at left) and Egyptian Ambassador Wael Aboul Magd and his wife, Hanan Abdel Kader (at right). (Photo: Sam Garcia) 3. The National Press Club of Canada Foundation held a farewell dinner for departing Tunisian Ambassador Mouldi Sakri and George Abou-Zeid, chargé d'affaires of the embassy of Lebanon. From left, Mr. Sakri, Moroccan Ambassador Nouzha Chekrouni, Nora Derradji, Algerian diplomat, and Yemeni Ambassador Khalid Bahah.

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DIPLOMAT AND INTERNATIONAL CANADA

Canada's first Olympic gold-medalist

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky

n the official Olympic Games website, there are two records concerning George Orton at the Paris Olympics in 1900. The records show he won a bronze medal in the 400-metre men's hurdles and a gold medal in the 3000-metre steeplechase. The records note his country as Canada, making George Orton the first Canadian to win Olympic gold. The Canadian Olympic Association regards Orton as the first Canadian Olympic medalist. But Canada did not send a team to the Olympics in 1900 (Canada had no Olympic team until 1904 at the St. Louis, Missouri games). Orton, a student, competed as part of the University of Pennsylvania contingent. Because he was entered as an American athlete, it was not until years later that anyone realized that a Canadian had won an Olympic competition.

We may debate the attribution of a medal won in such a circumstance. If an athlete runs for another country, does



George Orton

the medal belong to the team's country or the individual's country? Although at the time Orton's was considered an American victory, it would have been a moot question in 1900, as the requirement for athletes to belong to national teams was not established until the 1908 games in London. Athletes competed as indi-





Accu-Rate Corporation 2573 Carling Ave. (613) 596-5505 World Exchange Plaza 111 Albert St. (613) 238-8454 viduals or as members of clubs. Athletes from different countries joined forces in team sports and their totals were listed as "combined." However, there were no medals awarded; gold, silver and bronze medals were not initiated until the 1904 games. Competitors finished first, second or third. So, while Orton placed first, he didn't win a gold medal on the day he won his race.

Further confusing the matter of winners is the observation that many athletes were uncertain that they were competing in the Olympic Games. The Olympic events were held concurrently with the Paris World's Fair, spread out over five months, and were run along with non-Olympic events. It seemed a good idea at the time to host the Olympics in the City of Light when the city would be shining brightest, but the plan was an unmitigated disaster. Pierre de Coubertin, founder of the International Olympic Committee, later remarked that it was "a miracle the Olympic movement survived these Games." The Olympic events, represented by the French government as a sideshow of the World's Fair, were a fiasco of planning and execution. Fair organizers were not keen on the Olympics and the word Olympic didn't even appear on the event programs. In effect, the 1900 Paris Olympic Games were the games that barely were.

In this chaotic environment, George Orton of Strathroy, Ontario, an astounding athlete proficient in several sports, ran his track events on an uneven field in the Paris suburb of Bois de Boulogne. He went to the Olympics as a track star, with 121 victories to his credit, including 15 American championships. He was also a soccer star, a hockey player, an author and a student of languages - he completed his PhD in romance languages in 1896 and became fluent in nine languages. Orton was a sports pioneer; his approach to running was methodical and academic, applying scientific study to training. The author of numerous books and articles about the technicalities of running, he is regarded as the most scientific student of middle-distance running.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is associate editor of *The Canadian Encyclopedia*.

NATIONAL DAYS | DELIGHTS

Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

July		
1	Burundi	National Day
1	Canada	Canada Day
3	Belarus	Independence Day
4	Rwanda	Liberation Day
4	United States	Independence Day
5	Venezuela	Independence Day
7	Nepal	Birthday of His Majesty The King
10	Bahamas	Independence Day
11	Mongolia	National Day
14	France	National Day
20	Colombia	National Day
21	Belgium	Accession of King Leopold I
23	Egypt	National Day
28	Peru	Independence Day
30	Morocco	Ascension of the Throne
August		
1	Benin	Independence Day
1	Switzerland	National Day
3	Niger	Proclamation of Independence
6	Bolivia	Independence Day
6	Jamaica	Independence Day
7	Côte d'Ivoire	Independence Day
10	Ecuador	Independence Day
11	Chad	National Day
15	Congo	National Day
15	India	Independence Day
17	Gabon	National Day
17	Indonesia	Independence Day
19	Afghanistan	National Day
24	Ukraine	Independence Day
25	Uruguay	National Day
31	Malaysia	National Day
31	Trinidad and Tobago	National Day
September		
1	Libya	National Day
1	Slovak Republic	Constitution Day
2	Vietnam	Independence Day
7	Brazil	Independence Day
15	Costa Rica	Independence Day
15	El Salvador	Independence Day
15	Guatemala	Independence Day
15	Honduras	National Day
16	Mexico	National Day
18	Chile	Independence Day
21	Armenia	Independence Day
22	Mali	Proclamation of the Republic
23	Saudi Arabia	National Day
		-



