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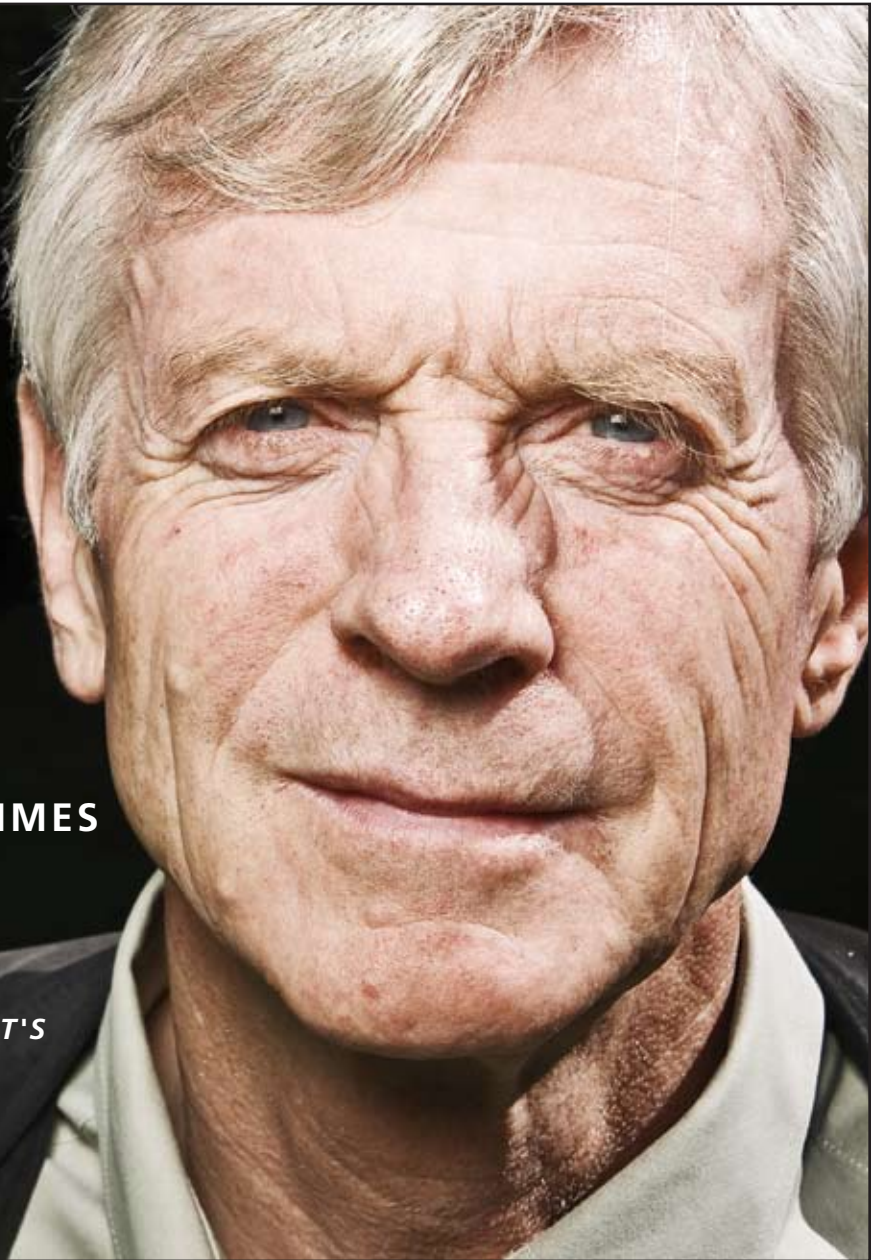


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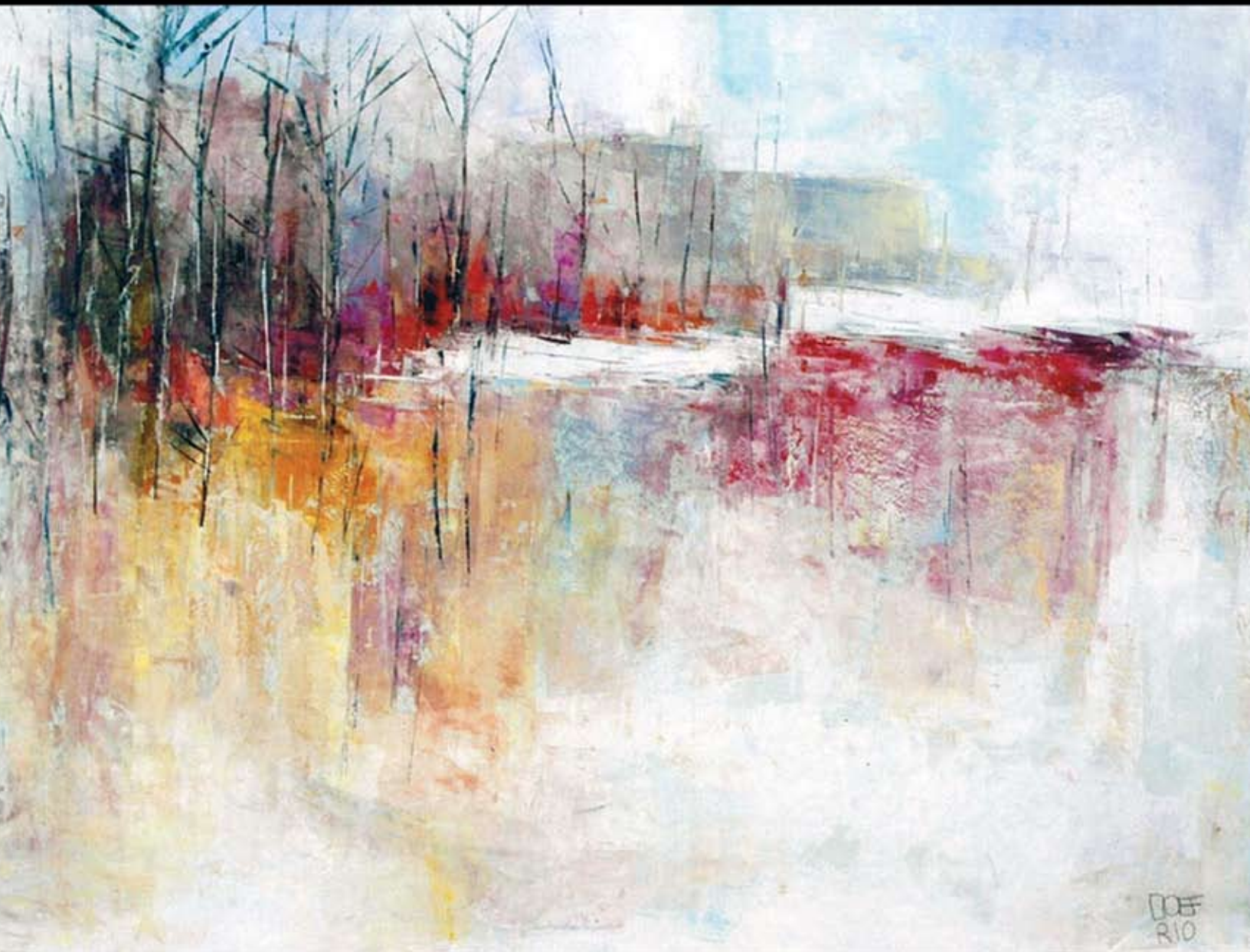
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New meaning of 'never again'

In spite of much earnest talk by governments, coalitions, and the United Nations itself, human rights abuses persist while the world passively watches. It's a source of great frustration for David Kilgour, a lawyer and politician who's spent most of his life fighting for international causes. This tall wiry man with the agility and energy of an Olympic athlete will take up pretty well any cause when he perceives injustice. I remember running into him one evening in Room 200 of the West Block. With his trademark lightning speed, he gave me the details of a story about a young Iranian who was about to be executed. "Is there anything you can do?" he asked. "They're going to kill him tomorrow."

That's what David Kilgour does. An injustice has occurred? Do something – now. One of his best-known efforts was his leadership role in producing an independent report, co-authored by David Matas, senior legal counsel for B'nai Brith Canada, into allegations of organ harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners in China. But that's just one example – there are dozens more causes he has championed in the name of basic human rights.

In our cover essay, Mr. Kilgour lists the world's human-rights trouble spots and argues that Canada must reassert its once-good international reputation by encouraging democracy in the planet's 40 surviving despotic regimes. He also offers a five-point plan on how Canada can encourage democratic revolution in China.

In the same package, *Diplomat* contributor Don Cayo visits some of the world's most troubling places: the Killing Field at Choeung Ek, where Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge killed some 20,000; Auschwitz and Birkenau, where German Nazis and their co-conspirators killed as many as 1.5 million, most of them Jews; and then to Rwanda where Hutus hacked hundreds of thousands of their Tutsi neighbours to death. Mr. Cayo discovered that these sacred sites of remembrance are treated



JENNIFER CAMPBELL

by some as amusement parks of evil but he still recommends visiting them because most people treat them with the solemnity they deserve. On a personal level, his grim travels stirred in him a resolve to speak out sooner and more strongly.

Both Mr. Kilgour and Mr. Cayo make the point that while we fervently think "never again," we keep seeing atrocities "again and again."

Human rights were front and centre this summer thanks to last month's Beijing Olympics which also brought attention to another world problem: the environment. Reporting from the Alberta oil sands, writer Laura Neilson Bonikowsky puts pollution caused by that province's industry into perspective. China, which accounts for 20 per cent of global emissions, is adding emissions equivalent to those of Alberta, every single month, she discovers.

There's much else in this issue. Writer George Fetherling offers a wide-ranging essay on books about Africa; book reviewer George Abraham looks at recent publications on oil; food columnist Margaret Dickenson offers a few culinary tricks while culture editor Margo Roston tours the expansive home of Kuwaiti Ambassador Musaed Al-Haroun and his wife, Fatma Al-Khalifa.

And, we introduce a new wine columnist. Beckta dining & wine customers will know Pieter Van den Weghe's face. He's been running the front part of the restaurant for the past couple of years and took over as sommelier this year. We'll miss Stephen Beckta, who's been delighting our readers with his wine knowledge since 2004. But time pressures involved in opening a second restaurant meant he had to put his pen to rest. And, we know you'll enjoy the words of his successor. Welcome, Pieter.

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat's* editor.

UP FRONT

Photographer Ben Welland: "I felt I was going into this shoot blind. I hadn't researched this man at all. I'd forgotten that a month earlier, when researching organ harvesting in China, I'd seen a press conference he'd done. I was sure that the guy behind the podium was the next social awareness prophet. Then, in his garden photographing him, I realized the unthinkable. I'd promised I wouldn't forget. But I did. His name. His cause. Everything. I am a part of the problem. I picked the man's brain. Now I'm a champion for his cause. People need to know. And I needed to remember."



CONTRIBUTORS

David Kilgour, cover essay author



David Kilgour, one of Canada's longest-serving MPs, took a hands-on course in international affairs as Secretary of State Latin America and Africa ('97-'02) and Secretary of State, Asia-Pacific ('02-'03). His domestic experience is equally extensive. In the Conservative governments of Joe Clark and Brian Mulroney, he served as parliamentary secretary to the president of the Privy Council, minister for CIDA, minister of Indian and Northern Affairs and minister of transport.

Since his 'retirement' as an MP in 2005, he has given speeches and met with pro-democracy, anti-authoritarian figures. He is a fellow of the Queen's University Centre for the Study of Democracy and a director of the Washington-based Council for a Community of Democracies (CCD).



Pieter Van den Weghe, *Diplomat's* new wine columnist

Pieter Van den Weghe is the sommelier and a service manager at Ottawa's renowned Beckta dining & wine. At Beckta since June of 2006, he had previously built up more than 13 years of experience serving in and managing restaurants and hosting countless wine events and dinners. Mr. Van den Weghe is a graduate both of Algonquin College's Sommelier Program and the Wine and Spirits Education Trust's Advanced Certificate (with a WSET Professional Certificate in Spirits thrown in for fun). Whether it's looking after guests at Beckta or guiding people through a tutored wine tasting, Mr. Van den Weghe's style of service is warm, informative and subtle.

'The vast majority of Iranians want democracy'

Nazanin Afshin-Jam responds to Diplomat's interview with Iran's chargé d'affaires

After reading an interview with Seyed Mahdi Mohebi, the (former) chargé d'affaires of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Ottawa embassy in the July-August issue of *Diplomat* magazine, I shook my head in disbelief.

He said: "Iran has turned into a great country. Just compare for a moment what Iran was before to what it is now – in any arena, whether military, education, women's issues, industry. All of these have been changed during these 30 years [since the revolution] regardless of enemies, regardless of pressure and sanctions. For a little example, 55 per cent of Iran's university educators are women."

If Iran has "turned into such a great country," why would it be experiencing the No. 1 brain drain in the world as documented in IMF's 2006 report? Why are thousands of Iranians escaping via dangerous routes through Iraq's landmine-infested mountains to try to claim refugee status through the UNHCR?

Iran is one of the wealthiest countries in the world, but its leaders are more interested in expanding Islam, in supporting foreign factions such as Hezbollah and Hamas than looking after their citizens' social welfare. One-third of Iranians live under the poverty line and many more must work two or three jobs just to make ends meet. This explains the massive unemployment, excessive inflation, despondent population and spike in drug abuse, prostitution and HIV/AIDS.

Iran has the highest number of executions in the world per capita. Students who stand up for freedom, women who demand equal rights and workers who ask for their right to unionize face imprisonment, torture and even execution. Thousands more are being persecuted daily for their ethnicity or religious beliefs. Among the most oppressed are the Baha'is, whose seven leaders were recently arrested and whose students are not allowed to attend university unless they recant their faith.

While Iran's founding father, Cyrus the Great, advocated for religious tolerance and an end to slavery 2,500 years ago, today, Azeris, Kurds, Baluchis, Christians, Zoroastrians, Jews, Sunni Muslims and Sufis fear the implementation of a new bill calling for the execution of converts and of bloggers who promote "prostitution, apostasy or corruption."



Nazanin Afshin-Jam, above, mounted a successful campaign to save Nazanin Fatehi who was sentenced to hang in Iran in 2007 for defending herself and her niece during an attempted rape.

How can women's conditions have improved – as Mr. Mohebi suggests – when the life of a woman is valued at half of a man's life under the law?

Why was Nobel Peace Laureate Shirin Ebadi forced to stop practicing as a judge simply based on gender? Women can no longer run for the presidency, let alone attend a soccer match at the local stadium. They must ask permission from their husbands or fathers to travel. There is inequality in divorce, custody and inheritance laws, to say nothing of the forced veiling of women. Mr. Mohebi credits the current regime with the success of women's 55 per cent participation in university teaching. Why, then, has a new bill been introduced in parliament to put a quota on admitting women to university?

Mr. Mohebi is wrong to claim "Iran's judiciary system is just like any other country's. It's a system that works independently. It has rules....we must trust the system, the judge."

We cannot trust a system that stones to death Jafar Kiani for adultery despite the order forbidding that execution from the head of the judiciary.

How can we trust a system that executes children in breach of the International

Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Charter of the Rights of the Child – to which Iran is a party – with more than 130 minors currently on death row?

What other "judiciary" allows its judges to rule based on *elm-ghazi* (divine knowledge of the judge) as was done in determining that Makwan Moloudzadeh engaged in homosexual activity with a 13-year-old boy and so hanged in public?

I was also offended this comment by Mr. Mohebi: "We have talked so much about Zahra Kazemi, who was an Iranian national. We have gone through that. It's a little off the topic now."

A Canadian citizen was raped, tortured and murdered in the hands of Iran's government. Her body has still not been returned to her son in Canada. We can never talk too much about Zahra Kazemi, even if Saeed Mortazavi, himself, an official implicated in her murder, is tried in an international tribunal for crimes against humanity.

I hope that the readers of *Diplomat* recognize that President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, supreme leader Ali Khamenei and charge d'affaires Seyed Mahdi Mohebi do not represent the voices of the Iranian people, the vast majority of whom thirst for a free, secular, democratic system based on human rights and the rule of law.

If the contents of this letter were ever broadcast in Iranian media, the station would be shut down and I would most likely be imprisoned and possibly killed.

Editor's note: Nazanin Afshin-Jam was born in Tehran during the Iranian Revolution. Her family was forced to flee and immigrate to Canada when her father was jailed and tortured by the Revolutionary Guard under the new regime. She is an international human rights activist, singer/songwriter, actress and former Miss World Canada 2003. She is co-founder and president of the Stop Child Executions organization and currently serves on the board of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation. Ms. Afshin-Jam mounted a successful campaign to save Nazanin Fatehi, 21, sentenced to hang in Iran in 2007 for defending herself and her niece during an attempted rape. Ms. Fatehi fatally stabbed one of their three attackers. Ms. Afshin-Jam received the "hero for human rights award" at the UN, and will be given the UBC alumni global citizenship award this fall.

Our Caribbean countries have a unique relationship with Canada, going back to the colonial past when, for a time, the Atlantic provinces and some Caribbean territories shared the same colonial governor. Trade between the then-British West Indies and the Atlantic provinces began well before those provinces traded elsewhere in Canada. It is not surprising therefore that the fledgling Royal Bank of Canada established its first-ever branch in the Bahamas, while the Bank of Nova Scotia chose Jamaica as the site for its first branch. Nor should it be surprising that the most enduring items of our trade in goods are rum from the Caribbean and fish from Atlantic Canada.

Today our relations are much more complex than (they were) then. Flowing from our shared principles and values, we have many common concerns at the international and regional levels, concerns which have seen us join forces to secure mutual objectives. Canada has maintained its support of CARICOM development goals not only at individual country level, but also as a regional integration movement. Tourists from our countries exchange visits, though with the weather in our favour, the exchange is also in our favour.

