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Volume 31, Number 2

Table of Contents

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DIPLomatica |

Cartoons from around the world 12
 Fen Hampson: Whither civility in politics? 16
 Questions Asked: Austria's ambassador on the economy and trade . 18
 Notes from the Field: Pure Art Foundation's works abroad 24
 Good Deeds: Chile's wine and cheese for charity 26
 Trade Winds: Malaysia, Tanzania and Uruguay 27
 Diplomatic Agenda: Let Taiwan into global organizations 32

DISPATCHES |

COVID-19

What financial disaster the virus will bring 34
 Why cities need to act now 36

Scarcity of resources

The Top-10 scarcest resources in the world 38
 China and Russia have similar aims in working against NATO . . . 50

The corruption report

Robert I. Rotberg: How kleptocrats keep Africa down. 54
 Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index. 56

DELIGHTS |

Books: Two by UN ambassadors 67
 Entertaining: Spicing up spring menus with herbs. 72
 Art: Peter Simpson on upcoming shows across the capital 78
 Wine: Austrian wines are fresh, light and drinkable. 82
 Residences: Norway's residence is full of surprises 85
 Envoy's Album: Photos from diplomatic events 96
 Photo Finish: Mike Beedell's mother and baby loons 120

DIGNITARIES |

New arrivals in the diplomatic corps 90

DIPLomatic LISTINGS 102

DESTINATIONS |

Patrick Langston on spring adventures around Ottawa 106
 Donna Jacobs' tour of Greenland, Labrador and Newfoundland . . 108

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Jennifer Campbell

A world-changing pandemic

COVID-19 overtook the Western world's news cycle as we were going to press. We pivoted to reflect that, with two stories on the situation. The first deals with the economic impacts of this pandemic. The second talks about the role of cities in curbing it.

Scarce resources aren't spoken about nearly as often as other calamitous truths, such as climate change or, these days, coronavirus. But there are some that could also interrupt our lives and writer Wolfgang Depner details them for us. Chief among them is water. Depner writes, "If a single bucket were to hold all of the water in the world, one teacup would be potable, and of that amount, just one teaspoon would be accessible." For the rest of the list, consult our cover story, which starts on page 38.

Also in our Dispatches section, we devote much space to Transparency International's 2019 *Corruption Perception Index (CPI)*, which shows dismal results in the global fight against corrupt practices. Several Western countries went down in the rankings. Canada received the highest score in the Americas, but is down four points from 2018 while the U.S., with a score of 69, is down two points from 2018.

The lowest-scoring countries, out of 180 profiled, were Yemen, Syria, South Sudan and Somalia, with Somalia in last place.

In addition to publishing much of the *CPI*, we also have a column by Robert I. Rotberg discussing an innovative idea — an international anti-corruption court that would operate similarly to the International Criminal Court, but with a mandate to prosecute corrupt officials. Those who are campaigning for the court suggest Canada, in spite of its recent dip

in the standings, would be a good place to locate the court, which would be under the auspices of the United Nations. We will make sure Rotberg, our magazine's expert on corruption, keeps us posted.

Also in Dispatches, Joe Varner writes about Russia and China and how they're using different tactics as they each vie for more global domination and how sometimes they're working in tandem on the aspiration. Often, their efforts are in overtly and covertly attempting to subvert NATO security while the alliance is already having internal battles among several member countries.

Up front, Fen Hampson examines the state of political civility, bringing to light recent incidents from Britain, France, Canada and, perhaps most notably, the United States, where U.S. President Donald Trump refused to shake House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's hand, and Pelosi ripped up his speech in three dramatic swipes.

We also have my wide-ranging interview with Austrian Ambassador Stefan Pehringer, who discusses Brexit, Austria's dynamic manufacturing sector and the state of trade.

In our Delights section, books columnist Christina Spencer examines two books by former U.S. ambassadors to the UN — Donald Trump's Nikki Haley and Barack Obama's Samantha Power. Both have interesting views of their president's foreign policy records.

Arts writer Peter Simpson highlights a series of shows that will take place in Ottawa between April and June and invites galleries to let him know of upcoming shows for the July-to-October period. Patrick Langston has written up a list of outings around the capital for the same period. Langston also wrote our residences feature on Norwegian Ambassador Anne Ovind Hansen's elegant home.

Food columnist Margaret Dickenson serves up three recipes that are perfect for spring dining, while *Diplomat* publisher Donna Jacobs offers a report on a recent Adventure Canada exploration of Greenland, Labrador and Newfoundland's nature and culture.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

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Mike Beedell



Mike Beedell is a photographer, diver, conservationist and wilderness guide. *National Geographic*, *Geo* (from Germany), *Equinox*, *Audubon* and *Canadian Geographic* have featured his photographs and expeditions. Among his historic journeys are a 5,000-kilometre sail-powered trip (via Hobie Cat) through the Northwest Passage for *National Geographic*, a five-month 2,000-kilometre dogsled journey across the Arctic and a five-month kayak/hike circumnavigating Arctic Bylot Island. World Expos, Olympic Games and the UN have shown his photographic murals. His Canadian bestseller, *The Magnetic North*, details his North American Arctic journeys. Beedell lives with his wife, Bonnie Kumer, and their dog, Robbie, in Chelsea, Que.

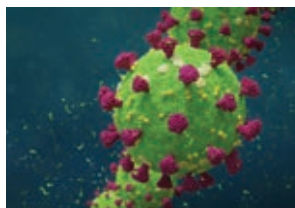
Donna Jacobs



Donna Jacobs, *Diplomat's* publisher, has been a columnist for *The Ottawa Citizen*, *The Kingston Whig-Standard*, *The Toronto Sun* and *Calgary Sun* and a feature writer for *The Washington Post*. A former *Whig-Standard* beat reporter in medicine, science and federal penitentiaries, she has dual degrees in English and journalism from Syracuse University. She has joined photographer Mike Beedell on four excursions — including swimming with migrating salmon in British Columbia and snorkelling with humpback whales in Dominican Republic. They covered Adventure Canada's Greenland, Wild Labrador and Newfoundland expedition for this issue.

UP FRONT

Very close to press time, we switched our cover to reflect the issue that has overtaken global politics, economies and everyday life. It's hard to keep up with the news on the spread of coronavirus, but our efforts — with a story on its effects and another on cities' roles — start on page 34.



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Political commentary from around the world



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Erdogan and Putin at the Syria fire, by Christo Komarnitski, Bulgaria



EU and Turkey, by Marian Kamensky, Austria



Iran Missile, by Nate Beeler, Counterpoint, U.S.



Whistleblowers masked by China, by Manny Francisco, Manila, The Philippines



South Africa and AU [African Union] by Paresh Nath, The Khaleej Times, UAE



Pipeline protests block Canadian economy, by Dale Cummings, Canada, PoliticalCartoons.com



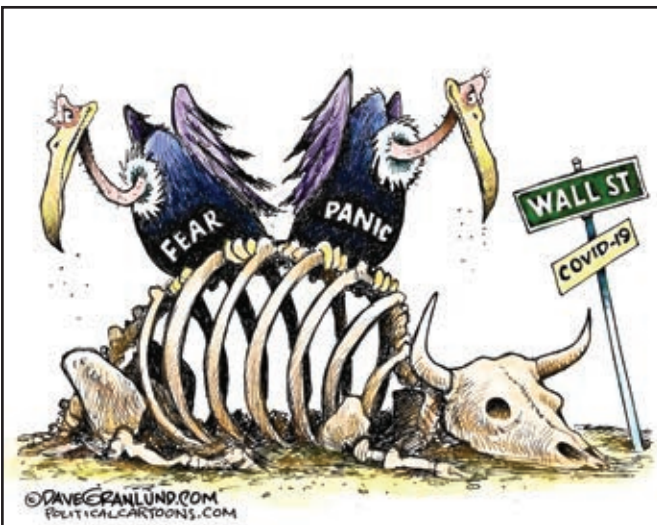
CETA treaty, by Hajo de Reijger, The Netherlands



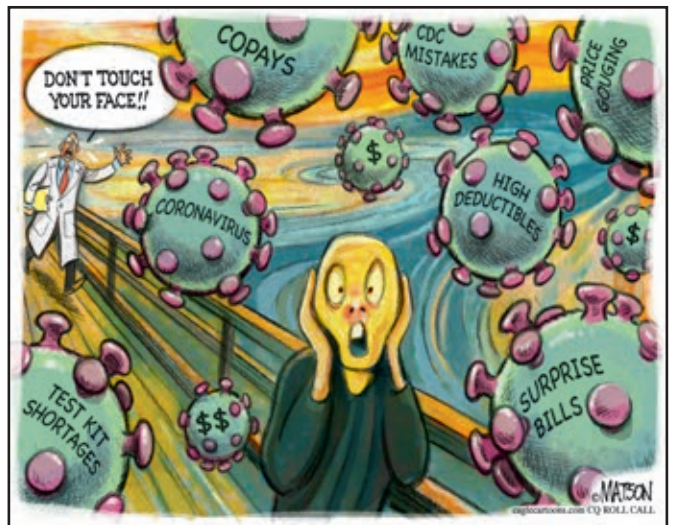
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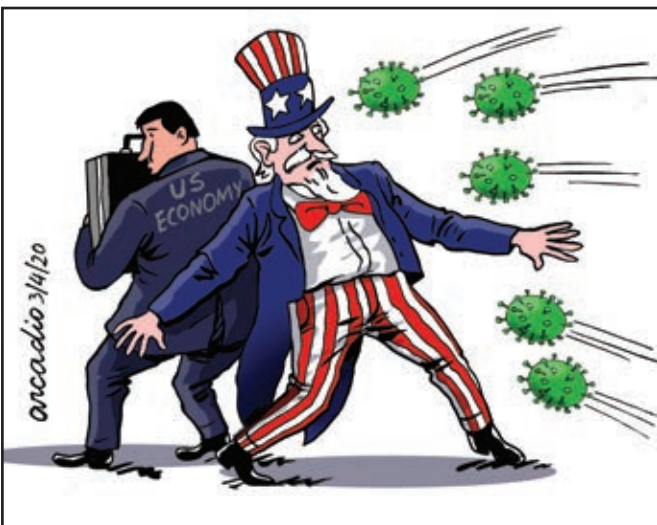
Women's Day, Osama Hajjaj, Jordan, *PoliticalCartoons.com*



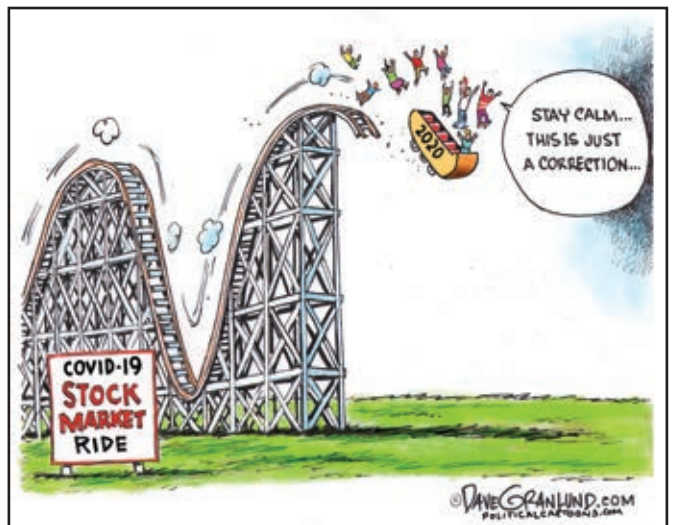
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The Coronavirus Scream, by R.J. Matson, CQ Roll Call, U.S.



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The risk of our rancorous times



Fen
Hampson

Should politics be civil in the age of Trump and Twitter? Many Canadians think so. Canadians applauded when Conservative leadership candidate Peter MacKay walked back a tweet that had been issued by his leadership team poking fun at Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's yoga habit with a caption saying that "while running for leader of the Liberal Party, Trudeau's campaign expensed \$876.95 in yoga sessions and spa bills for Justin Trudeau. Liberals can't be trusted."

Admittedly, this was pretty mild stuff compared to what normally gets posted online. Name calling and ad hominem insults have become the norm in many Western democracies. For example, the online British journal, *Conversation*, criticized British parliamentarians for having "gloated, jeered, heckled and booed... [and] indulged in gleeful laughter, smug condescension and personal attacks" in the Brexit campaign. *Conversation* went on to point out that "while providing enormous entertainment value to those not directly affected by Brexit, to most of the British public, the events [were] a tragedy." Or, consider the unfortunate case of former Irish prime minister Leo Varadkar, who was blasted by a deluge of abusive messages over his planned commemoration of the controversial Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) — messages that branded him a "fascist" and a "dirty traitor."

When the sexting of Benjamin Griveaux, an associate of French President Emmanuel Macron and candidate for mayor of Paris, was leaked online, forcing him to pull out of the race, France's political establishment cried foul. The actions of a Russian performance artist who had posted *in flagrante delicto* images of Griveaux were considered inappropriate and uncivil in a country where the private lives of politicians and public officials are generally considered off limits to the prying eyes of the media.

Lest Canadians think they are generally



The degeneration of political civility was on full display when U.S. President Donald Trump delivered his fourth State of the Union address, refusing to shake the hand of House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (seated behind him and next to Vice-President Mike Pence.)

kind, polite and tolerant when it comes to their own political discourse, they might want to think again. As the CBC reported, in her ill-fated bid to secure re-election in 2017, Premier Kathleen Wynne was subjected to a torrent of sexist and homophobic remarks on social media. "The replies to Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne on Twitter are not for the faint of heart," the CBC warned its readers. As the CBC further noted, Wynne is not the only female politician to be subjected to such abuse. Former NDP premier Rachel Notley, Conservative MP Michelle Rempel and Ontario NDP leader Andrea Horwarth, have all been targets of highly offensive sexual abuse on social media.

The uncivil State of the Union

The degeneration of political civility in the world's leading democracy was on full display when Donald Trump, the 45th president of the United States, stepped up to the speaker's rostrum in the House of Representatives to deliver his 4th State of the Union speech to the 116th Congress of the United States. He refused to follow customary protocol by shaking hands with House Speaker Nancy

Pelosi before he delivered his address. It was a clear snub by a president who was deeply angered that Pelosi had allowed his impeachment trial to go forward.

Pelosi retaliated by refusing to introduce the president with the traditional words, "Members of Congress, I have the high privilege and distinct honour of presenting to you the president of the United States." Instead, with barely concealed contempt, she snarled, "Members of Congress, the president of the United States." And, at the conclusion of the president's 78-minute speech — of which almost a third was consumed by repeated applause from the president's Republican supporters — Pelosi, with a flair for the dramatic, shredded her copy of the president's text in three bold strokes, throwing the remains onto her desk with feigned disgust.

It was a moment few would forget as it ricocheted on screens around the world.

What explains the loss of decorum and political civility in Western democracies? Some blame the rise of conservative populism while pointing a finger at Trump's relentless reality TV theatrics on social media. But Republican and Democratic officeholders have played their own sup-

porting roles in the loss of civility and decorum. President Richard Nixon used colourful language, not to mention “dirty tricks,” to vilify and attack his opponents, which led to his ultimate downfall in the Watergate scandal. President Lyndon Johnson was just as colourful and graphic in private conversation, but in public, like Nixon, he kept it clean. President Bill Clinton’s personal indiscretions with White House intern Monica Lewinsky, however, may have immunized the American public to the loss of decorum by subsequent presidential office holders, including Trump, but his successors George W. Bush and Barack Obama comported themselves with dignity and respect for the office of the president.

Political polarization propelled by fundamental perceptions of social and political “identity” in Western democracies is arguably a major factor in the decline in the quality and tone of political discourse aided, of course, by social media and the internet. As the then *Washington Post’s* Chris Cillizza, now at CNN, explained, American politics is now characterized by a political culture in which people view their adversaries as “idiots” or “even more malignant to our political dialogue, purposely ignorant with evil intent.” Cillizza cites a 2014 Pew Research Centre study, which showed that a sizable percentage of self-identified Republicans and Democrats (more than a quarter in each case) think the other party’s policies are so misguided “they aren’t just wrong, they endanger the nation’s well-being.” (The numbers are likely much higher today.)

He attributes this growing animus in the electorate to the growth of an increasingly partisan media on the left and right side of the spectrum. In addition, he observes, “ideological silos” have also formed, reinforced by the advent of social media and filter bubbles, where people see and hear what they want to see and hear.

Such polarizing trends are evident in other democracies as the debate over Brexit — now a done deal — in the United Kingdom attests. As British scholar Jonathan Wheatley explains, “The political divide over the issue of Brexit is now far more fundamental than the long-standing divide between political parties. A recent *British Social Attitudes* survey showed that 40 per cent of voters claimed to be either a “very strong remainer” or a “very strong leaver,” while just 8 per cent said they were a “very strong” supporter of a political party.” Wheatley’s research shows that “the Brexit divide should not be seen merely as a conflict over one particular is-

sue, but instead reflects a broader ‘values divide’ that encompasses a range of identity issues about Britain’s relationship with the outside world and ‘outsiders’ more generally. These issues include immigration, multiculturalism, the role of Islam, gay rights and even climate change.”

Is a return to civility likely?

Is there any prospect that this roaring tide of incivility will be reversed?

Former British prime minister Tony Blair has founded an Institute for Global Change in a bid to bridge the divide between left- and right-wing populism. Pope Francis has offered his own pleas for moderation while issuing a series of papal warnings about the dangers of populism as an “evil” that “ends badly.”

The anti-populists who urge moderation and civility in political discourse clearly have their work cut out for them.

When Supreme Court Justice John Roberts, who presided over Trump’s impeachment trial in the Senate, appealed for civility when he reminded the House managers and those defending the president that they were “addressing the world’s greatest deliberative body” and that the Senate had “earned that title because its members avoid speaking in a manner and using language that is not conducive to civil discourse,” he was criticized by some for ignoring the real and present danger vitriolic partisan politics poses to American democratic institutions.

“Roberts’ words,” journalist Steven Beschloss argues, “failed to take into account the backdrop [of the trial]: a deeply partisan and increasingly authoritarian political dynamic that has catapulted the country into a moment of crisis.”

If political insult is parried with political insult and fire is fought with fire, where will this all end? Fiery political revolutions have a nasty habit of consuming their own as the ultimate fate of Jacobin leader Maximilien Robespierre in the French Revolution reminds us.

But there is also a deeper, hidden danger. The Anglo-Irish statesman and philosopher Edmund Burke once argued that civility is essential to the functioning of a stable society and democratic political institutions. That is what Burke meant when he wrote about the importance of “chivalry” and “politesse” in politics, which he believed were threatened by the forces of revolution and mob rule that had swept through France with the overthrow of the monarchy. Burke believed the choice of words to address political opponents, and those with whom we strongly disagree,

matters a great deal to a healthy and functioning democratic polity. Burke wrote, “Language is the eye of society, without it we could very ill signify our wants for our own relief, and by no means communicate our knowledge, for the amusement or amendment of our fellow creatures; and therefore without it the comforts and delights of life could not be enjoyed, no conveyance of learning, of chastisement, of praise, or solace, scarce virtue be practised, friendship subsist, nor religion taught and defended.” We must therefore always choose our words carefully.

Justice Roberts was right to urge civility and a careful, measured choice of words in the trial of an uncivil president. He may be a lonely voice, but his admonition should serve as a wider injunction to citizens in every democracy and not just the U.S. Basic decency and respect for others are the hallmarks of a civilized, democratic society. Demonization of political opponents is but a short step away from mob rule and demagoguery.

The COVID-19 global health crisis emergency, which exploded around the world in March, destroying lives, livelihood and economies, ironically may be injecting greater civility — at least temporarily — into political discourse as citizens and their leaders rally together to contain and defeat this scourge. When Ontario Premier Doug Ford was roundly criticized early in the crisis for urging Ontarians to go ahead with their spring break travel plans, he found an unlikely defender in Kathleen Wynne who said that Ford was simply trying to reassure a rattled public out of the “goodness of his heart.” Similarly, when Trump welcomed the new bipartisan spirit in the U.S. Congress to address the growing hardship of Americans in the unfolding COVID-19 crisis, it showed that the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government were willing to put paleolithic emotions aside for the greater national interest. As Canada’s distinguished columnist Rex Murphy wrote, “in times of anxiety, kindness is essential.” Justice Roberts was right to urge civility and a careful, measured choice of words in the trial of an uncivil president. But his admonition should serve as a wider injunction to citizens in every democracy at both the worst and the best of times.

Fen Osler Hampson is Chancellor’s Professor at Carleton University. His newest book is *Braver Canada: Shaping Our Destiny in a Precarious World* (with Derek H. Burney.)

Austrian Ambassador Stefan Pehringer

'I think Brexit is a mistake, but democracy gives people the chance to make mistakes.'



Stefan Pehringer has been Austria's ambassador to Canada since 2017. The ambassador studied law in Germany before joining the foreign ministry in 1996 and he later completed a doctoral degree in legal studies at the University of Vienna. Before being appointed ambassador to Canada, he had postings in Luxembourg, Germany, Denmark and Latvia. His office in Canada is heavily adorned with soccer jerseys and memorabilia and he explained that he's been on the advisory board of Rapid Vienna Football Club since 2011. On the day Britain departed the EU, he sat down with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell, to talk about his country's economy, the future of the European Union and Brexit.

***Diplomat* magazine:** Austria's economy has been doing better than the Eurozone average, but it's significantly lower than when the growth rate was 2.4 per cent in 2018. Still, what is Austria doing right?

Stefan Pehringer: We have, in certain ways, been connected very much with Germany, which is still our largest export market, but in the last 15 to 20 years, we were able to emancipate from that enormous dominance. We had it a bit easier because for us, being in the EU opened up great relations with countries and regions that we didn't have relations with for almost half a century, until the end of the Cold War. That opened up and integrated the European Union, which helped us a lot to offset the risks to a certain degree.

DM: And what do you think caused the slowdown? The China-U.S. trade war? Germany's slump?

SP: Insecurity abounding. On the eve of Brexit, we still don't really know how that will play out. A lot of people are waiting and [watching.] The U.S.-China thing, Brexit, the strong dependence of Germany on the auto market. Those are all things that are connected with question marks.

DM: Could you please describe the manufacturing sector in Austria?

SP: We are really proud to still have a pretty strong manufacturing sector, which is bigger in comparison to those of other countries. The share of manufacturing in the overall economy is 22 per cent — it's higher when you compare it to other Western economies, where you have figures more like 8 or 10 per cent. Britain is a classic example. What helped us are two historic factors. First, as in Germany, we have a long tradition of regional craftsmanship — vocational training and craftsmanship are still very strong in Austria. You have a region where they're particularly good at doing steel works, and another region that does wood and another that does aluminum and they have worked with these materials sometimes for centuries. Then you have educational institutions — schools, colleges and universities. Since the 1980s and '90s, there's an even stronger link between the educational sector and manufacturing sector.

Another thing is that back in the 1980s, a very large part of the manufacturing sector was state-owned. Those companies were close to bankruptcy at that time and you had two schools of thinking. One said 'let's sustain that, let's put government money into those because we have to save jobs. That was one extreme approach. The other extreme was to simply shut down all of that. [This school of thinking said] 'Get rid of it, they aren't market competitive, shut them down, go into services, do something else.'

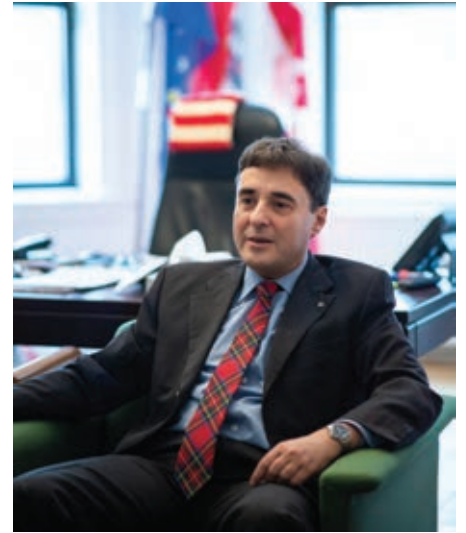
Most countries that went one way or the other don't have a manufacturing sector anymore. That's due, in large part, to the fact that they didn't go for the Austrian way. At that time, there were some [Austrian] politicians who got together and said, 'We're not going to go either way. We won't subsidize forever with state money those deficient industries, and, on the other hand, we won't simply shut them down. We'll take the good parts, bring in more private ownership.' And all of those companies are now privately owned and in close co-operation with



'We are really proud to still have a pretty strong manufacturing sector, which is bigger in comparison to those of other countries.'



'Before... Austria's accession to the EU, our dependence on Germany was more like Canada's is with the U.S.'



'We have a long tradition of regional craftsmanship — vocational training and craftsmanship are still very strong.'

craftsmanship institutions.

In the mid-'80s, in a town like Linz, they had 40,000 people working for a state steel company. It was running into bankruptcy because they couldn't compete with India, China and the Soviet Union. They laid off a lot of people, but kept the core, invested in science and [research and development] and said 'we have to go into quality steel production.' Today, Linz is world market leader in quality of intelligent steel.

If I take the number of people who work [in steel] there now — about 12,000 — and combine with the number of people in the supply-chain businesses, you come to the same amount of jobs that they had in the '80s, or even more, and these are sustainable jobs. Now they're looking into how to produce steel in an environmentally smart way. And this was all simply because we had this old tradition of craftsmanship and industrial policy. You

need leaders, not ideologues. The ones who says 'just keep on subsidizing' and the ones who say 'shut it down' — they're all ideologues.

DM: Can you explain how the early subsidization worked?

SP: It was state-owned and then gradually it was privatized. Up to the mid-'80s, those companies were state-owned and the government gradually moved them to privatization. I can tell you about a myriad of policy mistakes from the '80s, but this was good policy. We had some very forward-looking politicians and business leaders in those companies.

DM: Did Germany's recent slump have a big effect on Austria?

SP: I don't have any very recent figures, but as an overall observation, yes. When you have a slump in Germany, it affects us. But we are not as dependent on Ger-

many as we used to be. We've broadened our exports. Exports to North America have grown considerably.

Germany is still our biggest trading partner. It's 50 per cent, but it used to be closer to 75. Before the end of the Cold War and Austria's accession to the EU, our dependence on Germany was more like Canada's is with the U.S.

DM: Who else are you trading with now, besides North America?

SP: It's a mix. Still Germany, but we have very strong trade with our neighbouring countries such as Switzerland and Italy. We are very strong with Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia. China is a global giant, but neighbourhood still counts in business. Every year, our exports to China rival our exports to Slovenia. [Our importers] buy quality manufacturing, machinery, mechanical devices and pharmaceuticals.



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The new Austrian government — a coalition of Conservatives and Greens — has vowed to achieve climate neutrality by 2040, something it has done to appease the Greens, but also because of ‘the whole Greta Thunberg effect,’ the ambassador says.

DM: Which exports have slowed of late, if any?

SP: I’m not aware of any.

DM: What is the political situation in Austria with the recent coalition between the Conservatives and the Greens?

SP: It’s a very interesting new model. We’ve never had this combination on the federal level. We have had it on the provincial level. I think it’s a model that’s being followed with great interest in Europe and even beyond. As we have seen, all over Europe, the traditional big parties — be they the social democrats or the conservatives — have been suffering and losing elections, so this could be an interesting model. It’s not a classic centre right or left government. It’ll really be a centrist government.

DM: How do you explain coalitions to Canadians who don’t really understand the concept?

SP: Ha! Having coalitions is something Canadians are not used to and I learned that it never happens at the federal level and very rarely on the provincial level. If you look at the situation of the Canadian government as a minority, the necessity to forge compromises requires negotiation skills. If you have a formal coalition, you have that on the level of government. We are unfamiliar with the idea that one

party supports government without a formal coalition.

We had a minority government once, from 1970 to 1971. The Social Democrats under chancellor Bruno Kreisky won an absolute minority. They were short a few seats. They concluded an agreement with the Freedom Party that it would tolerate them for a certain period of time, in exchange for a new electoral law, which [has been] in place since then and which provided smaller parties with better electoral chances.

The Freedom Party said, ‘We support you on no-confidence votes if you give us a new electoral law.’ The law before made it more difficult for smaller parties to enter Parliament and it gave them relatively fewer seats. Now, if you enter with 5 per cent, you get 12 or 13 seats. Before that, maybe you had to have 8 per cent to make it into Parliament and then you’d only get maybe 4 seats.

After that one year, they went back to the voters and Kreisky got a majority.

DM: Your current chancellor, Sebastian Kurz, has pledged to achieve climate neutrality by 2040. Can he and if so, how?

SP: That, of course, is very much at the core of the new government program. It has to be because it has to be for the Greens and also with the whole Greta Thunberg effect. The Greens are much

more pushy. They have agreed to achieve neutrality by then but the question of how to do that is still to be seen because the Greens want to take bolder steps. The Greens think of a Canada-style carbon tax, which the Conservatives are very opposed to. It’s pretty much like the Canadian Conservatives who want to have more energy efficiency, new technologies. Now, [the Conservatives have] agreed that a task force be formed to come up with a solution by 2022. The next election is 2023 and they want to have that thing solved by 2022. It could be that you see a gradual move of the Conservatives toward a carbon tax. And our new minister for the environment is, of course, from the Green Party. She has said she is interested in studying international benchmark models on carbon pricing. The interest would be directed very much towards Canada. We hope that we have more intense contacts on that issue and maybe even a visit from the minister.

It’s clear that if the Conservatives take that direction, they would be very interested in knowing how that would be done in a way that doesn’t hurt business. Our businesses are already leaders in green technology. The president of the Chamber of Commerce [recently said] ‘We are already leaders there and we don’t want to see even more burdens put on our com-

panies while other bigger countries aren't doing anything.' That should never be an excuse for us not doing more, but we have to keep a balance.

DM: What effect do you expect Brexit will have on Austria?

SP: There are studies that show that the effect on Austria should be rather limited because, on the one hand, it's sad to say, our trade relations with the U.K. have never been that strong. There will be an effect for some businesses that are established in the British market, but all in all, it should be limited.

Normally, our manufacturing is contributing to the manufacturing of another country and the Brits don't have a lot. The contribution of an Austrian company will be one small, sophisticated piece of equipment within a bigger supply chain. It's not helpful for an Austrian ambassador, but our companies don't normally feel the necessity to do a lot of advertising. They are not addressing the market, but they have other businesses they work with and they have long-established relationships — some with Canadian businesses. Sometimes other colleagues represent companies in Canada. Our companies know the businesses they're working with.

DM: What effect do you think Brexit will have on the European Union?



Boris Johnson was the face of Brexit in the U.K. Austrian Ambassador Stefan Pehringer calls its departure from the EU 'a sad day.'

SP: It's hard to say. First of all, it's important to say it's a sad day. It's not a positive day seeing an important country like the U.K. leave. I personally think it's a mistake, a colossal mistake, because the U.K. had the best of both worlds in its membership in the European Union. They had what they were always most interested in — the market access to the

EU — and, on the other hand, they had tons of exceptions. They had their own currency, so they were not part of the Schengen area. They had the best of both worlds and they gave it up. I think it's a mistake, but democracy gives people the chance to make mistakes. The British will have to define their way, where they want to go. The new relationship with the European Union will have to be forged within bilateral relations between the United Kingdom and the European Union.

There are still [several] months in this transitional period. I think having a trade agreement within those months is ambitious. I think Canada can speak to that when we think about how long the negotiation process for CETA took.

I think 11 months [total] is ambitious, but we will see. Maybe the fact that the U.K. leaving the EU has already made citizens of various member countries more aware of the advantages the EU brings: market access, [mobility] and a more unified regulatory landscape. Maybe in that regard, it's kind of helpful. But, on the other hand, I'd still say it's sad. But it's their decision.

DM: But you think Brexit might have solidified the relationship between remaining member states?

SP: That's still to be seen. I think that



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The migration crisis in Europe is about a lack of function in border control and the fact that those in the EU don't agree on joint principles of what migration and refugee status are. Shown here are Iraqi and Syrian migrants at the Vienna railway station in 2015.

when you see the discussions over the next months, when [British] people are wanting to make sure their businesses still have access to that market, to grapple with that and not falling back to World Trade Organization rules, I think more people in other countries who might have flirted with the idea will be more aware of the advantages the European Union gives us. I think it's giving more perspective on what it means to be a member of the EU. [They] might not love the EU, but see what we have in it, and what we'd lose.

DM: So you don't see any other countries leaving the EU?

SP: No. Unlike the situation before the Brexit vote, I don't see any serious movements by any country about leaving the European Union. We have countries and parts of populations in countries who love the European Union and others who have a more pragmatic approach. I think both of them are good.

I think the whole process and, even now, the negotiation process between the U.K. and the European Union is about making clear that membership rights only apply to members. You can't have your cake and eat it, too. That is what it is about and that will lead to a negotiation process that I think will be demanding.

Of course, there's overregulation red tape, and sometimes it's outright crazy the regulations from the European level, but that kind of criticism is sometimes too predominant to me. We talk only about

red tape and bureaucracy. We have that in all of our own countries. Let's sit down and talk and see and maybe we can reduce some of it. But this criticism, which is correct, shouldn't keep us from seeing how great this project is in political, economic, cultural and social terms. I think it wasn't a coincidence that the European Union, back in 2012, received the Nobel Peace Prize. I was personally offended by people in the media and politics who ridiculed this prize for the EU. There is no other institution in the world that deserves the Nobel Peace Prize more than the European Union. Those who said the EU got the prize for bureaucracy and red tape didn't understand. Yes, there is too much bureaucracy and there are lots of ridiculous things coming out of it, but we all have laws that you could call ridiculous. That doesn't take away from the importance of the [EU], which is a world historic one.

DM: How is Austria dealing with the increased numbers of migrants coming your way?

SP: We have to understand the motives of each and every person who wants to leave their own country and live in another country. Nobody takes that decision lightly and I say this, sitting in a country, Canada, that was built on immigration. On the other hand, we have to be careful with the different categories. We have migration and refugees. I think we have to be very clear with those categories. A person who is a refugee is identified to

the standards of international law. And if they are, they have the right to asylum and asylum status because they are persecuted for reasons of race, religion, sexual orientation or political views. On the other hand, apart from refugees, you have migrants. Being a migrant is perfectly legitimate. Migration has largely contributed to the wealth of countries, but I think we all understand that we need a different rules framework for refugees and for migrants. A refugee has to be accepted and it is legitimate for a country to tell a migrant that 'yes, we need you now' or 'maybe we don't need you now, but in two or three years' time, if you acquire certain skills, we may.'

The core problem in Europe with the migration crisis is two-fold. First, it's about the lack of function in border control, but at least of the same importance is the fact that we, in Europe, still don't agree on joint principles of what is migration and what is refugee status. We have a kind of perverted situation that many people see the asylum system as the only key to enter the EU. At the same time, they're 95 per cent migrants. We grandiosely failed in developing the system and not even developing an approach toward having such a system. That's what we need. As long as we don't have this set of joint ideas, [there's no point in] talking about distribution quotas.

I was part of the process when we started to negotiate the system of quotas and the distribution of refugees in Europe that has failed. It had to fail because how would I distribute an amount of people when the countries to which they should be distributed don't even agree on what those people are?

The immigration and asylum issue is closely linked with foreign political questions because the amount of people that push toward Europe has to do with the developments in our neighbourhood. Europe is a neighbour to the most unstable region in the world, which is the Middle East, and the one continent on Earth that provides us with lots of opportunity and also lots of conflicts and problems. That is Africa. Europe will always have more issues with neighbours than North America, or China. There are oceans dividing [the latter from the Middle East and Africa.] The Mediterranean Sea is not an ocean.

DM: And then you have a trade agreement with a country way across the Atlantic Ocean, namely Canada.

SP: We have a trade agreement, which is working, but according to our informa-

tion, it's more European companies that are seizing it more. I think the reason — what we sometimes forget — is that Canada is a country with only 37 million people and it's expected to play on the global level. When similarly sized countries such as Poland or Spain act on the global stage, it's always within the European Union, which has 500 million people. That's maybe why the trade machinery in Canada has been so focused on the U.S. and getting that new agreement.

DM: How is the trade relationship between Austria and Canada?

SP: Stable. It's always around 1.5 billion euros or \$2.15 billion. It's more in our favour.

DM: What do we trade back and forth?

SP: Machinery big and small, pharmaceuticals, wood products and, increasingly, with CETA, food. That's pretty much what we send each other. We do not have big natural resources. We don't have oil or gas and we don't buy oil from Canada.

DM: You've been here for almost three years. How has the relationship changed in those three years?

