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Canada’s trading places

Stockwell Day is being noticed in diplomatic circles. The one-time leader of the Canadian Alliance party, who these days runs marathons, maintains this high-energy approach in his latest position as Canada's trade minister and minister for the Asia-Pacific Gateway. (The MP for Okanagan-Coquihalla previously served as Canada's minister of public safety.) He hasn't stopped moving since he took up his new twin portfolio last October. Recently he’s been to China, Korea, Japan, and the Czech Republic where he and his boss, Prime Minister Stephen Harper, launched negotiations for a momentous trade pact between Canada and the EU.

Diplomat’s associate publisher, Donna Jacobs, managed to slow him down long enough for a wide-ranging interview. He told her about Canada’s ambitious agenda to seek trade deals all over the world, even as other countries feel the recessionary temptation to close their borders to trade. He must fight Congress’s Buy America requirement while also opening trade offices and looking for opportunities on every continent – from China to Colombia, from CARICOM and the EU.

He told her about Canada’s sensitivities to Quebec’s dairy industry, how the Canada-EU trade agreement could be Stephen Harper’s legacy, and how he has so many deals on the go that he’s run out of trade negotiators to work out the details. He also talks about his punishing early-morning marathon-training regime – which he finds invigorating – and his dietary indulgences. Further to that, we run a blog entry about how he deals with – or tries to deal with – jet-lag on his foreign travels.

Still on trade, we have a commentary by Roy MacLaren, a former Canadian trade minister and now chairman of the Canada-EU Summit where the negotiations were formally launched.

Meanwhile, I was in Brussels just a few days after the Prague summit and interviewed many civil servants about the ins and outs of the deal. While they can’t be named, the story on the EU negotiations offers their views on everything from the likelihood that a deal will be reached to the pitfalls that could scuttle it. But no concerns about seals on this front. One European spokesman was annoyed by the Bloc Quebecois’s motion to have seals emblazoned on Canadian Olympic uniforms (he said that “the Olympics are about excellence in sport, not excellence in harpooning and bludgeoning”). However, both sides seem to agree that a dispute over the treatment of the creatures won’t hold up the deal.

There’s plenty more in this issue. Our books editor, George Fetherling, offers an essay about diplomats who double as writers – and writers who do double-duty on the diplomatic circuit. Among others, you’ll learn that Miguel de Cervantes was once charged with representing Spain in Rome and Geoffrey Chaucer was Britain’s man in Milan.

Our culture editor, Margo Roston, takes us to another Rockcliffe residence, this time the lavish home of Indonesian Ambassador Djoko Hardono and his wife, Ulfah. They opened their doors so we could see their treasures and their dwelling, and they shared their talents – hers, cooking, his, playing the piano – with our writer and photographer, Dyanne Wilson.

I hope you enjoy our summer issue.

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CONTRIBUTORS
Margaret Dickenson, Diplomat’s food columnist

Margaret Dickenson is an international award winning cookbook author. Her most recent cookbook, Margaret’s Table, was awarded the “best of the best cookbooks” from the last 12 years of winners at the World Gourmand Cookbook Awards. In May, she was named “international culinarian of the year 2008” by the Cordon d’Or – Gold Ribbon International Culinary Arts Academy. Margaret also won "Recipe of the Year 2008" in both the published and unpublished categories.

UP FRONT
In addition to racing across the globe, looking for Canada’s next trade deal, Trade Minister Stockwell Day races in marathons, such as the Boston Marathon, which he ran Apr. 20 in three hours and thirty-four-and-a-half minutes. Phil Marsh took this photo of the minister. Our cover package, which features a wide-ranging interview with Mr. Day, starts on page 26.
‘I fear a looming catastrophe’

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon

The G20 nations can make the difference between human hope and despair, between economic recovery and a plunge into deepening recession. We have seen the frightening velocity of change. What began as a financial crisis has become a global economic crisis. I fear worse to come: a full-blown political crisis defined by growing social unrest, weakened governments and angry publics who have lost all faith in their leaders and their own future.

We must stop the slide. The recession hurts everyone, but those hurt worst are the poor – people with no homes or savings to lose, who in some countries spend as much as 80 percent of their income on food, and often lack the basics of healthcare, water and sanitation. They are the majority of the world’s people – and they have no safety net.

In good times, economic and social development comes slowly. In bad times, things fall apart alarmingly fast. It is a short step from hunger to starvation, from disease to death, from peace and stability to conflict and wars that spill across borders and affect us all, near and far. Unless we can build a worldwide recovery, we face a looming catastrophe in human development.

