Long Live the Royals

A SPECIAL DIPLOMAT REPORT ON THE SURVIVAL OF MONARCHY

PRINCE CHARLES THE PRESCIENT: ‘THE ULTIMATE SOURCE OF CAPITAL IS NATURE’S CAPITAL’

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Monarchy matters

Does monarchy seem a quaint and outdated notion, an irrelevant historical remnant? Do you think of it mostly as a provider of celebrity fodder for the tabloids? If this is your impression, read on. You may change your mind. It turns out that even here in the 21st Century, there's much more to monarchy than you might think. At its best, it's an enduring institution that preserves and perpetuates a country’s sense of its cultural and historical heritage. And, as our royal writers, Arthur Bousfield and Garry Toffoli, tell us in this special issue of Diplomat, monarchy is a universal phenomenon that transcends race, religion and economic philosophies.

In our cover story, Mssrs. Bousfield and Toffoli determine there are exactly 45 monarchies in the world. The monarchies come in various forms – from queens and kings, sultans and emirs, to the Pope. And their kingdoms range in size from the empire of Japan (with 127 million subjects) to that of the Pope (with 826 subjects).

But before we examine the state of monarchy around the world, we kick off our cover package with the remarkable musings of the world’s most celebrated prince, Charles, Prince of Wales. In July, when he delivered the Richard Dimbleby lecture (founded more than 20 years ago to honour a famous British journalist and broadcaster), Prince Charles lauded civilization’s progress since the industrial revolution and noted the unprecedented prosperity, increased life spans, widespread universal education and better healthcare that has occurred. But he bemoaned the “debts” that all these advantages have created: “We, in the industrialized world, have increased our consumption of the Earth’s resources in the last 30 years to such an extent that, as a result, our collective demands on nature’s capacity for renewal are being exceeded annually by some 25 per cent.”

In an investigation about healthcare for diplomats, publisher Donna Jacobs found out that some diplomats go south of the border to Ogdenburg for their care. And, they’re joined by Ottawans who don’t want to wait the days, weeks and months it can take to get non-emergency services in the capital.

In our books section, George Fetherling interviews Arctic expert Michael Byers. Dr. Byers covers everything from ownership of the Northwest Passage to the current government’s inadequate policy and vision for the North.

Culture editor, Margo Roston, drops in on Barbados High Commissioner Evelyn Greaves and his wife, Francilia, while wine writer, Pieter Van den Weghe, delves into biodynamic wines. Food writer Margaret Dickenson, whose retired diplomat husband isn’t a fan of turkey, offers an alternative to the festive bird for your Thanksgiving table.

Up front, we have a column by Fen Hampson, director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. A well-known commentator and expert in all things international, he argues that Canada must re-engage with India, and suggests it will take some doing to return to the heyday of the Canada-India relationship which peaked in the ’50s and ’60s.

Also up front, Portuguese Ambassador Pedro Luis Baptista Moitinho De Almeida makes his pitch for why his country should be chosen for a seat on the United Nations Security Council.

I hope you enjoy our autumn issue and our hats-off to the monarchs who continue to reign.

UP FRONT

Our cover subject – Prince Charles, the Prince of Wales – is heir to the throne of the Commonwealth Realms and, in his current position, is one of the most outspoken and conscience-driven of the royals in the United Kingdom. He’s shown here, in an image from the Press Association/Canadian Press, at a reception for his Affordable Rural Housing Initiative, at Clarence House, St. James’s, London.

Garry Toffoli has co-authored, edited or contributed to 13 books and one theatrical show on royal and Canadian history. He’s written for magazines in Canada, the United Kingdom and France, and is a television and radio commentator and a lecturer. He has a political science degree from York University, is a partner in Monarchy Canada Productions, executive director of The Canadian Royal Heritage Institute and an administrator for the Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy. A native Torontonian, he is descended from 20th-Century Italian immigrants and 19th-Century British settlers.

Arthur Bousfield is vice-chairman of The Canadian Royal Heritage Trust. The Toronto-based writer is co-author of Lives of the Princesses of Wales; the popular Royal Observations; bestseller, The Queen Mother and Her Century; Fifty Years the Queen; and Queen and Consort. He co-edited Now You Know Royalty and recently edited In Defence of Monarchy, pieces from Monarchy Canada magazine 1975-2002, scheduled to appear in October. Born in Peterborough of English and Anglo-Irish background, he has a master’s in modern history from the University of Toronto.
India's rising star

Along with China, India is now recognized as a major, global economic player. Its growth rates have consistently hovered in the nine percent range in recent years. Poverty is being reduced as the ranks of India’s middle class, the largest in the developing world, swell. By one reliable, if conservative, estimate, 50 million people or five percent of Indians are now defined as middle class – earning between $5,000 and $22,500 yearly. By 2025, middle-class Indians are projected to number nearly 600 million, or 41 percent of the population. Other estimates, based on purchasing power, say the middle class already numbers between 200 and 400 million.

Although India faces continuing problems of corruption, mismanagement, excessive bureaucracy and red tape, its services and industrial sectors are doing extremely well, propelling the country’s impressive economic performance and attracting growing levels of foreign direct investment (although India still lags behind China). The healthy state of India’s foreign exchange reserves, its booming real estate market, its strong internal consumer demand – all signs that India is on the move – have helped it to weather the recent global downturn and financial crisis better than most.

The national government’s structural transformations of the economy and market reforms are the main reason for this boom. So, too, is the country’s remarkable political stability, which was underscored by the country’s recent federal election. It delivered a strong majority to the United Progressive Alliance coalition led by the National Congress Party, and saw the world’s biggest electorate, an astounding 714 million, go to the polls. On May 22, Manmohan Singh was sworn in as prime minister, only the second time in history that an Indian prime minister had been re-elected after successfully completing a five-year term. The only other leader to achieve this feat was Jawaharlal Nehru in 1962.

India is now discussed in the same glowing terms as China. However, if China is Jupiter in this new constellation of global powers — an economic and military powerhouse that inspires a combination of admiration, awe, and apprehension — India is surely Saturn (or its Hindu equivalent, Shani), ostensibly a more benign and just behemoth. India’s phenomenal economic growth in recent years is complemented by its longstanding powers of attraction, not only as a beacon of democracy as the world’s biggest and noisiest, but also because of its extraordinary culture, history, art and architecture which have long held a special fascination to Westerners. India’s “soft power” allure also extends to politics. Soft power’s more successful champion was Mahatma Gandhi, who led India’s non-violent resistance movement against British colonial rule during the first half of the last century – a movement that rapidly gained a worldwide following.

India is now viewed as a strategic partner of the West and a key ally in combating terrorism and religious extremism, arresting the further spread of nuclear weapons and ensuring the security of oil and gas shipping lanes in the Indian Ocean. India is also using its blue water navy to help with anti-piracy operations around the Horn of Africa and the Strait of Malacca, the main shipping channel between the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean.

Many see India as a useful counterweight to China’s own growing power and influence in the Asia-Pacific region. But India’s tense and fragile relationship with neighbouring Pakistan, which is also a Western ally, is problematic for friends of both countries and worrying because both have nuclear weapons.

With India’s ascension as a major global power, Canada has begun to re-examine the foundations of its own relationship. Since India achieved its independence in 1947, our relationship has experienced many sudden twists and hard turns from one of partnership and close collaboration in the 1950s and 1960s, to estrangement followed by chilly indifference in 1970s and 1980s, to one now of tempered re-engagement and renewed promise beginning in the 1990s.

In the early days of India’s independence, our cooperative relationship was driven by optimism and a keen sense of achievement. Under the Colombo Plan, a British Commonwealth initiative which was formally launched in 1951, India was a top recipient of Canadian development assistance. Although India was one of the leaders of the non-aligned group of nations and Canada a member of NATO, our positions and interests were aligned on the Korean War armistice, the Suez Crisis, the Congo crisis, nuclear disarmament and the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam.

However, relations between our two countries rapidly deteriorated following India’s “Smiling Buddha” test of a nuclear device in May 1974. Canada felt betrayed that India had used fissionable material from a nuclear research reactor that Canada had supplied to India. All bilateral nuclear ties were severed in 1976 and our
overall relationship suffered. Some bilateral assistance programs were suspended and we found we had little common cause as India’s foreign policy became increasingly strident, shrill and anti-Western.

In the 1990s, Indo-Canadian relations thawed as India abandoned its longstanding socialist approach to economic development and the Cold War — and the rivalries and jockeying that went with it — ended. In 1996, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien launched one of his much-vaunted, high-profile trade missions to India. In 1997, India and Canada established a joint working group on counter-terrorism. New consulates were opened in the states of Punjab and Haryana. A state visit by Canada’s governor general, Romeo LeBlanc, followed in 1998. India’s nuclear test in 1998, however, set back relations yet again.

Following Washington’s own strategic dialogue with India, which culminated in a nuclear agreement in 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper raised the level of Canada’s engagement with India. India and Canada have launched exploratory talks toward a comprehensive economic partnership agreement. Efforts are also underway to implement the provisions of the Canadian-India Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement signed in 2007. Canada has opened up new trade offices in the Indian cities of Hyderabad and Ahmedabad to further promote trade and investment. However, cooperation is still tempered by the nuclear issue and Canada’s unwillingness to deal with India on nuclear matters because it is a not a member of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty regime nor has it signed the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Although Canada is keen to finalize a nuclear cooperation agreement with India that would give Canadian companies access to India’s nuclear energy market, many hurdles remain. Like the Cheshire cat, the legacy of Smiling Buddha has not completely faded.

It will take leadership and heightened commitment by both countries to recapture that heady spirit of optimism, friendship and trust that marked our relationship in the 1950s and 1960s. India’s stunning economic performance is a catalyst for action. So, too, is the remarkable success of this giant star of liberal democracy.

Fen Osler Hampson is Chancellor’s professor and director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University.
Each summer, the British High Commissioner sets up a huge tent in the garden at Earnscliffe and entertains guests for a solid week while helping to raise money for charities and cultural groups in Ottawa. And this year, High Commissioner Anthony Cary was, perhaps, a little more entertaining than usual.

When making remarks at the strawberry social in support of Third Wall Theatre, Mr. Cary took off his tie, then his pants, to reveal a pair of his wife’s black tights. And then he proceeded, with high drama, to deliver the “to be or not to be” soliloquy from *Hamlet*.

“The biggest thing for us was having Anthony Cary do a performance,” Third Wall artistic director James Richardson said. “A lot of people wanted to come for that reason. It was quite hilarious.”

Mr. Cary, who’s had cameo roles in the company’s productions, assessed the damage thus: “All I can say is that I will need to behave in very sober way for the next year or so to restore my reputation as a serious representative.”

The Third Wall event – which featured strawberries and cream, strawberry shortcake and strawberry-infused champagne – raised $6,000 for the Ottawa theatre group.

Also a beneficiary of “tent week” – a longstanding Earnscliffe effort in public diplomacy – was Cornerstone Women’s Shelter, which had a garden party and fashion show featuring clothing by Jefferson Sukhoo. It raised a record $20,500.

SOS Children’s Villages also had a fundraiser – a jewelry sale called “talent in the tent.” It included the work of 12 artists and raised $5,000 for the charity which raises orphaned and abandoned children and helps poor families care for their offspring.

On yet another evening, the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra was on the receiving end of proceeds. The Carys hosted the symphony’s annual Fête Champêtre, which is staged each year by a different mission. Six members of the orchestra played for the 300 ticket holders and the event raised $26,000 for the symphony’s new season.

“It is a privilege to offer our grounds to deserving charities, and to make a contribution to their costs,” Mr. Cary said. “Once we have the tent up, we try to make as much use as we can of it over the week. June can be a tricky month for rain, and we obviously have to settle the dates a long way ahead, so it is always a bit of a lottery, but on the whole, we were lucky this year.”
As well stated by Portuguese President Anibal Antonio Cavaco Silva, in his address to the 63rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the essence of the Portuguese candidacy is one of “Shared Responsibility, Common Destiny.”

The guarantee of peace, security and sustainable development is, indeed, a shared responsibility. The global challenges faced by the world today imply a collective responsibility, and Portugal sees the United Nations as the forum best suited for that collective effort. In a globalized world, only strong multilateral institutions can promote the fundamental values of peace, democracy, human rights and sustainable development.

Since its admission as a member of the United Nations in 1955, Portugal has consistently supported and promoted the principles and objectives of the United Nations Charter – effective multilateralism and the primacy of the UN in international politics.

The strong commitment of Portugal as a member of the United Nations is well defined by its efforts to secure self-determination for East Timor. In that situation, I had the privilege to participate directly as head of the Portuguese mission, from June 2000 until Independence Day on May 20, 2002. This endeavour stands as a clear demonstration of Portugal’s steady and coherent commitment to the preservation of international peace and security, the peaceful resolution of conflicts, the protection of human rights and the promotion of sustainable development.

Our strong commitment to the UN Charter is also seen in our significant participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations. Indeed, we make a bigger contribution than many of our partners, especially when you consider the relatively small size and wealth of our country. One can see this effort in action today in current missions in Lebanon, East Timor, Kosovo, the Central African Republic and Chad.

If given the chance to serve on the Security Council, Portugal’s priorities would be the fight against three equally destructive realities: terrorism, hunger and extreme poverty. The Millennium Development Goals have Portugal’s firm support, as does the creation of a high-level working group on the global food crisis. We are also honoured to be the driving force behind the optional protocol to the international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights, a landmark in the promotion of human rights.

By its geographical location, cultural legacy and vocation, Portugal has, throughout its history, fulfilled an indisputable role in bringing closer the various regions of the world. This role is shown today by Portugal’s active participation in several regional and trans-regional organizations, not only in the United Nations system and its agencies, but also in, for example, the European Union, the Community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries (CPLP), the Ibero-American Conference, the Community of Democracies, the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Organization of American States (as a permanent observer), the Union for the Mediterranean (Barcelona Process), the Co-operation Process in the Western Mediterranean (“Dialogue 5+5”) and the Mediterranean Forum.

The Portuguese presence in the Security Council in 2011-2012 would, therefore, be undertaken in the context of bringing closer different countries and cultures, which is fundamental at a time when there is a growing need for a consistent dialogue between civilizations.

Our role in the EU-Africa Summit, under the Portuguese presidency of the EU; and our role in the Presidency of the Community of Democracies as well as our future presidency of the Ibero-American Summit, are all emblematic of our enduring goal of deepening dialogue between nations.

An effective multilateralism cannot be achieved if the necessary means are not ensured. We believe the clarity of mandates, the reform of working methods, and
the effective fulfilment of the declarations on human rights already approved, are all necessary for greater representation and transparency in the United Nations.

By presenting this candidacy, Portugal is defending a more secure, more peaceful, better developed and fairer world. We intend to contribute constructively and pragmatically to the collective effort needed to overcome the challenges faced by the United Nations. The organization must demand more respect for human rights; it must combat nuclear proliferation, solve regional conflicts, fulfill the Millennium Development Goals by 2015, address climate change and pursue United Nations reform, to turn itself into a more transparent and effective organization.

Portugal’s independence and equity in dealing with geo-strategic issues is strengthened by a well-known moderation in assessing and dealing with international issues and that positively differentiates our candidature. As demonstrated during our previous mandates on the UN Security Council, Portugal will continuously strive to contribute to the pursuit of consensual and balanced solutions, respectful of the principles and goals of the United Nations Charter.

Portugal has always supported the view that all states should have the chance to be represented on the Security Council, on a fair and balanced rotation. We also consider the presence of medium-sized countries, such as Portugal, fundamental to maintain balance and ensure broader representation in all the decisions. In the 62 years since the UN was founded, Portugal has only twice been on the council, most recently in 1997-1998. (Editor’s note: By comparison, Canada has been a member six times, most recently in 1999-2000 while Germany has been a member four times, most recently in 2003-2004.)

Securing a seat as a non-permanent member of the Security Council is an arduous task, especially when facing such worthy opponents, both with long and well-known traditions in the collective body of the United Nations, in addition to other regional and multilateral forums. Each country brings its own contribution based on its accumulated experience and I am certain that, regardless of the result, each of us will diligently pursue, together, the best solutions for the fulfilment of our “common destiny.”

As ambassador of Portugal to Canada, I would like to see both our countries represented in the UN Security Council in the 2011-2012 term.
Robert Amsterdam is an international lawyer who practises (among other things) international commercial and political disputes. In the last decade, he has spent much of his time contesting cases either where assets have been arbitrarily seized by governments or where individuals have been wrongly imprisoned as a pretext for “the theft of assets.” For example, he has represented the opposition leader in Singapore (who faces nine trials for illegal marches), two political leaders in Nigeria, the secretary general of the PAN party of Guatemala and the imprisoned Russian oligarch Mikhail Khodorkovsky.

Mr. Amsterdam recently released a white paper entitled “The Bolivarian Rule of Lawlessness” which features the case of Eligio Cedeno, a Venezuelan banker who has been incarcerated without trial for 30 months. In February, he completed the maximum allowable term for pre-trial detention and yet – despite of 35 attempts to have him released – he remains behind bars. Ostensibly indicted for embezzling Venezuelan currency, Mr. Cedeno has vigorously denied the criminal accusation. Mr. Amsterdam and two Venezuelan lawyers also working on the case say he’s in jail because he wronged President Hugo Chavez by supporting the president’s political opponents. In his frequent travels to Caracas, Mr. Amsterdam has been told that he is a target of the government and both Venezuelan lawyers (who co-wrote the white paper) face long-standing charges of treason. “They’re old charges that Chavez keeps on the books,” Mr. Amsterdam says, “so these men know that they can be taken any morning. They have immense courage.”

Diplomat magazine: Tell me about your work. You are from Ottawa, correct?
RA: Yes. I went to Woodroffe High School and Carleton University. I did my law degree at Queen’s.

DM: How did you end up in Europe?
RA: I practised 24 years from Toronto and then moved (to London, England) in 2004 because my work in Russia was overwhelming. My Russian work continues but now we’re doing more in Africa and Europe. While we still work in Latin America, (working from) London makes it a little easier.

DM: Your white paper says the rule of law is a casualty of Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez’s so-called Bolivarian Revolution. Can you explain that in a nutshell?
RA: I was first in Caracas in 2001, work-
ing as a lawyer for a Canadian company, the Four Seasons hotel chain. It was an arbitration of a property dispute. I actually went into the Venezuelan courts quite sympathetic to Chavez and his message, (which was) a very inclusive message. When I returned to Venezuela last year, retained by Eligio Cedeno, I was quite shocked by the betrayal of the revolution. This man who had preached inclusiveness had turned into a despot.