SP: Not much; not for the better or the worse. Austria and Canada know each other, like each other. When Austrians think about Canada, it's hockey, the Rockies, nature. When Canadians think about Austria, they think about music, the *Sound of Music*, cultural things. Sometimes it's hard to develop knowledge beyond those clichés, but on the other hand, if they're positive clichés, why not? They are a good starting point, but to have a bit better knowledge on the part of both countries would be good. We're both stable democracies, allies on issues of the rule of law, support for democracy; we're both staunch human-rights defenders. That's where Austria and Canada cooperate a lot at the UN.

Generally, we have good co-operation on the technical level, strong co-operation between universities — students and professors. We have a working holiday agreement whereby 100 Austrians can work in Canada per year and 100 Canadians in Austria. The problem always is that many more Austrians want to come to Canada than the other way around.

When it comes to the top political level, in the last three years I wasn't helped by the fact that we had a Canadian election and two Austrian elections since I've been

here. In Austria, we had federal elections in 2017 and 2019. During the campaigns and after an election, no one travels. I hope that now, with a new government, we will start receiving visitors. On Feb. 14, Chancellor Kurz and Prime Minister [Justin] Trudeau [sat] on a panel together in Munich at the Security Conference. [The panel was titled "Westlessness in the West: What Are We Defending?" The leaders discussed the significance of democracy, human rights and the rule of law in today's changing world.]

DM: What is your proudest accomplishment from this posting?

SP: I wouldn't single one [specific] one out. It is the many encounters with so many Canadians and feeling the appreciation they have for Austria and Austrians. That's really the highlight. Also, being in this wonderful country. I always want to say that Canadians have a big treasure — they have many treasures. But the biggest treasure, and I have lived in many countries now, is how Canadians deal with each other. They're very respectful, friendly people. It's good to be here. It's a country with a high quality of life and people contribute very much to this high quality of life. ▣



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Building health and educational sustainability

By Liam McKinnon

When it rains in the slums of Pucallpa, in central Peru, the streets of red earth become trenches of mud. The Ucayali River swells, flooding the homes on its banks. Many of these are only makeshift and often overcrowded. Roofs of taped garbage bags let rain seep into kitchens, soak beds and turn floors to mud.

It is during the Amazon's rainy season of March that the Pure Art Foundation (PAF) volunteers typically arrive in the community of Los Jardines and to the Hub of Hope, where the PAF's programs are centred. Since 2010, the registered Canadian charity, headquartered in Vaudreuil, Que., has been focused on community-building and sustainable development. PAF's mandate is to help reverse the self-perpetuating cycle of poverty by strengthening public health, housing and education: the three pillars of its programming to foster lasting and systemic change.

All of PAF's programs in Peru radiate from the Hub of Hope, which serves as a community centre for a sprawling slum of 15,000 people. First-line medical care at the Hub's dispensary responds to the community's emergency and chronic health needs. Public health campaigns are periodically set up to treat children for parasites and anemia, both endemic to the region. Left untreated, these conditions can be fatal, yet the solutions are usually as simple and cost-effective as dietary supplements. The dispensary is also committed to women's maternal health and well-being, and offers screening for cervical cancer.

Being poverty's most vulnerable demographic, youth and women are at the forefront of much of PAF's work. An after-school program at the Hub offers children access to healthy meals and tutoring to supplement their primary education. Help with homework is enhanced by cultural activities including dance and music as part of PAF's Love of Learning Initiative. This initiative has recently expanded outside the classroom to the Hub's community garden, where garden-based learning increases awareness about nutrition and healthy foods. In 2019, the Hub opened its daycare, where toddlers benefit from early childhood development programs



Students, including Gloria Nicole Perez Shapiama, centre, meet their sponsors at the school registration night at the beginning of the school year in Pucallpa, Peru.

by trained educators, preparing them for elementary school entry.

The Sewing Initiative is another essential component of the Hub. It is a skills-development program that empowers women to become self-sufficient through handiwork. Running daily, it offers young women, often single mothers, the training and craftsmanship needed to find employment. PAF's Sewing Initiative sparked innovation by supporting a group of seven women who sought to launch their own small business: Creación Arte de los Manos. PAF will continue to play a capacity-building role for these entrepreneurs by assisting them in making their services and products more visible in the commerce sectors of Pucallpa.

The Hub is like a wheel, and each of these programs is one of its spokes. Ultimately, the durability and self-sufficiency of this wheel depend on programs to strengthen it from within.

Education was PAF's first initiative in Pucallpa, starting with the sponsorship of two young girls, sisters Amelia and Guadeloupe. It has since gained momentum and has grown to fund the education of more than 300 schoolchildren and 34 university students on an annual basis.

A university graduate student in psychology, Guadeloupe has become a mentor to other children of Pucallpa. She meets the children and their parents every Friday at the Hub to offer academic guidance and support. Her sister, Amelia, graduated in culinary arts and is now self-funding her studies in law, as she expressed a "desire to do more for her

community." Amelia and Guadeloupe are shining examples in Los Jardines and potent illustrations of the self-sustaining power of education.

After 10 years of creating infrastructure and capacity-building, PAF continues to be driven by its mission to promote sustainable development in poor and marginalized communities. Looking ahead, PAF's engagement in Los Jardines will transition from infrastructure to program strengthening, with community stakeholders playing an ever-increasing role.

This year, 68 volunteers of all ages — the youngest is 12 and the oldest is 88 — are preparing to return to the Hub of Hope, where they will assist the local team and collectively contribute their own skills, time and labour to programs that keep lifting this community toward a brighter future. They are engineers, nurses, pharmacists, physicians, teachers and students, just to name a few of their vocations.

The Pure Art Foundation is so named because it was created in tandem with its sister project, the Pure Art boutique, a fair-trade store that sells items made by marginalized artisans. The profits from the Pure Art boutique cover the foundation's expenses so it can send 100 per cent of all donations directly into its respective programs.

Liam McKinnon manages public relations and communications for the Pure Art Foundation. Visit www.pureartfoundation.org to find out more about its programs.

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Helping impoverished children in Ottawa and Chile

Two autistic children in Chile are getting therapy this year thanks to the hard work of the Chilean Canadian Women's Association of Ottawa.

The funding for the therapy came from a wine-and-cheese event that's hosted annually at the Chilean ambassador's residence and features Chilean wines, cheeses from around the world and a large silent auction of Chilean delicacies, among other treasures.

Ambassador Alejandro Marisio Cugat has hosted the event twice and his predecessors hosted it before that.

Claudia Chacon, association secretary and silent auction organizer, says some of the money from this event always goes toward a project in the Ottawa area.

"Our aim is to support low-income families," she says

The group decides what to support on an ad-hoc basis. It often supports a breakfast program at Philemon Wright High School in Gatineau.

"In 2018, we gave bursaries to four students in Hawkesbury," Chacon says. "The principal chose them by need and merit. We knew about the need because one of our members lives in Hawkesbury. Her son was attending that high school and she became aware of the need."

Although the wine and cheese proceeds are always devoted to an Ottawa cause, the group also raises money for projects in Chile. They've funded, for example, the building of ecologically friendly play structures in rural schools.



From left, Brendon Ridgewell, Sonia Diaz (CCWA president), Ambassador Alejandro Marisio Cugat, Kimena Nanculeff (CCWA vice-president), Sissy Ridgewell (CCWA social relations co-ordinator.)

"The kids had [only] dirt," Chacon says. "Now they have a playground. We also paid for an awning at a school in the south so children could play outside."

For the wine and cheese, Chacon says the ambassador's willingness to host really increases the group's profit margin because they don't have to pay for an expensive rental space.

"There's also the appeal of going to the ambassador's residence," Chacon says. "It's a lovely space and there's free parking and little perks."

Tickets for the event — \$50 — can also be reduced a little in price because they're given the venue and the ambassador donates almost two cases of wine.

"We work really hard to give good value. Our vice-president is a master baker and cook so she does the bread, the crackers, some of which are gluten-free.

-She also makes all the jams and jellies. She sets up all the platters [of cheese.]"

The ambassador has been very pleased with the way the events have turned out.

"We let them use the residence to offer this interesting wine and cheese so they can help children in Canada and in Chile," he says. "It's also a very good opportunity for us, as diplomats, to share with Canadians who live here, and to establish new links. We also provide some wines, and [organizers] get help from some wineries. We're very happy to do it." The ambassador plans to host the event again this autumn.

The group takes its funding commitments seriously. In March, association president Sonia Diaz visited Fundación TEAamos in Chile to follow up on the group's sponsorship of the therapy for the two autistic children. ▣

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Malaysia: A dynamic trading partner



Nor'Aini Abd Hamid

Malaysia, a sunny Southeast Asian country with idyllic sandy beaches, alluring islands and unspoiled tropical rainforests, is not only a business-friendly nation, but also one of the world's preferred tourist destinations and a retirement heaven for foreigners who choose to make Malaysia their "second home." *Business Insider* ranked Malaysia seventh in the world as the best retirement destination in its Annual Global Retirement Index.

Malaysia has many ethnic groups with diverse cultural and religious beliefs. In 2019, its total population was estimated at 32.6 million, making it the 42nd most populated country in the world.

Over the years, the country has enjoyed strong economic growth, largely attributed to its industrial development, political stability, low inflation and effective monetary policy. The gross domestic product (GDP) in 2018 was US\$358.58 billion, with growth driven by private consumption and government spending.

Malaysian politics underwent historic change in May 2018 when the opposition defeated the ruling party of 61 years (since independence in 1957) at the 14th general elections. Tun Mahathir, 92, became the seventh prime minister, but resigned Feb. 24, 2020. While waiting for his successor, Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin to be sworn in on March 1, the country was run by the interim PM, supported by the 1.6 million civil servants, headed by the Datuk Seri Mohd Zuki Ali, chief secretary to the government. This has proven that Malaysia has the administrative institutions and agile government machinery to support a system of good governance.

Agriculture and mining were the domi-



Malaysia has become a trading nation due to its strategic location bridging the Strait of Malacca and the South China Sea.

nant sectors in Malaysia's early history. But the country has risen from an agricultural-based economy to a trading nation due to its strategic location bridging the Strait of Malacca and the South China Sea. These sea channels of communication are vital to stability in the region and are a lifeline to several East Asian economies.

Rubber, palm oil and cacao are the backbone of Malaysia's agricultural sector. These commodities account for 12 per cent of GDP and provide 16 per cent of employment in the country. Malaysia's annual production of rubber is estimated at 996,673 metric tonnes, making it the third-largest producer and representing 8.8 per cent of global production. As a leading exporter of medical gloves, Malaysian latex is exported to 190 countries, with Germany, Japan and the United States being the top importers.

Malaysia takes centre stage in Asia and Oceania as the largest cacao processor, though it ranks fifth worldwide among producers. In 2016, Malaysia was the fifth-largest exporter of cacao, topping US\$274 million. As for palm oil, the country has been responsible for the systematic replanting of the trees to circumvent deforestation and to further develop sustainability for a better environment and yield. Besides being vegetable oil, palm oil is used for bio-fuel, cosmetics, soap, pet food and detergents.

Malaysia's transformation from commodity-based economy to one that is manufacturing- and services-oriented has contributed significantly to the economy. In 2018, trade expanded by 5.9 per cent

to US\$460 billion and recorded its largest surplus since 2012. On the World Bank's *Ease of Doing Business* survey, Malaysia secured 12th place among 190 trading economies. This progressive figure was attributed to the supportive environment, significant link between business entities, practical business regulations and trade facilitation in doing business. Manufacturing has propelled export growth.

As a nation that advocates innovation, the country welcomes foreign investors and smart partnerships. Budget 2019 defined the country's commitment to ensuring a conducive business environment for domestic and foreign investors. Malaysia has the ingredients for extending incentives and tax mechanisms through the establishment of the i-Incentives Portal by the Malaysian Investment Development Authority (MIDA). The portal serves as a one-stop centre that features relevant information on incentives that are available in the country.

Trade relations between Malaysia and Canada in various sectors could intensify. In 2018, Malaysia's exports to Canada totalled \$880 million, while Canada's exports to Malaysia were worth \$810 million. Malaysia sent mainly electrical and electronic products, rubber products, wood products, palm oil-based manufactured products and iron and steel products. Canada sent chemicals and chemical products, agricultural products, electrical and electronic products, machinery, equipment and parts as well as vegetable oil. To intensify bilateral trade, Malaysia has taken initiatives to diversify the production of global products to meet Canada's demand as well as international standards and requirements.

Travel and tourism remain a highly important part of Malaysia's economy and 2020 is "Visit Malaysia Year." However, following the outbreak of coronavirus, the Malaysian government cancelled the 2020 initiative in adherence with social distancing, containment and isolation, so as to mitigate the spread of the pandemic to other people.

Nor'Aini Abd Hamid is the high commissioner of Malaysia to Canada. Reach her by e-mail at mwottawa@kln.gov.my or by calling (613) 241-5182.

Tanzania: A beckoning investment opportunity



Mpoki Mwasumbi Ulisubisya

East Africa's Tanzania is a mountainous and densely forested country, except in the central zones. Mount Kilimanjaro, Africa's highest mountain, is in northeastern Tanzania. Three of Africa's Great Lakes are partly within Tanzania — Lake Victoria, Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyasa — which is located on the East Indian Ocean shore, with about 1,200 kilometres of inviting beaches along the Zanzibar Archipelago, just offshore.

Tanzania is a fast-growing economy that for the past decade has seen an average growth rate oscillating near 7 per cent. Of its 44 million hectares of arable land, 33 per cent is under cultivation. Crops include maize, rice, sorghum, millet, wheat, beans, cassava, potatoes, bananas, coffee, sisal, cashew nuts, tea, cotton and tobacco. Recent data indicate that the services sector, which includes trade, contributes about 45 per cent of the GDP, while agriculture is responsible for 25 per cent and industries (manufacturing and non-manufacturing) account for 30 per cent.

Tanzania enjoys an abundance of natural wealth, which offers tremendous investment opportunities — it has a sizable domestic and sub-regional market; a wide raw-materials supply base, including land, forest and minerals; an abundant and inexpensive skilled workforce; assurance of personal safety and a suitable market-policy orientation. An excellent geographical location, arable land, world-renowned tourist attractions (Kilimanjaro, Tarangire, Lake Manyara, Serengeti, Ngorongoro, Ruaha, Mahale, Gombe Stream and the Spice islands of Zanzibar) and natural resources all make it a viable market for foreign investment.

Tanzania's history of political stability



Tanzania has a wide raw materials supply base, including land, forest and minerals. This gold mine is a joint venture between the Tanzanian government and Barrick Gold.

has encouraged foreign direct investment. The government attaches great importance to the role of trade in realizing national goals on poverty eradication through structural transformation of the economy, with the private sector taking a leading role as an engine for national economic growth, offering room for further growth with an external catalytic push.

Tanzania offers a well-balanced competitive package of fiscal and non-fiscal trade incentives in priority sectors such as manufacturing, agriculture, tourism, petroleum, gas and mining. For all these sectors, except petroleum and gas sectors, acquisition of all capital goods and parts are zero-rated for import-duty purposes.

Leading investment sectors include agriculture and agri-based industries, mining, petroleum and gas, tourism, infrastructure, finance, banking and insurance. Priority investment sectors include energy, manufacturing, chemical industries, natural resources (fishing and forestry), construction and real-estate development, management consultancy, human resource development (health, hospitality and educational facilities), media, ICT and export-oriented endeavours. Major import commodities have included agricultural implements and pesticides, industrial raw materials, machinery and transportation equipment, petroleum and petroleum products, construction materials and consumer goods (textiles, clothing), to cite a

few. Tanzania's principal export commodities include minerals (gold, gemstones, diamonds, coal), coffee, cotton, cashew nuts, tea, sisal, tobacco, pyrethrum and cloves.

Major reasons for investing in Tanzania include a high degree of investment security because of unparalleled political stability, prevailing democracy and the rule of law. Business-friendly macro-economic stability features low inflation (4.2 per cent), stable exchange rates supported by unrestricted and unconditional transferability of profits, loan repayments, emoluments and royalties. The country also has a reliable power supply and an extensive fibre-optic network and is rapidly emerging as an effective entry point and gateway for trade into East, Central and Southern Africa.

The government has simplified investment regulations in order to attract investors from around the world. Investment in Tanzania is overseen by the Tanzania Investments Centre (TIC), a one-stop government agency responsible for all investment matters. It has been responsible for streamlining bureaucracy when it comes to foreign investments.

In 2018, two-way merchandise trade between Canada and Tanzania totalled \$131.9 million. Canada sent \$113.3 million worth of exports to Tanzania and imported \$18.6 million worth of goods and services from Tanzania.

Canada's highest-valued imports from Tanzania in 2017 were coffee, seeds, fruits and spores for sowing, together accounting for 58.9 per cent of the total value of Canadian imports from Tanzania.

Tanzania is a growing market for Canadian businesses, and Canadian mining companies are among the largest foreign investors. Wheat and used textiles together account for 68.7 per cent of the total value of Canadian exports to Tanzania.

Business opportunities for Canadian companies active in Tanzania exist in power, renewable energy, the oil and gas sector and transportation. In addition, there are lucrative investment opportunities in infrastructure.

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Uruguay: Digital age trade partnerships



By *Martin Vidal*



These Uruguayan school children are the programmers of the future. Technology services are gaining ground in the trading relationship between Uruguay and Canada.

When we think about trade, we tend to think about the exchange of goods. We imagine containers, a port, warehouses and trucks. In the case of the trade relations between Canada and Uruguay, we could picture packages of frozen Uruguayan grass-fed beef coming to the port of Montreal and being transferred to trucks en route to Toronto. Or, considering the other direction, we could imagine agricultural machinery made in Canada on display in the outskirts of Montevideo, waiting for a farmer from the rural part of Paysandú to take it home.

This is the predominant picture about trade, one that is and will continue to be very important, and one that has been stable for decades. And with the boost that a comprehensive free trade agreement currently under negotiation between Canada and MERCOSUR could bring, that kind of trade should grow and diversify.

However, this snapshot of trade in goods and its future potential misses the important role of services in trade relations between Uruguay and Canada, especially in the technology sector.

Consider the robotics behind the teleoperation of heavy machinery located in remote mining sites, or an artificial intelligence that uses science to create personalized style experiences. From software that makes it possible to track a single head of cattle or can help grow cannabis plants, Uruguayan and Canadian entrepreneurs are working together in growing this bilateral services trade as well as collaborating in third-party countries.

This shows quite a different picture about trade, doesn't it? But it is becoming part of our new bilateral reality, in which services in general, but technology in

particular, are gaining ground. We have reason to believe that will continue as the foundations are very strong in both countries, at the private sector level and between governments, as our joint membership in the Digital Nations, a group of 10 leading digital governments, shows.

In Uruguay, where the share of the services sector has been growing steadily and now represents more than 60 per cent of the economy, the technology sector accounts for 2.7 per cent of the GDP. Leonardo Loureiro, president of the Uruguayan Chamber of Information Technology, has recently said that the technology sector has much more potential and could expand to represent 5 per cent of the economy in the next five years.

Based on its comparative and competitive advantages — such as the wide coverage and fast speed of its fibre-optic network — Uruguay's IT industries show an edge in the fintech and agriculture clusters. But the country also has developed expertise in other non-traditional sectors, such as audiovisuals.

With about 700 companies exporting to 52 countries, totalling \$1 billion, Uruguay is seen as an attractive bridgehead for companies to extend their business in Latin America, or a place to find partners for the provision of a specific service.

Uruguay is embracing the knowledge economy, which focuses on talent, offers growing employment opportunities (especially for youth) and is fairly green. For a sector in which the unemployment rate is virtually zero, educating and training are key, and this is an area in which the state

plays an important role. To that end, it is worth highlighting the Plan Ceibal, which, simply put, is the implementation of the One Laptop Per Child initiative for every child who enters the public education system across the country. Statistics also show that, every year, more women are working in the industry, which is encouraged by different initiatives that bridge the gender gap.

Today, the trading relationship between Canada and Uruguay remains goods-focused, but we expect that will continue to grow and services trade will also expand. In 2017, bilateral trade totalled \$174 million with Canadians sending \$95.8 million worth of fuels, gas, oil, electric and mechanical manufactured goods, fertilizers, pharmaceuticals, plastics and byproducts. Canada imported \$78.2 million worth of frozen boneless meat, fresh and dried citrus and fresh berries.

The Embassy of Uruguay in Ottawa and the consulates general in Toronto and Montreal are working hard to bring people and companies together. We expect a strong Uruguayan participation in Collision 2020 (happening online this year, due to coronavirus) and we hope many Canadians will attend the next edition of Punta Tech Meetup, one of the most important technology gatherings in Latin America, which will be held mid-January 2021 in Punta del Este, one of the most beautiful coastal tourist centres in the region.

Martin Vidal is Uruguay's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at urucanada@mrree.gub.uy or by phone at (613) 234-2727.

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Taiwan's participation: A matter of life and death



FIRST NAME: Winston

LAST NAME: Wen-yi Chen

CITIZENSHIP: Taiwanese

CAME TO CANADA AS TECO

REPRESENTATIVE: June 2018

PREVIOUS JOBS: Panama, Canada (twice before), Belgium and Marshall Islands

When crises strike, global co-operation becomes more important than ever. The most pressing issues of our time — climate change, fighting transnational crime and global conflict resolution — are all problems of international significance, and are therefore problems that require international co-operation.

Such is particularly the case with the 2019 novel coronavirus disease (COVID-19) that originated in the Chinese city of Wuhan. This virus has been declared a pandemic by the World Health Organization (WHO). Hundreds of thousands of people have been infected, and thousands have died as a result of the virus. Clearly, this is an issue in which all countries, particularly those with infected citizens and proximity to the region, should be working together to resolve.

However, due to political pressure from China, Taiwan is too often excluded from international organizations, agencies and meetings. This can have serious negative consequences; in the case of COVID-19, government authorities in Taiwan are not able to access important information and support from United Nations agencies such as the WHO and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO).

In the case of ICAO, the agency unnecessarily and incorrectly referred to Taiwan as a province of China when discussing the impacts of COVID-19 on international airlines. This comes fresh on the heels of ICAO's efforts to block individuals on Twitter who asked questions regarding the agency's approach to Taiwan in the context of this global health crisis. Clearly, for ICAO and the WHO, multilateralism only extends as far as China will allow it,

and global health takes a back seat to political considerations.

These agencies are adhering to Beijing's "One China" policy, and therefore are providing information and support only to Beijing and not to Taipei. Putting

aside the fact that this puts China's political interests before global efforts to combat COVID-19, China continues to ignore Taiwanese officials' requests to study the virus and refuses to be forthcoming with information. This should be unacceptable to anyone concerned about stopping the spread of this virus.

Clearly, this situation leads to scenarios in which Taiwan is unable to access the kinds of benefits from international co-operation that are necessary to mitigate this growing epidemic. In this case, the gaps that are created by China's politicization of international institutions could inadvertently lead to the spread of the coronavirus and, potentially, loss of life.

Already, Taiwan has had deaths from the virus, yet authorities in Beijing are

stubbornly delaying more than 900 Taiwanese citizens from returning home, further complicating Taiwan's ability to protect its citizens. And with ICAO and the WHO bowing to Beijing's wishes, Taiwanese authorities are operating without the supports that all other countries are able to enjoy.

Luckily though, Taiwan is not alone. Many Western countries have been advocating for the inclusion of Taiwan in all manner of international forums, recognizing that international co-operation on issues such as global health, transportation safety standards, climate change, fighting transnational crimes and more is required to accomplish international goals.

Most recently, both Canada's government and opposition parties have come out strongly in support of Taiwan's meaningful participation in international institutions. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau stated that Taiwan's role as an observer in the World Health Assembly (WHA) meetings is in the best interests of the international health community.

Along the same lines, there is a bipartisan push in the United States toward standing up for Taiwan's inclusion in the United Nations and other international organizations. Of particular note, the U.S. State Department spoke loudly and clearly in favour of Taiwan's participation, issuing a strong statement that also addressed

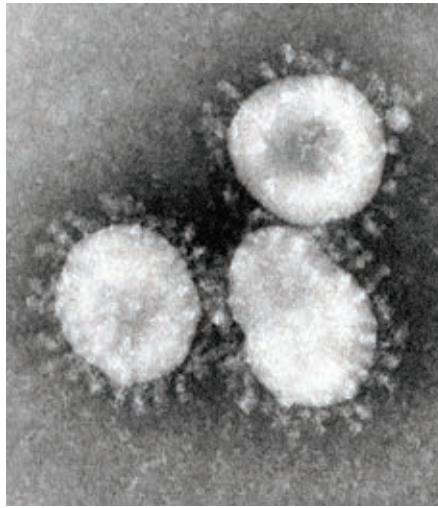


The coronavirus has been declared a pandemic by the World Health Organization and yet Taiwan is excluded from meetings, due to pressure on international organizations by China.

ICAO's blocking of users on social media who advocated on Taiwan's behalf. These sentiments were reinforced clearly by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, who spoke up in Japan's parliament in support of Taiwan's observer status at the WHO, along with a variety of governments and lawmakers in Europe.

These recent events are an important part of a growing trend in the international community toward supporting Taiwan's meaningful participation in all manner of international meetings, assemblies, organizations and agencies. Taiwan is a willing and able partner on the global stage, and we are grateful that our positive role is being recognized by like-minded partners around the world, including Canada.

Though the international community has increasingly agreed that Taiwan can help on the global stage, China remains fixated on blocking Taiwan for political reasons, even though no other nation is subjected to the same treatment. And while individual countries have stepped up, many international institutions themselves remain captured by China's agenda. There is a risk that this situation could become further entrenched and, in the event of COVID-19 reaching worse



Coronaviruses are a group that have a halo, or crown-like (corona) appearance.

levels or some other crisis threatening human life, international institutions will remain paralyzed by the political goals of the Chinese Communist Party.

What is needed is a comprehensive refocusing of international institutions' objectives. Rather than serving the narrow political interests of an aggressive member state, they should be solely committed to improving global co-operation and effec-

tiveness in their respective purviews. In the case of the WHO, this means including all relevant partners in information-sharing processes related to global health, including Taiwan. The same is true for ICAO; rather than attempting to silence those who point out its untenable policy toward Taiwan, the agency should instead focus on improving international co-operation on aviation, including co-operation with Taiwan.

Crucially, international multilateralism should be seen as an ideal, even if that might offend the delicate sensibilities of the Politburo in Beijing. We cannot continue to allow one state's narrow political interests to threaten global co-operation and crisis prevention.

Taiwan cannot break down these barriers imposed by China over the international organizations without the continued strong support of our partners. By continuing to advocate for the well-reasoned position that Taiwan ought to be included as a partner in the international community, countries such as Canada can make a real difference. We commend Canada for showing moral leadership on the world stage, and we hope that the global community will endeavour to follow Canada's lead. ▣

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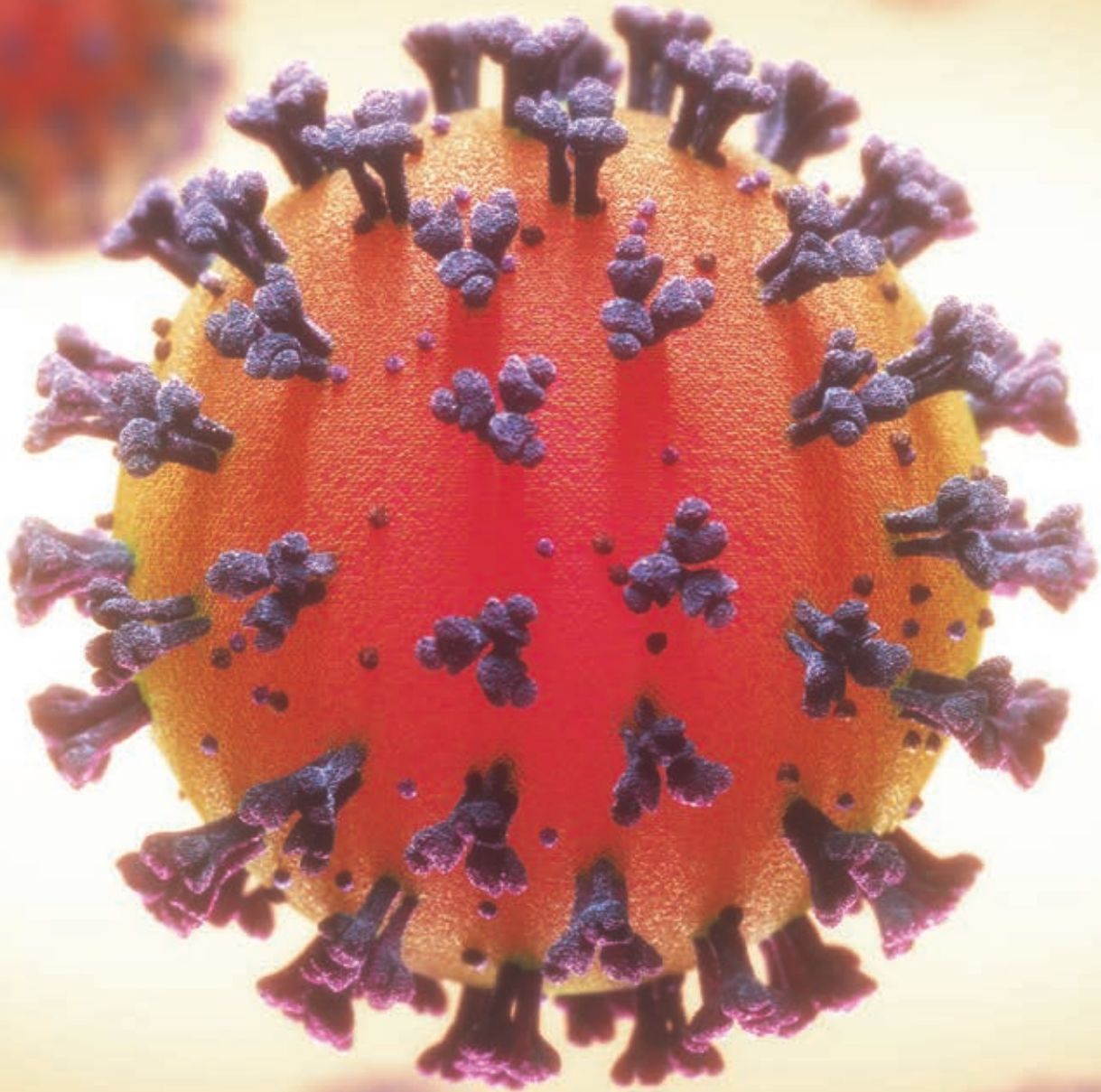
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A global pandemic's ancillary risks

By Stratfor Worldview

The virus that causes COVID-19 has spread like wildfire across the globe. The economic impact is already dramatic: Historic declines in stock markets and major impacts for industries, education and local health districts. Among the hardest hit are airlines and energy companies.

"The global coronavirus outbreak has been and will continue to be a massive shock for the airline industry due to the increasing number of travel restrictions and economic setbacks in key markets," writes Stratfor Worldview. "As the epicentre of the outbreak, China's airline sector has so far been hit hardest, likely spurring greater consolidation of the country's state-backed airline carriers as they absorb beleaguered private players. In Europe, the outbreak will accelerate the ongoing process of consolidating the airline sector as well, as some companies merge while other weaker players disappear."

Meantime, the energy industry, especially oil and gas, is reeling from the decision by Saudi Arabia to offer aggressive discounting on its oil exports and sharply increasing output in April in the wake of its failure to agree with Russia on a path forward for OPEC+ production restraint. Russia argued that with so many unknowns around the COVID-19 impacts on demand, it didn't make sense to cut production.

But the price dive will hurt U.S. shale producers, notes Stratfor Worldview.

"U.S. shale production would have felt a major impact before the end of 2020 just from the lack of further production restraint, but would have bottomed out at a higher price, perhaps \$40 per barrel. The difference between \$35 and \$45 as an average crude oil price is huge in terms of fiscal impact on producers, but is not nearly

as significant in terms of the volume loss that will be seen later this year from U.S. producers."

Greg Priddy, Stratfor's director, global energy and Middle East, adds: "Russian Deputy Energy Minister [Pavel] Sorokin's comments make sense, a very coherent view of the market share argument and short-term pain for long-term gain."

Businesses and services across the board are making tough decisions to help lessen the risk of an uncontrollable coronavirus spread. So are schools — from colleges and universities to K-12 and even pre-schools. As more schools close, the economic impact is likely to be significant, and not just for parents paying tens of thousands of dollars in college tuition and board for a truncated spring semester and mandatory long-distance learning. Consider small businesses such as day care centres — which can operate on thin margins and whose staff are often hourly workers. There are school lunch caterers that have no students to serve. City bus services, which serve many urban students, will see fewer passengers. The impacts will resonate across the economy.

Some primary and secondary schools are asking students to log on to learn. But as Stratfor's Ryan Bohl writes, "[E]ven in places with the technology, particularly in bigger school districts, a quick rollout and implementation of e-learning tech will come with considerable training hurdles for both staff and students."

Schools are already advising parents — many of whom are also being asked to work from home — to monitor and manage student learning. Distance learning comes with its own risks.

"[T]his will only increase the burden on working-class families by forcing them to stay home and become informal teachers while still maintaining shift hours or mul-

tiiple jobs," Bohl writes. "This will, in turn, siphon their time and energy from them, affecting their work productivity and reducing their incentive to spend."

Moreover, schooling from home and working from home — while lessening the likelihood of an out-of-control virus — can carry other significant risks. Students working from home will typically log in to their school accounts to access homework and turn in assignments. (In the Austin, Texas, school district, it's Google Classroom). Students should connect, obtain their assignments and disconnect. Students should refrain from browsing internet sites while logged in to their school student accounts. Complete the assignment, and log back into the school account using a new browser window to submit assignments.

One of the biggest risks that arises when working at home during an unprecedented global predicament is stolen data. As Stratfor's vice-president of tactical analysis, Scott Stewart, points out, "If possible, avoid using public Wi-Fi to conduct any business — personal or professional. And when working from home, you can lessen the risk of having data stolen by using VPNs and cellular data. We recommend that employees be educated about the wide array of phishing schemes seeking to capitalize on COVID-19," Stewart writes. "Employees should also be advised about business email compromise, sometimes referred to as 'CEO scams' or 'president scams,' a growing risk as more business is conducted remotely and over email."

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Cities must act now

By Robert Muggah and Rebecca Katz

When it comes to infectious disease outbreaks, cities are dual-edged. To be sure, cities are a big part of the problem. They intensify the spread and transmission of infectious disease through increased human contact. Today, roughly four billion people live in cities, more than half of the world's population. According to some analysts, approximately 600 cities generate two thirds of global GDP. Precisely because they are hubs for transnational commerce and mobility, densely populated and hyper-connected cities can amplify pandemic risk.

It is not just "global cities" that are at risk of SARS, H1N1 or COVID-19, but also secondary cities and other urban hubs as well. Scholars have found that pandemics often emerge from the edge of cities. Viral outbreaks are frequently incubated and transmitted via peri-urban communities and transportation corridors at the outskirts of cities before they spread into the downtown core. It is not just cities, but also their local and global supply chains, travel networks, airports and specific neighbourhoods that are sources of contagion.

Cities are part of the solution

Cities also play a central role in preparing for, mitigating and adapting to pandemics. In fact, many of the norms and rules for cities to manage infectious disease were first discussed at a global sanitary conference in 1851. Today, the preparedness of cities varies around the world. Their level of development and the socio-economic determinants of their populations play a big role. Cities with a high concentration of urban poor and deep inequalities are potentially more vulnerable than those that are better resourced, less crowded and more inclusive. This is something the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Wellcome Trust and Skoll Foundation have all recognized and are working to address.

Cities that are open, transparent, collaborative and adopt comprehensive responses are better equipped to manage pandemics than those that are not. While still too early to declare a success, the early response of Taiwan and Singapore to



The City of Ottawa opened a COVID-19 testing site at Brewer Park. On this day, when there were still just 16 cases in Ottawa, the lineup was short.