We must recognize our interdependence. No single nation can hope to find economic security without taking into account the well-being of others. We therefore need a truly global stimulus. Between now and the end of next year, at least US$1 trillion will be needed to provide liquidity, longer-term resources for productive investment, and a safety net for the poorest and most vulnerable.

The G20 looks likely to take steps that ensure developing countries have access to liquidity through the IMF (International Monetary Fund). This is important because developing countries are experiencing a credit crunch that has devastated trade and slowed growth. There is a thin line between failing banks and failing countries, and we cross it at our peril.

The poorer countries have had no part in the making of this crisis and yet they are in danger of suffering the most. That is why

Ki-moon: “It is a short step from hunger to starvation, from disease to death, from peace and stability to conflict and wars that spill across borders and affect us all, near and far.”

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those countries that made a commitment to raising aid at Gleneagles in 2005 should reaffirm that promise, and also allocate more to poorer countries. This would amount to at least $300 billion of assistance during 2009 and 2010.

Meanwhile, we must resist short-sighted pressures that would compromise, if not destroy, the progress we make in London – and say no to the new protectionism. At the summit, in Washington (in November, 2008) the G20 nations solemnly promised not to place new restrictions on trade. Since then, 17 of the 20 have done precisely that. We must reverse this.

(In January,) the London summit was an opportunity for the world’s most powerful nations to act together and show solidarity with their less fortunate neighbours on our small and increasingly vulnerable planet. Across the globe we face massive job losses. Many of the unemployed will be young and angry. Many work in foreign lands, sending money home for food, medicines and school fees. These remittances make up large percentages of some nations’ GDP. Their collapse lights a dangerous social fuse.

One trillion dollars over two years is not so large a sum, considering the consequences. Some might call it a moral imperative. But if our goal is to reverse a global slump, it is also sound economics.

Mr. Ki-moon’s column first appeared in The Guardian (UK).

**NATO members need to step up**

**NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer**

Excerpts from a speech that Jaap de Hoop Scheffer delivered to the NATO parliamentary assembly May 26. His successor, Anders Fogh Rasmussen of Denmark, takes over on Aug. 1.

The question of how much to spend on defence has always been controversial. And defence budgets have always risked losing out against other causes that are more easily seen as noble – such as schools or hospitals. Indeed, with the financial crisis that has hit all our nations, it has become even harder to make the case for sensible defence budgets.

Of course, one might argue that a financial squeeze generates its own benefits, for example, more multinational projects and a greater preparedness to explore common funding. But the key challenge remains: how to encourage an appropriate level of defence spending and how to use our resources most effectively?

Does this mean that we should engage in scaremongering? Should we hype the threats and challenges in order to rally our constituencies around the cause for greater resources? Of course not. It may sound paradoxical, but the difficulty in convincing our publics of the need to increase defence spending is, in fact, a sign of how well we are doing. People don’t worry about security because they actually feel secure. Indeed, some of the promotional videos that we produced on the occasion of our recent 60th anniversary were built around the message that people take their security for granted – they don’t have to think about it because NATO takes care of it for them. I quite liked that message, because it made clear that this feeling of security is a result of a constant and persistent effort by many, and not least by NATO.

But I do worry that some national governments are not maximizing their contribution to NATO – they are still wasting resources on procurement of capabilities for hypothetical scenarios. Collective territorial defence remains, and will remain,
the very core principle upon which the alliance is built. But today, the requirement to deploy forces to distant crisis regions, often at short notice, is just as important as the requirement to have forces that can defend national borders.

First, a new concept must clearly describe the new strategic environment and the relevant emerging trends. We should not only consider terrorism, failed states, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, but also the security implications of climate change, cyber-attacks, energy interdependence and piracy – because these are all features of the volatile climate of “globalized insecurity” in which NATO needs to find its place and define its role.

Second, the strategic concept must provide a new understanding of what we mean by collective defence. Today, a cyber attack or energy cut-off can paralyze a country – without a single shot being fired. Security challenges such as these do not necessarily require military responses, but they do require collective responses by all allies. This notion will reinforce the concept of allied solidarity, and reassure all nations that they will not be left to face these challenges on their own.

