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The Role of Coal

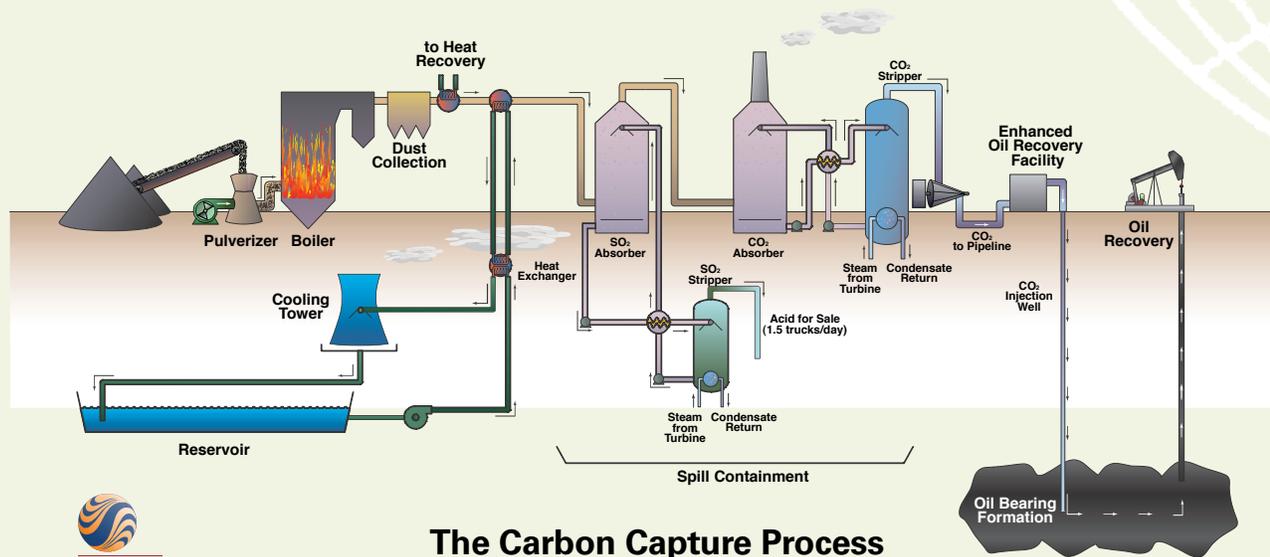
Saskatchewan has an estimated 300-year supply of coal. Lignite coal currently provides more than 50 per cent of provincial electricity. Coal-fired generators operate 24 hours a day, seven days a week, and are a very reliable form of electrical generation. It is essential that SaskPower has these base load generators in the supply mix. However,



doing so in today's economic and regulatory environment requires meeting new standards to address emerging regulatory requirements and to satisfy new societal demands.

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JENNIFER CAMPBELL

Meet John Baird

Boil down John Baird's general philosophy to his job as Canada's foreign minister and you get this: principle and pragmatism. In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly last September, the outspoken politician singled out countries — Iran, North Korea, Burma — for unprincipled behaviour.

In a wide-ranging, end-of-year interview with *Diplomat's* publisher, Donna Jacobs, the man who represents the country on the world stage discussed his new job, the crowning achievement in a remarkable 17-year political career. (He's only 43 years old.) In our cover piece, we also learn about one of his most important causes — spreading freedom to practise religion across the globe — and about his preference for Tim Hortons coffee, his go-to radio station and his love of cats.

Further in our Dispatches section, we have a brand new Top 10 list — this time of tiny, well-run countries. As writer Wolfgang Depner explains, small can sometimes be beautiful.

We also give you a primer on all the shipbuilding activity announced by the federal government last fall — with photographs and specs on each vessel. And we have the story of Dabaab's refugee camps — an overcrowded dilemma for policy-makers at the UNHCR.

Up front, as always, we bring you a selection of cartoons from around the world. Needless to say, the euro plays a starring role in this batch.

UP FRONT

Photographer Ashley Fraser had 30 minutes to shoot Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird in his office in the Centre Block. She spotted two panels of red velvet drapes on either side of a trio of Gothic windows and pulled them together to make what she thought would be a regal background — something subtly showing the minister's monarchist side. Our package on John Baird and Canada's foreign policy begins on page 34.



Columnist Fen Hampson has a cautionary tale about the turbulent 1920s and 1930s, arguing that big trouble comes in times like these. We also have a column by Swiss Ambassador Ulrich Lehner, who writes about his country's landmark banking system reforms. In *Diplomatic Agenda*, Norwegian Ambassador Else Berit Eike-land writes about her country both as an oil power and a Northern power.

We have trade articles from Romanian Ambassador Elena Stefoi, Sri Lankan High Commissioner Chitranganee Wagiswara and Tanzanian High Commissioner Alex Crescent Massinda.

In our Delights section, books editor George Fetherling devours eight war books, including one on how Anglo-American diplomacy helped avert world war and another on how Canada — along with British and other Allied forces — invaded Russia from Vladivostok. As Mr. Fetherling points out, the story is not widely taught in Canadian history classes as it was "a singular failure."

In our column on entertaining, Margaret Dickenson offers a global stroll through the pancake world and comes up with a recipe of her own. Meanwhile, wine columnist Pieter Van den Weghe tells us where to find unique Pinot Noirs.

In our Canadiana, writer Laura Neilson Bonikowsky gives us a fascinating historical tale about the "Pig War" of San Juan Island, which was claimed by both Britain and the U.S. because of its strategic military location between the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Strait of Georgia.

Among our new arrivals to the diplomatic corps, we have ambassadors from Korea, El Salvador, Philippines, Angola and Switzerland.

In our regular residence feature, writer Margo Roston and photographer Dyanne Wilson visit the home of Indian High Commissioner Shashishekhar Gavai and his wife, Rina. And to round things out, writer Jessie Reynolds takes an adventurous tour of Australia.

Jennifer Campbell is Diplomat's editor.

CONTRIBUTORS

Charles F. Doran



Dr. Doran is the Andrew W. Mellon Professor of International Relations and director of Canadian Studies at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C. He developed the "power cycle theory" of state rise and decline (shifting tides of history). His theory appears in the *Encyclopedia of Political Science*.

He was elected to the Council on Foreign Relations and to the Cosmos Club in 1991. He received the Governor General's International Award for Canadian Studies in 1999, and the International Studies Association's Distinguished Scholar Award for Foreign Policy in 2006. He's listed in *Who's Who in the World* and the *Dictionary of Eminent Social Scientists* (DESSA).

Ulrich Lehner



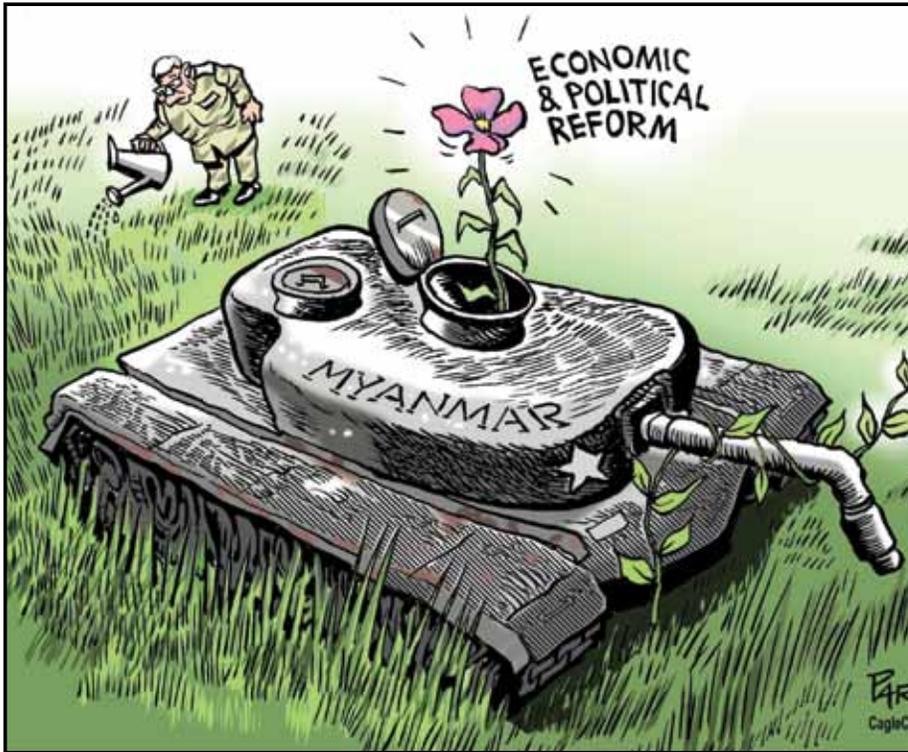
The Swiss ambassador took up his duties in Canada in late 2011.

Born in 1954, he was educated in Sion, Toronto and Geneva. He holds a master's in political economy from the University of Geneva and a post-graduate diploma in security policy studies.

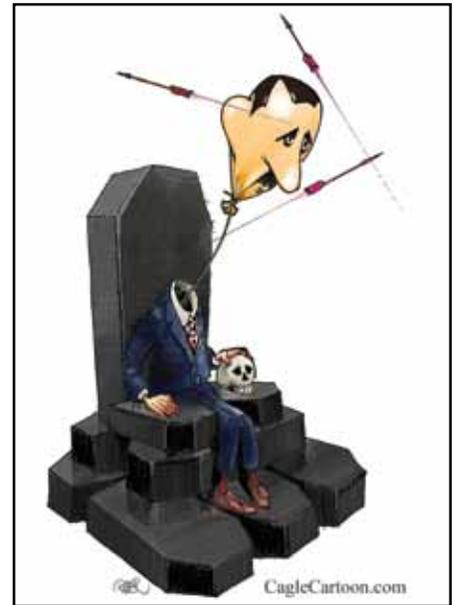
He joined the Swiss foreign service in 1981 and has been posted in Portugal, Brazil, Norway, Italy, Egypt and France. While in Switzerland, he was director of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, head of policy planning and the head of the multilateral division of the foreign ministry.

Prior to coming to Canada, he was ambassador to France and Monaco.

Political cartoons: Commentary around the world



"Spring in Myanmar" by Paresh Nath, *The Khaleej Times*, UAE



"Assad's Head as a Balloon" by Riber Hansson, Sweden



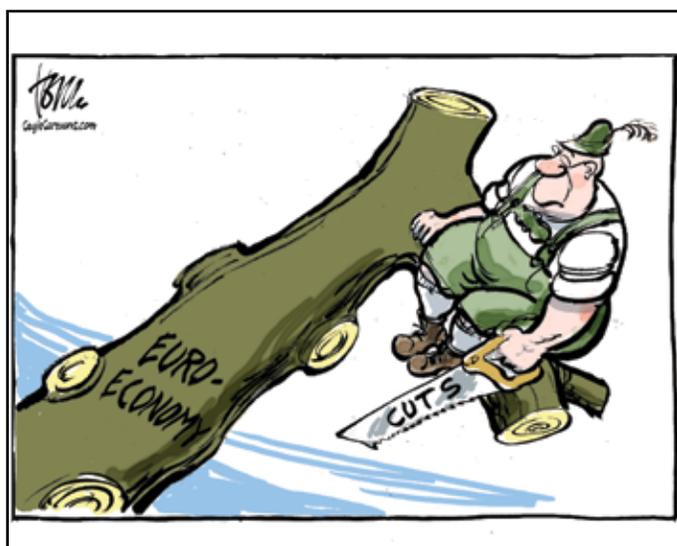
"Wall Street Occupied" by Frederick Deligne, *Nice-Matin*, France



"Gingrich Surges" by Randall Enos, Cagle Cartoons, U.S.



"GOP Magnifying Glass" by Daryl Cagle, MSNBC.com, U.S.



"Euro Economy" by Tom Janssen, The Netherlands



"Syria's Revolution" by Emad Hajjaj, Jordan



"The Rebels Victory" by Patrick Chappatte, *The International Herald Tribune*



"Failing Euro" by Christo Komarnitski, Bulgaria



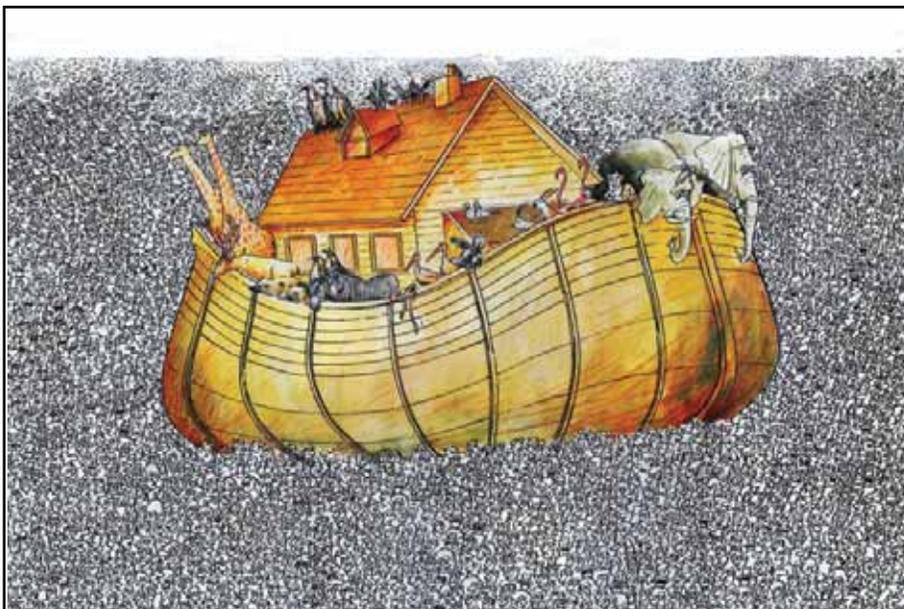
"Dracula" by Osama Hajjaj, Abu Mahjoob Creative Productions



"Wall Street Corporate America Protesters" by Brian Fairington, U.S.

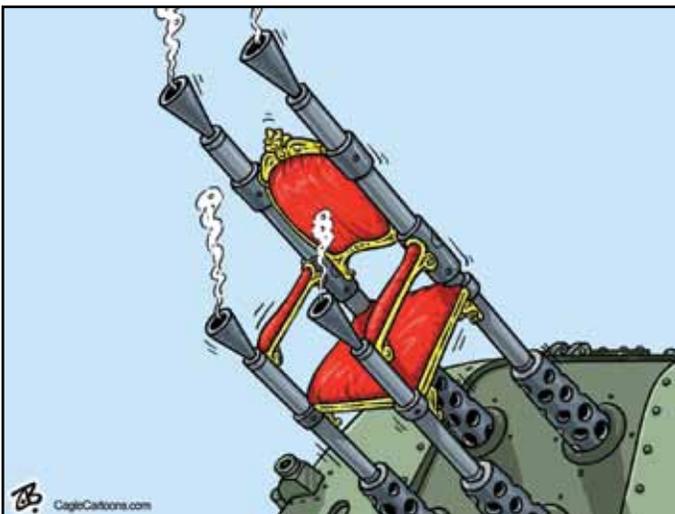


"Reconstruction of Greece" by Petar Pismetrovic, *Kleine Zeitung*, Austria



"The Not-So-Super Committee" by Rick McKee, *The Augusta Chronicle*, U.S.

"Population and Noah's Ark" by Pavel Constantin, Romania

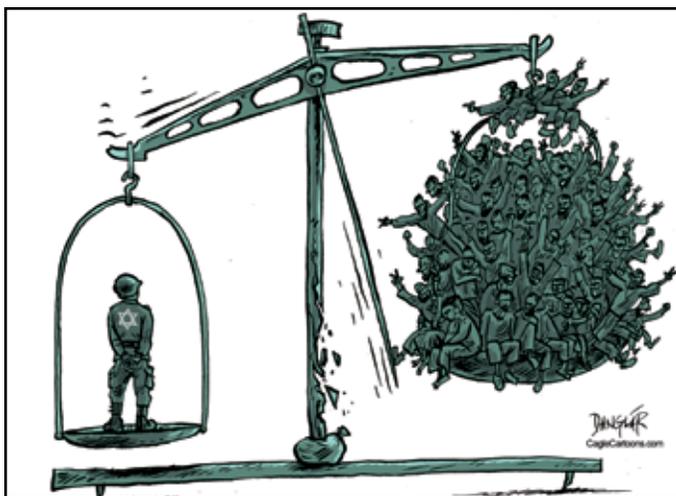


"The Chair" by Emad Hajjaj, Jordan



"Green Investments" by Eric Allie, *Caglecartoons.com*, U.S.

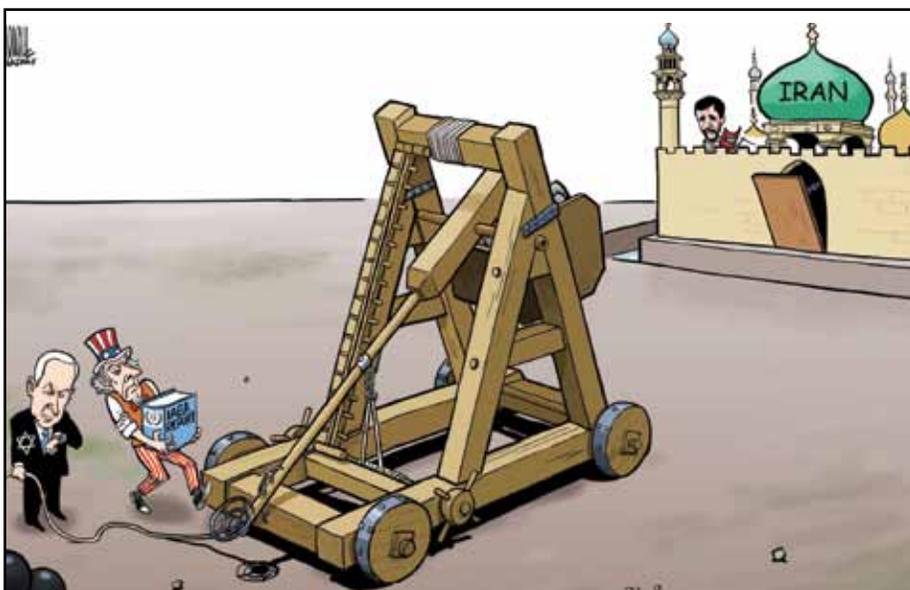
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"Israel Prisoner Swap" by Jozef Danglar Gertli, Danglar, Slovakia



"Helping China" by Martin Sutovec, Slovakia



"The First Cannonball" by Luojie, China Daily, China



"Cirque de Eurozone" by Taylor Jones, El Nuevo Dia, Puerto Rico



"Putin is Back" by Rick Chappatte, The International Herald Tribune



"Savings" by Angel Boligan, Cagle Cartoons, El Universal, Mexico City

Final withholding tax in Switzerland

Settling tax claims while preserving the privacy of bank clients



By *Ulrich Lehner*
Ambassador of Switzerland

Switzerland has recently signed tax treaties — introducing something called “the final withholding tax” — with the United Kingdom and Germany. These treaties have aroused the interest of other governments in Europe (and overseas as well) and have given rise to significant public discussion. What is the final withholding tax and how does it work?

For tax authorities in industrialized countries, one of today’s great challenges is how to deal with the undisclosed assets of their citizens. Voluntary disclosure initiatives are often costly and burdensome for governments. In the UK, for example, two recent voluntary tax disclosure initiatives needed the involvement of some 7,000 taxpayers to raise US\$351 million in taxes.

In the light of these efforts, the tax treaty which the UK recently signed with Switzerland appears to provide substantial budgetary income with significantly less administrative effort. Switzerland — or, rather, Swiss banks — will pay the UK a lump-sum, up-front payment of 500 million Swiss francs (US\$542 million) which will be refunded to them as sufficient tax revenues are raised from UK resident clients. This sum will be topped up with further payments based on a one-off, flat-rate tax on existing undisclosed assets and, also, a withholding tax on future capital income.

A similar agreement has been signed with Germany. The initial lump sum payment to Germany is even higher, amounting initially to 2 billion Swiss francs (US\$2.17 billion), again followed by further payments.



DODO VON DEN BERGEN

The Swiss National Bank (SNB) serves as the country’s central bank. Founded by law on Jan. 16, 1906, it began conducting business on June 20, 1907

A new financial market strategy

Two years ago, following the upheavals and changed market structures on global financial markets, the Swiss government decided to follow a new strategy with regard to the Swiss financial centre. The main elements of this new policy are the strengthening of international competitiveness and resilience to crises. At the same time, the new strategy sought to improve access to financial markets and to guarantee the integrity of Switzerland as a financial centre. The new strategy affirmed Switzerland’s longstanding policy of fighting financial crimes, including money laundering, and of returning illicit assets of politically-exposed persons to their countries of origin, and complemented this objective by ensuring full international cooperation against tax evasion.

The decision by Switzerland to concentrate on the management of taxed monies in its banks is thus embedded in its financial market strategy. It might be useful to recall at this stage that the financial sector is a supporting pillar of the Swiss economy. Its contribution to the country’s 2010 gross domestic product (GDP), at current prices, of US\$598.9 billion, is approximately 12 percent.

How does the final withholding tax work?

Switzerland is not interested in untaxed

money. In order to provide a satisfactory solution to partner states to tax the undisclosed assets of their citizens, Switzerland has developed the model of the final withholding tax. This tax guarantees the full remittance of taxes claimed by partner states on the existing untaxed assets and future income of their citizens in Switzerland. The tax is deducted from the credit balance of the relevant person on an anonymous basis. More specifically, the Swiss bank deducts a flat-rate tax sum on existing assets from UK and German resident clients (past) and on investment income and capital gains (future) respectively, and forwards these sums to the Swiss Federal Tax Administration. The latter then transfers these monies to the respective British and German tax authorities.

Once the tax has been levied, the tax liability is deemed to have been settled — hence the term final withholding tax. The tax rates that will be applied have been negotiated with both the UK and Germany and are aligned with the tax rates applicable in these countries, in order to avoid any distortion of competition with regard to taxes.

Privacy is guaranteed

The question may then be asked whether this is the end of bank secrecy — one of the pillars of the Swiss banking sector.

This is definitely not the case. The aim of the system is to transfer to partner states the taxes due on the past and future income of their citizens. However, the taxation is anonymous. Therefore, the protection of privacy and the discreet treatment of bank clients in Switzerland are still guaranteed.

The final withholding tax enables people to invest their assets in a safe and politically reliable financial centre in the heart of Europe, with legal security and a stable currency, yet at the same time, to settle their tax obligations to their home countries anonymously.

As an alternative to anonymous taxation, clients have the choice of disclosing their bank data to the tax authorities of the UK or Germany. In such cases, they will be subject to retrospective taxation on an individual basis. Clients who are unwilling to accept either system will be obliged to close their accounts in Switzerland.

Safeguard mechanism

As for new untaxed investments from the UK or Germany entering Switzerland, the system offers a safeguard mechanism, allowing the partner state to launch a specific number of queries to Switzer-

land each year. As an additional facet of Switzerland's new policy, this type of exchange of tax information goes further than the OECD standard; it does not set any specific pre-condition for the enquiry to be initiated. In response to such queries, Switzerland will provide the account number of the particular citizen to the relevant partner state (assuming that this person holds a Swiss account). The double taxation treaty will then provide other opportunities to the partner state to learn account details as well as further relevant information.

Although Switzerland is ready and willing to exchange tax information on a treaty basis, as prescribed by the international standard set by the OECD, it is decidedly not in favour of an automatic exchange of tax information. The automatic exchange of information generates vast amounts of data which is often unusable and irrelevant. The final withholding tax system deducts the tax where it is due without generating an additional administrative burden for the partner state to analyze superfluous data.

The system has raised much recognition and interest so far. Of course, there are also adversaries to the final withhold-

ing tax, who claim that it can be circumvented by using post-box companies, trusts and other "specialized vehicles." A closer look at the treaties, however, reveals that this is not the case. Swiss banks are bound by strict money-laundering regulations, which oblige them to identify the ultimate beneficiary behind such structures. The information exchange system provided in the treaties obliges Switzerland to inform the partner state of the existence of assets of their citizens in cases where funds are held in the name of a "specialized vehicle."

An efficient alternative

The final withholding tax has had a successful start, and it is likely to be the leading and preferred alternative to the automatic exchange of information in the future. Both the UK and Germany have indeed acknowledged that the agreed system will have a long-term impact that is equivalent to the automatic exchange of information in the area of capital income. While the treaties have been signed with both Germany and the UK, they will probably go into force beginning in 2013 (subject to parliamentary approval in both partner countries). ▣

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FEN OSLER HAMPSON

Our globalized world is unraveling. This is not the end of globalization, but it is something we have seen before. It is called retrenchment.

It is a phenomenon characterized by declining levels of interdependence in global trade and investment, beggar-thy-neighbour policies as states (especially new entrants in the global economy) look out for their own interests and don't play by the rules, a corresponding weakened capacity for collective action among the world's leading nations, and the progressive weakening of international institutions that are the bedrock of a sound global order.

The first great era of globalization unfolded in the second half of the 19th Century. It was an era marked by a dramatic increase in worldwide trade, investment, labour mobility and prosperity. But it was followed in the 1920s and 1930s by declining interdependence as countries introduced a wide range of protectionist measures to shield jobs and local industry.

Great Britain introduced the Commonwealth Imperial system, which granted favourable access and free trade on reciprocal terms to its Dominions (Canada among them) and colonial territories. In 1926, Britain introduced the Empire Marketing Board to encourage Britons to buy goods from their current and former colonies.

The United States wanted it both ways. Although the U.S. pressured Canada to abandon the Imperial preference system, it still wanted to keep its own tariffs and restrictive policies in place. The Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act (1930) smacked America's trading partners, including Canada, hard. By some estimates, worldwide trade in the 1930s shrank by almost a third as countries retaliated against each other.



F. DE LA MURE/MAE

U.S. President Barack Obama and Prime Minister Stephen Harper converse at the G20 Summit in Cannes, France, in November.