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New heads of mission

Barna Karimi Ambassador of Afghanistan



Mr. Karimi, a young ambassador at just 37, has a bachelor of business marketing and a master's of business administration from the University of Phoenix.

After graduation, he worked his way up to the position of general manager of a shoe company called Triton Inc. He then went on to found his own wholesale corporation, Alma USA Enterprise Inc., which was based in Los Angeles.

In June 2005, he returned to Afghanistan to take up the position of deputy chief of staff to President Hamid Karzai. Two years later, he was appointed deputy minister of policy and coordination in the independent directorate of local governance. He remained in that position until his appointment as ambassador to Canada.

Mr. Karimi is married to Storai Karimi and they have a two-year-old daughter.

Amadou Adrien Koné Ambassador of Burkina Faso



Mr. Koné studied economics at the University of Benin and later went to the University of Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso and the National School of Administration Ouaga-

dougou. He has a master's in economic planning.

Before coming to Canada, he spent a little more than a year as secretary general of the cabinet in the government of Burkina Faso. Before that, he spent a year as secretary general to the president. From 2003 to 2006, he was an economic counsellor to the president and before that, minister of economic affairs and development. In addition, he has held numerous other positions in the government, dating back to 1984.

Mr. Koné is married and has three children.

N'Goran Kouame Ambassador of Côte d'Ivoire



Mr. Kouame studied arts and social sciences at the University d'Abidjan, after which he studied diplomacy in Brussels.

After completing his studies, he started

his career in the foreign service in 1977 with a job in the department of finance and administration. The following year he became deputy director of personnel and one year later received his first posting to London, as chargé d'affaires.

When he returned to headquarters, he held several positions, including as head of the organizing committee for the first summit between Africans and African-Americans. In 1996, he received the title of ambassador and became chief of the cabinet in the foreign ministry. He later worked in international cooperation.

From 2000 to 2006, he was ambassador to Switzerland and then returned to headquarters as inspector general of diplomatic posts before being appointed to Canada.

Mr. Kouame is married and has four children.

Frantz Liautaud Ambassador of Haiti



Mr. Liautaud has served as president of the Haitian-Canadian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The former businessman has a civil engineering degree from the School of

Public Works in Paris and also studied at the University of California in Los Angeles.

He moved to Haiti in 1974 after having worked for a time in France and the United States. The property developer went on to have a long career in the private sector, at one time working with sports groups at national and international levels.

In addition to serving as ambassador, he is also secretary general of The Caribbean & Central America Tennis Confederation, honourary president of the Haitian-Canadian Chamber of Commerce and Industry and honourary president of the Haitian Federation of Tennis.

Thordur Aegir Oskarsson Ambassador of Iceland



Mr. Oskarsson came to diplomacy within the first five years of his career, after working as a researcher and parliamentary correspondent for the newspaper *Timinn*.

His first diplomatic title, as first secretary, came in 1988 and two years later, he was assigned to Iceland's delegation to NATO. In 1997, he became director for defence and was promoted to ambassador a year later. He has served as Iceland's permanent representative to the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), UNOV (United Nationals Office in Vienna), IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency), CTBTO (Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization) and as ambassador to Austria, with dual accreditation to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary and Slovakia. In 2004, he was ambassador to Japan and later spent two years as special representative to the Palestinian Authority. He returned to headquarters briefly before coming to Canada.

He has a master's in international affairs and is married to Sigurborg Oddsdottir. They have two children.