Importantly, though, the people-to-people links are not just through tourism, as the substantial presence of Caribbean

people and those with Caribbean antecedents in all walks of life in Canada will attest. We are proud of the contribution which our people have made, and continue to make, to Canada's growth as a major player on the global stage and to the enrichment of Canada's multicultural heritage. At the same time, the Caribbean diaspora remains engaged with their native lands and supportive of our region's thrust for sustainable development, good governance and the security of our democratic institutions. Here too, as dual citizens, they are well placed to influence political outcomes of interest to their native and adopted countries.

We mark the 35th anniversary of the founding of CARICOM at a time of serious global economic challenges, challenges which at best, could slow down the region's development. The global prices of food and energy are causing difficulties for countries with stronger economies than ours. And, as the impact is felt in both developed and developing countries, any hope for a new development-centred global trade agreement recedes further into the gulf of inflexibilities and protectionism. What began so encouragingly as the Doha development round of global trade negotiations [has now collapsed]. Among those who could suffer most will

**THE WORLD
ACCORDING
TO:**
Jamaican High
Commissioner Evadne
Coye, who addressed
the CARICOM reception
June 4, 2008.



Those who'll suffer most from the collapse of the Doha round of trade negotiations are small, vulnerable economies such as those in the Caribbean, Ms. Coye says.



Marking the 35th anniversary of CARICOM were five high commissioners including, from left, Rajnarine Singh (Guyana), Evadne Coye (Jamaica), Brandon Browne (Organization of Eastern Caribbean States), Michael Smith (Bahamas), Camille Robinson-Regis (Trinidad and Tobago), along with Nathalie Ménos, Haitian chargé d'affaires, and Natalie Cox, first secretary of the Barbados high commission.

be small, vulnerable economies such as ours in the Caribbean.

While the deepening of our integration movement into the CARICOM single market and economy will help to mitigate the shocks, our openness to external markets will not spare us. If here in Canada it is said that when the U.S.A. sneezes, Canada catches a cold, CARICOM states could go as far as adding pneumonia to the imagery, since we would also catch cold from both Canada and the U.S.A.

But this is not about gloom and doom. It's about confronting the challenges of the future and the strategies which at national and regional levels we implement to secure our objectives. It's about recognizing and honing the creative genius of our people and enhancing the opportunities of each sector of our societies to strengthen our development. It's about effective, co-ordinated response to the socio-economic issues which bedevil our countries. And it's about the support from, and collaboration with, friendly countries to achieve our development goals.

It is significant then, that this 35th anniversary also sees the deepening of Canada-CARICOM relations, which took a positive step forward when (Prime Minister) Stephen Harper met with Caribbean leaders in Barbados in July last year. We welcome the start of the implementation of the programs for development support which the prime minister pledged in Barbados. His visit marked the renewal of the exchange of high level visits between Canada and the Caribbean. We look forward to the Canada-CARICOM summit to be held here later this year and anticipate the continuation of Canada-CARICOM trade negotiations, which should lead to an agreement by the end of 2009.

On behalf of the governments and peoples of the Caribbean community, my colleagues and I and the staff of our respective missions affirm to you our vision of a Caribbean whose creative, resilient and skilled people unite successfully in the fight against poverty and for sustainable development; a Caribbean already renowned for its beauty and generous hospitality, now to be known as centres of excellence in various streams of human endeavour; a Caribbean whose children are drawn back to play their part in a vibrant economy where the rights of all are respected. Our work here in Canada is sustained by that vision.

Evadne Coye is the Jamaican high commissioner.

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Dining for the blind

The Canadian Council for the Blind has created a relationship with not just one but several embassies and high commissions in Ottawa.

So far, the Indian high commission, the Pakistan high commission and the embassies of Romania, Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, Kuwait, Azerbaijan, Afghanistan and Thailand have all helped out the council by hosting fundraisers. Most hosted dinners for 10 to 20 people where the head of mission acted as the host and the council sold tickets to the dinner to raise money for its programs. The council always has a staff member present and usually sends a couple of blind or vision-impaired clients as well.

Romanian Ambassador Elena Stefoi held a larger fundraiser at her embassy in her capacity as president of the Ottawa Diplomatic Association. The Iraqi embassy, under Ambassador Howar Ziad, co-hosted the event which attracted several diplomats, business leaders and politicians, including House of Commons Speaker Peter Milliken, and received support from Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

"The embassies have shown real generosity," said Jim Prowse, executive director of the council. "The dinners give us a chance to talk to them about our programs and it gives them a chance to talk to us and tell us about their organizations."

Obviously, the council has benefited financially from the relationships. But it's also gained a lot from the networking opportunities.

"Just meeting people from different



Thai Ambassador Snanchart Devahastin hosted the most recent fundraising dinner for the Canadian Council for the Blind. When a blind client needed a drive to the event, he sent his driver to pick her up.

countries and offering to share ideas helps," Mr. Prowse said.

The council, for example, has started a computer training program for the blind and vision-impaired thanks to the funds raised. That might be something diplomats would be interested in doing in their countries, Mr. Prowse said.

"And there are the small things. Peter Milliken came to the Romanian event and commented on the wonderful job we were doing for the blind. That sort of thing keeps politicians focused on the issue," he said.

Many of the dinners came about after the Canadian Council for the Blind invited diplomats to take part in its annual curling bonspiel. The Finnish embassy used the opportunity to do a little team-

building with its staff, Mr. Prowse said.

"We had a really good showing at that," he said.

His group is trying to create an international blind curling program and he figures it might be something that will interest his new diplomatic contacts who might want to take the program to their countries too.

"You never know how these things will grow," he said.

The Thai ambassador hosted the most recent dinner and when one of the council's blind clients needed a drive, Ambassador Snanchart Devahastin didn't hesitate: He offered to send a car around to pick her up. And that's just one of many heartwarming stories he could tell, Mr. Prowse said.



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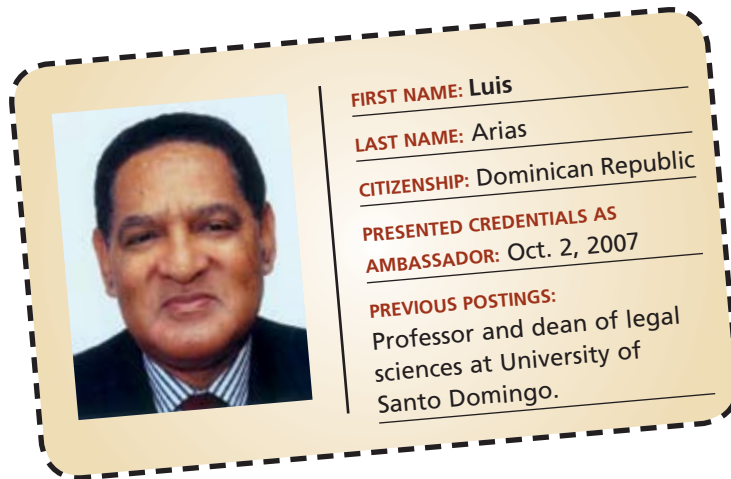
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Dominican-Canadian free trade prospects looking good



The Dominican Republic, a nation with its share of historical firsts, is on the verge of another – this time in its relations with Canada.

Quisqueya, as the Dominican Republic used to be called by its original Tainos inhabitants, is the site of the first permanent European settlement in the Americas. In fact, it was the first colony in America – colonized by Spain in 1492 – and gained its independence from Haiti on Feb. 27, 1844 to become a formal republic.

Santo Domingo, the national capital, was also the first colonial capital in the New World and the site of the first cathedral, university, European-built roads and fortress.

The latest first comes in the form of a partnership with Canada. Final negotiations are under way for a free trade agreement (FTA) between the two countries to foster economic integration by progressively eliminating barriers to trade and investment.

Bilateral trade reached \$160 million from January to May, with Canadian exports accounting for most – \$112 million – or a 62 per cent increase over the same period in 2007.

In a regional context, the Dominican Republic is among a number of countries completing trade negotiations with Canada. Mexico, Chile, Costa Rica, Peru and Colombia have already signed agreements.

The Dominican Republic and Canada are coming up on their second round of negotiations, scheduled for Sept. 29 in Santo Domingo. The first round was held last December in Ottawa, with Dominican

and Canadian experts joining businessmen representing the Agrobusiness Board and the Dominican-Canadian Chamber of Commerce. The round went well and concluded with both parties thinking the agreement could be fast-tracked and maybe completed by the end of 2008.

What started in March 2002 with exploratory meetings between Canada and the Dominican Republic is now part of Canada's formal effort, starting in 2007, of developing ties with Latin America and the Caribbean countries. Canadian agreements are on the horizon with Panama, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala and the Common Caribbean Market, known as CARICOM.

Canada already has a privileged status in the Dominican Republic, particularly in the mining sector, thanks to Barrick Gold's \$2.8 billion investment earlier this year in Cotui, a small town at the centre of the island. According to official data, Canadian investment in our country, between 1996 and March 2006, reached \$645 million, including mining, finance, tourism, trade and services. But trade is growing fast. The total investment for all of 2006 alone was \$1.8 billion thanks to large investments in the mining sector later that year.

A Canada-Dominican Republic FTA would be a new stimulus for both countries, with heavy equipment exports from Canada for Dominican infrastructure. Meanwhile, the Dominican Republic mainly sends agricultural products and textiles to Canada.

Dominican exports to Canada are mainly nickel, agriculture products such as cacao, coconuts, vegetables and cigars, fine stones for jewellery and finished products from Canadian investments in free zones in electronics, textiles, agro-industry, medical supplies, cotton and shoes. Dominican's free zones, like those elsewhere, receive raw materials imported free of taxes or tariff and export final products under a special customs regime

to facilitate placement in the international market.

Canadian exports are diversifying a connection that started in the early 18th century in the north part of the country and include cooking oil, fish, industrial equipment, printing paper, chemical products and the production of Dominican coins by the Royal Canadian Mint.

When it comes to tourism, the Dominican Republic beckons Canadians to desti-

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Why Canada needs a foreign intelligence agency: Even New Zealand has one



Aaron Shull has just graduated with a master's degree in international affairs and a law degree which he did through a combined program between the University of Ottawa's law school and Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs.

While at school, he wrote a major research paper on the need for a foreign intelligence service in Canada. And while other students flip burgers and pour coffee to pay their tuitions, he's been working with disarmament expert Trevor Findlay and former United Nations deputy secretary-general Louise Frechette on her nuclear energy study. He spoke with *Diplomat* editor Jennifer Campbell.

DIPLOMAT: Is there an argument for a Canadian Foreign Intelligence Agency? Is there a need?

Aaron Shull: I think there's a push and pull going on with respect to foreign intelligence in this country. There's a push from the current Conservative government. In their election platform in 2006, they mentioned they were going to pursue this but (Public Safety Minister) Stockwell Day has subsequently backed off of this, publicly. He's said that they're going to expand the mandate of CSIS rather than create a brand new foreign intelligence agency. The pull is from the federal court. There's a recent decision by Justice Edmond Blanchard that said CSIS wasn't able to use wiretaps extra-territorially, meaning in another country, which is something CSIS has done quite frequently. They've just never applied for a warrant before. So, what this means is that the legal regime, governing both the foreign intelligence question and governing CSIS generally, is in need of repair. The Conservatives' willingness to move on this file, combined with this decision of the federal court, means the time to amend the CSIS act is now.

DM: Do you think Stockwell Day backed off because of the Federal Court decision?

AS: No, I think it was more a question of money. Simple money. It's just too expensive to establish a new service. And I don't think it would be as politically fea-

sible. But I think the reason we need one of these services is fairly pronounced. We can gain technology- and trade-related intelligence. We can gain political intelligence, which we're not able to do right now. We're not able to send an intelligence agent overseas to gather intelligence. We're leading a G8 country that doesn't have this capacity. Even New Zealand has it. The fact is that the CSIS act is antiquated. The reasons that once meant we didn't need that foreign focus are no longer persuasive.

DM: Could you see both happening – rewriting the CSIS act and establishing this foreign intelligence agency?

AS: I think so but what is more likely is that they'll expand the mandate of CSIS. That was (Stockwell) Day's position. So they rewrite the CSIS act to allow this agency to collect both security-related intelligence through clandestine means – wiretaps, opening mail, things like that – and you also allow them to collect foreign intelligence as well. The difference in this country is that we separate foreign intelligence and security intelligence. Security intelligence relates to threats against the security of Canada and foreign intelligence relates to everything else – political, economic and trade-related intelligence. All of that would be considered foreign intelligence and outside of the mandate of CSIS.

DM: The CSIS mandate seems pretty narrow. Is that a concern?

AS: The wording is very vague so as long as they can show it's a threat to Canada, they had pretty much carte blanche. The director of CSIS is on record as saying that they have the same types of power as the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) but this decision from the court would seem to gravitate against that. That means the legislation that gives this agency its investigative powers is in trouble. Think about it this way: The case that was before the court involved seven individuals under investigation by CSIS while in Canada. They subsequently went overseas and we don't know where because that was redacted from the decision. But they go, and CSIS asks for a warrant and the Federal Court says they're not allowed to investigate these individuals. So they could be



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plotting a terrorist attack against us and our security intelligence agency doesn't have lawful authority to investigate them? You could ask the agency in the country they went to but what if it was Syria, and Syria doesn't want to help? Based on this federal court decision, that's all a terrorist would have to do. It's something that's not found in any other country in the world and to be frank, if you were to bring this up before any democratic electorate, they would think it was crazy.

DM: Let's talk about your work at the United Nations.

AS: I was tasked by Trevor Findlay at NPSIA to undertake a research paper on the international legal regime that deals with nuclear weapons. There was a meeting bringing together all sorts of experts on the topic. I was asked to go for the afternoon. It was quite a surreal experience because Trevor asked me, after class one day, if I could work for him part-time. I said I could do four or five hours a week. The following week, he asked if I could fly to the UN for this meeting. It culminated in a well-received study on the topic. It was about how countries are preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and how they've dealt with their nuclear obligations.

DM: You've worked with Louise Frechette on the nuclear file. How is that?

AS: We've had several good discussions about the issue and about what she thought of my paper. She was at the conference in Australia that I was invited to speak at. She's quite a golfer so I've challenged her to a golf game next time we're both in Waterloo (the project is based there, out of the Centre for International Governance Innovation.) She tells it like it is so she's a nice person to be around. She's very charismatic and the stories she tells and the experience she has had are quite amazing.

DM: What are your thoughts on the nuclear situation?

AS: The future of nuclear power is going to shape this century for sure. It's one thing when well-developed countries with robust regimes and regulatory frameworks put in a nuclear power plant. It's a completely different thing if a developing country does, and the difficulty is that we're all in the same boat here because if there's a nuclear accident in a developing country, it will absolutely kill the nuclear regime globally. As a feasible, safe power option, it won't be seen the same way.



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Rebel MP, globe-trotting
champion of defenceless people,
David Kilgour never stops

Never again: This Canadian really means it

David Kilgour travels the world (more than 100 countries, and counting) as an indefatigable champion of human rights. He goes to the places where people live wretched lives — and die wretched deaths. He speaks courageously on their behalf. He confronts the criminal regimes that cause vast suffering. His goal, in two simple words, is responsible government. With 40 despotic governments still in power, he argues that Canada must do more to challenge them and to subvert them. In this special essay for Diplomat magazine, Mr. Kilgour analyses the global grip of malignant government on millions of voiceless people. From genocide in Darfur

to repression and persecution in China, Burma, Zimbabwe, Iran, Vietnam and North Korea, the constituency of the former member of parliament now extends beyond Canada to the world. In his essay, he offers, as an example, a five-point Canadian strategy to further the cause of democratic revolution in China.

He brings to his international work a life remarkably rich in talent, skills and experience. The former Alberta ranch hand and trail guide and Toronto journalist was on the boxing team at the University of Toronto while pursuing his law degree. He became a Vancouver assistant city prosecutor and Manitoba crown attorney before beginning his 26-year, eight-term career as an Alberta MP. He has written four books; his latest, *Uneasy Neighbo(u)rs*, co-authored with former U.S. diplomat, David Jones.

Mr. Kilgour and his wife, Laura, have four grown children.

His international travels and his political career are perfectly parallel. And tempestuous – he often flies into the storm. As with his most recent – and last – act as an MP, he puts principle first. In 2005, he resigned from Prime Minister Paul Martin's Liberal Party. At the top of his 10-point grievance list that he personally presented to Mr. Martin was Canada's inaction on Darfur and his appeal to send Canadian troops to stand between murderers and their victims. He has also sought legal protection for Canadian whistleblowers.

He champions a sharp increase in Canada's international aid (from 0.025 per cent to 0.7 per cent of GDP.) Unsatisfied as an MP with the lack of progress, he left the Liberal party in 2005 to sit as an independent, threatening the fragile Liberal minority government.

Principles had already propelled him in and out of the Liberal and Conservative parties. In 1987, he was dismissed as parliamentary secretary by then Prime Minister Brian Mulroney for criticizing his government's ethics and its treatment of Western Canadians. In 1990, after he voted against the GST, he was expelled from the Progressive Conservative caucus and sat as an Independent Progressive Conservative before joining the Liberal Party in 1991.

What is the common thread that has run through his enduring national and international activism?

"I hope it's the view that every single human being is equal in the eyes of God – and should be in the eyes of the UN and everybody else. But some are more equal than others," he once said. "Some are certainly more equal than others."

