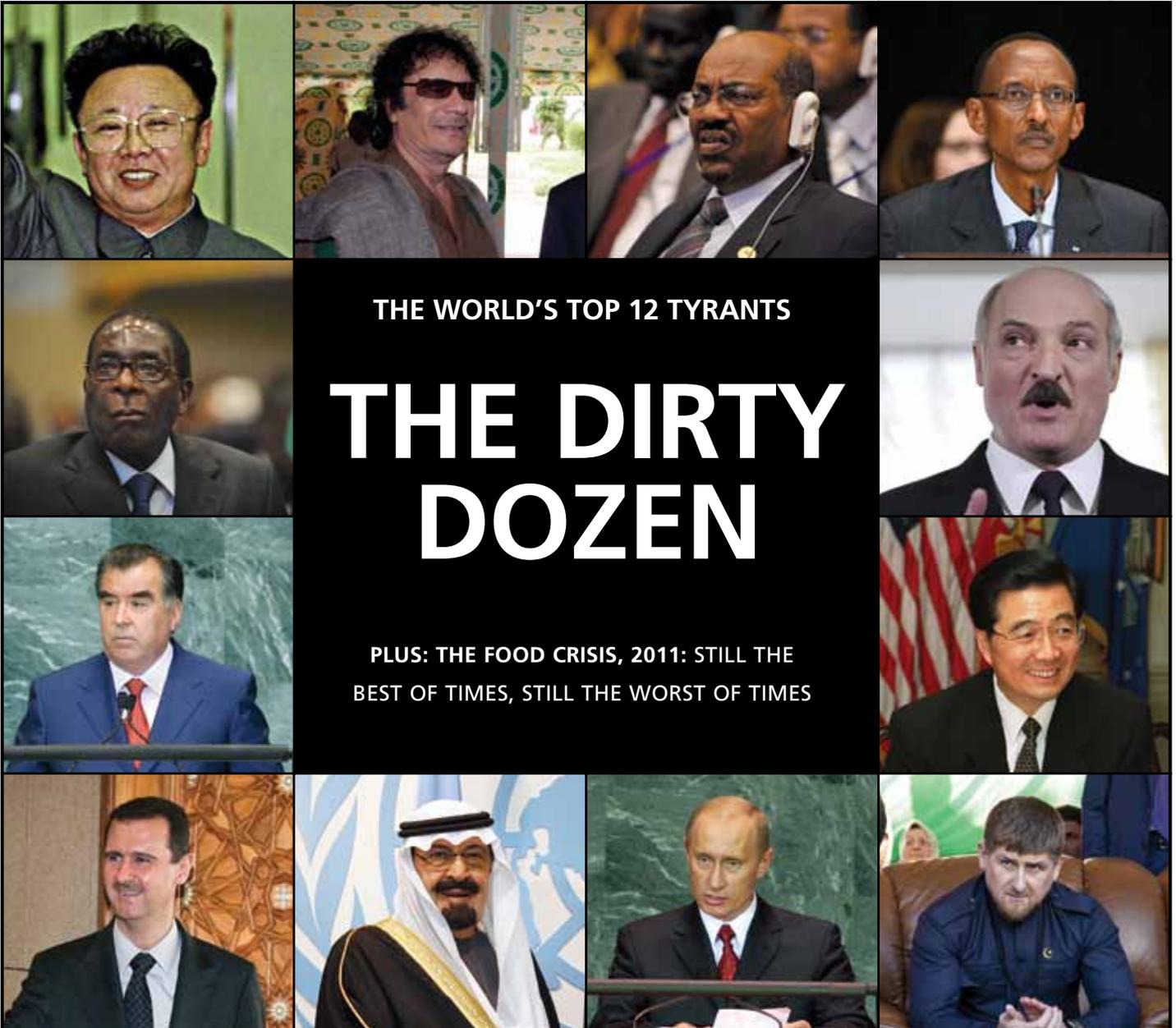


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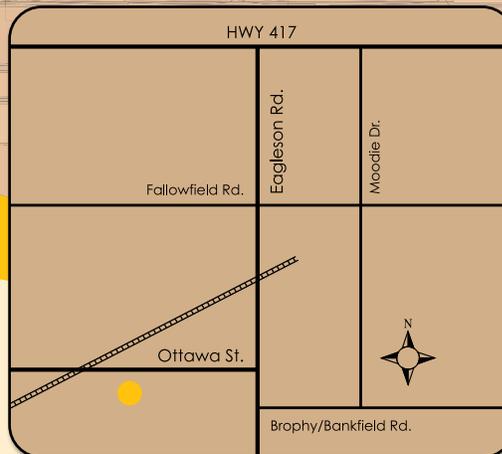
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Table of CONTENTS

DIPLOMATICA |

Letter to the Editor: On tree-planting in Ontario 10

Verbatim: Cartoons from the Middle East after bin Laden 11

Nuclear power in the Fukushima era 14

Sudan: The world's newest country 16

NATO 3.0 — an alliance with staying power 18

The Visegrad Group: Europe's other military alliance 20

Good deeds: Turkey shares its treasures 23

Diplomatic Agenda: Japan's ambassador on rebuilding 24

Trade Winds: Austria and Ukraine on trade goals with Canada 28

Questions Asked: Protocol chief on an amazing career 30

DISPATCHES |

The Dirty Dozen

The world's 12 worst dictators 34

The Arab Spring and what should grow from it 42

World Food Crisis

One billion hungry people: reasons and remedies 44

FAO hunger map — geographical breakdown 50

The most severe food shortages, by country 52

Security: Former CSIS agent on Canada's vulnerabilities 54

DELIGHTS |

Books: Roy MacLaren memoir and other good books 56

Canadiana: A history of royal visits to Canada 62

Entertaining: How dinner stacks up 64

Summer whites shine 66

Residences: The venerable Earnscliffe 67

Envoy's album 71

National days listing 79

DIGNITARIES |

New arrivals in the diplomatic corps 76

DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS 80

DESTINATIONS |

Portugal: Affordable, delectable and romantic 88

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JENNIFER CAMPBELL

The world's worst dictators

Events in the Middle East and North Africa continue to reshape that part of the world. The previously unimaginable events — throngs of people protesting authoritarian regimes, demanding freedom — raised an obvious question. Which tyrants remain in power, and which of those would qualify as the world's worst?

Doctoral scholar and journalist Wolfgang Depner answers that question in our cover story. In what he is calling *The Dirty Dozen*, he lists them all — from North Korea's Kim Jong-Il to Chechnya's Ramzan Kadyrov. Find this piece and an overview of the situation in the region by David Kilgour, former secretary of state for foreign affairs, beginning on page 34.

In addition to the despots, our Dispatches section examines the world food crisis. Seasoned journalist Don Cayo takes readers through the complex issue that for at least one billion people, boils down, quite simply, to hunger. In the same

section, intelligence expert David Harris looks at how Americans could assess Canada's security risks, and details some compelling reasons to be concerned.

Up front, in our Diplomatica section, we have cartoons from Middle East newspapers, columnist Fen Hampson's take on NATO's future, and global strategist George Friedman's predictions about another military alliance. We also have a look at the situation in Japan, written by Japanese Ambassador Kaoru Ishikawa, who tells us how Japan can — and will — rebuild after the devastating Miyagi earthquake and subsequent tsunami.

In *Delights*, books editor George Fetherling reviews a memoir by Roy MacLaren, diplomat-turned-politician who has, most recently, been chairing the Canada Europe Roundtable for Business, a body that's been lobbying for a trade deal between the EU and Canada.

Our history piece, by Laura Nielson Bonikowsky, salutes the royal tour of Prince William and his bride, Catherine, by looking at royal visits past. In a similar nod, residences writer Margo Roston takes us to Earncliffe, the home of British High Commissioner Anthony Pockock and his wife, Julie. Food writer Margaret Dickenson, meanwhile, serves up a stacked dinner — the subject of one episode from her new television series. Wine writer Pieter Van den Weghe pours some delightful whites from the new world and, in our travel section, Portuguese Ambassador Pedro Moitinho de Almeida takes us on a guided tour of his country.

CONTRIBUTORS Wolfgang Depner



Mr. Depner, 38, is currently pursuing his doctorate in interdisciplinary studies at the University of British Columbia-Okanagan, Kelowna, B.C. His research interests include international politics, Canadian politics (federalism) and comparative politics with a focus on European, primarily German, affairs. He holds a bachelor of arts (geography/history) from the University of British Columbia and a masters of arts in journalism from the University of Western Ontario. He was born in Sighisoara, Romania, which he left with his family in 1976 for (West) Germany. He came to Canada in 1988 and currently lives in Summerland, B.C.

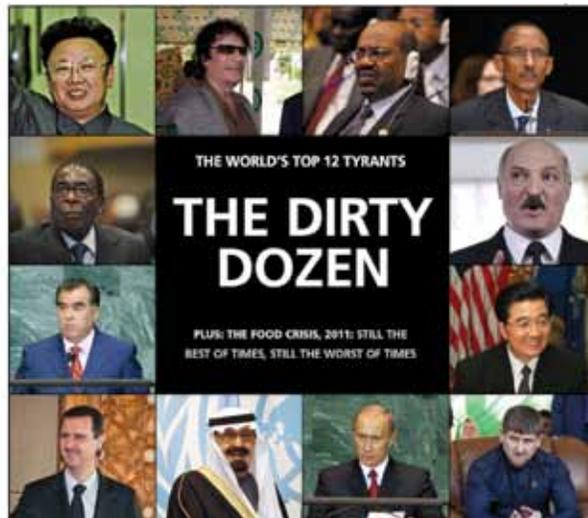
David Harris



A Canadian lawyer with 30 years experience in intelligence affairs, David Harris served with CSIS in 1988-1990. He left the service to found INSIGNIS Strategic Research Inc. and to establish its intelligence program, where he works today. He has testified on numerous occasions before U.S. congressional and Canadian parliamentary bodies dealing with security issues, and has consulted with intelligence organizations in Canada and abroad. A frequent presence in national and international media, Mr. Harris served as counsel representing an official intervenor organization at the Air India Inquiry and the Iacobucci Internal Inquiry, two federal commissions reviewing Canadian national security-related matters.

UP FRONT

Our cover illustration, shows all 12 of the world's worst dictators beginning, at top left, with No. 1 Korea's Kim Jong Il. Clockwise from there: Libya's Moammar Gadhafi, Sudan's Omar al-Bashir, Rwanda's Paul Kagame, Belarus' Aljaksandr Lukashenko, China's Hu Jintao, Chechnya's Ramzan Kadyrov, Russia's Vladimir Putin, Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah, Syria's Bashar al-Assad, Tajikistan's Emomali Rahmon and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe.



Greening the Right of Way: Increasing public safety and air quality across Ontario



Thank you to *Diplomat* magazine for raising the important issue of tree planting in Ontario. *Urgently needed: billions of trees, Lost Legacy*, Winter 2011 issue).

Protecting our environment is a key priority of the McGuinty Liberal government and, since being elected in 2003, we have put in place strong environmental legislation to make Ontario a greener and healthier place to live.

As an environmental advocate and Minister of Transportation, I am committed to finding and investing in sustainable transportation alternatives that will reduce our emissions and improve road safety across Ontario.

As your article noted, the decline of tree planting in Ontario began with the NDP and Progressive Conservative governments from 1993 to 2003. In 2007, the McGuinty Liberal government committed to plant 50 million trees by 2020, the most ambitious program of its kind in North America. In partnership with Trees Ontario, the program is a part of the United Nations Billion Tree Campaign.

At the ministry of transportation, I'm pleased to announce that we are investing more than \$2.5 million over five years to plant more than 1 million trees along our busiest highways as part of the Greening the Right of Way program.

The initiative will improve highway appearance, reduce the effects of climate change, improve air quality and increase driver safety by reducing the hazard of drifting snow. This spring (2011), approximately 200,000 trees were planted across Southern Ontario from Ottawa in the east to Chatham in the west.

Our most recent safety data shows that Ontario has the safest roads in North America. In order to maintain our safety



record, we have planted trees as a natural snow barrier — including more than 5,300 Norway spruce along the Highway 402 corridor east of Sarnia to prevent instances of drifting snow. [The focus of this planting was the north side of the road along sections that received the most serious snow load in winter 2010/11, which resulted in Highway 402 being closed from Strathroy to Sarnia].

In addition, our Liberal government has made major investments in clean energy and green infrastructure to keep our environment green and sustainable for generations to come.

Since 2003, we've invested \$10.8 billion in public transit, the largest investment in a generation. We've committed over \$1.9 billion in funding for transit to Ontario municipalities and as a result ridership has increased by nearly 100 million trips — removing 83 million car trips from our roads.

There is more work to be done. Our government will continue to make the environment and investments in green

technologies a priority. Again, I would like to express my gratitude to *Diplomat* magazine for your advocacy and bringing awareness of these important environmental issues with your readers.

Kathleen Wynne
Ontario Minister of Transportation

2011 TREE PLANTING

Trees planted through the ministry of transportation-Trees Ontario partnership during the spring 2011 planting season:

Eastern Region: 85,019 trees
Central Region: 84,049 trees
Western Region: 15,381 trees

Ottawa-area plantings:
3,600 trees at Hunt Club Road & 416
10,000 trees at Bankfield Road & 416
2,600 trees at Dilworth Road & 416

From the Middle East: On the death of Osama bin Laden and on the Arab Spring

Political cartoons from Iran, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Qatar, Kuwait, Algeria, Jordan and London



"Osama Bin Laden" - A rotten tooth removed from the world's mouth. *Al-Watan* (Saudi Arabia), May 3, 2011



Bin Laden's second-in-command, Ayman Al-Zawahiri, is next. 'Okaz (Saudi Arabia), May 4, 2011



Ahmadinejad says "no to suppression of peaceful protests" while stepping on the corpse of "Tehran", *Okaz* (Saudi Arabia), March 18, 2011



Iran plays with rubik's cube of "sectarianism", *Al-Watan* (Saudi Arabia), April 20, 2011



Saudi king rules with U.S. force. *Fars* (Iran), April 10, 2011



Ahmadinejad encourages "Freedom" in "Arab world" while holding his own people prisoner. *Al-Mustaqbal* (Lebanon), March 2, 2011



"Saudi army" massacres Bahrainis holding signs reading: "Here I am, Hussein", *Fars* (Iran), April 7, 2011



Iran's "espionage": Extending the hand of peace with a spy up its sleeve. *Al-Sharq* (Qatar), April 4, 2011



Iran calls for peace while pouring gas on the flames of conflict. *Al-Jazira* (Saudi Arabia), April 1, 2011



"Sa'ud family and Gulf Cooperation Council" spill Bahrainis' blood, tell "Iran": "Don't interfere". *Fars* (Iran), April 10, 2011



Al-Qadhafi's reign of death. *Al-Jarida* (Kuwait), February 23, 2011



"bin Laden's death" - coffin holding "Osama bin Laden" bridges gap between Obama and path to "a second term". *Al-Shurouq* (Algeria), May 4, 2011



Gadhafi plays as Libya burns. *Al-Watan* (Saudi Arabia), February 24, 2011



"Iran" breaks pool balls of "Middle East" with bomb. *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (London), April 6, 2011



Gadhafi – dictator of blood. *Al-Dustour* (Jordan), February 24, 2011



Obama emerges as hero after U.S. kills bin Laden. "Obama Stallone, star of the latest American action film, 'The night Bin Laden was caught'". *Al-Dustour* (Jordan), May 3, 2011



The green book used by a mercenary shooting the Libyans. *Al-Watan* (Saudi Arabia), February 22, 2011



Iran sticks its nose in Bahrain while condemning gulf states for interfering there. *Al-Watan* (Saudi Arabia), March 22, 2011

Nuclear power: When morality melts down

By Paul McKay

"One of the characteristics of the nuclear industry is stringent regulation. In 2002, the Japanese regulator severely penalized its largest nuclear operator, Tokyo Electric Power Company, for falsifying certain documentation. All 17 of its reactors will shut down in 2003 for inspection, while one unit will be removed from service for one year as a penalty."

This obscure note in the 2002 annual report of the Canadian-based uranium exporter, Cameco Corporation, now has chilling relevance in light of the Fukushima nuclear crisis still unfolding.

It is not only because the inept and nearly insolvent nuclear utility, TEPCO, has been a customer of Cameco for almost four decades. Nor because the Fukushima reactors were almost certainly burning Saskatchewan uranium when the partial meltdowns occurred.

Rather, the special significance is that Cameco's management received explicit warnings in 2002 that TEPCO was falsifying key safety reports — then continued to not only ship it uranium but to subsequently enlist TEPCO as Cameco's partner to co-develop a rich new Canadian uranium property.

It planned to be partners for decades more. Mere days after the Fukushima accident, Cameco's CEO assured TEPCO it would impose no contract penalty for short-term uranium supply reductions, and stated that Cameco's faith in a global "nuclear renaissance" remained undiminished — even as its share price plunged.

Mr. Grandey (who retired in June) was joined by other fission fundamentalists in Ottawa, Washington, London, Paris, Moscow, Delhi and Beijing, who cited differences in their country's reactor size, design, age, manufacturer and models to bolster public confidence. These claims were made as the cores at three Fukushima reactors were still partially melting, and as spent fuel assemblies were emitting lethal beams of neutrons through gaping holes caused by hydrogen explosions.

These assurances came six weeks before the first robots could enter the damaged reactors, before the main cooling systems could be re-activated, before regional Japanese farmers and fisherman had their livelihoods shattered due to



escaping radioactive contaminants, and before TEPCO conceded that it might take a decade to bring all the reactors to cold shutdown, entomb them in a concrete sarcophagus, and de-contaminate the devastated prefecture (the Japanese equivalent of a municipality.)

These "it-can't-happen-here" pronouncements by other nuclear-dependent countries were not merely premature. They occurred before the accident was even over, and thus pre-empted the elementary engineering and scientific precepts that, logically, one must draw lessons only after cold, sober study. More importantly, the atomic apostles failed to acknowledge the crucial similarities among all power reactors world-wide, the common bio-hazard posed by long-lived reactor wastes and the proliferation peril embedded in the proposed global nuclear expansion plans they simply could not pause to re-consider.

Cameco serves as a case in point. It supplies uranium for CANDUs in Ontario and New Brunswick, but also different reactor models in Japan, China, South Korea, France, the U.S. and a dozen other countries. In the best of all possible outcomes, every reactor Cameco supplies with uranium fuel over several decades will never have a Fukushima accident.

Yet, the neutron furnace in each civilian reactor will create more than 200 deadly fission products, some of which will remain lethal for hundreds of centuries. As Fukushima and Chernobyl demonstrated, many of these radioactive particles often mimic elements essential to the human body (and other animals), and bio-accumulate in the environment.

Over years and decades, they can silently, invisibly execute seek-and-destroy attacks on adjacent cells in bones, teeth, muscle tissue and organs. Especially vulnerable are women of child-bearing age (whose life-stock of ova can incur genetic damage which can be transferred to future generations) and children (who constantly produce new cells susceptible to damage).

These are facts of physics and biology. All reactors of all makes, models, sizes and country of origin produce long-lived, lethal wastes. They are so deadly that even a one-percent escape rate could harm the human gene pool.

Currently, these wastes are stored in cooling pools such as those at Fukushima or Ontario's Pickering complex, or in concrete canisters. But no country in the world has yet developed a proven, safe, publicly endorsed disposal method or location. That is precisely why the Fukushima spent fuel was on site — because Japan does not have any nuclear waste disposal site. Nor does Canada, the U.S., Germany, France, India or China.

All these existing and pending nuclear wastes will also contain plutonium which is always created during the nuclear fission process. Besides being a deadly occupational hazard, and a particularly insidious emitter of alpha radiation which collects in lung and muscle tissue, it is a potential atomic bomb ingredient.

Plutonium is essentially indestructible, and has a half-life of 24,400 years. This means it will take 240 centuries for plutonium's mass (and the related public health or proliferation risk) to reduce by half.

Currently, the world inventory of plutonium being stored at civilian nuclear plants like Fukushima is about two million kilograms. A typical atomic weapon requires 10 kilograms of plutonium. A "dirty" weapon, which can be delivered by a suicide bomber in a single-engine Cessna or even on a bicycle, requires about 20 kilograms of plutonium.

An additional 70,000 kilograms of plutonium is created each year by the world's non-military power reactors. These reactors collectively produce about 5 percent of global energy demand. Doubling that output to 10 percent would double the annual mass of lethal reactor wastes and create enough plutonium to produce 14,000

plutonium bombs per year.

Canada currently exports some 7.3 million kilograms of uranium annually. Obviously, a doubling of global uranium demand will delight shareholders of companies such as Cameco, and those of its partner, TEPCO. Rival companies such as French-owned Areva are poised to open new uranium mines in Nunavut and Niger. Russia has reactors and uranium it wants to sell. They are banking their future on a vaunted “nuclear renaissance.”

These commercial imperatives and pressures may explain why Cameco not only ignored TEPCO’s past flagrant falsification of reactor safety reports, but interpreted the related penalty TEPCO received as proof of stringent regulation. Cameco is also apparently unconcerned about that fact that every ounce of its uranium inevitably is transmuted into deadly spent fuel wastes, like those at Fukushima, which will pose risks for centuries. Nor about the proliferation perils embedded in its exported uranium. Nor does this seem to trouble its commercial rivals.

But these should be troubling issues for Canada’s foreign affairs, trade and consular corps and those of their counterparts in other world capitals. Many will be deeply conflicted, because their governments have invested enormous amounts of financial capital, and political prestige, into fostering a “nuclear renaissance.”

But if the moral dimensions of this trade are not acknowledged and accounted for, then it must be admitted that ethics are being discounted to zero, that more Fukushimas are likely, and that the production of more latently lethal nuclear wastes and plutonium will accelerate.

This dilemma has a parallel with Britain’s wrenching 19th-Century debate over whether to abolish the slave trade. It essentially forced a choice between deeply entrenched but immoral commercial conduct, and defending human beings whose own worth had been discounted to zero.

Perhaps those who fought for abolition could not imagine a future society worth cherishing, one which had ethics embedded in its scriptures but not in its enterprises. That historic lesson applies again. But this time, it pertains to a form of commerce without conscience which puts at risk — essentially forever more — everything humans cherish most.

*Paul McKay is an award-winning investigative reporter, and author of **Atomic Accomplice: How Canada Deals in Deadly Deceit**. See www.paulmckay.com for details.*



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South Sudan celebrates independence, but old conflicts threaten world's 196th nation

By Justin Laku



UN PHOTO

The new country of South Sudan faces formidable problems, including the fight for control of Abyei, pictured here.

On July 9, the Republic of South Sudan celebrates its first day as a national entity — the world's 196th nation and Africa's 51st. The celebration comes after decades of war and ethnic conflict with the North. Parades and prayers, speeches, a soccer game, and party time after dark will mark the day. It's all scheduled for Juba, the new national capital. On hand will be diplomats who have supported South Sudan's struggles in recent decades.

But the new country faces formidable challenges. Fighting for control of Abyei, a strategic town in disputed oil-rich territory, broke out in late May between northern and southern Sudanese forces. As well, there is tension among the citizens of the new southern republic over whether power should rest in Juba or be distributed across 10 states in a federation.

Voters expressed an overwhelming wish for separation from Sudan itself in a referendum in January. But in recent trips to Juba, I witnessed weakness of institutions and of government, the evils of corruption, tribalism — too often the stand-in for democracy and good governance

across Africa — nepotism, favouritism and other forms of discrimination.

The new country has a (probably underestimated) population of about eight million, but there has been no census for many years in a country of civil war and population upheaval. Those millions of people are largely black, some Christian, some following indigenous beliefs, and have been dominated by a largely Arabic, Muslim north — a recipe for decades of strife.

Those holding the power in Khartoum, the northern capital of the "old" Sudan, engaged in war and genocide rather than sharing power with those whose religious, social, political and ethnic traditions were different from their own. This conflict pre-dates the regime of President Omar al-Bashir [eighth on our cover story featuring the "Dirty Dozen"] who came to power in 1993, and was only partly diminished after the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the largely Muslim north and the largely Christian south.

To avoid a repeat of this dreadful history in the new country, South Sudan should have a federal system of govern-

ment rather than a concentration of power in Juba. The federalism debate goes back a long way. Even before Sudan gained independence from Britain in 1956, a conference in 1947 in Juba — attended by local leaders and senior British officials — advised a federal future. But the northerners suspected the southerners of desiring separation, and the southerners suspected the northerners of wishing to dominate the south. As a result, the idea of a federal system of governance went nowhere.

But the conference brought the Southern Sudanese together for the first time into a political bloc. They started seeing themselves as Southern Sudanese and not as Dinka, Nuer, Zande and Bari.

Southern Sudanese remembered the statement of Aggrey Jadein, a graduate of the British colonial education system and the colonial administration, who left Sudan in 1957 to organize anti-government movements. He proclaimed: "The future of Southern Sudanese people will be determined by the next generation to come," and his statement gave Southern Sudanese a determination to fight for independence right through to the 2011 referendum.

But in the short run, Jadein's statement was followed by Sudan's first civil war. It ended with an agreement at Addis Ababa in 1972, giving South Sudan regional autonomy and promises of international aid, as well as financial assistance from Khartoum. But development — in forestry, livestock, town and village planning, health and education — did not take off. Poor lines of communication in the South, lack of money and the northern focus of Sudan's president, Jaafar Nimeiri, brought most projects to a halt.

The tactical objective of Mr. Nimeiri in signing the Addis Ababa agreement was to have the Southern rebels surrender their arms. Then, within two or three years, the North could tear up the agreement and continue with its agenda without a Southern military threat.

As a result, a second phase of civil war started in mid-May 1983 and ended with signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Kenya in January 2005 between the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) in the South, and the Khartoum regime in the North. This peace was achieved partly by pressure from regional neighbours Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Eritrea in the Intergovernmental Authority on Development.

The peace was long overdue. A 23-year war had taken more than two million lives and displaced more than six million people. And violence continues to spill over into the country from conflict in Uganda to the south and around Abyei in the north.

Nation-building in such circumstances hinges on whether the SPLA/M will share its power and apply real federalism in partnership between Juba and the 10 *wilayah* (states or provinces) that make up the new nation, an idea proposed long ago in Juba itself. For the last six years of semi-autonomy, there has been no such decentralization of power. The central government in Juba is supposed to formulate policies and the states are supposed to implement them, but this has not happened.

Nor has there been any sharing of natural resources in a country where oil has begun to edge out agriculture as the main economic engine. The country's president, Salva Kiir Mayardit, most of the cabinet, as well as deputy ministers, attorneys general, and senior police and military officers are from the Dinka tribe, the country's largest.

The Dinka have suppressed other Southern Sudanese tribes instead of shar-

ing the power — just like Arabs from the North did before 2005 — under the slogan of "Dinka Born to Rule."

The political scene is dominated by the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM), which emerged from Sudan People's Liberation Army, the main armed revolutionary group. There are close to a dozen other parties, including some from other military factions.

