

Diplomat & INTERNATIONAL CANADA

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DIPLOMAT EXCLUSIVE

Talk power

BY FEN OSLER HAMPSON
AND I. WILLIAM ZARTMAN



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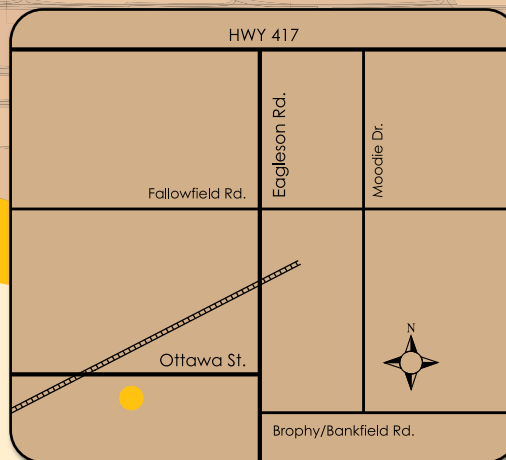
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JENNIFER CAMPBELL

On the power of talk

Armed conflict is on the rise again, and this upswing comes at a time when the U.S. is preoccupied with its own conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, and with the consequences of a financial meltdown that make it less inclined to intervene in world conflicts. Those observations come from University of Ottawa professor Fen Osler Hampson and his John Hopkins University colleague, I. William Zartman. They are articulated in *The Global Power of Talk: Negotiating America's Interests*, which will be published in August by Paradigm Publishers.

It all adds up to a much greater need for “talk power” (the authors’ phrase) — both the kind that prevents conflict in the first place, and the kind that averts armed conflict when tensions escalate. Then there’s the kind of talk that takes place after armed conflict. As the authors remind us: Military force may win wars but diplomacy ends them. In a piece exclusive to *Diplomat*, the authors discuss their new book and we publish an excerpt from it.

For our Dispatches section, we invited both politicians and analysts to give us their view of Canada’s place in the world — where we currently sit and where we should be going on the foreign policy front. We asked five political parties to weigh in and four — the Conservatives, Liberals, NDP and the Greens — responded to our call. In addition, the Fraser Institute’s thinkers give us their view on

the Canada-U.S. relationship while the North-South Institute offers its take on Canada’s role in international development. The Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute writes a prescription for Canada’s defence priorities, particularly vis-à-vis the North.

Our books editor, author George Fetherling, takes us on a trip to Paris, offering a list of books on the subject of Paris’ frequent razings and resurrections. He also cracks the cover of books on diplomacy, including one by Canadian diplomat Paul Heinbecker, who was Canada’s man at the UN and also a foreign affairs adviser to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

We also have a history piece on John Buchan, Canada’s 15th governor general and an author in his own right. Buchan was a Scot who married into nobility and received the title — Lord Tweedsmuir — from King George V at the same time the monarch appointed Buchan as governor general. In 1937, Buchan was the founder of the Governor General’s Literary Awards, which continue to this day.

In Delights, *Diplomat*’s publisher, Donna Jacobs, takes a lighthearted look at etiquette after taking a course taught at Carleton University’s Norman Paterson School of International Affairs by etiquette gurus Margaret Dickenson (also our food columnist) and her husband Larry, himself a retired ambassador. And in her regular spot, Mrs. Dickenson cooks up an elegant breakfast or brunch dish.

Our wine writer, Pieter Van den Weghe looks at bubbly while regular contributor Laura Neilson Bonikowsky toasts Parks Canada’s 100th anniversary, and gives us a history of the institution.

For our travel feature, we turned to Swedish ambassador Teppo Tauriainen to bring us the best his country has to offer. You can ski, sleep in an ice hotel, or, in summer, have a romantic dinner on Stockholm’s waterfront.

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat*’s editor.

UP FRONT

Award-winning Ottawa illustrator Anthony Tremmaglia, whose work has appeared in Wired Magazine, HOW Magazine and SmartMoney, produced our cover illustration, an expanded version of which appears on page 28. Mr. Tremmaglia, who worked with art director Paul Cavanaugh, had a tall order — to use visuals to illustrate a verbal concept, namely the power of talk. Says Tremmaglia: “Speaking to the audience is the No. 1 goal always.” The idea of the fist is iconic, he said. The olive branch softens its powerful grip.



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Scott Newark



Scott Newark is a former Alberta crown prosecutor and executive officer of the Canadian Police Association. He has also served as Ontario’s special security adviser, director of operations for the Washington D.C.-based investigative project on terrorism and as an adviser to the former federal public safety minister. He is currently vice-chair of the national security group and an executive member of BORDER-POL. He is a member of the FrontLine Security editorial board and a regular contributor to *iPolitics* on criminal justice and security issues.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



In her day job, Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is the associate editor of *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. A self-professed word nerd, she also writes on a freelance basis, mostly about Canadian history, and as often as possible about nature and the environment. This edition of *Diplomat* allowed her to indulge her passion for the outdoors with the history of our national parks, with which she feels a special connection, living as she does near the Rockies. Top of Laura’s list of parks is Jasper, particularly the alpine meadow that offers the best view of Angel Glacier on Mount Edith Cavell. The climb to the glacier, and the view that makes the climb worthwhile, leave one breathless, she says.

From the Middle East: Uprisings of the People

Political cartoons from Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Algeria, UAE — and London

These cartoons, originally published in the Arab press in response to the popular uprisings in Egypt and in the Arab world at large, address the causes and the consequences of the protests. Some portray the U.S. reaction and others illustrate the key role that social media played in facilitating the uprisings.

This cartoon collection is a special project of the Washington, D.C.-based Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), which monitors the media across the Middle East.

MEMRI explores the region through its media (both print and television), websites, religious sermons and school books. MEMRI bridges the language gap which exists between the West and the Middle East, providing timely translations of Arabic, Farsi, Urdu, Pashtu, Dari, Hindi, and Turkish media, as well as original analysis of political, ideological, intellectual, social, cultural, and religious trends in the Middle East.

MEMRI monitors and gathers extensive collections of Middle East cartoons that reflect media owners' political stance and influence public opinion. Topics range from the Russian-Georgia conflict and Russia-U.S. relations to anti-terrorism cartoons and Iranian cartoons that deny the Holocaust occurred. <http://www.memri.org/cartoon/en/category.htm>



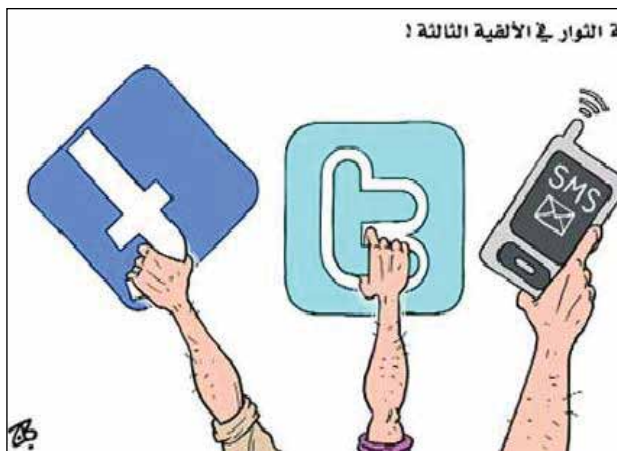
Looters steal goods with the letters for "Egypt." *Al-Riyadh* (Saudi Arabia), Jan. 31.



"Internet in Egypt." *Al-Jarida* (Kuwait), Feb. 1.



The pilots exchange news: "I've got a fleeing president," "I've got a king," "Mine's a crown prince." *Al-Safir* (Lebanon), Jan. 28



"The weapons of revolt in the third millennium." *Al-Imarat Al-Yawm* (UAE), Jan. 25.



The U.S. — sailing in a tub labeled "the Third World" dragging skulls representing Palestine, Afghanistan and Iraq — demands "freedom first!" *Al-Iqtisadiyya* (Saudi Arabia), Jan. 21.



America's help can't stop the revolution of rage." *Al-Binaa* (Lebanon), Jan. 31.



Egypt – the first domino to follow Tunisia. *Al-Arab* (Qatar), Jan. 30.



Mohamed Bouazizi's fruit cart pushes over Ben Ali's throne. *Al-Quds Al-Arabi* (London), Jan. 18.



Egypt calls for help. *Akhbar Al-Khalij* (Bahrain), Jan. 31.



Two presidents (Ben Ali and Mubarak) down, 20 more to go. *Al-Shurouq* (Algeria), Jan. 30.



Egypt laments the acts of vandalism, arson and looting. *Al-Watan* (Saudi Arabia), Jan. 31.



Tunisia holds a sign calling to spread revolution to other countries. *Al-Safir* (Lebanon), Jan. 29.



The army – Mubarak's last hope. *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* (Jordan), Jan. 31.



Having turned its back on reform, the Arab world is on the brink of the abyss. *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (London), Jan. 31.



Unemployment, corruption, poverty, violence, ignorance, backwardness and oppression fuel unrest in the Arab street. *Al-Arab* (Qatar), Jan. 29.



Mubarak: "All these are the 1 percent who didn't vote for me. Where are the other 99 percent?" *Al-Watan* (Qatar), Jan. 31.



Arab Leaders Turn a Deaf Ear to Protests, *Al-Jarida* (Kuwait), Jan. 31.



Twitter topples presidents, *Al-Qabas* (Kuwait), Jan. 30.



Tunisia, Yemen, Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt burn within the Middle East building. *Al-Riyadh* (Saudi Arabia), Jan. 29.



"The Egyptian people says 'No' to Mubarak". *Al-Shu-rouq* (Algeria), Jan. 29.



Desperate Arab world lights itself on fire. *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (London), Jan. 31.

Saying goodbye to Mohamed Harkat and friends

By Scott Newark

Every time I see the name Mohamed Harkat, I am reminded of that great country-and-western song, *How can I miss you when you won't go away?*

This question occurred to me when I read that Mr. Harkat had been formally served with removal papers by Canada Border Services Agency — and that his publicly-funded lawyer had vowed to fight his removal from Canada pursuant to a judicially upheld security certificate. (This removal, he reminded us, would take years more.)

The Harkat saga, readers may recall, began when Mr. Harkat arrived in Canada in 1995, using false documents, a phoney identity and a less-than-accurate or less-than-complete story and thereafter sought refugee status, which he was granted in 1997. These facts, by themselves, security concerns aside, are such that he could have been determined to be inadmissible to Canada and ineligible for the refugee status he acquired.

Mr. Harkat sought permanent residency status in 2002, which was denied. He was arrested in December 2002 pursuant to a specialized “security certificate” program authorized by the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act on the grounds that he posed a security risk to Canada. Initially held in custody, he was released on bail a few years ago while he fights his removal from Canada.

Theoretically, a big step toward this removal took place last December when Mr. Justice Noel upheld both the validity of the process and the continuing security grounds for removal. It was an appeal from that ruling which prompted one of Mr. Harkat’s lawyers, Matthew Webber, to promise Canadians years more delay and continued billings.

What’s going on here? Why is it that the persons supposedly most unfit to remain in Canada seem to be able to drag the removal process out as long as this? As Chief Justice Beverley McLachlin more than a little ironically noted in the court’s 2007 ruling, which directed procedural modifications while upholding the constitutional validity of the system, the security certificate process was designed to expedite the removal of such persons from Canada. Even the most fervent government spin doctor would have to



JEAN LEVAC, OTTAWA CITIZEN

Mohamed Harkat, left, and his lawyer, Matthew Webber, talk to the media after leaving the Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) in Ottawa, January 21, 2011.

admit that it clearly hasn’t worked out that way.

The Supreme Court has also been crystal clear about the constitutional validity of Canada removing non-citizens in defined circumstances. As Justice John Sopinka noted in the landmark Chiarelli ruling in 1992: “The most fundamental principle of immigration law is that non-citizens do not have an unqualified right to enter or remain in the country.”

The problem lies in the security certificate process itself that allows the use of evidence against people that is not disclosed to them — which is fundamentally at odds with our long-held and important legal traditions. The rationale for this exceptional procedure is to protect sources, methodologies and activities of our security and intelligence agencies. The normal rules of disclosure would reveal this information to the “bad guys.”

This special process prompts the challenges, the embarrassing disclosures of unreliable or contradicted evidence and the serious allegations of institutional misconduct in these cases. By creating and using this special evidentiary protection,

we have also unwittingly created a judicial merry-go-round that is counter-productive (to say the least).

The track record of this special evidentiary process in the Islamist security cases is revealing: one confirmation about to be appealed (Harkat), two cases awaiting confirmation rulings (Mahjoub and Jabbalah) and two cases dismissed (Charkoui and Almrei). That being so, it may be worthwhile to consider whether other, less dramatic, measures might be better suited to the ultimate goal, which is getting guys like Mr. Harkat out of our country.

Providing false, misleading or incomplete information upon seeking entry to Canada is a basis to find a person to be inadmissible to Canada. Doing the same to acquire refugee status is grounds to have that status revoked.

There is incontrovertible objective evidence, upheld by the courts and largely admitted by Mr. Harkat, that he did exactly this. There is also evidence that has been disclosed to Mr. Harkat, which the court has found credible, that directly relates to whether he is inadmissible on security grounds.

The evidence that has been called and disclosed to Mr. Harkat also reveals that he was so unconcerned about his safety in his native Algeria that he was planning on moving back to Algeria to get a local (second) wife. He has also been found to have been deceptive and misleading in his various explanations and assertions throughout the process, which is another way of saying that his claims lack credibility or trustworthiness.

These issues are relevant because the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act has provisions that permit the minister to seek the revocation of a refugee status granted as a result of false, incomplete, withheld or misleading information. The act also contemplates a pre-removal risk assessment where Mr. Harkat's claims of fear of torture were he returned to Algeria, can be measured against the evidence, his lack of credibility and the fact that Algeria is a signatory to the same UN Convention Against Torture as Canada.

Let's also review the absence of abuse of other deportees returned to Algeria and the rather noteworthy fact that EU member Italy just deported a convicted (not merely suspected) Islamist extremist supporter named Mohamed Larbi to Algeria without a peep from the EU human rights tribunals.

With all these facts in mind, the following actions might just help get the job done:

- Assemble all disclosed evidence relevant to all grounds of inadmissibility, refugee status revocation and challenging the credibility of Mr. Harkat and his fear of abuse if removed.
- Complete a "no rough stuff" agreement with Algeria.
- Give priority to any pre-removal risk analysis for Mr. Harkat.
- Bring application to vacate refugee status based on misrepresentation.

While we're at it, let's bring the same proactive analysis and results-focused approach to the other four cases.

Scott Newark is a former Alberta crown prosecutor and executive officer of the Canadian Police Association who has also served as Ontario's special security adviser, director of operations for the Washington D.C.-based investigative project on terrorism and as an adviser to the former public safety minister. He is currently vice-chair of the national security group and a regular contributor on criminal justice and security issues to *iPolitics*, where this article first appeared.



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Austrian virtuosi bring their music to children

Inspired by a program that gave the world Gustavo Dudamel, the music director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic, the Austrian embassy hosted a special musical event for children in February at the University of Ottawa.

The embassy's cultural arm, known as the Austrian Cultural Forum, regularly invites Austrian musicians to perform in Ottawa, and other parts of Canada. This time around, cellist Friedrich Kleinhapl and pianist Andreas Woyke had been invited to perform but, then, Peter Storer, the forum's director, had another idea. He knew Mr. Kleinhapl had participated in El Sistema, the Venezuelan program that teaches some of that country's neediest kids to play musical instruments — the one that gave Maestro Dudamel his start.

So, would Mr. Kleinhapl and Mr. Woyke like to do a similar thing on a smaller scale in Canada? Perhaps stage a class for OrKidstra, an Ottawa program that invites children from less fortunate households to learn to play music? The musicians enthusiastically agreed.

"It wasn't quite a master class but rather an exchange," Mr. Storer explains. "The musicians played some pieces at first and then the kids presented some of what they'd learned in previous classes and then they worked together. It was really nice because the kids were almost overwhelmed."

Later that evening, when the Austrian musicians were putting on a concert in Tabaret Hall, some of the children attended. One of the program's volunteer mentors even got the chance to serve as a page-turner for the pianist.

"The concert was a full house and the kids liked it so much they wrote letters to thank the two musicians," Mr. Storer



ULLE BAUM

The Austrian musicians — cellist Friedrich Kleinhapl and pianist Andreas Woyke (at back) — taught a master class to members of OrKidstra, a music group for "underserved children," including Oceane Chibi, left, and Jahleena Chambers, both seven years old.

says. "We do concerts on a regular basis but this was the first time we've brought Austrian artists together with kids. It was really nice. Everyone was happy."

Tina Fedeski, founder of OrKidstra and executive director of its parent group, The Leading Note Foundation, was thrilled with the afternoon. "It was a wonderful surprise," she says. "The two musicians are world-class and the whole afternoon was very inspiring to the children. They were just enthralled."

OrKidstra began three years ago to encourage children from what she called "underserved communities" and low-income families. While some children do pay to attend, 85 percent attend at no cost.

Ms Fedeski says the diplomatic community has been "unbelievably supportive" to her cause. Former British High Commissioner Anthony Cary hosted a fundraiser for the group as did German Ambassador Georg Witschel. Both raised considerable dollars to help the orchestra continue to offer programs for children. She was also touched last summer when, just hours after she'd presented her credentials and therefore officially begun her posting in Canada, Venezuelan ambassador Jhannett Maria Madriz Sotillo attended their year-end concert.

"She's very supportive of the program in Venezuela," Ms Fedeski says. "And I just thought that was such a huge gesture." ■



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Democracies don't just appear. You nurture them



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PRESENTED CREDENTIALS AS
AMBASSADOR: Feb. 13, 2008
PREVIOUS POSTINGS: Austria,
 OSCE, Vienna, New York (UN)

The recent death of poet laureate Justinas Marcinkevicius on Lithuanian Independence Day (Feb. 16) elicited a public outpouring of emotion across my country. During the several decades of Soviet totalitarianism and censorship, Marcinkevicius rose above the banalities of socialist realism and defended cultural identity by subtly writing about the human experience in a closed society. With the emergence of *Sajudis* (Lithuania's reform movement) in the late 1980s, he became a prominent figure in this peaceful democratic reform movement. But he never wavered in cautioning the public that freedom would not come easily, because it required eternal vigilance, tolerance and responsibility.

I remember being in Vilnius, March 11, 1990, when independence was re-established, and watching in awe as people from the street tore down the hammer and sickle from the entrance to the former Supreme Soviet building, which now houses the democratically elected *Seimas* (Parliament). As the world cheered the return of democracy, the newly elected leaders of the Republic of Lithuania began their daily business of running a country largely unrecognized by the rest of the world. A month later, Moscow would impose an economic blockade in an unsuccessful attempt to thwart full independence and prevent a domino-like fall of other communist regimes in the USSR. Never did I then imagine that just a year-and-a-half later, I would join the diplomatic service and represent Lithuania as a full-fledged member of the United Nations.

No doubt democratic forces within Lithuania played the most important role

in this remarkable peaceful transformation, but the support and leadership of other countries facilitated the process of transition and provided the expertise needed for self-government to thrive.

As democratic forces sweep the Arab world today, Canadian political strategist Thomas S. Axworthy cautions that "democracies don't just appear: they have to be nurtured."

For Lithuania, the nurturing process began well before the end of the Cold War. We had the advantage of experiencing democratic governance during the inter-war period, so the memory of that time survived and was passed to the next generation. But undeniably, the political and practical support of the West had a strong influence as well.

I was working abroad in a non-governmental organization whose mission was to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms in Lithuania. We published underground publications smuggled from Lithuania in English translation, mobilized support for dissidents persecuted or imprisoned for their beliefs and disseminated news about the situation in Lithuania to governments, parliaments and the press worldwide.

Many governments supported these efforts politically, bringing up documented cases of human rights violations during bilateral meetings and in international fora. At times it looked like an exercise

in futility, but we continued to seek out allies, build networks and promote democratic values against what often seemed like insurmountable odds.

The Helsinki Final Act of 1975, a politically binding agreement adopted by 35 countries to enhance security and cooperation in the region extending from Vancouver to Vladivostok, inspired the formation of Helsinki groups to monitor Soviet compliance with the agreement. In 1976, a Lithuanian Helsinki Group was established in Vilnius. Our current foreign minister, Audronius Azubalis, associated himself with this group and was summarily kicked out of university by state authorities for doing so. Today, ironically enough, he is the Lithuanian chairman-in-office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

The pioneering efforts of these Helsinki groups and their support networks in the West ultimately inspired Lithuania to begin its campaign for international recognition at the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which became the OSCE in 1995.

Foreign ministers of the yet-unrecognized Baltic states held a press conference at the margins of the 1990 Copenhagen meeting of the conference on the human dimension of the CSCE. There, Lithuania announced its request for observer status. We were fully aware such a request would most likely be denied (as was the case), because decisions were adopted by consensus. The three Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, however, would become participating states a year later, in 1991.

More than 20 years later, in 2011, as Lithuania chairs the OSCE, it now consists of 56 states from Europe, Central Asia and



Lithuanian Ambassador Ginte Damusis moderates a 1990 press conference in Copenhagen with Estonian Lennart Meri, centre, and Lithuanian Algirdas Saudargas, both foreign ministers of the yet-unrecognized countries.

North America, and offers a forum for political negotiations and decision-making on a wide range of security-related concerns, including arms control, confidence- and security-building measures, human rights, national minorities, democratization, policing strategies, counter-terrorism and economic and environmental activities. Canada is an important partner for Lithuania in the OSCE as well as in other organizations that promote democracy.

As Lithuania prepares to mark the 20th anniversary of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Canada, we can say that we're sharing a great friendship built on common values — respect for the ideals of freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. This friendship is particularly strong, not just because of the political and practical support from Canada during our early days of independence, but because we continue to believe and promote those ideals together in the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, also the Community of Democracies (CoD), which Lithuania is currently chairing until July. Canada is leading a CoD working group on enabling civil society, which is an integral part of the CoD mission and both our countries' foreign policy agendas.

Canadian Senator Raynell Andreychuk led a Canadian delegation at a conference on building civil society in Belarus, which was held in Vilnius in early February. Foreign Minister Lawrence Cannon announced \$400,000 in new funds over the next two years for initiatives promoting democracy, human rights and freedom in Belarus. And \$100,000 of those funds will be used to support the work of Belsat, a television station operating from Poland that provides independent news programming about Belarus for Belarusian citizens.

Both our countries have condemned the conviction by Belarus of members of the political opposition, who participated in demonstrations that were brutally suppressed by Belarusian authorities last December in Minsk, following the flawed presidential election. We are also urging Belarus to reverse its decision to close the Minsk office of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.

We hope to continue this good working relationship with Canada and keep democracy central to our foreign policy. As a country that directly benefited from democratic transition, Lithuania believes in sharing expertise and experience with those seeking to build a democratic society. ■

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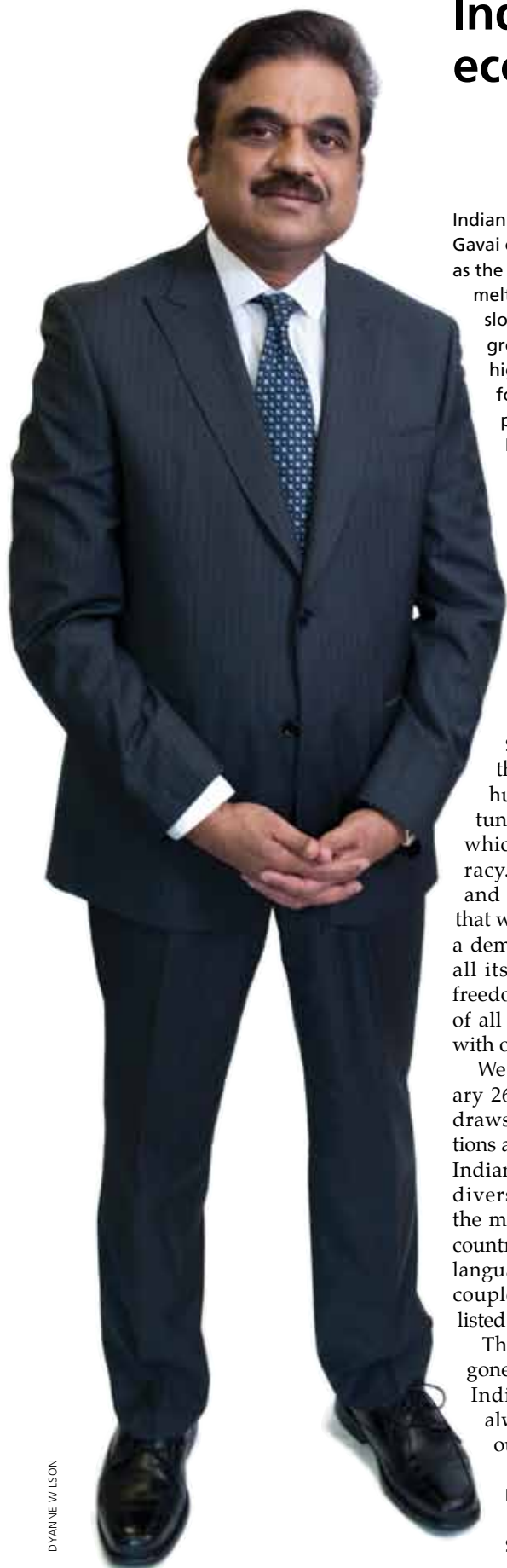
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 Inspiring girls

India: The rise of a 'benevolent economic power'



Indian High Commissioner Shashishekhar Gavai came to Canada three years ago, just as the world was experiencing an economic meltdown. While India's growth did slow, it never stopped. Indeed, its GDP growth for 2008 was 6.7 percent. The high commissioner, who joined India's foreign service in 1975 and has had postings in Hungary, Zimbabwe, Indonesia, Germany and Houston, to name a few, sat down with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell, for a talk about his country's phenomenal growth and the distinction of being the world's largest democracy — especially in what he calls “a rough neighbourhood.”