Konstantin Zhigalov Ambassador of Kazakhstan



Mr. Zhigalov studied at Kazakh State University. He has a doctorate in history.

He began his career in 1984, as a researcher, lecturer and consultant in politics, before be-

coming political assistant to the president. In 1993, he was appointed deputy foreign minister after which he became head of the international department of the president's office and a foreign adviser to the president.

In 1996, he saw his first diplomatic appointment, as minister-counsellor to Great Britain and Northern Ireland, after which he became ambassador to Poland. He also served as ambassador to Belgium, with responsibility for the Netherlands, Luxembourg and the missions to the EU and NATO. He was made deputy foreign minister again in 2009 before being appointed to Canada.

He speaks Russian, English and Polish and is married with three children.

NEW ARRIVALS | DELIGHTS

Ami Diallo Traoré Ambassador of Mali



Ms Traoré studied in the faculty of political science at the University of Belgrade and has a master's degree in international relations.

A career diplomat,

Ms Traoré began her work with the foreign ministry in 1985. She became head of the Europe-America section in 1994 and, in 1995, was sent to Germany as second counsellor. Between 2004 and 2005, she became deputy-director of international cooperation at headquarters and was promoted to director a year later. In 2006, she was named a first secretary and was sent to Mali's mission at the United Nations. The following year, she became chargé d'affaires at the same mission.

Ms Traoré is married to Abdoulaye Traoré and has three daughters.

Bobby Mbunji Samakai High Commissioner for Zambia



Mr. Samakai completed a diploma in communications and diplomacy in 1980 and in 1995, he studied diplomacy and international studies at the Zambia Institute of

Diplomatic Studies.

He began his diplomatic career in 1982 as a third secretary at the UN mission in New York, where he was promoted to second secretary. In 1992, he was appointed senior executive officer at headquarters before becoming chief of protocol with the rank of ambassador. He later went on to become deputy permanent secretary to the ministry of transport and community, and was later transferred to the ministry of sport, youth and child development as permanent secretary. In 2009, he became chief of state protocol and in 2011, permanent secretary of foreign affairs.

Mr. Samakai speaks several languages, including English, Lunda, Bemba, Nyanja, Luvale and Kaonde. He is married.

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Australia Julie Ann Pettrey, Counsellor

Belgium Jonas Valerius Juliana De Meyer, Second secretary

Brazil Manoel Araujo Da Costa Junior, Alternate representative

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Burundi Else Nizigama Ntamagiro, First counsellor and chargé d'affaires

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Marketplace



Guatemala: the land of eternal springtime



The city of Antigua, as seen from Hill of the Cross.



By Georges de La Roche Ambassador of Guatemala

People commonly describe Guatemala as "the land of eternal spring." And rightly so. Exuberant displays of orange and violet bougainvilleas greet people year-round. The word *Guatemala* comes from the indigenous Mayan-Toltec word *Quauhtemalla*, meaning "land of many trees," and, indeed our northern biosphere is part of one of the largest in this hemisphere.

Los numeros

Canadians are usually surprised by the fact that tourism is one of our largest industries, with ecotourism more popular and in greater consumer demand. What further surprises them is the fact that most of the tourists who visit Guatemala come from neighbouring countries within Central America. Imagine that when these countries, and others in our region, are, themselves, popular tourist destinations.

Last year tourism grew, even with the economic downturn, to almost two million visitors. Of those tourists, 51 percent came from Central America, just over one-third from North America, 10 percent from Europe, 3 percent from South America, 1.5 percent from Asia, and the rest from Oceana, the Middle East and the Caribbean. Tourism contributed close to \$1.4 billion to the economy. It is often lauded because it reaches all sectors of society, including the informal sector. This "trickledown effect" is evident, producing direct financial benefit, even to Guatemalans who make and sell artifacts and souvenirs.

Guatever!

Speaking of handicrafts and souvenirs, visitors like to take advantage of the inexpensive, colourful, hand-woven textiles, wood carvings, silver and jade jewelry, leather wallets and purses, belts and many other reasonably priced crafts they come across everywhere. Also, I recommend buying a pound or two of our famous (fair-traded) shade-grown coffee and a bottle (or two again) of the internationally recognized award-winning 23-year-old Zacapa rum.