The retrenchment phenomenon of the inter-war years also had an ugly political side as countries struggled with massive unemployment, inflation and the broader consequences of economic depression in their societies. In Weimar Germany and Italy, national socialism reared its ugly head as Hitler and Mussolini rode to power on a xenophobic wave of popular protest, replacing democracy with brutal dictatorship.

The leaders of the Anglo-Saxon world (Britain, the U.S., Canada, Australia) wrestled with a different kind of problem — isolationism — as their societies turned inward and refused to deal, at least initially, with the dark storm clouds that were gathering over Europe.

The League of Nations, an instrument for collective global security which had been crafted out of the Paris peace settlements following the end of the First Great War, also proved incapable of dealing with a series of aggressive acts by the Axis Powers in the 1930s.

History does not repeat itself. But today, in the second decade of the 21st Century, we too are grappling with a renewed

bout of retrenchment and the attendant political risks that come with a downturn in global economic fortunes and a weakening of international institutions.

The causes of the current crisis are complex, but they are rooted in a variety of ills. The world continues to struggle with the fallout of the 2008-09 financial crisis, and now a second one with the impending collapse of the Eurozone monetary regime.

The deep bonds of European integration have been weakened by Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain who are wrestling with unsustainable levels of public debt and are struggling to cut public expenditures at a time when their own economies are contracting and many people — especially the young — are out of work. If the Eurozone collapses, the ambitious enterprise that was launched by Jean Monnet and the other founders of the European Union will be seriously compromised.

Democracy, too, is paying a price as unelected technocrats are catapulted into positions of power in countries such as Greece and Italy to fix fiscal problems that the politicians can't, or won't.

If Europe is not able to manage the



F. DE LA MURE/MAEE

Last year's G20 Summit in Cannes, France was widely viewed as a failure. Pictured here is the site of the Summit's "round table meetings."

crisis because of its own internal political constraints and contradictions, everyone will be a loser as contagion spreads.

To make matters worse, Washington is mired in its own unrelenting fiscal and budgetary battles. Partisan politics has yielded to ugly class warfare as Democrats and Republicans take each other on. Whether markets and investors are prepared to live with the continuing political uncertainty until the November 2012 election remains to be seen.

The international architecture that was forged out of the 2008-09 economic crisis is proving woefully inadequate. G20 summits of world leaders have degenerated into exercises of indecision, finger-pointing and mutual recrimination. The G20 summit held in early November 2011 in Cannes, France, was by all accounts a failure. The political and economic crisis in Greece hijacked an agenda that was supposed to come up with a long-term plan to rebalance the global economy, promote financial stability and address pressing new issues such as global food security.

The Bretton Woods system of international institutions, the bedrock of post-Second World War global economic recovery and prosperity, is fumbling and crumbling. This is especially true of the world trading system. The World Trade Organization has failed to conclude a new agreement on world trade, notwithstanding successive rounds of negotiations at Doha. Talks are stuck in neutral because of major disagreements about trade liberalization in agriculture and in a number of other sectors.

The deeper problem here is that global economic interdependence has increased dramatically since the 1980s, but the institutional framework that is required to monitor, regulate and provide for crisis management has not kept pace. We are thus seeing political retrenchment as countries grapple with the instabilities caused by private and government excesses (primarily excessive borrowing by consumers and governments alike).

As economic conditions worsen, governments are tempted to retrench further, leading to an uncoordinated spiral of non-cooperative behavior.

The inadequate pace of global finance and economic sector governance is matched in the field of international security. At first, the late 1980s and 1990s seemed to mark a new era of the United Nations as the global mechanism through which conflicts could be monitored, managed and resolved. The institution had some notable successes in all corners of the world — Namibia, Mozambique, Cambodia, and El Salvador and, more recently, East Timor.

The success rate, however, was matched by a failure rate, as the UN fell short of effective action in Bosnia, Somalia, Rwanda and Haiti, and was marginalized in the face of terrorist attacks on the United States and the subsequent U.S. decision to attack Iraq and Afghanistan.

Instead of building strengthened global security institutions, the general international pattern has been to cast doubt on the relevance of established ones. Instead

of innovation, we have witnessed expansion, dilution and confusion.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Middle East and North Africa where, as the Arab Spring sputters and descends into chaos, there has not been much more than hand-wringing by Western countries as opportunistic neighbours exploit mounting bedlam for their own religious and political ends.

Another aspect of our retrenching world is that those countries that are rising powers in the international system — China, India, and Brazil, for example — are not yet showing the kind of leadership that is expected of them. They have still to acquire the shared sense of responsibility for global governance and stewardship of the international system that come with great power status.

China's reluctance to grant reciprocity to its trading and investment partners is symptomatic of this problem. So, too, are its depressed exchange rate policies, which are a continuing bone of contention, especially with the U.S.

China, Russia and India were offside with other members of the UN Security Council over Libya. They have also done precious little to thwart Iran's nuclear ambitions or to use their influence to promote peaceful regime change in Syria.

The rising powers of our new world are still wedded to old patterns of behaviour. Power-sharing has to mean burden-sharing and reciprocity if global institutions in economics and security are going to function effectively.

The central and most powerful actors in the international system are all — in one way or another — troubled by domestic political and economic pressures, yielding to short-term political imperatives over issues of identity, employment, health, ageing, trade and jobs.

As new entrants into the world economy game the old system further, thereby weakening it and reducing its credibility, Western governments will be further tempted either to go it alone or simply to withdraw.

In such a world, there will be less growth and greater political instability. The inter-war years of the last century are a stark reminder of the trouble that comes when there is diminished will, capacity and leadership for collective action.

Fen Osler Hampson is Chancellor's Professor and director of The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University.

Life after the International Criminal Court

Canadian lawyer and diplomat Philippe Kirsch was the first president of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and served as a judge on the court from 2003 to 2009. Prior to that, he worked for Foreign Affairs for 30 years. He served as assistant deputy minister for legal, consular and passport affairs, as deputy permanent representative to the UN, as legal adviser for the department and, finally, as ambassador to Sweden.

He retired from that position to become a judge at the ICC, not a surprising appointment since he chaired the committee that established the court in the first place. In 2009, he received the Order of Canada for his contributions to international criminal law. Diplomat last interviewed him when he was still at the court, so editor Jennifer Campbell thought it was time to get caught up on what he's been doing since he left that position nearly three years ago. She spoke with him by phone from his home in Sallèles d'Aude, France.

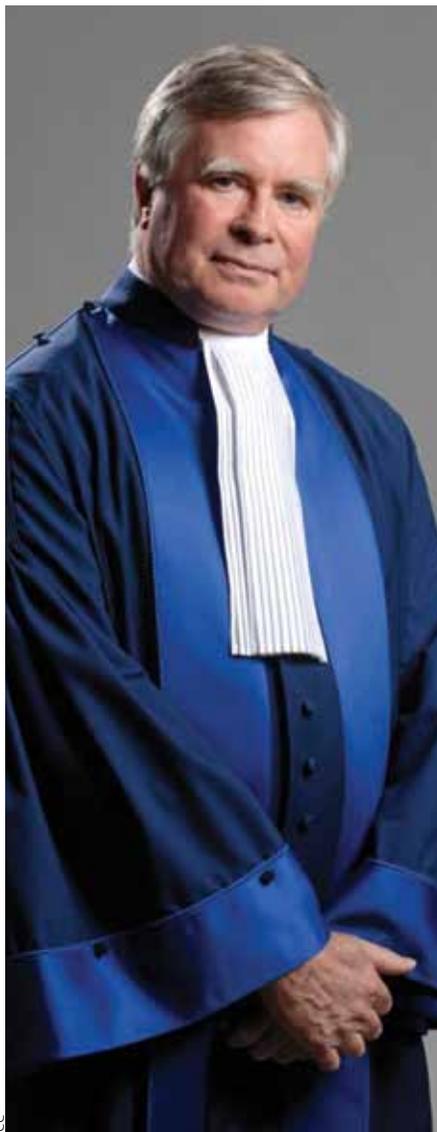
Diplomat Magazine: The last time we spoke, you were heading up the International Criminal Court at the Hague. What have you been doing since you left that job?

Philippe Kirsch: I left in March 2009. Three days later, I was appointed judge *ad-hoc* at the International Court of Justice in a case concerning [war crime suspect] Hissène Habré — it's a dispute between Belgium and Senegal as to whether and where he should be tried or prosecuted. I still have that job because the case is not finished. [Habré was the leader of Chad from 1982 until he was deposed in 1990. Human rights groups allege he is responsible for thousands of deaths.]

I spent a couple of years doing a lot of conferences, which I decided to reduce in 2010 because it was just too time-consuming. I must have done 40 or 50, some of them in Canada, including the last one at the Trudeau Foundation in December, 2010, in Winnipeg. My main two activities this year have been the Bahrain Commission of Inquiry and the Libyan Commission.

DM: But in theory, you're retired, correct?

PK: I heard rumours to that effect (laughs) but I think I was very wrong on what retirement is supposed to be. I had [it only for] the first three days.



Philippe Kirsch when he was at the International Criminal Court in the Hague.

DM: What have you been doing with the Libyan Commission?

PK: The situation has changed a lot [as a result of the National Transitional Council coming to power and the death of Gadhafi]. The first part of the mission of the commission was obviously to focus on abuses committed by the Gadhafi regime during the repression of demonstrations in February.

The situation changed in the sense that it moved from a situation of disturbances, in a [nation] which was still formally at peace, to non-international conflict,

where you had a government fighting a force that was organized. Then you had a parallel international conflict involving a coalition of states and NATO, but this was a separate conflict. The international allies had no control over what was happening on the ground or over the two parties to the non-international conflict. The commission then had to investigate allegations of violations of international humanitarian law, not only of human rights law.

That was the context in which we conducted our first mission. We went to Tobruk and Benghazi to see the National Transitional Council and we went to Tripoli to see the representatives of the Gadhafi regime at the time. We visited prisons and interviewed many people, also in Egypt and Tunisia. Our first mission was still in a situation where you had two poles, the government and the opposition, or rebellion.

What happened in the [autumn of 2011] was that the focus moved almost entirely to the National Transitional Council. Our next report, which is due in March, will still deal a lot with violations of the law during the past armed conflicts, but will probably focus increasingly on the National Transitional Council and the forces working with it, now being the only game in town. Therefore we will have to look at what happens on that score because the mandate that we have is not limited to the conduct of the Gadhafi regime. The resolution asks the Commission to investigate all violations in the territory. So we have to look at everything.

DM: How long do you expect to be involved?

PK: I think the next report [in March 2012, to the UN Human Rights Council] will be the final report. We are planning two missions of the commissioners: one in December [2011] and one in January, both preceded by a long mission by investigators who will be with us again when we're in the territory. An advance mission just came back [in November] from Tripoli to report on the situation.

DM: At the same time as you're studying the Libyan situation, you're also one of five members of the Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry.

PK: Yes. The commission looked into events when there were demonstrations

which were repressed by the government with excessive force and where other allegations of abuse have been made, for example, with respect to detention and treatment of detainees, arrests, investigations and trials that may not have been conducted properly. As a result of such allegations, the King of Bahrain appointed this independent commission of inquiry with five foreign commissioners.

DM: Do you take it as a good sign that the King appointed an independent commission?

PK: It's a hopeful sign. It is obviously more healthy if a neutral commission is appointed at the national level by the authority of that country than if it is imposed by the international community. It's better for society. The commission is absolutely impartial. I know all the commissioners. They are people who aren't going to be influenced by one side or the other. We're going to say what we think, whoever has or has not done what.

DM: Did the King choose the commissioners?

PK: He chose the head of the commission, Professor Cherif Bassiouni, an Egyptian-American who teaches at DePaul University in Chicago and who was also the chair of the Libyan commission before I took over. I'm not sure what the process of selection was of the other commissioners.

[Note: The commission released a 500-page report after this interview in November. It took 9,000 testimonies, offered a chronology of events and documented 46 deaths and 559 allegations of torture. There were also some 4,000 cases where employees were dismissed for protesting. The report was critical of security forces which it said used "force and firearms" in an "excessive manner that was, on many occasions, unnecessary, disproportionate and indiscriminate."]

DM: On the topic of the International Criminal Court, can you talk about your aspirations for the court and what you think will become of it?

PK: The perception I have from a distance is that the ICC is much more solid than it was two or three years ago. First of all, there was the reference of the Libyan situation, which was the second referral by the [UN] Security Council [after the situation in Darfur]. It now has seven situations. But the point is that, in addition to what it actually does, it seems to be



Former UN secretary-general Kofi Annan speaks at ceremony in Rome to mark the signing of the treaty on the establishment of the International Criminal Court.

perceived today as a much more natural piece of the international landscape than it used to be. I don't detect the same kind of attacks, or at least the great suspicion, that existed a few years ago. I also note so many references to the ICC across the world. As soon as a situation develops, where crimes seem to have been committed, the first reaction is often that the ICC should deal with it. There's that, and the fact that the number of states [parties to the Rome Statute which governs the ICC] has risen to 119, which is quite a few more than when I left. Overall, I think the court situation has been improving.

That doesn't mean it doesn't have major hurdles to go through still. For example, it could work more efficiently. It will also continue to work in an international environment that is difficult because, by definition, all situations that are referred to the ICC are linked to some kind of political situation with big interests — so someone will always have an interest in making things difficult.

And again, I guess at some point, it will be important for the ICC to move away from its exclusive focus on Africa. I found it understandable that it initially [focused on Africa] for a variety of reasons, including the gravity of the crimes committed, and also because a number of African states had accepted its jurisdiction. That is not necessarily the case in other regions in which crimes are committed. If the ICC has no jurisdiction over a particular situation, because the state concerned has not accepted it, there's no way it can get the case except through the Security Council. So it is limited in the exercise of its mandate. That said, I think it will be necessary

to visibly broaden its scope of activities geographically, albeit still within the limits of its mandate.

DM: To what do you attribute the successes that have made the court more prominent?

PK: For one, I think the institution is better known and understood than it was. For a long time there were great confusions between the ICC, the International Court of Justice, the ICTY [International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia] — all those institutions. I think the ICC now really has acquired a stature of its own. The other thing is the way it has conducted itself, and that's something I was extremely attentive to when I was president. It has never conducted proceedings on any other basis than the law. When the ICC is accused of bias, the accusation is always based on vague, broad statements, on perceptions. I never saw an attack on the actual reasoning by a chamber, for example, because they are simply based on very solid legal grounds. And I think that reassured some states that were concerned about having a court [with] a political bent.

DM: What are your long-term hopes for the ICC?

PK: My major hope for it remains what I've had in mind since the Rome Conference [which created the judicial body in 1998] — that the ICC will be able to fulfill its mission, [which will happen] only when you get very close to universal acceptance [by countries of the world]. At the beginning, the number of ratifications increased very fast, then it slowed. It's

picked up again now. It's making a dent in Asia. The Philippines ratified recently; Malaysia and Indonesia made public statements that they would. Those things are important.

Tunisia has now ratified, also. That is an important indication in the Arab World, which is still badly lacking in terms of participation. It is gradually improving but it will take a long time to reach its destination. Yet, universality remains the most important thing for different reasons. One is functional. The court cannot function properly or take certain situations if its jurisdiction is not accepted. Another is a matter of principle. Its mission is, by definition, universal. If a large part of the world is seen to escape its jurisdiction, it is not good for the institution. It will continue to be perceived, I wouldn't say as a European court anymore, but at least as a court which is unable to deal with situations where obvious crimes have been committed.

DM: So that's the first step.

PK: The situation is improving: 119 countries is not bad when you compare, for example, with the International Court of Justice, where about 60 countries have accepted its compulsory jurisdiction after 60 or more years of existence.

DM: What do you see as the timeline for this? Is 60 years a realistic goal?

PK: I hope it will be before that. This is something that's not been understood — how much it has been accepted in very little time. People focus on the fact that you don't have major states — the U.S., China, India, Russia — but they don't

compare. The International Court of Justice has none of those, either.

DM: You're now living in the South of France. Have you lived in Canada since you left for Sweden in 2003?

PK: No, because I went straight [from Sweden] to the Netherlands. [The ICC operates from The Hague]. Now I've moved to the South of France, not necessarily permanently but to discover a bit of sun in my life. My wife is here but my daughters are in Montreal, and my sister, also. So I do go back to Canada and they come [to the South of France] too.

The docket of the ICC

CONGO

Thomas Lubanga Dyilo: Alleged founder of the Union des Patriotes Congolais (UPC) and the Forces patriotiques pour la liberation du Congo (FPLC), alleged commander-in-chief of the FPLC and alleged president of the UPC. He is charged with war crimes including enlisting and conscripting children under the age of 15 into the FPLC and using them to participate actively in hostilities and armed conflict, both international and internal. His trial began January 2009.

Germain Katanga, aka "Simba" and Mathieu Ngudjolo Chui: Katanga is alleged commander of the Force de resistance patriotique en Ituri (FRPI) and Chui is the alleged former leader of the Front des nationalistes

et intégrationnistes. They are charged with war crimes including using children under the age of 15 to take part in hostilities, directing an attack against a civilian population, willful killings, destruction of property, pillaging; sexual slavery and rape. They are also charged with crimes against humanity, including murder, rape and sexual slavery. Their trial began November 2009.

Bosco Ntaganda: Former alleged deputy chief of the Forces patriotiques pour la liberation du Congo (FPLC) and alleged chief of staff of the Congrès national pour la defense du peuple (CNDP) armed group. He's allegedly criminally responsible for three counts of war crimes including enlistment and conscription of children under the age of 15 and using children under the age of 15 to participate actively in hostilities. Mr. Ntaganda is at large.

Callixte Mbarushimana: Alleged executive secretary of the Forces Democratiques pour la Liberation du Rwanda-Forces Combattantes Abacunguzi (FDLR-FCA). He's charged with five counts of crimes against humanity including murder, torture, rape, inhumane acts and persecution and six counts of war crimes including attacks against civilian population, destruction of property, murder, torture, rape and inhuman treatment. His trial began in September 2011.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo: Alleged president and commander-in-chief of the Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC). He's charged with two counts of crimes against humanity, including murder



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and rape, and three war crimes, including murder, rape and pillaging. His trial began in November 2010.

UGANDA

Joseph Kony: Alleged commander-in-chief of the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA). He is charged with 12 counts of crimes against humanity including murder, enslavement, sexual enslavement, rape, inhumane acts of inflicting serious bodily injury and suffering. He’s also charged with 21 counts of war crimes including murder, cruel treatment of civilians, intentionally directing an attack against a civilian population, pillaging, inducing rape and forced enlistment of children. Mr. Kony is at large.

Vincent Otti: Alleged vice-chairman and second-in-command of the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA). He’s charged with 11 counts of crimes against humanity, including murder, sexual enslavement, and inhumane acts of inflicting serious bodily injury and suffering. He’s also charged with 21 counts of war crimes including inducing rape, intentionally directing an attack against a civilian population, forced enlistment of children, cruel treatment of civilians, pillaging and murder. Mr. Otti is at large.

Okot Odhiambo: Alleged deputy army commander and alleged commander of two brigades of the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA). He’s charged with two counts of crimes against humanity, including murder and enslavement. He’s also charged with eight counts of war crimes, including murder, intentionally directing an attack against a civilian population, pillaging and forced enlisting of children. Mr. Odhiambo is at large.

Dominic Ongwen: Alleged commander of one brigade of the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA). He’s charged with three counts of crimes against humanity, including enslavement, and inhumane acts of inflicting serious bodily injury and suffering. He’s also charged with four counts of war crimes, including murder, cruel treatment of civilians, intentionally directing an attack against a civilian population and pillaging. Mr. Ongwen is at large.

SUDAN

Ahmad Muhammad Harun: Former minister of state for the interior and minister of state for humanitarian affairs of Sudan. He’s charged with 20 counts of crimes against humanity including murder, persecution,

forcible transfer of population, rape, inhumane acts, imprisonment or severe deprivation of liberty and torture. He’s also charged with 22 counts of war crimes including murder, attacks against the civilian population, destruction of property, rape, pillaging and outrage upon personal dignity. Mr. Harun is at large.

Ali Muhammad Ali Abd-Al-Rahman: Alleged leader of the militia *Janjaweed*. He’s charged with 22 counts of crimes against humanity including murder, deportation or forcible transfer of population, imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law, torture, persecution and inhumane acts of inflicting serious bodily injury and suffering. He’s also charged with 28 counts of war crimes, including violence to life and person, outrage upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment, intentionally directing an attack against a civilian population, pillaging, rape and destroying or seizing of property. He is at large.

Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir: President of the Republic of Sudan. He’s charged with five counts of crimes against humanity,



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including murder, extermination, forcible transfer, torture and rape. He's also charged with two counts of war crimes including intentionally directing attacks against a civilian population, or against individual civilians not taking part in hostilities, and pillaging and three counts of genocide, including genocide by killing, genocide by causing serious bodily or mental harm and genocide by deliberately inflicting on each target group conditions of life calculated to bring about the group's physical destruction. Mr. Al Bashir is at large.

Abdallah Banda Abakaer Nourain and Saleh Mohammed Jerbo Jamus: The former is commander-in-chief of Justice and Equality Mouvement Collective-Leadership, one of the components of the United Resistance Front. The latter is former chief-of-staff of SLA-Unity and currently integrated into Justice and Equality Mouvement. They are charged with war crimes including violence to life, intentionally directing attacks against personnel, installations, material, units or vehicles involved in a peacekeeping mission and pillaging. Their case is at the pre-trial stage.

KENYA

William Samoei Ruto and Henry Kiprono Kosgey: Mr. Ruto is a suspended minister from Kenya's government; Mr. Kosgey is a current member of parliament and chairman of the ODM. They are charged with crimes against humanity including murder, forcible transfer of population and persecution. Their case is at the pre-trial stage.

Joshua Arap Sang: Currently head of operations at Kass FM in Nairobi. He is charged with crimes against humanity including murder, forcible transfer of population and persecution. His case is at the pre-trial stage.

Francis Kirimi Muthaura and Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta: Mr. Muthaura is currently head of the public service and secretary to the cabinet of Kenya; Mr. Kenyatta is deputy prime minister and minister for finance of Kenya. Both are charged with crimes against humanity including murder, forcible transfer, rape, persecution and other inhumane acts. Their case is at the pre-trial stage.

Mohammed Hussein Ali: Currently CEO of the Postal Corporation of Kenya. He is charged with allegedly contributing to the following crimes against humanity: murder, forcible transfer, rape, persecution and other inhumane acts. His case is at the pre-trial stage. ▣

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\$25 buys water for an African child's lifetime



By Leslie Moreland

Worldwide, 443 million school days are lost each year due to preventable water- and sanitation-related diseases. The lack of clean drinking water and basic toilet facilities in schools and communities throughout the developing world results in millions of children missing out on a chance to attend school, an experience which would equip them to build brighter futures for themselves and their families.

It's hard to imagine going to school and spending the day worrying about where you'll be able to relieve yourself in private, or where you'll get a drink of water to quench your thirst at lunch. For Canadians, this is a completely foreign notion. When I was growing up in small-town Ontario, the thought never even crossed my mind. Every day, I'd let the tap run, feel the cool, clean water from the fountain hit my mouth, and flush the toilet without a second thought. Yet, for millions of school-aged children around the world, days spent without access to clean water and toilets is their unfortunate reality.

Access to clean water, basic sanitation and hygiene education are the ABCs of international development and form the very building blocks of social and economic development in communities around the world. They are also integral to the health and well-being of individuals and entire communities. Sadly, the great importance of these basic services at schools has been almost entirely overlooked. However, without such facilities and training, schools risk becoming places that actually cause sickness, and in turn severely hinder the fight against global poverty.

WaterCan's *Clean Water for Schools* program works to support the provision of clean water, basic sanitation and hygiene



At Joseph Apuodo School in Nairobi, Kenya, safe drinking water and basic sanitation facilities have helped create a healthy school environment where learning, laughing and playing, rather than stomach aches and diarrhea, are top of mind.

education. Since 2006, we've been working with local communities and African partners to find sustainable, community-driven water and sanitation solutions for schools throughout Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. And the costs are reasonable: by WaterCan's formula, \$25 buys an African child water for life.

When boys and girls don't have access to clean water on school grounds, the consequences can be severe and life-altering. For example, children are in danger of suffering from water- and sanitation-related diseases such as skin and eye infections, diarrhea and intestinal parasites. These diseases contribute to malnutrition and often hamper both physical and mental development, making learning difficult.

The sad reality of dirty and unhygienic school environments is that they also discourage students, particularly young girls, from even attending school. With-

out clean, private and gender-segregated toilet facilities, girls are prevented (by embarrassment or by their families) from attending school during menstruation. This contributes to a significant disparity in male and female primary-school graduation rates. Understandably, qualified teachers are also less willing to work at schools that don't offer these basic services. This further prevents children from getting an education that could help their families and communities break the pervasive cycle of poverty.

I recently had an opportunity to sit down with an inspiring young girl at Bar Chando Primary School in western Kenya. She told me what her life was like before WaterCan and our partner SANA (Sustainable Aid in Africa) helped the school complete a 25,000-litre rainwater harvesting tank, four handwashing facilities and 13 toilets to benefit the 447 students.



PETER BREGG

School children at St. Paul Buloba Primary School near Kampala, Uganda, now have safe drinking water thanks to WaterCan.