Despite the military influence, there has been progress, some of it with support from Canada. The Canadian Friends of Sudan's health care project equipped 13 clinics with medical supplies and equipment. The Friends supplied medical textbooks for three libraries at Juba University's school of medicine, the Juba Health Institute and the city's teaching

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hospital. There are plans to supply medical equipment, especially for physiotherapy, and more medical textbooks.

The NGO's "Schools for South Sudan" project hopes to build schools across the 10 states of the new nation and to provide teaching aid from Canada to support them. State governors have promised transportation, security and accommodations for teachers who come to help out. Governors have also established a diaspora secretariat to connect with overseas South Sudanese who wish to return, and to encourage Canadians to invest in the South.

Canada's former ambassador to Sudan, John Schram, has pointed out that the estimated 40,000 Sudanese diaspora across

Canada are willing to help with schools and hospitals.

The Friends of South Sudan have established partnerships between Canadian and South Sudan legislators — politicians such as MP Maurice Vellacott, retired MP David Kilgour, Wani Konga, of South Sudan's Central Equatoria State, and Manase Lomole, the minister of education. Their purpose is to demonstrate solidarity in support of democracy and good governance in the new country.

But much has to be done in South Sudan itself. First, a democratic and truly federal system of governance should be adopted. Recruitment, training and promotion within the army and security agencies should reflect the country's regional balance and national characteristics. We need collaborative governance and reconciliation. Without it, the 63 or more tribal groups will almost certainly rebel against the South Sudan government because it's not inclusive.

ABOUT OUR WRITER

Justin Laku is a Sudanese-born Canadian, raised in Sudan and educated in Sudan, Egypt, Germany and Canada. He has written widely on African affairs generally and on the role of the African diaspora in development there. He is the founder of the Canadian Friends of Sudan, a non-profit NGO promoting peace and development in Sudan. In 2005, he was the co-ordinator of a Canadian fact-finding visit to Khartoum and Darfur, and took part in meetings between Canadian and Sudanese MPs, Sudan's vice president, African diplomats and internal Sudanese refugees.

He is the founder of South Sudan Community Association of Ottawa-Carleton, and has served as a member of the Ottawa Carleton Immigrant Services Organization, the United Nations Association of Canada's Ottawa branch and was founder of the Kilimanjaro Students Association at University of Ottawa.

Mr. Laku is currently an MA candidate in development and mission studies at St. Paul University in Ottawa. He has served as an adviser to Canada's Secretary of State for Latin America and Africa, and taught cultural awareness at Canada's Royal Military College in Kingston.

NATO is neither dead nor dying

The Cold War alliance manages a global reach



FEN OSLER HAMPSON

Lord Ismay, NATO's first secretary-general, once wryly observed that the purpose of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was to "keep the Americans in, the Russians out, and the Germans down." That political logic kept the alliance together during the Cold War and through the many crises it endured from its inception in 1949 until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1990.

In the second decade of the 21st Century, that logic seems increasingly remote for an alliance that is 62 years old. Russia is not the military threat it once was. Although Russia has flexed its muscles on energy exports, and occasionally bullied its neighbours, it was powerless to prevent NATO's expansion, now 28-nations strong. U.S.-Russian relations, which frayed under George W. Bush, returned to a more even keel with Barack Obama's decision to scrap plans to deploy anti-missile defenses in Poland and the Czech Republic and push the "reset" button on the relationship.

The European continent has been transformed from the hostile, military armed camp it was during the Cold War. In 1989, NATO and the Warsaw Pact had 4.5 million armed personnel deployed in the region. That figure has now shrunk to half that size and is falling as Europeans cut back on defence spending.

The Americans are also much less "in" Europe than they were during the Cold War. U.S. forces in Europe have experienced a dramatic reduction from more than 300,000 before the Berlin Wall came down to 42,000 today. And that number will shrink further to 37,000 by 2015.

Just before the turn of this century, Europe struck out on its own to define its security identity with its European Security and Defence Policy. This policy initially



NATO

The ministers and heads of delegation in front of the Brandenburg Gate during NATO's April meeting in Berlin.

focused on military crisis management. It was followed by the European Union's first-ever Security Strategy, adopted by the European Council in late 2003.

Led by Germany, France and Poland, Europeans now want to establish their own civil and military planning headquarters, which will be independent of NATO. The idea was first proposed in 2003 by Germany, France, Belgium and Luxembourg, who were all deeply troubled by the U.S. invasion of Iraq. It was rejected by the United States, Poland, and NATO's Eastern European members on the grounds that NATO would be weakened by such a competitor institution. Since then, however, Poland has come round to the idea that Europe needs its own defence policy and security planning headquarters.

Some commentators believe that NATO has experienced a prolonged identity crisis of existential proportions. Its original rationale as a collective defence pact has eroded. This is reflected in NATO's missions since the Cold War ended. In the 1990s, NATO became an "out-of-area" enforcer when its forces were used to promote security and stability in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. NATO bombing raids against Serbian and Albanian forces in Kosovo were especially controversial not least because they did not have the blessing of the UN Security Council. The mission was defended on grounds that the war in Kosovo constituted an "international humanitarian emergency." Similar arguments were invoked to justify

NATO air attacks against Libya under the "no fly zone" resolution passed by the UN Security Council.

The day after the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks on the United States, NATO for the first and only time in its history invoked the collective defence provisions of Article 5 of its Charter. That decision laid the basis for the NATO-led, ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) mission in Afghanistan. Notwithstanding the participation of more than 40 countries in the mission, many of which were not NATO members, most of the heavy lifting has been done by the United States. The only other NATO members to make a significant combat contribution to the mission have been Britain, Canada and the Netherlands. The Canadians and the Dutch have since withdrawn their combat troops and shifted their efforts to training the Afghan police and military.

In November 2010, NATO released its much-awaited new strategic concept under the moniker "NATO 3.0," although its more prosaic title was "Active Engagement, Modern Defence." In spite of the tech-friendly packaging, not much was new to this pronouncement. The document committed the alliance "to prevent crises, manage conflicts and stabilize post-conflict situations, including by working more closely with our international partners, most importantly the United Nations and the European Union." It also reiterated NATO's long-standing commitment to being an alliance of democratic nations

and to maintaining its nuclear capabilities “as long as there are nuclear weapons. The Euro-Atlantic area faces few direct threats although terrorism, cyber-attacks, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, especially if they fall into hands of terrorists groups, pose a growing challenge. To meet these threats, NATO has pledged to “maintain the ability to sustain concurrent major joint operations and several smaller operations for collective defence and crisis response, including at strategic distance.”

In addition to its continuing role in Afghanistan, NATO's global reach may surprise. NATO played a key role in airlifting African Union troops into the Darfur region of western Sudan and troops from Uganda and Burundi into the Somali capital of Mogadishu to support that country's transitional federal government. Starting in 2008, NATO has established a permanent naval presence off the Horn of Africa in the Gulf of Aden to combat piracy. NATO warships also help enforce an arms embargo against Eritrea, the result of a UN Security Council resolution passed in December 2009.

NATO is clearly not dead, though it does face some major challenges. As the

United States increasingly finds itself cash-strapped by its mounting fiscal and debt crisis, it will invariably be less able to take the lead in maintaining global peace and security. However, it is not at all clear who is going to pick up the slack. NATO's European members confront similar fiscal pressures. As a recent study by the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies points out, “Tight fiscal circumstances over the next five years will require cuts in force levels, capabilities and readiness, as well as deferred procurements, further eroding European military capabilities already suffering from two decades of under-investment.” U.S. Defence Secretary Robert Gates opined just before a meeting of NATO leaders in November 2010, “My worry is that the more our allies cut their capabilities, the more people will look to the United States to cover whatever gaps are created.”

The other big problem is political. NATO's mission in Libya underscores the deep-rooted tensions within the alliance and the fact that some of its members march to a different drummer. While Britain, France, Canada and the United States have used their air power to enforce the no-fly zone, Germany, Turkey and

NATO's Eastern European members expressed deep misgivings about the operation and have sat on the sidelines.

However, NATO has weathered major political storms before. Recall the Suez Crisis of 1956, which almost tore the alliance to pieces, when British, French and Israeli forces secretly colluded to attack Egypt following the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt's President Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. The American president at the time, Dwight D. Eisenhower, felt duped and betrayed, and some NATO members openly called for the expulsion of Britain and France from the alliance.

When General de Gaulle took France out of NATO's integrated military command in 1966, it experienced another major shock. (French President Nicolas Sarkozy recently put France back into NATO's command structure.) NATO also had to deal with recurring tensions on its southern flank between Greece and Turkey during much of the Cold War.

All of which is to say, at 62, it's *déjà vu*.

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



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The Visegrad Group: Europe's new military alliance

By George Friedman

With the Palestinians demonstrating and the International Monetary Fund in turmoil, it might seem odd to focus on something called the Visegrad Group. But this is not a frivolous choice. What the Visegrad Group has decided to do will, I think, resonate for years.

The region is Europe — more precisely, the states that had been dominated by the Soviet Union. The Visegrad Group, or V4, consists of four countries — Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary — and is named after two 14th-Century meetings held in Visegrad Castle, in present-day Hungary, of leaders of the medieval kingdoms of Poland, Hungary and Bohemia.

The group was reconstituted in 1991 in post-Cold War Europe as the Visegrad Three (at that time, Slovakia and the Czech Republic were one). The goal was to create a regional framework after the fall of communism. In May, the group took an interesting new turn when it announced the formation of a “battlegroup” under the command of Poland. The battlegroup would be in place by 2016 as an independent force and would not be part of NATO command. In addition, starting in 2013, the four countries would begin military exercises together under the auspices of the NATO Response Force.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, the primary focus of all of the Visegrad nations had been membership in the European Union and NATO. Their evaluation of their strategic position was threefold. First, they felt that the Russian threat had declined if not dissipated following the fall of the Soviet Union. Second, they felt that their economic future was with the European Union. Third, they believed that membership in NATO, with strong U.S. involvement, would protect their strategic interests. Of late, their analysis has clearly been shifting.

First, Russia has changed dramatically since the Yeltsin years. It has increased its power in the former Soviet sphere of influence substantially, and in 2008, it carried out an effective campaign against Georgia. Since then, it has also extended its influence in other former Soviet states.



Chiefs of defence from the Visegrad Group — Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic and Hungary — meet regularly, as they did here, in Sopot, Poland.

The Visegrad members’ underlying fear of Russia, built on powerful historical recollection, has become more intense. They are both the front line to the former Soviet Union and the countries that have the least confidence that the Cold War is simply an old memory.

Second, the infatuation with Europe, while not gone, has frayed. The ongoing economic crisis, now focused again on Greece, has raised two questions: whether Europe as an entity is viable and whether the reforms proposed to stabilize Europe represent a solution for them or primarily for the Germans. It is not, by any means, that they have given up the desire to be Europeans, nor that they have completely lost faith in the European Union as an institution and an idea.

Nevertheless, it would be unreasonable to expect that these countries would not be uneasy about the direction that Europe was taking. If one wants evidence, look no further than the unease with which Warsaw and Prague are deflecting questions about the eventual date of their entry into the Eurozone. Both are the strongest

economies in Central Europe, and neither is enthusiastic about the euro.

Finally, there are severe questions as to whether NATO provides a genuine umbrella of security to the region and its members. The NATO Strategic Concept, which was drawn up in November 2010, generated substantial concern on two scores.

First, there was the question of the degree of American commitment to the region, considering that the document sought to expand the alliance’s role in non-European theatres of operation. For example, the Americans pledged a total of one brigade to the defense of Poland in the event of a conflict, far below what Poland thought necessary to protect the North European Plain.

Second, the general weakness of European militaries meant that, willingness aside, the ability of the Europeans to participate in defending the region was questionable.

There is another consideration. Germany’s commitment to both NATO and the EU has been fraying. The Germans

and the French split on the Libya question, with Germany finally conceding politically but unwilling to send forces. Libya might well be remembered less for the fate of Moammar Gadhafi than for the fact that this was the first significant strategic break between Germany and France in decades. German national strategy has been to remain closely aligned with France in order to create European solidarity and to avoid Franco-German tensions that had roiled Europe since 1871. This had been a centrepiece of German foreign policy, and it was suspended, at least temporarily.

The Germans obviously are struggling to shore up the European Union and questioning precisely how far they are prepared to go in doing so. There are strong political forces in Germany questioning the value of the EU to Germany, and with every new wave of financial crises requiring German money, that sentiment becomes stronger.

In the meantime, German relations with Russia have become more important to Germany. Apart from German dependence on Russian energy, Germany has investment opportunities in Russia. The relationship with Russia is becoming more attractive to Germany at the same time that the relationship to NATO and the EU has become more problematic.

For all of the Visegrad countries, any sense of a growing German alienation from Europe and of a growing German-Russian economic relationship generates warning bells. Before the Belarusian elections, there was hope in Poland that pro-Western elements would defeat the least reformed regime in the former Soviet Union.

This didn't happen. Moreover, pro-Western elements have done nothing to solidify Moldova or break the now pro-Russian government in Ukraine. Uncertainty about European institutions and NATO, coupled with uncertainty about Germany's attention, has caused a strategic reconsideration — not to abandon NATO or the EU, of course, nor to confront the Russians, but to prepare for all eventualities.

It is in this context that the decision to form a Visegradian battlegroup must be viewed. Such an independent force, a concept generated by the European Union as a European defence plan, has not generated much enthusiasm or been widely implemented. The only truly robust example of an effective battlegroup is the Nordic Battlegroup, but then that is not surprising. The Nordic countries share the same

concerns as the Visegrad countries — the future course of Russian power, the cohesiveness of Europe and the commitment of the United States.

[Of significance] is the willingness of Poland to lead this military formation and to take the lead in the grouping as a whole. Poland is the largest of these

We are in a new era, as yet unnamed, and we are seeing the first breaks in the post-Cold War pattern. I have argued that there is a divergent interest between the European countries on the periphery of Russia and those farther west, particularly Germany. For the countries on the periphery, there is a perpetual sense of



The rising power of Russia, diminishing economic strength of the EU and the divisions in NATO have prompted Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary to refocus their 20-year-old Visegrad Group, formed post-Cold War, towards their own military defence.

countries by far and in the least advantageous geographical position. The Poles are trapped between the Germans and the Russians. Historically, when Germany gets close to Russia, Poland tends to suffer. It is not at that extreme point yet, but the Poles do understand the possibilities.

On July 1, the Poles assumed the EU presidency in one of the union's six-month rotations. The Poles have made clear that one of their main priorities will be Europe's military power. Obviously, little can happen in Europe in six months, but this clearly indicates where Poland's focus is.

insecurity, generated not only by Russian power compared to their own but also by uncertainty as to whether the rest of Europe would be prepared to defend them in the event of Russian actions. The V4 and the other countries south of them are not as sanguine about Russian intentions as others farther away are. Perhaps they should be, but geopolitical realities drive consciousness and insecurity and distrust defines this region.

I have also argued that an alliance only of the four northernmost countries is insufficient. I used the concept "Inter-

marium,” which had first been raised after the First World War by a Polish leader, Joseph Pilsudski, who understood that Germany and the Soviet Union would not be permanently weak and that Poland and the countries liberated from the Hapsburg Empire would have to be able to defend themselves and not have to rely on France or Britain.

Pilsudski proposed an alliance stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea and encompassing the countries to the west of the Carpathians — Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. In some formulations, this would include Yugoslavia, Finland and the Baltics. The point was that Poland had to have allies, that no one could predict German and Soviet strength and intentions, and that the French and English were too far away to help. The only help Poland could have would be an alliance of geography — countries with no choice.

It follows from this that the logical evolution here is the extension of the Visegrad coalition. At the May 12 defence ministers’ meeting, there was discussion of inviting Ukraine to join. Twenty or even 10 years ago, that would have been a viable option. Ukraine had room to maneuver. But the

very thing that makes the V4 battlegroup necessary — Russian power — limits what Ukraine can do. The Russians are prepared to give Ukraine substantial freedom to manoeuvre, but that does not include a military alliance with the Visegrad countries.

An alliance with Ukraine would provide significant strategic depth. It is unlikely to happen. That means that the alliance must stretch south, to include Romania and Bulgaria. The low-level tension between Hungary and Romania over the status of Hungarians in Romania makes that difficult, but if the Hungarians can live with the Slovaks, they can live with the Romanians. Ultimately, the interesting question is whether Turkey can be persuaded to participate in this, but that is a question far removed from Turkish thinking now. History will have to evolve quite a bit for this to take place. For now, the question is Romania and Bulgaria.

But the decision of the V4 to even propose a battlegroup commanded by Poles is one of those small events that I think will be regarded as a significant turning point. However we might try to trivialize it and place it in a familiar context, it doesn’t fit. It represents a new level of concern over

an evolving reality — the power of Russia, the weakness of Europe and the fragmentation of NATO. This is the last thing the Visegrad countries wanted to do, but they have now done the last thing they wanted to do. That is what is significant.

Events in the Middle East and Europe’s economy are significant and of immediate importance. However, sometimes it is necessary to recognize things that are not significant yet but will be in 10 years. I believe this is one of those events. It is a punctuation mark in European history.

George Friedman is CEO and founder of STRATFOR, a geopolitical intelligence and forecasting company headquartered in Austin, Texas. He is the author of recently-published *New York Times* bestsellers *The Next Decade: Where We’ve Been...and Where We’re Going* and *The Next 100 Years: A Forecast for the 21st Century*, which was printed in more than 20 languages.

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Turkish delights and other donations

Every year since 1927, the Turkish people have celebrated in April what they call Children's Day.

On April 23, 1920, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was established and the following year April 23 was declared a national holiday. Six years later, in addition to being the country's national day, it was named Children's Day, an official holiday marked by children's festivals. Children from other countries are invited to Turkey and billeted in Turkish homes for the celebration.

It's an event Turks of all ages love and this year, for the third year in a row, the Turkish community of Ottawa decided to mark it by holding a fundraiser to raise money for children in their new community, so they donated proceeds of more than \$19,400 to the Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario. While it was members of the Turkish community of Ottawa who organized the event, the Turkish embassy was also involved. Indeed, Zeynep Akgunay, wife of Turkish Ambassador Rafet Akgunay, was a member of the organizing committee as were the spouses of a few other Turkish diplomats.

"Since I'm not working (while in Canada), I thought it would be nice to get involved," the English professor said. One of her principal roles was to help the committee scout venues and settle on the National Arts Centre. "Before, we had it at a less-known place and I think finding a place like the National Arts Centre was important. And because it was for Children's Day, we thought it would be nice to have CHEO receive the money."

The event included a silent auction followed by a dinner, fashion show and live auction. The Turkish embassy provided the wine for the cocktail hour and the din-



The Turkish Children's Day gala took place in April at the National Arts Centre. From left: Turkish Ambassador Rafet Akgunay, organizer Lale Eskicioglu, Ms Akgunay and guest, Nilgun Saatcioglu.

ner as well as the first course of the three-course meal, a tasty traditional Turkish dish made of pastry and known as *börek*. She and her husband also donated a dinner for 18, which was auctioned off for the handsome price of \$2,100. Ms Akgunay said the winning bidder was to cash in on her prize at the end of last month.

Fashions were provided by Turkish-Canadian Semiha Cantas, owner of Cantas boutique on Sussex Drive, while a handful

of artists donated paintings to the silent and live auctions.

Event chairwoman Lale Eskicioglu said the embassy provided leadership for the event.

"It was really the community that put on the event but the ambassador's wife got us all together," she said. Organizers presented a giant cheque to CHEO officials at the hospital's annual telethon last month. ▣



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On rebuilding Japan through spirit and resolve



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Tradition. Innovation. These are two very powerful words. One refers to the actions and beliefs of the past that are upheld to the present day. The other looks towards the future, a concept that thrives on new ideas and a desire — for the most part — to make life better. Both tradition and innovation are driven by a relentless “human spirit” and, in my humble opinion, there is no better place than Japan to witness such a strong spirit of a people who have long strived for harmonious balance between the two seemingly contrasting principles.

By the time this article is published, several months will have passed since a powerful earthquake and tsunami struck off the coast of northeastern Japan. Today, my country faces unprecedented challenges as it recovers from the disaster and rebuilds. Prime Minister Naoto Kan referred to the situation as the biggest crisis Japan has faced since the end of the Second World War. Indeed, the spirit and resolve of the Japanese people — which fuelled the incredible post-war economic growth of the country — is once again put to the test.

The earthquake and tsunami have shown us the incredible power of Mother Nature, and the need to strike a balance between nature and mankind. Now, more than ever before, Japan must rely on its tradition of hard work and dedication and access the innovation of its people to move forward.

The Great East Japan Earthquake

On March 11, 2011, Japan was struck by a 9.0 magnitude earthquake, the highest ever observed in my country. A tectonic plate shift 500 kilometres long and 200 kilometres wide led to powerful and

violent tsunamis which created waves as high as 40 metres; their effects were further amplified by a saw-tooth coastline adjacent to steep mountains with countless villages and

municipal offices. We swallow with difficulty the fact that these villages and offices no longer exist. This has made it extremely challenging to assess the damage, and to receive and host rescue and assistance teams from our friends and allies.

In addition to the numerous lives lost, and the many more who have no shelter, the disaster also severely damaged a nuclear power plant in the affected area. The reactors at the Fukushima Dai-ichi plant, which supplied a significant amount of energy for the region and the country, were shut down automatically after the earthquake, but the emergency generators used to cool the heat of the fuel were no match for the 20-metre-high waves of

the ensuing tsunami. The Japanese government, with the assistance of nuclear energy experts from within and outside of Japan, is making progress to ensure a safe and secure shutdown of the plant.

The government of Canada has been tremendously supportive as Japan deals with the various aspects of recovery. Displaced residents of the affected regions are kept warm with Canadian thermal blankets, and workers at the nuclear plant are now equipped with dosimeters and portable radiation survey meters. On April 1, 2011, Canadian Ambassador Jonathan Fried visited the affected region and showed his unwavering support and encouragement for my country. Furthermore, countless Canadians have donated millions of dollars, through the Canadian Red Cross as well as various fundraising events across the country, to assist the disaster relief efforts. This kind of support, displayed by countries throughout the world, has continued to bolster our efforts to recover and rebuild.

The Japanese government has established a framework for reconstruction plans based on three key principles: first, to create a regional society that is highly



A fishing boat sits bizarrely on its side, swept ashore during the massive tsunami that struck this Japanese fishing port. The town was devastated by the 9.0-magnitude earthquake that triggered the tsunami.

U.S. NAVY PHOTO/IC 1 MATTHEW BRADLEY

resistant to natural disasters; second, to establish a social system that allows people to live in harmony with the global environment; and third, to build a compassionate society that cares about people, in particular, the vulnerable.

Rebuilding the affected areas

Almost immediately following the earthquake and tsunami, emergency restoration measures were enacted to restore critical transportation arteries throughout the affected region. According to the Japanese ministry of economy, trade, and industry (METI), major expressways have been restored, the Shinkansen (bullet train) route has resumed operations, and quays of all major ports in the Pacific Coast have been re-opened. Another significant development was the immediate and rapid reconstruction efforts of the Sendai Airport, which was engulfed by the tsunami. On April 13, 2011, the airport welcomed its first commercial flight landing on its runway since the disaster. Incidentally, near the same runway, a local resident used debris from the disaster to write “arigato” (thank you) in large capital letters to express his gratitude to departing foreign military personnel who provided assistance in the region. These were very moving and symbolic occurrences indeed.

This being said, there is a lot of work left to be done. If estimates such as the one provided by Standard & Poor’s are true, the total reconstruction costs could range anywhere from US\$245 billion to US\$612 billion. While it is still too difficult to fully assess the total costs of the destruction, we understand the significant role the Japanese government must play in the reconstruction efforts. To this end, the government recently approved \$48.8 billion for the first phase of the supplementary plan, focusing on restoration work, such as clearing the rubble, repairing roads and ports, restoring farmland, and building temporary housing for the displaced survivors.

As Prime Minister Kan pointed out, however, it is not enough to simply restore things to the way they were before. The threat of future earthquakes and tsunamis must be considered into the redesign and reconstruction of the affected region. To address this perspective, the government has appointed a reconstruction council, led by Dr. Makoto Iokibe, president of the National Defense Academy of Japan and, incidentally, a survivor of a devastating earthquake that hit the Kobe region in 1995.



Ambassador Ishiwaka writes that Canada showed its support when Prime Minister Stephen Harper went to the embassy to sign the book of condolence. The Canadian government donated blankets and equipment, while Canadians donated millions of dollars.

Throughout the reconstruction process, the government will be relying on invaluable partners throughout the world. Following a visit to the affected region, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Japanese Foreign Minister Takeaki Matsumoto announced the establishment of a public-private partnership as part of the reconstruction efforts. While specific details of this plan have yet to be announced, this partnership will undoubtedly encourage cooperation between Japanese and American businesses, think-tanks and NGOs under the broad leadership of the Japanese government.

According to *The Globe and Mail*, many Canadian companies have also taken the initiative to assist with the reconstruction efforts. Several key forestry companies — mostly lumber producers from British Columbia — have joined forces to focus initially on building temporary shelters, and then participate fully in the rebuilding efforts. This is most encouraging, particularly because it is well-known in Japan that Canadian lumber is high-quality and earthquake-resistant.

Realizing the lessons learned and collaborating with our international partners, I am fully confident that the reconstruction efforts will build stronger and safer communities for generations to come.

Future of Japan energy use

The crisis at the Fukushima Dai-ichi nuclear power plant immediately following the earthquake and tsunami once again reminded Japan and the international community of the harsh and unfortunate reality that Japan lacks significant sources of fossil energy. In 2011, prior to the disaster, nuclear power supplied upwards of 30 percent of total energy production in Japan.

Our government — and presumably the global community-at-large — will need to examine the lessons learned from this situation and advance toward more robust nuclear safety. During his visit to Japan on March 31, 2011, French President Nicolas Sarkozy acknowledged a need for further discussion on this matter during a bilateral meeting with Prime Minister Kan.

Furthermore, the government has acknowledged a need to re-assess the current energy policy and to move in the direction of promoting natural and renewable energy including wind, solar, and biomass energy. Another critical aspect of Japan’s energy supply is conservation, in which Japan is considered a global leader. This type of energy policy will not only be better for the environment, but with the power of innovation, it will also fuel growth in the “green economy.”



U.S. NAVY PHOTO

An SH-60B helicopter flies over the city of Sendai to deliver more than 680 kilograms of food to survivors of the earthquake and tsunami. The citizens of Ebina City, Japan, donated the food.

Continuing Japan's economic recovery

The international community and members of the foreign media were most surprised with the reaction of the Japanese people following the earthquake: true calmness. The country's recovery relies on the resilient and strong spirit of the Japanese people, 120 million strong, who are dedicated to their task at hand without a sense of panic or sensationalism.