El Centro

Guatemala is just a bit larger than Portugal with roughly 108,000 square kilometers (47,000 square miles). It is the northernmost country in Central America and is



The rare Quetzal is Guatemala's national bird.

also the most populous, with coastlines both on the Atlantic and Pacific oceans; our own "d'un ocean à l'autre."

I am often reminded that most travelers don't consider the three geographical regions in our neighborhood: North America, which includes Canada, the United States and Mexico; Central America, which stretches from Guatemala to Panama; and South America, which begins with Colombia and ends with southernmost Argentina.

Most Canadians consider Mexico part of South America, when, in fact, it is (culturally) part of Latin America, but (geographically) part of North America. Guatemala, then, is only the third country to the south of Canada, with only the U.S. and Mexico between us.

Being incredibly topographically diverse, Guatemala consists of six main climate regions, each with its own submicroclimates, making it a land of diverse attractions in a relatively small area. The country is officially a neotropic eco-zone and the habitat for 10 percent of all known species on the planet. There are orchids, mahogany trees and many species of wildlife including hummingbirds, toucans, 'squawking' popinjays, jaguars, pumas, wild boars, reptiles, manatees and spider and howler monkeys.

Guatemala is ideal for bird watchers as it is on the north-south migratory path of birds and hosts more than 700 species. Bird watchers can appreciate our national bird; the rare and mystical *Quetzal*. The country's diverse mountainous relief runs from sea level to more than 4,000 metres (13,100 feet) in altitude, which explains the dissimilar ecosystems that range from humid coastal mangrove sanctuaries to misty conifer forests in the highlands.

Guatemala has more than 30 volcanoes and it is fun to climb both the inactive ones (I have climbed several and have never seen such starry nights!), and the active ones — with due precaution and guidance. One can appreciate, from a safe distance, the spectacular lava displays from active volcanoes.

But our diversity is more than ecological. Our population is also multi-ethnical and multi-cultural — with 23 Mayan languages spoken besides the official Spanish.

Be sure to visit the colourful markets of Chichicastenango and Huehuetenango.

A donde vas? (Where are you headed?)

VLAN BENCHOAP

Guatemala's most-sought-after tourist destinations are the pyramids and temples of Tikal, a huge ancient Mayan metropolis that many consider the classic representation of that civilization. The Mirador pyramid is actually the largest by volume in the world. Also much sought is beautiful Lake Atitlán; an old volcano crater in the highlands surrounded by smaller volcanoes, the colourful markets of Chichicastenango and Huehuetenango, the Atlantic beaches with their rich Caribbean culture, and the exotic volcanic black beaches of the Pacific, known for their fishing and angling.

While travelling recently to Guatemala with my family, we spent a few days in the capital, Guatemala City, visiting sites such as the large topographic relief map of the country, amusement parks (very enjoyable, with the same rides I delighted in as a kid), as well as the lately re-designed zoo, which we all loved.

If you go to our capital city, be sure to visit the Mercado Central or the welllocated Mercado de Artesanías, where you can buy all sorts of handicrafts. Be sure to

DESTINATIONS | DELIGHTS

see the Central Cathedral, the National Palace and the indigenous Popol Vuh museum. There are actually more than 20 museums in Guatemala City, including a railroad and a textile museum.

We visited Antigua, the old capital city, founded by the Spanish in the 16th Century and now a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage Site. Antigua is indeed a most charming colonial town. Well known as a tourist attraction, with its cobblestone streets, baroque architecture, five-star restaurants and majestic scenery, it sits next to a near perfectly conical volcano.

We also visited the Pacific beach for some "fun under the sun," and were able to arrange flights on ultra-light aircraft and fishing trips for the children, which were a big hit. I was even able to coax my



Guatemala is famous for its inexpensive and vividly patterned handwoven textiles.

eldest son onto a board for some waveriding.

After spending close to a week at the Pacific beach (and having worked on a base suntan), we ventured further to an amusement water park near the Mexican border called Xocomil y Xetulul, where I am proud to say we were pleasantly reassured by the overall luxury of the various themed hotels and the sheer quantity of attractions and rides. Needless to say, my kids did not want to leave the fun, nor did



Pacaya is an active volcano in Guatemala.



The Pacific Coast is made for kite-flying.