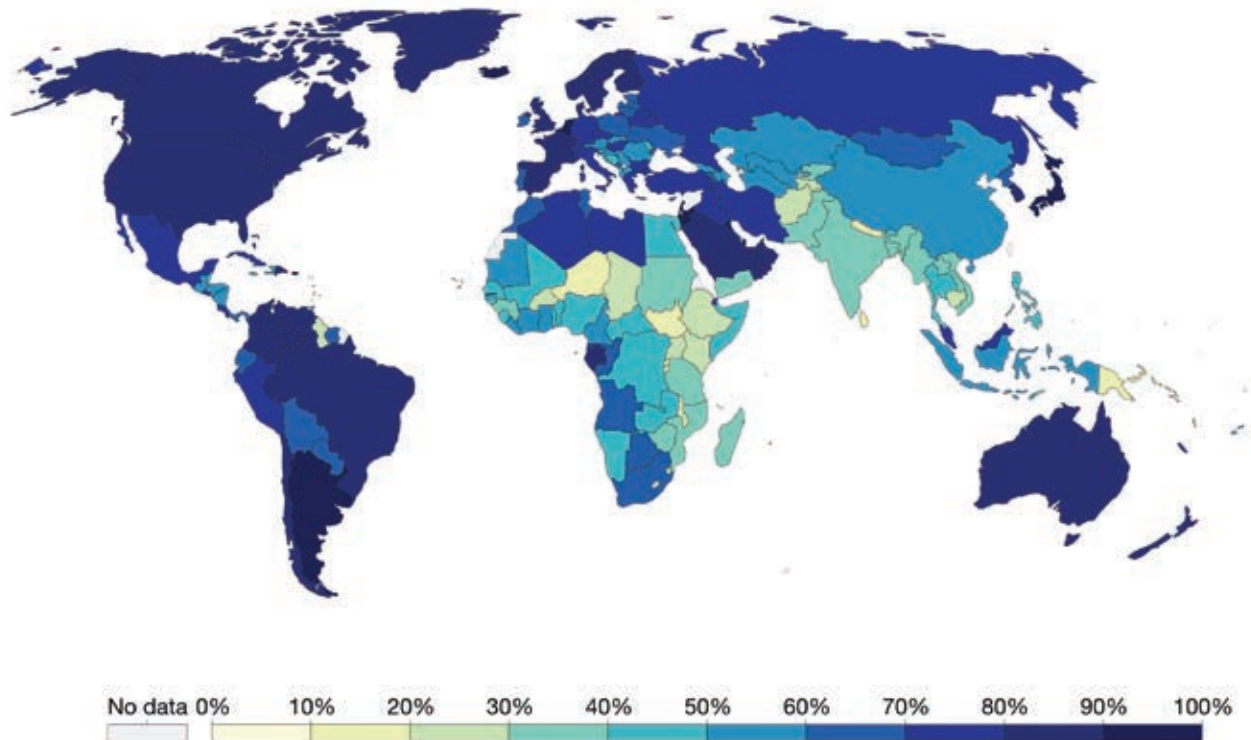
the COVID-19 outbreak stand out. Both Taipei and Singapore applied the lessons from past pandemics and had the investigative capacities, health systems and, importantly, the right kind of leadership in place to rapidly take decisive action. They were able to flatten the pandemic curve through early detection, thus keeping their health systems from becoming rapidly overwhelmed.

Not surprisingly, cities that have robust governance and health infrastructure in place are in a better position to manage pandemics and lower fatality rates (CFR) and excess mortality than those that do not. Adopting a combination of pro-active surveillance, routine communication, rapid isolation and personal and community protection (such as social distancing) measures is critical. Many of these very same measures were adopted by the Chinese city of Hangzhou within days of the discovery of the virus. Like-

wise, the number, quality, accessibility and surge capacity of hospitals, internal care units, hospital beds and IV solution and respirators can determine whether a city effectively manages a pandemic, or not. City networks such as the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the National League of Cities understand intuitively.

Ultimately, the hardware of pandemic prevention — functioning surveillance systems, health-care providers and health infrastructure — is necessary, but insufficient to ensure effective pandemic response. What is also needed is software such as established and tested protocols, proper provider education and close collaboration between qualified doctors, nurses and others from the state to the local levels. To be sure, a lack of governance, poor planning and decentralized health care systems can undermine pandemic response by generating confusion, fear and higher costs.

Share of people living in urban areas, 2017



Source: UN World Urbanization Prospects (2018)

OurWorldInData.org/urbanization • CC BY

Note: Urban populations are defined based on the definition of urban areas by national statistical offices.

Assessing city preparedness

National, state and city governments could benefit from a pandemic preparedness index to better plan for, and respond to, epidemic outbreaks. Such an index could draw inspiration from, for example, *The Global Health Security Index* produced by the Nuclear Threat Initiative, the Johns Hopkins Center for Health Security and the Economist Intelligence Unit. An up-to-date dashboard tracking city capacities to manage pandemics could help build safer urban centres and minimize the threat of global and community spread. Identifying gaps in city planning and the underlying socio-economic determinants of population health could also help stimulate more effective resource flows to vulnerable areas.

The ReadyScore is a measurement of a country's ability to find, stop and prevent health threats. Green indicates a country is better prepared, yellow means there is work to do, red indicates they are not ready. Light grey means "pending" and charcoal grey means "unknown."

Image: Prevent Epidemics

The extent of a city's preparedness de-

pends on its capacity to prevent, detect, respond and care for patients. This means having action plans, staff and budgets in place for rapid response. It also requires having access to laboratories to test for infectious disease and real-time monitoring and reporting of infectious clusters as they occur. The ability to communicate and implement emergency response plans is also essential, as is the availability, quality and accessibility of hospitals, clinics, care facilities and essential equipment.

To this end, the Center for Global Health Science and Security at Georgetown University has created an evaluation tool — the Rapid Urban Health Security Assessment (RUHSA) — as a resource for assessing local-level public health preparedness and response capacities. The RUHSA draws from multiple guidance and evaluation tools. It was designed precisely to support city decision-makers to prioritize, strengthen and deploy strategies that promote urban health security. These kinds of platforms need to be scaled — and quickly.

There is widespread recognition that a preparedness index would be useful. In November 2019, the Global Parliament

of Mayors issued a call for such a platform. It called for funding from national governments to develop crucial public health capacities and to develop networks to disseminate trusted information. The mayors also committed to achieving at least 80-per-cent vaccination coverage, reducing the spread of misinformation, improving health literacy and sharing information on how to prevent and reduce the spread of infectious disease, a measure that Bloomberg [Philanthropies] backed this month.

At a time when global leadership is lacking, cities, their networks and philanthropic organizations are stepping up. We urgently need to see national governments doing the same.

This article first appeared on the World Economic Forum's website. Robert Muggah is a principal with SecDev Group and Rebecca Katz is co-director for the Center for Global Health Science and Security at Georgetown University. The authors credit Michele Acuto, Matthew Boyce, John de Boer, Brodie Ferguson, Colleen Thouz and Rafal Rohozinski for their inputs.



WaterAid says that if a single bucket were to hold all the water in the world, only a teacup if it would be potable and of that, only a teaspoon would be accessible. These residents of Old Dhaka, Bangladesh, are being given water by the military.

Scarce resources

Wolfgang Depner investigates the world's Top-10 scarcest resources and why they matter to humanity.

Concerns about the causes and consequences of scarce natural resources have a long and rich history that stretches through classical Greek thought, with Plato and Aristotle; medieval Christian theology, with St. Thomas of Aquinas; all the way to the European Enlightenment, with Adam Smith. The debate has since broadly ranged between two large opposing intellectual camps: the first being those who subscribe to the theories of British economist Thomas Malthus, whose warnings about excessive population growth are not to be ignored, but also contributed to the European colonialism and racism of the 19th Century and the genocidal horrors of the 20th Century. The other camp is made up of utopians, starting with Karl Marx, who have questioned the very concept of natural scarcity in advocating for alternative economic and political arrangements, often premised on transformative technologies that eradicate previous periods of human dearth and deprivations.

The concept at the very heart of all scarcity theories — even the utopian ones, albeit by negation — is that of scarcity, itself a contested concept.

The relevant literature identifies three categories of scarcity: absolute scarcity, relative scarcity and political scarcity. Absolute scarcity broadly refers to the idea that all goods, including natural ones, are finite, a point running through landmark documents such as the 1972 Club of Rome's *The Limits of Growth* and its subsequent successors, warning of immediate global collapse because of resource shortages unless humanity changes direction.

Relative scarcity acknowledges natural limits, but argues that society can respond to various shortages through price signals, with institutional and technological changes. For example, goods may be scarce and expensive until substitutes or new technologies render them “plentiful” and “cheap” — and therefore less valuable.

Political scarcity, meanwhile, sees scarcity shaped by political choices that reflect the prevailing outcomes of power struggles between different groups over time. This perspective allows us to see natural scarcities as artificial, even manufactured, to fit prevailing patterns of production and consumption.

This list of the world's 10 scarcest natural resources does not aim to resolve these theoretical disputes. But it nonetheless presents them, ideally, as useful tools of understanding.

The list itself shares some undeniable sympathy with the popular literature, including such works as those by Jared Diamond, Elizabeth Kolbert and David Wallace-Wells, that warn of absolute scarcities concerning water, soil and other living organisms fundamental for human flourishing. At the same time, it also acknowledges scarcities that are of a relative and political nature.

Consider medical isotopes. The Western world and a growing part of the non-Western world consider them scarce because governments, as well as corporations, have made sizable investments into a health infrastructure not easily abandoned. The people of Central Africa would likely not consider them to be scarce in the absence of more pressing, immediate medical needs.

Central Africans, however, feel the scarcity of rare earths, a scarcity born out of commercial interests to manufacture electric vehicles for rich Western customers concerned about climate change. Workers in Congolese cobalt mines might

well ask themselves why they have to suffer horrific working conditions for the manufacture of expensive vehicles, which, while laudable, even necessary, perpetuate existing patterns of urban congestion and sprawl, all for the supposed benefits of personal mobility, with all the ancillary costs of a Western lifestyle.

In short, scarcities have a moral dimension that escapes easy resolution, a point that will become more acute as humanity deals with the effects of climate change, a development that will only worsen many of the scarcities listed here.

1. Fresh water

To appreciate the scarcity of fresh water, consider the following analogy, as it appears in the report *Beneath the Surface: The State of the World's Water 2019* prepared by WaterAid, a non-profit organization.

If a single bucket were to hold all of the water in the world, one teacup would be potable, and of that amount, just one teaspoon would be accessible. This

horizon.

But access to water for drinking, cooking, washing and other daily needs has become increasingly unequal for two broad reasons.

First, geography has flushed some regions with fresh water, while parching others. Asia and the Middle East, home to 60 per cent of the global population, receive little more than one-third of the world's rain or snow. South America, home to 6 per cent of the global population, receives a quarter.

Second, political incompetence has compounded climatic inequities. As David Wallace-Wells writes in *The Uninhabitable Earth*, “governmental neglect and indifference, bad infrastructure and contamination, careless urbanization and development” have made an abundant resource scarce, as was the case during the water crisis that gripped South Africa's Cape Town in 2018.

Drastic conservation measures might have helped that metropolis of four million people avoid Day Zero — the day



Access to water for drinking, cooking, washing and other daily needs has become increasingly unequal. These children, in South Sudan, must transport it for their families.

amount — 0.007 per cent of the planet's water, as calculated by *National Geographic* — should satisfy the basic daily needs of the more than 7.7 billion who currently share the planet, with billions more on the

when all dams would run dry. But as Betsy Otto of the Washington, D.C.-based World Resources Institute (WRI) told *The New York Times* in 2019, many more Cape Towns loom in humanity's future as grow-

ing cities compete against farmers for access to water.

WRI predicts that 45 cities with a combined population of almost 470 million people will experience what it calls high water stress in 2030 — up from 33 cities with a combined population of more than 255 million as of today.

Overall, more than a billion already live in water-scarce regions, a figure that could reach up to 3.5 billion people by 2025, WRI predicts.

Reasons include growing demand in the face of population growth — according to the United Nations, global water use has exceeded population growth by more than a factor of two — and climate change, an unfolding calamity that ignores both political and temporal boundaries.

Water scarcity has a distinct geography for now, as 12 of the 17 most water-stressed countries in the world lie in the already hot and dry Middle East and North Africa.

Other major regions already affected include the Indian subcontinent, with both India and Pakistan dealing with historic water shortages now.

But available projections make it clear that regions with more moderate climates won't be spared. Several large cities, such as London and Tokyo, in the "developed" northern hemisphere, have already been preparing themselves for a drier future, if they have not already experienced shortages, as Los Angeles did.

As Wallace-Wells writes, the water crisis, like the climate crisis, remains "soluble, at present." But the margin of error is thin and he predicts that climate change will cut into it. As WRI notes, climate change will make dry regions drier, and wet regions wetter, thereby creating a level of uncertainty that will only exacerbate the planning and engineering challenges that lie ahead. The stakes could not be higher. The absence of fresh water has caused and contributed to a growing number of armed conflicts around the world, including current conflicts in Yemen and Syria. As such, this deadly dynamic confirms a basic biological fact: Water, a finite resource by any measure, equals life.

2. Soil

"The nation that destroys its soil destroys itself." U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt issued this warning in a 1937 letter to state governors in which he urged them to create additional conservation measures.

Human mismanagement and drought had turned the food-growing interior

plains of North America into dust bowls and Roosevelt sought to spur local authorities into additional steps to save and restore local soils. His appeal remains relevant today, but has since acquired a global dimension. Land, in the broadest sense, serves, in the words of the Intergovernmental Panel of Climate Change, as

Scientists at the centre estimated in 2015 that erosion or pollution have combined to destroy a third of the world's arable land during the last 40 years, a dangerous development that requires major changes to agricultural practices lest a tipping point is passed.

This obligation confronts various condi-



Arable land is another surprisingly scarce global resource. These Haitians are building rock walls and planting vegetation as a way of saving arable land and avoiding flooding in lower areas.

the "principal basis for human livelihoods and well-being including the supply of food, freshwater and multiple other ecosystem services, as well as biodiversity."

Yet current human uses, which directly affect more than 70 per cent of the global surface free of ice, have done great, perhaps even irreversible damage to this foundation, with agriculture, the founding technique of human civilization itself as one of, if not the biggest, culprits. (About 37 per cent of the world's land mass is used for agriculture, with 25 per cent of the global total used for pastures and about 12 per cent used for crops. Overall, only 3 per cent of the global total classifies as prime arable land. Agriculture accounts for about 25 per cent of all global emissions of greenhouse gases, if not more.)

According to England's University of Sheffield Grantham Centre for Sustainable Future, the planet has been experiencing a "catastrophic" loss of arable land.

The first is biological. Soil formation takes time, and only at the proverbial pace of the tortoise. According to the Grantham Centre, it takes 500 years to form 2.5 centimetres of top soil under normal agricultural conditions. But current human use of soil destroys it at the pace of the hare, as soil erodes off plowed fields 10 to 100 times faster than it forms, depending on the agricultural practice.

The second intersects demography, economics and culture. The World Resources Institute predicts demand for food will have grown by more than 50 per cent by the time the global population hits close to 10 billion by 2050 by its calculations, with much of the growth happening in the developing countries of Asia and Africa.

If farmers were to feed these new populations in the traditional manner of clearing away more forests and other ecosystems for cropland and pasture, they would have to clear an area nearly twice

the size of India.

This demographic development will coincide with economic development that will bring 3 billion into the middle class. And as more people in the developing world escape poverty, their diets will start to include more protein from livestock, matching Western diets. But growing demand for meat will only increase the demand for land, either as pasture, or to grow feed crops. Yet, the production of meat requires far more carbon-based energy, water and land than the production of plant-based food, with beef being the worst culprit. (By way of background, livestock farming causes close to 18 per cent of all greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs), and uses up 70 per cent of all arable land and 46 per cent of all crop production for feed).

The third condition concerns climate change. Land is both a natural sink and source of greenhouse gases (GHGs) and any number of projects aim to make it more of a sink.

Yes, climate change holds the theoretical promise of making more land arable thanks to warmer temperatures, with additional carbon in the air serving as an airborne fertilizer. But scientists have already pointed out that the temperature of grain-growing regions appears optimal and any increase will make them less productive.

As David Wallace-Wells writes, the most fertile land is already under production, and warmer temperatures make no difference in the absence of fertile soil — soil which, in any case, is disappearing at an annual rate of 75 billion tonnes, with the rate of erosion outpacing natural replenishment by many factors.

3. Metallic minerals (non-rare earth)

It is a chilling projection that appeared in a 2016 edition of *Natural Resources Research*, a leading academic journal that publishes quantitative studies of natural resources exploration, evaluation and exploitation.

Humans will have exhausted known reserves of most metals well before the year 2100, in some cases as soon as the late 2020s, assuming past trends of use, extrapolated into the future. The article also argues that it will take about 5 to 10 times the metal tonnage known to exist in proven ore reserves to satisfy demand during the rest of this century.

The article comes with the caveat that these predictions rely on known existing reserves. Large, unknown reserves may well exist, but they are by definition un-

known, and the article is not optimistic.

“It is unlikely that undiscovered mineral deposits of sizes comparable to those that contain most of the known metal endowment exist in sufficient quantities to supply the expected worldwide demand throughout the rest of this century,” it



Copper is integral to countless devices and one of several non-rare earth minerals in low supply.

reads.

The authors say several factors account for this pending scarcity: population growth generally, technological and industrial advances in the developing world, specifically, and a general increase in affluence. Politics also shapes the scarcity of certain metals, a point explored in additional detail below, when turning to rare-earth metals.

Consider copper, a metal with multiple uses and integral to countless devices, thanks to its conductivity, for which no better alternative exists.

Relatively low prices — owing to recent trade disputes between the China and the United States — have obscured global supply issues, and experts continue to warn of deteriorating ore quality as access dwindles.

This reality will not just mean rising prices for basic consumer goods, but it will also threaten the ability to fight climate change, as key technologies such as solar panels and electric cars require such

scarce metals as copper, lithium, uranium, gold and rare earth minerals.

Electric cars, for example, use twice as much copper as vehicles with internal combustion engines, and Tesla officials have already warned of shortages as production increases.

Nickel, cobalt and lithium will also be in demand to the point of creating supply shortages. Extractive industries are responding to these looming shortages, but the long-term economics of evaluating, exploring and exploiting remaining deposits may become prohibitive to the point that industry will stop mining for them. But, then, that might not be an option in light of ecological necessities and in the absence of substitutes.

Not surprisingly, recent years have seen a shift in practice. Metal scraping (recycling, or scavenging, depending on your perspective) has become a global, multi-billion-dollar industry and experts have called for improved governance models that ensure global access to key metals in an ecologically sustainable and socially acceptable manner, something largely absent from today's mining practices.

Perhaps the most representative example is the mining of cobalt in Congo, where children dig for the metal with their bare hands in large, unsafe open-air pits that have scarred the landscape.

4. Metallic minerals [rare earths — cerium (Ce), neodymium (Nd), promethium (Pm)]

This trio of metals belongs to the 15 lanthanide elements that appear together in the periodic table of elements. They, along with the metals of yttrium (Y) and scandium (Sc), appear in the large category of rare-earth minerals. Not only do they share similar properties, because they often occur together, generally as oxides, their properties have also been made increasingly valuable for day-to-day consumer goods from cellphones to self-cleaning ovens; transportation (current full electric and hybrid vehicles using rechargeable batteries require up to 4.5 kilograms of various rare earths including cerium and neodymium); and modern defence technology.

The term “rare earths” actually misleads. Cerium, for example, is the 25th most common element of the 78 common elements in the Earth's crust. Thulium and lutetium might be the two least abundant rare earth elements, but each of them is almost 200 times more abundant in the Earth's crust than gold.

But these elements are nonetheless difficult to mine because they rarely appear in sufficiently high concentrations and require extensive and expensive processes to separate them from the surrounding material.

What adds to the scarcity of these critical metals is their geographic distribution. China, according to various estimates, produces up to 95 per cent of the global rare earth supplies, while holding about two-fifths of world reserves, according to *The Economist*.

It did not take long for Chinese leaders

it seeks to dominate, including electric vehicles, computing and telecommunication as part of the country's Made in China 2025 agenda.

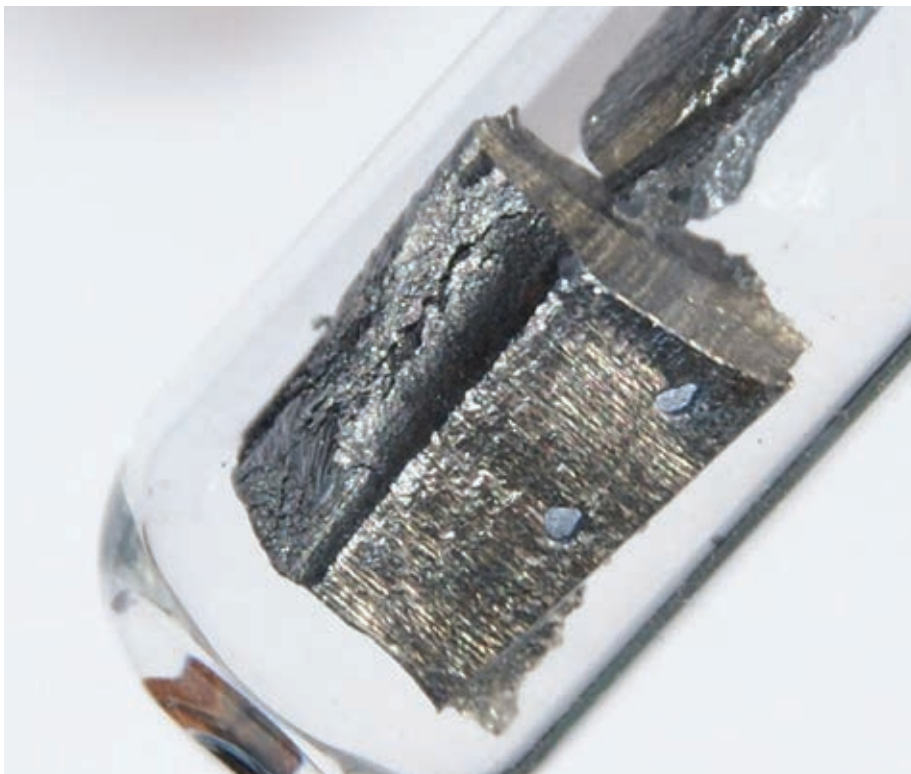
The relative scarcity of rare earths outside of China also has security implications as that country's largest Western rival — the United States — procures its rare earths from China. Yes, the U.S. Pentagon is a rare earth client of China's, which accounts for about 80 per cent of U.S. imports because it controls almost all of the processing facilities, according to U.S. Geological Survey data.

financial resources made available through the U.S. government, an agenda that has the support of the Canadian government.

5. Phosphorus

As we heard earlier, demand for food will increase in the future, owing to global population growth. As such, humanity must balance the preservation of arable land against the backdrop of climate change. Yet the growing shortage of phosphorus could leave current and future generations hungry. All life on Earth depends on phosphorus, for which no substitute exists. (By way of background, the mineral is responsible for the creation of DNA, cell membranes and for the formation of human teeth and bone. It is also vital for production because it is one of three nutrients (along with nitrogen and potassium) in commercial fertilizer.

But as Martin Blackwell, a soil scientist with Rothamsted Research told *The Guardian*, many countries, including the U.S.,



Electric vehicles require up to 4.5 kilograms of various rare earths, including cerium and neodymium, the latter of which is shown here.

to recognize the strategic importance of rare earths. What oil is to the Middle East, rare earths are to China, former Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping is said to have proclaimed in 1992. By that time, China had been well on its way towards cornering the market, thanks to aggressive pricing and laxer environmental standards. This combination forced U.S. mines to close over time — the last one in 2016. With the market cornered, China did what any rational monopoly would do: It raised prices. While this dynamic has spurred exploration elsewhere in the world, China remains the dominant supplier, a position it guards jealously.

This dominance grants China leverage over foreign competitors in key industries

While the actual physical amount of rare earths required by the U.S. military is relatively small when compared to business, commentators pressed the alarm button when Chinese officials warned that they could cut off supplies as a response to American trade sanctions.

Not everybody sees China holding all the advantages, but the frantic efforts of U.S. officials to secure new sources at home and in more friendly countries, following Chinese warnings, lend weight to voices who see the United States in the position of supplicant. But the vulnerabilities of the United States also represent an opportunity for Canadian companies. A non-factor until recently, Canada's rare-earth mining industry is looking to tap into fi-



Phosphorus is vital to commercial fertilizer, being used on a field here, in Chiang Mai, Thailand.

China and India, are set to run out of their domestic supplies in the next generation at current usage rates.

The issue appears especially crucial for the European Union, which possesses only negligible reserves, with one mine operating in Finland. Yet farming remains an important part of the EU's economy and, more broadly, its politics.

The use of the mineral for fertilization

started in the 19th Century and has grown significantly through the 20th Century into the 21st Century thanks to industrial-scale mining. During the last half century, use has quadrupled and scientists have shown that humanity could produce only half the food that it does today without the use of phosphate-based fertilizers.

Yet rising demand invariably confronts rapidly shrinking reserves. By 2019, the remaining supplies had fallen from 300 years to 259 within three years, according to *The Guardian*.

“If the estimated remaining number of years’ supply of rock phosphate continue to decline at this rate, it could be argued that all supplies will be exhausted by 2040,” reads a 2019 paper authored by Blackwell and others in the journal *Frontiers of Agricultural Science and Engineering*.

Ironically, scientists have long warned about the harmful ecological effects of too much phosphorus in the environment. Because plants can only absorb small amounts, modern-day fertilizers end up in unwanted places, an unfortunate reality of current agricultural practices.

Too much of it in water can decrease the amount of dissolved oxygen (eutrophication), thereby spurring harmful algae blooms that swamp valuable, fish-producing habitat, leaving behind nothing but dead zones. These blooms can also produce toxins deadly for humans. The growing scarcity of phosphorus is a product of agricultural practices that could become more sustainable.

Humans currently use phosphorus in a largely linear fashion. They mine it, turn it into fertilizer to help grow crops, then transport those crops to urban populations for consumption, with the resulting waste then carried away. In the past, human use of phosphorus was “circular” as humans and livestock ate crops in place, with their feces then used as natural fertilizers to grow crops again.

This current linear path from “mine to fork” offers many opportunities for phosphorus to get lost along the way, creating deficiencies and surpluses in all the wrong places, with plenty of research left to be done.

This said, scientists already have a number of ways to make phosphorus use more sustainable. They include reducing food wastage (about one third of all food grown globally ends up in the trash, a waste of precious resources and a moral outrage with more than 820 million people chronically undernourished in 2018, according to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization), improved

recycling of phosphorus out of human wastewater and optimization of use.

6. Sand

Projections show that 68 per cent of the global population will live in urban centres by 2050, according to the United Nations, up from 55 per cent in 2018. North America remains the most urbanized region in the world with 82 per cent of its population living in cities as of 2018, but other regions, especially those that are part of the developing world, are catching up.

While 50 per cent of Asia’s population was still living in rural areas as of 2018, the balance has been rapidly tipping towards the urban side of the ledger at historic rates not seen in the developed world.

The following statistics are notable: The share of the urban population in East Asia (China, Japan, the Koreas and Hong Kong among others) has more than tripled in 65



Rapid urbanization is a primary factor behind the scarcity of sand.

years, rising from 18 to 60 between 1950 and 2015. Similar changes in the developed regions of the world between 1875 and 1955 took about 80 years.

Urbanization rates in other parts of the developing world — if that term is still applicable, as urbanization is a consequence of development — are also outpacing the developed world.

According to the journal *Science*, this rapid urbanization will be the primary factor behind the scarcity of sand, because it is a “key ingredient” of concrete, asphalt, glass and electronics, or, in other words, development, or more prosaically, modern civilization itself.

Consider the following statistics: With up to 50 billion metric tonnes mined each year, sand (along with gravel) is the most extracted solid material globally, but extraction rates are far exceeding renewal rates, according to the International Resource Panel, which advises the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). According to Pascal Pedduzi, a UNEP director highly familiar with the subject, China has used as much sand and gravel during the past three or four years as the United States did in more than 100 years. According to UNEP estimates, China uses anywhere between 55 and 58 per cent of global sand and gravel production, with demand rising.

Simply put, without sand, there would be no growing cities, and in some cases, less of a state. When Singapore gained independence in 1965, it was one third the size of London at 581 square kilometres. Today, it has increased its land area by a quarter by reclaiming coastal areas with the help — you guessed it — of large-scale imports of sand from elsewhere, including Indonesia (which banned sales in 2007) and most important, Malaysia, that is until that country imposed a ban on the sale of sea sand following the election of Mohamad Mahathir in 2018. (By way of background, Malaysia had supplied 97 per cent of Singapore’s sand imports by volume, and 95 per cent in terms of sales).

Malaysia’s reasoning? Mahathir apparently resented the fact that Singapore was building its wealth on Malaysian sand, whose trade had also become a source of corruption among government officials. In fact, sand has already attracted the attention of well-organized, globally connected criminal syndicates, who strip sand off beaches, river beds and floodplains, often showing no regard for the lives of those who stand in their way.

This criminality, coupled with legal mining, has already had devastating consequences for local ecologies and the humans who depend on them for their water, food and safety from erosion.

“With an estimated 40 to 50 billion metric tonnes per year, extraction of such large volume has a major impact on rivers, deltas and coastal and marine ecosystems,” writes the International Resource Panel in a 2019 report. “It results in loss of land

through river or coastal erosion, lowering of the water table and decreases in the amount of sediment supply.” While calling for improved governance, the report strikes a resigned tone.

“Despite the colossal quantities of sand and gravel being used, our increasing dependence on them and the significant environmental impact of their extraction, the issue has been mostly ignored by policymakers and remains largely unknown by the general public,” it reads.

In other words, humans are literally burying their heads in the sand.

7. Fish

It was a study that made global headlines when it first appeared in 2006. Writing in *Science*, an international team of ecologists and economists predicted that all species of wild seafood will collapse within 50 years under current trends.

“Unless we fundamentally change the way we manage all the ocean species together, as working ecosystems, then this century is the last century of wild seafood,” said Stephen Palumbi, co-author and professor of biological science at Stanford University’s Hopkins Marine Station in California.

Where do things stand now? *The 2018 State of World Fisheries and Aquaculture Report* from the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) shows that the share of marine fish stock within what the report calls “biologically sustainable levels” has been dropping from 90 per cent in 1974 to 66.9 per cent in 2015. By contrast, the share of stocks fished at biologically unsustainable levels rose from 10 per cent in 1974 to 33.1 per cent in 2015, with the largest increase in the late 1970s and 1980s.

Another 60 per cent of fish stocks are fished at maximum sustainable levels, with 7 per cent fished at less than their full potential. Over-fished stocks include, among others, various tuna species, with 43 per cent of species destined for the market fished at biologically unsustainable levels in 2015, research broadly confirmed elsewhere. The over-fishing of tuna in turn impacts other species, such as sharks. Other over-fished stocks, according to the FAO, include Atlantic cod and Chilean jack mackerel.

Tracking 25 major species and genera overall, the report finds a “continuous increase in the percentage of fish stocks fished at biologically unsustainable levels” and raises questions about the ability of fish stocks to recover.

“The persistence of overfished stocks

is an area of great concern,” it notes. While the report acknowledges some improvements, “it seems unlikely that the world’s fisheries can rebuild the 33.1 per cent of stocks that are currently overfished in the very near future, because it requires time, usually two to three times the species’ lifespan.”

Official assessments co-exist with even bleaker accounts. According to FAO, the world produced 171 million tonnes of fish in 2016 (with 88 per cent consumed by humans), with wild fisheries producing a little more than 91 million tonnes (with 78

fast-growing Asia.

This development is troubling insofar as the World Resources Institute’s policy menu for a sustainable food future includes more fish, against the challenge of closing the global food gap, shrinking land supplies and need to cut global greenhouse emissions in the face of climate change.

If “weak governance is one of the main causes of the present poor condition of fisheries,” according to *Marine Policy*, climate change and the failure to fight it will only worsen the conditions of the



Yellowfin tuna, shown here in the Philippines, is one of the world’s many overfished species.

per cent consumed by humans).

When compared to past records over time, these global catch numbers have “at best stagnated” since the 1990s after increasing almost five-fold since the 1950s, according to the World Resources Institute. Yet research published in 2016 in *Nature* suggests that global catch numbers have already peaked and have been declining much more strongly since.

These assessments offer little comfort for billions of people. According to a 2016 journal article in *Marine Policy*, more than 3 billion people worldwide rely on fish for at least 20 per cent of their average per capita intake of animal protein. In some states, fish make up more than 50 per cent of dietary animal protein, especially in

oceans through warming, acidification and coral bleaching, thereby depleting fish stocks with consequences for food and political security, as nations compete against, rather than co-operate with, each other over dwindling stocks.

8. Insects

Call it nature’s silent protest, or, as one recent report put it, the “unnoticed apocalypse.”

This rather ominous phrase appears in a 2019 report from the Somerset Wildlife Trust in the United Kingdom, written by Dave Goulson, a professor of biology at the University of Sussex.

It is among the latest additions to a

growing body of scholarship studying the causes and effects of and remedies for declining insect populations, with perhaps no more an authoritative result than a recent survey of 73 studies.

This review of the existing literature finds more than 40 per cent of insect species are declining, with a third endangered. With the total mass of insects falling by 2.5 per cent annually, and with extinction rates eight times that of mammals, birds and reptiles, insects could vanish within a century.

“It is very rapid,” Francisco Sánchez-Bayo from the University of Sydney, Australia, told *The Guardian*. “In 10 years, you will have a quarter less, in 50 years only half left and in 100 years, you will have none.”

The consequences of this dynamic will be nothing less than catastrophic, leading to collapse of nature itself.

Not everybody buys their rhetoric, but it is hard to overstate the significance of insects, which, along with other invertebrates, perform multiple functions. They

be worth between \$235 billion and \$577 billion worldwide.

So what accounts for the decline of insects? For Sánchez-Bayo, the answer is what he calls “agricultural intensification” — the elimination of all trees and shrubs that normally surround the fields, leaving behind plain, bare fields treated with synthetic fertilizers and pesticides.

Not surprisingly, Sánchez-Bayo has called for changing agricultural practices to ones that preserve habitat and reduce the use of synthetic fertilizers and pesticides — points echoed in the literature, which also singles out urbanization as an obvious culprit.

Another factor has since joined the ranks of insect killers: climate change. It threatens to change the delicate web of connections between insects, plants and other animals, interrupting the breeding cycles of insects and destroying their habitat with no escape, while denying other animals, especially birds, of food (in insect form) when needed most.

At the same time, climate change could

alliance between the two would be beneficial for both.

9. Medical Isotopes

More than 30 million medical diagnostic procedures annually, comprising 80 per cent of all diagnostic nuclear medicine procedures, use technetium-99m, the unstable radioactive form of technetium, the world’s first artificially produced element of the Periodic Table. It also occurs in very small amounts in the Earth’s crust.

Technetium-99m is an ideal radioactive tracer, because its decay releases readily traceable rays that can be used to monitor hearts in real time or pinpoint tumours without accompanying harmful rays. At the same time, its relatively short half-life of six hours means patients injected with



Technetium-99m is used in 80 per cent of all diagnostic nuclear medicine procedures. Shown here is the first technetium-99m generator.

technetium-99m as part of a radiopharmaceutical serum won’t have to suffer long periods of exposure while undergoing diagnostics.

Described by *World Physics* as the “workhorse isotope” of nuclear diagnostic medicine, technetium-99m is especially effective in detecting various cancers, among other diseases.

Technetium-99m derives from molybdenum-99, a radioisotope produced by nuclear fission of enriched uranium, or by adding a neutron to molybdenum-98, a process rife with costly inefficiencies deemed insufficient to meet demand when compared to the primary method.

This reality has left the complicated task of producing molybdenum-99 to six government-owned nuclear reactors



Biology professor Dave Goulson says insects pollinate about three-quarters of the crop types grown by humans, a service estimated to be worth between \$235 billion and \$577 billion worldwide.

serve as food for other animals, cycle nutrients through the soil, help decompose organic matter, control pests and pollinate. According to Goulson, they pollinate about three-quarters of the crop types grown by humans, a service estimated to

also boost the populations of “insect pests” that crowd out economically viable insects while harming human food crops.

Pulp science fiction often conjures up wild scenarios of insects lording over humans, but current trends suggest that an

sprinkled around the world, many of them aging and unreliable, and none in North America, after Canada's national research universal reactor in Chalk River, Ont., halted production of medical isotopes in October 2016. The plant shut down in March 2018.

The plant was the world's oldest operating reactor following its opening in 1957 and it produced 40 per cent of the world's supply of technetium-99m.

With the closing looming large well before the actual date, medical professionals, research scientists and politicians on both sides of the border between Canada and the United States encouraged additional sources of production, with some initial success. In 2018, Ontario Power Generation announced Darlington Nuclear Generating Station as the first commercial nuclear power station in the world to produce large quantities of molybdenum-99, the mother of technetium-99m. Starting in late 2019, the plant started the production of cobalt-60, another medical isotope, with molybdenum-99 scheduled to start production in the near future.

The United States has also supported a number of private initiatives using alternative methods to establish a reliable domestic supply that lessens that country's dependence on foreign supplies, with some success, at least when it comes to forming private-public partnerships.