Chavez is a first-degree artist of what we call now “competitive authoritarianism.” He holds elections which are rigged – not necessarily in the sense of having ballots stuffed but rigged because he controls the state organs. He uses a massive blacklist that has impacted the lives of millions of potential opponents. He gerrymanders the system so that he essentially now has a one-party state where he’s largely ruling by decree (which is) rubber-stamped by a legislature (dominated by) his own party. He’s attacking industry after industry. He has dozens of political prisoners outside of Cedeno. He brutalizes, with violence, his opponents – whether they’re young students or they’re political opponents. In almost every sense, he’s become the prototypical Latin dictator that he denounced as a younger man.

**DM:** Can you talk about the legal system in particular?

**RA:** We have a blog where you can see the testimony of a judge, Judge Yuri Lopez, who had the temerity to grant a motion brought by Cedeno. She did this in spite of being threatened by the Chavistas. When she didn’t comply, they attempted to kidnap her child. More recently, there’s been another judge, in another case, who complained about brutal treatment when she wasn’t prepared to follow the Chavista line on a political case.

[Chavez] is shaking down Venezuelan judges. There’s not much of a [career] for judges who don’t comply. Essentially there’s no tenure for judges and prosecutors in Venezuela. If they’re not willing to toe the political line, they simply lose their jobs. In fairness, I want to say that, during my [earlier] involvement in Venezuelan courts, there was corruption. I don’t want to say they weren’t corrupt before.

The difference is that in a strange way, corruption of a judge in a non-political case is far less intimidating than the overall control of the entire machinery that Chavez has. It isn’t just a civil issue. It’s a matter of your freedom. It’s a matter of the willingness of the state to invent charges.

It’s the whole tie-in between the prosecutors, the state – there’s not even a hint of a separation of power. It is with separation of power that you get the ability to taste freedom.

**DM:** Your list of accusations – slander, false charges, pliant judges, illegal pre-trial detention, process violations, manipulation of evidence, torture – makes it sound Kafkaesque.
RA: To be honest with you, I deal with these cases all the time. It is becoming almost standard fare, not only in Venezuela, but Russia and Kazakhstan. We see the torture, the televised confessions of torture victims in Iran. It’s the 21st Century but the show trials of 80 years ago are ever more relevant because, frankly, we’ve lost so much of the moral high ground with the war on terror. We have, in many countries, a willingness to close our eyes because of the desperation around hydrocarbons. Resource nationalism has been a real death knell for due process.

We have very few governments that will say or do anything about it. You know, Prime Minister (Stephen) Harper gets criticized but his government is one of the few that’s made any sort of a stand about any of these issues. It’s just amazing how human rights, business rights and consular rights have all been impacted by this dramatic shift since the war on terror and how much ground we’ve lost.

DM: Eligio Cedeno is just one of the many cases you’ve worked on. Since it’s continuing, can you give us a synopsis of it?

RA: Sure. Cedeno is a very dynamic Afro-Venezuelan who made his way up from beneath the ghetto – he had to share a shirt with his brother, I mean, dirt poor. He made his way from nothing to become a successful banker. When a number of his close friends who ended up being in the opposition were jailed or threatened with jail, he was alleged to have helped them and their families. We believe, and of course everything is opaque, but we believe that’s one of the major reasons Chavez sees him as an enemy. He’s seen as an opponent.

DM: And you allege he’s being detained on trumped-up charges?

RA: Trumped up charges, yes. This is not your standard rich guy on the other end of charges. This guy was beneath the underclass. He’s been in jail for 30 months.

DM: Is there any international recourse for him?

RA: Yes. There’s the (United Nations) and we’ve already made application to the working group on arbitrary detention. And, beyond that, there’s other recourse we may take but I can’t go into details yet. We are going to ask the Canadian government. We know Canada is regularly sending ministers to the region and we want these cases raised. We’ll ask every government possible.
One of the things we have to understand is that for every Cedeno, there is a prospect of a Canadian being wrongly put behind bars. We’re seeing this more and more. The rule of law is everyone’s business in every country that’s relevant to us and Venezuela is very relevant. We’ve had assets snatched from major Canadian companies and it represents a hell of a security threat. Venezuela is a huge purchaser of arms from Russia – they purchase more than China does. They’ve seized a lot of iron-ore assets and they’re turning them over to a consortium of Russian companies. There’s a lot of stuff going on there. They have a very close relationship with Iran and Hezbollah. These are things that Canadians need to have on their radar screens.

DM: And what do you say to those who contend Chavez was democratically elected?

RA: To all these people who say he was democratically elected, I invite them to spend a week in Caracas and enjoy the democracy. To the Sean Penns of the world, who want to vouch for this guy, let them talk to me after they’ve spent a week in one of the most violent cities in the world where there are about 100 murders every weekend. And let them tell me what democracy is when you’re not sure whether your children are going to be kidnapped, where the poorest have to engage in bribery in order to obtain healthcare. Explain how the level of inequality in Venezuela has actually increased under Chavez’s reign. With many of these countries, I really do welcome people to do what I do – smell the jails and take a real look.

DM: If you had a chance to meet Hugo Chavez, what would you say to him?

RA: Boy, that’s a good question. Repent and come to Jesus. (Laughs.) Um, I would tell him he’s let a lot of people down. The problem is that in so many ways, he hasn’t shown a tremendous willingness to go back on what many believe has been a pre-ordained plan to move Venezuela toward a near-Communist state. The major thing defeating that is the incredible corruption – which is on par with both Russia and Bangladesh. This means that even when you’re trying to steal things, you can’t really effectively do it.

One of things about the Chavez regime is that it’s incredibly fragile because corruption hollows out political systems. I see this in Russia all the time. When we
talk about authoritarianism and corruption, the underlying issue is incompetence of management. When so much of the power is personal, it leads to incompetence and the inability to make decisions. There’s no accountability and the only guy who matters is at the top. One of the things about the people I represent is that they’re trying to clear their names while not engaging in that. They want to do it legally and properly.

DM: When you’re dealing with these regimes, you must find your work frustrating.
RA: It is. But if you finally get a guy home, it feels very good. We do a lot of other cases, other litigation, so it’s not a steady diet. I really honour human rights lawyers who do it full time because I tell you, it’s a killing thing.

DM: Does the frustration translate to high rates of suicide?
RA: Yes, both of clients and lawyers. In my Russian case, two good friends of mine have been murdered in the last three years.

DM: What was their role?
RA: One of them was a journalist. Her name was (Anna) Politkovskaya, one of them was a lawyer, his name was (Stanislav) Markelov. One of my colleagues, they put mercury in her car. The two lawyers in Venezuela who wrote this (White Paper) with me are both facing charges – treason charges. They’re open charges from years ago. Chavez has them open on the books so that these men know that any morning, they could be charged.

DM: What’s next for you?
RA: Well, we’d like to free Mr. Cedeno. We practise both in Toronto and London and we continue to do the same type of work. The political nature of the work is rewarding in the sense that these are meaningful cases that impact people in a serious way. And there is this ever-growing danger of these authoritarian states that we’re fighting and you can’t help but feel that you’re doing something when you are taking these states on. We run the blog and spend a lot of time writing about these cases and Russia in particular. (www.robertamsterdam.com) We came up with it when the Russians threw me out. We do 30,000 to 40,000 page views a day. We started one on Venezuela as well.
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Prince Charles warns the world against living high off nature’s plundered bounty

Charles, the Prince of Wales, with his wife, Camilla, the Duchess of Cornwall, will travel across Canada in November. They’ll visit Newfoundland and Labrador, Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia.

Traveling is an important, if not principal, part of his daily life as heir to the Commonwealth Realms and as the future monarch of two billion people who live in the Commonwealth countries. Since he was a teenager, the most outspoken and cause-driven of the British princes has increasingly questioned the modern world’s disturbing disconnect from the natural world and from traditional knowledge and practice.

The BBC, which shadowed him for a year before his 60th birthday in 2008, produced “The Passionate Prince,” a rare, remarkably intimate look at the activist prince. A journalist noted the prince’s often controversial – some would say prescient – views. Was the prince engaged more urgently, he asked, before the constraints of kingship curb his words? Prince Charles smiled, and didn’t disagree.

Below is an edited version of the Richard Dimbleby Lecture, which he delivered in July.

By Prince Charles, Prince of Wales

A 17-year-old Prince of Wales ascended the throne to become King Henry the Eighth exactly 500 years ago this year. It was Henry who commissioned the building of St. James’s Palace – exhibiting an interest in architecture that may possibly be hereditary. But towards the end of his reign, he also showed an interest in sustainability. Perhaps it is not so well known that Henry instigated the very first piece of green legislation in this country.

In ordering the building of a great many ships, Henry effectively founded the Royal Navy. But shipbuilding needed vast amounts of wood and there came a moment when Henry realized that creating his new fleet was putting too much strain on the natural supply of wood, particularly oak, and if something was not done, the country would run out of timber. And so, in 1543, he created a law, “the Preservation of Woods,” which stated that if any number of mature oak trees was cut down, twelve had to be left standing in the same acre, and none could be touched until each of them was of a certain maturity. It was a simple and rather elegant piece of long-term thinking.

What was instinctively understood by many in King Henry’s time was the importance of working with the grain of nature to maintain the balance between keeping the Earth’s natural capital intact and sustaining humanity on its renewable income.

It is this knowledge that I fear we have lost in our rush to pursue unlimited economic growth and material wealth – a loss that was never more rapid than during the 1960s and at that time a frenzy of change swept the world in the wave of post-war modernism. There was an eagerness to embark upon a new age of radical experimentation in every area of human experience which caused many traditional ideas to be discarded in a fit of uncontrollable enthusiasm – ideas that will always be of timeless value for every generation con-
fronting the realities of life on this Earth.

Now, I remember it only too well – and even as a teenager I felt deeply about what seemed to me a dangerously short-sighted approach, whether in terms of the built or natural environment, agriculture, healthcare or education. In all cases, we were losing something of vital importance; we were disconnecting ourselves from the wealth of traditional knowledge that had guided countless generations to understand the significance of nature’s processes and cyclical economy.

In the 30 years or so that I have been attempting to understand and address (these) many related problems, I have tried to dig deep and ask myself what it is in our general attitude to the world that is ultimately at fault? In doing so, of course, it must have appeared as though I was just flitting from one subject to another – from agriculture to architecture, from education to healthcare – but I was merely trying to point out where the imbalance was most acute; where the essential unity of things, as reflected in nature, was being dangerously fragmented and deconstructed. The question that should surely keep us all awake at nights, as it still does me, is what happens if you go on deconstructing? And I fear the answer is all too plain. We summon up more and more chaos.

Of course, we have achieved extraordinary prosperity since the advent of the Industrial Revolution. People live longer, have access to universal education, better healthcare and the promise of pensions. We also have more leisure time, opportunities to travel – the list is endless. But on the debit side, we in the industrialized world have increased our consumption of the Earth’s resources in the last 30 years to such an extent that, as a result, our collective demands on nature’s capacity for renewal are being exceeded annually by some 25 percent. On this basis, last year we had used up what we can safely take from nature before the end of September. Between then and the New Year, we were consuming capital as if it was income. And, as any investment advisor will tell you, confusing capital for income is simply not sustainable in the long-term.

What is more, countries that are undergoing rapid development are all assuming Western consumption patterns. By 2050, not only will there be nine billion people on the planet, but a far higher proportion than now will presumably have Western levels of consumption. These are facts, which we really cannot ignore any longer. But we do so because we hang onto values and a perception of things that had developed before we realized the consequences of our actions.

We know, for example, that already the thickness of the Arctic sea ice has reduced by 40 percent in the last 50 years. The major ice caps on Greenland and Antarctica could soon begin a rapid melt as well, and this may cause sea levels to rise, thereby swamping some of the world’s most heavily populated regions, instigating mass migrations. We also know that global warming is thawing perma-frosted ground where the release of methane, a very potent greenhouse gas indeed, has already gone up by seventy per cent in the last half century.

Since the 1950s, we have also reduced the size of the world’s rainforests by a third and we continue to do so at the rate of an area the size of a football pitch every four seconds. And, as the trees fall, we irretrievably lose species of plants and animals that may well prove essential to our survival. Hugging the equator, these rainforests are literally – literally – the planet’s lifebelt. The Amazonian forests alone release 20 billion tonnes of water vapour into the air every day. This keeps the climate cool and makes rain that falls over vast areas of farmland. The trees also store colossal amounts of carbon, so their destruction releases yet more CO2 into the atmosphere – more than the entire global transport sector. So we depend upon them for our water, our food and the stability of our climate. The myriad, invisible functions performed by these threatened ecosystems, operating in all their harmonious complexity, are a central element in the Earth’s life-support system and yet we ignore the fact that without them we cannot survive – both physically and spiritually, for, with the rampant removal of biodiversity, in all its forms, we also destroy the reflection of nature’s miraculous balance within ourselves.

We show the same scant regard for the thin and fragile layer of top soil that grows most of our food. A recent (United Nations) report presented the very gloomy news that in just the last 50 years, our heavily industrialized, chemically-based farming techniques have so far managed to degrade to different degrees a third of the world’s agricultural soil. I could go on, but wherever you care to look, our industrial economic model is operating on the same damaging, diminishing return.

Our current model of progress was not designed, of course, to create all this destruction. It made good sense to the politicians and economists who set it in train because the whole point was to improve the well-being of as many people as possible. However, given the overwhelming evidence from so many quarters, we have to ask ourselves if it any longer makes sense – or whether it is actually fit for purpose under the circumstances in which we now find ourselves?

It seems to me a self-evident truth that we cannot have any form of capitalism without capital. But we must remember that the ultimate source of all economic capital is nature’s capital. The true wealth of all nations comes from clean rivers,
healthy soil and, most importantly of all, a rich biodiversity of life. Our ability to adapt to the effects of climate change, and then perhaps even to reduce those effects, depends upon us adapting our pursuit of “unlimited” economic growth to that of “sustainable” economic growth. And that depends upon basing our approach on the fundamental resilience of our ecosystems. Ecosystem resilience leads to economic resilience. If we carry on destroying our marine and forest ecosystems as we are doing, then we will rob them of their natural resilience and end up destroying our own.

No matter how sophisticated our technology has become, the simple fact is that we are not separate from nature – like everything else, we are nature.

The more you understand this fact, the more you see how our mechanistic way of thinking causes such confusion. The way we so often go about meeting people’s needs invariably involves us seeking a solution to one problem without thinking of the impact this will have on the whole or the wider context of the situation – rather in the way that they tried to grow Brazil nuts in plantations some years ago. The entire crop in Peru and Bolivia comes from within the natural forest, which makes it a difficult and labour-intensive process. To try to ease the problem, it was decided to establish Brazil nut plantations, but not one tree produced a single nut. This is because, as it happens, Brazil nut trees rely entirely on a tiny forest-dwelling wasp for their pollination. So, no forest, no wasp, no nuts.

If you think about it, this is the approach that is invariably taken in all aspects of our existence. Modern agri-industry, for instance, may have made enormous strides to feed the burgeoning world’s population, but at a huge and unsustainable cost to ecosystems, through massive use of artificial fertilizers, herbicides, pesticides and water. As an example, we put plenty of nitrogen on the fields to make the crops grow quickly but, nitrogen being nitrogen, it makes the weeds grow too, so out come all the herbicides. When it drains into the streams, the nitrogen also makes the algae bloom, which sucks all the oxygen out of the water, suffocating many of the other forms of life in a vital food chain – to the extent that a recent UN survey identified 400 so-called “dead zones” which have now occurred around the world where polluted rivers meet the sea and nothing grows at all.

Now one of the chief architects of our present economic model was Adam Smith and this year happens to be the 250th anniversary of the publication of his “Theory of Moral Sentiments” in which he sought to define the balance between private right and natural freedom. Interestingly, he was another who recognized that, although individual freedom is rooted in our impulse for self-reliance, it must be balanced by the limits imposed by natural law. As he prepared his book, he moved away from the notion that we are born with a moral sense and preferred the principle of there being a sympathy in all things. It is this sympathy that binds communities together.

But there is little chance of such sympathy if what people need is provided through commercial structures that place an ever greater distance between the supplier and the consumer, because economies of scale can destroy the economics of localness. It has become, again, a purely mechanical process with no room for the complexity and multi-faceted dimensions of a proper local relationship between a community and the suppliers that serve it.

All we lack, perhaps, is the will to establish a more entire and connected perspective. Without such a systemic approach, I fear we will continue to deal with each individual crisis without seeing the connections between them. Arguably, this makes our response to our immediate problems tactical rather than also strategic.

I think it was the Chinese military strategist, Sun Tzu, who memorably wrote in the 5th Century B.C. that “Strategy without tactics is the slowest route to victory. Tactics without strategy is the noise before defeat.” Defeat in this instance would be catastrophic.

Now, there are many examples where communities have replaced the short-term impulse with the long-term plan. But part of that strategy – to my mind at least at the heart of it – is the need for a new public- and private-sector partnership which includes NGOs (non-governmental organizations) and community participation. To work effectively, this will require gov-
ernments to provide policies which support community participation. That way, we might achieve the long-term economic returns that are commensurate with the behavioural changes we need in order to attain sustainable levels of development.

We certainly need to refine our ability to measure what we do so that we become more aware of our responsibility. This has been the impulse behind the concept of corporate social and environmental responsibility which I have been trying to encourage for the past 24 years and which is now substantially integrated into many economic sectors. It also validates the need for “accounting for sustainability” – a method by which businesses can take proper account of the cost to the Earth of their products and services and which I initiated and launched some four years ago. It is encouraging that this approach is being tested by a range of companies, government departments and agencies and I hope that it can be adopted more generally so that well-being and sustainability can be measured, rather than merely growth in consumption.

We also need, dare I say it, new forms of international collaboration to value ecosystem services. In this regard, I have been heartened by the progress of my Rainforests Project, which has sought to build a consensus around the need to provide massive interim financing to help slow the rate of tropical deforestation. The basic premise of this project has been that the world must recognize the absolutely vital utility that the rainforests provide by generating a real income for rainforest countries – where, incidentally, some 1.4 billion of the poorest people on Earth rely in some way on the rainforests for their livelihoods – an income which can be used to finance an integrated, low-carbon development model. Paradoxically, the answer to deforestation lies not solely or even mainly in the forestry sector, but rather in the agricultural and energy sectors. And we must also recognize that rainforest countries are responding rationally to the demands we create – the economic price signal that we send out in our seemingly ever-increasing demand for agricultural commodities like soya, palm oil and beef. But by dint of working with governments, NGOs, leading companies and local communities, it does appear that a solution could be in sight.