While the earthquake has certainly affected economic activity in Japan, all major industries were quick to respond to any disruption in supply and production. Companies that had damaged supply factories are using other factories to meet demand. According to METI, most automobile manufacturers have resumed production, while some others are accelerating their production schedule and restoration plans.

Of the total manufacturing industry, more than 60 percent have finished restoration, and less than 30 percent will finish restoration within one to three months. In addition, 80 percent of the processing industry and more than 60 percent of the materials industry have secured alternative supplies of raw materials, components, and parts.

In addition, the Japanese government has partnered with local authorities to establish a support framework to help

small- to medium-sized businesses severely affected by the earthquake or nuclear power plant situation. Consisting of interest-free loans and a new credit guarantee program, this support framework will help bring peace of mind to business owners and their stakeholders through this difficult period.

As we move forward and rebuild, Japan must continue to focus on its overall economic recovery. Many readers will know the term "lost decade" used to describe the economic downturn that Japan faced during the 1990s. Driving this downward trend was the fact that heavy and bulk industries lost their competitive edge. However, this period also saw the creation of many new industries which grew rapidly. Most notably, mobile telecommunications grew 60 percent per year; the development of liquid crystal display, 35 percent; fibre-optics, 20 percent; personal computers, 18 percent, and the list goes on.

When we look even closer at individual companies, we are able to see innovation in action during this lost decade. For example, Japan observed a resurrection of light industry companies such as textile-makers who transformed themselves to become high-tech companies. This sense of innovation and adaptability will push Japan towards positive economic growth.

The "lost decade," however, has had

no impact on the incredible economic partnership between Japan and Canada. Today, more than 735 Japanese-based companies are investing in Canada. Japanese automakers produce more than 740,000 cars yearly which in turn has created more than 65,000 jobs. In fact, the total export value of these vehicles amounts to more than \$12 billion annually.

This invaluable partnership can be witnessed on many different levels. On Jan. 27, 2011, a Japanese-built unmanned cargo spacecraft successfully docked with the International Space Station with the assistance of the Canadian-built CANADARM 2 in space. This event truly symbolizes the potential of our economic and technological partnership.

In February of this year, both Japan and Canada agreed to launch a joint study on an economic partnership agreement. The two parties have had two meetings and more are expected to discuss the intricacies of such an agreement. Japan and Canada will also launch the first sub-cabinet-level dialogue on political, peace, and security cooperation in August. Both initiatives will be invaluable pillars in mobilizing our bilateral relations to the next phase of collaboration.

As ambassador, I am pleased to see our country advance with Canada on these fronts, promoting free trade in accordance

with the World Trade Organization and establishing a prime example of two free market and open economies and societies working hand-in-hand. My humble belief is that this is made possible by the fact that both countries have a long history of participatory democracy, freedom of speech and expression and legal predictability; the latter which I believe is a crucial element for the success of our multi-faceted relationship.

Remembrance

Throughout its history, Japan has faced many challenges. Some were called insurmountable. Others were destined to seal our fate as a nation. In the end, we rose to the challenge and the Japanese spirit fought back. Today, amid the scenes of destruction and devastation, I know in my heart that the people of my country will move forward, recover from this hardship, and rebuild once again to become the vibrant economic and cultural centre of Asia. This is part of who we are. This is our tradition.

However, as we rebuild, we must never forget the lives lost and most vulnerable generations affected by this tragic disaster. For the children who have lost their homes — and in many cases, those who have lost their parents — it is my personal appeal for our government and all of our friends and neighbours to offer them support so that they become contributing members of our global society. Perhaps it will be these children who will grow up and contribute to Japan’s innovative efforts to tackle the challenges that lie ahead.

Furthermore, we must never forget our friends who came to us during this time of need. The words, thoughts, and prayers of all Canadians have created hope and strength to the people of Japan. The generosity of those who gave through the Canadian Red Cross will help the survivors and victims begin a new life. And the support and assistance offered by Canada — symbolized by the words of encouragement offered by Gov. Gen. David Johnston and Prime Minister Stephen Harper in signing our condolence book at the Japanese Embassy — will strengthen the close friendship shared between our two countries.

Perhaps it comes as no surprise that *Japan: Tradition. Innovation.* is the title of this year’s major exhibition held at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Gatineau, Quebec. It runs until Oct. 10 and I invite all readers to visit and see for yourself the wonders of the past, present, and future as Japan begins a new chapter in its history. ▣

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Austria and Canada: An expanding partnership

By Werner Brandstetter



Many Canadians think of Austria as a coveted tourist destination and a country of rich cultural heritage. At the same time, Austria is a highly industrialized country with ever-growing importance in the field of high-tech products. Like Canada, Austria's economy is heavily oriented towards world markets and is export-driven. Austria today is a hub for international companies to do business in the European Union and beyond.

Canada is Austria's fifth-largest overseas market. The volume of bilateral trade reaches close to \$1 billion, with a slight trade surplus currently in favour of Austria. After recent setbacks, the 2010 figures again point to major gains. The growth rates for Austrian exports to and imports from Canada in 2010 lie well above the 20 percent mark.

Austria's exports to Canada cover a broad spectrum of industries. They range from cars and car parts, products of the aviation industry, sophisticated precision instruments, environmental technology, air control and air safety to consumer products like Swarovski Crystals and energy drinks such as Red Bull. (The Austrian company Frequentis, incidentally, has its Canadian headquarters in Ottawa.)

Canadian exports to Austria comprise airplanes, cars and car parts, aluminum, chemical products and electronic appliances, as well as agricultural products, such as, to give one example, lentils from Saskatchewan.

Environmental and energy technology is one of Austria's priorities. The world market for green technology with a volume of US\$1.9 trillion is already larger than the market for mechanical engineering.

In Austria's energy mix, the share of renewable energies is currently at 23.4 percent.

Renewable energy is expected to be

one of the economic engines of the future. More than 400 Austrian companies are active in the field of environmental technologies and some of them have already successfully found their place in the Canadian market. Fronius of Upper Austria has grown to Europe's market leader for solar electronics and is running a subsidiary in Mississauga, Ont. Binder GmbH, a Styrian manufacturer of biomass boilers that takes care of the Canadian operations out of Abbotsford, B.C., has successfully installed its high-end boilers in Yellowknife. And the Upper Austrian company, Scheuch, based in London, Ont., provides the necessary filter devices to keep Canada's air clean.

Austria now also leads the world in the number of energy-efficient buildings per capita. In order to promote Austrian passive house technology, the country will



Austria leads the world in the number of energy-efficient buildings, such as this alpine passive house (above). Below, Fronius' Sattledt headquarters; the solar panel roof supplies 90 percent of the facility's energy needs.

participate at this year's Greenbuild EXPO in Toronto in October, with an Austrian Pavilion showcasing its companies and highlighting its No. 1 position in passive house technology and related products.

We are also focusing on the important sector of telecommunications and software.

The Austrian ICT-sector is responsible for 25 percent of all economic growth and 30 percent to 40 percent of GDP growth. It employs more than 15,000 people.

One example is Frequentis, which has been a successful global player for years and is providing telecommunications technology, out of its Ottawa subsidiary, to the Canadian security forces.

The Austrian commercial section is currently working on a study that aims at assessing the status quo of the Canadian ICT-market and at identifying the vast opportunities this sector has to offer. The study will be presented in October in major Austrian cities to more than 100 companies and industry experts.

It speaks to the sophistication of Austrian technology that some of the most important infrastructure projects of recent years in Canada have been undertaken — or are being undertaken — by Austrian companies in co-operation with Canadian partners. A famous example is the Peak-to-Peak Gondola in Whistler, B.C., the work of the Austrian company Doppelmayr. Another is the 10-kilometre-wide-diameter tunnel underneath the City of Niagara Falls, which is designed to transport river water to the power station and is a project of the Austrian construction company STRABAG.

Other big names in the bilateral economic relationship are Magna, the biggest car parts producer in the world, founded by Austrian immigrant Frank Stronach. Magna maintains its European headquarters near Vienna. Bombardier produces its Skidoo engines in Vienna, as well as its tram cars.

The Austrian Embassy's optimistic outlook for our bilateral economic ties finds additional support in the economic and trade agreement between the European Union and Canada, which is supposed to be finalized early next year. It will be ambitious, well-balanced and in the interest of both countries. It will prove to the world that the principle of free trade is alive and well.

Werner Brandstetter is Austria's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at ottawa-ob@bmeia.gv.at or contact the Austrian Commercial Section in Toronto at 416-967-3348.

Ukraine connects with Canada – past and present

By Ihor Ostash



Ukkraine and Canada have had a history of bilateral relations since Ukraine gained its independence in 1991. And long before that, there was the huge immigration from Ukraine to Canada, which started 120 years ago and led to the deep family and historic ties we have today, with more than one million people of Ukrainian origin living in Canada.

Canada was the first Western country to recognize independent Ukraine on Dec. 2, 1991. Since that time, relations between the two countries have actively developed, and reached a high point last October when Prime Minister Stephen Harper visited our country.

In recent years as well, Ukraine and Canada have made a real breakthrough in economic ties. A good example was the start of negotiations on a free-trade agreement, which was announced when Canada's trade minister visited Ukraine in September 2009. Since that time, we have had several rounds of talks and hope to successfully complete this process in the near future.

Ukrainian statistics record an overall trade between Ukraine and Canada in 2010 of **\$373.2 million in Canadian dollars**. The value of exports from Ukraine to Canada was \$174.4 million and imports from Canada were worth \$198.7 million. A couple of years before the world economic crisis, the value of this trade almost doubled each year, and we are now gradually returning to this growth rate.

Last year, the top Ukrainian exports to Canada were anthracite, fertilizers such as urea, calcium and ammonium nitrate, ferro-alloys, iron and steel (in the form of tubes, pipes, bars and rods), skis, clothing, chemicals (especially paints), wood, tile and other ceramic products, vodka and beer, turbo jet engines and propellers. Canada exported aircraft, frozen fish and

seafood, medicinal products, agricultural and drilling machinery and parts, ethyl alcohol, meat, heat exchange units and chipboard.

Ukraine has 46 million consumers (the largest market in Eastern Europe), a highly competitive, well-educated workforce located at the crossroads of East-West and North-South trade routes. The country has been a member of the World Trade Organization since May 2008.

Ukraine has a major ferrous metal industry, producing cast iron, steel and a wide range of metalware, including pipes. As of 2007, Ukraine was the world's eighth largest steel producer. Chemicals and petrochemicals are another key industry, producing coke, mineral fertilizers, acids and soda. Manufactured goods include metallurgical equipment, diesel

milk products.

After a substantial decline during the world economic crisis, Ukraine's GDP grew in 2010 by **4.2 percent** and industrial output increased by 11 percent. This growth continues in 2011 — GDP in the first quarter of 2011 grew by more than 5 percent. Industrial output increased in January-February by 10.5 percent, compared to the same period of 2010, and exports grew by 46.8 percent. Forecasts are for GDP to grow in 2011 by 4.5 percent, industrial output by 6.5 percent, agricultural production by 2.9 percent and exports by 16.3 percent.

Foreign investors in Ukraine enjoy the same protections for investments and other business activities as domestic investors — there is no nationalization on the horizon. A foreign investor who pulls out has the right to recoup his investment and profits either in-kind or in the currency of the original investment. The government also guarantees foreign investors an unimpeded and prompt remittance abroad of their profits and other sums in foreign currency obtained legally as a result of foreign investments.

In order to facilitate relationships of foreign investors with state bodies and local authorities, the State Agency of Ukraine for Investments and National Projects Management has been established and you can also find useful information on the website of the State Agency of Ukraine for Investment and Development (see <http://www.in.gov.ua/index.php?lang=en>). In addition, there is a database of investment projects in Ukraine sorted by regions on the website of the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade (http://www.me.gov.ua/control/en/publish/category/main?cat_id=50857).

In recent years, Canada and Ukraine renewed the practice of holding bilateral business forums. Let me invite everyone interested to participate in the next one, to take place in Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast, at the beginning of September. I also invite everyone to visit Ukraine as a tourist and to have a look at its marvellous and diverse natural world and its ancient architecture.

Ihor Ostash is ambassador of Ukraine to Canada. Reach him at emb_ca@ukremb.ca or 613-230-2961 ext. 100.



Lastivchyne Hnizdo, which looks like a medieval castle, is a tourist attraction which was actually built in the early 1900s. Meanwhile, agricultural products, such as sunflowers, are a driving force in Ukraine's economy.

locomotives, tractors and automobiles. The country possesses a massive high-tech industrial base, including electronics, an arms industry and a space program, and is a major producer of grain, sugar, meat and

The remarkable career of diplomat Margaret Huber



Margaret Huber, Canada's chief of protocol, comes to the demanding job in the 38th year of her career with Foreign Affairs. That career has included head-of-mission positions in the Czech Republic, Pakistan, Jordan, Iraq and Oman, consul-general positions in Milan and Osaka and postings to Washington, New York and Brussels.

Diplomat talked to Ms Huber just a few weeks before she was to lead her first Northern Tour, an annual trek Foreign Affairs organizes for a rotating number of diplomats and which, this year, took place during the summer solstice. She said she was delighted to be able to show Canada's North to her diplomatic corps colleagues and, in turn, present to people in the North — not only premiers and ministers but First Nations people and new immigrants — the extent of international interest and support for them as they develop the north. This year, in addition to the “black flies, mosquitoes and what-to-wear” logistics briefing, Foreign Affairs held a series of policy briefings on the north, and opened it to all diplomats, not just those joining this year's tour.

***Diplomat* magazine:** What led you to a career in the foreign service?

MH: About halfway through university, I knew I wanted to gravitate towards an international career. I took a year off after completing my undergraduate degree at McGill before doing my master's and I worked for a trading company in Tokyo and that's when I decided I wanted to join the foreign service. At that time, the foreign service had three branches: political, trade and immigration. I was fortunate that I received offers from both political and trade.

After my experience in working for a trade company, trade seemed very interesting to me. My early assignments were all related to trade and trade policy. I think foreign affairs, then, and today, is a wonderful career for someone who is

very interested in international developments and experiences, living abroad, and someone who's willing to make the trade-off, which is that, for long periods of time, you are living out of the country, far from your family and friends. That's a lot easier than it used to be, thanks to Blackberry and Skype and an increased ease for international travel, despite the security precautions we all have to take.

DM: You've had some interesting postings, particularly as ambassador. Can you talk a little bit about your time as ambassador to Iraq?

MH: One of the happier days with my experience in Iraq was when my Blackberry started to work there. It used to be cold turkey for eight to 10 days at a time when I was traveling in Iraq. [When I was ambassador to Iraq], I was actually based in Oman because I had dual-accreditation but then, happily, and still now, Blackberry works in Iraq. That, I must confess, for an addict like myself, is terrific because it also means that when you come back from a business trip, you're not facing hundreds of emails.

Iraq was certainly a fascinating assignment. I think that having an opportunity to present credentials wearing body armour on the way there — that was interesting. I was delighted that over the three years I was accredited to Iraq, security improved dramatically. When I was first going there, it would be on military flights into Bagdad and then you'd take helicopters from the airport in and out of the city, throwing your luggage onto the helicopter with the wheels going. There's a certain adrenaline there but it's also a sign of improvements, much cherished improvements, that Bagdad Airport is now operating like an international airport with flights in and out all the time.

DM: Are you optimistic about Iraq's future?

MH: In the long term, I must say I'm very optimistic about the future of Iraq. It's a country with a remarkable, long, rich past and as a student of history [both of her degrees are in history], I'm thinking



ROGER LABONTE

Chief of Protocol Margaret Huber with Prime Minister Stephen Harper. Ms Huber is looking forward to working with her department's two new ministers — Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird and Trade Minister Ed Fast.

millennia. But it's also a country which is one of the cradles of civilization. In more recent years, it was also known for being an education centre; its universities were renowned. The Iraqi people have enormous talent and resolve to overcome the issues that they have faced and, to a certain extent, still do face. But they're also very fortunate because they also have oil. They have resources — both geological and human — to overcome the challenges and fully rebuild the country.

DM: What about Afghanistan?

MH: Afghanistan is such an interesting country. I had an opportunity to first visit there when I was doing our liaison with the Asian Development Bank many years ago. I also visited Afghanistan when I was high commissioner in Pakistan. It's an enormously beautiful country and

another country with a remarkable past, not only as a centre of the Moguls but also Alexander the Great. In the museums in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, there are artifacts from the Hellenic Kingdoms, which is quite amazing.

DM: So it has lots of history but does it have a future?

MH: We all have a future. It's how we make the future that is a work in progress. Certainly the Afghans I had the pleasure of meeting give me hope that their country has a much brighter future.

DM: In addition to Jordan and Iraq, you've been posted to Washington, New York, Manila, Brussels, Osaka, Milan, Czech Republic, Pakistan and Jordan. That's an amazing career. Which of those postings was the most memorable, and why?

MH: A few of those were training postings. My time in Washington, working with matters related to the World Bank, and then in New York working at UNDP (United Nations Development Program) — that was really in preparation for my time in Manila, doing our liaison with the Asian Development Bank. But yes, I've been blessed with great variety in my assignments and it's certainly one of the aspects of the foreign service life that is, I think, the most seductive. It's the degree of variety, of opportunity to learn so much, whether it was the opportunity to spend two years in intensive Japanese language training, or the opportunity to learn more about the then-burgeoning European Union. When I was in Brussels (1985-1988), it was the EC-nine and now look at them, and it's still a work in progress.

DM: Which posting was the most memorable?

MH: That is a really difficult question. I think it's like asking which of your children you love the most or which of your good friends. Each is so different. Each has special delights. I think for those of us who have the opportunity to live and work abroad, whether in the foreign service or in international organizations, it really puts an onus on us to find out what, in this place where we're privileged to be sitting for whatever number of years, is special or unique. What can I learn or bring to the table? What do they not know about Canada, about the many trade, investment, partnership possibilities? Each place is truly unique and in

each place, you kind of reinvent yourself and how you can facilitate that learning and dialogue.

DM: What was your most memorable meeting and who was there?

MH: Again a tough choice. When I was ambassador to the Czech Republic, one highlight was getting tips on teamwork from Wayne Gretzky, in Prague, for Canada's bid to the International Olympic Committee for the honour of hosting the Winter Olympics in Vancouver. The Great One, who was there as one of a very large delegation, demonstrated outstanding modesty, grace, and charm — and we won on the second ballot by two votes.

DM: When you first entered the foreign service in 1973, was it a male-dominated workplace?

MH: I think that social mores do change. I think that now is a great time for young women — and men — of talent to be seeking opportunities in Canada's foreign service or in other international fields of endeavour. We're so fortunate that there is such respect for diversity.

DM: But what was it like then, as a woman?

MH: You know, I believe strongly that as long as you find ways to connect to people, to be of service in carrying out your responsibilities, you will always find opportunity.

DM: If such a thing even exists, what is a typical day in the life of the chief of protocol?

MH: There is no typical day. That's one of the great things about the job and why I feel very fortunate and lucky to be in this position at this time, working with such a wonderful group of experienced colleagues. The challenges and opportunities that get thrown our way are many in terms of high-level visits, both coming and going, in terms of running the physical operations we have responsibility for, whether it's 7 Rideau Gate [the guest house for visiting heads of state adjacent to the Governor General's residence] or a hangar at the airport for high-level visitors or dealing with an amazing diplomatic corps.

On the diplomatic side, we have more than 8,000 diplomats and their families across Canada whom we interact with and have responsibility for. This includes not only those who are here in Ottawa, and there's a growing number of resident am-

bassadors, but also nearly 500 consulates and other offices across Canada. There's a large group of international civil servants at the International Civil Aviation Authority, so matters may come up demanding your attention on any of the above. Our website shows how diverse is the span of our activities. As someone very new to the position, I must say I feel fortunate to be surrounded by colleagues with such depth of experience. We also work closely with colleagues in protocol at other levels of government. I've been invited to speak to an international group of protocol officers that will take place in Toronto in late July. They've chosen Canada for their gathering.

DM: Do you have any routines that make for a constant in your life? A breakfast ritual, or a workout regimen, for example?

MH: I like to be active and I maintain an active exercise program. I think it gives great stamina and it helps protect against the temptations of too many diplomatic dinners and receptions.

DM: What are your goals as chief of protocol?

MH: To lead, support and then, where

appropriate, get out of the way of an experienced and extremely talented team of protocol experts, including specialists in logistics, hospitality, diplomacy, security, law, coordination and planning.

DM: What was the best piece of advice you received before starting the job?

MH: That protocol is all about respect — at every level.

DM: Can you offer some tips for those just starting their careers in the foreign service?

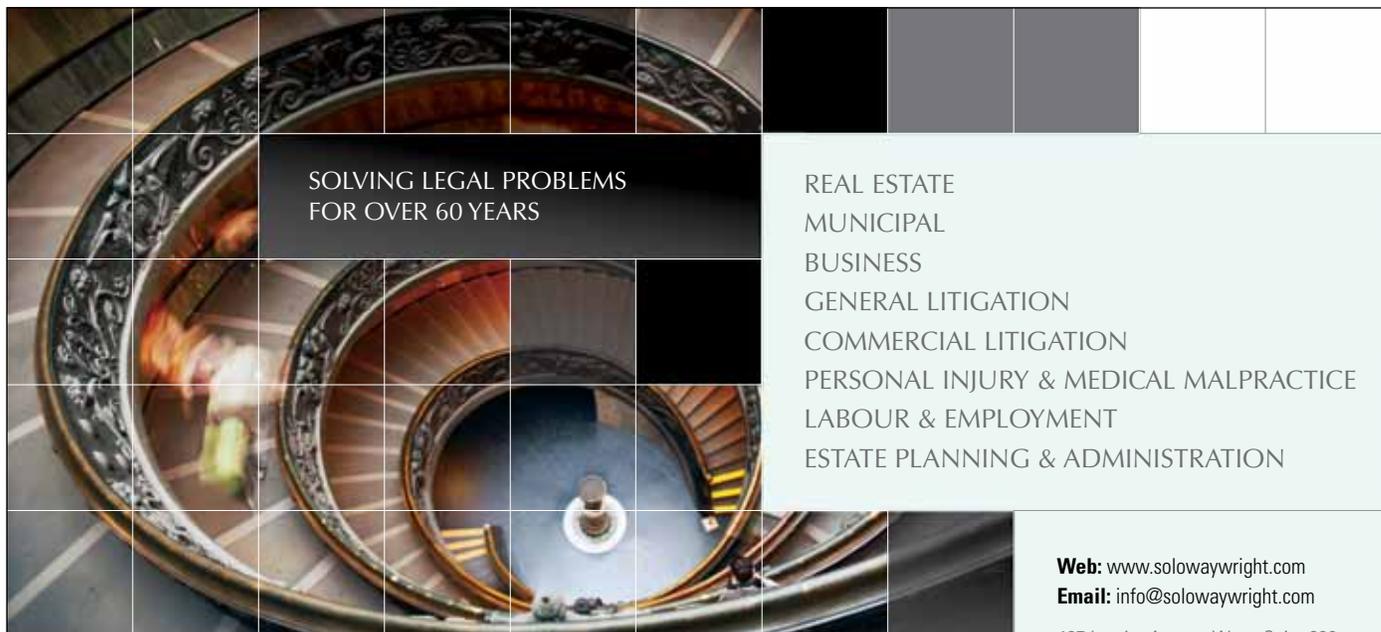
MH: Remember that we are all works in progress, so keep learning, embrace new knowledge, ideas and technology. Respect differences, including difference with those with whom you may not agree: You can learn from them. Stay grounded. Take inspiration and strength from your family, friends and colleagues. When you might otherwise be discouraged, exhausted, disheartened, that's what keeps you going. [And finally], give to others. Whether donating money or time, mentoring, or volunteering, stepping up to the plate is truly rewarding. This is same advice I'm giving tomorrow to 150 graduating cadets and their par-

ents, attending the Royal Canadian Air Cadet Squadron's 48th annual ceremonial review.

DM: Apart from all your interaction with diplomats, you have other protocol duties. How much of your time is spent dealing with the diplomatic corps and would you describe the other parts of your job?

MH: It's hard to say, particularly because I've been in the initial taking-up-of-the-reins period but obviously the bulk of my time is spent with people, either meeting them or making myself available. Whether it's meeting new ambassadors who are arriving, consulting with them on forthcoming high-level visits, whether it's having conversations at diplomatic receptions when they like to take the opportunity to raise matters. That is the most important aspect of the job — the interacting with foreign diplomats here in Canada. But it's also then acting as a link for them with colleagues in foreign affairs, and, as appropriate, in other agencies in Canada, or with our missions abroad.

DM: Is attending all national day recep-



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tions part of the job as you see it?

MH: I do feel it is important to attend, even if only briefly, to honour the country that is investing in a partnership with Canada by having diplomatic representation here. But also, it's an opportunity to meet with other foreign diplomats with whom there are ongoing discussions about various matters of mutual interest.

DM: You've seen a lot of foreign ministers come and go over your 38-year career. Can you name the best one?

MH: I think it's a very exciting time now, with a new foreign minister [John Baird], who I'd not previously met but who made a point of meeting people from the department the day he was appointed. He has also made a point of asking for recommendations on opportunities for diplomatic engagement, and he very much impresses with the vigour and interest and energy he's bringing to the portfolio. The new trade minister [Ed Fast] likewise is very instantly immersed in his files and I've had an opportunity as well to meet with him. I think we're entering a very exciting period and I'm looking forward, enormously, to providing the level of support and service that

we aspire to in the office of protocol for them, and for other important clients, such as His Excellency the governor general and for prime ministerial travel and other priorities.

DM: Not getting a rotating seat on the UN Security Council was a blow to Canada. How do you see Canada's place in the world? Is it slipping?

MH: I think that not having a seat on the Security Council was one door closed at that time but it doesn't take away from the fact that Canada has been, continues to be, and will maintain a very strong presence internationally. One need only look at our activities, not only in Afghanistan, but Libya, in organizations like the G8, the G20. We have a unique role to play and as someone who's spent more of her career outside the country than in, I'm happy to report to you, most honestly, that Canada is very highly regarded around the world, that we are respected. Our engagement, not only in multilateral organizations but also bilaterally, I believe reflects this. Of course, I believe there's more that we can, and doubtless will, be doing. And I look forward to playing my small role in all of this. ▢

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The Dirty Dozen Worst Dictators

As the Arab Spring evolves into an uncertain summer, political scientist **Wolfgang Depner** ranks the world's most menacing tyrants

In the minds of millions, the Arab Spring began on Dec. 17, 2010, with a solitary act of desperate defiance when Tunisian street vendor Mohammed Bouazizi torched himself to protest the humiliating harassment he had just experienced at the hands of corrupt government officials. By the time Mr. Bouazizi died of third-degree burns, 18 days later, he had become a legendary figure, whose singular example inspired an historic revolt in his home country, whose shockwaves then spread, thanks to social media, across the Arab region.