“Before the new tank was constructed, we only had one tank and would still need to collect water from the pond,” the girl said. “I remember having to miss class time not only to collect the water but also because I suffered a lot from stomach

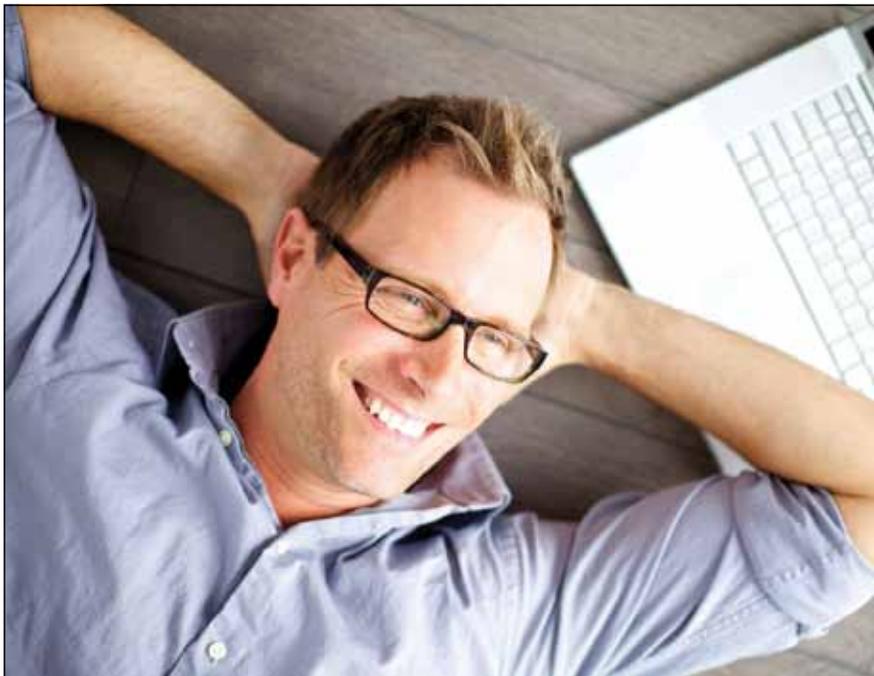
pains and diarrhea. But this isn’t the case anymore. Now we have clean water to last us the term. We can drink it, the teachers can have tea and we can wash our hands. The girls can even shower.” This girl and her classmates have learned to manage the water and, by practising conservation, there is enough water to meet the demands of the school for all three semesters.

According to the head teacher at Bar Chando, enrolment is up, absenteeism is down and academic performance has improved since completion of this project in 2010.

It is amazing to see the difference a small project like this can make in the lives of school children — not only physically but mentally as well. The morale at the school is high and I know more good things are yet to come.

WaterCan’s Clean Water for Schools program is funded entirely by the Canadian public. Thank you for making this program such a success. Please visit www.watercan.com to learn more about this program and how you can get involved.

Leslie Moreland is an Ottawa-based program officer for WaterCan.



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Playing defence: hockey as a fundraiser

A hockey tradition, now three years old, started as a way for military attachés to get together with their colleagues from National Defence in a lighthearted, casual way. In the beginning, the team of military attachés posted to Ottawa from all over the world was a rag-tag bunch with ill-fitting gear but they had spirit — and bravely took on a National Defence team made up of senior Canadian officers, led by Chief of Defence Staff General Walt Natynczyk. The game helped raise funds for Canadian military families.

It wasn't a bad showing with a final score of eight to five in favour of the Canadian team. After all, prior to the two months of weekly practices leading up to that 2008 game, some of the attachés had never skated before.

"For many of us, [the start of practices] was the first time we put on skates," said Capt. Mauricio Velasquez, the Chilean attaché and one of the game's big supporters. His team practises every Wednesday at 2 p.m. and then challenges the Canadian DND team twice a year, autumn and spring.

And the fundraising game they plan for this spring might be a more even match. While an exhibition game in late November yielded a final score of nine for DND to five for the attachés, the teams had looked fairly evenly matched during the first period. And, Major Marie-Claude Carré, a deputy director who works in the foreign liaisons section of National Defence, says the attachés played a warm-up game against members in her office and ended pulling off a win — seven goals to six.

"I'm sure it was confidence-building for them," Maj. Carré said.

But mostly, it's just for fun and camaraderie anyway.

"It's really about having nice times, to improve relations between attachés. We are now really good friends," Capt. Velasquez said. And the games expand those good relations to their colleagues in the Canadian Forces.

"It's not only a game," he said. "It's more than that."

Capt. Stuart McCubbin, who referees the games, said the funds raised in the spring game will go to the Military Family Resource Centres, which are on every Canadian base. Funds are raised primar-



MCPL SERGE TREMBLAY, CFSUO PHOTO SERVICES, DND

One of two annual games between the attachés and the Canadian Forces team (Canadian Forces Support Unit, Ottawa) took place at the Ottawa University Arena Nov. 23. The puck was dropped by Colonel Robert Perron for General Walter Natynczyk and German attaché Lt. Col. Kay Kuhlen.

ily through corporate sponsorships, which also provide a post-game celebration with a reception and a friendly drink.

"The idea is to get together and have fun," Capt. McCubbin said. "The attachés have really embraced the hockey."

Maj. Carré said it's been a great team-building exercise for the foreign service attachés (FSA) based in Ottawa (some foreign attachés accredited to Canada are based in Washington). She said it has allowed them "to develop bonds and friendship around a truly Canadian activity."

"In turn, the hockey games [against] senior Canadian Forces members aim to establish, build and maintain strong relationships in an informal and friendly environment," she explained. "They get to know some of our senior officers on a less formal basis."

That, and their non-hockey goal score: To raise \$20,000 for military families this year.

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Norway's oil explorers move to the High North



FIRST NAME: Else Berit

LAST NAME: Eikeland

CITIZENSHIP: Norwegian

**PRESENTED CREDENTIALS AS
AMBASSADOR:** Oct. 2, 2009

PREVIOUS POSTINGS: Philippines,
San Francisco and London.

The strong Norwegian interest in global energy affairs stems from the fact that Norway is a major energy nation. With just five million people, our country is the world's second-largest natural gas exporter, the fifth-largest petroleum exporter (oil and gas together) and sixth in the world in terms of hydro-power production.

We provide Europe with 35 per cent of its gas imports, a significant contribution to European energy security.

Our country is among the very few that are net exporters of energy. Statoil, partly owned by the Norwegian government, is among the world's leaders in deep-water offshore oil and gas production, and another Norwegian company, Statkraft, is Europe's largest renewable energy company. The revenues and taxes from oil and gas production are channeled to the Government Pension Fund Global, which is among the largest sovereign wealth funds in the world, with a value close to US\$550 billion.

In addition, Norway runs the world's most comprehensive petroleum technology assistance program. "Oil for Development" provides experience and advice to more than 20 oil and gas countries in the developing world. And Norway is currently developing renewable energy support programs in such countries.

Climate change and energy policy

Energy policy cannot be separated from the global efforts to combat climate change. For Norway, this is the overarching perspective — global warming is a major global concern for our government. The energy sector is a key to this and we believe big emission cuts must be taken

worldwide if we are to stop global warming from escalating. Norway's long-term sustainable energy policy lays the foundation for a low-carbon pathway for our society. This combines two responsibilities — to develop fossil-

fuel resources in the most sustainable way possible, and to develop renewable energy sources.

Norway will offer some solutions by producing carbon-neutral energy such as hydro or wind power, and by providing less carbon-intensive solutions (such as relatively cleaner gas) and carbon capture and storage (CCS) technology. For countries such as Canada and Norway, which

will depend on fossil fuels for decades, it is essential to decarbonize natural gas and coal. Co-operation between Canada and Norway, reconfirmed by the recent visit of Norwegian Energy Minister Ola Borten Moe, is crucial in making more advanced CCS technologies to do so economically — in order to bring CCS technologies to market.

Energy production in the Arctic

The International Energy Agency expects energy demand to increase by at least 30 percent by 2030, and the Arctic could be among the most promising untapped energy regions in the world. According to estimates by the U.S. Geological Survey, the Arctic may hold as much as 22 percent of the world's remaining oil and gas reserves, though there is, of course, considerable uncertainty attached to this number.

To balance environmental and climate concerns in this framework is a challenge for Arctic nations such as Russia, Norway,



A Statoil platform in the Troll gas field, off Norway's west coast.

ØYVIND HAGEN / STATOIL

Canada and the U.S. Provided that environmental and climate concerns are adequately handled, we believe it is feasible to slowly start exploring how to harvest significant energy resources in the Arctic. In fact, a major conference on how to prevent oil spills in the Arctic took place under the Arctic Council's auspices in Oslo in October and was attended by Canadian officials. We don't expect a major rush or conflicts over energy resources in the region, as ownership and governance are already well-established through the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention.

There are a number of examples of new energy opportunities in the far north. They include the Shtokman project (led by Russia's Gazprom, with Norwegian and French interests on a large offshore gas field in the Barents Sea), the new deal between Rosneft of Russia and Exxon of the U.S. in the Kara Ocean, last year's delimitation agreement between Norway and Russia in the Barents Sea, and Chinese investment in an LNG plant in the same area.

Energy production moves North

The High North is a main focal point for the Norwegian government. The aim is to safeguard a sustainable development there, and this implies expanding economic activities to develop employment, growth and welfare. The energy sector is an important part of this. Norway has had fantastic exploration results this year. In the mature, fully developed North Sea, the Aldeous/ Avalsnes oil discovery might prove to be among the all-time top five oil fields ever discovered in Norway. Then there are the Skrugard oil discovery and the Norvarg gas find, both in the Barents Sea. There is also an ongoing effort to open up the area around Jan Mayen and new areas in the southern Barents Sea for oil and gas exploration.

Norway struggled for many years to solve the secrets of oil and gas in this body of water. The first discovery came in 1980, but it took more than 25 years to get it into production. Today, the future looks much brighter. We have LNG production. We have an oil discovery under development in the High North as well as the Skrugard site. Thirty years after opening this area for exploration, the northern energy focus has made a big push forward. The recent visit of Norway's energy minister to Canada underlines the partnership between Canada and Norway for sustainable management of our respective northern energy resources. ■



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Romania: fine wine and renewable energy



By Elena Stefoi

The embassy of Romania in Ottawa pursues two complementary trade objectives. The first is to stimulate bilateral dialogue to increase trade and identify new niches of economic co-operation. The second is to harmonize the bilateral relations between Romania and Canada with the commercial policies of the EU *acquis* (body of European Union law).

Visits to Bucharest in 2009 and 2010 by International Trade Ministers Stockwell Day and Peter Van Loan led to the acceleration of the signing of a FIPA (Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement). And when the president of the Romanian Senate and his Canadian counterpart met, both in Bucharest and in Ottawa, bilateral trade was part of their agendas. Romania's minister of foreign affairs also discussed possibilities for economic cooperation with federal ministers on his Canadian tour in 2011.

This is the most recent chapter in the long-time partnership that Romania and Canada enjoy, one guided by a solid legal framework, with agreements on double taxation avoidance, nuclear co-operation and trade, legal assistance on criminal matters, FIPA and social security.

As an EU member, Romania applies "communitarian policies" in the commercial area but also takes part in adopting European strategic decisions. Thus, Romania is an active supporter of the Canada-EU Trade Agreement (CETA). We hope it will entrench consistent and modern practices that benefit both sides and extend outward to wider international economic relations.

The total volume of Romanian-Canadian bilateral commercial trade in 2010 was US\$257 million, of which \$123.4 million were Romanian exports to Canada, and \$133.7 were Canadian exports to

Romania. These figures represent a 78 percent increase over 2009 figures for Romania's exports, and a decrease of Romania's commercial trade deficit with Canada of \$73 million. In the first half of 2011, Romania's exports increased by 122 percent when compared to the same period in 2010.

Romania's exports to Canada include tires and auto parts, common metals, generators, power transformers, furniture, clothing wear and accessories. From Canada, Romania mainly imports solvents, reactive agents, transmission equipment, medical drugs, cereals, radiators, electric panels and optical instruments.

We would like to see a greater openness to the Canadian market for the following Romanian goods: IT equipment and cellular technology, naval radio-detection and radio-sound machines, warning monitors



The Danube at the Romanian-Serbian border.

along with optical, photographic and medical instruments and equipment. Romanian wines, including Chevalier Dyonis Merlot, Feteasca Neagra Reserve, Terra Romana Millenium and Prahova Valley Reserve, are relatively new products introduced on the beverage market. The latter two have reached Canada through its Atlantic Gateway (New Brunswick) where they have gained connoisseurs' praise.

As of December 2010, some 1,562 Romanian-Canadian companies were registered in Romania, operating mainly in the agri-foods, transport, construction, and tourism sectors. Bombardier, SNC Lavalin and Intelcan Technosystems Inc., among others, have expanded their operations in my country. We would like a more

active Canadian presence, through direct investment, in the aeronautic and defence industries, unconventional and atomic electric energy, the petroleum industry, IT, tourism, agriculture and in the agri-foods industry. Infrastructure projects offer a wide variety of opportunities — a large percentage of the 30 billion euros provided by EU structural funds are destined for this sector.

Geographically, Romania is wealthy in important waterways. The Danube River, Europe's second-longest, passes through or borders 10 countries and Romania enjoys direct access to more than a quarter of the river's length. With Romania's coastline on the Black Sea, as well, maritime transport ranks as another attractive area of expansion with Canada.

However, the current level of bilateral economic exchanges is far below potential of the two markets and economies. Canadian investors should take note that Romania is recognized globally for its ICT experts. (At Microsoft headquarters in the U.S., the second spoken language after English is Romanian).

Romania's unconventional energy sector is a very appealing area for investment and trade. Recently, Ernst & Young's worldwide ranking of investment-worthy countries awarded Romania 45 points out of 100, placing it in the category of attractive states for foreign investors. And Ernst & Young ranked Romania 16th out of 35 countries worldwide (just ahead of the Netherlands and Japan) for its potential for unconventional energy sources and related infrastructure — wind (land/water), solar, geothermal and biomass.

Worth noting is Romania's unique corporate tax of 16 percent (among the lowest in the region), the flexibility of the local labour market and government incentives for initial investment in renewable energy. The government also offers individually tailored stimulus packages for investment projects in conventional industries, including tourism and construction.

We await your trade and investment proposals in any domains of interest mentioned above. Another point of interest: In 2012, we are planning a Romanian-Canadian Business Forum in Ottawa.

Elena Stefoi is Romania's ambassador to Canada. Reach her at email: romania@romanian-embassy.com or 613-789-4037.

Tanzania: trade and tourism are on the rise



By Alex Crescent Massinda

I am grateful for this opportunity to comment on the main aspects of relations between Canada and Tanzania, and I will touch on three: trade, investment and tourism.

With respect to trade, our two countries have close and long relations. Since 2009, Tanzania has been one of 20 countries, and only seven from Africa, that are priority partners in development co-operation and principal beneficiaries of Canadian assistance. Since 2004, we have had a trade agreement that permits duty-free access into Canada for most goods produced in Tanzania.

But the level of trade between the two countries is still minimal. According to official figures, Canadian exports to Tanzania in 2009 were worth \$52.4 million; mainly in textile products and heavy machinery. For a major trading country, and compared to what Canada exports elsewhere, this is very little. And exports from Tanzania to Canada (excluding minerals) in the same period were far lower — worth a mere \$3 million. These were mainly vegetable products. The main drag on Tanzania's part is lack of capacity to assure reliable production and to supply a market that is so far away. Producers in Tanzania prefer to sell to countries in the Middle East, Southeast Asia and Europe; and buyers in Canada prefer to source from Asia, Latin America or even West Africa.

To overcome this challenge, we have taken steps to encourage investors from across the globe, including Canada, to invest in sectors of our economy that offer high returns. These include agriculture, agro-processing, lapidary and manufacturing. Through the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) and Export Processing Zones (EPZA), we have mechanisms and incentives which, coupled with a sizable skilled

and semi-skilled labour force and low production costs, ease the process and cost of investing in Tanzania. End products from EPZA can then be exported to Canada at competitive rates.

For their part, investments are estimated at more than \$2 billion with Canadian mining companies among the largest foreign investors in Tanzania. Despite persistent challenges of inadequate power supply and infrastructure constraints, we offer comparatively attractive and competitive terms to investors.

Two developments will improve the situation. Firstly, we have a new mining act with impartial, consistent and predictable legal provisions for the protection of interests of all stakeholders. This will increase harmony and trust and promote business. Secondly, negotiations for a Foreign Investment Promotion and Protec-

tion Agreement (FIPA) between our two countries are nearly completed. When concluded, FIPA will create a framework of legally binding rights and obligations for the protection of investors' interests, and thus attract more Canadian investors.

And there are other potential areas of investment in Tanzania apart from mining. In the 1970s and the 1980s, Canada provided extensive technical assistance to Tanzania in the sectors of agriculture and infrastructure, especially the railway system. Right now, boosting agricultural output and reviving railways are among priority areas in our development plans. Some of the experts who were involved then are still active in the same or related fields here. They have good knowledge of our problems and needs, and such assets

could be utilized now in the pursuit of our objectives. Such people could also be the channels and catalysts to drum up Canadian interest in investing in these sectors.

Finally, Tanzania offers a unique combination of tourist attractions. From exotic Zanzibar to the spectacular Ngorongoro Crater, from the Plains of Serengeti teeming with wildlife in their millions to the sight of snow in the tropics on the summit of Mt. Kilimanjaro, the highest free-standing mountain in the world, we have it all in abundance and in a combination unlike anywhere else on earth.

My mission is to make these gems of nature known as widely as possible in Canada so as to tap into the tourist market here on a higher scale. And we are succeeding. For example, between 2005 and 2008, Canadian tourists to Tanzania increased by 50 percent from 11,000 to



A leopard on the plains of the Serengeti in Tanzania.

16,500. There was a slight dip in 2009 and 2010 due to the economic crises and their adverse effects on the global tourism industry, but we expect numbers this year to exceed the 2008 level.

Our focus and interest go beyond attracting tourists from Canada. Tourism is a major sector in our economy. Last year, we had about 800,000 tourists and we expect this number to rise to 1.2 million by 2015. This surge will create more investment opportunities in the hospitality industry, and I believe that Canadian firms are well placed to join in.

Alex Crescent Massinda is Tanzania's high commissioner to Canada. Reach him at contact@tzrepottawa.ca or 613-232-1509 ext. 24.

Sri Lanka: gems, designer labels and famous tea



By Chitrangene Wagiswara

Diplomatic relations between Canada and Sri Lanka date back to the 1950s. From its inception, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has been a development partner to Sri Lanka. Against this background, our bilateral relations have evolved and the projects such as Colombo International Airport, the Canada-Sri Lanka Friendship Road, the Hardy Technical Training Institute, the Maduru Oya Reservoir and the extension of Gal Oya transmission lines are testimony to this close relationship.

Sri Lanka's strategic location between the East and the West, and its liberalized economic policies, including free-trade agreements with India and Pakistan, gives investors access to a sub-regional market with a population of more than 1.3 billion. In addition, Sri Lanka enjoys preferential market access to China and South Korea (under the Asia Pacific Trade Agreement) and to the EU, U.S. and Canada under respective tariff agreements.

To facilitate trade, Sri Lanka has reached agreements on the promotion and protection of investment and on avoidance of double taxation with most countries, including Canada.

In the aftermath of the defeat of terrorism in May 2009, Sri Lanka recorded an impressive GDP growth of eight percent in 2010 while maintaining 17 percent growth in its exports. Sri Lanka's exports to Canada in 2010 recorded growth of 22.3 percent — from US\$ 101.3 million in 2009 to US\$123.9 million in 2010. Canada's exports were up by 15.5 percent in 2010 from US\$292.9 million in 2009 to US\$ 338.5 million in 2010. Canada has become the single largest supplier of wheat to Sri Lanka while apparel and clothing



Workers harvest Sri Lanka's world-famous tea.

accounted to 53 percent of Sri Lanka's exports to Canada. Solid and pneumatic tires, rubber-based products, auto industrial components, coconut fibre products, tea and spices are among Sri Lanka's exports to Canada.

Sri Lanka supplies world-renowned designer labels: among them, Marks & Spencer, NEXT, Victoria's Secret's PINK, Gap, Levis, Triumph, Reebok and Tommy Hilfiger. Sri Lanka is a producer of "Garments without Guilt" and is home to the first among seven manufacturing facilities in the world to be awarded the LEED platinum rating, setting a global benchmark for green apparel factories.

Affectionately known as the Island of Gems, Sri Lanka boasts more than 70 varieties of gems. Among them, the world-renowned blue sapphire, known as the Ceylon Sapphire, takes pride of place due to its colour, clarity and lustre. Although the origin of the sapphire in Princess Diana's engagement ring — later worn by Duchess Kate Middleton — is a well-guarded secret, the Sri Lanka Gem and Jewellery Association claims it did come from Sri Lanka 35 years ago. Other famous stones from Sri Lanka include the British Royal Jewel (a 105-carat chrysoberyl cat's eye), the Blue Giant of the Orient, the Queen Mary of Romania Sapphire and the Rosser Reeves Star Ruby. The Star of Lanka, a 193-carat sapphire, is displayed at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. Today, Sri Lanka is fast emerging as a design centre, offering high-quality hallmarked silver, gold and platinum jewellery collections.

Sri Lanka is the third-largest exporter of orthodox black tea. Ceylon Tea, one of the finest black teas, is also the world's first

to achieve the status of "ozone-friendly tea." Recognized under the Montreal Protocol, Ceylon Tea adheres to ISO 3720, the international quality standards set for producers and packagers of black tea. The tea market in Canada continues to grow; Sri Lanka's tea exports to Canada have increased by 14 percent in 2010 compared to 2009 (January-September).

Sri Lanka has abundant tourist attractions, which have made tourism a booming industry with more than 45 percent growth last year over the previous year. The agreement signed this year between Air Canada and SriLankan Airlines provides connections from Europe and Asia to major cities in Canada.

As for Canadian investment opportunities, key among them are infrastructure projects, including housing, hospitals, roads, public transport, property development and power-sector projects including solar power.

I invite visitors to the Sri Lanka Expo 2012 International Trade Fair, March 28-30, 2012, in Colombo. The trade fair will provide a forum to explore opportunities in the areas of trade, investment and tourism. Participants will be offered three nights free in reputable hotels.

With a 92 percent literacy rate and many skilled workers, Sri Lanka is an emerging economy in a land of many untapped opportunities. Sri Lanka welcomes Canadian entrepreneurs.

Chitrangene Wagiswara is Sri Lanka's high commissioner to Canada. Reach her at slhcit@rogers.com or contact the Sri Lankan commercial section in Toronto at 416-323-2159.



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A view from America: down but not out



By Charles F. Doran

Oh America! Still buried in a painful recovery from recession, while coping with record nine percent unemployment levels, the United States appears unable to reach conclusive decisions about a strategic path for recovery. At least to outsiders, the two-party political system seems fatefully polarized and therefore paralyzed. Partly as a matter of style and presidential choice, the United States seems less dominant on the world stage, encouraging NATO to take the lead in some aspects of the air and ground war in Libya, for example, and pulling troops out of Iraq on a schedule outlined by President Obama in his election campaign.

From the Washington perspective, Canada appears quite prosperous and politically content. Following the spectacular decline of the federal Liberal party, as well as of the Bloc Québécois in Quebec and the corresponding ascendancy of the NDP in the latest federal elections, the majority-government Conservative party under Prime Minister Harper is in a strong position to exercise leadership. Having benefited from the wise fiscal policy of then-Finance Minister Paul Martin and carefully nurtured by Conservatives during their subsequent interregnums as minority government, Canada corrected its fiscal imbalances in timely fashion. Prudently regulated, Canadian banks avoided the “bundling” of opaque securities and therefore escaped the excesses of the financial debacle leading to the recession. Even with a slow-down in the export of manufactures to floundering Europe and struggling America, Canada benefits from the 30 percent of its economy involved with commodity exports, mostly consumed by strong Asian demand.

Yet it is a mistake to misjudge America.



The Canada-U.S. border at White Rock, B.C.

Still by far the largest and richest economy in the world, possessing the most flexible and massive military capability, which remains the backstop for global order, the United States enjoys a diverse and balanced economy marked by a capacity for innovation and entrepreneurship. Invention of shale gas “fracking” is only the most recent example of this propensity. Unless dragged down by the fiscal and monetary mess in Europe, the U.S. economy is slowly edging out of difficulty toward a more robust growth path, this time on a much more productive foundation.

But crazy things do happen, politically, in the United States during an election year. Despite the noise and contention, the bills do get paid. The ideal may be the enemy of the good, yet the American Congress will muddle through with minimalist legislation until the signals from the electorate become less ambiguous. This is likely to happen in November. Politics in the time of James Madison [the fourth U.S. president] was no less turbulent than it is today and with similar capacity to point in new directions. Misjudging either the vitality of the American political system, or the capacity of the U.S. economy to recover, is a fool’s game.

Global Convolutions

Every news talk show and every newspaper opinion page tells a story about the “rise of China.” Admittedly impressive in terms of rapidity, and massive in scope and economic impact, the ascendancy of China among the Great Powers is not historically unique. China’s power cycle will be shaped by a dynamic that has always mapped the structural trends of history, and it will include the same “critical points” of shifted trend that have challenged every other rising power his-

torically. A single dynamic of structural change is transforming the power cycles of all of the great powers — and the expectations that each has about its future security and foreign policy role. (See the special volume, *Power Cycle Theory and Global Politics*, published by *The International Political Science Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, January 2003).

China’s accelerating rise up its power cycle has been accompanied by ebullient expectations about its foreign policy opportunities. But China will soon pass through an inflection point on its power cycle where everything will change. Governments are then likely to face a very distraught China. The level of its relative power, which had been increasing at accelerating rates, will — even if its absolute growth rate does not diminish — suddenly begin to increase more slowly due to the “bounds of the system” that contours each of the state power cycles.

Suddenly China’s prior foreign policy expectations will look at risk. Half of the country will still be undeveloped. Huge inequalities of wealth will challenge the social message of the Communist Party. Demographic shifts worsened by the one-child policy will disrupt its nascent social net. Nationalism and paranoia inside China concerning its foreign policy role will confront other actors over Taiwan, the South China Sea, and maritime and naval passage. Canada and the United States can help China stick-handle its way through this systems transformation. Yet not just trade and commerce will be at stake in this future interval of crisis. Japan, the United States, Europe, Canada, Australia, Russia, and quite possibly India, will need one another and will require strength, patience and major diplomatic skill.