It is also heartening to see that it is increasingly possible to enhance efficiency and economic rates of return by linking different sectors together in what are called “virtuous circles.” You can see this in the relationship between the waste, energy and water sectors where the waste product of one process becomes the raw material of another, thereby mimicking nature’s cyclical process of waste-free recycling. The trouble is, at the moment, so many of these brilliant ideas sit on the fringes of our economy. They are seen as alternatives when they need to become mainstream. But for that to happen and for them to be effective, this will require a system of long-term consistent and coherent financial incentives and disincentives. Otherwise, how else will we achieve the urgent response we need to rectify the situation we face? By the way, I said in Brazil back in March this year that we had 100 months left to take the necessary steps to avert irretrievable climate and ecosystem collapse, and all that goes with it. I will say it again – but now we only have 96 months left...

Now, another example of an alternative that needs to become mainstream, and which would enhance both community and environmental capital, lies in the way we plan, design and build our settlements.

As it happens, my Foundation for the Built Environment is involved in the building of a “natural house” at the Building Research Establishment in Watford. This is suggesting a new model for green building that is built on site and easily adapted for volume building. Its design has a contemporary, yet timeless feel even though it is based on the time-honoured, geometric principles of balance and harmony. And it uses, instead of bricks, new, inter-locking, clay blocks which are low-fired, and therefore low-carbon, much quicker to lay and are moulded in such a way that they breathe, but also have an astonishing capacity to insulate.

In a similar vein, the emerging discipline of biomimicry puts what zoologists and biologists know about natural systems together with the problems engineers and architects are trying to solve, in order to produce technology that mimics how nature operates. There are some remarkable examples. By studying the surface of lotus leaves, an exterior paint has been developed that enables walls to clean themselves when it rains; and from a tiny desert beetle comes a sheet that can harvest moisture from the lightest of mists in the driest parts of the world. They all blend the best of the old with the best of the new to produce highly efficient technology that works with the grain of nature rather than against it.

Our need for these solutions is going to grow exponentially as our global population rises and our ecological and economic crises deepen. Is this not a rationale for investing massively in these new and more integrated approaches which, thereby, could help to create the kind of “virtuous circles” based on environmental and community capita? Such investment would also, I can’t help thinking, have the added benefit of creating many new jobs.

We face a future where there is a real prospect that if we fail the Earth, we fail humanity. To avoid such an outcome, which will comprehensively destroy our children’s future, we must urgently confront and then make choices which carry monumental implications. In this, we are the masters of our fate.

On the one hand, we have every good reason to believe that carrying on as we are will lead to a depleted and divided planet incapable of meeting the needs of its nine billion citizens, let alone sustaining its other life forms. On the other hand, we can adopt the technologies, lifestyles and, crucially, a much more integrated way of thinking and perceiving the world that can transform our relationship with the Earth that sustains us. The choice is certainly clear to me.

Excerpted from the Prince of Wales’ Richard Dimbleby Lecture at St. James’s Palace State Apartments in London in July.
The surprising survival of the monarchy

‘The heredity principle gives human society a human face’

By Arthur Bousfield and Garry Toffoli

In 10 years, there will be only five kings left, the Kings of Hearts, Diamonds, Spades, Clubs and the King of England.” A gloomy but, at the time, plausible prophecy from the mouth of an ill-used 20th-Century monarch about to be dethroned. The year was 1950. The ruler was Farouk, King of Egypt.

King Farouk was wrong. More than half a century later, as we end the first decade of a new millennium, we can see how wide off the mark he was. Today no fewer than 45 independent monarchies, many of them well-known and prestigious states, are functioning throughout the world.

Africa has three of the 45, Asia, six; Australasia, seven; the Caribbean, eight; Central America, one; Europe, 12; the Middle East, seven and North America, one. Alone among the continents, South America is without kings. At independence, it came under the alien constitutional tutelage of the United States, the world’s pre-eminent republic. The result was an institutionalized instability. Visiting the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876, Don Pedro II, Brazil’s last emperor, was told the number of revolutions per minute that the Corliss steam engines made. “Ah! That’s better than our Latin American republics!” he quipped.

What is a contemporary monarchy? One is an empire, another is a grand duchy, several are kingdoms, and many are sultanates, principalities or emirates. A few are hidden. Uganda has five little known hereditary Bantu kingdoms, recognized as part of the state, within its borders. Thirty-one republics in the Commonwealth of Nations maintain a relationship with Queen Elizabeth II by recognizing her as Head of the Commonwealth, a title she inherited from her father, King George VI. The Commonwealth’s monarchies and republics together constitute a quarter of the world’s people in their domains.

Oil-rich or economically underdeveloped, the monarchies vary greatly in size, from the tiny principality of Monaco to the largest realm in terms of square kilo-
metres, Canada. Populations, too, range widely. The Empire of Japan has 127 million, the United Kingdom 61 million, Morocco 31 million and Malaysia 26 million. At the bottom of the scale are Tuvalu’s mere 12,373 people or Vatican City’s even fewer 826.

Size can be deceptive. On learning of Pope Pius XII’s opposition, a scornful Josef Stalin once retorted: “How many legions does the Pope have?” The Pope reportedly sent his response through Stalin’s foreign minister: “Tell your master he will meet my legions in Eternity.”

Vatican City may number only 826 inhabitants but it is a monarchy that includes 1,070,315 Latin Rite Catholics and 23 other churches ranging in membership from the 4,321,508 Ukrainian Catholics to the 3,000 Albanian Catholics. Benedict XVI is the 265th Pope to reign in Rome. Where are Stalin and his Soviet tyranny?

Some monarchies – Japan, Denmark and Britain – are ancient, by a thousand years or more. Others, like Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Belize, are quite new countries. Whatever philosophy is expressed in their constitutions, all 45 monarchies vest de facto sovereignty in a person rather than a theory. A glance at contemporary royalty tells us a great deal about monarchy. First, kingship is a universal phenomenon, transcending race, religion and economics. Monarchy’s cultural role is often paramount. So, too, can be its unifying function. In the linguistically-divided Kingdom of Belgium, whose contentious Flemish, French and German peoples are fiercely jealous of their distinctiveness, the unifying figure, King Albert II, is often described as the “only” Belgian.

The most progressive of the monarchies are constitutional: regimes where the monarch makes constitutional decisions – not political ones. In some – Sweden and Japan, for example – the monarch plays only a symbolic role. It is wrong, however, to see constitutional monarchies as effete survivors of a once all-powerful institution. The term “absolute monarchy” was coined by the 18th Century philosophers of the Enlightenment, enemies of kings, to describe authoritarian monarchs. It implied that monarchs were originally all absolute. Nothing could be less true.

Most monarchies have limitations of some kind on their power. Even authoritarian ones have embryonic constitutional features. Medieval kings possessed no standing armies, regular revenues or bureaucracies to allow them absolute power. The only absolute states in history have been the 20th Century’s totalitarian republican regimes of Hitler, Stalin, Mao Zedong or Pol Pot, the evil children of the Enlightenment. Constitutional monarchy and democracy, far from being mutually incompatible, have, in fact proved strong partners.

Modern monarchies came battle-scarred out of the 20th Century, whose ideologies were hostile to them. Important empires and kingdoms fell when the kings were made to shoulder the blame for World War I, though nationalism – not royal ambition – caused the conflict. “Il y a beaucoup de chomage dans mon métier” (“There is a lot of unemployment in my trade,”) the heroic Albert I of the Belgians acknowledged. The nadir of 20th Century monarchy was perhaps the Vatican’s elimination of kingship as a “Christian vocation” from the church calendar and abandonment of the papal coronation in 1978. Benedict XVI’s reintroduction of the 1962 missal as the Extraordinary Rite in 2007 has restored the former.

Yet the 20th Century had many royal success stories, too. Wartime leadership provided by King George VI of the Commonwealth, Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands, King Haakon VII of Norway and King Christian X of Denmark was outstanding. When Italy collapsed militarily as Hitler’s ally and faced defeat in the Second World War, King Victor Emmanuel III was able to fire Mussolini, whereas in Germany there was no monarch to dismiss Hitler, who carried his country relentlessly to destruction. Though Victor Emmanuel III failed to save his dynasty, he did salvage his country. So did King Michael I of Romania, who dismissed a Nazi-aligned dictator and took his country into the Allied camp.

The 20th Century’s greatest monarchial triumph was Spain’s restoration. King Juan Carlos I, spitting image of his famous ancestor Louis XIV, and equally sagacious but more fortunate, presided over Spain’s astounding, peaceful transformation from authoritarian regime to democratic constitutional monarchy. Risking his life, the King dramatically quelled an army revolt aimed at reversing the process.

The 20th Century gave us the bitterest lesson about the cultural importance of crowns. In Churchill’s unforgettable words, the Hitlerite monster crawled out of the gutter onto the empty thrones of Germany. The lesson was remembered in dealing with post-war Japan where General Douglas MacArthur preserved the monarchy. Arguments over the guilt or
innocence of the Showa Emperor in regard to World War II will be endless, but few can deny Japan’s unity and self-confidence benefited from the continuation of the Imperial dynasty.

In the wave of self-determination gained by minority groups in the latter half of the 20th Century, monarchies (Belgium, Canada, Spain, United Kingdom) were more successful in preserving or moving to federal systems than were republican counterparts (USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia). Filmmaker Persson Sarvestani’s 2009 The Queen and I and director Cyrus Nowrasteh’s recent The Stoning of Soraya M. have somewhat redressed the balance of judgment on another monarchical casualty of the century, the Shah’s Iran, by illustrating the considerable role Muhammad Reza Pahlavi played in protecting minorities. King Juan Carlos I summed up this function of monarchy in his accession speech in the Cortes [parliament]: “The King wishes to be at once the King of all and the King of each one in his own culture, history and tradition.”

The past millennium ended on the upbeat for monarchs: defeat of the republican option in the Australian referendum. Significantly, working-class supporters of the very party that proposed to remove Queen Elizabeth II as Australian Monarch rallied en masse to the Crown. Only the civil service elite in Canberra, the capital, voted solidly for a republic.

Canada, geographically the world’s largest monarchy at 9,984,670 square kilometres, is also the fifth-largest monarchy in population with nearly 34 million people. Canada’s royal institutions and practices constitute a significant model of the modern experience and definition of monarchy in the world. As the senior of the 15 realms in the Commonwealth outside the United Kingdom, Canada has provided leadership for the shared monarchy of Queen Elizabeth II.

Canada is a federal monarchy, with the Crown functioning at two levels. It is recognized internationally as one of the most democratic and progressive countries while its royal institutions – while having fostered, embraced and ensured the development of those characteristics – are themselves pre-democratic in origin and ethos. A European monarchy in origin and fundamentals, through more than 500 years of North American experience, Canada has become as legitimate an expression of New World government and culture as the more numerous republican states in North and South America. And within the sover-

Monarchs’ missives

“What touches all should be approved by all.”
– King Edward I of England on lawmaking

“Is there anyone here who has a case to settle?”
– King St Louis IX of France administering justice under an oak tree at Vincennes

“I have not become King to live in a closet.”
– Emperor Rudolf I of the Holy Roman Empire on being accessible to his subjects

“Have a care over my people.”
– Queen Elizabeth I of England and Ireland to her judges

“To be a king and wear a crown is more glorious to them that see it than it is pleasure to them that bear it.”
– Queen Elizabeth I to Parliament

“If power without law may make laws, may alter the fundamental laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what subject . . . can be sure of his life, or anything that he calls his own.”
– King Charles I of Great Britain and Ireland to the illegal “court” that contrived his judicial murder

“The function of kings consists mainly in letting good sense take its course.”
– King Louis XIV of France

“I hope God will forgive me my many sins because of the good I have tried to do my people.”
– Emperor Peter I “the Great” of Russia

“Punctuality is the politeness of kings.”
– King Louis XVIII of France

“I exist to protect my people from my ministers.”
– Emperor Franz Josef I of Austria-Hungary
In all, 31 republics in the Commonwealth of Nations maintain a relationship with Queen Elizabeth II by recognizing her as the head of Commonwealth, a title she inherited from her father, King George VI.

eign Canadian monarchy, there exist many indigenous monarchical traditions that pre-date European settlement, that were allied to the Canadian Crown and that continue to flourish within aboriginal First Nations’ governmental customs today.

The American Revolution split British North America. In the aftermath, one new country, the United States of America, was born and a second, the Dominion of Canada, conceived. The latter was born a century later in 1867 and achieved maturity in 1931.

Canada’s history is not only one that includes struggles to preserve its independence and geographical integrity, an experience most countries can claim, but is also one of battles, domestic and international, political and military, to preserve its royal character against overtly republican opponents who targeted its institutions as much as its land.

For the first century, the nascent Canadians fought Americans in two wars (the American Revolution itself and the War of 1812) and two unofficial skirmishes (1838 and 1866) when Americans supported or tolerated U.S.-based raiders. These military engagements were fought, as General Sir Isaac Brock proclaimed in 1812, to establish that “a country defended by free men, enthusiastically devoted to the cause of their King and Constitution, can never be conquered.”

The Constitution of Canada has several sections that describe and define its royal character. The Constitution Act, 1867, which established the Dominion of Canada, declared that executive authority continued and was vested in the Queen; created the Parliament of Canada consisting of the Queen, the Senate and the House of Commons; declared that the Command-in-Chief of the armed forces continued and was vested in the Queen; created the Queen’s Privy Council for Canada as an executive cabinet to advise the Queen; established the Queen’s Privy Council for Canada as an executive cabinet to advise the Queen; and required the governor general, the Queen’s representative, to carry out the government in the name of the Queen when the monarch was not performing the functions in person.

How passionately the Fathers of Confederation saw the monarchy as a founding principle of Canada is illustrated by Sir John A. Macdonald’s moving statement to Queen Victoria. Face to face with his monarch on the eve of the passing of the Constitution Act, Macdonald said: “We have desired in this measure to declare in the most solemn and emphatic manner our resolve to be under the sovereignty of...
Your Majesty and your family forever.”

In 1931, the Statute of Westminster established the full international independence of Canada and the other British dominions and their equality with the United Kingdom under the King. The governor general became solely the representative of the King and not also of the British government, and King George V became the embodiment of the Canadian state in international as well as domestic law.

The Constitution Act, 1982, which patriated the last remaining role of the British Parliament in the amendment of the Canadian Constitution, confirmed the continuance of The Constitution Act, 1867 and the Statute of Westminster as integral parts of the Canadian Constitution. It provides that any alteration to the office of the Queen requires a resolution unanimously approved by the Senate, the House of Commons and all provincial legislative assemblies. Since the United Kingdom’s constitution is unwritten, Canada arguably has the most orthodox definition of royal sovereignty of any of the world’s 45 realms.

At an outdoor Parliament Hill ceremony, on a cold, wet 17th of April in 1982, the Queen proclaimed the coming into force of The Constitution Act, 1982 – proclaimed it as Queen of Canada. And thus, she assumed the last remaining powers over Canada that she had held as the British Queen. It was a great victory for the monarchy because it was the end of a political process that had begun four years earlier with Bill C-60, a proposal from the government led by Pierre Trudeau which would have effectively ended the Canadian monarchy in all but name, and transferred the Queen’s powers to the governor general.

Bill C-60 provoked overwhelming opposition throughout Canada, including a unanimous front by the provinces, and forced the government to withdraw the bill and entrench the monarchy as defined in 1867 and 1931. The anti-Canadian forces in Ottawa that had attempted and failed in their constitutional coup d’état did not gracefully accept their defeat. They have attempted to implement in the shadows of administrative fiat what was defeated by the light of democratic scrutiny and resolution. Their hope is that people will eventually accept by usage what they rejected by law.

The ruse has been to assert, wrongly, that the Sovereign’s Letters Patent of 1947 (the most recent version) constituting the office of governor general and commander-in-chief of Canada, transferred the authorities of the sovereign to the governor general, when in fact they only provided for the exercise of the sovereign’s powers by the governor.

In the international sphere, letters of credence of ambassadors are now addressed to the governor general rather than the Queen. This is contrary to the constitutional requirement that the government can only be carried out by the governor general in the name of the Queen.

Some government officials have tried to establish that the Queen was somehow at fault for not representing Canada internationally. John Manley in 1997, while Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated that the Queen no longer represented Canada abroad and that this was a reason to abolish the monarchy. He did not add, of course, that he had the power to ask or not ask the Queen to represent Canada before she could act, and, as an avowed republican, did not ask her. In 2007, the government led by Stephen Harper advised the Queen to travel to France as Queen of Canada and preside at the Vimy Memorial rededication, which she did. Queen Elizabeth II, herself, has never wavered in her willingness to serve Canadians.

Trying to judge support for the Canadian monarchy through opinion polls has always been problematic because of inconsistencies with the methodologies employed in the polls. Generally, if the question uses terminology such as “British” monarchy or “ties” to the monarchy, support is lower than if the question treats the monarchy as a Canadian institution or asks respondents to choose between monarchy and republic. In one year, 2002, for example, EKOS Research announced that 48 percent of Canadians believed that “instead of a British monarch, we should have a Canadian citizen as our head of state,” while COMPAS revealed that 63 percent “believe the monarchy should retain or strengthen its role in Canada,” and Ipsos-Reid reported that 79 percent supported “the constitutional monarchy as Canada’s form of government.”

In the past year, the Globe and Mail claimed that only 35 percent supported having a monarch, while Angus Reid reported that only 12 percent supported a presidential system. All that can be said with certainty is that, taken as a whole, the polls of the past 40 years, while varying in actual numbers, indicate that a significant minority of Canadians have problems with aspects of the Canadian monarchy but only a much smaller minority support


Quotes on the Canadian Crown

“I had the honour of speaking to the King [Louis XIV], who questioned me about the state of the country, of which I gave him an accurate account, and His Majesty promised me that he would take it under his protection.”
– Pierre Boucher, emissary of Quebec settlers who appealed to the king for help. As a result Louis XIV created Quebec a royal province in 1663.

“One morning I expect to look out from my window at Versailles and see the towers of Louisbourg looming on the horizon.”
– King Louis XV on the cost of building the fortress of Louisbourg in Cape Breton

“If he is mad, then I wish he would bite some of my other generals.”
– King George II on being told that James Wolfe, future captor of Quebec, was crazy

“Madame, if all Canadian women resemble you, I have indeed made a fine conquest.”
– King George III on receiving the first French Canadian lady at court

“I will never consent that in any treaty that may be concluded [with the rebellious 13 colonies] a single word be mentioned concerning Canada, Nova Scotia, or the Floridas.”
– King George III’s stubbornness ensured Canada’s preservation when the victorious Americans demanded the whole of North America.