Yet it would be more than premature to declare the Arab Spring a triumph over tyranny. Long-serving Arab potentates such as Tunisia's Ben Ali and Egypt's Hosni Mubarak might be gone, but others are hanging on. The fragile flower of liberty that has broken ground this spring is still unfurling itself before our very eyes and may yet wilt in the toxic atmosphere of illiteracy, religious intolerance and economic stagnation that has turned the Middle East into a fertile ground for despotism.

Even so, no one can deny the historic significance of this moment and this list of the world's current worst dictators has sought to acknowledge this. But it has also tried to remind readers about regimes, which have ransomed human liberties for so long, their countless, untold crimes run the risk of being taken for granted.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

1. NORTH KOREA'S KIM JONG IL

Kim Jong Il appeared frail during the coming-out party for his youngest son and designated successor, Kim Jung Un. As one account notes, the 70-year-old despot had to steady himself along the balcony from which he observed the festivities — but prospects for a stable Korean Pen-



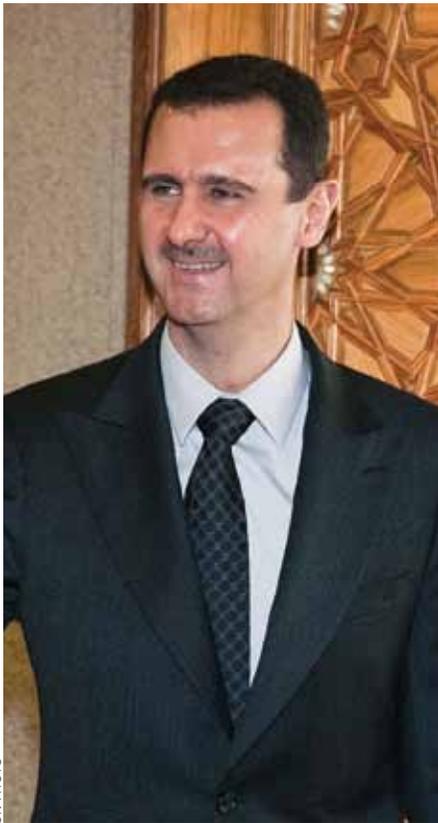
insula are even less steady. It's true that the region no longer teeters at the edge of a cataclysmic war as it did last November when North Korean forces shelled a South Korean island just weeks after the Kims' appearance. But tensions remain high. The reasons behind this latest round of North Korean bellicosity appear unclear. Kim Jong Il might be trying to get the attention of the United States, legitimize his successor, or both. Whatever the reason, Kim Jong Il likely enjoys the attention, even if his Chinese allies might sound exasperated. Yet they also realize the value of his regime, for China fears the unification of Korea. As long as he keeps North Korea hermetic, as long as he pursues policies that numb the minds and starve the bodies of millions, as long as he antagonizes South Korea without pushing things too far, Korean unification remains a distant fantasy. This anti-unification policy, enforced with great brutality and cruelty, is therefore arguably the Dear Leader's greatest crime.

2. LIBYA'S MOAMMAR GADHAFI

Colonel Moammar Gadhafi, the nominal leader of Libya since his military coup of 1969, currently controls little beyond his many self-aggrandizing titles. At this very moment, Gadhafi, 69, is nothing more than the haunted, diminished master of a Tripolitanian domicile that lacks a roof to protect him against the very real prospect of a deliberate, albeit legally questionable, air strike against his life. NATO forces have already aided sneaker-wearing rebels controlling the Cyrenaica and may yet deliver the regime's final death knell. Yet it appears that nothing sharpens the mind of a tyrant more than the possibility of death from above. Gadhafi has turned his remaining military forces, domestic or otherwise, into tools of terror that traverse the confusing battlefields of the Libyan civil war under the cover of human shields, raping and killing civilians whom they suspect of being rebels. Without expecting quarter, they will offer none themselves. But Gadhafi may yet survive in exile. Many of Africa's emerging generation of petty despots have received his tutelage and Venezuela's Hugo Chavez considers him a co-revolutionary.



US DEFENCE IMAGE



UN PHOTO

3. SYRIA'S BASHAR AL-ASSAD

Isolated abroad, Syrian president Bashar al-Assad confronts a multitude of internal enemies in ruling a state whose stagnating economy has long failed to satisfy the aspirations of a youthful but disillusioned society. The list of domestic opponents confronting Assad, who succeeded his late father, Hafez, in 2000 after older brother and designated successor Basil had died in a 1994 car accident, reads long. It includes Kurds, exiled opposition leaders, disgruntled Ba'ath party members, radical Islamists said to speak for Syria's Sunni majority of 70 percent, and potentially, members of his own Alawite family clan. Recent reports suggest younger brother, Maher, has turned parts of the Syrian army into his private militia. Yet this opposition is as divided as it is diverse. Assad, 45, can also count on the undying loyalty of Syria's ruthless security service, a legacy of his father, whose troops killed thousands during the 1982 storming of Hama, a rebellious stronghold. Whether Assad —whose policies have vacillated between unsatisfying reforms and brutal repression — will reproduce this part of the family biography remains to be seen. Do not bet against it though, especially if the Arab Spring continues to threaten his regime.



UN PHOTO

4. SAUDI ARABIA'S KING ABDULLAH

King Abdullah ascended to the Saudi throne in 2005 with the reputation of being a reformer, at least relative to other members of his extended family, including his half-brother and designated successor Crown Prince Sultan. Such hopes received some validation as the 87-year-old monarch initiated several minor reforms that relaxed, albeit slightly, his regime's totalitarian enforcement of the medieval mores and morals that govern Saudi society. But these largely cosmetic changes happened before the Arab Spring toppled dictators throughout the region. Its events have certainly spooked King Abdullah to the point that he has tried to buy off would-be revolutionaries by spending an additional \$36 billion on public services and welfare, a concession to the economics of the current crisis in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia has also directly intervened on the side of the status quo by propping up King Abdullah's fellow Sunni Monarch Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa of Bahrain. Some suggest that Saudis might not have the same steely courage as the Egyptians who occupied Tahrir Square. Perhaps. But this suggestion also says something about the level of fear in Saudi Arabia.



UN PHOTO

5. CHINA'S HU JINTAO

Hu Jintao is due to step down as China's leader in 2012. This timeline means he eventually loses his eligibility for making future lists of this kind. Consider Hu's inclusion, therefore, a reminder of the oppressive regime in which he has been a major player since the early 1990s. Whereas the global use of the death penalty declines, China continues to conduct far more executions than any other nation, according to Amnesty International estimates. Last year, alone, China executed several thousand individuals, many of them for non-lethal crimes and after trials that did not meet accepted standards of jurisprudence. The harsh arbitrariness of the Chinese state during the 61-year-old's reign also appears in the treatment of prominent regime critics such as writer Liu Xiaobo and artist Ai Weiwei. They are the public faces of countless others whom the Chinese state has denied the right to experience freedoms that citizens in western countries take for granted. Yet Hu will likely remain a welcome guest in their capitals. He is, after all, the head of the world's most important emerging economy.

6. RUSSIA'S VLADIMIR PUTIN

Events one decade after then-U.S. president George W. Bush approvingly gazed into the eyes of his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin have revealed the soul of a cold, calculating individual who relishes grand public gestures as he runs roughshod over individual liberties. And yes, we are talking about Putin, who dispensed with such charades, in denuding the thin layer of democratic sensibilities that (once) covered the fossilized remains of the former Soviet Union. Critical local journalists, foreign non-governmental organizations and non-ethnic Russians from the former Soviet Republics, especially if they practise the Muslim faith, have experienced an unprecedented erosion of their personal liberties and safety during the Putin years. They, to be sure, are nominally a memory of the past after Putin, 58, had 'demoted' himself to prime minister in vacating the country's top job for the 'duly' elected Dimtry Medvedev in 2008. But even Russians, who know a thing or two about chess, see Medvedev for what he really is: a pawn.

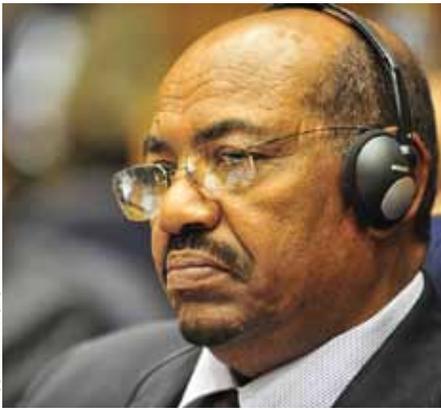


UN PHOTO



7. BELARUS' ALJAKSANDR LUKASHENKO

Observers of Europe's Last Dictator conceded that Belorussian President Aljaksandr Lukashenko enjoys a certain degree of popularity among segments of his population. As genuine as this support might seem, Lukashenko continues to insult the intelligence of his own people and the international community by claiming levels of electoral support in the high 70s percentiles, as he did during the 2010 presidential election, deemed to be irregular, if not rigged like other recent elections. Yet deceptions of this kind rank perhaps among the least deserving reasons for Lukashenko's inclusion on this list. Critical reporters face the possibility of house arrest, exile, or worse under the 56-year-old's rule. A divided opposition, meanwhile, confronts a Soviet-style security service aptly named KGB that rarely refrains from using brutal force in quelling opposition activities. Indeed, fears that the deadly but suspicious April 2011 bombing of the Minsk metro would lead to additional reprisals have proven to be true. Western states neighbouring Lukashenko continue to condemn him, and he continues to treat their threats of tougher sanctions with the sanguine cool of someone who has divided them before, thanks to his strongest trump card: Belarus' status as a transit country for the pipelines that carry energy from Russia — hardly an enlightened state itself — to western Europe. They are the ties that will continue to bind Lukashenko's regime in its current place for the foreseeable future.



US NAVY PHOTO

8. SUDAN'S OMAR AL-BASHIR

Sudanese president Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir owns several dubious distinctions in the domain of international law. In 2008, he became the first sitting head of state to be charged by the International Criminal Court for his role in the conflict that has killed hundreds of thousands in Sudan's western region of Darfur between 2003 and 2010. The charges against al-Bashir — who rose to power in 1989 as leader of a bloodless military coup — include crimes against humanity, war crimes and most seriously, genocide, another historic first for a current head of state. Yet al-Bashir, 67, has continued to travel freely, despite an international arrest warrant. His blatant disregard of criminal charges speaks volumes about the enforcement capabilities of the ICC, particularly in Africa where it enjoys next to no support. But such are the privileges of a tyrant whose militias can murder freely, with the full knowledge that their master can always count on a sheltering hand from Moscow and, increasingly, Beijing, as resource-greedy and scruple-less China continues to invest heavily in sub-Saharan Africa.



US NAVY PHOTO

9. ZIMBABWE'S ROBERT MUGABE

One might expect that Robert Mugabe would be rather fearful of the revolutionary seed that has spread from North Africa. Tunisia and Egypt, for all their respective faults, appear like oases of relative prosperity and sensible governance compared to Zimbabwe, now experiencing its fourth decade of Mugabe's policy-making. Once one of Africa's most prosperous countries, Zimbabwe under Mugabe has become the defining example of an economic basket-case. The fact that millions of his fellow citizens are willing to endure countless hardships as migrant labourers in the countries that surround Zimbabwe speaks clearly about his statesmanship. Yet the 87-year-old ruler remains unfazed. Zimbabwe, unlike its distant North African cousins, lacks a middle class that might have the (relative) means to organize an effective opposition. The challenges of daily survival leave little room for politics. Mugabe also continues to draw on his historical role as one of the leading lights of the de-colonization movement, a role that allows him to blame the West, as he currently does, while he collects signatures to protest sanctions. Mugabe has also shown his insolence by travelling to Europe despite an EU travel ban. His point of entry? The Papal State. The occasion? The recent beatification of John Paul II. While the late Pontiff may never achieve universal sainthood thanks to his opposition of liberation theology in Latin America, few will ever question Mugabe's status as one of the worst sinners of recent memory.

10.**RWANDA'S PAUL KAGAME**

Paul Kagame's presidency of Rwanda has earned him, until recently, praise from western nations, including Great Britain and Canada, which backed Rwanda's successful ascendancy to the Commonwealth. Perhaps they might have been desperate for a success story after the searing memories of the 1994 Rwandan Genocide and their failure to stop the country's Hutu majority from slaughtering some 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Yes, Kagame, 60, has sought to end the ethnic schism that continues to divide his fellow Tutsis from the Hutu majority. He has also received high marks for reforming his country's economy. But Kagame's philosophical commitment to liberalism does not go beyond economics. He outlawed all major political parties except his own ruling Rwandan Patriotic Front to ensure re-election in 2010. Worse, several prominent Kagame critics met gruesome ends leading up to the rigged vote, drawing protests from the United Nations. Kagame — who, according to *The Economist*, might be worse than Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe — has also brought human misery to neighbouring Democratic Republic of the Congo as Rwanda continues to exert influence there.



UN PHOTO



UN PHOTO

11. DESPOTS OF CENTRAL ASIA (FORMER USSR)

The former Soviet republics of Central Asia constitute a distinct bloc of kleptocratic despotism. Whereas the current elites of their former Russian masters go through the (increasingly implausible) pretense of building a modern, western-style state, the despotic elites of this strategically important region at the crossroads between Europe, India and China abandoned such efforts soon after the demise of the Soviet Union. Indeed, they have embraced a political style that dates back to the Brezhnev era of regional despots. However, they are more than up-to-date about recent developments in the Middle East as they step up measures to protect their own regimes. That said, it was hard to pick the worst of the worst. Pictured above, Emomaliy Rahmon, president of Tajikistan since 1994, continues to suppress Islamist insurgents following a civil war that killed about 100,000 between 1994 and 1997. Islam Karimov, who frequently appears on lists of this kind since taking charge of Uzbekistan in 1991, ordered his army to kill 500 protesters in May 2005 in the city of Andijan. All of this makes the current president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Abishuly Nazarbayev, appear enlightened. At least, he had the decency of rigging an early election in April 2011 to create the thinnest sheen of legitimacy.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Hopefully this list will spark debate. In fact, such debate would remind readers that billions of people around the world lack such a precious privilege. This list also aims to inspire some introspection. What role do Western countries play in supporting regimes hostile to human liberties? How can average citizens in Western democracies help fellow human beings who might have never experienced the dignity that comes with freedom, yet yearn for it? Which aspects of the human condition produce the depravities described above? What inspires some of us to reject them? The self-sacrificing actions of Mohammed Bouazizi responded to some of these questions, but we owe him more satisfactory answers.

Wolfgang Depner is currently pursuing his doctorate in interdisciplinary studies at the University of British Columbia-Okanagan, in Kelowna, B.C.



12. CHECHNYA'S RAMZAN KADYROV

Ramzan Kadyrov, president of the autonomous Russian republic of Chechnya since 2007, holds his current post by the graces of his Russian masters, particularly Vladimir Putin. Yet it is obvious that Moscow has blessed Kadyrov's vassalage with a great deal of latitude, something this 34-year-old former pro-Russian militia leader has relished. Reports have linked Kadyrov — said to keep a lengthy Murder List — to the death of several high-profile enemies before and after assuming his current post. This record is said to include the execution-style killing of Russian journalist Anna Politkovskaya in 2006. Kadyrov, who has not shied away from crowing about his accomplishments in rebuilding war-torn Chechnya, particularly its capital Grozny, has also initiated steps that have strengthened the influence of radical Islam in the lives of Chechens. At the same time, he has mused about the benefits of polygamy. Kadyrov has certainly tried to develop a human touch. Like so many dictators before, he has sought to ingratiate himself through sports, hence his recent hiring of washed-up star Netherlands-born Ruud Gullit to coach the country's top soccer team.

The Arab uprising

The West must not misread the Muslim mindset

By David Kilgour



This protest in Saada, Yemen, was organized by the Houthis, a group of Shias who have fought government discrimination.

Events across the Middle East and North Africa appear remarkably similar in causation to what occurred in the 1970s in Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa, and, after 1989, across Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Many outsiders misread the Arab mind and heart as anti-Western, and consequently came to depend on outdated stereotypes, overlooking that it was really about toppling tyrants.

Unemployment, rampant corruption, brutality against dissidents, incompetence — all played roles in each democratization wave since the '70s. What has been termed the "Authoritarian International" has now taken major blows among 340 mil-

lion Arabs, aided by Internet news, Facebook, Twitter and Al-Jazeera, the Arab TV network. Apologists for Moammar Gadhafi, for example, such as Mugabe in Zimbabwe, Chavez in Venezuela and China's party-state media, all look merely self-interested.

Tunisia

The suicide of Mohammed Bouazizi, 26, who was denied by police the right to sell vegetables in the streets of his rural town, sparked protests among Tunisians and across North Africa. The 23 years of indifference by President Ben Ali towards most Tunisians became the key factor in the collapse of his government.

Tunisians have long had a reputation for moderation, education and intellect. The third of the population on-line, including two million with Facebook accounts, created a communications spike, which emboldened aspirations for fuller lives.

Egypt

Hosni Mubarak probably launched the democratic revolution in Egypt when he attempted to have his son, Gamal, nominated as his successor as president. The protests in Tahrir Square were led by an alliance of secular groups. The disciplined efforts to maintain a non-violent opposition inspired the world. The army, gauging

the depth of opposition support and its longer-term interests, stayed loyal to citizens. Mr. Mubarak Sr. now faces murder charges for the deaths of 846 protesters.

As Dennis Ignatius, Malaysia's former high commissioner to Canada, put it: "For more than two weeks, Egyptians took to the streets to demand freedom and an end to decades of tyranny. They were shot at, beaten, bullied and jailed, yet they kept going, numbers swelling with each new attempt to silence them or break their will. They were seeking the same basic rights that the West has always insisted are the birthright of every human being."

Bahrain

The American journalist, Tom Friedman, offers an interesting perspective:

"While Facebook has gotten all the face time in Egypt, Tunisia and Bahrain, don't forget Google Earth. On Nov. 27, 2006, on the eve of parliamentary elections in Bahrain, *The Washington Post* ran this report from [an interview] there: 'Mahmood... said he became even more frustrated when he looked up Bahrain on Google Earth and saw vast tracts of empty land, while tens of thousands of mainly poor Shiites were squashed together in small, dense areas. 'We are 17 people crowded in one small house, like many people in the southern district,' he said. 'And you see on Google how many palaces there are and how the al-Khalifas [the Sunni ruling family] have the rest of the country to themselves.'"

As the protests mounted, King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa shamefully opened fire on pro-democracy protesters, with hundreds reported injured or killed. Under the banner of the Gulf Cooperation Council, Saudis moved troops into Bahrain, claiming it was to counter Iranian influence. In reality, it was to put down democratic aspirations in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia.

Street protests in Tunisia, Egypt and Bahrain helped ignite the ones in Libya, Algeria, Iran, Jordan, Morocco, Syria and Yemen.

Libya

The UN-adopted doctrine of Responsibility-to-Protect (R2P), applicable when regimes turn on their own citizens, is being sorely tested in Libya now; it must succeed.

We know that many more residents of Benghazi, Misrata and other centres would have been slaughtered — hunted from door to door as "rats", according to Moammar Gadhafi — if NATO aircraft

had not attacked his mostly hired-to-kill mercenaries advancing on Benghazi. If Mr. Gadhafi keeps power in Tripoli, he will most probably seek to revert to his "mad dog" role in the Lockerbie bombing and other international terrorism of earlier years. Ways must be found under Security Council resolutions 1970 and 1973 to continue to protect Libyans and to increase pressure on those around the colonel to remove him.

Syria and Yemen

Presidents Ali Abdullah Saleh in Yemen's capital of Sana'a and Bashar al-Assad in Syria's Damascus appear to have learned nothing from the Arab Spring except how to wage unlimited war on fellow citizens. Like Mr. Gadhafi with the International Criminal Court and Mr. Mubarak with Egypt's courts, both should, once toppled, face justice for the cold-blooded murder of more than 1,200 civilians (as of May 26). Canada should impose similar sanctions on Mr. Saleh as already done to Mr. al-Assad. [At press time, Mr. Saleh was recovering in Saudi Arabia from serious injuries sustained in an assassination attempt.]

Democracy Rising

Freedom turns out to be what most Arabs want and are willing to fight for. Too many Westerners presumed that the best course was to work with the petrodictators. It is a potent reminder that all peoples, regardless of culture or religious background, want to be free to pursue their own dreams and to determine how they will be governed. It tells us that we need to put our faith in the innate human desire to escape tyranny.

Jeremy Kinsman, Canada's former head of mission to 15 countries or organizations and principal author of *Diplomat's Handbook for Democracy Development Support*, wrote about the Arab events: "There is no single template for democracy. Each trajectory is different, depending on traditions and states of readiness. To sustain popular acceptance, democracy must deliver other essential outcomes — transparency, fairness, justice and adequately shared economic progress."

For the 22 members of the Arab League — all with large Muslim majorities — a major issue in terms of democratic governance will be how to apply the directive in the Qur'an: "commanding right and forbidding wrong."

When Indonesia, the largest Muslim democracy, held parliamentary elections in 2009, support for extremist parties

declined. Most voters seemed concerned about good governance, jobs and economic growth. Overall, support for fundamentalist parties fell. Similarly, in Malaysia's 2008 elections, most voted for parties that promised good governance. Parties that had purely religious agendas did poorly.

A final word

When Europeans rose against Communism in 1989, Westerners rushed to cheer them on. When Burmese monks led protests against the country's military rulers in 2007, we insisted that the generals must go. When Iran's rulers launched a bloody crackdown on peaceful demonstrators following the massively rigged 2009 presidential election, we demanded that those responsible be sanctioned.

There was no talk of transition. There was no turning to despots to oversee the move towards a democratic future. There was no suggestion that somehow the people pressing for change with their very lives were not ready for better governance. We understood that the transitions, after years of tyranny, would be messy affairs. We expected that mistakes would be made. Democracy is, after all, everywhere a work in constant progress. But we believed that liberty would prevail and that democracy was an unstoppable force.

This is the breakthrough we've been waiting for, a response to radical Islam that we did not dare believe would come. Democracy and freedom are mobilizing Arab peoples virtually everywhere. The West must not choose the safety of the status quo in the guise of "stability."

We must not allow fear of radical Islam to keep us from supporting nascent Arab democracies. And neither should we buy into despots' self-serving sophistry that the only way to contain radical Islam is through dictatorship. There is a better way — the way of freedom and democracy — and that is what peoples throughout the Arab world are choosing. They must not be left to stand alone or wait in vain for the support of free peoples everywhere.

Samuel Huntington's notion of the "clash of civilizations" contains many flaws. One was failing to understand that human dignity is essentially indivisible in today's world.

As Secretary of State for Africa-Latin America (1997-2002) and Asia-Pacific (2002-2003), David Kilgour visited a number of the countries he discusses.

A billion people still go hungry

Globe-trotting journalist **Don Cayo** explains why millions of impoverished people are doing better — and why millions more are doing worse



A Congolese woman receives food at a refugee camp in North Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo.

UN PHOTO

There are people in the world so hungry that God cannot appear to them except in the form of bread.

— Mahatma Gandhi

When men and women feel compelled to bind their midsections tight, tight, tight to try to fool their bellies into thinking they're full, there's not much point in preaching peace. Or democracy. Or living in respect and harmony. Or the rights of women. Or sending the kids, especially the girls, to school. Or any of the many other high-sounding ideals that energize the earnest evangelists of the secular West.

For food is at the core of human existence. And it's getting too expensive for too many human beings — perhaps a billion in all — to get enough to eat.

So this essay doesn't concern itself with the shocking price of organic soy products at Safeway or Loblaws. It's about survival, about living and dying on the margins of life as we in the rich world know it.

The issue of hunger is a complex one, and at its root are factors as many and varied as the peoples it afflicts.

You find it in the most obvious place — in sub-Saharan Africa, the region that persistently lags in every measure of quality of life, where the number of malnourished adults and children exceeds 30 percent. But you find it, too, where you might not expect it — in the economic tiger nations of Asia where millions and millions are doing well, though millions and millions more are not — at least not yet. China and India, those two poster children for the world's fast-growing economies, have populations so vast that, even though they have a fairly small percentage of citizens who remain profoundly poor, they are nonetheless home to 40 percent of the world's seriously hungry people.

Similarly, the reasons people don't get enough to eat are as simple as old-fashioned crop failure, and as complex as geopolitics and the vacillations of the global economy.

In broad terms, hungry masses are found in three sets of circumstances that may have degrees of overlap.

Some people live in places where food production has been disrupted by huge natural or man-made calamities. Haiti, hit by a massive earthquake that was the latest and the biggest in a long string of hardships, is one such place. Iraq and Afghanistan, each wracked by war, are two more. As are Zimbabwe and North Korea, both under the brutal thumb of corrupt

autocrats who've spent decades ruining their economies.

Some other people — and the line separating these from the first group may be thin — live in countries that have totally missed the wave of globalization. Thus they've been left mired in poverty and economic dysfunction, sinking farther and farther behind everywhere else. Much of sub-Saharan Africa, plus a handful of countries in other parts of the world, are in this trap.

Still other hungry people have missed the boat closer to home. Their countries are making progress — maybe, like China



Chef Cat Cora founded Chefs for Humanity, which works with the UN to provide nutrition education, hunger relief and emergency aid around the world. Shown here is the organization's field work in Nicaragua.

and India, they lead the world in poverty alleviation and economic growth. But these people are stuck among the millions and millions of unfortunates, often rural-dwelling and almost always under-educated, whose lives have been untouched by any hint of prosperity.

It may seem obvious that when people are starving or seriously malnourished, no

matter the cause, the humane and helpful response is for better-off countries to send food. Yet food aid has costs for its beneficiaries as well as for the donors. When it comes in such quantity that it disrupts the ability of local farmers to make a living, then the former may outweigh the latter.

Time was when rich countries slyly regarded food aid as a high-sounding way to get rid of gluts, and thus keep prices artificially high in their home markets. This was never shown to be an effective way to bolster farm incomes in rich countries and, thankfully, the practice has waned.

But food brought in from the outside, no matter what the motivation is for sending it, continues to make up a significant portion of global food aid, and it invariably undercuts the price for farm products grown in the receiving nations. Yet, as is demonstrated by the work of Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen and others, famines don't come about because the afflicted regions have run out of food, but rather because the mechanisms to distribute it have broken down. Ironically, it's farmers who often suffer the most. When their own crops fail, they are left with no income and thus no ability to buy replacement food to feed their families until another harvest rolls around — or even to buy the seeds that would give them a promise of another harvest and a shot at getting back on their feet.

So the best short-term response in instances where food aid is warranted is usually for donors to buy food locally and distribute it as efficiently and fairly as they can. This shortens the supply chain, which makes the food aid both faster and cheaper. And it strengthens local markets that are giving hard-hit farm families a much better chance to rebuild their livelihoods and their own and their communities' self-sufficiency.

Finding an appropriate long-term response, however, is much more complex. And the problem of hunger, chronic for some and intermittent for others, is likely to get worse before it gets better for at least three reasons.