Bilateral Trauma

Consider the bilateral Canada-U.S. stress and strain, for example, regarding the postponed Keystone Pipeline. Is the United States turning its back on Canada? Realism tells a different story. The Obama Administration faces a tough election fight. Environmentalists traditionally support the Democratic Party. Obama needs them. After the November election, a victorious Obama Administration or a triumphant Republican candidate will probably approve the Keystone Pipeline. TransCanada knows this. This is why TransCanada

is also working with Nebraska to re-route the pipeline around aquifers so as to bolster its case.

But how do Americans view Canadian strategems? Do they fear sale of heavy oil to China? Are they persuaded by the effort to build an alternative pipeline to the Pacific Coast? Someday that may occur. But such a pipeline faces even greater permitting problems than Keystone. Construction will not happen any time soon.

Similarly, Americans are aware that of the six or so up-grading facilities that were on the books, only one survived the recession. The market determines these commercial outcomes. Both unused refinery capacity of the right type, and large demand, exist on the U.S. Gulf Coast and elsewhere in the United States. Canada is the natural supplier by reason of proximity. The United States needs Canadian oil, both conventional and heavy.

American policy-makers also know that the capacity to make dry tailings commercial could occur within five years. Elimination of wet tailings that now occupy 66 square miles of Alberta's surface area would make the environmental record of the oil sands look much better. Until technical breakthroughs in the development of alternative energy sources eliminate the need for fossil fuels, the oil sands will supply oil to the United States, paid for at world prices.

Don't Underestimate the United States!

Observers of trade and commerce often are impressed with very high GDP growth rates in Asia. Yet Europe and the United States buy Canada's manufactures and services, not just its raw materials. With their neo-mercantilist approach to trade, many Asian countries do not. Why substitute growth for development? Political risks in some of these markets are also very high. Moreover, the size of the American and European markets is often undervalued. Of course these regions must escape the drag of the recession. They will, albeit slowly.

Reassessment of priorities, and restructuring, continually take place in Washington. Washington has not given up on the 21st Century — far from it. Knowing the United States well, Canada understands that this determination of the American people and its firms expresses America's latent dynamism.

Charles F. Doran is director of the Center for Canadian Studies at John Hopkins University.



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John Baird: warm manner, blunt talk

The Conservative government champions religious freedom as a “bedrock” freedom: “Societies that protect religious freedom are more likely to protect all other fundamental freedoms,” Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird says. “They are typically more stable and more prosperous societies.”

By Donna Jacobs

In the small ante-room to John Baird’s parliamentary office, you have to consciously avoid knocking over the official greeter: a sizeable statue of John Diefenbaker that reposes on the front corner of a desk.

Inside his corner office is a photo of Mr. Baird in his 20s capturing a warm smile from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. In a glass case sits a faded folded flag, the last Red Ensign to fly over 24 Sussex under the residency of Prime Minister Diefenbaker. It was given to Mr. Baird by his friend, Mr. Diefenbaker’s step-grandson, who unfortunately recently passed away. Two paintings by Mr. Baird’s grandmother — fine copies of Cornelius Krieghoffs — adorn one wall. And between two gothic windows hangs an original A.Y. Jackson of wind-pruned pine trees. “Every minister is allowed to borrow one painting from the National Art Gallery,” he says. “Before this painting, I borrowed a Jean Paul Lemieux [a 20th-Century Quebec painter] for four or five years.”

On a desk filled with papers and books, is a sign that reads “IT CAN BE DONE.”



UN PHOTO

Newly appointed as foreign affairs minister, John Baird, makes his inaugural appearance at the UN General Assembly in September.

He explains: "It's just an attitude. President [Ronald] Reagan had that sign on his desk. I mentioned this to a friend one day, and the next day I had two or three of them."

Politics is really about addressing problems, he says. He cites an example that illustrates his implacable reluctance to compromise on issues that really count.

"At the G8 North Africa-Middle East ministers' meeting [in Kuwait in November], we were pushing hard for something about religious freedom to put in the [final meeting] communiqué." But when he looked, it was missing.

"Oh, I'm sorry," he was told. "It was taken out at the last minute. The text is closed. We can't reopen it."

"Well, yes, you can," Mr. Baird said.

"No. We already put it to bed," came the reply.

"Well, I'm not agreeing to it," I said. "It's something I'm fighting for and I want this. Religious freedom is something that's important to Canada."

Indeed, Mr. Baird says religious freedom is "the bedrock freedom." He elaborated in his inaugural speech to the UN General Assembly in September:

"Societies that protect religious freedom are more likely to protect all other fundamental freedoms. They are typically more stable and more prosperous societies. This view has been reinforced in consultations

I've had around the world so far.

"I honestly believe it is critically important that Canada is uniquely placed to protect and promote religious freedom around the world. We are a country of many ethnicities and religions, but we all share one humanity — one of tolerance, one of acceptance, one of peace and security."

He and his advisers met with one of the co-chairs who had said the Canadian statement on religious freedom couldn't be done. "An hour later he called back and said it was done."

It could be done.

There could scarcely be a better place — or a harder place — to forcefully, powerfully present Canada's foreign policy than the UN General Assembly.

In the gloves-off style that Canadians have seen during question period, Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird told the General Assembly that Canada will be an outspoken ally of freedom around the world.

And, in that speech, delivered only four months into his new portfolio, John Baird "named names" — referred directly to countries whose representatives were sitting right in front of him. He criticized their oppressive tactics to suppress freedom.

"The UN speech was very much a reflection of my views, of issues I care about and of issues the government cares about," he said in an end-of-year interview. "The one thing that people often shy away from is making critical statements face-to-face with someone. Sometimes, though, tough things need to be said.

"I did it publicly," he says. "You look out and you see Iran sitting there and you see Burma sitting there, you see North Korea sitting there. I've had some difficult meetings and discussions with my counterpart in Sri Lanka.

"When you speak out on behalf of oppressed people," he says, "the oppressors sometimes don't like it."

If there was a surprise, it was the immediate reward: "I think I had more than 40 ambassadors or heads of mission in the room line up to congratulate me on it. So it was all positive."

One ambassador told him that a lot of his comments needed to be said. "Another, from one of the countries I'd just singled out, came up and said 'Oh, great speech, Minister.' I don't know if that was just a diplomatic nicety," Mr. Baird laughs, "or whether he hadn't heard that part."

(In a neat twist, Mr. Baird worked as a young assistant to Perrin Beatty during Mr. Beatty's last post as minister of foreign affairs for the Kim Campbell government from June to October, 1993. Thus, Mr. Baird was with Mr. Beatty at the UN to hear a very young French foreign minister, Alain Juppé, speak. Mr. Juppé is, again, France's foreign minister, and John Baird, in a very different capacity, had a reminiscing chat after hearing him, once again, speak to the General Assembly in September.)

In his own address, Mr. Baird raised the issue of questionable UN financial practices. He reminded his audience that Canada is the seventh-largest contributor to UN finances and pointedly added that the UN faces "challenges" with its "financial probity and operational effectiveness."

And in, by far, his most-honed criticism of its august self, Mr. Baird lambasted UN hypocrisy. He said the UN is faltering, enfeebled as it strays from its founding mandate to keep peace, suppress aggression and promote basic freedoms for all people on earth.

"Or," he said, "as Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker told this Assembly during his defence of the world's persecuted minorities: 'We are not here in this assembly to win wars of propaganda. We are here to win victories for peace.'"

The UN is weakened, Mr. Baird said, when the presidency of its own disarmament conference in Geneva gets passed “to a regime [North Korea] involved in the illicit transfers of weapons, material and technology.” (Canada made headlines by boycotting the conference last July.)

The UN is weakened, he said, “when Iran, which mocks the values of this organization through outrages such as refusing to allow entry to UN observers on human rights, is permitted to seek leadership roles, such as a vice-presidency of the General Assembly and a spot on the Commission on Population and Development.”

He criticized the UN members who don’t take a public stand when courage and basic integrity are required. “The greatest enemies of the United Nations are those who quietly undermine its principles,” he said, “and, even worse, by those who sit idly, watching its slow decline.”

He said Canada will not treat attacks on human rights and innocent civilians by staying silent and treating countries’ aggression and suppression as purely internal-affairs, no-comment matters.

“We respect state sovereignty, but Canada will not ‘go along’ or look the other way when a minority is denied its human rights or fundamental freedoms. It is our common duty to uphold the rights of the afflicted, to give voice to the voiceless.”

Mr. Baird says he also speaks privately, prodding countries to grant their people basic freedoms. From all appearances, he takes an open-handed, good-will personal approach that has served him well in his 17-year political career. Indeed, he says many of the skills he learned from his previous posts are directly transferable — though nuance plays a greater role in foreign affairs and diplomacy.

An extrovert, he has no difficulty connecting with people. Ottawa’s diplomatic corps has noted, with appreciation, his frequent and unexpected attendance at diplomatic events, especially right after his appointment and before his travels began.

His personable and tough mix apparently works well with trading partners, such as China. It allowed him to mention China, Canada’s second largest trading partner, in his UN speech: “I stand with Roman Catholic priests and other Christian clergy and their laity, as they are driven underground to worship in China while their leaders are detained.” And his government has raised the issues of Tibetans, Uyghurs and Falun Gong practitioners at the United Nations.



ASHLEY FRASER

JOHN BAIRD AT A GLANCE

John Russell Baird, 43, holds a political science degree from Queen’s University and was elected Progressive Conservative MPP for Nepean-Carleton in 1995 at age 26. Provincially, he served successively as minister of community and social services, of energy, of francophone affairs, of children and youth services, and as government house leader. Federally, he was elected as a Conservative MP for Ottawa-West Nepean in 2006 and has since served as president of the Treasury Board, minister of the environment, minister of transport, leader of the government in the House of Commons, briefly adding minister of the environment to his portfolio before being named foreign minister in May, 2011. *Maclean’s* magazine and the *Historica-Dominion Institute* named him 2010 Parliamentarian of the Year after a vote by his colleagues in all parties in the House of Commons.

He also singled out Iran, calling for the right of Iranian citizens to practise Christianity, defending those charged with apostasy, defending the wrongly imprisoned and persecuted Bahá’í community. And Burma for its discrimination against Muslims and Buddhists. And Pakistan, where he declared Canadian solidarity with Pakistan’s Shahbaz Bhatti and Salman Taseer, who were assassinated by extremists for speaking out against unjust blasphemy laws. And he singled out Egypt for its attacks on Egyptian Coptic Christians. And Iraq, where al-Qaeda has driven out many Christians and minorities and where Canada implemented a program to resettle refugees. And he voiced support for the Ahmiddy community, which faces violence in different parts of the world.

Making a personal connection with for-

eign ministers allows Canada to ride over the rough spots in their countries’ relationships, he says.

“At some point, you’ve got to put things behind you. Sheikh Abdullah [bin Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, foreign minister of the UAE] surely has that view and I agree with him,” says Mr. Baird, referring to a dispute over Canadian landing rights for UAE airlines and the UAE’s retaliatory closure of a Canadian military base.

“We had really good meetings in the Middle East [in November] in the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait. You get a chance to get to know your colleagues, and discuss issues like Syria, like the Middle East peace process, like Iran. “Throughout the Gulf and the Middle East,” he said, “there is deep concern about Iran’s nuclear program.”

Canada has joined with U.S. and Great Britain in imposing greater sanctions on Iran. Asked about use of force to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear warheads, Mr. Baird responds evenly: “I think President Obama has said there are no options off the table. Obviously, the first thing we’d like to see is change in Iran and, obviously, [we need] to take every single diplomatic effort we can take.”

Diplomacy comes down to good personal relationships. And even with friends and allies, he still promotes Canada’s values on freedom. “You can say not just what our concerns are, but why. It’s not just ‘We don’t like this.’ It’s ‘This is something that deeply concerns us and this is why we’re concerned — and why you should be concerned about it as well.’”

How has Canadian foreign policy changed from the Chretien era? “On a person level, I like Mr. Chretien so I’m not a critic of Mr. Chretien,” he says. “I just think we’ve taken a different approach. It’s principled and I think it’s best styled as ‘not going along to get along.’ And while that’s a phrase, I think it also has some profound meaning. We promote Canadian values — even when it’s not easy to do it — and promote Canadian interests.”

Translated, it means Canada won’t go along with the “double standard” that castigates some UN members while ignoring abuses of others.

“People line up to criticize and condemn Israel for every fault but they’re not nearly as aggressive when [it comes to] Iran or North Korea. [Look at] the inordinate amount of attention that Israel gets compared with others. Why wouldn’t

they single Iran out for its human rights record?" (In November 2011, Canada was lead co-sponsor for the ninth time of the annual UN General Assembly resolution condemning Iran's human rights violations. The resolution passed by a record majority margin.)

The Harper government unequivocally supports "Israel's right to exist," he said in his UN speech. "We uphold its fundamental right, like any member state, to defend innocent civilians against acts of terrorism. Just as fascism and communism were the great struggles of previous generations, terrorism is the great struggle of ours.

"And far too often, the Jewish state is on the front line of our struggle and its people the victims of terror. Canada will not accept or stay silent while the Jewish state is attacked for defending its territory and its citizens.

"Over the past century, the world was infected by a lethal combination of utopian ideology and brutal despotism that spawned totalitarian regimes which enslaved their own peoples. Apologists tried to persuade us that the ideology of communism was benign. Canadians knew



Minister Baird met with Israeli Defence Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Ehud Barak, centre, and Israeli Ambassador Miriam Ziv.

better. We took a stand — for freedom and fundamental human rights.

"We stood against oppression in Germany. We stood with the brave people of Ukraine and those of the other captive nations of Central and Eastern Europe.

"Canada does not just 'go along' in order to 'get along.'

"We will 'go along,' only if we 'go' in a direction that advances Canada's values: freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law."

How does he walk the line between trade and human rights? "I think you're more likely to be successful by engaging

A JOHN BAIRD LIGHTNING ROUND

On African democracy: "We welcome the turning over of power in African states as part of the democratic movement. There are still many challenges in Uganda, in Zimbabwe, in Somalia, in South Sudan. On the downside is the famine in Somalia and al-Shabab, the al-Qaeda-linked Muslim terrorist group which is having a huge effect — not just on Somalia but also on the number of refugees going into Kenya. Piracy, which is having a huge effect even on Kenya's tourism, is also wreaking havoc on the west coast, including Ghana."

On Russia: "With Russia, we have not-bad relations. On some issues, such as climate change and the Arctic, we work well with the Russians. I've had two bilateral [meetings] with my colleague, Sergey [Sergey Lavrov, Russia's foreign minister.] Just because you don't agree, it doesn't mean you can't have a good relationship, a frank exchange back and forth. On a personal level, he's an interesting guy. And I think it is always good to get a sense not just of what someone's position is, but why."

Regarding Russia's veto (along with China) of a General Assembly motion censoring Syria for its attacks on protesters, he says: "I've certainly pushed [the Russians] to do it. The lack of condemnation is obviously disappointing and it doesn't serve the UN very well. But the Arab League has stepped up to the plate with sanctions, which is phenomenal."

On the drug problem in Latin America: He says his colleague, Diane Ablonczy, is doing a lot of work and the prime minister is providing leadership. "We see Colombia has made great progress in attacking its drug challenges, [yet] a lot of the drug trade has moved up into Central America and that's a challenge. It's a big concern. We work well with the OAS [Organization of American States], with the countries in the region and with the United States."

On visa requirements for Mexican and Czech travellers: It is "our problem, not theirs," he says. "It costs an average \$55,000 to adjudicate a refugee claim. Don't forget that taxpayers pay for the lawyers for both sides. We pay for the process and then [we pay for] the appeals. It's very expensive. That's why you have the visa requirements — to stem the claimants."

On Iran's alleged plot to assassinate Saudi Arabia's ambassador to the U.S.: "I don't

say the word 'alleged.' I have been briefed and the facts are very strong. I'm not the minister of justice in the U.S. that has to oversee a fair trial. The facts are compelling. And it is outrageous. This is an attack on diplomacy. It is incredibly serious."

On diplomatic relations with Iran: A diplomatic stand-off has existed since Iran's ambassador was expelled for the murder by torture of Iranian-Canadian photojournalist Zahra Kazemi in Iran in July 2003 for taking photos outside Tehran's notorious Evin Prison. If Iran wants to re-open relations with Canada, they could, says Mr. Baird, "have their president [Mahmoud



Iran's 40-megawatt heavy water reactor near Arak

Ahmadinejad] stop denying the Holocaust happened. They can have their leader say he doesn't want to push all Jews and Israel into the sea. They could permit international inspection of their nuclear program." And, he said, they could apologize for Zahra Kazemi's murder.

On the Arab Spring: Many people are "standing up for their rights" in the Middle East and Africa. "I think people have to be realistic. Libya is not going to go from Gadhafi to Thomas Jefferson overnight. Each of the countries will go at its own pace. Obviously you're not going to go to full western-style democracy, nor necessarily should you.

"Tunisia is looking very promising." Yemen's President Ali Abdullah Saleh's promise to step down, with elections early this year, signal "a brighter future" for Yemen's people. "Egypt has struggled. The initial reports on the election are positive — the first election of many. Morocco passed its constitution by huge, huge margin; King Mohammed VI really embraced reform in a big way. King Abdullah II in Jordan has really expedited reforms they were already working on. In Saudi Arabia, you've got to support every step forward. The decision to grant women the right to vote in local elections was a positive step. I'd like to see them go much farther."

NANKING 2010



CPL J.F. CARPENTIER © 2011 DND-MDN CANADA

Soldiers take part in a ramp ceremony at Kandahar Airfield for Master Corporal Francis Roy, who died in Kandahar City in June 2011.

[in talks] than not engaging. I'm continually struck every day by the importance of relationships in this business."

Canada is following a dual path in which principle co-exists with pragmatism: The Harper government's "Prosperity Agenda" buttresses a federal government's most basic job: to protect its people. These days, that means more than military and national security. It means financial security — preservation of a healthy economy.

Take Libya, where Mr. Baird met with the chair of the National Transitional Council, Mustafa Abdul Jalil, and other council members. "When I visited Libya, for example, yes we're there to promote Canadian values, freedom and the role of women in a new Libya. At the same time, we're there to promote our national interest, which is Canadian business and the economic prosperity of our country and Libya's.

"How do we make sure that Canadian companies who have half-finished projects can get in there and finish them? There are opportunities for economic benefit for Canadians and support of the Libyan people. So I think we've got a focused agenda."

He responds to the observation that many countries are selling natural resources to essentially state-owned companies in China, which is buying heavily into the oil sands.

"China has a lot to offer Canada. Canada has a lot to offer China. Our relations have to be of benefit to both of us, like any relationship," he says. "We welcome

Chinese investments in the resource sector, the oil sector. It's been good for the Canadian economy. It's been good for the Chinese economy.

"Would we want to sell any one country, or any one company, the entire resource or majority of a resource in one deal? Obviously that would be disconcerting. But the oil and gas interests are widely held."

Equally pragmatic, he notes that China accounts for one of every two elevators built in the world — and that China is now the No. 1 buyer of Canadian softwood. "At the same time," he says, "300,000 or 400,000 people are lifted out of poverty by a growing economy in China. It's an amazing thing."

He explained Canada's economic policy to the prestigious Washington-based *Foreign Policy* magazine just weeks after becoming foreign affairs minister: "For Canada and our government, the No. 1, the No. 2, and the No. 3 issue are jobs and the economy, jobs and the economy, jobs and the economy."

While the U.S.-Canada working group is good, he told *Foreign Policy*, border trade is increasingly wrapped in red tape and slowed by regulations, to the mutual detriment of the two highly-integrated economies. As an example, he chose the Windsor-Detroit Ambassador Bridge: "\$130 billion worth of trade goes over one bridge. And if there is a tie-up at the border, there is a tie-up in manufacturing — which could be deadly for manufacturing on both sides."

What are his top goals for 2012? He identifies his top goal as the promotion of Canadian interests and values "in a big way." His second goal is working on the Prosperity Agenda.

"It's huge. So are our free trade negotiations with Europe and with India, and border perimeter security and thinning of Canada-U.S. border [the recently announced Beyond the Border agreement]. Keystone XL Pipeline, our relationship and trade with the United States and expanding our trade relationship with China — they are all important."

For the government's Prosperity Agenda, Mr. Baird works with Trade Minister Ed Fast, who also deals with U.S. Buy America protectionism while seeking Canada's membership in the Trans-Pacific Partnership, whose nine member nations are working towards a free-trade agreement.

In less than six years, Canada has signed free trade agreements with Colombia, Jordan, Panama, Peru, the European Free Trade Association member states of Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland, and most recently with Honduras. Pending are agreements with the European Union, Ukraine, Morocco, Korea, Andean Community Countries (Colombia and Peru), the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the Dominican Republic, Honduras — with possibilities of Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua. In the future, think Singapore, and, potentially, Turkey.

"Diane Ablonczy, [Calgary-Nose Hill MP and minister of state of foreign affairs for the Americas and consular affairs] obviously takes the lead on the Americas. And Deepak Obhrai, [Calgary East MP and parliamentary secretary to Mr. Baird] does a lot of work in Africa and Asia."

Ask how he sees 2012 and beyond, he responds: "I think Europe is in a real financial crisis with the sovereign debt crisis. It's significant. Look at the challenges the United States is facing. The Super Committee just failed. They have an inability to get control of the problem. We're very blessed in Canada to have it under control. Our system is more conducive to problem-solving.

"Economic uncertainty is the biggest challenge. The third-quarter numbers came out today — 3.5 percent economic growth in Canada, which is pretty darn good."

But don't suggest that Canada is lucky to have avoided the worst of the cascading economic crises. He growls: "It's not 'lucky.'"



Libyans celebrate after the death of Moammar Gadhafi. "Our Royal Canadian Air Force flew 10 percent of the total strike sorties against Gadhafi's forces," Mr. Baird says, "and our Royal Canadian Navy helped enforce the maritime blockade."

"You've got to work at that every day. You've got to focus on jobs and the economy every single day."

If there is a pure-principle heart to Canada's foreign policy, it is the government's \$5 million new "Office of Religious Freedom." Mr. Baird met in October with some 100 people from across the country to discuss the new office, and will lobby cabinet and the Conservative caucus for this foreign-affairs initiative.

"It's not freedom of religion," he explains. "It's freedom to *practise* your religion. That's more expansive than just having a Bible in your own home."

"I think it's imperative that the office operates in the [foreign affairs] department. It needs to harness the resources of our missions abroad, our people on the ground. Whether it tracks with consular issues, whether it tracks with missions around the world, I think it's really important to be in the department."

He says he often raises the topic of freedom to practise one's religion when he's abroad.

"I think it's got to be more than a perfunctory raising: You check a box 'I raised it.' I think you hammer home how important the issue is to the government of Canada, to the people of Canada. Sometimes it's more warmly received than others [but that] doesn't mean you shouldn't raise it."

On the other hand, he doesn't "hector" people: "You've got to try to be persuasive. At the same time, one person is not going to change a country. It takes consistent, coordinated effort."

He says Canada will join other countries in this effort: Suzan Johnson Cook, U.S. ambassador for international reli-

gious freedom, "does a great job." Italian Foreign Minister Franco Frattini "is really passionate about this. So we're not alone by any stretch."

Will he eventually try to have a religious freedom centre established right at the UN? He smiles: "Let's get the centre established [in Canada]. But we are smoothing the way. The prime minister provided a lot of leadership during the G8 Summit in Deauville, France in May 2011. There were two or three references to religious freedom."

As strongly as Mr. Baird feels on this issue, he is clear that this is Prime Minister Harper's issue. Mr. Harper, besides mentioning it in the Throne Speech, made it "part of the election platform. It's something he believes strongly in," says Mr. Baird, "and something our team and our party believe strongly in."

How close are his, Mr. Harper's and the



Mr. Baird meets with U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in Washington last year.

cabinet's views on foreign policy? Foreign policy is hammered out in cabinet and in discussions, he says, and it's not always smooth agreement. "I think people would be astounded. We have some really good debates, really good discussions around the cabinet table. We don't always agree on everything."

"It's funny, obviously we're a team," he says. "The PM is leader of the team. On foreign policy, the PM and I do share a lot — not everything — of the same views. Our views on Israel are remarkably similar. We have good debates, discussions."

And, he says, they've had lots of time to work out their foreign affairs policy. "I travelled to three G8s with him before I was foreign minister. Environment is an economic portfolio, a regulatory portfolio and, increasingly, a foreign affairs portfolio."

"I've travelled extensively with him on foreign policy, on bilaterals with a wide variety of people. Also, as a member of P and P [the cabinet committee on priorities and planning], you obviously consider every issue, every file."

During cabinet talks, he says, "the PM welcomes different perspectives. He's a very good listener. At the same, he brings values to the table — as we all do."

The debate can get very spirited, he says, because everyone's set of values and principles are complex. "Those who disagree with [our views] say that they're narrow ideologies and that they're rigid."

He chuckles: "People on the left have values and principles. People on the right have rigid ideologies."

His own "rigid ideology" is, he says: "I believe in freedom."

A JOHN BAIRD COMPENDIUM

"It's always easier to shut up and go along with the crowd."

"From the Liberals under [Lester] Pearson to the Liberals under Jean Chretien, the Liberal Party has had a very distinct view of foreign policy. I think it was very different before Pearson. Prime Minister [Brian] Mulroney was not shy about disagreeing with Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan on sanctions in South Africa. He was very aggressive in fighting for that. And that's the [country's] tradition. [Prime Minister John] Diefenbaker did the same in the Commonwealth with apartheid, taking strong principled stands. I think there are more [Canadian] roots in that [kind of foreign policy]."

"When we came to office and Stephen Harper was elected Prime Minister, Canada was [world-ranked at] No. 31 on peacekeeping. I think most Canadians thought that our soldiers in Afghanistan were on a peacekeeping mission. They were never told, they never understood, that this was not a peacekeeping mission, that the soldiers were not wearing the blue beret.