“I trust you will agree … that a due and generous attention ought to be shown to those who have relinquished their properties or progressions from motives of loyalty to me.”
– King George III asking Parliament to help the Loyalists

“Part then in peace. Let me hear no more of the odious distinction of English and French. You are all His Britannic Majesty’s beloved Canadian subjects.”
– Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, (son of King George III and father of Queen Victoria) defines “Canadian” in its modern sense.

“In the judgment of Her Majesty, the City of Ottawa combines more advantages than any other place in Canada for the permanent seat of the future Government of the Province, and is selected by Her Majesty accordingly.”
– Queen Victoria chooses Ottawa as capital of Canada.

“A Canadian’s first loyalty is not to the British Commonwealth of Nations but to Canada and to Canada’s King.”
– John Buchan, Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor General of Canada, 1937

“No person shall be deemed to have a seditious intention by reason only that he intends … to show that Her Majesty has been misled and mistaken in her measures.”
– Criminal Code of Canada

“I'm going home to Canada tomorrow.”
– Queen Elizabeth II on leaving California for British Columbia, 1983

“Within the Canadian federal home, there are many rooms, each with its own particular memories. That home has housed the native aboriginal peoples, the two founding immigrant European communities, each with its language and culture, and generations of other immigrants which Canada has never ceased to welcome from all corners of the earth. “All have survived under one roof, thanks to a steadfast commitment to peace, the rule of law and good government; to the tradition of parliamentary democracy and a constitutional monarchy, all of which, I believe, have served the country well.”
– Charles, Prince of Wales
an actual republican alternative when asked to choose between the two.

All the changes that have diminished the monarchy, since 1982 and before, have been of an administrative nature, and therefore can be revoked by administrative action.

While the Canadian monarchy was fighting its domestic opponents (successfully in the constitutional arena and with mixed results in the administrative), communism’s fall might have produced restorations of thrones throughout Europe but for U.S. prejudice. “We don’t do monarchies,” pronounced Madeleine Albright, U.S. Secretary of State, when the Bulgarians showed signs of wishing to recover their crown. American hostility dissuaded several countries, which needed American economic assistance, from taking the step of restoration.

When the Taliban were overthrown in Afghanistan in 2001, King Muhammad Zahir Shah returned to convene the Loya Jirga (the grand assembly) to shape the future of the country. The commission established by the Loya Jirga travelled the land preparing its recommendations. It was reported that American authorities were appalled that one of the options it proposed being put to the people was restoration of constitutional monarchy. Since the royal family, like the Taliban, are Pashtuns, they were seen as a legitimately indigenous and traditional means of bringing democracy to the country. The Loya Jirga was not allowed to reconvene by the Americans until the royal option was dropped. Under pressure, the Afghans agreed.

One may consider what role this fateful decision played in the resurgence of the Taliban – just as the advocates of monarchy feared. The bitter irony is that, while Afghans were denied the democratic right to vote for the benefits of being a constitutional monarchy, outside of the Americans, the bulk of the fighting and dying by Westerners for Afghanistan is being done by the forces of Britain, Canada, and the Netherlands – three constitutional monarchies.

A few monarchies in the world, such as Malaysia, are elective but most of the 45 are hereditary. Even the elective ones generally choose from within the royal family or among hereditary sub-rulers or chiefs. The Malaysian King is selected by and from the nine hereditary rulers of the federation.

Is hereditary monarchy tenable in the

21st Century? The historical record says yes. Take the Crown Commonwealth of Queen Elizabeth II, divisible among 16 states. If classical constitutional monarchy in the Commonwealth began with King William IV, as is generally conceded, there have been seven successive constitutional monarchs. Of them only one, King Edward VIII, was a failure. Could the same number of democratically elected politicians claim as high a success rate?

Contrary to popular notion, removal of hereditary kingship does not end the role of heredity in a state. How did most people become citizens of the countries they belong to? Virtue, merit, achievement or election had nothing to do with it. They obtained citizenship by the simple act of being born in a country – the hereditary principle. In fact, the very existence of humans requires the hereditary principle of birth. The constitutional monarchies of the world are more fully human than republics because they apply, through monarch, assemblies and administrators, all the basic individual human qualities of heredity, free choice and merit, rather than just one or two, to the organization of society. And generally they do it quite successfully.

Why do monarchies persist? Many political analysts are surprised they have. No one pretends monarchy is faultless. It has no guarantee of perpetuity. While it is a universal concept, precisely because it is widespread, there are different standards around the world. Westerners often criticize Saudi Arabia’s king for policies that are required by his country’s culture, for example.

Monarchies endure because they have deep roots in history and culture and because monarchy is a natural form of society. Occupants of the world’s 45 thrones are, for the most part respected, even loved by their peoples. Whether it is Queen Elizabeth II, who has spent the better part of a near 60-year reign tirelessly traveling the world to carry out duties; King Juan Carlos I, whose 35 years as king is Queen Elizabeth II, divisible among 16 states. If classical constitutional monarchy in the Commonwealth began with King William IV, as is generally conceded, there have been seven successive constitutional monarchs. Of them only one, King Edward VIII, was a failure. Could the same number of democratically elected politicians claim as high a success rate?

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Arthur Bousfield and Garry Toffoli are Toronto-based authors who have written extensively about monarchies.
## The World’s Monarchies

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<th>LEGEND:</th>
<th>constitutional</th>
<th>authoritarian</th>
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### AFRICA

- **Kingdom of Lesotho**
  - Pop. 2,130,819
- **Kingdom of Morocco**
  - King Mohammed VI
  - Pop. 31,559,097

The Republic of Nigeria contains a number of hereditary Emirates and Chiefdoms in the Northern Region. They have precedence in the House of Chiefs.

- **Kingdom of Swaziland**
  - King Mswati III
  - Pop. 1,123,913

- **Republic of Uganda**
  - Includes five hereditary kingdoms.
  - Pop. 32,369,558

- **Ankole**
  - The Mugabe (monarch) of Ankole not yet officially restored
  - Pop. 2,832,862

- **Buganda**
  - Kabaka Ronald Muwenda Mutebi II
  - Pop. 2,100,000

- **Unyoro-Kitara**
  - Omukama Rukirabasaja

- **Busoga**
  - Acting Isabirantu Kyabazinga
  - Christopher James Mutyaba Nakono

- **Toro**
  - Abakama Oyo Nyimba

- **Mutebi II**

### ASIA

- **Kingdom of Bhutan**
  - King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuk
  - Pop. 691,141

- **Kingdom of Cambodia**
  - King Norodom Shihanoni
  - Pop. 14,494,293

- **Sultanate of Brunei**
  - Sultan Sir Hassanal Bolkiah
  - Pop. 388,190

- **Empire of Japan**
  - Emperor Akihito
  - Pop. 127,078,679

- **Federation of Malaysia**
  - Sultan Mizan Zainal Abidin
  - Pop. 5,175,819

- **Sultanate of Johore**
  - Sultan Iskandar
  - Pop. 3,000,000

- **Sultanate of Kedah**
  - Sultan Abdul Halim Muadzam Shah
  - Pop. 1,818,188

- **Sultanate of Kelantan**
  - Sultan Tuanku Ismail Petra
  - Pop. 2,100,000

- **Sultanate of Negri Sembilan**
  - Yang di-Pertuan Besar Tun Tan Sri Muhyiddin bin Haji Almarhum Tuanku Munawir
  - Pop. 1,004,807

- **Sultanate of Pahang**
  - Sultan Ahmad Shah
  - Pop. 1,396,500

- **Sultanate of Perak**
  - Sultan Azlan Shah
  - Pop. 2,400,000

- **Sultanate of Perlis**
  - Raja Tuanku Syed Sirajuddin
  - Pop. 215,000

- **Sultanate of Selangor**
  - Sultan Sharafuddin Idris
  - Pop. 5,000,000

- **Sultanate of Terengganu**
  - Sultan Mizan Zainal Abidin (Pemangku Raja [Regent])

### CARIBBEAN

- **Antigua and Barbuda**
  - Queen Elizabeth II
  - Pop. 85,632

- **Commonwealth of the Bahamas**
  - Queen Elizabeth II
  - Pop. 309,156

- **Barbados**
  - Queen Elizabeth II
  - Pop. 284,589

- **Grenada**
  - Queen Elizabeth II
  - Pop. 90,739

- **Jamaica**
  - Queen Elizabeth II
  - Pop. 2,825,928

- **St. Christopher and Nevis**
  - Queen Elizabeth II
  - Pop. 40,131

- **St. Lucia**
  - Queen Elizabeth II
  - Pop. 160,267

- **St. Vincent and the Grenadines**
  - Queen Elizabeth II
  - Pop. 104,574

### CENTRAL AMERICA

- **Belize**
  - Queen Elizabeth II
  - Pop. 307,899

### EUROPE

- **Kingdom of Belgium**
  - King Albert II
  - Pop. 10,414,336

- **Kingdom of Denmark**
  - Queen Margrethe II
  - Pop. 5,500,510

- **United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland**
  - Queen Elizabeth II
  - Pop. 61,113,205

- **Principality of Liechtenstein**
  - Prince Hans Adam II
  - Pop. 34,761

- **Grand Duchy of Luxembourg**
  - Grand Duke Henri
  - Pop. 491,775

- **Principality of Monaco**
  - Prince Albert II
  - Pop. 32,965

- **Kingdom of the Netherlands**
  - Queen Beatrix
  - Pop. 16,715,999

- **Kingdom of Norway**
  - King Harald V
  - Pop. 4,660,539

- **Kingdom of Spain**
  - King Juan Carlos I
  - Pop. 40,525,002

- **Kingdom of Sweden**
  - King Carl XVI Gustaf
  - Pop. 9,059,651

- **Vatican City**
  - Pope Benedict XVI
  - Pop. 826

### MIDDLE EAST

- **Emirate of Bahrain**
  - King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa
  - Pop. 727,785

- **Kingdom of Jordan**
  - King Abdullah II
  - Pop. 6,342,948

- **Emirate of Kuwait**
  - Emir Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jaber Al-Sabah
  - Pop. 2,691,158

- **Sultanate of Oman**
  - Sultan Qaboos bin Sa’d
  - Pop. 3,418,085

- **Emirate of Qatar**
  - Emir Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani
  - Op. 833,285

- **Kingdom of Saudi Arabia**
  - King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud
  - Pop. 28,686,633

- **Emirate of Abu Dhabi**
  - Emir Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan
  - Pop. 1,465,431

- **Emirate of Ajman**
  - Emir Humaid bin Rashid Al Nuaimi
  - Pop. 260,492

- **Emirate of Dubai**
  - Emir Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktour
  - Pop. 1,469,309

- **Emirate of Fujairah**
  - Emir Sheikh Hamdan bin Mohammed Al Sharqi
  - Pop. 118,933

- **Emirate of Ras al-Khaimah**
  - Emir Saqr bin Muhammad Al-Qasimi
  - Pop. 191,753

- **Emirate of Sharjah**
  - Emir Sultan bin Mohammed Al-Qasimi
  - Pop. 656,841

- **Emirate of Um al-Qwain**
  - Emir Saud bin Rashid Al Mualla
  - Pop. 59,098

### NORTH AMERICA

- **Dominion of Canada**
  - [Though in disuse, Dominion of Canada is the legal name of the country. Some First Nations governments in Canada include a role for hereditary chiefs.]
  - Queen Elizabeth II
  - Pop. 33,734,000
Any diplomat – or anyone new to Ottawa – is quickly drawn into Ontario’s complex socialized healthcare system. Lightning-fast on emergencies and life-threatening diseases, it is nearly paralyzed with months-long waits for many people with non-threatening but painful and distressing health problems.

The choices face any newcomer: Take your place in line to get routine care – or even to find a family doctor. Or slip across the U.S. or Quebec border, make the classic trade of time for money and jump to the head of the queue.

“When you parachute into Ontario, you’re parachuting yourself into a political situation when it comes to health,” says Dr. Michael Eden-Walker, medical director of Med-Team Clinic Inc., a management service for 45 part-time and full-time doctors. The extended-hours Kakulu Road clinic in Kanata supplies medical services to some 150 patients daily in its 12 examining rooms. Given its 25 years in operation, says Dr. Eden-Walker, it has hundreds of thousands of patients on its roster.

He sums up the checkered healthcare delivery, the speedy and the slow, succinctly: “If you’ve got cancer, you’re in heaven – not literally, I hope. If you have a heart problem, you’re in heaven because of the University of Ottawa’s Heart Institute. If you need an orthopedic surgeon, you’ll have a four- to six-month wait. [But] if you fall and break a hip, you’ll be operated on and have a new hip in two or three days. Another priority is colon cancer screening.”

But priorities change, too. According to draft proposals by the Champlain Local Health Integration Network (LHIN) which covers the Ottawa region, the 2010-2013 objectives will be to boost care to the 8.8 percent of the provincial population with diabetes, to cut emergency room wait times and to free up acute-care hospital beds by placing patients who don’t need such intense medical attention in other beds.

The provincial government is acutely aware of the problems, on both a human and political level, and has managed to cut wait times in some areas. The Wait Time Alliance, composed of 13 professional physician associations in Canada, including the Canadian Medical Association, says Ontario, along with Manitoba and British Columbia, “continue to be strong performers while Atlantic Canada lags behind” in shortening patients’ wait times for CATscans, MRIs, hip surgery, knee surgery and cardiac bypass surgery.

And Dr. Eden-Walker, outspoken though even-handed in his assessment, acknowledges that Dalton McGuinty’s Liberal provincial government is paying more attention to health care than any government he can recall.

But wait times are, in fact, daunting. A person with knee pain might wait four to six months to get assessed for osteoarthritis or knee replacement surgery, says Dr. Eden-Walker. “People spend an inordinate amount of time in pain. Pain is a big deal because pain ruins people’s lives and it’s hard to find a pain specialist.”

A person with back pain will wait months for an MRI and will wait perhaps four or five months after that to see an orthopedic surgeon or neurosurgeon. With debilitating neck and back pain, people are not able to work. They’re taking narcotics and analgesics. “When does the pain and anxiety become an urgent matter?” he asks.

“The problem is a shortage of family doctors and of provision of service. We have a lot of trouble getting patients into the system to see a specialist. Dermatologists, pain specialists and psychiatrists have some of the longest waiting lists. It takes six to eight months to get a depressed or suicidal patient in to see a psychiatrist in Ottawa.”

While diplomats may have the connections to get timely care, he says, their relatives may join rank-and-file Canadians in a search for services, Dr. Eden-Walker says.

For a perspective from the U.S., talk
with Dr. Adam Jarrett, internist and medical director of a New York State medical centre directly south of Ottawa. “With Canadian healthcare, it’s not the quality – it’s the quantity that’s the problem,” he says. “That just seems to be a reality that the Canadian healthcare system accepts.

“We continue to hear stories about how employees both at the U.S. embassy and at other embassies struggle with access there,” says Dr. Jarrett, speaking from the Claxton-Hepburn Medical Center in Ogdensburg, a not-for-profit community-owned hospital 100 kilometres south of Ottawa.

He hears stories from Canadians, as well.

“I have spoken to women who are told by their primary care doctor that they have potential breast cancer and have to wait six weeks to see a breast surgeon. Sometimes it’s the test [they’re waiting for]. Sometimes it’s ‘What’s the next step in my care?’

“I’ve spoken to several women who have said, ‘I don’t want to wait six weeks thinking that I might or might not have cancer.’ Certainly psychologically, it’s a very long time. And maybe even medically, it’s a long time – if there’s a cancer brewing.”

Dr. Eden-Walker, a general practitioner, says that, in his personal experience, he hasn’t heard of such waits. “In the areas of cancer treatment, people get the best care there. I’ve never seen a situation where a suspicious lump wasn’t mammogrammed or ultrasounded or biopsied or treated in an efficient manner.”

Ministry of Health statistics show wait-times decreasing slightly from last year for breast cancer and prostate surgery. Most breast surgeries are classed as Priority 3 – patients whose cancer is not diagnosed as highly aggressive – with a wait-time target of 30 days. Most prostate surgeries are Priority 4 – patients diagnosed with slow-growing malignancies – with a target of 84 days. The wait-time target for Priority 1 surgical patients (emergency surgery) is 24 hours and for Priority 2 (highly aggressive malignancies) is 14 days.

The province compared summer statistics over a three-year period. In June/July 2007, it met its wait-time targets with 90 percent of breast cancer and prostate patients. In June/July 2007, the median (midpoint) wait for breast cancer was 16 days. In 2008, it was 15 days. (Average wait times also varied only slightly, dropping from 34 days last June to 33 days this June.)

In 2007 and in 2008, the median wait for prostate surgery was 36 days, falling to 31 days this summer. (Average waits fluctuated more, falling – from 77 days in June/July 2007 and from 87 days in June 2008 – to 75 days this past June.)

How long does a patient wait from the time a family doctor refers a patient to a surgeon?

FOR AN ELECTIVE MRI AT THE OTTAWA HOSPITAL (CIVIC, GENERAL AND RIVERSIDE CAMPUSES), YOU HAVE TO WAIT 261 DAYS – NEARLY NINE MONTHS. THE ONTARIO GOVERNMENT’S TARGET IS 28 DAYS.

The MRI WAIT LINE IS 157 DAYS – THREE MONTHS – AT QUEENSWAY-CARLETON HOSPITAL, 82 DAYS FOR MONTFORT HOSPITAL AND 67 DAYS AT CHILDREN’S HOSPITAL OF EASTERN ONTARIO (CHEO).

“We actually do not track wait times from family practice referrals to surgeons,” says Carol Sawka, oncologist (cancer specialist) and vice-president of clinical programs and quality initiatives at the government advisory body, Cancer Care Ontario.

While the Ministry of Health monitors a huge number of diseases and treatment times at every phase (see its user-friendly website www.waittimes.net), this is a statistical gap.

“Now we see (this wait) that as important for cancer patients,” Ms. Sawka says. “We’re actively working with the wait time strategy (advisers) to see how this could materialize.”

How long is the standard wait, for example, for a bone scan? “There is no place that information is tracked – only CTs and MRI (waits) are available on the MOH website,” she says. However, clinicians and patients tend to be vocal when their needs are not being met, she says, and frequent informal feedback suggests there are no problems.