Global population continues to grow, and, perversely, by far the greatest increase is in the poorest places — the very countries that can't properly feed the people they have now. You need not subscribe to theories of global population over-running global resources to understand that, no matter how much food technology can produce, it will have to be distributed to and shared by more people. This creates more opportunities — seven billion by

this fall, and 10 billion by the end of the century according to the latest population growth estimates — for individual people to fall into the cracks.

As well, global food prices are, and likely will remain, linked closely to energy prices. No credible analyst expects the cost of oil and its alternatives to be stable for the foreseeable future, but nor is there any evidence the trend price over time will be anything but up.

There is, of course, the prospect that new technology will ease energy prices and/or boost food production. Indeed, in the 300 years since Thomas Malthus famously stewed about whether the global population of one billion in his day would soon overwhelm the earth's resources, technology has wrought a long and steady series of miracles. These have not just saved the world from starvation, but they've also created a hitherto unimagined level of convenience and luxury for at least a third of all seven billion of us who are alive today.

So history gives the world much reason for optimism that we'll see more of the same. And present-day analysis gives much reason why we urgently need it.

Marvelous as modern-day food-producing technology may be, it is not yet sufficiently widespread to do the job. If it were, we wouldn't have a billion hungry people today. Not only is this number growing fast in the hardest-to-feed parts of the world, some key tools and techniques now in use are starting to yield ever-shrinking results.

This has been well understood for years in such areas as the vast swaths of sub-Saharan Africa where, driven by climate change and abetted by over-grazing and poor water management, the desert is encroaching on the well-populated, agrarian Sahel. Or in Haiti where, with its hillsides denuded of once-rich forests as desperate people cut every stick to sell or burn or build with, the loss of topsoil washed out to sea is measured in cubic kilometres per year.

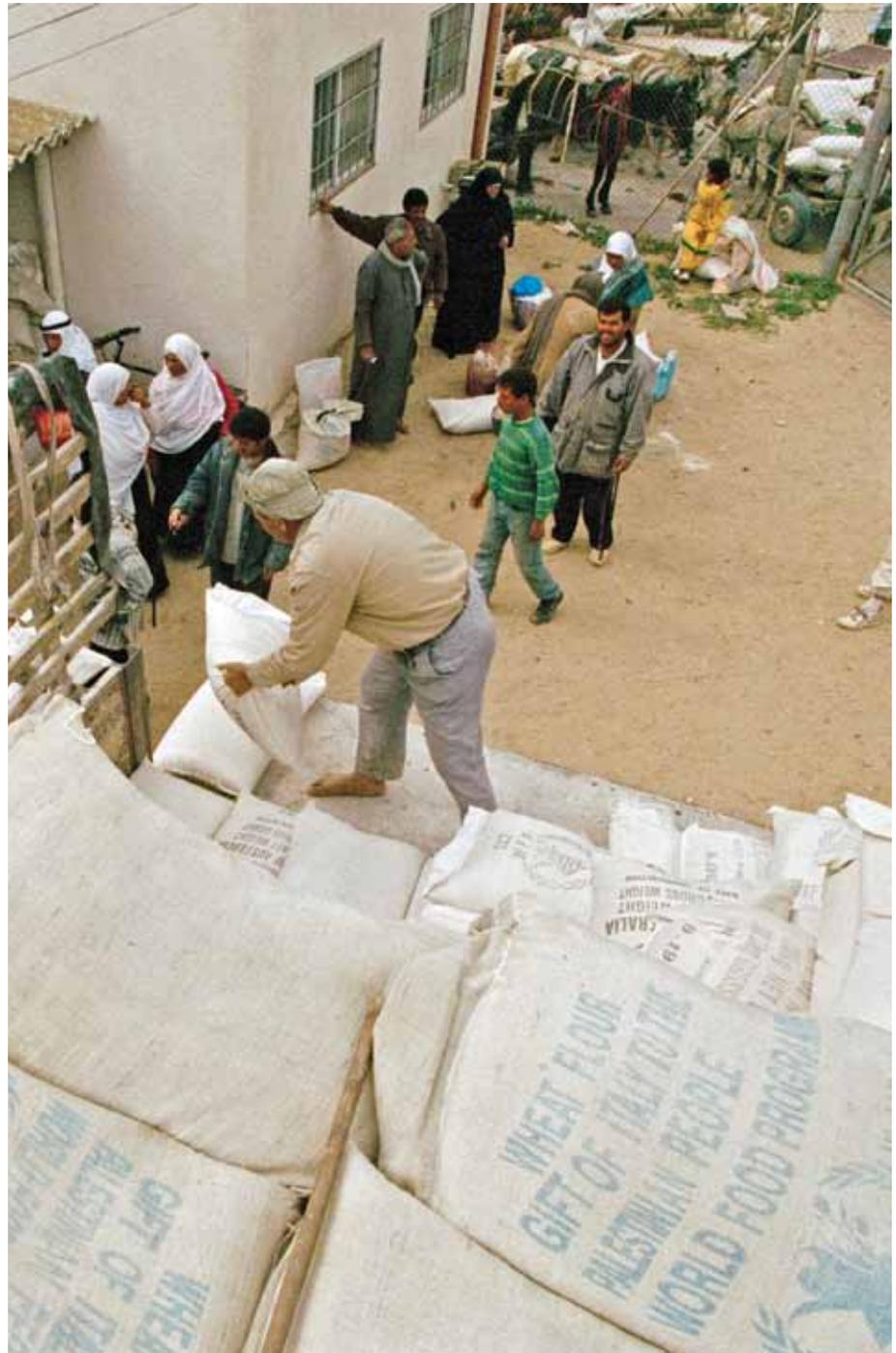
Now, a new study published in May in the journal *Science* tracks a worrisome loss of productivity in corn- and wheat-growing areas in countries as diverse as Russia, China and Mexico. It blames hotter temperatures and drier conditions over three decades for shrinking average yields by 5.5 percent for corn and 3.8 percent for wheat. So far, the bread-basket regions of Canada and the United States have not been affected, and some scientists believe climate change may — at least in the short

term — boost yields there. But the global prognosis is, at best, uncertain and, at worst, bleak.

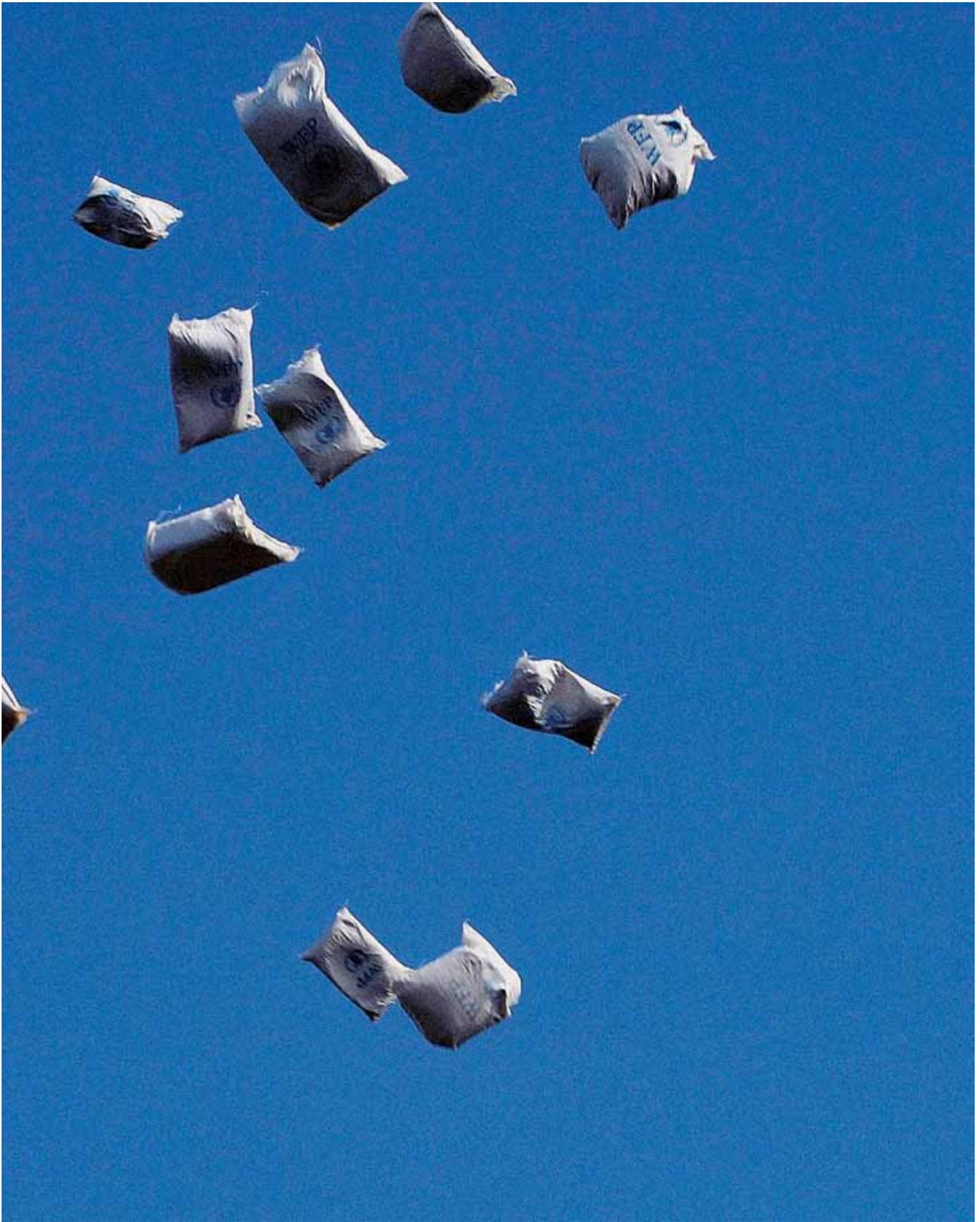
The report's author, David Lobell of Stanford University, says climate change to date has added about 6 percent to the cost of these two staples. So it's a small, but significant, factor in the doubling of corn prices and the 80 percent increase in wheat prices between April 2010 and April 2011.

Another worrisome trend is the increasing use of productive land for crops to produce ethanol — a seven-fold increase over a decade in the amount of corn diverted in the U.S and Canada, plus massive amounts of sugar cane in Brazil, sorghum and cassava in Africa, and beets and wheat in Europe.

Then there are energy-price-driven hikes in what it costs to produce and distribute food.



The World Food Program distributes food in Rafah, Gaza.



UN PHOTO/FRED NOYA

Bags of food from the World Food Program drop from a plane. Some 3,000 Oriny villagers in Upper Nile State, Sudan, received 100 metric tonnes of food including sorghum, lentils and salt, which were dropped in three rotations over two days.



UN PHOTO

Nursery school children in a village northwest of Pyongyang, North Korea, receive rations of food.

And there are huge takeovers of farm land by foreign corporations taking place in many countries where people are living on the edge. Investors from wealthy foreign countries are buying or leasing millions of hectares in land-rich places, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, where the people are dirt-poor. The huge farms investors assemble may grow food — or maybe grow just inedibles like flowers, tobacco or biofuels. But no matter what they grow on such a huge commercial scale, it's for export. So it weakens local food security and it further constrains what the at-risk inhabitants can do to feed themselves and their neighbours.

Ethiopia, just one of well over a dozen sub-Saharan African countries to go this route, has made nearly 1,000 such deals with foreigners, mostly from Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries. Lease rates run as low as \$1 per hectare per year. The Ethiopian government echoes the argument heard throughout Africa that this is “spare land” that wouldn't otherwise be in production, and that the new corporate farms create jobs and generate wealth. But some critics dispute this, and others point



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An ethanol plant sits behind a corn field illustrating the increasingly worrying trend of using prime cropland to produce fuel.

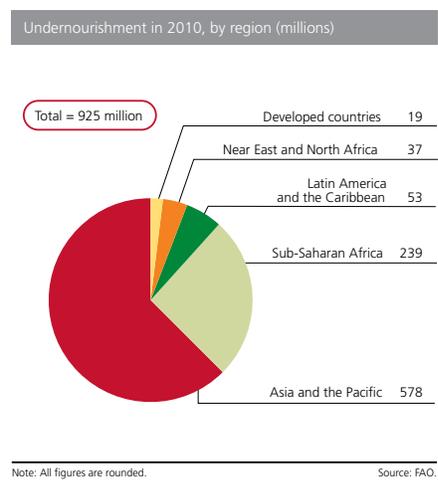
out that industrialized agriculture is a profligate user of water, a scarce and precious commodity for which the corporate owners are not charged.

There are similar for-and-against arguments for almost every proposed solution to almost every big problem you can name.

No one disputes the potential of new methods and technology to dramatically improve yields in places where modern methods have not yet taken hold. Asia's Green Revolution of the 1970s is living proof of this. And the immense improvements in farm efficiency have freed up masses of workers who have collectively evolved into the driving force behind the region's burgeoning Industrial Revolution.

The same kind of thing happened, at least to an extent, in many other poorer parts of the world, but not in sub-Saharan Africa. So this region is ripe for big and potentially positive developments. But other dilemmas are brought to light by the encroachment of corporate farming into what has been, since time immemorial, the domain of small-holders and/or complex village collectives whose delicately balanced dynamics may be little understood — and hugely disrupted — by outsiders.

While the Western example of large-scale factory farms illustrates beyond doubt how production levels can be dra-



matically boosted, there are hosts of reasons to question the wisdom of adopting this model in the developing world.

For one thing, what would happen to all the surplus labour that mechanization would free up? While it is true that Asian cities have been able to absorb great numbers of workers and make them productive, the Green Revolution's productivity increases have by no means produced North American-scale results, and Asian farms still provide a livelihood for many, many millions. In Vietnam, for example, 67 percent of all employment is still on the farm. In India, the number is 60 percent,

in China it's 47 percent — and in Canada, "the bread-basket of the world," it's 2 percent. Our workers cultivate an average of 117 hectares; Bangladesh's cultivate just 0.2 hectares.

Mechanized farms also require massive investment — a huge problem in countries with little or no capital of their own and where the foreign dollars that are urgently needed for all manner of priorities are scarce or non-existent.

Western agriculture techniques involve several other double-edged swords:

- Pesticide and fertilizer use, which can provide dramatically higher yields and protection against crop failure, can also contaminate land and water, create health hazards for workers and neighbours, harm or kill wildlife and beneficial soil microbes and lead to higher input costs.

- Irrigation, which can also hugely increase yields, but can also drain water tables, parch vast areas that aren't irrigated and leach the nutrients from over-cultivated land.

- The factory farm model of animal husbandry, which brings with it not only high yields, but also a potentially dangerous level of dependence on antibiotics in disease-prone tropical climates as well as the animal welfare issues that producers and consumers in the West have never fully grappled with.

- Genetically modified foods, which, depending whom you talk to, are capable of producing either miracles of enhanced nutrition and/or productivity, or dangerous mutants that threaten the health of both man and beast. In fact, neither research nor common sense establishes that either of these outcomes is inevitable in any given instance, but both are well within the realm of what's possible.

Not to mention the very real issue of patented GM seeds, and the worrisome possibility that smallholders will become dependent on monopoly suppliers of the seeds they need to survive.

Yet, no matter how many warning signs there may be on the road to modernization of the agriculture sector, there are also huge dangers in standing still. The status quo is grim for the world's billion hungry people — and there's a real prospect that this huge number could grow.

The World Bank's food price index increased by 15 percent in the quarter from October last year to January this year. This brought it to within 3 percent of the peak in 2008, and it drove a net increase of about 44 million people living in extreme poverty in low- and middle-income countries.

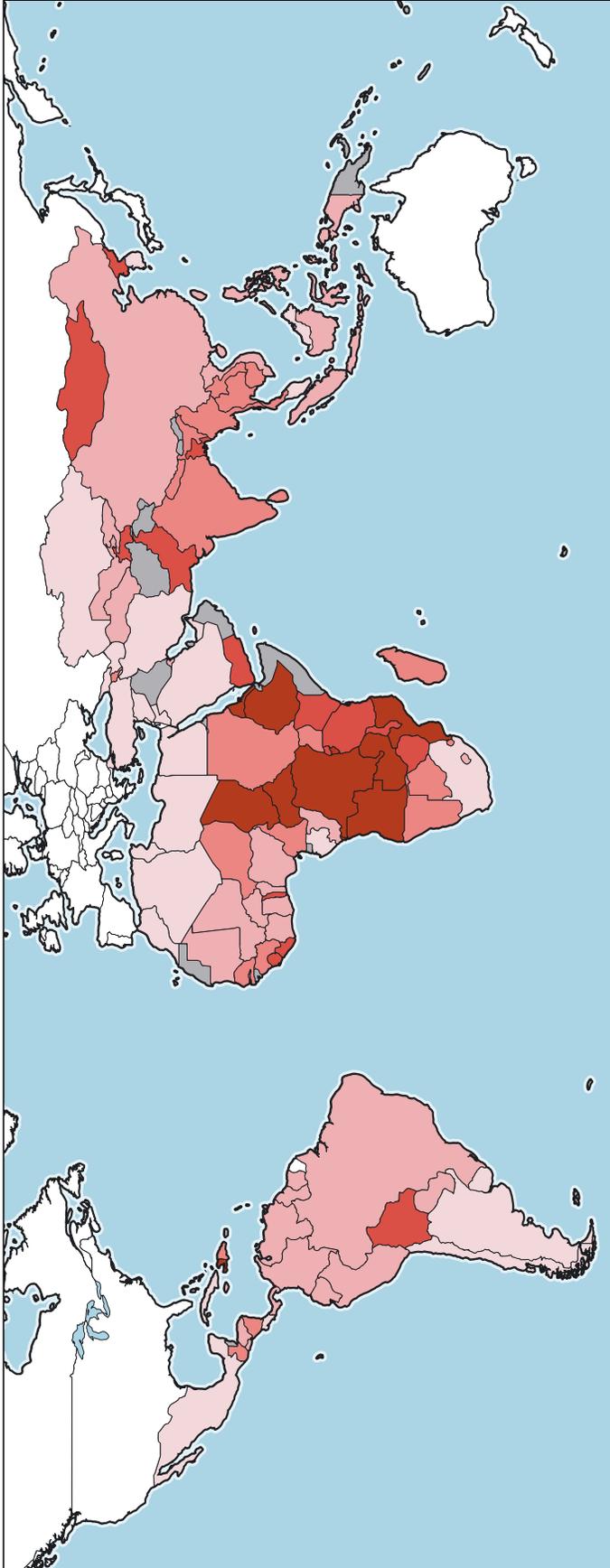


Mechanized farms produce great amounts of food but require massive investment, a huge problem in countries with little or no capital of their own.

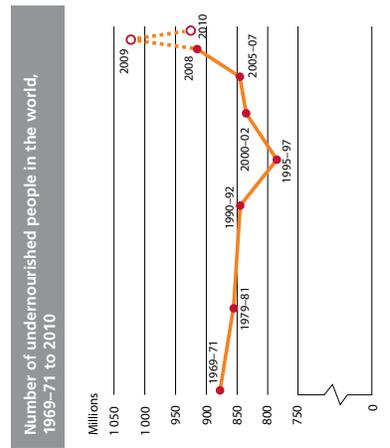
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FAO Hunger Map 2010

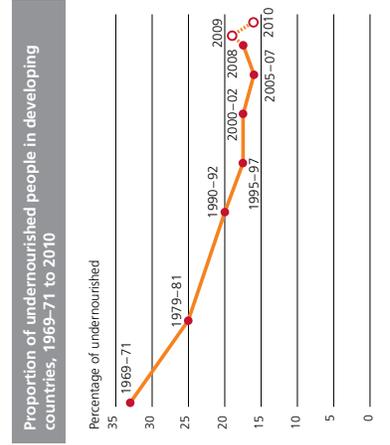
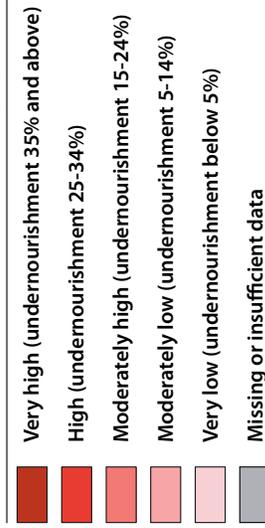
Prevalence of undernourishment in developing countries



Source: FAOSTAT 2010 (www.fao.org/hunger)



Prevalence of undernourishment in developing countries (2005-07)



Source: FAO.

According to the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization, 22 countries — just over 10 percent of the global total — are considered to be in a protracted crisis. Among other things, this means the quality of nutrition suffers as well as the quantity, and this raises serious health and developmental issues, especially for children.

Even in countries that don't make the FAO list, poverty and food inflation can have far-reaching implications. It's worth remembering that Tunisia's revolution — the catalyst for a cascade of popular uprisings in many parts of North Africa and the Middle East — started little over half a year ago with the dramatic suicide of Mohammed Bouazizi, a 26-year-old man who had been denied by corrupt and arrogant officialdom the means to feed his family.

It's a sad irony that ought not to be forgotten: Rising food prices and poverty foment unrest and, when it gets out of hand, unrest drives people from their homes. To the extent this happens, the global problem will worsen. Refugees, pretty much by definition, have little or no ability to feed themselves. Currently, there are 42 million refugees worldwide, most of them living as displaced people in countries as poor, or nearly as poor, as the ones they fled — places with little or no capacity to feed the newcomers.

Yet, it would be wrong to end this essay with the impression that everything is bleak.

The Green Revolution made a real and positive mark in Asia and, to a lesser extent, Latin America. And, even though sub-Saharan Africa largely missed out on it in the first go-round, it continues to hold real promise. Countries such as Canada, working through CIDA, have made some



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Not everything is bleak. The Green Revolution has made a real and positive mark in Asia and even Sub-Saharan Africa and continues to hold promise thanks to donors such as Bill and Melinda Gates, who aim to establish sustainable agriculture there.

notable contributions over the years, and now the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has added huge heft — and capital — to private initiatives to research and establish sustainable agriculture practices.

I've seen first-hand examples of this. In countries as diverse as Cambodia and Colombia, farmers who've never tainted their soil with chemicals — because they couldn't afford to — are now learning how to leap-frog from 19th-Century technology into the 21st-Century world of certified organic production. In equally diverse Nicaragua and Kenya, I've looked at surprisingly large-scale cooperative marketing programs, funded by outsiders, that let tens and tens of thousands of smallholders maintain their traditional subsistence plots while developing new high-value export crops that bring the first significant cash income to their families and their communities. In Malawi, I saw how low-tech irrigation techniques can boost yields without significantly depleting fresh water supplies or driving the

farmer into debt. Low-tillage techniques, which lessen the workload and conserve both the soil and its moisture, are becoming commonplace. Similar kinds of advances, many of them highly innovative and some capable of being hugely scaled up, are being tried in countless countries and communities around the globe.

The point is that modern agriculture can offer much that is not dependent on mechanization, chemicals and/or genetic manipulation. Our species' track record is good. Since Malthus's day, and even before, we've always managed to ultimately keep ahead of the curve.

With a billion people now hungry and millions more at risk, the world is at one of those junctures where we've slipped a bit behind. The question isn't whether we can catch up, but rather whether we have the will to do it quickly.

Don Cayo is a columnist for *The Vancouver Sun*. Email dcayo@vancouver.sun.com to reach him.

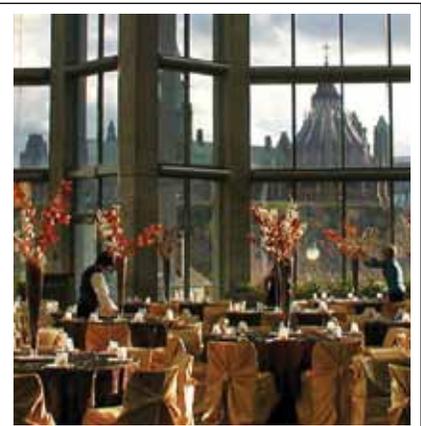


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A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY GUIDE TO HUNGER

The list below covers crises related to lack of food availability, widespread lack of access to food, or severe but localized problems. However, many countries are also severely affected by high food and fuel prices. These include countries which are large net importers of cereals and fuels, with generally low per-capita incomes, relatively high levels of malnutrition, and for which there is a strong transmission of high international food prices.

COUNTRIES REQUIRING EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE FOR FOOD

AFRICA	
Exceptional shortfall in aggregate food production/supplies	
Zimbabwe	An estimated 1.68 million persons in rural and urban areas require food assistance despite overall improved food security conditions.
Widespread lack of access	
Eritrea	High level of food insecurity persists due to economic constraints and internal displacement of population.
Liberia	Slow recovery from war-related damage. Inadequate social services and infrastructure, as well as poor market access. Massive influx of refugees from Côte d'Ivoire: More than 35,000 people have fled to Nimba, Grand Gedeh and Maryland counties, and taken refuge in 32 villages along the border.
Niger	Lingering effects of the 2009/10 food crisis which resulted in depletion of household assets, including loss of animals and high levels of indebtedness.
Sierra Leone	Slow recovery from war-related damage. Depreciation of currency led to higher inflation rates negatively impacting households' purchasing power and food security conditions.
Somalia	About 2.4 million people are in need of food assistance due to the ongoing civil conflict and the severe drought during the 2010/11 secondary wet season.
Severe localized food insecurity	
Benin	Severe flooding affected 680,000 people causing damage to housing, infrastructure, crops and livestock.
Burundi	Poor crop production in the north and north-east and high food prices exacerbate current food insecurity.
Central African Republic	Civil insecurity restricts access to agricultural land, while volatile prices hamper food access.
Chad	Large numbers of refugees located in southern and eastern regions — approximately 270,000 Sudanese and 82,000 from Central African Republic. Lingering effects of drought that led to livestock deaths and other damages in 2009/10, notably in west-central areas of the country.
Congo	Influx of more than 100,000 refugees, mostly from DRC, increased pressure on limited food resources.
Côte d'Ivoire	Conflict-related damage. Agriculture seriously damaged in recent years due to the lack of support services mainly in the northern regions. The current post-election crisis has forced more than 41,000 people to leave the country and seek refuge mostly in eastern Liberia. Another 40,000 people have been internally displaced in the western part of the country mostly in Duékoué, as of early February 2011.
DRC (Congo)	Civil strife, internally displaced persons, returnees and high food prices.
Ethiopia	Despite a good 2010 wet season harvest, the estimated number of people requiring food assistance has recently increased from 2.3 to 2.8 million due to the poor rains from October to December in southern and south-eastern areas affecting pastoral and agro-pastoral households.
Guinea	Access to food is negatively affected by high food prices and general inflation.
Kenya	An estimated 2.4 million people are food insecure, mainly in pastoralist and agro-pastoralist areas in the north-western, south-eastern and coastal lowlands due to drier-than-normal weather conditions during the 2010/11 short-rains season.
Madagascar	Food insecurity persists in southern regions, due to poor crop production in 2010, tightening market supplies and increasing prices. Localized flooding and the passing of cyclone Bingiza in February have also damaged infrastructure and some crops. Nationally, an estimated 2.25 million people suffer from severe food insecurity.