Protecting the innocents: 40 dictatorships to go

The goal: 'Responsible government' around the world

By David Kilgour

With the Beijing Olympics over, the world now seems likely to examine more carefully what China does at home and internationally. Its current record vexes some of us who believe that the core values of the Olympic Charter and Olympic movement stand for human dignity and equality for all members of the human family. The rise of China in recent years has been in the opposite direction, whether among its own people or in countries, such as Burma and Sudan, which are essentially now parts of its economic empire.

Many Canadians think our own national government should engage more effectively with vulnerable peoples. In the case of the cyclone that ravaged Burma in May, for example, the refusal of the country's military junta to accept external humanitarian relief left even more Burmese in peril. Did responsible governments around the world not have a responsibility to deliver humanitarian relief to as many Burmese victims as feasible, possibly by dropping food and medicine from aircraft covertly?

What of Sudan, where another military regime heavily under the influence of the party-state in Beijing has attempted for more than five years to destroy a large community of Africans in Darfur for blatantly racist reasons?

The president of the International Criminal Court – Judge Philippe Kirsch of Canada – offered one good reason for indicting Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir when he said recently that his court's concern is justice, not politics. Canada and 105 other countries, not including China, have by treaty become members of the court and given it jurisdiction over crimes such as genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. Unfortunately, Bashir is probably safe from any arrest warrant issued from the ICC while he remains president of Sudan.

Genocide Convention

Does the UN Genocide Convention of 1948 apply to Darfur as well? It certainly appears to apply – criminalizing acts

anywhere intended to "destroy in whole or in part members of a racial, national, religious or ethnic group." Unfortunately, enforcement was and remains its fatal weakness. No actions were launched under its provisions against anyone for most of the six subsequent decades. The World Court dealt the convention a further blow last year in a decision – almost unanimous – that instruments of the government of Serbia were not responsible for the genocide which occurred in Bosnia in the 1990s.

Some jurists assert that the UN Genocide Convention is retroactive because it merely codifies pre-existing principles of

[SUDANESE PRESIDENT
OMAR] BASHIR'S REFUSAL TO
ACCEPT THE UN-PROPOSED
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REFLECTS NOTHING
MORE OR LESS THAN HIS
POLITICALLY-BASED DECISION
TO DENY THE UN-AFRICAN
UNION MISSION IN DARFUR
THE PERSONNEL ESSENTIAL
FOR AN EFFECTIVE PEACE
MISSION IN DARFUR.

international law. If so, it should apply to the Armenian Genocide of 1915, Stalin's Ukrainian Famine in the winter of 1932-33 and the Nazi Holocaust, which continued until Hitler's virtually final days as Fuhrer in 1945. How many lives might have been

saved if the details of both the Holocaust and Ukraine's famine had become public knowledge sooner? The essential facts were known about both situations soon enough, but the real problem was the absence of the political will to end these crimes. Thus the "never again" of 1945 became the "again and again" of Rwanda and Darfur. One retired Canadian diplomat even said a couple of years ago: Canada had no strategic interest in Rwanda, thereby admitting the normally unspoken callousness of too many world diplomats and politicians in 1994 and today. Lest we forget, what follows is a brief roll call of subsequent kindred horrors.

Bosnia-Kosovo

With about 60 other governments, Canada deployed soldiers to both parts of the former Yugoslavia in the mid-1990s under the NATO banner. The UN Security Council proved unable to act, primarily because Russia threatened continuously to use its permanent veto to protect the government of Serbia. Action came far too late. The ethnic cleansing that persisted in parts of Bosnia, including the brutal three-year siege of Sarajevo, will forever remind the world of the lack of political resolve among European governments and the UN Security Council during those years. Srebrenica, where 7,000 Muslim men and boys were slaughtered, also must not be forgotten.

Rwanda

The catastrophe in Rwanda is described carefully in Romeo Dallaire's book *Shake Hands with the Devil*. Suffice it to say here that – beyond the heroic roles played by Gen. Dallaire, Major Brent Beardsley and the locally-engaged staff at the Canadian mission in Kigali – the performance of Canada's politicians, diplomats and other officials was deeply disappointing. One Rwandan nun told me in 1997 that her life was saved when a Canadian priest confronted a mob armed with machetes in rural Rwanda and persuaded them to leave. Linda Malvern's more recent work, *Conspiracy To Murder: The Rwandan Genocide*, notes that just before the killing began one new machete for approximately every three Rwandan men was imported into Rwanda from China.

From Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and throughout the Canadian government, no one can claim any credit for responsible leadership during the events of April-July 1994. Gen. Dallaire points out in his book, for instance, that as the UN Force com-



David Kilgour has traveled to more than 100 countries. He's shown here with his wife Laura at Machu Picchu in Peru.

mander he was expected to take Canadian peacekeepers with him on his assignment – but he could obtain none to take from Ottawa. This, in turn, made it even more difficult to persuade other governments to provide soldiers. The indifference of our Foreign Affairs ministry's senior management to what was occurring will remain a cause of dishonour to our country.

Sudan

Consider only one of many incidents which have occurred in South Sudan. On Feb. 26, 2002, the town of Nhialdiu was wiped out to make way for a Chinese oil well that now operates in nearby Leal. According to James Kynge's award-winning book of 2006, *China Shakes the World*, "Mortar shells landed at dawn, followed by helicopter gun ships directing fire at the huts where the people lived. Antonov aeroplanes dropped bombs and roughly 7,000 (Sudanese) government troops with pro-government militias then swept through the area with rifles and more than 20 tanks..." About 3,000 of the town's 10,000 residents perished that day.

The genocide in Sudan's province of Darfur since April 2003 has in all probability cost the lives of as many as 400,000 African Darfurians. The party-state in Beijing continues to assist Omar al-Bashir's regime in Khartoum, including financing and supplying arms in exchange for taking most of Sudan's oil production at much-reduced prices. China officially sold about

\$80 million in weapons, aircraft and spare parts to Sudan during 2005 alone. This included an A-5 Fantan bomber aircraft, helicopter gunships, K-8 military attack aircraft and light weapons, all of which have been found in Darfur, transferred there in violation of UN resolutions.

China's government has long used the threat of its permanent veto at the UN Security Council to block effective UN peace activities in Darfur. It has essentially traded its veto (and many innocent lives) for cheap oil. Bashir appointed Musa Hilal, the one-time leader of the murderous militia, the Janjaweed, to a position in his government. Mr. Hilal has been quoted as expressing gratitude for "the necessary weapons and ammunition to exterminate the African tribes in Darfur." Not long ago, the Sudanese military ambushed a well-marked UN peacekeeping convoy in Darfur, later claiming it was a mistake. Virtually every independent observer says it was a deliberate attack.

Mr. Bashir's refusal to accept the UN-proposed roster of troops and civilian police offered by a number of governments reflects nothing more or less than his politically-based decision to deny the UN-African Union Mission in Darfur the personnel essential for an effective peace mission in Darfur.

When the active support for the Darfur genocide by China's government caused serious questions about about the Beijing Olympics, the party-state launched a

propaganda campaign to re-position itself as a “friend of Darfur.” In this misinformation effort, no mention was made of China’s trivial humanitarian assistance in Darfur or of the fact that numerous water sources in Darfur have been deliberately destroyed by Sudan’s regular forces and by the Janjaweed. Water sources are targeted by Khartoum’s bombers; the Janjaweed have often denied civilian access to water points and have raped women and girls seeking to collect water for desperate families. Darfurians themselves now seem well aware of Beijing’s role in their torment and destruction.

There is mounting concern that the Khartoum-Beijing alliance will cause the UN peacekeeping force in Sudan to be as ineffective as were the peacekeeping forces in Rwanda and Bosnia. The actions of the government of China across Darfur can only be seen as actively promoting the annihilation of an African people for economic advantage.

Burma

One of the bravest and most principled leaders has now been under house arrest for most of 18 years. In the national uprising during 1988 in which the army killed an estimated 3,000 civilians, Nobel Peace laureate Aung San Suu Kyi made her first speech as an opponent of Burma’s military dictatorship. When the junta allowed an election in 1990, Suu Kyi and her National League for Democracy (NLD) won about two-thirds of the votes cast. The generals allowed none of the elected representatives to take their seats and Suu Kyi has remained under house arrest for most of the past 18 years. The UN Special rapporteur has confirmed as a “state-instigated massacre” the attack on a Suu Kyi procession in May 2003, northwest of Mandalay, when about 100 people were killed, including the NLD photographers; Suu Kyi was herself wounded.

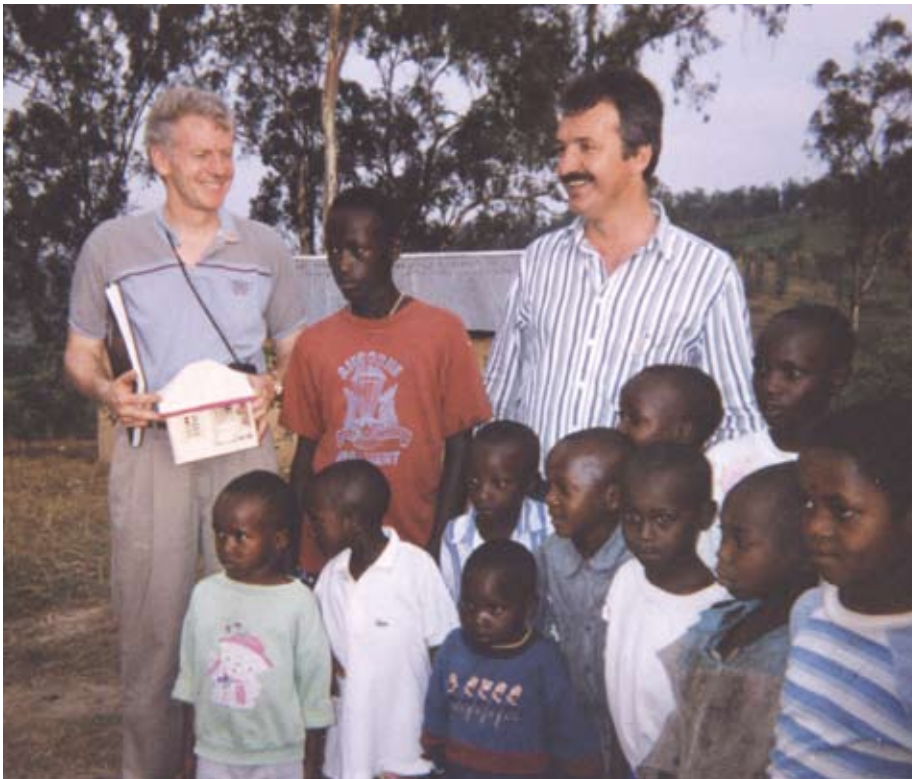
In what became more pro-democracy protests last September, junta troops fired automatic weapons at peaceful demonstrators and entered monasteries to beat and murder Buddhist monks who had protested. The junta had earlier received a \$1.4 billion package of arms from Beijing – so it seems clear where the fatal bullets and guns were made. At the UN Security Council, the representatives of China and Russia, who had earlier used their vetoes to remove Burma from the council’s agenda (after keeping it off its agenda continuously since the country’s crises of 1990 and 1988 until late 2005) even prevented



A shot from the archives, circa 1986: Mr. Kilgour (right) is shown with Natan Sharansky (centre) and Irwin Cotler, former justice minister but then a law professor at McGill and Mr. Sharansky’s lawyer, following Mr. Sharansky’s release from a Soviet prison. Mr. Kilgour was then president of Canadian Parliamentarians for Soviet Jewry.



Mr. Kilgour in Eritrea with Canadian members of the UN Peacekeeping Force near the demarcation line following the ceasefire in June 2000 in the Ethiopia–Eritrea War.



Mr. Kilgour in rural Rwanda with orphans of the genocide and their caregiver, an Italian priest.

the Security Council from considering sanctions. The two governments also managed to keep the Security Council from issuing a condemnation of the junta's use of deadly force.

The Nargis cyclone in the Irrawaddy Delta struck in May, which the junta first pretended (by continuing to broadcast an opera on government television) had never happened. The regime newspaper later suggested that foreign humanitarian aid was unnecessary because the victims could live on frogs. Its priority was attempting to bully citizens into making the dictatorship constitutional in a referendum on a junta-drafted constitution.

Beijing protects the generals in exchange for most of the country's natural gas. It also has gained the right to build a \$2 billion oil pipeline from Burma's coast on the Bay of Bengal to China's Yunnan province. This will allow China to take delivery of Middle East oil without passing through the narrow Strait of Malacca, which could be shut down in the case of a serious conflict.

North Korea

The brutal dictatorship of Kim Jong Il rivals that of Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe for any "worst governance" gold medal today. It is no coincidence that Beijing supports both regimes, although its attempt to ship \$70 million in arms to Mr. Mugabe

after he lost the first round of the recent presidential election was blocked when dock workers in South Africa refused to unload ships carrying the weapons and were supported by the South African courts. According to the International Crisis Group (ICG) in Brussels, China now does about \$2 billion in annual bilateral trade and investment with North Korea. About 150 Chinese companies operate in the country. The ICG asserts that China's priorities with the government in Pyongyang currently include:

- incorporating North Korea into the development plans of its three north-eastern provinces to help them achieve stability;
- achieving credit in China, in the region and in the U.S. for its help in achieving a denuclearized North Korea;
- maintaining the two-Korea status quo, as long as it can maintain influence in both capitals as leverage with the U.S. on the Taiwan issue;
- and avoiding a situation where a nuclear North Korea leads Japan and/or Taiwan to become nuclear powers.

In October 2006, after North Korea had completed an underground test of nuclear weapons, the *Economist* magazine called on the U.S., China and Russia to make sacrifices to avoid a nuclear arms race in Asia and the Middle East. "The Chinese could, if they wished, starve North Korea's peo-

ple and switch off the lights," the magazine noted in its lead editorial, but added that pressure of any kind was unlikely to persuade Mr. Kim to give up his bomb.

Iran

Systematic human rights abuses by the Iranian government currently include the persecution of ethnic and religious minorities and women (in a kind of gender apartheid, under Sharia law, the life of a woman is worth half that of a man); and the imprisonment, torture and execution of political prisoners and prisoners of conscience. The regime maintains complete control over the country's media.

In trading with Iran, countries legitimize its government and help to maintain regime officials in positions of absolute power. Trade and investment from abroad also provide Tehran with funds that often are not used for the health, education and general welfare of Iranians but instead for funding terrorist groups abroad, including Hezbollah and Hamas, under the mantle of "expanding the Islamic Empire."

China-Iran trade has grown from \$200 million in 1990 to \$10 billion in 2005. It includes conventional arms and ballistic missiles for Iran despite Tehran's declared hostility to "godless communism" and Beijing's severe persecution of its Uyghur Muslims. Beijing simply ignores the realities of theocratic rule in Tehran. A major attraction for Tehran is Beijing's permanent seat on the UN Security Council, which is useful for resisting Western pressure on nuclear and other issues.

There are indications that China has helped with Iran's Shahab-3 and Shahab-4 medium-range ballistic missiles. Both are capable of reaching any state in the Middle East; the Shahab-4 could hit significant portions of Europe. Two years ago, the U.S. government imposed penalties on eight Chinese companies for exporting material that can be used to improve Iran's ballistic missile capability. In the Middle East, China's policy of providing Iran with nuclear weapons technology is injecting a highly-destabilizing element into the region.

By providing Iran with weapons that could be used in support of Islamic fundamentalism, the potential for religious conflict becomes greater. Old hatreds between Iranian and Iraqi religious groups could flare up in the future. Nuclear weapons would give Iran a strategic weapons system that could allow the regime to act even more aggressively. Israel could be brought further into the situation, believing that

the only reason Tehran would want a nuclear weapon is to use it against Israel. China's goal of securing reliable sources of oil and gas is probably being hindered rather than helped by its weapons sales to Iran by encouraging the Americans to extend their military presence there to deter Iran's use of force.

Canada initiated the successfully-passed UN General Assembly resolution in late 2007, which drew attention to numerous human rights abuses in Iran, including confirmed instances of torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (flogging and amputations) and execution of persons who were under the age of 18 at the time their offence was committed.

In recent months, the government in Tehran has locked up all seven senior leaders of the country's 300,000-member Baha'i spiritual community. Not a word was heard about them for almost four weeks. It also fired missiles at the approximately 4,000 UN-protected residents, including about 60 Canadian citizens living in Ashraf city in Iraq.

China

The list of groups and individuals persecuted across China is long. New victims were added during the Beijing Olympics, including the two women in their 70s sentenced to one-year terms of "re-education through labour" for attempting to hold a legal protest during the Olympics.

There is not much doubt, however, that overall the Falun Gong community is the most inhumanly treated. David Matas, the Winnipeg-based international human rights lawyer, and I, concluded our own independent investigation last year. We found to our deep and continuing concern that, since 2001, the government in China and its agencies have killed thousands of Falun Gong practitioners, without any form of prior trial, and then sold their vital organs for large sums of money, often to "organ tourists" from wealthy nations. We amassed a substantial body of evidence and became convinced beyond any doubt that this crime against humanity has occurred and is still happening. (Our report can be accessed at www.organharvestinvestigation.net).

Mr. Matas and I interviewed a number of Falun Gong practitioners sent to forced labour camps without any form of prior hearing since 1999, who managed later to leave both the camps and China itself. They told us of working in appalling conditions for up to 16 hours daily with

no pay and little food, with many of them sleeping in the same room. They made export products, ranging from garments to chopsticks to Christmas decorations for multinational companies.

These macabre deaths would not be occurring if the Chinese people enjoyed the rule of law and if their government believed in the intrinsic importance of each one of them. In my judgment, it is the lethal combination of totalitarian governance and anything-is-permitted economics that allows this kind of governance to persist.