Still, impediments remain against the backdrop of expected shortages in the future, as per 2016 predictions from the U.S. National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine and unexpected delays in production and transport.

Because of their respectively short half-life — 66 hours for molybdenum-99 and 6 hours for technetium-99m — the material cannot be stored. It must instead be quickly delivered.

10. Oil

Scenarios vary, but oil will likely remain a resource in demand, but maybe not in the way many might imagine.

First, it is important to acknowledge that even oil-friendly parties see demand for oil declining. When Saudi Aramco — the world's largest oil producer and Saudi Arabia's most important company — issued its prospectus to would-be investors before its historic public offering in late 2019, the document included language that warned of a peak in oil demand, possibly within 20 years. Others, including the International Energy Agency (IEA), predict oil demand will plateau even



While humans move away from oil consumption, there are still predictions that speak to coming shortages, thanks to natural depletion and the halting of new explorations.

earlier, with the IEA pegging 2030 as a starting date and Barclays pegging 2025 as a possible date. These and other accounts argue that rapid changes in transportation, which consumes 50 per cent, if not more, of global oil demand, will depress demand. Futurist Haim Israel, for example, predicts one third of all new cars sold will be electric vehicles by the 2020s, a development with potentially drastic consequences for the oil industry.

It also faces growing competition from renewable sources of energy as many countries attempt — at least on paper — to significantly curb their emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs) by 2030.

In other words, humans have no reason to worry about oil becoming scarce, because demand for it will decline as its significance as an economic lubricant declines. But these predictions co-exist uneasily with other projections that speak of coming shortages thanks to natural depletion and halting new explorations. Ultimately, history shows that hard-and-fast theories about oil demand and supply might be as slippery as the stuff itself.

Experts have accordingly tried to sketch out various scenarios, as Barclays did in its assessment, which imagines three possible scenarios: dynamism (significant emission cuts in an effort to fight climate change), development (business-as-usual) and deadlock (lack of political will to prioritize low-carbon policies).

Depending on the scenario, oil demand

could range between 70 million barrels per day to close to 130 million barrels per day by 2050, with the current demand around 100 million barrels per day.

While a significant range, all three scenarios, even the low-emission one, expect oil to remain “a large part of the energy mix” due to the growing demand in the developing world as its population and affluence grow. Other factors also come into play. Some forms of transportation, including maritime shipping, long-distance trucking and commercial air travel, will likely continue to rely on oil-based fuel for decades.

All three scenarios also imagine growing demand for oil for petrochemical products, the second-largest sector in terms of oil demand, as plastics of every kind and size will remain indispensable inputs of day-to-day and commercial life.

And as cynical as it might sound, can we really expect a future in which the global community follows through on the modest climate change goals of the 2015 Paris agreement, never mind more ambitious ones, that would end up leaving large reservoirs of oil and other carbon-based fuels in the ground?

Wolfgang Depner writes in Victoria, where he also teaches at Royal Roads University. He has previously lectured in international politics and philosophy at the University of British Columbia, Okanagan Campus.



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The dynamic Russia-China duo

Russia and China are actively working to subvert NATO security in an era of political war.

By Joe Varner



The Russian guided-missile cruiser *Varyag* was named flagship of the Russian naval task force positioned in the eastern Mediterranean in 2015.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization turned 70 in 2019 and continues to be the world's most successful military-political alliance, if not the only one. In good news last year, NATO defence spending was up and NATO countries were working to re-arm and improve lagging readiness.

But its 70th anniversary was not without its share of troubles. In the lead-up to the end-of-year summit in London, French President Emmanuel Macron declared the alliance to be "brain dead." Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan chastised the alliance over Turkey's intervention in Northern Syria and threatened to veto the NATO Baltic defence plan, which represents an update of existing defence plans to protect the Baltic States and Poland. The United Kingdom was in the process of extricating itself from the European

Union. Germany, with Chancellor Angela Merkel about to leave power, was a bit of a lame duck. And U.S. President Donald Trump re-engaged NATO members on the burden-sharing that has characterized his administration's relationship with his NATO allies, including Canada.

All this was set against the backdrop of whether the United States would stand by NATO Article V, which states that an attack on one is an attack on all. Finally, the world was treated to the spectre of the incident at a Buckingham Palace reception during which Macron, British Prime Minister Boris Johnson, Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau were caught on tape making fun of and criticizing Trump.

After all the petty bickering among heads of government, even at 70, the North Atlantic alliance still has the hard

military power to check Russian President Vladimir Putin's aggressive advances in Europe and China's increasing military power in Asia and beyond. The alliance's pivot toward China took some observers by surprise, but it should not have. Russia and China have both attempted to covertly and overtly subvert NATO security for some time, by dividing it from the U.S. and dividing other member states from one another. It suits both countries' short-term and long-term strategic interests of breaking the U.S.'s relationship with Europe, destabilizing the European alliance and counteracting Western military power.

Russian tactics with NATO countries

For his part, Putin regards NATO as a threat to Russian security in three ways. First, he views NATO as hampering Mos-

cow's attempts to undermine the sovereignty of states within what it sees as its sphere of influence, including the Baltic States, Ukraine, Georgia and Belarus. Second, in its commitment to democracy and rule of law, NATO represents a challenge to how Russia sees itself and the world. Third, Putin views NATO as attempting to subvert his regime's authority within Russia itself. NATO's expansion into Central Europe — to the very doorstep of Russia — had the effect of removing the strategic depth that Russia has craved since the invasion of Sweden's Charles XII in 1708. In a speech before the Commonwealth of Independent States in 2014, Putin pledged to defend Russia's brothers abroad with every available means. He has made it clear that he would love to rebuild the Soviet empire and restore Russia to its previous greatness.

Not surprisingly, NATO's most vulnerable members — the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania — have all been targeted by Russia's "political warfare." Once encapsulated in the Soviet concept of "active measures," Russia's hybrid warfare combines political, economic, informational and cyber assaults against sovereign nations designed to achieve strategic objectives while falling below the target state's threshold for a military response. Tactics include, but are not limited to, infiltrating social media, spreading propaganda, weaponizing information and using other forms of subversion, such as infiltrating political parties and front groups, foreign interference in democratic elections and espionage.

More violent tactics include terrorism, assassination, coups, military backing of separatist movements or insurgency and full-scale invasions by paramilitary, mercenary and military forces now known as "hybrid warfare." The Soviet Union employed these tactics against enemies going back to the 1920s and Russia employs them to this day. The Baltic States are not alone in facing Russian aggression. Russia actively employs these tactics against NATO countries and the European Union as a means of splitting the alliance and diluting or negating its effectiveness and potential response. In the Russian strategic view, great power strategic competition is constant and the line between war and peace is now blurred or virtually non-existent.

Hybrid warfare has been associated with Gen. Valery Gerasimov, Russian chief of general staff of the armed forces and the author of the Gerasimov Doctrine, or a whole-of-government approach to

confrontation with the West that employs both hard and soft power across domains and boundaries between peace and war. It is a tool that supports the more than 20-year-old Russian foreign policy doctrine formulated by its former foreign minister and prime minister, Yevgeny Primakov. The Primakov Doctrine takes the



Former foreign minister and prime minister Yevgeny Primakov is the author of an eponymous doctrine that sees a world dominated by the U.S. as unacceptable.

view that a unipolar world dominated by the United States is unacceptable to Russia and offers the following principles for the conduct of Russian foreign policy: Russia should strive toward a multipolar world that can counterbalance an American superpower; Russia should insist on its primacy in the post-Soviet space; and Russia should oppose NATO expansion into its former states in Central and Southern Europe.

To that end, starting in April of 2007, Russia launched a sustained cyberattack on Estonian government and commercial websites over a 22-day period, resulting in denial of service and degrading or knocking out government and commercial websites, including the country's banking system. In 2008, after baiting Georgia into a fight over the disputed territory of the Russian-backed self-proclaimed republics

of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, formerly Georgian provinces, Putin ordered the invasion of Georgia. The five-day battle saw the Georgian military receive a mauling by Russian forces with 170 Georgian soldiers, 14 police officers and 228 civilians killed while 1,747 more were wounded. And in February 2014, the Kremlin used a mix of military and paramilitary forces to surprise Ukraine and seize the Crimean Peninsula and the Donbas region of Eastern Ukraine with the support of local militias.

In 2018, Russia intelligence operatives used a military-grade Novichok nerve agent in an attempted murder in Salisbury that endangered the lives of more than 130 people in the United Kingdom. This attack was the first offensive use of a nerve agent in Europe, and it was a clear violation of British sovereignty and a clear breach of the Chemical Weapons Convention. Russian agents also used tea laced with radioactive polonium 210 to poison and kill former Russian spy-turned-whistleblower Alexander Litvinenko on British soil in 2006. Russian military intelligence, the GRU, is also believed to have carried out the assassination of Zelimkhan Khangoshvili in Germany in 2019, the attempted assassination of Emilian Gebrev in Bulgaria in 2015 and an attempted coup in Montenegro in 2017. Putin has also initiated cyberattacks on NATO member states, including the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Poland and the U.S., targeting critical infrastructure, including the U.S. energy sector.

Russia was behind the NotPetya malware cyberattack that caused billions of dollars in damage around the world. Additionally, Russia has conducted numerous extremely aggressive intercepts of NATO partner aircraft and vessels, including in the Nordic-Baltic region, and endangered the lives of military personnel. Russia has even used arms sales to Turkey of the S-400 air defence system to exacerbate divisions between the U.S. and Turkey and NATO. By all accounts, the Kremlin interfered in the last U.S. presidential election and Britain's recent Brexit-inspired general election, in favour of the Conservatives.

All of these attacks were geared to whittle away at NATO cohesion and to achieve Russian strategic objectives without going to war. Ultimately, political warfare or hybrid warfare rely on hard military power behind the scenes. Russia's ability to project power close to its borders and to do so rapidly is well known. Russia remains a nuclear-armed

Eurasia land power with residual air and sea capabilities and has substantial forces close to NATO's Baltic States as well as Poland, Ukraine and Georgia, the latter two of which are aspirant NATO members. Belarus and Moldova may be the next countries to be devoured by the Russian bear as it moves west. NATO has only three forward-deployed multinational battlegroups. They're stationed in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. It also has a U.S. brigade in Poland and a multinational brigade in Romania, which is at best a tripwire to protect its most vulnerable members.

NATO's ability to respond to a surprise Russian invasion of the Baltic States is not very good. Estonia has been described as essentially being a suburb of St. Petersburg and, by all counts, it would take three to four months at best to field a heavy division from U.S., British, German and French forces and NATO readiness overall is not where it needs to be. The once mighty British Armed Forces has fewer than 300 main battle tanks and is increasingly being replaced by France as the ally of choice. Few observers believe NATO would use its nuclear forces to repel a Russian unconventional or conventional war invasion of its Baltic member states or Poland.

For its part, China does not currently pose a direct military threat to European NATO countries, nor is it a strategic ally of Russia, but it does tend to partner with Russia when their interests converge. Both have a clear strategic interest in splitting the U.S. from NATO and NATO members from one another. Beijing has been more subtle in its attempts to subvert NATO countries than Russia, by trying to entice NATO's southern tier into its Belt and Road Initiative, using the European Union as a back door and promising investment and infrastructure in return for more influence. China has its own version of Russia's political war or hybrid-warfare approach to subverting and degrading its enemies' capabilities as a forerunner to war and to the use of conventional military power.

Beijing controls 13 European ports

China's strategic objectives in Europe are geared to maintaining Chinese economic, political and military power and keeping the Chinese Communist Party in power at home. The goal is not just access to markets, but to split European Union members from one another to prevent unified positions against China and to break NATO and EU cohesion. It is important

to note that China's intention is to replace the post-Second World War (1939-1945) Liberal rules-based order and security architecture with its own Beijing-centric order. China has been hostile to NATO since its embassy was accidentally bombed by NATO forces during the Kosovo War (1998-1999). The Chinese Communist Party's goal is to separate the United States from NATO and NATO states from one another. There is one major difference between the Russian and Chinese approach to subverting NATO. China still wants access to the EU's economies, whereas Russia's view is dominated by an environment of total great-power conflict.

Chinese attempts to subvert Europe include divide-and-rule tactics with

Taking a page from Russia's attempt to undermine NATO's southern flank, in 2017, China stated it was ready to discuss Turkey's membership in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), whose members are China, Russia, India, Pakistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

As well, Greece and Italy have fallen into the big money-big debt trap of China's Belt and Road Initiative. Chinese Shipping giant, COSCO, has taken the controlling share of the Greek port of Piraeus and it is said that China wants to build a high-speed rail link between Belgrade and Budapest and then onward to the western part of the continent. The Port of Piraeus is the main sea port of



Russia and China are conducting joint naval exercises, this one in Vladivostok, Russia.

Southern and Central European countries. China has negotiated bilateral deals with several EU countries, including the 17+1 group of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia and Slovenia. Eleven of these countries are EU member states and four others are candidates.

Athens, the largest port in Greece and one of the largest in Europe. In the past decade, Chinese companies have acquired controlling shares in 13 ports in Europe, including in Greece, Spain and Belgium. Together, these facilities handle about 10 per cent of Europe's shipping-container capacity. In fact, China has gained access to Europe's three largest ports: respectively Euromax in Rotterdam, of which

it owns 35 per cent; Antwerp in Belgium, of which it holds a 20-per-cent stake; and Hamburg, Germany, where it is to build a new terminal. China's People's Liberation Army (Navy) warships have already paid a friendly port visit to Piraeus in Greece.

among the countries that represent the poor cousins of the EU, those discontented with European Union conditions for investment, such as Serbia, and the United Kingdom post-Brexit. All the while, China is using its investment and new presence

and other critical infrastructure in NATO countries could present NATO with resupply, reinforcement and mobility problems. Similarly, Chinese railway projects in Southern and Central Europe could be built so as to complicate NATO mobility, reinforcement and resupply of embattled states closer to Russia. In effect, China could nullify NATO's strategic advantage of interior lines in a fight in the Baltic States, Poland or Ukraine.

Allowing China and Huawei to build and develop Europe's 5G network has the possibility to divide NATO and EU members much as it has the Five Eyes intelligence community (Canada, the U.S., U.K., Australia and New Zealand), with potentially the same disastrous consequences in wartime. China could use its economic clout with deeply indebted NATO allies to compel them not to respond to an Article V collective defence request by another NATO member. While Russian forces make a play for the Baltic states or even Poland, China could act out in the South China Sea, to further dilute and distract the American military response there and in Europe. Lastly, it is important to note that in 2015, Russian and Chinese warships conducted joint training in the Mediterranean Sea. Then, in July of 2017, three Chinese navy warships conducted live fire exercises in the Mediterranean Sea prior to a scheduled joint exercise with Russian navy ships in the Baltic Sea. The Chinese warships went on to the Joint Sea 2017 exercise with Russia, held off the Russian port cities of Kaliningrad and St. Petersburg, along the shores of the three NATO member Baltic States.

While Russia and China are not allies, they are a dynamic duo and strategic partners when it comes to undermining NATO. Russia has hard military power and the backdrop of hybrid warfare on NATO's doorstep and China is projecting military power out to NATO's shores in the Mediterranean and even in the Baltic. In the end, summit silliness aside, the U.S. and NATO member states need one another as they face a new military threat for the first time since the end of the Cold War. Remember what Winston Churchill said about military alliances: "There is only one thing worse than fighting with allies, and that is fighting without them."

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Chinese shipping giant, COSCO, has taken the controlling share of the Greek port of Piraeus, above. In the past decade, Chinese companies have acquired controlling shares in 13 European ports.

Gary Roughead, a former U.S. chief of naval operations, warned that "Chinese port operators will be able to monitor U.S. ship movements closely, be aware of maintenance activities, have access to equipment moving to and from repair sites and interact freely with our crews over protracted periods."

China is leveraging tensions in the Western alliance over U.S. economic policies, including U.S. sanctions on European countries and Washington's trade war with China, climate change, multilateralism and the Iran nuclear deal. Beijing also builds networks among European politicians, businesses, media, think-tanks and universities to create layers of active support for Chinese policies and interests as well as a means to shut down and silence commentary from critics and dissidents. China has targeted specific European countries' vulnerabilities to increase its economic presence, including Greece's economic crisis and disenchantment

to acquire foreign technology through legal and illegal means, with the objective of dominating the innovation industries of the future. The U.S. Department of Defense has warned that China has sought to acquire, legally and illegally, Western technology in order to modernize its economy and build weapons to rival the strength of Western militaries by striking further, harder and faster. Chinese espionage and cyber espionage to gain access to foreign military and industrial secrets is well known. The Chinese government continues its partnership with Russia in Europe, where the two countries have similar strategic objectives and can work together to weaken and degrade U.S. and NATO interests.

Joint military exercises in the Baltic Sea

Russia and China have a long past of attempting to subvert NATO security. In the event of a Russian move against frontline NATO states, Chinese control of seaports

Wanted: An anti-corruption court



Robert I. Rotberg

Kleptocracy destroys countries from within. Kleptocrats turn sometime democracies into criminal states that plunder national resources and national patrimonies, depriving citizens of their rights, their tax revenues and their ability to determine policy priorities. A cacophony of African states — Angola, the Comoros, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Gabon, South Africa, South Sudan, Uganda and Zimbabwe — along with major places such as Russia, are or were recently captured by kleptocratic conspiracies of criminal intent.

A proposed new international anti-corruption court, conceivably located in Canada, could, by its very existence, deter the proliferation of the many kinds of corrupt practices that grow into kleptocracy and only very rarely can be curbed by the actions of domestic judicial systems. In most of the African countries listed, except South Africa, kleptocrats ruled or rule; appointed, promoted and paid the judges; and easily punished or dismissed the jurists who were disloyal. Even South Africa, with honest and independent courts, is still finding it hard to fully bring before the bar of justice ex-president Jacob Zuma and the cabal that helped him “capture” the advanced South African state fully.

Kleptocracy is a heightened version of corruption. The accepted definition of corruption is “the abuse of public office for private gain.” Or, some expand and simplify the definition to “the abuse of public trust.” Kleptocracy is the “shifting of a state’s riches into private hands.” Kleptocrats thus transfer into their own pockets wealth, for example, from copper in the DRC; oil in Angola, the other Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Nigeria;



Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo is the wildly corrupt 40-year dictator of Equatorial Guinea.

and diamonds and ferrochrome in Zimbabwe — all of which rightly belong to the citizens of those nations.

Teodoro Nguema Obiang Mangué is vice-president of Equatorial Guinea and son of Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, the wildly corrupt 40-year dictator of that country and the world’s longest-in-power president. When Mangué flew into Rio de Janeiro in 2018 on a private jet, supposedly to seek medical treatment, the Brazilian authorities quickly confiscated more than \$1.5 million in cash he was carrying and a trove of monogrammed watches worth \$15 million. Earlier, United States’ authorities, after court proceedings, had relieved Mangué of a \$30-million house in Malibu, California, and a horde of Michael Jackson memorabilia, plus three expensive cars — all with wealth presumably looted from the people of his tiny West African principality. French authorities, not to be

outdone, stripped Mangué of a townhouse in Paris, filled with art and housing Lamborghinis and Ferraris — all worth more than \$100 million. Mangué is a kleptocrat who can hardly be tried for wholesale theft in a country that his father dominates and that they both use for personal enrichment. Additionally, in 2019, Swiss officials confiscated and auctioned off US\$27 million worth of large “super” cars confiscated from Mangué. The millions were earmarked for social programs in Equatorial Guinea even though Mangué’s father runs the country and might be able to appropriate the US\$27 million for his own purposes.

Another kleptocrat is Isobel dos Santos, favoured daughter of Eduardo dos Santos, ruler of Angola from 1979 to 2017. She is Africa’s wealthiest woman, worth an estimated \$2 billion. Her father made her head of Sonangol, the state petroleum

company, and gave her a controlling interest in the state diamond mining and selling concern. With that double boost to access to riches, Isobel dos Santos set up fake consulting companies in Malta and Dubai, shifted the millions of dollars that she amassed from questionable contracts and massive kickbacks into 450 fake offshore companies and European banks and demonstrated relatively effortlessly how successful kleptocrats operate. When a cache of 700,000 internal Angolan communiqués concerning the dos Santos scams were divulged to the press at the beginning of 2020, it was clear that Isobel dos Santos had operated above and beyond the law. Even Angolan courts, now loyal to a new national president, will have a hard time pursuing her (though her brother has been caught and is being tried for corruption) despite indicting her in late January for massive embezzlement and money-laundering offences.

Sudan's former president Omar al-Bashir, another long-time African kleptocrat, was caught with US\$113,000 in cash when soldiers once under his command raided his house and arrested him in 2019. He confessed that about US\$90 million had been received from Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah and Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman. Sudanese officials have refused since 2004 to hand Bashir over to the ICC. Instead, a Sudanese court convicted him of corruption and sentenced him to jail for two years rather than turning him over to the International Criminal Court for trial on war crimes such as ethnic cleansing and genocide.

Now that he has been delegitimized by civil protests and military agreement, there have been public discussions about turning Bashir over to the ICC. But it was not yet clear at press time that Sudan's military leaders will agree to do so.

Corruption is alive and well in Africa (and elsewhere in the world). The latest rankings of corruption prevalence in Africa and across the globe by Transparency International's well-regarded *Corruption Perceptions Index* (CPI) show that a dozen or so nations are judged a little corrupt, another dozen or so are less corrupt than their peers, but the majority of 180 countries rated in 2019 are abysmally corrupt. Most of the latter — the nations that fill the lowest ranks on the CPI — are African (along with Afghanistan, Haiti, North Korea, Syria, Turkmenistan and Yemen).

Indeed, as the accompanying map shows (see pages 56 and 57), African states occupy a preponderance of the places on the CPI list, downward from 70 (South Af-

rica) to 179 (South Sudan) and 180 (Somalia). Kleptocrats control or were recently in control of most of these lower-rated states. Just recall president Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe (1980 to 2017), president Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (now the DRC, 1965 to 1997), Eduardo dos Santos (father of Isobel), Omar al-Bashir of Sudan (leader from 1989 to 1993 and president from 1993 to 2019), the Obiangs, President Azali Assoumani of Comoros (1999 to present), the

enced. For example, I was in a car driven by a Zimbabwean when a police officer stopped us at a road block for driving without a compulsory reflective triangle. The triangle was in the car, in plain sight. No matter, the driver's licence was confiscated and we were delayed until I ambled over to the constable, who was smirking at the other side of the road, and exchanged a crisp US\$20 bill for the returned driver's licence and permission to leave. Extortion



Even South Africa's independent courts are still finding it hard to fully bring before the bar of justice ex-president Jacob Zuma, pictured here.

Bongo family in Gabon (president Omar Bongo 1967 to 2009, president Ali Bongo Ondimba, 2009 to present), and President Denis Sassou Nguesso of the Republic of Congo (1979 to 1992, and 1997 to present, whose family paid cash recently for a luxury flat in Manhattan). The list goes on and on.

According to the latest CPI, the world's least-corrupt countries in rank order are (and have nearly always been for decades) New Zealand and Denmark (tied for 1st place); Finland; Switzerland, Singapore, Sweden and Norway (the last four tied for 4th place); the Netherlands; Luxembourg; Germany; Iceland and (tied for 12th place) Canada, the U.K., Australia and Austria. The U.S. dropped from its mid-teens place in previous years to 23rd, just behind Uruguay. The least-corrupt African countries are the Seychelles and Botswana, at places 27 and 34 respectively. In Latin America and the Caribbean, the least-corrupt nations after Uruguay are Chile, St. Vincent and Costa Rica, in that order.

There are two kinds of corruption — grand (or venal) and petty (or lubricating). The latter is more easily seen and experi-

is widespread when citizens confront bureaucrats in countries lacking rule of law.

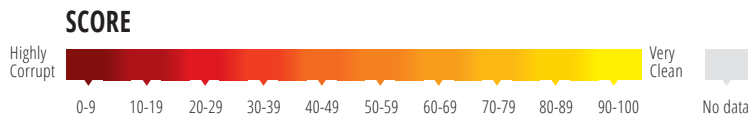
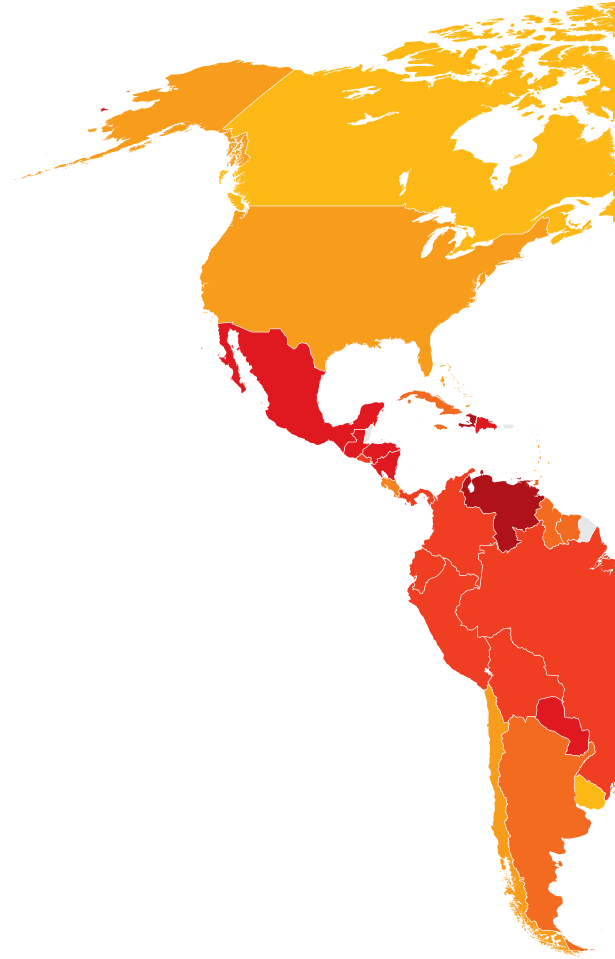
Grand corruption is much more serious for citizens writ large, and for the fate of whole countries, even when individuals are less aware of their pockets being picked by officials of the state. Mugabe gave a contract for the construction of a new international airport to his nephew. Isobel dos Santos used her family position to purloin massively from the coffers of state companies. Zuma took kickbacks from foreign corporations to amass a small fortune. In the infamous Lava Jato case in Brazil, dozens of politicians profited from over-invoicing deals with Petrobras, the state petroleum monopoly. Multiple kickbacks brought politicians billions of dollars, much of which soon migrated illegally to Switzerland.

If and when an international anti-corruption court is created by treaty or UN General Assembly action (Colombia and Peru are trying to put the concept on the UN agenda in 2021), the court would be able to investigate corruption and money-laundering within states and across states.

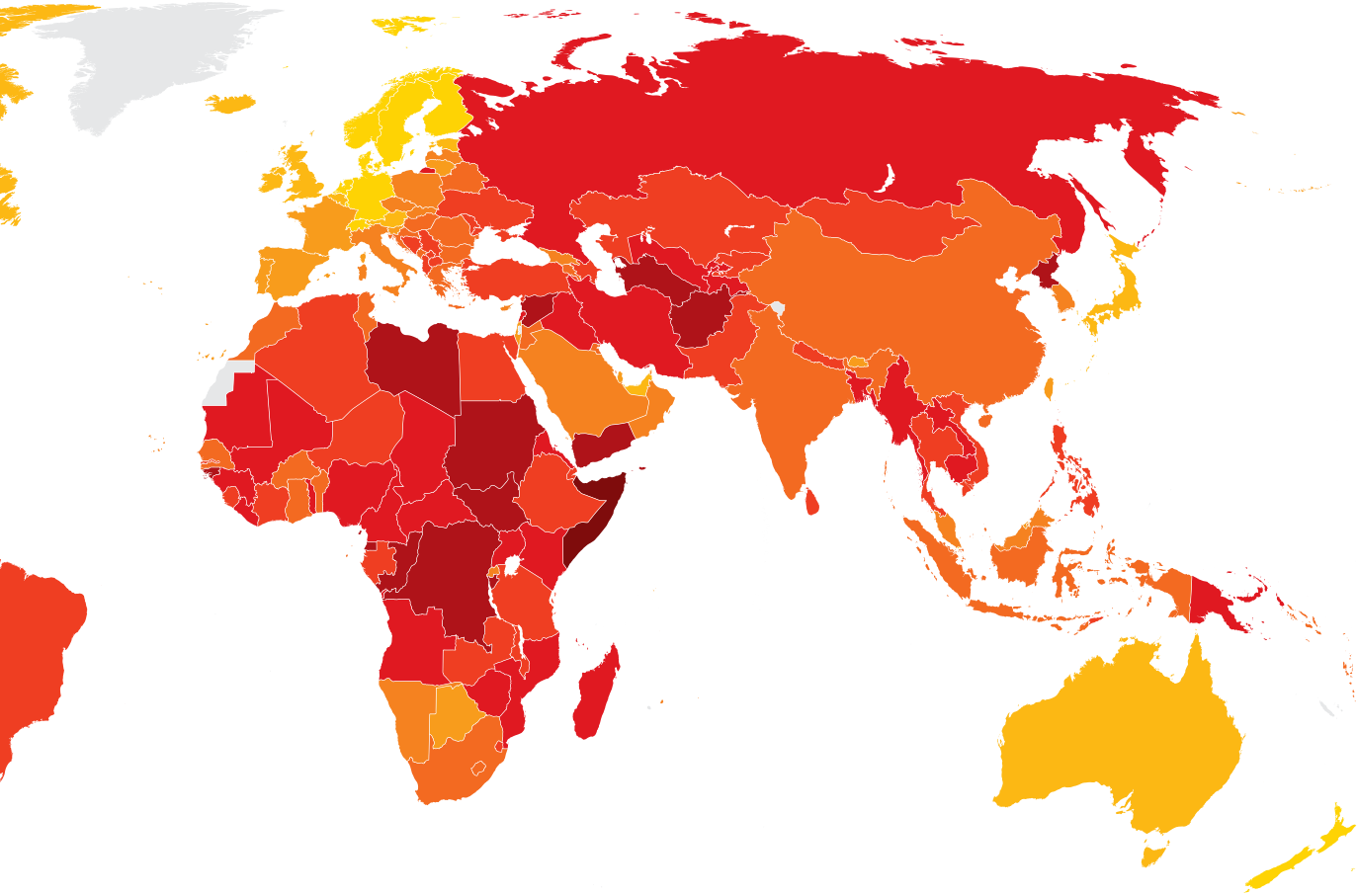
(Continued on page 65)

Transparency International's corruption report

Corruption Perceptions Index



SCORE	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	RANK	SCORE	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	RANK	SCORE	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	RANK
87	Denmark	1	69	France	23	56	Czech Republic	44
87	New Zealand	1	69	United States of America	23	56	Georgia	44
86	Finland	3	68	Bhutan	25	56	Latvia	44
85	Singapore	4	67	Chile	26	55	Dominica	48
85	Sweden	4	66	Seychelles	27	55	Saint Lucia	48
85	Switzerland	4	65	Taiwan	28	54	Malta	50
84	Norway	7	64	Bahamas	29	53	Grenada	51
82	Netherlands	8	62	Barbados	30	53	Italy	51
80	Germany	9	62	Portugal	30	53	Malaysia	51
80	Luxembourg	9	62	Qatar	30	53	Rwanda	51
78	Iceland	11	62	Spain	30	53	Saudi Arabia	51
77	Australia	12	62	Botswana	34	52	Mauritius	56
77	Austria	12	61	Brunei Darussalam	35	52	Namibia	56
77	Canada	12	60	Israel	35	52	Oman	56
77	United Kingdom	12	60	Lithuania	35	50	Slovakia	59
76	Hong Kong	16	60	Slovenia	35	48	Cuba	60
75	Belgium	17	60	Korea, South	39	48	Greece	60
74	Estonia	18	59	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	39	48	Jordan	60
74	Ireland	18	59	Cabo Verde	41	47	Croatia	63
73	Japan	20	58	Cyprus	41	46	Sao Tome and Principe	64
71	United Arab Emirates	21	58	Poland	41	46	Vanuatu	64
71	Uruguay	21	56	Costa Rica	44	45	Argentina	66
						45	Belarus	66
						45	Montenegro	66
						45	Senegal	66
						44	Hungary	70
						44	Romania	70
						44	South Africa	70
						44	Suriname	70
						43	Bulgaria	74
						43	Jamaica	74
						43	Tunisia	74
						42	Armenia	77
						42	Bahrain	77
						42	Solomon Islands	77
						41	Benin	80
						41	China	80
						41	Ghana	80
						41	India	80
						41	Morocco	80
						40	Burkina Faso	85
						40	Guyana	85
						40	Indonesia	85
						40	Kuwait	85
						40	Lesotho	85
						40	Trinidad and Tobago	85



39	Serbia	91	34	Kazakhstan	113	28	Dominican Republic	137	24	Zimbabwe	158
39	Turkey	91	34	Nepal	113	28	Kenya	137	23	Eritrea	160
38	Ecuador	93	34	Philippines	113	28	Lebanon	137	22	Nicaragua	161
38	Sri Lanka	93	34	Eswatini	113	28	Liberia	137	20	Cambodia	162
38	Timor-Leste	93	34	Zambia	113	28	Mauritania	137	20	Chad	162
37	Colombia	96	33	Sierra Leone	119	28	Papua New Guinea	137	20	Iraq	162
37	Ethiopia	96	32	Moldova	120	28	Paraguay	137	19	Burundi	165
37	Gambia	96	32	Niger	120	28	Russia	137	19	Congo	165
37	Tanzania	96	32	Pakistan	120	28	Uganda	137	19	Turkmenistan	165
37	Vietnam	96	31	Bolivia	123	28	Angola	146	18	Democratic Republic of the Congo	168
36	Bosnia and Herzegovina	101	31	Gabon	123	26	Bangladesh	146	18	Guinea Bissau	168
36	Kosovo	101	31	Malawi	123	26	Guatemala	146	18	Haiti	168
36	Panama	101	30	Azerbaijan	126	26	Honduras	146	18	Libya	168
36	Peru	101	30	Djibouti	126	26	Iran	146	17	Korea, North	172
36	Thailand	101	30	Kyrgyzstan	126	26	Mozambique	146	16	Afghanistan	173
35	Albania	106	30	Ukraine	126	26	Nigeria	146	16	Equatorial Guinea	173
35	Algeria	106	29	Guinea	130	25	Cameroon	153	16	Sudan	173
35	Brazil	106	29	Laos	130	25	Central African Republic	153	16	Venezuela	173
35	Cote d'Ivoire	106	29	Maldives	130	25	Comoros	153	15	Yemen	177
35	Egypt	106	29	Mali	130	25	Tajikistan	153	13	Syria	178
35	North Macedonia	106	29	Mexico	130	25	Uzbekistan	153	9	South Sudan	179
35	Mongolia	106	29	Togo	130	24	Madagascar	158		Somalia	180
34	El Salvador	113									

Anti-corruption rallies on the rise

Since 2012, 22 countries improved and 21 countries declined, including Canada.

Transparency International's *Corruption Perceptions Index* keeps track of the issue worldwide. We offer excerpts from the report:

The *Corruption Perceptions Index 2019* reveals a staggering number of countries are showing little to no improvement in tackling corruption. Our analysis also suggests that reducing big money in politics and promoting inclusive political decision-making are essential to curb corruption.

In the last year, anti-corruption movements across the globe gained momentum as millions of people joined together to speak out against corruption in their governments.

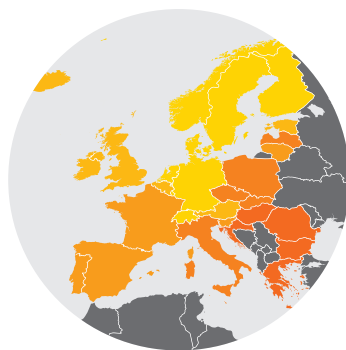
Protests from Latin America, North Africa and Eastern Europe to the Middle East and Central Asia made headlines as citizens marched in Santiago, Prague, Beirut, and a host of other cities to voice their frustrations in the streets. From fraud that occurs at the highest levels of government to petty bribery that blocks access to basic public services such as health care and education, citizens are fed up with corrupt leaders and institutions. This frustration fuels a growing lack of trust in government and further erodes public confidence in political leaders, elected officials and democracy.

The current state of corruption speaks to a need for greater political integrity in many countries. To have any chance of curbing corruption, governments must strengthen checks and balances, limit the influence of big money in politics and ensure broad input in political decision-making. Public policies and resources should not be determined by economic power or political influence, but by fair consultation and impartial budget allocation.