Diplomat magazine: Can you discuss your country as the world's largest democracy?

Shashishekhar Gavai: We have more than a billion people — one-sixth of humanity. I think we have been fortunate always to have had leadership which very firmly believed in democracy. Mahatma Gandhi, for example, and several others. They all believed that when India became free, it should be a democracy, a secular democracy with all its associated values — free press, freedom of religion, fundamental rights of all citizens. So all these values came with our freedom in 1947.

We adopted our constitution on January 26, 1950. Our constitution, while it draws from major democratic constitutions all over the world, it is also uniquely Indian as it recognizes the tremendous diversity that is India. India is easily the most complex and the most diverse country in the world. There are so many languages, so many people. There are a couple of hundred languages — 22 are listed in the constitution.

There are other countries that have gone back and forth on democracy but India has, right from independence, always been a democracy, despite all our problems.

DM: Can you describe some of India's most significant problems?

SG: Poverty is something we've

been dealing with. When India became independent in 1947, 80 percent of the country lived below the poverty line. So it was a huge problem. Over the years, we have addressed this issue and today we have a situation where 27 percent of the population lives below the poverty line. That is progress; it is an achievement. But at the same time, these are huge numbers. When you're talking about one billion people, that [percentage] still translates to 300 million people living below the poverty line.

Therefore, the government is very concerned about this issue. When you talk about growth, we have the fastest-growing economy in the world. We grew at a rate of nine percent last year and close to nine percent the year before. What we've seen since we opened up our economy in 1991 — prior to that it was a highly regulated, highly controlled economy — is an increase in growth. We had been growing at a rate of three or 3.5 percent per year. Once we deregulated, the economy moved at a much higher rate, from 3.5 percent to seven percent. In the past 19 years, many more people have come out of poverty than in the previous years — there is a correlation between growth and development and the eradication of poverty. Growth is very important but we have to ensure that the benefits of growth get to people in a bigger way so many people are brought out of poverty at a faster pace.

DM: And does your government have initiatives to do that?

SG: Several years ago, the government launched a national rural employment guarantee where the government guarantees 100 days of employment a year to those without employment opportunities. They work on infrastructure projects funded by government. That helps to improve their standard of living. This is one of the schemes the government has produced.

DM: Do you see India as having a mentoring role as the only democracy in the region?

SG: We don't want to play big brother



UN PHOTO

Members of the Indian battalion of the United Nations organization mission in Congo (MONUC) patrol the Virunga market. As of January 2011, India was contributing 8,680 troops to UN missions — ranked the third country in the world, in order of contributions — while Canada (in 51st place) had 224 troops.

or anything of the kind but I think our presence as the largest democracy in the world does have a stabilizing effect and it probably also is a role model, perhaps. But we don't believe in exporting our system. We'd like all people to enjoy the benefits of freedom but it's not something that can be imposed from the outside. It's for the people to decide for themselves.

DM: Would you comment on the current demonstrations and revolutions sweeping Northern Africa and the Middle East, brought about by citizens calling for freedom and true democratic governments?

SG: With regard to Egypt, the government of India condemned the attacks on

journalists and called for their immediate cessation. It also welcomed President Mubarak's decision to step down and the commitment given by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces to establish an open and democratic framework of governance. Expressing its serious concern about developments in Libya, the government deplored the use of force as totally unacceptable.

DM: Can you talk about what you see as India's place in the world?

SG: While we've always been the world's largest democracy, our rapid rise as an economic power is a more recent thing. It has caught the attention of the world.

Neither in the political sense, nor in the economic sense, is India a threat. This is the rise of a power that is benevolent both politically and economically. We have no territorial ambitions. We are a *status quo* power and we want an environment of peace because that is very important for sustaining our own economic focus. We want peace in the area.

DM: Please discuss India's aspirations for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.

SG: That is really an expression of how we see ourselves. Even looking at it from a demographic point of view, you cannot deny a seat to a country which

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has one-sixth of the world's population. That is one aspect. The other aspect is the growing economic stature of India and the growing role it is playing on the international scene. We firmly believe that giving India a permanent seat on the Security Council is in the interests of the world.

DM: Are you hopeful that this might happen?

SG: We were elected last year to one of the non-permanent seats. Whenever we've been on the Security Council, we've always been very active. We are in Africa. Whenever we're asked to make a contribution, we're there. I really wouldn't want to say whether we are more qualified than (other emerging economic powers such as Brazil and China) but we certainly think that India deserves a place as a permanent member and it's long overdue. It will come. I have no doubt we'll see something. It may take some time.

DM: President Obama recently visited India. What impact that will have in the long term?

SG: It was a continuation of a process we've had. We had President Clinton come to India. I think that was a turning point because we put behind us some of the old baggage. We had an historic visit by President (George W.) Bush and an historic initiative taken by him to have a civil nuclear agreement — which opened the doors for other countries to have similar agreements with India. Last year, we signed [an agreement] for the possibility of one with Canada.

President Obama's visit was really a further step in the right direction of strengthening the relationship between these two great democracies. Of course, there was also the political part of the visit, which created a more liberal environment for trade and strategic cooperation. And there was the business aspect — he had a large business delegation with him. It's a further step that was already started by his predecessors. And, of course, before he came to India, our prime minister [Manmohan Singh] went to the U.S. and that was important because it was the first state visit from any country in the Obama presidency.

DM: What are India's trade ambitions?

SG: Globally, our economy is driven by domestic consumption. We are not as big a trading nation as Canada. About 18

percent of our GDP is from trade. Other countries are much higher. We would like this figure to go up and that is part of our plan. We do realize we are deficient in raw materials, particularly oil and other commodities. We will be exporting things as India grows. Currently 75 percent of our oil is imported so there is a certain amount of importance given to imports.

DM: How do you respond to urgings, from the U.S. government and others, that India reduce some of its tariffs and trade barriers?

SG: I think the trend is toward that and in the years since we opened up our economy, our barriers have been reduced enormously. Obviously, not everything can be done because another country wants it. We have to look at our own interests and the stability of our economic system. We've been very cautious. While we have opened up, it's being done in a calibrated manner. We were affected by the economic downturn but we never had a recession. There was a slowdown. We had grown at a rate of 9.3 percent for three successive years and in 2008, the worst year of the recession, India grew by 6.7 percent. So we still had growth but



Mumbai skyline: Mumbai is the commercial centre of India, which has the world's fastest-growing economy. Even during the global economic crisis, India's gross domestic product grew at a rate of 6.7 per cent.

reduced growth. Our banks were very strong — no problem with the banking sector. [Barrier removal] is happening but it will be done at a pace we're comfortable with.

Of course, inflation is a concern and we have to tackle that. Food [prices are] going up and that is a global problem but in India it hurts a lot because we have a lot of poverty. We are trying to see how we can solve these things.

DM: It's all about managing growth.

SG: Yes, and also supply and demand. A lot of people are coming out of poverty and are therefore consuming more and

that's a good thing but it also means more demand for supplies.

DM: Since the Mumbai attacks, the U.S. has described India's push for security as a \$10 billion defence market. How much of a priority has security become for India?

SG: On security, of course, there are two aspects — one is the external, the other has to do with our huge border, part of which is mountainous. We have a lot of areas of instability in our neighbourhood. We have a problem with Pakistan, obviously, and that concerns us. The fact that Pakistan is a hub of extremism creates



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internal problems and an environment of instability. As you know, the Mumbai terrorists came from Pakistan. We are concerned. We don't want a repeat of Mumbai so we take internal security very seriously. But terrorism and extremism are global issues so we are cooperating with many countries because these groups are a threat to everyone. They're not just targeting one country, and they're targeting democracies particularly.

We have plans for modernization of our armed forces — the air force, navy. As you know, there is a problem with piracy. Like Canada, we have ships in the Arabian Sea. The security of the sea lanes is very important for us because that's how our oil comes in. We have to strengthen our navy and coast guard. Similarly, the air force. We have plans for modernization. We are looking at some agreements. It's a real issue for us because we live in a rough neighbourhood. We have these challenges and therefore we have to spend on defence. Still, the amount that we'll spend, if you look at per capita spending, is very modest.

DM: You mentioned Pakistan — can you talk about your relationship more specifically? Your foreign ministers met recently

and agreed to resume peace talks. Are you hopeful?

SG: After Mumbai, there were questions at the very ground level, serious questions about why India should bother having a dialogue [and dialogue mechanism] with Pakistan. What is the purpose of the dialogue when terrorist attacks happen? We had suspended this for a while but contacts weren't cut off — just the formal structure was suspended. Recent developments are cautious. Public opinion after Mumbai was very strong about having discussions with Pakistan.

DM: So is this just another round that won't succeed?

SG: It will all depend on what Pakistan is prepared to deliver, in concrete terms. Are there are terror camps and extremist camps? These questions haven't been answered to our satisfaction.

DM: Anything else you want to add?

SG: We are celebrating the year of India-Canada. This was decided by our prime ministers. For a calendar of events, you can visit our website. There are fashion shows, writers workshops, films, dance and music. (www.hciottawa.ca) ■

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Korea and Canada: Speed flying into partnerships

By Chan ho Ha



Speed flying is a winter sport that is increasing in popularity. It requires a combination of courage, paragliding and skiing skills. It is a relatively new sport that appeals to those looking for adrenaline-fuelled excitement and winter fun.

Not surprisingly, paragliding equipment used for speed flying requires advanced production technology that enables instantaneous inflation of the small parasailing sail attached to the skier's back. What might be surprising is the origin of such a product: Gin Gliders, a Korean company, currently leads the global market for paragliding equipment and has earned rave reviews from athletes worldwide. Gin Gliders is a prime example of Korean innovation and expertise, and according to German economist, Hermann Simon, it is one of more than 25 Korean companies that merit his acclaimed Hidden Champions title. Hidden Champions are small but highly successful companies that meet specified criteria according to Simon's theory. These small-to-medium Korean businesses are earning attention internationally with very distinctive and specialized products.

Korea has many first-class companies as well. It is known as the best shipbuilding country in the world and ranks in the top five for mobile phones, semi-conductors, and automobiles. With R&D spending at 3.47 percent of GDP — first among OECD countries — Korea continually invests in future innovation. For foreign trade partners who are seeking a gateway to North East Asian markets, Korea is the best place to start.

Currently, the GDP of Canada ranks 9th and Korea 15th in the world respectively (IMF 2010). Trade volume between the two countries however, is merely one percent of the total trade volume of US\$800 billion. These statistics are clear indicators that there is still much room for further

expansion of bilateral trade between our two nations. Korea and Canada hold economic structures that are very complementary. Korea imports the abundant natural resources from Canada: coal, pulp, aluminum etc., as raw materials used for manufacturing, while Canada imports Korean automobiles, mobile phones, and electronics: a proven benefit for Canadian consumers.

Recently, we have witnessed investments by Korean companies in Canada soar upwards. Over the past few years, the Korea National Oil Corp (KNOC), the Korea Gas Corp (KOGAS), the Korea Power



Korea's Gin Gliders is a global leader in the paragliding equipment market.

and Electricity Corp (KEPCO), and Samsung, have actively invested in Canadian oil, gas, uranium, and renewable energy sectors. According to statistics from Korea, \$7.5 billion of investment were accumulated in the first half of 2010. Meanwhile, Canadian companies have invested a total sum of \$4 billion in Korea, (although most

of that was contributed during the Asian financial crisis of the late 1990s).

Over the years, we have learned that people-to-people ties also fuel economic cooperation. When we look at the immigrant community in Canada, we see there are approximately 220,000 Koreans among the population. Further, Korea provides the second highest number of international students to Canada, around 27,000 — second only to China. Some may be surprised to learn that 20,000 Canadians currently reside in Korea with more than 5,000 of them teaching English to Korean students. In fact, the vast majority of Korean citizens view Canada as a peaceful and friendly nation. It appears the next leading generation of Koreans will find Canada even more approachable thanks in part to the contributions of the recruited Canadian ESL teachers.

As a consequence of such positive conditions surrounding our two countries, continued rapid expansion requires completion of the Canada-Korea FTA. Commencing in 2005, the FTA negotiations are yet to be concluded with a few issues still outstanding. Hopefully Canadian businesses will not encounter delays in entering the Korean market, especially now that FTA talks have concluded between Korea and the United States, and the FTA agreement with the European Union takes effect July 2011. The issue of reopening the Korea market for Canadian beef has been referred to the World Trade Organizations (WTO) disputes panel. Apart from the WTO process, bilateral negotiations are going on with hopeful optimism that it should produce results soon.

I strongly encourage Canadian investors to consider the vast business opportunities available in Korea and to participate in the building of these exceptional relationships. Like the historic trade winds that brought commerce to foreign lands, our diplomatic missions in Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver can be seen as welcoming ports-of-call that offer support to Canadian businesses interested in establishing themselves in Korea as trading partners. Like speed flying, the potential for increased trade and economic cooperation is exciting and exhilarating.

Chan ho Ha is ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Canada. Reach him at 613-244-5010 or amb@koreanembassy.ca

Greece offers Canada 'a launch pad' into Europe

By *Eleftherios Anghelopoulos*



One of my top priorities as ambassador of Greece to Canada is to contribute to the enhancement of the ties between the two countries in the area of economic relations and cooperation.

We are already reliable trade partners. Canada's imports from Greece rose in the January-November 2010 period to more than \$130 million, a 1.7 percent increase over the previous period. At the same time, Greek exports worldwide increased by 7.5 percent.

But what does Canada import from Greece? The most valuable exports to Canada are not only food products but also industrial goods: chemicals, medicines, marble, textiles, rugs, aluminum plates and cosmetics. Greece also provides bentonite and perlite, widely used by Canadian industry to manufacture everything from cars to insulation to cosmetics. Greece is Canada's second largest supplier of bentonite and third largest supplier of perlite.

But perhaps the best success story of our exports is in traditional Greek food products, which initially were imported by the Greek-Canadian community and are now part of many Canadians' daily diet. Among Canadian favourites are extra virgin olive oil, olives (Kalamata olives in particular), cheeses (feta holds a prominent position here), wines, fresh fish, canned peaches, dried figs and the famous Greek thyme honey.

As ambassador, I will spare no effort to ensure that Canadian consumers experience healthy, flavourful Greek cuisine and that they taste authentic, high-quality Greek products that reflect the features of the land and the sea from which they come.

At the same time, people in Greece enjoy Canadian beans in their traditional bean soup, eat bread made with Canadian wheat and read magazines printed on pa-

per from Canadian pulp.

The Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) between Canada and the European Union is also a feature of our trade relationship. The conclusion of negotiations, expected this year, will create new opportunities for Canadian and European companies. We are ready to provide assistance to all Canadian companies sourcing Greek products and services or wishing to establish facilities in Greece.

The excellent business environment of Canada has already attracted investments by Greek companies in industrial and ICT sectors, as well as in high-quality consumer goods in Quebec and Ontario.

In addition, well-known Canadian firms operate franchises in food and ICT sectors in Greece and collaborate on re-



search into advanced materials and their commercialization. And these are just a few examples of the unlimited opportunities for mutually profitable cooperation.

Thanks to a brand-new investment framework, large, strategic investment projects can now be realized in Greece in a much shorter time, following a fast-track procedure. Areas of special interest for investors are renewable energy (Greece's goal is to have 40 percent of electricity and 20 percent of total energy consumed coming from renewable resources by 2020), ICT, high-end tourism such as cruises, eco-tourism and wine tourism, agro-industry and real estate.

Greece can also be used as a launch pad for Canadian companies. Greek companies have been very active in South-Eastern Europe, with almost 4,000 Greek businesses present in the region. Greece is already the No. 1 or leading foreign investor in South-Eastern Europe. In the

broader Middle East and the Gulf, Greek companies have also established a strong presence, primarily in construction, oil extraction and banking. Cooperation between Greek and Canadian firms can profit from the advantage of this strategic launch pad for doing business in those regions.

In Greece as well as in Canada, support is available from government organizations for entrepreneurs who wish to explore these opportunities.

On Jan. 1, the convention for the avoidance of double taxation between Canada and Greece came into effect, creating a uniform and stable tax regime. The convention regulates the way income is taxed on both individuals and corporations arising from activities in Canada and Greece. Accordingly, each person is taxed only once, in the country of his main activity. The resulting stable tax regime and uniform competition conditions will widen the scope for economic relations between Greece and Canada.

Meanwhile, the vibrant Greek community across Canada preserves the rich culture and traditional customs of Greece and showcases them in many popular events. Greece is also the chosen destination of 140,000 Canadians every year. We welcome all Canadians who, taking advantage of direct summer flights connecting Montreal or Toronto and Athens, visit Greece and experience the incredible landscape, glorious sun, captivating history and unreserved hospitality. Many other Canadians spend their honeymoon cruising the blue Aegean waters and discovering the beauty of the Greek Islands.

In the face of significant financial challenges, the Greek government undertook a sustained effort to overcome the crisis which also affects other European countries and has already registered concrete positive results and received the recognition and support of our partner countries. Canada's International Trade Minister Van Loan expressed this country's support to Athens in December 2010.

It is my firm belief that Greece will come out of the challenge stronger, riding the edge of the world's competitive wave.

Eleftherios Anghelopoulos is Greece's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at embassy@greekembassy.ca, or (613) 238-6271.

Panama and Canada grow closer: Count the flights

By Francisco Carlo Escobar



Panama and Canada began bilateral relations 50 years ago, although they have never been as close as they are now, thanks to a comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (FTA) signed in May 2010. The agreement will facilitate trade and investment between the two markets and both countries will benefit from the immediate removal of tariffs.

Panama has a strong and stable economy, largely based on the services sector. The majority of GDP is derived from maritime and other service-related industries which have developed around the Panama Canal and its strategic geographical position. This stability allowed the local economy to stand strong during the 2008 global economic crisis. And, to build on its success, the government proposed a referendum on the canal's expansion which was well received by the population. This is a US\$25 billion project which opens opportunities to specialized Canadian companies in the construction industry.

Meanwhile, the FTA will be mutually beneficial for Panama and Canada. The first key sector which will experience these benefits is agriculture, where products complement each other due to different climatic factors. On the Panamanian side, there are bananas, pineapples, oranges, plantains, mangos, papayas, melon, watermelon and coffee, among others, all of which can compete with those already on the market in Canada.

For Canada, 83 percent of its agricultural products would receive immediate market access, which is higher than the 65 percent offered to U.S.-made products. The FTA includes "zero-for-zero" immediate duty-free access for key Canada sectors including agri-food products such as dry shelled pulses, lentils, peas, beans, frozen potatoes, pig tails, boneless turkey meat, maple syrup, non-tropical fruits and some processed vegetables.

In addition to agricultural commodities, there are also important exchanges in agro-industrial equipment and agro-technology, areas where Canadian expertise could support local producers.

Other investment opportunities for Canadian companies may be found in the tourism industry. The Panama Tourism Authority has made considerable investments to promote Panama as a family-vacation, eco-tourism and retirement destination. This image of Panama has been well-received, therefore creating many possibilities for hotel chains to establish themselves as popular beach resorts, city hotels or eco-hotels.

Several charter airlines are taking advantage of this high-tourist demand by servicing the market with direct flights from Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver



to Panama City. In Jan. 2011, Panama's COPA Airlines started offering four flights a week from Panama to Toronto. The expansion of direct flights allows passengers from Canada to reach the Latin American market and Latin American travellers to have easier access to Canada without having to stop over on U.S. soil.

The Panamanian government has worked to provide a business environment that is attractive to multinational corporations. Many of these large firms have established regional headquarters for the Latin American market out of Panama. This is a sound business decision, given Panama's strategic geographical position and the expansion of flights provided by COPA Airlines. Multinational corporations are now able to reach their customers and business partners much easier since they are now often just one flight away.

There are other business options to

which corporate Canada should pay close attention. Panama is host to several unique economic zones such as the Colon Free Trade Zone, Processing Zones, Panama-Pacifico and Ciudad del Saber. These let businesses establish themselves quickly and enjoy a long list of benefits while gaining access to the Latin American market. The Colon Free Trade Zone, established in 1948, is the second largest duty-free zone after Hong Kong. It is used by large export corporations as a distribution point to reach the Central and South American markets at lower costs.

In the case of Panama and Canada, there are plenty of resources to aid businesses in export development and trade. Examples include the Trade Facilitation Office in Canada, PROINVEX in Panama, and all the chambers of commerce. PROINVEX is a new agency designed to attract investments and promote exports. It serves as a one-stop-shop integrated information system that allows investors to access the resources the Panamanian government has available to guide foreign direct investment to the country. It also promotes investments in strategic sectors, as determined by the government's strategic plan 2009-2014, offers a concierge service to investors in due diligence for investing in the Republic of Panama, and coordinates the international commercialization and promotion of the exports of national products. We urge companies to use this tool if they have an interest in investing in Panama.

Many Canadian and Panamanian businesses have begun to explore market opportunities so that they are prepared when the free-trade agreement takes effect, hopefully this spring.

These businesses also continue to express support for the FTA through participation in chambers of commerce activities and by organizing trade missions between Canada and Panama. The government feels confident positive results will emerge from these exchanges.

The relationship between Panama and Canada has grown stronger with time. This is surely just the beginning of a long-lasting partnership.

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Ready. Aim. Talk.

Events of the past decade have shown that military force alone cannot deal with either the problem of failed states or the malaise that grows out of conflict. Neither can weak diplomacy. Two noted scholars say that it's time to deploy the full force of talk.





By Fen Osler Hampson and I. William Zartman

Negotiation or Talk Power is getting something by giving something. In diplomacy, it involves the search for solutions that meet the foreign-policy goals of one country while giving enough to another to motivate it to keep its promises. It is a tool that can be used to advance a country's interests, amplify its power and standing in the world and win back old friends who have lost hope in its leadership. It is a tool that can forge new alliances to deal with today's new security threats. Talk power is not the refuge of the weak. On the contrary, it is the fine-honed instrument of the hard-headed and tough-minded who understand its uses, purpose, and limitations.

Military force may win wars; diplomacy ends them. These days, the use of military force usually ends in a stalemate, and when it does better than that, its result is not to eliminate conflict but rather to create a new conflict situation. We sow the wind and reap the whirlwind. It takes large doses of diplomatic talk and negotiation to clean up afterwards. When violent confrontations end in deadlock, this sometimes sets the table for negotiation. Sometimes deadlock is necessary. Terrorists and rebels need to feel it before they abandon unrealistic goals and work to meet their opponents in the middle. But when force has done its job, the diplomat moves in to end violence and return peoples' lives to normalcy. It takes diplomatic talk and negotiation to put a house in shambles back to order.

Our book, *The Global Power Of Talk: Negotiating America's Interests*, is a study of the uses and purposes of negotiation and diplomacy in America's power projection capabilities in today's world. We argue that the power of negotiation, when used wisely, can transform a difficult situation and further U.S. interests, as President Kennedy showed in the Cuban missile crisis. When used badly or belatedly, problems can get a lot worse.

As we look to the many foreign policy and security challenges President Obama and his advisers confront today, our book explores the role that Talk Power can play to advance America's interests and promote global security.



President John F. Kennedy presents the Air Force outstanding unit award to the 363rd tactical reconnaissance wing for its actions during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Today we are confronted by old and new security challenges. In addition to changes in the global security environment arising from the increasing threat of terrorism, widening fractures between and among cultures, and the growing threat of nuclear proliferation, there have been changes in the perception of that environment among the leading states of NATO and the European Union and many other societies. This perception includes new attitudes about the hierarchy of interests linked to conflict arenas where these challenges often arise. It also includes a heightened overall sense of insecurity and division in the international system,

which is reinforced by continuing violence, murder, and mayhem in Iraq, Afghanistan, Central Africa, Andean America and elsewhere in the world.

There are other developments that also pose new challenges to political stability. A wave of democracy and civil unrest is sweeping through the Middle East and North Africa from Tunisia, to Egypt, and now Libya, Yemen, Morocco, Algeria, Jordan, and Bahrain, toppling authoritarian regimes including some key Western allies, but with long-term uncertain results for the region as a whole. Negotiations within these societies, as well as negotiations with key neighbours and allies, will be essential to ensure political stability and secure the pace of democratic reform.

In many of the world's conflicts over the past two decades, outside actors, including the United States, held the ring for negotiations, probed intentions, prodded combatants to resolve their differences, and played peacemaker when called upon. Recall the key role played by President Clinton's envoy Richard Holbrooke who knocked heads and brought warring Muslims, Croats, and Serbians together at the peace table to end the murderous wars in Bosnia and Croatia. Emissaries sent by Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush also helped negotiate peace settlements that ended decades of conflict in Southern Africa, Cambodia, and elsewhere, and others sent by President

George W. Bush helped reduce conflicts in Sudan and Korea. The United Nations, constructive powers like Canada and Norway, and even non-official organizations have also been important peacemakers and negotiators, working alongside and sometimes directly with the United States.

The bad news is that this enviable record of peacemaking in the late 1980s and 1990s was sullied by several major lapses in U.S. diplomacy and in some regions established peace processes have been allowed to wilt.

Our book explores the uses and limits of the power of negotiation and diplomacy in U.S. foreign policy at a critical — if not decisive — juncture in the nation's history. America's friends, allies, rivals, and adversaries will all be influenced in some measure by the choices that the United States makes to secure its own future. It matters whether — working with its partners and key security institutions such as NATO and the United Nations — the United States has the energy, purpose and constructive optimism to deal with its security challenges and to sustain its long-standing engagement in the search for a more peaceful and less threatening world.