The Chinese Medical Association agreed with the World Medical Association quite recently that "organ tourists" will not be able to obtain further organ transplants in China. Whether this promise was anything more than public relations intended to benefit the Beijing Olympiad remains to be seen. Another worry is that organs seized from unwilling "donors" across China will now go to wealthy Chinese patients with the grotesque commerce thus continuing in the same volume.

Virtually all independent bodies agree that human dignity across China deteriorated in the run-up to the Games. Because of extensive reporting by the world's independent media to their home countries before and during the Games, however, many are now better informed about exploited Chinese workers, official nepotism and corruption, harassment of religions and democrats, and the constant party-state abuse of the natural environment.

Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

In all these situations, pervasive indifference from the international community encourages them to continue. Human dignity on our shrunken planet, however, is becoming more indivisible by the day. The R2P concept is a Canadian concept, adopted at the 2005 UN World Leaders Summit at UN headquarters.

The formal outcome document released at the summit said that nations have "the responsibility to protect" their populations "from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity." The international community's obligation is to "help states exercise this responsibility." R2P can be invoked by the international community through the UN Security Council "on a case-by-case basis" and "in co-operation with relevant regional organizations as appropriate" when national states are "manifestly failing to protect their populations from genocide,

war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity."

No mention was made of natural disasters, but it seems clear that when a regime, such as Burma's, denied much-needed food and medicine to its people, it was engaging in a crime against humanity and should thus be subject to intervention by other governments under R2P. Unfortunately, military force can be used only with the authorization of the often-immobilized UN Security Council.

A major challenge for R2P in the future is that the party-state in China strongly favours a 'walled world' in which sovereign authoritarian governments can do as they wish to their own populations with impunity. Over the past three decades, as approximately 50 countries in various parts of the world have adopted one or another form of multi-party democracy and the rule of law, Beijing's party-state observed this phenomenon with horror. It champions, finances and protects dictatorships – there are still about 40 of them of differing colourations left around the world – wherever it has influence.

Chinese diplomats do their utmost to persuade governments in developing countries that following the China Model would free them from the often-painful social consequences of the stringent economic discipline in place since the financial crises in Asia, Latin America and Russia in 1997 and afterwards, and the rigorous loan requirements which both the World Bank and the IMF enforce.

One-party regimes are thus able to push back nowadays with more confidence against independent media, civil society groups and human rights organizations. Plentiful aid from Beijing for governments with natural resources gives options to leaders who previously had been compelled to rely on donor countries that insisted on progress on human dignity among their nationals. Canadians, Europeans and others, who favour some pooled sovereignty in institutions like the EU and NATO are thus competing increasingly with the Great Wall approach of the Beijing government.

Complicating the world scene even further is the reality that if "anything goes" in the economy of China, "bespredel" (a Russian word that means "without limits") appears to be an accurate way to describe Russian foreign policy under Vladimir Putin as prime minister. Georgia's government, of course, should never have attacked South Ossetian's capital of Tskhinvali with rockets.

David Kilgour: How Canada should deal with China

We should support the freedom aspirations of the Chinese people

1) Zero tolerance for unfair trading practices.

There should in future be zero tolerance in Canada when unfair trade practices are used by the government of China or exporters there, including currency manipulation of the yuan, theft of intellectual property and the continued refusal to honour commitments made by Beijing to the World Trade Organization upon joining in 2001. Japan, India, South Korea and the other rule-of-law democracies in Asia and the Pacific must be our favoured trading partners in the region until the government of China begins to respect the rules of international commerce.

2) Canadian jobs and our own economy must be the priority.

According to a fairly recent survey of more than 1,000 Canadian businesses by the Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters, one-fifth of Canadian manufacturers responded to the rising loonie by shifting production to China. A Montreal business leader told me that approximately 50 companies from his province would not be manufacturing in China now without Export Development Corporation (EDC) financial help. This should stop. No taxpayer money should be going to relocate Canadian jobs to China or anywhere else. Goodyear Tire laid off about 850 employees when it closed its manufacturing facility near Montreal last year in favour of moving to China, yet tires made in China have since been recalled elsewhere as safety hazards.

3) Canadian values must be asserted continuously in dealings with Beijing.

All rule of law governments, including Canada's, must cease being naive about the party-state in Beijing. The regime continues to rely on repression and brutality to maintain itself in office, but what are Canadian diplomats in China doing effectively to show themselves to be the friends of the poor, persecuted and voiceless across China? What are they doing to advance the rule of law and human dignity? Fully realizing the differences, Canada might seek a role in China not very different from the one we had in establishing popular democracy in South Africa in the late 1980s, which is viewed by some as our country's finest leadership role internationally in many years.

4) Apply some lessons of non-violent civic resistance elsewhere to China.

There are lessons to be applied very carefully in China (in light of the Tiananmen protest experience in 1989 and elsewhere since) from the non-violent civic resistance which occurred in Russia, Ukraine, the Philippines, Chile, Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic states, South Africa, Serbia, Peru, Georgia, Romania and other nations. Each situation was different in terms of boycotts, mass protests, strikes and civil disobedience. In all, however, authoritarian rulers were delegitimized and their sources of support, including their armed defenders, eventually abandoned them. The government of Canada should make it clear to all that it stands with the oppressed hundreds of millions of nationals in China and its client states elsewhere and seeks a peaceable transition to the rule of law, respect for all, and democratic governance.



As a co-chair of the Canada-Tibet Parliamentary Friendship Group, David Kilgour hosted the Dalai Lama during his 2004 visit to Canada.

5) Let's stop listening exclusively to self-interested China business lobbies.

It is now clear that economic liberalisation in China is not necessarily going to lead to the end of political Leninism in Beijing and its client countries. Torture and coerced confessions, party-state killing of Falun Gong practitioners and others extra-judicially, systematic abuse of the Tibetan and Uyghur minorities, nation-wide exploitation of Chinese workers and families, the lack of any kind of social programs for most Chinese – all are incompatible with human dignity and the norms of the 21st century. There is no rule of law anywhere in China and its "courts" are a sham. The party-state shows continuing contempt for the natural environment (except in Beijing before and during the Olympics). Many "experts" on China abroad, including Canada, kowtow to the party-state because they think that their careers require support by the party. It's time to draw conclusions about China from facts on the ground to support human dignity consistent with the best Canadian values.

Conclusion

Despite all, the new China is stirring in the direction of vast and profound change. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese students have studied abroad and are now an increasingly important part of the political, economic and social fabric at home. Undoubtedly they return with new ideas and the experience of life in rule-of-law and democratic countries. It is hard to see them settling back into authoritarian rule for long. Chinese tourists are now venturing abroad as never before and are seeing for themselves life in different socio-political environments. Despite strenuous effort to clamp down on religion, tens of millions of Chinese are reclaiming their right to believe. Temples, churches and mosques are clandestinely mushrooming across China. These developments and others will lead demands for greater freedoms by word of mouth. Canada and all friends of the people of China need to recognize this phenomenon and position ourselves to support the new tide of expectations that a younger generation of Chinese will bring to bear on all these issues.

– David Kilgour

Seeking silence at the world's 'amusement parks of evil'

Vancouver writer Don Cayo has traveled of late to some of the earth's vilest places. Not landscapes that are merely ugly or unpleasant or unsafe, but places so sullied by evil that they're no longer fit for ordinary life. First was Tuol Sleng, the high-school-cum-prison in Phnom Penh, and the nearby Killing Fields where Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge minions murdered 20,000 fellow Cambodians. Then Auschwitz and Birkenau, the death camps in Poland where Nazis – German and kindred spirits from other countries – killed as many as a million and a half people, mostly Jews. Finally two rural churches in Rwanda where machete-wielding Hutus beat their way through barred doors and windows, and even brick walls to hack to death thousands of their Tutsi neighbours. He returned home with these reflections:

By Don Cayo

Some people walk through these sites in tears, many in thoughtful silence. But I was saddened to find there are also louts – the loudmouths with their petty dramas to dissect, the guy sneaking a smoke in Auschwitz, the gigglers with private jokes, the know-it-alls with boring theories, the shameless picture-takers who pop flashes everywhere, even in the Auschwitz crematorium.

And then there was Ken. He and I found ourselves in Cambodia, sharing a table in a busy restaurant after independently visiting the Killing Field at Choeung Ek – a place of meandering pathways through mass graves that left me with a powerful need to be alone with my thoughts.

"Didja go gun-shooting?" the young Australian asked.

No, I said, I did not. I didn't tell him my reaction when my tuk-tuk driver urged me to stop at an adjacent shooting range as I left Choeung Ek. I was repulsed by the thought that, having just spent time contemplating the work of homicidal maniacs, I'd then pretend to be one.

"Too bad," said Ken, compensating for my lack of enthusiasm with an excess of his own. "You get to empty the clip in an AK-47 for 30 bucks U.S. Or – I couldn't



A million tourists flock to Auschwitz each year. Most treat it as the solemn place it is.

afford that much – I got to shoot a Colt .45 for just \$10 ... It was great!"

This represents the worst of the "amusement park of evil" approach to remembrance. I encountered this phrase in a blog entry by Christopher Tuckwood, a Canadian on the student board on genocide prevention of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. For some, he noted, such sites are just one more place to go, gawk and get the T-shirt.

Mr. Tuckwood was shocked by the Disneyesque atmosphere he found at Auschwitz during a summer visit. I was there in winter, a quieter time when I was lucky enough to encounter no schoolchildren running about and clambering onto the

displays. But I understand his point. I was struck by the irony that, at a site infamous for the businesslike efficiency with which its victims were murdered, Holocaust remembrance is practised on an industrial scale as well. The footfalls of a million visitors a year are wearing grooves in the stairways of the most-visited prison buildings, and eroding the paved or cobbled walkways and roads. And at the exhibits that should be most powerful, your ears are assailed by the din of competing tour guides lecturing to as many as half a dozen close-crowded groups.

I got a small taste of this kind of thing at the first stop on my tour of evil, Choeung Ek. I made the rounds twice, first early in

the morning when I walked alone. I read the signs, written in stilted English, but poignant nonetheless. And I tried to process this awful information and the dismal aura of the place.

Then I hired a guide to help me fill in any gaps. He turned out to be a glib young man who merely destroyed the contemplative atmosphere while telling me nothing I hadn't read for myself on the signs. And he horrified me when he swung open the glass door of site's dominant stupa – a towering memorial built to house recovered bones – and plucked out two conveniently placed skulls, one gashed with a machete and one bashed with a cudgel, to illustrate how economically the victims were dispatched.

By that time, late morning, tour groups of chattering tourists were beginning to arrive. I left.

Tuol Sleng, though busy, was more conducive to reflection. Visitors respected each other's space as we went through classroom after classroom, each now full of crude little cells, or steel bed frames on which prisoners were tortured, or gut-wrenching official photos of prisoners, some of them children.

At both of the Rwanda churches – left much as they were except, in the case of the smaller one, for an ugly metal shell over the original building to protect it from the weather – I was the only visitor. The guides quietly explained the basic details, then left me on my own.

Despite the "amusement park of evil" syndrome that intruded on some of my visits, I recommend these experiences. True, too many people tromp through some of these small spaces, but the thoughtful comments in guest books tell me, a few louts notwithstanding, most visitors are powerfully affected.

It's almost impossible not to choke up at Choeung Ek's "killing tree" where Khmer thugs bashed babies' brains out to save the price of a bullet. You can't overlook the vastness of Birkenau – a place built for the sole purpose of killing "weak" Jews and housing strong ones for the short months it took to work them to death – without your stomach churning. You can't contemplate the rough hole knocked in the wall of the Ntarama church without imagining you hear the Hutu mob running amok, or smell the fear of the cowering Tutsi families.

In Tuol Sleng, what particularly touched me were the endless ranks of official photographs. These are mug shots, not artistic in any way. But they're all that's left to mark the passing of the legions who

died. Most looked despairing, some as if they'd already died inside, though a few dared to stare at their captors in defiance. These institutional photographs somehow touched me even more than the crisper shots of happier times – of lives no one knew were soon to end – that I saw in Poland and Rwanda.

In Auschwitz, I was particularly haunted by a room full of human hair – a tiny percentage of what was "harvested" by the Nazis to be woven into blankets. In Rwanda, no one – certainly not I – stayed dry-eyed through the last room, a chronicle of the lives of children who died in the slaughter, in Kigali's small, but powerful, memorial building.

These experiences did clarify at least one thing for me. I'm resolved to speak out stronger and sooner. I shall henceforth be less tolerant of the myriad excuses that the "international community" – that's us – falls back on to when a slaughter is under way.

Some of the shameful inactions of the past are well known – the Allies' failure to bomb the railway that took more than a million to their deaths at Birkenau, or the UN's inaction in Rwanda. Nor is the world doing better today in places like Darfur or the Congo.

We need a lower and simpler standard of when to say enough is enough, and we need the means and will to enforce it.

The idea of military intervention to protect a population at risk has taken an awful hit as a result of the post-invasion mess in Iraq. But, like Paul Collier, the Oxford economist who wrote *The Bottom Billion*, I believe the right interventions could end evil. Collier cites the example of the British in Sierra Leone. A few hundred troops ended, in short order, a decade-long war that killed at least 75,000 and maimed tens of thousands.

There have been repeated proposals for the UN to mount a standing force that could respond quickly to urgent situations. Dr. Collier suggests such a force to protect fragile governments if they are acting for the good of their people. I think the mandate could include protection of all people at risk, even – perhaps especially – when the danger they face is the government that should be protecting them.

It's a lie to say "Never again" when we settle for "Again and again."

Don Cayo is a columnist for the *Vancouver Sun*. Visit www.canada.com/vancouver/news/blogs/ to see his blog on globalization issues.

KEEPING TRACK OF ATROCITIES



A Rwandan church, covered by a metal shell for protection, has been left much as it was.

Nazi death camps in Poland, the Killing Fields of Cambodia, the city streets, even churches, homes and schools of Rwanda – these are the sites that spring to mind when most of us think about modern-day mass murder.

But what happened in these places is in no way unique. According to Genocide Watch, a non-profit group that works to prevent mass killings around the world, the last century's toll includes:

- 1.5 million Armenians
- 3 million Ukrainians
- 6 million Jews
- 250,000 Gypsies
- 6 million Slavs
- 25 million Russians
- 25 million Chinese
- 1 million Ibos
- 1.5 million Bengalis
- 200,000 Guatemalans
- 1.7 million Cambodians
- 500,000 Indonesians
- 200,000 East Timorese
- 250,000 Burundians
- 500,000 Ugandans
- 2 million Sudanese
- 800,000 Rwandans
- 2 million North Koreans
- 10,000 Kosovars

This adds up to one death every 42 seconds – about the length of time it takes to read this list aloud – all day, every day, for 100 years. Not to mention the on-going, slow-motion slaughter in Darfur where at least 200,000 have perished. Or the carnage in the Democratic Republic of Congo. There, five years after the purported end of an awful war that has killed 5.4 million, the International Crisis Group estimates that up to 1,200 people a day (one every 72 seconds) continue to die from unabated violence.

'On a global scale, our oil sands are a flyspeck'

Ugly, yes, but with perspective they compare well to other projects

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky

Extracting bitumen from Alberta's soil is a dirty business. Media and environmentalists have rightly called attention to its environmental destruction. And these critics continue to pillory the industry long after we've all gotten the point that oil sands operations emit carbon dioxide, a greenhouse gas that contributes to climate change.

Oil sands development is a dilemma. It positions Canada to become a world leader in oil supply. *Time* magazine says these Alberta resources are "Canada's greatest buried energy treasure" that "could satisfy the world's demand for petroleum for the next century." But getting at them would place Canada among the top defilers of the planet.

The industry gets a lot of negative press – and that's not a bad thing because it could keep harmful effects in check. But it gets more press than other environmentally damaging activity, and that is a bad thing, because most people only know what they're told. A survey of leading Canadian newspapers shows disproportionate coverage. Over 15 months, four leading dailies reported on the oil sands' connection to climate change in 230 individual articles. The equally damaging Asia-Pacific Gateway initiative to promote trade between North America and Asia rated only five articles. That's a ratio of 46:1 and shows the myopic tunnel vision with which this country views the oil sands industry.

There is no doubt that environmental damage is the inescapable cost of our comfortable, oil-dependent lifestyles. But the oil sands represent the tip of a melting iceberg when it comes to global warming. Refusing to look at this industry while ignoring other human activities leaves the door open to environmental risks that might be held at bay by an informed public. There is no bright side to the impact of bitumen extraction. This is not a defence of the industry, but demonizing a single activity by an industry we rely on and resent will not solve the problem. If we're serious about minimizing our environmental footprint, we need to pull our heads out of the oil-soaked sand and take a good look at the entire environmental situation.

Bitumen is a viscous oil that does not flow unless heated or diluted with lighter hydrocarbons. It underlies three major areas of Alberta comprising more than 140,200 square kilometres, with roughly 420 square kilometres currently disturbed by surface mining. Oil sands operations look horrendous – huge machines belching smoke tear up the earth and dig giant craters, polluted waters pour out of pipes. But give it some perspective. Alberta, with 661,848 square kilometres, comprises 6.63 per cent of Canada. The mining area is 0.3

CHINA, WHICH ACCOUNTS FOR 20 PER CENT OF GLOBAL EMISSIONS, IS ADDING AN ADDITIONAL CANADA'S-WORTH OF EMISSIONS EACH YEAR AND ONE ALBERTA'S-WORTH OF EMISSIONS EACH MONTH. ARE ORDINARY PEOPLE AWARE OF ALL THESE THINGS? PROBABLY NOT. INFORMATION IS NOT EASY TO FIND AND THE MEDIA ARE NOT HELPING, SO CONSUMERS AND VOTERS ARE NOT MAKING INFORMED DECISIONS.

per cent of Alberta. On a global scale, the mining area is a flyspeck and its emissions a whisper.

