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Arctic ambitions

On his summer tour to Canada's North, Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced that Leona Aglukkaq will chair the Arctic Council when Canada takes the reins from Sweden in May 2013 for a two-year term. During the same trip, Mr. Harper called the resources of Canada's three northern territories part of "that great national dream" and told reporters in the Yukon that they "ain't seen nothing yet in terms of what's coming in the next decade."

Canada's chairmanship of the multilateral forum — which, among other things, facilitates co-operation between Arctic states and moderates the debate about who owns what — comes at a critical time. Mr. Harper isn't the only leader set on exploiting Arctic resources. All eight member nations have similar ambitions, and some other countries, which have no territorial claims whatsoever, do as well. China, for example, has a strong interest in potential shipping routes through Arctic territory and its officials have stated that no country has sovereignty in the North, that the Arctic belongs to "all people."

Interesting times indeed. To that end, *Diplomat* presents a comprehensive package on the issues, beginning with excerpts from a report entitled *Arctic Opening: Opportunity and Risk in the High North*. Produced by Lloyd's of London and the Chatham House think tank, it looks at everything from resource development — mining, fishing and oil — to the impact of climate change on the North, its people and its wildlife. It assesses the great risks and the great potential rewards. Further along in the section, writer Laura Neilson Bonikowsky offers a primer on the territory, interests and resources of each of the eight Arctic nations.

Also in our Dispatches section, we present our regular Top-10 feature, this time the world's most powerful women, how they got there and how they perform their jobs. We also offer a list of powerful women from the past.

Up front, columnist Fen Hampson teamed up with his colleague and former Canadian ambassador to the U.S., Derek Burney, to pen a piece that applauds Canada's move to sever diplomatic ties with Iran. In a second piece, Dr. Hampson worked with colleague Gordon S. Smith on a column about a meeting in Dubai at which Russia, Brazil, China and India will make the case to bring the internet under the control of the United Nations.

We also have an essay by the godfathers of the United Nations' Responsibility to Protect doctrine. Former foreign minister Lloyd Axworthy and former UN Ambassador Allan Rock discuss where R2P fits in to the bloodshed in Syria and the gridlock over what to do with, or about, Bashar al-Assad.

Books editor George Fetherling takes us to several of the world's prisons located on isolated islands. Food writer Margaret Dickenson presents the food of Argentina, complete with a recipe for *chimichurri* sauce to brighten up your next beef dish. In our residences feature, writer Margo Roston and photographer Dyanne Wilson take us on a tour of one of the city's most elegant, that of the French ambassador.

In our travel section, Azerbaijani Ambassador Farid Shafiyev tells of his country's treasures, while Jessie Reynolds reports her impressions of Ireland.

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat*'s editor.

UP FRONT

The Russian Icebreaker *MV Grigoriy Mikheev* travels through Scoresbysund in eastern Greenland. Our cover package on the opening of the Arctic begins on page 31 with a Lloyd's of London and Chatham House report about the new world order, from the top of the globe, down.

DREAMSTIME

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Lloyd Axworthy is president and vice-chancellor of the University of Winnipeg. Prior to this appointment, he was director and CEO of the Liu Institute for Global Issues at the University of British Columbia. He served as Canada's foreign minister from 1995 to 2000 and became internationally known for his advancement of the Ottawa Treaty, a landmark global treaty banning anti-personnel landmines. His book *Navigating a New World — Canada's Global Future* was published by Knopf Canada in the fall of 2003.

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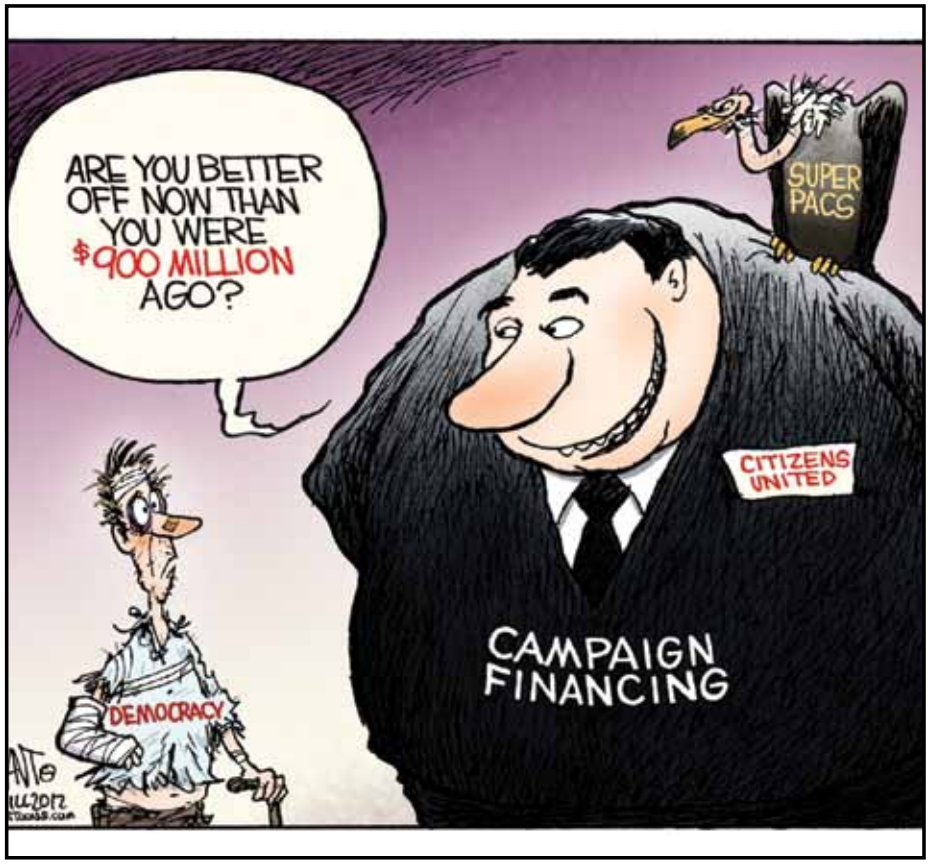

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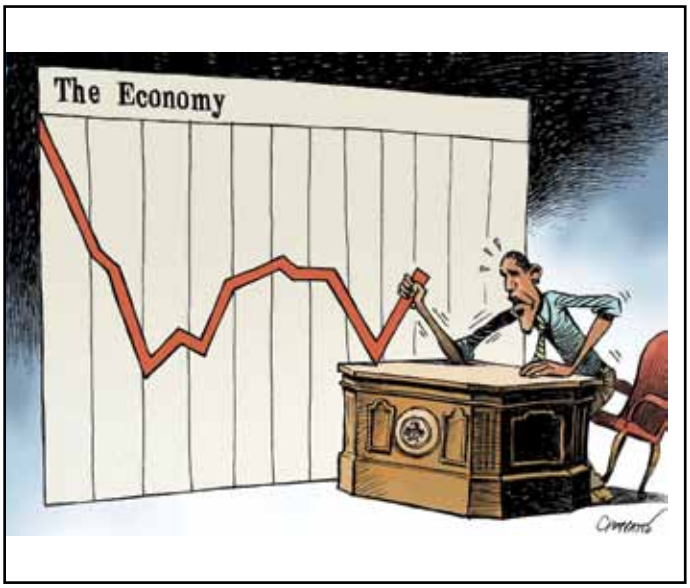

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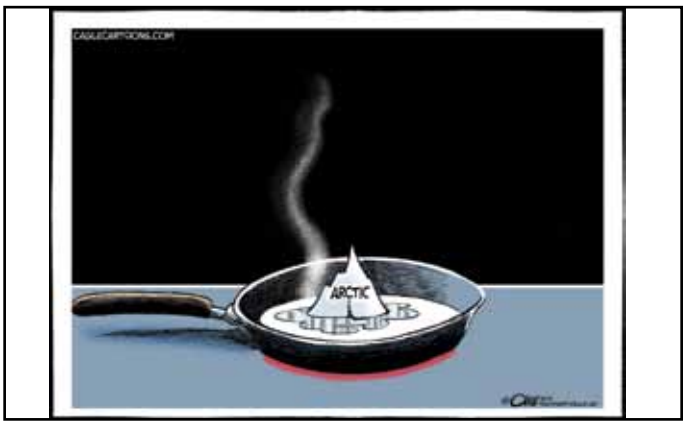

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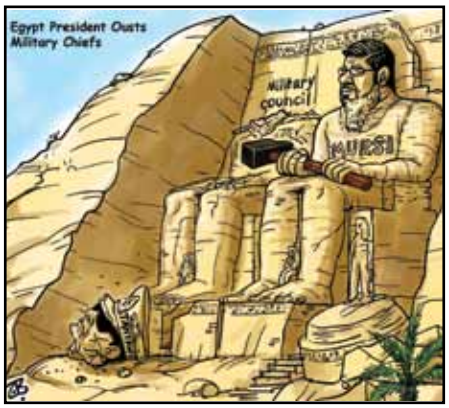

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Canada's principled move in Iran

By Derek Burney and Fen Osler Hampson

John Baird's surprise decision to pull the plug on diplomatic relations with Iran is one that was long overdue. But it is a principled decision against a pariah regime that sends the simple message: Enough is enough.

The fact that Baird made the announcement on his way to Vladivostok just before the APEC summit struck some as impulsive and has prompted widespread speculation that Canada has received secret warnings about an impending Israeli attack on Iran. An attack may be imminent, given Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's publicly expressed fears about a fast-closing window to halt Iran's nuclear ambitions. But it is unlikely Israel would share its strategic intentions with us, notwithstanding Ottawa's close ties with Jerusalem. It would have little to gain by doing so.

Still, Baird may be shrewd enough to see the writing on the wall and the risk posed to our diplomats as tougher sanctions take another bite out of a regime that has flaunted every accepted norm and principle of civilized nations, including the principle of diplomatic immunity.

Iran's ayatollahs threw such diplomatic niceties aside a long time ago when, at their instigation, student protesters stormed the American embassy in Tehran and kept U.S. diplomats hostage in a saga that sealed the fate of the Carter presidency. Their contempt for diplomacy was reaffirmed when a mob of "students" attacked the British embassy and diplomatic compound at Gulhak Garden last November and all its leaders could summon was phoney expressions of "regret."

Canada's relations with Tehran have been on the skids for a long time. Its leaders showed no remorse for the brutal murder of the Iranian-born Canadian journalist Zahra Kazemi. Tehran has consistently refused to recognize Canadian passports held by those who are Iranian born.

The argument by some that Ottawa should maintain its diplomatic presence so that it can serve the interests of Iranian Canadians when they travel to Iran holds no water. Our diplomats in Tehran have consistently had the door slammed in their faces when they tried to act on behalf of Canadians who ran afoul of the regime.

The great awakening against Islamic despots began – but was still-born — after Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's disrupted election.

The simple message to all expats must be: "Don't go back. Your lives may be at risk." And those who parlay the old saw that Canada can play the "honest broker" between Tehran and Washington are Little Red Riding Hoods. Think Chamberlain at Munich, not Pearson at the UN, on this one.

There is a time to talk and a time to be tough. This is a time to be tough. That is because talk with Iran's regime has been cheapened by its constant prevarications and deceptions.

There is every indication that Iran has been secretly smuggling uranium and centrifuge technology to produce enough weapons-grade fissile material to build a bomb. The IAEA has sounded the tocsin more than once that Iran is not coming clean when its inspectors try to look under the hood. The arrest last month in Germany of four individuals charged with smuggling special valves for a heavy-water reactor the Iranians are trying to build at Arak is yet another instance of Iran's deception.

Iran is also a well-known sponsor of terrorist attacks in other countries, including by its proxies such as Lebanon-based Hezbollah. It has carried out assassinations abroad against prominent critics of its regime. It is trying to destabilize Turkey through its support for the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party). There has been a major upsurge in attacks by the PKK in those provinces where there are large Kurdish communities. Iran's unflinching support for Bashar al-Assad, the ruthless despot of Syria, shows that it plays for keeps and doesn't give a fig about human rights and basic liberties. This alone should give pause to those who assert we must still maintain ties with Tehran. To what end or purpose and according to what principle?

We also tend to forget that the "great awakening" against the despots of the Islamic world began, but was stillborn, in the streets of Tehran in 2009 and 2010, following President Ahmadinejad's disrupted election. When those streets ran red with the blood of Iran's youth and others who had courageously risen up against the regime, the West could have done more to support Iran's champions of freedom, human rights and democracy.

This Iranian regime flouts all basic principles of diplomacy and human rights. It deserves to be isolated and sanctioned. Canada has little leverage on the security concerns, which are most acute, but our decision to suspend diplomatic relations is correct in principle and more powerful than hand-wringing. Those who cherish the values we live by at home should applaud actions that respect those values. Talk alone is just that.

Fen Osler Hampson is Distinguished Fellow and Director of Global Security at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University. Derek Burney is Canada's former ambassador to the U.S. and senior strategic adviser to law firm Norton Rose. With thanks to iPolitics, where this article first appeared.

Internet wars

By Fen Osler Hampson and Gordon S. Smith

DREAMSTIME

Russia, China, India and Brazil want to bring the internet under the control of the United Nations.

At the end of the year, the nations of the world will convene at the Gulf port city of Dubai to renegotiate key provisions of the International Telecommunications Regulations (ITR), a UN treaty that governs the use of the airwaves, but not the internet. It is already shaping up to be a battle royal because some countries, including Brazil, China, India and Russia, want to bring the internet under the control of the United Nations. They are opposed by the United States and many — though not all — Western nations that tend to favour the status quo and a liberal, multi-stakeholder regime that is generally free of greater state control.

The issues on the table are complex, but they boil down to the following: (1) granting states new powers of taxation over internet usage; (2) issues of privacy and whether governments should play a greater role in surveillance and monitoring of the internet by acquiring access to the real names and identities of online users; and (3) transferring management authority for the internet from ICANN (the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers) — a private, multi-stakeholder body that currently oversees the use and operations of the internet by, for example, co-ordinating the assignment of internet domain names and user protocols — to the ITU (International Telecommunication Union) or a new intergovernmental authority.

Internet security is also a major challenge. There is a rapidly growing risk that individuals affiliated with Anonymous (or others) could launch truly devastating attacks triggered by the World Conference on International Telecommunications in Dubai (or some other perceived grievance) to shut the entire internet down. Such is the fear of government officials that Gen. Keith B. Alexander, who heads the Pentagon's National Security Agency (NSA), recently implored hackers to work together with government to promote a safer and more secure internet.

The internet is also caught up in global equity wars between the industrialized and developing nations and fast-growing emerging economies of the south. Led by Russia, China and India, some countries want to be able to directly tax internet service providers and users to generate the revenues they claim they need to make the internet more widely available to their own people. But there is also a hidden purpose behind this quest for greater state control. Spooked by the "great awakening" that has swept much of the Arab World, authoritarian regimes view the internet and mobile technology as a real threat to their own political survival, not least because of the extraordinary powers of political mobilization available to dissidents through these new technologies.

The battle for control over the internet in Dubai is likely to be a prolonged one and will not end with the meeting in December. Although the main protagonists in Dubai are nation-states, they are not the only actors or interests in this global e-drama. Others include the major internet providers (the top 20 companies that field 90 percent of the world's internet traffic); movie studios, songwriters, publishers and other producers of artistic or intellectual content that can be exchanged and downloaded on the internet; technology companies such as Google, AOL, eBay, and Twitter, ad brokers and other intermediaries who do business with those who operate sites where "free" movies and songs can be uploaded; political activists; the champions of free speech who populate the academic and legal communities; business and commercial interests of every stripe and variety who ply their wares on the internet, including banks and credit card companies; hackers who challenge computer security systems for a variety of good and bad reasons; criminal elements who exploit the internet for their own shady ends; law enforcement agencies; and ordinary citizens who have real concerns about their personal safety and right to privacy when they go online.

Many of these interests were mobilized in the so-called SOPA wars in the U.S., which marked Round One in the current battle for the internet. The Stop Online Piracy Act of the U.S. Congress was an ill-fated attempt to lower the boom on internet piracy that cost Hollywood studios and the song-writing industry dearly. Congress retreated by shelving the legislation, not least because the U.S. is in an election year. The highly successful lobbying campaign against the legislation by technology companies, which harnessed the power of social media and a public blackout, was too much for Washington's skittish political class to bear.

Canada is not immune to these battles. Bill C-11 (the Copyright Modernization Act) is the federal government's latest attempt to bring Canada's copyright protection laws in line with those of the rest of the industrialized world. It has come under similar attack by two groups. One champions adoption of the mantle of "free internet" speech. The other is concerned

about the wider ramifications of digital locks, and campaigns against Canada updating its laws, notwithstanding that Canada is a haven for digital piracy.

Canada's outdated laws have not been changed since 1996 to deal with the protection of copyrighted works in the internet environment. Our reputation for lax laws is the same among the pirates as among our major trading partners — the U.S., EU, among others. Isohunt, for example, has long bragged about its ability to carry on business in Canada.

The internet is one place where technological advancements will always be 10 steps ahead of the regulators and those who favour controls. But the notion that the "internet pirates will always win," as argued by *New York Times* writer Nick Bilton, does not withstand close scrutiny. Some countries, like France, have successfully introduced laws to deter counterfeiters and penalize those who illegally share files in an attempt to move them away from illegitimate sources and towards legitimate online sites and services. Several studies on the impact of France's "three strikes" anti-piracy law, which has cut internet piracy in half, have demonstrated a significant reduction in online infringement and a corresponding increase in legitimate sales.

Or take the example of Kim Dotcom, the founder of Megaupload, one of the world's biggest illegal cyberlockers, who was arrested in New Zealand by law enforcement officials just as Congress was beating a hasty retreat on SOPA. The fact that some individuals will always try to break the law is not a good reason not to have laws to deter and punish criminals.

At the end of the day, however, we all have an interest in promoting an internet that works for everyone involved in its ecosystem. As individuals, we want governments to respect the right to privacy when we go online. But that right is not an absolute one. It should not allow sexual predators and those with criminal interests to go online and prey on innocent children or steal from the unsuspecting, the elderly, or the just plain naïve.

We also do not want to give despots the power to control the flow of communications in cyberspace by giving them the authority to restrict freedom of expression and access to information or to deny their citizens the right to congregate and mobilize in cyberspace.

We should not forget that the right to property is a fundamental one in a free and just society and that right must be respected, even on the internet. Those who have invested their sweat and tears in acts of artistic and literary creation should be allowed to enjoy the full fruits of their labours.

The internet, like any other marketplace for goods, services and ideas, cannot be a lawless place if it is to function effectively. Like the Wild West, it, too, will have to be tamed, not necessarily by giving states and international organizations greater powers, but by looking at ways to strengthen the present system of multi-stakeholder governance. The goal here is an internet more reliable and less prone to disruptions (deliberate or inadvertent), more neutral, more global, and more open but also more respectful of the individual, property rights and the basic rule of law.

Fen Osler Hampson is Distinguished Fellow and Director of Global Security at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University. Gordon S. Smith is a Distinguished Fellow at CIGI and Canada's former deputy minister of Foreign Affairs.

A reflection on responsibility: What does Syria mean for R2P?

By Lloyd Axworthy and Allan Rock

UN PHOTO/DAVID MANYUA

Smoke drifts into the sky from buildings and houses hit by shelling in Homs, Syria, in June.

The world has watched in frustration as the brutal regime of Bashar al-Assad of Syria has turned its weapons against its own citizens to suppress an insurgency and cling to power. The shocking estimates of civilian casualties (some as high as 20,000) don't measure the untold misery of the displaced who have poured over the country's borders in their tens of thousands, or sought uncertain shelter in the besieged cities.

The violence of the Assad regime surpasses anything Gadhafi ever threatened. Meanwhile, Assad's false promises and cynical disdain have frustrated efforts to find a diplomatic solution. So we are left to watch a ruthless tyrant engage in the systematic murder of his own people.

But had we not resolved after Rwanda, after Bosnia, after Kosovo, that the international community would no longer stand by and witness mass atrocity inflicted by states against their own people? Did we not decide collectively that if a state's government fails in its most fundamental responsibility to protect its own population from such horrors, that the world, with United Nations Security Council authority, would intervene to provide that protection? And did we not do just that, last year, in Libya?

To be sure, Syria presents the Security Council with a more complex challenge than it faced in Libya. The complicated neighbourhood, its intersecting alliances and the larger drama playing out over Iran make the situation most difficult. And the Syrian army is literally a "force to be reckoned with" and any military intervention would surely be long and costly in lives and treasure.

But the council's failure to invoke even the spirit of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) in Syria — Russia and China went so far as to veto sanctions under Chapter 7 of the charter because that is the chapter that might eventually be invoked to authorize military force — demonstrates not only the difficulty of the case, but also a deep suspicion of the R2P doctrine itself. What explains this aggressive attitude towards R2P? What does it mean for the nascent norm's future? Can this opposition be overcome, and can R2P remain viable?

To understand what is at stake and the political currents at play, we must first look at the recent history of initiatives

aimed at protecting vulnerable populations when their own governments are unwilling or unable to do so.

R2P and its origins

An appalling series of atrocities in the 1990s forced a chastened world to confront, at long last, the inherent contradiction between the rigid doctrine of state sovereignty on the one hand and, on the other, the moral imperative to respond when civilian populations are victimized within states that either cannot or will not protect them.

In the midst of these catastrophes, there were many calls for military intervention. Advocates cited an inchoate "right to intervene" or invoked a moral obligation loosely referred to as "humanitarian intervention." But neither of these concepts enjoys status in law, and each suffers from a vagueness that leaves many (and especially states of the global south) uneasy. Both seem little more than impulses, well-motivated but undefined, and without governing principles anchored in international law.

Following the ad hoc intervention in Kosovo, government leaders and policymakers decided, at the request of the Canadian government, to explore in a more structured way the question of protection and intervention. The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty ("the Commission") — the body that would ultimately release the initial report on Responsibility to Protect — was formed to undertake this crucial task.

In its report released in late 2001, the commission concluded that while state sovereignty remains the hallmark of the international system, an essential component of sovereignty is the responsibility to protect one's own population from mass murder. The responsibility lies first with the state itself to protect its own people, but should it fail to do so, that responsibility devolves upon the international community. There, the responsibility falls under three pillars: the responsibility to prevent, to react, and to rebuild.

The commission emphasized that military intervention under R2P should always be the very last resort. In the exceptional case in which military intervention is considered, strict rules must govern the use of force.

R2P represents a great advance in the discussion of protection. It puts the principle in a legal framework, removing it from a "humanitarian impulse" and basing it instead on sovereignty as responsibility.

ELIZABETH ARROTT, VOA

Anti-riot police in central Damascus

R2P also moves the emphasis from "boots on the ground" to prevention, changing the conversation in a constructive way.

At the 2005 UN World Summit, state leaders unanimously adopted the principles of R2P. While the speed at which this occurred was celebrated, many key but controversial elements in the commission's report fell away in the inevitable "give and take" of the negotiations that led to the final agreement. For example:

The UN World Summit's outcome document limited the application of R2P to four triggering events: genocide, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity and war crimes. The commission's recommendation had not been so confined.

While the commission had left room for alternative ways to authorize intervention where the Security Council delays or cannot reach consensus, the outcome document made no mention of them.

As cited above, the commission had recommended a series of principles governing the use of force — when it should be authorized and how it can be deployed — but these were rejected by the five permanent members of the Council as interfering unduly with their national prerogatives.

And although the commission had recommended that the P5 adopt a "code of conduct" to limit the use of their veto when responding to mass atrocity, fierce P5 opposition forced negotiators to drop the demand or risk losing approval for R2P altogether. (The P5 refers to the five permanent members of the UN Security Council: the U.S., England, France, China and Russia.)

As we will see, the price to be paid for these compromises is just now becoming clear.

R2P after 2005

The euphoria that followed the rapid adoption of R2P dissipated quickly when the Security Council failed to apply it in such emergencies as Darfur, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sri Lanka. Those cases demonstrated the challenges that cannot be overcome simply by putting even the most high-minded words on paper: developing the political will to respond, overcoming member states' suspicions about each other's motives and means, and persuading some on the Security Council to put the protection of vulnerable civilians above their national interests and allegiances.

The question therefore remained whether the international community could, as former UN secretary general Kofi Annan had put it, "turn words into deeds."

And then along came Libya, a case in which political will (largely inspired by strong regional calls for action) combined with R2P's principles to produce effective action to stop a threatened atrocity. The Security Council's steadily escalating responses included sanctions, referral to the ICC, an arms embargo and then the imposition of a "no fly zone." These culminated in the Council's authorization "to take all necessary measures" to protect the Libyan population.

And what made Libya different? A combination of factors: credible threats of imminent violence by Gadhafi against his people, a vigorous call for action by a key regional player (the Arab League), strong opposition and a weak army in Libya, and (perhaps most important) virtually universal denunciation of an isolated Gadhafi with even his former friends fed up with his increasingly irrational behaviour.

The Security Council resolutions on Libya represented the high-water mark for R2P and its application. The Council's decisions were held up as the ultimate answer to those who decried R2P as empty rhetoric.

But ironically, the seeds of the doctrine's failure in Syria can largely be traced to the way the Libyan resolutions were implemented. A protection mandate rapidly took on the appearance of regime change, as NATO forces went after non-military targets and, in effect, took sides in the civil war.

There was strongly adverse reaction by Russia, China and others (including India,

Brazil and South Africa — leading members of the G77 "unofficial opposition" to the Global North) to NATO's aggressive interpretation of the mandate. That reaction, combined with the continued availability of the P5 veto even in cases of threatened mass atrocity, go a very long way to explaining the Security Council's inability to agree on any collective response in Syria that invokes Chapter 7 of the UN Charter.

R2P post-Libya

So, what does this mean for the future of R2P? Only a year after its success in Libya, R2P's detractors have fresh grounds to attack the doctrine as an unreliable friend of the vulnerable. None of this is made any better by the pre-election paralysis of the United States and a European Union entangled in its Euro Zone fiscal failures.

Some even suggest that R2P should be abandoned in favour of unilateral action by those states willing to support intervention in any given case. They argue for a return to the "bad old days," when states were free to do as they chose, but where their action was outside the framework of international law.

Such a regression would be disastrous. It would relinquish hard-won ground in the long effort to weave civilian protection into the sovereign duties of member states and, should they default, into the duties of the international community. We contend that despite the collective failure to respond effectively in Syria, R2P continues to provide the most legitimate and promising instrument to protect vulnerable populations from mass atrocity. R2P provides a framework within which collective action involving even military intervention, can be taken within the law.

All other formulae that have been tried or suggested for such cases — whether "coalitions of the willing," humanitarian intervention or exercising the "right to intervene" — amount to unlawful invasions.

In our view, the best way to deal with the issues that prevented R2P's application in Syria is to confront those issues directly.

Modest proposals

We offer three suggestions. First, find ways to meet the concerns about the way NATO used its mandate in Libya. It is time to define with greater clarity the circumstances in which military force may be authorized and the manner in which it may be used. Why not return to the commission's recommended rules on the use of force: right authority, just cause, right intention, last resort, proportional means and reasonable prospects.

A good first step is the Brazilian government's initiative called "Responsibility while Protecting" which was tabled in the General Assembly in November 2011. Inspired by the negative reaction to NATO's interpretation of the Libyan mandate and aimed at preserving R2P while satisfying the demands for limits on "military intervention," the document notes that there's growing concern that R2P might be misused for "purposes other than protecting civilians, such as regime change." It argues the international community "must show a great deal of responsibility while protecting." It proposes that any authorization of force should be limited and the scope of military action should respect those limitations.

The Brazilian paper is a constructive initiative that deserves Canadian support. It would help overcome the negative consequences of NATO's muscular conduct in Libya while promoting the commission's rules on the use of force that were rejected in 2005. If these parameters were adopted, concerns that contributed to failure in the case of Syria might be diminished the next time an issue arises.

Our second proposal is that, in view of the Security Council's deadlock over Syria, UN member states should examine other ways by which a collective response, such as a "no-fly zone," can be legitimately authorized. For example, the commission report referred to the "Uniting for Peace" mechanism in the General Assembly, by which two-thirds of its members can support a course of action, lending it a "high level of legitimacy."

While this mechanism was not referred to in the 2005 outcome document, it was not specifically rejected. It would surely be difficult for Russia to object to intervention authorized through such a legitimate means, when Russia itself is intervening, by supplying the Assad regime with weapons and active political support. Indeed, there is no shortage of intervention in Syria now, ranging from those who are encouraging the insurgents, to regional actors infiltrating their ranks to make mischief or lay the groundwork for future influence.

Isn't it time to seek authority in the General Assembly for a legitimate intervention, aimed at actually protecting the civilian population? And what better champion for this cause than Canada,

original sponsor of the commission's work?

Finally, let's begin now to focus on the post-Assad era. The moment may have passed for effective action to avoid full-scale civil war, but it is not too early to plan for what will happen when Assad leaves.

It now seems inevitable that he will go, and equally clear that his departure could precipitate a wide intersectarian conflict in Syria. Citing the first R2P principle (the responsibility to prevent), member states should anticipate and try to avoid that conflict. We should seek the collaboration of like-minded states in, among other things, preparatory work towards the creation of a protection force to separate factions and prevent internal, violent chaos after the Assad regime falls.

Such a force could separate the competing interests to "keep the peace" during the negotiations towards a new model of governance. Since post-Assad violence is entirely predictable, why don't we start planning now to prevent it, for the sake of the vulnerable civilians who will pay the steepest price if we do not?

Longer term, we are going to need limitations on the use of the veto in such cases. Perhaps adopting rules on the use of force would soften P5 resistance. And those who use the veto to deny protection and thereby condemn innocents to death should face significant consequences. Let's ensure that Russia and China pay a price for preventing meaningful action in Syria. Boycotts, shunning and even trade sanctions should be considered.

ELIZABETH ARROTT, VOA

Lakhdar Brahimi called his job as the UN and Arab League's representative for Syria "nearly impossible."

An optimistic conclusion

We conclude on a note of optimism, remembering that only a decade has passed since the commission first proposed R2P. Measured by the glacial pace at which important changes are introduced into international law, R2P has advanced with unprecedented speed. It is hardly surprising that its evolution has been marked by failures as well as successes.

What is most encouraging is the strong residual loyalty that so many UN member states (including the vast majority from the global south) have shown to its principles, and their willingness to seek solutions to the challenges that R2P faces in becoming a standard response when vulnerable populations are threatened by lawless governments.

Despite the Security Council's failure to apply R2P in Syria and elsewhere, we must continue to work towards the day when its principles are put into practice in a consistent and effective way. The stakes are simply too high for us to do otherwise.

Lloyd Axworthy was Canada's foreign minister from 2000 to 2005. Allan Rock was Canada's ambassador to the United Nations from 2004 to 2006.

Canadians confront a global issue

By Liz Ballantyne-Jackson

It's a little known problem in the west, but exposure to smoke from cooking fires kills approximately two million people worldwide every year. Globally, nearly three billion people use polluting, inefficient stoves or open flames to cook their food. This results in deforestation, carbon emissions and numerous health issues.

Breathing in the toxic fumes while preparing tortillas and frijoles puts women and children at risk for blindness, respiratory illnesses and burns on a daily basis. In Guatemala alone, about 77 percent of families use wood as their main fuel source. As a result, nearly two percent of Guatemala's forest is lost annually, mainly due to the need for cooking-fire fuel. And gathering the wood requires precious family resources and time.