Third, a new strategic concept must reconfirm the consolidation of Europe as a long-standing, strategic objective of NATO. Over the past 20 years, the alliance – together with the European Union – has played a major role in the creation of a European continent that is whole, free and at peace. But this is still work in progress. And so NATO must continue to keep its door open to countries wishing to join the alliance. Because NATO enlargement has very clearly enhanced stability and security for all nations in the Euro-Atlantic area, including Russia.

NATO’s developing relationship with Russia is the final major issue that must be addressed in a new strategic concept. Clearly, effective cooperation between NATO and Russia is essential for addressing many of the common challenges we face – from stabilizing Afghanistan to countering terrorism and WMD (weapons of mass destruction) proliferation. But Russia currently appears to perceive that the West, and notably NATO, does not take fully into account its security concerns. This is a perception that needs to be tackled – both by NATO and by Russia. As NATO allies, we should use the work on a new strategic concept to foster a clear consensus on how we want to engage with Russia, and how we can give further substance to our relationship.
Khorshied Samad: ‘On the Rise’

Ask Khorshied Samad what good works she’s done since arriving in Ottawa nearly five years ago, and she can talk for more than an hour. And, in that time, you’re just getting the crests of the waves.

For starters, the journalist-turned-activist, and wife of former Afghan Ambassador Omar Samad, helped create a two-year communications scholarship for Afghans funded by George Soros’ Open Society Institute.

The scholarship came about when she was getting her master’s degree in communication at the University of Ottawa. Her thesis? Afghan women, media and democracy in post-Taliban Afghanistan. Several academic colleagues became interested in her subject.

It helped that she brought together a photojournalism exhibition called *Voices on the Rise: Afghan Women Making the News* that opened at the University of Ottawa and attracted 500 people. The show, which features Afghan women in the media, politics and human rights advocacy, has since toured dozens of universities and is now on display at Canada House in London.

Before she came to Canada, Ms Samad, an Afghan-American, was the Kabul bureau chief for Fox News. *Voices on the Rise* was her way to share the stories of the determined women she met there. “I saw them become more empowered and I became more empowered as well,” she says. “I was infused with hope.”

After she defended her thesis, some professors and administrators asked for a meeting. They said they wanted to help Afghan women with a scholarship. Ms Samad had put the exhibit together with NGO worker Jane McElhone, a Canadian journalist whom she’d met in Afghanistan. Ms McElhone was now working at the Open Society Institute and she proposed the idea to her organization.

This spring, as Ms Samad prepared to head to Paris where her husband is now posted, she reported that, in the second year of the scholarship, there were more than 450 applicants, many of them women.

“When I leave and look back at some of the things I’ve been able to contribute, this is one of the things I’m really excited about,” she says. She plans to create a similar scholarship in France.

“For me, part of what I’ve done here is to promote the cause of Afghan women and to help build bridges of understanding,” she says. She has stressed education because ending illiteracy and educating Afghan women – and men – are the only ways the country will progress.

In addition to the exhibition and the scholarship, Ms Samad worked in Ottawa to sell scarves for a grassroots project, originally called Artezan Designs (now known as Azana.net), for women to become self-sufficient by learning to hand-weave and sell silk shawls. She raised some $100,000 for this project in less than four years.

“They’re not only learning a skill but they’re earning money for their families, and acquiring management skills,” Ms Samad says. “When they’re not working, a teacher comes in to teach them reading and writing, and they often become the family’s chief breadwinner.”

Projects such as these – and the hope they offer Afghan women – will keep Ms Samad going strong in Paris.
The chill is off the Taiwan Strait

At the end of April, Canadian Foreign Minister Lawrence Cannon welcomed Taiwan’s observer status in this year’s World Health Assembly (WHA), the supreme decision-making body of the World Health Organization. Given the recent H1N1 flu outbreak and the Canadian government’s emphasis on the importance of Taiwan’s participation in the international health community, this development has been welcomed by Taiwan with open arms. Taiwan has asked for such a move for the past 12 years, but all in vain for the obvious political reason – tension across the Taiwan Strait.

What has changed? The March 2008 election of President Ma Ying-jeou, who ushered in a new pragmatic and realistic approach towards China based on the “Three-Nos” policy: No unification, no independence, and no use of force.

He resumed the cross-strait dialogue with China under the consensus of “One China, different interpretations” and proposed a diplomatic truce. This is a huge departure from the previous government’s eight-year-long confrontational approach and has resulted in a perceptible easing of tensions.