Canada produces two per cent of the world's carbon emissions. The oil sands industry produces four per cent of Canada's emissions. So the oil sands operation produces less than .001 per cent of global emissions.

Oil sands extraction requires stripping away trees and brush and removing the topsoil, muskeg, sand, clay and gravel – what the industry calls overburden. Its ugliness makes the industry an easy target because the scarred earth provides tangible evidence of the harm done. This spectacle contrasts starkly with other human activities that can appear benign but are equally damaging or worse. An example is the conversion of the Amazon region into savannah, with vast swaths of carbon-storing rainforest cut or burned to make room for cattle, or soybeans to fuel the "clean" energy industry. Vast green

fields with cattle grazing look picturesque, even wholesome. But these new Brazilian fields are largely responsible for that country's fourth-place ranking in global carbon emissions.

The deforestation of the Amazon basin is going forward with humanity's typical lack of foresight. The biofuel industry is irony writ large. It is doing exactly what it is supposed to prevent: producing more global warming. Using land to grow fuel destroys vegetation that stores carbon, and these vast tracts of land produce only modest amounts of fuel. The Amazon rain forest is the planet's primary carbon warehouse. Destroying it releases carbon into the atmosphere, carbon that should be stored in its broad leaves and heavy trunks. The crops replacing it are minor substitutes. The current rate of deforestation accounts for 20 per cent of the world's carbon emissions.

As Michael Grunwald explains in *Time*, the crops-for-forest effect is "replicating itself around the world." Indonesia has become the world's third-largest carbon emitter by bulldozing and burning wilderness to grow palm oil trees for biodiesel. Malaysia, following suit, has almost no uncultivated land left. One-fifth of American-grown corn is sold for ethanol, so American farmers are switching from soybeans to corn, and Brazilian farmers are expanding their soybean fields to pasture, so cattle producers are clearing adjacent forest for grazing land.

A study led by Princeton researcher Tim Searchinger published in *Science* magazine in February 2008 confirms that growing biofuels on cropland actually increases greenhouse gases, but we didn't see it coming because biofuel studies ignored the impact of land use. Converting carbon-storing wilderness to agri-fuel production releases "17 to 420 times more carbon dioxide than the annual greenhouse gas (GHG) reductions that these biofuels would provide by displacing fossil fuels."

Instead of delivering the expected 20 per cent carbon saving, corn-based ethanol nearly doubles greenhouse emissions over 30 years and increases GHG for 167 years. Using American corn land to grow switchgrass for fuel increases emissions by



There is no doubt that environmental damage is the inescapable cost of our comfortable, oil-dependent lifestyles but the oil sands represent the tip of a melting iceberg when it comes to global warming.

50 per cent. Ethanol made with sugarcane is the only biofuel that cuts emissions by more than it costs to produce it.

Advocates of the biofuel industry assert that crop yields will increase and use less land and energy – because the latter will be produced by farm waste. Mr. Searchinger applauds this possibility, but points out that growing fuel is an inefficient use of good cropland, a fact born out by current global food shortages that are a by-product of converting cropland to grow fuel.

Our environmental impact is not restricted to energy production. Trade uses energy for the ships, trains, trucks and aircraft that carry goods, and has a huge, seemingly invisible environmental cost. A case in point is the Asia Pacific Gateway initiative, which will “make Canada the gateway between North America and Asia for business, trade and investment,” according to the program’s press releases. Proposed by the Liberal government in 2005 and modified by the Conservative government in 2006, it was announced as the Asia-Pacific Gateway and Corridor Initiative.

It represents billions of dollars in trade. It also represents a 300-per-cent increase in container volume and a 25-per-cent increase in bulk cargo shipments at the Port of Vancouver by 2020. It will triple the number of trucks on highways, and require an extensive expansion of the roads, bridges, rail lines, and port facilities that support it. Its planners talk about a “green gateway”; its literature includes references to environmental assessments and wildlife overpasses. But there are no references to the resulting increase in GHG emissions, and the media have largely ignored it.

Canada’s major partner in the Pacific Gateway will be China, with its questionable environmental record. China

depends heavily on coal, which produces 70 per cent of the nation’s electricity, with demand growing in tandem with its economy. With its own coal sufficient reserves for 100 years, in 2005 it began opening a coal-fired power plant every week, all spewing toxic soot, sulfur and carbon dioxide. Atmospheric scientists such as Steven S. Cliff at the University of California have predicted that China’s coal will increase global warming gases to such a degree that they will exceed that of all industrialized countries combined over the next 25 years. The Chinese government has been reluctant to invest in plants with expensive advanced technology, allowing older equipment with 75-year lifespans instead.

China is the No. 1 emitter of carbon dioxide in the world. Given its large population, its emissions are lower per capita than in the United States, previously the highest emitter, but China’s rising standard of living means electricity consumption is rising. Compare its impact to oil sands operations. China, which accounts for 20 per cent of global emissions, is adding an additional Canada’s-worth of emissions each year and one Alberta’s-worth of emissions each month.

Are ordinary people aware of all these things? Probably not. Information is not easy to find and the media are not helping, so consumers and voters are not making informed decisions. The public also has to see beyond the problem to solutions, because environmental decisions are complicated by economics and politics. The Kyoto Protocol is a perfect example. Targets for reducing carbon emissions have been at odds with national economies, giving rise to plenty of talk from politicians which suggests the environmental risk of political hot air is not really a joke.

Good changes *are* happening – slowly. The *Globe and Mail* reported in May that the federal government is reconsidering ethanol production and rethinking legislation to boost ethanol in Canadian gasoline, citing concerns about food shortages and the environment. Although the Pacific Gateway project is proceeding on schedule, China may be changing its ways, announcing the closure of several small power plants in 2008 for environmental reasons – though that may also be a response to coal shortages.

Closer to home, the Alberta government in March issued the first oil sands reclamation certificate to Syncrude Canada for the 104-hectare Gateway Hill site, a few kilometres north of Fort McMurray, a former dump site for the overburden that was scraped away to get at the bitumen underneath.

Alberta requires oil sands developers to restore mined areas to their previous healthy state. Stockpiled topsoil and muskeg are returned to mined-out areas and overburden is used for landscape reconstruction. The reclamation process continues throughout the life of the project, and industry must post financial security equivalent to the cost of reclamation. Non-compliance can be penalized in several ways, including administrative penalties. To qualify for reclamation certification, reclaimed land must have matured sufficiently to be returned to the Crown. To date, 4,500 hectares have been reclaimed and five million trees and shrubs planted. It takes decades for an area to be certified – for Gateway Hill, nearly three decades. That’s a long time in human terms, but in the lifespan of the planet it’s a blink. The earth has a remarkable capacity for healing, once we stop wrecking it.

While corporations need to clean up their acts, the public must be involved too. It’s impossible to eliminate human impact on the planet; in truth, if humans were really committed to doing the best thing for Earth, they’d stop making more humans and allow the planet to revert to its natural state. But that Swiftian modest proposal goes too far. We don’t have to become dumpster-diving freegans or revert to the hunter-gatherer economies of our forebears to live environmentally ethical lives. But we do have to push for government action, demand that media give us *all* the facts, and look closely at everything we do to our environment.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is an Alberta writer.

To Timbuktu and beyond: African ins and outs

by George Fetherling

One of the interesting things—one of many—about *To Timbuktu for a Haircut: A Journey through West Africa* (Dundurn, \$26.99 paper) is that its author, Rick Antonson, is the president and CEO of Tourism Vancouver, the convention and visitors' bureau. What does he do when he needs to get away from the air of bureaucratic confinement that must inevitably accompany such a high-level position in the tourism industry? He certainly doesn't become a tourist himself. Instead he assumes the role of a serious traveller, the kind that can turn out a book such as this one, relaying the story of a rough and rugged journey (he loved every arduous minute) while, at the same time, providing the necessary historical, geographical and cultural context, expressed with charm and sensitivity.

Of course Timbuktu struggles under the weight of so much old-fashioned romance as to make it an easy place to write about badly and an especially difficult one to write about well. I suppose all of us have a mental picture of it, stuck out there in the Sahara, an ancient city of low buildings with walls made of mud (using a technique the local people called banco). And I suppose most everyone knows by now of the uncounted thousands of ancient Arabic manuscripts to be found there, many still in private homes, where they're being eaten away by sand and insects. Significant numbers of people in the West, including Mr. Antonson, are working against the odds to help Africans preserve these writings, whose presence is perhaps the most vivid reminder of what a great seat of Islamic learning the city was centuries ago, when it was also, not in the least coincidentally, a place of great wealth.

Added to its appeal for travellers is the fact that Timbuktu, although no longer forbidden to infidels as it was once upon a time, is still almost absurdly remote, even in the context of Mali, one of the world's poorest countries, with abysmal transportation and communications. As Mr. Antonson writes, "Although Timbuktu exists, there is a consensus that it is, in fact, nowhere." Yet at a certain point in his life, when he was in his late 50s, Mr. Antonson felt there "was no more fitting" or symbolic a place to visit than Timbuktu. The



The Great Mosque at Djenne in Mali – near Timbuktu

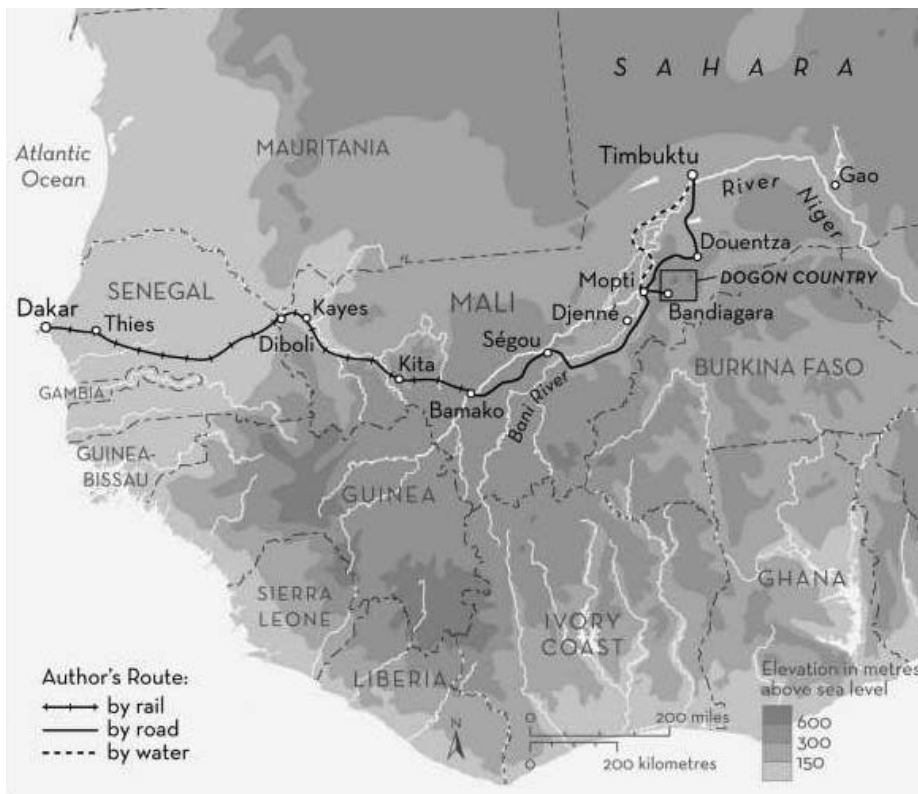
very name gives off a sense "of 'beyond,' of 'difference,' and 'silence.'" The city rose to greatness as a hub of the trade in salt, gold and slaves. It achieved its zenith in the 14th century, and ever since then its name "has meant 'can't get there' to Westerners, and every traveller dreams of having been to such a place."

Timbuktu first appeared on a European map in 1373 but centuries passed before Europeans actually visited. The 18th century saw the idea of going to Timbuktu become something of a geographical fad, in somewhat the same way that searching for the fate of Sir John Franklin became in the late 19th century. In one 21-year period, 43 expeditions set out to reach the already folkloric city. None made it. The name most commonly associated with this particular ambition is that of Mungo Park, a Scot, who nearly but didn't quite reach his goal in 1795 and again in 1805. Shortly after the second attempt, he either drowned in the Niger River or was murdered by the Tuareg, a people Antonson spends some time with on his way back out into the world. Finally, in 1826, another British explorer, Major Alexander Gordon Laing, found his way into the city, only to be murdered a month later. Many others perished from the journey itself. A number of the early explorers started out from Tripoli or Fez on the Mediterranean,

thereby maximizing the time spent in the desert.

For his part, Mr. Antonson began on the Atlantic coast, at Dakar in Senegal, travelling to Bamako, the capital of Mali, by rail. No one he talks to is sure such a train even exists. So, having once been on the Transsiberian Railway, he naturally seems to have suspected that he must be ready for anything. He ends up crammed into a tiny compartment with three African men, one of whom, Ebou, asks him why in the world he's going to Bamako. "'I'm going to Timbuktu,' I said. 'Tombouctou,' Ebou corrected. And with that he added, 'It's very far.' I listened to them talk among themselves, and noticed my frustration with the West Africans' French accent. I asked about French words that Ebou said were not French. They were speaking Bambara, interspersed with French phrases and uttered with a French lilt. Their conversation and the slapping of wet branches on our window lulled me to sleep." Later, he switches to road and river travel.

Like much of the most rewarding travel literature, Mr. Antonson's narrative turns out to be more revealing of the terrain travelled through than of the intended destination. He has a good eye. "If you saw a thousand people in Mali, no two would be dressed alike", he writes. "Occa-



To Timbuktu for a Haircut Author Rick Antonson's journey through West Africa began in Dakar, Senegal.

sionally they would look similar, but only by chance. Absent was the Western commonality of fashion, similarity of suit and skirt, slacks and jacket. It seemed true, too, of their personalities. The individuality was intense, based on the struggle for life, the indifference to community judgment, and the fact that one ate and wore what was handy. The uniformity of poverty seemed to result in an absence of the ambition to conform in dress." Antonson will no doubt be interested in *Bogolan: Shaping Culture through Cloth in Contemporary Mali* by Victoria L. Rovine (Indiana University Press, US\$24.95 paper), which shows the effects of globalization on the methods and motifs of traditional Malien textiles.

Strangely, Mr. Antonson writes very little of Timbuktu and Mali in terms of Islam, though you might expect the important role the city once played in spreading Islamic teaching and trade to be another key consideration in assessing its present appeal. Surely it is no coincidence that this is the third Canadian book on the subject to come out in as many years. Another is *Timbuktu: The Sahara's Fabled City of Gold* (McClelland & Stewart, \$34.99) by the well-respected husband-and-wife team of Marq De Villiers and Sheila Hirtle, who have done other books on Africa as well. Then there is *52 Days by Camel: My Sahara Adventure* by Lawrie Raskin, an illustrated

book for adolescents. The new revised edition (Annick Press, \$26.95 cloth) contrasts contemporary cell-phone-using Africa with antiquarian Timbuktu while retaining the previous edition's topics, such as the position of Muslim women in Malien society.

No doubt the current confrontation between Islam and the West is also responsible for the new edition, the umpteenth in various languages, of *To Timbuktu: A Journey Down the Niger* (Penguin Group Canada, \$17.95 paper) by the American adventure journalist Mark Jenkins. He travelled there by kayak and tries to write somewhat in the tradition of Hemingway without stinting on the similes whose absence is what made Hemingway's style seem fresh in its day. Not all Mr. Jenkins' books are written this way. *Off the Map: Bicycling across Siberia*—also Penguin, \$17.95 paper—is less hokey, though the means of transport it describes is no less contrived. To see what a more skilled author can do with such epics of solitary travel, I recommend *Traversa: A Solo Walk across Africa, from the Skelton Coast to the Indian Ocean* by Fran Sandham (Penguin, \$30).

But I have let myself wander away from the subject of Mr. Antonson, who can be quite wry at times. On a Timbuktu street, he watches as "a lady used a flat pan to remove lumps of bread from the oven and

slipped them onto a tray beside the stove. We purchased two loaves, breaking pieces from them and eating as we walked. The garnish of sand was subtle." In the end, he returns to Canada with self-knowledge as well as information. "Those who call [Timbuktu] home do not share the foreigner's fascination," he writes. "The city's mystique is powerful only until you arrive. I'd like to pretend it's different, but it isn't."

Mali won its independence from France in 1959 (at the same time as Senegal). Since then, following a coup, it has slowly emerged as one of the most stable nations in Africa, a genuine multi-party democracy. This places it in especially stark contrast to its neighbours to the west. Why have most of the countries that touch the Atlantic on the bulbous nose of Africa been mired so often in civil war and related tragedy? A dozen years ago, Robert D. Kaplan, in his book *The Ends of the Earth: A Journey at the Dawn of the 21st Century*, suggested the answer may lie in a dangerous contradiction: the fact that rivers in the region flow east-west whereas tribal allegiances run north-south. If I interpret him correctly, he was suggesting that European colonialism, which existed in West Africa only because the rivers emptying into the ocean permitted trade, did not always adhere closely to the other factor when carving the area into political units. Perhaps they felt they had to act as they did, given all the competition. The Dutch, the Spanish, the Portuguese and the British were quite active and successful in the region at various times, though the francophone powers were always the dominant players (and so French remains the lingua franca). This slice of history is complicated and more than a little dirty.