Malawi	Severe crop losses recorded in southern districts, but food security conditions have improved due to a good winter harvest and the distribution of food aid. The number of people estimated to be food insecure was reduced to 508,088 down from one million.
Mozambique	Localized flooding in central and southern provinces result in some crop damage in 2011. About 335,000 persons in need of assistance during peak lean season, down from the initial assessment findings, as a result of production-shortfalls in 2010.
Sudan	About 6 million people in need of food assistance, due to a combination of factors, including civil strife (Darfur), insecurity and returnees (southern Sudan) and high food prices.
Uganda	The country is generally food secure following the good production of 2010 first and second seasons. However, about 815,000 people are still moderately food insecure, mainly in Karamoja region.

ASIA

Exceptional shortfall in aggregate food production/supplies

Iraq	Severe civil insecurity.
Widespread lack of access	
North Korea	Economic constraints and lack of agricultural inputs leading to inadequate food production and aggravated food insecurity. Severe winter conditions are expected to reduce wheat harvest.
Mongolia	Lingering effects of the extreme cold Dzud last winter resulted in death of nearly six million heads of live-stock out of a total of 44 million and adversely affected livelihoods of some 500,000 people.

Severe localized food insecurity

Afghanistan	Conflict, insecurity and high food prices. Moderately food insecure areas are in the centre and north-east.
Kyrgyzstan	Effects of social unrest, recent ethnic conflicts, internally displaced persons.
Pakistan	Lingering effects of severe flooding last year, which affected some 18 million people causing damage to housing, infrastructure and crops.
Yemen	Effects of unrest and recent conflict, internally displaced persons (about 300,000 people still in camps) and refugees (about 170,000 people).

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Severe localized food insecurity

Haiti	More than three million people will need food assistance. The majority of food-insecure households are mostly in poor and extremely poor areas affected by the cholera epidemic and Hurricane Tomas. Socio-political situation uncertain and food prices high.
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COUNTRIES WITH UNFAVOURABLE PROSPECTS FOR CURRENT CROPS

Kenya	Delayed and insufficient rains in the 2010/11 secondary season affecting crops and pasture conditions.
Lesotho	Heavy rains and flooding caused damage to crops, 30 to 60 percent losses reported in worst-affected areas.
Madagascar	Delayed seasonal rains, followed by localized flooding, in northern and eastern regions.
Somalia	Delayed and insufficient rains during the 2010/11 short rainy season (October-December) season severely affecting crop production and grazing resources.
Tanzania	Delayed and insufficient rains during the 2010/11 short rainy season (October-December) affecting crop production in bimodal rainfall areas.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Argentina and Uruguay	Maize and sorghum crops have been affected by delayed planting and dry weather linked to the La Nina phenomenon.
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Credit: Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN

Assessing Canada's vulnerability

By David B. Harris

In war and peace, the support and confidence of allies can be decisive for a country's survival and prosperity. Canada's profound reliance on its trade, defence and other ties to the United States means that Canadians have a crucial interest in keeping borders and diplomatic, military and intelligence channels open with its neighbour. This access depends on preserving Canada's reputation as a credible security partner in the terrorism and intelligence struggles that threaten the U.S. survival interest.

Canada's task will not be easy. Several U.S. government departments, to say nothing of the American Congress itself, are preoccupied by expanding domestic vulnerabilities, and are assessing threat-developments at home and beyond their borders — including in Canada.

It is now 10 years since the terrorists struck the U.S. Well before 9/11, I testified before a Congressional sub-committee that was concerned about the Canadian Security Intelligence Service's 1998 public warning that Canada was possibly exceeded only by the United States in the number of terrorist organizations on its soil. If American officials were uneasy then, one can only imagine their discomfort with today's growing Canadian security problems.

Recall, for example, how it was Canadian-based Sikh extremists who caused the world's biggest pre-9/11 aviation-terror disaster, the 1985 Air India Flight 182 bombing. So much for lessons learned: Thanks to Canada's relatively relaxed security and its immense, almost unscreenable, immigration numbers, India's security officials now privately regard Canada — not India — as a font of international Sikh extremism.

This is a tiny part of the deteriorating security position that the American embassy in Ottawa will note as it takes stock of Canada in the wake of the Conservative Party's election victory.

U.S. observers will see that much trouble comes from politicians' unprincipled attempts to ingratiate themselves with large ethnocultural and religious commu-



UPI/STATENBERG

nities created by enormous immigration influxes. In the recent election, Liberal Party Leader Michael Ignatieff met a Sikh editor who once celebrated Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's assassination and the beating of a moderate Canadian Sikh politician. The Conservatives ran as a candidate a Canadian Tamil who had hosted a video documentary incorporating an apparent homage to Tamil Tigers terrorist "martyrs." Meanwhile, a Muslim Canadian author insists that Islamic radicals penetrated the New Democratic Party, now the country's Official Opposition.

In 2010, Richard Fadden, director of CSIS, warned of illicit foreign-influence operations in Canada. One or two provincial cabinets might contain ministers under such influence, he said; certain municipal governments and bureaucracies face similar penetration. Mr. Fadden signalled that China was a major problem in such regards.

Influence operations are significant threats to national sovereignty and democratic systems because they have the potential covertly to hijack policy and political decision-making. Yet, Mr. Fadden's 5 July 2010 parliamentary committee appearance elicited little interest on MPs' part in putting the compelling question: Are elements of Canada's politico-bureaucratic system penetrated? In a study in irony, separatist Bloc Québécois committee member Maria Mourani called loudest for Mr. Fadden's resignation for daring to raise the influence issue. Ms Mourani reportedly distributed pro-Hamas propaganda and maintained disturbingly close associations with diplomats of hardline North African and Middle Eastern countries.

On the China ledger, American congressional leaders recently mobilized on security grounds against Chinese telecom giant Huawei's plan to buy into the U.S. market. Huawei denies links with China's government, but the purchase attempt was thwarted. In Canada, however, there was no serious debate as the company partnered with sensitive Canadian telecom systems (and gained a \$6.5 million Ontario grant).

U.S. officials will doubtless ponder Canada's radical-Islamic threat. In June 2011, a Chicago court convicted Pakistani-born Canadian citizen Tahawwur Hussain Rana for supporting Pakistan's Lashkar-e-Taiba extremist group, and for plotting the aborted attack on a Danish newspaper that printed controversial cartoons of Islam's prophet, Muhammad.

In Canada, there were convictions in the Toronto 18 plot to invade parliament, behead the prime minister and blow up Toronto landmarks, and there was a conviction in the Khawaja case of a privileged young Muslim man employed in our federal government and engaged in international jihadism. Concern is reinforced by a 2007 poll indicating that 12 percent of Canadian Muslims — as many as 119,000 people — could sympathize with a Toronto 18-type plot.

The U.S. military pinpointed Montreal's

Al Sunnah mosque as among nine international sites that had been connected to terrorist recruitment or other involvement. Eighty percent of Canadian mosques are said to be dominated by radicals. Money pours into numerous Muslim institutions from radical Gulf sources.

Radical influence works its way into Canadian educational institutions. An Islamic Chair is being established at University of Western Ontario-affiliated Huron University College, with the aid of Libya-connected players, a radical U.S. Muslim institute and the Muslim Brotherhood-oriented Muslim Association of Canada. A Carleton University Islamic centre welcomed preeminent Brotherhood figure Tariq Ramadan to headline in at least one major event. And at least one publicly funded Toronto-area law school teaches a sharia law course.

The educational aspect of these situations raises questions about the shaping of Canadian minds in ways hostile to North American security.

Sophisticated observers in ethnocultural communities warn about infiltration threats in Canadian public administration and the private sector. The moderate Muslim Canadian Congress declared even the language-policing Ontario Human Rights Commission had been penetrated by sharia law supporters at both commissioner and staff levels.

The controversial RCMP Community Outreach program has been so fraught with mismanagement that Muslim moderates want it shuttered because of concerns that it has legitimized radical elements by “engaging” them in outreach.

In 2010, an Ottawa outreach committee RCMP officer enthusiastically distributed an RCMP “diversity committee” member’s invitation to a “peace conference” sponsored by four Green Party members — along with his own effusive email encouraging attendance. Tehran’s heavy hand seemed to be at work, the conference agenda featuring senior Tehran University faculty, and an Iranian “peace” activist whose organization’s website had a cartoon of a hook-nosed, Der Stürmer Jew. Imam Zijad Delic, then executive director of the radical Canadian Islamic Congress (CIC), was originally scheduled; on his watch, the CIC brought Yvonne Ridley — a Taliban apologist and reporter for Iran’s Press TV — on a Canadian speaking tour. Who was the RCMP outreach committee member who co-sponsored the “peace conference” and supplied the conference invitation? Carleton University Sprott

School of Business professor Akbar Manoussi, head of an Iranian cultural centre sharing an address with the Iranian embassy, the Canadian seat of a U.S. strategic enemy.

In 2010, Imam Delic was invited to “keynote” at Islamic Heritage Month celebrations at Department of National Defence (DND) headquarters — until, under enormous pressure, the speech was cancelled.

Muslim-moderate Tarek Fatah raised the spectre of infiltration at National Defence in an apparent reference to the role played by the National Capital Region De-

**TODAY,
AMERICAN
AUTHORITIES PONDER
CANADA’S
RELIABILITY AS ALLY
AND GUARANTOR
OF THEIR NORTHERN
FRONT.**

fence Visible Minority Advisory Group in inviting Imam Delic: “Those officers who wanted him there were themselves military officers who are Muslim, of Pakistani and Egyptian descent, who used their position in the visible minority caucus at DND to stage this invitation.”

Islamists within government may be systematically laundering controversial Muslims by facilitating speaking invitations later to be advertised as “proof” of speakers’ moderate bona fides. Indeed, Imam Delic’s supporters implied that only bigotry explained DND’s cancellation, pointing to a previous speaking engagement at the Foreign Affairs department. No one mentioned that Foreign Affairs’ Muslim Communities Working Group — penetrated by a radical or two — facilitated the invitation.

With an eye to recruiting, DND teams visit mosques, but it is unclear whether specific mosques’ ideology is taken into account. A British Columbia RCMP “Muslims of Tomorrow” youth-outreach gathering gave star billing to an “Islamic scholar” with a predilection for gay-killing

scriptural interpretations. Google should have tipped off RCMP outreachers.

Canada’s intellectual elite has disappointed, too. As slaughter proceeds in Iran, the Canadian International Council joined the University of Ottawa in an “Iran” conference, inviting Titra Parsi of the National Iranian American Council, commonly considered a Tehran fellow-traveller. (He eventually withdrew.) The Council’s Hamid Jorjani advised award-winning Canadian radio reporter and Iranian dissident Shabnam Assadollahi, that she would be refused an event media pass. Shocked Canadians learned that conference sponsors included DND and the federally-funded Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies (CASIS). CASIS’ previous embarrassments included having as a panellist at its annual conference a person representing the Canadian chapter of a radical, Saudi-financed Islamic organization later designated an unindicted co-conspirator in America’s biggest terror-funding prosecution.

A decisive determinant of future Canadian security and reliability is Canada’s immigration and refugee system. Canada has the biggest per capita immigration on the planet: 281,000 for a population of less than 34 million — closer to 600,000, including visa-holders. This intake costs Canada about \$23 billion a year net, and many newcomers come from countries that are problematic in security terms, like China. Leading Canadian Muslim moderate Raheel Raza warns that Pakistan, a cauldron of extremism, is among Canada’s top five immigrant source countries. Declares this Pakistani-Canadian: “Public safety and social cohesion demand an immediate moratorium on immigration to Canada from Pakistan, Somalia and other radical-Islamist and terrorist-producing countries.”

Few would have realized, when I testified before that pre-9/11 Congressional body, how vulnerable Canada was becoming to terrorism, radical infiltration and illicit influence. Today, American authorities ponder Canada’s reliability as ally and guarantor of the security of their northern front. They — and Canadians, themselves — will have good and growing reason to consider the insistent question: Does Canada really look like a reliable ally with a secure future?

David B. Harris is a Canadian lawyer with 30 years’ experience in intelligence affairs.

Roy MacLaren: Memoir of a formidable man



GEORGE FETHERLING

There are times in *The Fundamental Things Apply* (McGill-Queen's University Press, \$39.95), Roy MacLaren's memoir of his life in diplomacy, business and politics, when one is reminded of the Lanny Budd cycle by Upton Sinclair. This is a sequence of 11 novels in which the character Budd, an American diplomat, seems to bump into all the personages who dominated world events between 1913 and 1953. Mr. MacLaren, who served in the Trudeau, Turner and Chrétien governments, has a similar knack in real life rather than fiction. Some of his meetings were diplo-

matic occasions and some purely political; still others were social. A very short sampling of the people whose paths he crossed would include Ho Chi Minh, Henry Kissinger, Patrice Lumumba, Harold Macmillan, André Malraux, Nguyen Vo Giap, often called the world's greatest living general, who drove the French and then the Americans out of Vietnam, and Zhou Enlai.

Mr. MacLaren didn't come from an elite background. His father, a native of PEI, was wounded at Passchendaele in 1917, and after the war worked in Vancouver. The future memoirist was born there in 1934 and graduated from the University of British Columbia. He was audacious and academically gifted. In 1953, he was accepted by both Oxford and Cambridge. He chose the latter, where he attended lectures by F.R. Leavis and C.S. Lewis, met the novelist E.M. Forster (whose tea parties "were not to me especially amusing") and dated the suicidal American poet Sylvia Plath. He wanted to come home and earn a doctorate in history at the Uni-

versity of Toronto. But in 1957, acting on a whim, a dare or an impulse, he wrote the foreign service examination at Canada House in Trafalgar Square. As a result, he was offered a position in External Affairs at a probationary salary of \$2,200 per annum. He remained with External for a dozen years. "To me," he writes, "it appeared that joining the Department of External Affairs somewhat resembled what I imagined joining a religious order must be like." Indeed, there was something almost Jesuitical about the intellectuals to be found there during the so-called golden age of Canadian diplomacy. The book is richly sprinkled with names such as Norman Robertson, George Ignatieff and John Holmes.

Mr. MacLaren's first foreign posting, in 1958, was to Vietnam, to be a part of the International Control and Supervision Commission, which was set up following France's forced departure from Indochina and was "neither controlling nor supervising nor a commission." It was a tripartite affair that required some people from



Roy MacLaren, left, with Queen Elizabeth, his wife Lee, and Prince Philip at the Canadian high commissioner's residence in London. This photo was taken before a luncheon at which the MacLarens' dog, Fergus, paid the queen "special attentions."

India, some from Poland and some from Canada. Mr. MacLaren seems not to have cared much for Vietnam, whether North or South. While there, however, he began seeing an American foreign service officer, Alethea Mitchell. (Today, as Lee MacLaren, she knows everyone and everyone knows her and has been a high-powered diplomatic and political hostess for more than 50 years.) Next, he was second secretary at the Canadian embassy in Prague. Two years later, however, he was kicked out of the country in reprisal for the expulsion from Canada of a Czech diplomat who tried to recruit a Czech-Canadian to spy on the Royal Canadian Air Force. In 1964, Mr. MacLaren began four and a half years as Canada's second secretary to the Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York. He resigned from the service in 1969 for a very sound reason.

I should point out that I've been slightly acquainted with Roy MacLaren for about 35 years and have considerable admiration for him. He is a cultured individual who has written many books, most of them scholarly works of Canadian military history, and is interested in painting and literature. (It's a telling fact that he once had a dog called Bardolph, after the minor character in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* who recurs in *Henry IV* and *Henry V*.) Another matter for which he can be admired (the "sound reason" mentioned above) is that on leaving External Affairs he resolved to make some serious money so that he could devote himself to public life. Easier said than done, of course, unless one has a sponsor or a benefactor.

He found the former in Marietta Tree (1917–91), the American socialite and Democratic Party mover and shaker (and lover of Adlai Stevenson and the film director John Huston, and mother of Penelope Tree, the famous fashion model of *Swinging London*). Through Mrs. Tree he was connected to his benefactor, David Ogilvy (1911–99), "the father of modern advertising," and became Massey Ferguson's vice-president of public relations. That the company was faltering through poor management seemed to be common knowledge. So after four years, Mr. MacLaren became the president and CEO of Ogilvy & Mather (Canada), where there was real money to be had. All this while he had been "warily circling the idea of standing for Parliament in a Toronto constituency," but realized he wasn't quite ready, not yet. So he had a turn as an entrepreneur.

In 1977, still only 44 years old, he had



Roy MacLaren and Pierre Trudeau at a Liberal fundraising dinner in Toronto in 1974.



Mr. MacLaren with F.W. de Klerk in Pretoria in 1994.

the idea (brilliant, as it turned out) of buying the dreadfully dreary magazine of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Montreal. It was called *Canadian Business* and had long been known as the resting place of unrewritten press releases. Odd as

this may sound today, in 1977, Canadian financial journalism, other than *The Globe and Mail's* Report on Business section, was considered a backwater. Smart young people looking to get ahead didn't yearn for careers in the field. Mr. MacLaren turned



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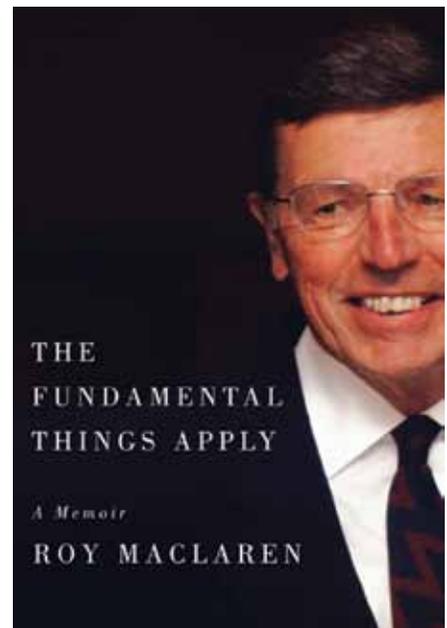
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the magazine into a glossy monthly full of business features, profiles and columns. At the time, when I was a young fellow in a rush to rid himself of the second of two mortgages, I worked there for a year on a consulting contract. Mr. MacLaren had a gifted art director, but his editor, although not without some talent and a little brains, never went out of his way to overwork them. Several editors later, once he quit politics in 1993, Mr. MacLaren sold the publication to Maclean-Hunter, which was later acquired by Rogers Communications.



In addition to working on the magazine, I was a volunteer worker bee in two of Mr. MacLaren's successful campaigns to sit in the House of Commons as the Liberal member for the riding of Etobicoke North, a Toronto suburb with large Italian-Canadian and Sikh populations. By then, he was already a fairly well known figure in international economic circles, with much of his attention given over to such matters as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. He proceeded from parliamentary secretary to the minister of energy, mines and resources, to minister of state for finance (both under Marc Lalonde). When the Turner government failed, he became the opposition finance critic. When the Liberals resumed power, he finally joined the cabinet, first as minister of national revenue (where he sorted out certain systemic difficulties, thus avoiding a possible scandal or at least a widespread public protest). Lastly, he was minister of international trade.

Through it all, he was an attentive constituency politician. In one of the numerous diary entries quoted in the book, he writes of canvassing in 1980 at a house where “a woman at the door was so busy hiding her face from us that I was barely able to speak with her. Noting my puzzlement, [a woman on his campaign staff] explained, as we descended the steps, that the woman was clearly ashamed of having been beaten by her husband. As a result of that revelation and several subsequent confirmations from the police about the incidence of wife-battering, I took the first occasion to channel some federal financing toward a transient home for battered wives and frequently for the children as well — at least for those wives who have the formidable courage to run away from their loutish husbands. If I do nothing more as an MP, I shall always be pleased that I did that.”

The style of such diary entries is almost indistinguishable from that of his diplomatic memos, on which he also draws at times. In both cases, the word choices and the word order are slightly formal in a particularly anglophilic manner, yet the tone of voice is pleasantly relaxed and even conversational. The book is, of course, notable for what it has to say as well as how it chooses to say it. The author tells us little of his children, for example, “believing that one’s family life has no place in a book about the public sphere.” Fair enough. But like so many other books in this genre, the gaps are quite informative. While giving a few words to a brief encounter with young Senator John F. Kennedy (and Mrs. MacLaren’s acquaintance with Jacqueline Kennedy) he doesn’t mention the one-hour conference he had with President Kennedy in the Oval Office. In running through his life in business, he omits the fact that he was once the president of the publishing house McClelland & Stewart — possibly because he turned out to be something of a caretaker owner. The reader finds no reference to his former campaign manager who resigned as a top executive of the Toronto Stock Exchange after being discovered to have exaggerated his résumé.

He scolds John Turner but holds back the criticism of Mr. Chrétien that was a recurring topic in private conversation. In the end, Mr. Chrétien appointed Mr. MacLaren to what must have been the latter’s dream job: High Commissioner to Great Britain (1996-2000) — back to Canada House where his life as a diplomat had begun. Being the natural writer

that he is, Mr. McLaren later published *Commissioners High*, a history of the office and its occupants. But the congeniality evaporates when he tells us how Prime Minister Chrétien killed his chances of becoming head of the World Trade Organization. Since then, Mr. MacLaren has kept busy sitting on a wide variety of corporate boards, big and small.

Until now, a work entitled *Canadians behind Enemy Lines* has been seen as Mr. MacLaren’s most important book. *The Fundamental Things Apply* probably has surpassed it. I take this opportunity to tell him how much I learned by watching him and listening to him — and how sad I am that I was never taken into his confidence. For he is a smooth diplomat and a clever professional politician.

OTHER DIPLOMATIC MATTERS

There’s no surprise in seeing that Jane C. Loeffler’s book *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America’s Embassies*, first published in 1998, has now come out in a revised edition (Raincoast Books, \$27.95 paper). After all, 1998 preceded 2001, when, as we’re constantly being told, the world changed, correct? No, says Ms Loeffler. “While many suppose that the more recent events of 11 September 2001 reshaped [the U.S. state department’s] building program, it was the earlier events that started the process that produced the change.” The earlier events to which she refers began with anti-American riots in the 1960s and grew in intensity, leading to Aug. 7, 1998. That was

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The U.S. embassy built in Havana in the 1950s. The U.S. ended diplomatic relations with Cuba on Jan. 4, 1961. Castro expropriated the embassy on July 24, 1963.

the day that the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam were bombed, resulting in 220 dead and thousands of injured and the destruction of “prominent symbols of America’s foreign presence.” At that time, the U.S. had 260 diplomatic posts round the world. It proposed to retrofit many or most of them and construct 150 new ones by 2018.

The problems that such a large-scale initiative set out to address were, of course, already familiar. In 1980, the government rejected Frank Gehry’s design for a new embassy in Damascus because, so its critics charged, it placed aesthetics above the security of embassy personnel (and that of the ambassador’s automobile). Suicide bombers killed dozens at the embassy compound in Beirut in 1983. That same year, a new post opened in Kuala Lumpur; in addition to the usual bullet-proofing and such, it was surrounded by a thick nine-foot wall and had no windows within 15 feet off the ground. “It looks friendly,” the architect said proudly, “but it’s built like a fortress.” In many later instances, friendliness was neglected altogether.

Ms Loeffler’s study goes into considerable detail about diplomatic architecture qua architecture and the complicated politicking and financial legerdemain

necessary to keep the system up and running — and expanding. For example, she considers the fact that from 1946 to 1958, embassy construction was paid for from funds taken from repayment of lend-lease agreements. After that, the money had to come directly from new tax revenues, a fact that changed the complexion of Foggy Bottom’s relations with Capitol Hill. The law of averages being what it is, the politicians were sometimes correct.

The Ohio congressman, Wayne Hays, one of the most powerful people in Congress (and also, many said, the nastiest) argued that a new and bigger embassy for Mogadishu was ill-advised. The congressman was posthumously proved correct when Somali mobs blasted their way into the compound with RPGs in 1991 and thoroughly looted the chancery. In 1963, Rep. Hays (who was finally brought down by a sex scandal) had opposed a new embassy for Saigon.

One of the key statistics in *The Architecture of Diplomacy* is that there were 243 attacks and attempted attacks on American diplomatic compounds between 1975 and 1985. The first date is a highly charged one in the American psyche, for on April 29 of that year, the Army of the Republic of [North] Vietnam overwhelmed the city of Saigon. The following day, they took over

the U.S. embassy there. The North had gained control of part of it once before, during the Tet Offensive of 1968. But 1975 was different. Having regained the rest of the South bit by bit, the North now had 150,000 regulars inside South Vietnam’s capital. As the airport had been destroyed, the U.S. organized the evacuation by helicopters of its own people and some of the Vietnamese nationals who had worked for them. It was a close call.

Those of us who were adults at the time easily recollect a famous photograph of a long queue of people being helped up a flight of stairs to one of the military choppers for transport to naval vessels in the South China Sea. The building in the picture is the ten-storey Pittman Apartments, a block of 132 flats for the use, we were told, of embassy staff. As Bob Drury and Tom Clavin make clear in *Last Man Out* (Simon & Schuster Canada, \$29.99), the photo was actually taken the day before the embassy was seized and looted and shows a CIA chopper. In their interviews with former U.S. Marines who were present, the authors also indicate that the Pittman building was, in fact, being used as a residence for CIA people. After the war, with relations restored, the Americans had the Pittman building razed — in order to erase the shame associated with it, or so I was informed by one of Marines guards at the chancery not that many years ago.

Mr. Drury and Mr. Clavin either feel no such shame or are trying to smother it in their patriotism. The book is subtitled *The True Story of America’s Heroic Final Hours in Vietnam*. It performs a useful service in drawing on newly declassified “after-action” reports and of interviews with a number of key ex-Marines (but none with the veterans on the other side). But it is handicapped by rootin’ tootin’ macho prose. Here is a sample, about a Marine sergeant named Mike Sullivan watching an early rocket attack on the city: “From instinct Sullivan pictures their makeshift launchers, ingenious ladder-shaped devices fashioned from thick bamboo stalks that could be toted up a steep mountain trail or across a muddy rice paddy. But, no, he realized suddenly. Not tonight. There were too many rockets. Which means they had to be fired from the flatbed of a Russian-made six-by-six truck. Which meant a road. Which meant they were close. He craned his neck, scanned the sable sky, and pointed. Got one.” One instantly recalls the work of the neo-Platonist philosopher Mickey Spillane, the author of *I, The Jury* and *My Gun Is Quick*.

The most compelling account of the embassy's seizure is a long and beautifully written memoir by the English poet and art critic James Fenton, who happened to be in Saigon at the time and became so caught up in the action around him that he was sitting atop one of the North Vietnamese tanks that crashed through the facility's steel gates. It is a piece of writing worthy of quotation.

In the days before the dénouement, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and the American networks had instructed their employees not to remain. Mr. Fenton writes: "Everyone was talking about the secret password, which would be broadcast when the time came: an announcement that the temperature was 105 and rising, followed by the song 'I'm Dreaming of a White Christmas.'" When the moment actually arrived, Fenton rushed to the embassy "where the looting had just begun. The typewriters were already on the street outside, there was a stink of urine from where the crowds had spent the night, and several cars had been ripped apart [...]"