Less than a year after President Ma’s inauguration, there had been historic progress: two giant pandas offered by China as a goodwill gesture arrived at the Taipei Zoo in December, tourists from the mainland stroll Taiwan streets, and visits back and forth across the strait by senior politicians have become the norm.

On top of previously signed agreements on direct air links, sea links, postal links and food safety, new deals will increase regular direct air flights, improve financial co-operation and mutual judicial assistance. And for the first time since it became a member of Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation in 1991, Taiwan was able to send its highest-ranking official ever, former vice-president Lien Chan, to attend its Leaders’ Summit in Lima, Peru, in November 2008.

These developments mean mutual trust and confidence is gradually being built up on a step-by-step basis. Taiwan’s accession to WHA observer status reflects the achievement of President Ma’s pragmatic approach to cross-strait relations, which has borne fruit for Taiwan’s international activities, and regional peace and security.

What is ahead? Numerous business opportunities, certainly.

The warming temperature across the Taiwan Strait offers a golden opportunity for countries to deepen ties with Taiwan on non-political issues – trade and investment, tourism, economic and cultural exchanges. Great Britain followed Japan, South Korea and Singapore in granting a visa exemption to Taiwanese visitors in March this year. Following the British decision, relations between China and the UK continued to flourish. But also, the overall occupancy rate of direct flights between

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Chiang Pin-kung, left, is chairman of the Taiwan-based Straits Exchange Foundation, an organization set up to deal with technical and business issues between Taiwan and China. Here, he meets Chinese President Hu Jintao in Beijing.
London and Taipei increased from less than 50 percent to more than 90 percent, and boosted total receipts and job opportunities from increased tourism.

This is a perfect example of a “win-win” situation and hopefully in the near future Canada will join the growing list of countries that have given visitors from Taiwan visa-exempt status so these travel-loving people can flock to the 2010 Vancouver Winter Olympics and take in the magnificent beauty of the Rocky Mountains.

Another landmark development worth noting: Coinciding with Taiwan’s acceptance in the WHA, China Mobile Ltd., the Chinese-owned wireless giant, agreed to pay the equivalent of US$527 million for 12 percent of Far EasTone Telecommunications Co., Taiwan’s third-biggest phone company in terms of revenue. This was the first direct investment from China in a Taiwan-based company. More are expected to follow.

Cross-strait economic and trade activity is already frequent and intense. Mainland China is Taiwan’s largest export market and the largest recipient of foreign investment from Taiwanese businesses. The telecom deal deepened and widened an already strong economic interaction and foreshadows opportunities in Taiwan for Canadian businesses looking to expand their horizons in Asia, given that Canadian firms are particularly strong in information and communications technology.

International Trade Minister Stockwell Day’s visit to China in April was marked by the re-opening of several Canadian trade offices. So it would be plausible for Canadian business to make Taiwan the base of operations for business in China, especially since Taiwan shares the same language and culture as the mainland and its business people have links deep into China’s interior.

Let me echo the comments made by Yuen Pau Woo, president and CEO of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, writing last year in the Nov. 13 issue of the Asia Pacific Bulletin. He wrote:

“The time has never been better for Canada to deepen ties with Taiwan (in the areas of) trade, investment, tourism and other economic as well as cultural exchanges. Beijing has set the tone for deeper ties with Taiwan in these very areas and the rest of the world can reasonably expect to follow suit without affecting their ties with the People's Republic.”

David Lee is the representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Ottawa.
Saddam's Iraq: 'It was the ultimate Orwellian nightmare’

Howar Ziad has been in Canada almost as long as American troops have been in Iraq. The one-time Kurdish freedom-fighter spent five years at the UN as a representative of the Kurdish regional government and became Iraq’s ambassador to Canada in December, 2004. He recently became dean of the Arab diplomatic corps. He sat down with Diplomat’s editor, Jennifer Campbell, to talk about what he sees for the future of his country.

Diplomat magazine: What do you think the future holds for Iraq?

Howar Ziad: Iraq, as you know, is a nascent federal democracy. We need to deepen our democratic practices and foster pluralism. We will hold more elections next year and we will build our institutions. Of course, assistance from pluralist, federal democracies – such as Canada – is much appreciated.

DM: There’s still unrest in Iraq. Are you optimistic?

HZ: I am always optimistic. We have made a lot of progress in the past two to three years. From my point of view, my optimism lies in the capacity of our people to initiate freedom and in the desire to govern themselves without outside interference.