Guatemala City is the capital and largest city in Guatemala.

my wife want to leave the excellent spa and fine shopping.

Holy guacamole & hot tamales

Guatemala has two coasts, and therefore two oceans, and a varied landscape. That, and the increase in tourists, has resulted in various culinary delicacies. Visitors and tourists taste the local dishes such as *tamales* (ground corn with meat or vegetables and cooked in a banana leaf), *chiles rellenos* (bell peppers stuffed with ground beef) and *ceviche* (a dish made of various types of seafood marinated in lime juice with condiments and spices).

It goes without saying that you must try the locally prepared *guacamole en tortilla*, which is mouth-wateringly fresh thanks to hand-picked organic avocadoes. Prime beef steaks, fish and seafood, pastas and much more are all to be found in the growing restaurant industry. In our bustling haut-cuisine sector, the most demanding connoisseur can savour international delicacies around the country.

One of my personal favourites, though, is the fresh and organic (and very fairtraded) fruit one can buy from any street vendor. Whether pineapples, papaya, mangoes, cashew-fruit (the cashews you know and eat are the seed of a very exotic, juicy fruit called *jocote*, only the cashew seed grows on the outside of the fruit), or many of the other local fruits unknown in Canada (such as *anona*, *pitaya*, *zapote*, *granadilla*, *guanaba*), you will surely enjoy a healthy meal or a refreshing fruit smoothie.

While staying at the Westin Camino Real or the Intercontinental Hotel in Guatemala City, some recommended restaurants are: Hacienda Real, Montanos, Kakao, Tamarindos and Carpaccio. While in Antigua you should stay (and eat) at Casa Santo Domingo and also dine out at Meson Panza Verde, Welten, Café Condesa, and El Sereno. Many people travel to Antigua during Easter to witness the majestic religious processions. If you plan to include this on your trip, be sure to book at least a year in advance.

Guat zap? (What's up?)

Guatemala's tourist industry continues to grow and diversify. For example, each year we attract more pensioners and retirees from North America and Europe, as well as investors, medical tourists and others. "Voluntourists," a growing interest coined as "do-it-yourself foreign aid" and language schools are both growing in numbers. Recently, luxury air cruises have also become trendy, with international VIPs jet-setting to tailored chosen destinations.

Whether it's whitewater rafting, canopying, fishing, relaxing, fine dining, sightseeing, jungle trekking or bird watching, Guatemala — the heart of the Mayan world — is a superb tourist destination. www.visitguatemala.com

We particularly look forward to receiving tourists on this extraordinary year 2012. The current Mayan 'Great Cycle', which began on August 13, 3114 B.C., ends on Dec. 21. This marks the beginning of a new era in the Mayan Cosmo-Vision, within its calendrical cycles of time. www.2012guatemala.com

Georges de La Roche is Guatemala's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at Embassy1@embaguate-canada.com or (613) 233-7237.

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DELIGHTS | **DESTINATIONS**

Jamaica: the vibrant heart of the Caribbean



Rose Hall is the most famous great house on Jamaica. The subject of at least a dozen Gothic novels, it was immortalized in the H.G. de Lisser book, White Witch of Rose Hall.



By Sheila Sealy Monteith High Commissioner for Jamaica

visit to Jamaica is an experience in which history and all your senses will converge to give you a lifetime of memories.

Jamaica is unique, with its gifts to the

world including reggae and dancehall music, fine rum, exquisite coffee and jerk seasoning. I am touched by the many Canadians who speak highly of their experiences in Jamaica and of their desire to return. Like them, you can take an unforgettable voyage through alluring sunscapes with lush mountain backdrops. You'll meet friendly people and discover spicy flavours and island beats, all of which make my country, Jamaica, the vibrant heart of the Caribbean and one of the top destinations for Canadian travellers.

An island paradise of adventure

My annual pilgrimage home is a constant reminder of the natural beauty of the island and an opportunity to immerse myself in the culture. It is a refresher course on the many attractions, adventures and sporting activities that are offered and I am pleasantly surprised each time at the new ones introduced.