An MRI is useful in imaging the brain, spine, soft joint tissues, the inside of bones, abdomen and pelvis for cancer and other diseases. A CATscan (also known as CTs or computed tomography) uses a series of x-rays to create pictures in slices which produce a 3-D image. PETscan (Positron Emission Tomography) is new test used routinely in cancer patients to look at tumour metabolism. It may prove a useful alternative to other routine tests used to image heart, bones or infection.

The imaging bottlenecks, like a jammed highway system, occur at different merge points along the route.

From his vantage point across the border, Dr. Jarrett, says: “I’ve had patients who are told by their primary care doctor that they need a CATscan and they have to wait three to six months.”

May-July 2009 figures from waittimes.net for Ottawa hospitals give wait times for Priority 4 (elective) patients – those with non-emergency, non-urgent medical problems. The provincial targets for emergency scans are 24 hours, for urgent scans are 48 hours, for semi-urgent scans are 10 days and for elective scans are 28 days.

However, the May-July 2009 figures for a non-urgent “elective” CATscan show the wait is 129 days at Ottawa Hospital’s Civic-General-Riverside campuses, 57 days at Queensway-Carleton and 31 days at the University of Ottawa Heart Institute.

The 10 shortest CATscan wait times list puts Temiskaming Hospital in New Liskeard first with wait times of 11 days, and Quinte Healthcare Corporation (Belleville General, North Hastings-Quinte, Prince Edward County Memorial and Trenton Memorial) in 10th place with waits of 17 days.

Despite wait times that can vary by a factor of 1,000 percent, Ministry of Health spokesman David Jensen says patients are usually sent to the closest hospital for diagnosis – not the fastest one.

For an elective MRI at the Ottawa Hospital (Civic, General and Riverside campuses), you have to wait 261 days – nearly nine months. The Ontario government’s target is 28 days. The MRI wait line is 157 days – three months – at Queensway-Carleton Hospital, 82 days for Montfort Hospital and 67 days at Children’s Hospital of Eastern Ontario (CHEO).
The 10 shortest MRI wait times list puts Bluewater Health (Petrolia and Sarnia General) first with 19 days and St. Joseph’s Health Services in Chatham in 10th place with 56 days.

Ottawa’s statistics show up very poorly in comparison with most centres in Ontario, though a talk with the quiet-spoken Guy Morency leaves the sense that statistics and good healthcare can be inversely related. He is director of Diagnostic Imaging at the Ottawa Hospital.

As the only tertiary care facility (that is, offering highly-specialized service such as neurosurgery and trauma treatment), referrals of a complex nature from the 16 smaller regional hospitals tend to come here.

Ottawa Hospital’s long wait times reflect the many emergent and urgent cases laid atop the hospital’s scheduled tests and procedures. Further, Morency notes, Canada ranks “much lower” than most industrial countries when it comes to the number of MRI units per capita. “In the States, they spend more money on the capital side of their budget because it’s so competitive – if you can’t do this in a day or two and compete with your competitor down the street, you’re losing business. “I don’t think that it is a shocker for people to realize that Eastern Ontario has too few scanners per capita. The ministry is looking [primarily] at our efficiency. We were ranked as one of most efficient MR programs in Ontario. Despite the fact we’re one of the most efficient, we still have this wait-time problem.”

He asks: “Is every machine site or piece of equipment operating at same level? We’re the only facility providing 24/5 coverage in MRI sites. The Queensway-Carleton, the Montfort, CHEO and ourselves [all] have MRIs.”

At least two MRIs at the Civic and one at the General campus operate around the clock, Monday to Friday, and operate one or two shifts on Saturday or Sunday. At least one of three CATscan machines at the Civic campus and two at the General also operate around the clock during the week, along with one or two shifts on the weekend. The Riverside outpatient facility only operates its CATscan during the week.

With the isotope shortage, the CT/PET fusion scanner at the General has recently been approved for general patient use instead of research – and has gone from two days to five days a week operation. The Ottawa Hospital also sends patients to Winchester District Memorial Hospital and to the U of O’s Heart Institute for CATscans.

Statistics don’t tell the whole story. “I can easily do six head scans in an hour,” Morency says, “while a biopsy is going to take 45 minutes or longer to do. Some facilities won’t do them – we end up doing them. Ottawa Hospital’s long wait time on the Ministry of Health website concentrates on elective procedures. The statistics don’t show that I can get my Code Is and IIs (emergency and urgent cases) 90 percent of the time or more within the provincial target of 24 and 48 hours (respectively).”

“We’re working with our regional LIHN and if we’re able to demonstrate that we’re an efficient facility,” he says, “then we feel logically that we should be given some consideration for additional funding for CT and MRI operations.”

There is a shortage of technologists to run the imaging machines. “If we do hire one, it’s because we’re stealing it from another facility. People get trained mostly in Toronto and tend to stay there. So we’re trying to develop our own program with local partners to train people from Eastern Ontario and keep them in Eastern Ontario.

“The blessing in disguise from the isotope shortage is that doctors are only ordering the tests if it’s medically necessary. We have only had two days since May where we had to schedule some patients a day or two later. Our staff have worked extra long hours and have worked weekends to take advantage of the generators (maximum) radioactivity. We’re using PET and we’re getting all our patients done. We’re cooperating with other hospitals

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and we’re working with suppliers.”

In contrast, in Ogdensburg, Dr. Jarrett sells easy availability: “Quick convenient access is really what we have to offer.”

Or, as Laura Shea, director of community relations and planning at Claxton-Hepburn, puts it: “If you’re able to trade money for time, we can help with that.”

In two days from referral, a patient can undergo a scan in the 40-slice CT Scanner (CATscan). Costs range between US$800 and $1,200; chest scan costs a little more than $1,000. An MRI of the brain, a common test, costs about $1,700 with a similarly short wait time.

“I speak to an awful lot of Canadians who say they’re willing to spend that money as compared to waiting three or six months to get something like a CATscan that their family doctor has recommended,” says Dr. Jarrett. “I also speak to Canadian patients who say ‘I don’t want to spend the money and I’d rather wait.’”

Dr. Eden-Walker doesn’t disagree with buying speedy service. In the Canadian system, he says, if a person’s spinal disc/disk is crushing a nerve, an MRI scan is not difficult to schedule. If it’s back or neck pain, it can be a wait of months. “If I were the person and had $1,000 to spend on the procedure, yes, I’d do that.” He’s seen his patients head to Quebec for a fast scan. Why? Part of the reason is that many orthopedic surgeons will see patients only after they have had a required scan, he says.

“Prompt-pay” patients at Claxton-Hepburn – those who are treated there must pay as services are rendered – get a 15 percent discount which, Dr. Jarrett readily explains, helps the hospital’s cash flow. In contrast, in Canada, people not covered by OHIP may pay double the OHIP rates. Med-Team Clinic charges $32 to see a family doctor for possible bronchitis which, for someone without OHIP would cost close to $60.

Claxton-Hepburn, a full-service regional hospital, has 153 beds and more than 40 physicians, a cancer centre and a burns unit. Doctors refer complex cancer surgery, neurosurgery or invasive cardiology workups to such centres as to Syracuse; Burlington (Vermont), Boston and Manhattan.

At Claxton-Hepburn, a patient can swiftly move from diagnosis to treatment, Ms Shea says. A woman, for example, can get a mammogram within two days. If it’s abnormal, she’s called back next day to have additional pictures taken. If need be, within another day, she has a biopsy. If the biopsy indicates she has cancer, referral is made to an oncologist within a week. It takes one or two days to start radiation therapy and about seven business days to begin chemotherapy. Costs, which vary patient to patient, are close to US$75,000 plus physician fees of $9,000 for prostate cancer treatment. Breast cancer treatment costs $34,000 plus $7,500 for physician fees.

By comparison, the Ottawa Hospital’s three campuses average 42 days from booking breast surgery to its completion. Queensway-Carleton averages 38 days and Montfort Hospital averages 29 days – all well under the 84-day provincial target.

General surgical wait times have many factors. It’s possible that the already fragile supplies could be affected by a new world-wide shortage of medical isotopes. It was precipitated by a leak discovered in May at the aged National Research Universal reactor at Chalk River Laboratories – the third shutdown in two years. Ontario is also underwriting a clinical trial of sodium fluoride (18F) that might be able to do bone scans on up to 2,000 patients. Fast approvals for sodium fluoride for bone scans, says Health Canada, has made these scans available at the University of Sherbrooke Hospital in Quebec, McMaster University and the Cross Cancer Institute in Alberta.

Continued on page 67
Michael Byers, who holds a research chair in global politics and international law at the University of British Columbia, is one of the leading authorities on the future of the Northwest Passage and related topics. His new book, *Who Owns the Arctic: Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North* (Douglas & McIntyre, $24.95 paper), is his seventh. He is 42 and grew up in Ottawa and in rural Saskatchewan, the child of two federal government scientists. He has a law degree from McGill University, a PhD from Cambridge and a doctorate of philosophy from Oxford. His short-form resume lists 16 pages of articles, essays, op-ed pieces, lectures, comments on legal cases – and grants received. In the most recent federal election, he stood as the NDP candidate in Vancouver Centre but failed to dislodge Hedy Fry, who has held the seat for the Liberals since 1993. But he intends to try again. He spoke with George Fetherling, one of *Diplomat*'s contributing editors, about the future of the Northwest Passage, and of the Arctic more generally, in this age of drastic climate change and growing nationalism.

**DIPLOMAT MAGAZINE:** How would you characterise the state of the controversy about ownership of the Northwest Passage?

**MICHAEL BYERS:** It’s complex. The two principal players are the United States and Canada. The dispute over whether Canada can control access to the Northwest Passage was not actually of much importance because of the presence throughout the year – until fairly recently – of thick hard multi-year ice that rendered the Passage impenetrable to all but the most powerful icebreakers. What has changed in the past three years is that the Passage has become ice-free every summer. The season of ice-free water is likely to be extended by weeks and months in the future, with the very real possibility that the Passage could become navigable 12 months a year by 2012, say, or 2015. There still will be ice in the wintertime but it will be soft, relatively thin first-year ice and the Northwest Passage will resemble the Gulf of St. Lawrence or the Baltic Sea.

So it’s the disappearance of the ice, driven by climate change, that has made the dispute over the Passage of incredible relevance today. The Passage offers a roughly 7,000-kilometre or 4,000-mile shortcut between, say, Shanghai and New Jersey. So the aspiration that British explorers had for the Northwest Passage will finally come through: A trade route. Unfortunately, it comes with risks of the kind not foreseen in the 18th and 19th centuries. The biggest risk is climate change. That’s the driver of everything that’s happening in the Arctic, and one has to understand the Arctic very much within this framework.

**DM:** How is that a risk rather than a benefit to those people going from Shanghai to New Jersey?

**MB:** The disappearing ice is a benefit, but there will still be substantial risk involving shipping. We’re talking about an age of increasingly unpredictable and extreme weather events. There are more icebergs off Greenland than ever before. Associated with that shipping risk, we’re likely to see, as we move into an era of
climate crisis around the world, more threats from non-state actors, akin to what we’re seeing off the coast of Somalia today. Shipping is not going to be safe, although it will be economically attractive, short term. And, of course, any shipping imposes risks to the environment – to people, to flora and fauna, not just in the water but also on shore. The parallel that I like to point out to people – one that’s been pointed out to me by Inuit living in the North – is the Exxon Valdez tragedy of two decades ago which resulted in the largest oil spill in (North American) history and caused permanent damage to the southern coast of Alaska. That kind of accident in the Northwest Passage would actually have an even more severe impact in terms of oil clean-up equipment and so on, because of the cold water-temperatures there and the increased distances between ports.

**DM:** But isn’t it true that the threat will be lessened in the future as the world comes to depend on other forms of energy? Isn’t much of the debate not about oil as a cargo but rather about oil on the seabed?

**MB:** You’re referring to the separate sovereignty issue, separate from that of the Northwest Passage, which concerns the accessing and exploitation of hydrocarbons within Canada’s current jurisdiction – the Arctic Islands – and potentially offshore in areas we may be able to claim under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. But it’s important for people not to get too excited about these High Arctic fossil fuel resources because they are so remote and currently so expensive to access. We’re probably not going to get to them for two – or three, or four – decades, and if we haven’t substantially reduced our reliance on fossil fuel in that time, we’re in really big trouble.

One can imagine the sequestration of the carbon and other things but in the long term we certainly won’t be looking at fossil fuels as some sort of panacea for our energy needs, for we will, we hope, have shifted on to alternative sources. In the near term, however, and as relates to the Northwest Passage, there will be shipping, including oil and gas, going through because of the relative accessibility of those resources in the Beaufort Sea and the north slope of Alaska. For, perversely, the melting of the permafrost on land is making it more difficult to build and maintain pipelines. I don’t think the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline will ever be built, because the construction costs are going up as the permafrost melts, so I can imagine that oil and particularly natural gas will be going out through Canada’s Arctic waters. And in the short term and from an environmental perspective, that may not actually be such a bad thing. If you have a choice between burning natural gas or bitumen from the tar sands, you’d take natural gas any day.

**DM:** How substantial or realistic are the sovereignty claims of the Russians and certain Scandinavian countries?

**MB:** The Arctic is, of course, a very big place. The Arctic Ocean is measured in thousands of kilometres. Each of the five Arctic Ocean coastal countries has a substantial length of undisputed sovereign coastline and, under the Law of the Sea, will have sovereign rights over the continental shelf offshore, extending, potentially, 350 miles (560 kilometres) or more, under some very complex legal provisions in the treaty. Existing sovereignty disputes are with respect to the delimitation of boundaries between adjacent coast states. So Canada and the United States, sharing the Beaufort Sea, are in a dispute involving several thousand square miles of seabed, a relatively small area against the very large canals of the Arctic but something we still need to deal with. We have another small dispute involving the boundary limitation between Canada and Greenland, but it’s very minor in size and very amendable to negotiated solutions. Then, potentially, there may be an overlap between Canadian, Russian and perhaps Danish claims on a ridge in the middle of the Arctic Ocean. Again, these overlaps will be a relatively small part of the whole. Maybe five or 10 per cent of the Russian or Canadian claim will overlap with the other country’s claim, if that.

There certainly are mechanisms in the Law of the Sea convention for assessing the relative weight of each country’s claim in terms of its persuasive power, according to the criteria set out in the treaty. But the more important thing here is that all the five Arctic Ocean countries – Russia, the United States, Canada, Denmark and Norway – are working within the framework of the treaty and have agreed to work to peacefully solve any disputes.

**DM:** But some are more aggressive than the others, it seems.

**MB:** They’re portrayed as more aggressive, often for reasons of domestic politics. Sometimes one gets this somewhat confusing double-speak coming out of national governments. For instance, at the same time that Canadian Defence Minister Peter MacKay was complaining about Russian bombers flying over the Beaufort Sea north of Canadian airspace, the senior lawyer in the Canadian department of foreign affairs was in Moscow meeting with his Russian counterpart and negotiating with a view to submitting coordinated claims to the United Nations commission on the limits of the continental shelf. So behind closed doors at the level of the senior bureaucrats within foreign affairs and defence there is also a great deal of coordination. Sometimes, however, politicians with motives more domestic in orientation like to play up the possibility of sovereignty disputes.

There’s a long tradition of this. All the Arctic countries have done this from time to time. It can be quite frustrating because obviously the public rhetoric can sometimes impede the quiet diplomacy. Sometimes one’s country’s narrow interests will have a negative impact on another country’s foreign policy goals. In the case of Peter MacKay, his rhetorical emphasis and exaggeration about Russian actions in the Arctic was fairly directly reprimanded by the American four-star general in charge of the North American Aerospace Defense Command who, shortly after Mr. MacKay
made his comments, told journalists that the Russians had “acted professionally”. It was a remarkable moment (a four-star general coming that close to actually correcting an allied defence minister). But that’s part of the tension that goes on behind the scenes. There is cooperation. But sometimes there are also public flourishes aimed at the media and, through the medium, the general public.

**DM:** Should we be surprised that there isn’t more protest or participation by the indigenous peoples in the Canadian North?

**MB:** You’re right, there hasn’t been a lot of protest, certainly not in the sense that we might see Mohawks manning the barricades in southern Ontario or southern Quebec. But that has to be explained in part by the different character of the Inuit. It was explained to me by an Inuit friend that the Inuit don’t get angry. For thousands of years they have chosen never to show anger. If you’re living in an incredibly hostile environment, anger is simply not a viable option. Is there disquiet? Is there frustration? Oh, absolutely. Frustration at being excluded or at least not being consulted, at not having one’s concerns even acknowledged, much less as accepted as valid? Yes, that comes through again and again.

Some Inuit who have become, shall we say, more southerncized will express this fairly directly. John Amagoalik, who was the lead negotiator for the Inuit in the Nunavut land claims agreement, has come as close as anyone in his comments. He once told me an anecdote – it’s in my book – about being in a meeting at the United Nations in Geneva and hearing a foreign diplomat say casually that no one lives in the Arctic. John made a point of going up to him afterward, holding out his hand and saying, “Hi, I’m nobody, I’m no one.” That’s a different way of conveying the message and still a pretty powerful one.

To give you another example, in May 2008, the Danish government convened a summit of the Arctic Ocean countries at Ilulissat, Greenland, and brought foreign ministers together to talk about cooperation in the North. The Inuit were not invited. Even though they have an international organisation, the Inuit Circumpolar Council, which is a very effective force in international politics, they simply were not invited. The Inuit response to that was to spend the next six or seven months drafting a very compelling Inuit declaration on sovereignty, which they then released at a press conference the day before the next meeting of these ministers. The point, and it was very expressive in this declaration, was essentially this: “You didn’t invite us, and you shouldn’t do that again.” Again, this is different from the way other peoples might approach the situations.

The Inuit are not a people who are inclined to anger or violence. But the state of frustration about their exclusion, about the lack of consideration, and the failure on the part of the Canadian federal government, in particular, to keep its promises, have some of them speaking quietly about the possibility of, for instance, renouncing their support for Canadian sovereignty in the Northwest Passage. Even the fact that they’re discussing it among themselves should get the attention of everyone and signal just how important it is, not just at the level of fairness – for there is obviously a major fairness issue here – but also in terms of Canadian sovereignty. These people are so relatively few but they contribute to the claims to a part of Canada that amounts to one-fifth of our territory. They’re pretty important.
DM: How do you think southern Canadians’ thinking about the North has changed since, say, the time of John Diefenbaker, with all his blustering optimism?