"The place was packed, and in chaos. Papers, files, brochures, and reports were strewn around. I picked up one letter of application from a young Vietnamese student who wished to become an interpreter. Soon people gave me suspicious looks, as if I might be a member of the embassy staff, so I began to do a little looting myself, in order to show that I was entering into the spirit of the thing [...]" One man called me over to a wall safe and seemed to be asking if I knew the number of the combination. Another was hacking away at an air conditioner, another was dismantling a refrigerator."

The compound was "filling up so much that it might soon become impossible to get out. What I did not know was that there were some Marines on the roof. As I forced my way out of the building they threw tear-gas down on the crowd and I found myself running hard, in floods of tears. Although the last helicopter had just left, people still thought there were other chances to get out. One man [...] had several plausible reasons why he was entitled to leave. Another man, I remember, could only shout 'I'm a professor, I'm a professor.'"

This memoir, perhaps 12,000 words or so in total, is found in Mr. Fenton's book *All the Wrong Places: Adrift in the Politics of the Pacific Rim*, published in 1988. It has come to be seen as a classic of late 20th-century journalism. The authors of *Last Man Out* appear unaware of its existence.

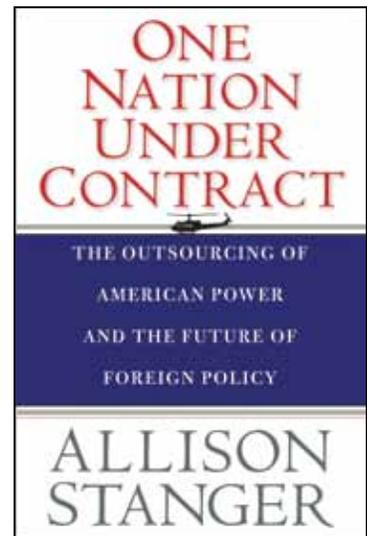
QUICKLY, SOME OTHER BOOKS OF NOTE

"When I began writing this book," says Allison Stanger in *One Nation under Contract: The Outsourcing of American Power and the Future of Foreign Policy* (Yale University Press, US\$18 paper), "Americans were in the era of getting the government out of the way so that the markets could work their magic [...] Our collective celebration of free markets after the Cold War's end made many of us lose our sense of the things that only governments can do well. That sense is what this book aims to restore." She leaves unsaid, except between the lines, what European rulers knew hundreds of years ago: that using mercenaries is the worst way to fight a war, because they weaken the subjects' loyalty to the crown, cost a fortune and will go to work for the opposition if the ducats and florins ever stop flowing. But she sees the use of "independent contractors" and PMCs (Private Military Companies) as only one example of a culture of outsourcing that has led to "the end of statesmanship."

One often reads mentions of the Office of Strategic Service and its evidently colourful but always mysterious leader, William Joseph (Wild Bill) Donovan (1883–1959). Such references usually acknowledge the OSS as the "precursor of the CIA." Franklin Roosevelt established the OSS by executive order in September 1941, about two months before the U.S. joined the Second World War. President Roosevelt was a spy buff who, of course, understood the need for a national foreign-intelligence agency for use in the coming war in Europe. As depicted in Douglas Waller's skilfully written book *Wild Bill Donovan: The Spymaster Who Created the OSS and Modern American Espionage* (Simon & Schuster Canada, \$34.99), the man chosen to create and run the OSS, though a native of Buffalo, New York, would have made a credible Texan.

Wild Bill acquired his nickname during the Great War, when he was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honour for heroism in the field. During Prohibition, he was a public prosecutor drunk on publicity. Later he made a fortune as a Wall Street lawyer.

He began as the only employee of the OSS but soon had more than 20,000 people under him. They made up a global network devoted to all types of intelligence gathering and analysis. (Infiltrating embassies was one of their minor spe-



cialties.) The organization included the usual highly improbable characters. For example, another new book is *A Covert Affair: Julia Child and Paul Child in the OSS* by Jeannet Conant (Simon & Schuster Canada, \$32). Yes, that Julia Child. No one denies the highly significant role the OSS played during the war. It didn't survive in the postwar world because it was never intended to be, even subordinately, a tool for harassing American citizens of moderate political views. That was the self-assigned task of the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover, whose conspiratorial excesses and authoritarian personality closely paralleled those of Mr. Donovan. Naturally, the two men enjoyed a mutual hatred, and each worked hard to undermine the other.

Almost exactly four years after it was founded, the OSS was disbanded by the new president, Harry Truman. Wild Bill Donovan lapsed into bitter retirement. President Truman then divided the duties of the OSS between the state department and the military, leaving only an interim agency in place until the CIA was founded. President Truman may or may not have believed there was a place for a powerful paramilitary force during what would soon be known universally as the Cold War. Like his successors, however, he surely must have recognized the political utility of such spy agencies. As they are largely immune from close oversight, they are thus a tool of the executive branch more than one of the legislative. In such a spirit, the CIA was established in 1947, and has barely been free of mischief since then.

George Fetherling is the author, most recently, of *Indochina Now and Then* (Dundurn Press).

God save the Queen — and other royal visitors

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



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King George VI and Queen Elizabeth meet Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King outside the Parliament Buildings during a royal visit in 1939. He was the first reigning monarch to visit Canada.

This summer's visit to Canada of Prince William and his bride, Catherine, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, continues a long tradition of royal visits to this country. That Canada was chosen as the destination for their first official visit as a couple reflects Canada's importance within the Commonwealth — an importance that has made Canada a frequent destination for British royalty.

The first visit to Canada by a member of the British royal family occurred in 1786, when another Prince William, the third son of King George III and Queen Charlotte, sailed to Canada as a naval officer on the frigate HMS Pegasus. He celebrated his 21st birthday off the coast of Newfoundland. Over the next two years he also visited Halifax and Quebec City. (He later reigned as William IV 1830-1837.) William's younger brother, Prince Edward, visited Canada in 1791, sailing down the St. Lawrence to Quebec City in command of the 7th Royal Fusiliers Regiment.

The first woman of the royal family to visit Canada was Princess Louise, fourth daughter of Queen Victoria (who never visited Canada). Princess Louise's husband, the Marquis of Lorne, was appointed governor general in 1878. Keeping the vice-regal job all in the family, Queen Victoria's third son, Prince Arthur, was also appointed Canada's governor general, a position he held from 1911 to 1916.

In 1939, King George VI became the first reigning monarch to come to Canada. He and Queen Elizabeth spent a month touring the country. The visit began two days behind schedule after an Atlantic sailing marked by heavy seas, dense fog and icebergs. As they sailed up the St. Lawrence, crowds along the riverbanks waved and cheered. It was during this visit that the first royal "walkabouts" occurred, beginning spontaneously in response to the warm welcome. Today, they are built into the painstakingly constructed schedule of every tour.

The difficulties of crossing the Atlantic made royal visits uncommon, but the advent of trans-Atlantic flight allowed more frequent and more extensive visits. The first royal visit involving air travel was made by then-Princess Elizabeth, visiting on behalf of her ailing father, George VI, in October 1951. She flew to make up time after her departure was delayed by the king's illness. George VI died on Feb. 6, 1952 and Elizabeth ascended the throne. In 1953, the Canadian Royal Style and Titles Act officially entitled her Queen of Canada. She has visited Canada 22 times as the reigning monarch.

Official royal visits involve a range of activities, most an opportunity to showcase the heritage or culture of the country receiving them. In Canada, those activities have included concerts, balls, investitures, garden parties, parades, dog sledding, sleigh riding, square dancing, skiing in the Rockies, hockey games and seeing Niagara Falls on board the Maid of the



Canada Post issued two stamps to mark the marriage of Prince William to his bride, Catherine Middleton.

Mist. In 1976, the royal family attended the Montreal Olympics to watch Princess Anne compete as a member of the British equestrian team.

Amidst the more fun royal duties, there is always official business and three such events are of particular historic importance. In 1957, Queen Elizabeth II became the first sovereign to open the Canadian parliament. In 1982, she was present during the patriation of the Canadian Constitution. The only other reigning monarch to enact royal orders while on Canadian soil was George VI, who gave royal assent to nine bills as the King of Canada, acknowledging Canada as a fully sovereign independent nation, not a nation subordinate to the Empire. The distinction was noted in the king's speech when he expressed his desire to give his "Canadian people a deeper conception of their unity as a nation."

Today, we still struggle a bit with the concept of unity, and with the idea of having a monarchy. Canada's connection to the monarchy at this point in history is both cheered and jeered, as likely to excite as to generate criticism. Some love the pageantry and tradition of the monarchy. Anti-monarchists question the financial cost of a royal "firm" that seems without a purpose. Regardless of one's point of view, the British monarchy is a connection to Canada's history. The monarchical system, British and French, has given much to Canada, including the intellectual, literary and cultural framework of our society.

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




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MARGARET DICKENSON

Just as our political, environmental and social worlds spin at an alarming rate, so too does the culinary world.

While not underestimating the importance of global changes, the world of food has dramatically evolved on a number of fronts. In the past few years, organic, local and seasonal have become important buzz words often inspiring, or commanding, a moral commitment.

In this article, however, I want to talk about one of the current food presentation trends.

Who doesn't adore stacks, regardless of where they might appear on a menu? Successful stacks bring together enticing layers of exciting ingredients. The combination of flavours, textures and colours can be outstanding. The visual effects can also be stunning, and that's no small thing. After all, first impressions count and many of us eat first with our eyes. Once popped into our mouths, the crescendo of culinary magic begins as discerning palates recognize how various elements interact with one another. The result is more complex, thanks to the stacked style of presentation.

Appealing hors d'oeuvres can quickly be prepared by simply placing a bit of this and a bit of that in a layered effect on oriental porcelain spoons or spoons designed for this purpose. It is important to remember that these mini stacks must always be stable to avoid awkward moments. They may require touches of flavoured mayonnaise, cream cheese or something else to bind the layers in a secure fashion. And refrain from being too generous when filling spoons because they must be easy to handle and manageable in one mouthful. Similarly, stacks can be assembled on small hors d'oeuvre dishes and in glasses or demi-tasse cups when guests are able to set down their drink glasses as they'll need both hands to manage. (Note: Cocktail

forks or spoons may also be necessary.)

At the table, a sure way to impress your guests is to serve the appetizer course as a stack. Among our favourites are slices of smoked salmon, avocado and mango, garnished with drizzles of a mustard-herb type of vinaigrette and microscopic dabs of lemon oil. But the choices are abundant. You might decide on a creative multi-coloured stack of grilled vegetables. And there's always the traditional stack of sliced tomatoes and buffalo mozzarella lightly bathed with basil-infused olive oil and sprinkled with roasted pine nuts. Stacks are always best presented as individual servings. To facilitate the creation of a stack, position a metal cylinder/ring (e.g., 4 inch or 10 cm in diameter) on a dinner plate and fill it accordingly. Carefully remove the cylinder, transfer it to the next plate and repeat the process.

Plated main courses are definitely tempting and very professional in appearance (although anyone can do it) when at least some elements on the plates are presented one on top of the other in a vertical manner rather than in one horizontal configuration. This could be the principal protein (e.g. fish, beef, chicken) perched on a bed of cooked vegetables and crowned with microgreens. Or it might be something quite different. My stack of decadent lamb medallions with seared pâté always



Decadent lamb medallions with seared pâté

draws immediate wows as it arrives at the table and then again when guests take those critical first bites.

More and more desserts are coming to the table as extravagant stacks of mousse, cake/pastry, fruit, cream, etc.

Indeed, stacks have convincingly invaded our culinary world. Next time you have a dinner party, impress your guests by preparing an ultimate stacked dinner for them. It will be great fun for everyone.

Now, from our table to yours "Bon Appétit"!

(This is the fourth in a series of six, highlighting themes from Margaret's Table, her cooking and lifestyle series on Rogers TV.)

Decadent Lamb Medallions with Seared Pâté

Makes 4 servings

4 oz (115 g) pâté, cut into 8 squares (1 1/4 inches or 3 cm; thickness: about 1/3 inch or 0.8 cm)

2 tbsp (30 mL) all-purpose flour

8 lamb medallions (each: about 2 1/3 oz or 70 g), thickness: 3/4 inch or 2 cm

2 1/2 tbsp (38 mL) olive oil (preferably garlic-infused)

To taste, crushed black peppercorns

3/4 cup (180 mL) Balsamic Red Wine Drizzle (recipe follows)

Garnish

4 sprigs of fresh rosemary

1. Coat all exterior surfaces of pâté squares lightly with flour; arrange on a wax paper lined tray and refrigerate for at least 30 minutes (so that flour clings more effectively to pâté).

2. One hour before serving, rub lamb medallions with olive oil, season with crushed black peppercorns and leave at room temperature.

3. Just before serving, place medallions on a lightly oiled preheated (medium-high) barbecue grill; immediately reduce heat to medium. With lid down, grill medallions for about 2 minutes per side for medium-rare or longer for greater degree of doneness.

4. Promptly transfer grilled medallions to a baking sheet and cover loosely with aluminum foil (shiny side down).

5. Meanwhile, in a preheated, medium-size, non-stick skillet over medium-high heat, quickly sear flour-coated and chilled

pâté squares (for a matter of seconds per side) until golden brown and slightly crisp; transfer to a plate.

6. For individual servings, place one lamb medallion on each of 4 plates; drizzle each with 2 tsp (10 mL) of Balsamic Red Wine Drizzle; top with 1 square of seared pâté. Add a second medallion and square of pâté, then drizzle entire stack with another 2 tsp (10 mL) of Balsamic Red Wine Drizzle. Pierce a sprig of fresh rosemary through the entire stack in a vertical manner.

7. Serve immediately. Pass remaining Balsamic Red Wine Drizzle at the table.

Balsamic Red Wine Drizzle/Sauce

Makes 4/5 cup or 200 mL

1 tbsp (15 mL) instant beef bouillon powder
 1 1/2 cups (375 mL) hot water
 2 cups (500 mL) red wine
 1/2 cup (125 mL) honey
 1/2 cup (125 mL) balsamic vinegar
 1 tbsp (15 mL) cornstarch
 1 tbsp (15 mL) cold water

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

2. In a medium-sized saucepan over medium heat, combine wine and honey stirring until honey is dissolved.

3. Add balsamic vinegar; bring to a boil. Stirring occasionally, allow mixture to boil gently (uncovered) and reduce to 1 cup (250 mL).

4. Add bouillon to balsamic red wine reduction; bring mixture to a boil. Stirring occasionally, allow mixture to boil (uncovered) and reduce to almost 4/5 cup (200 mL).

5. Promptly, in a small bowl, combine cornstarch and cold water to form a smooth mixture. Add a couple of tablespoons (30 mL) of hot balsamic sauce to cornstarch mixture, stirring constantly until well blended.

6. Whisking constantly, quickly add cornstarch balsamic mixture to saucepan. Bring sauce back to a boil and cook until slightly thickened.

7. Immediately remove sauce from heat, cover and allow to cool.

8. If not using sauce until later, store cooled sauce refrigerated in a well-sealed glass jar for up to several weeks.

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*. Visit www.margaretstable.ca for more.



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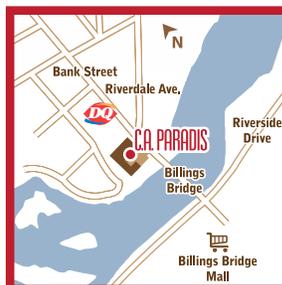
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PIETER VAN DEN WEGHE

The warm brilliant days of summer can inspire us to travel, explore and seek out new pleasures. Thanks to their freshness, vibrancy and plain deliciousness, white wines are a natural fit for the pleasures part. And, why not use wine to scratch the itch to travel or assuage the travel bug, too? Any given bottle of great wine is a vicarious trip to a far-off land, and there are many regions whose wines and grape varieties we are not familiar with but which are starting to make a mark in the wine culture we have here. Though new and emerging, these regions can be found in countries which seem incredibly familiar from a wine perspective.

Argentina is a powerhouse of wine production with countless Malbecs crowding the wine shelves at the LCBO. However, summertime calls for a fresher, more vibrant approach and another Argentine specialty fits the bill perfectly. It is the beautifully perfumed white grape variety Torrontés. Similar to both Muscat and Gewürztraminer and with an origin which is yet to be fully determined, Torrontés is considered to be an Argentine specialty. The wines made from Torrontés can be beautifully refreshing with intense floral aromatics and flavours of lemon, lime and meringue. While it's cultivated throughout Argentina, it is in Salta where the variety is at its best.

Salta lies north of the more familiar region of Mendoza and is one of the Argentina's oldest wine-producing areas. It also has some of the world's highest vineyards with altitudes varying from 1,280 to 3,005 metres above sea level. Great examples of Torrontés from Alta Vista, Familia Zuccardi and Catena appear at the LCBO and are rarely more than \$20. Keep an eye out for one and you should be delightfully surprised at this very different side of Argentina.

Like Argentina, Chile is a very recognizable part of our wine scene. Once again, this is mostly through an association with big and robust red wines. That said, much work is being done in Chile to explore the potential of cooler sites. Some of these sites are found in established regions familiar to drinkers of Chilean Cabernet Sauvignon, Merlot and Carmenère. For example, in the region of Aconcagua, the Casablanca valley is a relatively new wine-producing region which was only planted to vine in the mid-1980s and is considered Chile's first successful cool climate region. Here, Chardonnay and Sauvignon Blanc do well and make up three-quarters of the vineyards. This is an anomaly in a country where red varieties account for some 75 percent of the nation's vineyards.

Also, a new look is being given to Chile's southernmost areas of Itata, Bío Bío and Malleco. While these may be home to some of the earliest vineyards in Chile (such as near the port city of Concepción), the region has a reputation for jug wine. Now, there are many experimental vineyards in place, and interesting expressions of Chardonnay, Sauvignon Blanc, Gewürztraminer and Riesling are appearing. A great opportunity to taste these wines is with Cono Sur's "Vision" series of single vineyard wines which have appeared through Vintages. In particular, their 2010 Riesling from Bío Bío is delicious with flavours of lime, green apple and stone fruits and a tremendous value at only \$15.

In Australia, a great region to turn to for summer wines is Tasmania. Physically separated from the mainland by the narrow and stormy Bass Strait, Tasmania is also distinct from the rest of Australia in the very different style of wine it produces. With a climate which generally resembles that of cooler areas of Europe, Tasmania produces some of Australia's most outstanding cool-climate still and sparkling wines. Although production accounts for less than 1 percent of the national total, Tasmanian wines are well represented in premium wine sales and exports and account for more than 6 percent of Australia's overall premium wine sales.



Assyrtiko's "wild ferment" is rich, dry and complex.

Fabulous sparkling wines are produced as are great expressions of Chardonnay, Pinot Gris and Riesling. Very good, reasonably-priced examples of the latter two varieties from producer Josef Chromy appear through Vintages. Given an opportunity to taste a bottle of traditional method sparkling, take it, as you will be strongly rewarded.

For many of us, Greece has long operated on the periphery of quality wine production. Most people have little or no experience with any of its wines. There is, however, a bit of a renaissance underway. Part of this new movement is winery called Gaia (pronounced like "yeah-ah" and not to be confused with the Gaja

from Italy). Over the last couple of years, I have become more familiar and greatly impressed with their wines. In particular, their very aromatic "Wild Ferment" Assyrtiko is rich, dry and complex with loads of mineral, citrus and spice. Sourced from windswept vineyards on the island of Santorini, the Assyrtiko grape variety grows on poor porous soil composed mostly of pumice. Some of Gaia's vineyards are composed of 70- to 80-year-old, ungrafted vines which produce very low yields of fruit. This wine, in particular, is blended from numerous barrels of Assyrtiko which have fermented with naturally-occurring native yeasts.

While some of Gaia's wines have appeared through Vintages, it is also available through The Small Winemakers Collection. An awesome pairing with simple savoury fish and seafood dishes (especially those with a salty component), the wine is a perfect fit for summer dining. Whichever of these roads you take, a discovery of new, exciting and delicious white wines perfect for summer awaits, and you have only to go as far as the store.

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

A Victorian mansion fit for a prime minister

By Margo Roston



DYANNE WILSON

The elegant home now owned by the British government and occupied by British High Commissioner Andrew Pocock and his wife, Julie, was once home to Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald.

Settled comfortably into gracious gardens, Earnscliffe, the elegant grey limestone residence of British High Commissioner Andrew Pocock and his wife, Julie, looks much the same as

when it housed Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald. The stone is mellow with age and the bright, white gingerbread trim reflects the Victorian Gothic style of the mid-19th Century.

Originally built in 1855 for John McKinnon, a local businessman and son-in-law of Thomas McKay, it was sold to local railwayman Thomas Reynolds in 1870, and eventually purchased by Sir John A.



The high commissioner's study still contains the original fireplace and bookshelves.



ALL PHOTOS DYANNE WILSON

Queen Elizabeth overlooks a statue of King Edward VII.



A bust of Sir John A. Macdonald greets guests in the Victorian-style portico.

in 1883 for \$10,040. He gave it the name Earncliffe, meaning "eagle's cliff" for its stunning location overlooking the Ottawa River and Quebec. He made some alterations to the house and following his death in 1891, his widow, Baroness Macdonald of Earncliffe, sold it to Dr. Charles Harriss. In 1930, Prime Minister R.B. Bennett passed up the opportunity to purchase the house as a Canadian prime ministerial residence, opening the door for Britain's first high commissioner to Canada, Sir William Clark, to buy it on behalf of the British government.

Today, Earncliffe's circular driveway leads to the heavily detailed Victorian-style portico, where guests are greeted on the porch by the bust of Sir John A. and in the hall by a bronze statue of King Edward VII.

Echoes of the former owner are everywhere. The high commissioner's study still contains the original fireplace and bookshelves that line the walls. The patterned wallpaper is reminiscent of designs by Victorian architect Augustus Pugin. A large desk overlooks the garden.

"It is used today the same way as then," says the high commissioner.

The main reception room was originally two rooms put together in 1874. Painted an historical yellow, the decor includes pink sofas, checkered chairs and a grand piano. Behind the piano is the River Room, a small, cozy spot with a lovely view, and nearby, the conservatory, a flower-filled retreat added in 1930 by enclosing the original verandah.



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DYANNE WILSON

Julie and Andrew Pocock are at home in their Canadian residence, indeed the high commissioner's brother found a piece of artwork on the wall that was painted by one of their ancestors.

Perhaps the most interesting enhancement to the house is the large dining room added at the back end by Macdonald. Now with a dining room table that seats 30, it was remodelled several times, culminating in the installation in the 1950s of a picture window looking out at the Gatineau hills.

"One of the glories is looking at 'la belle Province,'" Mr. Pocock says. "When we arrived in January, the river was just a sheet of ice and snow, white as far as the

eye could see, and we've seen it transform itself back into summer."

Period atmosphere permeates the house, from the main-stair banisters with their matching pairs of spindles typical of 19th-Century Ontario homes and the period wallpaper in what was Macdonald's large and airy bedroom, one of the three on the second floor, and the place where the country's first prime minister died. It was here that the High Commissioner's brother made an interesting discovery. Be-

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DYANNE WILSON

Chef John Leung's meringue cookies are a hit with guests.

cause he was staying in that bedroom, he checked out the art on the walls and found a small landscape painting by their ancestor, Nicholas Pocock, a well-known British naval artist who lived from the mid-18th to the mid-19th Century.

Perhaps the most charming element in the house is the small seat on the landing at the top of the back stairs. Here Sir John's A's much-loved disabled daughter Mary could sit and watch her father's distinguished and glittery guests going into dinner.

The high commission boasts the services of star chef John Leung, who often uses his skills to serve English and Scottish specialties, including venison and home-cured salmon.

"At a reception to celebrate the royal wedding, we served the same menu as the one at Buckingham Palace," says Mrs. Pocock. But while they fêted their wedding, they won't be entertaining the royal couple when they come to Canada since the Canadian government is playing host.

Earncliffe also has a small cottage industry, bottling maple syrup from trees on the property, small packages of chocolate truffles and even crab-apple jelly, all logoed with a picture of the house.

The landscaped grounds include a limestone carriage house built by Sir John A., which now houses a couple of staff members. The grounds also offer a view to the south of the rusty sides of the Macdonald-Cartier Bridge, an eyesore no one much talks about.