Snorkeling tours, boat trips, scuba diving, plantation tours, beautiful parks and breath-taking waterfalls are all enjoyed by visitors and are all in close proximity to major hotel areas. My enduring favourite is Jamaica's world-renowned attraction, Dunn's River Falls, just outside Ocho Rios, where people of all ages can climb the 600 feet (183 metres) of cascading waterfall. Only last summer I had a chance to re-live the feeling of cool water bathing my feet and of soaking in the myriad pools along the route of the climb. The exhilaration of getting to the top is worth all the effort.



AMAICA TOURIST BOARD

Take a horseback ride through the water at ChukkaHorseback Ride 'n' Swim in St. Ann.

Next door to the Falls is one of Jamaica's newest attractions, Mystic Mountains, a trilogy of activities — canopy ride, bobsled and zipline — which my children enjoyed as much as I did, age not being a deterrent to great fun. Around the corner from Dunn's River, check one off the bucket list at Dolphin Cove where you can swim with dolphins and stingrays.

Some of the most popular experiences on the island are available through Chukka Caribbean Adventures. In addition to the new Zipline Canopy, other popular tours include horseback riding, river tubing and 4x4 Jeep safari tours. Blue Mountain Bicycle Tours allow visitors to ride downhill while taking in the spectacular mountain scenery.

River rafting anyone?

Rafting on the Martha Brae in Montego Bay or the Rio Grande in Port Antonio is a signature vacation treat for visitors. For history lovers like me, you will learn that the rides date back to the 1950s when actor Errol Flynn noticed banana farmers strapping harvests to bamboo rafts and floating them down the river. Flynn set up the first rafting outfit, offering an afternoon of luxury and natural tropical beauty to guests.

The Rio Grande journey lasts nearly two-and-a-half hours and winds through rainforests and farmland on a 30-foot (9-metre) raft expertly steered by a local "captain." Along the way, you may stop for a quick swim, a rum punch or a chat with locals. What better way to spend a part of your day?

I had the great joy of visiting the island's recently opened Falmouth Cruise Port in the historic City of Falmouth, with its Georgian architecture. The 32-acre (13hectare) two-berth port accommodates the Royal Caribbean's Oasis of the Seas, the world's largest cruise ship. Cruise passengers have access to more than 60 attractions in the surrounding area of Falmouth and in nearby Ocho Rios and Montego Bay.

How about golf?

No family vacation of ours is complete without a chance for my husband to play at one of the 12 challenging and scenic golf courses that attract players from around the world. In fact, Jamaica lays claim to the oldest course in the western hemisphere: the Duke of Manchester opened Mandeville Golf Club in 1865 (now Manchester Club). And they are still playing the original layout, although in a different order. My golfer husband will attest to the joy of playing at courses in Montego Bay, Constant Spring, Caymanas and Negril Hills.

The ultimate wedding and honeymoon

You will forgive my understandable subjectivity when I say that there is no sunset like that in Negril. Wherever you go in Jamaica, you'll find luxurious resorts, secluded hideaways and the Caribbean's most tropical scenery — the perfect setting for tying the knot, retreating post-nuptials or re-living memories. Romance is woven



Take a catamaran cruise in Negril.



A visit to Jamaica is just not complete without sampling some island rum.

into the very fibre of Jamaica and the island promises to woo your imagination, capture your hearts and set the stage for making new memories.

A taste of Jamaica

The richest Jamaican cultural experience is in the food and drink we enjoy. Our culinary history is intriguing, too. To conceal their whereabouts, the Maroons (African slaves who escaped to the mountains during the British occupation of Jamaica) devised "jerking," a method of spicing and cooking pork underground so that smoke would not be seen. Today, jerk pork, jerk chicken and jerk fish abound. To feed slaves cheaply in the 1600s, the ackee fruit was brought from Africa, as were a variety of yams, roots, vegetables and the breadfruit. To preserve meat and fish, spices and pepper were added, and unique seasonings, like the famous "Pickapeppa" sauce, were created. Cassava, a root tuber, was cultivated by the Taíno people and is used today to make "bammie," a flat, toasted wafer eaten with fried fish. Another traditional bread, "festival," is frequently served with jerk. The national dish of Jamaica is ackee (a creamy fruit), and salt fish (which originally came from Canada).

Indian and Chinese influences have made curries and chow meins part of the national menu. Mangoes, pineapples, papayas and bananas abound and *otaheite* apples and *soursop* (a tangy fruit with the flavour of strawberries and pineapple) combine in desserts such as "matrimony," a fruit salad bound with condensed milk.