Recommendations

To end corruption and restore trust in politics, it is imperative to prevent opportunities for political corruption and to foster the integrity of political systems. Transparency International recommends the following.

Reinforce checks and balances: Governments must promote the separation of



HIGHEST SCORING REGION

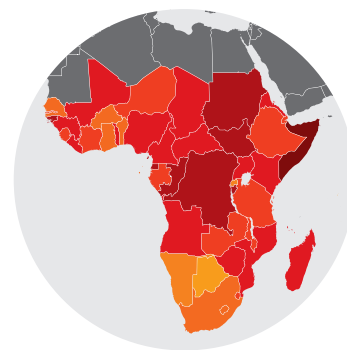
WESTERN EUROPE & EUROPEAN UNION

66/100



AVERAGE REGIONAL SCORE

= SINCE 2018



LOWEST SCORING REGION

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

32/100



AVERAGE REGIONAL SCORE

= SINCE 2018

powers, strengthen judicial independence and preserve checks and balances.

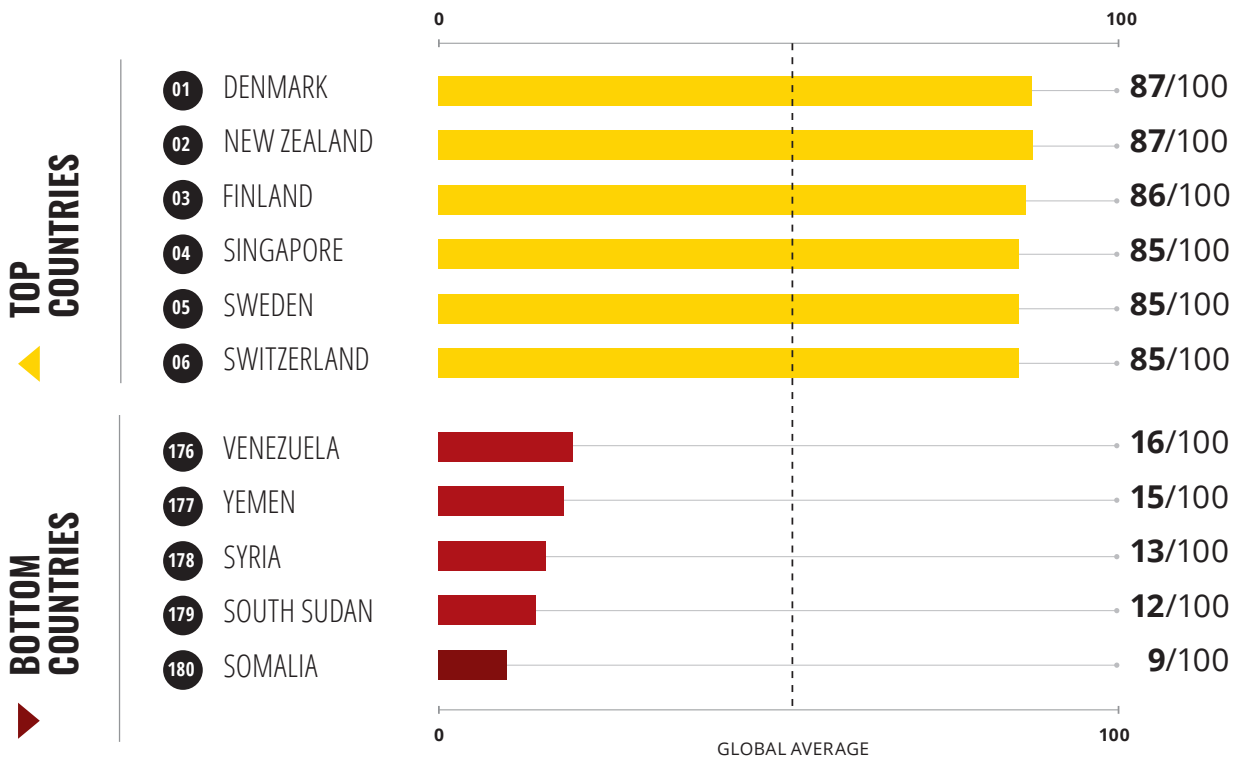
Strengthen electoral integrity: For democracy to be effective against corruption, governments must ensure that elections are free and fair. Preventing and sanctioning vote-buying and misinformation campaigns are essential to rebuilding trust in government and ensuring that citizens can use their vote to punish corrupt politicians.

Empower citizens: Governments should protect civil liberties and political rights, including freedom of speech, expression and association. Governments should engage civil society and protect citizens, activists, whistleblowers and journalists

in monitoring and exposing corruption.

Control political financing: In order to prevent excessive money and influence in politics, governments should improve and properly enforce campaign finance regulations. Political parties should also disclose their sources of income, assets and loans, and governments should empower oversight agencies with stronger mandates and appropriate resources.

Regulate lobbying activities: Governments should promote open and meaningful access to decision-making and consult a wider range of groups, beyond well-resourced lobbyists and a few private interests. Lobbying activities should be public and easily accessible.



Manage conflicts of interest: Governments should reduce the risk of undue influence in policy-making by tightening controls over financial and other interests of government officials. Governments should also address “revolving doors,” establish cooling-off periods for former officials and ensure rules are properly enforced and sanctioned.

Tackle preferential treatment: Governments should create mechanisms to ensure that service-delivery and public-resource allocation are not driven by personal connections or are biased towards special interest groups at the expense of the overall public good.

GLOBAL HIGHLIGHTS

This year’s Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) shows corruption is more pervasive in countries where big money can flow freely into electoral campaigns and where governments listen only to the voices of wealthy or well-connected individuals.

The index ranks 180 countries and territories by their perceived levels of public sector corruption, according to experts and business people. It uses a scale of zero to 100, where zero is highly corrupt and 100 is very clean. More than two-thirds of countries score below 50 on this year’s CPI, with an average score of just 43. Similar to previous years, the data show that despite some progress, a majority of countries are still failing to tackle public-sector

corruption effectively.

The top countries are New Zealand and Denmark, with scores of 87 each, followed by Finland (86), Singapore (85), Sweden (85) and Switzerland (85). The bottom countries are Somalia, South Sudan and Syria with scores of 9, 12 and 13, respectively. These countries are closely followed by Yemen (15), Venezuela (16), Sudan (16), Equatorial Guinea (16) and Afghanistan (16).

In the last eight years, only 22 countries significantly improved their CPI scores, including Greece, Guyana and Estonia. In the same period, 21 countries significantly decreased their scores, including Canada, Australia and Nicaragua. In the remaining 137 countries, the levels of corruption show little to no change.

AMERICAS

With an average score of 43 for the fourth consecutive year, the Americas region fails to make significant progress in the fight against corruption.

While Canada is consistently a top performer, with a score of 77 out of 100, the country dropped four points since last year and seven points since 2012. At the bottom of the index, Venezuela scores 16, which is also one of the bottom five scores globally.

The region faces significant challenges from political leaders acting in their own self-interest at the expense of the citizens

they serve. Specifically, political party financing and electoral integrity are big challenges.

For example, the Lava Jato investigation, or “Operation Car Wash,” which exposed corruption spanning at least 10 countries in Latin America, points to a surge in illegal political contributions or donations as part of one of the biggest corruption scandals in history.

Odebrecht, the Brazilian construction giant at the heart of the case, was convicted for paying US\$1 billion in bribes over the past 15 years, including to political leaders in Brazil, Peru and Argentina during elections.

With scores of 22 and 29 respectively, Nicaragua and Mexico are significant decliners on the CPI since 2012. Although the recent Global Corruption Barometer — Latin America and the Caribbean¹³ highlights vote-buying and other corruption issues in Mexico, a recent anti-corruption reform, along with a new, legally autonomous attorney general’s office are positive changes.

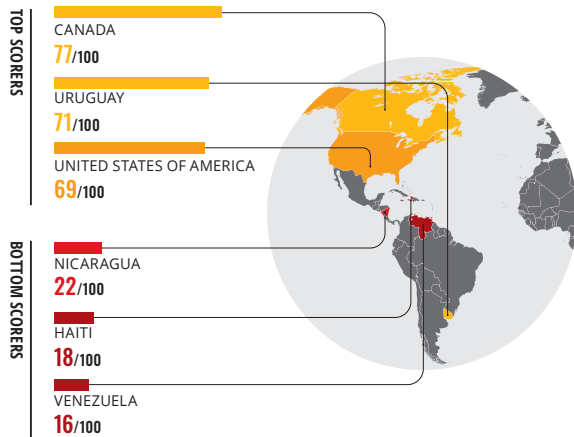
In Nicaragua, social unrest and human rights violations are on the rise. Public services and consultative decision-making are sorely lacking in the country. With a score of 40, Guyana is a significant improver on the CPI since 2012. While there is still much work to do, the government is demonstrating political will to hold former politicians accountable for the misuse of state resources.

32

COUNTRIES ASSESSED

43/100

AVERAGE REGIONAL SCORE



COUNTRIES TO WATCH

United States

With a score of 69, the United States drops two points since last year to earn its lowest score on the CPI in eight years. This comes at a time when Americans’ trust in government is at an historic low of 17 per cent, according to the Pew Research Center.

The U.S. faces a wide range of challenges, from threats to its system of checks and balances and the ever-increasing influence of special interests in government, to the use of anonymous shell companies by criminals, corrupt individuals and even terrorists, to hide illicit activities.

While President [Donald] Trump campaigned on a promise of “draining the swamp” and making government work for more than just Washington insiders and political elites, a series of scandals, resignations and allegations of unethical behaviour suggest that the “pay-to-play” culture has only become more entrenched. In December 2019, the U.S. House of Representatives formally impeached Trump for abuse of power and obstruction of Congress.

Brazil

Corruption remains one of the biggest impediments to economic and social development in Brazil. With a score of 35, Brazil remains stagnated, with its lowest CPI score since 2012.

After the 2018 national elections, which were strongly influenced by an anti-corruption agenda, Brazil experienced a series of setbacks to its legal and institutional anti-corruption frameworks. The country also faced difficulties in advancing wide-ranging reforms to its political system.

Setbacks included a Supreme Court injunction that virtually paralyzed Brazil’s anti-money laundering system and an

illegal inquiry that secretly targeted law-enforcement agents.

Ongoing challenges include growing political interference with anti-corruption institutions by President Jair Bolsonaro, and congressional approval of legislation that threatens the independence of law enforcement agents and the accountability of political parties

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

With the same average score of 39 as last year, there is little progress in improving control of corruption in the Middle East and North Africa region.

With a score of 71, the United Arab Emirates is the best regional performer, followed by Qatar (62). At the bottom of the region, Syria scores 13, followed by Yemen with a score of 15. Both countries are significant decliners on the CPI, with Yemen dropping eight points since 2012 and Syria dropping 13 points during the same period.

The region faces significant corruption challenges that highlight a lack of political integrity. According to our recent report, *Global Corruption Barometer — Middle East*

and North Africa, nearly one in two people in Lebanon is offered bribes in exchange for their votes, while more than one in four receives threats if they don’t vote a certain way.

In a region where fair and democratic elections are the exception, state capture is commonplace. Powerful individuals routinely divert public funds to their own pockets at the expense of ordinary citizens. Separation of powers is another challenge: independent judiciaries with the potential to act as a check on the executive branch are rare or non-existent.

To improve citizens’ trust in government, countries must build transparent and accountable institutions and prosecute wrongdoing. They should also hold free and fair elections and allow for citizen engagement and participation in decision-making.

COUNTRIES TO WATCH

Tunisia

With a score of 43, Tunisia remains at a standstill on the CPI despite advances in anti-corruption legislation over the past five years. Recent laws to protect whistleblowers and improve access to information, combined with stronger social accountability and space for civil society, are important steps, but they are not enough.

For anti-corruption laws to be effective, decrees and implementing orders from the executive branch are needed. In addition, financial and human resources are vital to strengthen the country’s anti-corruption commission and increase its independence.

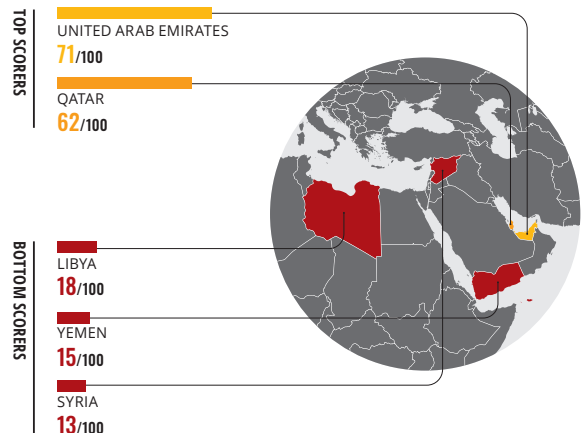
To date, few political leaders have been prosecuted for corruption, and recovery of stolen assets is slow. An independent judiciary is another major challenge. While the recent establishment of a judiciary council is encouraging, the council is not yet fully

18

COUNTRIES ASSESSED

39/100

AVERAGE REGIONAL SCORE



operational and still lacks total independence from the legislative branch.

Saudi Arabia

With a score of 53, Saudi Arabia improved by four points since last year. However, its score does not reflect the myriad problems in the country, including a dismal human rights record and severe restrictions on journalists, political activists and other citizens.

In 2017, the Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed Bin Salman carried out an “anti-corruption” purge as part of his reform of the country.

Despite government claims of recovering approximately US\$106 billion of stolen assets, there was no due process, transparent investigation or fair and free trial for suspects.

This year, Saudi Arabia takes on the presidency of the G20. As it assumes this leadership role, the country must end its crackdown on civil liberties and strengthen further checks on the executive branch to foster transparency and accountability.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

As the lowest-scoring region on the CPI, with an average of 32, Sub-Saharan Africa’s performance paints a bleak picture of inaction against corruption.

onstrated by the leaders of both countries, which saw a number of key legal, policy and institutional reforms implemented in their early days in office, has been on a backslide since 2016.

Since 2012, several countries, including Congo (19), Liberia (28), Madagascar (24) and Malawi (31) have significantly declined on the CPI. Congo has been the subject of repeated reports of money laundering and embezzlement of public funds by the country’s political elite with no action taken by national authorities.

In Madagascar, despite a 2018 constitutional court ruling against electoral amendments favouring the incumbent president and cited as unconstitutional, judicial independence remains a concern. More recently, the national anti-corruption agency began legal action against more than half of the country’s parliamentarians, who stand accused of taking bribes.

Money is used to win elections, consolidate power and further personal interests. Although the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combatting Corruption has provisions to prevent corruption and encourage transparency in campaign financing, implementation is weak.

SIGNIFICANT DECLINERS

Since 2012, several countries, including Congo (19), Liberia (28), Madagascar (24) and Malawi (31) have significantly

judicial independence remains a concern. More recently, the national anti-corruption agency began legal action against more than half of the country’s parliamentarians, who stand accused of taking bribes.

LOW SCORERS

Towards the bottom of the index, with a score of 18, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) faces several corruption challenges. According to our recent report, *Global Corruption Barometer — Africa*, political integrity among government officials is extremely low, with 79 per cent of DRC citizens believing that all or most parliamentarians are involved in corruption.

With the lowest score on the CPI, Somalia is not only one of the world’s most corrupt countries, but it is also, “one of the world’s most protracted cases of statelessness” according to the *2016 Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index*. State fragility and poor rule of law have left gaping holes for graft to flourish from petty bribery to high-level political corruption.

Tackling corruption in the context of fragile states presents unique challenges, as fragility is both a cause and an effect of any downward trends in development. With plans under way in Somalia to hold the first “one person-one vote” election in 50 years, it is critical that political accountability structures to facilitate anti-corruption mechanisms are put in place.

COUNTRIES TO WATCH

Angola

Following four decades of authoritarian rule, Angola (26) jumped seven points in this year’s CPI, making it a significant improver. However, given its overall low score, the country is still well below the global average of 43. Isabel Dos Santos, the former president’s daughter, who is also known as “Africa’s richest woman,” was fired from her job as head of the state oil and gas firm, Sonangol, months after President João Lourenço’s election. In December 2019, as investigations into corruption allegations progressed, an Angolan court ordered a freeze of Dos Santos’s assets.

Although the country has recovered US\$5 billion in stolen assets, more needs to be done to strengthen integrity and promote transparency in accounting for oil revenue.

Ghana

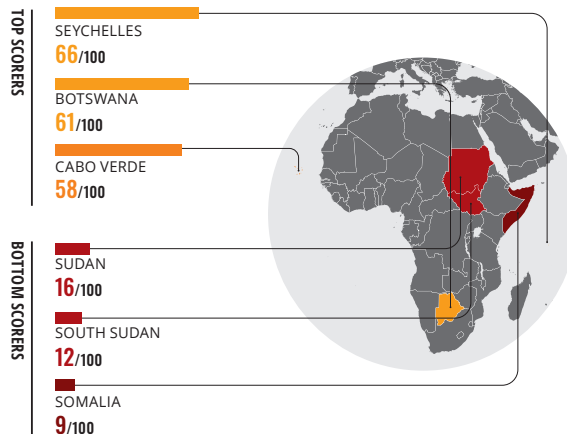
Known as a beacon of democracy in West Africa, Ghana dropped seven points on the CPI since 2014, moving from 48 in

49

COUNTRIES ASSESSED

32/100

AVERAGE REGIONAL SCORE



With a score of 66, the Seychelles earns the highest mark in the region, followed by Botswana (61), Cabo Verde (58), Rwanda (53) and Mauritius (52). At the bottom of the index are Somalia (9), South Sudan (12), Sudan (16) and Equatorial Guinea (16).

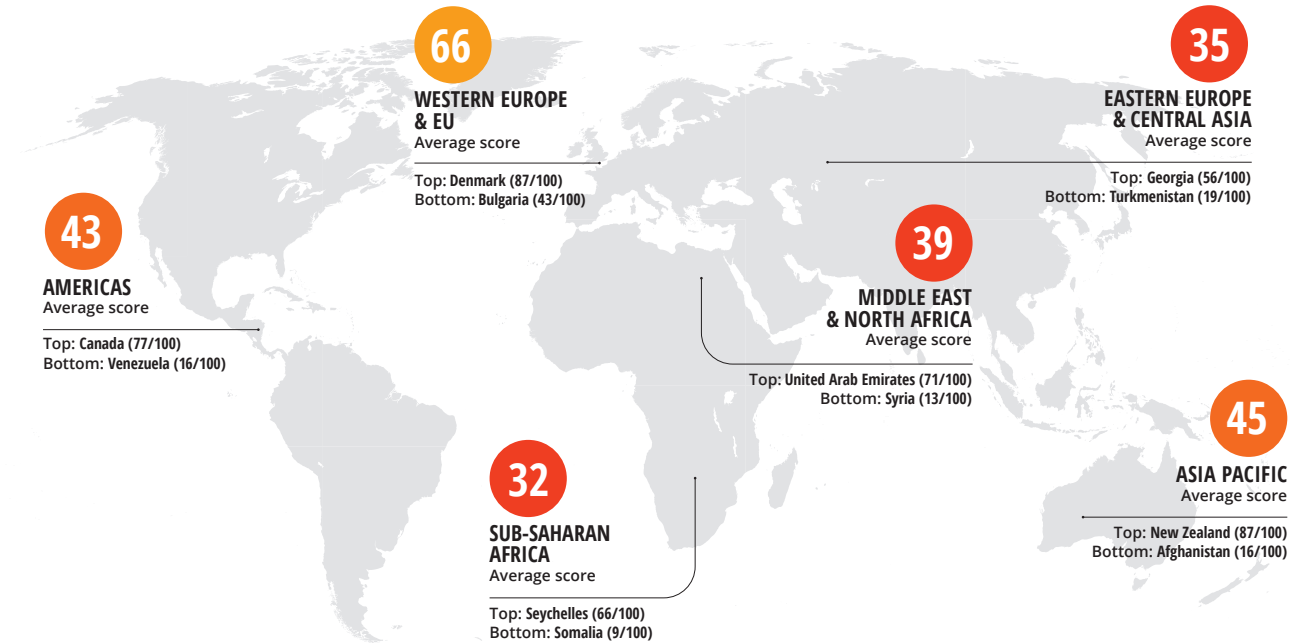
Significant improvers since 2012, Cote d’Ivoire (35) and Senegal (45) still have much work to do. The political will dem-

declined on the CPI. Congo has been the subject of repeated reports of money laundering and embezzlement of public funds by the country’s political elite with no action taken by national authorities.

In Madagascar, despite a 2018 constitutional court ruling against electoral amendments favouring the incumbent president and cited as unconstitutional, ju-

RESULTS BY REGION

Average regional scores, with top and bottom performers in each region.



2014 to 41 in 2019. Revelations of bribery in Ghana's high court in 2015 and the murder of investigative journalist Ahmed Hussein-Suale in early 2019 cast serious doubts on the country's anti-corruption efforts. Despite these developments, there is hope for change. In 2017, the office of special prosecutor was established, which has the power to investigate and prosecute cases of corruption. In 2019, a right to information bill was also passed. These efforts, combined with the enhanced performance of the auditor general's office, offer hope for improvement.

WESTERN EUROPE AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Fourteen of the top 20 countries in this year's CPI are from Western Europe and the European Union (EU), including nine countries from the EU alone.

Despite being the best performing region, with an average score of 66 out of 100, Western Europe and the EU are not immune to corruption. With 87 points, Denmark is the highest-scoring country in the region, followed by Finland (86), Sweden (85) and Switzerland (85).

At the bottom of the region are Bulgaria (43), Romania (44) and Hungary (44). With a score of 53, Italy increased by 11 points

since 2012 while Greece (48) increased by 12 points during the same period. Both countries experienced concrete improvements, including legislative progress in Italy with the passage of anti-corruption laws and the creation of an anti-corruption agency in both countries.

Most post-communist EU member states are struggling to address corruption effectively. Several countries, including Hungary, Poland and Romania, have taken steps to undermine judicial inde-

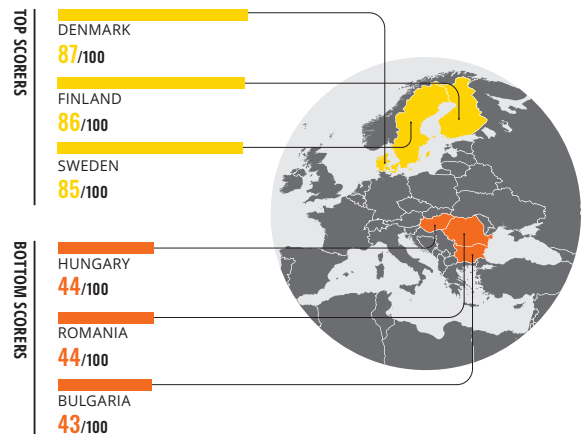
pendence, which weakens their ability to prosecute cases of high-level corruption. In the Czech Republic (56), recent scandals involving the prime minister and his efforts to obtain public money through EU subsidies for his company highlight a startling lack of political integrity. The scandals also point to an insufficient level of transparency in political campaign financing. Issues of conflict of interest, abuse of state resources for electoral purposes, insufficient disclosure of political

31

COUNTRIES ASSESSED

66

AVERAGE REGIONAL SCORE



party and campaign financing, and a lack of media independence are prevalent and should take priority for national governments and the EU.

COUNTRIES TO WATCH

Malta

With a score of 54, Malta is a significant decliner on the CPI, dropping six points since 2015. Given the “pair of political machines [that] have [for decades] operated with impunity on the island” it’s no wonder that two years after the assassination of journalist Daphne Caruana Galizia, who was killed while reporting on corruption, the country is still mired in corruption. Despite calls from Maltese citizens, Caruana Galizia’s family and the international community to solve the case, the government dragged its feet in the judicial procedures. Several scandals involving the Panama Papers, the collapse of a Maltese bank and the “golden visa” scheme that sells Maltese citizenship to wealthy overseas investors may also contribute to Malta’s decline on the CPI.

Estonia

For the past decade, Estonia (74) has seen a stable rise on the CPI. A significant improver, the country increased its score by 10 points since 2012. A comprehensive legislative framework, independent institutions and effective online tools make it possible to reduce petty corruption and make political party financing open and transparent. There is a need, however, to legally define and regulate lobbying to prevent and detect undue influence on policy-making.

Although private sector corruption is not captured on the CPI, recent money laundering scandals involving the Estonian branch of Danske Bank demonstrate a greater need for integrity and accountability in the banking and business sectors. The scandal also highlights a need for better and stronger EU-wide anti-money laundering supervision.

ASIA PACIFIC

A regional average of 45, after many consecutive years of an average score of 44, illustrates general stagnation across the Asia Pacific.

Despite the presence of high performers like New Zealand (87), Singapore (85), Australia (77), Hong Kong (76) and Japan (73), the region hasn’t witnessed substantial progress in anti-corruption efforts or results. In addition, low performers like Afghanistan (16), North Korea (17) and Cambodia (20) continue to highlight seri-

ous challenges in the region.

While often seen as an engine of the global economy, in terms of political integrity and governance, the region performs only marginally better than the global average. Many countries see economic openness as a way forward, however gov-

Papua New Guinea

With a score of 28, Papua New Guinea remains stagnant on the CPI. However, despite low performance on the CPI for years, recent anti-corruption developments are encouraging.

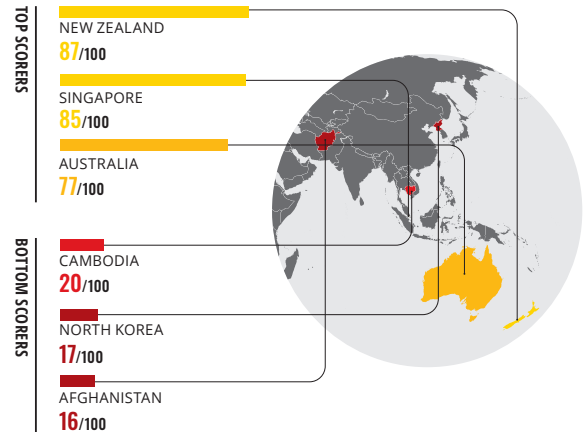
Following the removal of former prime

31

COUNTRIES ASSESSED

45/100

AVERAGE REGIONAL SCORE



ernments across the region, from China to Cambodia to Vietnam, continue to restrict participation in public affairs, silence dissenting voices and keep decision-making out of public scrutiny.

Given these issues, it comes as no surprise that vibrant economic powers such as China (41), Indonesia (40), Vietnam (37), the Philippines (34) and others continue to struggle to tackle corruption.

Even in democracies such as Australia and India, unfair and opaque political financing and undue influence in decision-making and lobbying by powerful corporate interest groups result in stagnation or decline in control of corruption.

COUNTRIES TO WATCH

Indonesia

With a score of 40, Indonesia improves by two points on the CPI. A promising emerging economy is coupled with repression of civil society and weak oversight institutions. The independence and effectiveness of Indonesia’s anti-corruption commission, the KPK, is currently being thwarted by the government.

The Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK), is seen as a symbol of progress and modernization, but is undergoing a loss of autonomy and power. Paradoxically, this contradicts the government’s aspirations and President Joko Widodo’s own agenda, which prioritizes foreign investment and a booming economy. With corruption issues in the limelight, Indonesia risks scaring off investors and slowing economic progress.

minister Peter O’Neill, currently being investigated for alleged corruption, the government instituted structural changes and introduced new legislation to establish an Independent Commission against Corruption (ICAC). Together, these small improvements give citizens a reason for optimism.

Under the current leadership of Prime Minister James Marape, the government should uphold its previous commitments, as well as its 20-year anti-corruption strategy established in 2012, and work to investigate and punish bribery, fraud, conflicts of interest, nepotism and other corrupt acts.

EASTERN EUROPE & CENTRAL ASIA

Eastern Europe and Central Asia is the second-lowest performing region on the CPI, with an average score of 35.

Across the region, countries experience limited separation of powers, abuse of state resources for electoral purposes, opaque political party financing and conflicts of interest.

Only three countries score above the global average: Georgia (56), Belarus (45) and Montenegro (45).

At the bottom of the region are Turkmenistan (19), Uzbekistan (25) and Tajikistan (25).

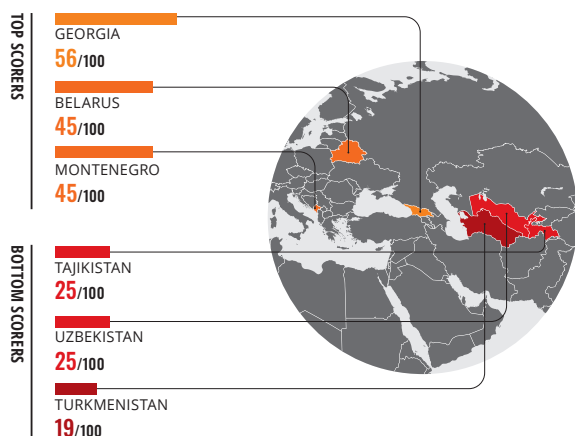
Strong political influence over oversight institutions, insufficient judicial independence and limited press freedoms serve to create an over-concentration

19

COUNTRIES ASSESSED

35/100

AVERAGE REGIONAL SCORE



of power in many countries across the region. Despite aspirations to join the European Union, the scores in six Western Balkan countries and Turkey have not improved.

Turkey (39) declined significantly by 10 points since 2012, while Bosnia and Herzegovina (36) declined by six points in the same period. A lack of political will and a decline in implementation of laws and regulations are real challenges. Since 2012, Belarus (45), Kyrgyzstan (30) and Uzbekistan (25) have significantly improved on the CPI. However, these three post-Soviet states continue to experience state capture and a failure to preserve checks and balances. While Uzbekistan has loosened some media restrictions, it still remains one of the most authoritarian regimes worldwide.

State capture and the concentration of power in private hands remain a major stumbling block in the region. Corruption can only be addressed effectively if political leaders prioritize public interests and set an example for transparency.

COUNTRIES TO WATCH

Armenia

With a score of 42, Armenia improves by seven points since last year. Following the revolution in 2018 and the formation of a new parliament, the country has demonstrated promising developments in advancing anti-corruption policy reforms.

Despite these improvements, conflicts of interests and non-transparent and unaccountable public operations remain impediments to ending corruption in the country. While improving political integrity will take time and resources, increasing public trust in law enforcement and the judiciary are critical first steps in ensuring appropriate checks and balances

and improving anti-corruption efforts.

Kosovo

With a score of 36, Kosovo is experiencing a shift in parliamentary power that could offer an opportunity for change. After years of criticizing the government and international community in Kosovo for their failure to address corruption, the Self-Determination (Vetevendosje) Party, which recently won a majority of parliamentary seats, has a chance to demonstrate its commitment to combating corruption. During the election campaign, the party was one of a few that responded to requests to disclose campaign costs.

However, it remains to be seen if a new government will live up to a higher standard of political integrity. It can do so by abandoning the usual practice of political appointments in state-owned enterprises and by establishing a strong legal obligation for financial disclosure by political parties.

TROUBLE AT THE TOP

Top scoring countries on the CPI like Denmark, Switzerland and Iceland are not immune to corruption. While the CPI shows these public sectors to be among the cleanest in the world, corruption still exists, particularly in cases of money laundering and other private-sector corruption.

The Nordic economies stand out as leaders on the CPI, with Denmark (87), Finland (86), Sweden (85), Norway (84) and Iceland (78) taking five of the top 11 places. However, integrity at home does not always translate into integrity abroad, and multiple scandals in 2019 demonstrated that trans-national corruption is often facilitated, enabled and perpetuated by seemingly clean Nordic countries.

Despite some high-profile fines and

prosecutions, our research shows that enforcement of foreign bribery laws among OECD countries is shockingly low. The outsized roles that some companies play in their national economies give them political support that too often triumphs over real accountability. Some banks and businesses aren't just too big to fail — they're also too powerful to pay. Anti-money laundering supervision and sanctions for breaches are often disjointed and ineffective.

The CPI highlights where stronger anti-corruption efforts are needed across the globe. It emphasizes where businesses should show the greatest responsibility to promote integrity and accountability, and where governments must eliminate undue influence from private interests that can have a devastating impact on sustainable development.

THE FISHROT FILES

In November, the Fishrot Files investigation revealed that Samherji, one of Iceland's largest fishing conglomerates, allegedly bribed government officials in Namibia (52) for rights to massive fishing quotas. The company established shell companies in tax havens such as the UAE (71), Mauritius (52), Cyprus (58) and the Marshall Islands, some of which were allegedly used to launder the proceeds of corrupt deals. Many of the funds ended up in accounts of a Norwegian state-owned bank, DNB.

TELECOM BRIBERY

Last year, Swedish telecoms giant, Ericsson, agreed to pay more than US\$1 billion to settle a foreign bribery case over its 16-year cash-for-contracts campaign in China (41), Djibouti (30), Kuwait (40), Indonesia (40) and Vietnam (37). This is the second largest fine paid to U.S. authorities.

DANSKE BANK SCANDAL

Following the money laundering scandal at Danske Bank, the largest bank in Denmark (87), major banks such as Swedbank in Sweden (85) and Deutsche Bank in Germany (80), were reportedly investigated in 2019 for their role in handling suspicious payments from high-risk non-resident clients, mostly from Russia (28), through Estonia (74).

THE SNC-LAVALIN AFFAIR

In Canada (77), which drops four points since last year, a former executive of construction company SNC-Lavalin was convicted in December over bribes the company paid in Libya (18).

(Continued from page 51)

It would focus on pursuing those kleptocrats who could not be dealt with in domestic courts. Given talented forensic investigators and prosecutorial teams, it could do for corruption and kleptocracy what the effective special court for the former Yugoslavia did for Balkan war crimes when Justice Richard Goldstone of South Africa, followed by Justice Louise Arbour of Canada, were the chief prosecutors.

If a country that signs the covenant establishing the new court subsequently goes sour, then the legal agents of the court could (on petition from civil society in that nation) assume jurisdiction. If a kleptocrat's country has not signed, jurisdiction could theoretically be assigned there by the Security Council (as it did for the ICC when Sudan's Bashir was accused of ethnic cleansing and war crimes). The court could self-fund by confiscating billions of dollars from convicted kleptocrats.

Even absent uncontested jurisdiction, the mere existence of an international anti-corruption court would establish world order's interest in reducing kleptocracy and corruption. Even if a convention establishing the court is adhered to at first only by a minority of the globe's nations, the existence of the court would



Eduardo dos Santos, ruler of Angola until 2017, is the father of Isobel dos Santos, who's been indicted on embezzlement and fraud charges embezzlement and money-laundering offences.

emphasize the world's interest in limiting corruption and money laundering, and in pursuing major offenders aggressively. Even the remote possibility of being hauled in front of a global anti-corruption tribunal could deter and shame.

Mark L. Wolf, a distinguished Boston federal judge, the governments of Colombia and Peru and an organized group of two dozen international jurists and advocates (such as Justice Goldstone and Farid Rohani, a Vancouver entrepreneur) are promoting the idea of the court and attempting to mobilize broad-based support across continents. If the court comes into existence, with expert investigators and responsible judges, kleptocrats and political criminals in many of the world's most poorly governed nations will find themselves at risk. At the same time — which is the point — Africa's workers and farmers will reap greater prosperity, honest dealings and elevated standards of living.

Robert I. Rotberg is the founding director of Harvard Kennedy School's Program on Intrastate Conflict and he was Fulbright Distinguished Professor at Carleton and Waterloo universities. He authored *The Corruption Cure* (Princeton University Press, 2017) and will publish *Anticorruption* (MIT Press) this year. He is a member of the board of directors of Integrity Initiatives International, which advocates for an international anti-corruption court. Email rirotberg@gmail.com to reach him.