The situation is similar throughout Central and South America and the issue is slowly gaining global attention through agencies such as the Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves, a public/private UN initiative, but in the meantime, a small group of Canadian volunteers is working steadily to make a difference, one stove and one family at a time.

A trained mason can make an improved cooking stove in less than a day. These stoves, which are compatible with local cooking methods, are made of cement blocks on the outside and fire bricks inside, filled with sand for insulation and held together by mortar made from various combinations of Portland cement, sifted sand, pumice and lime. The "plancha" or stove-top, is made of shiny, bright steel with burner-type openings. The crowning glory of this low-tech kitchen "appliance" is the chimney pipe that takes the poisonous smoke out of the house. It's a big step up from cooking on the floor over an open fire, as most women do in rural Guatemala.

Each year, in an effort to do their part, a group of Canadians travels on a volunteer awareness trip to the western highlands with the Guatemala Stove Project. Working in small groups with a mason and a Spanish translator, they spend several days in the homes of the Mayan families who have been chosen to receive these stoves. The Canadians experience their living conditions and feel the sting of the smoke in their eyes from the unvented cooking fires. They quickly develop an understanding of how poverty affects those who live on less than two dollars a day.

Volunteers for the Guatemala Hot Stove project after they completed a project. Clockwise from top left: Canadian volunteers Keith Walker, Rowan Delgrande, Melissa Cordick, Keith Cordick, Quiche-Maya mason Juan Hernandez Cochojil and Lisa Walker. At right, the family of Micaela Cox-Hernandez and Andres Ramos Garcia, who received the stove.

Upon returning to Canada, the volunteers work to raise funds for more stoves, which will be built throughout the year by trained Guatemalan masons. This generates employment and supports local businesses that make, sell and deliver the stove parts and materials to the mountain villages.

The Guatemala Stove Project is a volunteer-driven non-profit organization founded by Canadian builder Tom Clarke who first started building the justa-style stoves in 1999. The project has since funded close to 5,000 stoves, which means 5,000 families are living in cleaner houses, breathing unpolluted air.

The project's core activity continues to be the building of stoves, but it has also provided funds for a sustainable nutrition program for a needy village, emergency relief funds in the aftermath of hurricanes and mudslides and a mobile medical clinic to provide services in remote mountain villages. It currently funds micro-loans to help subsistence farmers purchase livestock and provide members of women's artisan groups with cash to purchase craft supplies. In another region, the project is helping fund a gravity-fed system to bring water to an isolated mountain community. With all of these projects, the participation and labour of the community members is crucial.

The work Tom Clarke began 13 years ago continues to inspire volunteers because of its grassroots approach and the immediate positive effect of the stoves. Women and children, in particular, breathe better; the women spend less time cooking, which allows them to help generate income for their families and the stoves also reduce carbon emissions and pressure on local forests. In short, there is a global benefit to providing improved cooking stoves to developing countries. And for the dozens of local stove project volunteers and supporters, it's a more down-to-earth way to share some of Canada's good fortune. Whichever way you look at it, it makes good sense to fund improved cooking practices. Cooking should sustain us, not kill us.

Liz Ballantyne-Jackson is a Guatemala Stove Project volunteer.

Surviving cancer and living a football dream

Fareed Ali was 17 years old when he was diagnosed with non-Hodgkin's lymphoma.

One of the bright spots in his intensive treatment plan, which included eight months of chemotherapy and four lumbar punctures (spinal taps), was an offer from the Children's Wish Foundation. They asked him to dream big and he did — the avid fan wanted to see a World Cup football game but the World Cup wouldn't take place again before 2014, at which point he would have surpassed Children's Wish's age limit. He asked instead to see a Euro Cup 2012 game. He wanted to see the Netherlands-Germany match — they're teams with a classic rivalry. Of course, it didn't hurt that Van Persie, his favourite player, was playing for the Netherlands.

But Euro Cup tickets proved challenging for the foundation. They're always expensive — good seats cost a few hundred dollars each, and at the point they were asking, the price was closer to $1,500 apiece. The cheaper ones had long ago sold out and Children's Wish staff were having no luck tracking down the four they needed — one for each of Ali's parents and one for the only child's choice of friend — at a reasonable price.

Enter Ian Smith. Mr. Smith, who is on the board of the Children's Wish Foundation, a member of Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson's protocol team and a well-connected man, called Denys Sienik, second secretary at the embassy of Ukraine, one of two countries hosting Euro 2012.

AVI GAVAI

Cancer survivor and Children's Wish recipient Fareed Ali received a photo from his Euro 2012 match trip from Marko Shevchenko, Ukraine's chargé d'affaires. Wish Foundation board member Ian Smith is in the centre.

"The embassy called everyone they could think of and finally spoke to the president of the organizing committee and we got our tickets," Mr. Smith said. "Then they went beyond that to make sure we had hotel advice, people on the ground to translate. They were phenomenal.

"Members of the community just wanted to help Fareed out" Mr. Smith said.

Mr. Sienik was predictably modest about his contribution. "I said I was eager to help, but I needed time," he said, and added that the embassy's chargé d'affaires, Marko Shevchenko, also played an important role in finally securing the tickets. "I called everyone I could think of. It was all for a good cause."

The goal of the program is to allow children with life-threatening diseases to forget about their illness and just enjoy time with their family, creating lasting memories. Children's Wish took care of the airfare, hotel and ground transportation costs and even spending money for Ali, his parents, and his closest cousin, with whom he has grown up. "We're more like siblings," Mr. Ali said. "It was amazing."

The diplomats at the Ukrainian embassy helped a lot, the young man said. "They're very, very nice people."

Mr. Ali, now 20, and living the life of an average young Ottawan, was diagnosed with non-Hodgkins lymphoma in August 2010 and his cancer was declared eradicated in the spring of 2011. He returns for checkups every three to four months and, as he says, "everything's been fine."

Israel and Canada: Partners in Innovation

FIRST NAME: Miriam

LAST NAME: Ziv

CITIZENSHIP: Israeli

BECAME AMBASSADOR TO CANADA: Sept. 15, 2008

PREVIOUS POSTINGS: Toronto and Rome

As policymakers search for ways to foster more innovative economies, many are turning to Israel for answers. Over the course of my tenure as ambassador, the embassy has made it a priority to present Israel to Canada as a partner in innovation.

With a population of 7.8 million and a territory two-thirds the size of Vancouver Island, what Israel lacks in size and natural resources, it more than makes up for in ingenuity. The Israeli experience has cultivated citizens who think outside the box, striving to find creative solutions. Israel is a leader in the fields that are beginning to define the 21st Century: brain research, nanotechnology, renewable energy, water management and biotechnology.

During President Shimon Peres' visit to Ottawa last May, innovation was at the top of the agenda. Gov.-Gen. David Johnston praised Israel as the startup nation: "a place where entrepreneurs with big ideas can find a supportive environment in which to build a business." Its reputation is not just reflected in accolades, but can also be identified by its standing at the top of many global indicators.

Recently, the Global Innovation Index, issued annually by the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), ranked Israel as the best country for research and development and first in the world for the quality of its scientific research institutions. However, Israel was not always in such an enviable position. During the mid-1980s, the economy faced crippling inflation and economic stagnation. Unemployment was at an all-time high, skilled workers were leaving for jobs abroad and a general sense of unease was in the air.

All of this changed in a span of just a few years. Between 1985 and 2011, Israel's GDP per capita grew by an astonishing 423 percent from $6,171 to $32, 298 (Israel Export & International Cooperation Institute, 2012). Even when you adjust for inflation, this rapid economic growth is still impressive and unparalleled. Unlike other examples of economic turnarounds and miraculous expansion, this was not a result of new discoveries of natural resources. What allowed Israel to catapult its economy was the decision by policymakers to make a national priority of innovation, entrepreneurship and the commercialization of knowledge.

Explaining this economic success story has been the purview of many doctoral theses and lengthy reports by global think-tanks. For instance, the Canadian Advanced Technology Alliance recently teamed up with billionaire Terence Matthews to call for a national venture capital program modelled after Israel's Yozma initiative. Created in 1993, Yozma helped

YOAV DOTHAN

The Weizmann Institute of Science is one of the world's leading multidisciplinary research institutions.

to establish 10 new Venture Capital funds of about $20 million with each one capitalized 40 percent by government money and 60 percent by foreign investment. This allowed for an environment that encouraged entrepreneurship and a willingness to take chances on new ideas. Nevertheless, one element, by itself, does not tell the whole story.

When Israel's chief scientist, Avi Hasson, was in Ottawa this past July, he explained that the Israeli advantage of excellence and initiative is a result of a complex innovation ecosystem — a network of researchers, R&D centres, incubators, entrepreneurs, venture capital, industry and a legal framework that protects intellectual property rights. David Naylor, president of the University of Toronto, used a hockey metaphor to describe what drives this network: "Like a good hockey team, [Israelis are] playing a shots-on-goal game ... They're building a pipeline to churn out hundreds of new ideas ... knowing that only a few will ever fly in global markets."

At the heart of this innovation network is a highly skilled workforce. A 2011 OECD report ranked Israelis right after Canadians as the most educated people in the world. Israel also ranks first in scientific journal articles per capita, first in the availability of qualified engineers, and first in PhDs per capita. Combining a highly skilled workforce with the other key components of the innovation network has turned this tiny country — 50 percent of which is a desert — into a magnet for R&D. More than 240 high-tech multinationals have set up research centres that employ more than 50,000 people. The list reads as a "who's who" of the high-tech industry whose ticker symbols are found at the top of every stock index and whose products are found throughout your home and office. From Intel to Cisco and Microsoft to Google, everyone is setting up shop. Recently, Apple located its first research centre outside of the United States in Israel.

In these times of financial turmoil and volatility, Israel is not resting on its laurels. This brings the discussion back to the role of the embassy. Israel is in the process of expanding its innovation ecosystem beyond its borders and Canada is a priority. This past summer, we witnessed the fruits of some of these efforts with the launch of the Canada-Israel Technology Innovation Partnership. Funded by Israel's Office of the Chief Scientist and the National Research Council of Canada, it supports joint projects and marks Canada's first initiative under EUREKA — a collaborative European network for market-based R&D.

This partnership was the culmination of a process that began two years earlier when prime ministers Harper and Netanyahu identified three important areas of co-operation: renewable energy, water technology and brain research. We also have the Canada-Israel Industrial Research & Development Foundation that has generated an estimated $400 million for Canadian companies over the last 10 years. Since it was established in 1994, it has engaged more than 160 Canadian and Israeli companies in 90 joint projects.

By connecting researchers and business leaders from both countries, these partnership programs have and will continue to reap mutually beneficial results. They also provide the groundwork for greater collaboration in more sectors and on other levels. A bright future lies ahead with Canada and Israel standing side by side as partners in innovation.

Miriam Ziv is Israel's ambassador to Canada.

Flora MacDonald: On war, foreign policy and Afghanistan

DYANNE WILSON

Flora MacDonald has been to Afghanistan 12 times. Not every woman her age — she's 86 — can say the same. But then Ms MacDonald's whole life has been about firsts. She was the first woman to mount a serious campaign for the leadership of the Conservative Party of Canada (no women had run for the leadership of the Liberals at that time, either). Elected to Parliament in 1972, she became an ally of fellow red Tory Joe Clark who, in 1979, made her Canada's first female secretary of state for external affairs. Indeed, she was one of the first female foreign ministers in the world at that time.

Today, she divides her time between her two-bedroom apartment overlooking the Rideau Canal on Queen Elizabeth Driveway, and travelling across the country to drum up support for her charity, Future Generations Canada. When at home, she's surrounded by mementoes from her travels, trinkets collected during her short stint as foreign minister and later, from the humanitarian work she's been doing in Afghanistan and Tibet since 1988. There's a cloth banner that looks like a wood tote, but is actually used to carry children on the sides of camels. There are bells used to herd livestock from Tibet, a glass-encased figure from China, a wood-carved game from Africa. Every square inch is covered — walls and surfaces. One wall of the living room is lined with bookshelves full of history books. Another bookshelf overflows with archived copies of *Foreign Affairs* journal, *Maclean's* and *National Geographic*.

The irrepressible octogenarian — who has significantly distanced herself from politics and practically spits when discussing the Harper government — these days votes NDP. She spoke to *Diplomat's* editor Jennifer Campbell about the good old days in politics and her current preoccupations.

DM: Can you start by telling me about your work in Afghanistan?
FM: It's an NGO called Future Generations Canada because we work for future generations. One of the things I do throughout Afghanistan is set up training sessions for women and girls, because in places like Afghanistan, girls and women don't get all that much attention. In the villages we're in, the women and girls participate alongside the men and boys — that's different from most other places in Afghanistan. We're in 75 villages.

DM: Are you still travelling regularly?
FM: Mostly I'm travelling in Canada. I raise money by speaking in various places. They invite me to speak and the way we do it is they take half of what the event raises and I take the other half for our work in Afghanistan. I have to pay for everything myself, but I often have enough frequent-flyer points to cover my travel.

DM: How much money have you raised over the years?
FM: Oh, I don't know, but it would be a lot. I keep these programs going and they all cost about $50,000 or $60,000 a year.

DM: Why did you become interested in Afghanistan?
FM: I met a man and his son in New York and I travelled with them to Northern India. Once I did that, I began to take trips on my own through what was not yet Pakistan — it was split from India later. Once I got to the far side of Pakistan, I decided to keep going to Afghanistan.

But my interest goes back farther than that. My father's oldest brother left school in North Sydney because Grade 10 or 11 was as high as you could go at that time. He went to Dalhousie to continue his studies and it was then that the Boer War broke out. There was a great call to the Empire, to go to South Africa and fight, which he did. Then, he decided he liked it so much there that he would stay. After he'd stayed in South Africa, there was a call for the troops — he had joined the Black Watch Regiment — to go to India.

His regiment went to the far end of India, which touched on to Afghanistan at that point. He was there until the First World War broke out. He commanded a regiment and he would send letters home every two weeks to his parents. It was

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essentially his diary. It was reading that that got me interested in what this country was like. I was in my teens at the time. My father had kept all these letters. My uncle, Alexander MacDonald, was shot and killed in Afghanistan as he was getting the remainder of his troops back. I had always wanted to go back and see where this battle took place and where he died.

I (first) went to Afghanistan in 1988 or 1989. When I was foreign minister, I always had to get back quickly when I travelled, so after that ended, I decided to go back and see these things for myself.

DM: What was it like to be foreign minister in the '80s?
FM: There were two secretaries of state at the time, one for foreign affairs and one for domestic affairs, so the secretary of state for foreign affairs, had a lot of things that came under it. That's the way it was at that time.

DM: Was it your dream job?
FM: I don't really think so. Things just kept happening to me. I didn't expect to get elected. When I first ran, it was an accident. I was supposed to be helping someone else and when that person didn't show up, they sent me up to speak. The next thing I knew, I was chosen to be the candidate. It was like I was shoved into it. And no one really took me as being serious.

DM: Were you serious?
FM: Well, I was just really surprised by it. On election night, we ended up having a huge party. I was surprised I won. At that time, I was the only woman in the opposition. It was 1972. I had been working in Kingston, at Queen's University.

My family was always interested in the political scene when I was growing up. When Bob Stanfield was elected premier of Nova Scotia, I went to Halifax to see if I could get a job with his new team. I didn't, but I did get into working at PC headquarters there and after that, I ended up moving to Ottawa and got into the PC headquarters here. I'd go work in provincial elections across the country. We had won elections in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island — so that was four (provinces). During that time, Jean Charest and his wife moved into this building (on Queen Elizabeth Driveway) and I would babysit his children when he and his wife would have to go out to functions. The strangest connections happen. We've always remained friends.

DM: You were minister during the Iran hostage crisis (when six American diplomats who evaded kidnapping were taken to the Canadian and Swiss embassies to hide.) What do you remember from that time?

FM: I remember I was in Parliament and I had been told what was happening, but that I couldn't repeat any of it. So I was in the House (of Commons) but I couldn't say what was going on and had to pretend I didn't know anything about it. So I ended up just having to look awfully stupid in the House, giving such far-out answers. It was over Christmas and we met almost up to Christmas Eve and came back right after New Year's. All of this time, I was being pestered by the press and I couldn't even discuss it with my own staff. In the end, when I came out, I was blamed for not having done more at the time. It was absolutely frustrating.

When it was all over, we were at a ballgame in New York and there was this huge audience at the stadium. They rose and sang *O Canada*, among other things. It was great but I kept getting blamed at home for not having done enough. It was a very turbulent time, but it's also one of the memories I will always have.

DM: You were the only woman in cabinet. What was it like being in an old boys' network?
FM: I was expected to play my role as a minister and I was expected to play a role as the leader of the women's movement

and those are big shoes to fill. I was absolutely, totally exhausted at the end of that campaign. Later, when Mulroney was elected, there were more women elected and eventually, it was thought normal to have women in cabinet. They didn't go through what I went through. (Points to a picture of Clark's cabinet where she's the only woman). See, I made it a point to wear a light-coloured dress so it would stand out. Now, over here (points to a photo of Mulroney's first cabinet), the Queen and I are dressed to stand out. You can see there are half-a-dozen other females in cabinet, but they all came in wearing dark clothes. I mean, of all the stupid things!

DM: Can you talk about the current government with respect to foreign policy? Is John Baird doing a good job?
FM: There isn't anybody in that government doing a good job. I don't think they know what it's all about.

DM: Are you still a Conservative?
FM: I'm still a *Progressive* Conservative. There are only a few of us left: Joe Clark, Lowell Murray. We get together from time to time.

DM: So how do you vote now?
FM: I vote NDP. You see, when I was foreign minister, there were two buildings on Sussex at that time. One was the department of foreign affairs and the other was City Hall, where Marion Dewar was mayor. We were great friends and we'd do things together all the time. We worked together on the boat people project. She came to me and we worked out that she'd


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bring 4,000. I said I'd take her example and speak to people all across the country about it and urge them to do the same thing. At that point, I persuaded the cabinet that we should be able to take in 25,000 and I'd get people in the various cities to match it so we'd bring 50,000 in total.

And, I'll never forget it, someone up in Yellowknife said they wanted 100 there. It was happening everywhere and it ended up being about 80,000. It was the biggest mass migration since the 1850s when Canada was opening up. Marion Dewar and I often appeared together and she'd bring her son, Paul. I've always known him and so, I've always supported him (Paul Dewar is the NDP MP for Ms. MacDonald's riding.)

DM: What do you consider the world's hot spots right now?
FM: The part of the world that is most interesting at the present time is the Far East. This is where population is exploding, where new kinds of enterprises are being built. It's a seething mass of energy and we really know so little about it. We go to a city in China and think we know China, but how do you know a civilization until you've really immersed yourself in it completely? I say that because I've worked in Afghanistan and I know what it is to know people in 75 villages, but that's only one minor part of Afghanistan and that's only one minor part of Asia. We don't really have a global perspective on the world and regardless of how much (John) Baird tries, he doesn't come at it from that point of view.

DM: What's the most concerning spot globally?
FM: To me, it's there as well. The fact that we are still interested as a country in Afghanistan. In how many parts of the world have our soldiers been posted? There aren't that many in recent years and yet the government still knows so little about it.

DM: What do you make of the increasing number of attacks on NATO troops by their so-called allies in the Afghan security forces?
FM: The fact is that Asia is a tribal society. They have been fighting among themselves for hundreds and hundreds of

years. We think by going into one or two cities in Afghanistan, we can figure out what it's all about.

DM: Are you surprised by the attacks?
FM: No, not if I go back and look at the history of Scotland. That was a tribal society. I grew up knowing these things. My father used to say "Scratch a thief and find a Campbell" (laughs). Or "false and fair, like a Campbell." You have these things which are part of your history. You just really see all this from a different point of view when you look at it from the way in which the world is composed — different areas of tribal societies. Africa is one of the best examples.

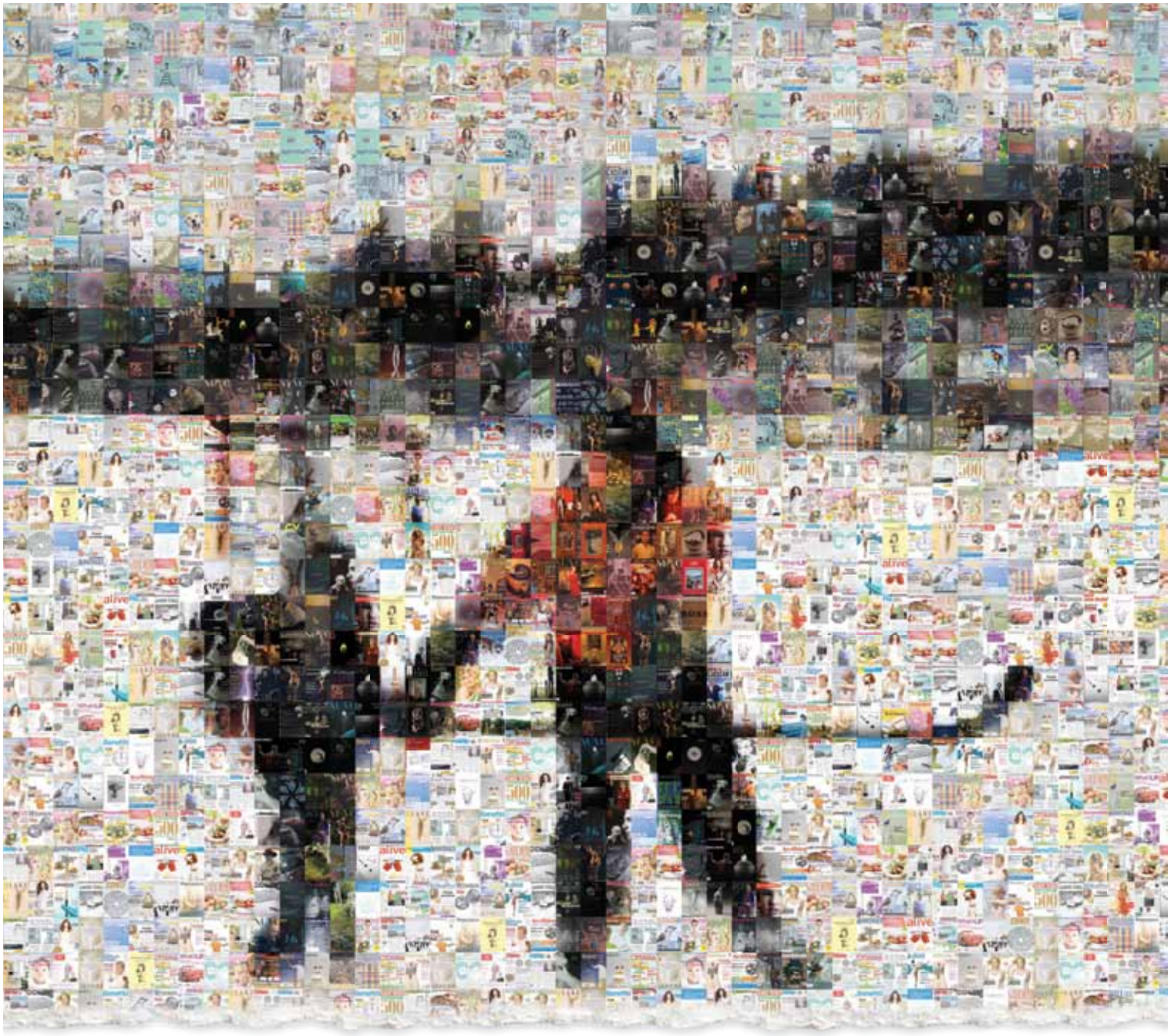
DM: What are your thoughts on the Arab Spring?
FM: Again, it's very much part of that tribal society. It didn't surprise me.

DM: Were you pleased?
FM: Yes. But I weigh everything with a much longer look at it. I'm optimistic because it's happened before, so many times. There have been ups and downs throughout history. It's fascinating because you see it happening again and again. There's always a bright picture after the bad times. I've seen that — coming out of the First World War, everyone was so joyous and then suddenly there was the crash. Then it was rebuilt. So I'm always optimistic.

DM: Are you still travelling internationally?
FM: Yes. I'll always go to Afghanistan. I've been there 12 times.

DM: Have you written your memoirs?
FM: Yes, there are 13 chapters, over there (points to a bookcase in the corner). It will be published at some point.

DM: You have a photo of Flora MacDonald's gravestone on your wall. Tell me about that. (Flora MacDonald helped Bonnie Prince Charlie escape capture on the island of Benbecula after the Battle of Culloden and then accompanied him under cover — he was dressed as her maid — to the Isle of Skye.)
FM: That's the woman I'm named after. There has always been a Flora MacDonald in my family, through the generations. (Reads the headstone) "Flora MacDonald, preserver of the life of Prince Charles Edward Stewart. Her name will be mentioned in history, and if courage and fidelity be virtues, mentioned with honour."



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GENUINE CANADIAN MAGAZINE

Trinidad and Tobago: The Caribbean's economic leader

By Philip A. Buxo

Trinidad and Tobago is open for business.

Not only is our twin island democratic republic located at the crossroads of the Americas, but we also have access to regional and international markets through multiple trade agreements. Trinidad & Tobago (T&T) is not just the leading Caribbean producer of hydrocarbons, it's also a world-class competitor and Latin American hub for them.

A respected financial centre in the Caribbean, with one of the highest growth rates in Latin America, T&T has earned its reputation as an excellent investment site. Our low energy costs, educated, skilled and competitive labour force, coupled with our access to highly developed communications infrastructure and fiscal incentives, are some of the competitive advantages we offer Canadian investors.

T&T, with a population of approximately 1.3 million people, can be best described as the most advanced and dynamic country in the English-speaking Caribbean. Not only are we the world's largest producer and exporter of methanol and ammonia, but we are also home to the invention of the steelpan and the host of one of the greatest Carnival celebrations in the world.

The year 2012 is a significant year — we celebrated our 50th anniversary of independence Aug. 31 as well as 50 years of formal diplomatic relations with Canada. The trade, immigration and cultural exchanges that have taken place between our countries have formed a strong foundation.

Today we look forward to strengthening this relationship through partnering with CIDA in the areas of public-private partnerships (PPPs) and disaster aid and preparedness. We recognize the importance of PPPs for improving the quality and quantity of basic infrastructure and for opening up opportunities for Canadian private-sector investment in the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) region. PPPs can assist with maximizing the efficiency and innovation of private enterprise and with technical, managerial and institutional capacity within key government ministries and agencies. We are working diligently with CIDA on developing a regional project for the provision of PPP training.

Trinidad and Tobago has earned a reputation as an excellent investment site for international business.

T&T has also offered to partner with CIDA in the delivery of its disaster aid and preparedness projects in the Caribbean region. This furthers the leadership demonstrated by T&T through our commitment to regional integration, regional security and disaster relief. We have always provided assistance to countries in the region which have experienced natural disasters, and, in 2010, created a policy of emergency assistance in the aftermath of Hurricane Tomas in St. Lucia.

We look forward to the further expansion of economic ties between T&T and Canada. T&T is Canada's largest merchandise export market and second largest import partner in the CARICOM region. Bilateral trade figures reveal that in 2011, the total value of imports to Canada from T&T was Cdn $388 million, while the value of exports from Canada to T&T was Cdn $341 million. T&T exports have more than quadrupled in value over the past decade and are concentrated in the sectors of petrochemicals and minerals, which account for 72 percent of the value of T&T exports to Canada; iron and steel products, which account for 25 percent of exports, followed by agriculture and fisheries products.

The main opportunities for economic growth, cooperation and investment between T&T and Canada are in the energy, health and education sectors.

In energy, we have identified five opportunities for potential Canadian investment. These include joint venture partnerships in the exploration of projected oil reserves; partnering with Canadian companies to use environmentally friendly technologies, such as steam assisted gravity drainage in the development of our heavy oil reserves; investment in carbon capture and sequestration (CCS) projects in T&T; the further development of compressed natural gas (CNG) as a major alternate vehicular fuel in T&T; and the further development of the melamine industry of T&T. An additional area of cooperation targets the supply of energy workers from T&T to Alberta's energy sector.

In the health sector, a framework agreement between T&T and Canada was recently signed during the state visit of Gov. Gen. David Johnston. This agreement will support the increasing interest of Canadian companies in the development of the health care industry in T&T.

In education, T&T has been pursuing relationships between our tertiary institutions with like-minded institutions in Canada. A memorandum of understanding between the University of Trinidad and Tobago and the Marine Institute of Memorial University was recently signed, with the aim of developing a regional centre of excellence in marine education and training.

T&T remains committed to creating a healthy and competitive business environment that attracts both domestic and foreign investment.

For further information on trade-related activities and investment opportunities, please visit www.investt.co.tt.

Philip A. Buxo is high commissioner for The Republic Trinidad and Tobago. Reach him by email at ottawa@ttmissions.com or by phone at 613-232-2418.

Egypt is primed and ready for business

By Wael Aboul Magd

In 2014, Egypt and Canada will mark 60 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations. During that time, our bilateral relationship has been founded on mutual interest in peace and stability in the Middle East, trade and development and cultural diversity. The latter is partly the function of a vibrant Egyptian-Canadian community, which has served over the years as a bridge between the two countries while contributing to Canada's socio-economic development, prosperity and cultural diversity. This important human dimension not only gives the bilateral relationship a special character, but also provides the backbone for a stronger partnership in the future.

To create a stronger partnership, one of my priorities is to strengthen bilateral economic co-operation. Egypt and Canada are already reliable trading partners. Two-way trade reached $1.15 billion in 2011 — a 28 percent increase over the previous year and an 85-percent increase over 2001. Of that, $699 million is the value of Canadian exports to Egypt, made up mainly of agricultural products (wheat, lentils, dairy products and maize), minerals, lumber products and civil aviation aircrafts. In the same period, the value of Egyptian exports to Canada reached $455 million, marking a staggering 60-percent increase from 2010, concentrated mainly in gold (at 74 percent), textiles, chemicals (largely fertilizers) and foodstuffs.

These figures are promising and reflect an upward trend, but much more can be done to realize the full potential. Egypt still wants access to Canada's textile market (apparel and home textiles), ICT products — the fastest growing sector in Egypt, yet hardly visible in Egyptian exports to Canada — home furnishings and food products. Egypt welcomes Canadian exports in machinery and equipment, especially those with high-tech components; grains, mainly wheat and lentils; wood and timber products.

NAVAL HISTORICAL CENTER

The Suez Canal puts Egypt at the crossroads of Afro-Eurasia trade.

Our strong partnership is seen in numerous success stories. Vidéotron and the Egyptian Contact Center company Xceed, which created the first Canadian call centre in the Middle East, have an outsourcing agreement. Bombardier, SNC Lavalin, RBC Financial Services, IMAX and fertilizer giants Methanex and Agrium all operate in Egypt. Egyptian telecom giant Orascom teamed up with Globalive Communications Corporation for an advanced wireless services (AWS) spectrum auction in Canada and won a licence in 2008 to establish Wind mobile network. Research in Motion (RIM) is set to open a centre in Cairo's Smart Village, its first research and development centre in Africa and the Middle East. And these are just a few examples of the unlimited opportunities for mutually profitable co-operation.

Egypt is considered one of the leading emerging markets, thanks to its attractive investment opportunities. For Canada, areas of interest include energy and renewable energy, ICT, petrochemicals, financial services, mining and mineral resources. And there are others not currently being explored by Canadian corporations. These include aerospace, infrastructure projects (including water systems, bridges, and roads) and environmental projects.

Egypt is well-positioned to attract new investments. The past decade has witnessed landmark reforms to the investment environment, mainly at the macroeconomic level, including the introduction of legal reforms and streamlining of bureaucratic procedures towards a more attractive investment milieu.