An alternative scenario in which U.S. policies come to be viewed as exacerbating regional tensions and undercutting U.S. influence could trigger an opposing mood of isolation, retrenchment, and reduced focus on a narrower, defensive agenda that tolerates or ignores foreign conflicts in order to address direct threats. Rather than marching together, the world would fall apart. Events of the past decade have shown that military force alone cannot deal with the myriad problems of failed and ailing states in the international system or the malaise that grows out of continued conflict in parts of the globe. But the same is true for weak, confused, or ham-fisted diplomacy, which can also make problems worse and undermine U.S. power and influence.

The following excerpt from our book looks at the successful use of preventive diplomacy or “Timely Talk” to thwart the onset of violence.

Fen Osler Hampson is director of The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University. I. William Zartman is Jacob Blaustein Professor of Conflict Management and International Organization at The Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at The Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C.

BOOK EXCERPT

Deploying the full force of talk

Often America, as it prepares for war, fails to communicate skillfully, say authors Fen Osler Hampson and I. William Zartman



ANTHONY TREMMAGLIA

We are living in a world that is becoming increasingly violent and conflict prone, and particularly on the domestic or intrastate level, where civil order is commonly expected to be found. According to the Center for International Development and Conflict Management at the University of Maryland, which for many years has been tracking the outbreak of violent conflict, the steady decline in the number of active conflicts around the globe immediately following the end of the Cold War appears now to be reversing itself with a resurgence of armed conflict and violence in many countries. At the same time,

there is a greatly diminished appetite in the United States, given its continuing security commitments in Afghanistan and Iraq and now its growing fiscal burdens, to intervene with Gun Power to stop the outbreak or escalation of violence in different corners of the world. Without U.S. leadership or willingness to intervene, others are unlikely to follow.

These harsh realities underscore the vital need to identify strategies that can prevent the outbreak of violent conflict in the first place.

This is not a new challenge. In the early 1990s, in the aftermath of genocidal atrocities in Rwanda and the horrendous war in



DEPARTMENT OF DEFENCE, MC2 EDWIN L. WRISTON

U.S. soldiers participate in a combat patch ceremony near Baghdad.

the Balkans, there was growing interest in designing strategies aimed at preventing the outbreak of violent conflict. As early as 1991, actions mandated by the Security Council in Resolution 687, led by the U.S. and Britain, imposed a highly intrusive and complex regime of monitoring to prevent Iraq from producing weapons of mass destruction. Thereafter, council members tended to use the “peace and security” threat that flows of refugees could pose to neighbouring countries to authorize preventive action. Such arguments were advanced, notably, in the early stages of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Haiti, East Timor, and the overflow of refugees into Guinea from neighbouring Liberia and Sierra Leone. Where action was taken, Security Council decisions aimed at preventing even worse outcomes. Yet, in general, prevention was preached more often than it was practised.

Much of the discussion in more recent years has revolved around strengthening emerging norms associated with the “Responsibility to Protect.” Although based on existing humanitarian principles, this doctrine reiterates that individuals must be protected from mass killing, in particular genocide and crimes against humanity.

Protection is mandated even when these acts occur within the territory of sovereign states, redefining the concepts of sovereignty and humanitarian intervention to focus more directly on the rights of threatened individuals, rather than those of states. Unfortunately, despite some clear successes in strengthening this general

**THIS IS NO AIRY THEORY.
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prohibition and facilitating state compliance, international and intrastate violence has continued relatively unabated in many corners of the globe. There are ongoing conflicts in Darfur, Somalia, Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Colombia, Congo,

and elsewhere where the international community continues to demonstrate a diminished appetite to intervene. The reality is that politics all too often stands in the way of any kind of direct military intervention — the use of Gun Power — after a conflict has escalated beyond the point of no return.

Although Gun Power may be necessary to halt massive human rights violations and genocide within a nation’s borders, there are other potential options that are available to prevent the outbreak of violence and conflict in the first place. One such tool is the timely exercise of Talk Power, or Timely Talk, which can play a vital role in forestalling the onset of civil war and regional conflict. This is no airy theory. Think of it: Literally innumerable conflicts have been prevented by talking, as practised in normal diplomacy. Plenty of potential conflict situations exist both between and within states that in the extreme — in fact exceptional — cases give rise to violence. In most cases, normal diplomacy and, internally, normal politics, can and indeed have handled disputes before they get out of hand. Talk works.

The following positive and negative examples show the breadth of the exercise of

Talk Power in its “Timely Talk” variation.

In the South Atlantic in 1980, Great Britain and Argentina entered a short but bloody war, costing 1,000 lives, over a group of islands far from Britain but not very close to Argentina either. The parties engaged in some talk, but not much and concentrated mainly in repeating their immovable positions.

In the western Mediterranean in July 2002, a conflict broke out over a tiny island a few hundred meters off the Moroccan mainland, where one could say, using the old rhyme,

*The King of Morocco sent a dozen men.
To march up the hill but not march down again.
The King of Spain then sent two dozen more
To march up the hill the Moroccans marched up before.*

Since some Spanish enclaves are on Morocco’s Mediterranean coast and are claimed by Morocco, the Perejil/Leila (Toura) Island conflict threatened to escalate into a nasty and costly war. Tempers rose, nasty words were exchanged, and friends of both parties lined up behind them. Many countries, notably in Europe, were friends of both sides producing calls for talk and reason. Spain refused EU mediation, looking for support instead. Morocco declared that “dialogue was the best way to build the future relations between the two countries.” The U.S. was particularly active in urging the parties to meet, discuss and settle the affair, which they did after 10 tense days. Timely Talk led by the United States forestalled the onset of conflict.

In Colombia, the Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC) and the National Liberation Army (ELN) started out in the mid-1960s as leftist movements speaking for social groups excluded by the National Pact that ended La Violencia of the 1950s and early 1960s. Both gradually became hooked on the production and distribution of drugs and became impossibly difficult to dislodge. The ensuing conflict has led to some 80,000 deaths.

A third insurgency group, the M-19, of more urban middle class and less ideological intellectuals also arose following an electoral defeat in 1970. It committed some spectacular terrorist acts in the 1980s, including the occupation of the Supreme Court, the Dominican embassy and a Bogotá military base. But in the middle of the decade, its leaders came to the realization that guerrilla violence was not the path



United Nations peacekeepers protect Sadias Adam Imam, who’s collecting millet on a plot rented by a community leader. able bird habitats at risk.

UN PHOTO



U.S. soldiers consult with Iraqi soldiers in the Qadussyia neighbourhood during an inner-city patrol with Iraqi soldiers in Mosul, Iraq.

U.S. NAVY PHOTO, MC1 CARMICHAEL YEPEZ

to its goal of social reform. At the same time, a new Liberal government under Virgilio Barco came to power under the slogan of “rehabilitation, normalization and reconciliation.” Negotiations began in 1988, followed by a ceasefire, and then participation of the M-19 in elections in 1990. The process was slow and bumpy, but continued despite the refusal of the other guerrilla movements to participate,

repeated violence by the drug lords, and the rise of right-wing militias.

The difference was produced by internal debate within the government and the M-19, which led to a realization that violence does not produce reforms and that reforms are necessary to win dissidents away from violence. Once both sides had seen that their violence could damage the other but not eliminate it and that



General Roméo Dallaire served as force commander of the UN intervention in Rwanda in 1993. He returned 13 months later, disillusioned and suicidal, after the international community turned its back on the most devastating genocide of the post-Cold War era.



COMBAT CAMERA, MCPL PAUL MACGREGOR

Canadians patrol a road leading into Drvar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. In late 2002, some 1,450 Canadians were stationed in the country as part of NATO's 12,000-strong stabilization force.

the other side was open to talking, then discussions could begin. It took dogged commitment to overcome sabotage and keep on talking, but the results were better for both sides.

Eritrea became independent from Ethiopia in 1993 after a million casualties from three decades of war with a border that was delimited but not demarcated. Within five years, a vicious war broke out over two small disputed and worthless segments of territory that cost 100,000 lives. It took another two years to conclude a peace treaty. A decade later the parties were still not reconciled.

The "last border dispute in Latin America," a continent torn by border disputes since independence in 1825, broke out in violence between Ecuador and Peru several dozen times in the 20th Century alone, despite an agreed protocol in 1942, an arbitration award in 1945, and the subsequent demarcation of over 95 percent of the border. However, aerial photography revealed new terrain features in the dense Amazon jungle and led to new clashes in 1981 and 1995. Both sides stuck to their legal arguments, which included Peru's claim that Ecuador had not even existed at the time the border was established.

In the midst of such endless arguments and inconclusive military action, the four protocol guarantor countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the U.S.) proposed to look beyond legal sovereignty and brought the parties to an agreement based on demarcation in exchange for access, sovereignty in exchange for ownership, and above all cooperation to develop an isolated and inhospitable region shared by both countries. The Brasilia Agreement of October 1998 overcame past disagreements by establishing the basis for future, mutually beneficial, cooperation.

The difference between the two cases began with the fact that the Andean countries learned from unnecessarily long experience whereas the neighbours in the Horn of Africa were entrapped by their heavy investment in war and could not see beyond it. Once Peru and Ecuador could shift their attention from their past intractable differences, creative thinking on the part of the mediators opened up new political possibilities, and the parties talked their way into a pact of mutually beneficial cooperation along newly defined lines, rather than staying in a rut of dysfunctional conflict over contested border lines. Timely Talk allowed for creativity, and creativity led to satisfaction in new terms.

When Robert Mugabe set the stage for the 2008 elections in Zimbabwe, his regime had already killed thousands of his population (running from simple peasants to opposition and civic leaders). His kleptocratic government had all but run the country into the ground with many of its inhabitants living in destitute conditions and suffering from widespread disease. When he lost the election by all impartial counts, he called for a runoff, and when he had harassed his opponent, Morgan Tsvangirai, and driven him out of the country, he killed off some more of his countrymen. He then lured Tsvangirai into an asymmetrical coalition, while continuing to harass members of his opposition party.

The most devastating genocide of the post-Cold War era was the massacre of 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutus in Rwanda in 1994. The return of Tutsis exiled in neighbouring Uganda began the civil war by the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) in 1990. Internationally mediated negotiations brought about the Arusha Agreement of 1993, setting up a new political system with a coalition regime between the Hutu government, the Hutu opposition, and the RPF. But it excluded the akazu Hutu extremists, who carried out the genocide the following year, and, paradoxically, brought in the RPF as a result.

These stories, chosen out of many, underscore above all the importance of keeping open lines of communication and using them, particularly when touchy situations begin to appear. Keeping lines open is the job of "normal diplomacy." An ambassador's prime role is to maintain good relations between the home and the host country, and that means keep-

ing one's Rolodex open and active. Then, if unusual events occur, it is easy to use those open lines to forewarn and defuse.

India and Pakistan faced a mounting crisis in their extremely testy and suspicious relations in 2010 when the Indians built hydroelectric dams across Pakistan's main water-supplying rivers; objectively this should not cause problems since water through power dams returns to the stream and proceeds downhill. But the appearance of "them damming our water" raised hackles. The *New York Times* commented, "The water dispute would not be nearly as acute, experts said, if India and Pakistan talked and shared data on water. Instead, the distrust and antagonism is [sic] such that bureaucrats have hoarded information, and are secretly gunning to finish projects...in order to be the first to have an established fact on the ground."

Normally flowing communications can prevent crises. But when they do not, crisis times are especially important as the moment when the parties involved need to sit down and talk it out. The crisis makes talk more difficult, because now the parties find themselves entrapped in the train of events and in the demonizing and hysterical rhetoric that inevitably creates the public atmosphere for a crisis.

Newspaper accounts, political campaigns, and talk shows even more the atmosphere and undermine official attempts to return to calm. Government representatives are caught between their attempts to defuse and their need to be responsive to public pressure and not to appear to back down. Officials are tempted to respond in kind to the public provocations rather than to diplomatic efforts. Therefore, not merely talk is required but careful, skill-

ful Timely Talk, which both reassures the other party and insures avoidance of deleterious effects. Both aspects matter: the personal subjective reassurance and the objective provision of measures to make sure that negative effects do not occur.

Countries working to overcome broken and suspicious relations also often resort to CSBMs — Confidence and Security-Building Measures. Essentially, these are measures to restore talking in various forms. They include hotlines, pre-notification of military, and other activities that may be taken as threatening, and forums to discuss plans and activities.

Another type of "CSBMs extended" is engagement in joint projects. Nothing pulls parties together and forces them to talk positively like an engagement to do things together. The very fact that such activities might serve as a further platform for suspiciousness and miscomprehension forces the parties into making extra efforts to communicate carefully and talk out possible problems. One cannot work side by side in the same direction without talking out purposes and problems in order to make the common project work. Again, it is not simply working together that prevents conflict; it is through creating lasting structures that benefit both sides and tie them together in interdependence. It is often said that France and Germany were able to join in building a common European project because they had overcome their centuries-long animosity, but it is the reverse that is true: France and Germany were able to overcome their historic hostility by engaging in a joint European project that forced them to overcome animosities and collaborate.

Thus, as the stories tell us, Timely Talk is necessary and vital tool of diplomacy. ■



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Talking the Talk: A glossary



Tough Talk expresses firm position, threats and sanctions. It is talk that is usually backed by military firepower or America's economic clout and muscle.

Straight Talk means telling things as they are, particularly in regard to real alternatives. Straight talk is sober and honest discussion about what the present course bodes and what must be done to rectify a bad situation.



Sweet Talk contains a vast array of inducements, from reference to higher values (flattery), to promises of solid inducements (bribery), to soothing words that ease feelings of hurt and damaged pride.



Happy Talk focuses on a better future, building castles on the horizon for the parties to share. It is the kind of talk that tries to get the parties to see the possibilities of building a better world for themselves and their constituents.

Small Talk focuses on the details of getting to a better place — the proverbial “who does what, when, where and how” under a set of negotiated commitments, principles and formulas — where the devil is said to reside and whose neglect has led many good dreams to be drowned.



Right Talk is wordsmithing, editorial diplomacy, choosing that special right word to convey an idea when apparent synonyms do not express quite the same thing.



Trash Talk is a put down, useful at times if used at the right moment in the right way. Humiliating or denigrating rivals is sometimes a necessary tool of diplomacy — especially if they misbehave or are way out of line — but Trash Talk is generally something to be saved sparingly for those rare occasions when friendly negotiation is not an option.

These kinds of talk are the major tools of diplomacy. They are the “cutting” or “moving” tools of negotiation, which push, coax or seduce parties from their entrenched positions. They are tools that have to be used as part of a long-term plan of action to achieve a definable set of political goals. But there are also other kinds of negotiation tools of a procedural nature, which can be used bind, shape, and fasten the parties to a negotiation process much like the welding iron or rivet gun. And any negotiator, like the construction worker, sometimes has to don protective gear on an extremely hazardous work site.

Sticky Talk makes the negotiating encounter part of a process, and is often needed to keep the conflicting parties at the job of making peace and away from the alternative of making war. Like the welding iron or rivet gun, Sticky Talk binds the parties to a series of talks and agreements that makes it difficult for them to break free or walk away from the negotiating table when the discussion gets tough and concessions become costly.



Safe Talk is protective gear which takes a negotiation out of the harsh glare of a damaging media spotlight. Safe talk is critical when the secrecy of a private conversation is the key to building trust and getting agreement. It is the operative part of “open covenants, secretly arrived at,” to paraphrase Woodrow Wilson. Safe talk is useful where even being seen in the company of sworn enemies or recognizing their claims can blow up a peace process, but it is also necessary in order to arrive at a balanced conclusion where each move would be judged by itself if it were to be opened to the media's scrutiny every moment.

Timely Talk is talk that takes place before the parties have started to throw bricks at each other. It is talk that is directed at getting the parties to commit to a political as opposed to a violent solution to settle their differences. But it is also talk that seizes the ripe moment in the conflict itself, or that makes the moment ripe when necessary.

Street Talk is a way to generate public support for a peace process before for-

mal negotiations begin or when they are stalled. It can also be used after a formal political settlement is concluded to get buy-in from the public.

Just as clear, effective, and timely communication between workers is important on any construction site, any diplomatic venture requires the establishment of proper and effective channels of communications. **Triple Talk** is mediated negotiation, where direct two-party talks have become impossible for various reasons that the mediator must overcome. It includes shuttle diplomacy, for example, where the mediator becomes the telephone creatively carrying messages between the conflicting parties.

Some people are equipped to do the heavy lifting in negotiations because they are well endowed with reward or coercive power. That is to say, they can back up Sweet Talk by offering positive inducements to the parties and when they resort to Tough Talk they are credible because they have the military or sanctioning capacity to act. Others are better for Straight Talk or Happy Talk roles because they are extremely knowledgeable about the issues and/or have good relations with the parties, so when they speak the truth or paint a rosy picture of the future, they are credible interlocutors. Still others are better at playing a go-between, ferrying messages between the parties because they can be trusted to keep secrets, not distort the message, or play fast with the truth.

Most diplomatic undertakings require more than one kind of negotiator or interlocutor. **Team Talk** is the process of bringing different parties — sometimes even rivals — together in a shared enterprise so that they work effectively as a team and do not undermine a negotiation by free-lancing or talking at cross purposes.



Stop Talk is the threat of bringing diplomacy to a halt, by turning off the power switch, and letting the parties stew in their own juice.

This article is an excerpt from *The Global Power of Talk: Negotiating America's Interests* by Fen Osler Hampson and I. William Zartman. It will be published in August by Paradigm Publishers (Boulder and London).

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Conservatives: 'Staying on the right side of history'

By Lawrence Cannon



Canada's foreign policy reflects the values that Canadians hold dear: freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. These objectives focus on protecting and promoting the prosperity and security of Canadians, while advancing Canada's interests in a changing world. Last year, we hosted a series of important and successful gatherings, most notably the Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games in Vancouver, the G-8 Summit in Muskoka and the G-20 Summit in Toronto. For the past five years, Canada's role in the world and its capacity to provide constructive leadership on major issues has focused on reflecting the interests of Canadians in a principled, yet pragmatic and action-oriented approach. In the coming years, we will continue to serve those interests with determination and long-term vision.

Our first priority remains creating greater economic opportunity for Canada, notably by focusing on emerging markets. As the economic recovery remains fragile, Canadians know that their government will stay the course toward achieving balanced and sustained growth. Our government will continue to demonstrate the responsible leadership that has made our country an example to follow amongst the G-20 countries. We will also continue to aggressively pursue commercial engagement in the world by showcasing Canada's advantage to China, India and Brazil. We will continue to focus on air service arrangements and investment promotion and protection.

The United States remains Canada's most significant economic and security

partner, given our extensive economic integration. Our prosperity therefore depends on carefully managing that partnership, as well as our shared border. The declaration announced recently by U.S. President Obama and Prime Minister Harper establishes a new long-term partnership between Canada and the United States that will accelerate the legitimate flows of people and goods between both countries while strengthening security and economic competitiveness.

Canada and the United States have a remarkable history of cooperation at the border that has greatly benefited both countries — keeping our common borders open to commerce and closed to criminal and terrorist elements.

Our economic prosperity, the solidity of our democracy and the security of our citizens are also linked with those of our continental neighbours. In other parts of the hemisphere, Canada aims to build a safe and secure hemisphere, enhancing the prosperity of citizens, while strengthening and reinforcing support for democratic governance.

It is a fact that there cannot be prosperity without security or without the freedoms and legal protections that result from democratic governance. That is the guiding principle of our place in the world.

In the same way, democratic governance cannot be consolidated when there is persistent poverty and social exclusion or when personal security is threatened by crime and violence. In Afghanistan, Canada's mission will shift in 2011 to a non-combat role, and will focus on training, development, diplomacy and humanitarian assistance.

This renewed engagement builds on Canada's significant experience and investments in Afghanistan to date and supports Afghan-developed priorities. Canada's ultimate objective remains the same: to leave Afghanistan to Afghans, and to support them in building a country that is better governed, more stable and secure, and no longer a safe haven for terrorists.

Our participation in the Commonwealth and Francophonie reflects our bilingual and multicultural character on the world scene.

We will continue to be active in defending peace and security around the world. The Harper government has consistently voiced concern over situations that violated human rights, democracy and the rule of law. We have been among the most vocal of nations on Iran's concealment of nuclear weapons, as well as its flagrant abuse of human rights. We will continue to hold Iran to account. We have been vocal about the unacceptable threat posed by North Korea. It is a danger to the security and stability of the entire region. We have limited our engagement and are putting in place additional sanctions. Canada has stood strong against the Burmese regime and imposed the toughest sanctions in the world against that regime.

Finally, our Arctic foreign policy reflects our national interest, and most importantly our national character. Our approach stresses sovereignty, with clearly defined boundaries in the Arctic. We remain focused on the economic and social development for prosperity for the region while protecting the Arctic environment through Canadian initiatives and key partnerships. We aim to continue engaging Northerners to enable them to help shape policy on Arctic issues.

Our vision for Canada goes beyond a list of engagements with countries, continents and regions of the world. Advancing Canada's leadership role in exercising and protecting our sovereignty, pursuing economic prosperity and continuing to invest in security and stability of regions, both near and far, will ensure that our foreign policy is an expression of Canadian interests and values. Our role in the world is principled, though not always popular. It's clear that the last five years have allowed us to showcase Canada to the world as a positive force on the right side of history.

Lawrence Cannon is Canada's minister of foreign affairs.

'As Liberals, we should be free traders and smart traders'

By Bob Rae



It is only natural that our foreign policy should reflect both our interests and our values. The debate as to whether what we do in the world should be realistic or idealistic is pretty empty.

We are more than 30 million people, an advanced economy with sovereignty over vast lands on the northern half of the North American continent. We're an aboriginal country as well as a country of immigrants and settlers. It is only natural that the Inuit people of the far north want to connect with other polar communities. Our sensitivity and understanding of climate change issues, cultural and educational challenges and resource development will inevitably reflect this part of the Canadian reality.

We value freedom and the rule of law, for ourselves and for others. When Canada became a federal country in 1867, our foreign policy was run by the British. Border disputes with the Americans, arguments about trade, our foreign obligations: These were handled for us by the British.

The federal cabinet that declared war in 1914 was presided over by the governor general but as young Canadian boys died on the battlefields of Northern France, our identity came to the fore.

Canada joined the League of Nations in 1919. We shared the hardships of the depression in the 1930s, and, like many others, were fooled into thinking that reason would work its charm on Hitler. We fought on the battlefields again and assumed our place at the United Nations after World War II.

We are a founder of NATO. A Canadian, John Humphreys, drafted the UN

Declaration of Human Rights. We are natural internationalists.

We are a trading nation. Well over half of our national income depends on trade outside our borders, most of it with the U.S. But our interests are best served by strong multilateral agreements and the rule of law. We depend on a range of agreements and instruments that connect us to the world.

As Liberals, we should be free traders — and smart traders. This is certainly true when it comes to development. We must end punishing duties on exports from Third World countries and end protectionism against countries wanting to trade their way to prosperity.

As Jeffrey Sachs writes in *The End of Poverty*, anti-globalization movement leaders "have the right moral fervour and ethical viewpoint, but the wrong diagnosis of the deeper problems.... Too many protesters do not know that it is possible to combine faith in the power of trade and markets with understanding of their limitations, as well. The movement is too pessimistic about the possibilities of capitalism with a human face, in which the remarkable power of trade and investment can be harnessed while acknowledging and addressing limitations through compensatory collective actions."

This does not mean that Canada should abandon its agriculture and natural resource sectors to a theory. If the U.S. and Europe persist in extraordinary acts of subsidy to protect their farmers, we can hardly do less.

Does this make us inconsistent? Only to the extent that we are faced with inconsistency by our neighbours. Freer trade will always be an important goal of public policy, but it won't work if we lower our guard while others keep theirs well defended.

The most difficult question for Canadians is how to respond to the threat of violence and the impact of terrorism.

Jean Chretien's wise decision not to support the invasion of Iraq was not taken after reading a poll. It was taken because of the Canadian government's principled

view that the invasion was illegal and its pragmatic concern that such an invasion can very quickly become an unpopular occupation.

Canada did join an international effort in Afghanistan. Building sustainable democracies does not come out of the barrel of a foreign gun. Armies of occupation, however well intentioned, will not succeed.

Canada has on many occasions chosen a different path from the U.S. We are by nature multilateral and international in our outlook.

The Air India bombing should have taught us that we are not immune from violence. The recent arrests in Toronto are further confirmation. But neither means that borders should be closed nor that we are in a "war" with those who claim to be speaking for some twisted version of militant Islam.

We have to be vigilant in defence of our security, and we need efficient co-operation between our intelligence services, the RCMP, and local police forces. But Canada also has a Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the constitution requires that we remain vigilant in defence of due process as much as we are vigilant in defence of freedom.

As a country of immigrants, we must do more to ensure we all talk, that we do not allow differences to fester or extremism to grow.

The rules of the game have not changed. A century that gave us unprecedented violence has now been succeeded by a world of bewildering complexity. Simplistic thinking has no place in it.

Edmund Burke rightly said that: "governing in the name of a theory" is a bad idea. So is invasion in the name of a theory. Avoiding ideological enthusiasm, doing less harm, saving more lives, reconciling differences, eliminating the worst poverty, steadily constructing a world order — this is the better way of the future.

Bob Rae is the foreign affairs critic for the Liberal Party of Canada.

NDP: Asserting a new Canadian consensus

By Paul Dewar



This is a difficult time to discuss Canada's role in the world. Decades of budget cuts and political mistakes culminated in the loss of our campaign for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. But this is also an important time to propose a new direction for our foreign policy and regain Canada's influence on the world stage.

Historically we have much to be proud of. But since the early 1990s, Canada's influence has diminished. What remains of our diplomatic muscle has been undermined by Stephen Harper's government.

Today, Canada's foreign policy does not stand for much. The government has embraced ideological positions for the sake of partisan advantage at home, instead of promoting our core values abroad. What concerns me is the effect of a policy transformation from a broad-base and progressive Canadian consensus to one that stands against progress.