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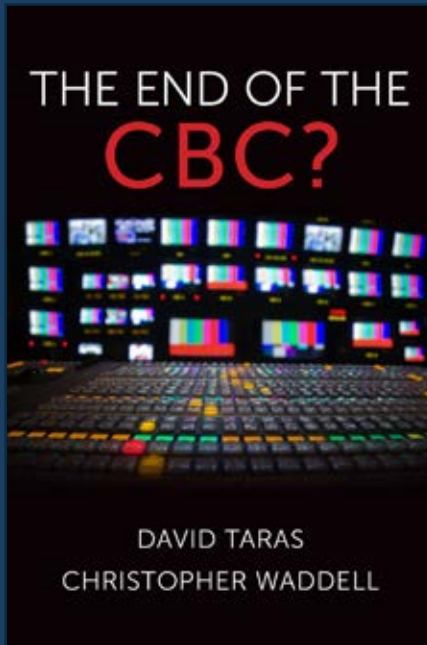


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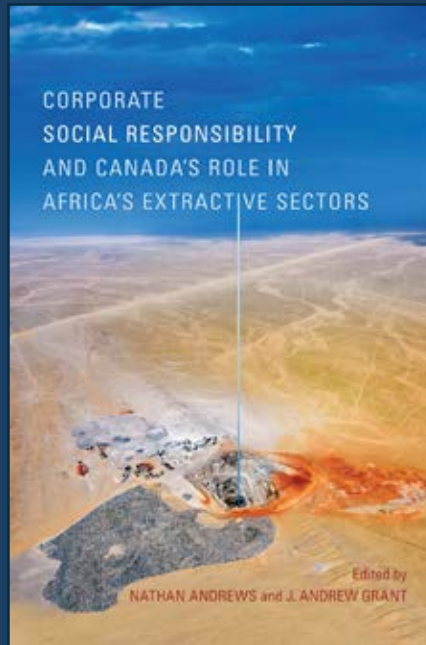
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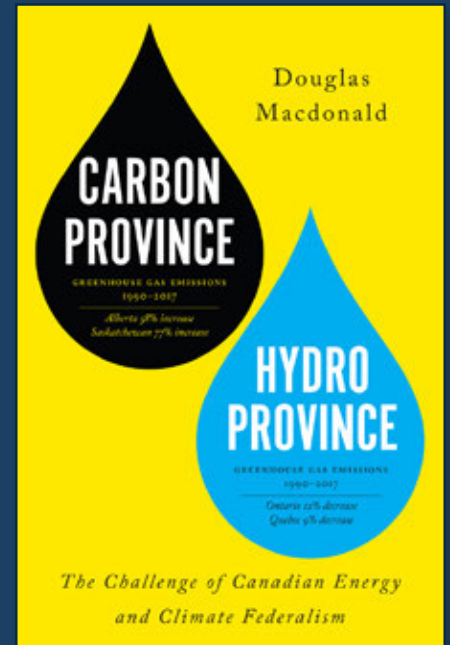
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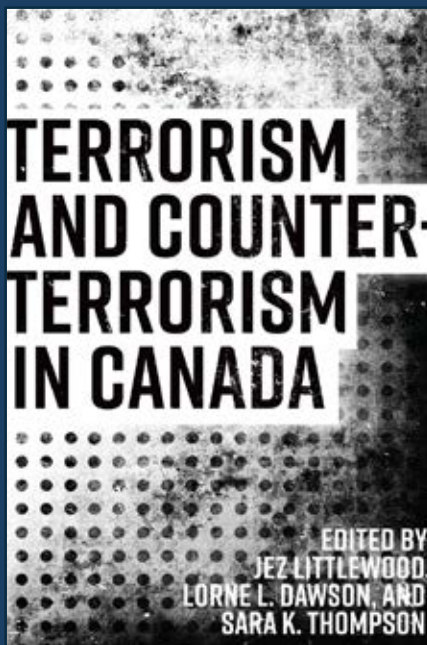
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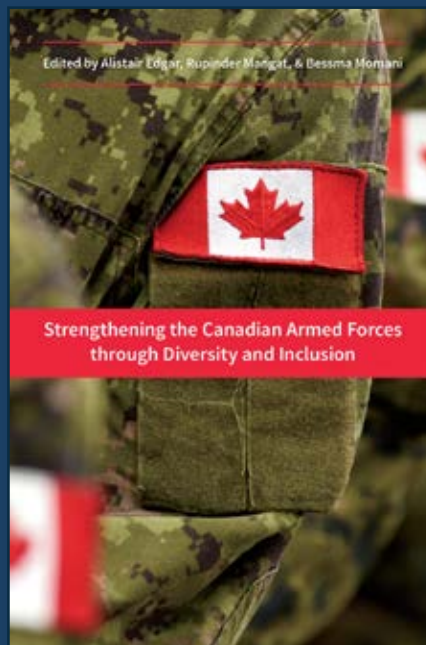
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With All Due Respect: Defending America with Grit and Grace

By Nikki Haley

272 pages

St. Martin's Press, 2019

Hardcover: \$15

Paperback: \$18

Kindle: \$14.10

Growing up, Nikki Haley and Samantha Power were each the odd girl out. As a child, Haley, the daughter of Indian Sikh immigrants to the United States, was constantly told to “choose sides” between being black or white. Meanwhile, Power, raised in Ireland until age nine, came to the United States with her mother, following her parents’ marital breakdown.

Both Haley and Power went on to become United States ambassadors to the United Nations, serving under presidents whose worldviews could not be more different. Both, in late 2019, published books about their experiences. Their perspectives, unsurprisingly, differ. Yet there are areas of overlapping values.

Haley’s book covers some of her time as governor of South Carolina before her UN experience. As a Republican, Haley explicitly endorses Donald Trump’s rivals for the Republican presidential nomination in 2016. But Trump is, in her eyes, a wholly credible candidate. For instance, her mother, as a legal immigrant, supports Trump’s tough stance against illegal border crossers.

Shortly after his election, Trump asks Haley to serve at the UN. She writes frankly that she had not imagined herself in such a job; she is more of a “disrupter” than a diplomat. In accepting the position, she insists on direct communication with Trump — putting her instantly at odds with secretary of state Rex Tillerson, who thinks he should feed the U.S. ambassador



Nikki Haley's book covers some of her time as governor of South Carolina before she became U.S. President Donald Trump's appointee as ambassador to the United Nations.

to the UN her lines.

Pundits have already mined this book for the juicy bits about Haley’s rivalry with Tillerson (who was fired in 2018), and her accusation that he and chief of staff John Kelly were plotting, if not to undermine the president, then at least to work around him. So we’ll focus on the UN.

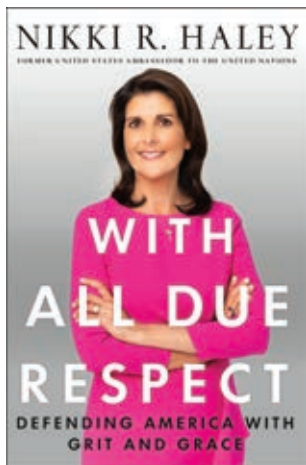
From the start, Haley is ardently “America First,” which she contrasts with the go-along-to-get-along attitude of the Obama administration. The U.S. will back its friends, and expects their support in return, she warns her fellow envoys, adding she’ll be “taking names.” Since the U.S. is a permanent member of the Security Coun-

cil, she meets first with the ambassadors to France and Britain, also P-5 members, but breaks with diplomatic protocol to meet early with the Israeli ambassador, an act meant to underscore American support for a country that receives a disproportionate share of bashing at the UN. Likewise, she meets with the Ukrainians before she meets with the Russians, and so on.

During the almost two years that Haley is at the UN, the U.S. toughens sanctions against North Korea, withdraws funding from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNWRA), and takes the U.S. out of the U.S.-European-Iran nuclear deal. Ad-

ditional sanctions are brought against Russia over Ukraine. Haley is an unabashed supporter of each move. The Iran nuclear deal, for instance, had been cast as “too big to fail” and the “only alternative to war.” Nonsense, she says. On North Korea, she insists that Trump’s tough line on sanctions, even as he cosies up to Kim Jong-Un, has “undeniably made North Korea weaker and less able to finance the expansion of its military machine.” She is exasperated, but undaunted, by what she sees as the complacency and hypocrisy of not just the UN, but many of its member states across a spectrum of human rights issues.

But she is not blind to the stumbles of the president. When, in his now-infamous 2018 press conference, he suggests the Russians had no reason to interfere in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, she complains to him directly. “The truth was that the Russians did meddle in our elections,” she writes. Later, when he reacts to the violent white supremacist gathering in Charlottesville by saying “I think there’s



blame on both sides,” she calls him again to ream him out. Is she punished for this? Not according to her: she writes that he always took her calls, and always treated her with respect.

In this book, Haley proves harder to pigeonhole ideologically than one might expect of a Trump ally. Human rights, for example, concern her deeply; she visits refugee camps, where the stories, of women in particular move her to tears. After one such visit to South Sudan, where four million people have been displaced by war, she returns to the UN determined to pass a weapons embargo on the conflict. It succeeds at the Security Council and is “one of my proudest accomplishments,” she writes.

Haley also attacks some of the core failings of the UN system, such as the Security Council’s habit of ducking human rights because its mandate is “peace and security.” She lacerates the UN Human Rights Council, whose members, in 2017, included some of the world’s worst rights abusers — China, Cuba and Saudi Arabia. Under her watch, the U.S. withdraws from the rights council in 2018. “We left the HRC not because we don’t care about human rights for all, but because we do,” she writes.

Haley’s tenure in New York ends in December 2018 when she resigns (ex-ambassador to Canada Kelly Craft now occupies the chair). What a continued America First approach to the world body will look like if Trump wins re-election will be interesting to watch.

The Education of an Idealist: A Memoir

By Samantha Power
580 pages
HarperCollins, 2019
Hardcover: \$27.16,
Kindle \$18.99
Paperback \$25
Audio CD \$25

One-time journalist Samantha Power doesn’t bury the lede: her memoir starts and (more or less) ends with president Barack Obama’s flip-flop over military action against Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad for using sarin gas to kill his own people.

She’s right to focus there — Obama’s ultimate decision not to stop Assad’s barbarism damaged the U.S.’s global credibility, and serves as a stark example of what this book’s title suggests: that there’s idealism, the earnest desire to create a better world, then there’s the complex reality it smacks into.

Power, who served on the National Security Council (NSC) and as Obama’s UN ambassador from 2013 to 2017, is the ultimate idealist — at least, at first. All of this seems improbable, given her early upbringing. Like Nikki Haley, she’s an outsider, with “a thick Dublin accent, long red hair in a pony tail and pale skin” when she arrives in the U.S. at age nine with her mother and brother. Readers learn a great deal about her early relationship with her alcoholic father and her deep, irrational guilt when he dies from illness while she’s a teen, a continent away.

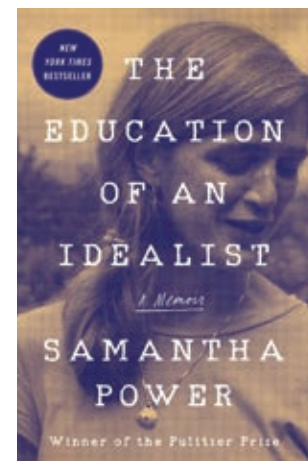
Emotionally defensive about close relationships as a result, Power nonetheless is moved by the photograph of a lone man standing in front of a tank in China’s

Tiananmen Square in 1989. Galvanized by the field of human rights, she goes on to become a war correspondent in Bosnia and, ultimately, an expert on genocide. She studies law at Harvard, makes connections among influential and intelligent foreign policy mandarins and writes the Pulitzer prize-winning book, *A Problem from Hell*, about how the U.S. administration justified its inaction in the face of slaughters in Srebrenica and Rwanda.

When she meets up-and-coming senator Obama (whom she describes as “at once regal and relaxed”), she joins his team. When he becomes president, the hard part begins.

First is the daunting process of working in the White House, where Power starts at the NSC as senior director for multilateral affairs and senior director for human rights. She’s frequently in the room where it happens, but is amazed at the “number of cooks in the kitchen — and not at all surprised by how blandly the resulting White House statements often read.” She also discovers “how few voices in high-level government discussions highlighted the nexus between human rights and U.S. national security” (an observation Haley makes later about the UN Security Council).

As the title of the book suggests, this idealist soon comes face to face with politics over principle. For example, although Obama had promised during the election campaign that he would officially recog-



nize the Armenian genocide of 1915, once in office he declines, balancing relationships with Turkey and Armenia. When Power chastises him, he snaps, “I am worried about the living Armenians. Not the ones we can’t bring back.” Power must content herself with progress in other areas, such as incorporating anti-atrocity

training into planning at the Pentagon, and supporting LGBTQ rights worldwide.

The president does, of course, act decisively in many instances where innocents are threatened, for instance unleashing the U.S. military as part of the 2011 NATO



Samantha Power's memoir starts and ends with president Barack Obama's flip-flop over military action against Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad.

mission in Libya, which makes it that much harder for Power to understand his backpedalling on Syria just a few years later.

In 2013, she is sworn in as U.S. ambassador to the UN, and is barely three weeks into the job when Assad stages a sweeping chemical weapons attack inside his own country that kills 1,400 people, including 400 children. A year before, Obama had delivered his "red line" pledge of dire consequences should Assad use such horrific, illegal weaponry. Obama tells his cabinet to prepare for strikes against military targets in Syria. Power approves.

But it is not to be. In Power's telling, the first obstacle is the presence of UN investigators on the ground; Obama won't strike until they leave Syria, and UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon won't order them out of Syria until they finish their work. The second obstacle is Obama's belated decision to seek congressional authorization for his planned military action, something he did not do during the Libyan intervention. Secretary of state John Kerry warns him: "If you lose with Congress, having already told the world that you are going to use military force, people will proclaim the effective end of your second term." Obama does lose the congressional vote. There is no military strike to stop Syria atrocities.

As the world now knows, Assad has continued his mass slaughter, including

the use of gas. And why wouldn't he? "Assad could reasonably conclude that, going forward, he could starve his people into submission, carpet bomb hospitals and schools and eventually resume chemical weapons attacks, all without the United States doing much to stop it," writes Power.

Yet she never contemplates quitting in protest at U.S. inaction. Instead, her book goes on to enumerate worthy initiatives the U.S. and its UN ambassador champion: fighting Ebola, for instance; taking in refugees (with a shout-out to Canada's generous refugee policy); shoring up military support in Iraq; negotiating the Iran nuclear deal with European partners; helping the Yazidis and so on. Still, the Syrian failure looms over them all. "On no other issue did I see Obama so personally torn — convinced that even limited military action would mire the United States in an open-ended conflict, yet wracked by the human toll of the slaughter," writes Power. "I don't believe he ever stopped interrogating his choices."

She adds: "For generations to come, the Syrian people and the wider world will be living with the horrific aftermath of the most diabolical atrocities carried out since the Rwandan genocide." As a top administration official who started her job in hopes of forging a better world, Power will be living with it too.

Waste

By Kate O'Neill

Publisher: Polity Press, 2019

240 pages

Hardcover \$69.28

Paperback \$21.00

Kindle: \$15.37

Waste not, want not, grandma told us. If only we had listened. Instead, in 2020, we inhabit a world of overflowing landfills, discarded foodstuffs, waves of ocean plastic and discarded materials from the planned obsolescence of consumer products.

How bad are our planetary trash troubles? Consider:

- About one-third of the food produced globally for human consumption is either lost or wasted. In North America and Europe, that's between 95 and 115 kilograms a year of food waste per person;

- The world produced 44.7 million metric tonnes of electronic waste in 2016, more than six kilograms per person;

- In the United States, only 9.5 per cent of plastic that makes it into the waste

stream is recycled.

It's not yet the dystopian world of *Mad Max: Fury Road*. But as Kate O'Neill explains in this overview of the tough social, economic and political challenges posed by waste, there are similarities.

Waste, for instance, is not something that we can push "out of sight, out of mind." It's also a resource, and it provides a living to hundreds of thousands of people, from waste-pickers in Pakistan to electronic repair workers in India to urban miners in South Korea. Nor does waste that is shipped offshore always flow from the Global North to the South; it often travels between developed countries, depending on who can profit. Regulating this "resource frontier" is difficult; only recently, the Philippines forced Canada to take back 69 container loads of trash that had been shipped there under the false label of plastics for recycling.

O'Neill focuses on several aspects of the waste economy, but we'll narrow our look to three: electronics, plastics and food.

Apple Inc. recently unveiled a special robot that takes apart old iPhones to retrieve material for re-use. That might seem a positive development: e-devices and appliances can be dismantled and stripped for valuable metals such as copper, silver, gold or palladium. Indeed, in parts of the world — O'Neill cites the Agbogbloshie district of Accra in Ghana — tens of thousands of people make their living "mining" or repairing e-devices. What's extracted is resold or exported. There is a burgeoning economy around such "waste."

But extraction is often dangerous work (there are toxins in these products), and much of this market is controlled by organized crime. As well, sensitive personal data can sometimes be harvested from electronic throwaways.

O'Neill explores two potentially better approaches: phasing out the planned obsolescence that companies build into their products (this "made to fail" approach started in 1924 when the lighting industry set a 1,000-hour standard for the lifespan of a light-bulb so we'd keep buying them); and encouraging or supporting the "right to repair" movement which seeks to allow workers worldwide to legitimately patch up and resell products — recycling e-waste while providing a legal spinoff living to many.

Plastics, meanwhile, jolted the public consciousness big-time when, in 2017, the UN termed ocean plastics a "planetary crisis." The "great garbage patch" in the Pacific Ocean is estimated to be three

times the size of France, and it is not the only gargantuan heap of floating junk. Studies say between 4.8 million and 12.7 million metric tonnes of plastics have entered the oceans, with discarded fishing nets making up about 46 per cent of them by weight. (Discarded plastic straws make up only 0.3 per cent of the total, but are a clear symbol of the unnecessary human fouling of our planet.)

Solving the plastics problem is complex, however. Plastics “have made life easier and brighter for a long time,” O’Neill points out: In North America, their biggest use is for packaging, and plastic food packaging can help reduce food waste. Yet only certain types are reasonably easy to recycle.

In 2017, the Chinese government did the world a favour: It abruptly cracked down on its hitherto huge imports of scrap, including plastics. The move shook many nations into realizing they must now take responsibility for their own polymer problem.

In the North, meanwhile, food is plentiful and reasonably cheap. So we waste it in astounding quantities. Think lettuce. U.K.-based Tesco reported that in 2017 consumers threw out 40 per cent of the bagged lettuce they bought each year, or 178 million bags. Further, “52 per cent of fruit and vegetables produced or purchased in the U.S., Canada, Australia and New Zealand is discarded.” And food waste happens not just in rich countries, but in poorer ones. Wasted food also carries a giant carbon footprint.

The good news, if there is any, is that everyone understands food waste is bad, O’Neill notes: “People agree on the scope of the problem.” Solutions exist (even if they’re not always used): composting, donation, education about expiry labels, discouraging bulk sales that lead to waste, fixing government policies that cause over-production. In time, we may get a handle on this problem.

O’Neill doesn’t simply provide a glimpse at the main forms of waste, however. She explores the economics and politics of the “zero-waste movement” and the “circular economy,” which are sometimes at philosophical odds with each other. In this book, you’ll find out about “resource frontiers” and the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and their Disposal. You’ll have at your fingertips references to the major studies, websites and a vast body of literature that exists on waste.

Grandma, of course, didn’t have access

to any of this, and had surely never heard of the growing academic field of “discard studies.” She just had her good common sense. The world could use more of it.

BOOK BRIEFS

The Book of Gutsy Women: Favorite Stories of Courage and Resilience

By Hillary Rodham Clinton and Chelsea Clinton

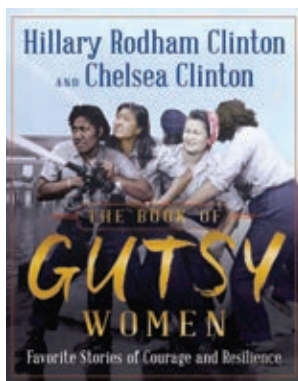
Simon & Schuster, 2019

464 pages

Hardcover: \$17.50

Kindle: \$16.95

“Power,” write Hillary and Chelsea Clinton, “has largely been associated with



— and defined by — men since the beginning of time ... We believe it is past time for that to change.” Hence this mother-daughter book of short chapters about the great women of (mostly Western, mostly American) history.

From Harriet Tubman, former slave and heroine of the underground railroad, to Margaret Bourke-White, the fearless photojournalist, to doctor and educator Maria Montessori, to education rights fighter Malala Yousafzai, the two Clintons cheerfully survey the landscape of female achievement. This book isn’t exhaustive — and it tends to turn the focus too often on the Clinton women themselves — but it is an enjoyable overview, and, just as it was written by a mother and daughter, its chapters can be shared and discussed among mothers and daughters of any age.

Canada on the United Nations Security Council: A Small Power on a Large Stage

By Adam Chapnick

UBC Press, 2020

320 pages

Hardcover \$58.47

Kindle \$13.16

Paperback: \$34.95

The history of the UN Security Council isn’t just about the “Permanent Five” — the United States, Russia, China, Britain and France. Non-permanent members matter too, writes Adam Chapnick. But why, exactly? What is it that has attracted Canada to campaign, so often, for non-permanent membership? This tome looks at how we have fared in those post-war campaigns, and what we did once on-board.

At time of writing, Canada was still campaigning to win a seat on the council, with the prime minister travelling to Africa to shore up support for what promised to be a difficult election. He cancelled his planned UN-campaign trip to the Caribbean in mid-February to deal with the crisis of Indigenous protesters and their sympathizers opposed to the proposed B.C. Coastal GasLink pipeline. Domestic issues replaced stumping for international stardom.

Diplomacy and the Arctic Council

By Danita Catherine Burke

216 pages

McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019

Hardcover: \$108

Kindle: \$16.47

Paperback: \$29.95

The idea of international co-operation and communication in the Arctic was pretty much a non-starter until the late 1980s, the era of Mikhail Gorbachev and *glasnost* in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev wanted the Arctic to be a “zone of peace,” and since that time much of the diplomacy to this end has played out through the Arctic Council, created in the mid-’90s. The council brings to one table the seven Arctic nations — and equally important, six Indigenous organizations.

That does not mean smooth sailing, however. The environment and development are key questions for the North, and it’s entirely possible Russia’s frosty relations with some of its council counterparts will hurt co-operation. But this exploration of the structures and practices of the council suggest its members want to insulate the Arctic, as much as possible, from larger global tensions.

Christina Spencer is the editorial pages editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*. She holds a master’s from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University, and is a past winner of National Newspaper Awards for international reporting and editorial writing.



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Garden-fresh herbs spice up spring menus



Ham and Avocado Eggs Benedict is a nice twist on the traditional dish.



Margaret
Dickenson

With the arrival of spring and warm weather, once again, gardens will flourish with fresh herbs and edible flowers, ready to add flavour to our culinary creations. In this issue, I focus on fresh dill, which, along with other herbs as well as spices, gives recipes an overall complexity of flavours, certain to delight palates. Featured also,

in all three recipes, is my versatile Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise. This flavoured mayonnaise remains among my most frequently used “basic recipes” and is always on hand, refrigerated in a handy squeeze bottle and in an airtight plastic container. You can do the same.

Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise: To make 2 C (500 mL), whisk thoroughly together until well blended, 2 C (500 mL) of mayonnaise (regular or low-calorie) with 2 2/3 tbsp (40 mL) of peeled and grated fresh gingerroot and 2 1/2 tsp (13 mL) of granulated sugar.

Ham and Avocado Eggs Benedict

Makes 4 servings

With determination to take Eggs Benedict to a new level, I have sandwiched a slice

of perfectly ripened avocado between half of a toasted English muffin and the poached egg, but not before drizzling the muffin with Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise and the avocado with Tarragon Hollandaise Mayonnaise. An extra touch of Tarragon Hollandaise Mayonnaise as well as a slice of maple smoked ham complete this innovative stack. For a more robust plate, I include a side of textured barley pilaf studded with mushrooms, sweet peppers and corn, plus a colourful garnish of multi-coloured mini sweet pepper rings and grape tomatoes.

4 whole-wheat English muffins
1 1/2 to 2 tbsp (23 to 30 mL) soft butter
1 tbsp (30 mL) Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise (see introduction)
1 to 2 ripe avocados, cut vertically into

1/3-inch or 0.8-centimetre thick slices
 2 tbsp (30 mL) Tarragon Hollandaise Mayonnaise*, divided
 4 large eggs
 4 slices of maple-smoked cooked ham, hand-cut (thickness: 1/5" or 0.5 cm)

Garnish

Sprigs of fresh dill

1. Cut English muffins in half, toast all 8 halves lightly and butter. Set 4 of the toasted muffin halves aside.
2. Place the remaining 4 muffin halves on 4 individual plates (even in smallish skillets** for a more original presentation). Drizzle each with 3/4 tsp (4 mL) of Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise, top with a full slice of avocado and drizzle each slice with about 1/2 tsp (3 mL) Tarragon Hollandaise Mayonnaise.
3. Poach 4 eggs to the degree of doneness desired, using your preferred poaching technique.
4. For each serving, place one poached egg on top of the slice of avocado, drizzle with 1 tsp (5 mL) of Tarragon Hollandaise Mayonnaise and crown with a slice of ham.
5. Along with the remaining muffin halves, for a more robust presentation, add to each serving 1/4 cup (60 mL) of Mushroom Corn Barley Pilaf, grape tomatoes cut in half and thin rings of raw, coloured mini sweet peppers as accompaniments.

* To make 1/3 cup (80 mL) of the Tarragon Hollandaise Mayonnaise Sauce, combine 1/3 cup (80 mL) of mayonnaise, 2/3 tsp (3 mL) of prepared mustard (sandwich type) and a pinch of crushed dried tarragon leaves. Store refrigerated in a well-sealed jar. (Do not heat.)

** These small skillets are available at some grocery stores and kitchen supply stores, in cast iron or enameled aluminum.

How-to tip: To make poached eggs using the boiling water technique, pour about 3/4 of an inch (2 cm) of water into a large skillet. Add 1 tsp (5 mL) of white vinegar (to assist in setting the egg white) and a touch of salt; bring the water to a simmer. Working with one egg at a time, break it into a small bowl and slip the egg into the simmering water. Repeat this process for the remainder of the eggs. Allow the eggs to cook uncovered until the whites are almost set. Bathe the top of the yolks with spoonfuls of simmering water until a film forms over the yolks. If necessary, continue to cook the eggs only until the



Exotic Smoked Salmon Potato Cups make a memorable hors d'oeuvres.

whites are firm, but the yolks are still soft. (Note: Some people do not like their yolks runny. In that case, cover the skillet and allow the yolks to cook to the desired degree of doneness.) Carefully lift out the eggs with a slotted pancake flipper and allow excess water to drain off. If necessary, trim edges with a small sharp knife to form neat, circular, poached eggs.

Mushroom Corn Barley Pilaf

Makes 1 1/2 cups or 375 mL

This recipe is wonderfully versatile. Serve it hot, chilled or at room temperature as a side dish. The flavour combinations of the pilaf work well with seasoned, glazed and grilled meat, fish, poultry and pork.

3/4 tsp (4 mL) minced fresh garlic

1/2 tsp (3 mL) finely grated fresh gingerroot
 2 tbsp (30 mL) butter
 1/2 cup (125 mL) diced (1/4 inch or 0.6 cm) fresh mushrooms (e.g., cremini, shiitake)
 1/2 cup (125 mL) diced (1/4 inch or 0.6 cm) fresh red bell pepper (seeds and stems removed)
 To taste, salt and crushed black peppercorns
 1/2 cup (125 mL) cooked kernels of sweet, fresh corn
 1/2 cup (125 mL) cooked barley*
 1 tbsp (15 mL) chopped fresh mint leaves

1. In a non-stick medium-size skillet over medium heat, sauté garlic and ginger in butter for a minute, stirring constantly.
2. Add mushrooms and sauté for a couple of minutes, seasoning to taste with salt and crushed black peppercorns and stir-

ring frequently. Add red pepper and sauté another minute. (Note: The pepper should still be quite crisp.)

3. Add corn and barley and stir until just heated through. Add extra butter if desired.

4. Transfer pilaf promptly to a bowl, sprinkle with chopped mint and toss. If desired, add salt and/or crushed black peppercorns to taste.

* Alternative option: Cooked orzo.

To cook pearl barley

Makes 3 cups or 750 mL

1 cup (250 mL) pearl barley

1. Rinse barley several times with cold water until rinse water is clear.

2. Place in a medium-sized saucepan and cover with 2 inches (5 cm) of water; salt to taste.

3. Bring to boil over high heat; reduce heat. Cover securely and simmer until cooked (about 20 to 22 minutes). Note: The barley pearls should be slightly chewy, but tender.

4. Drain very well. Spread on 3 large dinner plates tossing lightly with a fork to allow extra moisture to evaporate as the barley cools.

5. Place in airtight plastic containers and store refrigerated for up to 3 days or frozen for months.

Exotic Smoked Salmon Potato Cups

(Makes 24 pieces)

Memorable hors d'oeuvres generally deliver something unique in flavour and presentation. In this recipe, the layering of several tasty elements presented in well-balanced proportions offers an exotic culinary experience with the unexpected zip of specks of wasabi paste.

12 tiny* potatoes (total weight: 8 oz or 250 g)
2 tbsp (30 mL) Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise (see introduction)

2 to 3 tbsp (30 to 45 mL) sour cream, divided

1/3 cup (80 mL) smoked salmon, chopped
1 tsp (5 mL) wasabi paste

A few stems of fresh dill weed

1. Cook unpeeled potatoes in salted boiling water until just tender.** (Avoid overcooking.)

2. Cut each potato in half. Arrange on a cutting board with cut-side up, trimming bottoms if necessary, allowing the potato halves to sit level. With a small spoon (e.g.

¼ tsp (1 mL) round measuring spoon) remove much of the interior of each potato half to create a mini potato cup. (Avoid cracking the sides and piercing the bottoms of the cups.)

3. Add ¼ tsp (1 ml) of Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise to the bottom of each cup; then, fill cups with sour cream.

4. Crown each cup with smoked salmon (about ½ to ¾ tsp or 2.5 to 4 mL).

5. Add a drop of sour cream, then top with a small cluster of caviar pearls.

6. Strategically, tuck just 2 well-separated specks of wasabi paste into the folds of the smoked salmon.

7. Garnish Smoked Salmon Potato Cups with delicate sprigs of fresh dill weed.

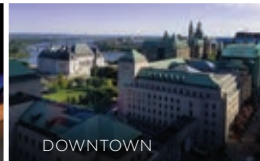
* Choose well-shaped round small potatoes, about 2 bites in size, so that when cut in half and filled, will create 2 “one-bite” size hors d'oeuvres.

** Potatoes may be cooked a day in advance and stored refrigerated.

Fried Trout with Cranberry-Herb Stuffing

Makes 4 servings

In this recipe, whole trout is infused with the flavour and fragrance of nutmeg, tarragon and dill. Adding an element of surprise, dried cranberries complement the



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herbs and spice.

2 whole trout (about 12 oz or 350 g each),
cleaned
1 tbsp (15 mL) ground nutmeg
1 tbsp (15 mL) crushed dried tarragon
leaves
½ cup (125 mL) dried cranberries
3 tbsp (45 mL) chopped fresh dill weed
½ cup (125 mL) lightly spiced flour
3 tbsp (45 mL) vegetable oil
3 tbsp (45 mL) butter
1½ cups (375 mL) Zesty Ginger Mayo-
naisse* (See introduction)

Garnish (optional)

long sprigs of fresh dill

1. Remove scales from fish. Wipe exterior and interior of fish with paper towels.
2. Sprinkle all interior surfaces evenly and fairly generously with nutmeg, tarragon and then chopped dill weed. Fill cavities with dried cranberries.
3. Secure cavity of each fish closed with 2 or 3 toothpicks or metal skewers. Carefully dust the exterior of fish completely with lightly spiced flour.
4. In a large preheated skillet over medium-high heat, fry the whole stuffed fish in hot oil and melted butter.
5. When the first side is golden brown (about 8 to 10 minutes), turn fish over. Cook the second side until thickest part of flesh begins to become opaque and flakes easily with a fork (about 16 to 20 minutes). Avoid overcooking.
6. Remove toothpicks/skewers and if desired, the skin. Using a sharp knife, release the head from the body of the fish and discard.
7. To serve, cut each fish into 2 equal portions and place one portion on each of four individual dinner plates. Garnish each portion of trout artistically with a long sprig of fresh dill. Drizzle plates with Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise.
8. Pass remaining mayonnaise sauce in a separate bowl at the table.

* To make ½ (125 mL) cup of lightly spiced flour, combine ½ cup (125 mL) flour, ¾ tsp (4 mL) curry powder, ½ tsp (3 mL) salt, ½ tsp (3 mL) crushed dried tarragon leaves, ¼ tsp (1 mL) crushed black peppercorns, ¼ tsp (1 mL) garlic powder, ¼ tsp (1 mL) ground nutmeg, ¼ tsp (1 mL) powdered mustard.

Margaret Dickenson is a cookbook author, TV host, menu and recipe developer and a protocol, business and etiquette instructor.



The cranberries in this fried trout with cranberry-herb stuffing offer an interesting counterpoint to the dish.



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Canada

Spring in Ottawa spells nature on the arts scene

By Peter Simpson

Editor's note: At press time, many public places were closed. Check with galleries before heading out.

It's spring, and art about nature and its wild creatures is blooming all over Ottawa.

Four artists — three from Ottawa, one from the West Coast — have their own perspectives on nature, from the eccentric and sardonic to the sensual and enigmatic.

First up is Russell Yuristy, a Saskatchewan-born elder statesman of Ottawa art, with an exhibition at the Ottawa Art Gallery titled *The Inside of Elephants and All Kinds of Things*.

The show focuses on the early years of Yuristy's career, mainly "the dynamic period between 1970 and 1990" when he "crafted a whimsical portrait of the natural world, rural culture and his place in both, emerging as one of the most unique Canadian anti-establishment artists," says the exhibition catalogue.

The art was big, fun and literally playful. In the early 1970s, he launched the Creative Playground Workshop, and began building functional versions of iconic Canadian creatures — a buffalo, a beaver, a polar bear and, exceptionally, an elephant. They were installed in towns and cities across Canada and the United States. The structures, which were built from discarded lumber and paint and other found materials, no longer exist, but the elephant has been partially rebuilt in the gallery for this exhibition.

The other structures are seen in photographs, including the beaver that was on Victoria Island near Parliament Hill, and the fish that was next to the old Ottawa City Hall on Sussex Drive. Also included are drawings that inspired the playground project, sketched on a daily basis by the young Yuristy, just loose lines and fantastical ideas on paper.

Rounding out the exhibition are paintings, drawings and sculptures, made near the end of the period covered and likely more familiar to followers of Yuristy's art — drawings of majestic, leaping salmon and sculptures of horses hauling sleds full of people, or full of manure. Humour and whimsy have always been essential to Yuristy's work, as surely as has his unshakeable love for the natural world.



This photo of a beaver sculpture by Russell Yuristy is on display at the Ottawa Art Gallery, in his show *The Inside of Elephants and All Kinds of Things*.

The Inside of Elephants and All Kinds of Things continues at the OAG to July 26. The exhibition is curated by Catherine Sinclair, and presented by Lawson Hunter. See oag-gao.ca for more.

Untold stories of wolves and other beasts

At the Ottawa City Hall Art Gallery, Anna Williams' *Untold Stories I Once Wished Lost* "reflects on what we have lost in our passage from nature to culture," the Ottawa artist said.

Williams' language is prints and sculpture and, in the latest exhibition, she uses it to consider how "family history, identity and mythologies of womanhood intersect to offer alternative definitions of what it means to be female."

An early look at work created for the show included woodcuts and linocuts that, typically for her, were fuelled by a rich un-

dercurrent of the mythological. Wolves have been a constant theme in Williams' work — often hybrids of half-wolf, half-human female — and here they share space with bears, deer, plentiful birds and humans.

The prints are densely etched and rich in symbolism. In one linocut, the brothers Otus and Ephialtes, of Greek myth, are surrounded by lush forest and an audience of crows or ravens. Across a gap in the foliage are two females, presumably the goddesses Artemis and Hera, whom the brothers had sought to capture on Mount Olympus.

In her work, Williams creates a mythologically inspired world of her own, and this exhibition is sure to be the next chapter in her evolving consideration of female identity in modern society. The story, to date, has been fascinating.

Untold Stories I Once Wished Lost runs



Anna Williams' work is rich in symbolism. Shown here is a piece titled *Callisto and Arcas*, which is part of her show, *Untold Stories / Once Wished Lost*, at the City Hall Art Gallery from May 7 to July 12. Below is a large photograph of Patti Normand's work, being shown at Wall Space Gallery from June 11 to 30. Normand's new work is inspired more by "our relationship to nature, either our awe of it or our total disregard for it and the sometimes devastating effect of that." The piece below is called *Deer Lady*.

May 7 to July 12 at the City Hall Art Gallery. More at annawilliams.ca.

'Delightfully unsettling' dioramas

Wall Space Gallery will feature the delightfully unsettling art of Ottawa's Patti Normand in a show titled *North Star*.

Normand is known for her compact dioramas and large photographs of those dioramas, and at first glance they seem bucolic — happy people on picnics, boating excursions and other adventures into nature, or perhaps getting married in a park or simply enjoying their own residential property. Then you lean in for a closer look and see the breaching whale, the menacing bear, or the approaching tornado. As Normand puts it, "it becomes apparent all is not as it seems."