MB: Mr. Diefenbaker didn’t really follow through on his 1958 campaign promise concerning the Arctic. A number of politicians since his time have also played the Arctic sovereignty card. Mr. Trudeau did in 1970 with the Arctic Waters Pollution Protection Act. Mr. Mulroney did so in 1985-86, including making some very grand promises about buying nuclear submarines and massive polar icebreakers – none of which ever actually happened. And now we have Stephen Harper who’s playing the Arctic sovereignty card again and also not delivering on his promises, at least not yet. Whether from a military angle or a resource development angle, at the moment it’s mostly rhetoric. The point is that all these politicians have recognised some electoral value in putting the Arctic forward. I have to assume that Mr. Harper’s advisors are polling on this issue and have discovered that it’s worth coming back to again and again and again. Some Canadians clearly care about this. With climate change and other environmental concerns quickly climbing up the agenda in terms of the general public’s principal issues – and in view of the fact that Arctic sovereignty now has real implications in terms of accessibility of this place and attracts not just domestic media attention but international attention, too – the Arctic is something that Canadians care about as much as they ever did, even if the drivers of their concerns are somewhat different today.

The more interesting question, I think, is whether we’re going to see a Canadian prime minister or other party leader do what Mr. Diefenbaker did and actually put forward a major vision for the North, one that goes beyond six armed patrol vessels, to actually talk about embracing the opportunity that comes with having the world’s longest coastline, most of it on this new Mediterranean Sea that is opening up on the top of the planet. Yes, there are huge risks, and no one should downplay the negative aspects of climate change. But we are going to have an ice-free coastline that is, in fact, the longest coastline of any country in the world. There’s going to be an awful lot happening in our North, and we’re either going to be active or responsive to that – or not.

DM: How would you summarise your own party’s policy on the North?

MB: The NDP has some history in the North. I believe that the NDP has held all [three] federal seats in the North at one time or another and has had an NDP premier in the only territory that has (political) parties (Yukon). One of those three MPs is Dennis Bevington, NDP member for the Western Arctic. Our policies and perspectives on the North are very similar to the NDP’s policies and perspectives with regard to the South. The focus is on social justice, health care, housing, education — all of which are in circumstances of crisis in the North. Those, plus a general reluctance to engage in military spending unless it’s absolutely necessary, for certainly as regards Arctic sovereignty, it’s unclear whether the military should play much of a role at all, given that we have agencies like the Coast Guard and the RCMP that have many decades of experience and deal quite effectively with the challenges that arise.

DM: Is there some sort of political or geopolitical agenda at the back of the current search for shipwrecks from Sir John Franklin’s expedition? And have we a hope in hell of finding them?

MB: To answer the second part first, I don’t know. But I strongly suspect that if we had been cooperating with and listening more closely to the Inuit in the course of the past century, we would have found them by now, if they are to be found. The accuracy of the Inuit oral history is a very important and often overlooked feature in the North. I don’t know whether it’s too late now, but if we had been interviewing Inuit elders in the early 20th Century, I’m pretty sure they could have taken us to where we needed to go.

On the other issue, on a purely legal level, finding the Franklin ships would make no difference whatsoever. Franklin himself made no particular contribution directly to either Britain’s or Canada’s claims in the Arctic. He did, however, through his misfortune or incompetence, spark several dozen rescue voyages; and those voyages have become very important, because it was those British explorers looking for Franklin who actually mapped most of the archipelago, thus establishing British title by discovery, which was subsequently transferred to Canada in 1880. So we can thank Franklin for having become lost.

George Fetherling is Diplomat’s books editor.
And now for something ‘new in paperback’

By George Fetherling

People who give talks on book reviewing enjoy quoting from a piece called “Confessions of a Book Reviewer” that George Orwell wrote in 1946. Orwell begins by painting a composite picture of a poor freelance reviewer who has had to move to a modest country cottage because he can’t afford London any longer. The cottage is littered with stale cups of tea and “unpaid bills.” Its occupant, who looks 20 years older than he really is, wears a “moth-eaten dressing gown.” A parcel arrives from one of the Fleet Street literary editors. He opens it with apprehension. Inside are four works of non-fiction: Palestine at the Cross Roads, Scientific Dairy Farming, A Short History of European Democracy and Tribal Customs in Portuguese East Africa. There is also a novel entitled It’s Better Lying Down. The editor has enclosed a thoughtful note suggesting that they all “ought to go well together.”

The piece is worth remembering as the only known example of Orwell’s sense of humour. But it also has the timeless utility of being more or less true, in the sense that it shows that writers who review books for newspapers don’t have easy lives. Their bosses refer to books as “tomes” or “reads”—defined as something “authored” (or “penned”) by “wordsmiths” or “scribes” to be purchased only at Christmastime and read only while lying on a beach. But another belief of such editors—that “new in paperback” columns are useful — has actual merit. There’s always a wealth of new reprints of worthwhile books that eluded us in hard covers.

One perfect example is Journals 1952-2000 by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., the late U.S. academic historian forever associated with the presidency of John F. Kennedy, whom he served in such an array of capacities that they could be grouped only under the title “special adviser.” It is a book (Penguin Group Canada, $22) of much wry gossip and many revealing anecdotes. For example, by checking the index under “Nixon, Richard M.—maladroitness of” you find some of the 37th president’s better faux pas, as when he approached Jacqueline Kennedy at Martin Luther King’s funeral and said, “This must bring back many memories, Mrs. Kennedy.” Or when he descended the steps of Notre-Dame in Paris following Charles de Gaulle’s funeral in 1970 and told the world’s media, “This is a great day for France.”

There are probably many reasons why such a large number of books about the slow death of European colonialism in Asia following the Second World War have appeared in the past few years. There’s the rise of the Indian and Chinese economies, the death of those who could object most strongly, the opening of old archives. Perhaps there’s even a certain geopolitical nostalgia for a time when empires and nascent nations (rather than superpowers and religions) fought one another. In any case, such books have a strong enough following to guarantee a second life in paperback.

Some of the authors are American, such as Ronald H. Spector, the author of In the Ruins of Empire: The Japanese Surrender and the Battle for Postwar Asia (Random House of Canada, $19). Most, however, are British. Their works range from the more popular end of serious narrative history, such as Alex von Tunzelmann’s Indian Summer: The Secret History of the End of an Empire (McClelland & Stewart, $21), to the more scholarly, such as Forgotten Wars: The End of Britain’s Asian Empire (Penguin, $20) by Christopher Bayly and Tim Harper. One of the most astute and certainly most prolific authors working in this field is John Keay, who has a wide following for books on South and Southeast Asia. His highly worthwhile Last Post: The End of Empire in the Far East (McArthur & Co., $18.95) is a seamless reconsideration of the whole topic.

BBC correspondents in the U.S. must feel as though the ghost of Alistair Cooke is shadowing them. After some years explaining Britain to America on the radio, Mr. Cooke switched to the equally difficult task of explaining America to Britain, particularly in the weekly “Letter from America” he broadcast from 1946 to just before his death in 2004. The present chief correspondent of the BBC in America is Matt Frei, based in Washington. By contrast, his job is not to help two allied nations hold hands but rather to explain and...
analyse for the often disbelieving audience back home a country that seems, at least to outsiders, numbed by its culture, crippled by fear and maimed by violence.

In the tritely titled Only in America (HarperCollins Canada, $24.95), Mr. Frei expertly exploits his almost complete ease of access in attempting to clarify America’s religiosity, its obsession with security, the power of its think tanks – all sorts of issues – while not withholding credit for its perks. “Don’t get me wrong,” he writes. “I love the tyranny of comfort. I am a very willing subject. Who can deny the beauty of American power showers? Even the cheapest motel in the darkest recesses of Arkansas or Oklahoma will have a hydro unit (i.e., a shower) that can peel off your skin at precision-adjusted temperatures. In Europe the only agencies with access to such water pressure are the riot police.”

Some paperback reprints have an added appeal in that they have been revised and updated as a response to new research or changing conditions. Some examples:

Spencer R. Weart’s The Discovery of Global Warming (Harvard University Press, US$16.95), showing how the current thinking on the subject gained critical mass in the scientific community, first appeared in 2003. Subsequent events and new findings that strengthen his conclusions have been worked into the text.

Peter Hoffmann, a McGill University historian, first published his biography of Claus Stauffenberg, the attempted assassin of Adolf Hitler, in German. Further research about the anti-authoritarian leanings of the aristocratic Stauffenberg family has resulted in a new edition of the English-language version of Mr. Hoffmann’s Stauffenberg: A Family History, 1905-1944 (McGill-Queen’s University Press, $32.95).

Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies by two Canadian historians, John Herd Thompson (Duke University) and Stephen J. Randall (University of Calgary), is to say the least a standard work. An updated new edition, the fourth, has appeared from the University of Georgia Press (US$24.95).

The Mess They Made: The Middle East after Iraq by Gwynne Dyer (McClelland & Stewart, $19.95) needed revision now that the U.S. is making Afghanistan its military priority. Mr. Dyer has added a new chapter arguing that the principal victim of the Iraq war has been the reputation of the United Nations.

George Fetherling is Diplomat’s books editor.
The traditional patriarchal view of history has tended to lack feminine subjects. That is certainly the case with the history of New France. In fact, historians disagree on how to interpret the status of women in New France, where exceptional circumstances reshaped the typical European woman’s role. So it’s not surprising that many people are unaware that women were significant to Canada’s early economy as entrepreneurs. Indeed, most have not heard of Lady Sara Kirke, who may have been the most successful woman entrepreneur in 17th-Century Canada.

Of course we know there were women in the New World and the colony of New France. As students, we learned of traditional women’s roles. Indigenous women were active contributors to their communities’ economies and European women arrived as housewives and helpmates in their husbands’ businesses. And we may know of the filles du Roi, mainly beggars and orphans, ‘daughters of the king,’ who became male-ordered brides, shipped to New France from 1663 to 1673 to balance the genders in the colony. But women entrepreneurs?

From the 1630s on, female religious societies played a role in the colony’s material, social and spiritual development. By mid-century many women sold goods, kept inns and gambling establishments, and sponsored trading expeditions, and they were as successful as men.

Sara Kirke was the wife of Sir David Kirke, first governor of Newfoundland. He expropriated Ferryland, on the Avalon Peninsula, from George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, under a 1638 patent for Newfoundland Plantations granted by Charles I. The property, which became known as the Pool Plantation, prospered under Sir David, but he made enemies politically and among fishing merchants. In 1651, he was recalled to England for withholding taxes and imprisoned on a suit resulting from the Ferryland seizure; he died in prison in 1654.

Lady Kirke managed the plantation during her husband’s absences and inherited it upon his death. Many women co-managed family enterprises, and it was not unheard of for women to inherit, and then to manage, large businesses. Under dower rights, a widow had a legally guaranteed interest in one-third of her husband’s estate upon which his creditors could make no claim. Lady Kirke certainly made the most of her inheritance, though it could have been easier to return to England to the protection of her family.

Although there is little documentation describing her activities in New France, what exists shows an astute manager. Her husband left a substantial debt of £60,000. Although there is no indication she paid the debt, the fact that the debt existed suggests that she was not financially secure when she assumed control of the plantation, which she not only kept going, but expanded.

Census figures from the 1660s and 1670s show that Lady Kirke owned more equipment and employed more fishermen and processors than most Avalon planters, including her sons. In 1675, only five per cent of planters, Lady Kirke among them, owned as many as five boats. Her sons George, David and Phillip also owned boats, but only Phillip owned as many as his mother.

The evidence of Lady Kirke’s success does not rest solely on the number of boats she operated. She ran her business in a politically volatile environment. When the monarchy was restored and Charles II claimed the throne in 1660, the ownership of Ferryland was uncertain. Lady Kirke petitioned the king, promising her loyalty, but Charles’s legal advisers favoured Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, who was ultimately granted administrative rights to the property. Although Calvert never exercised his rights, Lady Kirke ran her enterprise under the threat of losing it, either administratively or to raids by enemies of the English monarch. When Pool Plantation was sacked and burned by the Dutch in 1673, Lady Kirke rebuilt her business to become one of the largest Avalon enterprises of the time. Could a man have done better?

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is the associate editor of The Canadian Encyclopedia.
originally conceived in 1970 by U.S. Senator Gaylord Nelson as a focal point of American environmental protest, Earth Day has grown to become a global day of awareness. Once considered only of importance to a fringe minority, April 22 has, 39 years later, become relevant to modern culture, politics and, yes, even wine.

This past Earth Day saw the release of Canada’s first “biodynamic” wine: Southbrook Vineyards’ 2008 Cabernet Rosé. Received as a tremendous success for its quality, it also heralded the arrival of the biodynamic movement to Canadian wine. Though many purchased this tasty little wine because of its certification, and most of them may have a general idea of what an organic wine is, they probably have only a vague concept of what a biodynamic wine is. And who could blame them? After all, the world of wine is already full of heady amounts of information and confusing structures.

The ‘typical’ growing of grapes to produce wine (viticulture) may seem quite organic already. Quality wine grapes tend to come from vines in warm, dry climates where the risk of disease is relatively low, and treatment with chemicals occurs less frequently than with other forms of agriculture. Also, fertilizers are generally eschewed because lower yields produce finer wines. Finally, there’s the sometimes debated but generally accepted philosophy that wine is made in the vineyard. Grape growers and winemakers act as stewards allowing the grapes to express a sense of place and time through the soil composition, topography and climatic conditions for a specific vintage. The less manipulation incurred by the grape grower and winemaker, the less hindered the expression of terroir and the better the wine will be. That's the theory at least. Along the way though, there can be hazards, and many of these are difficult to combat without the use of pesticides and fungicides. Or are they?

Organic grape growing and wine making is not new. Domaine Pierre Robert of the Chateauneuf-du-Pape region has been growing grapes organically since 1982 while Fetzer Vineyards has been cultivating several hundred acres of grapes organically for more than 20 years. Though definitions and standards vary from country to country, wine is generally considered to be organic if the grapes from which it was produced are grown without the use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, fungicides and herbicides. Also, the wine-making techniques be organic as well. That means they can’t use flavour additives, prefer wild yeasts for fermentation and either prohibit or control their use of sulphur dioxide. This all sounds good. What could be healthier for us and the planet? Many believe the answer to that question was provided by an Austrian in the early 1920s.

The story of the biodynamic movement is as interesting and strange as the man responsible for its creation. Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) founded a form of spiritual philosophy called anthroposophy, published more than 300 volumes of work and dispensed ideas on art, education, politics and religion. Somewhere along the way, he also designed a dozen buildings.

The biodynamic movement grew from a series of lectures Steiner gave in present-day Poland a year before his death. He proposed a holistic agricultural system which advocated the nourishing of the soil by natural means set to the rhythms of the cosmos. This, at times, may mean stuffing a cow’s horn with the manure of a lactating cow and burying it in the ground. It’s easy to see why others consider him an eccentric crank at best and a scientific fraud at worst. The truly crazy thing, however, is biodynamic methods have produced conditions for a specific vintage. The less manipulation incurred by the grape grower and winemaker, the less hindered the expression of terroir and the better the wine will be. That's the theory at least. Along the way though, there can be hazards, and many of these are difficult to combat without the use of pesticides and fungicides. Or are they?

Organic grape growing and wine making is not new. Domaine Pierre Robert of the Chateauneuf-du-Pape region has been growing grapes organically since 1982 while Fetzer Vineyards has been cultivating several hundred acres of grapes organically for more than 20 years. Though definitions and standards vary from country to country, wine is generally considered to be organic if the grapes from which it was produced are grown without the use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, fungicides and herbicides. Also, the wine-making techniques be organic as well. That means they can’t use flavour additives, prefer wild yeasts for fermentation and either prohibit or control their use of sulphur dioxide. This all sounds good. What could be healthier for us and the planet? Many believe the answer to that question was provided by an Austrian in the early 1920s.

The story of the biodynamic movement is as interesting and strange as the man responsible for its creation. Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) founded a form of spiritual philosophy called anthroposophy, published more than 300 volumes of work and dispensed ideas on art, education, politics and religion. Somewhere along the way, he also designed a dozen buildings.

The biodynamic movement grew from a series of lectures Steiner gave in present-day Poland a year before his death. He proposed a holistic agricultural system which advocated the nourishing of the soil by natural means set to the rhythms of the cosmos. This, at times, may mean stuffing a cow’s horn with the manure of a lactating cow and burying it in the ground. It’s easy to see why others consider him an eccentric crank at best and a scientific fraud at worst. The truly crazy thing, however, is biodynamic methods have produced
some amazing results, and his influence on modern wine production, therefore, cannot be ignored.

Many wine estates are now run, partially or in whole, along biodynamic principles. These include Vosne-Romanée’s Domaine Leroy, the Rhône’s Chapoutier and California’s Bonny Doon. Perhaps the most vehement standard bearer for the biodynamic wine movement is Nicholas Joly. He produces one of the Loire’s most famous and age-worthy whites, Clos de la Coulée-de-Serrant, from a single vineyard farmed completely according to biodynamic principles. Not only is the soil treated with animal and vegetable matter, minerals and herbs, but all activities such as planting, harvesting, and bottling take place at a time dictated by the positions of planets and the intensity of light and heat.

While it is easy to be distracted by the movement’s more eccentric aspects, there’s no denying the quality of biodynamically produced wines. They are as good as or better than organic and regular wines. And, every lover of wine has experienced a sense of connection with the place that a wine came from. It’s hard to disagree with any method which nurtures and respects the sanctity of that place so much.

Pieter Van den Weghe is the sommelier at Beckta dining & wine.
In countries around the world, the harvest gives way to a sense of thankfulness. It is a time to reflect and to recognize the blessings which have come from the land. Regardless of geography, Thanksgiving celebrations are typically defined by several common characteristics. Families come together to enjoy a special meal of locally harvested produce and Thanksgiving tables are adorned with fall flowers and gourds to highlight the importance of the season.

In Canada, Thanksgiving always occurs on the second Monday in October. With back-to-school routines established, children are into a frantic schedule of extra curricular activities. Adults enroll in a myriad of courses, exercise classes and special interest clubs. Summer wardrobes are tucked away and winter clothing retrieved. Freezing and preserving must get done, gardens must be “put to bed” for the winter, cottages must be closed and boats must be docked. So sometimes, Thanksgiving dinner preparations can come up short.

To that end, choose a Thanksgiving menu that’s easy to prepare. Don’t forget that some elements of the menu can already be on hand in the freezer and refrigerator (soup, sauces, or dessert, for example) and think ahead about how many groceries to buy.