A generation ago, Canada was known for its internationalism. We created the modern concept of UN peacekeeping; we stood at the forefront of global efforts to promote human rights, such as the fight against South African apartheid. When activists around the world wanted a governmental partner to help create a treaty banning landmines, they came to Ottawa. A Canadian chaired the negotiations to launch the International Criminal Court.

We are no longer seen as a strong moral voice on key international issues. Today, we contribute few peacekeepers. Canada is the only Western country to let one of our citizens languish in Guantanamo. The government endorsed a free-trade agree-

ment with Colombia even though hundreds of Colombian trade unionists have been murdered with impunity. We have tagged along in a counter-insurgency war in Afghanistan, sacrificing Canadian blood and treasure with no clear strategy for peace. The government has dismissed a role for peace-building in Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In the meantime, it blocks inquiries into why it handed detainees to Afghan security forces knowing that torture was likely. It has abandoned any pretence to being a fair and honest broker in the Middle East. We have all but abandoned Africa.

It's time for an overhaul of Canada's foreign policy. It's time to re-assert a new Canadian consensus on peace, justice and sustainable global development. New approaches to the war in Afghanistan, UN Millennium Development Goals and corporate social responsibility can become the building blocks for a new Canadian consensus on foreign policy.

On Afghanistan, New Democrats remain committed to engaging in peace-building. When we first advocated this position in 2006, it was met with vitriol. Today, there's near unanimity that we cannot expect a resolution by continuing the same counter-insurgency tactics.

Unfortunately, Conservatives and Liberals supported three additional years of Canadian military deployment in Afghanistan while cutting Canadian aid to the country. Their approach shows a complete lack of imagination in dealing with Afghanistan.

A New Democrat government would withdraw troops from combat while proposing an alternative approach that would ensure Canada delivers on its commitments to improve the lives of Afghans and prepare the ground for sustained peace.

As we approach the deadline for our Millennium Development Goals, the government has decided to cap the foreign assistance budget. That decision will effectively reduce aid levels as of 2010. At a time when other G8 countries with much deeper economic problems are maintaining their aid commitments to the world's

poor, Canada is effectively backing away from its commitments.

The world's poor depend on countries like ours to work with them in changing their circumstances. The global financial crisis and dangerous climate change are already worsening the living conditions around the globe. Now is the time for Canadian leadership — before lives are destroyed and the peace and stability of the global community deteriorates.

A New Democratic government would honour Canada's commitments to poverty eradication. We would set a concrete timeline to meet the goal of devoting 0.7 percent of GNP to international aid.

Furthermore, we would reverse this government's attacks on women's leadership in development. We believe that focusing on women's leadership in development is the most effective way of meeting our aid objectives.

We would also change the approach to the environment. Canadians want climate change to be a real priority, not a "side-show" as described by Mr. Harper. New Democrats will revitalize our environmental action plan which was adopted by the House of Commons — and killed by Mr. Harper's unelected senators.

Another place Canada can yield immediate results is the area of corporate social responsibility (CSR). The government missed an opportunity for action on this file when Canadian civil society and the industry unanimously supported a series of tough and mandatory CSR rules. An NDP government would act upon the recommendations of that national roundtable.

Changing our foreign policy to one built around respect for human rights, multilateralism and international law will do wonders for Canada's global stature. It's time to focus on our role in peacekeeping, the depth of our global engagement, the strength of the ideas we would take to the world stage, and the leadership we would offer. It's time to discover our new Canadian consensus.

Paul Dewar is the NDP's foreign affairs critic.

For Greens, 'fair trade' accords, and a department of peace

By Eric Walton and Joe Foster



The Green Party of Canada sees international affairs as a logical and necessary extension of the country's domestic programs. Green policies are founded on traditional Canadian values and those shared by Greens worldwide.

Respect and non-violence are at the core of our policy approach. Respect entails balancing the rights and responsibilities of individuals with those of local communities and of our nation, all within the framework of global community.

Non-violence demands peaceful solutions to endemic problems of poverty, threats to human rights and environmental degradation in Canada and abroad. All Green Party policies are based on leaving a positive legacy for generations to follow.

The Green Party of Canada (GPC) does not adhere to an ideology or a political agenda that's particularly right- or left-wing. We address each issue based on the rights of the individual and the common good, designed for long-term prosperity and sustainability.

The foreign policy of the GPC recognizes the need for an integrated, balanced approach, encompassing all components of our international relations: peace, security, conservation and prosperity.

The GPC proposes an oversight ministry to break down "bureaucratic silos" and encourage the departments of foreign affairs and trade, international cooperation, defence, environment and immigration to work better together in order to design and implement the most effective international programs. Greens

believe that progress in building a safe and secure international community is as much an attitudinal challenge as an economic or security problem.

International issues should be approached with the attitude that there is no sustainable solution without local representation and participation. We believe that it is less costly, in human, environmental and financial terms, to focus on preventing conflict and reducing risk from natural disasters than to respond after the fact to these crises.

Canadian Greens assert that we cannot take a leadership role on global issues without demonstrating, first at home, the principles that evolve from our traditional Canadian values. We need to regain our commitment to real parliamentary democracy, to a professional and non-politicized public service, to human rights, to respect for our Charter of Rights and the rule of law. One recent disappointment was the close vote in Parliament that almost succeeded in passing legislation that would have held Canadian corporations operating abroad accountable with respect to labour practices, human rights and environmental protection.

Foreign policy that builds trust, progress, stability and sustainability is needed to promote a stable environment for Canadian business and labour to thrive. We will need to enhance our credibility by strengthening democratic rights in Canada with respect to freedom of expression, association, assembly, access to information and effective parliamentary and representative government.

We must also tackle chronic poverty and growing inequality within Canada. These are all essential ingredients in helping to stimulate innovation, competitiveness, social cohesion and excellence.

Over the past few years, Canada has sadly lost its position as a respected international advocate for human rights. Advancement of our indigenous people's inherent rights and the application of recent UN Human Rights conventions has also had limited progress.

The failed attempt to obtain an expected seat on the UN Security Council was also an indicator of how much work still needs to be done.

Trade and communications are universal. Isolation is not an option. The GPC supports "fair trade" accords. This means putting sovereignty, human rights, labour standards and environmental protection front and centre in any trade agreement. Canada needs to re-assess, and renegotiate if necessary, all trade agreements with these objectives in mind.

Rebuilding Canada's role as an active UN peacekeeper is one of the mandates that we would give to a new department of peace and security. The switch from "defence" to "peace" will give direction to professionalizing peace rather than war. An example of this refocusing of talent and resources is the recent graduation in Ottawa of the first certified peace negotiators who have been trained to act as brokers in conflict zones.

At the same time, international security is essential for stability and progress. Greens propose expanding our rapid response humanitarian teams and promoting a similar UN Force with a mandate for peacekeeping and environmental restoration in both international crisis situations and domestic catastrophes. While strongly supporting the concept of the United Nations and its associated bodies, we will work toward organizational reform to make it more accountable, beginning with the Security Council.

In summary, it is important to revitalize our image abroad if we are to prosper as a country and influence the international community for mutual benefit. We first need to put our own house in order to ensure that our diplomats and their Canadian colleagues stationed overseas have the delegated authority and support to carry out our vision for a safer, greener and more prosperous world.

Although neither is elected as an MP, Eric Walton is the Green Party of Canada's international affairs critic, Joe Foster is human rights critic.

'We do not live in waters free of peril'

By Colin Robertson

A *Mari usque ad Mare* might be the only Latin phrase that Canadians understand. 'From sea to sea' is our national motto and it's inscribed into our coat of arms. Someday, we'll have to add another 'to sea' as the Northwest Passage becomes a commercial sea route through our Arctic waters.

Ours is the longest coastline in the world — enough to circle the equator six times. Always a sea-trading or seafaring nation, we have become a nation of traders, with a record number of discussions underway to further trading opportunities with, for example, the European Union, China and India. The Seven Seas are global highways for 80 percent of world commerce (valued at over \$12.5 trillion) but they are also inherently lawless.

Fortunately, first the Royal Navy and now the U.S. Navy have protected and policed the international sea lanes, although U.S. budgetary pressures now mean that allies have to do more.

As long-time beneficiaries and advocates of collective security, we need to remind ourselves that collective security means a contribution commensurate with our vast real estate and waterfront. All of which underlines the requirement for a strong Canadian Forces — Army, Air Force, and, in the wake of its centenary last year, our Navy.

Sustaining capacity is vital to sovereignty and this means both people and arms. Comparatively, we do defence on the cheap, spending a little over one percent of our GDP. The Americans, by contrast, spend about five percent and the British about two percent. We take justifiable pride in the quality of our contribution and the Canada First Defence Strategy combines both long-term planning and commitment to sustaining our forces.

Planning for the next campaign is always difficult because threats change and can come from unexpected places. It puts a premium on having a diversity of tools to deal with different situations. Always controversial, because of the price tag, is the purchase of new kit. Increasingly, to

meet the requirements of alliance interoperability, we design and buy collectively and then tailor to specific requirements, as we plan to do with the F-35. The new strike fighter is the aircraft of choice for most of the alliance, including the U.S. and the UK, as well as the Israelis, who live in a dangerous neighbourhood and put a premium on defence.

Smart procurement also means buying second-hand. We bought our first ships, the Niobe and the Rainbow, from the British and we continue this tradition with our four Victoria-class submarines. Submarines are the navy's special forces, providing additional flexibility in conducting covert surveillance of our maritime approaches. As we learned during the Battle of the Atlantic, their lethality permits them to dominate all aspects of maritime operations. A submarine at sea changes the calculations in an entire theatre of operations. In this decade, it is estimated that more than one hundred new boats will be added to navies' orders of battle. Most will be diesel-electric submarines like the Victoria class.

Later this year, the Victoria and Windsor will slip into our waters and begin patrol to defend Canadian sovereignty and contribute to collective security. Adapting our

submarines to Canadian requirements has taken longer and cost more than expected but in underwater operation there is no margin for error. The Chicoutimi tragedy underlines why we put a premium on quality. The emphasis on preparation saved the ship and all but one of its crew. We learn from the experience. Through incremental improvements, including a platform for the most advanced heavy-weight torpedo available anywhere, we are developing a world-class technical niche. Eventually we should aim to make the submarines operable under our Arctic ice.

This technical challenge is a reminder of the often forgotten fourth arm of our armed services — research and development. It is supported by our defence industrial sector that, if not forgotten, is not always appreciated in terms of innovation and its contribution to our economic prosperity.

Our defence industries employ more than 90,000 people. We export about half of what we manufacture as part of supply chain dynamics that date back to the Second World War. The coming years will see major procurement projects ranging from satellites to ships and we now need develop a coherent industrial defence strategy to match our forces strategy.

The world is a dangerous place. Serious nations prepare accordingly and, as we learned long ago, Canadians do not live in a 'fire-proof' house or in waters free of peril.

Colin Robertson is a former Canadian diplomat and vice-president of the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute. He is an honorary captain (Naval).



HMCS Toronto does a sovereignty patrol in Frobisher Bay off the coast of Baffin Island during Operation NANOOK 09.

CORPORAL DANY VEILLETTE, CANADIAN FORCES

Canada and U.S. need each other as partners for peace

By Alexander Moens and Alan Dowd

The world has weathered profound economic challenges since the summer of 2008, challenges that could have fractured, or at least stunted, the all-important partnership between Canada and the United States. Yet almost three years later, the Canadian-American relationship remains strong, and it remains Canada's most important economic, political and security bond in foreign affairs. As new challenges emerge in North America and beyond, the world is reminding Washington of how important Canada is to the United States.

Border Barriers

Two-way trade is lower as a result of depressed American demand and the high Canadian dollar. This problem is most acute for Canada, since its share of trade with the United States accounts for 65-to-70 percent of its total trade, and its trade with countries other than the United States puts it in a trade-deficit position.

The chief obstacles to growing bilateral trade, besides currency values and U.S. demand, are relatively low productivity gains in Canada, high costs of crossing the border, and protectionist policies in various sectors in both countries.

Two of these fall under what might be called "border-barrier issues." After a shaky start, Prime Minister Harper and President Obama have worked together to identify and tackle such issues. For example, the two leaders negotiated a partial remedy to the "Buy-American" language included in the so-called stimulus legislation passed by Congress.

They also recognized the negative effect security and regulatory measures can have on trade. As key sectors begin to recover — the "domestic" auto sector, for instance — it is urgent to lower regulatory and security barriers at the common border so that the long-developed integrated supply chain in manufacturing can grow again. This mode of production must ex-



An aerial view of the car-packed Niagara Falls border crossing between Canada and the U.S.

pand between our two countries — and eventually Mexico — in order to compete globally with large emerging economies such as China and India, and with other regional trading blocs.

Spill-over of this integrated manufacturing into new sectors will have a positive impact on the other obstacle to expanding bilateral trade: Canadian productivity.

The "beyond the border" accord announced in February 2011 contains several good ideas, including pushing certain security checks outward to our common perimeter and harmonizing biometrics and other identification data. Both the

regulatory cooperation council and the beyond the borders working group are welcome additions to making the border more efficient. In some ways, the accord picks up where the doomed trilateral Security and Prosperity Partnership left off but does so in a more focused manner that allows Canada and the United States to move ahead at their own speed.

Flexible Friendship

Thanks to a positive interpersonal dynamic between Mr. Harper and Mr. Obama, the U.S. and Canada have found common ground on Afghanistan.

Mr. Harper was right to heed Washington's insistent call not to withdraw Canadian Forces from Afghanistan in 2011, as this would have had a corrosive effect on the NATO-led mission and hampered efforts to bolster the Afghan government, stabilize the country and check the Taliban.

Likewise, Mr. Obama was right not to push Ottawa too far. To be sure, the U.S. would have welcomed an extension of Canada's significant contribution to combat operations. However, Canada already has deployed some 2,800 troops, lost 154 in battle, and spent billions fighting the Taliban. Going forward, Canada's commitment of 950 troops to the NATO training mission will strengthen Afghanistan's security forces and thus contribute to Afghanistan's long-term stability.

The same mix of flexibility and understanding will serve Mr. Harper and Mr. Obama well in their dialogue over energy and the environment.

As the climate-change debate moderates, Mr. Harper must resist the call by environmental groups to impose unilateral regulations; Mr. Obama must resist those who think exacting economic costs on this file are warranted; and both must appreciate the political realities of the other.

Hopefully, Parliament and Congress can recognize the benefits of selected incentives and innovation rather than punitive measures. The rising price of crude oil will do more for energy diversification than arbitrary carbon dioxide caps.

If Mr. Harper and Mr. Obama make progress on border barriers, a move to coordinate energy policy would be a logical next step, as the Canadian-American oil, gas, and electricity sectors are the most deeply integrated bilateral energy sectors in the world. There is an opportunity for the energy sectors to grow in hydroelectric, unconventional gas, conventional crude oil, and crude oil from the oil sands.

Arctic Allies

That brings us to the looming competition for energy resources in the Arctic. The Arctic may hold 1,670 trillion cubic feet of natural gas and 90 billion barrels of oil.

Although Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin recently expressed his desire “to keep the Arctic as a zone of peace and cooperation,” actions speak louder than words. In 2009, Moscow announced plans to build a string of military bases along Russia’s northern tier. In 2008, a Russian general revealed plans to train “troops that could be engaged in Arctic combat missions.” And in 2007, a team of Russians said “The Arctic is ours.”

Russia’s outsized Arctic claims — made in a brazen military context — have led to a renewed recognition of the importance of Canada-U.S. security and energy ties. Together, the partners are mapping the continental shelf to ensure that the Arctic’s resources are justly distributed. This is a good sign. Canada and the U.S. should view their chunks of the Arctic as a shared resource and responsibility, similar to how both nations view the Great Lakes.

Yet, in order to fend off Russian encroachment, they need to invest in Arctic capabilities. Budgetary constraints have scuttled Canadian plans to do this. And the fact that the U.S. has only three polar icebreakers speaks volumes about America’s current Arctic capabilities. Russia, by comparison, can deploy 20 icebreakers.

Given Moscow’s actions, it’s only prudent for Canadians and Americans to think about the Arctic in a security context. They’re not alone. NATO officials call the Arctic an area “of strategic interest to the alliance.” Denmark joined Canada and the U.S. for Arctic military maneuvers last August. This followed Norwegian-led exercises in the Arctic and Denmark’s announcement that it’s creating an Arctic military command.

Taking a defensive posture need not undermine genuine efforts by all Arctic nations to find peaceful, negotiated solutions to dividing the Arctic’s resources equitably. In fact, such a united front could, paradoxically, keep the peace. As Churchill once said of his Russian counterparts, “There is nothing they admire so much as strength.”

In the Arctic and beyond, Canada and the United States need each other — and the world needs them to work together to keep the peace and promote prosperity.

Alexander Moens and Alan Dowd are senior fellows with the Fraser Institute.

Canada can't abandon its international role

By Joseph K. Ingram and Hany Besada



SGT. FRANK HUDEC, CANADIAN FORCES COMBAT CAMERA

Sgt. Mike Friar, right, and Master Cpl. Stuart Russelle, of the Canadian Forces (CF) Disaster Assistance Response Team, carry an earthquake-injured boy airlifted by helicopter in Garhi Dopatta, Pakistan.

Development matters for a number of reasons, not least the moral imperative of inequality and injustice. But recent events in North Africa and the Middle East emphasize that development matters too because power is becoming more diffuse, less localized in dominant political, social, and economic elites. Dissatisfied populations can no longer be ignored and contained indefinitely.

Not only have these events triggered a potential paradigm shift in the nature and quality of governance in the two regions, but they have prompted the U.S., the world’s biggest international donor, to re-examine how it conducts foreign policy in developing countries, a move that will likely draw other donor nations along with it.

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton initiated the shift with the unprecedented meeting of the United States’ 300 ambassadors in the first days of the Egyptian “revolution.” Clinton’s “diplomacy and development review” signalled a will to

re-assert American leadership over international development. It also indicated to America’s allies — Canada included — that international development should be a central objective of foreign policy with effective use of aid as a principal instrument.

Clearly a defining lesson has emerged from the startling events in the region, at least for the U.S. administration and many of its European allies. We failed to foresee that two of the West’s more stable and reliable allies were on the verge of revolution. This points to a failure of assistance programs primarily geared to meeting security concerns and propping up unresponsive regimes.

The result was an uprising led initially by mostly young, angry people frustrated by the absence of economic opportunities, political freedom and pervasive corruption. There was an absence of broad-based development in those two countries sufficient to meet the growing expectations of their populations.

And it hasn't stopped with Egypt and Tunisia. The phenomena of social media have empowered aggrieved people throughout the region, but have also triggered chaos. This type of unmanaged transformation could threaten the immediate interests of global stability, and of economic growth. It could also contribute to growing regional and global threats from extremism and weaken other governments in the region.

But the recent events do point to a way forward for the West, of making effective economic and social development a central objective of foreign policy and doing it through a more strategic use of official development assistance (ODA), trade and investment, security and defence support and international diplomacy — all key instruments of foreign policy.

To the extent that Canada has an interest in global stability, reduced threats to our national interests, and sustainable global development, it needs to do likewise.

Statistics from the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme show that globally, the total number of people living in abject poverty (less than US\$1.25 per day) has decreased by nearly 500 million to under 900 million in 2010 — down from 1.3 billion in 2005. A further 300 million could be lifted out of poverty by 2015.

These trends also show that only 25 percent of the world's poorest people live in low-income countries, down from 72 percent in 1990, a figure which then included China and India. Today the vast majority live in middle-income countries — mainly in China and India — which have strengthened their economies and reduced their total number of poor, and countries which have now become aid donors. They rely much more on trade and commercial ties, as has Canada of late, in their conduct of foreign policy.

The story is much the same for most of Latin America, where our foreign policy has largely worked for us and for our South American partners, in its emphasis on trade and commercial flows. As is the case with China and India, the need for Canadian official development assistance to Latin America is declining, although significant challenges remain.

The threat to global stability and security, (including Canada's), from Latin American organized crime and drug cartels, is arguably of a lesser order. The more significant threats are coming increasingly from those countries where income gaps



Women in Burkina Faso prepare the ground by pounding it and terracing it to control erosion and to catch the water when the rains finally come.

have widened, and where the numbers of absolute poor continue to grow, and whose political institutions are relatively weak and undeveloped. Specifically, this includes Africa, parts of south and central Asia, and the Middle East. In fact, World Bank studies suggest that Africa's share of global poverty is expected to double by 2015.

We therefore need to urgently 'rethink' Canada's international development policy, including our policies on development cooperation, aid allocation frameworks, and beyond-aid strategies.

Hopefully, the November 2011 meeting in Korea of the "high-level forum on aid and development effectiveness," will provide an opportunity for Canada to play an important leadership role and build upon its legacy as a world leader in international development.

Should Canada choose to make international development a defining foreign policy challenge, it needs to address three fundamental issues.

First, should Canada's development efforts focus more on the poorest and most

marginalized peoples (most of which today live in middle-income countries)? Or, rather, should they focus on the poorest countries with the lowest incomes, largest income disparities, and the weakest capacities? Second, which policy instruments should be favoured in the targeted country groupings — aid, trade, military support — and in what proportions? And third, should the instruments be giving equal importance to accelerated economic growth and to patterns of growth including support to social services, or to targeted industrial or sector policies?

But whatever the modalities, Canada could take the lead in helping to draft this new approach to development cooperation. This would certainly be consistent with its current development priorities, namely aid effectiveness, food security, and promotion of democracy. Such an approach could demonstrate how foreign assistance — used strategically with trade and investment, security and defence support and skilled diplomacy — can serve as an effective tool of foreign policy.

Such a rethink, resulting in aid focused primarily on the poorest and most unequal countries, would enable Canada to reassert its commitment to Africa. Such efforts would also curb the prospects of regional instability with possible global consequences while improving the lives of some of the globe's poorest populations.

As Liberia's President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf has said with reference to ensuring stability in fragile states: "...those who argue that aid has failed, or that aid was somehow the cause of sub-Saharan Africa's collapse, have it wrong. Their arguments are at least a decade out of date. They fail to see the transformational changes that are underway and the supporting role that foreign assistance has played.... Without this international support, Liberia would not have made nearly as much progress and might even have plunged back into conflict."

Wise words for Canada and its allies to ponder as they grapple with the foreign policy implications of what has happened in North Africa and the Middle East and what instruments of policy should be deployed, where, and in what combinations.

Joseph K. Ingram is president of The North-South Institute (NSI), an Ottawa-based non-profit organization that researches international development issues. Hany Besada is senior researcher and head of the development cooperation program at NSI.

Let the 'perimeter' include Mexico

By Andrés Rozental

On Sept. 21, 2001, just 10 days after the attacks by Al Qaeda on the United States, Mexico's Foreign Minister, Jorge Castañeda, and I, at the time a special envoy for then-president Vicente Fox, met at the Mexican Embassy in Washington with John Manley, then Canada's foreign minister, together with our two ambassadors in Washington. The meeting was arranged at Mexico's request in order to discuss the aftermath of 9/11, the negative effects that it had produced on both our countries and to begin to discuss ways in which both Canada and Mexico could cooperate with our common neighbour to prevent our territories being used by terrorists to threaten the United States. One of the key objectives was to also find ways to ensure that the free flow of goods within North America would continue in the event of any future incident such as the one that led the United States to virtually close its land borders with Canada and Mexico during the days immediately following 9/11.

At the meeting, Mr. Castañeda proposed that both governments consider presenting the [George W.] Bush Administration with a proposal to create a North American security perimeter as a way of protecting all of North America against external threats and ensuring that our points of entry from third countries, whether airports, seaports or land borders, could function as a single sub-region within the northern part of the hemisphere. In return, the Americans would ease up on controls at the two land borders, thereby reducing congestion and increasing the flow of two-way trade.

Much to our surprise, the Canadian officials at the time rejected the notion out of hand. The reasons were similar to those Mexico has heard from successive governments in Ottawa over the years: i.e. the U.S.-Canada relationship is "special"; we don't want to contaminate this "special" relationship with difficult Mexican-U.S. issues such as migration, drugs, etc; we are both members of NATO and NORAD and hence have existing mechanisms in place to cooperate militarily, while Mexico's military ties with Washington are non-existent; Canadian sovereignty considerations



Even if Canada believes its border with the U.S. is different from Mexico's, pictured here, Mexico thinks the two countries must work together.

don't allow it, etc. Despite our efforts to persuade the Canadians that the post-9/11 scenario was an excellent opportunity for both of us to approach the U.S. with positive, constructive proposals to enhance the sub-region's security — and hence help our neighbour with its own homeland security issues — Mr. Manley and his colleagues remained unconvinced and the meeting ended with a resounding Canadian "non" to any bilateral cooperation on a trilateral "smart border" agreement with the U.S., or indeed to any joint approach to the Bush Administration.

This background is useful to remember at a time when the Harper government is now seeking to negotiate a bilateral security perimeter with the United States, evidently after finally being convinced that all efforts to distinguish the U.S.-Canadian border from the U.S.-Mexican one have failed. (Canadians bristled at the statement by Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano in March 2009 when she said, "One of the things that we need to be sensitive to is the very real feelings among southern border states and in Mexico that if things are being done on the Mexican border, they should also be done on the Canadian border. We shouldn't go light on one and heavy on the other. This is one NAFTA, one area, one continent, and there should be parity there.")

Even if Canadians strongly insist that their border with the United States is different from Mexico's, our neighbour doesn't share this belief. Further proof of this has recently come from the General Accountability Office (GAO) of the U.S. Congress which just last month published

a rather negative assessment of the security situation at the Canadian border, saying that only 32 miles (51.5 kilometres) of its nearly 4,000-mile (6,437-kilometre) length can be considered "secure." Going even further, the GAO maintains "... (that) although historically the United States has focused attention and resources primarily on the U.S. border with Mexico, the terrorist threat on the northern border is *higher*, given the large expanse of area with limited law-enforcement coverage."