Of course, a visit to Jamaica would not be complete without savouring Blue Mountain coffee or some island rum. One of the most identifiable products associated with Jamaica is Appleton Rum. Its birthplace, the Appleton Estate in St. Elizabeth, was founded in 1749 and is the oldest sugar estate and distillery in Jamaica.

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Mystic Mountain's bobsled ride is worth a try if you're in Ocho Rios.



In Jamaica, you'll find luxurious resorts, secluded hideaways and tropical scenery — the perfect setting for tying the knot.

A tour of the Appleton Estate on the South Coast allows you to experience the history of rum and provides an intimate look at the creation of one of the most celebrated spirits in the world.

Blue Mountain Coffee is considered by many connoisseurs to be the best. Coffee is grown on estates at an elevation of 4,000 feet (1,200 metres) on the cool, northern slopes of the Blue Mountains. It is carefully hand-picked, processed and sorted to ensure that only the finest beans containing that full flavour and aroma, so prized by those in the know, are selected.

Jamaica's top destinations

At 7,099 square kilometres (2,740 square miles), Jamaica is the third largest island in the Caribbean. Prehistoric Jamaica was volcanic, and the mountains that soar to 7,400 feet (2,256 metres) are higher than any in the eastern half of North America. These mountains run all through the island's centre, with a narrow coastal plain on either side.

Some 150 rivers, numerous waterfalls and an abundance of trees and flowering plants are found across the island, earning Jamaica the title "Land of Wood and Water." Here are the highlights. Montego Bay is Jamaica's charming premier tourist destination and secondlargest city. Surrounded by white sand beaches, grand hotels, all-inclusive resorts and charming small hotels and villas, it is renowned for its beauty and range of activities.

Negril is located at the western tip of Jamaica, about an hour by car from Montego Bay. The "Capital of Casual," Negril is a virgin paradise known for its natural beauty, 11-kilometre (6.8-mile) ribbon of white-sand beach flanked by rugged cliffs and free-spirited ambiance.

Ocho Rios and Runaway Bay are lo-



Dunn's River Falls is a popular spot for tourists who like to climb the falls.



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Accu-Rate Corporation 2573 Carling Ave. (613) 596-5505 World Exchange Plaza 111 Albert St. (613) 238-8454 cated in the heart of the north coast region defined by fern-clad cliffs and cascading waterfalls. Known as Jamaica's "playground," there is almost an endless variety of activities.

The South Coast's winding roads through tropical forests seem to go on forever in this beautiful, seemingly untouched area known as Jamaica's "breadbasket," thanks to great growing conditions. Travellers in search of privacy and solitude will enjoy isolated beaches in this area, where the only footprints are their own.

Port Antonio, a quiet port town located 90 kilometres (60 miles) outside of Kingston, is a haven for visitors looking for quiet charm, natural beauty and simple elegance. Its lush surroundings create an intimate respite.

Kingston, Jamaica's capital city, rests at the foot of the Blue Mountains and overlooks the world's seventh-largest natural harbour. Kingston is the largest English-speaking city south of Miami and is the cultural heartbeat of Jamaica with its pulsating reggae rhythms and rich history.

Our People

We boast of our attractions but undoubtedly we are most proud to offer you a chance to know the Jamaican people. Warm, friendly and not afraid to engage you, they will freely show you the delights of the island and the charms of unexpected places. I have never known a Jamaican who would not show you how to dance reggae or how to eat roasted corn or yam. The ease with which they welcome you will truly make you feel at home. Of course, we are proud of those who have made Jamaica world famous, among them, Bob Marley and Usain Bolt.

50 Years of Independence

The year 2012 is a special one for Jamaica and all Jamaicans. The year marks the 50th anniversary of Jamaica's independence. It is also the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Jamaica and Canada. Those visiting the island will find it livelier than ever with festivities taking place throughout the year.

For events, attractions and accommodations visit the Jamaica Tourist Board's website at VisitJamaica.com or call 1-800-JAMAICA.

Sheila Sealy Monteith is high commissioner to Canada. Reach her at information@jhcottawa.ca or 613-233-9311 ext. 225.



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