The strategic Suez Canal waterway helps Egypt reinforce its position at the economic crossroads of the Afro-Eurasia region. Its diversified economy, proximity to Europe, the Middle East, North Africa and Eurasia, aided by a young and vibrant workforce, a modern road and telecommunications infrastructure and a sophisticated business community, position my country as a gateway for Canada into neighbouring markets.

There are short-term challenges facing the Egyptian economy as the country undergoes democratic transformation, but reports by international financial institutions put Egypt's economy on a high-growth trajectory in the medium and long term, predicting a 5.7-percent growth rate in the near future, according to a recent report by HSBC. The report noted that Egypt will be among the world's 30 countries with the highest growth rates and, by size, its economy will be 20th in the world by 2050. Such confidence in Egypt's economy is not without ground — we've grown at a robust 7 percent annually in the last decade, uninhibited by the world recession. Egypt's economy has withstood the challenges and has proven its structural foundations are sound and solid. There is no doubt its location and advantages ensure it will remain a strong market and favourite destination for investors and business people looking for revenues in young markets.

Neither political developments nor short-term economic challenges should impede a deepening of Egypt-Canada relations. The solid foundation has been established and joint efforts should be focused on realizing the mutual benefits inherent in this relationship. As Canadian companies are discovering they cannot solely rely on domestic demand, diversifying risks through foreign expansion is vital to ensuring long-term growth. Egypt is open for business.

Wael Aboul Magd is Egypt's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at egypt4931@rogers.com or (613)-234-4931.

Bulgaria: economic and tourism opportunities await

By Zlati Katzarski

Bulgaria has managed to weather the global economic crisis relatively well, thanks to a policy of strong fiscal discipline. The gross domestic product grew by 1.7 percent in 2011. During the first two quarters of 2012, the agricultural and industrial sectors increased respectively by 12.4 percent and 2 percent. In the near term, the European Commission projects GDP growth of 0.5 percent for 2012 and 1.9 percent in 2013.

Bulgarian exports have substantially increased since 2009. They rose by 33 percent in 2010 and a further 30 percent in 2011. Imports grew also — by 15 percent in 2010 and 21.3 percent in early 2012.

The Bulgarian government has undertaken a series of measures aimed at securing a balanced budget and economic growth. Its economic policy has been focused on three priority sectors: information and communication technologies, eco-technologies and health innovation. An overhaul of the existing regulatory regimes, simplification of administrative requirements at all levels and a large introduction of e-services have improved the business environment. Better conditions for new business and a favourable tax policy (low tax rates in Europe and a simplified tax system) should further encourage economic development and foreign investments.

Bulgaria is strongly committed to increasing foreign investments and expanding trade ties. Its strategic geographic location at the crossroads between Europe and Asia, north and south, makes it a gateway for foreign companies to vibrant regional markets. Despite the distance, bilateral economic relations with Canada are among the priorities in the government's agenda.

We understand the importance of the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement between the EU and Canada in boosting growth, creating new jobs and ensuring tangible long-term perspectives for economic development and prosperity. Bulgaria strongly supports the agreement and believes it will facilitate the free movement of our citizens to Canada where they can pursue business opportunities, academic studies or tourism.

Nessebar, one of Bulgaria's major seaside resorts.

Diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Canada began in 1966, yet the bilateral trade exchange became visible only in 2005. Despite the upward trend over subsequent years, it still remains modest and well below its potential. After a decline in 2010, bilateral merchandise trade reached its peak last year (Cdn $164.5 million), when it recorded growth of 44 percent over 2009. Bulgarian exports almost tripled, while imports from Canada have remained relatively stable at between Cdn $50 million to $60 million in recent years. Major export items of Bulgaria are precious metal residues, compound feed, sheet iron, confectionery and bakery products and automotive products. Imports from Canada include copper, vegetables, fish, electrical and chemical products.

Canadian direct investments in Bulgaria remain very modest. At the end of 2011, their total volume amounted to only Cdn $17.5 million. Most — including Dundy Precious Metals, Euromax Resources and Mundoro Capital — are in mining.

Bulgaria is a picturesque country and one of the most interesting tourist places in Southeastern Europe. It is famous for its variety of natural resources, flora and fauna, farming and culinary mastery, distinctive ethnography and folklore. Many people —Thracians, Greeks, Romans, Slavs and Ottoman Turks — who traversed our lands, left their mark in more than 30,000 cultural sites. This, together with the traditional hospitality of the Bulgarians, attracts millions of tourists annually. Bulgaria's mild climate makes it a fascinating destination throughout the year.

The wide range of attractions offers something for every single tourist.

Bulgaria is ripe for rural and eco-tourism. The warm welcome, delicious traditional cuisine, authentic folklore and crafts, village festivals and dances will give you moments of joy, close to nature.

Few know that Bulgaria boasts the highest and largest mountain ranges in Southeast Europe. Their spectacular landscapes, ice lakes, caves and peaks offer an excellent opportunity for nature-oriented holidays in the summer: rafting along river streams, hunting, hiking and rock-climbing. In winter, mountain resorts offer attractive conditions for skiing. Bansko, situated at Mount Pirin, is a renowned European winter resort where international snowboard and ski competitions take place.

Bulgaria's Black Sea coast is one of Europe's most popular destinations for summer holidays. Resorts offer modern hotels, traditional restaurants and a variety of amusement facilities. Bulgaria also has mineral springs with nearby resorts and spas. The mineral and mud baths attract many guests yearly.

And don't forget our high-quality dry white wines or rich and fragrant red wines, grown only in designated geographic regions.

Tourism to Bulgaria from Canada has increased over the last decade. About 6,000 Canadian citizens visited in 2000, rising to almost 15,000 in 2011. Others are noticing, too — in 2011, nearly nine million foreign tourists visited. Don't miss the chance to become one of them.

Zlati Katzarski is chargé d'affaires of Bulgaria in Canada. Reach him at zlati.katzarski@mfa.bg or 613-857-7200.

THE ARCTIC OCEAN AND THE 'PACK OF EIGHT'

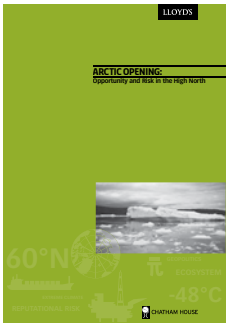
The Arctic opening: Opportunities and risks in the high north

In 2011, Russia used the *Vladimir Tikhonov*, its big supertanker, to carry 120,000 tons of gas concentrates across its northern sea route to China — setting records along the way. (It crossed 2,220 nautical miles of northern Arctic seas in 7.5 days.) In the same year, the Japanese-owned *Sanko Odyssey* carried 66,000 tons of iron-ore concentrate from Russia's Kola Peninsula to Jingtang. In 2012, Norway's *Ribera del Duero Knutsen*, the world's largest-ever bulk carrier, transported a first-ever cargo of LNG (liquid natural gas) from Norway to Japan. Russia's north-east Arctic passage has become a global short-cut from Europe to Asia — with 34 voyages already booked for such passages this year.

Radical technological and economic change is pervasive in the Arctic. What's next? Cargo vessels that safely sail the Arctic seas without needing icebreakers? With Arctic carriers costing as much as $1 billion to build and a decade to complete, such a fantasy proposal might seem eminent folly. For the record, Finland's already working on them.

In this special report on the Arctic 2013, *Diplomat* features excerpts from an important new work (*Arctic Opening: Opportunity and Risk in the High North*) by the celebrated British author Charles Emmerson, who also wrote the 2011 best-seller called *The Future of the History of the Arctic.* We do so for a number of reasons — among them the symbolic return of Canada to the leadership of the Arctic Council, the premier forum of the eight Arctic states. (Canada held this office last in 1996, the council's inaugural year.) Beginning in May, Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq will assume the leadership role in an organization described by *Arctic Opening* as an international organization that now faces "far-reaching political developments."

For the transformation of archaic seas are dramatically reshaping the world's shipping lanes — always a major agent in the shaping of history. Simply put, the world looks like a very different place these days from the top down.



Lloyd's of London served as sponsor and contributor to *Arctic Opening: Opportunity and Risk in the High North*, which was written and published by Chatham House, a London-based think tank. The lead author was English writer Charles Emmerson, who worked with key academics to produce this report. *Diplomat* publishes this excerpt with the express permission of Lloyd's and of Chatham House.

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It's no longer the Arctic – it's the eight Arctics

By Charles Emmerson

The Arctic region is undergoing unprecedented and disruptive change. Its climate is changing more rapidly than anywhere else on earth. Rising temperatures are causing a retreat of sea ice and changes to seasonal length, weather patterns and ecosystems. These changes have prompted a re-assessment of economic and development potential in the Arctic and are giving rise to a set of far-reaching political developments.

Although traditional Arctic products — mostly relating to fishing, sealing, whaling and trapping — have long reached global markets and been influenced by global demands, before the 20th Century the overall role and scale of the Arctic in the global economy was minimal. The population of the Arctic — comprising the Arctic areas of Canada, Denmark (Greenland), Finland, Iceland, Sweden, Norway, Russia and the United States — is approximately one-twentieth of one percent of the world's total population.

The combined effects of global resource depletion, climate change and technological progress mean the natural resource base of the Arctic — fisheries, minerals and oil and gas — is now increasingly significant and commercially viable. At the same time, economic value is beginning to be attached to the Arctic natural environment, both for its role in regulating global climate and for its biodiversity. This is giving rise to prospecting for commercially viable biological processes and materials.

The wind and hydro-power potential of some parts of the Arctic is being explored. The regions are attracting a growing number of tourists. Shipping activity has expanded and intercontinental shipping, though several decades away from reaching anything approaching the scale of existing major shipping routes, is a developing commercial reality.

Different regional and global economic scenarios suggest a range of possible future trajectories for Arctic development. Key uncertainties over future environmental conditions and the scale and accessibility of Arctic natural resources are compounded by uncertainty about the pace of technological development, the price of hydrocarbons, the future shape and demands of the global economy and the political choices of Arctic states. Environmental disaster — whether due to a single event, or as a cumulative result of increased economic activity — could rapidly and significantly change the Arctic's political and economic dynamics. Still more acutely than elsewhere in the world, economic development and environmental sustainability in the Arctic are co-dependent.

If current patterns continue, however, investment in the Arctic could potentially reach $100 billion or more over the next 10 years, largely in the development of non-renewable natural resources, and in infrastructure construction and renewal. For some, this prospect represents a substantial business opportunity. But it also brings a unique and complex set of risks and raises significant policy dilemmas.

HARALD FINKLER

Nuuk, the site of the May 2012 Arctic Council ministerial meetings.

One Arctic, many Arctics

This report uses a broad definition of the Arctic, corresponding most closely to that used by the Arctic states themselves. This encompasses land and sea areas north of 60° for the United States, Canada, Russia, Norway, Sweden and Finland and the whole of Greenland and Iceland.

In the end, however, there is not one Arctic, but many. Environmental conditions, geological prospectivity, physical accessibility, population levels, economic development and political salience all vary. The balance of risk and opportunity for major Arctic development projects depends on a range of further factors:

- For oil and gas developments, there is a key distinction between onshore and offshore developments, between shallow water offshore and deep water offshore, and between developments close to existing pipelines and transport infrastructure and those that would require the construction of entirely new pipelines and infrastructure.
- For Arctic shipping, the widely varying quality of seabed mapping in different parts of the Arctic, and disparities in port infrastructure, surveillance and search and rescue capability, create an uneven matrix of risk and opportunity.
- The Arctic is not — nor is it likely to become — a truly single regulatory space, even while the Arctic Council, Arctic states and other interested parties are increasingly forging common approaches to shared challenges.

One Arctic, many temperatures

On an average day in January, the minimum temperature in Tromsø in northern Norway will be -6.7°C. In Salekhard,

U.S. COAST GUARD/CHARLY HENGEN.

The U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Healy* breaks ice in Nome Harbour, Alaska.

capital of Russia's Yamal-Nenets district and focus of Russia's Arctic natural gas prospects, it will be -29.7°C. In Tiksi, on the east Siberian shoreline, it will be colder still: -36.7°C.

Across the Bering Strait and far inland, the temperature in Fairbanks, Alaska will be -28.1°C. It will not be much different in Iqaluit, capital of Canada's Nunavut territory. Meanwhile, in Nuuk, capital of Greenland and part of the kingdom of Denmark, it will be relatively warm: around -10°C.

What unites the Arctic, however, is the rate at which it is warming and the speed of change this implies for its natural environment as a whole — transforming the Arctic's geography, ecosystems and how it relates to the rest of the world.

Climate Change: Global Early-Warning

The Arctic is not only warming — it is warming more rapidly than anywhere else on earth, acting as an early-warning signal for the globe. In 2011, annual near-surface air temperatures over much of the Arctic Ocean were 1.5°C warmer than the 1981-2010 baseline.

The feedback loops that explain this process are collectively known as 'Arctic amplification.' Reductions in sea ice and snow cover are one factor: As the Arctic becomes less white, it absorbs more heat and reflects less. But there are also factors that relate to cloud and wind patterns, themselves affected by broader climate change and the enhanced movement of moisture and heat from the equator towards the poles.

The ice

In September 2011, the month when Arctic sea ice extent is typically at its lowest, ice coverage fell to a low of 4.33 million square kilometres (1.67 million square miles), some 2.38 million square kilometres less than the 1979-2000 average. The NSIDC (U.S. National Snow and Ice Data Center) records show ice extent lower in only one other year, 2007, when it reached 4.17 million square kilometres.

Arctic ice is also both thinner and younger than it used to be. In the early 1980s, the NSIDC estimated that as much as 40 percent of Arctic September ice was more than five years old. In 2011, that proportion had declined to five percent.

Infrastructure

Existing infrastructure — buildings, bridges, roads, railways and pipelines — built on permafrost will become more expensive to maintain as the permafrost layer across northern Alaska, Canada and Russia becomes unstable.

A shortening season for winter roads (temporary roads carved out of snow or ice) is already creating access challenges for communities and mine sites across northern Canada. Winter road seasons for travel across northern Alaskan tundra have declined from over 200 days in the 1970s to around 100 days in the early 2000s. People and some goods can be flown in by air, albeit at considerable expense, but heavy machinery cannot.

Given conditions of rapid change in the physical environment, Arctic infrastructure will need to adapt to a much wider range of potential environmental conditions over the course of a multi-decade life. This means that all across the north, future infrastructure will have to conform to different technical specifications, and

CHIEF YEOMAN ALPHONSO BRAGGS/US-NAVY

Polar bears approach the bow of a U.S. submarine while it surfaced 450 kilometres from the North Pole.

may be more expensive to build.

A good example of the double-edged consequences of climate change on access is the (sub-Arctic) port of Churchill in northern Manitoba, one end of the long-promised 'Arctic Bridge' from northern Canada to Murmansk in northern Russia. While maritime access to Churchill has increased in recent years, creating the possibility of expanding sea-borne grain exports, the periodic thawing of permafrost on which the single-track railway line to Churchill is built can cause the track to buckle. This increases the risk of derailments, slows traffic and sometimes halts it altogether. Millions of dollars have been spent on repairing the line, but the costs of upgrading it permanently would be much greater.

The importance of Greenland

The main global consequence of Arctic environmental change is through a diminishing Greenland ice sheet [which] contains approximately 2.85 million cubic kilometres of freshwater.

For a range of reasons — including meltwater lubrication of the underside of glaciers, feedback mechanisms and the general trend of global warming — the rate of decline is accelerating. Total ice sheet loss in 2011 was 70 percent greater than the average of 2003-2009. The rate of Greenland melt is one of the key drivers of global sea level rise. The influx of increased amounts of freshwater into the North Atlantic … could have consequences for weather patterns.

Ecosystems on the edge

As the prevailing environmental conditions in the Arctic change, so do the living ecosystems adapted to those particular conditions. Some benefit from climate change: At the bottom of the marine food chain, primary production by phytoplankton in the Arctic increased by 20 percent between 1998 and 2009 (and the increase has been as much as 70 percent in the Kara Sea and 135 percent in the Siberian sectors of the eastern Arctic Ocean).

On land, the Arctic is becoming increasingly green. Some lose: walrus and polar bear populations have tended to decline because of reductions in sea ice, while ocean acidification due to increased carbon dioxide uptake in warmer seas can harm some marine life and the fisheries associated with them. Others adapt: some fishstocks have moved, and flourished, as a result of warmer waters.

In the short term, cod stocks in the Barents Sea and off the coast of Greenland have become more productive, and have moved further north than ever. Over time, however, the impacts of climate change — and greater economic development — are more complex than identifying winners and losers. As with sea ice, changes in ecosystems can be discontinuous and abrupt. Marine ecosystems inter-relate in previously unexpected ways.

Northward-moving fish stocks inevitably alter the balance in the ecosystem into which they migrate, including outcompeting or preying upon established Arctic species.

Some invasive species — introduced as a result of greater human activity — can destroy existing ecosystems. Though the impact of increased ocean noise from shipping on those is not clear, it is likely to have a negative impact on marine mammals that use acoustics for prey location and navigation.

At the same time, air- and sea-borne pollution from the industrialized south, such as persistent organic pollutants (POPs), can pose a serious challenge to ecosystems that, in the Arctic, tend to be relatively simple, vulnerable and difficult to re-establish. The increasing rate of disruption to Arctic ecosystems makes their future structure increasingly hard to predict. It also makes establishing environmental baseline data — against which change is measured and potential future changes are assessed — even more important.

Vast Arctic oil and gas potential

The price of oil has increased. In 2008, the

United States Geological Survey estimated that the Arctic contained some 412.2 billion barrels of undiscovered oil and oil equivalent. More than two-thirds of this was estimated to be natural gas — approximately 46 trillion cubic metres, representing 30 percent of global undiscovered natural gas (approximately equivalent to Russia's entire current proven reserves of natural gas).

Some 90 billion barrels were estimated to be oil — 13 percent of the estimated global total of undiscovered oil, approximately three times the current total proven reserves of oil of the United States and more than three times the proven reserves of the world's largest non-state oil company, ExxonMobil.

The balance of oil and gas across the Arctic will vary. In general, the Russian Arctic is considered to be more gas-prone and the offshore Norwegian and American Arctics (including Greenland) more oil-prone. Most Arctic hydrocarbon resources are likely to be on the near-shore continental shelves of the Arctic states.

All these estimates are highly uncertain. Drilling data is scarce relative to highly developed areas such as the North Sea or the Gulf of Mexico.

Potential petro payoffs

Expectations that the price of oil will remain in the $80-$120 range in real terms for the foreseeable future provide a strong incentive for exploration and increase confidence that prices will cushion the high costs of Arctic development. However, global energy markets are in flux. Several studies suggest the potential of a peak in global oil demand, rather than supply, leading to subsequent terminal decline and lower prices. A sustained oil price spike in the near term might accelerate that process.

The outlook for Arctic natural gas is different. In the future, European Arctic gas can be expected to reach consumers by pipeline, partly through existing Russian or Norwegian networks, and partly to compensate for declining gas production elsewhere in Europe and Russia.

The scope of this market is constrained by the level of European demand. The Russian government intends to use Arctic production to allow it to keep to its European commitments while attempting to capture a part of the growing Asian gas market.

The broader global dynamics of natural gas are shifting, however. Natural gas is priced and sourced regionally, often resulting in significant price differences between markets — there are currently low natural gas prices in North America and high ones in East Asia. However, gas is increasingly marketed internationally in LNG form. Prices for gas could change dramatically if prices were decoupled from oil, or if there is a move towards a global price, as with oil, or if significant new gas supplies come on stream.

Shale gas production in the U.S., for example, has already led companies to drop out of the $30–$40 billion project to pipe gas from Alaska's North Slope to U.S. and Canadian markets. In Asian markets, Arctic LNG would have to compete with Australian and other Asian sources. In time, the continental United States may itself become a significant exporter if natural gas production is not diverted to its transport sector.

There is considerable variation amongst Arctic hydrocarbon projects. This has implications for their commercial viability, and for the business, operational and environmental risks associated with developing them. The estimated cost of producing a barrel of Arctic oil ranges from $35 to $100 (production costs in the Middle East are sometimes as little as $5 per barrel).

Government take

A recent study suggested that, at a sale price of $80 and a production price of $25, the government take for Arctic oil projects would range from 100 percent in Russia (though this is changing) to 40–45 percent in Greenland and Canada. As governments offer incentives for development, or as geological uncertainties are reduced, the government take is likely to shift. The Russian government's terms for Yamal's LNG development are described as being "among the lowest in the world."

Mining

At the time of writing, there are 25 mines in operation in the Russian Arctic. These include the mines of Norilsk Nickel, a large Russian diversified mining company, the largest nickel producer in the world and a major producer of palladium and platinum.

In 2010, 36.8 percent of Alaska's foreign (non-U.S.) export earnings came from exports of zinc, lead, gold and copper, generating $1.3 billion. The Red Dog mine is one of the largest lead-zinc mines in the world, employing 700 people, mostly year-round.

Greenland is already home to a number of mines, such as Swedish company LKAB's Seqi Olivine mine. The opening of coastal areas of Greenland to development, partly as a result of climate change, has increased the potential attraction of a range of other projects including gold, platinum and rare earth metals with high-technology applications at the Kvanefjeld deposit. Greenland's government does not currently allow development of the island's well-known uranium deposits, though its stance on exploration has recently been partially relaxed.

In Canada, mining accounts for half the income of the Northwest Territories and geological mapping is strongly supported by the federal government. Diamond mining north of Yellowknife has expanded rapidly. Between 2003 and 2008, total spending at a single mine, the Diavik diamond mine, amounted to $4 billion, of which a substantial share was with local businesses. The Mary River iron ore project on Baffin Island in Canada's Nunavut territory is due to enter development in 2013 and will require an estimated $4.1 billion of direct investment up to 2040.

In northern Scandinavia, there are mining prospects across northern Sweden and Finland, and iron mines in Kirkenes (in northern Norway) and Kiruna. The latter is the world's largest underground iron ore mine and the world's largest Arctic mine — yet most of the ore is currently unmined.

Fishing

Fish represent 90 percent of the exports of Greenland, 33 percent of those of Iceland, approximately 6 percent of Norway's and less than 1 percent of the export earnings of the United States and Russia.

In 2011, exports of Norwegian cod amounted to $1.8 billion, and exports of salmon from aquaculture some $4.8 billion. Meanwhile, individual Arctic communities are almost wholly reliant on fisheries and fish processing for their economic survival. Fishing communities are highly sensitive to marine pollution, they are often politically powerful in proportion to their size and their interests may sometimes be at odds with other economic activities, including shipping and oil and gas development.

In some places fishing activity has boomed in recent years. There were 30 fishing ship voyages in the Canadian Arctic in 2005, and 221 in 2010, by far the largest component of all ship voyages in the Canadian Arctic. The Greenlandic shrimp catch has grown by half again over the last decade.

COMBAT CAMERA

Stephen Harper says the North's time has come.

Maritime traffic

As shipping seasons extend, Arctic shipping costs are reduced and point-to-point demand increases, traffic is expected to increase in future years.

Already, each Arctic shipping season is marked by a new development. In 2011, the Sovcomflot-owned *Vladimir Tikhonov* became the first supertanker (Suezmax) to sail the Northern Sea Route, with a cargo of 120,000 tonnes of gas condensate.

Later that summer, the largest ever bulk carrier crossed the Northern Sea Route when the Japanese-owned *Sanko Odyssey*, carrying 66,000 tonnes of iron ore concentrate, completed a voyage from the Russian Kola Peninsula to Jingtang in China.

In the summer of 2012, the Korean-built and Norwegian-owned *Ribera del Duero Knutsen* was to become the first LNG carrier to transit the Northern Sea Route, from Norway to Japan.

Each of these voyages has had to take on expensive icebreaker support, with ships capable of breaking through several metres of ice, despite relatively little ice being encountered in 2010 and 2011. The largest and most powerful icebreakers can cost up to $1 billion and take 8-10 years to build. Hiring charges vary, but the average cost for escort through the Northern Sea route is around $200,000.

However, carrier ships able to travel through ice of up to 1.5 metres without icebreaker support have been developed by the company Aker Arctic in Finland.

Canadian vs. Russian route

A comparison of two often-cited Arctic shipping routes — the Northwest Passage through Canada's Arctic and the Northern Sea Route across the northern coast of Russia — suggests that the Northern Sea Route is more likely to be subject to large-scale development over the next 10-20 years because of political support, projected ice conditions and the development of onshore and offshore mineral resources in the Russian Arctic.

The Northern Sea Route may ultimately become a major global energy corridor between Russia and East Asia. While trans-Arctic shipping volumes along the Northern Sea Route are insignificant compared with overall global shipping volumes, total cargo has increased by a factor of 10 in recent years (though from a historically low level following the collapse of the Soviet Union).

Looking to the future, by the middle of the coming century, Arctic conditions may have changed so much that a shipping route across the North Pole, bypassing the Northern Sea Route and the Northwest Passage, becomes commercially viable.

Geopolitics of Arctic energy

In the U.S., the opening of further areas of the U.S. Arctic to exploration and, ultimately, development has strong support within Alaska, but limited support elsewhere. In Canada, Arctic energy and mining projects play into complex federal politics and the domestic politics of indigenous peoples across the north. In Greenland, exploration for offshore hydrocarbons is widely accepted as a pathway to greater economic prosperity and a guarantee of self-government. In Norway, government and public support for development is contingent on strong environmental regulation.

There is a key geopolitical dimension to Arctic oil and gas developments, involving states' power, stability and influence. This is particularly true of Russia, where hydrocarbons represent 40 percent of export earnings and the state budget depends on taxes and royalties from hydrocarbon production. Russia's gas exports are a major feature of its geopolitical role in Europe, while expanding oil and gas exports to China has become an important policy objective for the Russian government.

Nonetheless, development of the Russian oil and gas sector in the Arctic — particularly offshore — depends to some extent on the participation of Western oil and gas firms with the technology and management skills to develop them. The development of Norwegian gas production, and the potential for export via existing pipeline networks to which the United Kingdom is connected, may reduce European dependence on other sources of gas. In November 2011, British company Centrica signed a 10-year, £13-billion

Destination	Via Suez Canal			Through Northern Sea Route			Days Saved
	Distance, Nm	Speed Knots	Days	Distance, Nm	Speed Knots	Days	
Shanghai, China	12050	14.0	37	6500	12.9[xxviii]	21	-16
Busan, Korea	12400	14.0	38	6050	12.9	19.5	-18.5
Yokohama, Japan	12730	14.0	39	5750	12.9	18.5	-20.5

Route	Length (km)	% accessible, 2000-2014	% accessible, 2045-2059	Accessibility change (%) relative to baseline	Transit time (days), 2045-2059
Northwest Passage	9,324	63%	82%	+30%	-
Northern Sea Route	5,169	86%	100%	+16%	11
'North Pole' Route	6,960	64%	100%	+ 56%	16
'Arctic Bridge'	7,135	100%	100%	+ 0%	15

Source: Reprinted by permission from Macmillan Publishers Ltd (Nature Climate Change) 'Divergent long-term trajectories of human access to the Arctic', Copyright 2011 [68]

BROCKEN INAGLORY

An iceberg near Cape York, Greenland. The rate of the Greenland melt is one of the key drivers of global sea-level rise.

($20-billion) supply deal for natural gas from Norway, following a wider UK-Norway memorandum of understanding on energy.

Increased oil and gas production in Arctic North America is often presented as a way of improving U.S. 'energy security', though export prospects to Asia may ultimately trump home markets. Investments across the Arctic are increasingly international — with interest from Indian, Chinese and South Korean companies.

Liability

Whether the liability for damage to human health and economic losses should be limited or unlimited is an ongoing debate in Canada and the U.S. General "unlimited liability" is often thought to create a risk too great for investors, although some may accept it for specific aspects such as the loss of current and future fishing harvest revenues. Apart from the damage to local economies, ecosystem damage and degradation are notoriously difficult to put a value on and are not currently accounted for under national regimes.

The estimated clean-up costs for the Macondo disaster are $40 billion.

Some upper liability limits apply to companies operating facilities in offshore Alaska and Canada's eastern Arctic. The U.S. Oil Pollution Act specifies a limit of $74 million for economic damages, and the Canada Oil and Gas Operations Act of 1985 specifies $40 million for loss or damage, remediation and restoration. However, neither applies in cases of fault or gross negligence, where liabilities are unlimited.

Norway, Greenland and Russia do not set upper limits for companies. Even though much greater claims can be pursued through the courts where fault can be established, some NGOs are arguing that the liabilities cap and extent of financial responsibility a company must demonstrate to win a lease put the public purse under enormous risk. In allowing investors without sufficient funds to pay for the clean-up and reparations for a large-scale environmental disaster, the cap is essentially a transfer of risk to the public sector to encourage investment.

In the U.S., a company must demonstrate financial capability of up to $148 million. This is a fraction of the estimated $40 billion clean-up and compensation costs for the Macondo disaster. A smaller company than BP, for example, might have had to declare bankruptcy, leaving the state to foot the bill.

Arctic sovereignty: Who owns what?

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky

The Arctic is a stable region of eight nations that generally exhibit mutual trust and co-operation. The key body concerned with the dialogue among these states is the Arctic Council, whose members include, in addition to the eight Arctic nations (Canada, U.S., Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Russia and Iceland), permanent participants and observers that are not Arctic nations, but nevertheless have an interest in the Arctic. The role of the Arctic Council is to facilitate ongoing co-operation between Arctic states in the debate over who owns and controls which parts of the Arctic. That debate excludes security but includes environmental monitoring and the creation of common standards for shipping and oil and gas development.

Ownership of the Arctic is mainly determined by geography, scientific data, domestic law and international law as defined by the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). All Arctic nations but the United States have ratified UNCLOS and several others — China, India, Japan and South Korea — are also UNCLOS signatories, but have no role in the Arctic Council and mainly economic interest in the region. The region is contentiously open to claims from non-Arctic countries; China's unofficial position, relayed by Chinese Rear Admiral Yin Zhuo, is that the "Arctic belongs to all the people around the world as no nation has sovereignty over it."

Among the parameters defined by UNCLOS are marine boundaries within which nations have economic rights over water and seabed resources. This exclusive economic zone (EEZ) stretches 200 nautical miles (370 km) from the nation's coastline; most energy development will take place within this zone. Adjacent states may disagree over maritime borders, particularly where they overlap geographically. Canada and the U.S. disagree over their boundary in the Beaufort Sea, and Norway and Russia had a 40-year dispute over a boundary in the Barents Sea that was settled in 2010.

HARALD FINKLER

Leona Aglukkaq will chair the Arctic Council when Canada takes over next year.

Beyond the EEZ, nations may exert ownership of seabed resources on its extended continental shelf, up to 350 nautical miles (650 km). Establishing the limits of the continental shelf depends on geological and geomorphological characteristics, which may require expensive and extensive data collection. Nations have 10 years to make submissions to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS), which facilitates the implementation of UNCLOS with regard to establishing the limits of the continental shelf.

In the case of boundary disputes, the parties must negotiate with each other while CLCS may play an advisory role. Among current disputes over Arctic boundaries is the Northwest Passage, which Canada maintains is within its internal waters. The U.S. and other nations dispute the claim. The United Kingdom considers both the Northwest Passage and the Northern Sea Route, which is claimed by Russia, as existing within international waters.