In this context, the fact that Canada and the U.S. are negotiating a security and trade deal that would establish a security perimeter as a means to better secure North America and stimulate trade should be welcome news for all three countries, although any such agreement will be incomplete and dysfunctional unless Mexico is included. If both nations (Canada and the U.S.) "... intend to pursue a perimeter approach to security, working together within, at, and away from the borders in a way that supports economic competitiveness, job creation and prosperity, and in a partnership to enhance security and accelerate the legitimate flow of people and goods...." there is no reason why Mexico should not be included in the negotiations. Without the third North American partner, none of these objectives can succeed in covering the entire region's security needs, nor the billions of dollars of trade among the three NAFTA economies, nor will it lead to the much-desired "thinning" of the two land borders, or even facilitate the movement of people within North America.

It would make a lot more sense for the Harper government to insist to the United States that Mexico be brought on board and that all three NAFTA countries together negotiate a trilateral perimeter security deal. This would bring to fruition the proposal made by Mexico's foreign minister almost a decade ago and would have a better chance at impacting the way all three countries address the land border issues between us.

Andrés Rozental was a career diplomat in Mexico and is now a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

Canada-U.S. border: Risk v. reward

Excerpted remarks from a joint meeting between Prime Minister Stephen Harper and U.S. President Barack Obama on border problems and solutions, Washington D.C., Feb. 4, 2011.

President Obama: First, we agreed to a new vision for managing our shared responsibilities — not just at the border but “beyond the border.” That means working more closely to improve border security with better screening, new technologies and information-sharing among law enforcement, as well as identifying threats early.

It also means finding new ways to improve the free flow of goods and people. Because with over a billion dollars in trade crossing the border every single day, smarter border management is key to our competitiveness, our job creation, and my goal of doubling U.S. exports.

Prime Minister Harper: In an age of expanding opportunities but also of grave dangers, we share fundamental interests and values just as we face common challenges and threats.

Not only is the U.S. Canada’s major export market, Canada is also America’s largest export market — larger than China, larger than Mexico, larger than Japan, larger than all the countries of the European Union combined. Eight million jobs in the United States are supported by your trade with Canada. And Canada is the largest, the most secure, the most stable, and the friendliest supplier of that most vital of all America’s purchases — energy.

It is in both our interests to ensure that our common border remains open and efficient, but it is just as critical that it remains secure and in the hands of the vigilant and the dedicated. Just as we must continually work to ensure that inertia and bureaucratic sclerosis do not impair the legitimate flow of people, goods and services across our border, so, too, we must up our game to counter those seeking new ways to harm us.

And I say “us” because as I have said before, a threat to the United States is a



Prime Minister Stephen Harper and U.S. President Barack Obama met in February to discuss border issues.

threat to Canada — to our trade, to our interests, to our values, to our common civilization. Canada has no friends among America’s enemies, and America has no better friend than Canada.

The declaration President Obama and I are issuing today commits our governments to find new ways to exclude terrorists and criminals who pose a threat to our peoples. It also commits us to finding ways to eliminate regulatory barriers to cross-border trade and travel, because simpler rules lead to lower costs for business and consumers, and ultimately to more jobs.

Shared information, joint planning, compatible procedures and inspection technology will all be key tools. They make possible the effective risk management that will allow us to accelerate legitimate flows of people and goods between our countries while strengthening our physical security and economic competitiveness.

So we commit to expanding our management of the border to the concept of a North American perimeter, not to replace or eliminate the border but, where possible, to streamline and decongest it.

This declaration is not about sovereignty. We are sovereign countries who have the capacity to act as we choose to act. The question that faces us is to make

sure we act in a sovereign way that serves Canada’s interests. It is in Canada’s interests to work with our partners in the United States to ensure that our borders are secure and ensure that we can trade and travel across them as safely and as openly as possible within the context of our different laws.

U.S. analysis finds border largely insecure

Excerpts from: Border Security: Enhanced DHS [Department of Homeland Security] Oversight and assessment of interagency coordination is needed for the northern border. The U.S. Government Accountability Office, released its analysis in December, 2010.

U.S. Border Patrol reported that [only] 32 miles (51.5 kilometres) of the nearly 4,000 northern border miles (6,437 kilometres) in fiscal year 2010 had reached an acceptable level of security and that there is a high reliance on law enforcement support from outside the border zone.

The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) has been challenged in its efforts to address the threat of illegal activity on the northern border, where the extent of illegal activity is unknown, but the risk of terrorist activity is high.

The United States and Canada share the longest common non-militarized border between two countries, a land and maritime border from Washington State to Maine.

The terrain, which ranges from densely forested lands on the west and east coasts to open plains in the middle of the country, is composed of both urban and sparsely populated lands with limited federal, state, and local law enforcement presence along the border.

Historically, the United States has focused attention and resources primarily on the U.S. border with Mexico, which continues to experience significantly higher levels of drug trafficking and illegal immigration than the U.S.-Canadian border.

However, DHS reports that the terror-

ist threat on the northern border is higher, given the large expanse of area with limited law enforcement coverage.

There is also a great deal of trade and travel across this border, and while legal trade is predominant, DHS reports networks of illicit criminal activity and smuggling of drugs, currency, people, and weapons between the two countries.

DHS reported spending nearly \$3 billion in its efforts to interdict and investigate illegal northern border activity in fiscal year 2010, annually making approximately 6,000 arrests and interdicting approximately 40,000 pounds (18,200 kilograms) of illegal drugs at and between the northern border ports of entry.

For example, DHS data show that in fiscal year 2009, apprehensions of inadmissible aliens along the northern border

were approximately 1.3 percent of apprehensions along the southwest border, and pounds of illegal narcotics seized along the northern border were about 1.6 percent of pounds seized along the southwest border.

We selected Border Patrol's Blaine, Spokane, Detroit, and Swanton sectors to visit as they comprise a mix of differences along the northern border regarding geography (western, central, and eastern border areas), threats (terrorism, drug smuggling, and illegal migration), and threat environment (air, marine, land).

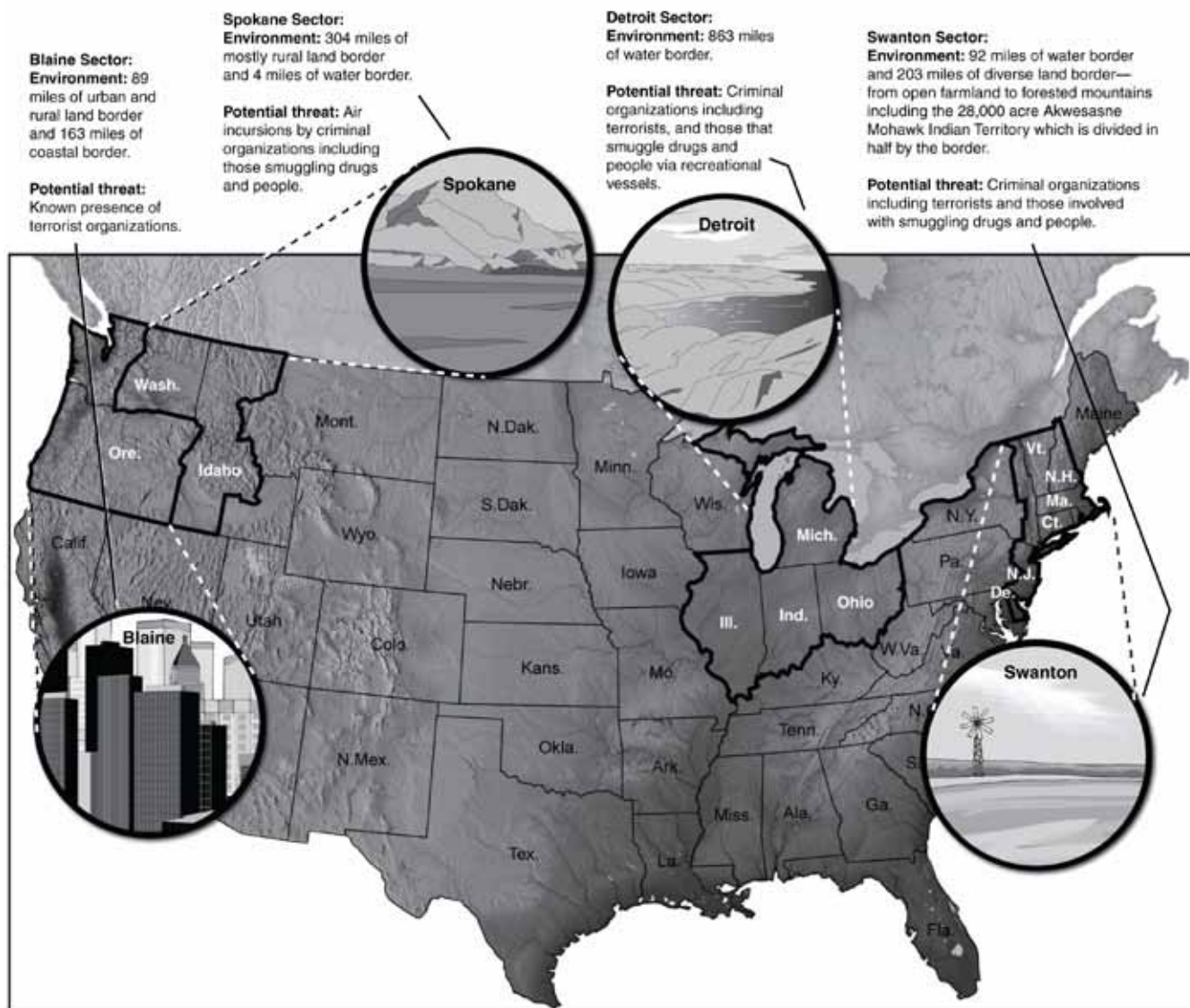
We conducted interviews with federal, state, local, tribal, and Canadian officials relevant to these Border Patrol sectors [during the December 2009-December 2010 audit].

The 9/11 Commission had determined

that limited coordination [among U.S. departments with border responsibilities] contributed to border security vulnerabilities. [Other reports' detailed lack of] coordination of drug law enforcement efforts and ... shortfalls in information sharing and operational coordination that have led to competition, interference and operational inflexibility.

Customs and Border Protection also does not have the ability to detect illegal activity across most of the northern border... because most areas of the northern border are remote and inaccessible by traditional patrol methods.

The number of miles under control is expected to increase as Border Patrol continues to put in place additional resources based on risk, threat potential, and operational need. ▣



Source: GAO analysis of Border Patrol's data; and Art Explosion

A Canadian Nobel? Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and beyond

By Andrew Irvine



AP PHOTO/AMR NABIL

An Egyptian soldier, right, watches thousands gather at Tahrir Square, the focal point of the Egyptian uprising.

It would be a mistake to think that the hard part is over. In Egypt, a tyrant has been replaced, not by an orderly constitutional succession, but by a new military dictatorship. The country's constitution has been suspended and its parliament has been dissolved. Without continued pressure from Egypt's citizens, there is little guarantee that free and fair elections will be held in a timely way.

Even so, recent events in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and elsewhere present the West with an important opportunity.

During the 20th Century, Canada led the world in inventing effective, international mechanisms for modern, wide-scale peacekeeping. Lester Pearson, who would later become Canada's 14th prime minister, led Canada's delegation to the UN from 1946 to 1956 and was elected president of the seventh session of the general assembly in 1952-1953.

During the Suez Crisis of 1956, when British, French and Israeli armies entered Egyptian territory, Pearson proposed and

sponsored the resolution that created the first UN peacekeeping force: the United Nations Emergency Force. The force helped diffuse animosities and resulted in a peaceful resolution to the growing crisis. A year later, in 1957, Pearson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.



Lester B. Pearson, Canada's 14th prime minister, helped create the first peacekeeping force.

During the 21st Century, citizens around the world have a similar opportunity to create new international institutions capable of assisting emerging democratic states during times of transition.

Democracy requires much more than just free and fair elections. Successful, long-term democracy requires the recognition of free-speech and free-association rights for all of a country's citizens.

It requires the effective separation of church and state and, within civil government, the effective separation of powers. It requires a wide range of legal and due-process rights, adherence to the rule of law, the end of wide-scale corruption, and the existence of resilient, national institutions capable of instituting and defending all of the above.

Yet today, the United Nations no longer involves itself even in direct election monitoring, leaving such work to be done by a variety of municipal bodies and non-governmental organizations.

In contrast, imagine what could be

achieved if, upon request by a transitioning nation, an international team of experts was available to assist and advise both newly formed and long-established governments on everything from election preparation and police training to constitutionalism and the rule of law, as well as to assist with election monitoring.

Such teams could be composed of experts from many of the world's democracies, including Canada, India, South Africa, Indonesia, France, Denmark and Australia. Like peacekeepers, they could remain in place for months or even years, in an advisory capacity, if requested to do so by a host nation or its citizens.

Unlike simple election monitoring which focuses on just one aspect of the democratic process, such teams could assist political parties, independent media outlets, members of the judiciary and ordinary citizens alike as they prepare for life in a new democracy.

Unlike military efforts to introduce a *Pax Americana*, such a process would leave all key decisions in the hands of the host nation. Transitional teams would remain in place only so long as progress towards democracy was being made.

Recently, a number of key countries, including Egypt, have taken an essential first step on the road to democracy. But the desire for democracy, as important as it is, is never by itself enough to ensure success.

Canada already has an enviable record of assisting emerging democracies. For more than 20 years, the International Peace Operations Branch of the RCMP has helped nations around the world as they have worked to establish, rebuild and strengthen civilian police forces.

Projects such as the Elections and Registration in Afghanistan Project, and the International Mission for Monitoring Haitian Elections, which have been funded through the Canadian International Development Agency and Elections Canada, have been of genuine assistance.

Since 1990, the Canadian Bar Association has helped dozens of developing countries as they have struggled with issues relating to legal reform and capacity building. Other NGOs, including Lawyers Rights Watch Canada, have focused their attention on international violations of the rule of law, assisting lawyers and judges in countries around the world who have been subjected to government intimidation and other forms of repression.

With such experience, Canada is in an ideal position to lead the global community in establishing new international



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At top, Sandra McCardell, Canada's ambassador to Libya, talks with Canadians evacuated from Libya at the Malta International Airport. Below, some 46 Canadian and foreign nationals evacuated from Libya deplane in Malta.

mechanisms, not dissimilar to those for peacekeeping, but intended to assist transitional governments as they move toward democracy, sharing with them the many lessons learned by similar nations in similar circumstances.

As change begins to sweep through parts of Africa and the Middle East, governments and ordinary citizens alike will no doubt be looking for alternatives to the two traditional responses to a citizenry's demand for change: revolution and repression.

Measured transition towards full constitutional democracy may be a welcome third option, at least in some parts of the Middle East, just as it was in parts of Eastern Europe during the 1990s.

Governments in countries with long-standing western connections, such as Jordan and Bahrain, may see democratic change as inevitable and so may be ready to begin the transition to full constitutional democracy even before it is demanded by their citizens. Other countries, such as Saudi Arabia, may believe that there is no immediate threat of revolution, but still want to establish gradual, long-term plans for educating their citizens, for separating civil and religious law, and for re-inventing key government institutions.

In yet other countries, including Egypt and Tunisia, incoming governments may be eager to develop made-at-home institutions, but still welcome strengthened connections with the international community. Even more authoritarian governments may remain skeptical about adopting western-style democratic institutions, but still realize that the best chance for their nations' long-term stability comes by acting proactively and by engaging their citizens in informed discussions about democratic alternatives to current government structures.

Regardless of a nation's motives, it is important to remember that democracy is not just a western phenomenon. Of the world's four largest democracies, three lie outside North America and Western Europe, and although Brazil has the world's largest Catholic population, India is over 80 percent Hindu and Indonesia is over 80 percent Muslim. In each case, designing institutions that are capable of being responsive to a country's citizens while at the same time respecting minority rights has been an important undertaking.

Just as for over half a century, UN peacekeeping has been the main mechanism that has assisted in the creation of conditions for lasting peace, international democratic transition teams could assist in the creation of conditions for lasting democracies throughout Africa, the Middle East, the Far East and Latin America.

Which political leader will be visionary enough to lead the way?

Andrew Irvine is a professor of philosophy at the University of British Columbia, a Canadian Commonwealth Fellow, a UBC Killam Fellow and a past vice-chair of the UBC board of governors.

The razings and resurrections of Paris

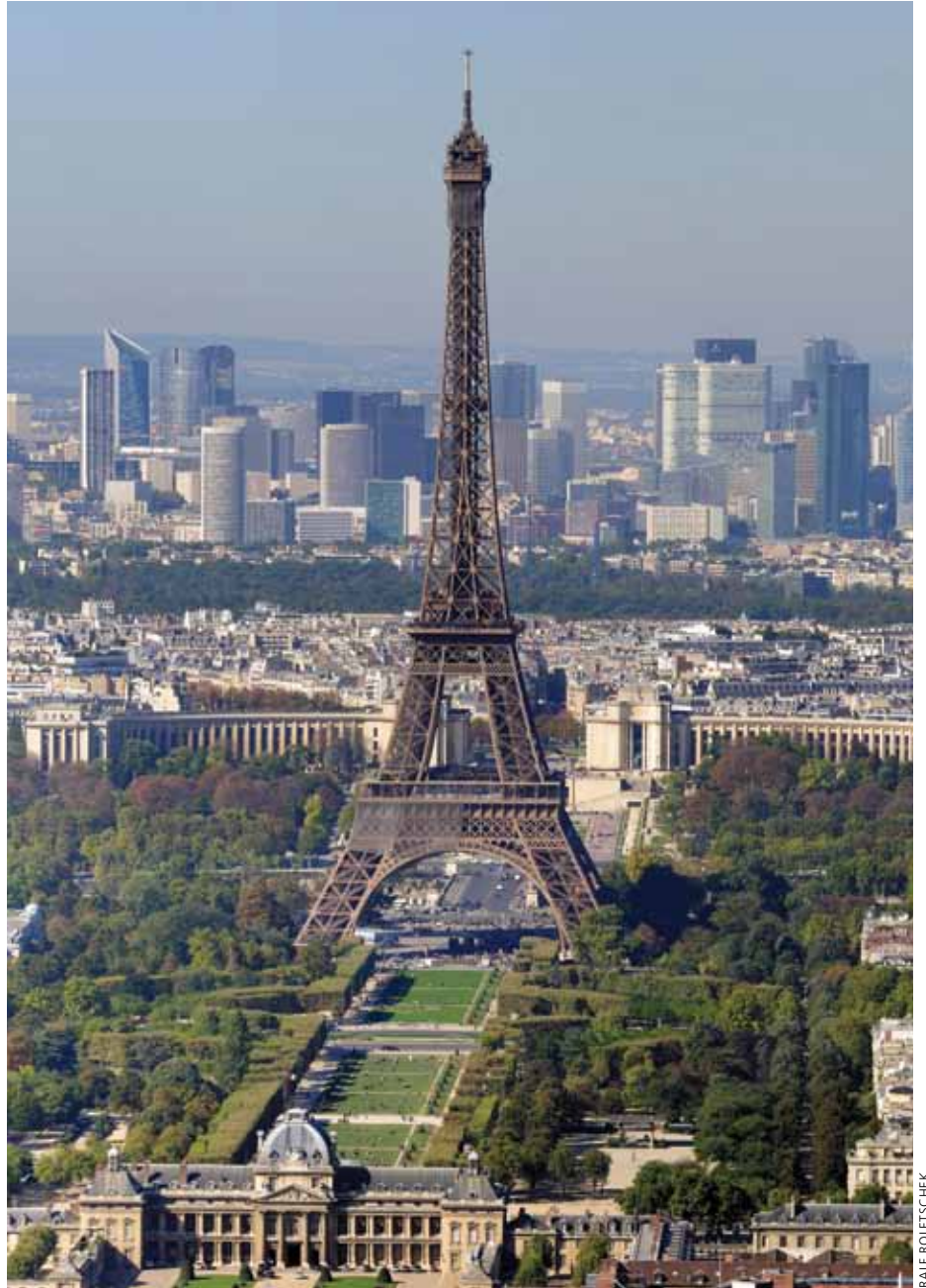


GEORGE FETHERLING

London, New York and Paris have bookshops devoted entirely to the enormous number of books, old and new, about their respective cities. Many years ago, I came upon one in Paris by chance but was never able to locate it a second time. Of course, many things are difficult to find in that wonderful maze of a city — often because they have simply disappeared. Three especially important new works about Paris and the Parisians leave us with hints at why this should be the case.

When we visualize Paris, we filter out the highrises, expressways and dreary suburbs. What we see in our mind's eye is a vast flat expanse of glorious 19th-century architecture both domestic and official, dotted here and there with such signature statements as the Tour Eiffel or, from an earlier century of course, Notre-Dame. Graham Robb is a young writer on French subjects, the author of biographies of Honoré de Balzac, Victor Hugo and Arthur Rimbaud. In popular and critical terms, his most successful book was *The Discovery of France*, an erudite but highly personalised travel narrative that goes in search of the story of how the French nation-state came into being. His new one, *Parisians: An Adventure History of Paris* (Penguin Books Canada, \$36), is not simply one that employs the same technique while narrowing the geographical focus. It's one, rather, that uses the tools of both the historian and the novelist to show how Paris, somewhat like any number of big North American cities, has been razed and resurrected, in an endless cycle.

Mr. Robb first saw Paris during a week's holiday from his studies in Britain, stumbling on the humble cottage "where Balzac had hidden from his creditors to write *La Comédie Humaine*." He found, as well, "medieval streets that had been paved with sand" and "graffiti that



RALF ROLETSCHEK

Graham Robb's new book *Parisians: An Adventure History of Paris*, shows how the city has been razed and resurrected, in an endless cycle.

seemed to have been written by highly educated people with serious political opinions." On subsequent visits, Parisians friends showed him "places I was never able to find again on my own and they shared a certain Parisian art de vivre: sitting in traffic jams as a form of *flânerie* [idle strolling], parking illegally as a defence of personal liberty [...] They taught me the tricky etiquette of pretending to

argue with waiters, and the gallantry of staring at beautiful strangers."

In long interlocking chapters (one of them written in the form of a screenplay, another in imitation of a university exam) he revisits a number of individuals who kept transforming Paris until it became what it is today. By no means the strangest of these strange figures is Charles-Axel Guillaumont who "died two hundred years

ago. It is almost as long since he was mentioned in any history of Paris." In an era when there were only a few crude maps of Paris because most residents seldom if ever left their own quartier, Guillamont mapped not the surface streets but rather the tunnels, sewers and dry riverbeds beneath them, revealing 2,000 years of the city's history.

The early Parisians' reluctance to venture far afield — or perhaps the lack of necessity to do so — is a recurring message in the book. The author describes Marie Antoinette getting lost while trying to escape the Revolutionary mob because none of her entourage knew the route. In fact, during the Revolution many aristocrats making their final earthly journeys in the tumbrels discovered, after travelling only two miles from the place of confinement, that once they climbed the wooden steps to the guillotine they "knew for the first time in their lives exactly where they were, and how they had got there."

The second of the significant new books on the constant regeneration of Paris is *The Invention of Paris: A History in Footsteps* (Penguin, \$37.50) by Eric Hazan ("new" at least in this English translation by David Fernbach, for it was first published in French in 2002). M. Hazan takes a much more political view of things than Mr. Robb does. He devotes much attention to the periods of war and violent civil unrest that have punctuated Parisian history: the events of, for example, 1830, 1832, 1848 (when revolution broke out all over western Europe) and, of course 1871 (the Paris Commune, which followed the Franco-Prussian War) — and so on, down to the student revolt and general strike of 1968.

M. Hazan, more of a theorist than the literary Mr. Robb, tends to view the story in terms of military and administrative history. Paris was a medieval city, surrounded with city walls to keep out successive waves of barbarians, real and imagined. Once outgrown, the walls were razed. Their outline, however, remained visible. In the 1670s, Louis XIV surrounded the city with a boulevard that followed the same path. This became a wall of a different kind, with wealth and government on the inside, others on the outside. Barely a century later, it became apparent that the scheme had backfired, because the people whom the wall excluded from the rich life of the



Marie Antoinette got lost while trying to escape a Revolutionary mob because no one in her entourage knew the route.

centre could not be taxed as highly as the others. So, in the 1780s, a so-called tax wall was erected well beyond the previous demarcation line in order to increase revenues. The result was populist outrage that became another factor leading to the French Revolution. Other growth-rings in the tree of Paris followed, especially in the 1840s when new defensive walls were completed (only to fall to development beginning in the 1920s).

One could go on and on about this, but it is enough to say that the subject seemed to snap shut in 1973, during the presidency of Georges Pompidou, with completion of the Boulevard Périphérique (commonly called le Périph), which gave citizens a new topic for incessant griping. As Mr. Robb puts it, "Paris was surrounded by a continuous murmur, a whispering wall of tyres and tarmac, a caterwauling of combustion engines." The Périph was, in effect a super-duper ring road, a gigantic metaphorical moat in which traffic congestion swirled round and round the city, as though caught in an eddy. Numerous cities have fallen for the ring road idea, despite the fact that ring roads do little to alleviate traffic inside their boundaries. There's the ring road in Addis Ababa, the ring road in Antwerp — and so on, all the way down the alphabet to Washington, D.C. (where the ring road is what American pundits are referring to

when they use the phrase "inside the Beltway").

The French, as we know, enjoy naming streets after the sort of personages who enjoy having streets named after them. (In one of her satirical short stories, the Canadian writer Mavis Gallant creates one called "the charming Rue du Dentiste Fernand Ladrerie.") Paris even has a street named after the man who became, in time, perhaps its most despised resident. The street is Boulevard Haussmann (Marcel Proust lived and wrote at No. 102). The man was Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809–91), a bureaucratic martinet of an urban planner who did for Paris in the 1850s what Robert Moses did for New York in the 1950s: callously tore down much of it and rebuilt it in his own egomaniacal self-image.