Consider the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Belgium superimposed its rule on this piece of the map in 1877, supplanting the various indigenous leaders. For a generation beginning in 1885, the territory was called the Congo Free State. This was during the period when it was in fact not free in the least, because Léopold II of Belgium took personal ownership of it and ran it as a lucrative private business venture. In the process, about half of the population met their deaths. It was this fiefdom that Joseph Conrad made the setting of *Heart of Darkness*. The "horror" referred to in the novella is slavery, a practice introduced to wring profit from ivory and rubber. The arrangement was a major scandal even at the time, so that even before the king's death in 1909, the land ceased being a commercial corpora-



King Leopold II of Belgium ran the Democratic Republic of the Congo as a lucrative private business venture. In the process, about half of the population met their deaths.

tion and reverted to colonial status as the Belgian Congo. So it remained until its hard-fought independence in the early 1960s, whereupon it emerged as the Republic of the Congo. More recently, from 1971 and 1997, it became, as a result of one of the numerous coups in the region, Zaire. The current name, Democratic Republic of the Congo, is not a boast about the democracy to be found there, for the country has managed to elude such status. Rather, it is a way to distinguish the Democratic Republic of the Congo from its next-door neighbour, the Republic of Congo (without the define article before Congo), which from 1880 to 1910 was simply the French Congo. Many outsiders still tend to confuse the two present states. For this reason, the pair of them encourage the informal inclusion of their capital cities (which are in sight of each other) as part of the names: "Democratic Republic of the Congo–Kinshasa" (formerly Léopoldville) and "Republic of Congo–Brazzaville." The fact that the latter and much smaller nation lives somewhat in the shadow of

the other only makes *Brazzaville Charms: Magic and Rebellion in the Republic of Congo* by Cassie Knight (Raincoast, \$35) all the more valuable.

Ms. Knight is a British specialist in Africa who, following the civil war of 1998–99, worked for an NGO, Catholic Relief Services, from a base in Brazzaville. Her book's subtitle is not ironic, for she did indeed find many of the people charming. Although charm, however scarce, is universal, those particular individuals no doubt stood out all the more in a culture that must strike many westerners as bizarre (Bizarreville?). In thoughtful prose that is not overdressed, she also builds up, gradually, layer upon layer, a picture of the country's decidedly less endearing side, a land where weird occult rituals are commonly observed and many taller residents keep the so-called pygmies as slaves. She is not judgemental, though she has a serious purpose, as when she writes of how the president, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, a former communist who filled a vacuum brought on by coups and assassinations and was himself deposed, only to elbow his way back to power six years later. The president uses the country's oil revenues to strengthen the military while

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exhibiting “an absolute disregard for human life and for human suffering. Like the French before them, [he and his cronies] are interested only in profit [rather than] development. Since independence in 1960 there has been no official enquiry into the conduct of the French administrators and concessionary companies that wreaked so much destruction across the country, and the French similarly turn a blind eye to the wrongdoings of the Congolese government [...]” Various militias roam the countryside, including one headed by a man who claims to be the resurrected Jesus. “Independence”, Ms. Knight writes, “was not an easy new beginning for Congo.”

My good fortune in stumbling on Brazzaville Charms leads me to, for example, *The Uncertain Business of Doing Good: Outsiders in Africa* by Larry Krotz, a Canadian who has written frequently of humanitarian projects on that continent (University of Manitoba Press, \$24.95) and *Dust from Our Eyes: An Unblinkered Look at Africa* (Wolsak & Wynn, \$19 paper) by Joan Baxter, another Canadian. Ms. Baxter has reported on African matters for the BBC World Service and the *Sunday Times* in London as well as for the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*. In 2002, for instance, she was one of the first journalists to penetrate the rebel-held areas of Côte d'Ivoire, another former French colony, during its own most recent civil war.

Yet another new Canadian book on the region is *Shrines in Africa* edited by Allan Charles Dawson (University of Calgary Press, \$39.95). This collection of essays on the roles played by spiritual shrines is part of the University of Calgary's admirable “Africa: Missing Voices” series. A number of other university presses in North America, and not always the ones you might think of first, also publish entire series in the field of African studies. One of the best is the “Blacks in the Diaspora” project from Indiana University Press. Among its forthcoming titles is *Deep Roots: Rice Farmers in West Africa and the African Diaspora* edited by Edda L. Fields-Black (US\$34.95), appearing in December. Looking much farther ahead than that is risky. But don't be surprised to see mention of several new works on Nigeria, now that the oil fields in that predominately Muslim nation are drawing closer attention from the United States (whose military created its first-ever Africa Command last year).

George Fetherling's most recent book is *Tales of Two Cities: A Novella Plus Stories* (Subway).



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Running on empty

George Abraham

Few politicians have emulated the courage that U.S. president Gerald Ford showed in January 1975 when he told his astonished nation, “Yes, gasoline and oil will cost more than they do now.” The president warned that “Americans are no longer in full control of their own national destiny, when that destiny depends on uncertain foreign fuel at high prices fixed by others.” He was referring to the five-month oil embargo imposed by Arab oil producers that had ended a few months before, in March 1974.

Mr. Ford’s candour helped in the short run, driving down oil imports and hence America’s foreign dependency, but in the long continuum of history, it made little difference. Crude oil imports accounted for roughly 37 per cent of U.S. needs at the time, but have since increased to 60 per cent today, with Canada being the superpower’s largest and most reliable foreign supplier. According to Jay Hakes, head of the U.S. Energy Information Administration, between 1993 and 2000, the world’s biggest oil consumer spends \$1 billion a day on imported fuel to keep its lights burning and its vehicles on the road.

There are many who argue that both oil exporters like Canada and importers such as China and India face a moment of truth similar to the oil shock of the early 1970s. With prices at historic highs and no sign of retreating below \$100 a barrel, politicians are reluctant to follow the lead of Mr. Ford and tell their publics the true story: The days of cheap oil are behind us. Further, the convergence of the security, environmental and economic implications of the oil trade should force the world to pause and take stock, but the generally stoic responses from corporate titans and political leaders convey a sense of business as usual.

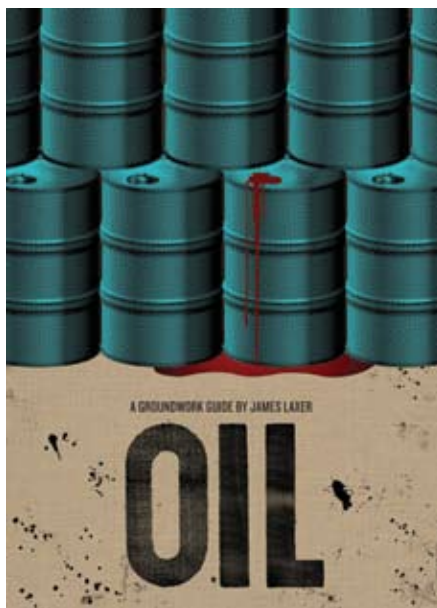
Our selection of books incorporates the theme of why oil has provoked more wars and the spilling of more blood than gold, diamonds or even water.

James Laxer, *Oil*, Greenwood Books, 2008, 145 pages

This book by long-time writer and professor of political science at York University offers a largely neutral primer on why oil occupies a unique geopolitical space. “Neutral” is important and helpful because when it comes to petroleum, it’s

hard to sift fact from ideology. What you think about oil depends largely on the constituency you represent: consumers, corporations, utilities, importers, or oil-exporting governments.

Mr. Laxer offers a concise history of the



oil industry, starting with its origins on the eve of the American Civil War, in 1858, with the drilling of an oil well in Petrolia, Ont., followed the next year by another in Pennsylvania. In the book’s final chapter, the author asks this open-ended question: Who will consume the last barrel of oil? The author suggests that market forces alone should not be allowed to dictate the answer because oil corporations work for short-term goals such as quarterly results and maximizing shareholder value rather than stewarding one of humanity’s most precious resources.

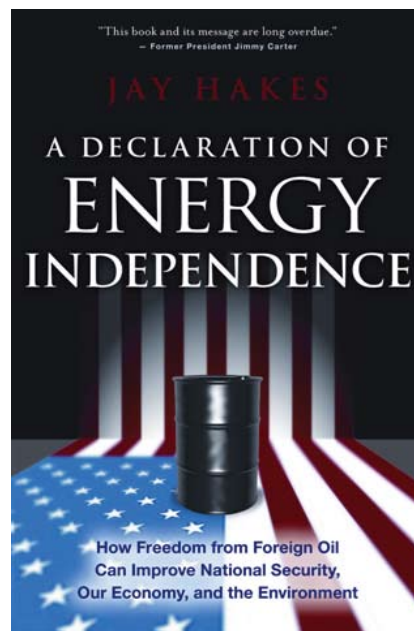
Jay Hakes, *A Declaration of Energy Independence*, John Wiley and Sons, 2008, 252 pages

Seeing the world through the lens of an American policy-maker, Dr. Hakes agrees with Mr. Laxer that the big oil corporations cannot be the sole arbiters of the public good. Given oil’s complicated relationship to the economy, the environment and national security, the author calls on the White House to mediate between the

public interest and the course adopted by petroleum companies, offering a slate of seven solutions – none of them dramatically new – to rescue the U.S. from the continuing stranglehold of Middle East oil.

The former energy czar traces the ebb and flow of American policy since President Richard Nixon launched Project Independence on Nov. 7, 1973, at the height of the Arab oil embargo. Comparing this goal to the Manhattan project that produced the world’s first atomic bomb and the Apollo mission that launched a man on the moon, Mr. Nixon set this lofty ambition: “Let us pledge that by 1980, under Project Independence, we shall be able to meet America’s energy needs from America’s own energy resources.” It took several years before this resolve could result in actual cutbacks, but between 1977 and 1982, American petroleum imports were cut by half.

The original oil shock may be a faraway



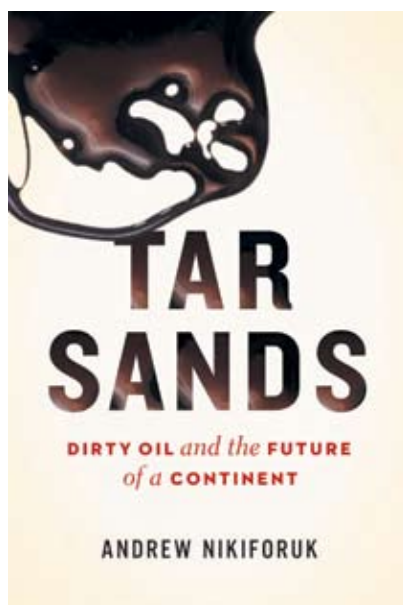
memory, but the author warns that the “panic factor” continues to rule gasoline prices. The fact that oil supplies can be cut off at several strategic choke points such as the Strait of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf and sections of the Baku-Ceyhan pipeline, aggravate the uncertainty, but the author adds to the irrationality of it all by linking

oil revenues with the mayhem of 9/11: "Without money derived ultimately from oil, the terrorists could not have struck."

Andrew Nikiforuk, *The Tar Sands: Dirty Oil and the Future of a Continent*, Douglas & McIntyre, 2008, 217 pages

This book could have an impact on the discourse surrounding this country's petroleum resources and Canada's emergence as an "energy superpower" and the supplier of choice to the Americans. A provocative writer from Calgary, Mr. Nikiforuk's thesis can be summed up in these dire words: "The world's cheapest and cleanest oil has been consumed. The reality of depletion now demands the mining of the dirtiest."

The cost of extracting oil from the tar sands makes it the most expensive fossil fuel mined anywhere on earth. It is three times as costly as conventional oil, with the author estimating the production cost at around \$32 a barrel. It requires burning costly natural gas, pumping millions of litres of precious fresh water, and laying waste a landscape by excavating enormous amounts of earth. The writer com-



pares the operation to "burning a Picasso for heat."

Mr. Nikiforuk offers compelling evidence to buttress the argument made by both Dr. Hakes and Mr. Laxer, that laissez-faire company executives cannot be

allowed to determine oil policy. He contends that the \$200 billion invested so far in tar sands development has not undergone rigorous environmental, economic or social analysis, and aims his most damning assertions at the Alberta government. Mr. Nikiforuk agrees with other experts (the New York Times' Thomas Friedman, among others) who have postulated that there is an inverse relationship between the price of oil and the quality of democracy in a producing state. This is as true of Alberta as it is for Azerbaijan.

"Oil hinders democracy and corrupts the political process through the absence of transparent reporting and clear fiscal accounting. Alberta, a classic petro state, has one of the least accountable governments in Canada as well as the lowest voter turnout. Canada increasingly behaves like an impervious Middle Eastern state." Most Canadians would disagree, but one cannot help finishing the book with an involuntary "Ouch!"


George Abraham is Diplomat's contributing editor.

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Back to the basics: Gourmet shortcuts

Anyone who cooks has a few tricks for getting the job done more quickly and with greater confidence. They may be as simple as buying pre-chopped garlic in oil, relying on commercial sauces and rubs, or adding a package of this or that to boost the flavour. My trick is my inventory of basic recipes.

Perhaps the most frequent question I am asked is, "Do you cook this way everyday"? My response is always the same "Yes, but I never start cooking from scratch thanks to my supply of indispensable basic recipes which can be prepared in advance in small pockets of time."

These simple recipes include both savoury and sweet items. Most may be kept on hand for weeks or months if appropriately stored in the refrigerator, freezer or a cool dry cupboard. Indeed, open my refrigerator door and you'll find a variety of mayonnaises, and vinaigrettes, chutneys, chocolate cups, balsamic red wine drizzle, caramel, butterscotch and a slew of other sauces, all ready to be called into service when required. In my freezer, you'll find small, air-tight, plastic containers standing in tall, long rows, and filled with garlic butter, herb cream cheese, pesto, cooked wild and sushi rice, crêpe batter and even lightly spiced flour for dusting meat. Pastry shells/disks/squares are kept in a cool dry basement cupboard.

These recipes can be used independently or as a component of other recipes, adding flavour and a professional touch. Without these basic recipes at my fingertips, even everyday meal preparation for two (never mind entertaining dozens) would be a bit of a hassle. My basic recipes keep me relaxed, organized and enable me to serve an exciting meal as easily as something more ordinary.

These recipes are also versatile. For example, the crêpe batter can be used to make sweet or savoury crêpe recipes from my breakfast crêpes to ice-cream stuffed dessert crêpes, to blinis with caviar, avocado rolls, or pancake coins with goat cheese and sun-dried tomatoes.

A number of friends, colleagues and readers have adopted this trick. They admit to having become more efficient



MARGARET
DICKENSON

and confident in the kitchen, and more comfortable about entertaining with more time available to spend with their guests.

Of course, for many of my basic recipes, a commercial product exists and is readily available at local supermarkets. A number of readers may have their own versions for at least some of these recipes.

I should add that I also keep on hand supplies of other frequently used ingredients which do take a few minutes to prepare. For example, chopped fresh garlic, chopped and/or toasted nuts are kept in air-tight containers in the refrigerator; grated fresh gingerroot, lemon and orange zest are in the freezer; chopped ginger in syrup and crushed black peppercorns are stored in a kitchen cupboard.

So, there's my secret. I never start cooking from scratch. My avocado crêpe rolls use two basic recipes – crêpe batter and zesty ginger mayonnaise.

Bon Appétit!

AVOCADO CRÊPE ROLLS

Makes 12 rolls (six hors d'oeuvre servings)

1 avocado, ripe (about 9 oz or 250 g)
12 prepared crêpes (diameter: 4 1/2 inches or 11 cm)
1 to 1 1/2 tsp (5 to 8 mL) lemon juice
1/4 cup (60 mL) sour cream
2 tbsp (30 mL) Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise (recipe follows) or plain mayonnaise
1 tbsp (15 mL) black or red caviar (e.g., well-drained lumpfish roe), optional
3/4 tsp (4 mL) maple syrup

1. Cut avocado in half, remove stone and peel carefully. Cut avocado lengthwise into 12 thin wedges; bathe lightly in lemon juice and set aside.
2. Immediately, lay out crêpes on a clean flat surface. Spread central and bottom areas of each crêpe with sour cream (1 tsp or 5 mL) and a touch of Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise (1/2 tsp or 3 mL). Place one wedge of avocado in a horizontal position near bottom edge of crêpe; sprinkle central area of avocado with caviar (1/4 tsp or 1 mL) and drizzle with a few drops (i.e., 1/16 tsp or 0.3 mL) of maple syrup.



Margaret Dickenson's avocado crêpe rolls use two basic recipes.

LARRY DICKENSON

3. Starting from bottom edge, roll crêpe securely around avocado wedge to form a roll. Arrange rolls with seam-side down.
4. If not serving immediately, place rolls in an airtight plastic container and store refrigerated for up to three hours.

To make 1/4 cup (50 mL) of Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise, mix together thoroughly 1/4 cup (50 mL) of mayonnaise, 1 teaspoon (5 mL) of peeled and grated fresh ginger-root, and 1/3 teaspoon (2 mL) granulated sugar. Store refrigerated.