In addition to determining sovereignty and ownership, international regulations must be established. Maritime traffic through the Arctic, already considerable, is a major interest among Arctic and non-Arctic nations. The Northern Sea Route has already seen transits by supertankers such as the Japanese *Sanko Odyssey*, which in 2011 completed a trip from Russia's Kola Peninsula to Jingtang in China. Such trips save weeks and thousands of kilometres of sailing. It must be noted that climate change could negate UNCLOS provisions concerning ice-covered waters and initiate challenges to coastal states' legal rights to regulate shipping.

Arctic energy resources have become hot political topics, their development politically controversial on environmental grounds. As the Arctic economy becomes integrated into the global economy, its geopolitical relevance will increase. Within Arctic nations, exploration and development, federal politics, indigenous populations, economic prosperity, sustainability and the environment all play a role. The key geopolitical dimension to developing Arctic oil and gas involves power, stability and influence between the Arctic states and with non-Arctic stakeholders, such as China, whose expanding oil and gas imports from Russia have become an important policy objective for the Russian government. Investment in the Arctic is becoming increasingly international.

In 2008, a separate caucus appeared to emerge within the Arctic Council, made up of the five coastal states (known as the A-5, they are: Canada, Denmark/Greenland, Norway, Russia and the U.S.) More significantly, the council is discussing criteria to be applied to permanent observers; these criteria were established in 2011 following disagreements between the Arctic states about how to address applications from non-Arctic states, including the European Union and China. A decision is expected in the spring of 2013.

Although Arctic governance lies principally with the eight Arctic nations, their domestic concerns, associations with economic partners and security agencies, and international agreements affect their perspectives and their abilities to shape Arctic policy.

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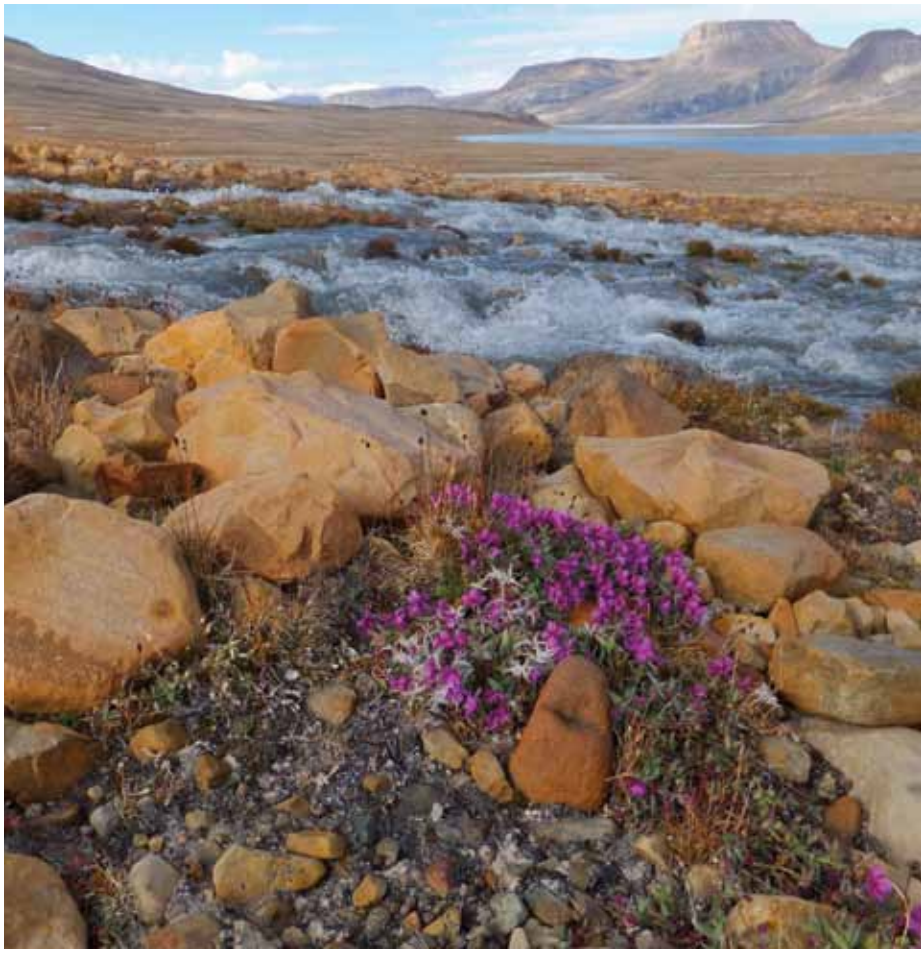
The Arctic, country by country

Our eight-country primer takes you to each of the council's member states and offers a breakdown of their Arctic territory, interests and claims.

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



PAUL GIERSZEWSKI

Quttinirpaaq National Park on Canada's Ellesmere Island

CANADA

Area: 9,984,670 sq km
Population: 34,476,688 (2012)

Canada's frigid Arctic is definitely something to get hot and bothered about. It makes up more than 40 percent of the country's land mass; is home to 100,000 Canadians, 80 percent of whom are indigenous peoples; and the Arctic coastline comprises nearly 75 percent of Canada's total 243,000 kilometre shoreline, including the shores of some 36,000 islands. Canada's closest point to the North Pole is Cape Columbia, Ellesmere Island, 769 kilometres from the pole. So closely is Canada aligned with the image of snow and ice in the global perspective that we could consider the Arctic landscape as the representative face of Canada.

The Arctic Ocean, at 14,056 million square kilometres, is the smallest of the world's oceans. Three-quarters of its coastline belongs to Canada and Russia, with each owning territory along the Arctic straits, which, increasingly, are becoming ice-free. According to international law, no country owns the Arctic Ocean or the geographic North Pole. Under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS, 1982), countries bordering the Arctic are entitled to the traditional 200 nautical mile economic zone from their coastlines. Canada asserts that the Arctic Archipelago, including the Northwest Passage, comprises internal waters, basing its claim on proximity and history. Canada's original claim to the North lies in the 1670 charter by which Charles II gave Rupert's Land to the Hudson's Bay Company. The area that is now the Northwest Territories and Nunavut was added in 1821. At the time, Great Britain and Russia were the big players in the Arctic and their 1825 Boundary Treaty established the boundary between what is now Alaska and the Yukon along the 141st W meridian and as far as "the Frozen Ocean." That treaty is important to Canada's claim in the Arctic. The United States rejects the use of the 1825 treaty; Russia sold Alaska to the U.S. in 1867.

In 1870, the Hudson's Bay Company transferred its title to the Dominion of Canada. A decade later Britain transferred to Canada the rest of its Arctic possessions, dubiously including "all Islands adjacent to any such territories" discovered or not. Canada seemed disinterested, waiting until 1895 to pass an order-in-council accepting the transfer, and only sporadically undertook ventures to secure Arctic sovereignty, sending explorers such as Joseph-Elzéar Bernier (1904 to 1911) and Vilhjalmur Stefansson (1906 to 1918) to leave plaques or cairns and raise flags on several islands, including Ellesmere and Melville.

DREAMSTIME

An Arkhangelsk factory in the gulf of White Sea in Russia.

The first real assertion of Canadian sovereignty came in 1903 with a North West Mounted Police post on Herschel Island. Later, the RCMP operated a post office on Bache Peninsula, although no one lived near it; despite once-a-year mail delivery, the operation of a post office was proof of sovereignty. In 1926, Canada established the Arctic Islands Game Preserve, asserting the protection of the natural environment as affirmation of authority.

Canada's claim of Arctic sovereignty has largely been predicated on cost, with expenditure justified by what is present to be protected. Culture, national identity, infrastructure development and the environment have featured insignificantly in our actions. The Macdonald government of the 1880s considered the Arctic "worthless" but we know now that is not true. What is at stake in the current drive to establish sovereignty over the Arctic is the potential for ice-free shipping routes — sea lanes created by climate change — as well as significant natural resources, especially oil and gas. The Northwest Territories' Mackenzie Gas project alone holds 81 trillion cubic feet of natural gas and seven billion barrels of oil. Nunavut is estimated to hold a quarter of Canada's conventional oil reserves and, in the eastern Arctic near Baffin Island, the oil potential is estimated at 10 to 30 billion barrels. Besides energy resources, the North is rich in mineral resources and their development is vital to the northern economy. The diamond industry is lucrative, with production of $2.1 billion in 2011. Minerals extracted from Canada's north include copper, zinc-silver, tungsten, gold and nickel; metals sought in the north include rare earth elements, cobalt, and the platinum group elements. It is the search for energy resources that should concern humanity the most, for the sake of sovereignty and security, but mostly for the plight of our environment.

RUSSIA

Area: 17,098,242 sq km
Population: 141,930,000 (2012)

Russia takes its presence in the Arctic seriously. Its Arctic boundary is 24,140 kilometre long and its closest point to the North Pole is Cape Fligely, Rudolf Island, 911 kilometre from the pole. Russia claims the Northern Sea Route (also known as the Northeast Passage), a claim contested by the United States, which considers it an international route.

Arctic security, potential shipping routes and energy resources concern Russia. Gas and oil reserves would be a valuable political tool for Russia in the European energy market. Moscow estimates there are a billion barrels of oil in the Trebs and Titov deposits alone. Russia is working toward developing its oil and natural gas reserves, of which 70 percent are in the country's continental shelf.

Historically, Russia's Arctic focus has been the region within its landmass, but it once owned Alaska. In 1859, financially challenged after the Crimean War with Great Britain, Russia offered to sell Alaska to the U.S., fearing Alaska's proximity to a British colony would make it difficult to defend in another war against Britain. The Alaska Purchase was delayed by the American Civil War but in 1867, the U.S. bought Alaska for $7.2 million.

In the 1930s, a growing fleet of Soviet icebreakers worked at opening the Arctic. The *Sedov* established a polar station on Frantz Josef Land, creating the world's northernmost settlement, and a second station was established near the Severnaya Zemlya archipelago. Two non-stop crossings of the passage were made, northward in 1932 and in 1933 from Murmansk to the Pacific.

In 1937, the Soviet Union established a North Pole drifting station on a large ice floe. It was established and resupplied by several aircraft and manned by four brave explorers — Ivan Papanin, Peter Shirshov, Evgeny Fedorov and Ernest Krenkel. They took measurements, collected water and seabed soil samples, and made meteorological observations while their icy camp drifted for 274 days across 2,600 kilometre

from the North Pole to the Greenland Sea before the station was evacuated by an icebreaker. The researchers disproved the common perception of a lifeless Arctic and proved that there are no landmasses or islands at the North Pole. Their polar weather observations made possible today's routine air routes across the Arctic.

Unknown to the West, the Soviets established a second drifting station — North Pole-2 — in 1950, which determined that more observation of the Arctic was required. Arctic studies continued until North Pole-31 was terminated in 1991. During that time, 88 polar crews worked on the floating stations, drifting nearly 170,000 kilometre. The value of the information gained was unequalled in the 20th Century, and the drifting stations were taken up once more when North Pole-32 was established in 2003.

In 2001, Russia filed a formal claim to UNCLOS for 1.2 million square kilometres along the Lomonosov and Mendeleev ridges to the North Pole. In 2007, after the UN refused the claim, Russia staked a symbolic claim to the Arctic by dropping a canister containing the Russian flag on the ocean floor from a submarine at the geographic North Pole, declaring, "The Arctic is ours, and we should demonstrate our presence." Though a creative endeavour, such symbolic acts are insufficient proof of sovereignty under international law.

Russia began increasing its Arctic military presence in 2007. Shortly after the flag was "planted," then-president Vladimir Putin ordered the resumption of regular air patrols over the Arctic Ocean and the Russian Navy expanded its presence for the first time since the Cold War (United States Strategic Studies Institute). In July 2011, Russia began undersea mapping of the continental shelf and Putin announced the country's willingness to negotiate with its Arctic neighbours, adding "of course we will defend our own geopolitical interests firmly and consistently." Defence was clear in Moscow's decision to build six icebreakers and commit $33 billion to constructing a year-round Arctic port. Russia's Arctic region contains vast mineral wealth, including nickel, copper, coal, gold, uranium, tungsten and diamonds.

In 2010, Russia and Norway concluded a 44-year dispute over the Barents Sea. Under the precedent-setting treaty, the countries will split a 175,000 square kilometre area. Estimates of reserves in the region vary, but are in the order of 4 billion barrels of oil and 878 trillion cubic feet of gas. (See Norway's take on page 48.)

UNITED STATES

Area: 9,826,675 square km
Population: 312,780,968 (2012)

The United States' Arctic coastline is a mere 1,706 kilometres, but the economic potential represented by Alaska is great, as is a northern presence for security and trade, although in the minds of most, Alaska barely registers as a state. The United States' closest point to the North Pole is Point Barrow, Alaska, which is 2,078 kilometre from the pole.

The U.S. is interested in the Arctic Ocean for its sea routes and insists that the Northwest Passage is an "international strait," citing as its precedent the criteria established by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 1949 in the Corfu Channel Case (the United Kingdom versus Albania). In 1946, in the Corfu Strait, two British destroyers hit mines in Albanian waters and sustained damage and loss of life. The matter was referred by the UN Security Council to the ICJ, which determined that the strait's geographic situation connecting two parts of the high seas and its use for international navigation in which vessels pass within 12 nautical miles of one or more coastal states establishes a right to pass through the strait without coastal state permission. This does seem to be a relevant rationale for allowing unrestricted passage in the north.

However, the Strait of Corfu is unlike either the Northwest Passage or the Northern Sea Route, which the U.S. also argues is an international marine thoroughfare. The northern routes comprise multiple passages between islands, each of which has complex topographical and environmental concerns. On two occasions, the U.S. sent surface vessels through the Northwest Passage without asking Canada's consent: the *SS Manhattan*, an icebreaking super-tanker, in 1969, and the U.S. Coast Guard Cutter *Polar Sea* in 1985. Most Canadian specialists argue that these two transits are insufficient to fulfill the "used for international navigation"

CHRISTOPHER MERTL

A modern Alaskan Alutiiq dancer in traditional festival garb.

criterion. American analysts respond that the ICJ did not specify a threshold, and some of them argue that prospective use is enough.

In 1945, the United States claimed jurisdiction over the natural resources of its continental shelf beyond its territorial limits; other nations quickly followed suit. In 1967, to satisfy the need for changes to the law of the seas, the United Nations undertook a conference comprising a series of sessions spanning 15 years to produce a comprehensive set of laws known as the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, or UNCLOS. The convention became effective on Nov. 16, 1982, and recognizes a nation's sovereignty over natural resources within 200 nautical miles and allows territorial claims up to 350 nautical miles from shore provided the country can prove that its continental shelf extends beyond the 200-mile limit. There is nothing in the convention to compel the Arctic countries to accept the UN's rulings on competing claims. UNCLOS has 160 member countries; the United States is not one of them, though the other Arctic countries are. The U.S. disagrees with Part XI of UNCLOS, which deals with minerals found on the seabed of the Exclusive Economic Zone (within the 200-mile limit), although it has agreed to UNCLOS provisions relating to fisheries.

The U.S. pursues its claims "as an independent, sovereign nation," relying partly on President Harry Truman's proclamation that any hydrocarbons or other resources discovered beneath the American continental shelf is the property of the United States. The country can defend its claims through bilateral negotiations and in multilateral venues such as the 2008 Arctic Ocean Conference in Greenland, but it must determine how far into the Arctic Ocean its continental shelf extends. Canada realizes that cooperation between the two countries would be mutually beneficial for development of northern gas reserves as well as energy and national security and defence (eg, NORAD). The NORAD Region in Alaska has regained its former relevance with Russia's increased military presence in the Arctic.

Natural resources are vital to Alaska's economy and to the U.S. economy overall. In addition to oil and gas, Alaska's resources include timber, fish, coal, gold, diamonds, mercury, platinum and copper. The state's oil potential is huge; the North Slope alone holds roughly 100 billion barrels of recoverable oil. Alaska's natural gas potential is estimated to be more than 200 trillion cubic feet, with roughly 163 trillion cubic feet of that in the North Slope.

DENMARK

Area (continental): 43,098 sq km
Greenland area: 2,166,086 sq km
Population (continental): 5,584,758 (2012)
Population Greenland: 57,695 (July 2011 est.)

Denmark is a tiny Scandinavian monarchy well south of the Arctic Circle; continental Denmark is not considered part of the North, but its colonial territory, Greenland, gives the country a role in the Arctic sovereignty dispute. Denmark's closest point to the North Pole is Kaffeklubben Island, Perry Land, 707 kilometres from the pole. Denmark's interests, like those of the Arctic countries, lie in exploiting energy resources and increasing trade routes. Using the Northern Sea Route instead of the Suez Canal would cut 7,000 kilometres off the trip from Rotterdam to Tokyo, saving both time and fuel costs.

Denmark was once a European superpower with influence as great as that of the largest European nations. In fact, it ruled England from 1015 to 1034 and established colonies in the Caribbean in the 17th Century. Its current size and influence is "the result of 400 years of forced relinquishments of land, surrenders and lost battles," according to its official website. Denmark's association with Green-

JENS BUURGAARD NIELSEN

Scenery from Ravnefjeldet, Nanortalik (the southernmost part of Greenland).

Aurora Borealis — the Northern Lights — in Kiruna, the northernmost city in Sweden.

land reaches back to the explorations of the Norse, who established colonies on the island in the 10th Century. The Norse colonies disappeared in the 15th Century and Greenland remained under the rule of the joint kingdom of Denmark-Norway, which existed from 1536 to 1814. It became a colony of Denmark in 1814 and in 1953, it became part of the Commonwealth of the Realm of Denmark. In 1979, Denmark granted Greenland home rule and, in 2009, Greenland became an autonomous territory, with power transferred from the monarchical government to the local government.

Denmark has only recently begun to make claims to the Arctic, jumping into the fray with the other members of the "Arctic Five" (Canada, Russia, Norway and the United States), arguing that the Lomonosov Ridge — the same ridge Russia claims — is an extension of Greenland. Norway contests the claim and Canada has also claimed the ridge (in 2010).

The ridge is a towering fold in the ocean floor. It crosses the Arctic Ocean from the continental margin of North America between Greenland and Ellesmere Island and continues nearly 1,800 kilometres past the geographic North Pole to the continental edge of Russia in the Laptev Sea. On the North American side, there is a wide plateau and, on the Siberian side, the ridge breaks into other ridges. Near the pole, the ridge appears as a block splintered into a series of high and low points. Surveys of the ridge have amassed an array of data that includes the depth of silt across the Arctic shallows to the composition of rock 4,000 metres beneath the ocean's surface. The ridge's geological origins are less clear; it is likely that each claim will be proven correct to some extent.

In addition to the Lomonosov Ridge, Denmark and Canada both claim ownership of Hans Island (part of Nunavut, according to Canada), a mere speck in the oceans of dispute over Arctic sovereignty. It is a tiny (1.3 square kilometres) unpopulated island in the Kennedy Channel between Ellesmere Island and Greenland. It was discovered in 1871 by American explorer Charles Francis Hall, who named it for his guide, Hans Hendrik. Denmark claims the island is geologically part of Greenland and is closer to Greenland than to Ellesmere Island. Canada argues that the claim has lapsed because Denmark has not enforced sovereignty over it. Cartographers from both countries depict it as part of their respective countries. The seabed surrounding the island has oil and the island offers a staging point for offshore rigs. In 1971, Canada and Denmark signed a treaty delimiting the island's continental shelf and since have taken turns planting flags, leaving bottles of their own countries' alcohol (schnapps for Denmark, Canadian Club for Canada), and running military exercises, continuing the 30-year dispute that negotiators said in 2011 was nearing a resolution.

Denmark presented its "Arctic Strategy" to the UN in August 2011, ratifying UNCLOS and outlining its intention to claim the North Pole seabed by 2014. Its Arctic priorities lie in its control of Greenland's foreign affairs, security and financial policy, including its Exclusive Economic Zone, in consultation with the home rule government of Greenland. Denmark also owns the rights to the majority of Greenland's strategic resources — gold, diamonds, natural gas and oil and iceberg water, which is very much in demand as bottled water.

SWEDEN

Area: 450,295 sq km
Population: 9,507,324 (2012)

Sweden is the third-largest country in the European Union and a constitutional monarchy. Only a small portion of its northern region lies above the Arctic Circle. Its most northerly point is roughly 2,000 kilometres from the North Pole. The Arctic region — Lapland — is inhabited by the indigenous Sámi, whose total population of roughly 70,000 is spread across Sweden, Norway, Finland and Russia. Like continental Denmark and Finland, Sweden does not have an Arctic coastline but it is a nation closely tied to the sea by its geographic connection to the Gulf of Bothnia, the Baltic Sea and the Atlantic Ocean and would benefit from access to trade routes in the Arctic Ocean. The country is a leader in ice-breaking operations and can support commercial traffic in the Arctic.

What is now Sweden was once covered by a thick ice cap; as it retreated, people


DAVID KARNÁ

A major eruption at Eyjafjallajökull in Iceland.

migrated into the region and eventually an agrarian society was established. Sweden launched incursions into the sea during its Viking Age (800 to 1050), creating trade links with the Byzantine Empire and the Arab kingdoms. In 1280, King Magnus Ladulas established the nobility and a society based on the feudal model. In the 14th Century, the kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden were joined in the Kalmar Union under the rule of the Danish Queen Margareta. The union lasted from 1397 to 1521 and was marked by violent internal conflicts such as the "Stockholm Bloodbath" in 1520 during which 80 Swedish nobles were executed. After the dissolution of the Kalmar Union, Sweden engaged in several wars with Denmark and became a great power in northern Europe. It even founded a colony in North America, at what is now Delaware; however the colony was short-lived. As an agrarian nation, Sweden could not maintain its powerful position for long.

After its defeat in the Great Northern War (1700 to 1702) against the combined forces of Russia, Poland and Denmark, Sweden lost most of its possessions on the Baltic Sea and was reduced to what is now Sweden and Finland. During the Napoleonic Wars, Finland was surrendered to Russia, but French marshal Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, elected heir to the Swedish throne in 1810, forced Norway into a union with Sweden in 1814 as compensation. That union was dissolved in 1905 after several internal disputes. Sweden has not been involved in a war since the brief war with Norway in 1814 and since the First World War has pursued a policy of non-alignment in peacetime and neutrality in wartime. Its security is based on strong national defence.

Sweden feels its ties to the Arctic deeply. The country's research into the changing Arctic climate is of long standing; some of its measurement case studies reach back 100 years, such as environmental monitoring of temperature, precipitation, ice-thaw, flora and fauna. Sweden has contributed to the global understanding of climate change and continues to analyze levels of known and new hazardous substances in the fragile Arctic environment. In addition, Sweden is the site of research facilities, such as the Abisko Scientific Research Station, that administers, coordinates and conducts tests for researchers around the world. The Tarfala Research Station, in the Kebnekaise Mountains, conducts glacier monitoring, meteorological and hydrological analyses and snow chemistry and permafrost studies.

Sweden was one of the founding members of the international cooperative body on Arctic matters.

It launched its official Arctic strategy in May 2011, the last of the eight Arctic states, in response to growing international pressure and domestic calls to do so. At the same time, Sweden took on chairmanship of the Arctic Council, a position it will hold until 2013 when Canada takes over. The strategy document lists Sweden's priorities in the Arctic as being related to "business and economic interests in (the free trade area of) the Arctic and Barents Region" as well as "mining, petroleum and forestry; land transport and infrastructure; maritime security and the environmental impact of shipping; sea and air rescue; ice-breaking; energy; tourism; reindeer husbandry" and other endeavours such as information and communications technology and space technology. But its first level of concern in the Arctic comprises facilitating multilateral cooperation; the environment and sustainable development; and the human dimension, particularly indigenous cultures of the North.

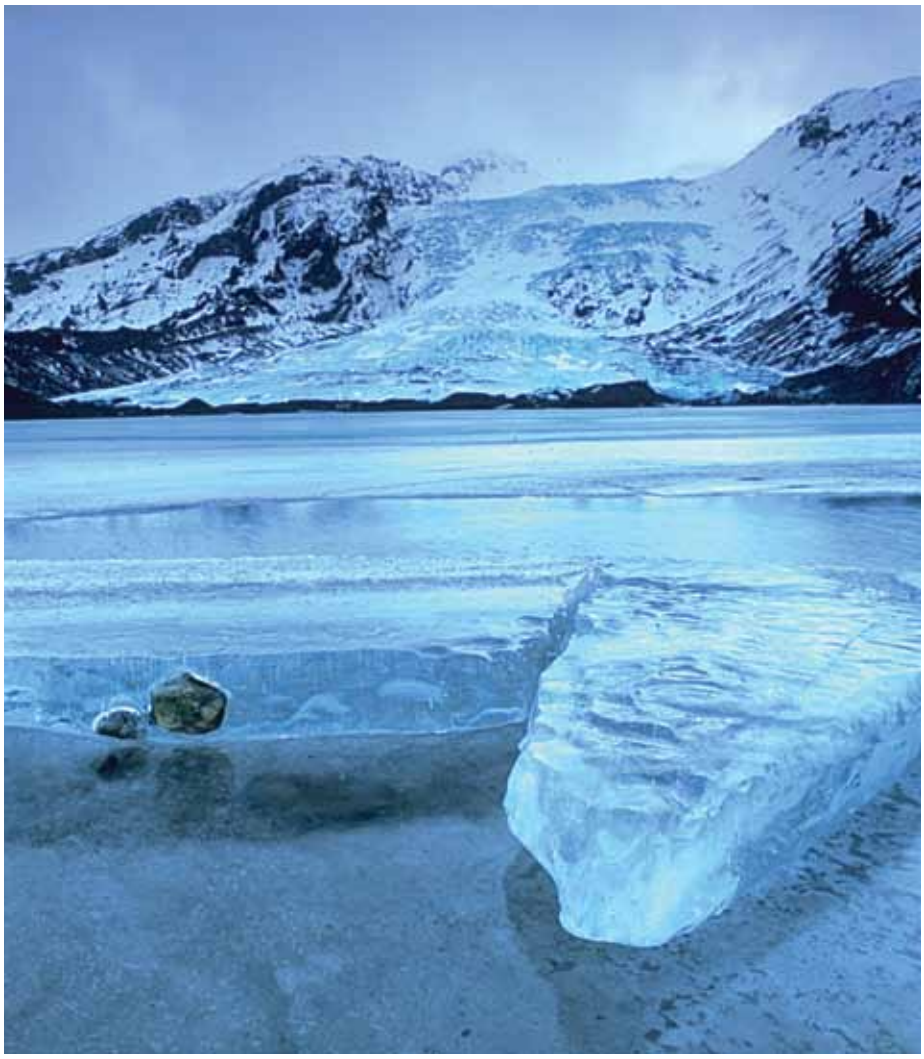
ICELAND

Area: 103,000 sq km
Population: 319,575 (2012)

Iceland is a Northern European island nation situated northwest of the United Kingdom between the Greenland Sea and the North Atlantic Ocean, on the fringe of the Arctic Ocean. Its closest point to the North Pole is Kolbeinsey, Eyjafjorour, which is 2,552 kilometres from the pole. Iceland's interior is uninhabitable due to a volcanic mountain plateau of glaciers, lava fields and desert, but the coastal areas provide land for grazing and cultivation. The country has the highest literacy rate in the world.

Iceland was first settled by renegade Norwegian chieftains and their followers in the 9th and 10th centuries. Icelandic culture is based on these early Viking settlements and it was this era that saw the first association between Iceland and what is now Canada. About 985 or 986, an Icelandic flotilla led by Eric the Red set out to colonize southwest Greenland. A trader, Brjarni Herjolfsson, belatedly sailed to join them but was blown off course. He became the first European verified to have reached the North American mainland. His first sighting of land was probably Newfoundland, from which he coasted north. The more southerly lands he found were well forested. In 1000, Leif Ericsson organized an expedition to explore sections of the North American coast discovered by Herjolfsson. Ericsson established a base camp in an area he called "Vinland," Land of Wine, because of its wild grapes. Vinland, according to archaeological evidence, was probably the coastline of the Gulf of St Lawrence.

Iceland has the world's longest standing legislative assembly, the *Althingi*,



ANDREAS TILLE

Gígjökull is an outlet glacier extending from Eyjafjallajökull, Iceland.

which was established in 930 and, despite changes in its role over the centuries, remains as the country's legislature today. The country was independent for more than 300 years before internal struggles let to it coming under the rule of Norway in 1262. The *Althingi* continued at this point, with the adoption of the Old Covenant, but its function changed to granting consent to the executive power of the king.

Iceland became a possession of the Kalmar Union (1397 to 1521) when the kingdoms of Norway, Denmark and Sweden were united. When absolute monarchy was established in Denmark in 1662, the *Althingi* served a judicial function until 1800 when a royal decree demanded its abolition and its responsibilities were assumed by a high court. Iceland remained a Danish dependency when the joint kingdom of Denmark-Norway dissolved in 1814. Another royal decree resurrected the *Althingi* in 1843. Its role underwent several changes until it regained legislative power in 1874, when Iceland gained limited autonomy from Denmark; it attained complete independence in 1944.

In 1875, the Askja volcano erupted and the subsequent fallout devastated the economy and caused extensive famine. In the next 25 years, 20 percent of the country's population emigrated, mainly to Canada, especially Manitoba, and the U.S. Icelanders had been coming to Canada since 1873; they established a colony known as New Iceland (now Gimli) on the shores of Lake Winnipeg. Manitoba was at the time an unorganized part of the Northwest Territories and a reserve was set aside by an order-in-council that allowed New Iceland settlers to create their own laws and maintain their own schools. A series of natural disasters decimated the population, initiating an exodus to Winnipeg and North Dakota that began in 1878.

Iceland's role in determining Arctic sovereignty is complex. It is a member of the Arctic Council with Canada, Russia, the U.S., Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland. The European Union believes Iceland will provide it with influence over the Arctic and its resources, giving the EU a "voice in the Arctic and the North Atlantic dimension of the Union's external policies." Canada has protested any formal involvement in the Arctic by the EU, including participation as an observer, citing Europe's lack of understanding about recognizing North Atlantic and Arctic heritage and the livelihoods of northern nations. Iceland is not counted among the coastal nations (the "Arctic Five" comprises Canada, Russia, the U.S., Denmark and Norway). The Icelandic government protested its exclusion from the group and a resolution passed by the *Althingi* in 2011 reinforced Iceland's commitment to having an active role among the coastal nations. The question to be answered is whether Iceland or the European Union will become the coastal state.

NORWAY

Area: 385,199 sq km
Population: 4,950,000 (2012)

Norway is a constitutional monarchy in Northern Europe. Its nearest point to the North Pole is Rossoya Sjuoyane (Ross Island), Svalbard, 1,024 kilometres from the pole. Norway's history, like that of other Scandinavian countries, involves Vikings, who settled in the Orkney Isles, the Shetlands and Hebrides, the Isle of Man and the north of mainland Scotland and Ireland. Dublin, which was founded by Vikings in the 9th Century, was under Norse rule until 1171. The Viking Age ended in 1066, when Norwegian King Harald Hardruler and his men were defeated at the Battle of Stamford Bridge in England.

The late Middle Ages in Norway were marked by economic decline. The plague and other epidemics decimated the population during the 14th Century. Economic depression brought political consequences; Denmark's power was increasing. Lands and property passed into foreign hands, the Norwegian nobility shrank and Norway's ability to assert itself diminished. A union between Norway and Denmark was enforced by treaty from 1450 and by 1536 Norway was no longer an independent kingdom.