M. Haussmann was a Paris-born Alsatian given to extremes of pomposity (he finally began calling himself Baron Haussmann). He was also highly skilled at receiving civil service promotions. Napoleon III commissioned him to improve the physical city. Haussmann built new parks (while destroying others) and modernised the water and sewage systems. Until brought down by a financial scandal, he also decimated whatever remained of medieval Paris with its narrow winding streets and devastated large stable neighbourhoods with ever grander boulevards, struggling against history to make a city of straight lines and far less visual diversity.

M. Hazan and Mr. Robb may not agree on a great deal. The former is a prominent figure on the far left; the latter seems a moderate fellow. But they both find themselves despising Baron Haussmann, as nearly everyone seemed to do until just recently, according to a third important new book on Paris. Stephen Scobie is a well known figure in Canadian literary circles and his book *The Measure of Paris* (University of Alberta Press, \$22.95 paper) is clearly from the hand of a poet and critic. In fact, it sometimes breaks into verse. It is the work of a geographical outsider who has come to know the place deeply over the years, and who is generous with his wide reading and shrewd personal observation. On the subject of M. Haussmann he is worth quoting at some length.

Early on he writes: "Until recently, no one much liked Haussmann. No matter that he created, almost single-handedly,



The French revolution: The Paris Commune storming the Tuileries Palace in 1792.

the 'look' of Paris — tree-lined boulevards, star-shaped intersections, uniform five-storey buildings with mansard attics — that most twentieth-century visitors have identified as the essence of the city. Haussmann was cast, always, as the major villain of 'Paris perdu' scenarios." Mr. Scobie quotes a few of the more damning critics. The seminal intellectual journalist Walter Benjamin thought Haussmann "the artist of demolition." Another prominent commentator warned readers to "never forget that he was one of the most obnoxious of recorded beings...." Even some of the so-disant baron's own friends "were forced to admit that Haussmann was a brute — heavy of eye and tread, stiff, coarse, demanding, humourless, and vain."

But then Mr. Scobie goes on to say that more recently "there has been somewhat of a revisionist tendency, and a more positive view of Haussmann may be emerging [among people, writers especially, who] perceive a genuine vision in Haussmann's reconstructions." It may be simply that M. Haussmann replaced not only the medieval city itself but also the idea of the feudal city, dirty and disorganised, with one planned to accommodate and encourage modernity or at least be organised around the idea of efficiency. Whether that was good or bad is still open to debate.

Other serious new works about Paris include *And the Show Went On: Cultural Life in Nazi-Occupied Paris* by Alan Riding (Random House of Canada, \$44.99) and *The Death of French Culture* by Donald Morrison and Antoine Compagnon (John Wiley & Sons, \$70). The latter book grew out of an article in *Time* magazine by Mr. Morrison, blaming French government subsidies, not to mention the rise of Eng-

lish as the global lingua franca, for what he sees as the deterioration of French supremacy in literature, music and visual art. He has now expanded his text without altering his views very much. M. Compagnon, a French colleague, chirps in with a counterpoint essay that says we've all heard these arguments many times before.

Of course, there's no reason to ignore less serious writings about Paris. Some are quite arresting. *Paris Times Eight*

(Greystone Books, \$22.95 paper) by Deirdre Kelly, late of the *Globe and Mail*, recalls eight successive trips to Paris that, taken together, led to her maturity. *Buying a Piece of Paris* by Ellie Nielsen (H.B. Fenn, \$17.99 paper) cheerfully details the realisation of the author's dream to find, as the subtitle says, "the home of my dreams in the city of lights." Harriet Welty Rochfort's *French Toast: A Memoir — An American in Paris Celebrates the Maddening Mysteries of the French* (H.B. Fenn, \$16.99 paper) is another instance of a book whose title leaves nothing more to be said. Most curious of all is *Paris: Women & Bicycles*, a large format book of contemporary photographs by Gil Garcetti (Raincoast Books, \$25 paper). The premise is simply this: women, young and old, on bicycles — in Paris. I can't explain why it's so fascinating but it is.

DIPLOMATS ON DIPLOMACY

Paul Heinbecker, a former career diplomat and one-time chief foreign policy adviser to Brian Mulroney, uses a point midway through his book *Getting Back in the Game: A Foreign Policy Playbook for Canada* (H.B. Fenn, \$34.95) to make a most cogent summary of his ideas about the future of Canada's foreign affairs. What we need to do, he says, is "first, get our own house in




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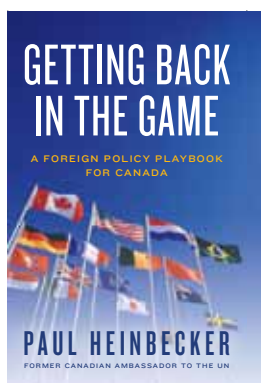
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Author Paul Heinbecker

order; and second, determine which issues we wish particularly to address — and how. With some leadership, smarts, and ambition, we can accomplish a lot, as we have done in the past. Our problems are largely man-made; with the right policies and leadership, they can be man-unmade. We have the talent and the resources to play the diplomatic game effectively, and no one is stopping us from doing so.” Well said, but more easily said than done.

Joseph M. Siracusa is an American professor long resident in Australia who studies diplomacy, nuclear weapons and the Cold War. His book *Diplomacy: A Very*

Short Introduction (part of the generally excellent Short Introduction series from Oxford University Press—\$11.95 paper) looks at American and a few Australian successes and failures in considerable detail, allowing readers to infer general problems and principles from the specifics he presents.

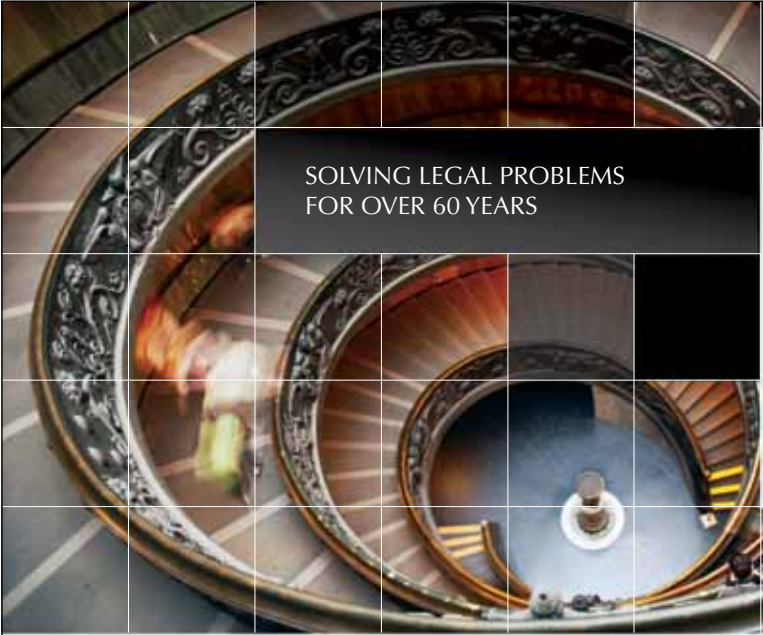

Diane Davis, who teaches at the University of Texas, is a disciple of Kenneth Burke (1897–1993), the philosopher of language (and all-round literary figure) whose most famous books are *A Grammar of Motives* and *A Rhetoric of Motives*. Indeed, Prof. Davis also holds the Ken-

neth Burke Chair of Rhetoric at a graduate school in Switzerland. Her book *Inessential Solidarity: Rhetoric and Foreign Relations* (University of Pittsburgh Press, US\$24.95 paper) applies Mr. Burke’s theories about language and its complexities to the study of diplomacy — particularly contemporary diplomacy in the non-Western world, with special reference to militancy and armed conflict.

Each of these works is highly valuable in its own right, but they are not intended to fill an obvious gap: that of teaching educated people outside the foreign-policy world what it is that diplomats actually do. Once upon a time, the public’s understanding of this matter derived from Hollywood films starring people such as Charles Boyer or Walter Pidgeon. Now it appears to come from WikiLeaks. One must squint to see this change as an improvement.

(Editor’s note: Although H.B. Fenn has initiated bankruptcy proceedings, Paul Heinbecker’s book is still available at bookstores and he will put out a paperback version with another publisher.)

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

							
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Scottish 'lad o' pairts' for governor general

By James Hunter

Baron Tweedsmuir of Elsfield served as governor general of Canada from 1935 to 1940, during which time U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt described him as the best Canada ever had. FDR was a man of wide reading but it is hard to imagine that he had a sufficiently detailed knowledge of Tweedsmuir's predecessors to arrive at an informed comparative view. His opinion was more likely influenced by the fact that the two men, meeting for the first time in 1936, hit it off immediately. They were both intelligent, widely read, highly personable and warm characters.

Assuming we start counting from 1867, when the Dominion of Canada was founded, Lord Tweedsmuir was the 15th person to hold the position of governor general of Canada. (If we went back to the period of French ascendancy, he was the 58th person to hold the vice-regal position first held by Samuel de Champlain in 1627.) At first blush, Lord Tweedsmuir may appear to have been part of a long line of English aristocrats appointed to the governor generalship (broken only when Vincent Massey was appointed as the first native-born Canadian to hold the post in 1952). In fact, Tweedsmuir was no aristocrat and he was no Englishman. He was born as plain John Buchan, a Scot of middle-class parentage whose father was a minister in the Free Church of Scotland, a breakaway Presbyterian sect.

How did this humble son of the manse rise to be a governor general at a time when privilege held sway? There is no question that John Buchan was a very clever boy. He attended Hutcheson's Grammar School, an independent boys' school in Glasgow, and Glasgow University. He went on to Brasenose College at Oxford, where he graduated with a first-class degree. He won many of the prizes that Oxford had to offer, though he failed to win the most glittering prize of all: a fellowship at All Souls College.

In 1907, he made an advantageous marriage to Susan Grosvenor, a distant cousin of the Duke of Wellington. This union provided an entrée to a wider social circle.

He qualified and practised for a time as a barrister at the Inns of Court in London. He was a businessman, and became a partner in the illustrious publishing house



John Buchan

of Thomas Nelson. As a young man, he served for three years in South Africa under Lord Milner as a civil servant working on the reconstruction of the country during and following the Boer War. During the First World War, he tried to enlist for front-line service but he was deemed to be too old and too unhealthy. He obtained a desk job in London where he was director of intelligence at the foreign office and later rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He served as the elected member for the Scottish Universities (a now-defunct

example of plural voting) in the British parliament at Westminster.

During all of this, he was a tireless writer of articles, speeches, history books and novels. He wrote serious biographies of Sir Walter Scott, Oliver Cromwell, Lord Minto (a former governor general of Canada) and others, but he was most famous — and, indeed, internationally celebrated — as a popular novelist, a writer of “penny shockers” as he called them. He made a great deal of money from these novels. His most famous title was *The 39 Steps*,

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U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, fourth from left, front row, described Lord Tweedsmuir, third from left, front row, as the best governor general Canada ever had. The two men, meeting for the first time in 1936, hit it off immediately. Also seen is then-Prime Minister William Lyon MacKenzie King, seventh from left, front row.

published in 1915. Alfred Hitchcock made this novel into a movie in 1935. Thus, when Buchan became governor general in 1935, he was at the height of his fame.

Buchan was a man of many parts or, as the Scots say: “a lad o’ pairts.” His upward mobility was the result of his focused intelligence, his singular drive, his clear belief in values of decency and Empire but above all, as Shakespeare said of another Scot (Macbeth), his “vaulting ambition.” This did not necessarily endear Buchan to everyone. Some may have agreed with Sir James Barrie’s dictum: “There are few more impressive sights in the world than a Scotsman on the make.”

To extend this jaundiced sentiment to Buchan would have been unfair. While he was an undoubted careerist, he never lost the common touch. One of his strengths was his interest in ordinary people and his

warmth towards them. His father’s parish duties had taken the Buchan family for a while to the Gorbals, a depressed area of Glasgow, so Buchan had been exposed to poverty, and its attendant suffering, from an early age. This may have accounted for the empathy shown to all throughout his life, by no means common for someone who later became an imperial grandee.

When Buchan was approached to be governor general of Canada, he was hesitant at first. He said he would have preferred the governor generalship of South Africa. He had been entranced by the romance of Africa when he served there as a young man and had long wanted to return. However, that job was not available, so Buchan accepted Canada.

The prime minister of Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie King, had (along with his predecessor, R. B. Bennett) supported

Buchan’s candidacy and was delighted when he accepted the job. Mackenzie King was less thrilled when the monarch, King George V, insisted on giving Buchan a noble title on the basis that no governor general of his was going to be a commoner. So that is how John Buchan became Lord Tweedsmuir. Buchan chose the title of Baron Tweedsmuir of Elsfield.

Tweedsmuir is a village in the Scottish borders, an area Buchan knew well and loved. He lived for a while in Elsfield Manor. Elsfield is a village outside of Oxford. Buchan was proud of his Scottish roots, but following his time at Oxford, he affected the accent and air of an upper-class Englishman — his noble title reflects the dichotomy. Buchan feigned indifference to his ennoblement. In reality, he was delighted. Following his war work in London, he had lobbied long, hard,

shamelessly, but ultimately unsuccessfully, for a knighthood.

John Buchan — or Lord Tweedsmuir as he will now be cited — was governor general in interesting times. He was the only governor general to serve under three monarchs: George V, Edward VIII and George VI. He had to deal with the abdication crisis of 1936 when Edward VIII abdicated so he could marry the American divorcee, Wallis Simpson. Since the 1931 Statute of Westminster, Canada had become independent of Britain in the matter of accepting the royal succession, and Tweedsmuir was central in discussions with Mackenzie King and the British prime minister, Stanley Baldwin, as to Canada's position on the abdication and the succession.

Tweedsmuir was heavily involved in planning the 1939 watershed visit of the King and Queen to Canada, the first such visit by a serving monarch. He was less involved in the visit itself, since as the King's representative in Canada, there is, by definition, nothing for a governor general to do while the King is here. By contrast, Mackenzie King accompanied the King and Queen everywhere, including the vital side trip to Washington D.C. while Tweedsmuir remained in Ottawa. No doubt he would have twiddled his thumbs except for the fact that Tweedsmuir was incapable of idleness.

It was Tweedsmuir who signed Canada's proclamation of war against Germany on Sept. 11, 1939.

FDR was the first serving president to pay an official visit to Canada when he met Tweedsmuir in Nova Scotia in 1936. Tweedsmuir was also the first official representative of Canada to address the Congress of the United States. It was a rare chance to speak publicly on issues of personal interest. Any governor general is sensitive to the limitations of what he can say or do — basically he has to stay out of politics, he cannot irritate his Canadian hosts and he cannot irritate the monarch. This was quite a challenge for a man such as Tweedsmuir, who was not a career diplomat. Although he largely met the challenge, he did once hit the jackpot when he said in a speech: "A Canadian's first loyalty is not to the British Commonwealth of Nations but to Canada and to Canada's King." This statement seemed to offend everyone at the time, but it was an uncharacteristic lapse.

Tweedsmuir travelled extensively in Canada. While in Quebec, he delivered 17 speeches in French. He was the first gov-

ernor general to travel north of the Arctic Circle. He explained in words that may now appear prophetic: "There is one card I mean to play for all it is worth. The future of Canada lies in the North."

It was Tweedsmuir who founded the Governor General's Awards, for many years Canada's premier literary award. Winners have included Robertson Davies, Margaret Atwood and Mordecai Richler, a man who was no fan of Tweedsmuir. As an author himself, Tweedsmuir wrote prodigiously throughout his life: one source listed 34 novels and 46 works of non-fiction in what it describes as a partial list of his books. (Lady Tweedsmuir wrote as well, under the name of Susan Buchan.) He wrote a novel — *Sick Heart River* — based on his Canadian experiences, although this book does not seem to figure largely today in Can-lit courses taught at high school and university. While in Canada, he also somehow found time to work on his monumental biography of the Roman emperor, Augustus.

Tweedsmuir was a complex man who achieved much before his life was cut short in 1940 (he slipped and hit his head in his bathroom at Rideau Hall). Critics say he spread himself too thin. He was a man of conscience, with a belief in the values of the English-speaking democracies and in the British Empire. His belief in Empire has been wittily characterized by biographer Alan Sandison as "The Church of Scotland on safari." However, Tweedsmuir was a man of his times when such beliefs seemed quite conventional.

Was Tweedsmuir Canada's greatest governor general as FDR claimed? It is an impossible question to answer. Generally, not a great deal is expected of governors general; they face the same limitations as the constitutional monarchs they serve. Tweedsmuir himself described this challenge: "A governor general in an autonomous Dominion walks inevitably on a razor's edge. His powers are like those of a constitutional monarch, brittle if too heavily pressed, substantial only when exercised discreetly in the background." However, Tweedsmuir was equal to the challenge of doing his duty in difficult times. He achieved many firsts in Canada. His sudden death while in office brought an outpouring of grief and a sense of loss in both Canada and in Britain. And that is perhaps the most sincere testament to Lord Tweedsmuir's achievements as governor general.

James Hunter is a Toronto writer.

LITERARY AWARD CARRIES ON BUCHAN'S LEGACY

EDITOR'S NOTE: Gov. Gen. David Johnston gave this speech at Rideau Hall in November, prior to the presentation of the Governor General's Literary Awards. In it, he pays tribute to the awards' founder, Lord Tweedsmuir.

It is a great pleasure for Sharon and me to welcome you to Rideau Hall. We are here tonight to celebrate literature and the people who have contributed to Canada's literary landscape.

My grandchildren call me Grandpa Book. As you may suspect, the name does not come without just cause, as I am always seen with a book. I try to tell them stories that they have never heard before, but, of course, there are always those stories I am particularly fond of retelling.

I am not only a champion of literature, but I am also an enthusiastic reader. Books are wonderful gateways to places seen only in our imaginations. They introduce us to people, both fictional and real, and teach us lessons that will stay with us for our entire lives.

I am reminded of the words of Réjean Ducharme, translated by Barbara Bay: "A book is a world, a complete world, with a beginning and an end. Every page is a town. Every line a street. Every word a house. My eyes rove through the street, opening each door, entering each house."

I take every opportunity to introduce my grandchildren to worlds they have never seen before. And through them, I discover old worlds with fresh eyes.

That is why I am so excited to be here with some of the very best novelists, non-fiction writers, poets, illustrators, translators and playwrights in Canada, and to honour some of the best works of the past year.

And what a year it has been for Canadian literature — English and French books, plays and poetry of every genre, of every type and for all ages. The creators themselves are as diverse as the material, yet they produce distinctly Canadian works.

I enjoy discovering new writers, doubly so when they are Canadian, because I can identify more with the writer's voice. I can say that this author — like me, like you, like everyone across the country — is helping to define our country's identity, which can only happen if we choose to pay attention.

In my installation speech, I spoke of a smart and caring nation. Robertson Davies once wrote: "A nation without a literature is not a nation." I would also



MCL DANY VEILLETTE, RIDEAU HALL

Gov. Gen. David Johnston, third from left, front row, presented the 74th edition of Governor General's Literary Awards. They are Canada's oldest and most prestigious awards for English- and French-language Canadian literature.



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add that a nation that ignores its literature and languages, that neglects to teach and encourage children to read and write, is not a nation either, or if it is a nation, it is one without a soul and an inspiration.

Literacy is a vital part of our education system and an important part of everyday life, as it forms the basis for all other learning. Through reading, we learn how English and French have evolved over time, and we learn how to write ourselves. It is only through reading and writing that we can truly appreciate our languages. By opening a book, by supporting quality education, we not only foster a love of the printed word, we create a lifelong commitment to language.

In seven short years, the country will mark the 150th anniversary of Confederation. That is 150 years of Canadian achievements, 150 years of Canadian literature. It is therefore only fitting that one of the oldest offices in Canada celebrates literary contributions.

Lord Tweedsmuir, a former governor general and prolific author, once said: "Let us remember that great literature is one and indivisible." He created these awards in 1936 with the idea that Canada, as a united and then still-fledgling nation, could begin to forge its own identity and vision, sepa-

rate from other Commonwealth countries. We listened and we created.

I am just reading a biography of Lord Tweedsmuir (a.k.a. John Buchan, author of *The 39 Steps*) by Janet Adam Smith. It is a great read and my wife has made an office in a small room used by him with all his



books just down the hall. It's the best room in this big house.

I am delighted to congratulate this year's laureates of the Governor General's Literary Awards. Tonight, you join a long list of notable Canadians. You also carry the responsibility of inspiring those who have a desire to tell a story and a hope of being published. They are the ones who dream of being where you are sitting right now. Hopefully, their writing will join yours in influencing where we go as a nation.

Because there is no greater authority on ourselves than our stories.

Stories sustain us and bind us together. They show us where we are going and where we have been. They are records of our imagination and of our grammatical evolution. They entertain us, move us, change us and challenge us. They capture our attention before we are even able to read and they never let us go. Stories — in the form of a book, a play, or a poem — give us the means with which to look at ourselves and ask why — or, perhaps more importantly — why not.

In this age of new technology and new ways of sharing ideas, the question is not only how our stories will evolve, but also how we will share our Canadian identity with the world. You have brought us closer to answering this question.

I congratulate you and thank you for giving us stories, worlds in which to immerse ourselves, and for allowing us a glimpse into the future of our Canadian identity. ▣

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A nation's heritage: 100 years of Parks Canada

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



PARKS CANADA

Banff National Park, Canada's first, was established Nov. 25, 1885 as the Banff Hot Springs Reserve.

This year, Parks Canada is celebrating 100 years of protecting Canadian wilderness and history. Indeed, Canada's national parks system is an integral part of our identity. The parks represent the country's unity and diversity, geography and heritage and they are as much a part of the Canadian psyche as hockey and the maple leaf.

Canada's first national park was Banff in the Rocky Mountains, established on Nov. 25, 1885, as the Banff Hot Springs Reserve. On May 19, 1911, the federal government created the Dominion Parks Branch, the world's first national park service, to preserve and protect special natural sites. It was a ground-breaking initiative at a time when the environment

was not a matter of public concern, and it established Canada as a world leader in conservation.

A century later, the Dominion Parks Branch had become Parks Canada (with the passing of the Canadian Parks Agency Act on Dec. 3, 1998). Today, Canadians are privileged to have no fewer than 42 national parks and park reserves, 167 na-



The Laggan-Field road construction in Banff in 1925 was a challenge.

tional historic sites, four national marine conservation areas and marine parks. And several more protected areas are planned for the near future. From Kluane in the Yukon, Pacific Rim in British Columbia, across the Rockies and Prairies, around the Great Lakes and through Quebec and the Maritimes to L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland and Auyuittuq in Nunavut, the parks showcase Canada's natural beauty and its human heritage.

The foremost mandate of Parks Canada, according to the Canadian Parks Act, is "to protect the nationally significant examples of Canada's natural and cultural heritage in national parks, national historic sites, national marine conservation areas and related heritage areas in view of their special role in the lives of Canadians and the fabric of the nation."

The first priority is to maintain "ecological integrity," a guiding principle established in 1979. It refers to the way ecosystems maintain their integrity when they are healthy; Parks Canada's objective is to allow people to enjoy the parks without damaging them.

This guide applies to the memory



Riding alongside Lake Louise in 1960.

of nationally significant people such as Terry Fox and William Neilson Hall, and cultural sites as well, places such as Nan Sdins, Sahoyúé-Şehdacho (pronounced SAW-you-eh-DAH-cho), Batoche, York Factory, Kejimikujik, and the sites of the War of the 1812. Ensuring a balance between fragile wilderness and heritage areas, their economic potential, and the people who wish to enjoy them, requires careful management.

If one were to go back to where it all started, Banff National Park, which stretches 240 kilometres along the eastern slope of the Continental Divide, one might question how well the parks service has met its mandate. The town of Banff today is full up. The 6,641 square-kilometre park is the most popular of Canada's national parks, visited by more than 4.5 million visitors each year. Banff draws a global audience, year-round. People come by train, plane, bus and carload to view and photograph the scenic vistas, to ski, hike, camp, to dine in the fine restaurants, take in the nightlife and shop. In fact, in the crowded heart of downtown Banff, visitors may feel more like they are at a theme-based shop-



PARKS CANADA

The Cabot Trail in Cape Breton Highlands National Park, Nova Scotia.



PARKS CANADA

Ottawa's crown jewel: The Rideau Canal



PARKS CANADA

Gwaii Haanas National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Site in British Columbia.

ping mall than in a protected wilderness area.

Banff, as the oldest park, may be considered something of a test case for the parks mandate. The area's development, controversial because of its fragile environment, has been determined by the railway, tourism and the federal government. The establishment of the Banff Hot Springs Reserve ushered in an age of parks tourism. Wealthy tourists from around the world came to take in the hot springs, arriving by Canadian Pacific Railway trains and staying in lavish railway-owned hotels in the town of Banff. The town was founded in 1883 near a proposed site for a CPR tunnel and was originally called "Siding 29." It was relocated in 1886 to its current more picturesque location to accommodate the infrastructure required for the national park the government envisioned. It was renamed by Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona, for his hometown in Scotland. At the time the reserve was established, few Canadians could afford to visit it.

When Henry Ford introduced the automobile, Banff and the other parks suddenly became accessible to a broader audience, but still mainly to people with money. After the Second World War, the changing economy brought "autotourists" to the parks as automobiles became more affordable. In the 1960s, with growing awareness of environmental issues, many began to question the increased development in Banff and high-use parks, calling for less intrusive infrastructure at the same time that visitors began demanding more secluded campsites. The parks service response in the form of improved management of natural resources may well have saved Banff from being ruined by over-development.