"[In terms of raising the status of the military in Canada] Stephen Harper did a lot of it. Peter MacKay has done a lot of it. Rick Hillier has done a lot of it. Gordon O'Connor has done a lot of it. Walter Natynczyk has done a lot of it. You know, 20 years ago, Canadian Armed Forces members sometimes didn't want to wear their uniforms in public; now when they go into Tim Hortons, two or three people try to buy them a cup of coffee. The amount of support for the Canadian Forces is significant.

"And Canada's history was not being 'an honest broker' on all sides [of an issue]. In the Second World War, we took a strong stand from Day 1. World War I, the same. The First Gulf War, the same. We stand up for what we believe in and that's the real history of the country."

"Our Royal Canadian Air Force flew 10 percent of the total strike sorties against Gadhafi's forces, and our Royal Canadian Navy helped enforce the maritime blockade. Canada has paid heavily — both in dollar terms and in priceless human toll — to fulfill our UN obligation to support the lawful government of Afghanistan."

THE KEYSTONE XL PIPELINE

"We were disappointed [with President Barack Obama postponing his decision until 2013.] I think most observers of the timing and the decision have come to certain conclusions which I'll leave for them [to express].

"My approach to dealing with the Americans, with Hillary [Hillary Clinton, U.S. secretary of state] is that when all you talk about is irritants, [laughs] you quickly become irritating. I was told that [former Secretary of State] Condoleezza Rice once described the agenda of a meeting with a Canadian foreign minister as very similar to a condo committee board meeting.

"So Hillary and I talk about issues that are multilateral, and then we discuss the two issues I've been pushing with my American counterparts, which are Beyond the Border [facilitat-



ing trade] and the Keystone XL.

"We're making good progress on Beyond the Border, which is very important to the Canadian economy. And we are obviously concerned with the delay [emphasis on the word delay] in Keystone. They're working hard on the rerouting of it around the aquifer in Nebraska. But Canada can't be held captive to special interests south of the border. We've got to diversify our markets. That's why the [proposed Gateway] pipeline to the West Coast is so important."

CANADA AS 'HONEST BROKER'

"I want to be the first foreign minister in the world to recognize a newly independent Palestinian state when it negotiates peace and security [directly] with Israel.

"Did these people [who want Canada to be an "honest broker" in the Middle East] say that Canada lost its status as an honest broker when we went to war early with Hitler's Germany? We did that early in the Second World War. We didn't try to be an honest broker [with] Germany and [our Allies].

"What does an honest broker mean? I mean, if you're looking at Hezbollah or Hamas, you don't want to be an honest broker if they're international terrorist organizations.

"The Palestinian Authority — we have, I think, a constructive relationship with them. They obviously don't share an opinion on a major file. Hamas is an international terrorist organization and has launched thousands of rockets against civilian populations in a fellow liberal democracy [Israel]."

FOREIGN POLICY VS. DOMESTIC POLITICS

"A lot of foreign policy isn't partisan.

"I work very well with Dominic LeBlanc, the Liberal foreign affairs critic. Paul Dewar [former NDP critic] is a great guy. I'm getting to know Hélène Laverdière [NDP critic] and I'm off to a good start with her. We worked very well on the Libyan mission, consulting Parliament when I was House Leader for the first round. And I had good negotiations and discussions with [then Liberal critic] Bob Rae and Paul Dewar on the second round, and the third one was a fairly civil debate and discussion. We tried to be more open. On the Libyan mission, we made officials available to fully brief the opposition parties at every step they wanted it. So I think that was a good day for Parliament when all parties supported it."

ON THE PERSONAL SIDE: A TIM HORTONS FAN

Q: How long are your days?

A: Every day is different. There's a huge amount of travel. Visits to Indonesia, Italy, Libya, the U.S., China, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras, Mexico, Netherlands, France, Turkey, Australia, Kuwait, UAE, Germany and Lithuania. There's a huge amount of reading. An obviously significant amount of my time is spent engaging. (On this day, after question period, he'll meet successively with the chargé d'affaires of Sudan, the prime minister of Georgia and Alex Neve, secretary general of Amnesty International Canada.)

Q: When you're home, what is your daily schedule?

A: I'm up every morning at 6 o'clock, listen to the Steve Madely [CFRA] show 'til 6:30 and then I get up and go.

Q: Breakfast?

A: Cereal and milk.

Q: Do you drink coffee?

A: I'm addicted to Tim Hortons. I stop every morning on the way to work and have a Tim Hortons.

Q: Do you drive to work?

A: I have a driver. I read the newspapers very quickly: the *Ottawa Sun*, the *Ottawa Citizen*, the *National Post*, *The Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* (when it's available). I live in East Nepean so I don't have a long trip to read them.

Q: What regular meetings do you attend?

A: I meet with the deputy [Morris Rosenberg] several times a week but every Monday I have a private meeting with him and get briefed on a good number of issues. And there's P&P [cabinet's priorities and planning committee], Eastern Ontario caucus and national caucus, and meetings with the inner cabinet on Thursday mornings every few weeks.

Q: Working lunch?

A: I grabbed a salad in the cafeteria today and ate it during prep for question period. Some days I'll put some vegetarian chili in the microwave.

Q: Are you a vegetarian? Do you eat meat?

A: No.

Q: Do you eat fish, eggs, cheese?

A: Yes.

Q: What do you eat for dinner?

A: [Big laugh] I eat out. My favourite foods are sushi, Thai, Chinese.

Q: How do you do with so much travel abroad — jet lag?

A: I've learned it's always good to fly at night. We went to the Libya meeting, to Italy and France. We left at 8 a.m. When we landed it was already 11:30 at night, so 5 or 6 p.m. our time. I couldn't sleep all night.



PAT MCGRATH, OTTAWA CITIZEN

Mr. Baird at the opening of the Ottawa Humane Society's new facility with Chance the cat.

Q: Do you exercise?

A: No.

Q: Is there a sort of Clan of the Cat in the Harper government?

A: There is a sort of cat clan. There is a group of us. Laureen [Harper] had me over to 24 Sussex [last spring]. She had some kittens from the Ottawa Humane Society that she had taken and was nursing. [Both cat lovers, the Harpers have fostered many kittens for later adoption.] There were two or three really cute ones.

Then [strangely] she said: "You probably wouldn't want to take them. You'd be travelling all the time." I looked at her — and that was before the cabinet shuffle — and I went [he makes a quizzical face and laughs]."

(Days later, he was appointed foreign affairs minister. Call it a case of letting the cat out of the bag.)

Another cat person is Marjory LeBreton [government Senate leader]. Monte Solberg [former citizenship and immigration minister] was a cat person. So was Sandra Buckler [Mr. Harper's former communications director]. There are a lot of us.

Q: How do you relax?

A: I go out with my friends.

Q: When do your days end?

A: I try to always get to bed by, at the latest, 11 or midnight. I'm not a nighthawk.

Q: Books you're reading?

A: I was just given Richard Gwyn's book *Nation Maker — Sir John A. Macdonald: His Life, Our Times*. I took it with me on my last trip but I didn't have a chance to get to it because I was working or reading for work.

I did a book review for *The Globe [and Mail newspaper]* — Craig Oliver's book, *Oliver's Twist*. [*Oliver's Twist: The Life & Times of an Unapologetic Newshound*].

Q: How do you deal with criticism, in country and out?

A: You learn to have a thick skin. You're human like everyone else. At the same time, if you believe in what you're doing, that's better than if all you did is to listen to your critics every day.

Donna Jacobs is publisher of *Diplomat*.

Ship shape

The federal government has awarded contracts worth \$28 billion for the building of 28 vessels — naval warships and civilian (Coast Guard) ships both — that will modernize the country's aging sea-faring fleet. Halifax-based Irving Shipbuilding Inc. will build the warships. Vancouver Shipyards Co. Ltd. will build the Coast Guard ships. The new vessels will vastly increase Canada's ability to patrol Arctic waterways. Here's what the biggest shipbuilding program in the country's history will provide.



CANADIAN COAST GUARD

Category: New polar icebreaker, non-combat

Building location: British Columbia

Construction time frame: 2013-2017

Number of vessels to be built: One

Details: A new polar icebreaker will be built for the Canadian Coast Guard, one of the centerpieces of the Harper government's northern strategy. The icebreaker is meant to support the work of several departments and agencies, deliver the full range of Coast Guard programs and establish a strong federal presence in the Arctic.



DEPARTMENT OF FISHERIES WEBSITE

Vessel type and category: Offshore fisheries science vessels, non-combat

Building location: British Columbia

Construction time frame: 2011-2014

Number of vessels to be built: Three

Details: These offshore fisheries science vessels will be commissioned to replace four aging Coast Guard ships on the east and west coasts that, according to the Fisheries and Oceans department, provide a platform from which critical scientific research and ecosystem-based management can be performed.

COURTESY CANADIAN COAST GUARD



Vessel type and category: Offshore science vessel, non-combat

Building location: British Columbia

Construction time frame: 2011-2013

Number of vessels to be built: One

Details: A new offshore oceanographic science vessel will be built to replace the Canadian Coast Guard Ship *Hudson*, shown above, its largest scientific research vessel. It was built in 1963 and the Coast Guard reports that "its replacement is critical to fulfillment of the department's science mandate as well as mandates of other government departments and agencies."

CPL RODERICK HOPPI/ESQUIMALT IMAGING SERVICES



Vessel type and category: Joint support ships

Building location: British Columbia

Construction time frame: Not specified

Number of vessels: Two, possibly three

Details: These two joint support ships will be built for National Defence, with an option for a third, to help bolster the navy's warships, permitting them to remain at sea for significant periods without going to shore for fuel. The new ships will replace two Protecteur class auxiliary oiler replenishment vessels, like the one shown here at left, very large ships that hold extra fuel to replenish frigates and destroyers.



COURTESY BMT FLEET TECHNOLOGY AND SIX CANADA MARINE

Vessel type and category: Arctic/offshore patrol ships

Building location: Halifax

Construction time frame: 2012-2019

Number of vessels: Six to eight

Details: Six to eight Arctic/offshore patrol ships, like the one shown in the rendering above, will be commissioned. They are a new complement. These ships will conduct armed sea-borne surveillance in Canada's waters, including the Arctic Ocean. They are meant to enhance Ottawa's ability to assert Canadian sovereignty and provide surveillance and support to other government departments, DFO and the Coast Guard.

Vessel type and category: Combatants

Building location: Halifax

Construction time frame: Not specified

Number of vessels: 15

Details: These Canadian surface combatants will replace three destroyers, such as the *HMCS Athabaskan*, shown here, and 12 frigates used by the Royal Canadian Navy. The destroyers are the larger of the warships in the naval fleet and are used for command and control in the operating theatre. They are run by 280 crew members, including air detachment. The frigates are smaller, more nimble in the water and considered the backbone of naval operations — holding crew of 225, including air detachment. While all the new vessels will be based on a common, single-hull design that is the same size, the frigate and destroyer variants will be fitted with different weapons, communications, surveillance and other systems, the details of which have yet to be determined. ▣



JACEK SZYMANSKI/NAVY PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Monaco, pictured here, is sixth on our Top 10 list of the world's smallest well-run countries.



Our Top 10 smallest countries in the world

These microstate countries have influenced or inspired their larger neighbours, through various means — economic muscle, political skill, environmental and moral leadership

By Wolfgang Depner

Size matters. The reality is that the smallest sovereign states might not receive a whole lot of respect from the larger, more populous members of the international community.

Many so-called microstates are fairly recent creations. And many require special economic, environmental and governance assistance to overcome their size-related disadvantages, according to extensive research by the United Nations, the World Bank and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

This absence of control and influence also extends to the political sphere, since many microstates lack the financial and material means to pursue their own diplomatic interests against bullying neighbours, and if necessary, defend their own territory. Irish-American writer Leonard Wibberley famously spoofed the military impotency of microstates in his novel *The Mouse That Roared*, which later became a movie in which Stanley Kubrick-favourite Peter Sellers plays the military leader, prime minister and Queen of Grand Fenwick, a tiny Alpine duchy. Faced with bankruptcy, the duchy invades the United States with longbow-men on the hope that their inevitable defeat would inspire the U.S. to shower the duchy with a generous Marshall Plan-like compensation package. Let us say that this plan does not exactly pan out.

Even prosperous and prestigious Mo-

naco exercises its own sovereignty “in accordance with the fundamental interests of the French republic,” according to *The Economist* and depends on its large neighbour for military protection, a fate many microstates share.

Indeed, had it not been for the charmed diplomacy of American movie icon Grace Kelly on behalf of her husband, Prince Rainier III, in his dispute with powerful French president Charles de Gaulle over the status of his principality as tax haven during the 1960s, Monaco might have suffered “asphyxiation” at the hands of France.

More recently, in 2009, tiny Liechtenstein had to accept a verbal attack from Germany over the grand duchy’s refusal to co-operate in hunting down tax evaders. Two years earlier, Liechtenstein officials had to learn that some 1,170 Swiss troops had “invaded” their country after they had made a navigation error during a night exercise. How did they find out? They received a call from colleagues in Bern!

Liechtenstein, for the record, lacks an army of any kind. While this rather humorous event does not cast the Swiss army in the most professional light — the misguided soldiers carried rifles, but no ammunition during their nightly stumble through the woods — it underscores the genuine vulnerabilities of microstates,

something Luxembourg discovered during the first half of the 20th Century, when German troops occupied it not once, but twice, on their way toward France and Belgium.

Many microstates now face a different form of threat to their continued existence: climate change. If current trends hold true, oceanic microstates such as Tuvalu could soon become uninhabitable, a possibility that has prompted the Maldives, a nation of 1,200 low-lying islands in the Indian Ocean, to consider buying land elsewhere in the region.

In other words, it is not easy being small. But small can also be beautiful, as this list aims to showcase. Drawing on a range of economic variables such as gross domestic product (GDP), health, educational achievements and other intangibles, this list shows that being tiny can be fine. One way or another, these 10 countries have found ways to influence or inspire their larger neighbours, be it through their economic muscles (as in the case of Singapore), political skill (Luxembourg), environmental leadership (Monaco) or moral leadership (San Marino). Indeed, as globalization continues to ameliorate the advantages of size in rewarding flexibility, some of these microstates are poised to play larger roles on the global stage. Granted, none of them achieves perfection. But then again, who does?



DREAMSTIME

Luxembourg, shown here in the spring, is the third-most prosperous country in the world based on per-capita GDP.

1. Luxembourg



Geography has blessed, and until recently cursed, this grand duchy, which consistently finishes among the elite in rankings that measure livability. Less than half the size of Prince Edward Island, at 2,586 square kilometres, Luxembourg borders Germany to the east, France to the south and Belgium to the west. (Many of its 500,000 residents speak three languages — French, German and Luxembourgish, a German dialect). This location has made this former steel-manufacturing centre an attractive base for broadcasters such as the German-owned Radio Television Luxembourg (RTL) Group and the foreign-owned finance sector, which accounts for about 28 percent of GDP.

This economic portfolio has made Luxembourg the third-most prosperous country in the world based on per-capita GDP. But this irreversible proximity to France and Germany has also made Luxembourg an object of strategic desires over the centuries, perhaps no more so than during the first half of the 20th Century when the First and Second World War caused significant damage. Against this background, Luxembourg abandoned its historical policy of neutrality, joining the North Atlantic

Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. Eight years later, it sought economic security by becoming a founding member of what has since evolved into the European Union.

Certainly within Europe, this preference for working through international organizations has earned Luxembourg considerable influence, where old political hands, such as Jean-Claude Juncker, have played a significant role in the creation of the Euro currency. As of this writing, it remains uncertain whether this legacy will survive. If it does, Luxembourg will have played its historic part in further uniting Europe.



CHEN SYUAN

Singapore, whose skyline appears here at dusk, sits near one of the most important shipping lanes in the world.

2. Singapore



This island nation of some 4.7 million people controls a combined land and sea territory of less than 700 square kilometres. But if this figure ranks Singapore as one of the smallest nation-states, its location between Malaysia and Indonesia grants it an immense, if not disproportionate, amount of strategic influence, for it sits near one of the most important shipping lanes in the world. Not surprisingly, Singapore's port ranks among the world's busiest. In 2010, more than 120,000 vessels called on the port.

Granted, it might be tempting to dismiss the status of Singapore as an accidental product of geography. But such a position would prohibit us from seeing the skill with which the elites of Singapore (under the leadership of the long-ruling People's Action Party) have leveraged the human capital of their resource-poor land to the country's benefit. They have turned a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-lingual polyglot into one of most livable and prosperous states, whose virtually corruption-free economy grew by almost 15 percent in 2010 on the strength of high-end exports, such as consumer electronics and pharmaceuticals.

Singapore also continues to position itself as an escape hatch for global financial institutions, whose corporate leaders might be unwilling to face tougher restric-

tions in the northern hemisphere. While one might have good reasons to question the ethics of this behaviour, it speaks to the ability of this resource-poor country to quickly spot and fill niches. *Newsweek*, for example, recently ranked Singapore as the most economically dynamic state.

Such flexibility, however, appears to be unlikely in other spheres of Singaporean society. The country continues to enforce strict laws and penalties against actions that may be legal or may be minor offences in Canada. They include jaywalking, littering, spitting, smoking in public places, and the importation and sale of chewing gum. Acts of graffiti remain punishable through caning. And this catalogue of apparent crimes and their punishments hardly represents the worst, as Singapore continues to crack down on homosexuality and other perceived vices.

Freedom House, a Washington-based non-governmental organization tracking civil liberties, currently ranks Singapore as "partly free" and heading in the wrong direction, thanks to measures that restrict public assembly and press freedoms, a frustrating condition that has even appeared on Washington's radar. This said, Singapore and its eponymous capital, also known as the Lion City, might be truly the mouse that roars, at least when it comes to being heard in the global economy.



LORENTEY

For more than seven centuries, Andorrans lived in a diarchy (or co-principality) ruled jointly by outsiders from Spain and France. This form of rule ended in 1993. Andorra's current parliament buildings are pictured above.

3. Andorra



Andorra's location, wedged between France and Spain in the Pyrenees Mountains, has endowed the country with one of the most unique forms of government in human history. From 1278 to 1993, Andorrans lived in a diarchy (or co-principality) ruled jointly by outsiders — the Bishop of the Catholic diocese Seu d'Urgell in bordering Spain and the French head of state.

While this unusual, if not anachronistic, form of rule formally ended in 1993 with the adoption of a constitution that transformed Andorra into a representative democracy, the Bishop of Seu d'Urgell and the French President continue to serve as ceremonial heads of state.

They certainly have reasons to speak highly of their country, even if they do not reside in Andorra per se. A member of the European Council, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and the United Nations, Andorra is one of the healthiest and wealthiest places in the world. Its infant mortality rates rank among the lowest and its 85,000 residents can expect to reach an age in excess of 82 years, the fourth-highest life expectancy in the world, according to the *CIA World Factbook*. On the economic side of the ledger,

Andorra ranks 12th in the world in terms of GDP per capita. Much of this wealth comes from financial services and tourism.

While Andorra has recently agreed to open up its opaque tax laws following pressure from the international community, its alpine mountains and duty-free shopping continue to attract foreign visitors and their money. Some nine million tourists, mostly from France and Spain, visit annually, secure in the knowledge they are traveling in a country free (for the most part) of major social pathologies and at peace with the world around it even if outsiders might struggle to find Andorra on a map.



DREAMSTIME

For centuries, San Marino has maintained its political independence in the face of ambitious aggressors, such as the Borgias of the Italian Renaissance, Napoleon and Mussolini.

4. San Marino



Officially known as the Most Serene Republic of San Marino, this prosperous enclave of 60 square kilometres in the Apennine Mountains of Italy has often served as a safe harbour for persecuted groups who were seeking shelter from the countless storms of history that have swept over this part of Europe. According to legend, this tradition as a place of refuge from the powerful forces of oppression dates back to 301 A.D. when a stonemason named Marnius founded San Marino as a sanctuary for Christians who were trying to escape the religious intolerance of the declining Roman Empire. Over time, their descendants have granted asylum to Italian nationalist Giuseppe Garibaldi and his Red Shirts during the unification of Italy in the 19th Century and some 100,000 Jews who were trying to escape fascism during the 20th Century.

While San Marino could not entirely escape the devastation of the Second World War, over the centuries it has stubbornly maintained its political independence in the face of ambitious aggressors, such as the powerful Borgias of the Italian Renaissance, Napoleon, the Austrian monarchy and Mussolini. San Marino has managed

this diplomatic balancing act without sacrificing its republican traditions, which date back to its founding days. But San Marino is not just the oldest republic. It also possesses the oldest constitution, which has been effective since 1600, well before the United States would adopt its constitution to become the second-oldest constitutional republic.

It is therefore more than appropriate to give the final word on San Marino to the man who eventually freed the United States from the tyranny of slavery, U.S. President Abraham Lincoln. Writing in May of 1861, after he had received an admiring letter from the Regent Captains of San Marino on the occasion of his first inauguration, Honest Abe penned this still-fitting sentiment. "Although your dominion is small, your state is nevertheless one of the most honoured in all history."



BÖHRINGER FRIEDRICH

Citizens of Liechtenstein are the second highest per-capita earners in the world. Their government buildings in Vaduz are pictured above.

5. Liechtenstein



Located between Switzerland and Austria, this principality of 160 square kilometres bears the name of what once was one of the most powerful houses in the aristocratic order of Austria, indeed, in all of continental Europe. Loyal to a fault, Liechtensteins served the House of Habsburg as political advisers and as military generals from the late 13th Century until its collapse in 1918. Almost exactly 200 years earlier, Liechtensteins had achieved one of their greatest ambitions, when the Austrian Crown granted them a princely possession — today's Liechtenstein.

With Napoleon's dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire of German Nation, Liechtenstein became independent, a status confirmed during the Congress of Vienna. Liechtenstein retained close ties with the Austrian rump state after 1918 until its forced *Anschluss* (annexation) to Nazi Germany in 1938. Neutral during the Second World War and the Cold War, Liechtenstein has deepened its economic and monetary ties with Switzerland to the

point that many Swiss consider it as the 27th canton of their country.

The similarities do not stop there. Like its larger neighbour, Liechtenstein has prospered as a picturesque but powerful financial centre, whose banks manage the fortunes of the rich, the famous and perhaps the infamous, with, shall we say, a high level of discreetness, which not all of its larger neighbours have always appreciated, until recently. This said, it is hard to argue with success. The 35,000-plus residents of Liechtenstein are the second highest per-capita earners in the world and confront few, if any, major social problems.



KATONAMIS

Monaco boasts the world's lowest unemployment rate. Its new harbour at Fontvieille, one of the principality of Monaco's four traditional quarters, is shown above.

6. Monaco



Katharine Hepburn once called Monaco “the pimple on the chin of the south of France.” Ouch! This acidic quip about Monaco’s apparent status as a feudal outcrop of France must have doubly hurt the Monegasques, for it originated from an immortal cinema icon, whose celebrity represents the very stock in which the principality has traded since 1956 when Prince Rainier III of the Grimaldi family married Alfred Hitchcock’s iconic and icy muse, Grace Kelly, partly out of love, partly out of need to save his principality from financial ruin.

While this historic period with its tragic personalities has long faded into Hollywood lore, this principality of less than 30,000 residents continues to charm the imagination of audiences around the world as the Mediterranean playground of the rich, the famous, and the beautiful.

Faced with on-going pressure from the international community to bring its opaque banking sector into line, the principality continues to diversify its economy by attracting high-end, non-polluting industries in the arts and entertainment sector (notwithstanding its annual Formula One Race). This economic strategy seems to be paying off as Monaco boasts

the world’s lowest unemployment rate, according to *The CIA World Factbook*: zero percent.

The principality has also sought to sharpen its global leadership in environmental matters by placing part of its shoreline under environmental protection and promoting the local use of ‘green’ products such as organically grown food and electro-powered vehicles. But for all of its newly-found earnestness, Monaco did turn back the clocks to its more extravagant days on July 2, 2011, when Crown Prince Albert married the former South African Olympic swimmer, Charlene Wittstock. It was the first royal wedding since his father had married another striking blonde, Grace Kelly.



HENRY M. TROTTER

Malta's 408,000 residents, 6,000 of whom live in the capital of Valletta, pictured here, import most of their food and energy.

7. Malta



The attractions of this island chain include a Mediterranean climate that produces hot, dry summers and mild, rainy winters; rugged, if not dramatic, coastlines that have had several supporting turns in Hollywood blockbusters; and countless historical sites that span the breadth of human history, from the Neolithic through the classical Greco-Roman era to modernity.

Yes, Malta offers much to recommend itself to anyone who seeks a break from the ordinary. Its strategic location in the middle of the Mediterranean, between Sicily and the North African coast, has certainly made the archipelago a prized possession over the centuries. Its historical functions varied wildly: as the forward fortress of the Christian Knights of Malta against the expanding Muslim Ottoman Empire during the 16th Century, as an unsinkable British aircraft carrier during the Second World War or as a major shipping centre today. This trade supplies a significant share of the country's GDP, along with tourism, agriculture, fishing and financial services.

Granted, Malta is neither as rich nor as influential as Luxembourg, the other microstate that holds membership in the

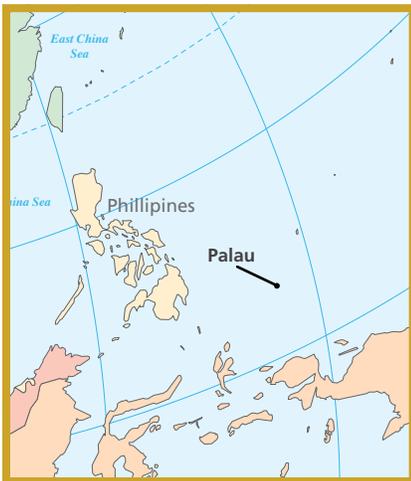
European Union and the Euro-zone. Its 408,000 residents (most of whom live on the eponymous main island, a rock of 246 square kilometres) import most of their food and energy from the outside. Malta also possesses limited fresh water supplies. And if these infrastructure challenges are not demanding enough, Malta has become a call of port for illegal immigrants crossing the Mediterranean from North Africa in rickety boats. Yet if the history of this former British colony is any indication, its resourceful people will likely survive for a long time in a place that is as unique as their culture, forged through countless influences.