BUCKWHEAT CRÊPE BATTER/CRÊPES

Makes about about five dozen small crêpes

- 3/4 cup (180 mL) all-purpose flour
- 3/4 cup (180 mL) buckwheat flour
- 1/2 tsp (3 mL) salt
- 1/2 tsp (3 mL) ground ginger
- 2 cups (500 mL)* milk
- 1 1/2 tbsp (23 mL) white vinegar
- 3 large eggs
- 3 egg yolks
- 3 tbsp (45 mL) molasses
- 3 tbsp (45 mL) butter or margarine, melted

1. In a large bowl, sift together flours, salt and ginger.
2. In a medium bowl, combine milk and vinegar; set aside for about 10 minutes. Add eggs, egg yolks and molasses to milk mixture. Using an electric mixer, beat ingredients together.
3. Make a well in centre of dry ingredients and pour in milk mixture; beat to form a smooth batter. Beat in melted butter. Allow batter to rest refrigerated for at least 30 minutes.
4. To make crêpes, stir batter thoroughly and spoon 1 tbsp (15 mL) into a preheated non-stick skillet or griddle over medium-low heat. Immediately (i.e., before beginning another crêpe), using the underside of the spoon, quickly spread batter in a circular motion to form a small crêpe (diameter: 4 1/2 inches or 11 cm).
5. Cook crêpes until bubbles on surface burst and batter just sets. Using a pancake flipper, carefully peel crêpe from skillet and turn over; cook second side briefly.
6. Stack cooked crêpes on a plate, cover with wax paper and place in an airtight plastic bag until ready to use. (Refrigerate if not using until later.)

Margaret Dickenson is author of the international award-winning cookbook *Margaret's Table – Easy Cooking & Inspiring Entertaining*.

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Kuwait couple relish Ottawa River view

Ambassador's residence a Rockcliffe gem

By Margo Roston



The residence of Kuwaiti Ambassador Musaed Al-Haroun and his wife, Fatma Al-Khalifa, includes several sitting areas.

The Ottawa River sparkles below the patio, framed by the Gatineau hills beyond. Looking east, the eye follows the graceful river towards Montreal. And through the trees, there's a glimpse of the historic boathouse at the Ottawa New Edinburgh Club. The patio and its vistas – its black and gold wrought-iron railing with hanging baskets of red petunias, its sense of serenity – is one of the most breathtaking spots in the capital.

The Kuwaiti ambassador's residence on Acacia Lane, a quiet cul-de-sac in Rockcliffe, is situated on one of the premier locations in town and the house itself is a strikingly modern building that is a model of elegance and Arabic detail.

Ambassador Musaed Al-Haroun and his wife, Fatma Al-Khalifa, say their home with its spectacular scenery is "one of the most wonderful parts of the job. The view

is amazing and the terrace is gorgeous and it is a new modern home," he says.

From the street the house is arresting, an all-white square edifice with brown marble exterior detailing, a small dome and a copper roof. A wrought iron fence and a large circular driveway lead to a grand entrance arch.

Built by Kuwait's first ambassador to Canada, Abdulmohsin Al-Duaij, who found the property and oversaw the demolition of the existing house, the \$4 million residence was designed by Montreal architect Armand Dadoun and was finished in 1998.

Arabic influences are obvious from the exterior, and once inside guests are immediately struck by the details. Through the imposing front door, a large marbled foyer with a huge chandelier and tall arches leads to the main reception rooms and,

dead ahead, the patio.

"This is the Arab way of building," says the ambassador, "with a big hall." Huge windows looking out over the patio and the glorious view, all highlighted by the interior yellow ochre walls, add to the light in the foyer.

The home has three large formal rooms. A comfortable sitting room with floral-print drapes and cream-coloured sofas, is highlighted by a large Iranian carpet, a gorgeous counterpoint to the furnishings. The carpet belongs to the couple and came to Kuwait during the Iranian revolution.

"It belonged to a Supreme Court judge in Iran and had been in his family for 100 years. He was happy to liberate it," says the ambassador.

A bright red "smoking room" is another feature of the reception space, a room for



Clockwise from top: Kuwaiti Ambassador Musaed Al-Haroun and his wife, Fatma Al-Khalifa; an elaborate table in the Kuwaiti residence; the view of the Ottawa River from the home on Acacia Lane is unparalleled.

relaxing and chatting. "But we can't call it a smoking room any more," laughs the ambassador.

The dining room with its four crystal chandeliers dominates the western side of the house. Covered in green wallpaper, the recessed ceiling was painted gold by the ambassador's wife, creating an opulence highlighted by assorted gold-coloured pieces of *objets d'arts* collected by Ms. Al-Khalifa and arranged on sideboards and on the large table. She ordered some of the pieces from Mexico, some she painted herself. Her dining room table is covered with a gold hand-embroidered tablecloth, specially ordered from Damascus, Syria.

"I had to send it back twice," she says, "before it came back perfect."

Besides its formal reception rooms, the house has four bedrooms for the family and three staff bedrooms. The couple has

two sons attending high school in Ottawa and two daughters studying in the U.S., just as their father did many years ago. The house is managed by a staff that includes two housekeepers, a chef and a chauffeur. The modern kitchen is hidden in the basement and the food is sent upstairs in a dumbwaiter.

When they entertain, there is often Arab food on the menu, mostly classic rice dishes with lamb, and sometimes chicken or fish. Some are specialties from Ms. Al-Khalifa's home country of Bahrain. They can easily entertain 60 guests for dinner.

When the family goes back home to Kuwait, where they are building a house for their retirement, it's a safe bet their Ottawa home and its view will always have a place in their hearts.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.



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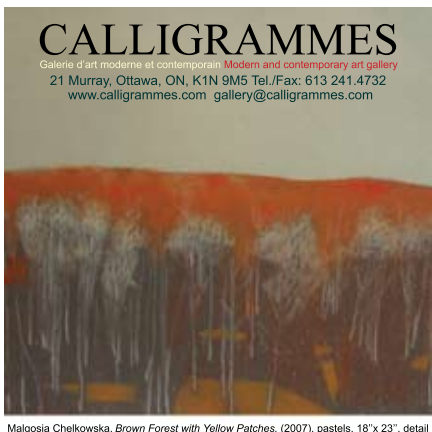
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Malgosia Chelkowska, *Brown Forest with Yellow Patches*, (2007), pastels, 18" x 23", detail



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Ah, poor rosé. Often dismissed and rarely taken seriously, no other style of wine encounters as much prejudice or disregard. Yet hardly any other style of wine captures bright freshness, seductive fruit and liveliness of character in a single glass. Only a handful of wines complement as wide a variety of foods. Even fewer are as no-nonsense tasty on a warm day. And no other wine is as pretty.

Rosé wines are essentially white wines made with red grapes. The best examples have the crisp freshness of a white and the depth of flavour of a red.

There are three ways to make still rosé wine. While it is also possible to create rosé by blending white and red wines, this practice is mostly used for creating pink champagne and sparkling wine.

Producing a very pale rosé involves pressing grapes to free their juice and immediately fermenting that juice as you would with a white wine. Though there is little contact with skins of the grapes, a small amount of pigment is carried off by the juice to make a delicately coloured wine. These rosés are known as *vin gris*.

The similar *saignée* ('to bleed') method is the second way to create a rosé wine. This is a useful tool for winemakers to increase the skin-to-juice ratio especially after heavy rains occur before harvest and the grapes are swollen with too much water. Here, juice is siphoned off the macerating skins and pulp, and these bleedings are fermented separately to create a rosé. This technique allows for two wines from a single harvest: a charming rosé and a red wine that would otherwise have been weak and lacking depth of flavour.

The third method is clinically known as "abbreviated red wine vinification." Here, the juice remains in contact with the crushed grapes for between eight and 72 hours depending on grape variety and the wishes of the winemaker. For instance, in St-Saturnin in the south of France, the juice traditionally stays in contact for a single night, leading to the obvious but still romantic name, *vin d'une nuit* or 'wine of one night.' With modern winemaking technology and precise temperature control, winemakers can now prolong this period of juice and skin contact while still being able to create wine that is fresh and vibrant in style. Most quality rosés are created this way.



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VAN DEN WEGHE

When it comes to pairing them with food, rosés are versatile. Even potential wine nemeses like eggs, complex salads or dishes influenced by Chinese and Indian cuisines will find a great dance partner in a rosé. Myself, I like

rosé with tartare and, believe it or not, grilled cheese sandwiches.

For a Canadian rosé wine, I always look forward to the release of Malivoire's Ladybug. Year after year, this Niagara winery consistently crafts one of the best rosés in Canada, and the 2007 is a stunner. Made mostly of Cabernet Franc with a dose of Gamay Noir, this wine is brimming with strawberry, rhubarb, and maraschino cherry aromas and flavours. At \$16, it's a steal. Other great producers of rosé in Niagara include Angels Gate Winery and Flat Rock Cellars.

Besides Ontario, there are fresh and delicate Cabernet Franc rosés in France's Loire region, but, for examples with greater depth, head south for the Tavel and Liracs of France's Rhône Valley. If you're eating rich meat dishes and it's too hot to drink big reds, these are perfect. Made from Grenache, they possess a commanding presence and intensity of flavour rarely seen in other rosés. Though a tad pricier, they're worth it. For my money, I recommend Château d'Aqueria.

If it's value you're after, check out rosés (rosato) from Italy and rosado from Spain. Italian rosés from the northeast tend to be delicate while their southern counterparts are richer and gutsier. Spanish rosés come mostly from Navarra and Rioja and are usually made with Grenache.

California, meanwhile, is partly responsible for anti-rosé feelings thanks to its liquid candy known as White Zinfandel. Look to Californian producers like Randall Graham's Bonny Doon who make a great rosé called Vin Gris de Cigare.

Though summer is over, there'll no doubt be a few more warm evenings to enjoy a bottle of rosé. Brave wine drinkers, willing to stand out, will be rewarded when they pick a good one.

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

William Jackman, Legendary Canadian Hero

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky

History and legend have much in common. History refers to events of the past. Legend is based on reality, with the drama and pathos enhanced over time. At the intersection of history and legend reside heroes like Captain William Jackman, who came to the rescue on October 9, 1867.

Jackman sailed into Spotted Harbour, Labrador ahead of a storm and went ashore to visit his friend, John Holwell. After their “mug-up” they walked along the coast despite the gale blowing up. Hearing a gunshot, they rushed up a hill and spotted a fishing schooner, the *Sea Clipper*, floundering on a reef 150 metres (500 feet) from shore. Some versions of the story report 365 metres (400 yards). Jackman and Holwell could see crew and passengers at the rail, or clinging to the shrouds, depending on the storyteller.

It is evident where history becomes legend — it is unlikely they could see anyone aboard a boat 300 metres away through the rain and crashing waves of a brutal storm at night. But this is the stuff of legend.

There were reputedly 27 people crowded aboard, for the ill-fated *Clipper* had run down another boat, the *Loon*, earlier and taken the vessel’s complement aboard before the *Loon* sank.

Holwell ran for help. Jackman kept watch, knowing the impossibility of a lifeboat reaching the schooner before it broke up in the vicious storm. Impulsively shedding his clothes, he rushed into the frigid water. He tried to swim, but the waves pushed him back. He swam underwater, surfacing to breathe.

Taking the first man on his back, he turned shoreward, the waves helping him reach shore. Plunging into the raging surf again and again, Jackman rescued 11 by the time Holwell returned with help.

In some versions of the story, Jackman, alone on the beach, guided by fisher’s instinct, saw the ship. Knowing that none knew its fate, he determined to save the desperate souls clinging to the luckless vessel, and sent the first rescued man for help.

The dory the rescuers brought was useless in the rough sea. They tied coils of rope together. Jackman tied one end

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around his waist, swam to the boat and tied the other end to the rail. With the rope and rescuers’ assistance, he swam back and forth for over two hours, rescuing everyone.

He stumbled onto the beach, the hushed crowd watching in disbelief. Jackman was finishing some tea when someone said a person was missing, the cook of the *Loon*, who had been injured in the collision with the *Clipper*. Jackman rushed into the towering waves for the 27th time, against the crowd’s objections; the woman was probably dead.

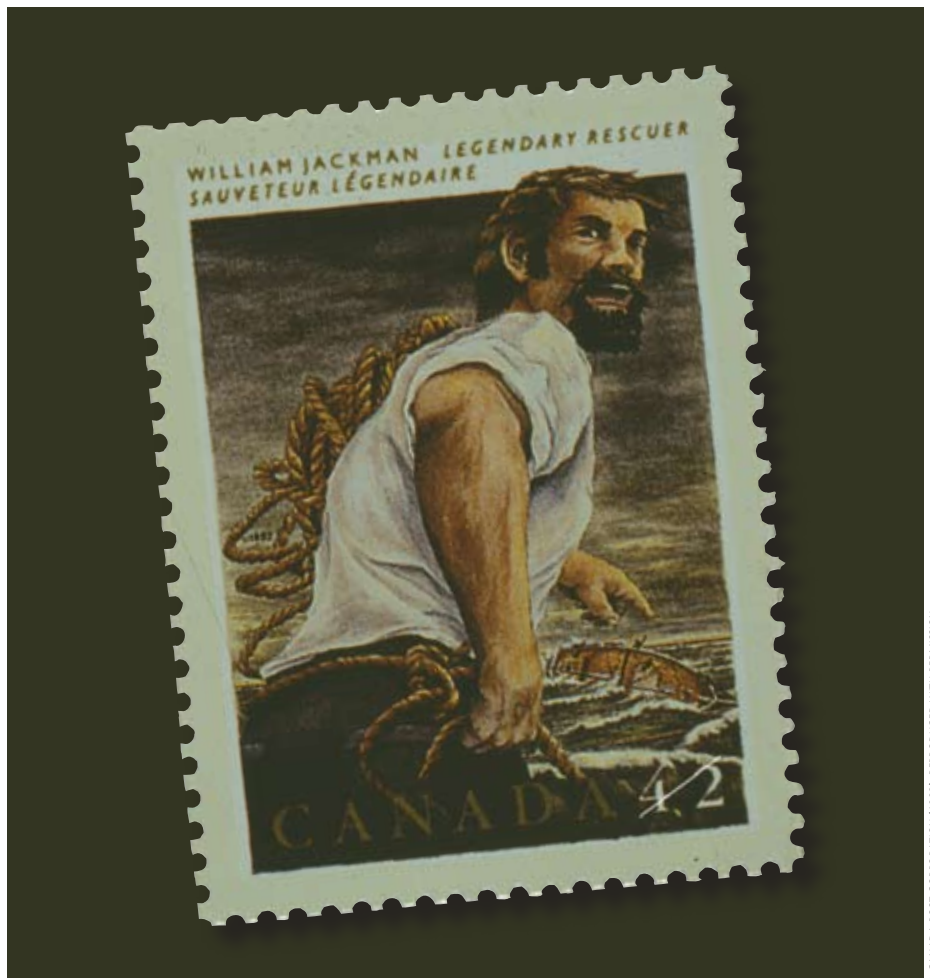
On board, he found her lying in water. Some stories place her in her berth, about to expire. Jackman brought her to shore, but she died two days later. Or, you could

say, she lived only long enough to kiss Jackman goodbye.

The British Royal Humane Society awarded Jackman a silver medal. He died in 1877, aged 39, because, said many, “of the strain his superhuman exertions had placed on his heart.” The largely unknown Jackman, whom none has “risen to record...in immortal verse,” has been remembered in a discordant ballad entitled “The Man Who Saved the Day” and by Canada Post’s “Legendary Heroes” series in 1992. Labrador City’s Captain William Jackman Memorial Hospital commemorates him.

A daring man, a desperate situation, heroic deeds—the stuff of legend. And history.

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



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THIS PAGE 1. Walt Natynczyk, the new chief of defence staff, was installed July 2. • 2. The diplomatic corps, including (from left) Slovenian Ambassador Tomax Kunstelj, Swiss Ambassador Werner Baumann, Kenyan High Commissioner Judith Bahemuka, Algerian Ambassador Smail Benamara, Ukrainian counselor Igor Kyzym and Zimbabwean Ambassador Florence Chideya, attended his installation. (Photos: Lois Siegel) • 3. House of Commons Speaker Peter Milliken hosted his annual diplomatic reception in Kingston in June. A cocktail reception was held at Fort Henry National Historic Site followed by a barbeque at the Royal Military College. Shown from left: Mr. Milliken, Bosnian Ambassador Milenko Misic, Serbian Chargé d'Affaires Dusan Vujacic, British High Commissioner Anthony Joyce Cary and a Fort Henry guard. • 4. Mohamed Taouzri, of Montreal, served Moroccan tea at Ambassador Mohamed Tangi's national day reception July 30. (Photo: Ulle Baum) • 5. Honduran Ambassador Beatriz Valle attended U.S. Ambassador David Wilkins and his wife Susan's 4th of July party. (Photo: Frank Scheme)



THIS PAGE 1. Italian Ambassador Gabriele Sardo hosted his annual fundraiser in support of Opera Lyra June 25. Guests ate fresh parmesan cheese, drank Italian wine and enjoyed the music of performers in the opera company (Photo: Frank Scheme) • 2. Early Music Ensemble of Kiili (Estonia) performed at the University of Ottawa July 9th for Estonia's 90th anniversary. (Photo: Ulle Baum) • 3. Croatian Ambassador Vesela Mrden Korac and her husband, Marko, hosted a national day reception June 10. Shown: Mr. and Mrs. Korac with Deepak Obhrai, left, parliamentary secretary for foreign affairs. (Photo: Bruce MacRae) • 4. Argentine Ambassador Arturo and Maria Angélica Bothamley took part in a private polo game at the club of Kim and David Levy July 26. (Photo: Frank Scheme) • 5. U.S. Ambassador David Wilkins and his wife, Susan, share a kiss before several thousand guests arrived at their final 4th of July party in Canada. (Photo: Frank Scheme)

New Heads of Mission

Louis Léon Boguy Bony
Ambassador of Cote d'Ivoire



Mr. Bony was at university for 10 years, studying economics, law, history, and political science, obtaining a master's and other post-graduate certification, before he became an instructor at the Université de Paris in 1986. Also in Paris, he worked briefly for UNESCO and a young Africans group before joining the ministry of foreign affairs in 1989.