Mrs. Pocock is more interested in her plans for a formal diamond-shaped rose garden to be created on the grounds to acknowledge Queen Elizabeth's 2012 Diamond Jubilee. To be built on a sunny spot near the front door, the diamond will be filled appropriately with red and white roses among others, all planted to bloom just in time for next summer's celebrations. ▣

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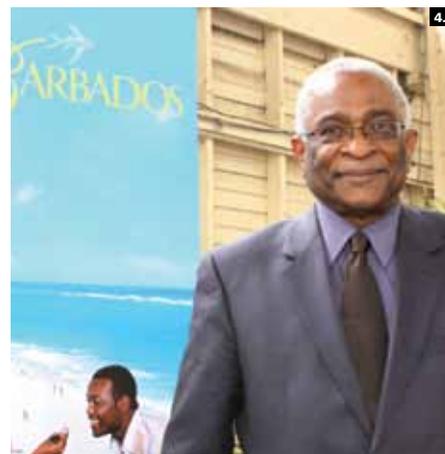


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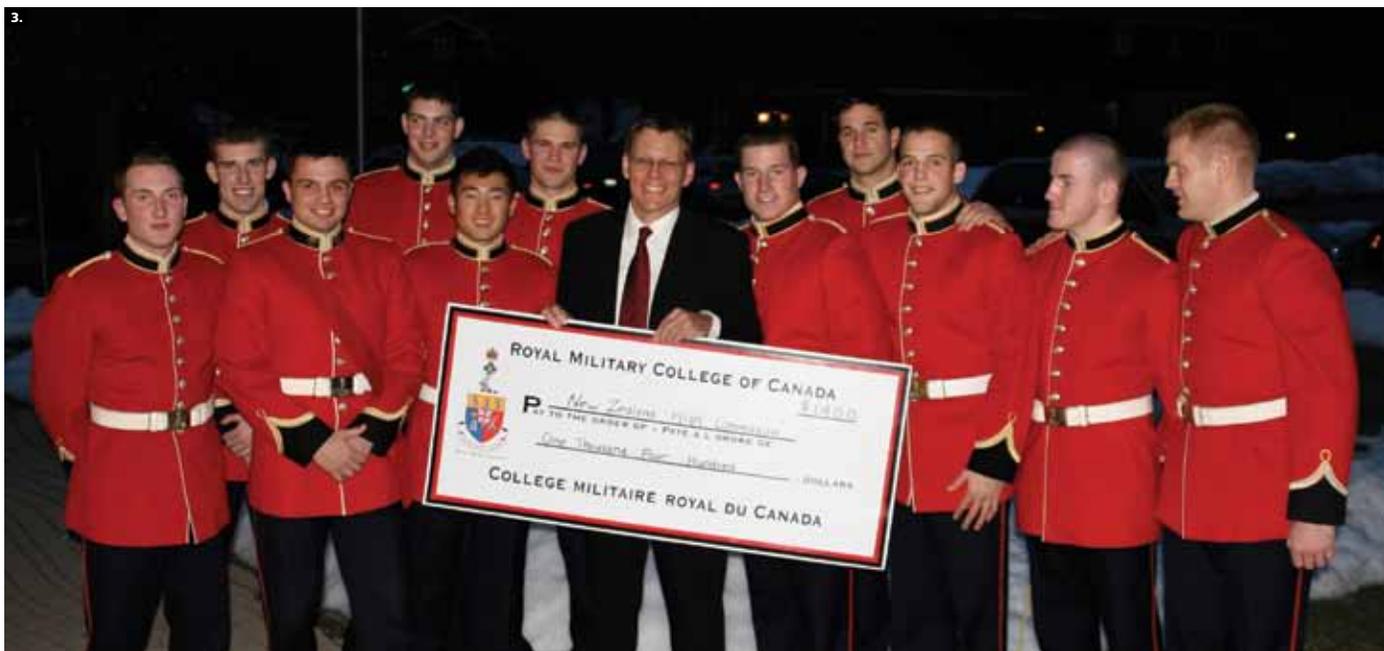
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THIS PAGE: 1. British High Commissioner Andrew Pocock, centre, with guests Bronwyn Klenner (New Zealand) and U.S. Ambassador David Jacobson, at his party celebrating the royal wedding of Prince William and Catherine Middleton. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell) 2. To mark the official opening of the embassy of Qatar in Ottawa, Algerian Ambassador Smail Benamara hosted a reception to welcome Qatari Ambassador Salem Mubarak Al-Shafi, centre, with chief of protocol Margaret Huber, left, and city councillor Stephane Blais, right. (Photo: Algerian embassy) 3. WaterCan's annual buffet of nations, in support of clean water and basic sanitation projects in developing nations, featured 40 embassies and high commissions with the Venezuelan embassy represented by, from left, Chargée d'Affaires Ana Rodríguez; second secretary Yrasema Sanchez; counselor Francia Malvar and Chef Pedro Cedeño. (Photo: Bill Blackstone) 4. Barbados High Commissioner Edward Evelyn Greaves attended the same event. (Photo: Lois Siegel)



THIS PAGE: 1. To mark the 70th anniversary of the Battle of Crete, the Cretans' Association of Ottawa, with the Hellenic Community of Ottawa and the Greek Embassy, hosted a talk. From left: John Karadakis, Kathy Gouvatsos and Cathy Dimitriov. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell) 2. The Ottawa Symphonic Ensemble and Korean embassy hosted a gala at the Museum of Civilization. From left, Korean Ambassador Chan ho Ha, Canada-Korea Society president Young-Hae Lee, conductor Jung-Suk Ryu and Senator Yonah Martin. (Photo: Kim Young-Hwan) 3. Polish Ambassador Zenon Kosiniak-Kamysz and his wife, Katarzyna, hosted a reception at the National Gallery to mark Constitution Day following a mass to mark the Beatification of Pope John Paul II. (Photo: Frank Scheme) 4. To mark Freedom Day, South African High Commissioner Mohau Pheko, right, hosted a reception at the Chateau Laurier. Zambian High Commissioner Nevers Mumba attended. 5. To mark the 20th anniversary of Azerbaijan's independence, Ambassador Farid Shafiyev and his wife, Ulkar, hosted a reception at the Chateau Laurier. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 6. The Travel and Vacation Show took place at Lansdowne Park in April. Egyptian Ambassador Wael Aboul Magd hosted a booth with his wife, Hanan Kader. (Photo: Ulle Baum)



THIS PAGE: 1. 2011 has been declared “the Year of India in Canada.” The Indian high commission was active in this year’s Tulip Festival. India’s contribution featured vividly-costumed dancers, including the performer pictured here, along with cultural and cuisine displays. (Photo: Rina Gavai) 2. Colombian Ambassador Clemencia Forero and Brazilian Ambassador Piragibe S. Tarrago attended a Music to Dine For fundraising event hosted by Jamaican High Commissioner Sheila Sealy-Monteith, in support of the NAC’s young musicians program. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 3. New Zealand High Commissioner Andrew Needs hosted a fundraiser, organized by a team of volunteers. Proceeds went to the Christchurch Earthquake Appeal (www.quakeappeal.com). Mr. Needs is shown with a contingent of cadets from the Royal Military College in Kingston, who presented a big cheque and contributed to the overall total of \$16,600 raised. 4. To mark the 63rd independence day of Israel, Ambassador Miriam Ziv hosted a reception at the Château Laurier Ballroom. Chief of Defence Staff Walt Natynczyk attended.



THIS PAGE: 1. The African group of ambassadors and high commissioners hosted their annual Africa Day, which included dancers and drummers, at the Government Conference Centre May 16. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. Norwegian Ambassador Else Berit Eikeland hosted a national day event at her residence May 18. From left: cultural affairs officer Jan-Terje Studsvik Storaas, consular officer Margrete Vollelv, trainee Torunn Tveit Gaasemyr, Eikeland, archivist Anne Roel Lydersen, information officer Wenche Linneboe and minister-counsellor Jo Sletbak. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. Romanian Ambassador Elena Stefoi, left, hosted a reception in honour of Romania's foreign affairs minister, Teodor Baconschi, at the embassy. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell) 4. The Canadian Federation of University Women's diplomatic hospitality group hosted a visit to Stanley's Maple Farm. From left, Siti Hazura Mohd Ghaus and Azidah Puteri Buang (both from Malaysia) with the horses who transported guests through the grounds. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. With the Ottawa Diplomatic Association, Carleton University's new Initiative for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Engagement held a federal election primer in April. Shown, Fen Hampson, director of Carleton's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, and Jamaican High Commissioner Sheila Sealy-Monteith. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell)



1.



2.



3.

THIS PAGE: 1. Albanian Ambassador Besnik Konci concluded his Ottawa posting this spring. He's shown at his farewell reception with, from left, his daughters, Rea and Xheni, and his wife, Etleva Konci. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. The National Gallery of Canada's volunteer's circle hosted a Wednesday morning study group featuring photographer Frank Scheme, who spoke on the colonial art of Peru while Candice Hopkins spoke about indigenous art. The event was followed by an annual spring luncheon and the embassy of Peru provided some Peruvian treats to guests. From left, convenor Sidney Hicks, Douglas Cardinal, Peruvian diplomat José Ortiz, Rosa Bellina, and Peruvian Ambassador José Antonio Bellina. (Photo: Frank Scheme) 3. The launch of the Bright Nights Baltic Nordic film festival took place at the Danish embassy in May. From left: Finnish diplomat Heini Harala, Estonian chargé d'affaires Riho Kruuv, Jerrett Zaroski, programmer with the Canadian Film Institute, and Andris Kesteris, founder of the Baltic Film Festival. (Photo: Ulle Baum)

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New heads of mission



Elida Petoshati
Ambassador of Albania

Mrs. Petoshati is a career diplomat who joined the ministry of foreign affairs in 1998 after completing a bachelor of arts at Tirana University and a doctorate in philological sciences from the University of Bucharest.

At the foreign ministry's headquarters, she has worked on the NATO, OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], UN and European desks. From 2001 to 2005, she was counsellor at the embassy in Romania where she also served as *chargé d'affaires*. From 2005 to 2009, she was secretary general of the Albanian National Commission for UNESCO and the Francophonie. From 2009 until her appointment to Canada, she was director of the section for Italy, Greece, Turkey (Holy See, Malta and Cyprus).

Prior to joining the ministry she was an assistant professor at Tirana University (1992-1993 and 1999-2001).

Ms. Petoshati has written and published several scientific studies, books and articles on literature, linguistics, cultural diversity, Albanian history and culture. She speaks English, French, Romanian, Spanish and Italian, and is married to Arian Muka.

Piragibe dos Santos Tarrago
Ambassador of Brazil

This is Mr. Tarrago's second posting to Canada. He was first secretary at the Ottawa mission between 1983 and 1985.

Mr. Tarrago graduated from the Rio Branco Institute (Diplomatic Academy) in 1974 after completing legal studies at Rio de Janeiro University.

He began his career as an adviser in the Western European division and was sent to Maputo on posting a year later. After serving as an adviser in the trade division, he was posted to the UN mission in



New York for four years; he then came to Canada for two. He returned to the trade division at headquarters until he was sent to Geneva, then immediately went to Caracas for four years as minister-counsellor. He returned to headquarters as head of the trade policy division before a posting to London. From 2006 to 2009, he returned to New York as deputy permanent representative. He has held the title of ambassador since 2004.

He has two sons, and is not married.

Veselko Grubišić
Ambassador of Croatia



Mr. Grubišić has a master's degree in international relations from the University of Zagreb and a diploma of international and security studies from the George C. Marshall European Centre for Security Studies in Germany.

He spent the first 10 years of his career in the private sector before joining the foreign service in 1997. He first worked in the department for Central, Eastern and South-eastern Europe before joining the NATO desk. In 2000, he was appointed to the EU mission in Brussels for three years. He then worked as head of the NATO division before becoming assistant minister for security and communications systems. In 2004, he became director of the

intelligence agency and two years later, was appointed Croatian Ambassador to Dublin. He was there for five years before receiving his appointment to Canada.

Mr. Grubišić is married to Martha, who is a lawyer, and the couple has three children, Matthew, Anthony and Ana Maria. He speaks English and, to a lesser extent, French and German.

Dato' Hayati Ismail
High Commissioner for Malaysia



Dato' Hayati Ismail began her diplomatic career in 1984. She has served abroad in Germany and New Zealand and her last overseas assignment was as the High Commissioner of Malaysia to Namibia (2004 to 2008).

Prior to her assignment as the High Commissioner of Malaysia to Canada, Dato' Hayati Ismail served as senior undersecretary for the directorate of Asia, Oceania and North Africa at the ministry of foreign affairs (2008 to 2011). Between overseas assignments, she worked at headquarters at the ministry of foreign affairs in the South-east Asia division, the multilateral and economics division and the ASEAN division.

The high commissioner was born in the state of Perak, Malaysia, and graduated with a bachelor of science in agri-business from University Putra Malaysia.

Ms Hayati is married and has three sons ages 22, 17 and 16.

Salem Moubarak Al Shafi
Ambassador of Qatar

Mr. Al Shafi completed a master's degree in international relations at the University of Exeter in the UK in 2002. The following year, he joined the foreign service, first holding a position in the department of European and American affairs. Two years later, he was appointed counsellor at



Qatar's permanent mission of the United Nations in Geneva. He then returned to his previous department at the ministry for two years before being sent to the United Nations in New York as Qatar's deputy permanent resident.

Mr. Al Shafi has represented his country at several international and regional conferences including the UN climate change conference in Copenhagen (2009) and the summit on climate change in New York (2009).

Mr. Al Shafi is married and has one child.

Non-heads of mission

Angola
Matilde Pedro Zeferino Antonio
Third secretary

Brazil
Paulo Roberto Amora Alvarenga
Minister-counsellor

Brunei Darussalam
Nadiah Ahmad Rafie
Second secretary

Chile
Marcos Manuel Correa Letelier
First secretary

China
Wenfei Zhao
First secretary
Xuefeng Yan
Counsellor
Xiangyang Wang
Counsellor and consul general
Wenjing Ma
Attaché
Qiming Wang
Counsellor
Tianshu Ma
First secretary
Yuelong Han
Attaché

Dongfang Hou
Attaché

Czech Republic
Premysl Skacha,
Military, air and defence attaché

Indonesia
Cicilia Rusdiharini
Minister-counsellor

Iran
Hamid Moharrami
Counsellor

Japan
Kazuma Endo
Third secretary
Hiroki Hamamoto
First secretary
Mariko Murakoshi
Counsellor
Katsuhiko Kitagawa
First secretary
Osamu Ogata
First secretary
Hidetaka Nishimura
Counsellor

Kenya
Jane Nyaboke Nyangweso
Attaché

Korea, Republic
Yanggyu Seo
Second secretary

Mexico
Adriana Gonzalez Arce Brilanti
First secretary

Norway
Richard Lorentz Pedersen
Counsellor

Paraguay
Raul Antonio Montiel Gasto
Counsellor

Peru
Carla Maria Cueva Navarro
First secretary

Russia
Petr Plikhin
Minister-counsellor

Rwanda
Shakilla Umtoni Kazimbaya
First counsellor

Saudi Arabia
Mohammed Saeed M. Bareem
Attaché
Mohammed Sulaiman A. Alrebd
Attaché

Senegal
Mamadou Ndiaye
Minister-counsellor

Thailand
Supanee Lertrit
Minister

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

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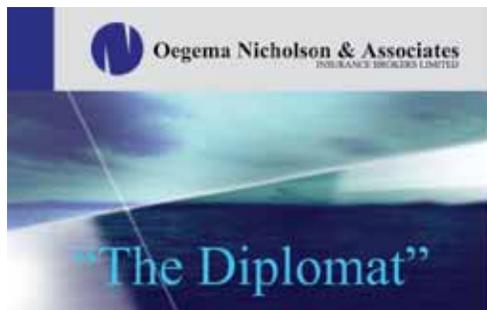
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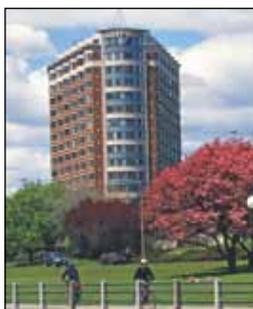
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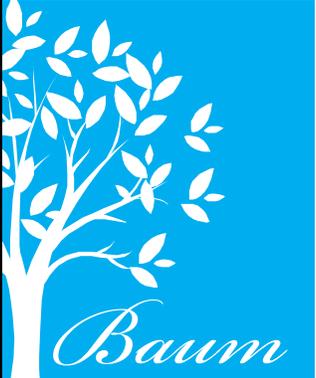
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Thrills, Chills... and Trills at Ottawa Chamberfest 2011

Presented from July 23 to August 5, **Ottawa Chamberfest 2011** welcomes more than 300 artists and hosts 97 performances and events during two weeks of musical celebration.

Ottawa Chamberfest 2011 brings together the boldest names in ensemble and solo performance, capped at both ends with the hottest three tickets of the summer concert season.

Canada's superstar soprano, **Karina Gauvin**, makes her long-awaited return to Ottawa for an opening-night gala performance with conductor **Jean-Michaël Lavoie** and the **National Arts Centre Orchestra** (Saturday, July 23, 7:00 p.m.).

Lavoie and NACO return Sunday, July 24 at 7:00 p.m. with pianist **Katherine Chi**, bass-baritone **Robert Pomakov**, and Juno® award-winning **Gryphon Trio** for an evening of Mussorgsky, Liszt, Shostakovich, and Dvořák.

On closing night (Friday, August 5, 7:00 p.m.), celebrated pianist **Anton Kuerti** joins **Isabel Bayrakdarian** and Grammy® award-winning **Pacifica Quartet** to perform Brahms' *Piano Quintet in F minor, Op. 34* and *Chanson perpétuelle, Op. 37* for soprano and piano quintet, by Ernest Chausson.

Between galas, celebrated Bach interpreter **Simone Dinnerstein**, **Marc-André Hamelin**, and CBC's 75th Anniversary Celebration featuring violin virtuoso **James Ehnes** and piano prodigy **Jan Lisiecki**, lead a cavalcade of stars from across Canada and around the world.

Strings abound, with the return of 2010 BISQ winners **Cecilia String Quartet** and **Afiara String Quartet**. **Trio con Brio Copenhagen**, **Takács Quartet**, **Joe Trio**, and **Musique de chambre à Giverny** are just a few of the trios, quartets, and ensembles making their festival debuts this year.

NEXUS premiere percussion ensemble marks its 40th at this year's Chamberfest. Founded in 1971, the ensemble presents its vast improvisational talents at a July 31 (8:00 p.m.) marquee concert, then joins **TorQ Percussion Quartet** later that same night for the Ottawa premiere of Steve Reich's iconic *Drumming*.

And for those who prefer to take a walk on the wild side, **Late Night at the Kildare** (10:30 p.m. Saint Brigid's Centre for the Arts) presents every manner of crossover spectacle, from the pyrotechnics of Celtic stepdancing fiddlers to the headbanging



BILL BLACKSTONE

The Ottawa Chamber Music Society held the media launch for the 2011 Ottawa International Chamber Music Festival on April 27 at the residence of German Ambassador Dr. Georg Witschel. Pictured, left to right, are Ambassador Witschel, Mrs. Sabine Witschel, OCMS Artistic Director Roman Borys and OCMS Executive Director Glenn Hodgins.



BILL BLACKSTONE

Italian pianist Mauro Bertoli played a Liszt sonata at the media launch. He will perform works by Liszt at a Chamberfest concert on July 29.

intensity of 90s Grunge cello; from jazz lounge cool to exotic world beat.

This summer's festival is fondly dedicated to the memory of **Jacob Siskind**, music critic and arts patron, who bequeathed the bulk of his estate to Ottawa Chamber Music Society, curators of the festival.

Complete programming details are available at www.OttawaChamberfest.com/concerts. A festival preview brochure is available as a digital download from the website, or in print form by calling Ottawa Chamberfest at 613-234-8008.

Passes, flex plans, miniseries and single tickets are on sale now. The 2-week Prime 360 Pass (\$380, HST included) features A-series seating at **Festival Gala Series** con-

certs, front-of-line admission to all events, 15% discount on additional single ticket purchases, ticket exchange privileges, a \$25 gift certificate to Prime 360 steakhouse restaurant and a complimentary jar of Prime 360 gourmet steak spice. (Put some sizzle in your sonata!)

The 2-week Festival Pass (early-bird price: \$200, HST included) comes with general-admission seating at all events (Festival Gala Series excluded) and 15% discount on additional single ticket purchases.

Pass, plans, and tickets may be purchased at the Ottawa Chamberfest box office (4 Florence Street, Suite 201), online at www.OttawaChamberfest.com/tickets or by calling 613-234-6306.

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JOAO PAULICO

Oporto (the English spelling for Porto) is Portugal's second largest city, known worldwide for its prime export, Port wine, but also for its winning soccer team.

By Pedro Moitinho de Almeida



One of the best reasons to visit Europe's west coast is that Portugal offers some of the best value in Europe even in the midst of a challenging economy. My country is attracting visitors at a brisk pace not only because they get more for their money but mainly because they get a fresh and "real" experience, courtesy of the country's remarkable ability to remake itself as a wonderful blend of the traditional and the new, the classi-

cal and the modern. It has a culture and history uniquely its own, with a distinctive personality.

Among its many accomplishments, Portugal was the first European nation to discard Latin in favour of its own unique language. Portugal's borders have remained stable for centuries, giving them the longest-lasting borders in Europe. Most importantly, Portugal was the first nation to build a global economy. Its sea-faring explorations — from the 1400s through the 1600s — opened trade routes that reached Brazil to the west, Africa to the south, and Macau and India to the East. It is widely acknowledged that João Corte-Real, and later his son, Gaspar, were among the first Europeans to reach the shores of Newfoundland.

But we don't only revel in the past. We also look into the future. Today's Portugal boasts some of the most exciting new buildings in Europe, from Porto's Casa da

Música to Cascais' new Casa das Historias Paula Rego Museum. Its restaurants and cafés serve bold new dishes that combine traditional Portuguese cuisine with flavors of the other regions once explored by Portuguese mariners, making it an ultimate destination vacation for foodies. Portugal's cities are also heavily influenced by the cultures of the distant lands, and especially the cuisine, which appeals to the history buff in every traveler.

There's obviously also something for wine lovers. Portugal's burgeoning wine industry is being reborn as the country employs today's technology to get the best from grapes that have been cultivated for centuries and that are unique to my country. Wine drinkers will know that Portugal is home to the world's first demarcated wine region — the Douro River Valley — but it also has many more wine regions for a visitor to explore.

So what defines Portugal? Start with its



AKE E-SON LINDMAN

Sao Miguel Island, nicknamed “the Green Island,” is the most populous island in the Portuguese Azores archipelago.

vast cork forests, move on to discovering its ancient castles and forts, check out its mighty cathedrals and abbeys and explore its white-washed towns and vibrant cities. The traditional songs of Fado thrive among a new generation of Fadistas, who are the singers that turn the melancholy melodies into art. Portugal’s islands — the Azores and Madeira — also offer lush landscapes and dramatic scenery yet several of their cities compete as hotspots with the best in Europe.

Where to go?

The city of Lisbon, where I was born and raised, is called “the capital of cool in

Europe” and it’s a claim that continues to be true today. Lisbon has created top-level restaurants and has attracted some of the finest chefs from around the world. Luxury hotels have sprouted up everywhere. Museums, theatres and art venues draw talent from the best artists.

From Lisbon, a visitor can easily reach the resort towns along the Atlantic Coast.

Some of the more classic towns include Estoril and Cascais, where I now live, while the historic towns — such as Sintra, Óbidos, Mafra, Tomar, Santarém, and Alcobaca — offer an authentic view of older Portuguese culture.

Oporto is Portugal’s second largest city,

known worldwide for its prime export, Port wine, but also for its winning soccer team. In 2006, the region marked the 250th anniversary of Port wine production along the Douro River Valley, which is easily explored by car or river cruises and was in 2009 ranked No. 7 in the world in terms of sustainable destinations by *National Geographic Traveler*. Porto has become known for its granite Baroque architecture, breathtakingly exemplified in its relatively new futuristic concert hall, Casa da Música, designed by Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas. Porto is also the gateway to Portugal’s official birthplace, which dates back to the 12th Century. Yes, we are almost 900 years



JOSE MANUEL

Pena Palace (Palácio da Pena) in the town of Sintra was home to Queen Rainha D. Amélia from 1889 until 1910 when Portugal was established and the queen went into exile.

old. The city of Guimarães in the northeast of Porto is the nation's first capital, and marks the birthplace of Portugal's first king, Dom Afonso Henriques. The region is dotted with towns and manor houses in classic Baroque style.

The Azores archipelago — from where most of the members of the Portuguese community who now make Canada their home come from — consists of nine islands, 800 miles (1,287 kilometers) out to sea, making them nearly as close to North America as they are to mainland Portugal. They've been a stopping-off point for great sea-faring explorers from all over the world since the 1400s. While the volcanic topography makes for some great flora and fauna, with crater lakes shimmering in blue and green, the remoteness of the islands has contributed to their culture. Distinct in cuisine, dialect and traditions from the rest of Portugal, the Azores have continued to carve out a unique corner of Portuguese history. The towns are full of historic churches, yachting clubs, fishing harbours

and museums. The United Nations has recognized two Azores locations as World Heritage Sites, to be preserved for their historic value: the town of Angra do Heroísmo on the island of Terceira and the vineyards on Pico Island, the smallest of the Azorean islands. In 2007, the Azores were named by the National Geographic Centre for Sustainable Destinations as the world's second most appealing islands destination.

The cuisine experience

To fully experience Portugal's diverse cuisine, travelers should dine in both the north and south, on the mainland and throughout the islands. One of the more common Portuguese meals is *bacalhau* — a dried, salted cod eaten throughout Portugal. Until not long ago, almost all the catch of cod was done in Canada's east coast by sailing boats known as the "white fleet." The country's chefs claim there are 365 ways to prepare this national dish, one for every day of the year. Another country-wide favourite is grilled sardines, mostly

found in the Algarve region during the summer season.

But it doesn't end there. The wide-open Alentejo Region and the coastal Algarve Region each has its own distinct cuisine. Bread dishes, dry soups, rich sausages and dark hams are popular in Alentejo while one of the area's delicacies is a soup called *Açorda Alentejana*. It's made with bread, cilantro, garlic, olive oil and poached eggs. I can guarantee it is really delicious. The Algarve also specializes in spicy, grilled seafood.

And, last but certainly not least, Lisbon isn't just a city of restaurants, it's *the* city of restaurants. The city features both grand, old establishments that can trace their history back generations, and some of the newest trendsetters with world-class chefs in their kitchens. Continental classics rival the culinary scene of any other major European city but are also complemented by local Fado cafés and the culinary influences of former Portuguese colonies such as Brazil, Cabo Verde and Mozambique.



QUINTA DAS LAGRIMAS

Bacalhau, the Portuguese word for salted fish, is a delicacy in the country.

Best museums

Portugal is home to some of the finest art in the world. Renowned museums include Lisbon’s National Museum of Historic Art (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga), the Modern Art Centre (Centro de Arte

Moderna) and the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum. Each has an extensive collection of both classic and modern art but, for creations with a strictly Portuguese flavour, travelers aim for Lisbon’s Chiado Museum and the Serralves Museum in Porto. Each

city has its own museum (such as the Machado de Castro Museum in Coimbra and the Sacred Art Museum in Funchal). But tourists can find art and artifacts outside of museum walls, including Portugal’s delicately painted tiles, the *azulejos*, which are remnants of the country’s early occupation by the Moors.

Where to stay?

The town of Sintra features such a stunning setting that it was once a summer palace for the Portuguese crown. The town square is flanked by fountains, cafés, a medieval castle and antique shops, and features both a national palace and Pena Palace (Palacio da Pena). The latter was the home of Queen Rainha D. Amélia from 1889 until 1910 when the Republic of Portugal was established and the queen went into exile. About five minutes outside of town you’ll find Seteais Palace, a pink, 18th-Century palace that is now a luxury hotel.

The Buçaco Palace Hotel was once a Carmelite monastery: It now serves as a luxury hotel on the mountain rising above the town of Luso. Surrounded by the Buçaco Forest, this property also once served as a royal palace. The town of Luso sports its own thermal springs, which have attracted visitors for their healing qualities since the 1800s.

One of the favourite ancient stories among the Portuguese is that of the tragic love between Pedro and Inês de Castro. Pedro was heir to the throne in the 13th Century, and Inês was his wife’s lady-in-waiting. When Pedro’s wife died, he publicly declared his love for Inês, who was then promptly killed by the king. Pedro got revenge by tearing out the hearts of two of the killers and leading a revolt against the crown. With victory, Pedro had Inês exhumed, posthumously crowned Queen of Portugal and enshrined in the great Abbey of Alcobaça. Today, visitors can stay at the very palace where Inês and Pedro lived, which is now part of the hotel Quinta das Lágrimas in Coimbra. The garden where Inês was murdered is on the hotel’s grounds and is called the Garden of the Tears. At the Abbey of Alcobaça, about 50 miles (80 kilometres) away, the tombs of Pedro and Inês lie foot-to-foot so that, on Judgment Day, the first thing the lovers see will be each other.

You see, we always have been romantic.

Pedro Moitinho de Almeida is ambassador of Portugal to Canada. Reach him at 613-729-0883 or embportugal@ottawa.dgaccp.pt

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