In 1813, at the Battle of Leipzing, Napoleon suffered a crushing defeat; among his

HANNE HOLMGREN

The Sami indigenous peoples' Parliament in Karasjok, Norway.

opponents was the Kingdom of Sweden, which wanted Norway as a safeguard on its western border. Sweden's allies had promised it could have Norway as a spoil of war. In January 1814, Danish King Frederick VI surrendered, severed his ties with Napoleon, and gave Norway to Sweden, ending the four-centuries-long union of Norway and Denmark. Norway refused the cession of their country to Sweden and adopted a new constitution. Sweden invaded Norway but agreed that Norway could keep its constitution in exchange for accepting union under a Swedish king. King Frederick relinquished his power on Oct. 10, 1814.

Increasing nationalism through the 19th Century led to a referendum in 1905 that granted Norway its independence. During the First World War, Norway remained neutral but suffered heavy shipping losses due to the submarine war and mining of the seas. The war yielded financial gains, however, and Norway was able to recoup major companies that had passed into foreign ownership. At the outset of the Second World War, Norway again proclaimed its neutrality but was occupied by the Nazis for five years, resulting in German exploitation of the Norwegian economy and mass executions. In 1949, Norway joined NATO. During the 1960s, the discovery of oil and gas in adjacent waters improved the country's economy. Norway rejected joining the European Union in referenda held in 1972 and 1994.

Norway's presence in the Arctic is considerable and not restricted to its own territories. Canada was the site of many of Norway's Arctic achievements. Between 1898 and 1902, the intrepid Otto Sverdrup became known for his expedition to the area of Ellesmere Island. In the course of four winters in the ice, he discovered several islands west of Ellesmere and mapped large portions of the high Arctic. He became the first person to set foot on the islands of Axel Heilberg, Ellef Ringnes and Amund Ringnes; even the Inuit had not visited them. Sverdrup claimed them for Norway. The claim was abandoned in 1931, and Canada paid Norway $67,000 for Sverdrup's records.

Norwegian Roald Amundsen was the first to sail through the Northwest Passage, in 1906, a feat that had eluded sailors for three centuries. Amundsen set sail in his sturdy vessel the *Gjøa*, equipped with sails and a 13 horse-power motor and manned by a crew of six, sailed from the Oslo Fjord through the ice-laden waters of the passage. Along the way, they compiled a wealth of scientific data, the most important of which concerned earth's magnetism and the exact location of the magnetic North Pole. Amundsen also led a successful expedition to the South Pole.

Norway's role in the Arctic, and therefore its place in the Arctic sovereignty discussions, is vital to its economy. Its second-most important resource, after hydropower, is petroleum from the continental shelf, which is estimated at 13.2 billion standard cubic metres of recoverable oil equivalents. Partly because of its ability to exploit its energy resources, and partly because of its ability to invest and save (via the Petroleum Fund), Norway posted a government budget surplus in 2011 that was equal to 13.6 percent of its gross domestic product.

FINLAND

Area: 338,144 sq km
Population: 5,402,758 (2012)

Finland is a Northern European country bordered by Sweden, Norway and Russia. Like Sweden and continental Denmark, Finland is not bordered by the Arctic Ocean. The Arctic Circle crosses it about a third of the way south from its most northern point, neighbouring on Norway, which is roughly 1,700 kilometres from the North Pole. Finland's Arctic region — Lapland — is inhabited mainly by the Sámi.

Archaeological evidence suggests that Finland was first settled during the Stone Age, around 8,500 BC, by itinerant hunter-gatherers. The origin of the Finnish people is unclear, but many scholars suggest they

A. NORPPA

A view from Saana in the municipality of Enontekiö in Lapland, Finland. The stone stacks were created by visitors to Saana.

originated in what is now west-central Siberia. Swedish kings established their rule in the 12th Century. During the Swedish era, which lasted into the 19th Century, Finland was a province and then a grand duchy. This included a time of enlightenment; the first literature written in Finnish was published and the first university in Finland was established. Finish people comprised a significant portion of the first Swedish settlers in North America in the 17th Century. During the 18th Century, Finland was occupied twice by the warring forces of Sweden and Russia.

Finland became an autonomous grand duchy of Russia in 1809 after being overrun by the armies of Alexander I in the Finnish War. In 1835, the Finnish national epic, *The Kalevala*, a collection of mythology and legends, was published, stirring feelings of nationalism. From the 1860s, a nationalist movement grew in Finland and it won its independence in 1917 after the February Revolution and the October Revolution. During the Second World War, Finland successfully defended itself against the Soviet Union, though with some loss of territory, and subsequently signed an armistice with the USSR before forcing the Germans out of northern Finland.

In the 50 years after the war, Finland transformed itself from a farm and forest economy to a diversified modern industrial economy. It has been a member of the European Union since 1995 and was the only Nordic state to adopt the Euro when it was initiated in 1999.

Located on the taiga belt, Finland's hydrocarbon resources are limited to peat and wood; it has no domestic sources of fossil energy and must import crude oil, mainly from Russia, as well as petroleum and natural gas. Finland operates several refineries and has an extensive pipeline system. It exports heavy fuel oil, light fuel oil, gasoline and diesel oil. Therefore, transportation of energy resources from the Arctic region to Europe and beyond is among Finland's significant economic, political and security interests in the region. Finland has sizeable investments in the Barents Region, and the oil and gas reserves of both Norway and Russia offer opportunities for Finnish companies in the areas of offshore industries and shipbuilding, establishing infrastructure, building machinery and equipment, and providing logistics. The largest known Arctic deposits of oil and gas that will most likely be exploited first are located in the northern parts of the Yamal Peninsula and the Shtokman and Fedinski fields in the Barents Sea.

One of Finland's stocks in trade is its knowledge about the Arctic. The country's expertise and research about the Arctic are internationally recognized and Finland has played an important role in presenting initiatives on Arctic issues. It also belongs to most organizations and treaties concerning the North.

Finland's goals in establishing an Arctic strategy are to strengthen its role as an international expert in the Arctic by investing in education, research, testing, technology and product development; to make better use of Finnish experience in winter shipping and Arctic technology in Arctic sea transport and shipbuilding; and to improve the opportunities of Finnish companies to benefit from their Arctic knowledge in the large projects undertaken in the Barents region by supporting the networking, export promotion and internationalisation of small and medium-sized enterprises.

In 2011, Finland initiated political and economic ties with Russia in the Arctic. Finland has a long history of building vessels capable of withstanding the rigours of the Arctic Ocean for the Soviet Union and later for Russia. Finland built two nuclear-powered icebreakers for Russia, the *Taimyr* and the *Valgash*, in the 1980s, as well as the deep-water submarine used by explorer Arthur Chilingarov when he "planted" the Russian flag on the North Pole seabed in 2007.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is a writer from Alberta.

Norway and Russia: high North, low tension

By Else Berit Eikeland

In September 2010, Norway and Russia signed the treaty on maritime delimitation and co-operation in the Barents Sea and the Arctic Ocean. The treaty was an historic milestone. It resolved what for several decades had remained the most important outstanding issue between Norway and Russia: the maritime boundary between the two countries. The treaty sent an important signal to the rest of the world: the Arctic is a peaceful region where any issues that arise are resolved in accordance with international law. It reflects the parties' active role and responsibility, as coastal states, for securing stability and strengthening co-operation in the Arctic Ocean.

The treaty marks the end of a long process. Negotiations had been ongoing since the '70s. The Russian position had been that the delimitation line should follow a sector line running roughly along longitude 32 degrees northwards from the Russian coastline. Norway's position had been a median line, every point of which is equidistant from the nearest point on the Norwegian and Russian coastlines. The different positions resulted in an area of overlapping claims of roughly 175,000 square kilometres that was referred to as the "Grey Zone." Building on international jurisprudence, an agreement, which takes into account the geographical particularities of the area, was found. Today, the Grey Zone is history.

The treaty, however, is more than a border agreement. It also strengthens the co-operation with Russia, which is one of Norway's top foreign policy priorities as part of our High North Policy.

KREMLIN

Then-Russian President Dmitry Medvedev and Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg signed a treaty on boundaries in the North in 2010.

The treaty ensures the continuation of the excellent bilateral co-operation in fisheries and does not adversely affect the opportunities for Norwegian and Russian fishermen to fish in the Barents Sea. The Norwegian-Russian Joint Fisheries Commission continues to play a key role in the management of the fisheries resources in the Barents Sea, which today has the most sustainable fish stocks in the world.

Since the 1980s, Norway and Russia had agreed not to carry out exploration and exploitation of oil and gas resources in the Grey Zone. This moratorium came to an end when the treaty came into force. Possible hydrocarbon resources in the area were not an issue in the negotiations. However, the treaty also contains provisions on transboundary oil and gas deposits. These include provisions on the parties' obligation to co-operate on the exploitation of any such transboundary deposits that are discovered. These detailed provisions are intended to ensure that the deposits are exploited in a cost-effective and rational manner, and that the resources are shared in accordance with the agreement between the parties.

Neither of the parties can start exploitation of a transboundary deposit without first reaching agreement with the other party. Even if they agree to exploit the field as a unit, an approach known as unitization, the parties continue to have jurisdiction over their respective sides of the delimitation line. Norway has previously entered into a number of agreements involving unitization; most of these concern petroleum resources in the North Sea.

The provisions of the exploitation on any transboundary petroleum deposits contained in the treaty on maritime delimitation in the Barents Sea and the Arctic Ocean are modelled on established practice under international law.

The discovery of commercially viable transboundary deposits could create considerable potential for cooperation with Russia. The treaty on maritime delimitation thus opens new possibilities for the petroleum sector and for Norwegian-Russian cooperation in this sector. The treaty also paves the way for increased commercial cooperation in the Barents Sea, including exchange of experience and technology. It is essential to ensure that the exploitation of petroleum resources in the Barents Sea is able to coexist with other industries in the area, such as fisheries. Ensuring high standards of health, safety and environmental safeguards will be a key priority.

At the Arctic Ocean conference in Ilulissat, Greenland in 2008, the five coastal states bordering the Arctic Ocean (Canada, Denmark/Greenland, Russia, the U.S. and Norway) declared that the law of the sea is the applicable legal framework for our region. The agreement between Norway and Russia puts these words into practice and confirms that in the high North, there's low tension.

Else Berit Eikeland was Norway's ambassador to Canada until August 2012. She is now her foreign ministry's senior Arctic official, responsible for Arctic policy and the Arctic Council.

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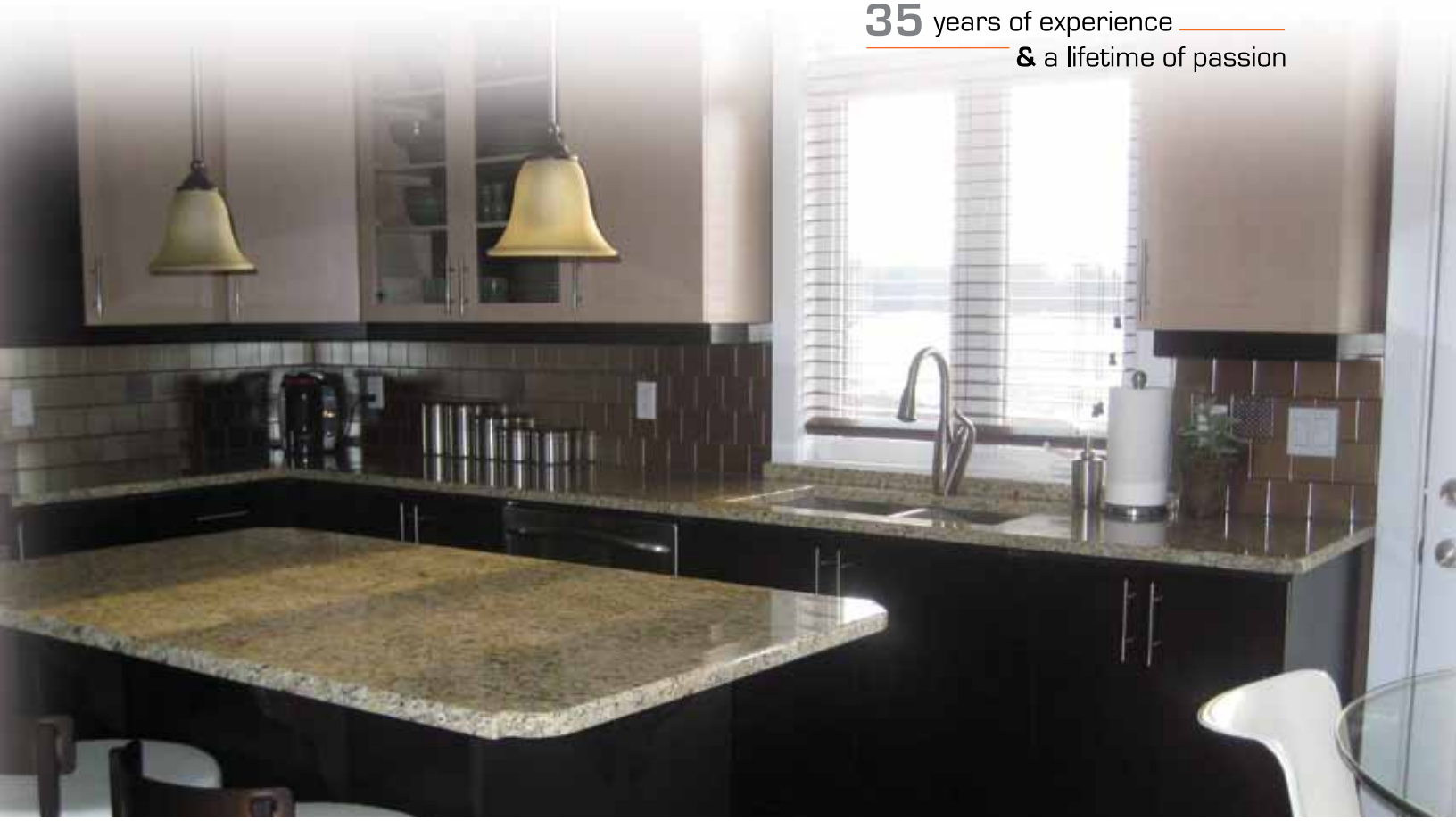

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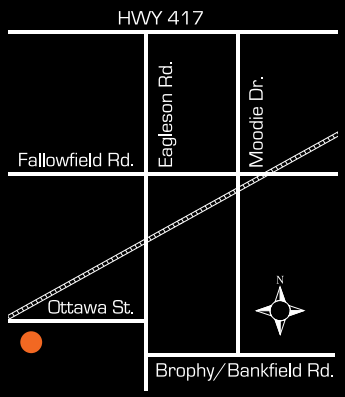

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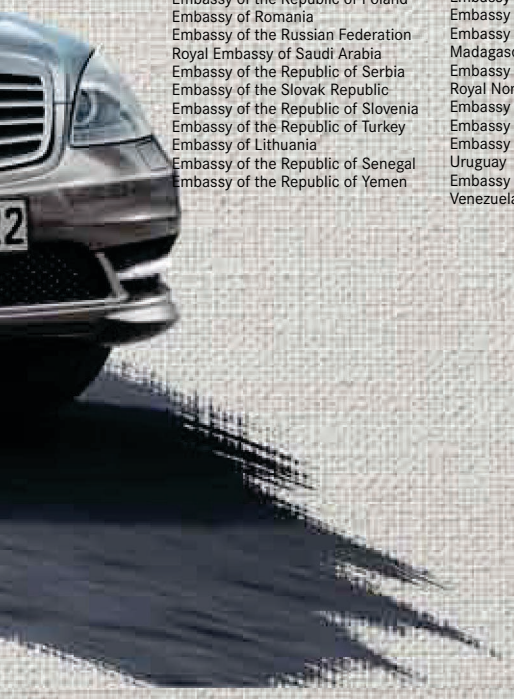

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Women at the wheel

The world's top-10 most powerful female politicians

By Wolfgang Depner

Why do so few women enter politics? This familiar, yet frustrating question looms large behind this list of the 10 most powerful female leaders currently holding office around the globe.

Some have blamed the absence of women in politics on pervasive patterns of social learning that emphasize the maleness of politics. Others, particularly, but not exclusively Marxists, have focused on economic explanations in blaming the traditional sexual division of labour for not ameliorating the ambitions and aptitudes of women. Sylvia Bashevkin, a University of Toronto political science professor and one of Canada's foremost academic authorities on women in politics, has recently theorized that too many men and women feel viscerally uncomfortable about granting women genuine political power.

While modern voters may talk a good game about electing more women, she concludes that their actions generally suggest otherwise. Women who wish to participate in (elected) politics might never be able to satisfy the ever-changing expectations of the electorate, says Prof. Bashevkin, who draws on several Canadian examples to prove her equation that "women plus power equals discomfort." Consider Flora MacDonald, who could have become the first woman to lead a major Canadian party in 1976, if only more of her male Tory colleagues had kept their initial promise to elect her leader.

Does this preceding commentary on the possible cause(s) of female underrepresentation matter? Yes, because it may point out the path towards possible remedies. Unfortunately, the size and scope of this survey will deny readers the benefits of discussing the pros and cons of possible solutions such as quotas. Nor will this survey attempt to offer a definitive answer to a question that might be as important as our opening query: If we accept the premise that men handle most matters of state, does their domination ultimately matter? Would human history have taken a different course if more women had been in charge?

WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

Angela Merkel has been given the nickname "Madame Non" for her insistence on austerity measures in the EU.

While such questions encourage an element of speculation, only the most naive would query the point that women must play the political game by different rules than men, starting with certain biological realities. Women must also confront different expectations about their societal roles and physical appearance. Satisfying said demands is difficult in any professional context, but even more so in the political arena, a field as petty as it is unforgiving. It is, perhaps, no wonder then that women find it difficult to establish and maintain political careers that lead them to the very top. Bashevkin quantifies this relationship with a short, but insightful observation: "the higher, the fewer."

Things, however, are changing, particularly in northern Europe, where the Scandinavian countries, Germany and the United Kingdom have had a long postwar history of electing women to the highest offices of their respective political systems. Comparable comments also apply (albeit to a lesser degree) to certain corners of the North American continent.

An evolution is also evident elsewhere. Consider Latin America and the Caribbean. "Once a caldron of machismo and gender inequality," as *The New York Times*

recently described the region, it now features a growing number of female politicians occupying top positions, including the respective presidencies of regional powers and rivals Brazil and Argentina. Other notable female politicians in the region include Josefina Vázquez Mota, the runner-up in the recent Mexican presidential election, Josefina Laura Chinchilla of Costa Rica and Portia Simpson-Miller of Jamaica, along with a host of others. This said, the recent Mexican elections emphasized the struggles women continue to face as a former *Playboy* Playmate, serving as an usher during a televised debate, stole the show.

Turning to Asia, parts of it have had a history of female leadership, with the proviso that these leaders have often benefited from being part of a political dynasty founded and headed by a powerful patriarch. Such has been the case in India, Pakistan and South Korea. The near absence of political rights for women in the Islamic Middle East and China is arguably far more indicative of the overall situation than any of the past success stories. Women have also played a part in the politics of Africa, but mainly as the unwilling victims of environmental destruction, starvation, rape and war. Often lacking the most basic resources to sustain themselves and their families in the face of prolonged, often brutal conflicts, African women have found it nearly impossible to make their voices heard. Notable exceptions include Wangari Muta Maathai, the late 2004 Nobel Peace Prize laureate.

Mindful of this reality, this list has tried to capture the current face of female leadership around the world. Criteria for inclusion include the importance of the post held by the person, the significance of the country as measured by its influence on global affairs, geographic diversity and other intangible considerations.

Consider, for example, Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir, the prime minister of Iceland. While Iceland hardly "matters" on the global stage, her unexpected rise as her country's first female and openly homosexual prime minister says something larger about the struggles of women.

Also consider Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia. Both women made this list because their invariably intertwined political careers have shaped Bangladesh — a country of 150 million people — for decades. Their story also clashes with the romantic concept that a world run by female politicians might be radically different.

1. Angela Merkel

GERMAN CHANCELLOR

Angela Merkel was once known as the "girl" of Helmut Kohl, the unifier of Germany, for many he was the first to discover her political talents after the demise of East Germany, where she grew up and studied nuclear physics. Fellow Christian Democrats now call this childless daughter of a Protestant pastor "Mutti," the German diminutive of Mother.

The media, meanwhile, call her "Madame Non" for insisting on austerity measures during the current European sovereign debt crisis. Angry mobs in Greece have burned her in effigy wearing a Nazi uniform and insignia. *The New Statesman* has called her "the most dangerous German leader since Hitler," depicting her as a Terminator, the cybernetic killing machine played by Arnold Schwarzenegger. Italian president Silvio Berlusconi has made unprintable remarks about her physical appearance. U.S. President Barack Obama has given her the Presidential Medal of Freedom and depends indirectly on her abilities to win his re-election campaign. International Monetary Fund director Christine Lagarde has bought her trinkets from Hermès and shares her taste for classical music.

Members of the German national football (soccer) team, wearing little more than towels, have looked sheepish when she visited their locker room after cheering them on with a degree of passion that departs so radically from her reserved, even dour, public image. In short, Angela Merkel can be many things to many people, an image she nurtures herself when she makes statements like the following: "Sometimes, I am liberal, sometimes, I am conservative, sometimes I am a Christian Social Unionist — that is the essence of the Christian Democratic Union."

This ideological lightness is unbearable for many of her critics, particularly conservatives, because it seemingly reveals a philosophy of pragmatism devoid of intellectual vigour, ever subject to shifting opinions and circumstances. Perhaps. But this flexibility is also an undeniable asset, one that allows her to respond to new situations in a sufficiently fast manner.

2. Hillary Rodham Clinton

U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE

As this list shows, women now occupy some of the highest and toughest political offices around the world. But it is also apparent that the ascendancy of women to the very peak of political power remains abridged.

Perhaps nobody better personifies this particular condition than Hillary Rodham

U.S. DEPT. OF STATE

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton ran a determined primary campaign to make it to the Oval Office.

Clinton, the former first lady and current U.S. secretary of state, a position as prestigious and powerful as any, except for the U.S. presidency itself. She, of course, campaigned for this very position in 2008 after a brief, but distinguished senatorial career. And if it had not been for the historic candidacy of a certain Barack Obama, the first African-American president to occupy the Oval Office, she might well have made history after a determined, occasionally divisive primary campaign, which will likely never find an equal.

Other advanced western nations — most notably France, which arguably pioneered political equality from a philosophical, if not symbolic perspective — have also waited to task a woman with the top job in their respective political system. But it is one thing for French voters to elect a woman, as they nearly did in 2007 when Socialist Ségolène Royal lost to the since-departed Nicolas Sarkozy in the presidential run-off election; it is another one entirely if this important western democracy, in all of its occasionally confounding complexity, shatters the final glass ceiling. This observation neither complains about the circumstances that ultimately denied Clinton in 2008 nor caricatures the United States, and for that matter, France. Perspective reveals that Clinton strikes a historic figure in the firmament of female politicians well beyond this most recent chapter of her well-documented life. And yet one cannot help but imagine Clinton as a tragic traveller who made great personal sacrifices in overcoming great odds and obstacles, only to fall short of her goal.

3. Christine Lagarde

MANAGING DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Back in 2005, Christine Lagarde faced a defining choice: continue her 25-year-long career with Baker & McKenzie, one of the most prestigious and powerful international law firms, whose client list includes Microsoft and Sony; or become secretary of state for the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in her native France under then-Conservative prime minister Dominique de Villepin, who gave her about one hour to decide.

Lagarde, perhaps to the benefit of the teetering global economy, chose the second option. This lateral entry into the political world has since turned into a breathtaking ascent into the "stratosphere of global governance," as *Vogue* put it in profiling Lagarde. Her outward appearance certainly projects the elegant elitism that is favoured by high-end fashion magazines. Standing a perfectly poised five-foot-ten, she exudes confidence and charm. One would likely be stunned to see the glamorous Lagarde shop for her own groceries in the very same suit, she had just worn to a European summit, as German Chancellor Angela Merkel once did.

IMF

Christine Lagarde combines guile and guts as head of the IMF.

While a daughter of privilege, Lagarde is also a self-made tribute to discipline; raising two sons while jetting around the world for work. A member of the French synchronized-swimming team during her youth, Lagarde maintains a daily fitness regime of yoga and functions on five hours of sleep. Her strength is also evident in her willingness to speak her mind freely, a tendency that earned Lagarde the title "Madame La Gaffe" from French media while in government, where she served as, among other things, France's first female finance minister.

Lagarde's tendency to ruffle feathers has not abated during the European sovereign debt crisis as she displays rare traits among the technocratic elites of France: a willingness to express and embrace differing opinions, as Lagarde does by holding out-of-box dinners with individuals outside her own social class, and a certain frankness more common among American elites, a trait she likely picked up during her time in the United States, which included a Congressional internship. Nicknamed l'Américaine, it is uncertain whether Lagarde will succeed as the first female head of the IMF. But her combination of guile and guts could be powerful enough.

4. Dilma Rousseff

PRESIDENT OF BRAZIL

The daughter of a Bulgarian immigrant, Dilma Rousseff has given her office an occasionally frantic nature that merely reflects the dynamic pace of development in Brazil. Once derisively tagged as the "country of the future," Brazil has emerged as a genuine global actor with

AGENCIA BRAZIL

Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff is decisive and distant with staff.

ambitions to match its continuing rise. While accounts of this accomplishment have frequently credited Rousseff's predecessor, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, as its central architect, Rousseff has hardly shied away from putting her own stamp on affairs. Yes, Rousseff has undoubtedly benefited from her close association with da Silva, who remains a popular figure. And yes, she has attempted to advance a comparable agenda that places economic growth and development ahead of other considerations, much to the chagrin of environmentalists. But the status quo has not satisfied Rousseff, the first woman to head Latin America's largest country. She has stepped out of Lula's shadow by distancing herself from his jovial style. Rousseff — who once wanted to be a nun — has a preference for working long, solitary hours at her desk in stark contrast to Lula's habit of seeking out admiring and adulating crowds of ordinary citizens, à la Bill Clinton. In dealings with staff and other politicians, Rousseff is said to be distant and decisive, rooting out incompetence with ruthlessness, when necessary. One year into her government, Rousseff had changed seven cabinet members, including six on various corruption charges alone. While this action angered the male patriarchs of her governing coalition, Rousseff prevailed. In fact, she is remaking Brazilian politics through the appointment of women into cabinet and her inner circle. "If she has a choice between appointing an equally qualified man and woman, she will prefer the woman," Gilberto Carvalho, chief of the presidential office, told *Der Spiegel* earlier this year.

5. Daw Aung San Suu Kyi

DEMOCRACY ACTIVIST AND PARLIAMENTARIAN IN MYANMAR

The "Lady" as millions call Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, has lived a life without compromises to become one of the most courageous politicians of her time, whose power lies in her personal example. The daughter of Burmese independence hero Gen. Aung San, Aung San Suu Kyi has spent the better part of two decades under house arrest for her role in leading a pro-democracy movement in her home country, now known as Myanmar, against its ruling generals. Her commitment to the cause of democracy has come at a great personal cost.

In returning to Burma from the United Kingdom in 1988, she left behind a comfortable existence and her children, Alexander and Kim, who grew up largely under the care of their father and Suu Kyi's husband, Michael Aris, an Oxford professor. And when Aris fell ill with prostate cancer, the ruling junta persistently refused his requests to visit her, on the cynical hope that she would leave the country to look after him. Suspecting that the generals would not allow her to return home, Suu Kyi decided to remain in Myanmar, a decision her late husband had consistently supported before he died at the age of 53 in 1999.

Released from house arrest in November 2010, shortly after the ruling generals had staged elections to give their military rule civilian legitimacy, Aung San Suu Kyi has since seen her personal and political freedoms expand as Myanmar attempts a sharp, but still uncertain, transition towards democracy and the western world, away from China. In April 2012, Aung San Suu Kyi led her National League for Democracy to victory in parliamentary elections, as it won 40 out of 45 available seats, in large part on the strength of her astonishing popularity, which even extends to would-be supporters of the regime. Aung San Suu Kyi's transition from world-renowned dissident to "ordinary" politician bears dangers. Instead of protesting conditions, she must propose solutions. As *The New York Times* said, she is "placing some of her hard-fought prestige on the line."

The world witnessed her appeal in June 2012 when she could finally accept her 1991 Nobel Peace Prize for her promotion of democracy and human rights. Delivering a modest, but touching speech to an

HTOO TAY ZAR

Myanmar's Daw Aung San Suu Kyi is one of the most courageous politicians of her time.

audience that included the Norwegian royal family, Aung San Suu Kyi thanked the Nobel Committee in her own way. "When the Nobel Committee chose to honour me, the road I had chosen of my own free will became a less lonely path to follow."

6. Julia Gillard

PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA

Female politicians frequently encounter the patronizing expectation that the political game would be less confrontational and more caring if only more of them would dare to enter the field. The implication of this perspective is apparent: women cannot succeed in an adversarial environment.

Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard has most certainly defused this view during the course of her elected political career, which began in 1998. The daughter of Welsh immigrants who arrived in Australia when she was four years old, Gillard has not been shy about being heard on her way to becoming the country's first female prime minister in June 2010. Notably, she occupied the office as part of an internal Labor party coup against none other than the then-sitting prime minister, Kevin Rudd. Deemed to be disloyal by some, Gillard fought a dogged election campaign in August 2010, defeating Conservative Tony Abbott to retain her hold on power, albeit as the leader of a minor-

UN PHOTO

Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard

ity government dependent on support from two independent legislators. Gillard showed her steeliness once more in February 2012, when Rudd renewed their personal vendetta in challenging her (just as she had done) for the office of party leader and prime minister. This "ugly" political showdown turned into a resounding victory for Gillard, who continues to mix up the macho world of Australian politics.

Consider the following anecdote: Campaigning in a shopping mall, an older would-be male voter made a crack about Gillard's election poster. "Taken on a good day, wasn't it love?" he asked. Her reply was prompt. "And you'd be bloody Robert Redford, would you, mate?"

7. Cristina Elisabet Fernández de Kirchner

PRESIDENT OF ARGENTINA

No region except northern Europe features more female heads of state (five) and

UN PHOTO

Argentine President Cristina Elisabet Fernández de Kirchner is one of many female heads-of-state in Latin America and the Caribbean.

PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL

Icelandic Prime Minister Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir returned to politics after Iceland's economy tanked.

a higher share of female parliamentarians (22.5 per cent) than Latin America and the Caribbean, according to the 2012 Women in Politics survey conducted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and UN Women.

Argentines can justifiably take some credit for this condition, starting with their unceasing reverence for Eva Perón. Whatever one might think of the personality cult that continues to envelop Perón, she undoubtedly blazed a trail for women across her country and continent. This trendsetting has continued under Argentina's current president, Cristina Elisabet Fernández de Kirchner. The first elected female president of her country, de Kirchner has since repeated her election victory of 2007 by becoming Latin America's first re-elected female head of state. While it would be a stretch to draw any comparisons between Perón and de Kirchner, both share some biographical commonalities. Both of their careers have unfolded adjacent to powerful men — in the case of de Kirchner, her late husband, Nestor, whom she met when both were activists in the political movement of Perón's husband, Juan.

A lawyer by trade, observers expected that de Kirchner would be a stand-in for her husband, who had been barred from running for another term. But his death following a heart attack in 2010 gave de Kirchner a chance to carve out her own legacy. While her tenure has not been without controversies — claims that she was suffering from thyroid cancer proved to be simply false — de Kirchner has led Argentina through a relatively prosperous period featuring record employment growth and shrinking poverty rolls. Others, however, will decide whether her reign will be memorable.

8. Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir

PRIME MINISTER OF ICELAND

The first openly lesbian head of state knows a thing or two about turbulence — be it political or otherwise. A former flight attendant with the national airline, Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir was readying herself for retirement after more than three decades in elected politics when the gale-force winds of the unfolding global financial crisis suddenly shifted the course of her career in early 2009. As the country careened into a deep spin following the collapse of its banking system, Sigurðardóttir found herself in charge of a caretaker government cobbled together after angry citizens had pushed the ruling Conservatives out of power.

Critical of the celebrated financiers (the so-called New Vikings) who had caused the calamity in the first place, Sigurðardóttir won a mandate to wipe away the mess in April 2009 and became Iceland's first female prime minister. Yet for all the tumultuous circumstances that have led to the rise of Sigurðardóttir, her sexuality has hardly caused a stir in Iceland, one of the first countries to decriminalize gay sex (1940) and approve civil partnerships (1996). In fact, it has not mattered at all. But her calm, competent manner has, for now, given Icelanders the confidence that their small country might make it through after all, as its economy shows signs of recovery, a rare development in Europe.

Iceland has also become the first country to criminally prosecute one of its former leaders for his part in the financial meltdown — Geir Haarde, Sigurðardóttir's disgraced predecessor.

9. Sheikh Hasina

CURRENT BANGLADESHI PRIME MINISTER

Khaleda Zia

FORMER BANGLADESHI PRIME MINISTER

One of the poorest countries in the world, with a wretchedly long history of man-

COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT

Sheikh Hasina is the current Bangladeshi prime minister.

UN PHOTO

Khaleda Zia is the former Bangladeshi prime minister.

made and natural disasters, Bangladesh is the surreal setting for one of the most searing conflicts between two competing political clans, each side led by a woman whose gentle outward appearance belies the ferociousness of their fight.

This "Punch-and-Judy show" as *The Economist* has called it, revolves around former Prime Minister Khaleda Zia of the Islam-conservative Bangladesh Nationalist Party and around the current office-holder, since 2008, Sheikh Hasina of the ruling secular Awami League. Alternating in power through the 1990s and 2000s, except for a period of military rule, their names are irrevocably linked to the tragic past and uncertain future of their country and its 150 million inhabitants.

Hasina is the eldest daughter of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leading initiator of Bangladesh's drive for independence from Pakistan, achieved in 1971. Four years later, Hasina and her sister, Sheikh Rehana, escaped the bloodbath during which dissatisfied officers killed all of their family members.

Zia also suffered at the hands of the military when her husband, a former general who ostensibly benefited from the assassination of Hasina's father in 1975, was killed during an unsuccessful military coup in 1981. This history looms large in the rivalry between these two women, which has unfolded against an ever-evolving tapestry of political intimidation, corruption and violence, as both parties seek to preserve their spoils and discredit their enemies. Attempts to break this dynastic power duopoly have so far failed. Muhammad Yunus — a pioneer of micro-financing and 2006 Nobel laureate — has discovered this for himself, when his attempt to launch a "third force" in the country's politics ran into obstacles from the government of Hasina, who remains the "undisputed leader of her party and the nation," according to U.S. State Department diplomatic cables, sent by diplomat Nicolas J. Dean, released through Wikileaks.

10. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA

Africa's first democratically elected female head of state, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf has been inspiring and divisive, perhaps not unlike the original Iron Lady, Margaret Thatcher, with whom she has been compared. Ma Ellen, as Liberians know her, assumed office in January 2006, a truly momentous occasion dignified by leading diplomats from around the world, including then-U.S. first lady Laura Bush and then-U.S. secretary of state Condoleezza Rice. This moment marked the end of a rather unlikely path to power.

Born in Liberia's capital of Monrovia, Sirleaf enjoyed rare access to formal education and political power, privileges that eventually led to a master's in public administration from Harvard. But if Sirleaf benefited from the circumstances of her birth — she has lighter skin because her grandfather was German — she also exhibited personal strength and determination in surviving an abusive husband

WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf is Africa's first democratically elected head of state.

while studying in the United States and working as a waitress to finance her own way through Harvard. Such survival skills also proved to be vital during the 1980s and 1990s as the political sands of Liberia frequently shifted. Indeed, at one stage, Sirleaf supported since-convicted war criminal Charles Taylor in his bid to gain power during the first Liberian Civil War, only to break with him later.

Alternating between her home and foreign exile during this unsettled period, Sirleaf eventually returned to Liberia after the second Liberian Civil War to contest and win the presidential election of 2005. But if her subsequent reign has earned her admirers around the world, her tenure has not been without controversies. Her decision to run again in 2011 broke a promise made in 2005. Worse, the opposition boycotted the campaign, as charges of cronyism and corruption continued to follow her government. And not a few of her fellow citizens resent Sirleaf's status as a Western darling. In fact, some suggest that Sirleaf co-won the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize as part of a Western conspiracy to re-elect her. Notwithstanding such fictitious charges, few would deny Sirleaf's historical significance.

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TOP 5 HISTORICALLY POWERFUL FEMALE LEADERS

1. MARGARET THATCHER
PRIME MINISTER OF BRITAIN (1979-1990)

Rightly or wrongly, the original Iron Lady has become a standard against which other female leaders must compete. Her foreign policy successes during the dying days of the Cold War alongside U.S. president Ronald Reagan (who called her "the best man in England") have made Thatcher synonymous with determined leadership in the face of perceived and real aggression, as was the case during the Falkland War with Argentina. Yet her domestic record continues to spark divisive debates in England. Many still remember her for breaking its trade union movement and promoting a laissez-faire entrepreneurialism that energized the economy, but also exaggerated class divisions. Public interest in Thatcher, now 86 and suffering from dementia, recently intensified with the release of *The Iron Lady* starring Meryl Streep. As *The New Yorker* noted, reactions to the film and its subject have varied. "In the States, *The Iron Lady* is a movie, but in Britain it's a litmus test."

2. INDIRA GANDHI
PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA (1966-1977; 1980-1984)

As the daughter of Indian independence leader Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi first witnessed the historical struggle for freedom from British rule up close, often at the side of Mahatma Gandhi (no relation), then shaped the post-colonial path of India in various capacities, including almost two decades as prime minister. During this period, Gandhi inexorably advanced the development of the world's largest democracy by improving agriculture at home and pursuing a range of independent policies abroad. She also remains a revered figure in Bangladesh, which, in large part, owes its independence to her. And yet her name also invokes other more complex emotions. Her commitment to democratic rule was not always unwavering and her assassination at the hands of Sikh bodyguards sheds light on the violent side of her legacy, which includes the smouldering sectarian conflict with Sikhs and the outright war with Pakistan in 1971 that led to Bangladesh's independence.

3. GOLDA MEIR
PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL (1969-1974)

A young victim of the late 19th-Century anti-Semitic pogroms, which so chillingly previewed the catastrophe of the Holocaust, Golda Meir not only survived, but also shaped the events leading to the formation and flourishing of Israel. Uncompromising in her commitment towards the cause of a Jewish homeland from an early age, Meir belonged to the founding generation of Israeli politicians, holding various cabinet posts, including foreign minister, before becoming the first and only female prime minister of Israel in 1969 after a spell in political retirement.

4. GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND
PRIME MINISTER OF NORWAY (1981, 1986-89, 1990-1996)

A trained physician, Brundtland has become one of most important voices on global issues. Known perhaps first and foremost for her groundbreaking as the head of the Brundtland Commission on Sustainable Development, Brundtland has also served as the director-general of the World Health Organization. Global leaders continue to seek the advice of this leader, whom Norwegians revere as the "mother of the nation." Last year, she narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of Anders Behring Breivik.

5. SIRIMAVO BANDARANAIKE
PRIME MINISTER OF SRI LANKA (1960-65, 1970-77, 1994-2000)

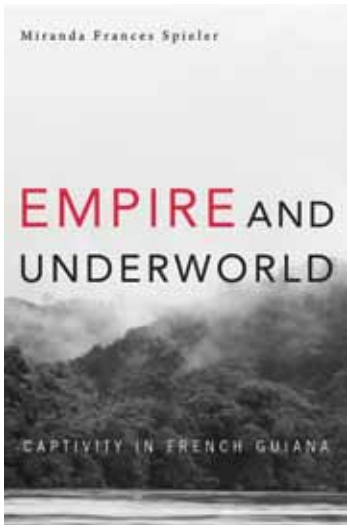
The modern world's first elected female prime minister, Bandaranaike's leadership of Sri Lanka (formerly known as Ceylon) had more than its fair share of personal and political drama. Known as a "weeping widow," Bandaranaike raised the international profile of her island nation when she was chosen to head the non-aligned movement in 1976. Her domestic policies, however, proved to be less popular as they led to economic decline (particularly during the 1970s) and the Tamil insurgency. In and out of favour with voters and the justice system, Bandaranaike also competed for power against her own two children, a fight she eventually lost to her daughter, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, who served as president from 1994 to 2005.

— Wolfgang Depner

Islands at the end of the civilized world

GEORGE FETHERLING

The idea of a prison located on an almost inaccessible island is supposed to strike special fear in people being kept there against their will. If the dot of land housing the facility is within sight of the mainland — in sight, that is, of freedom and civilization — then the cruelty of imprisonment is all the more delicious to the captors. If the stretch of water separating the prison from normal society is full of sharks and treacherous currents, the poor inmates' situation is even more hopeless. Devil's Island, off the coast of French Guiana in South America and Alcatraz in San Francisco Bay are, of course, the two most infamous examples of island prisons, but they're hardly the only well-known ones.



Robben Island off Cape Town in South Africa, once a leper colony, later a political prison, is where Nelson Mandela spent nearly 27 years behind bars. It's now a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Côn Son Island in the South China Sea off Vietnam, mentioned by Marco Polo in his *Travels*, was called Poulo Condor by the French, who stuck political prisoners there between 1861, when they took over the southern part of Vietnam, and 1954, when French Indochina collapsed. Later the Vietnamese used it to house U.S. PoWs, including some who were held in the notorious tiger cages devised by the French. It ceased being a prison once the Vietnam War ended. It's now a luxury spa.

U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

New York City's Riker's Island in the East River, houses 14,000 prisoners and has 8,500 staff.

Two new books, one on Devil's Island and the other on Alcatraz, are of special value because they show how island prisons flourished (if that's the proper word) as a result of public policy — in the former case, foreign policy — that was hideously ill-conceived and carried out.

Empire and Underworld: Captivity in French Guiana (Yale University Press, US$49.95) by Miranda Frances Spieler, a historian at the University of Arizona, looks at the various penal facilities in French Guiana (of which Devil's Island was only one). They were used by successive French governments, whether royal

or republican, to keep opponents in check not merely by jailing or exiling them but rather by taking away, then restoring, then often taking away again, their civic (as well as civil) rights — in many cases, permanently. Some of France's overseas colonies (another example is Nouvelle-Calédonie in the southwest Pacific) existed as much for this purpose as they did for trade, military advantage or propagation of the Christian faith. French Guiana, which most French people called simply Cayenne, after the only permanent town there, is the clearest example because, paradoxically, it is the most maddeningly complex.

L'Île du Diable is one of three islands in the Salut group (salut in this case, meaning "salvation", of course, rather than "hello"). All of them were prisons. The French also built an equal number of prison facilities on the mainland, just across the narrow strait. For a time, Devil's Island served as the leper colony for the entire system. Between 1852, when the French government established this complex of prisons, and 1953, when they shut it down, 80,000 prisoners were shipped there. The idea was not merely to exile undesirables but also to use them to make a functioning colony of such a remote and inhospitable place. Why did a similar idea work well for the British in Australia when it failed so miserably for the French in South America? Partly because the French did not endorse the setting up of families (indeed, only a handful of women were ever sent there) and also because, in any event, Paris kept rewriting the rules of incarceration.

In showing the failure of the variable French policy, Prof. Spieler concentrates on the period before the phrase "Devil's Island" became so widely used. The colony was a place with the aroma of impermanence about it. The French declaration of sovereignty appears to have accelerated the scattering, fleeing and general disappearance of the original native inhabitants. France then began to import African slaves, who themselves fled into the jungle whenever opportunity arose. Although this was a place where slave labour was once practised on a large scale, it is also one where, as the author points out, "Not a single planter's house remains today, even as a ruin." Indeed, she goes on, French Guiana "strikes the newcomer for the scarceness of traces indicating a history of human settlement."

As the French Revolution erupted in 1789 and grew increasingly radical over the next 10 years, prisoners of all sorts were condemned to French Guiana: royalists, priests, and political prisoners, as well as common criminals, dangerous and otherwise. Punishments meted out to counter-revolutionaries were like those previously given to, for example, Parisian vagabonds, in that punishment was aimed at what everyone was supposed to hold most dear: the concept of national belonging. "A clerk of the court would lead a convict to the town square and declare: 'Your country has found you guilty of infamous action. The law strips you of your French citizenship.' The convict would remain bound and on display for between two and six hours with a placard over his head indicating his name and crime." Then it was off to hard labour.

Prof. Spieler describes one scene in January 1798 when a tone-deaf vaudeville performer who recited anti-government doggerel in the streets was shipped off to French Guiana to the sound of a drumroll along with "a column of priests, hairstylists, nobles, cobblers, and two legislators": a typical consignment of prisoners. Revolutionary France did abolish slavery (as well as the custom of branding criminals with hot irons). But slavery was re-legalized by Napoleon in 1802 before finally being quashed throughout the empire in that fateful year 1848.

Before the revolution, *déportment* was simply a legal term. Now it was more of a fanatical cry. The citizens called out for the deportation of "deviants of all sorts," including minor offenders, political and otherwise. The policy of taking away their citizenship and civic rights indicated that the majority of the public wished them sent "somewhere remote from free soil and ordinary colonial society. The un-French wilderness under metropolitan sovereignty, whether in the form of French Guiana, the once and future colony of Madagascar, or the wishful imperial hinterland of Namibia," resulted in what Prof. Spieler calls a double quarantine. Lest anyone miss the point that people declared undesirable were also perforce considered monsters of a sort, France's colonies in Asia, Africa and the Americas were deliberately not included under the short-lived constitution of 1791. They were places that housed, in the author's phrase, "deleted people."

French citizens in the middle decades

RÜDIGER WÖLK

Nelson Mandela spent nearly 27 years behind bars on Robben Island.

of the 19th Century, Parisians in particular, seemed to have been fascinated by crime almost as much as they were, not without reason, frightened of it. Population boomed, politics were unstable and frequently violent, and suspicious foreigners were everywhere. Such was the general atmosphere in which Victor Hugo published *Les Misérables* in 1862 — though, by then, the situation had worsened. After the populist revolution that broke out through

In 1862, Napoleon III made French Guiana a true penal colony.

most of Europe in 1848, the public's fear of convicts became acute. So it was that in 1852, Napoleon III made French Guiana into a true penal colony, as distinct from the all-purpose rubbish bin of humanity it had been earlier. But the emphasis was on *penal* more than on *colony*.

In 1854, a law was passed forcing prisoners, once they had completed their sentences, to remain in French Guiana for a period equal to their incarceration — except if their original sentence had been greater than eight years, in which case they were to remain in the colony for life. Serious criminals and political prisoners accounted for most of the population until 1885 when minor offenders began being sent there if they committed a second offence.

Few who were condemned there ever left alive (the famous exception being poor Captain Alfred Dreyfus, sent there on a trumped-up charge of treason but later pardoned). Certainly there were few (such as Humphrey Bogart's character in *Passage to Marseille*) who ever broke free. Henri Charrière's book *Papillon*, which inspired a later film, was fraudulent fiction. One man who did actually do the near-impossible was an anarchist named Clément Duval. In 1886, his death sentence was commuted to hard labour for life on Devil's Island. In 1901, he somehow escaped and lived out his days in New York.

In time, the French saw their policy for what it was. After some delays arising from the Second World War, they shut down the Guianan prisons in 1953. But they hung onto French Guiana, which they continue to keep afloat with massive infusions of cash, much as the British must do with the Falklands.

Alcatraz was often called the American equivalent of Devil's Island. That and other intimations of inhumane treatment there, even torture, irritated almost beyond endurance the department of the U.S. government responsible for federal prisons. In his book *Alcatraz: The Gangster Years* (University of California Press, US$29.95 paper), David Ward seems to bridle in similar fashion. So does his junior co-author, Gene Kassebaum. Both men are emeritus professors of sociology, at the universities of Minnesota and Hawaii, respectively, and have written extensively on penology. Prof. Ward has been studying former Alcatraz inmates since the 1950s, and has amassed so much information that the present book, which is quite fat, is to be followed by a second volume dealing with, well, the post-gangster years. As it is, he and Prof. Kassebaum have so much material that they must work hard to find a logical narrative sequence and stick to it.

As the most notorious and feared federal prison, "the Rock" functioned for only 30 years. It was dreamed up by President Herbert Hoover in the late 1920s and opened under the first Franklin Roosevelt administration in 1933. After 1948, it reverted to being just another federal prison, no more harsh and awful than any of the others, and was finally closed in 1963. The island itself, however, had been a prison a long time. It was first used by the Spanish, who "discovered" it in 1773 and named it Alcatraz, the Spanish word for pelican. Once California became part of the United States, the site was used as a military prison for deserters, recalcitrant aboriginals, individuals who refused to swear an oath of the allegiance to the federal government, Filipinos taken prisoner during the Spanish-American War and pacifists.

The inmates in San Francisco's municipal jail, barely two kilometres distant, had to be relocated there temporarily following the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906.

Prior to the civilian Alcatraz, there were only three federal prisons: Leavenworth in Kansas, Atlanta and McNeil Island in Puget Sound, Washington State. The third of these was the last island prison in the federal system (unless one stretches a point to include manmade Terminal Island just outside Los Angeles). McNeil was finally abandoned in 2011, after 135 years of use. Of course, there's a big one run by New York City — Riker's Island in the East River, with 14,000 prisoners and 8,500 staff.

By contrast, the statistics on Alcatraz seem small. It had only 270 cells, including the dreaded underground dungeons, whose existence Prof. Ward doesn't seem to decry. Prisoners there, some of them naked, lived in darkness and were starved and sometimes beaten and were handcuffed to the bars in a standing position during daylight hours (or what would have been daylight hours had there been sufficient daylight). In three decades of use, Alcatraz housed a total of only 1,546 inmates. On average, inmates in Alcatraz stayed only four or five years, before being transferred out or even released, but there are striking exceptions. One example is Robert Stroud, a pimp who murdered one of his whore's customers over an accounting snafu in Alaska in 1916. Although he's known as the Birdman of Alcatraz, he kept birds only when he was imprisoned at Leavenworth, not during the 16 years he spent in solitary in Alcatraz.

In any case, Stroud was also atypical in not being a serious career criminal, the sort for which Alcatraz was designed. The whole point of Alcatraz was to house, in Prof. Ward's phrase, "the most notorious, dangerous, and volatile prisoners from throughout the federal prison system." The policy was that they should have pathetically little contact with the outside world, including friends and family. Until a federal judge ruled the condition unconstitutional, they were even forbidden from communicating with their lawyers.

The most famous inmate (he was America's first official Public Enemy Number 1) was Al Capone, who arrived with the first batch in 1934 and died a free man — free but with syphilis destroying his brain — in 1947. There were constant rumours and press reports that Inmate

No. 84, as he was known in the files, lived like a king inside Alcatraz and still controlled the Chicago underworld from his cell. Such talk, which was completely untrue, drove the Bureau of Prisons itself to the edge of madness. Profs. Ward and Kassebaum, who had access to his prison records, give a detailed account of what, given all the circumstances, was his comparatively trouble-free stay on the Rock. But one gets a vastly more detailed and generally superior understanding of his life there from the most recent Capone biography, *Get Capone* (Simon & Schuster Canada, $18.99 paper) by Jonathan Eig, late of the *Wall Street Journal*. He brings to the task first-rate skills as a researcher, as with his discovery of hitherto misplaced or sequestered documents that bear on Mr. Capone's time in Alcatraz , where he became proficient in the mandola (a sort of giant-size mandolin). One of Mr. Eig's documents even casts doubt on whether Mr. Capone had anything whatever to do with the St. Valentine's Day Massacre. There's no question, however, that he had much to do with the establishment of Alcatraz.

Mr. Eig's title refers to President Hoover's daily orders to bring Capone to justice by whatever legal means necessary — which in turn explains the book's subtitle, "The Secret Plot That Captured America's Most Wanted Gangster." People in authority hated the urban bootleggers of Prohibition not simply because they flouted the increasingly difficult-to-enforce liquor laws but also because so many of the more prominent hoodlums became folk heroes. When the '20s ceased to roar, the world slipped into the Depression. Prohibition was ended and gangsters of a new type — rural in character — displaced the old in the affections of the masses. These were big-time bank-robbers and kidnappers of the Midwest and South, people with names

John Dillinger

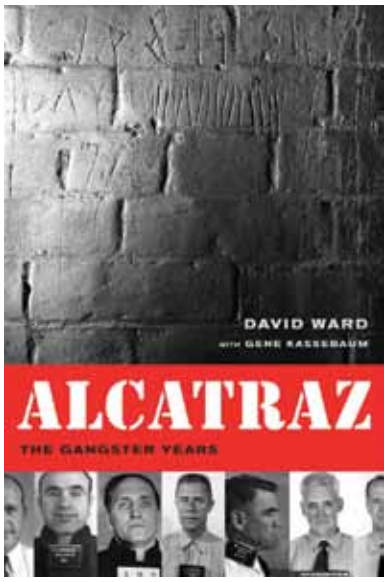
Al Capone

such as Machine Gun Kelly (in time, an Alcatraz resident), Pretty Boy Floyd, John Dillinger, and Alvin Karpis (about whom more in a moment). The fact that so many of them, once captured, found it easy to break out of local jails or state prisons added force to the drive to create Alcatraz as a place where "isolation from normal society was an essential element…."

As might have been foreseen, Alcatraz thereby became home to the criminal crème de la crème and, as Prof. Ward admits, a transfer to the Rock from another institution "was for some convicts a badge of honor, something to achieve." Or as Alistair Cooke explained to his BBC Radio audience, Alcatraz was full of "men who enjoy a life sentence as a lifelong challenge to discover how, with a twisted hairpin or a stolen razor blade, to break away from any prison they are put in." Strikes and organized protests were as frequent inside Alcatraz as marches were among the unemployed on the outside. There were a number of destructive riots, including one in 1946 that became known as the Battle of Alcatraz. It resulted from an escape plot. There were 14 such attempted breakouts in all, only one of which might have been successful, though no one knows for certain. This was the 1962 jailbreak by Frank Morris (played by Clint Eastwood in the film *Escape from Alcatraz*) and a pair of brothers, John and Clarence Anglin. To the federal government, that was one of the last straws. Alcatraz — a prison where talking was the most common infraction for which men were sent to solitary — was abandoned.

For a short while, the government appeared to have learned an important lesson in prison policy. Profs. Ward and

Kassebaum write that escapes drew media attention and "growing criticism of 'dead-end penology' (no effort to reform or rehabilitate prisoners) led the Bureau of Prisons to conclude that rather than concentrating troublemakers in one small prison, they should be dispersed to many prisons. That strategy, however, began to fail in the 1970s as violence related to prison gangs and drug trafficking increased." Counter to these trends, however, ran a streak of enlightenment that the two authors, if I am reading their tone correctly, stoutly oppose. For they seem to



harrumph when they write of "activities that began in the 1960s and 1970s — attending class, going to meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous, the Toastmasters Club, or the black culture groups, or attending individual or group counseling sessions" that became common in post-Alcatraz prisons.

Yet, the changed conditions of the 1970s also brought countervailing pressure for a return to what many had decided was an outdated outlook. Prof. Ward advised the judiciary committee of the U.S. House of Representatives on the creation of a new place far worse than Alcatraz ever was: the federal prison at Marion, Indiana, where a twenty-three-hour lockdown was standard and underground punishment cells found new life. Marion was later downgraded to medium security as other supermax prisons were opened. None of them, it seems, is on an island, yet the idea of incorporating such geographical considerations into prison design does not seem to have withered away in other countries.

In Italy, there is vigorous debate about two prisons located on islands off the coasts of Tuscany and Sardinia. In Nigeria, the political prison on Ita Oka Island was a state secret for years. Now, with its cover blown and the authorities no longer able to deny its existence, plans have been laid to build a new prison at a secret location exclusively for the purpose of locking away Islamists. So much do high secrecy and high security seem to be the trend these days that one can almost look back on Alcatraz (now a tourist trap) with social nostalgia.

The person who inherited the coveted Public Enemy No. 1 distinction from Al Capone was a famous Montrealer, the aforementioned Alvin Karpis. In the early 1930s, his was a name familiar to everyone who read banner headlines. He was a kidnapper of millionaire businessmen and a robber of banks and company payrolls, often in association with Ma Barker and her offspring — hence "the Karpis-Barker gang," a common phrase in news coverage at the time. In 1936, FBI agents captured him in New Orleans. Once they had done so, they signalled their boss, J. Edgar Hoover, to come out of hiding, so he could take credit for the collar. The capture was perhaps the biggest boost to Mr. Hoover's career since he deported American citizens such as Emma Goldman from Ellis Island in 1919. (Ellis had become the country's main intake facility for immigrants in 1892. The first person through the gate was an Irish teenager named Annie Moore who, contradicting the idea of the American dream, died in poverty in 1924 a few kilometres away in the Lower East Side slums. The immigration station was closed in 1954. It is now a museum — and a deportation facility.)

Mr. Karpis held the record for the greatest length of time served in Alcatraz — more than 25 years. Like Al Capone, he spent much of his tenure learning music (and years later, while resident at Terminal Island, taught Charles Manson to play the guitar). Prof. Ward quotes one-time Alcatraz inmates as saying that Mr. Karpis "was a nice guy in his later years."

So I, too, found him to be.

In 1968, having successfully survived 32 years' imprisonment in various institutions, he was released — and instantly deported to Canada. He was a slender man with a grey flat-top haircut, a vertically lined face and a calm, if careful, demeanour. He told me once that his skill with a Tommy gun had come to the attention of

Frank Nitti, the man who took over management of the Chicago mob following Mr. Capone's imprisonment. Mr. Nitti offered him a lucrative retainer to be on call for machine-gunning tasks whenever they might come up, which was seldom. Mr. Karpis was tempted, he said, but declined the offer with thanks. You see, he was pure freelance, not some independent contractor. When he finally got out of prison, he said, the first thing he wanted to do was to see Arthur Penn's new film, starring Warren Beatty and Faye Dunaway: *Bonnie and Clyde*. "They were friends of mine," he explained. He died in 1979, age 71.

AND, BRIEFLY…

Many fine writers have left diaries and other accounts of horrifying journeys in the Congo, one of those poor parts of the world against which history seems to hold a hideous grudge. Joseph Conrad, André Gide, Graham Greene and V.S. Naipaul are some examples (not to mention the most recent one, the British writer Redmond O'Hanlon, author of *Congo Journey*). Still, it comes as a bit of a surprise to find *Congo Solo: Misadventures Two Degrees North* (McGill-Queen's University Press, $24.95 paper) by Emily Hahn. She was a *New Yorker* writer, better known for her popular books on China, who ventured into what was then the Belgian Congo

(today's Democratic Republic of Congo) to pursue an ultimately tragic love affair. She stayed on to explore the country, get to know some of its people and chronicle the racism and brutality she saw. The book was published to no success in the worst year of the Depression — 1933 — and then only in bastardized form. Ken Cuthbertson, Hahn's Canadian biographer, has pieced together the original version as accurately as possible. Hahn's observations are vivid and often still relevant, but her style is, well, perky.

AND, ALSO BRIEFLY…

When the Berlin Wall was taken down in 1989, a big stack of books tumbled into being. Prime examples included Michael Meyer's *The Year That Changed the World: The Untold Story behind the Fall of the Berlin Wall* (Simon & Schuster Canada), Mary Elise Sarotte's *1989: The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe* (Princeton University Press), and Frederick Taylor's *The Berlin Wall: A World Divided, 1961–1969* (HarperCollins Canada). There was even one entitled *Postcards from Checkpoint Charlie* (University of Chicago Press) — literally, a collection of postcard images. Now comes a much different study of the subject: *Berlin at the Brink: The Blockade, the Airlift, and the Early Cold War* by Daniel E. Harrison (University of Kentucky Press, $US40). What Mr. Harrison does that others do not is engage in the more or less obsolescent art of diplomatic history, working in the official archives of the U.S., Britain, France and what was then the Soviet Union — but without downplaying (quite the contrary) the contributions of people on the ground. The result: some startling revisionist conclusions.

George Fetherling's new book, *The Writing Life: Journals 1975–2005*, is being published by McGill-Queen's University Press.

Where's the Beef? In Argentina, of course!

MARGARET DICKENSON

Argentina is the second largest country in South America and one of the greatest food- and wine-producing nations in the world.

Long before European explorers began to arrive, native Indians lived in Argentina. By 1530, Argentina saw its first Spanish settlers. With a strong immigration policy aimed at incorporating Europeans into the fabric of Argentina, the decade between 1880 and 1890 was most significant, bringing in a wave of almost one million European immigrants, mainly from Italy and Spain. José Ureta, the embassy of Argentina's chargé d'affaires in Ottawa, notes that "95 percent of Argentines are of European origin, 50 percent claim to have some Italian blood." With an influx of Italians came the introduction to Argentine cuisine of pizza, a myriad of pasta dishes, coffee, ice cream, lemoncello (a lemon liqueur) and so much more. Immigrants from other European countries (Britain, France, Poland, Switzerland, etc.) as well as Arabs and Jews also settled in Argentina, each bringing a style of cooking and national recipes that have had a marked influence on today's food culture. One noticeable example is the country's tradition of tea time, attributed to the British.

From a gastronomic perspective, Argentina could geographically be divided into four main food regions. The Pampas occupies much of the mid-Eastern portion of the country, then there's the northeast, northwest and Patagonia, which represents the southern half of the country.

In Pampas, although the original diet of nomadic Indian tribes tended to be very basic — roasted meat and not much else — as cities and settled areas were established, a more balanced food culture evolved in terms of styles of cooking (boiled beef and vegetables, stews, sausages, cold cuts) and the use of derivative products (cheese, milk, milk puddings). With the country's principal seaport and port of entry for immigrants, the greater Buenos Aires area has always been exposed to an ever-expanding wealth of food cultures from other countries, says Mr. Ureta, "all of which have worked their way across our vast country."

The northwest, which borders on Bolivia, produces cheese, lemons, sugarcane and Argentine marzipan (using wheat flour, not ground almonds), wine and *aguardiente* (a clear brandy prepared with distilled fruit juices or wine). But this region is best known as the "kingdom of maize" and is regarded as the centre of any Inca influence remaining in Argentine

LARRY DICKENSON

Grilled steak with chimichurri sauce (recipe page 68).

DREAMSTIME

A traditional Argentine bombilla

cuisine. In contrast, the Northeast region (specifically the areas of Formosa, Chaco, Corrientes and Misiones, which border on Paraguay) boasts a unique Guarani cuisine (native to Paraguay), based on Farina (a flour or meal made from cereal grains), manioc (also called cassava or yuca), flour and iname (i.e., yam) root. Mr. Ureta enthusiastically notes: "Dishes are entirely local and can only be experienced when in the area." In the south of this region, *yerba mate* is not only part of the culture, but vital to the economy, as Argentina is its greatest export in the world. Regarded as the "green tea" of South America, it is refreshing, stimulating and undisputedly the most traditional of Argentina's drinks.