Certainly Jasper, on Banff's northern boundary, has benefited from the Banff experience. Jasper National Park, established in 1907, is, at 10,878 square kilometres, almost twice the size of Banff, yet it receives less than half the traffic, with "only" two million visitors per year. It is more remote, a saving grace as far as the wilderness is concerned, and development of the area moved at a slower pace. The town of Jasper originated as a supply depot for trade across the Athabasca Pass, and the Grand Trunk Pacific and Great Northern railways arrived during 1911-1912. Tourism in Jasper really only began in 1915. The construction of an all-weather road to Edmonton in 1936 hastened Jasper's growth, which has never reached the intensity of



Kootenay National Park, 1923

Banff's tourism. Stringent development regulations were enacted in the late 1980s for the Rocky Mountain parks and today Jasper has a quiet charm.

A comparison of Banff and Jasper illustrates the risks of development in a wilderness environment, and an opportunity realized to control such development. In both, the town sites and Parks Canada maintain strict control of development and expansion, which sustains the equilibrium between economics and the environment. Public education is important in the parks, as in all Parks Canada holdings, as exposure to natural and heritage sites leads to better appreciation and participation in protecting these special places.



A rotary plough barrels through Rogers Pass, at Glacier National Park, in 1910.

To visit any of our national parks today is to visit the past, experience our amazing natural heritage and see archaeological preservation at its best. The parks system is a model to other countries in the areas of protecting bio-diversity and restoring historical artifacts. As an example, Argentina has turned to Parks Canada to learn the modern practices required to sustain their parks system. This observation is made with considerable satisfaction by Environment Minister Peter Kent who notes that on a trip to Argentina, before assuming the environment portfolio, he heard a park ranger generously praise the Canadian parks system to a tour group.

Canada's new minister of the environment, appointed in January this year, has long been an advocate for Canada's parks system, and has fond memories, having once been a ski instructor in Banff and having hiked on the glaciers and enjoyed the hot springs that started it all. Mr. Kent seems to genuinely care about the parks, enthusiastically noting that it is "exciting to have the opportunity to visit the newer parks." Among all the celebrations and parks events he will attend during this year of celebration, he is "most looking forward to visiting Gwaii Haanas [British Columbia] and Nahanni [Northwest Territories]." He probably couldn't have picked



PARKS CANADA

Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site, British Columbia



PARKS CANADA

Kluane's Kaskawulsh glacier in Kluane National Park, Yukon



PARKS CANADA

A fire automobile transporting a pump, hose and tools in 1916 in Banff.

better exemplars of Parks Canada meeting its mandate.

Gwaii Haanas National Marine Conservation Area Reserve and Haida Heritage Sites is one of Parks Canada's newest sites, established in June 2010, the first marine conservation area created under the Canada National Marine Conservation Areas Act. Gwaii Haanas, "Islands of Beauty" in the Haida language, was established jointly by the federal government and the

Haida Nation. It encompasses the rich ecology of the Pacific coast, and attests to more than 10,000 years of Haida culture.

Nahanni National Park Reserve protects part of the Mackenzie Mountains Natural Region, a key feature of which is the Naha Dehé (South Nahanni River), which begins as a benign boulder-strewn stream and grows in size and power as it flows 580 kilometres until it rushes over Virginia Falls, which are twice the height

of Niagara Falls. The park overlaps two major eco-zones, the Taiga Plains in the east and the Taiga Cordillera to the west. The reserve was established in 1976 and designated as a world heritage site in 1978. It is among the most rugged of our national parks and not for tenderfoots. Clearly, Mr. Kent is a man who enjoys the outdoors.

The average outdoorsy or history-loving Canadian will envy our environment ministers their experiences in the parks.

Hot springs and historic prescience

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky

"This was the greatest climax to a major discovery that we had ever seen. Frank McCabe, Tom McCardell and myself just stood in silence looking at this mysterious grotto where warm clear water bubbled from its depths."

— William McCardell on finding the hot springs in what is now Banff National Park.

Who wouldn't have stood in awed silence in that secret place, watching the steam drifting from the surface of a large pool tucked against the base of a cliff? William McCardell had travelled west from Ontario in 1882 with a Canadian Pacific Railway construction crew. He, his brother Tom, and friend Frank McCabe had stumbled on the site after seeing a steam near the base of Sulphur Mountain and rafting across the Bow River to investigate.

They weren't the first people to see the springs, of course; the First Nations people had long known of their recuperative powers. But after McCabe's discovery, the sacred site didn't stay secret for long. As word spread, several people realized the benefits of the springs. But it wasn't as a cure for what ailed them — they saw a way to make money, and lots of it. Sir William Van Horne, president of the CPR, declared them worth a million dollars. That began a barrage of claims to the springs, including McCabe's.

Dominion Lands investigated and determined that there would be no private ownership or development in the vicinity and on Nov. 25, 1885, passed an Order in Council to set aside an area around the hot springs for public use. It became known as the Banff Hot Springs Reserve and was expanded two years later to become Canada's first national park. By the time the Dominion Parks Branch, the world's first national parks service, was created in 1911, Canada had five national parks, all in the Rocky Mountains with three along the CPR line.

The prescience of those early legislators is remarkable, considering that environmental issues were not at the forefront of public concern. Van Horne was right. There was money in

those restorative waters; they attracted wealthy tourists from around the world.

James B. Harkin, the first commissioner of the Dominion Parks Branch, proposed setting aside publicly accessible wilderness areas across the country. During his 25-year tenure, 13 national parks were added to the parks system, Parliament passed legislation to limit industrial development within the parks, and national historic sites were added to the parks service mandate.

The changed economy after the Second World War put automobiles within reach of more Canadians, and parks met the public's increasing mobility with new roads and guidebooks promoting scenic drives. The 1960s brought increased global awareness of environmental issues. To the parks, the era brought demands for less intrusive infrastructure, which resulted in limits on the growth of townsites and amenities like golf courses. Ecological integrity became a significant goal; the 1988 National Parks Act recognized the importance of preserving the environment and promoting sustainable recreation.

By the 1990s, Parks Canada was restoring historic sites nation-wide and its Historic Sites and Monuments Board added people of national significance, such as Terry Fox, and events of cultural significance, such as the signing of First Nations treaties, to its commemoration program. The definition of culturally significant has expanded to include the cultural landscape, making a broad spectrum of history eligible for protection.

To begin the 21st Century, Parks Canada added the National Marine Conservation Areas, which protect coastlines and waterways as well as natural and historic underwater areas, including shipwrecks such as the *HMS Investigator*. The ship was trapped in Arctic ice in the 1850s searching for Franklin and the elusive Northwest Passage. Parks Canada's Underwater Archaeology Service located it in July 2010.

The scope of work done by Parks Canada in its first 100 years protects the country's natural environment and preserves our history and culture. When we look at what has been accomplished, we should, like William McCardell when he first saw the hot springs that started it all, feel a sense of awe.

Last year, Mr. Kent's predecessor, Jim Prentice, had the opportunity to witness an archaeological expedition when a team from Parks Canada's Western Arctic field unit and the underwater archaeology service discovered the wreckage of the *HMS Investigator*, graves of three of the ship's crew and stone artifacts from a 2,300-year-old aboriginal camp. The ship was lost in the High Arctic in the 1850s during Robert McClure's search for the missing Franklin expedition and the long-sought Northwest Passage. McClure and his crew, after being trapped in the ice at Mercy Bay for two years, abandoned their ship. The Copper



Environment Minister Peter Kent says Canada's parks system is a model for protecting bio-diversity and restoring historical artifacts.

Inuit found the crew's depots of supplies and for decades returned to salvage iron, copper and other material. *The Investigator* figures largely in Inuit oral history. The discovery was assisted by several Inuvialuit, giving them an opportunity to rediscover their ancestors even as the parks team solved a 150-year old mystery.

The pictures taken during the expedition show marine archaeologists sharing their discovery with Minister Prentice, whose smile says "isn't my job cool?"

Given the year ahead as Canada celebrates 100 years of Parks Canada innovation, Mr. Kent will undoubtedly have many opportunities to express the same sentiment. In fact, all those who live in Canada will have the opportunity this year to find out what is cool and exciting about its national parks and heritage sites. Parks Canada will celebrate with monthly themes, special events, a return of the Parks Pass program for grade eight students and free entry to the parks on special days.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is a writer from Alberta.

Etiquette camp for adults

By Donna Jacobs

Conjure up every awkward social moment you've had — the messy hors d'oeuvre, the dead-end conversation, the room full of strangers, the dropped fork, the fish bone in your mouth. The list of lapses in the social world is long.

So when two dozen people gathered at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs last summer for a one-day protocol and etiquette course, it wasn't surprising that it was oversubscribed.

Bryan Henderson, director of professional training and development for the school, offers it yearly. And who better to teach it than Margaret and Larry Dickenson?

Margaret, a graduate in foods and nutrition, is fresh from winning yet another award for her cookbook *Margaret's Table: Easy Cooking & Inspiring Entertaining*, voted best cookbook in the world in the entertaining category for the last 12 years at the Frankfurt Book Fair in Germany. Her first award-winning book was *From the Ambassador's Table*. And her most recent project is hosting a six-episode show on Rogers Cable — also called *Margaret's Table* — on cooking, entertaining and decorating.

Larry is a retired career diplomat, whose postings to eight countries (from the European Union to Egypt to the USSR) included serving as Canada's ambassador to Kuwait and Indonesia. In his second career, post-retirement, he is both photographer for Margaret's cookbooks (and her column in this magazine) and co-teacher.

She has taught the course for a dozen years, joined by Larry for the past six years. Their "students" have included staff at the Department of Foreign Affairs, CSIS, RCMP, the National Police College, Carleton University and the University of Ottawa.

The course title tells it all: "Practical certificate in international social protocol networking, cocktail and dining etiquette" and, yes, Larry and Margaret present graduates with certificates.

In the humorous, fast-paced and anecdote-filled day, among other skills, we learned how to greet, seat and eat.

The Dickensons provide useful cross-



Etiquette gurus Margaret and Larry Dickenson

cultural etiquette advice: Don't cross your chopsticks on your plate, for example, as it's considered bad luck. Instead, when not using them, place them side-by-side next to your plate, on the stand provided for that purpose. In Muslim countries, don't cross your legs. You run the risk of pointing your shoe at someone and exposing its sole — an affront, as leather is considered an unclean material.

However, much of the day was spent on the details of good manners and good table manners, applicable anywhere, anytime.

The desks were informally arranged in a large square for the students of suave. Among them were an engineer who travels abroad, a foreign policy officer at the Department of Foreign Affairs, senior managers at Carleton University and Canadian and international undergraduate and graduate students. Previous graduates have included industry executives

and diplomats.

Some of the work was theory — discussion and diagrams of where to seat people, depending on the size and shape of the tables, and whether it's a work or social gathering. In the world of protocol, says Larry, there is nothing haphazard about it. Most people know exactly where they should be seated.

After two hours of table-setting and manners lessons, we were put to the test during a simple luncheon served upstairs. There, the Dickensons watched their students, waiting to be sure no one started to eat before everyone was served and before the hostess took her first bite.

From dining with delicacy, the Dickensons focused on the even trickier cocktail party or reception where people have to be charming and dextrous — often simultaneously — all the while standing and moving about.

A few basic reception rules: "Always, always, always" hold your drink glass in your left hand to allow you to shake people's hands with your right. That way, you can also use your right hand to effortlessly reach the loose business cards in your pocket.

How do you handle a drink, a plate (with a slippery hors-d'oeuvre), cutlery and a napkin so your right hand is free for handshaking, retrieving your business cards and eating? The Dickensons have developed a one-hand-does-all trick. She demonstrates which fingers do what job. We practise it tipsily with empty plates and wine glasses.

Fortunately, fingers quickly acquire dexterity. At her own elegant dinners and parties, of course, Margaret would never serve an hors d'oeuvre that's bigger than one bite, and never with a cucumber, which can become soggy.

What if you're offered an unwieldy hors d'oeuvre? Just say "No, thank you."

What happens if someone comes along and wants to talk or shake your hand just as you are about consume a morsel. "Don't pop it back" — she unexpectedly throws her head back and feigns a huge gulp, much to her students' amusement. Instead, transfer it to the left hand or to a cocktail plate held in that hand.

After this lecture, you will never again

put your soiled plate and cutlery or wine glass on the buffet table. Be patient enough, she says, to find the right landing place for the dirty dishes.

So you've eaten gracefully and greeted everyone properly. Now it's time for networking and real conversation.

The easy way to have a conversation is to find another solitary soul and approach that person. It will quickly be obvious whether your zeal for a chat is returned.

The harder scenario is this: Everyone has divided into groups. Approaching a group requires tact. Says Larry: "Turn on your radar."

If they're laughing uproariously, they're probably old friends. If they avoid eye contact, if they don't open a spot in the circle or give you a nod or, even more clearly, if they look away, they probably don't want to be interrupted. Likewise, don't approach people leaning in and whispering.

Parties aren't social marathons. Says Larry: "You don't need to meet everyone. You need a few good conversations, not a whole lot of meaningless ones."

Donna Jacobs is *Diplomat's* publisher

Social engagement: a few fast rules

1. Introduce men to women, younger people to older people, people of lesser authority to those with greater social or political status. If you don't know a person's name or if you suffer acute temporary amnesia, use titles. If Peter MacKay's name has escaped, just say "the minister of defence."

In other circumstances, just say: "I haven't caught the name" or "Listen, do you two know each other?" The people will introduce themselves.

2. Kissing: There are three ways of doing the cheek kiss (or air kiss beside the cheek). No matter whether it's a one-kiss, two-kiss or three-kiss country, start with the other person's right cheek.

Some European men may (unexpectedly) reach for a woman's hand and kiss it as a rather formal greeting. "Many women have the natural instinct to draw their hand away," says Margaret. "Try to remain relaxed."

3. World-wide, greetings are now often accompanied by the ritual exchange of business cards. It is most polite to ask for a person's card, to look at it and to talk about it before you present yours (with the writing facing the recipient.)

If you have pockets, keep your own cards loose in your right pocket (for your free right hand) and use the left pocket to collect new cards. Women without pockets but with purses can designate different pouches for incoming and outgoing business cards.

4. The job of staff at functions: "Your role is to make everybody happy," says Larry. "That person over there is bored. Do something about it. Mix and match the person with somebody in the crowd."

Course offered Sept. 1. Register at www.carleton.ca/npsia-ptd/ Registration fee \$350 plus HST before Aug. 8, \$400 plus HST thereafter. Contact Bryan Henderson at bryan_henderson@carleton.ca for more information.

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Creating a dazzling breakfast



MARGARET DICKENSON

If it's the weekend, a holiday, a day off, you may very well be inspired to create something special for breakfast or brunch. We might all be inclined to think first about eggs, sausages and grilled tomatoes. But, let's be honest, that's pretty standard fare. My suggestions would be Eggs Benedict, sweet or savoury crêpes or waffles.

To up the ante, instead of the English muffin, opt to present your Eggs Benedict in individual sautéed portobello mushroom caps comfortably snuggled in a warm nest of wilted and seasoned spinach leaves tossed with garlic butter. To render the eggs unforgettable, top them with hollandaise sauce and a generous rosette of smoked salmon before garnishing with capers and stems of fresh chives or dill.

If crêpes are your preference, for each serving prepare two thin crêpes (8 inches or 20 centimetres in diameter) and assemble them in a traditional "layered cake" fashion with a filling of various berries, sliced or diced fruit, whipped cream, nuts, etc. Dusted with icing sugar and served with maple syrup, this breakfast treat is dramatic, simple to prepare and oh-so-delicious.

Speaking of drama, when it comes to waffles, you may be inspired to create something novel. In my on-going culinary challenge to be original, I came up with my irresistible waffle sandwich with smoked salmon. (Indeed, not all waffles need to be sweet.) For each individual serving, my trick is to arrange two pieces of waffle as a sandwich pair and to layer them with luscious folds of sliced smoked salmon, dollops of sour cream, touches of ginger mayonnaise and more. (Note, if using thick waffles such as Belgian waffles, one waffle segment cut in half horizontally will do for each serving.) Homemade or commercial waffles may be used with

equally successful results. However, one great advantage of making homemade waffles is that chopped fresh dill weed may be whisked into the batter. The dill offers a noticeable depth of flavour to this already memorable recipe.

With an intriguing principal recipe established, creating a complete "wow breakfast" is simply a matter of adding a couple of extra elements designed to frame the star recipe into a full menu.

Such a multi-course breakfast should be reserved for those times when you are eager to impress. This could be for a special occasion (e.g., Family, Mother's or Father's Day, Easter, Christmas, New Year's Day) or for overnight house guests. In our home, overnight guests have already been served a multi-course dinner the evening before and we have all gotten to bed late.

Therefore, I recommend that most of your time and effort be devoted to that star recipe which would be the hub of the meal, and take it easy on the other elements. If starting with nothing more original than orange juice and yogurt, you might choose a glass other than a juice glass (e.g., wine, parfait, shot glass) and frost the rims by turning the glasses, one at a time, upside down into a shallow amount of egg white, allowing any excess egg white to drain off before twisting the moistened rims into sugar crystals – gran-

ulated sugar or dry gelatin dessert powder (your choice of flavours). Note: The glasses may be frosted days in advance.

For the yogurt, I've discovered that plain or vanilla, paired with berries and whole almonds (with their skins on) then drizzled with liquid honey, works well. This quick and easy combination is a winner with both children and adults. To heighten the wow, use a different serving container such as demi-tasse cups or mini flower pots. (In case of the latter, block the bottom hole with a bit of cake, muffin or whatever.) Add the yogurt, top with fresh blueberries, poke in a few whole almonds among the blueberries and finally drizzle with glistening threads of liquid honey.

Creating a wow breakfast can really be that easy. Now, from our table to yours: "Bon Appétit"!

(This is the third in a series of six highlighting themes from the cooking and lifestyle TV series which she created and hosts, Margaret's Table, on Rogers TV.)

Quick Irresistible Waffle Sandwiches with Smoked Salmon

Makes 4 servings

4 regular type waffles (or 1 traditional Belgian waffle)*



Waffle sandwiches with smoked salmon

LARRY DICKENSON

2 tbsp (30 mL) Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise**, divided
 1/2 cup (125 mL) thick sour cream or crème fraîche, divided
 6 oz (175 g) smoked salmon, sliced
 2 cups (500 mL) tender salad leaves (e.g., mâche, arugula, spring mix)
 1/3 cup (80 mL) vinaigrette, a mustard herb type

Garnish:

2 tsp (10 mL) capers, well drained
 fresh herbs (e.g., chive stems, dill, etc.)

1. Cut waffles in half and keep the halves together in matching pairs.*
2. Drizzle a touch of Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise (1/2 tsp or 3 mL) over central area of one piece of waffle of each pair and add a dollop (1 1/2 tsp or 8 mL) of sour cream. Top with 1 oz (30 g) of smoked salmon and then with another dollop of sour cream before perching the remaining portion of waffle on top to close the sandwich.
3. Crown each waffle sandwich with another dollop of sour cream and finally a rosette of the remaining smoked salmon.
4. For each individual serving, secure one waffle sandwich in position on an individual dinner plate with a touch of zesty ginger mayonnaise and sour cream (to act as glue). Add 1/2 cup (125 mL) of salad leaves to each plate.
5. Drizzle salmon rosettes, salad and plates lightly with mustard herb vinaigrette. Garnish with capers and fresh herbs. Serve promptly.

* Note: If using a thick, round (diameter: 6 3/4 inches or 17 cm) traditional Belgian waffle with 4 segments, cut the waffle into its 4 segments and cut each segment horizontally in half to create 2 thin slices. Keep slices together as 4 matching pairs and proceed as outlined.

** To make 1/4 cup (60 mL) zesty ginger mayonnaise, whisk together 1/4 cup (60 mL) of mayonnaise, 1 tsp (5 mL) of peeled and grated fresh gingerroot and 1/4 tsp (1 mL) of granulated sugar.

Margaret Dickenson is the author of the international award winning cookbook, *Margaret's Table — Easy Cooking & Inspiring Entertaining*.
 See www.margaretstable.ca.

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Don't horde your bubbly



PIETER VAN DEN WEGHE

There are many styles of wine and each offers its own particular array of pleasures. However, very few so easily provoke sensations of elegance and celebration more than sparkling wines. Interestingly, it is that association which is generally responsible for sparkling wine being left too often on the bench. Many wine drinkers feel a bottle of sparkling can only be opened if there is an occasion. They think of birthdays, the stroke of midnight on New Year's Eve or the dressing room of the team who just won the Stanley Cup. Really, though, every moment and locale you decide to enjoy wine in is the proper time and place for opening a bottle of bubbly.

Now, high-quality bubbly is made all over the world, but its roots and the origins of the best method for producing sparkling wines come from a very famous area in the northeast corner of France. In fact, Champagne is so renowned, it is the only appellation in France which is not required to have the words Appellation Contrôlée on the label. Thanks to an impressive and, occasionally, cut-throat branding machine, Champagne is synonymous with class, pedigree and a nostalgic sense of authenticity. When we pop a bottle, we feel as though as we have cracked open the door on privilege. No matter what our station in life, and though you may pay a price for it, the beverage of kings, champions and hip-hop moguls is attainable.

That all said, awesome Champagne is just that: awesome. Few other wines can deliver such provocative deliciousness and exuberant texture. Also, all wine producers owe a debt to Champagne for devising the best recipe for making sparkling wine. Once called *méthode champenoise* until banned by the EU in 1994, this method is now usually identified on

a non-Champagne wine bottle's label with the words "traditional method". The key component of this technique is having the wine undergo a second fermentation in the bottle.

Traditional method winemakers begin by producing a still wine which is usually high in acid and moderate in alcohol. In Champagne, these wines are produced from Chardonnay, Pinot Noir and Pinot Meunier while makers in the rest of the world are free to employ whichever varietals they wish. After blending wines (possibly from different varietals, vineyards and even vintages), this wine is bottled along with a small amount of liqueur de

tirage. This blend of wine, sugar, yeast and a clarifying agent sets off the second in-bottle fermentation.

With the bottles stored horizontally and sealed usually with a beer bottle style crown cap, the fermentation creates alcohol, the bubble-creating carbon dioxide and, eventually, dead yeast cells which collect as a deposit on the side of the bottle. The longer the wine remains in contact with this deposit, also called lees, the greater the impact upon the flavour profile of the wine with notes of yeast, bread and biscuit. Generally speaking, the longer a wine remains in contact with its lees, the higher the quality.

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13th Street's very elegant sparkling rosé offers great red fruit aromas and flavours.

The next step, riddling or remuage, allows for the removal of the sediment from each bottle. Over a long period of time, each bottle will be gently twisted and turned a little bit more upside down. Eventually, with the bottle completely inverted, all the sediment will be collected in the neck of the bottle. This basic procedure was invented by 'Veuve' Clicquot and her cellar manager in the early 1800s. Originally, the process of slowly inverting the bottles was done by hand and one bottle at a time. This painstaking and costly process is now greatly eased by modern technology. Whole banks of gyropalettes, each holding several hundred bottles, are operated by hydraulics and controlled by computers. These labour-saving measures have helped many wine-producing areas around the world to make very high quality wines at reasonable prices.

Finally, the neck of the bottle is frozen, and the solid plug of sediment is pushed out by the pressure in the bottle when the closure is removed. A bit of the sparkling wine is lost during this step, so the bottle is topped up with a mixture of wine and sugar solution. The amount of sugar, or dosage, will dictate the wine's final level of dryness. Now sealed with the familiar cork and cage closure, these wines are usually aged in-house by the producer for at least a few months before being released for sale.

Typically, the LCBO carries a stable of familiar and consistent vintage and non-vintage Champagnes from Laurent-Perrier, Louis Roederer and Veuve Clicquot.

While these offer a good starting point for the exploration of Champagne, there are often interesting offerings of more obscure producers and wines through either Classics or Vintages.

Besides Champagne, Spanish Cava (such as Freixenet and Codorníu) offer fresh, tasty and reasonably priced sparklers. There are a few top shelf examples as well, but they rarely make it to North America. Though both France and Spain have invested in California's sparkling wine production, my favourite Californian bubbly is produced by Schramsberg, an excellent family-run winery with a history dating back to 1862. Lastly, there can be no overlooking of the great sparkling wines being produced in Canada. Henry of Pelham's Cuvée Catharine Brut offers overwhelming complexity and value for just under \$30, and 13th Street's very elegant sparkling rosé offers great red fruit aromas and flavours.

Wherever you start or end up with your sparkling wine explorations, start it sooner than later. Waiting for the right moment only postpones the pleasures you can receive.

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


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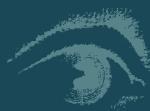
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The Netherlands: Mixing home and diplomacy

By Jennifer Campbell



DYANNE WILSON

Netherlands Ambassador Wim Geerts and his wife, Thea, figure they entertain at least twice a week. This is the smaller of two reception rooms, which opens into the large dining room.

As he offers a tour of his stately Rockcliffe Park home, Ambassador Wim Geerts offers a peek inside his family life as well and admits that while his daughters usually beat him at video games, he has an edge with Rock Band, the music simulation competition. There's a reason, says his wife, Thea: He plays guitar.

Mr. and Mrs. Geerts, who represent the Netherlands in Canada, still have children at home, so while the ambassadorial home provides a setting for many official functions, it's also a family home with two daughters and two dogs.

And the home also serves as a multi-client study headquarters. Lisa, 17, is away at McGill, taking psychology and political science, perhaps to become a diplomat like her dad, but she gets home during school breaks and also every few weekends.

She's young to be in university, a result of skipping a grade in school. Suzanne, 15, is in Grade 10 at Ashbury College. And there's Mrs. Geerts, an occupational therapist by trade, who is completing her master's in health administration at the University of Ottawa. Mr. Geerts? He's studying too, it turns out. He's been brushing up on his French at l'Alliance Française.