As family and friends gather and last-minute preparations continue in the kitchen, guests will appreciate a glass of wine or cider, along with some hors d’oeuvres, encourages conversation, intimacy and fellowship. Also, if unexpected delays develop in the kitchen, they will go unnoticed or be perceived as part of the host’s strategy to allow guests more time to mingle.

At the table, think about offering three or four courses. You could start with a refreshing seasonal salad, taking advantage of garden greens, fresh herbs, the last of the edible flowers, plus a wide variety of other autumn fruits and vegetables (e.g., tomatoes, melons, apples, pears, celery root). When it comes to soup, squash, pumpkin, roasted red bell pepper, mushroom or beet are good choices; and all lend themselves to being garnished with pizzazz. I often garnish my squash or roasted red bell pepper soup with seafood seeds to feature products harvested from both land and water.

Although turkey will be the main attraction in many homes, racks of lamb are frequently on our Thanksgiving menu, primarily because of the way the lamb can be presented. I like cutting the cooked racks into two- or three-rib sections. Then, for individual servings, I take two sections and arrange them in pairs in a standing position with the bones pointing inward and interlocking with each other to resemble hands placed together in thanks. My mustard mint sauce and sweet potato cream are essential accompaniments.

A platter of Canadian cheeses and artisanal breads may be included in the menu before dessert is served, or as an alternative to dessert, particularly when garnished with fall fruit and berries. However, for most, Thanksgiving dinner would not be complete without dessert – and general consensus would agree that it should be pumpkin pie. Don’t feel guilty if it is “store-bought.” Topped with whipped cream (especially my whisky whipped cream), it is always a winner. But dessert could also be poached autumn fruit, presented in individual over-sized cognac glasses and crowned with the above decadent whipped cream topping.

Happy Thanksgiving and bon appétit.

Margaret Dickenson is author of the international award-winning cookbook Margaret’s Table – Easy Cooking & Inspiring Entertaining. See www.margaretstable.ca for more.

**Seed-crusted Rack of Lamb**

*Makes 4 to 6 servings*

- 3 lb (1.3 kg) frenched* racks of lamb, trimmed
- *Coating Paste*
  - 1/3 cup (80 mL) grainy Dijon mustard
  - 3 tbsp (45 mL) balsamic vinegar
  - 2 tbsp (30 mL) freshly-crushed coriander seeds
  - 2 tbsp (30 mL) chopped fresh rosemary leaves
  - 1 1/2 tbsp (23 mL) buckwheat honey
  - 1 1/2 tbsp (23 mL) finely-chopped fresh garlic
  - 2 tsp (10 mL) whole mustard seeds
- *Garnish (Optional)*
  - 2/3 cup (170 mL) Mustard Mint Sauce/Drizzle (homemade** or commercial)
  - As desired colourful young salad leaves and/or fresh chopped herbs

*Seed-crusted rack of lamb with sweet potato cream*
1. In a small bowl, mix together coating paste ingredients.
2. Apply paste evenly over lamb flesh but not over exposed bones. (Note: The racks may be prepared to this point several hours in advance and refrigerated until 20 minutes before roasting.)
3. Twenty minutes to half an hour before serving (depending on size of racks), arrange racks of lamb on a parchment-lined baking sheet, fat side up. Place in middle of preheated 450 °F (230 °C) oven for 10 minutes. Reduce heat to 350 °F (180 °C) and continue to roast racks of lamb until desired degree of doneness is reached. Note: Use an instant read meat thermometer inserted into thickest part of flesh to determine doneness (e.g., medium-rare: 135 °F or 57 °C). If racks are very small and are to be served rare or medium-rare, check their internal temperature just 8 minutes after having put them in oven. They may be done.
4. Remove lamb from oven, tent with aluminum foil (shiny side down) and allow to rest 5 minutes.
5. Cut racks into chops or sections (as desired). Arrange lamb artistically on plates or a platter. Garnish with drizzles of Mustard Mint Sauce and colourful young salad leaves or fresh herbs.
6. “Frenched” racks of lamb have the meat cut away from the ends of the ribs so that part of the bones are exposed.
7. ** 1 cup (250 mL) of Mustard Mint Sauce: In a small saucepan heat 1 cup (250 mL) of plain mint jelly (commercial) until melted. Whisk in 1 1/3 tbsp (20 mL) of Dijon mustard and 2 tsp (10 mL) of white wine vinegar to form a smooth sauce. Stir in 1 tsp (5 mL) of dried mint. In a small bowl, combine 1 tsp (5 mL) of cornstarch with 1 tsp (5 mL) of cold water; whisk the mixture into the sauce until the sauce thickens.

** Deluxe Sweet Potato Cream
*Make 2 1/3 cups or 575 mL or 4 servings*

1. Scrub sweet potatoes clean; with tines of fork, prick skins in several places.
2. Bake* until soft. As soon as potatoes are cool enough to handle, remove and discard skins.
3. While sweet potatoes are still warm, mash flesh (or press through a “ricer”) to form a smooth purée. (Note: If “mashed” purée is fibrous, using a heavy rubber spatula, rub purée through a coarse mesh sieve.)
4. In a small skillet over medium heat, melt butter. Add chives, ginger and garlic; cook until chives soften slightly.
5. Stir chive mixture into sweet potato purée. Add Dijon mustard, vinegar, salt and if desired, hot chili paste; blend well with a fork or spoon. (Note: Do not use a blender as the potato mixture may become too soft and/or “gummy.”)

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Next to Ma Cuisine
Walk into the Rockcliffe home of Barbados High Commissioner Evelyn Greaves and his wife Francilia and you're entering a sensory pleasure zone.

The background music is calypso, the scent is island spices and the garden is filled with vivid yellows daisies, a show of pride for one of their country’s national colours.

Flying fish, a delicate Barbadian specialty, is on the menu in the gracious dining room, its table sprightly set with turquoise napkins. The hosts promise the piquancy of hot sauce.

There is nothing heavy or formal about this official residence, perched as it is on the edge of Rockcliffe, looking out on the tour buses wending their way along the Parkway and beyond to the greenery of Rockcliffe Park. Rather, the white stucco two-storey is filled with sunshine and the anticipation of Caribbean delights.

There’s much here that pleases the couple, who admit they like to watch the action on the roadway. “It brings life into the house,” Mrs. Greaves says, along with the sunlight that falls through its many windows.

The house was originally built in 1948 for Senator Wishart Robertson, a Nova Scotian who had a long and successful political career in Ottawa, serving from his appointment in 1943 until 1965.

Dr. John Bert Ewing, surgeon-in-chief at the Ottawa General Hospital and professor of medicine at the University of Ottawa, bought the house at 368 Lisgar Rd. in 1953 and it became a hub for tea parties and social gatherings organized by his wife Ethel, the president of many volunteer organizations in Ottawa. “It is very well constructed for entertaining,” says Sheena Pritchard, the Ewings’ daughter.

In 1974, the government of Barbados bought the property and later in 1997 added a large, bright addition that faces the garden and small patio. While the main room of the addition is used for official entertaining, it also included a small, cheerful breakfast room.

Using the addition, there is room for 150 people at an official reception, while the dining room seats 12 for dinner. The house with its classic centre hallway has two sitting rooms on one side while the dining room is on the other.

Pictures of traditional dancers and the sugar cane harvest are on the walls, brought by the Greaves from their own collection, along with a Barbadian scene created in delicate batik that is a highlight of the dining room. Lining the reception room are pictures of Barbados’ national heroes, a group of 10 ranging from Bussa, the leader of an 1816 slave rebellion, to Errol Walton Barrow, the first prime minister of Barbados, and international cricket celebrity Sir Garfield Sobers. Large green
Di pL Om A T  A N D iN T ErN A TiO N A l CAN A D A

plants give the reception room a sense of the tropics, while a small bar adds to the impression of a beach resort.

“There’s lots of dancing here,” laughs the high commissioner, who has also hosted a large fundraiser for the Thirteen Strings Chamber Orchestra that included a week in Barbados as a prize.

The high commissioner, a former politician and cabinet minister, has been in Canada for just over a year. On this day, he’s proudly sporting a yellow and blue tie, a buy from Sears in Florida, which shows off his country’s national colours.

And while this first-ever posting and his stay in Canada are both new experiences, it’s not the same story for his wife. She is a graduate of the University of Toronto’s faculty of education who taught many years in Barbados before enrolling at McGill to study guidance and counselling. She is also the author of several advice books for young people and a book of poetry.

Their pride in Barbados is happily in evidence, and the couple makes sure to tempt their guests with island specialties. Fish cakes, a popular dish in Barbados, are made with cod, originally imported from Canada as cheap food for the slaves, says High Commissioner Greaves.

Conkies, or fried delicacies with a cornmeal base, are also served, along with flying fish, not easy to find at Ottawa fish markets, so the couple loads up with 200 or 300 of them when they are back visiting their two daughters and grandchildren. Then they stuff them into their freezer in Ottawa.

We had delicious flying fish for dinner with the Greaves. Don’t miss an opportunity for a taste, and respect the hot sauce – it won’t disappoint.

Margo Roston is Diplomat’s culture editor.
Indonesian Ambassador Djoko Hardono and his wife, Ulfah, hosted a national day reception at their residence overlooking the Ottawa River on Aug. 19. The two have since wound down their posting in Canada and returned to Indonesia so Mr. Hardono could retire.

The ambassador plays several traditional instruments, this Bondang Bem drum among them.

The embassy of the Dominican Republic held a concert at Library and Archives Canada Sept. 4. From left: Soprano Heidi Jost, pianist Sheryl Malloy and violinist Eugenio Matos, who is also a special adviser at the Dominican embassy.

Peter Milliken, speaker of the House of Commons, hosted a Diplomat’s Day in his home riding of Kingston June 23. The event included a boat tour. Mr. Milliken is shown here with Slavica Dimovska, chargée d’affaires for Macedonia. (Photos: Jake Wright)

The GK Walk, which raises money to help build homes for the poor in the Philippines and other developing countries in South-East Asia, took place at Vincent Massey Park Aug. 23. GK stands for “gawad kalinga” which means to give care. Filipino Ambassador José Brillantes took part in the GK Walk. (Photos: Victorhea Rivilla)
1. Peruvian Ambassador Jorge Juan Castaneda Mendez (centre) and his wife, Diana Angeles Santander, hosted a national day reception at their home, July 21. Australian High Commissioner Justin Brown (right) attended. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 2. Netherlands Ambassador Wim Geerts took part in the opening of a World Press Photo exhibit at the War Museum in August. (Photo: Brian Goldschmied) 3. Japanese Emperor Akihito visited Canada in July. (Photo: Frank Scheme) 4. Swiss Ambassador Werner Baumann hosted a reception in honour of Pascal Couchepin, a Swiss politician in August. From left: Mr. Couchepin and Guinea Chargée d’Affaires Kaba Hawa Diakité. 5. Diplomats took part in Canada Day. Shown in white is Jamaican High Commissioner Evadne Coye; in red, her sister, Carmen Henry, and in green, Togo Ambassador Bawoumondom Amelete’s daughter, Ella. (Photo: Mark Horton)
British High Commissioner Anthony Cary and his wife, Clare, hosted their annual Earnscliffe Summer Ball June 20. Slovenian Ambassador Tomaz Kunstelj and his wife, Tea, attended.

From left: Jean-Daniel Lafond, Gov. Gen. Michaeille Jean, Mr. and Mrs. Cary.

There was no ambassador at the American Fourth of July party this year but Defence Attaché Colonel Joseph Breen and his wife, Shelly, helped Chargé d’Affaires Terry Breese and his wife, Claudia, host.

Mexican Ambassador Francisco Javier Barrio Terrazas and his wife, Hortensia Olivas Aguirre, attended.

Italian Ambassador Gabriele Sardo hosted a garden party in support of Opera Lyra Ottawa July 25. He’s shown with Soprano Maria Pellegrini. (All photos: Dyanne Wilson)

French Ambassador François Delattre and his wife, Sophie L’Helias Delattre, hosted a black tie reception at their residence July 13 in honour of Bastille Day. They are shown with their son, André. (Photo: Ulle Baum)
New Heads of Mission

Jawed Ludin
Ambassador of Afghanistan

Mr. Ludin comes to Canada from a two-year posting as ambassador in Norway. For two years prior to that, he was Afghan President Hamid Karzai’s chief of staff.

Mr. Ludin, 36, was raised in Kabul. In 1990, he studied medicine for two years in Afghanistan but was interrupted by factional fighting and the Taliban’s arrival. He resumed studies in London in 1998, this time in politics and sociology. He has a master’s in political theory from the University of London. He’s worked in humanitarian fields in Pakistan, Afghanistan and the UK.

Mr. Ludin is fluent in Dari, Pashto and English, and speaks some French and Hindi. He has two daughters.

Erik Vilstrup Lorenzen
Ambassador of Denmark

Mr. Lorenzen joined the ministry of foreign affairs in 1991 after completing a political science degree at Aarhus University. He’s worked in several areas, including EU affairs, EU enlargement, policy planning, and EU policy. He was appointed to Brussels in 1994 and to London, as European policy adviser, in 2001. Before being appointed ambassador to Canada, he was Danish Prime Minister Fogh Rasmussen’s chief adviser on EU policy for three years.

Mr. Lorenzen, who speaks Danish, English and French, is married and has two children.

Georg Witschel
Ambassador of Germany

Mr. Witschel completed a PhD in international law before going to diplomatic school in Bonn. He has served in the federal chancellor’s office and as a counselor in Tel Aviv. In 1992, he was deputy ambassador in Slovenia and then deputy director at the UN mission in New York.

He’s held several positions at the foreign ministry in Berlin. Most recently, he served as assistant deputy minister in its legal department between 2006 and 2009.

Mr. Witschel is married and has one child.

Else Berit Eikeland
Ambassador of Norway


She has a master’s of management from BI Norwegian School of Management in Oslo and a master’s in administration and organization from the University of Bergen. She is married and has three children.
Mr. Panupong joined foreign affairs in 1972. His first posting was to Manila. In 1984, he became first secretary at the embassy in Bonn. He was then posted to Brussels before returning to the ministry. He was ambassador to Singapore (1995) and Denmark (2000). Since 2005, he has been ambassador to Austria, Slovenia and Slovakia.

Mr. Panupong has a political science degree from Bangkok’s Thammasat University and a master’s in Asian studies from the University of the Philippines. He is married and has three sons.

Mr. Mumba is the former vice-president of Zambia. Born in northern Zambia in 1960, he formed a movement in 1997 to champion morality and integrity in public office. The movement morphed into the National Citizens Coalition party and he was its first president.

In 2001, he ran for president and lost but remained involved. He served as vice-president for 18 months until 2004. He’s represented Zambia at many international summits. He is married and has five children.
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Michał Sławomir Peksa
Defence, Military, Naval and Air Attaché

Romania
Claudiu Adrian Grigoras
Third Secretary

Russia
Alexander Seleznев
Attaché

Saudi Arabia
Majed Kh Alzaidi
Attaché

South Africa
Aneshwaren Maistry
Counsellor

Spain
Diego Fernandez Alberdi
Counsellor

Switzerland
Lukas Peter Fuerer
Assistant Defence, Military, Naval and Air Attaché

Syria
Kisra Mohamed
Second Secretary

Tanzania
Joseph Edward Sokoine
Minister-Counsellor

United Arab Emirates
Ali Rashed Ahmed Rashed Almazrouei
Attaché

United Kingdom
Clive David Wright
First Secretary

United States Of America
Thomas Edward Curley
Attaché

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Uğur Göksen
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United Arab Emirates
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Attaché

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An Unforgettable Journey through ‘My Israel’

Whether it is because of the stunning landscape, spiritually-moving holy sites or the warmth of Israelis, those who spend time in Israel never forget their experiences. Different aspects of Israel stand out to different people. Israel is only the size of Vancouver Island, yet the diversity of Israel’s terrain and its citizens is truly vast. Israel spans four biogeographical zones – Mediterranean, African, steppe, and desert. Hebrew and Arabic are official languages of the state but English, French, Spanish, Russian and Yiddish are also frequently heard on the streets. In fact, Israeli citizens come from 30 different parts of the world. As Ambassador of Israel to Canada, I am glad to let you have a peek into “my” Israel – places, activities and experiences which are most meaningful to me.

My Home Town
Jerusalem is the capital of Israel. As my home town, Jerusalem comforts me. I know I am home when I see the rolling hills and the glistening Jerusalem stone adorning the buildings. Friday, well before sundown, is one of my favourite times to engage in an all-encompassing sensory experience. The mountain air in the centre of Jerusalem is suffused with the sweet smell of warm melt-in-your-mouth chocolate rugelach (mini dessert croissants), the sight of people from all over the world and the sounds of excitement. Machneh Yehuda, the most urban and extensive street market, bustles with Israelis and tourists alike.

Museums in Jerusalem such as Yad Vashem, which is Israel’s Holocaust museum, and The Israel Museum, which hosts the Dead Sea Scrolls, provide significant historical information. The commemorative Yad Vashem holds the largest repository of information on the Holocaust, illustrates the disturbing history of European Jews under the
Nazi regime through narrative testimonies and a visual archive.

The city of Jerusalem is renowned for its religious significance to Jews, Christians and Muslims. Canadian tourists visit Jerusalem to pray at the Western Wall, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock. The Old City of Jerusalem, which surrounds many holy sites, is divided into four zones: The Jewish Quarter, The Muslim Quarter, The Armenian Quarter and the Christian Quarter. To me, these quarters seem true to their original character – mysterious with their narrow streets and hidden pathways. Those who are not shy may want to try their hand at bartering with shopkeepers; negotiating prices is the norm here.

This year marks a historic occasion as His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI visited Israel in May. During his pilgrimage, Pope Benedict XVI celebrated the Holy Mass in the Garden of Gethsemane at the Kidron Valley with an audience of thousands of pilgrims and tourists. Gethsemane, situated at the bottom of the Mount of Olives, is the place where Jesus and his disciples came after the Last Supper and where they prayed the night before his crucifixion.

Exploration and Relaxation
Many families love taking trips to Jerusalem’s Biblical Zoo, which features both cuddly and exotic animals. This zoo is admirable, in particular, because many animals that are threatened by extinction are well cared for in spacious and green surroundings. This zoo is a serene place to go for a stroll and to enjoy the sunshine while keeping your children entertained.