Since then, he's held various positions, including working on the Europe desk, advising the cabinet, and working on the diplomatic affairs desk. In 2000, he became a technical consultant to the president and stayed on as advisor to his successor. He was given the rank of ambassador in 2004. Most recently, he's worked as a special advisor to a third president, in charge of diplomatic affairs.

Mr. Bony is married. He speaks English and French.

André William Anguilé
Ambassador of Gabon



This is Mr. Anguilé's first posting as ambassador. The career diplomat joined the ministry of foreign affairs after graduating

with a master's in international relations from the University of London in 1989.

For the following several years, he was a counselor at embassies in London and Brussels before being named a human rights advisor to the secretary of state for justice in 1997. Two years later, he became a diplomatic advisor to the minister of defence. In September 2004, he became political counselor at the United Nations' political department in New York where he stayed until 2006. For the past two years, he's been at the ministry, working as director-general on the Africa desk.

Mr. Anguilé is married and has four children. He speaks French, English, and German.

Iyorwuese Hagher
High Commissioner for Nigeria



Dr. Hagher is a scholar, poet and playwright. Over his varied career, he's also served as a senator, cabinet minister and – more recently – diplomat.

Dr. Hagher taught leadership studies at St. Clements University. His political career was a successful one as he was an elected senator at the age of 33, after which he served twice as a cabinet minister, once as minister of health and once as minister of power and steel. For a year beginning in 1995, he was also a participant in the constitutional conference that formed the current constitution.

The envoy studied English and dramatic arts at Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria, and eventually obtained a PhD. Prior to this assignment, he had been ambassador to Mexico, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Panama.

Rakiah Haji Abdul Lamit
High Commissioner for Brunei Darussalam
Ms. Lamit joined the civil service in 1985.



Since then, she's worked in several areas including the political, protocol, ASEAN and consular affairs departments, the APEC national secretariat, and the APEC logistics secretariat. She was involved in the establishment of the policy planning department.

She was posted as second secretary to the high commission in London from 1990 to 1993 and as first secretary to the high commission in Malaysia from 1994 to 1999. She was then posted as minister-counsellor at the embassy in China.

Ms. Lamit has a bachelor degree in South East Asian studies and social anthropology from the University of Kent at Canterbury where she studied from 1982 to 1985.

Ms. Lamit, 48, is single and has an adopted daughter.

Massoud Maalouf
Ambassador of Lebanon



Mr. Maalouf joined the ministry of foreign affairs in 1972 after three years of working for the government. His first posting came immediately and for the next five years, he worked at the embassy in Nigeria. That was followed by two years at the consulate-general in Montreal and later postings to Tunisia, the Holy See and Washington before he was appointed as ambassador

to Chile in 1995. He was ambassador to Poland in 2003 and non-resident ambassador to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia at the same time.

Positions he held at headquarters included director of protocol, director of Arab affairs in the political and consular department and director of economic affairs.

Mr. Maalouf, 62, has a master's degree in economics from Saint Joseph University and speaks Arabic, French, English and Spanish. He is married and has two children.

Jorge Castaneda
Ambassador of Peru



Mr. Castaneda's posting in Ottawa represents a return for the career diplomat. While his former wife was posted in Ottawa in 1991, he came along and did a master's degree in international relations at Carleton University. At the time, married couples couldn't work at the same mission.

Mr. Castaneda, 59, joined the ministry in 1970 and his first posting, to Poland, came two years later. Subsequent postings have included the former Soviet Union, United States (Houston), Uruguay, Ecuador, Bolivia and Argentina before he returned to Poland as minister in 1996 and as ambassador three years later. He also served as ambassador to Thailand. The envoy has held numerous positions at headquarters including director of human resources in 1995 and undersecretary of administration in 2007.

He is married and has four children.

Anu'a-Gheyle Solomon Azoh-Mbi
High Commissioner for Cameroon

Mr. Azoh-Mbi started his diplomatic career in 1985 as a diplomat in litigations service. Three years later he moved on to work as deputy service head for official visits in the department of protocol. In 1991, he became an advisor at the secretariat general and four years later, he was a senior advisor in the same office.



In this capacity, he represented Cameroon at several international conferences including at the United Nations, African Union, Commonwealth and the Francophonie.

Mr. Azoh-Mbi studied international relations at the International Relations Institute of Cameroon between 1982 and 1985. Prior to that, he studied at the University of Yaounde, where he received a bachelor degree in history and sociology.

The career diplomat, 50, is married and has four children.

Non-Heads of Mission

Algeria
Ali Iguerquigui, First Secretary
El Mouloud Bousbia, Minister-Counsellor

Australia
Jason Dean Gallagher, First Secretary
Dorothy Harvey, First Secretary

Bangladesh
Monirul Islam, Deputy High Commissioner

Bolivia
Claudia Maria Alexis Rocabado Mrden, First Secretary

Brazil
Julio Cesar Ferreira Da Silva Junior, Counsellor

Bulgaria
Rumyana Yordanova, Third Secretary

Chad
Naimbaye Yelke Dasnan, Attaché
Tchouli Gombo, First Secretary
N-Bashir Nurane, Counsellor

Chile
Hector Luis Vera Rivas, Attaché

China
Wenxiong Yang, Third Secretary
Xinyu Zhang, Second Secretary
Mei Wang, Second Secretary

Colombia
Cesar Felipe Gonzalez Hernandez, Minister-Counsellor

Cuba
Manuel Rosendo Peterssen Jimenez, Attaché

France
Simon Robert Moulie, Minister-Counsellor

Germany
Angelika Sieglinde Andorfer-Eisl, Attaché
Anja Barbara Plagenz, Third Secretary

Martina Kriemhilde Brink-Bauer, Attaché
Reinold Hugo Herber, Attaché
Rainer Bauer, Attaché
Helmut Peter Finger, Counsellor

Greece
Georgios Galanos, Defence Attaché

Guatemala
Federico Jose Urruela Arenales, First Secretary

Hungary
Tamas Kiraly, Deputy Head Of Mission

India
Narinder Chauhan, Deputy High Commissioner

Indonesia
Bambang Mulyanto, Deputy Head Of Mission

Iran
Bahram Ghasemi, Chargé D'affaires

Israel
Eyal Ben Ary, Counsellor

Jamaica
Georgette Novelet Smith, Attaché

Japan
Akiko Muramoto, Third Secretary
Hiroaki Kodama, First Secretary

Jordan
Mo'ath A.S. Al Zo'ubi, Third Secretary

Kazakhstan
Zhanbulat Murzalin, Second Secretary
Adilzhan Ruziyev, Second Secretary

Mexico
Alberto Lozano Merino, Counsellor

Mongolia
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Netherlands
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Rio de Janeiro, the Marvelous City, is so beautiful that even the baianos, such as Ambassador Cordeiro Pinto who is from Bahia, “recognize its eminence,” he writes.

A special year to visit Brazil

By Paulo Cordeiro de Andrade Pinto
Ambassador of Brazil to Canada



This year, Brazil celebrates the 200th anniversary of the arrival of the Portuguese royal family to the then small town of Rio de Janeiro. Queen Maria I and João (John),

40, the Prince Regent, had to leave Lisbon to escape Napoleon's French troops and suffered the fate of many European monarchs – they lost their crowns and sovereignty. Portugal was then a small European power whose world empire comprised the 19 administrative captaincies of Portuguese America, as well as settlements and factories in Africa, India, China and Oceania (East Timor).

My son, João, who lives in Rio, recently helped to set up a museum exhibition named “1808 – Rio, Capital of Portugal.”

Humour aside, it is an expression of truth.

The 1807 Portuguese evacuation was massive. The whole European Royal Court, with more than 15,000 people, plus the royal library, the navy, marine corps, *le Cabinet des medailles* for the first time ever, crossed the Atlantic as unwilling tourists to settle in a green, sunny, lush tropical land.

They rediscovered their South American colonies, “the Brazils,” and to their surprise, many of them liked it. And the Prince Regent liked Brazil most of all.

In 1814, Wellington defeated Napoleon at Waterloo and everybody in Lisbon and London wanted the Portuguese Royals to return to Europe. In 1815, John raised Brazil from the low status of colony to a kingdom equal in stature to Portugal.

Queen Maria I died in Rio and John was sacred King John VI of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves (a southern Portuguese

region). He stayed in Brazil until 1821. The long permanence of the Court led to the establishment of central government institutions in Rio, including a Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It provided a centre of gravity for the collection of colonies established during the previous three centuries. (Portuguese navigators, on their way to India, had found the coast of Bahia in 1500.)

In 1822, King John's son, the Crown Prince Pedro, proclaimed Brazil's independence from Portugal and proclaimed himself Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil. In 1889, Brazil became a republic. This unique historical event in the Americas can still be seen in the mountain city of Petropolis, 60 kilometres southwest of Rio de Janeiro, where King John's descendants still live close to the old emperor's summer palace, now the Imperial Museum.

While its Spanish-speaking South American neighbours formed 10 inde-

pendent republics, Portuguese America kept its unity. This cohesiveness has made Brazil today's fifth-largest country in the world, with a total area of 8,547,403.5 square kilometres or half of the landmass of the South American continent. For the country's more than 186 million people, Portuguese is the official language.

In 1807, it took Prince John almost three months to sail from Lisbon to Salvador de Bahia. Today, it is much easier to visit Brazil's many attractions that welcome tourists from every part of the world, all year long. The diversity of culture and the scenery are the country's strong points. But the best part – the one you only get to know when you arrive there – is the Brazilian people.

One of the most fascinating characteristics of the Brazilians is their generous, compassionate spirit, buoyed by their good and irreverent sense of humour. This vast country welcomes people with open arms. And while Brazilians have arrived from around the world, Africans, Amerindians and the Portuguese form the core of our nationhood. During centuries of immigration, Italians, Japanese, Spaniards, Germans, Syrians, Lebanese, Ukrainians, Koreans, Chinese, Poles, Spanish-speaking South Americans, Armenians and Angolans have continued to join our population. They integrated with our culture surprisingly harmoniously to make Brazil even richer and more fascinating. In combination, these qualities make Brazil the ideal destination for visitors who seek both a beautiful and welcoming environment.

Recently, a prominent travel magazine celebrated Brazil's "7,000-kilometre beach." It is almost true, as we have a long coastline dotted with bays and islands, enchanting paradises of sandy beaches and green and turquoise waters. Among the most visited are the famous beaches of Ipanema and Copacabana on Rio de Janeiro's coast; Joaquina, near Florianopolis in southern Brazil and famous for its national and international surfing championships; Praia do Forte, on the northern coast of Bahia; and the marvelous beaches of Fernando Noronha archipelago, one of the best places for scuba diving.

The heart of Brazil also reserves natural treasures that enchant and surprise even the most experienced travelers. Among these rarities is Foz do Iguaçu (Iguazu Falls), a city located along the triple border of Brazil, Paraguay and Argentina whose greatest attraction is the impressive row of 275 waterfalls cascading more than 60 metres.



Brazil has 7,000 kilometres of beach coastline. Shown here, Lagoa Azul near Natal, the City of Sun.

And we must not forget the Amazon, one of the world's icons of ecology and biodiversity and the world's largest equatorial forest, located in the north of the country and covering approximately

5.5 million square kilometres. It occupies 61 per cent of the Brazilian territory and expands beyond. The tourists who arrive there have much to do, from boat trips over the region's rivers to a variety of



The magnificent Iguazu Falls, in Southern Brazil, in the state of Paraná, plunge 269 feet (52 metres) into Iguazu River.



Botafoogo is one of Rio de Janeiro's most traditional neighbourhoods. It was named after Joao Pereira de Souza Botafoogo, one of the first residents of the area.



The Metropolitan Cathedral of Brasilia was designed by architect Oscar Niemeyer. Construction began in 1960 and it was dedicated 10 years later.

expeditions, with guided hikes and trails. For those who do not want to participate in adventure, just relaxing and appreciating the stunningly rich flora, fauna and scenery of the Amazon delights the eyes and rests the soul.

In Brazil, exuberance is everywhere. You find it in the immensity of the desert-like white sands of Lençóis Maranhenses, in the rivers so wide they look like seas, in the 250,000 square kilometres of Mato Grosso Swamplands. Beauty also reigns in 44 national parks that preserve the ecosystem, in the long rows of coconut trees that line the seashores of Alagoas, the Chapada Diamantina, Bahia and Pico Itatiaia in Rio de Janeiro. At the National Park of the Serra da Capivara, a well-known UNESCO World Heritage Site in the State of Piauí, one can admire 33,000 rock paintings in 360 archeological sites, that show that man has inhabited the Americas for the last 48,000 years, challenging the accepted belief that man had crossed the Bering Strait much later.

Architecture is one of the most lasting manifestations of a people's history, as buildings reveal an era's customs, trends and techniques. With a large historical-cultural heritage, Brazil has attracted a great number of tourists interested in strolling through large museums or city streets, to learn a little of the nation's past. Many Brazilian cities and sites have been declared as World Heritage Sites by UNESCO. They include:

Historic city of Ouro Preto, State of Minas Gerais

This city holds on its stone roads a small piece of Brazil's history. Founded by the end of the 17th century, it remains as proof of the 1700s gold rush prosperity, and of the exceptional talent of the Baroque sculptor and architect, Aleijadinho, a humble mulatto leper who turned out to be a master of the Baroque style.

Historic city of Olinda, State of Pernambuco

Olinda was founded in the 16th century. Occupied by Dutch invaders from 1630 to 1654 and rebuilt afterwards, this twin city of Recife, capital of the State of Pernambuco, has kept a harmonious balance between baroque churches, convents, small chapels, buildings, gardens and monuments, which have given this city a unique charm.

Ruins of São Miguel das Missões

Located in the southern State of Rio Grande do Sul, these ruins hold valuable

remains of the Jesuit Missions that once thrived in the area. They were built in the indigenous lands of Guaranis between the 17th and 18th centuries and stand out for their variety of shapes and exceptional state of conservation.

Historic Centre of Salvador, State of Bahia

First capital of the country, from 1549 to 1763, Salvador preserves, until today, countless renaissance and Baroque-age buildings, with more than 180 ancient Catholic churches, colonial-era fortresses, and 30 kilometres of urban sandy beaches. A peculiarity of the old city is the wealth of colours of its colonial mansions. Salvador may be the most important centre of the Afro-Brazilian culture – a feast for the eyes and the palate.

Historic Centre: São Luis, State of Maranhão

Founded by the French in the beginning of the 17th century, it was later occupied by the Portuguese and invaded by the Dutch. As the Portuguese reclaimed it permanently, they preserved the original plans of the city, and characteristically covered their houses with multi-colored tiles. São Luis is the gateway to the Lençóis Maranhenses National Park, and it is also an important

centre of unique Afro-Brazilian culture, rooted in the old Kingdom of Dahomey, now the African republic of Benin.

Bom Jesus Sanctuary, in Congonhas do Campo, State of Minas Gerais

Built in the second half of the 18th century, it consists of a church filled with magnificent rococo-style adornments, of Italian inspiration. Aleijadinho's famous sculptures of the biblical prophets decorate its stairway. There are also seven chapels illustrating the passion of Christ, with scenes that might have inspired Mel Gibson's feature film *The Passion of the Christ*.

Brasília, the federal capital

In contrast with other examples of Brazil's heritage, it was given the title "world heritage site" for being a unique example of innovation, a truly modern city, in the aesthetic sense of the word. Brasília combines the bold design of urbanist Lúcio Costa and the creative buildings of architect Oscar Niemeyer. It is a watershed in the history of planned cities. Brazil has built many planned cities such as Goiânia, capital of Goiás, conceived as an art deco city in the 1930s and Belo Horizonte, capital of Minas Gerais, built in the 1890s in an eclectic style.

Historic centre of Diamantina City, State of Minas Gerais

Founded during the diamond rush of the 18th century, it's a testament to human, cultural and artistic triumph over the adversities imposed by its location.

Historic centre of Goiás City, State of Goiás

Former capital of the State of Goiás, it perfectly represents the colonial occupation of central Brazil in the 18th century.

These World Heritage Sites are serviced by some large international hotel chains that have been operating in Brazil for some time, as well as by Brazilian hotel companies and quaint "bed and breakfasts" known as pousadas. Certain areas, such as the Green Coast, in the south of the State of Rio de Janeiro or the Saúpe Coast, near Salvador de Bahia, or Natal, Recife and Fortaleza, boast international-quality resorts.

In describing the marvels of Brazil, we should not forget the city of São Paulo, with 18 million inhabitants in its metropolitan zone and capital of the State of São Paulo, the industrial powerhouse of Brazil. Excellent museums and restaurants can be found there, as well as a vibrant cultural life.

Rio de Janeiro, the Marvelous City, is so beautiful, that even we the baianos (I am from Bahia) recognize its eminence. Porto Alegre, Florianópolis, Curitiba are world-class cities. Manaus and Belém, in the Amazon, have old opera houses and organized festivals.

Brazil gives to its ambassadors abroad *l'embaras du choix*. If you go there, you might feel like King John VI who went to Brazil as a scared Prince Regent and left as King of Portugal, sad to leave a land he learned to love.

Brazil is still a developing country with its share of problems, including a large dose of urban violence, infrastructure that is far from perfect and social, economic and regional inequalities. Since independence in 1822, the building of democracy, rule of law and the full enjoyment of human rights have been goals to be attained. We are getting closer to fulfilling them.

President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, or "Lula," as most Brazilians call him, with his September 23rd visit to Canada, opens what we hope will be a new chapter in the already good Canadian-Brazilian relationship. What a perfect time for you to visit Brazil!

**Paulo Cordeiro de Andrade Pinto is
Brazil's ambassador to Canada.**

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