Yerba mate derives its name from a translation of the words "herbs" and "gourd." Originally, aboriginals chewed the raw leaves of the yerba plant, but in the 17th Century, the Jesuits began to cultivate it for mass consumption and insisted on its use as an infusion, which could be done in various ways. Today, it's even done by using sachets. However, the traditional preparation is more ceremonial. Argentines place crushed dried yerba leaves and stalks in a dried gourd. They then moisten the leaves with cold water before adding hot (not boiling) water to fill the gourd. A *bombilla*, a metal straw with a perforated bulb at the end, then filters out the solid particles. Designed for sharing, the gourd is passed from person to person with everyone drinking from the same bombilla, with the hot water replenished as required. A similar tradition takes place in Paraguay but there, it's called *tereke*, and is made with cold water, ice, and, at times, a bit of orange zest.

From the fourth region, the vast semi-arid Patagonia, comes some of the world's finest lamb. Oysters, mussels and the celebrated king crab are harvested from its coastline. In the Andean valleys and foothills, local economies thrive on fruits, mushrooms, trout, game and fine wines.

Today, Argentines enjoy a diet high in protein. Although the consumption of chicken, pork and fish has increased dramatically in recent years, Argentines remain the highest consumers (per capita) of red meat in the world. The grass-fed, free-range beef of Pampas and Patagonia is world famous for its tenderness, flavour, reduced saturated fats, higher healthy omega-3 fatty acids and minimal injections of hormones. Argentina's internationally renowned barbecue (*asados*) features prominently in Argentina's food culture, with strong emphasis on ceremony, long happy hours of socializing, cooking, dining and drinking. Slow grilling over charcoal (never gas) produces tender, juicy results. Barbecued roasts, beef steaks and ribs are particularly popular. Other favourites include grilled chorizo (pork sausages), blood sausages, crisp milanesas (sweetbreads), chitterlings (animal intestines), chicken, lamb and goat. But no Argentine *asados* would be complete without the indispensable *chimichurri*, a vinegar-based, peppery sauce made with parsley and other herbs, garlic, oil and vinegar. Salads, potatoes and other vegetables are also on the menu.

One might suggest that much of Argentine cuisine tends to preserve the basic flavour of the original product. Meat is generally grilled or roasted with only salt and pepper. Marinades are simple and light; sautéeing is preferred to deep-frying; with the exception of cumin, herbs (not spices) are used and even those are limited; few dishes are "spicy" hot.

In general, and excluding the foods of ethnic groups, Argentine cuisine is based on a small number of standard dishes — grilled or roasted meats, cold cuts, sausages, empanadas (stuffed bread or pastry), potatoes, corn, flans and dulce de lèche (sugar-thickened and carmelized milk) flavoured desserts.

Argentines typically enjoy a light breakfast of bread or rolls with jam and coffee. Lunch choices vary from something light to a large hot meal (particularly for the more affluent and the farmers), to empanadas for school children. In late afternoon, teatime with sandwiches and cake appeases appetites until dinner, which begins sometime between 9 and 11 p.m.

Enjoy my asados version of grilled beef steak with chimichurri. Buen provecho!

Grilled Steak with Chimichurri

Makes 4 servings

1 1/4 lb (575 g) boneless beef grilling steak (strip loin), 1 1/2 inch (4 cm) thick
2 tbsp (30 mL) olive oil, preferably garlic-infused
To taste, salt and crushed black peppercorns

Chimichurri:

3/4 cup (180 mL) fresh parsley leaves (packed)
1/2 cup (125 mL) fresh cilantro leaves (packed)
1/4 cup (60 mL) chopped fresh chives
1 1/2 tbsp (23 mL) fresh thyme leaves
1 tsp (5 mL) minced fresh garlic
1 tsp (5 mL) red pepper flakes
1 tsp (5 mL) sugar
3/4 tsp (4 mL) ground cumin
1/2 tsp (3 mL) salt
2/3 cup (170 mL) olive oil
2 tbsp (30 mL) red wine vinegar
2 tbsp (30 mL) fresh lemon juice

1. To make the chimichurri, place all chimichurri ingredients in a blender and process until well blended. (Makes 1 cup or 250 mL.)

2. Shortly before grilling, rub steak with olive oil and sprinkle with salt and crushed black peppercorns.

3. Place steak on a preheated barbecue grill over medium to medium-high direct heat. Keeping the hood down as much as possible, grill steak to desired degree of doneness. (Note: For rare, grill steak about 3 minutes per side and if desired, sear edges briefly — just a matter of seconds.)
4. Transfer steak to a cutting board, cover loosely with aluminum foil (shiny side down) and allow meat to rest for 10 minutes.

5. Slice into 1/3 inch (0.8 cm) slices and serve with chimichurri sauce on the side.

Make ahead tip: Chimichurri may be prepared in advance, placed in a well-sealed jar or airtight plastic container and refrigerated for up to 5 days.

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

Eugene Forsey: bringing Canada's political history to life

By Helen Forsey

"I can remember many people who go a long, long way back in our history," my father told an interviewer in 1970. "I remember one man who was elected to Parliament in 1867, half a dozen who were elected in 1874 ... Sometimes [with] classes in Canadian government, I'm able to say, 'Oh, no you've got his name wrong. I knew him.' And they look at me as if I had suddenly walked down the plank from Noah's Ark!"

The late Eugene Forsey — senator, constitutional expert, trade union historian and political watchdog — was a lively part of Canada's public life for more than half a century. A proud Newfoundlander and Canadian, he exemplified the kind of active, engaged citizenship that forms the only true basis for a viable democracy.

Canadian democracy — its development, its constitutional mechanisms and its role in creating a better world — was a central concern for my father right up until his death in 1991. Growing up in the Ottawa home of his grandfather Bowles, who was chief clerk of votes and proceedings for the House of Commons, young Eugene absorbed, at his mother's knee, a passionate interest in politics that would largely define his subsequent careers in academia, the labour movement and Parliament itself.

In 1943, after being sacked from his teaching post at McGill University for his socialist views, he set off a firestorm in political circles with the publication of his doctoral thesis on the "reserve powers" of the Crown. In a very public debate, he attacked Mackenzie King for his shameful attempt to circumvent Parliament in the "King-Byng crisis" of 1926, and defended both Gov.-Gen. Byng and Tory leader Arthur Meighen, who briefly succeeded King as prime minister following the crisis. Meighen had been one of my father's boyhood heroes, and he became a close friend and mentor, not only in matters parliamentary, but also in terms of intellect, integrity and personal kindness.

My father's public reputation as a feisty combatant grew from his many articles, speeches, and letters to the newspapers on subjects as varied as "constitutional fairytales," injustices to workers and minorities, public artworks and the perils of privatization. The media loved him for the cogency of his arguments and the wit and fiery eloquence with which he delivered them. One columnist noted his "ability to cut to the quick with two lines of elegant vituperation;" another called him "the owner of the most trenchant typewriter in the country."

CHRIS BROWN

Eugene Forsey, Canada's maverick sage

What my father himself once described as his "inability to be frank and diplomatic at the same time" regularly got him into hot water. During his six weeks in India in 1953 as co-director of a World University Service seminar, he noted in a lecture that, of the Canadian and American constitutions, the Canadian was much the more modern document. "To liven what I felt was a somewhat tedious discourse," he recalled later, "I was foolish enough to say that the American Constitution was an 18th-Century sedan chair, which only the political genius of the American people enabled them to manoeuvre through modern traffic. I had spoken lightly of sacred things. The Americans were deeply hurt. Their chief delegate told me: 'We always think of the Canadians as just like us.' I felt inclined to say that was just the trouble, but she was so distressed that I hadn't the heart."

Not surprising, then, that he turned down Pierre Trudeau's 1968 offer of a posting as ambassador to the Vatican. What he did accept was a seat in the Senate. The Hon. Eugene Forsey finally became part of Parliament, the institution he had loved and defended all his life. Canada and Canadians were the beneficiaries.

Guest writer Helen Forsey is a writer and activist who divides her time between in Eastern Ontario and Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula. Her recent book about her father's legacy, *Eugene Forsey, Canada's Maverick Sage*, is published by Dundurn.

La pièce de résistance

By Margo Roston

ALL PHOTOS BY DYANNE WILSON

The magnificent salon is dominated by a priceless Gobelins tapestry called The Triumph of Constantine, woven in the 17th Century from a Raphael drawing.

French Ambassador Phillipe Zeller and his wife, Odile, live in one of the most opulent and beautifully situated embassies in the nation's capital — a granite edifice built on an escarpment above the Ottawa River.

The French government bought the property from Arthur Blackburn in 1931 for $80,000 and in 1936, prime minister William Lyon Mackenzie King laid the cornerstone. French architect Eugène Beaudouin, builders and hand-picked French artists spent two and a half years working at the site before the embassy opened its doors in 1939.

The best Canadian and French materials were used in the construction, including Canadian wood for the doors and door frames, gray granite from Quebec for the exterior façade and French green marble for the floors. The newspapers of the day wrote glowing reviews. Ottawa was bowled over by its grandeur.

Designed in art deco style, the residence has tall windows looking out into the large park-like garden towards Sussex Drive, a sign of its openness to the world. Huge windows along the back wall face the river and Quebec.

There is symbolism everywhere, including its prime location next to Rideau Falls, which were named in 1613 by French explorer Samuel Champlain. The building is filled with historical references to France's influence in Canada and pays homage to the highest expression of French culture, shown in its art, tapestries and furniture.

Ambassador Zeller says that he is always discovering something interesting in his residence. From the Gobelins tapestry in the grand hall to the intricacies of the birch bark room; from his office with its pen-and-ink etchings on the wall to the quaint and colourful scenes of Happy France in the dining room. It takes a book put out by the embassy to explore all the building's marvels and treasures.

French Ambassador Philippe Zeller and his wife, Odile.

ALL PHOTOS DYANNE WILSON

The small smoking room next to the office is completely covered in birch bark with red cedar accents.

"This embassy is one of the prettiest and the most beautiful we have around the world," Mr. Zeller says. "There are around 150 embassies, but this one is really interesting, built when Canada decided to open its first embassy in Paris, so we decided to open one in Ottawa and we decided in spite of the economic crisis of that time, to build a really beautiful building to celebrate, of course, the Canadian troops of World War I and the history of France and Canada."

At one point in his career, Ambassador Zeller was in charge of managing all of France's diplomatic real estate, "so I knew that it was a splendid residence," he says. "When you begin to live in this building, you find many things."

When the couple arrived in August 2011, they observed many interesting architectural and design elements right away, but he says more than a year later, they are still finding details in painting and carving.

Entering the building from the west side entrance, one is overwhelmed by the sheer size of the French travertine walls in the entrance hall, and the huge windows that rise up to the second-floor gallery, providing a view of the garden and Sussex Drive. Comfortable tables and chairs surround French doors and three eye-catching Aubusson tapestries representing spring in Paris, summer in Brittany and winter in the Alps hang on the high walls. Another, showing autumn in Flanders, decorates the ambassador's private suite.

A sweeping pink marble staircase leads upward to the gallery where, opposite a long pink marble bench, is a reproduction of the Vimy Ridge Memorial commemorating the famous First World War battle won by Canadian troops on French soil, in 1917.

At the west end of the hall are two fascinating rooms. The first is the ambassador's office. Ten panels of stone engravings by French artist Charles Pinson tell the story of New France, from an opening scene of an Aboriginal dance and continuing through to the end of the Battle of Quebec.

The artist developed a technique of "smooth cut engraving on stone" and his work includes scenes of the French period of discovery to Jacques Cartier and his companions carrying their banner to the new land. The arrival of wives to Quebec is detailed, as is the founding of Montreal. Samuel de Champlain and his wife appear, as does an image of a young lady wearing a dress with the music of a

The Art Deco-style inlaid cherrywood table and 38 matching chairs, is surrounded on all four walls by the painting Happy France, a bright and colourful depiction of everyday French life.

Two sets of magnificent bronze doors to the grand salon feature engraved door pulls. The medallions are delicately engraved with four major themes: labour, family, faith and remembrance.

ALL PHOTOS DYANNE WILSON

The ambassador can host small, informal meetings and meals in this casual, round sitting room at one end of the grand salon.

famous song embroidered on it. It refers to links with Saint-Malo. Recently, Gen. Charles Bouchard, the Canadian general who led the NATO operations in Libya, visited the embassy and when he saw the song engraved on the wall, he began to sing it.

"It emphasizes the history of France and Canada's close links of nearly 400 years. Next year, we hope to celebrate Champlain. He went to Ottawa in 1613 and his statue is on Nepean Point, a hill overlooking the Ottawa River. It would be a good thing to have some celebrations on the river and on its bank," he says, because the embassy's is a symbolic location on the side of the river and it offered a magnificent view to Quebec.

The small smoking room next to the office, known as the Birch Room, has a charming fireplace with the walls and ceiling completely covered in birch bark with red cedar panelling and pillars. It was considered by Beaudouin, the architect, to be the most original piece of the project.

"The birch bark is a salute to the forest on the other side of the river," says the ambassador. The 1930s-style leather furniture in the Birch Room was made in Paris, while the woven carpet was inspired by a drawing by André Masson.

In the centre of the second floor is the grand salon, which opens from the hallway and marble bench through two sets of magnificent bronze doors with engraved door pulls. The medallions are delicately engraved with four major themes: labour, family, faith and remembrance.

The magnificent salon is dominated by a priceless Gobelins tapestry called The Triumph of Constantine, woven in the 17th Century from a Raphael drawing.

The walls are also adorned with sculptures of Adam and Eve, Profane Love and Sacred Love as well as a frieze of horses. Yellow damask curtains outline immense windows looking out over the river, the colour matching the yellow in the breathtaking Savonnerie carpet that the Duchesse de Berry used in the Tuilleries. It was rescued from a fire at the Palais de Tuileries in 1871.

At the east end of the grand salon is the more casual round sitting room, where the ambassador can host small, informal meetings and meals, while guests enjoy the view and the intricate, more modern furnishings. Three terracotta panels have different themes. The first, over the fireplace, depicts the battle of Roncevaux in 778, while the second is dedicated to Louis XV and his various exploits.

Perhaps the most enchanting space is the dining room. The Art Deco-style inlaid cherrywood table and 38 matching chairs, is surrounded on all four walls by the painting Happy France, a bright and colourful depiction of everyday French life. Painted on plaster in social realism style by artist Alfred Courmes, the work took one year to complete and was controversial from the start. The painting depicts 243 characters in "joyous" France at the time of the first paid holidays and at the time of the Second World War.

The story goes that in the 1950s, a clergyman, while eating his dinner, looked at the wall in front of him and was horrified by the sight of naked children on the beach and what he thought were the suggestive poses of several women in the painting. He demanded that work be removed from public view.

The ambassador at the time, who liked the painting but felt it might be "more appropriate in a party room in the city hall of Cannes or Nice," had the panels covered by wall hangings and shelving. In 1957, the walls were covered over with three coats of paint on top of sheets of canvas stretched over the frame and painted white.

Happily in 1982, delicate restoration work began to uncover the original and restore the paint. Two years later, friends and guests gathered in the dining room for a festive party around La France Heureuse, to celebrate "the end of a disgrace," as described in *Ottawa, Ambassade de France*, a lush coffee-table book published as part of a series featuring French embassies around the world.

Away from public view, the ambassador and his wife have private quarters on the third floor with wonderful views and an elegant guest suite, suitable for the most prestigious visitors.

To the embassy's credit, most of the original furnishings, including examples of the best of 20th-Century French contemporary furniture created expressly for the residence, have been preserved and protected.

Each July 14, Bastille Day, the embassy throws a giant garden party where more than 2,000 guests enjoy French cheeses and wines under large tents on the front lawn. Considered one of the premier events of the diplomatic social season, it's also a chance for many in the Ottawa community to get up close and personal with one the most interesting of all the city's diplomatic residences.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.

Diplomats take flight

Pictured here, left to right: Eugenio Matos, Dominican Republic's minister-counsellor in The Hague; James Levesque, secretary-general of the Ottawa Diplomatic Association; Uruguayan Ambassador Elbio Oscar Rosselli Frieri; Don Buchan, president of the Rockcliffe Flying Club; Habiba Chakir, senior evaluator for biological drugs at Health Canada and deputy secretary-general of the ODA, Polish Ambassador and ODA president Zenon Kosiniak-Kamysz; Chief of Protocol Margaret Huber; Donna Jacobs, publisher of *Diplomat & International Canada* magazine; Egyptian Ambassador Wael Aboul Magd; Zambia High Commissioner Bobby Mbunji Samakai, an unidentified event guest, Guatemalan Ambassador Georges de La Roche and Mayelinne De Lara, representative in Canada for the Dominican Department of International Trade.

A record 115 diplomats, their families and business people soared over Ottawa and Gatineau on June 23 for the annual Flying Diplomat Day, held at the Rockcliffe Flying Club. Co-sponsored this year by the Ottawa Diplomatic Association and D*iplomat & International Canada* magazine, it featured a flight over Ottawa and Gatineau near the Ottawa River. The event, attended by 150 people, featured a barbecue and combined soaring and socializing with a fundraiser that provided $700 to the Make-A-Wish Foundation of Eastern Ontario.

Make-A-Wish Foundation contacted two families to join the festivities. Jessica, 17, who has cystic fibrosis, attended with her parents, Richard Decaire and Gwen Andrews. And Tristan, 5, who was diagnosed with leukemia, son of Stephanie Comtois-Doucet and Nicholas Comtois, attended with his family.

Dr. Eugenio Matos, former counsellor at the Dominican Republic embassy in Ottawa and currently minister-counsellor in The Hague, and his family and volunteers served as key organizers. Dr. Matos started the first Diplomatic Airplane Tour day in 2007, and flew in June again as one of Rockcliffe Flying Club's volunteer pilots.


AISR JEANS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1. Egyptian Ambassador Wael Aboul Magd, middle left, and his wife, Hanan Mohamed Abdel Kader, middle right, hosted a national day reception at their residence in July. They're shown with Japanese Ambassador Kaoru Ishikawa and his wife, Masako (Photo: Sam Garcia). 2. In July, Belgian Ambassador Bruno van der Pluijm and his wife, Hildegarde, hosted a national day reception at their residence. At right, chief of protocol Margaret Huber. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 3. Ecuadoran Ambassador Andrés Horacio Terán Parral, right, and his wife, Rosa Eugez-Teran, hosted a national day reception at the Château Laurier in August. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 4. In July, Rwandan High Commissioner Edda Mukabagwiza hosted a reception to mark Rwanda's 50th anniversary of independence at tRichelieu-Vanier Community Centre. 5. To mark the 114th Anniversary of Philippine Independence, Ambassador Leslie B. Gatan and his wife, Lydia Debbie Gatan, hosted a reception at their residence in July. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. Italian Ambassador Andrea Meloni and his wife, Paola, hosted a fundraiser for Opera Lyra Ottawa. They are shown with John Peter 'Jeep' Jeffries (Photo: Sam Garcia) 7. Colombian Ambassador Clemencia Forero hosted an outdoor mass for Colombian independence celebrations. She's shown with Archbishop Paul André Desrochers. (Photo: Danilo Velasquez)

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1. German Chancellor Angela Merkel met with Prime Minister Stephen Harper in Ottawa in August. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. A flag-raising for Jamaica's 50th anniversary of independence took place at City Hall in August. From left, Jamaican High Commissioner Sheila Sealy-Monteith, Elisha Campbell, president of the Jamaica-Ottawa Community Association, and Mayor Jim Watson. (Photo: Joan Wright) 3. Uruguayan Ambassador Elbio Oscar Rosselli Frieri, celebrated its independence day in August at his residence. From left, Florence Saint-Leger (Haiti), Mr. Rosselli Frieri, his wife Maria Regina Hermida de Rosselli and Haitian Ambassador O. Andre Frantz Liautaud. (Photo: Sam Garcia)


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1. Peruvian Ambassador José Antonio Bellina Acevedo hosted a national day reception at his residence. From left, Paraguayan Ambassador Manuel Schaerer Kanonnikoff, Mr. Bellina Acevedo and his wife, Rosa Bellina. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. Moroccan Ambassador Nouzha Chekrouni hosted her national day at City Hall in July. From left, Said M.I. Hamad, head of Palestine delegation, Ms Chekrouni and Claudette Shwiry-Hamad. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 3. Moroccan Ambassador Nouzha Chekrouni hosted a dinner in honour of Lahcen Daoudi, her country's minister of higher education and scientific research. From left, Habiba Chakir, president of Université Sans Frontières Canada, Mr. Daoudi and Michaelle Jean, chancellor of the University of Ottawa. 4. Georgian Ambassador Levan Metreveli, right, hosted a national day reception at the National Arts Centre. He's shown with Malaysian High Commissioner Hayati Binti Ismail. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 5. Argentine chargé d'affaires Jose Nestor Ureta, right, hosted a reception to mark Argentina's national day. He's shown with Guatemalan Ambassador Georges de la Roche. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 6. Cuban Ambasador Teresita Vicente Sotolongo hosted a farewell reception. She's shown with her husband, minister-counsellor Antonio Rodríguez Varcárcel. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 7. Indonesian Foreign Minister R.M. Marty M. Natalegawa visited Ottawa Aug. 23 and made a speech to mark the 60th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Canada and Indonesia. He's shown with Indonesian Ambassador Dienne Moehario (Photo: Ulle Baum)

Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

October		
1	China	National Day
1	Cyprus	Independence Day
1	Nigeria	National Day
1	Palau	Independence Day
1	Tuvalu	National Day
2	Guinea	National Day
3	Germany	Day of German Unity
3	Korea, Republic	National Foundation Day
4	Lesotho	National Day
9	Uganda	Independence Day
10	Fiji	National Day
12	Spain	National Day
12	Equatorial Guinea	National Day
23	Hungary	Commemoration of the 1956 Revolution and Day of Proclamation of the Republic of Hungary
24	Zambia	Independence Day
26	Austria	National Day
27	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Independence Day
27	Turkmenistan	Independence Day
28	Czech Republic	Proclamation of Czech States
29	Turkey	Proclamation of the Republic
November		
1	Algeria	National Day
1	Antigua and Barbuda	Independence Day
3	Dominica	Independence Day
3	Micronesia	Independence Day
3	Panama	Independence Day
9	Cambodia	National Day
11	Angola	Independence Day
18	Latvia	Independence Day
18	Oman	National Day
19	Monaco	National Day
22	Lebanon	Independence Day
25	Bosnia and Herzegovina	National Day
25	Suriname	Independence Day
28	Albania	National Day
28	Timor-Leste	Independence Day
28	Mauritania	Independence Day
30	Barbados	Independence Day
December		
1	Central African Republic	Proclamation of the Republic
1	Romania	National Day
2	Laos	National Day
2	United Arab Emirates	National Day
5	Thailand	National Day
6	Finland	Independence Day
11	Burkina Faso	National Day
12	Kenya	Independence Day
16	Bahrain	Independence Day
16	Kazakhstan	Independence Day
23	Japan	National Day

New heads of mission

Kaarlo (Charles) Arnold Marius Murto
Ambassador of Finland

Mr. Murto is a career diplomat who joined the ministry of foreign affairs after a one-year stint selling newsprint for the Finnish Paper Mills Association.

He began his diplomatic career in 1970 as an attaché in the protocol department. His first posting came two years later, to Spain, after which he was sent to Indonesia. He returned to the ministry briefly before being sent to Brussels as first secretary. There were two more stints at headquarters before he became deputy head-of-mission in Paris. He then became ambassador to Australia (with accreditation to New Zealand, Fiji, Papua New Guinea.) He returned to Finland for five years as director general for administrative affairs before becoming ambassador to Spain and Andorra and then ambassador to France and Monaco.

His most recent posting, prior to coming to Canada, was as director of the national security authority. Mr. Murto is married and has three children.

Werner Wnendt
Ambassador of Germany

Prior to his current position, Mr. Wnendt was director-general for culture and communication at the federal foreign office in Berlin.

Until 2007, Mr. Wnendt was head of the OSCE mission in Kosovo, after completing an assignment as senior deputy high representative to Bosnia and Herzegovina from 2003 to 2005.

Between 2000 and 2003, Mr. Wnendt served as a foreign adviser to Germany's federal president. From 1998, he was the deputy head of mission at Germany's mission in the Czech Republic, and prior to that, he spent three years as chief of cabinet of the minister of state for European integration.

Mr. Wnendt joined the German Foreign Service in 1980. He has held positions in missions to the European Union in Brussels and in the U.S., Pakistan and Kenya.

Mr. Wnendt is married and has five children.

Samuel Valis-Akyianu
High Commissioner for Ghana

By trade and training, Mr. Valis-Akyianu is a fire engineer. He studied at the fire service technical college in Gloucester, England.

His relevant career details began in 1996 when he spent a year serving as miniser for the central region of Ghana. In 1997, he was appointed Ghana's ambassador to the Czech Republic, where he spent four years. He then became central regional chairman to the National Democratic Congress for four years and then, in 2009, he became Ghana's ambassador to Serbia.

His extracurricular experience is vast: He was president of the Ghana amateur boxing association, and vice-president of the Ghana handball association. He is a member of the Institute of Fire Engineers, the National Fire Prevention Association (U.S.), the Ghana Red Cross and he is a founding member of the Ghana Olympic Committee.

Mr. Valis-Akyianu is married and has seven children.

Vytautus Zalys
Ambassador of Lithuania

Mr. Zalys' career has swung between diplomacy and academia over the past 22 years.

After completing a PhD in history, he went to work as a senior research fellow at the Institute of History, at Lithuania's Academy of Science. Four years later, he became adviser to the deputy minister of foreign affairs and, two years later, returned to the institute as deputy director. He was then sent to Washington as first secretary and later, counsellor. He then did a four-year stint as editor of *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review* while also serving as an associate professor at the University of Vilnius. In addition, he has served as head of the Asia, Africa and Pacific division, consul-general in Kaliningrad, director of the Eastern Europe and Central department and ambassador to Moldova between being sent to Canada.

Mr. Zalys is married with one child.

Ojo Uma Maduekwe
High Commissioner for Nigeria

Mr. Maduekwe comes to diplomacy from politics. In the 1980s, he was a member of the national assembly of Nigeria and a member of the constituent assembly, struck to complete a constitution after a military coup. He spent two years as an adviser to the chairman of the Social Democratic Party and, from 1993 to 1995, served as adviser to the minister of foreign affairs. In 1997, he was a member and technical adviser for VISION 2010.

Between 1999 and 2000, he was Nigeria's minister of culture and tourism, followed by three years as minister of transport. Between 2005 and 2007, he was national secretary for the People's Democratic Party and then spent three years as Nigeria's foreign minister. He was deputy director general of the Goodluck Jonathan Presidential Campaign before being posted to Canada.

Mr. Maduekwe is married and is a lawyer by trade.

Mona Elisabeth Brøther
Ambassador of Norway

Mona E. Brøther studied at the University of Oslo and holds degrees in history, Spanish and political science.

She joined the foreign service of Norway in 1979 and has had a number of postings abroad, most recently as ambassador to Chile (2000-2005) and ambassador to Venezuela (2008-2009). Her main area of work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been within information and cultural promotion, but she has also been involved in the Norwegian agenda on sustainable development since the Brundtland report in 1987. Between 1998 and 2000, she was head of foreign affairs' section for sustainable development.

She was project co-ordinator for the global initiative on legal empowerment of the poor in 2008. Since 2009, she has been deputy director general of the department for cultural promotion, public diplomacy and protocol at the ministry of foreign affairs.

Membathisi Mphumzi Shepherd Mdladlana
High Commissioner for South Africa

Mr. Mdladlana began his career as a teacher and spent 10 years teaching before spending one year as a primary school principal. At that time, he became the first and founding president of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union, the country's largest and an affiliate of the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU). He was also a member of the African National Congress for many years, until 2007.

In 1994, he became a Member of Parliament and served on various parliamentary committees, including education and domestic affairs. President Nelson Mandela appointed him to his cabinet as minister of labour in 1998. He served all four presidents of the Republic of South Africa — Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, Kgalema Montlanthe and Jacob Zuma — as minister of labour until 2010.

Mr. Mdladlana has a bachelor of arts. He's divorced and has six children. Two daughters join him in Canada.

Carlos Gómez-Múgica
Ambassador of Spain

Mr. Gómez-Múgica studied law and economics at the University of Navarre in Spain before completing a post-graduate diploma in international affairs. He has a post-graduate degree in international affairs from the Spanish Diplomatic School.

He began his diplomatic career in 1978 with his first posting, to Turkey, as deputy head-of-mission. He was then sent to Argentina as consul for four years before returning to Madrid. He served as counsellor at the embassy in Paris for four years before becoming an adviser to the minister of defence for six years.

With the title of ambassador, Mr. Gómez-Múgica went to Honduras in 1995 and served as ambassador-at-large for Iberoamerican Summits for two years before being posted to Colombia. He was ambassador to Belgium and then ambassador-at-large for migratory affairs for one year before his current posting to Canada.

Dr. Chih-Kung Liu
Representative for the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office (TECO)

Mr. Liu is a career diplomat who has a bachelor's degree in dipomacy, and a master's and PhD, both in political science.

After graduation, he began his career as an associate research fellow at National Chengchi University. He joined the foreign ministry two years later as a senior specialist in the protocol department and later in the department of North American affairs. In 1990, he became deputy director-general at TECO in Boston.

His next posting was as counsellor in South Africa. After a year, he returned to the North American affairs department and then became director of the political division in Washington. From 2001 to 2004, he was director general at TECO in Boston and served as a visiting fellow at Stanford University in 2006.

He was the representative at the mission in Mongolia before his posting to the Czech Republic. He was deputy secretary-general of the National Security Council of Taiwan from 2010 to 2012, when he came to Canada.

Mohammed Saif Helal Mohammed Alshehhi
Ambassador of United Arab Emirates

Mr. Alshehhi is a career diplomat. He has a bachelor of science in international relations and translation from Strasbourg University in France.

He began his career in 1992 when he was appointed to the ministry of foreign affairs as an attaché. In 1993, now as third secretary, he was posted to the embassy in Paris as media, economic and public affairs officer. In 1998, he was posted as a delegate to UAE's permanent mission at the United Nations in Geneva and later to the embassy in Rome. In 2004, he returned to Paris for six years and, while there, attained the rank of counselor. He was promoted again in 2009, to minister plenipotentiary and, in 2010, was assigned to the European affairs division of the ministry before being appointed ambassador to Canada.

Mr. Alshehhi is married and has four children.

Non-heads of mission

Armenia
Aram Hakobyan
Attaché

Australia
Mathew Gayford
Counsellor
Lucas Ainslie Robson
Third secretary

Bangladesh
Dewan Mahmudul Haque
First secretary

Belgium
Julien Pierre Francois Lecomte
First secretary and deputy head of mission

Brazil
Luis Fernando Wasilewski
Second secretary

China
Tuan Jiang
Assistant military, naval and air attaché
Lupeng Gao
Second secretary

Côte D'ivoire
Lydie Ipe
Counsellor

Denmark
Christen Krogh
Counsellor and deputy head of mission

El Salvador
Vladimir Solorzano Pena
Counsellor

Egypt
Mohamed Naguib Hussein Fakhry
Minister
Mohamed Zakaria H. Elghazawy
Second secretary

France
Luc Chevaillier
First secretary

Germany
Heike Lamers
Attaché
Petra Manuela Struwe
Attaché

Hungary
Andrea Szenasi
Attaché
Lajos Olah
First secretary and deputy head of mission
Éva Simon
Attaché and consul

India
Manmohan Singh
Counsellor
Vineeta Sharma
Counsellor

Indonesia
Fientje Maritje Suebu
Minister-counsellor
Dionnisius Elvan Swasono
First secretary

Jamaica
Carol Jennifer Gillies-Thompson
Attaché

Japan
Hirohiko Shigeta
First secretary
Ryuichi Ishikawa
First secretary
Tetsuya Ito
First secretary
Junji Kamei
Second secretary

Kazakhstan
Askar Kuttykadam
Minister-counsellor

Kuwait
Hadi Alsubaie
Third secretary

Lebanon
Sami Haddad
Chargé d'affaires, A.I.