Just a short car or bus ride away from Jerusalem is the Dead Sea – a great destination for relaxing and rejuvenating. Situated 400 metres below sea level, the Dead Sea is the lowest point on earth. The high salt content of the sea not only makes floating graceful but is also said to have therapeutic healing properties. Take advantage of the revitalizing characteristic of the black mud and treat your skin to the rich minerals of this natural and highly acclaimed spa treatment. Nearby is Masada, an ancient fortress where the Zealots, the Jewish resistance fighters, made their last stand against the Romans in 73 ce. You may choose to hike or to ascend by cable car; both offer a rewarding view.

Two hours from Jerusalem is Haifa, a beautiful coastal city with breathtaking views of the Mediterranean Sea and Carmel Mountain. The Baha’i Gardens, an expansive complex, is located in Haifa at the Baha’i World Centre on the slope of the Carmel. The exquisiteness of the Baha’i Gardens and the golden Shrine of the Bab is difficult to describe. Also in Haifa is the Technion – Israel Institute of Technology, the oldest university in Israel, established in 1924. Today, Technion graduates are the core of Israel’s high-tech industry, which has produced the highest concentration of high-tech start-up businesses outside of Silicon Valley.

Although Tel Aviv is only 45 minutes from Jerusalem, it almost seems like a different country to some travellers. The first city founded in Israel (by an elite group of Jaffa residents in 1909), Tel Aviv means “Hill of Spring.” Tourists have been flocking to Tel Aviv’s pristine sandy beaches for years. You can truly escape from the pressures of everyday life by sitting with your feet in the sand and enjoying a cool drink at one of the cafés on Tel Aviv’s beaches. Look out onto the Mediterranean Sea and it seems to never end. The Mediterranean Sea not only lines Tel Aviv’s prime beachfront but also nestles many other palm tree-lined cities (including Nahariyah, Haifa, Netanya, Herzilia, Bat Yam, Ashkelon and Ashdod). Israel’s warm Mediterranean climate makes these beaches ideal vacation spots for at least eight months of the year.

In the wintertime, head down to the southern tip of Israel, Eilat. Make a splash with scuba divers and snorkelers who come face-to-face with vividly-
coloured tropical fish in the Red Sea. If you don’t feel like swimming, visit and photograph sea creatures at the gigantic circular tank at the Coral World Underwater Observatory and Aquarium in Eilat.

**Art, Theatre and Culture in the White City**
Tel Aviv, also known as the White City, is recognized by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site. In Tel Aviv, there are 4,000 buildings which characterize the city’s International Style. The city’s art, theatre, shopping and culinary delights reflect both its creative and sophisticated culture. Restaurants in Tel Aviv showcase globally influenced contemporary Israeli cuisine, known for its handmade fresh-ingredient dishes. Tel Aviv is also the epicentre of the performing arts in Israel – housing everything from the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra and the Israeli Opera Company to the Cameri Theatre and the Batsheva Dance Company. Shoppers delight in distinctive neighbourhoods such as Dizengoff and Sheinkin, jeweled with their fashion designer shops and artsy boutiques. Concert halls and dance clubs in Tel Aviv feature international musicians who play into the early hours of the morning.

As Tel Aviv is celebrating its 100th birthday this year, the city is abuzz with entertainment and festivities and special monthly events. October will feature Green, a two-day ecological festival for families. The festival offers a great variety of activities to raise environmental awareness, including tree planting, city hikes, a Green dance party and performances involving music, sculpture, film and dance. Highlights of Tel Aviv’s centennial celebration in November and December include Open Houses, an event giving the public a chance to explore historically relevant homes and view an Alexander Calder Retrospective, an exhibition of the work of American artist Alexander Calder, most widely recognized for his mobiles and sculptures. The year’s celebrations will wrap up with the opening of a new museum dedicated to the history of Tel Aviv.

**Food and Wine**
Baron Edmond de Rothschild brought modern viticulture to Israel in the late 19th Century. Within recent years, Israel has gained a reputation as having some of the best New World wine. Some people come to Israel solely to tour the country’s wineries. World-class wineries in the Golan Heights, the Galilee, the Judean Hills and the Ella Valley offer wine tastings, explanations of the wine-making process and vineyard tours.

Mention the word hummus and you are likely to get an opinion from every Israeli on the best hummus in Israel. Hummus is a creamy but healthy dip, eaten as an appetizer before a meal or as a meal itself. A staple of the Middle Eastern diet, hummus is typically made by puréeing chickpeas, olive oil, tahini (sesame paste) and lemon juice. Traditional accompaniments can include olive oil, fua’l (cooked beans), falafel (minced fried chickpea or fava bean balls), kibbeh (fried minced lamb patties), pita and various salads. Foodies interested in tasting some of the most highly acclaimed hummus in Israel may want to take a trip to Abu Gosh. Located between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, Abu Gosh is a quiet and quaint Christian-Arab village built on a mountain side, with possibly the best hummus in Israel.
**Nature and Wildlife**

One of the best ways to enjoy Israel's scenery is by hiking the Israel Trail, which runs 950 kilometres from one end of the country to the other. The Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel (SPNI) sells detailed maps of the trail to enable hikers and nature lovers to easily navigate its wonderfully-varied topography. As well, runners who participate in the 33rd International Tiberias Marathon on January 7, 2010 at the Sea of Galilee will enjoy beautiful scenery and access to up-to-date facilities.

The grottos (sea caves) at Rosh Hanikra are a dazzling geologic formation located at the Israel-Lebanon border. It is not to be missed. A cable car carries you down the 70-metre cliff. You can then walk through tunnels and view caverns which were created over thousands of years by the thrashing of the Mediterranean against the bedrock.

Hikers frequently roam the Golan Heights, Israel's mountainous region, which offers views up to 1,200 metres above sea level. The eastern area of the Golan has a chain of volcanic hills and the west and south border on cliffs.

The well-preserved open green spaces of Israel's 150 nature reserves and 65 national parks make Israel an ideal destination for nature enthusiasts. Gamla Nature Reserve, for example, located in the Golan, is best to visit at the end of winter or during the beginning of spring when the heady perfume of a variety of flowers fills the air. Also of note is Tel Arad National Park, located in the northern Negev, which consists of a lower and upper city. The lower city was first settled in the Early Bronze Age (3150-2200 BCE) and the upper city was settled in the Israelite period (1200 BCE).

**Ways of Life**

Finally, there is no better way to learn about Israel's diverse populations than to visit them. You can visit Bedouins for example, an ethnic group who are known for their strong family values and welcoming ways. You can experience the hospitality of Bedouins by staying overnight in a Bedouin tent, enjoying a traditional Bedouin meal and learning about Bedouin culture in the tranquility of the Negev, the desert region of Israel. You can even experience the unique Bedouin mode of travel — riding a camel.

The Druze, a community of 118,000 people in Israel, have an ancient faith and culture which has contributed to Israel's diversity. The Druze faith is an offshoot of Islam complemented with ancient Greek philosophy and other traditions. Druze holy sites are typically open to the public and require that visitors dress modestly and remove shoes upon entering.

You can also see what it is like to live on a kibbutz, a communal agricultural settlement unique to Israel, which is based on a system of joint ownership. Located in mostly quiet rural areas of Israel, kibbutzim such as Mayan Baruch, Hagoshrim and Kibbutz Afik offer modern guesthouses and exposure to daily kibbutz life.

Thank you for letting me share a little bit of “my” Israel with you. I hope that one day you will share your favorite aspects of Israel with me.

Miriam Ziv is Israel’s Ambassador to Canada.

For more information about travel to Israel, please contact the Israel Government Tourist Office, Canada at 416-964-3784 or info@igto.ca, or visit the website at www.goisrael.ca.
Kew Gardens may not be quite as iconic as London Bridge when it comes to the city’s tourist attractions but it certainly holds its own. Also known as the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew is visited by two million people each year. This year, the venerable horticultural oasis celebrates its 250th anniversary.

Started in 1759 under royal patronage, Kew Gardens on the western edge of London, England, has expanded over the centuries to now encompass 120 hectares (300 acres). More than half of its area is covered by several thousand species of trees. But it also contains the world’s largest collection of plants, some 30,000 in all, and it’s consistently ranked as one of the top public gardens on the planet.

Kew Gardens’ 250th birthday

By Fred Donnelly

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A UNESCO World Heritage Site since 2003, Kew can be appreciated for its educational, research and recreational assets. The gardens have a long-standing educational mandate to show the world’s biological diversity to the public. Visitors can stroll through bonsai collections, rock gardens, orchids and ferns in profusion, varieties of cacti and grasses, often housed in temperature-controlled greenhouses that rival football fields in size. The flower collections are spectacular with areas set aside for roses, lilacs, azaleas, rhododendrons, magnolias and giant water lilies, to list but a few.

In considerable detail, interpretive signs explain the usefulness of various plants and trees as food, medicines and building materials. Kew Gardens was intended to show the resident of the northern latitudes what a rubber tree, a date palm, a banana tree, a coffee bush, and so on, actually look like.

The threats to the rich biological heritage of our planet is set out in a recurring conservation theme. Meanwhile, a new concern, global-warming, has emerged. This has prompted a question at Kew Gardens: Will southern England become more suitable for Mediterranean climate plants in the near future?

At the same time, the entertainment factor of sensationally exotic specimens has not been neglected. Many visitors head straight for the Princess of Wales Greenhouse with the insect-eating Venus Fly-Trap plants. Others are attracted to the world’s largest flower (and some say smelliest), the Titan Arum, which, when in bloom, reaches a height of nine metres. A native of the island of Sumatra, Indonesia, Kew’s Titan Arum was grown from seed and took six years to reach its flowering size.

Kew Gardens, with its staff of 700, its specialized botanical library and millions of preserved specimens, is also a major research centre.
research centre. Its task is to catalogue and preserve the world’s flora through co-operative projects across the globe but especially in partnership with scientists working in tropical regions. Since the year 2000, Kew has become the institutional co-ordinator of the Millennium Seed Bank Project. By this scheme, millions of seeds are preserved in specially constructed sub-zero temperature vaults as insurance against some as yet unknown ecological disaster or extinction event.

Not to be overlooked or diminished is the recreational dimension of Kew Gardens. Its shady acres of lawns, groomed trails and walkways is a relief from the surrounding built-up areas of London. For the adventurous, there is a new tree-top walkway 200 metres long and 18 metres above the ground.

On site, there are some 40 buildings listed as being of architectural significance. Most famous are the great metal and glass...
Victorian greenhouses: Palm House was built in the 1840s and Temperate House, in stages, between 1859 and 1899. There are also royal residences on the grounds but these are operated as separate venues with their own admissions policies. The best known of these are Kew Palace, a lavish Flemish-style converted merchant’s house dating from the 17th Century and Queen Charlotte’s Cottage built in 1761. The latter remained closed to the public until Queen Victoria gave it to Kew Gardens in 1898.

Scattered throughout the gardens is an eclectic collection of structures, including a Chinese pagoda built in 1761, a Japanese traditional gate left over from the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition of 1910 and various “follies.” The latter were the rage in some quarters in the 18th and 19th Centuries. Basically, they were imitation temples or ruins of structures in the style of those that once existed in the ancient Greek and Roman world. Contemporary sculpture is also represented with large-scale temporary (meaning lasting several years) exhibitions.

Somehow it all fits together – the leafy broad acres, the ornamental lakes, the exotic plants, the botany lessons, the former royal residences, the sculptures and the architectural oddities. And that’s the beauty of this amazing place, at the grand old age of 250.

Fred Donnelly teaches history at the University of New Brunswick in Saint John.
In a world of sovereign nation states with internationally recognized borders, we are usually conscious of being in one particular country and not in another. And yet there are a few spots on our globe where such boundaries are just a little fuzzy. One such wonderful place is Campobello Island in New Brunswick.

Located just off New Brunswick’s southeastern coast, Campobello is separated from the state of Maine in the U.S. by a narrow tidal channel. Indeed, the Canadian island is connected by a bridge to the town of Lubec, Maine. To the occasional inconvenience of its Canadian residents, they must pass through American territory and customs – and a different time zone – to get to mainland Canada by land. The only alternative is a seasonal summer ferry to Deer Island and then another ferry to the Canadian coast. On a small island, lacking the usual retail outlets, shopping can be a problem.

By many standards, Campobello is an out-of-the-way place, but one with a rich history and a unique international dimension. Settled by New Englanders and English in the 18th century, it was, and still is, a fishing community. Then, in the 1880s, attracted by its cool Atlantic breezes, Americans bought much of the land to develop the island as an elite tourist destination, especially for Bostonians and New Yorkers.

In the wake of this annual summer influx came the island’s most famous visitors, the Roosevelts, who, in that decade, purchased a cottage on Campobello Island. Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945), the 32nd president of the United States, spent the summers of his youth on the picturesque outer island of Passamaquoddy Bay. From the time he was one year old until he reached 21, FDR sailed, fished, hiked and rode around Campobello. In short, it was where he grew up – learning skills both practical and recreational. It was also the place where he contracted infantile paralysis, the dreaded polio of the early 20th century that so physically constrained his adult life.

Franklin Roosevelt visited Campobello just three times in the 1930s, as the demands of his political career and his physical disability changed his life. Other famous Roosevelt vacationers included his wife, Eleanor, later the American First Lady, and their son, Franklin Junior, later a U.S. Congressman, who was born on Campobello in 1914.

In honour of the Roosevelt connection with Campobello, the Canadian and American governments decided in 1964 to establish a unique international park. Run by a joint U.S.-Canada Commission, the Roosevelt Campobello International Park occupies 1,158 hectares of the southern end of the island. Admission is free but the operation is highly seasonal, running from Canada’s Victoria Day to Canadian Thanksgiving or U.S. Columbus Day.

Part of the park is a cluster of century-old “cottages” of the wealthy Americans with their dozens of rooms and servants’ quarters. This includes the 34-room Roosevelt Cottage, purchased by the fam-
ily in 1909 and now preserved as a walk-through museum. There is also a visitors’ interpretation centre which celebrates the life of President Roosevelt.

The vast majority of the park is a nature preserve where hunting and camping are not permitted. Although the area’s forest lands were harvested a century ago, great care has now been taken to regenerate the natural vegetation. Contained in the park are rugged coastal outcrops, inlets, bays and beaches along with a huge heath-covered bog. The forested areas are crossed by trails, walkways and a few roads passable by cars but not by large vehicles such as buses.

My favourite excursion was walking the wooden pathway across the bog to the lookout at Eagle Hill for a scenic vista stretching far out into the Atlantic Ocean. Still the Roosevelt Campobello International Park occupies only about one-fifth of the island. The rest of Campobello Island has further scenic attractions, including the fishing village of Wilson’s Beach, the 1829 East Quoddy Lighthouse, whale-watching tours and Herring Cove Provincial Park (where camping is permitted).

As a visitor, I have often been struck by some of the unique and curious cultural features of this island. Surely this must be one of the few places in Canada to have a Bunker Hill Road (presumably named after the famous battle in American history). Also intriguing is the Roosevelt Campobello International Park’s unique employment arrangement. One half of its employees are Americans working for the U.S. Department of the Interior while the other half are Canadians employed by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

Then again, that was the purpose of the international agreement signed by then president Lyndon Johnson and then prime minister Lester Pearson back in 1964. Roosevelt Campobello International Park was to be “a unique example of international co-operation,” to be a memorial to Roosevelt and to “stand forever as an expression of the close relationship between Canada and the United States.”

Fred Donnelly lives in Rothesay, New Brunswick and has visited Campobello Island many times.
are moving on many fronts to make up the shortfall or get better use of their supplies – among them approving deliveries of Moly-99 from Australia and Iodine-131 (for thyroid cancer treatment) from South Africa while other 40- or 50-year-old nuclear reactors in the Netherlands, France and Belgium try to meet world demand.

Ms. Aglukkaq has provided $6 million to fund alternatives to Technetium-99m and may look at McMaster University’s reactor to produce its parent isotope, Moly-99.

The shortage has brought Canadians to Ogdensburg where, Dr. Jarrett says, there is no problem with supplies of isotopes. “We’ve seen Canadians come over specifically for a (PET) bone scan,” says Dr. Jarrett. “It’s commonly performed on patients with cancer to be sure the disease hasn’t spread to their skeleton.”

Dr. Jarrett describes the services in highest demand. For embassy staff in Ottawa, the primary request is for routine physicals or medical consultations, costing typically $150 for a 45-minute office visit. The medical centre refers patients to private doctors on staff. Non-embassy Canadians mostly buy imaging services – MRIs, CATscans, PETscans, nuclear medicine tests, X-rays, ultrasound, thermography and echo-cardiography.

Some people drive down, too, for emergency care because of the extremely long waits in Ontario emergency departments.

“Now that doesn’t mean that I’m suggesting that someone should drive an hour with a true emergency,” he says. “But we’ve had embassy people who have come down here with abdominal pain and other symptoms. They got here and we diagnosed appendicitis – at least two cases of embassy people whose appendix we removed on an emergency basis the same day.”

The Wait Time Alliance (waittimealliance.ca) says patients in Canada wait an average of nine hours to be seen and treated in hospital emergency departments. They wait an average of nearly 24 hours to be admitted to hospital from emergency – often due to a lack of beds.

Hospital wait times are undisputedly long. Dr. Eden-Walker says Queensway-Carleton Hospital sometimes refers to the Med-Team Clinic those non-critical patients who face hours of waiting – or who simply leave of their own accord. A recent example: A mother and son who faced a five-hour wait at that hospital went to the Med-Team Clinic, where, within a half-hour, the son was seen; within another half-hour, he had a plaster cast on his broken arm.

Meanwhile, Claxton-Hepburn is ready and willing to take another person off Ontario’s wait list, sometimes to be treated by a Canadian doctor. Dr. Jarrett says that one-third of the physicians on staff are either commuting Canadians or have a Canadian connection – an orthopedic surgeon lives in Merrickville, a urologist lives in Brockville, a pain management physician lives in Ottawa. Some are bilingual.

The recession and a new state tax atop the longstanding economic slump has forced layoffs at the medical centre. In July, it cut some 30 nursing and technical staff jobs and reduced seven others to part-time. This follows 20 job cuts in January. With its 900 employees and an $88 million operating budget, its 2009 projections include giving $3.1 million in free care.

Says Dr. Jarrett: “The truth is that we are in a bit of an economically depressed area and we take care of a high percentage of Medicaid patients and uninsured patients. That’s part of our mission.”

Ms Shea says that, in the last year, the centre has treated staff from six embassies and Canadians from more than 20 postal codes.

As the centre receives about 55 cents on the dollar for Medicaid patients and Medicare pays only slightly better, he says that reimbursement from Canadian customers at a better rate is “very worthwhile to us.”

Donna Jacobs is Diplomat’s publisher.
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