LUXTONNERRE

A long-time ally of the United States in the South Pacific, Palau, whose North Beach is seen here, does not recognize China.

8. Palau



On Oct. 31, 2009, the U.S. Department of Justice announced it had transferred six Muslim Chinese (also known as Uyghurs) from the terrorist detention facility in Guantanamo Bay on Cuba to another island on the other side of the globe, namely Palau, a small Pacific nation some 500 kilometres south of the Philippines. Freed from charges of terrorism against the United States, the men did not wish to return to their native China, on fears that officials there might prosecute them as terrorists, as Beijing continues to crack down on Muslim separatists. A long-time ally of the United States, Palau does not recognize China and eventually resolved the impasse by offering itself as the temporary home for up to 17 Uyghurs.

This unusual transfer turned the eyes of the world to what must surely be a hidden gem. Despite its tropical climate, this archipelago of atolls attracts few foreign tourists. But those who have discovered Palau over the years have consistently raved about its pristine beauty. Its coral reefs are particularly popular among recreational divers, partly because they might get a chance to experience sharks up close and personal. Conscious of this fact, the

government of Palau has worked with surrounding Pacific island nations to protect this increasingly threatened animal, by creating the first world's shark sanctuary in 2009.

This wise policy promises to lessen Palau's economic dependence on the United States by boosting the domestic tourism industry, poised to make gains in the future thanks to foreign investors, who have recognized the island's potential. Such an influx promises to boost the average per-capita income of Palau's 21,000 residents, which is already 50 percent higher than that of the Philippines. But in a way, this prospect of more development is also a pity.



GZDAVIDWONG

Since independence, Saint Lucia has forged an economic base that consists of banking and of tourism. Shown here is Soufrière, a town on the West Coast of Saint Lucia.

9. Saint Lucia



The path to Brazil, where World Cup 2014 takes place, is still a long shot for the Canadian soccer team. However, one of the benefits of their qualification efforts thus far was getting to play and winning on the lush, tropical island of Saint Lucia in the eastern Caribbean. But while few Canadians regularly follow their soccer team, it is likely that even fewer could find Saint Lucia on a map.

The island nation certainly deserves a closer look since its recent history and immediate present highlight many of the common problems faced by many of the world's microstates. But this observation should not obscure the genuine accomplishments of this Caribbean island nation of some 162,000 residents. Most of their ancestors came to Saint Lucia against their will, as African-born slaves, forced to work in the sugarcane plantations that made Saint Lucia such a profitable and prized colonial possession during the 17th and 18th Centuries.

It is, perhaps, no wonder then that ownership of Saint Lucia ping-ponged between France and the United Kingdom 14 times before the latter became the island's final colonial master in 1814. This relationship formally ended in 1979, well

after the major phase of decolonization had run its course. Since this occasion, Saint Lucia has forged an economic base that consists of banking and of tourism — the country's largest employer. Yes, this member of Commonwealth confronts some inescapable economic realities, such as its dependence on foreign energy sources and tourism dollars, which tend to dry up during economic downturns. Saint Lucia, nonetheless, possesses one of the most diversified economies in the region, as its government seeks ways to revive its manufacturing sector. It can also lay claim to literary prominence, as the birthplace of Derek Walcott, who won the 1992 Nobel Prize for Literature, among other honours. Indeed, Walcott is yet another reason why Canadians would do well to learn a thing or two about Saint Lucia, as he taught at the University of Alberta, in Edmonton, for a three-year engagement that ended last autumn.



The Caribbean island nation of Barbados, whose capital of Bridgetown is shown here, enjoys one of the highest per-capita incomes in the region.

10. Barbados



Newsweek claimed in its 2010 country ranking that the “best countries tend to be small, rich, safe, and cold.” Well, Malta and, to a lesser degree, Barbados [population 285,000] prove that a nation can be small, relatively well-off, safe and blessed with a climate that does not chill your bones for a good portion of the year. Thanks to its financial sector, which operates in the same time zone as major financial centres in the eastern United States, this island nation at the outer eastern edge of the Caribbean enjoys one of the highest per-capita incomes in the region. Other major sources of income include tourism, agriculture and light manufacturing, with emerging Brazil being the country’s most important trading partner alongside Trinidad and Tobago.

Thanks to major government investments in education, Barbados also possesses one of the most educated workforces in the region. Unfortunately, not all of the country’s best and brightest stay

home. Several prominent names in the world of popular entertainment (Rihanna) and literature (Canadian Austin Clarke, who holds the Order of Canada) have joined countless others in leaving Barbados for greener pastures. The country must wrestle with a growing debt-to-GDP ratio. But then again, which country does not face that problem these days?

Wolfgang Depner’s most recent publication, *Readings in Political Ideologies since the Rise of Modern Science*, co-edited by Dr. Barrie McCullough, is scheduled for release by Oxford University Press Canada in 2013.

Dabaab's dilemma

Kenya's refugee camps, the largest in the world, are overcrowded. What to do?

By Chantaie Allick



UNHCR / B. BANNON

Paralyzed by polio, Muktar, a 31-year-old father of five, is relocated by donkey cart from a temporary settlement into a new tent.

More than 100,000 Somalis have fled to Kenya in the past six months to escape a drought and famine that has decimated the East African country. They trek across barren, drought-ravaged, sand-covered land in blowing wind to do so.

Then, they arrive at Dadaab, an overcrowded settlement made up of dirt pathways, administrative buildings, large, self-sustaining markets and tin-roofed shacks and tents in neat rows surrounded by thick wood fences made of branches. Children run around, and goats wander the open spaces dotted with thin-limbed trees where some of the town's brown-skinned inhabitants have spent their lifetimes.

For the past 20 years, in the desert-like border region of the eastern part of Kenya, a strange settlement of stateless Somalis

has established an uncertain existence in the Dadaab refugee camps: lives spent in exile. The camps are the largest and most overcrowded in the world. At the beginning of 2011, the settlement, built for 90,000, had more than 300,000 refugees competing for space and resources.

The complex was built in 1991 to house refugees from the Somali civil war. After the initial mass arrival in 1991 and 1992, a steady inflow of Somalis has continued to arrive at the settlement, which is made up of three camps set up with mud houses, open markets, schools, administrative buildings and borehole wells on an open swath of land provided by the Kenyan government. Desperate women and children have walked for days to reach the shelter and food provided by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

In 2011, the camps received 140,000 refugees, almost half of them in June and July alone. The UNHCR expected that, by year's end, more than 500,000 people would be crammed into a space meant to house less than one-fifth of that number.

Improvements made at the camps over the years are now being overwhelmed by this mass influx. Better shelter, sanitation, food distribution, policing and protection have all been sacrificed, while riots, rape and insecurity have once again become the norm.

Some had to wait days in the early hours of the emergency for food or assistance. Many fell through the cracks. Some died.

An expansion of the camps, planned to address the original overcrowding, is now being filled with rows of white UNHCR tents to accommodate the new arrivals.



UNHCR / B. BANNON

A relocated family builds a *tukul* next to their new tent to shield against the mid-day sun.

Aid workers worry about running out of water; in some areas of the camps, 1,250 people share one tap.

Lessons have emerged from 20 years at Dadaab, where what began as a temporary solution has spanned generations.

Overcrowding wouldn't be an issue if not for the protracted situation that has been left to fester. Dr. James Milner, a Carleton University expert in refugee issues, says: "The idea of simply providing humanitarian assistance to refugees in camps is not going to lead to a solution." Dr. Milner sees three options: repatriation, resettlement or local integration. But a return to Somalia through repatriation isn't a realistic option for Somali refugees and resettlement to another country would have been more easily done before Sept. 11, 2001.

Local integration of refugees into Kenyan society may, however, be a more viable option. It would require the Kenyan government to offer citizenship (or another form of legal status) for refugees in much the same way that Tanzania did in 2010. This would allow refugees freedom to move beyond the confines of the camps, permitting them to work and to contribute to Kenyan society. While the Kenyan constitution has been amended to allow for this solution, the political will doesn't exist to implement it.

Kenya has a long, problem-fraught history of hosting Somali refugees. Security concerns have caused the government to

adopt a policy of containing refugees in the camps. Kenya has often been lauded for its willingness to allow the refugees into the country, but without the freedom to leave the camps, the refugees have few options.

Dr. Milner says the current crisis is an opportunity to make Kenya, which has long abdicated all responsibility to the UNHCR, a full partner in dealing with refugee issues. Given the circumstances in Somalia, it's more than probable that Kenya will continue to host its refugees for many years.

Security problems are not a new phenomenon in refugee camps, but deciding how to deal with them in the future has to include lessons from what has worked in the past.

With this latest influx of people, and the subsequent scarcity of resources, security has once again become an issue at Dadaab. But more policing isn't the only answer. In fact, according to Dr. Milner, it isn't a matter of simply increasing the number of officers. Nuanced and innovative responses are needed — what Dr. Milner calls "targeted interventions." Better training for police officers has worked in the past. As well, the UNHCR has employed counselors to help the victims of crime.

The UNHCR and other aid organizations have been warning of a crisis in the region for several years, says William Spindler, a UNHCR spokesman in

Dadaab. Still, the world was unprepared for what happened. "The infrastructure is in place," he said, "but what caught everyone by surprise was the number of people who arrived in such a short period."

Famine and drought were once problems contained within a country's borders, he explained. As environmental disasters become more common, mass movement across borders may as well. The world needs to be prepared with funds, food and supplies.

Yet the UNHCR doesn't have a permanent budget. Instead, each year it appeals to governments for handouts. Each year, the organization must raise 95 percent of its budget.

In its final 2011 global appeal, the UNHCR budgeted \$223 million for operations in Kenya. The influx of refugees during the year led to a budget shortfall of between 20 percent and 40 percent. It's difficult to budget for unexpected disasters. An operating budget would make it easier. Indeed, the financial pressure is not only about more money — but, rather, about being able to spend funds as needed rather than as directed by donor countries.

According to Alexandra Lopoukhine, who works with Care Canada (the UNHCR's main partner on the ground in Dadaab), the solution here is to use permanent funds to merge emergency response with development initiatives in the camps — including the cost of higher education. Those permanent funds would help support development projects within the camps. They could, for example, be used to introduce new farming techniques that would help refugees produce their own food and lower their dependence on the agency for day-to-day survival. That in itself would go a long way to solving many of the issues in the camps. This could include working with the United Nations Development Program to increase water and food supplies.

All of the experts agree that finding solutions for Dadaab, and for those who live there, is complicated. If solutions had been sought more aggressively in the past, rather than letting the Somalis languish in the stateless life of UNHCR handouts, the camps would have been at least partially cleared out and better able to accommodate the latest influx. Alas, millions of aid dollars have been put into Dadaab and yet the world is no closer to a long-term solution for the camps' inhabitants.

Chantaie Allick is a reporter and writer based in Toronto.

How Anglo-American diplomacy averted 'world war'



GEORGE FETHERLING

As we begin to observe the bicentenary of the War of 1812, it's hard to miss the importance of a passage on the very first page (the first of 958) in Amanda Foreman's impressive new book *A World on Fire: Britain's Crucial Role in the American Civil War* (Random House of Canada, \$40). One legacy of that war, she writes, summarizing the political and diplomatic mood of London in the decade before the Civil War, was the fear that the United States would invade Canada (for a third time). The anxiety was partly in response to "a conviction among Americans that they should never stop trying" to do just that. But there was a second factor as well. Forty years had passed but it "was neither forgiven nor forgotten in England that precious ships and men had had to be diverted from the desperate war against Napoleon Bonaparte in order to defend Canada."

Dr. Foreman, an English-reared resident of New York, educated at Sarah Lawrence College and Oxford, has written a masterful and exciting one-volume history of the Civil War itself, with all its gore and (a popular Civil War concept) glory. Yet she's done far more than that. She focuses on how old-fashioned diplomacy prevented what could have been a world war of sorts, as the British Empire took up one quarter of the global land mass. The heart of the matter was the familiar possibility that the Northern government would annex Canada, as the U.S. secretary of state, William H. Seward, kept insisting it do. That would have had the effect of bringing Britain into the war as a Southern ally. The cooler head of Abraham Lincoln sought nothing of the kind, famously saying "One war at a time." The British too had no wish for such an outcome. The situation, however, came to a boiling point several

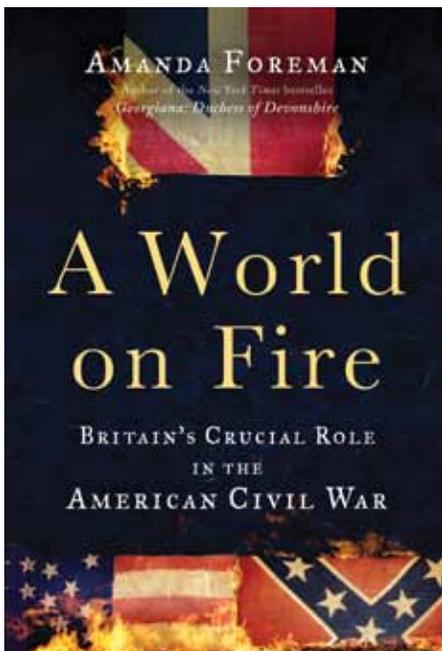
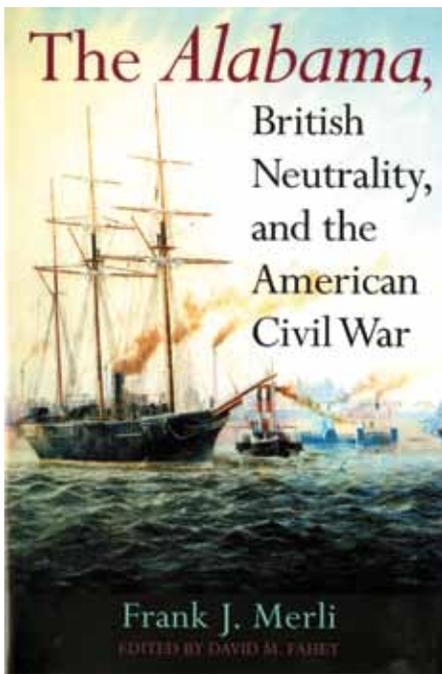


In only two years at sea, the Confederate raider *Alabama*, powered by both canvas and steam, sailed the Atlantic and Pacific top to bottom, while also going as far afield as South Africa and the Indian Ocean.

times, thanks to the intrigues of Confederate diplomats in Canada, Britain and France.

In Canada, there were Confederate representatives posted to Halifax, Montreal and Toronto. They were mere "commissioners" because the South wasn't recognized by any other country and so had no embassies or ambassadors. These Canadian commissioners didn't work together terribly well (one reason being that they didn't all report to the same branch of the Confederate government in Richmond). Even individually they were not quite successful, despite having a secret fund of a million dollars in gold: a tremendous amount of money for a government that, throughout the war, had difficulty even keeping its soldiers clothed and shod.

The commissioners' plans to encourage anti-war sentiment in the North and execute a series of clandestine raids into U.S. territory were generally unworkable, though one venture — a raid on the town of St. Albans, Vermont — was successful enough that it didn't end in ludicrous failure. The success rate, however, didn't matter so much as the fact that such events took place at all. By permitting them to proceed, Britain seemed to have assumed an ambiguous if not downright passive attitude to its own neutrality laws. Many British and British colonial subjects living in the Northern states got caught up in various drafts while the towns along the U.S.-Canada border were full of official recruiters, as well as "crimpers" who impressed innocent fellows into service in



a kind of low-grade kidnapping. And of course individuals of many other nationalities rushed to America to join the one army or the other.

The United States and Britain came closest to declaring war on each other in the first year of the conflict. In November 1861, an American warship, the *San Jacinto*, commanded by Charles Wilkes, stopped a British mail packet, the *Trent*, in international waters off the Bahamas and abducted the Confederate commissioners to London (James M. Mason) and Paris (John Slidell). The pair were taken to Boston and imprisoned. Americans cheered

and Britons fumed. Whitehall responded with demands so stern that Prince Albert himself intervened to soften the language, though the terms remained intact: release of the two men and a full explanation for such a blatant violation of international law. The deadline for an answer was seven days. While the British government awaited the response, it quickly made plans for strengthening Canada's defences. Britain's minister in Washington, Lord Lyons, privately informed the hawkish William Seward of the reply's contents but waited until December 23 to deliver it officially. That gave him just enough time to lower the diplomatic temperature. At a cabinet meeting on Boxing Day, the Americans sent a sheepish note deploring Captain Wilkes' actions and promising release of the two prisoners in January.

In only two years at sea, the Confederate raider *Alabama*, powered by both canvas and steam, sailed the Atlantic and Pacific top to bottom, while also going as far afield as South Africa and the Indian Ocean. Its ship's motto was *Aide-toi, et Dieu t'aidera* — "Help yourself and God will help you." Of the total of 158 U.S. ships destroyed by the impoverished Confederate Navy, the *Alabama* sank 65 of them. Its exploits made it, in Dr. Foreman's words, "the most famous ship afloat [as the] entire English-speaking world knew her history." But it would not be afloat much longer. It lost a duel with the *USS Kearsarge* off France in mid-1864.

In some ways, however, the *Alabama* was only representative of a much broader effort.

As soon as the war got underway, the United States began blocking Southern ports on the Atlantic (and later New Orleans as well), launching its strategy of trying to starve the Southerners to death. All the South could do was to build ships overseas both to harass U.S. commerce and run the blockade where possible. Remember that Rhett Butler of *Gone with the Wind* was a blockade-runner by profession. What you won't learn from the film is that he was probably using a ship built in England or France with financial help from the members of the Royal Exchange in London or cotton brokers in Liverpool. Having no access to Southern ports, Confederate warships like the *Alabama*, and so many others, were born in Britain or Europe and never saw their home country, for they stalked the world's shipping lanes, resupplying in whatever neutral ports would have them. Like sharks, they never slept.

So desperate was the Confederate government for ships that it tried to buy some from China. In his new, but posthumously published, book *The Alabama, British Neutrality, and the American Civil War* (Indiana University Press, US\$22.95), the American historian Frank J. Merli calls the coveted Chinese flotilla a "paranaval force, a squadron of some six or eight ships of a class that contemporary terminology might designate coastguard cutters." Another historian has called it a "mosquito fleet." In the end, the deal fell through owing to a failure of diplomacy by the various parties.



U.S. secretary of state William H. Seward

Canada is where the Anglo-American war, if there were to be one, would have broken out.

Canadians were overwhelmingly against slavery (which John Graves Simcoe had outlawed in Upper Canada in the 1790s). So, too, were Britons not connected to one of the manufacturing cities in the Midlands or to big capital generally. But the English intelligentsia and others, indeed much of the Empire, endorsed the Confederacy, or at least the idea of it. Caught between the lines, so to speak, diplomats had to tread carefully, at least in public. Lord Lyons confided in a letter to Lord Russell, the foreign secretary, that Seward had some plan to tour England on a good-will mission. The British knew it would turn into an ill-will mission instead. Lord Palmerston, the prime minister, joined in, telling Lord Russell that Secre-



John Graves Simcoe outlawed slavery in Upper Canada in the 1790s.



Florence Nightingale

tary Seward was “vulgar and ungentlemanlike and the more he is seen here the less he will be liked.” Seward was furious about all the Confederate activity underway in plain sight on Canadian soil, while the governor general of Canada, Lord Monck, struggled to preserve the letter of Britain’s neutrality laws.

For his part, British Prime Minister Palmerston “was not in the least interested in petty recruiting scandals, except as a counterargument to Northern complaints

about the Alabama.” His worry, rather, was that the U.S. would take over complete control of the St. Lawrence River and thus keep British vessels from using it. Connected to this in several important ways was the possibility that naval warfare on the Great Lakes, the site of one of most important American victories in the War of 1812, would resume. This, despite the fact that the Rush-Bagot treaty had demilitarized these waters in 1817. For most of the Civil War, the only naval vessel on the Lakes was an American gunboat guarding Confederate prisoners on the southern shore of Lake Erie. But this could change quickly, given the British obligation to defend the Canadas and the South’s extensive (if not always smoothly run) infrastructure at important points along the border. This subject is a highly complex one that a Canadian historian, John Bell, surveys in his new book *Rebels on the Great Lakes: Confederate Naval Commando Operations Launched from Canada, 1863–1864* (Dundurn, \$27.99 paper). Mr. Bell clearly has infinite patience, an excellent nose for tracking, and a serious but likeable prose style: a combination all too rare.

Once the Civil War sputtered to its end, the U.S. sought recompense from England for allowing construction of the *Alabama* at an English shipyard (at Birkenhead in Cheshire). It also demanded reparations for all the U.S. merchant shipping lost in attacks by the *Alabama* and other Confederate raiders, putting the figure at two billion dollars (or, as one especially powerful senator suggested, all of Canada, in lieu of cash). Palmerston reacted angrily but died before the end of 1865. The liberal Gladstone, who became prime minister in 1868, acknowledged the principle involved but thought the dollar amount ridiculous. An international commission was established to consider the matter. The affair dragged on for the remainder of the decade, and beyond.

William Seward, who once proposed to President Lincoln that the U.S. declare war on the whole of Europe as a way of distracting the nation’s mind from the slavery problem, was in an expansionist mood, as usual. Having engineered the American purchase of Alaska from the Russians in 1867, he now suggested that the British payment take the form of Nova Scotia, the Red River Colony (in what’s now Manitoba) and the land that would come to be British Columbia. To Seward, the last of these was the most important, as it could be merged with Alaska. He died, out of office, in 1872, by which time



British prime minister Lord Palmerston circa 1845

Hamilton Fish, a new and less combative secretary of state, was in place. The figures appointed to resolve the matter (Sir John A. Macdonald among them) found in the Americans’ favour. In the end, Britain paid \$15.5 million, offering an apology but admitting no guilt. The relevant document, the Treaty of Washington, deserves to be better known. Many cite it as one of the first milestones on the road to multilateral and multinational arbitration, the codification of international law, and so on.

Dr. Foreman’s book is full of compelling individuals as well as politics and ideas. For example, some exceptional journalists strut across her pages, most particularly the near-legendary W.H. Russell—“Russell of the Crimea.” It was he who coined the phrase “the thin red line.” He is often said to have invented the profession of war correspondent as well (eroding the tradition by which commissioned officers dashed off occasional despatches even while in the saddle). The Crimean War of 1853-56, in which Britain, France and the Ottoman Empire fought the Russians to settle a bar bet about the Holy Land, was the single greatest influence on the American Civil War — strategically, tactically, even sartorially — but most importantly in the terrible level of carnage that resulted. There is a useful comparison to be made between Dr. Foreman’s work and another new book, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination* by Stefanie Markovits (Cambridge University Press, US\$99).



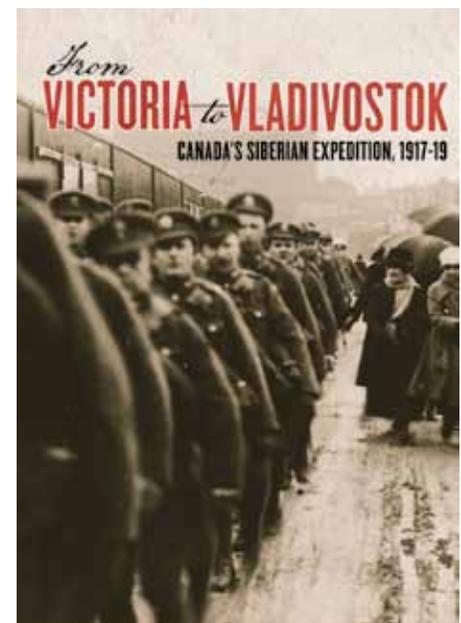
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Soldiers in 259th battalion, led by Brig.-Gen. Bickford, second-in-command of the Siberian force, disembarking at Egersheld, Vladivostok, in 1919.

In the Crimea (where his first-hand reportage caused an unknown Florence Nightingale to take up battlefield nursing), Russell didn't shy from reporting the true horrors that he saw. He assumed the same tone in America. He preferred a tent full of common soldiers to a seconded front parlour full of generals. As one colleague commented, "He is a good chap to get information, particularly from the youngsters." So naturally his employer, *The Times of London*, sent him to America when war broke out there. The newspaper later recalled him, however, on the grounds that he was too sympathetic to the South, or at least not sympathetic enough to the North. Curiously, the same paper had no qualms about Francis Lawley, its reporter who followed the Southern armies and was outrageously blind to their every flaw and misstep. As a reader, I'm delighted to find that Dr. Foreman discusses Edward Dicey, who promoted the Northern armies for the *Spectator* and wrote what is still an endearing pro-Union memoir, *Six Months in the Federal States*. It is not to be confused with, but simply

contrasted to, *Three Months in the Southern States* (April, May and June 1863) by Lieutenant Colonel Arthur J.F. Fremantle of the Coldstream Guards. He took leave from the service to travel in all 11 Confederate states, using letters of introduction from one official or another (even Jefferson Davis) to gain an audience with the next general on his list. Studying the Confederate army through the eyes of a professional soldier left him with solid collegial respect for his hosts. His handsomely written book is still in print as a 1991 paperback edition (University of Nebraska Press, US\$18.95). Dr. Foreman uses this one, too, to good effect.

To state the matter as simply as possible, then, the most important diplomatic question of the American Civil War was whether to take sides in a divorce (in war as in real life, always a risky proposition). A similar situation, one involving Canada and its numerous allies arose near the end of the First World War and continued on for a time afterwards. In 1917, the year of both the February and October revolutions, Russia deposed the czar (who was



— BENJAMIN ISITT —

executed the following year) and ran through two prime ministers. The country was a shambles of starvation and unrest.



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Canadian ordinance officers moving stores in Gornostai, east of Vladivostok, in 1919.