Each of Normand's dioramas is a tidy world of its own, safely encased in glass (usually a cake stand) or plastic (usually a simple, square box). Each photograph, printed in large format, captures and even adds to threats that can be imminent and obvious, or more mysteriously foreboding.

Her new work is inspired more by "our relationship to nature, either our awe if it,





Troy Moth's work will be on display at Studio Sixty Six from June 5 to July 5. A photographer and filmmaker from a family of loggers on Vancouver Island, Moth presents wood sculptures he created from wood blocks he salvaged from logging sites and asks, "how do we judge what's worthy and worthless?"

or our total disregard for it and the sometimes devastating effect of that." For this exhibition she is "work(ing) larger with ceramic sculptures and some painting."

New work by Patti Normand will be shown June 11 to 30 at Wall Space Gallery, 358 Richmond Rd. wallspacegallery.ca

Moth explores his logging history

Another personal relationship with nature is extrapolated into questions for all to consider in Troy Moth's exhibition at Studio Sixty Six in the Glebe.

Moth is a photographer and filmmaker from a family of loggers on Vancouver Island. This outing features wood sculptures he created from cut blocks salvaged from logging sites. The results still feel organic, as Moth has maintained the natural presence of the wood. He wants viewers to consider "what we value and what we discard, what we commodify and covet." Or, saliently, "how do we judge what is worthy or worthless?" Moth's show runs June 5 to July 5 at Studio Sixty Six, 858 Bank St. studiosixtysix.ca.

Also showing . . .

Neeko Paluzzi, The Little Prince, now open to May 24 at Karsh Masson Gallery in Ottawa City Hall: Inspired by the beloved novel, and a recent sleep in his own childhood bed, Paluzzi's photographs show seven imagined planets, all observed through a classic View-Master. paluzzi.ca

Raynald Leclerc, Paysage et emotions, April 4 to 18 at Koyman Galleries, 1771 St. Laurent Blvd.: Ottawa's largest commercial gallery features Leclerc's classically impressionistic landscapes. The self-taught artist's focus is the Canadian landscape, particularly the Charlevoix region in Quebec. koymangalleries.com.

France Jodain, Earth, water and sky, April 16 to 28 at Galerie St-Laurent+Hill, 293 Dalhousie St.: There's a diaphanous warmth to Jodain's landscapes, as if they're viewed through a summer haze. Vague figures seem to emerge from a near horizon, all rendered with a soft touch and soft palette, and with oblique titles such as "A raindrop and a stem to hold the tiny

gem." galeriestlaurentplushill.com.

Student Graduation Exhibition, April 17 to May 1 at SPAO (School of Photographic Arts Ottawa), 77 Pamilla St.: Ottawa's photographic art school presents its annual year-end exhibition by its students. Style and subject vary, and it's a great opportunity to find inspired work by emerging artists at affordable prices. spao.ca

Svetlana Swinimer, Unveiling Goddess, May 2 to 30 at Gallery 101, 280 Catherine St.: Ottawa artist Swinimer uses Makosh, the ancient goddess of destiny, as a lens to explore prehistoric beliefs, and "times when nature and the cosmos were everyday parts of human existence." g101.ca

Nordic Lab grand opening, June 12, 7 p.m. to 2 a.m. at SAW Gallery, 67 Nicholas St.: The opening of SAW's Nordic Lab takes place, with an exhibition by the Sámi art collective Suohpanterror, and other art and music from around the circumpolar world. saw-centre.com/#nordic-lab

Contact pete@petersimpson.ca with details of your upcoming art exhibitions.



Below right, is a photo of Svetlana Swinimer's work from a show titled *Unveiling Goddess*, which runs from May 2 to 30 at Gallery 101. The artist uses Makosh, the ancient goddess of destiny, as a lens to explore prehistoric beliefs, and "times when nature and the cosmos were everyday parts of human existence."

Across the bottom of this page, this photo by Oliver Brown, a student at the School of Photographic Arts Ottawa (SPA0), is part of the students' graduation exhibit, which will run from April 17 to May 1 at SPA0. Above left, this photo by Ava Marguerette, will be shown at the same exhibition.



GUY L'HEUREUX

Austrian wines: Fresh, light and wholly drinkable



Tristan
Bragaglia-
Murdock

With centuries of grape-growing and wine-making in the region, and best practices that date back to the time of the Romans, Austrian winemakers are implementing the traditions and knowledge to make wines that taste of a place. Terroir is at the fore.

Regardless of style, Austrian wines tend to have a lithe core of bright acid, savoury herbs and low alcohol that lend themselves to drinkability. Food, especially fattier foods and rich cheeses, can help take the edge off the high acidity or round out the savouriness into a more complete package.

“To me, that’s a good sign: Does it make me want to eat?” asks Roxanne Mant, sommelier at Soif, a Gatineau restaurant and wine bar that offered an Austrian wine primer. Enjoyable by themselves, these wines are meant for food.

An aged riesling from Domäne Wachau ticks all these boxes: lush oxidative notes of chamomile and dried hay play alongside petrol and lemon curd. The wine’s structure, centred around a powerful acidity and a touch of tarragon stem, suggest pairing it with rich, salty, aged cheeses, charcuterie and preserves.

Following that up is a young Grüner Veltliner from the same producer — notes of green apple and citrus were muddled by alcohol heat. Youthful Grüners tend to be fresh and easy drinking, while finding something with age offers more depth and complexity.

Grüner’s successful rise as a substitute to Sauvignon Blanc or Pinot Grigio opens the doors for drinkers seeking more Austrian wine. Thanks to this springboard grape, producers dug their heels in and moved to producing wines from other native grapes.

We jump into reds Blaufränkisch and St. Laurent next. Mant describes the first as “Cab Sauv meets Syrah, [while] St. Laurent is kind of like Pinot Noir meets Syrah



Austrian wines are made using best practices that date back to the time of the Romans. Wine-makers follow traditions to create wines that taste of the country’s distinctive terroir.

with big peppered-meat notes.”

Trying two Blaufränkisch from separate producers highlights the grape’s versatility: Heidi Shrock’s take was rounded, full and approachable, all dark fruit and herbal. “Once it hits the palate,” explains wine representative Evan Keaschuk of the broad-shouldered leafy Blaufränkisch, “everything comes together.” Grilled steak with herb butter would go beautifully, though this wine could easily precede a meal.

“This is something you slide into the middle of the meal when there’s food already out,” he laughs, speaking of the Wachter Wiesler’s Bela-Joska, a dill- and amaro-spiced Blaufränkisch. It’s a challenging bottle as it doesn’t hit on traditional “big, bold red” wine expectations, but it opens with time and is meant for savouring.

“There is fruit to it,” Mant says. “There’s dark, dark cherry-like kirsch notes, a little saucisson sec and a hint of violet. I really like it.” With food — and a decant — this was an intriguing bottle. She suggested one of Soif’s dishes as a perfect pairing: lobster flatbread with brandy, sunchoke, lardons and plenty of tarragon: fresh, herbal and fatty.

Tucking into the Heinrich St. Laurent makes for a refreshing glass. With that Pinot Noir-Syrah hybrid; “it has that meaty, savoury note, with a fairly fine tannin. It’s an easy pairing wine. It goes with everything.” It makes for an enticing glass we keep reaching back to: that typical fresh acidity elevating and lending lightness.

The underlying notion of Austria’s modern winemaking style is drinkability and freshness. It keeps the wines exciting, light and something to keep going back to, especially with a fatty dish, creamy sauces or anything herbal.

Groupe Soleil represents two producers of Grüner Veltliner: Bernhard Ott and Weszeli. The former of the two is also offering an aged blend of top-producing parcels. Cases of 12 bottles start at \$311.40.

Domäne Wachau is currently available at the LCBO. Its 2018 Riesling is citrus and orchard fruit-forward, but could stand a few years cellaring. \$19.95 a bottle.

Context Wines carries Heidi Shrock’s portfolio, starting at \$336 for a 12-bottle case of either her Muscat or Pinot Blanc; her reds will be making a return shortly.

Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock manages the wine lists at Jabbwocky and Union 613.

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Norway's residence closely connected to nature

By Patrick Langston

Photos by Ashley Fraser



The massive stone Gothic Revival home inhabited by Norwegian Ambassador Anne Kari Hansen Ovind and her husband, Tom, is set up on a hill in Rockcliffe Park, overlooking the grounds of Rideau Hall.

First-time visitors to her official residence in Rockcliffe Park don't know what to expect when they arrive, says Norwegian Ambassador Anne Kari Hansen Ovind.

Given that it's a massive, stone Gothic Revival home built about 1887 and festooned with gables, carved bargeboard trim and three monumental chimneys, that uncertainty is understandable. But while you might anticipate at least a nod inside to the heavy, ornate tastes of the Victorian period, what you find instead are expanses of open, sunny spaces, sleek,

low-cut Scandinavian furniture and, on the walls, a tasteful scattering of mostly contemporary art.

"We're very proud of this home... (but) people are often surprised when they enter," says Ovind, who is winding down her four-plus-year posting to Ottawa and will be returning to her own home in Oslo this summer.

Sitting atop a hill overlooking the grounds of Rideau Hall, the eight-bedroom residence is an intriguing juxtaposition of old and new, weight and lightness. It's also a welcoming space, made doubly

so by the warmth of the ambassador and her husband, Tom Oscar Ovind, who recently retired from a senior communications position with the Norwegian Armed Forces. The couple has two sons, one a student at Carleton University and the other at Ashbury College.

Their residence has had several owners, but originally belonged to Thomas McLeod Clark, son-in-law of Thomas McKay, an Ottawa founding father. Clark named the home Crichton Lodge after his mother-in-law, Ann Crichton, and the original wooden Crichton Lodge sign



Norwegian Ambassador Anne Kari Hansen Ovind and her husband, Tom, stand in front of a former stable outside their stately residence.



The Norwegian coat of arms is on the roadside gate at the residence.



The ambassador's dining room seats 18 comfortably.

hangs in the foyer, where officials put it after the Norwegian government purchased the home in 1949.

The main floor includes a large living room with a fireplace bookended by two bay windows. They look out over the well-treed grounds and underscore the interior's connection with the outside world (a delighted Tom shows his photo of a bushy-tailed fox that regularly commutes between the property and that of the governor general.)

Earth tones predominate in the living room furniture. A love of natural materials and simplicity is behind Scandinavian design, says Tom. "You try to go into the core and get rid of everything else."

"Also practicality," adds the ambassador. "We are a very practical people. We appreciate that the furniture is actually working."

She interrupts her observations on Scandinavian design to mention Nordic Bridges, a year-long culture and arts program planned for 2021 in Canada. Toronto's Harbourfront Centre is leading the initiative, which will see artists from Canada and the Nordic region, including Norway, connecting on culture's role in creating and promoting sustainable societies. The program is still being worked out,



A decorative stained glass window appears in the study, where, at one time, gentlemen would no doubt retire for brandy and cigars.

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The home is full of modern Scandinavian furnishings. Its design mantra relays a love of nature and simplicity.



The ambassador says visitors often don't know what to expect when they enter the historic house. Inside, they find thoroughly modern design, including this dining room light fixture.

but the ambassador, whose enthusiasm is pervasive and infectious, is clearly on board.

Her own artistic interests include a gleaming upright Samick piano along one wall in the living room. Urged on by us, the ambassador, who grew up in a music-loving family and takes the piano on every posting, plays a little Schumann and Grieg, her touch economical if unexpectedly self-conscious.

On an adjacent wall, Oslo, a large mosaic-style painting by Norwegian artist Kira Wager, hangs above a couch. "I feel like it captures the life in the streets of Oslo," the ambassador says. "It's a very lively city, especially in the summer, with outdoor cafés, and I feel the atmosphere [in the painting.]"

Like Wager's painting, most of the art is owned by the Norwegian government. That includes a sketch of a couple watching the sun sink over water. It's by Norwegian artist Edvard Munch, but unlike his famous painting *The Scream*, this piece is serene.

The ambassador leads us up the stairs to the couple's private, second-storey quarters to admire two of their own paintings: A lumbering grizzly bear and a trio of brilliant blue jays perched in spruce trees, all commissioned from Ottawa painter Christopher Griffin. The animals represent the Canadian biodiversity that she and her husband appreciate, says Ovind.

Elsewhere on the main floor is a bright sunroom, a favourite spot for tea and conversation, and a study with stained glass windows where, in former times, the gentlemen would have retired for post-prandial brandy and cigars.

The dining room, where Munch's sketch hangs, is spacious, yet restrained and seats up to 18 (Tom grumbles a bit that the LCBO doesn't stock Scandinavian aquavit, which he'd like to offer guests with traditional Norwegian fish dishes). Off the dining room is a terrace, the site of occasional, large-group barbecues, complete with live music.

The couple will miss Ottawa, but their Norwegian home should bring back memories of this posting. "I'm a sportswoman and as a keen cross-country skier, I love the Gatineau Park," says Ovind. "The proximity to that gem is quite unique for a capital. It reminds me a little of our lifestyle in Oslo because we also have easy access to nature."

Patrick Langston is an Ottawa writer who wishes he lived in a manor.

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New arrivals

**Pedro Henrique Lopes Borio
Ambassador of Brazil**



Ambassador Lopes Borio joined the foreign service in 1977 as an adviser in the department of international organizations. A year later, he was sent to New York and stayed on as an adviser at the mission to the United Nations.

In 1986, he went to Tokyo as second secretary and eventually chargé d'affaires over a three-year posting. He returned to headquarters in 1989, and was posted again to the U.S., this time to Washington, as counsellor in 1993. He returned to headquarters in 1998, working on files in communications, culture and law. In 2008, he was sent to Sri Lanka as ambassador and also represented Brazil in the Maldives during part of that posting. He returned to Brasilia as a senior adviser to the minister of foreign affairs before being sent as consul-general to San Francisco.

The ambassador is a widower and has one son and three stepchildren.

**Vice Skracic
Ambassador of Croatia**



Ambassador Skracic joined the foreign ministry in 1992. He has held many positions in multilateral and bilateral spheres. Before being posted to Canada, he was assistant minister for political affairs and EU political director. He served as director for Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Oceania, Russia and the Eastern Partnership from 2014 to 2017.

He was deputy chief of mission in the U.S. from 2010 to 2013 and served as political co-ordinator and acting deputy permanent representative to the UN in New York when Croatia was on the security council. He was head of the political affairs section in the U.S. from 2004 to 2007.

Between 2004 and 2007, he was head of division for UN Affairs and before that, he served as the political, human rights and disarmament affairs officer. Between 1996 and 2002, he served at the permanent missions to the UN in New York and Geneva

**Aly Diane
Ambassador of Guinea**



Ambassador Diane is trodding familiar territory as ambassador to Canada. He had the same job between 2004 and 2007.

He joined the foreign ministry in 1981 as second secretary in Paris and returned to headquarters in the Asia-Africa division. He was head of accreditation in protocol from 1989 to 1994 and later, chief of accreditation, ceremonial visits and official visits. He then served as deputy national director of protocol.

From 2002 to 2004, he was director of political and cultural affairs at the ministry of the presidency, in charge of foreign affairs and co-operation. From 2008 to 2011, he was director of strategic studies and planning and then secretary-general of the foreign ministry. Between 2013 and his appointment to Canada, he was posted to Switzerland as ambassador and accredited to the offices of the UN and other international organizations in Geneva.

He is married and has three children and two step-children.

**Ajay Bisaria
High commissioner for India**



High Commissioner Bisaria joined the Indian foreign service in 1987. He has a bachelor's in economics, a master's in business administration, and a master's in public policy from Princeton University.

In 1988, he was posted to Moscow, working as a Soviet affairs specialist prior to the break-up of the USSR. He was under-secretary on the East Europe desk when India was building new relationships with post-Soviet countries. He then worked briefly in the commerce ministry.

In 1995, he became first secretary in Berlin and returned to headquarters as private secretary to the prime minister in 1999. He was then posted to the World Bank in Washington, as adviser to the executive director for South Asia. In 2009, he became joint secretary (Eurasia). In 2015, he was posted as ambassador to Poland and Lithuania and then served as high commissioner to Pakistan between 2017 and 2019.

He is married to Bharati Chaturvedi, founder of the NGO, Chintan.

**Adriatik Kryeziu
Ambassador of Kosovo**



Ambassador Kryeziu joined the NGO Kujtesa, an organization that searches for missing persons, as project co-ordinator in 2006, while he was still obtaining his bachelor of

political science in Prishtina.

After completing more studies, he joined the state protocol department for the European Union and NATO in the office of the prime minister and the foreign ministry in 2008. A year later, he joined the foreign ministry's department for regional affairs as acting director and chief of division for neighbouring countries as well as senior officer for bilateral relations.

In 2014, he was sent to the embassy in the Czech Republic as counsellor and deputy chief of mission. Later, he became chargé d'affaires and first secretary.

The ambassador speaks English and Albanian fluently as well as some German, Czech and French. He is married and has two children.

**Darius Skusevicius
Ambassador of Lithuania**



A m b a s s a d o r Skusevičius studied software systems, business management and administration and political science. He became chief specialist in the division of information analysis and international relations

at the department of youth affairs under the ministry of social affairs and labour. He then became a director of a business incubator before joining the office of a member of the European Parliament as an assistant.

He was named a director and expert at the Institute of Municipal Development before joining the municipal council of Salcininkai district. In 2013, he was named an adviser to the minister of foreign affairs and then joined the foreign ministry as minister-counsellor at the European Union mission in Brussels between 2015 and 2017. He was deputy minister of foreign affairs before being named ambassador to Canada.

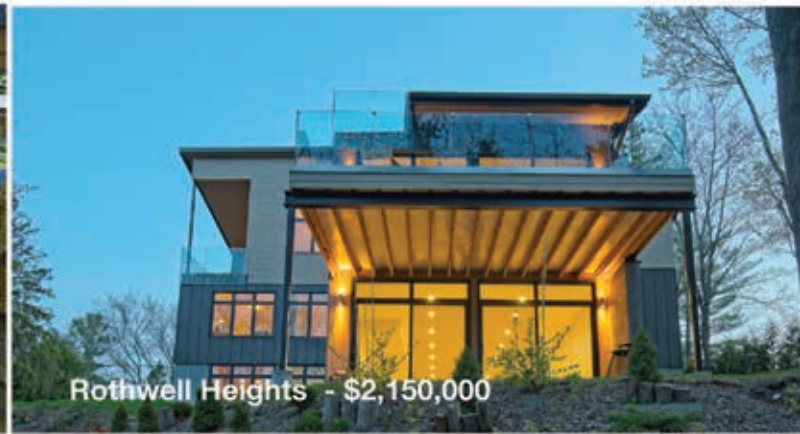
The ambassador is married and speaks five languages, including English, Russian, Polish, French and Lithuanian.

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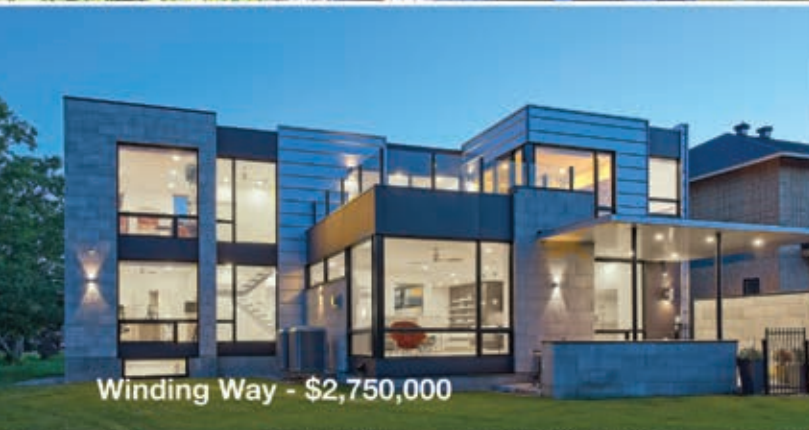
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Fatima Braoulé Meite
Ambassador of Mali



Ambassador Meite is a graduate of the Université du Québec à Montréal, so being posted to Canada represents a return for her.

In a professional capacity, she started her career as a consultant, including for the United Nations, in the fields of human rights and the advancement of women. She is also a specialist in international law and gender issues and served as an instructor at a peacekeeping school in Mali, addressing the needs of people in conflict situations.

More recently, she worked as a technical adviser to the office of the president of Mali and at the foreign and international co-operation ministry from 2011 to 2013. She served as a municipal councillor from 2009 to 2015.

She has worked with several NGOs, including as co-ordinator of the network of interveners with orphans and other vulnerable children, which provides care for 3,500 children. She is also founder of Bamako Incubateur, which helps Malian startups.

Martin Harvey
High commissioner for New Zealand



Before being posted to Canada, High Commissioner Harvey studied in Canada between 1976 and 1978 as a New Zealand United World College scholar.

He joined the ministry in 1984 and served in Canberra between 1987 and 1990, in Geneva as deputy permanent representative to the WTO from 1995 to 1998 and as high commissioner to Singapore from 2008 to 2010. From 2010 to 2012, he was director of the Europe division and from 2012 to 2017 he was divisional manager for trade negotiations.

He has negotiated trade agreements with ASEAN, Malaysia and Korea and led negotiations with the Gulf Cooperation Council and, more recently, the European Union. He also worked on climate change issues in the department of the prime minister and cabinet, including New Zealand's ratification of the Kyoto Protocol.

Prior to coming to Canada, he was chief negotiator in the trade and economic group at the foreign and trade ministry.

Ruth Masodzi Chikwira
Ambassador of Zimbabwe



Ambassador Chikwira started her career in 1983 as a senior administrative officer at the foreign ministry. Between 1992 and 1997, she was first secretary responsible for politics,

economics and consular affairs in Brussels. In 1997, she returned to head office as a senior administrative officer and became a deputy director in 2004. Later that year, she was posted to Brasilia as minister-counsellor and head of chancery.

In 2011, the ambassador returned to the ministry as director for Europe and the Americas and remained in that position until she was posted to Germany as ambassador. In 2017, she remained in Berlin, but added Switzerland to her countries of responsibility. She was named ambassador to Canada in late 2019.

The ambassador has a master's in business administration from a university in Brussels and a bachelor of administration from the University of Zimbabwe.

Non-heads of mission

Andorra
Joan Josep Lopez Lavado
Second secretary

Australia
Katherine Ruiz-Avila
Deputy high commissioner

Kylie Larrisa Green
Defence Adviser

Kristy Lee Cocks
Defence adviser

Bangladesh
Hossne Ayub Dewan
Counsellor

Belarus
Andrei Martshyanau
Counsellor

Chile
Juan Rodrigo Soto
Herrera
Defence, military, naval
and air attaché

Julio Ignacio Figueroa
Puente
First secretary and consul

China
Nan Wang
Attaché

Colombia
Heiver Norberto Duenas
Preciado
Military, naval & air
attaché

Côte D'ivoire
Aimé Kouassi-Kouassi
Counsellor

Ethiopia
Muktar Kedir Abdu
Minister

European Union
Fritz Jurgen Urbach
Military Attaché

Germany
Daniel Ruschitzki
Attaché

Greece
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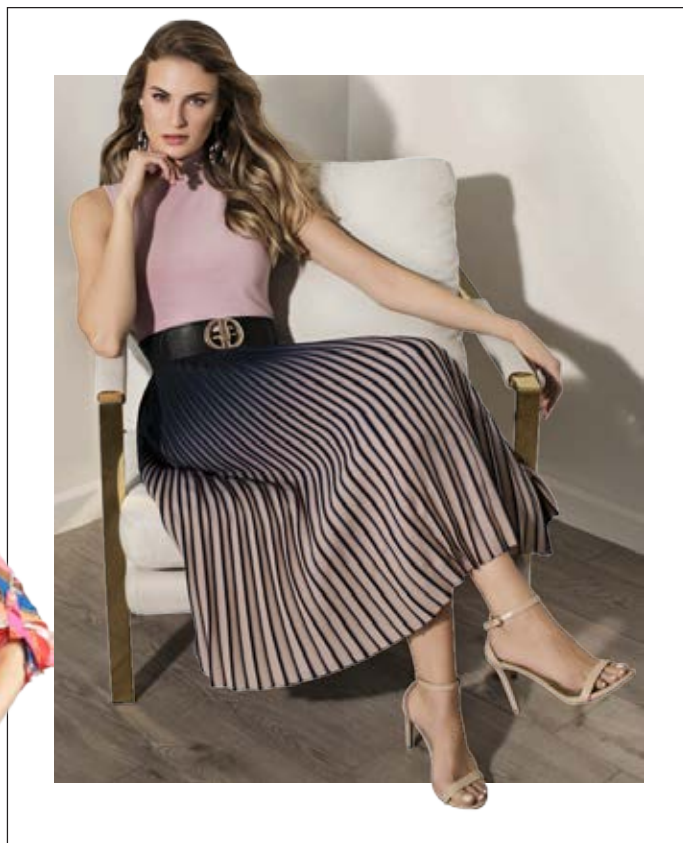
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1. On the occasion of King's Day, Belgian Ambassador Johan Verkammen and his wife, Kathleen Billen, hosted a reception at Ottawa City Hall. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. Jewish veterans from Canada and the Russian Embassy hosted a memorial concert commemorating the 75th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. From left: Israeli Chargé d'Affaires Marc Attali, German Ambassador Sabine Anne Sparwasser, Russian Ambassador Alexander Darchieiev and Moshe Ronen, vice-president of the World Jewish Congress. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. The 12th European Union Christmas Concert took place at the Notre-Dame Cathedral Basilica. From left: artistic director Timothy Piper; soprano Nadia Petrella; Jackie Hawley, conductor of the Cantiamo Girls Choirs of Ottawa; Kurt Ala-Kantti, conductor of the Harmonia Choir of Ottawa; and Carla MacGregor, of the Ottawa Catholic School Board Chamber Choir. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. "Spirit of Change," an annual classical concert on Parliament Hill, commemorated the 30th anniversary of democratic transformations in Central and Eastern Europe. The event was hosted by MP Chandra Arya and supported by the embassies of Bulgaria, Latvia, North Macedonia, Poland and Slovakia. Violinist Ralitsa Tcholakova, pictured here, performed. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Finnish Ambassador Roy Eriksson and his wife, Victoria, hosted an independence day reception at their residence. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. Tong Zhang, wife of Chinese Ambassador Peiwu Cong, hosted a "cultural salon on winter treats," featuring a concert with national instruments as well as martial arts demonstrations and a cooking show. This musician performed on a Chinese zither, which dates back 2,500 years. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. United Arab Emirates Ambassador Fahad Saeed Al Raqbani hosted an opening reception of the Fatima Bint Mohamed Bin Zayed (FBMI) Afghan Peace Carpet Exhibit at the Canadian War Museum's Barney Danson Theatre. From left: Rick Hillier, former chief of defence staff of the Canadian forces; Ambassador Al Raqbani; his wife, Abeer Sulaiman M.A. Alrayaysah; Shabana Kargar, third secretary of the Afghan embassy; Sayed Mujtaba Ahmadi, deputy head of mission at the Afghan embassy, and FBMI regional manager Farshied Jabarkhyl. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. The 2019 Global Pluralism Awards ceremony took place at the Delegation of the Islamic Imamat. The Aga Khan spoke at the event and presented the awards to the Global Pluralism Award winners. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. In partnership with Students on Ice, Danish Ambassador Hanne Fugii Eskjaer hosted an Arctic evening reception at her residence. From left: Eskjaer and Alison LeClaire, Canada's ambassador to Russia. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. The Estonian film *The Little Comrade* was shown at the 34th European Union Film Festival at the Ottawa Art Gallery. Estonian Ambassador Toomas Lukk and his wife, Piret Lukk, attended. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. French Ambassador Karen Rispal gave a lecture titled *France and Canada: Strong relations in a challenging world* at the Ambassador Speaker Series at the Westin Hotel, organized by the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. Shown with Rispal is organizer Lawrence Lederman. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. Fifteen teams from Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto performed at the 2019 K-POP GALA at the Canadian Museum of History. The event was hosted by the Korean Cultural Centre. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. The launch of the new International Film Festival of Ottawa (IFFO) took place at the Ottawa Art Gallery. From left: Tom McSorley, executive director of the Canadian Film Institute, Ontario Culture Minister Lisa MacLeod, Areadna Quintana Castaneda, cultural attaché from the Embassy of Cuba and Costa Rican Ambassador Mauricio Ortiz Ortiz. The IFFO was to take place March 25 to 29. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. The launch of the new authentic Italian halal restaurant, Kara Mia, took place at the Elmvale Acres Shopping Centre. From left: Brunei High Commissioner Kamal Bashah Pg Ahmad, MP Chandra Arya, owner Feroze Shaik and Lebanese economic attaché Vanessa G. Naddaf. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Chinese Ambassador Peiwu Cong and his wife, Tong Zhang, hosted a Chinese New Year reception and concert at the embassy. This dancer performed. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. The Nepal embassy hosted a presentation and performance titled Visit Nepal 2020 at the Lord Elgin Hotel. This dancer performed. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. To celebrate Thailand's National Day and the birthday of the late King Bhumibol Adulyadej, Thai Chargé d'Affaires Thanapol Wang-Om-Klang and his wife, Kotchason Wang-Om-Klang, hosted a reception at the Canadian War Museum. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. UAE Ambassador Fahad Saeed Al Raqbani, shown here, hosted a national day reception at the Canadian Museum of History. Marcy Grossman, Canadian ambassador to the UAE, attended. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



1. The 72nd national day of Sri Lanka was celebrated at the official residence of the Sri Lankan High Commissioner M.A.K. Giriagama. Sri Lankan monks from Ottawa attended the reception. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. In celebration of the 2020 Chinese New Year, Chinese Ambassador Peiwu Cong and his wife, Tong Zhang, hosted a Chinese New Year concert at the National Arts Centre. Laurence Schaller, sales manager for government and protocol at the Fairmont Château Laurier, and Lee Power, administrative assistant to the general manager of the Fairmont Château Laurier, attended the cocktail reception prior to the concert, which was performed by the Shenzhen Symphony and pianist Haochen Zhang. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. An international Holocaust remembrance event took place at Library Archives Canada. Digital Government Minister Joyce Murray attended. Shown is Pinchas Gutter, a Holocaust survivor who spoke about his own experience. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. Twin Scoop, a Japanese group from Toronto, performed prior to a screening of the Japanese film *Drowning Love* at the Information and Culture Centre in Ottawa. Twin Scoop singers Sarah and Moe are pictured here. 5. Kazakhstan Ambassador Akyibek Kamaldinov and his wife, Olga Kamaldinova, hosted a national day reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. Kazakh musician Akerke Tazhibayeva performed with an ancient Kazakh national instrument known as a kobyz. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. The Japanese Embassy hosted a sake and food-pairing event at the Information and Culture Centre of the embassy. Mariko Tajiri, an international sake educator and the brand manager for sake importer "That's Life" in Canada, gave a lecture. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. At the same event, from left, Atsushi Murata, first secretary; Mariko Tajiri; Takeshi Miyake, first secretary; and Sayaka Sakai, attaché (in front). (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. Jordanian Ambassador Majed Alqatarneh, left, paid a courtesy call on Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson. (Photo: Chris Bricker) 4. On the occasion of the 105th anniversary of the Mexican air force and the 107th anniversary of the Mexican army's military representation in Canada, officials hosted a reception at the Hilton Garden Inn. From left: Col. Jose Antonio Gomez, Mexican military and air attaché; his wife, Erika; Mexican Ambassador Juan Jose Gomez Camacho; Roxana Reyes and her husband, Col. Roberto Carlos Sanchez, Mexican deputy military and air attaché. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Russian defence attaché Col. Andrey Sboev and his wife, Yulia Sboeva, hosted a luncheon for Ottawa's Service Attaché Association at Signatures restaurant. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. French Ambassador Karen Rispal and the Carleton Initiative for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Engagement co-hosted a cocktail reception for diplomats to meet Canadian parliamentarians at the embassy. Mali Ambassador Fatima Braoulé Méité attended. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 7. The Embassy of the Dominican Republic and its Cultural Heritage Foundation hosted an art exhibition at Ottawa City Hall. Dominican Ambassador Pedro Luciano Verges Ciman is shown here, with one of the paintings. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



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Photo by Bill Blackstone

1. The embassy of Portugal and the Aga Khan Development Network's Diplomatic Office hosted a concert by Remigio Pereira, a founding member of The Tenors, at the Delegation of the Ismaili Imamat. From left: Mahmoud Eboo, Ottawa's resident representative of the Aga Khan; his wife, Karima Eboo; Remigio Pereira, Claudia Pereira and her husband, João Paulo Costa, Portuguese Embassy counsellor and deputy head of mission, after the show. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. Paul Y. Fortin, principal of the Fortin Consulting Group, and Gar Knutson hosted lunch at the Rideau Club to discuss the current events of Canadian politics with members of the diplomatic corps. From left: Vietnamese chargé d'affaires Nguyen Huong Tra, Fortin, Daniel Hohnstein, partner at Tereposky and DeRose LLP, Polish Ambassador Andrzej Kurnicki and Brian R. Naranjo, minister-counsellor for political affairs at the U.S. Embassy (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. The Westin Hotel hosted a VIP diplomatic reception at its Venue Twenty Two, showcasing culinary creations from Toronto's Ritz-Carlton and St. Regis hotels and the Westin in Ottawa. From left: Olga Kamaldinova, wife of Kazakhstan Ambassador Akylbek Kamaldinov; Gerald Tan, St. Regis executive pastry chef; Kathleen Billen, wife of Belgian Ambassador Johan Verkammen; and William Rowntree, director of sales and marketing at the St. Regis. (Photo: Ülke Baum)

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Did you know: The Field of Honour at Beechwood is the final resting place for soldiers from over 25 different countries.

280 Beechwood Ave, Ottawa - 613-741-9530 - www.beechwoodottawa.ca
Owned by the Beechwood Cemetery Foundation and operated by The Beechwood Cemetery Company



See the region as spring blossoms

By Patrick Langston

Editor's note: At press time, most public places and even National Parks were closed so be sure to check on these events before heading out.

Sorry, but April is not the cruellest month. In fact, it's a dandy one, when skies are bright, temperatures generally congenial and the highways and byways beckon to the winter-weary. With that in mind, here are some suggestions for your travel itinerary now and over the coming months.

Paris, New York, murals and a canal: Separated by more than half a century, esthetic sensibilities and the Atlantic Ocean, French post-Impressionist painter Paul Signac and transgressive American photographer Diane Arbus would make an intriguing afternoon pairing at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. Signac's 100 paintings are part of a larger, 500-piece exhibit, *Paris in the Days of Post-Impressionism: Signac and the Indépendants*, that includes works by Monet, Gauguin and many others. It runs March 28 to Sept. 27. Arbus' 150 black-and-white photos, taken from 1956 to 1971, capture her fascination with the marginalized and other singular people in New York City and surrounds. The Arbus exhibit runs from June 6 to Sept. 20. 514-285-2000, mbam.qc.ca

Want to make your Montreal trip a weekend jaunt? Take in the brilliantly hued murals along heritage- and culture-rich Saint Laurent Boulevard and check out its annual MURAL festival (muralfestival.com), an early-June event that closes the road to traffic for several blocks. If bicycling or boating is your thing, you can rent either one, including electric versions, and explore the trendy Quartiers du Canal district along the leafy, historic Lachine Canal (mtl.org/en/explore/neighbourhoods/les-quartiers-du-canal).

Saddle up in the Gatineau: Novice or veteran rider, Captiva Farms just east of Wakefield in the Gatineau Hills has a horse and trail for you. The 450-acre ranch offers Western-style riding over its hilly, forested terrain and wisely insists on a 30-minute introductory session for anyone unfamiliar with either the ranch or Western-style riding. When you've finished riding, swing by Wakefield for a bite to eat



More than 100 of French post-Impressionist painter Paul Signac's works, one of which is shown above, will be part of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts exhibit, *Paris in the Days of Post-Impressionism: Signac and the Indépendants*, from March 28 to Sept. 27. It will feature 500 works in total. that includes work by Monet, Gauguin and many others. It runs March 28 to Sept. 27.

(The Village House and Kaffe 1870 both offer reliably good meals) and an evening of live music at the Blacksheep Inn (Canadian singer/songwriter Stephen Fearing is among this spring's performers). Captiva Farms: captivafarms.com or 819-459-2769.

Sandy Hill: Does it sound like a lame travel idea? It's not. Sandy Hill, that stretch roughly south of Rideau Street and east of the Rideau Canal, rewards the stroller with tree-lined streets, fine old homes and a scattering of clever new infills, some lovely front gardens and the expanse of family-friendly Strathcona Park bordering the Rideau River. It almost doesn't matter where you walk in Sandy Hill, you'll discover urban delights. Wind up your ramble at the Ottawa Art Gallery, 50 Mackenzie King Bridge, to view Canadian art and grab a bite or a drink at Jackson.