"I do a weekly session, one-on-one," says Geerts, who blames his French rustiness on a Washington posting. "It's to get fluency and vocabulary. It makes your brain work in a different way."

Entertaining is a big part of any diplomat's home life, and this Netherlands post is no different. Mr. Geerts figures they host a function — lunch, dinner or cocktails — at least twice a week and they have an excellent place for it. Once the digs of a

high-tech millionaire, their home is among Rockcliffe's newer houses.

The front entryway, a circular room, has a patterned granite floor and a striking chandelier of Dutch design. Here is where the Geerts greet the 600 guests who come to their national day. The end-of-April event used to be held in the Cartier Drill Hall but Mr. Geerts moved it to his home where a backyard tent helps accommodate guests.

"I like doing it at the residence because I think it's more personal," Mr. Geerts says.

The main floor features a large living room, with red walls and three big photographs by Dutch conceptual artist Jan Dibbets. Across the hall, there's a smaller reception room. Both areas are filled with Dutch crafts and furnishings, the smaller one with a custom-made Dutch rug and

a repeat of the entryway's chandelier by Dutch designer Brand van Egmond, whose fixtures are available in Canada.

Modern art and 19th-century Flemish pieces come together seamlessly in the home and every piece is Dutch, some from the ambassador's personal collection and others owned by his government. The dining room features a line drawing of Queen Beatrix by Jeroen Henneman and a cheerful, Andy Warholesque painting by Kitty van der Meer that depicts tulips, the symbol of friendship between Canada and the Netherlands.

On this day, both Twinkle, a golden lab who joined the family in Washington, and Sally the beagle, a Canadian acquisition, greet visitors politely. Sally was promised to the girls to sweeten the deal of coming to Ottawa nearly three years ago.

"It's called bribery," the ambassador says with a laugh.

"We got the dog before the furniture arrived," Mrs. Geerts adds.

The last two rooms on the main floor are a family room — the site of the Rock Band championships — and the kitchen, where their cook and housekeeper prepares meals. Although she doesn't live with the family, this dual-talented lady can use a suite in the basement when parties go too late. Upstairs, there are five bedrooms and a study.

The home suits Mr. Geerts. "A residence is a good place to bring people together and I see one of my roles as being an honest broker, uniting people and ideas."

He also likes that the residence features Dutch art and design.

"Unfortunately, I don't have any Van Goghs here," Mr. Geerts says, but notes there will be plenty at the National Gallery next summer, under the patronage of Queen Beatrix. And, of course, the Tulip Festival is just around the corner. It began after the royal family sent bulbs from their homeland to Canada as a thank-you both for their stay in Ottawa during the Second World War, and for the sacrifice of Canadian troops who liberated their country.

The festival and enduring friendship between Canada and the Netherlands make Mr. Geerts' job a pleasure, he says.

"We've been here for two-and-a-half years and it'll be four or five in total," he says. "But I'd love to add four or five more. It's a great posting, a beautiful country."

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat's* editor. Regular residences contributor Margo Roston will return in July.



DYANNE WILSON PHOTOS

Wim and Thea Geerts in the grand foyer of their home; Sally the beagle stands watch over an interesting photo of a painting of the building where the prime minister's office is, and where Mr. Geerts used to work.

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1. Liv Shaughnessy shows off a sculpture by artist Marit Helen Akslen at a Karsh-Masson Gallery exhibition presented, in part, by the Norwegian Embassy. The sculpture is made from 250 men's shirt collars. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 2. Sam Toma, left, and his wife, Yumiko Tsunakawa, second from right, hosted a reception for Ballet Jorgen Canada at their Orleans home. Japanese Ambassador Kaoru Ishikawa, right, and his wife, Masako Ishikawa, attended. (Photo: Frank Scheme) 3. The embassies of Norway, Sweden and Finland put on Rideau Hall's Great Nordic Experience in January and Gov. Gen. David Johnston (centre, in navy) participated, along with Norwegian Ambassador Else Berit Eikeland (centre in white). (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. Brunei High Commissioner Rakiah Lamit with Kenneth Macartney, director general of the South, Southeast Asia and Oceania Bureau at DFAIT, at her national day reception at the Chateau Laurier. (Photo: Sam Garcia) 5. Australian High Commissioner Justin Brown with Fen Hampson, director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, at Australia's national day reception at the National Arts Centre.



1. Greek Ambassador Eleftherios Anghelopoulos (centre) and his economic counsellor Pelagia Sousiopolou, right, with Betti, Eleni and Samantha Bakopoulos, three Greek sisters who wrote the cookbook *3 Sisters Around the Greek Table*. They attended a lunch at Aroma Meze restaurant, featuring Greek food. 2. Austrian Ambassador Werner Brandstetter and his wife, Leonie Marie Viennese Opera Ball. (Photo: Dyanne Wilson) 3. David Lee, representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, right, hosted Taiwan Night at the Chateau Laurier. Immigration Minister Jason Kenney presented a letter of greeting to Mr. Lee. 4. German diplomat Manfred Auster, and EU diplomat Maurizio Cellini attended the Jean Monnet Chair seminar at the University of Ottawa. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. The 5th annual Diplomatic Ski Day took place at Camp Fortune thanks to the Slovenian embassy, Ottawa Diplomatic Association, Parliament of Canada, Office of Protocol, National Capital Commission and sponsors. Although the event involved hundreds of people and concentrated on downhill skiing, Czech Ambassador Karel Zbrakovsky took in a little cross-country that day. (Photo: Markéta Zbrakovska Smatlanova)

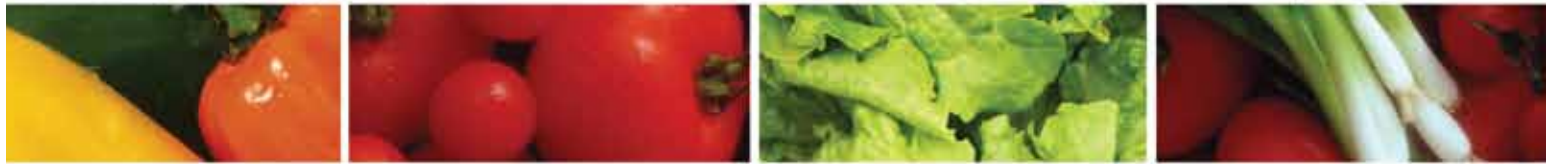




1. U.S. Ambassador David Jacobson, left, attended the annual Politics and the Pen dinner, as did former environment Minister Jim Prentice and his wife, Karen. (Photo: Dyanne Wilson) 2. Lithuanian Ambassador Gintė Damušis hosted a national day reception at the National Arts Centre. Trade Minister Peter Van Loan attended. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. The Canadian Federation of University Women host weekly snowshoeing throughout the winter. Shown, from left, Sheryl Pacey, and, from Japan, Asako Takano, Mariko Sekiguchi, Shizue Iwase, and Masako Ishikawa. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 4. To mark Iran's national day and the anniversary of the victory of the Islamic revolution, head of mission Kambiz Sheikh Hassani hosted a reception. He's shown with his wife, Mahnaz. (Photo: Sam García) 5. Estonians across Canada were able to vote in that country's parliamentary election, thanks to its national ID-card system. Voters reported to the embassy to insert their card into a reader and then vote. Chargé d'Affaires Riho Kruuv demonstrates. (Photo: Ulle Baum)



Japanese Ambassador Kaoru Ishikawa hosted the Canada-Japan Literary Awards. From left, Mr. Ishikawa; recipients Masako Fukawa and Stanley Fukawa, and John Goldsmith, of the Canada Council for the Arts. (Photo: Patrick Doyle) 2. British High Commissioner Andrew Pocock, shown with Jennifer MacIntyre, of DFAIT, hosted a reception to mark the beginning of his tour in Canada. 3. Julie Pocock and Jamieson Weetman, deputy director for West and Central Africa (DFAIT), at the same event. 4. The Hungarian embassy presented a piano recital to mark the Hungarian presidency of the European Union. EU Ambassador Matthias Brinkmann, left, and Tamas Kiraly, then-Hungarian chargé d'affaires, attended. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. Mexican Ambassador Francisco Barrio Terrazas co-hosted a luncheon with the regional office of Mexico's tourism board, after UNESCO named traditional Mexican cuisine an "intangible cultural heritage of humanity." 6. Guomei Yin, wife of Chinese Ambassador Junsai Zhang, hosted a fashion show on the 100th anniversary of International Women's Day. Rui Wang, left, and Jiang Tuan wear traditional Chinese clothing. (Photo: Zhang Dacheng/Xinhua)



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Andrew Pocock
High Commissioner for Britain

Mr. Pocock began his diplomatic career in 1981. He was sent to Nigeria in 1983 and returned to headquarters in 1986 as head of the African department.

In 1988, he went to Washington as first secretary, returning to London four years later. In 1994, he became deputy head of the South Asia department and then spent a year as a counselor, on loan to the Royal College of Defence Studies.

In 1997, a new posting took him to Australia for three years before returning to England. In 2003, he began his first ambassadorial posting as high commissioner to Tanzania. From 2006 to 2009, he was high commissioner to Zimbabwe. He spent a year as director for the African department before being sent to Canada.

Mr. Pocock's wife, Julie, is also a diplomat.

Junsai Zhang
Ambassador of China

Mr. Zhang graduated from Beijing's foreign studies university and joined the foreign service. His first foreign posting came in 1979 when he became an attaché at the embassy in New Zealand. Four



years later, he returned to headquarters when he worked in North American and Oceanian affairs. For two years, between 1988 and 1990, he studied at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and then he returned to headquarters as second secretary. He was then sent to Sydney, Australia, where he served as consul for four years in the consulate general, before again returning to North American and Oceanian affairs. He returned to Australia as counselor before becoming ambassador in the Fiji Islands. After three more years at headquarters, he served as ambassador in Australia after which he became ambassador to Canada, in late 2010.

Mr. Zhang is married and has one daughter.

Harry Narine Nawbatt
High Commissioner for Guyana

Mr. Nawbatt completed a bachelor's degree with a major in accounting at the University of Guyana. His first job was as a teacher at a primary school in Guyana and then he moved on to become chief accountant in the accountant general's department at the ministry of finance. He then became the principal auditor in the office of the auditor general before becoming



ing chief accountant for Guyana Airways Corporation. Later, he served as executive director of the social impact amelioration program and as a project manager for the poor rural communities support services project.

In 2005, he joined the political sphere as minister of transport and hydraulics and was named minister of housing and water one year later. In 2008, he served as ambassador to Brazil.

Mr. Nawbatt is married and has three children.

László Pordány
Ambassador of Hungary



Mr. Pordány comes to diplomacy from the field of education and also from politics. He



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began his career as a high school teacher, soon moving to the university setting as an assistant professor at Szegeed University in 1970, becoming a full professor at Szegeed Teacher Training College in 1989.

Mr. Pordány was also an agent for change in Hungary, having participated in its bloodless revolution in the 1980s. He was a founding member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the party that won the country's first elections in 1990 and was first chairman of its Szegeed branch from 1989 to 1990. From 1990 to 1994, he was ambassador to Australia and New Zealand and from 1999 to 2003, he was ambassador to South Africa with cross-appointments to five other countries in the region.

Mr. Pordány is married and has one child, and one grandchild. He speaks English, German and some Russian.

Mohau Pheko
High Commissioner for South Africa

Ms Pheko began her carrier in 1995 after extensive studies that included obtaining bachelor's degrees in both economics and nursing in the U.S. and then a master's degree in international health from New York Medical College.



Her first job, which she held for three years, was as chief executive officer of the Women's Coalition of South Africa. She then became co-director at MMI Consultant, where she stayed until 2006. Since 2005, she has owned Afro Boho Chique, a company that produces designer clothing and school uniforms from recycled materials.

Ms Pheko has served as an expert for such organizations as the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the African Union, the European Parliament and Commission and the World Trade Organization.

She is single, has two daughters and speaks five languages, namely English, Nyanja, Sesotho, Swahili and Zulu.

Udomphol Ninnad
Ambassador of Thailand



Mr. Ninnad joined the ministry of foreign affairs in 1977 and had his first posting, to the embassy in Brussels, in 1983. He returned to headquarters in 1987 and rose to the position of first secretary before being sent on posting to Korea in 1990. Three years later, he did a three-year stint in the department of East Asian affairs at headquarters before becoming minister-counselor in Argentina. He returned to headquarters in 2000, working in the office of the permanent secretary. In 2003, he became bureau chief of policy and planning in the same office and then director



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of the Devawongse Varopakarn Institute of Foreign Affairs before being named a minister at the embassy in Australia. His first ambassadorial posting came in 2007 when he became ambassador in Peru.

Mr. Ninnad is married to Yosrin Ninnad.

Philip Buxo

High commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago



For four years previous to his arrival in Canada, Mr. Buxo actually worked for a Canadian company. He was director of the CARICOM region energy and infrastructure division of SNC-Lavalin, a Canadian engineering and construction firm. In this job, he worked closely with Canadian Commercial Corporation and Export Development Canada. Prior to joining SNC-Lavalin, he was managing director of Snubbing Services Ltd., a Mayaro-based company he acquired in 1998.

Early in his posting in Canada, he established a consulate general in Toronto and his intention is to divide his time between Ottawa and Toronto.

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April		
4	Senegal	Independence Day
17	Syria	National Day
18	Zimbabwe	Independence Day
26	Tanzania	Union Day
27	Sierra Leone	Republic Day
27	South Africa	Freedom Day
27	Togo	National Day
29	Israel	National Day
30	Netherlands	Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Beatrix
May		
1	Marshall Islands	National Day
3	Poland	National Day
9	European Union	Schuman Day
15	Paraguay	Independence 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
5	Denmark	Constitution Day
6	Sweden	National Day
10	Portugal	National Day
12	Philippines	National Day
12	Russia	National Day
13	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

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I am very pleased to introduce a few of the places I would recommend you experience on your visit to Sweden.

Let me start with our capital, Stockholm, which I have come to love, not only because of its natural beauty but also because of its way of life. It is a bustling cosmopolitan city with a vibrant entertainment and cultural scene and a backdrop of coastal beauty and old-

town charm. It is also an exciting city for shopping thanks to the many Swedish designers who have made it to the top in the last decade. Whether it is clothing or furniture, decorative objects or useful household items, you will see distinctive designs that rarely make it to Canadian stores. Hundreds of restaurants and delightful cafés will please your taste buds whether you prefer Swedish or international cuisine. Swedish culinary innovation and the international recognition of Swedish chefs have made food a reason to travel to Sweden, and to Stockholm in particular. After all, Sweden just came in second during the recent "world championships" for chefs, Bocuse d'or 2011 in Lyon.

Don't forget to sample a traditional bleak roe toast (known as löjrom). A distinguishing feature of today's Swedish cuisine is its combination of traditional ingredients with a modern and international



AKE ESON LINDMAN

The Vasa Museum in Stockholm showcases the world's only remaining 17th Century ship and relates the story of her sinking on her maiden voyage as well as the 1960s salvage and subsequent restoration of this artifact-rich warship.

flair. In fact, if food is your hobby, you can plan your itinerary around one of the international restaurant guides — and cover most of Sweden's top travel destinations.

Surrounded by the Baltic Sea and Lake Mälaren, and spreading across 14 different islands, water predominates in Stockholm. You can even do city fishing for salmon. While the central parts of the city can easily be explored by foot and bike (which

can be rented at several locations in the city centre), boarding one of the many sightseeing boats gives travellers wonderful perspective, day or night.

Among the many shorefront restaurants and cafés, one of my own favourites is Mälarpaviljongen at Norrmälarstrand. It's a perfect place for a casual evening meal by the water of Lake Mälaren on a mild summer evening. Just a few minutes away from the city is the Stockholm archipelago with more than 24,000 islands. Take a short cruise aboard one of the white boats that weave their way among these picturesque islands, stopping to drop off and pick up passengers along the way.

History is ever-present in Stockholm, which was founded more than 700 years ago. The old town ("Gamla Stan") with the Royal Palace, its medieval buildings and narrow lanes is the best-preserved medieval city core of Northern Europe. Among the city's many excellent museums, the Museum of Medieval Stockholm is unique for its fascinating displays. If you only have time to visit one museum, though, I would recommend the Vasa Museum. It showcases the world's only remaining 17th Century ship and relates the story of her sinking on her maiden voyage as well as the salvage in the early 1960s and the restoration of this artefact-rich warship to her original condition.

Fans of the Stieg Larsson Millennium trilogy books and films now have an ad-

ditional reason to visit Stockholm: Join one of the guided walking tours of the Stockholm City Museum to follow in the footsteps of Lisbeth Salander.

Having been born near the Arctic Circle, I truly appreciate the wilderness of the Sweden's north. Even scarcely-populated areas are still very accessible. And Sweden has her own climatic surprises. Thanks to the warm Gulf Stream in the Atlantic Ocean, the climate in the north — as well as in the rest of Sweden — is much more pleasant than one would imagine by looking at a map. In fact, all of Sweden is further north than James Bay.

A visit to the northern parts of the country will give you a different image of Sweden both when it comes to nature and people. There, reindeer are a common sight, and restaurants serve fresh fish from the rivers and lakes. And, of course, among the wild berries are the famous cloudbberries, popular for desserts. They look like yellow raspberries and you can enjoy cloudberry jam right here in Canada in Ikea's food section.

In the winter, whether you like downhill or cross-country, the skiing is great. Åre, Sweden's most popular skiing resort, is one of the stops on the Alpine World Cup circuit. And, for a once-in-a-lifetime experience, stay one night at the famous Ice Hotel in Jukkasjärvi near the northern



BJÖRN LINDBERG

Cloudbberries, which look like yellow raspberries, are popular in desserts such as the crème caramel seen here.



HAKAN VARGAS S

The north of Sweden — in this case, the province of Hälsingland — is equally attractive in winter or in summer.



STIG HAMMARSTEDT

There's a ring wall around the city of Visby, which is located on the island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea and is one of the best preserved medieval cities in Scandinavia.



HENRIK TRYGG

Dining at Mälarpaviljongen in Stockholm.

city of Kiruna. The hotel is re-built every year with ice from the Torne River. (No, you won't be cold there, thanks to your warm clothes and bedding and your bedside cup of hot lingonberry juice and morning saunas.) If you are lucky, you might see the fluorescently vivid northern lights, which mostly appear in winter.

The north of Sweden is equally attractive in the summer. Trekking in one of the many national parks is ideal for those who really want to witness the beauty and silence of nature unspoiled. The 24-hour daylight, with the midnight sun, adds an extra dimension to any stay in the north. In fact, some visitors stay up all night just to experience the variation of light between evening and morning.

If you are a golfer, you can play 24/7 from early June to mid-July at Haparanda's bi-national golf course. At one of the holes, you tee-off in Sweden and putt in Finland, one hour later because of the time difference. Or maybe you want to make a stop-over in Harads and stay a night at the newly established Tree Hotel ("Trähotellet") where you can sleep in cabins perched in a tree. Much further south is the region of Dalecarlia ("Dalarna"), which some Swedes would describe as the most authentic part of Sweden with its impressively scenic valleys, hills and panoramic views and its traditional red cottages with their white trim.

In addition to Stockholm, Sweden's two other major cities, Gothenburg and Malmö, are also excellent and distinctive entry points on your visit to Sweden.

Malmö, in the very south, is our gateway to continental Europe via the 16-kilometre combined bridge-and-tunnel span to Copenhagen in Denmark. Malmö is the capital of the southernmost region, Skåne, which is quite different from many other parts of Sweden in terms of dialect, a way of life, architecture and landscape. The south eastern part of the region, Österlen, displays one of the most beautiful sceneries in Sweden with rippling fields of canary-yellow rapeseed grown for cooking oils, and verdant meadows, orchards and sandy beaches on the Baltic, dotted by small villages and a fair number of castles.

Sweden's second largest city, Gothenburg ("Göteborg"), on the west coast, is close to Borås the city where I grew up. Facing the sea to the west, Gothenburg, with its 500,000 inhabitants, is an attractive and welcoming city which I came to appreciate during my university years. Gothenburg combines the advantages of a



PETER GRANT

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KJELL HOLMNER

Sailing around the island of Tjörn on the Swedish west coast offers charming vistas.

big city with the friendly atmosphere of a smaller city. Moreover, its proximity to the sea has given the city its unique character both in terms of architecture and economy. The best seafood and fish in Sweden will be served in Gothenburg. In particular, the fresh shrimp caught and prepared in the traditionally way of boiling in salted water on board the fishing vessels at sea, are a true delicacy.

Gothenburg is also the hometown of Volvo. You may wish to pick up your new Volvo at the factory and drive it for up to two months while you are in Sweden before shipping it to Canada.

North of Gothenburg, right up to the Norwegian border, is another of Sweden's famous archipelagos. In summer, sailing and motor boats are almost more common than cars in this region. Along the entire coast line, old picturesque fishing villages have become popular destinations for people who want to leave city life for the weekend or in the summer. In contrast to the Stockholm archipelago, the islands in Bohuslän are not covered by trees. Instead beautiful bare cliffs on Sweden's western coast give the landscape its special character. Furthermore, the water on the Bohuslän coast is much saltier than in the Baltic Sea at Stockholm, where the water is brackish and less buoyant.

The beautiful island of Gotland, Sweden's biggest, is a very popular with Swedes as well as international travellers. The island, situated off the Swedish east coast, is a three-hour ferry ride south of Stockholm. Thanks to its location in the middle of the Baltic Sea, it has its own micro-climate and a unique way of life among ancient archeological remains and island culture. The medieval Hanseatic city of Visby, the only one on the island, almost every year records the highest number of hours of sun in Sweden. Visby is an attractive small city surrounded by a well-preserved medieval ring-wall. To experience the beauty of nature and the sea, many visitors rent bikes and explore Gotland on two wheels.

When asked to describe your country as a tourist destination, you always run the risk of omitting many places of interest. I have deliberately chosen to mention only a limited number of my personal favourites. Sweden awaits your own discoveries. Please see www.visitsweden.se for more information.

Teppo Tauriainen is Sweden's ambassador to Canada. Email sweden.ottawa@foreign.ministry.se to reach him.



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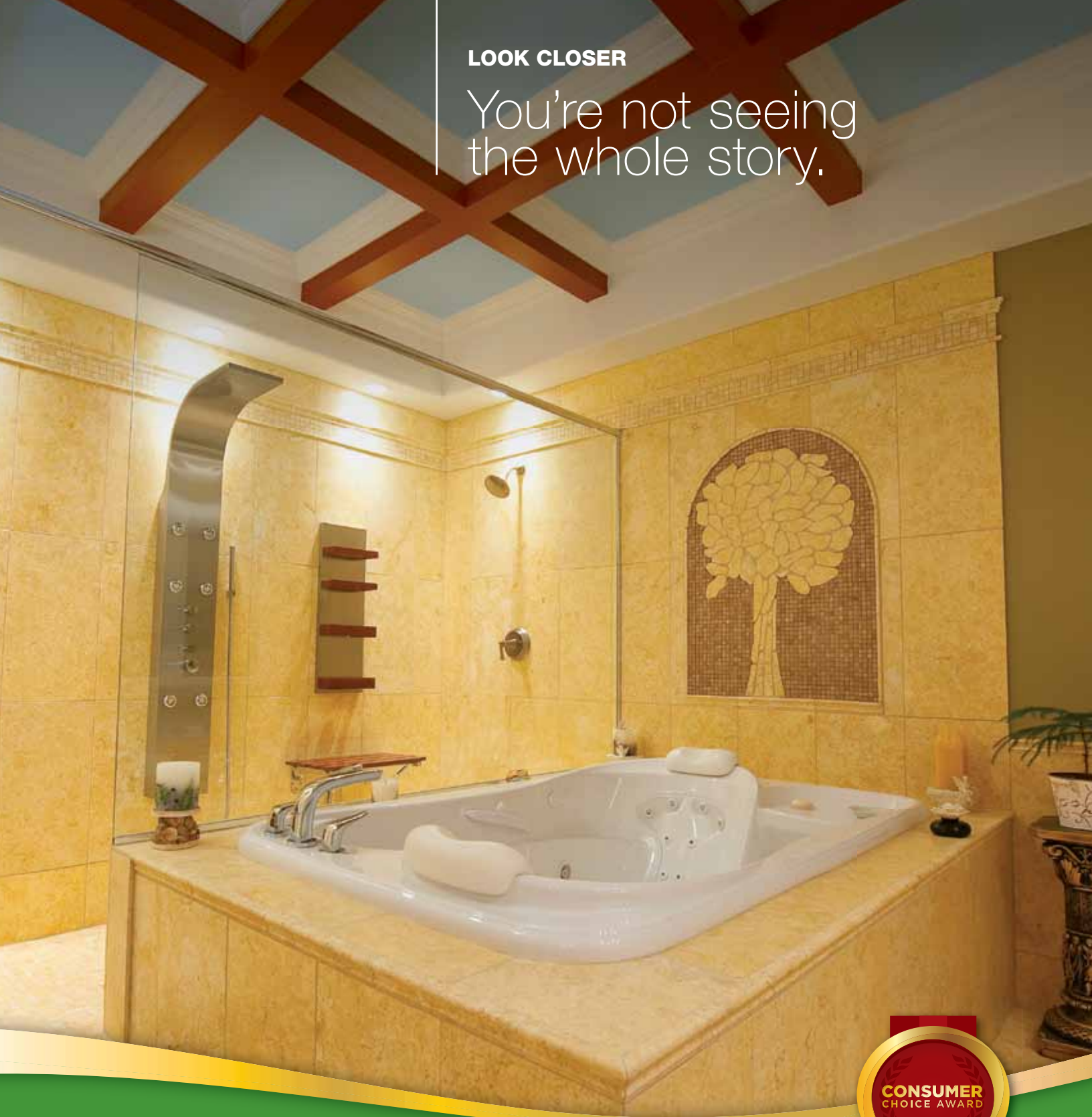
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