Lesotho
Pulane Christina Lechesa
Counsellor

Libya
Sulaiman A. Mohamed
Counsellor
Hesham M.R. Huwisa,
Third secretary
Ali Elkilabi
Attaché
Murad Abudina
Counsellor

Madagascar
Dani Roselyne Marolasy
Attaché

Mali
Boubacar Gano
Attaché

Mexico
Antonio Curzio Gutierrez
Minister

Myanmar
Tin Aung Than
Attaché

Netherlands
Rochus Johannes Pieter Pronk
Minister and deputy head of mission

Niger
Aboubakar Amadou Sanda
Defence attaché

Nigeria
Charles Nduka Onianwa
Deputy high commissioner

Norway
Oystein Bell
First secretary
Inger Elisabeth Meyer
First secretary

Philippines
Armi Santos
Attaché

Poland
Tadeusz Wawrzyniec Glowka
Attaché

Russia
Yury Ivanov
Attaché

Saudi Arabia
Naif Abdullatif A. Alalshaikh
Third secretary
Nawaf Homoud Shanar Alshybani
Attaché
Mohammed Ibrahim A. Al Tawil
Attaché

Senegal
Saliou Lo
First secretary

South Africa
Diedre Viljoen
Minister and chargé d'affaires

Spain
Adolfo Navarro Munoz
Attaché
Juan Antonio Martin Burgos
Deputy head of mission

Switzerland
Annette Bettina Moser
First secretary
Barbara Schedler Fischer
Deputy head of mission

Thailand
Narong Boonsatheanwong
Minister-counsellor

Turkey
Gulcan Akoguz
First counsellor and chargé d'affaires
Serdar Ulker
Counsellor

United Arab Emirates
Abdulrahman Ali Almur A. Alneyadi
Attaché

United Kingdom
Jacqueline Susanna Richards
Second secretary
Michael Louis O'Sullivan
Naval and air adviser

United States of America
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William Anthony Temple
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Kevin Michael Johns
Second secretary
Pedro Ramon Alicea
First secretary
Anthony Kenneth Stapleton
First secretary
Geoffrey Page Douglas
Attaché
Thomas Elmo Pajusi
Second secretary
Sarah Alice Schmidt
Second secretary
Todd David Brown
Army attaché

Vietnam
Tran Phuong Vu
First secretary

Yemen
Ahmed Ali Yahya Al-Emad
Counsellor

Wine is fine but …

PIETER VAN DEN WEGHE

With the cool days of autumn upon us, it's tempting to stay indoors and entertain. Throw in a few holidays and, all of a sudden, you're hosting plenty of dinners. While well-selected wines will always play their roles in making dinners, why not truly wow your guests? A few perfectly chosen items besides the fermented grape juice will add depth and richness to your soirée.

First, there are aperitifs. Why not offer a vibrant Spritz-style cocktail, made with the French elderflower liqueur, St-Germain. This frightfully delicious nectar (available at the LCBO for $49.95) is made from elderflower blossoms that are hand-harvested annually during a four- to six-week period (each bottle of St-Germain is numbered to indicate the year of harvest). After picking, the blossoms are macerated in eau-de-vie and cane sugar to produce a liqueur of great floral and fruit character. To make the St-Germain Spritz, combine 1½ parts St-Germain, 2 parts sparkling wine (a fine Prosecco or Cava will do) and 2 parts sparkling mineral water over ice and serve immediately.

With a bottle of Aperol on hand, you can step up your host game and also offer an alternate style of Spritz. A cocktail for your guests who find bitter to be better. With the previous recipe, simply substitute the Aperol for the elderflower liqueur (and you can throw in a slice of orange for good measure as well) and enjoy. Aperol ($23.50 at the LCBO) is a classic Italian aperitif made of herbs and oranges. Its flavour is of tangerines with an intense herbal and bitter character. Used in cocktails, it's incredibly refreshing. In fact, using Aperol is truer to the cocktail's origins in northern Italy's Veneto region. That said, both versions are easy to make and very tasty.

If a spirit is preferred, there should always be a great expression of one available for your guests. For vodka, try a bottle of Tito's Handmade Vodka ($34.95 from the LCBO). It's made in small batches in an old-fashioned pot still by Tito Beveridge (a 40-something geologist) in Texas. At 15 years old, the distillery is apparently Texas's first and oldest legal one. Not only will your guests marvel at the quality of this excellent vodka, they'll even have a story to talk about. Use it in whatever vodka cocktail, but it's excellent in a dirty martini (one with olive juice added) with some spicy pickled olives.

For a beer option, again, you can go local, with an awesome beer from Ottawa's Kichesippi Beer Company. Their Natural Blonde is a great pale ale with lots of spice and hop character, and is available either at the brewery or at select LCBO stores for $12.95 per six-pack. Or, if you're looking for something a little more exotic as beers go, there are the fabulous beers from Birra Bruton in Italy's Tuscany region. The Stem Wine Group, a consignment agency, sells three kinds of their beer. My favourite is

the English Pale Ale style called Lilith. It's densely flavoured with lots of citrus, malted grain and hops. The finish is fresh and invites you back for more, and it's particularly good as a pairing with a cheese course. All the Bruton beers cost $11.99 per 750-ml bottle and are available in six-packs from Stem.

A nice Scotch provides a nice end to the evening, and an award-winning version is even better. Bruichladdich The Organic is a sensational multi-vintage scotch that delivers a massive aromatic and flavour experience. There's candied citrus and toasted barley with notes of nuts, floral and oak and the texture is silky and elegant. And it's organic. The distillery itself is on Islay, an island off the west coast of Scotland, famous for its whisky production. Besides the distilling wizardry of Jim McEwan, they also have the oldest working still in Scotland at 130 years of age. The Organic sells for $81.45 and can be found in select LCBOs where they keep the higher-end whisky.

Before you decide to serve only wine at your next event, why not look after all the details and provide an interesting and thoughtful array of spirits, beers and liquors? It will make your dinner events the stuff of legend among your friends.

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

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Marketplace

Abundant with cultural wonders, Azerbaijan awaits

Azeri Square in downtown Baku.

By Farid Shafiyev
Ambassador of Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan — or "land of fires" for its ever-burning, inextinguishable natural gas flames that shoot spontaneously from the earth — offers other equally spectacular and utterly unique historical and cultural experiences.

Travellers usually begin their journey to Azerbaijan in Baku, the country's capital. Baku is the biggest political, trade and cultural centre of our country with advanced infrastructure, modern hotels and banks, scientific and cultural attractions and numerous historical and architectural monuments. Here you will experience a culture of extravagance and exclusive originality.

The ancient fortress of the Icheri Sheher (Old City) in the centre of Baku is a unique open-air museum, which is the pride of every Azerbaijani. The area is surrounded by defensive walls, which date back to the 12th Century. There are many invaluable monuments of the Middle Ages and great antiquity inside the Old City. The architecture throughout the ages can be seen by simply taking a walk in the area. The Maiden Tower (Gyz Galasy), the complex of Shirvanshahs' Palace and the fortress walls located in the Old City are UNESCO World Heritage sites.

Visitors to Baku enjoy the temple of fire worshippers, known as Ateshgah (House of Fire), located in Surakhani settlement, a suburb of greater Baku. The pentagonal complex, which has a courtyard surrounded by cells for monks and a tetrapillar-altar in the middle, was built during the 17th and 18th Centuries. After being abandoned in 1883, when oil and gas plants were established in the vicinity, the complex was turned into a museum in 1975 and now receives 15,000 visitors each year. Dating back to the 6th Century and built over a natural gas source, this temple is truly exceptional and unlike any other in the world. Today, the temple features a museum in which visitors can delve into the past and see just how those who worshipped fires led their lives.

In 1858, the great French novelist Alexander Dumas (1802-1870) visited Ateshgah. Dumas wrote some of his impressions about it in his book, *Travels in the Caucasus*: "Great tongues of flame soared in the air from the hundreds of tiny round fissures in the ground. The wind would scatter the

flames, curve them and then straighten them, spreading them along the ground and then lifting them up to heavens again. But it was impossible for the wind to extinguish them."

Today, you can observe this interesting natural phenomenon near Muhammadli village where natural gases are released and burn at the base of a rock called Yanar Dag (Fire Mountain). This is an ancient and visually stunning natural gas fire which blazes continuously on a hillside on the Absheron Peninsula on the Caspian Sea near Baku. Flames jet out into the air three metres from a thin, porous sandstone layer.

One can also visit the archives of human evolution in the form of rock paintings, or petroglyphs. One of them — the Gobustan Rock Art Cultural Landscape — is a hill and mountain site occupying the southeast end of the Great Caucasian Mountain Ridge. About 60 kilometres southwest of the centre of Baku, it sits on the west coast of the Caspian Sea. The reserve has more than 6,000 rock engravings dating back to between 5,000 and 40,000 years. The site also features the remains of inhabited caves, settlements and burials, all reflecting intensive human use by the inhabitants of the area during the wet period that followed the last Ice Age, from the upper Palaeolithic to the Middle Ages. The petroglyphs and rock engravings are an exceptional testimony to a way of life that has disappeared, graphic representations of activities connected with hunting and fishing at a time when the climate of the area was warmer and wetter than today. In 2007, Gobustan was declared a UNESCO World Heritage site that was considered to be of "outstanding universal value" for the quality and density of its rock art engravings and for the substantial evidence the collection of rock art images presents for hunting, fauna, flora and lifestyles in prehistoric times.

Also in Gobustan, you will find the inexplicable Gaval Dash — a unique stone that will produce a distinct sound when tapped with another stone. Gaval Dash is locally known as the Stone Tambourine because it can produce so many different sounds, just like a tambourine. Many believe that the stone has magical properties, as there is no explanation for this.

Azerbaijan also is home to the highest number of mud volcanoes in the world. Of the world's 800 mud volcanoes, 300 can be found in the coastal area of Azerbaijan — both active and dormant. Each of them has its own character and chemical composition, and the mud and clay of these volcanoes, along with the volcanic waters, can treat many diseases. Each volcano is said to have its own distinct healing properties, so travellers often pick and choose based on local legend and on what ails them. The strange landscape is reminiscent of the youth of our planet or the views of the moon; however, unlike the old moon's dead surface, the mud volcanoes of Azerbaijan are still alive.

EMIN BASHIROV

The Bibi-Heybat Mosque in Baku. This structure was built in the 1990s. It is a re-creation of a 13th-Century mosque by the same name, that was destroyed by the Bolsheviks in 1936.

AZERI

Petroglyphs in Gobustan National Park, a UNESCO World Heritage site.

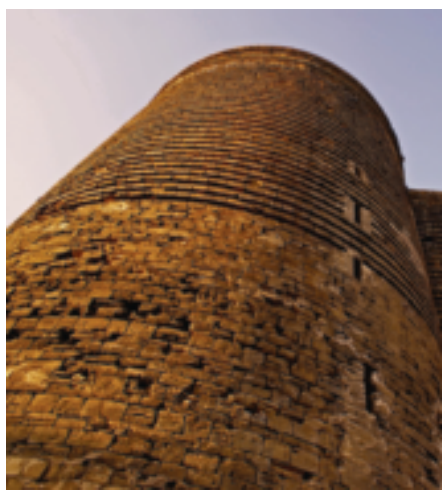
Beyond Baku, there are many fascinating towns to visit, each with its own unique attractions. For example, travelling to Ismayilli (northwest of Baku), one can find the marvellous town of Lahij. This is one of the ancient handicraft centres of Azerbaijan, and has a unique charm

MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND TOURISM OF AZERBAIJAN

Khinaliq Village in northern Azerbaijan has preserved its ancient way of life.

thanks to its high standard of town planning. There is no comparable collection of copper workshops anywhere in the world, and during the Middle Ages, most men worked in the copper craft. In those days, copper wares made in Lahij were exported to all Eastern countries; nowadays, these works of art are kept in many world museums as well as in private collections. In Lahij, one can also find many little shops selling curative mountain grasses that are renowned for easing joint and muscle pain.

Travelling further northwest, the city of Sheki, founded almost 2,600 years ago, is renowned for its craftsmen. Branches of handicraft such as intricate "shebeke," embroideries, stucco, pottery, metalwork and mural painting are sold in Sheki. The town boasts a peculiar architectural and decorative style of its own, and a beautiful example of this is the mosaic-fronted Sheki Khan's Palace (King Palace), built in the 18th Century. In ancient times, gold-embroidered Sheki silk was appreciated all over the world as one of the greatest riches and the flow of tourists here continues to this day. Those who know local cuisine will delight in the well-known Sheki bak-



FARIZ ABASOV

The Maiden Tower was built in the 12th century, as part of the walled city of Baku.

lava, gentle halvah and nut cookies, which have a delectable taste and aroma.

Those seeking further health resort experiences can also stop by Naftalan, the home of a rare type of oil from Azerbaijan that is used only for medicinal purposes. Azerbaijani doctors have prescribed Naftalan oil for years to successfully treat various skin, joint and bone diseases such as psoriasis, arthritis and rheumatism. The town takes its name from the oil, "Naftalan," which comes from the Azerbaijani for "neft alan" (oil buyer).

Those who love vegetables and fruits should visit the city of Guba, one of the well-developed agricultural regions of Azerbaijan, which also boasts impressive gorges and the famous Afuja waterfall. Located only 65 kilometres from Guba, the Highland Khinalig village (about 2,500 metres above sea level) is home to the Khinaligians, an ethnographic group with its own archaic language that is not similar to any of the contemporary world languages. It has been preserved well, though the Khinaligians also speak Azerbaijani. The phenomenon of Khinalig is one of the greatest ethnographic mysteries in world history.

Key among the many places not to miss is the Tears of Kyapaz. This is a beautiful site for those who love beauty in its most natural and pure forms. The Tears of Kyapaz is a series of seven lakes that look very much like a series of seven teardrops shed across the land.

The lakes, near Mount Kyapaz, are

MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND TOURISM OF AZERBAIJAN

The capital, Baku, at night.

truly breathtaking in their simple and yet profound beauty, which makes the site one of the most well known tourist attractions. The lakes formed back in 1139 when an earthquake dammed mountain streams in several places. Nearby are 3,806 hectares of woodlands that are home to 420 plants and many animals, among them the stone marten, the Caucasian gabion and the badger.

Along with the historical sites, another main attraction is the collection of beaches along the Caspian Sea, which beckon tourists to luxuriate in their magnificent sand and surf. The Caspian Sea is also famous for its abundant sturgeon stocks, the source of most of the world's supply of caviar, a delicacy like no other. Besides caviar, Azerbaijan also has a vibrant national cuisine with a vast array of dishes. Favourites include dolma — which means to "fill in" or "wrap" in Azerbaijani — consisting of lamb and minced onions wrapped in grape leaves, and an array of meat and vegetable kebabs. Azerbaijani cuisine also includes a number of soups served hot and cold, such as *dovga* (made with rice, sour milk and cream, flour, eggs and vegetables or meat) and *khamirashi* (a bean and noodle soup).

Whether you are interested in ancient culture and crafts, breathtaking natural wonders, tranquil scenes or unique health resorts, there is something to enchant every visitor in Azerbaijan. The liveliness of the land, people and culture will leave you with an unforgettable impression of a country unlike any other in the world.

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Enchanting Ireland

ALL PHOTOS BY JESSIE REYNOLDS

Truly experiencing Ireland means getting out of the cities and into the pastoral countryside.

By Jessie Reynolds

Ireland, a country less than 1/100th the size of Canada, holds an incredible number of surprises. Dublin reminds one of London, the west coast reminds one of Newfoundland and the south reminds one of Maine. There are ruins, scenic coastal drives, the world's best bread pudding and small towns that can only be described as idyllic. Trying to see the island in a few weeks is impossible, despite its size. Pick north or south. I covered the south, and will go back to see the north another — warmer — time.

Some suggestions: Use a rental car, bring an umbrella, don't spend more than 10 percent of your trip in big cities and take at least two weeks. Ireland has two nearby international airports. Take advantage of that by flying into Dublin and out of Shannon to see more of the country and avoid doubling back.

Dublin is a strange mix of young and old. A modern glass building backs onto a pub built 200 years ago. It was founded by the Vikings, lived to see the Norman invasion and, eventually, became the country's capital.

For modern art lovers, cross the ha'penny bridge (or one of the other multitude of bridges that cross the River Liffey) and head to the Spire. Formally titled the Monument of Light, the Spire is a large, unadorned, stainless-steel monument on the north side's main thoroughfare, O'Connell Street. It was built on the site where Nelson's Pillar stood before it was destroyed by a bombing by former IRA members in 1966. The shiny spire regularly garners extreme reactions, some positive, some negative.

A few feet away, you'll find a fantastic quick-grab seafood restaurant called Beshoff, founded by Russian immigrants in

The grand scale of the eight-kilometre expanse of sheer stone at the cliffs of Moher astonishes visitors.

The Spire was erected where Nelson's Pillar once stood.

1913. It offers high-quality seafood, quick service, and an upstairs dining area with a view of the Spire, bridge and O'Connell Street.

Make your way to nearby Henry Street, a great place for shopping. It's the north side's answer to Grafton Street, the other principal shopping street in Dublin. Phoenix Park is close to downtown Dublin and is a gathering place for locals on a (rare) sunny day. If you're a sports enthusiast and don't want to brave the local pubs during game nights, head to Phoenix Park and watch any number of amateur sports on the well-maintained and numerous sporting fields or pitches.

On your way back to the city's south side, where you'll likely spend the rest of your time in Dublin, is The Winding Stair. As charming as its name, it's one of the city's oldest bookstores. Two narrow flights up is a restaurant of the same name with a great view of the river and ha'penny bridge. Surrounded by bookshelves, a bustling kitchen and wall of windows, most diners seem to take their time. I did, too. With a glass of Australian red, I ordered the Irish cheese and charcuterie board and a bowl of local steamed mussels from nearby town Lissadell, famous for its shellfish exports.

The culinary specialties of many tourist destinations are well known. Italy has pasta, pizza and gelato, France has wine, Japan has sushi. And it turns out Ireland has perfected all that's required for a delicious meal: bread, cheese and shellfish. The bread is always fresh and many restaurants make their own. The cheese industry is bustling — there seems to be no end of sheep and cow cheese selections by county: soft or hard, curd or aged, and they're all memorable.

The Irish don't shy away from stronger, more challenging flavours, a discovery I happily made. The watery bries from France have had their day and should make way for this cheese that reflects its country — hard, strong and rugged.

Back on the south side of the city, there are two days' worth of things to do. I recommend a stay at the Trinity Capital Hotel. It's centrally located, and can be described as both bohemian and Victorian. Suitcases with travel stickers are placed around the lobby below vintage posters advertising the adventures to be had in exotic locations.

As always, I start a big-city explore with a hop-on-hop-off bus tour. It provides orientation, free transit for the day, unusual trivia from locals and a chance to rest the legs. My first stop was Guinness beer's St. James' Gate Brewery. It's one of Dublin's most popular sites, so it's advisable to go in the morning.

The history of Arthur Guinness, the infrastructure (hospital included) he provided to Dublin, the mid-1700s brewery's floor-mounted 9,000-year lease and the history of Guinness advertising were fascinating. And the free beer sample (it's 5 p.m. somewhere) was most welcome. One can savour the quotation pasted on a large wooden drum: "The equipment you see around you, like the building you're standing in, comes from another time, when machines were works of art."

Consider visiting Trinity College where the Book of Kells (Leabhar Cheanannais) is kept. This is likely the second-most popular site in Dublin, so it's a good idea to visit early in the day. The book of illustrated gospels was made by monks in approximately AD 800. What makes it unique isn't simply its age, but the incredibly intricate and ornate designs. The exhibit gives viewers a chance to see a few pages of the book and to learn about book-making more than 1,000 years ago, including the imported raw materials used to make the coloured inks.

After that bout of culture, you might head to Grafton Street for some shopping. Don't miss Karen Millen, if only to admire the designer's unique and tasteful use of

bright colours and vintage cuts. For dinner, hop in a cab and head to the Whitefriar Grill where the slow-cooked rabbit and the sticky toffee pudding made one of the finest meals of the trip.

Where else to go in Dublin at night but Temple Bar (Barra an Teampaill)? A popular spot for tourists, and charming with its cobblestone streets and old buildings, it's a good place to find a pub and watch people from all around the world share their love of Guinness and Jamieson's Irish whisky. If you can get a seat at one of the local pubs a few hours before game time (which sport doesn't seem to matter), you're in for an uproarious evening.

The next morning, grab breakfast at the Queen of Tarts. The bright red façade, Alice in Wonderland ambiance and charming round bistro tables at the smaller of two locations turned a simple breakfast into a warm memory.

Well-fuelled, you can head to a tour of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Built in the 1200s, its value is spiritual and historic. Portions of the cathedral's interior are decorated with aging and worn flags carried during wars over the past 150 years, and several beautifully decorated plaques were erected to honour the Irish who died in the wars fought in South Africa and the Sudan. The location of St. Patrick's, as well as the cathedral's name, can be attributed to the accounts that Saint Patrick baptized Christian converts in a nearby well in the 5th Century.

A few general points on taking a driving trip in Ireland: Thanks to the narrow roads, numerous small towns and surprisingly wonderful things you'll happen upon, try not to book hotels in advance (unless you're travelling in July or August, the busy season, which I wouldn't recommend), and pack in two full buffer days. Also, if Google Maps or your GPS says the drive will take two hours, allow three, given the many single-lane and small community roads.

More so than its big cities, Ireland is the rolling hills, the incredible green flora that gives the island its nickname, the fields of livestock, the ruins, oceanside golf courses and fishing villages.

The first stop, and in some ways the most awe-inspiring, is Newgrange (Sí an Bhrú), a prehistoric religious site or tomb (the debate continues). Built in approximately 3000 BC, it's widely seen as one of the most important historic sites in the country. On the tour, they're proud to tell you how much older it is than the youthful great pyramid of Giza and adolescent Stonehenge. Speaking in superlatives, it's the world's oldest calendar-based sundial.

Newgrange is a 3000 BC religious site or tomb seen as one of the most important historic sites in the country.

The only way to tour Newgrange is to head to the not-so-nearby visitors centre, buy tickets and get on a bus, which takes you to the actual site. Otherwise, you may not find it. A short trip later, you receive an in-depth and passionate history lesson from an informed tour guide. The Neolithic art is especially captivating.

Skip the interior tour if you're claustrophobic. The room you're going to visit could comfortably hold no more than a few people and, at points on the walk through the narrow passageway, you're touched by rocks simultaneously on both

The view from Sceilig Mhichíl, an island that holds a preserved monastery dating from the 7th Century.

sides. Inside, it feels like a man-made cave in which the ceiling is completed, at the top centre of the chamber, with a single large, flat stone.

Above the entrance to the main chamber is a constructed rectangular hole. Through this hole, the sun's rays enter and spread a narrow band of light across the chamber floor. This is the solar phenomenon that draws so many people to the site. It can be witnessed on winter solstice — the shortest day of the year — if you're lucky enough to hold one of the 50 winning lottery tickets for entrance into the main chamber on December 21. Tens of thousands of applications are received annually from around the world.

In contrast, you can take the half-day trip from Newgrange to Cork and enjoy the quiet drive along the country roads and small towns, stopping where the mood catches you.

Once you arrive in Cork, Blarney Castle is on the far side of town. Built in the mid-1400s, it's more than just a very affectionate stone: It has a castle, manor, lake, extensive flower gardens, expansive grounds, a fern gully, a poison garden and horse graveyard.

Many people have heard of kissing the Blarney Stone. I, however, was unaware that it was done while suspended upside-down on the castle's top floor, over one of its many murder-holes. A murder-hole is an open space above a castle or fortress entrance, which was used to pour hot oil or water, rocks or any other deterrent down upon unwanted visitors.

While the origin of the modern meaning of blarney is disputed, all agree that kissing the stone will bestow the kisser with the ability to converse in a smooth, flattering and disingenuous manner. (Kiss the blarney stone off-season, if you can, and very early in the morning and be ready for a high-pressure pace enforced by employees.)

The next highlight of the trip, a few hours' drive from Cork, was Skellig Michael (Sceilig Mhichíl), an island that holds a fantastically preserved monastery dating from the 7th Century. The island itself is tall, rocky and jutting and lies approximately 10 kilometres off the south-western Irish coast. It's now a UNESCO World Heritage site and noted as an extreme example of monastic dedication, ascetic self-denial and isolation.

Boats head to the island once a day, so stay the night in the nearby town of Cahersiveen. The day of your trip, drive the short distance to Portmagee, the fishing village from which the boats depart. The Ring of Kerry Hotel in Cahersiveen will do: it's clean and good for a quick overnight stay. At the front desk, I learned that the best way to get to the Great Skellig was by phoning John of the red boat at Portmagee's dock. With only a few minutes to spare, I finally found the right harbour town, right dock, right John and right boat.

The warnings posted relating to Skellig do not overstate the risks and shouldn't be ignored. There are no washrooms, no drinkable water and the island is cold and windy. If you can't walk up 600 steep steps, smoothed by age, unbalanced and shallow, keep the ferrymen company and enjoy the few hours of fantastic fishing. If you choose to explore the island, you may still be offered some fish by the captain during the return trip. The two hours to explore the area allowed for a close look at the monastic beehive-shaped stacked stone residences and ancient graveyard. And I was able to enjoy the view during a small picnic I'd brought. Be careful on the descent: Heading back down the steps was more treacherous than the ascent.

Next stop: Adare. A small town among hundreds of small towns in Ireland, Adare populates a disproportionate number of pages in all of the books as "Ireland's Prettiest Village." No matter your preferences, Adare will fulfil them: Antiques, golf, fine hotels, historic pubs, crafts, beautiful gardens and parks, family heritage information sites, churches and ruins. It's also a convenient launching place to visit many

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Built in the 1200s, St. Patrick's Cathedral's value is spiritual and historic.

of the country's west-coast sites, such as The Cliffs of Moher, Blarney Castle and numerous world-renowned coastal golf courses.

When you arrive, check into the S.L.H.-approved Dunraven Arms. SLH, or Small Luxury Hotels, is a must-visit website when planning travel. It has member hotels in more than 70 countries (including Toronto's Windsor Arms Hotel near Yorkville and Bloor Street). Dunraven Arms is a fine, beautifully decorated 18th-Century inn. The welcome package includes a description of available laundering services for hunting equipment, complete with a half page dedicated solely to britches.

The hotel offers a high-end traditional Irish breakfast buffet, maps for touring the town and a layout that lends itself to exploring the art-covered hallways. After breakfast, I suggest a visit to the famous thatched-roof cottages across the street, Adare's antique shops and family heritage sites. Then follow the locals to Aunty Lena's pub, established 1806, to enjoy a pint of Bulmer's Irish cider.

I spent a wonderful second night at Dunraven Arms and then headed off to nearby national attraction, the Cliffs of Moher (Aillte an Mhothair). The grand

JESSIE REYNOLDS

Dromoland Castle Hotel and Country Estate, dating back to the 1400s, is the gold standard in accommodations.

scale of the eight-kilometre expanse of sheer, stone cliffs astonishes visitors. The highest point of the cliffs is approximately 200 metres. Bypass the more developed (paved) route towards O'Brien's Tower, an 1800s stone tourist viewing structure, in favour of the path towards the far end of the cliffs.

Soon, you'll hit the end of the sanctioned portion of the cliff-side path. Now, follow the heavily walked trench around the stone wall, over the broken fence and past the corner of the farmer's field. You've now crossed into a narrow walkway between the fenced boundaries of the nearby farms and the cliffs. As there's no fence or divider, be very careful. Sometimes, the path will take you within inches of the edge, but you can crouch and hold onto rocks as you pass. The walk to the far point is several hours round trip; I completed half of it and enjoyed feeling the strong ocean breeze, cliff-side. It's one of the places in Ireland where you feel insignificant, free and amazed by the immensity and permanence of very old places.

A one-hour drive from there, past Irish meadows and fields, will take you to the gold standard in accommodations: Dromoland Castle Hotel & Country Estate. Originally built in the 1400s and 1500s, and updated over time until it reached its current design in the mid 1800s, Dromoland Castle is one of a handful of five-star castle hotels in Ireland. Many have award-winning golf courses, beautiful grounds, spas and fine dining.

There is enough to do to justify spending a week on site, living like an earl every minute.

I spent several hours simply walking around the castle's hallways and stairwells. Upgraded on check-in for no reason other than unbelievable luck, I was able to stay on the second floor of the front turret in a beautiful room with a view of the lake, golf course and deer-trodden grounds, including the archery range (more on that later).

The social centre of the castle is its restaurant, The Earl of Thomond. Yes, it has been honoured with a Michelin star, yes the wine menu is at least 30 pages long, and yes, the wallpaper is made of velvet. Select your libation (mine was a 2009 Wither Hills Pinot Noir from New Zealand) and try the locally sourced, fresh and delicious Malbay crab and Kinvara smoked salmon salad.

The next day, after the obligatory traditional breakfast — and if you're going to try black pudding anywhere in Ireland, try it here — you have an unusual list of possible daytime activities. I opted for golf, archery, a golf cart rental for touring the property and clay pigeon shooting. Sadly, there was no time for fishing, horseback riding or falconry.

Perhaps being slightly more experienced at golf would be a good idea on this course. Tee-off times, it turns out, are non-negotiable. Luckily, I had a patient teacher. The highlight wasn't the top-rated course (second of the world's international golf courses by Condé Nast Traveler, 2010), its famous design (by Ron Kirby), or the green, rolling hills. It was the stone ruins mid-way through the course.

I then headed to archery, and archery — if you aren't practised — can challenge your upper-body, even with beginner bows. Patsy, the world's most Irish person, is the teacher for many of the onsite activities. Believe the hype popularized by *The Hunger Games* and Disney's *Brave* — archery is plain old fun. It's also one of the sports where small suggestions made by your excellent coach immediately improve results.

The off-site post-sports "dining event" was corny and touristy — and an absolute blast. Bunratty Castle & Folk Park Medieval Banquet is held in a 1420s castle, adorned with historic art, furniture and gigantic mounted antlers. It offers live music, mead (honey wine), good fare and costumed servers and entertainers.

The next morning, before checkout, I squeezed in some clay pigeon shooting with Patsy. Almost as entertaining as archery, shooting isn't as hard as it looks so I managed to connect with most of my pigeons. Request Patsy's plaid blanket to fold over your shoulder to protect it from the shotgun's kickback.

If you have more than a week in Ireland, add Burren's limestone lunar landscape, Northern Ireland's rural towns and Belfast. Ireland, in many ways, is a preferable destination to its more popular European counterparts. It has an incredibly long and varied history and an extensive list of unique sites. Its size is also well-suited to the single visit. Armed with a good road map and warm jacket, you'll find nothing wanting from your memorable trip to the Emerald Isle.

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