Art, wine and the beach: Prince Edward

County, about two and a half hours southwest of Ottawa, is a tourist treat, offering museums, art studios, wineries and gorgeous scenery in profusion. If you stay in pretty, small-town Picton with its historic buildings and abundant accommodation, you'll be in close proximity to everything, including the sandy beaches of Sandbanks Provincial Park on Lake Ontario. Contact thecounty.ca or 613-476-2148, ext. 1023 for more information. And here's a tip — the county's arts scene is renowned: Painters, potters, photographers, glassblowers and others call Prince Edward County home. If you love art, keep your eyes and wallet open for some fine pieces.

Forest bathing: Ottawa teems with urban forests, some big, some tiny, and all revitalizing when stress takes its toll. Pine Grove Forest, close to South Keys, is one of the finest. It boasts more than 18 kilometres of hiking and cross-country ski trails, plenty of horseback riding trails, a forestry



Ottawa's Sandy Hill neighbourhood features tree-lined streets, fine old homes and the expanse of family-friendly Strathcona Park bordering the Rideau River, which is shown above.

interpretation trail and a tree identification arboretum. It's also home to Conroy Pit, a large off-leash dog park. A picnic area, an outhouse and free parking round out the appeal. Like some other Eastern Ontario forests, the land had been cleared by early European settlers for farming, but the lack of trees and erosion eventually turned it into a desert. The City of Ottawa bought and began reforesting the land in the 1950s. Keep in mind that the forest is quieter on weekdays and gets buggy in the late spring and early summer. See ncc-ccn.gc.ca for more information.

Toronto the unexpected: You could do the usual Toronto things, such as clambering around the CN Tower or visiting Canada's Wonderland. However, you might choose instead to get unsettled by *Hito Steyerl: This is the Future* at the Ontario Art Gallery. Berlin-based Steyerl uses pop cultural images, documentary footage and computer-animated sequences to explore technology and power structures, a timely topic. See ago.ca for more information.

To soothe your rattled sensibilities, you can then head to Toronto's Music Garden. In the 1990s, cellist Yo-Yo Ma and landscape architect Julie Moir Messervy interpreted Bach's *Suite No. 1 in G Major, BWV 1007* to design a garden for Boston, Mass. When that city turned down the project, Toronto scooped it up and plunked it on the waterfront. Plants represent each of the suite's six dances. Kids, dogs and pretty much everyone else love the greenery. See harbourfrontcentre.com to learn about the free concerts in the summer.

Sci-Fi fans should set aside some time to visit the Merril Collection of Science Fiction, Speculation and Fantasy at the historic Lillian H. Smith branch of the Toronto Public Library on College Street. The non-circulating collection features more than 80,000 items of science fiction, fantasy

and speculative fiction along with materials about UFOs, Atlantean legends and the like. torontopubliclibrary.ca

Theatre in spades: No summer is complete without a little live theatre. The annual Ottawa Fringe Festival, running June 18-28 in multiple venues around Arts Court near the Rideau Centre, offers it in spades. More than 50 theatre companies from Ottawa and beyond bring their 60- to 90-minute shows — a beguiling mix of comedy, drama, sci-fi, musicals and more — to the festival. Some of it's terrific, some of it's not, but at \$12 a ticket, who's complaining about the occasional misfire? 613-232-6162, ottawafringe.com

A Wabano welcome: Every Monday evening, the Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health — the wavy building at 299 Mon-



The Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health opens its doors once a week on Mondays for a free cultural evening.

treau Rd. designed by famed First Nations architect Douglas Cardinal — opens its doors to the public for a free culture night. Drumming, storytelling and other events are spotlighted in the soaring central area, a welcoming space that rewards repeated visits. Leave yourself time to enjoy the art and, if you're lucky enough to be a woman, revel in the strawberry-themed washroom (known as heart berries in many North American Indigenous communities, the strawberry is often considered a woman's medicine and represents, among other things, reconciliation). The men's washroom celebrates the wampum belt. Visit wabano.com or call 613-748-0657 for more. And, for a terrific smoked-meat sandwich and more, drop in to Bobby's Table, 255 Montreal Rd., before your Wabano Centre visit.

Follow that trail: Quebec's Eastern Townships, about four hours from Ottawa, enjoy a complicated history thanks to the Abenaki First Nations people, French and British settlers, United Empire Loyalists and others who have inhabited the region's rolling countryside over the centuries. A good way to see the area is to follow the 430-kilometre Townships Trail, with stops at historic churches, covered bridges, Victorian homes (some of which are now bed and breakfasts) and other spots. Later in the season, the mountain village of Sutton hosts a jazz festival and the Tour des Arts takes you to an bunch of lovely towns. eastertownships.org

Very cool caves: If you feel the world is too much "with you" these days, your best escape — outside of a rocket ship — might be a little cave time. In the caves, it's cool, quiet and dim and the fossils dating back millions of years remind you that your personal worries are a flash in the pan. The Bonnechere Caves in Eganville, a little more than an hour west of Ottawa, offer sanity-restoring one-hour subterranean tours along with special events such as underground dining and cave concerts. Remember to bring a sweater because it's considerably cooler down under. Want to make a day or more of your spelunking trip? You can paddle on the Bonnechere River or spend time at Bonnechere Provincial Park, about 30 minutes from the caves. Visit bonnecherecaves.com or call 1-613-628-2283 for more information.

Patrick Langston is an Ottawa writer whose favourite things include the end of winter, a tank full of gas and e.e. cummings' springtime poem *in Just*.

Aboard the *Ocean Endeavour*

By Donna Jacobs

Photos by Mike Beedell



Ocean Endeavour drops anchor in Eclipse Bay in Torngat Mountains National Park for a day of exploration on land.

Sailing on Adventure Canada's Greenland and Wild Labrador Expedition gives new meaning to the phrase "peak experience."

Besides hiking along the base of Canada's highest mountains east of the Rockies — northern Labrador's Torngat Mountains' peak altitude is 1,652 metres — we walked along its fjord cliffs and rode Zodiacs into the narrow fjords.

During the 15 days aboard the *Ocean Endeavour*, with outings to Nuuk, Greenland, and the parks and villages and cities of Newfoundland and Labrador, we passed polar bears and black bears, Arctic foxes, seals and minke and narwhal whales. We even had the company of a hitchhiking peregrine falcon — staff nicknamed him Perry — who took up tempo-

rary residence amid the ship's lifeboats.

And, the eight people who chose to go kayaking, paddled (not too close, in case a breakaway piece of ice swamped us) to a small glacier and around a small opalescent blue iceberg that "calved" off the glacier and was floating free.

Our kayak guide scooped up a thousands-year-old piece of floating glacier ice, slipped it under his kayak's netting and supplied drinks with extraordinary ice cubes that night.

And then there was the polar dip: A few dozen guests and expedition specialists dove off the ship, safely attached to a tow rope in case the cold took their breath away. (They all returned to the ship under their own power, breathing intact and exceptionally invigorated.)

"Follow the route of Leif Ericsson from Kangerlussuaq, Greenland, to St. John's Newfoundland via coastal Labrador," is how Adventure Canada describes this trip. It is one of many that the expedition company offers, ranging from the Arctic to Eastern Canada to Haida Gwaii's islands off British Columbia's coast, to Central America.

The chartered Toronto-to-Greenland flight landed in Kangerlussuaq, just north of the Arctic Circle where *Ocean Endeavour* took on the nearly 200 guests.

The next days featured a Zodiac or kayak trip to the Evighedsfjord Glacier — sadly much smaller after a very few years of melting — and the Kangerlussuaq Fjord of western Greenland.

Forewarned by expedition leader Jason

Edmunds, a Labrador-born Inuk, that the itinerary was liable to change quickly, sure enough, near gale-force winds and high waves did force the captain to seek safety in Nuuk harbour for two days. This Danish-Inuit city and the administrative capital of Greenland is well supplied with stores, great beer and local foods, specialty shops for local arts and designer clothes, often made with skins or pelts, along with modern European household wares.

The Danish krone is the local currency. Denmark, which continues its semi-colonial relationship with Greenland, reportedly contributes two-thirds of government revenue. Greenland benefits economically and socially, ranging from medical and social services to jobs and education in Denmark for qualifying young people. A 2009 referendum granted more autonomy to Greenland; eventual independence is the wish of some of its people.

One of them is Tina Kuitse, an Innu from Nuuk who grew up on Greenland's east coast in a hunting environment. She wants a future different from a "copy-and-paste" Danish system. "Even though we have a [legislative] majority, we see a huge landing strip in the middle of everything. Even though we yell we don't want an airport here, the government is still working on it now."

Though grateful for the opportunities of city life and her education — she's finishing her master's at the University of Greenland — she prefers living in an isolated place. Inuit culture is shy and quiet, she says, and Europeans are "very talkative and very communicative.

"We grew up with that silence at home." Four generations, she says, "15 people and nobody would say anything. That's not even awkward to us. It's just comfortable."

The two states co-exist with their wildly unequal land area ratio of 50:1, Denmark is 43,000 square kilometres; Greenland, the world's largest non-continent island, is 2.17 million kilometres. (Ontario, for comparison, is 1.1 million square kilometres.)

Resource-rich, its rare-earth metals, crucial for electronic devices, have drawn China's interest and triggered U.S. President Donald Trump's sudden and frostily received offer to buy the island.

A few hours' walk will take you around Nuuk, with its modern Katuaq Cultural Centre, a shopping mall and small homes, which unexpectedly feature plant-filled sun porches. The local meat market consisted of large tables with whale blubber, reindeer and caribou meat, along with salmon and other fresh fish.

The highlight is the superb Greenland National Museum and Archives, rich in historic photographs and even an old black-and-white locally acted film depicting this fishing-hunting culture, pre Western influence. With its displays

the Danish government's way of providing them shelter and Western services. In contrast to Canada, where decent shelter is not provided to any sufficient degree — and certainly is often cramped and sub-standard — it is hard to imagine the



The journey, which began in Kangerlussuaq, Greenland, took us through fjords, cities, historical sites and both lush and starkly wild national parks. We explored on aboard ship, by bus, on foot, by Zodiac and by kayak.

of ancient deities, traditional dogsleds, kayaks, housewares and gorgeously decorated clothes, the museum has a separate wistful display. There, three women and a six-month-old baby, mummified by permafrost in a cave and said to be the best-preserved humans in North America, are laid out in their 500-year-old burial clothes. They were part of the family grouping of six women and two children discovered in 1972.

Nuuk housing is in too-short supply, and is often controlled by businesses that rent dwellings for their workers. There is no private ownership of land and homes. You may be caught off guard by the barracks-like long buildings — four-storeys high, with tiny apartments and balconies where many of Nuuk's Inuit live as part of

land-living, land-loving Greenlandic Inuit in these apartments. As with Canadian and other Indigenous peoples moved off the land to city apartments, or unsuitable or economically unfeasible settlements, suicide rates are much higher than in the general population.

Labrador's Torngat Mountains National Park

The overnight trip southwest to Labrador, across the Davis Strait, had some steep pitch-and-toss moments before landing in the beautiful Torngat "Place of Spirits" Mountains.

If you've never seen the Torngats, you may have wondered at the swirling colours that Group of Seven painter A. Y. Jackson gave to his 1930 canvas *Labrador*



Kayakers line up in formation for a photo break from exploring along cliffs, icebergs and the hanging glaciers high above the ocean in southern Greenland in Kangerlussuaq Fjord.

Coast. Standing there in late September, the sharp contours and grey peaks are offset by the vivid yellow, red and orange autumn plants, many bearing delicious berries, that carpet the low slopes. (In contrast to daily buffet breakfasts and lunches, and formal sit-down dinners, we were treated to a country-food snacking buffet of raw seal, dried caribou, whale and char, along with fresh-picked wild berries.)

Torngat Mountains National Park is intentionally a wild place. Beloved for its contrast with many of Canada's national parks with their stores, golf courses, playgrounds and other imports of urban life, it is unspoiled, raw and utterly without buildings. This visit was widely seen as the trip's highlight.

As vice-president of Parks Canada's Northern and Western Parks, Newfoundlander Jeff Anderson was involved in the creation of the 9,700-square-kilometre award-winning park. It formally became a park in 2008 when the Nunavik Inuit Land Claims Agreement came into legal effect. Toby Andersen, chief land claims

negotiator for the Labrador Inuit Association, presented the park as "the Inuit gift to the people of Canada."

Jeff, recently retired, was free to answer the question he had long dodged: "With all the parks you have been in charge of, which is your favourite?" It's the Torngats, which he saw to completion with the revolutionary underpinning that it was to be, and now is, a 100-per-cent Inuit-owned and -run park. For example, you can't visit it without the protection from Inuit who serve as bear guards.

Wayne Broomfield, assistant expedition leader, formerly managed and operated the Torngat Mountains Base Camp and Research Station and now works in the Arctic and Antarctic for Parks Canada. He described the park as an emotional gathering place for elders who return to visit the lands from which they were forcibly relocated. The youth program brings young people who learn drum-dancing and throat-singing and to cook traditional foods on heated rocks, as their ancestors did.

The staffed base camp and research

centre is in Kangidluasuk (St. John's Harbour), just outside the park's borders. It offers a full-service kitchen and dining, visitor tents, (or you can bring your own), canvas structures, bright-coloured plastic-domed pod structures with lights, a bed and heater for the seasonal summer tourists season. (<https://thetorngats.com/>)

Nain

Nain, a settlement begun in 1771 by German Moravian missionaries, still carries their influence, which includes a charming, if unexpected, welcoming committee of a uniformed brass band playing hymns to the visitors. Nain is the administrative capital for the Nunatsiavut government. The result of the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, it is the first Inuit region in Canada to be a law-making, self-governing entity, even as it is part of Newfoundland and Labrador.

L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland

An artifact-rich museum serves as the entrance to L'Anse (Cove) aux Meadows, at the tip of Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula. This UNESCO site, only discovered in the 1960s, marks the first Norwegian Viking landing site in North America, about 1,000 years ago, perhaps as a base for explorations to New Brunswick and the U.S. There, Vikings set up a community and left behind artifacts, including iron tools, marking their stay. It is a short walk to the shoreline, where rebuilt sod dwellings stand and where lively local actors tell jokes and tales as they make pancakes on the fire, served with partridge-berry jam.

Terra Nova National Park

A fitting last excursion was walking in the lushly treed ocean-front 400-square-kilometre Terra Nova National Park. Wildlife includes coyotes, moose, caribou and black bears, red foxes, beavers, red squirrels, snowshoe hares, pine martens and minks, along with such birds as bald eagles, puffins and ospreys. The park lists its species at risk: American marten, little brown bat, red crossbill, boreal felt lichen, blue felt lichen, northern long-eared bat, olive-sided flycatcher, rusty blackbird and short-eared owl.

St. John's

Last stop, disembarkation at St. John's, Nfld. The seamanship needed to pass through narrow St. John's Harbour ("threading the eye of the needle") provided time to enjoy the skyline and famous candy-coloured buildings that rise up its slopes.

The Inuit of Labrador's forced relocation

By Donna Jacobs



The Hebron Mission Church was built starting in 1829. Prefabricated in Germany by the Moravians, it was shipped to the site in northern Labrador. The Moravians abandoned the site in 1959, leaving behind many Inuit families who had moved to this location.

Hebron, though only a deserted coastal settlement in northern Labrador, is a uniquely powerful National Historic Site of Canada.

And, it may hold double interest to its visitors in these early days of the COVID-19 virus' spread around the world.

Members of the Inuit Circumpolar Council, representing 180,000 Inuit in Canada, Alaska, Greenland and Russia, are at

much higher risk because they not only lack running water and sewage disposal, but also already have a high incidence of tuberculosis and respiratory infections. In March, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau acknowledged the deficiencies from "housing to health care" in a meeting with the Inuit-Crown Partnership Committee.

An estimated 70 per cent of Hebron's Inuit residents died during the Spanish

flu pandemic of 1918, which is believed to have killed 30 per cent of Labrador's 1,200 Inuit. So terrible was the toll that bodies had to be piled up inside buildings. The large graveyard behind the settlement building is testament to the many Inuit who died, and are mostly in unmarked graves.

The flu infected about one-third of the world's population, killing between 20

million to 50 million people, or between 3 and 5 per cent of those afflicted. (The Spanish flu is a geographic misnomer. Coming as it did in the final year of the First World War, the Allies had suppressed reports of its rampaging infection rate, but neutral Spain had no such censorship. With most news emanating from that country, its name has been unfairly attached to the pandemic.)

A vivid recounting *We All Expected to Die: Spanish Influenza in Labrador, 1918-1919*, by journalist and documentary filmmaker Anne Budgell, describes the deadly outcome of the Hebron community's enthusiastic visit to the Moravian supply ship, *Harmony*, with its single sick and highly contagious crew member aboard.

It may be the closest point of comparison to the now-feared infection rate of the China-originating and news-suppressed outbreak of the COVID-19 virus.

"Hebron" resonates powerfully and symbolically in Labrador, in the same way "relocation" and "The Scoop" of Aboriginal children resonate. It carries a sharp lesson that Indigenous peoples have learned in the face of enforced Western culture and government practices.

The Moravian Missionaries, who also built other settlements along the coast, operated in Hebron from 1831 to 1959, trading, providing medical and educational services and converting many Inuit to Christianity. Their main building still stands and is undergoing renovation. Others long ago collapsed.

The original German-born missionaries who came to save body and soul were a mixed blessing of improvements in the lives of the Inuit. Along with their lifesaving medical work, the Moravians exerted cultural control. Inuit were to speak English, laughter was unwelcome and the ancient use of facial tattoos depicting a woman's marital status was forbidden.

Here, the Moravians crossed paths with a British missionary physician, Harry Locke Paddon, who sailed to Labrador in 1912, married Mina Gilchrist, a nurse from New Brunswick, and, for years, they treated Labrador residents. A member of the International Grenfell Association, he travelled, sometimes for weeks, by dog-sled to care for the residents of Labrador's many small communities.

And, noting the high childbirth mortality rate, he even cultivated a garden and advocated the consumption of vegetables, berries, cod liver oil and brown flour to combat scurvy, rickets and malnutrition.

Women were often unable to deliver babies through hips weakened and de-



Derelict buildings collapsed from age at the Moravian Mission in Hebron Fjord, Labrador.

formed by rickets caused by lack of Vitamin D.

Labrador-born William Anthony "Tony" Paddon (1914–1995) followed in his father's footsteps as a Canadian surgeon who married nurse Sheila Fortescue. He later became the only Labradorian lieutenant-governor of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Eventually, after years of dedicated work, the Moravian Mission, the Newfoundland government and the International Grenfell Association made a decision. Among other hardships that they noted, the trio agreed it would be impossible to serve the spread-out Inuit communities with adequate medical care and housing available to the modern state

that Newfoundland and Labrador was becoming.

They ultimately set on a course of action that tore apart the lives and cultures built over thousands of years — a compound fracture that continues into today’s second and third generations.

The Inuit (not consulted and living their traditional hunting, fishing and trapping lives) were to receive education, housing and medical services. It included treatment for high rates of tuberculosis and other Western diseases that overpowered the immune systems of Indigenous people, such as influenza, scarlet fever, smallpox and measles, and decimated their populations.

The drive to consolidate Labrador’s isolated coastal communities for convenience and to ensure their survival in the march of Western civilization and, in some minds, to “civilize” the Inuit, came down to two words: Forced relocation.

According to one report, from 1953 to 1965, 7,500 people were relocated from 115 communities. The pull-out by the Moravian Church and the closing of the store and withdrawal of the Grenfell nurse hastened relocation from Hebron, and, further south, Nutak in 1956 and 1959, respectively.

Some residents had to shoot their own sled dogs — a particularly bitter and painful memory.

Newfoundland premier Danny Williams apologized in 2005 and each still-living person who was forced to move received a cheque for \$63,000. In 2009, he commemorated three bronze plaques, one listing the names of all the exiled residents and the second recording the formal apology by the government. The third was the Labrador Inuits’ response, which read, in part:

“We accept your apology — for ourselves, our ancestors and our descendants. We have waited over 45 painful years for this apology, and we accept it because we want the pain and the hurting to stop. Hearing your apology helps us to move on.... We forgive you.”

A parallel memorial event was held in Nutak in 2012.

The relocation was traumatic — it separated family members and friends who met further disappointments. Lacking promised housing, they were also dropped into unfamiliar territory whose residents had their own hunting and fishing territories. Poverty and despair overtook many.

— Donna Jacobs



This plaque in Hebron, presented by then-Newfoundland and Labrador premier Danny Williams is one of three. It carries the Inuit message of forgiveness for the suffering from Hebron and Nutak forced relocations.

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Expeditions are a family affair

“**E**xpedition” is a loaded word in the travelling world.

“If you don’t know what an ‘expedition’ is, you think, ‘Am I going to be on a dogsled going to the North Pole for two weeks, fishing for my food?’” asks Cedar Swan, Adventure Canada’s award-winning CEO.

From the deck of their comfortable ship or in Zodiacs or hiking, travellers will see what they came for: wildlife and wild places. But the big surprise is the series of in-depth first-person lectures from experts.

It might be Deanna Leonard-Spitzer, senior marine biologist with the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, who specializes in studying and tracking whales. Or Innu Maria Merkuratsuk, who lived through the historical forced relocations of the 1950s and 1960s. Or Andrew Bresnahan, Labrador community doctor, anthropologist and political adviser. The talks overtake travellers, who were originally focused on Northern Lights, polar bears and hiking.

Swan grew up taking expeditions with her family. Her father, Matthew Swan, recently retired as Adventure Canada’s CEO and turned over the job to her. But she’s worked there since 2002 doing sales and reservations, operations and marketing on her way to her current position. In 2018, *Canadian Traveller* magazine gave her a Top 40 under 40 award.

Swan and her Inuit husband, expedition leader Jason Edmunds, now take their two daughters, Charlotte, seven, and Islay, three, on regular trips. Swan’s siblings and other family members also work at Adventure Canada. Edmunds explains her first name: “She grew up on Vancouver Island where there were lots of cedars. And, her parents were hippies.”

She calls Labrador, where Edmunds was born and grew up, a place “so stunningly beautiful” and “at the edge of the world.” And her favourite place on the planet is Labrador’s Torngat Mountains.

The most frequent expedition celebrity guest is Canadian author Margaret Atwood, who does occasional readings from her books but is more often seen helping with the daily tasks involved in ship life. Artist Robert Bateman, scientist-broadcaster David Suzuki, landscape artist Doris McCarthy (mentored by some Group of Seven artists), Newfoundland



Adventure Canada is also a family adventure. On this expedition, Islay, 4, and Charlotte, 7, joined their father, expedition leader Jason Edmunds and their mother, CEO Cedar Swan.

writer Kevin Major and Nunavut-born Inuit singer Susan Aglukark have also joined expeditions.

Swan characterizes Mike Beedell as “Mike the kayak guy” on this trip, even though “we all know him as a world-renowned photographer.” One quickly learns that versatility rules and the person who delivered the academic lecture that morning might belt out some music that night, or drive your Zodiac. Or all three.

Swan’s clients do not seek top-of-the-line luxury with butlers and five-course meals. The *Ocean Endeavour* has capacity for 400, a smaller crowd allows Swan’s team to get to know their clients and maintain a ratio of one crew member per seven passengers. She also doesn’t want to overwhelm the small communities they visit.

Costs range from \$4,000 to \$24,000 per person for trips ranging from 10 to 17 days. “I concur, it’s a bit of sticker shock,” Swan says. The average price is around \$900-\$950 per day, including meals and accommodation to visit places you otherwise couldn’t visit. It’s easier to look at the cost of a three-day conference with meals

as a comparison.” The business has grown about 60 per cent in five years, she says, with most repeat clients averaging three trips.

Edmunds grew up in Labrador where he and his father ran tours. He studied political science at Memorial University, but later went into carpentry — “a little bit of a rebellion.”

He started out as an Adventure Canada fork-lift operator, bear-monitor and Zodiac-driver and finally became an expedition leader. Somewhere at the forklift-operator stage, Swan saw him playing his guitar and, as she said, to much laughter, “I just had to kiss that boy.”

Despite the tremendous organizational effort, the specialists change with each trip. “We travel with locals,” Edmunds says, “to get an understanding you can’t get with generalists. When you think about the history of Inuit and southern culture, it is often a sad story and that [whole] story has not been told yet.”

On each Canadian expedition, says Edmunds, at least half the people say “How did I not know this? I am Canadian, how did I not know this Canadian history?”

The floating university: excerpts from the experts

Their first-hand stories are funny, vivid, scientific, sometimes distressing — another kind of exploration.

Dylan White, wilderness and wildlife guide, has worked on 150 projects for government, academia and private groups. His Arctic mammal talk included black bears, grizzly and polar bears, all of which can interbreed to produce, in the case of the latter two, “pizzlies” or “grolars.”

He often gets up close and, apparently, too personal. He settled himself outside an Arctic fox den where mom and pups were living. During the 45 minutes he was there, the pups emerged to join their father, who lazily looked at Dylan every few minutes.

“The pups were running around, having a great time. Suddenly, mom comes out of the den, sees me, scrams, bites the male and rushes all the pups into the den. It’s like ‘you had one job, man. One job.’ He just failed so badly.”



Maria Merkuratsuk, born in Nain with eight siblings, only received schooling through Adult Basic Education. She earned diplomas in social work and heavy equipment operation and instructs on such traditional skills as preparing seal-skins, sewing and the Inuktitut language. As a member of the Canadian Armed Forces, 5th Canadian Ranger Group of Newfoundland and Labrador, her duties include patrolling, guiding, providing emergency services and mentoring young people.

She gave a recital of life behind her biographical note. It started in happiness. “It was the most beautiful life ever. The fresh air, the ground, the rocks, the high mountains. I picture my mom and dad, my siblings and the people that were

there. Nothing of the world. Nothing of speaking English.”

It ended in a protracted and ongoing struggle to heal herself. Sexually abused by three different men when she was a young woman (“at the time I thought it was normal.”) Alcoholism, drug addiction, mental illness and attempted suicide followed, before the gargantuan turnaround she achieved. When her first granddaughter was born, 24 years ago, she stopped drinking. “Sometimes I have to get away because I can smell alcohol and I am so tempted. Sometimes I think I get drunk from the smell.

“I’ve learned that all the hurt came from the Hebron relocation. It all goes back to there.” Her father was a fisherman and they lived in a tent in the summer. “We were really poor, but we had it so rich. She remembers the caring father who made tea sweetened just so for his children, and the father who, after the forced relocation from Hebron, became an alcoholic, violent with his family.

“My counsellor told me it wasn’t my fault when I got sexually abused, when I got raped. Most of my life, I felt that I’m doing something wrong and I’m tired of that.”

No dry eyes onboard that day, hers or her listeners’.



Randy Edmunds earned a fishing master’s certification and fished such species as salmon, char, cod and shrimp. He and his wife, Lori, owned a small hotel and tour boat operation. He recently retired from his eight-year term after representing

the Torngat Mountains in the provincial legislature.

He gave a scientific talk on the mystery of the disappearing George River caribou herd whose population dropped from 800,000 in 1999 to 5,500 today. It’s the same over the Canadian and the circumpolar region, with only the Porcupine Herd of the Western Arctic doing well, he says. He mentioned two possible reasons: Sampled caribou reveal a thin membrane between fur and meat itself, which though still good for human consumption, also coats reproductive organs. Another possible cause is the warming climate, producing edible vegetation too soon for the still-nursing calves. There is a ban on hunting this key food source and intensifying studies between Indigenous hunters and (other) scientists.



Derrick Pottle — Labradorian Inuit hunter, trapper, carver — prefers the mix of Western and traditional life. He said in the old days, the Inuits’ hands were crippled with arthritis, they were dying in their 40s, life was hard during weeks-long hunting trips to feed themselves.

But he wants to preserve it, too, and teaches bear safety and survival skills to the public. The lining of each sky-blue Adventure Canada waterproof jacket bears this quote: “Derrick Pottle, son of Labrador: Culture has to be practised, to be strong.”

He draws sharp contrast, though, between “sailing through some of the most pristine areas anywhere in the world” and the reality. “If you scratch the surface a little bit, there is a whole other story that is

not being told” near the Torngat Mountain Base Camp.

It’s the site of a former Cold War installation of the DEW (Defense Early Warning) Line. “When the personnel left, there were so many contaminants that we couldn’t eat bottom-feeding fish, or eat bird eggs due to high levels of PCBs.” In Hopedale, the site of another radar installation, even today, he says, in some subdivisions, people have had to move because of high contaminants oozing out of the ground in people’s backyards. Cancer rates, too, are elevated.

In the Muskrat Falls project, he says, “they forgot to do an environmental impact survey that went beyond the mouth of the river. Residents there have mercury levels four times [those of] Health Canada’s recommendations. It’s also a major habitat for ring seals that we eat – they forgot to put seals on the advisory list.”

In some areas of Labrador, people were advised to not eat more than one fish meal a week of fish due to high levels of methyl mercury.



Voisey’s Bay Nickel Mine is an early example of business relations between resource companies and the Inuit. (Labrador-born **Tom Paddon** is the brother of Dave Paddon and part of the two generations of Paddons who provided medical services to Labrador communities (please see story on forced relocation). Dave, a retired helicopter and Air Canada pilot, is an author and humorist who serves as an archivist of family documents.

Tom is chairman of Baffin Island Iron Mines, described as “Canada’s newest and northernmost iron ore mine.” He presented a detailed template for a resource project’s success in Indigenous lands. Many elements were part of the agreement he had previously helped to develop between Labrador’s Nunatsiavut government and Innu Nation for the Vale Inco Voisey’s Bay Mine — especially necessary after the 1997 RCMP arrests triggered vio-

lent protests over unresolved Innu-Inuit land claims.

A report consolidated the key elements for successful negotiations: Early consultations, environmental assessments, training, employment, compensation and revenue arrangements, as well as respect, protection and support of social and cultural values of the Inuit and Innu.



Lena Onalik grew up in Makkovik and spent summers at her grandparents’ fishing grounds processing fish for the fish plant. Graduating with a major in archeology/anthropology and minor in Aboriginal studies from Memorial University in St. John’s, she was briefly chief archeologist for the Nunatsiavut government.

Her family was deeply affected by relocation. As she spoke, she was standing among the mounds in Hebron, collapsed sod homes that dotted the shoreline and where her grandmother lived and her mother was raised.

“Because of the relocation from Hebron, and of being Inuk, my mother never wanted me to be isolated because I was an Inuk. She wanted me to be accepted and made me feel that, because I was ‘dual’ — my dad’s ancestry is white — I am just as good as anybody else. She felt so much shame for being, as she would say, an Eskimo.”

Pregnant at university and with two first cousins in the foster system since a very young age, she cared for her sister, who is 15 years younger and who has partial fetal alcohol syndrome. She continued her university studies while caring for her own baby. “It was hard. It was worth it. The cycle has to stop. It doesn’t need to continue with me or my children. Enough is enough.”

She plans to return to archeology. Today, though, she has three young sons and does homework for its flexible schedule. She and her husband, a carpenter, want their sons to be connected to the land. “I think it is so essential for future generations.”



Heather Angnatok is a Labradorian Canadian Ranger, chairwoman of Nain Women’s Shelter, traditional skills educator and outdoorswoman who makes traditional plant-based medicinal products.

She says Newfoundland gets the most funding and its needs met due to its larger population. “The further north you go, the less they listen to us — that’s just how it feels.”

For example, Labrador used to have two airlines and two ferries — one for goods and one for cars and passengers. Air Labrador is no longer running, leaving only Air Borealis. And the two ferries are gone, replaced after the Newfoundland government’s decision to provide a large ferry.

“They [government representatives] came into our community and said: ‘This is what we’re doing for you. We’re giving you a brand-new ferry. It’s going to be bigger; it’s going to be brighter; it’s going to be more efficient.’

“We gave them all our concerns and we asked ‘Why didn’t you consult us first? We know what we want. We know what would work.’ They said, ‘No, we know what we’re doing. [Now] we have that ferry and it’s,” she gestures, “two thumbs down.”

Sometimes, due to weather, the ferry service is stopped — no service whatsoever. “It affects store owners, food, lumber — they don’t have any products.” People depend on the ferry to cross the Strait of Belle Isle that separates Labrador from Newfoundland.

One key loss, she says, is that the ferry has changed routes so that Lewisporte, where a grocer would box up more economical bulk orders of food, is no longer a ferry stop. Public criticisms focus on a top-heavy and potentially poor design that renders the ferry unable to function safely in the high winds that often occur.

Donna Jacobs is publisher of *Diplomat* magazine. This trip was at the invitation of Adventure Canada.



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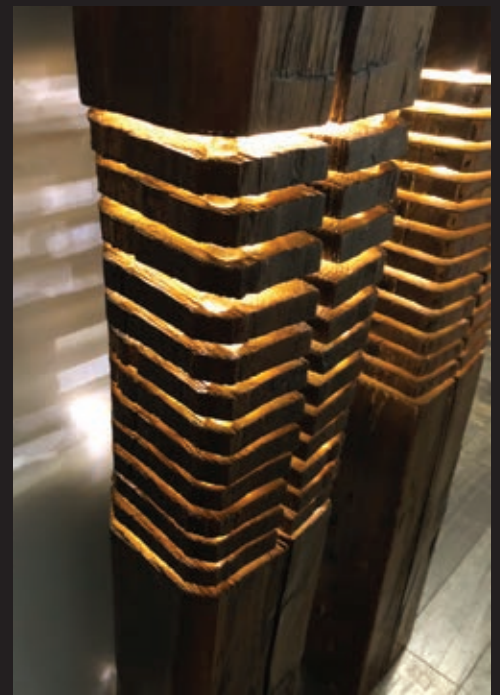
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Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

April		
4	Senegal	Independence Day
16	Denmark	Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II
17	Syria	National Day
18	Zimbabwe	Independence Day
19	Holy See	Election of the Pope
26	Tanzania	Union Day
27	Sierra Leone	Republic Day
27	South Africa	Freedom Day
27	Togo	National Day
27	Netherlands	King's Day
28	Israel	National Day
May		
1	Marshall Islands	National Day
3	Poland	National Day
8	Israel	Independence Day
9	European Union	Schuman Day
17	Norway	Constitution Day
20	Cameroon	National Day
22	Yemen	National Day
24	Eritrea	Independence Day
25	Argentina	May Revolution
25	Jordan	National Day
26	Georgia	Independence Day
28	Azerbaijan	Republic Day
28	Ethiopia	Downfall of the Dergue
June		
1	Samoa	Independence Day
2	Italy	Anniversary of the Foundation of the Republic
4	Tonga	Independence Day
6	Sweden	National Day
10	Portugal	National Day
12	Philippines	National Day
12	Russia	National Day
14	United Kingdom	Her Majesty the Queen's Birthday
17	Iceland	Proclamation of the Republic
18	O/of Eastern Caribbean States	OECS Day
18	Seychelles	Constitution Day
23	Luxembourg	Official Celebration of the Birthday of His Royal Highness Grand Duke Henri
25	Croatia	National Day
25	Slovenia	National Day
25	Mozambique	Independence Day
26	Madagascar	Independence Day
27	Djibouti	National Day
29	Holy See	National Day
30	Congo, Democratic Republic	Independence Day



ADVENTURE
CANADA



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MIKE BEEDELL WWW.MIKEBEEDELLPHOTO.CA

Photographer Mike Beedell: "I had the privilege of watching this common loon (*Gavia immer*) couple raise their chick at our summer retreat on a lake in Quebec's Gatineau Hills. The parents would often take an evening cruise by our dock or canoe — wearing their immaculate tuxedos. The drab-coloured, hitchhiking chick seemed underdressed. Both parents incubate eggs and they are vocal and intensely protective of their one or two chicks. The eggs hatch after an average of 28 days of incubation. Common loons are very territorial and will scare off or drown ducks or other waterfowl in territorial aggression. The region just north of Ottawa is one of the world's richest loon habitats. Its deep lakes and ponds provide perfect habitat to raise their young. Loons are ungainly on land, but can fly underwater like jet-fighters to catch the most illusive prey. Loons will eat crustaceans, frogs, mollusks and fish — including yellow perch, suckers, shiners and occasionally small trout. They live in the northern U.S. and in every Canadian province and territory. They nest as far north as southern Baffin Island, Greenland and Iceland. The haunting cry of a loon is considered a classic wilderness experience in the late spring and summer months. The adult can range from 66 to 91 centimetres in length with a 127- to 147-centimetre wingspan. Its weight can vary from 2.2 to 7.6 kilograms.



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