When V.I. Lenin came to power, he made good on his promise to withdraw Russia from the alliance of Western powers fighting the Germans and others. Whereupon a civil war erupted between the Bolshevik Red Army and the conservative White Army. Eager for a less unfriendly Russian regime as well as for Russia's oil (that old story), Canada, Britain and others decided it was a splendid moment to invade Russia from Vladivostok and other points in the Russian Far East where the Whites were strongest. This episode, commonly called the Intervention, is not widely spoken of or taught in today's Canada, for it proved a singular failure.

Benjamin Isitt examines the mess in close detail in *From Victoria to Vladivostok: Canada's Siberian Expedition, 1917-19* (UBC Press, \$29.95 paper). As his title suggests, he pays special attention to one unit that departed from Victoria — but not before staging a small mutiny. Many or most of the men were conscripts. To get some of

them onto the transport vessel, officers had to resort to their service revolvers and use their heavy canvas belts as whips. Few of these soldiers who entered through Vladivostok ever proceeded far enough inland to actually reach Siberia, where all the others, coming overland from the north and east, were to join up. Some Canadians, however, did reach Omsk, in the centre of the country. There, in partnership with the British, they were able, for a time, to hold together the White government. It needed propping as it was as wobbly as three-legged table. Its leader, somewhat oddly, was a Czech admiral. Like the Reds, the Whites and their foreign friends were continually battling for control of the Trans-Siberian Railway (ironically, the most significant engineering megaproject of the last few czarist regimes).

Mr. Isitt makes the point that our participation was one more step towards an independent Canadian foreign policy, a matter of great concern and pride, es-

pecially given Canada's role in the late unpleasantness in Europe. The world war had finally come to an end only a few months before the launch of the Intervention, which sputtered on for at least another year. But that's about the best that can be said of the expeditionary force. Like those of other nationalities, Canadian troops had become entangled in this hopeless effort when they were already sick of war. For many people, the Intervention became a mirrored symbol of the class warfare breaking out at home. Labour unions were major players in fomenting dissent, though radical farm movements and some of the intelligentsia were important as well. The language was often extremist. In their book *When the State Trembles: How A.J. Andrews and the Citizens' Committee Broke the Winnipeg General Strike* (University of Toronto Press, \$35 paper) Reinhold Kramer and Tom Mitchell quote one union organizer telling a crowd in 1919: "Drafts [that is, conscripts] are being

shipped to Vancouver so that they can go across to Russia to massacre the proletariat there. Let us have justice and if not, then blood will be spilled in this country."

The literature of the Winnipeg General Strike and related events is quite extensive of course, but now, in these times of protests, the subject of labour v. capital in the broader sense is being taken up afresh. Of new books in the field, perhaps the most important (and certainly the best written) is *Seeing Reds: The Red Scare of 1918-1920, Canada's First War on Terror* by the Vancouver historian Daniel Francis (Arsenal, \$27.95). The last part of the subtitle may sound over the top, but the book isn't about ideology. Rather, it's a study of how both sides in a major conflict create propaganda in order to promote paranoia. Were this text in digital form, a reader could indeed do a search-and-replace, substituting the word terrorist for each use of reds, and end up understanding how the strife of one era is so often revisited upon another. Another example, a quite accidental discovery, hit me in 2010 when the University of Toronto Press celebrated the centenary of *Canadian Who's Who* by producing a facsimile of the first edition. The personages listed in the 1910 version (\$19.95 paper) are exactly those you would expect to



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Canadian soldiers at Gornostai Barracks in 1919. In his book, author Benjamin Issitt says one soldier noted that the Czarist-era buildings were "better than anything we had in Canada."

find: Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Nellie McClung, and a great many figures in finance and railways. The reprint also includes all the advertisements from the 1910 original. Law firms and insurance companies dominate. But there is also a brazen full-page ad for the Thiel Detective Service, an

American-based firm of strike-breakers with offices in Canada's four largest cities, not to mention the latest trouble spots in Mexico.

George Fetherling's most recent book is *Indochina Now and Then* (Dundurn Press).



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The big Pig War

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



Bellevue Sheep Farm's "Home Prairie" establishment on San Juan Island was a gathering place for British and Americans alike in the 1850s. An artist's depiction shows a San Juan Island camp in its heyday in September 1859, at the height of the Pig War crisis.

The boundary between Canada and the United States was a matter of dispute between 1783 and 1872, when the issue was arbitrated by German Emperor Wilhelm I. The last portion of the boundary had been ambiguously determined by the Oregon Treaty of 1846, which extended the 49th parallel "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean."

However, the "middle of the channel" could have applied either to Rosario Strait, to the east of San Juan, Orcas and Lopez islands, or to Haro Strait, to the west of the islands. San Juan Island, which was claimed by both Britain and the U.S., was a strategic military position; the country that owned the islands would dominate the waterways connecting the Strait

of Juan de Fuca with the Strait of Georgia.

The Hudson's Bay Company had claimed San Juan Island in 1845 and established salmon curing stations along the western shoreline by 1851. In 1853, the U.S. claimed the three islands as part of the new Washington Territory. In response, the Hudson's Bay Company established Bellevue Sheep Farm in December 1853. In only six years, it grew from 1,369 sheep to more than 4,500 on stations across the island. A boundary commission established in 1856 failed to resolve the issue satisfactorily for both sides. By the spring of 1859, American troops had been stationed on the island and 18 Americans had staked claims on prime sheep-grazing land. The British considered them squatters and their claims illegal.

On June 15, 1859, the tense situation exploded. An American farmer, Lyman Cut-

lar, found a big pig rooting in his garden, eating his potatoes. Cutlar shot and killed the pig, which was owned by Charles Griffin, who ran Bellevue Farm. Cutlar offered Griffin \$10 in compensation, but Griffin wanted \$100. Cutlar argued that he shouldn't have to pay for the pig at all because it had trespassed on his property.

When British authorities threatened to arrest Cutlar and evict his countrymen, American settlers demanded military protection from Brigadier-General William Harney, in command of the Department of Oregon. The anti-British Harney dispatched 64 soldiers to San Juan Island to prevent British ships from landing. James Douglas, governor of Vancouver Island, concerned that American squatters would occupy the island if not kept in check, sent three warships and ordered Rear Admiral Robert Baynes to land marines on the island and engage the Americans. Baynes



This map shows the final boundary between Canada and the U.S. at Haro Strait.

declined, citing the foolishness of involving “two great nations in a war over a squabble about a pig.”

By the end of August, there were 461 American troops in place with 14 field guns and eight 32-pounder naval guns opposing five British warships carrying 52 guns. The Americans dug in and the British fired practice shots into the bluffs along Griffin Bay. Commanding officers were ordered not to fire the first shot, but to defend themselves if necessary, instigating a battle of taunts and insults as each side tried to goad the other into aggression. It was amusing for tourists arriving on excursion boats from Victoria and the officers from both sides who shared whisky and cigars at Charles Griffin’s home.

When news of the situation reached Washington and London, shocked officials set about defusing it. President James Buchanan sent General Winfield Scott to negotiate with Governor Douglas. They reached a settlement in November, agreeing to reduce their presence to no more than 100 men on each side, with the British camp established at the north end of the island and the American camp at the south. The two camps had an amicable relationship for 12 years until the matter was turned over to Kaiser Wilhelm I. He referred it to a committee of three that met in Geneva for most of a year before deciding in favour of the United States on October 21, 1872, establishing the marine boundary through Haro Strait.

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

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Crêpes morph and evolve



MARGARET DICKENSON

Who doesn't like crêpes? When in doubt over what to serve, you can always turn to crêpes. Although many see them as a special treat for breakfast (and so they are), they may be creatively introduced into virtually any part of a menu. Crêpes Suzette set aflame with brandy can proudly lay claim to being one of those universally popular desserts.

As a child growing up on a farm in Northern Ontario, crêpes were not part of our family's culinary vocabulary, never mind menu. As a matter of fact, neither was the word menu. On the farm back then, we just planned and prepared meals. Mom, however, did make the most extraordinary pancakes, sometimes stuffed with jam and cottage cheese before being lovingly baked in a woodstove oven. That was a surprise usually reserved for stormy winter days.

My next serious and frequent encounter with "pancakes" was when my husband, our wee daughter and I moved to Moscow in the early '70s. An evening ballet performance at the Bolshoi inevitably meant feasting on blinis and caviar at intermission. To be honest, I impatiently waited for the intermissions to come, eager to savour once again the greatest culinary experience Moscow had to offer at that time. These blinis were small yeast-raised pancakes, made with buckwheat flour so they tended to be slightly heavy. Always accompanied by chilled vodka, that remarkable combination has retained a principal position (in one form or another) in my repertoire of recipes throughout the decades.

With a move to Brussels, crêpes soon took centre stage. These paper-thin pancakes — subtle in flavour, delicate, tender and flexible — lend themselves to all sorts of splendid creations. Immediately, my

Russian blinis and caviar (always served with luscious dollops of sour cream), re-emerged on our entertaining menus as crêpes and caviar either served rolled as an hors d'oeuvre or flat as an appetizer at the table. Even repeat guests would count on their reappearance and disappointment reigned if I decided to give the crêpes a break.

Would it be surprising if I said that a move to South Korea meant my crêpes and caviar experienced another mutation? Inspired by the appealing "pouch-like" shape of the popular Asian dish, dim sum, my crêpes evolved into irresistible "sachets." Filled with sour cream and caviar, each little sachet was securely tied closed with a carefully knotted fresh chive stem. On our return to Canada, Canadian smoked salmon replaced the caviar.

But crêpes have a life far beyond Crêpes Suzette and crêpes and caviar. They marry well with a broad spectrum of flavours, from savoury to sweet: seafood, poultry, escargots, avocado, fruit, custards, ice cream, just to name a few. Such combinations are easily assembled and without exception, always scrumptious. Just think, have you ever not enjoyed a crêpe? Crêpes also like being pampered — dusted with icing sugar, drizzled with syrup, bathed with sauces and garnished artistically with fresh herbs, berries, nuts or curls of dark chocolate.

Savoury crêpes are the perfect solution as a main course for a brunch or light lunch, particularly when served with a side salad. Equally so, sweet crêpes for

dessert will have those at the table scraping their plates and wishing for more.

The beauty of crêpes is that the batter can be prepared in advance, placed in airtight plastic containers and kept refrigerated for up to two days or frozen for months without compromising the quality of the final product. I always keep crêpe batter on hand in my freezer. Once thawed, batter will appear to have separated, but worry not. Transfer it to a bowl and whisk it thoroughly before dropping it onto a preheated (medium-low heat) griddle or skillet.

The following recipe is one of my latest creations. It's an hors d'oeuvre that will leave guests puzzled, surprised and reaching for yet another. You will need a little patience as you perfect the cooking technique; however, it will be well worth the effort. Bon Appétit!

Bocconcini Crêpe Sandwiches

Makes 16 hors d'oeuvres

- 1 tbsp (15 mL) all-purpose flour
- Pinch of salt
- 1/2 cup (125 mL) crêpe batter*
- 1/3 cup (80 mL) chopped smoked turkey thigh (or ham)
- 1 1/4 tsp (6 mL) vinaigrette (a mustard-herb variety)
- 1 1/2 tbsp (23 mL) coarsely chopped fresh dill weed
- 2 tbsp (30 mL) bocconcini cheese, chopped
- 1 1/2 tbsp (23 mL) pesto

Aioli Mayonnaise

- 1 tbsp (15 mL) mayonnaise



LARRY DICKENSON

Bocconcini crêpe sandwiches

1/5 tsp (pinch) finely chopped fresh garlic
Garnish: 16 petit sprigs of fresh dill weed

1. Whisk flour and salt into crêpe batter to form a smooth, slightly heavier mixture. Toss chopped smoked turkey (or ham) with vinaigrette and set aside.

2. Preheat a medium-size nonstick skillet placed over medium-low heat. Slowly and carefully drop four small portions (i.e., about 3/4 tsp or 4 mL) of crêpe batter onto skillet to create coin-size crêpes (diameter: 1 inch or 2.5 cm). Quickly top each cooking crêpe first with 1/4 tsp (1 mL) of chopped dill weed, then 1/3 tsp (2 mL) of bocconcini and finally 1/4 tsp (1 mL) pesto, keeping all ingredients within the perimeter of the tiny crêpe. (Note: Do not turn over.) Promptly transfer crêpes to a plate.

3. Repeat procedure (i.e., step 2) to make 4 more garnished petit crêpes and transfer them to the plate.

4. Drop 8 similar petit portions of crêpe mixture onto the skillet. As crêpes set, turn them over and cook briefly. Remove the crêpes from the skillet one at a time, and place each squarely on top of one of the cheese and pesto garnished crêpes to create tiny "crêpe sandwiches". Promptly transfer crêpe sandwiches to a parchment paper lined tray; cover closely with plastic wrap.

5. Repeat formula (Steps 2 to 4) to make 8 more crêpe sandwiches.

6. Prepare the mayonnaise by whisking together mayonnaise and garlic; set aside.

7. Up to 45 minutes before serving, add a touch (i.e., 1/8 tsp or 2 drops) of Aioli Mayonnaise to top of each crêpe sandwich, top with 3/4 tsp (4 mL) of chopped smoked turkey (or ham) mixture and garnish with a small sprig of fresh dill weed. Cover loosely with wax paper and refrigerate until shortly before serving.

* To make 1 1/3 cups (325 mL) of crêpe batter, sift together 1/2 cup (125 mL) of all purpose flour and 3/4 tsp (4 mL) of granulated sugar in a small bowl. In a medium size bowl, beat together one egg, one egg yolk and 1/2 cup (125 mL) of milk. Continue to beat constantly, gradually add half the flour mixture to the milk mixture; add another 1/4 cup (60 mL) of milk, the remaining flour mixture and finally 2 tbsp (30 mL) of melted butter. Beat well.

Margaret Dickenson is the author of the international award winning cookbook, *Margaret's Table — Easy Cooking & Inspiring Entertaining*, as well as creator and host of the TV series, *Margaret's Table*. See www.margaretstable.ca.



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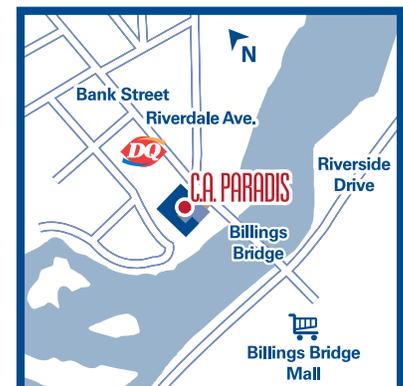
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Pinot Noir: From Burgundy — and beyond



PIETER VAN DEN WEGHE

Pinot Noir can provide one of the greatest experiences a wine drinker can have. Young wines entice with aromatics and flavours of cherry, plums and violets. As Pinot matures, the wines grow more savoury and aspects of mushroom, earth and game evolve. On the palate, the texture is extraordinary. This is a red wine which doesn't rely upon alcoholic power and weight to succeed and its elegance and haunting beauty are beyond many grape varieties.

But, there is a rub. Quite a few, in fact.



Pinot Noir is fickle and maddeningly inconsistent. When compared to other red varieties, the disparity between the highs and lows in quality is staggering. Even in Burgundy, Pinot Noir's home and zenith, there are no guarantees. Part of this is due to Pinot Noir's lack of genetic stability and its resulting tendency to mutate. In Burgundy, where the grape is thought to have been grown since at least the 4th Century, there are more than 1,000 types of Pinot Noir. While all of these clones exhibit similar qualities, they differ in many respects. Some do not produce quality fruit and many prefer different soils and climates. In the vineyards, for reasons of convenience and economy, many growers in Burgundy and elsewhere have given into the temptation of planting clones which require less maintenance and provide larger yields. Unfortunately, the resulting wines have not contributed to Pinot Noir's positive reputation.

Pinot Noir also costs more to produce and sell. Yields of fruit must be kept low for good-quality wine. The vines are highly susceptible to mildew, rot and disease. They tend to die young and many plants stop producing wine-worthy fruit after three decades. All of these factors contribute to higher prices. While it may be easy to find a \$12 bottle of reasonably good and identifiable Cabernet Sauvignon, \$12 will not cut it for the same level of quality in a Pinot.

Lastly, Pinot Noir is also not a good traveler. Though it has been planted far and wide throughout Europe and beyond, it wasn't happy about it. For a long time, only a few tolerable expressions of Pinot were produced outside of Burgundy. Then, something changed. Growers started to select clones more appropriate for their environments. They experimented in the vineyard and the winery. Over time, certain regions such as California, Oregon and New Zealand began to succeed with this temperamental grape and established their own reputations for crafting perfect Pinot Noir. The resulting wines are delicious, and, while some critics state they may never be Burgundy at its very best, neither is much of Burgundy.

This trend of compelling Pinots from new places is continuing. More and more regions, typically with cooler and more marginal climates, are contributing a new

facet to Pinot Noir. What follows are three such distinctive Pinots.

First, we have a fun one from Italy's northern province of Alto Adige. It's a 2010 Pinot Nero produced by Colterenzio. This wine is light to medium-bodied and has loads of joyful cherry flavour. The structure's elegant and fresh and there's a note of an earthy minerality on the finish. With excellent food pairing capabilities, this Pinot is great value at \$22. Purchase and home delivery in Ontario of this charming wine is available through the Stem Wine Group (www.stemwinegroup.com).

For a far more Burgundian expression of Pinot Noir, we go to wine produced by one of my favourite Canadian wineries, Five Rows. The winery is located in Niagara's St. David's Bench VQA sub-appellation and is operated by the Lowrey family, who have farmed the area for five generations. The current generations, Howard and Wilma Lowrey and their son, Wes, produce some of Canada's most compelling wines. Despite the challenging vintage providing many nervous moments and demanding much vineyard work, their 2008 Pinot Noir is a delicious combination of bright cherry and black raspberry aromas and favours with notes of floral, vanilla bean and spice. Only 106 cases were made, and, while this wine will not appear in the LCBO system, it is available from the winery (www.fiverows.com) for \$50 a bottle.

Next is a Pinot Noir from an unexpected place. It's the Laura Catena's 2009 "Luca" Pinot Noir from Argentina. While there are very good Pinots emerging from Patagonia in Argentina's south, this wine comes from Mendoza's Uco Valley. The grapes are sourced from a dessert vineyard which is at an altitude of more than 1,400 metres. The location provides lots of sunshine and very cool nights. Enticing aromas of cherry, spice and smoke lead to a silky and complex palate. This beautiful Pinot is available from Vintages for \$28 (CSPC#175570).

Even when the producers and regions are familiar, selecting a bottle of Pinot Noir is often similar to playing Russian roulette. However, the three suggested wines can point you in the right direction.

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

Exotic grandeur in Rockcliffe

By Margo Roston



DYANNE WILSON

The main reception room at the expansive Rockcliffe home of Indian High Commissioner Shashishekhar Gavai and his wife, Rina.

When a house is sold during a game of bridge, the players might need a little glass of port to get over the shock. When the deal is made between the guys over a drink in the library without consulting their wives, a double is probably in order.

It sounds like fiction but it actually happened in the Acacia Avenue home that is now the residence of the Indian high commissioner. The house has an interesting

history. But these days, it is a cultural beacon for those who enter. Many sculptures and artworks from India are highlighted in the spacious reception areas where High Commissioner Shashishekhar Gavai and his wife, Rina, entertain.

Like so many houses in the area, this one has its roots in the lumber business. Built in 1909 by civil engineer Allan Gilmour Mather, whose father had a connection with the Gilmour Lumber

Company, the home was designed in the Edwardian Classical style. It made an imposing sight with its white-painted brick exterior, a gallery running across the front and sides and a notable red tile roof. The house was probably designed by Mather's uncle, local architect James Mather, Martha Edmond speculates in her book *Rockcliffe Park: A History of the Village*.

According to Edmond, the stock market crash of 1929 forced Mather to sell his

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Another seating area in the main reception room.

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home to Shirley Woods, Sr., whose father James founded the Woods Manufacturing Co., makers of their famous Woods sleeping bag. Apparently one of these bags accompanied Roald Amundsen through the Northwest Passage in 1903 and warmed Admiral Byrd in the Antarctic. Shirley, himself, designed the first down-filled vest for Second World War soldiers.

A passionate renovator, Woods removed the massive porch and gallery (revealing a finely-detailed veranda at the top of the front steps) and covered the brick with stucco. In 1934, Woods sold his house to his friend Edmund Newcombe when he was visiting with his wife for a game of bridge. The two men, taking a break for a drink in the library, made the deal and then came out to tell their stunned spouses.

The Indian government bought the house from the Newcombes in 1950.

Today, the impressive seven-bedroom mansion sits in a large garden, partly hidden by a cedar hedge. Once inside, visitors are greeted in the large entrance foyer by Mrs. Gavai who is wearing a brilliant peacock blue sari trimmed with gold embroidered peacocks, the national bird of India. The entrance is dominated by a large fireplace. Atop the mantel are brass Hindu gods and, in front, a large traditional brass candle holder. Heavy brass temple bells line the stairway to the second floor.

On the main floor, there are two large cream-coloured reception rooms filled with art and Indian carpets. Of special interest are two stunning marble and gold vases from Rajasthan, India's largest state, that compete with the couple's collection of more than 150 bells from a variety of countries. Silver tables brighten the main reception area, also home to a collection of traditional drums. Another collection of blue and white china from Japan and China, and paintings of Krishna, the central figure in Hinduism, fill the walls, tables and breakfronts in the rooms. Silk pillows add dashes of colour to the formal rooms. "The blue room," a favourite of Mrs. Gavai, is a small and charming sunroom looking out over the garden and backyard patio.

The expansive dining room is themed in burgundy and blue and can seat up to 18 guests, who dine on china and use silverware featuring the crest of India. "And the food is all homemade," Mrs. Gavai says. She has two helpers who keep the house in shape and do the cooking.

A typical meal at the residence includes



Clockwise from top left: The exterior of the home on Acacia Road; the Gavais; the dining room where guests are often treated to Mrs. Gavai's cooking; some Indian pillows, which add lovely accents to the receiving rooms.

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ALL PHOTOS DYANNE WILSON

The home's grand entrance; some samples from Mrs. Gavai's bell collection.



a fish, meat and chicken course, distinctly seasoned with spices to give the dishes different flavours and colours. Five or six vegetarian dishes and rice pilaf round out the sumptuous meal. Three Indian desserts always complete the feast.

The high commissioner and his wife are both culturally active in Canada. They have a large constituency of more than one million people of Indian descent living in this country. With 2011 declared the Year of India in Canada, the couple has promoted 108 events across the country — dance and musical events, a film festival and a trade fair. "There has been a big audience for our events," says Mr. Gavai. And his wife, who organized the Indian Women's Association to promote her country, is equally pleased with its success.

Visiting the Indian High Commissioner's residence in Ottawa is a charming cultural and educational tour of an exotic land, an experience enhanced by the delightful diplomats who live there. ▣



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1. In celebration of Taiwan's Centennial National Day, David Taiwei Lee, representative for the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Canada, and his wife, Lin, hosted a reception at the Château Laurier in October. Six cabinet ministers, including Treasury Board President Tony Clement (centre), seven senators and 68 MPs attended. (Photo: Dennis Chen) 2. The Canadian Federation of University Women's diplomatic hospitality group took a tour of Parliament in November, compliments of Government House Leader Peter Van Loan. Participants are shown here. Standing to the right of Mr. Van Loan (front, centre) is organizer Ulle Baum. (Photo: Darlene Stone) 3. To mark Albania's national day, Ambassador Elida Petoshati took part in a flag-raising ceremony at Ottawa City Hall. It was the first time the Albanian flag has been raised by the City. (Photo by Ulle Baum) 4. Greek deputy foreign minister, Demetri Dollis, right, visited Ottawa in September and Ambassador Eleftherios Anghelopoulos hosted a reception in his honour. 5. Armenian Ambassador Armen Yeganian and his wife, Maria, hosted a national day reception in October. 6. Romanian Ambassador Elena Stefoi hosted a national day reception at Ottawa City Hall on Dec. 1. From left, Russian Ambassador Georgiy Mamedov, Ms. Stefoi and Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson. (Photo: Lois Siegel)



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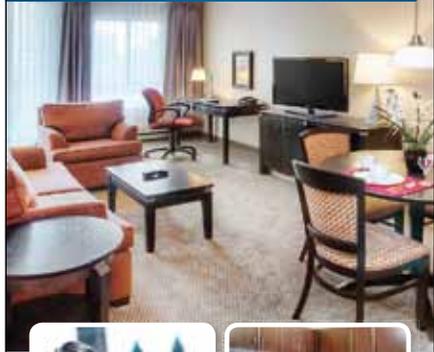


1. Cuban Ambassador Teresita Sotolongo, right, hosted a reception in honour of Cuba's culture day. She's shown with Cuban painter Yoel Finalé, centre, and curator Lilia Faulkner. 2. Czech Ambassador Karel Zebrakovsky and his wife, Marketa Zebrakovska Smatanova, marked their national day with a reception at the National Arts Centre in October. From left, Courtnay Romkey Darville, Ms Zebrakovska Smatanova and Larry Lederman, Canada's former chief of protocol. 3. The delegation of European Union to Canada and member states of the EU presented their 4th annual EU Christmas concert at the Notre Dame Cathedral Dec. 9. From left, Laura Mennill, director of the Lisgar Collegiate Institute String Ensemble, EU Ambassador Matthias Brinkmann, Timothy Piper, director, organist and pianist for the Christ Church Cathedral Girls' Choir and Robert Filion, musical director of the Chorale De La Salle. (Photo by Ulle Baum)



1. Brunei High Commissioner Rakiah Lamit hosted the annual general meeting of the women ambassadors of Ottawa in November. From left, Ms. Lamit, Rwanda High Commissioner Edda Mukabagwiza, Norwegian Ambassador Else Berit Eikeland, Albanian Ambassador Elida Petoshati and Honduran Ambassador Sofia Lastenia Cerrato Rodriguez. 2. "An Exploration of Scottish Culture" was hosted by the Fort Glengarry Garrison, 78th Fraser Highlanders regiment, at the Royal Ottawa Golf Club. From left, Captain Bruce MacRae, British High Commissioner Andrew Pocock and Peter Milliken, former speaker of the House of Commons. 3. To mark the 19th anniversary of the constitution of the Slovak Republic, Ambassador Milan Kollar and his wife, Sona Kollarova, hosted a reception at the embassy in September. From left, Paul Hong, senior policy adviser to foreign affairs minister John Baird, Sona Kollarova, Nam Misook, Korean Ambassador Nam Joo-hong and Slovak Ambassador Milan Kollar. (Photo: Ulle Baum)

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1. The Association of Progressive Muslims of Canada presented an award to U.S. Ambassador David Jacobson, which was accepted by his wife, Julie, at the association's annual Eid dinner. From left, Zul Kassamali, vice-president of APMC Toronto, Mrs. Jacobson, event emcee Charles Coffey and Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson. (Photo: U.S. embassy) 2. Algerian Ambassador Smail Benamara, right, hosted a national day celebration at his embassy in November. He's shown with Lawrence Cannon, strategic adviser at Gowlings. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. Icelandic Ambassador Sigrídur Anna Thórdardóttir and her husband, Jon Thorsteinsson, attended a dinner at Restaurant 18, featuring celebrated Swedish chef Gustav Trägårdh. The following evening, Swedish Ambassador Teppo Markus Tauriainen hosted a private dinner in his home. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 4. Australian indigenous leader Tom Calma spoke at the Institute on Governance (IOG) in November about a campaign dedicated to improving the health and well-being of Australia's indigenous citizens. From left, IOG president Maryantonett Flumian, Mr. Calma, Marion Lefebvre, vice-president for aboriginal governance. (Photo: Bruce MacRae) 5. The Turkish Embassy, in cooperation with the Turkish-Canadian Cultural Association, presented a free painting workshop in November at Ottawa City Hall. Turkish artist Hikmet Cetinkaya gave the workshop. Ambassador Rafet Akgunay and his wife, Zeynep, are shown in front of one of his paintings. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. Oscar Arias, former president of Costa Rica, received an honorary degree from Carleton University. From left, Carleton chancellor Herb Gray, president Roseann O'Reilly Runte and Mr. Arias. (Photo: Mike Pinder)

Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

January		
1	Cuba	Liberation Day
1	Haiti	Independence Day
1	Sudan	National Day
4	Myanmar	Independence Day
26	Australia	Australia Day
31	Nauru	National Day
February		
4	Sri Lanka	National Day
6	New Zealand	National Day
7	Grenada	Independence Day
11	Iran	National Day
15	Serbia	National Day
16	Lithuania	Independence Day
17	Kosovo	Independence Day
18	Gambia	Independence Day
22	Saint Lucia	Independence Day
23	Brunei Darussalam	National Day
23	Guyana	Republic Day
24	Estonia	Independence Day
25	Kuwait	National Day
27	Dominican Republic	Independence Day
March		
3	Bulgaria	National Day
6	Ghana	National Day
12	Mauritius	National Day
17	Ireland	St. Patrick's Day
20	Tunisia	Proclamation of Independence
23	Pakistan	Pakistan Day
25	Greece	Independence Day
26	Bangladesh	National Day
April		
4	Senegal	Independence Day
16	Denmark	Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II
17	Syria	National Day
18	Zimbabwe	Independence Day
26	Tanzania	Union Day
27	Sierra Leone	Republic Day
27	South Africa	Freedom Day
27	Togo	National Day
29	Israel	National Day
30	Netherlands	Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Beatrix

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New heads of mission

Agostinho Tavares da Silva Neto
Ambassador of Angola



Mr. Tavares da Silva Neto joined Angola's foreign ministry in 1977 after completing studies at the Karl Marx Institute in Luanda. Much later, he would also complete a degree in international relations at the University of Brasilia.

But before that, he held several governmental positions. In 1982, he was head of the department of human resources in the secretary of state for cooperation. In 1987, he was sent to Spain, on his first foreign posting, as an administrative attaché. In 1997, he moved on to India, where he served as third secretary before returning to headquarters in 2000 as head of the Asia and Oceania department.

From 2000 to 2005, he served as first secretary, and later counselor, at the embassy in Brazil before returning to his former job at headquarters (head of the Asia and Oceania department).

Mr. Tavares da Silva Neto speaks Portuguese, Spanish and English. He is married to Prudence de Sousa Carneiro da Silva and has five children.

Oscar Mauricio Duarte Granados
Ambassador of El Salvador



Mr. Duarte Granados is an academic who came to diplomacy later in his career. After completing studies at the Karl Marx Institute of Economics in Bulgaria, he completed a master's degree in law and social sciences in 2000. A few years later, he received a master's in human rights and education for peace.

Mr. Duarte Granados began his teaching career at the University of El Salvador in 1993. He became deputy dean of the school of law and social sciences in 2003, a position he kept until 2011. In 2003, he also became a member for the council of University of El Salvador and a member of the board of directors of the school of law and social sciences. He has represented the University at the Central American council for integration and has worked, since 2004, as a member of the examina-

tion board for international relations at the university. Between 1998 and 2001, he was a coordinator of assistance for refugees and victims of Tornado Mitch in Usulután, El Salvador.

Mr. Duarte Granados is married. He speaks Bulgarian, English, basic Macedonian and Spanish.

Nam Joo-hong
Ambassador of Korea



Mr. Joo-hong comes to diplomacy through academia. He has a bachelor's degree in political science and international relations from Konkuk University in Seoul, a master's in strategic studies from the University of Aberdeen in the UK and a PhD in political science and international relations from the London School of Economics.

He began his career as a research fellow at Harvard University's centre for international affairs, and then became a professor at the National Defence College. He then worked as a special adviser in charge of security and unification at the national security planning agency and as deputy secretary-general of the national unification advisory council. He then became a professor at Kyonggi University's graduate school of unification and security and later at the same university's graduate school of politics and policy. He added the title of dean of that school in 2003. Between 2007 and 2008, he was a senior adviser to the 17th presidential transition committee and became ambassador for international security affairs at the Korean ministry of foreign affairs and trade in 2010.

Mr. Joo-hong is married with a son and a daughter.

Leslie B. Gatan
Ambassador of the Philippines



Mr. Gatan is a career diplomat who joined the service in 1983, in the office of the United Nations and other international organizations. He spent three years in that job before being posted to Sri Lanka as third secretary and vice-consul. After that, he was posted for five years to Switzerland as first secretary and consul after which he re-

turned to headquarters and became director of ASEAN affairs. His next posting, as minister-counsellor, was to Thailand, where he spent two years before being sent to Italy as counsellor and consul for a year and then to Belgium as minister for another year.

Back at headquarters, Mr. Gatan spent a year as special assistant in the office of the undersecretary for policy before being sent to the United Nations in New York for six years, first as minister and then as deputy permanent representative. He then returned to headquarters as assistant secretary of the office of the UN and other international organizations.

He has a bachelor of arts in political science, a bachelor of business management and a masters in urban and regional planning. He is married to Lydia Debbie Mijares.

Ulrich Lehner
Ambassador of Switzerland



Canada isn't new for Mr. Lehner, a career diplomat who wrote the Swiss foreign service exam in 1981 and joined soon after. Part of his early education took place in Sion, his birthplace and then, for a time, in Toronto before he moved on to study in Geneva. He has a degree in economic and social science from the University of Geneva and a post-graduate diploma in security policy studies.

His first posting, for one year, was to Portugal as an attaché. He then spent a year as third secretary at the embassy in Brazil before being sent as second secretary to the embassy in Norway. He returned to headquarters as an officer in the policy planning branch and later headed the office for peace policy.

In 1991, he went to Rome as counselor for four years and then followed that up with four years at the embassy in Egypt. From 1998 to 2002, he was director of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy and from 2004 to 2007, he headed the political division responsible for international organizations. Prior to coming to Canada, he served for four years as ambassador to France and Monaco. In Canada, he's dually accredited to Bahamas.

Mr. Lehner is married to Federica Lehner Timbal, and has two children. He speaks French, German, English, Italian and Portuguese.

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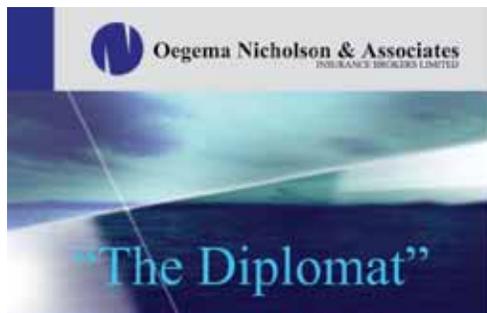
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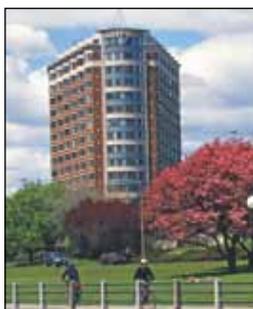
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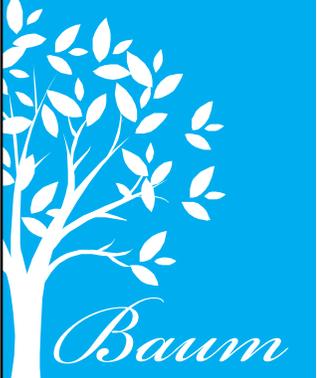
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An overview of the beach at Port Douglas, a surfing mecca.



By *Jessie Reynolds*

Cairns: Days 1-6

As a natural spectacle, North Queensland is comparable to the Rockies in Canada or Death Valley in the U.S. It offers, in other words, a unique experience. On my 14-day tour, I made sure to visit Cairns and Port Douglas before heading south to Sydney.

Cairns (pronounced ‘cannes’) has the towel and postcard stores of many ocean-side towns, but also offers fine dining, a well-maintained boardwalk and various public parks, including a children’s playground straight out of Tim Burton’s imagination.

The Hilton Cairns is an ideal base for your North Queensland visit. It’s close to ocean, city and esplanade. The restaurant, Hanuman, provides a great breakfast buffet. (Once we worked through the difference between tomato sauce and ketchup — there is none — and the difference between a latte and flat white — again,

they’re the same thing — I very much enjoyed my early morning meals.) By night, Hanuman transforms into a fine Indian restaurant with dishes of amazing variety. When it comes to wine, be ready anywhere in Australia for pages of menus listing only Australian wine by region, and rightly so. (Aside from a slightly acidic edge, the house wines are generally quite good.) Hanuman has a winner in an Australian Sauvignon Blanc, Salitage Treehouse (2008).

The Hilton offers fantastic service, both in terms of dining and front desk and concierge staff. They are incredibly knowledgeable, friendly and happy to direct you to off-the-beaten-track dining, shopping and bar options. They also will accommodate requests, no matter how unusual. Harder pillow? Not a problem. Store your bags for a day, three days after you checked out? Of course. Still, if you want water with lunch, or a morning coffee, be ready to ask at least two different people

and to wait for between 10 to 20 minutes

Spend one day walking the boardwalk. It might take only an hour or so to go from start to finish, but stop at some of the restaurants, shops, cafés (which make truly excellent coffee) and the numerous gelato shops, and the day will race by happily.

The boardwalk also covers the resort and yacht club area, then past local bars and stores, and the uniquely-shaped (and very large) public swimming pool. It could easily belong to a five-star resort and looks out over the ocean to the mountains

Several tours leave from Cairns to the Great Barrier Reef and nearby rainforests. I recommend skipping the Ocean Spirit dinner cruise. The boat stays in the harbour, traveling in slow circles, and doesn't provide views any better than had it stayed moored to the pier. Many of the best tours depart from Port Douglas, an hour north of Cairns.

A short drive from downtown Cairns — “hire” a car, take the bus or hail a cab — is the A.J. Hackett Cairns bungee jumping company. If you aren't the sort to try it, they also operate a gigantic swing that sends horizontally prone patrons zooming down a huge arc at incredible speeds. If you are more of an observer, or need some liquid courage, they also have a well-stocked bar and make a mean white Russian.

Also close to Cairns is the Kuranda cable-car and railway. The company's website (www.ksr.com.au) has extensive information about travel options. Allow at least six hours for both legs of the trip. I opted for the cable-car going one way and for the railway on the return. The cable car takes you to Kuranda via two stops in the jungle at which you can take a guided tour, explore on your own, or just find a place to lean and look at the beautiful waterfalls.



Cairns (pronounced 'cannes') offers fine dining, a well-maintained boardwalk and various public parks.



Located in Far North Queensland, 2,400 kilometres north of Sydney, Cairns and Port Douglas serve as base camps for visitors to Australia who want to scuba dive in the Great Barrier Reef and who want to trek in Daintree National Park, a World Heritage site famous for its lavish biodiversity.

Kuranda is a somewhat charming — and distinctly friendly. Go through town towards the amphitheatre and you will pass entrances to very beautiful jungle walks (of varying degrees of difficulty). Coming from eastern Ontario, I'm used to walking carelessly through forests. In North Queensland, it's safest to operate on the assumption that everything is poisonous: spiders, caterpillars and plants. Wear closed-toe shoes whenever you're leaving a town or city and carry bug spray, even if you're there in the Australian winter.

The Kuranda jungle paths take you past ancient trees, plant-filled valleys, streams gliding over shallow waterfalls and along riverside pathways. If you take the cable car into Kuranda and the railway back, you see more than if you use one transportation method round trip. The cable car affords an amazing view of Cairns, the ocean and the nearby mountain ranges. The train takes you around heart-pounding sharp corners beside a mountainside cliff and through several tunnels.

The train station is directly beside the main shopping centre in Cairns that offers anything you might need (towels, local gifts, clothing, boomerangs, etc.). Note that most of the shops in Cairns close at 5:00 p.m. and only the night market (featuring mostly trinkets, T-shirts, on-site massages, leather hats and overpriced local opal jewelry), which is near Cairns' central bus station, is open for shopping after hours.

It seems that everything closes early due to the mass exodus to restaurants and bars. Cairns, in the downtown core, caters to backpackers and a somewhat younger demographic. So be ready for noise if you go into town and leave the boardwalk.

If you want a few minutes of solitude, kick off your shoes, walk along the boardwalk to the public pool, dip your feet in the water and enjoy the breeze coming off the ocean — and then head to the patio at Villa Romana Trattoria for a flat white. Sitting there in the sun, sipping coffee and writing my postcards was the perfect way to say goodbye to Cairns after a wonderful week.

Port Douglas: Days 7-9

Port Douglas is a much more natural escape than Cairns. It's the gateway to the Great Barrier Reef, the Daintree National Park and many other natural attractions. There are fewer backpackers and less feeling of evening excess. That's not to say that there isn't a thriving nightlife, though. Some of the restaurants and bars in Port Douglas are the most popular in the entire region.

No matter where you're staying downtown, take a morning walk towards Four Mile Beach and you've basically mapped the whole town. You can orient yourself using the one main street, the marina and Four Mile Beach.



Our writer, scuba diving near the Great Barrier Reef, where she also found this clown fish.



JESSIE REYNOLDS

If you can, stay near the town's main street or near Four Mile or opt for one of the many inclusive apartment residences. These often have pools, kitchenettes, in-room laundry facilities and patios which are great for enjoying your homemade pina colodas and margaritas. The Port Douglas Queenslander has one of the best rates, an excellent central location and, despite a lack of some common amenities (shampoo, extra towels, evening service and an office that closes at 9 p.m.), it's a good option if you're staying for more than a few days. I found myself appreciating the laundry machines as you will certainly use all your towels at least twice a day.

You will find grocery marts that provide ingredients for a fantastic meal. This

comes in handy when you're ready for a break from the astronomical prices of a meal in Port Douglas, and Australia, in general. (Comparisons are easy as the Canadian and Australian dollars are roughly equivalent.) A plate of pasta? \$30. One small scoop of gelato? \$5. One side garden salad? \$15. Having said that, make sure you head to 2 Fish for the barramundi dinner. Tell the restaurant's Nick that Gerhard — a local tour guide who recommends the place — sent you.

For breakfast every day, I walked to the Beaches Café on Four Mile Beach. The owners are fantastic and will make whatever you want if they have the ingredients. Show up before the 8:00 a.m. rush and get your breakfast to go, walk 10 meters to the beach and sit on the golden sand to enjoy

your breakfast and (heavenly) cappuccino.

The tourists of Port Douglas disappear between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. — due to the numerous one-day adventures on offer. Try the scuba diving day at the Great Barrier Reef with Poseidon Tours. Buses pick you up at your hotel (regardless of where you're staying in town — be out front or be prepared for the honking horn when the driver arrives). We were on the boat by 8:30 a.m. and ready to start diving (after a very in-depth and humour-filled lesson) by 10 a.m. when we arrived at the reef. Alternatively, you can snorkel above the reef.

John De Boer, who's been diving for more than 20 years, was our leader. He took all the stress out of the experience and did everything he could to make it memorable. I recommend doing all three available dives. Each site is different. We visited one site with cliffs of reef that made you feel as though you were parasailing rather than scuba diving. The sheer size and the presence of sea turtles, sharks (smaller reef sharks, though we were told to be diligent in looking for larger sharks nearby and to head towards the bottom of the reef if we did see one) gave it a prehistoric feel. Another dive was a shallow underwater hill with more sand and colorful fish (including Nemo). By the last dive, you're a seasoned pro and can enjoy taking underwater pictures.

Either bring your own underwater camera or rent one of their high-quality underwater Canons for \$55. The advantage of renting the camera on board is that they can simply swap your camera's memory card and return it to you afterwards. They also offer a fairly impressive lunch.

If you're doing a half-day tour, or are taking a day off from tours just to relax, rent bikes to tour the city, shop in Port Douglas or head 20 minutes out of town to Silky Oaks for afternoon tea. It's a gorgeous (but not conveniently located) resort near Port Douglas. The entrance is framed with tall, beautiful, windblown sugar cane plants.

The local community of Mossman, a city close to Port Douglas, relies on sugar cane for much of the region's employment. With a decrease in production over the past few years, the sugar refinery in Mossman is innovating and has recently registered a patent to use different, fibrous parts of the plant as a natural sweetener. The sugar-farming community works as a cooperative, using a railway that circles the cane fields and harvests an equal portion of each farmer's plantation so no

individual farmer is affected by daily price increases and decreases. Also, local farmers are planning to grow cocoa, vanilla and sugar cane, a combination they say makes this area unique as the only one to grow the main ingredients for purely locally made chocolate.

After a day at the reef, or fishing, dry off and go visit the other natural wonders in the area, such as Daintree National Park. Take a look at the many pamphlets, which seemingly are on every flat surface in the town, or just sign up with BTS Tours. They're flexible (I called at 6 p.m. for a tour for the next day at 8 a.m. without a problem.) Their Daintree Rainforest tour starts off with a very informative jungle walk which takes you past ancient trees. Tour guides place the age of one of them at somewhere between 600 and 1,200 years. Aside from just being in the rainforest, hearing the silence (many of the animals are nocturnal) and feeling small and awestruck, keep your eye out for gigantic spiders — and take in babbling brooks heading down into deep valleys, towered over by the huge sun-stealing trees that form the rainforest's canopy.

The Daintree National Park is a UNESCO World Heritage site and has certainly earned this honour as the world's oldest continuously living rainforest. Locals and tourists take good care of it, including those few residents who live (without electricity connections and using only generators) on the Daintree side of the Daintree River, which you reach only by ferry.

After a jungle walk, BTS took us to see Al, the operator of the only Daintree River boat cruise. The cruise was a lovely opportunity to put on more bug spray and enjoy



Daintree National Park, a UNESCO World Heritage site.



The entire city of Sydney is peppered with amazing shopping and dining.

the breeze coming off the ocean.

Al talked mostly about the importance of the mangroves (around 30 of the world's 60 varieties exist in the Daintree area) and why preservation of this unique tree is necessary to the ecosystem in the area. He also spoke quite a bit about crocodiles, which seems to be a common pastime in Australia's north. All of the locals have at least one story about their pet being eaten, seeing one while out fishing or warning tourists to take the threat seriously. On the cruise, Al pointed out several logs which turned out to be four-meter crocodiles. Used to the sound of his boat (a glorified tin can), they would swish their gigantic tails and swim alongside us for a few minutes before heading back to the river's edge to wait for an unsuspecting pet, tourist or wild pig.

After the boat tour, we headed to the BTS campsite. With a small natural clear water pond at hand, we canoed and swam ("don't worry about the eels, they're more scared of you than you are of them") while our guide prepared lunch — fantastic barbecued Australian lamb (and fish and vegetarian alternatives) with several other side dishes, including coconut rice and a fresh fruit salad.

After lunch, we toured Cape Tribulation ("Cape Trib"), Cow Bay and, of course, a gelato shop. The beach at Cape Trib is a large, gorgeous semi-circle of pale sand and a very shallow decline into the ocean. At the very least, take your shoes off and walk along the surf (being mindful

of the crabs that are hidden just below the sand's surface).

Sydney: Days 10-14

Sydne is like a more-southern Vancouver but bigger (population: 4.5 million) with more varied neighborhoods and crazy, crazy driving.

There is so much to do that you need at least two weeks to see it all. In my five days, I managed a sort of "must see" list, but did miss a few.

Downtown Sydney is divided into sections. Circular Quay is a harbour-front region. Its ferries will take you to well-known Manley and other ocean-side suburbs of Sydney. The ferry is a cheap and fantastic way to get views of the city, the famous Opera House and Harbour Bridge. Darling Harbour contains the downtown skyscrapers and much of the dining and nightlife in the city. The Rocks, the first settled area in Sydney, has many historical buildings and higher-end artisan stores. Kings Cross is the city's red light district which, during the day, at least, is interesting. Further afield are Manley and Bondi, the latter of which boasts the world-famous surfing beach.

The entire city is peppered with amazing shopping and dining. At Sushi Rio in Darling Harbour, the chefs stand in the middle of a bar fitted with an electronic sushi train. They'll tell you what's in each roll that makes its way past you and will also make sushi to order. It was fantastic

and one of the cheaper meals I had in Sydney, at around \$40.

A city walk through downtown offers architectural explorations with museums, churches — make sure to see St. Andrew’s Cathedral after dark — and the Queen Victoria Building (a shopping centre).

The Sheraton Four-Points hotel is very well located in Darling Harbour, a 15-minute walk to Circular Quay, the Rocks and downtown shopping. It offers fairly good rates and is part of a trusted hotel chain. Due to Sydney’s prices, you might consider a smaller boutique hotel. Make sure to check the online specials for the large chain hotels downtown. I was offered a “free night” coupon. The Sheraton’s breakfast buffet is fantastic. Or, equally time-saving is McDonald’s and enjoy the Mates Brekkie Box, if only to have a chance to reflect on the subtle language differences between Australia and North America. Professor Henry Higgins would surely be fascinated. (They have lackies, we have elastics. They have a long black and we have a coffee. Something suspicious to us is suss to them.) Another cuisine tip: La Renaissance Café and Patisserie, where the fruit custard tart and French custard layer pastry will make you wish you had

skipped lunch and headed right to dessert. This conveniently located eatery at the Rocks should be on the cuisine bucket list of all Sydney travelers.

As many tourists do, I headed to Bondi Beach for a day of surfing. Let’s Go Surfing offers group and private lessons and is the only school to operate on the famous beach. It is so famous, in fact, that the lifeguards are featured on their own TV show. The water, year round, is quite warm, but be ready for chilling winds if you are suiting up in the winter, as I was. We had the beach to ourselves and after some good instructions and lessons, I was able to get in some real surfing. And the feeling is unbelievable.

After surfing, head to Gould Street for great Bondi shopping when you’re ready for a break from the main street’s tourist beach shops. Don’t miss Abode for unique gifts and jewelry and Gusto Espresso Bar when you need some energy. Having eaten my way across the east coast of the country, I was pleased to finally find an edible salad in Australia. Le Paris Go, a charming café filled with locals, has an amazing grilled halloumi cheese salad.

Getting around Sydney is quite simple if you’re willing to try the bus system.

Just make sure to buy your tickets from convenience stores as many routes don’t sell them on the buses themselves. It’s a great way to get back and forth to Bondi and it takes you through several parts of the city that you wouldn’t otherwise see. The city also has an efficient monorail and train system.

Back downtown, I headed for the major shopping area. There are three or four large shopping centres side-by-side downtown. They range from big box stores to high-end malls filled only with luxury-priced boutiques. If you’re looking for a different shopping experience, visit Paddy’s Market or Paddington — both are an experience.

After shopping what else is there to do but head out for an excellent lamb dinner? Adria Rybar & Grill in Darling Harbour served a combo dinner (if you’re seated between 6 and 7 p.m., you get a glass of house wine, a main course and dessert for \$30.) The sticky date pudding was fantastic. If you’re looking for something quick and fun, head to Pancakes on the Rocks (in Darling Harbour). They have unusually good prices compared to their neighbours.

At 8:30 a.m., the first Hop On Hop Off city tour bus arrives at the Sydney aquarium. Next, get off at the Opera House to have a glass of wine at the Opera Bar (try Bantry Grove’s 2009 Chardonnay), walk over to the nearby gardens and then hop back on until you’re ready to catch the other bus to Bondi.

For something special on my last night, I walked around the harbour and ended up at Nick’s, the premier seafood restaurant in the city. The prices were totally unreasonable, but the food was unparalleled. While bug salad might not sound appealing, it is actually a slightly sweeter and lighter version of lobster and provided the culinary highlight of the whole trip. The shared seafood platter (complete with lobster, mussels, oysters, calamari, john dory, king prawns and blue swimmer crab) was the scene stealer at most tables, creating both a tower of seafood and also a fun and romantic mood for couples sharing the dish.

From its Barrier Reef to its mountain-of-seafood supper, Australia invites a traveler to memorably experience a unique part of the world through the senses — on a truly grand scale.

Jessie Reynolds lives in Toronto and works as an analyst with Barrick Gold Corporation’s Security and Crisis Management Group. She travels whenever she can.



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