DM: Does the West appreciate what the Iraqi people are working toward in their quest for democracy following the fall of Saddam Hussein’s totalitarian rule?

HZ: I think overall, yes. There has been very important security progress in the last two years and that’s due to the determination and commitment of the Iraqi government and the Iraqi people with the support of United States and other coalition partners. Our battle is with the terrorist threat and it has gone hand-in-hand with increased progress politically and economically. Ultimately, a democracy has to be able to defend itself. But there are many ways in which you can measure the progress – for example, in economics. Per-capita GDP has increased from something like $350 in 2004 to more than $3,000 now.

DM: What are your thoughts on the national elections in December given the stunning loss of Iran-backed and al-Qaeda-backed insurgents and political parties during the provincial elections in January?

HZ: As an ambassador, I do not pass comment on election results. I serve the democratically elected government of the people. The main point about the most recent provincial elections is that they were completely peaceful. Iraq will hold elections on time, as it has done before, and these elections will be free and fair. So far, elections have been open and transparent and there have been international observers. The consensus is that these elections have been free and fair and have been very competitive. Something that’s unique is that we don’t know the results beforehand. There are always surprises and in no way can you predict the result.

DM: What has caused the rise in Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki’s popularity in recent months?

HZ: The reason for his popularity and that of his government is that he has overseen a government that has achieved important political and economic stabilization within the country. Prime Minister Maliki leads an inclusive coalition government that is based within the Iraqi body politic.

DM: The U.S. troop surge in 2007 had a stabilizing effect. What are your thoughts on the withdrawal of U.S. combat soldiers from Iraq next summer and in 2012?

HZ: As you know, we reached an agreement with them as far as the troops are concerned. To my knowledge, the U.S. never intended to stay permanently in Iraq and that agreed entirely with our Iraqi wishes. The withdrawal has been agreed mutually and has been decided by careful and deliberate negotiation between the two sides. Of course, we are very grateful to the U.S. and other coalition allies for all they have done – helping us to get rid of a tyrannical regime and then helping us to reconstruct the country. The timetable laid out, we think, is viable but it has enough flexibility and resilience to make it effective in terms of any emergency possibilities.
DM: What sorts of opportunities does Iraq offer?
HZ: In the course of reconstructing our country, we need many things. We need the cooperation and assistance of other countries and foreign companies that have the capacity to implement those kinds of projects, like infrastructure, communication, trade. And other exchanges, too. Two weeks ago, we had six deans from our technical universities visiting Ottawa. They did a course at Algonquin College, which did an excellent job of hosting them and showing the possibilities of partnership between that college and our young institutions. We’ve also had our young diplomats train at Carleton University’s Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. We are very grateful to CIDA for sponsoring that program. Our trade with Canada is expanding at a good rate. We are, I think, the third largest partner for Canada in the Middle East.

DM: What is your current oil production and who are your customers?
HZ: We are producing around 2.2 million barrels of oil per day and we sell on the world market. We aim to increase oil production steadily in coming years, thanks to increased investment. One of our big customers is Canada (but) also the United States, China, Japan – all the big ones. Two-way trade between Canada and Iraq is about $3 billion.

DM: What sort of role can Iraq play in the volatile Middle East?
HZ: Unlike the past, where Iraq always played a destabilizing role and was a trouble maker in international affairs and sponsored extremist and terrorist movements, Iraq’s new foreign policy is to play a positive stabilizing role both regionally and internationally. Iraq will not, under any circumstances, export terrorism. It will not be an aggressive dictatorship. We hope to be a good neighbour because of our emerging federal, democratic and pluralist politics.

DM: Can you be an influence on countries that don’t embrace democracy?
HZ: We hope to do that by example, not by force.

DM: How will Iraqi history regard George W. Bush – as an invader or a liberator? How will Barack Obama’s presidency be received in Iraq?
HZ: As you know, politics is about policies, not personalities. We have tremendous respect for President George W. Bush for what he did for Iraq. His administration definitely assisted in Iraq in getting rid of a monstrous, tyrannical regime. For that, we are grateful. Prime Minister Maliki was proud to host him on one of his last foreign trips. We have tremendous respect for President Barack Obama and have agreed with his plan to greatly reduce the number of U.S. troops in Iraq. Above all, we are

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DM: Does the average Iraqi view George W. Bush positively?
HZ: I think, overall, the overwhelming majority of Iraqi people supported the American action in Iraq. There’s no doubt about it. How each individual looks at George Bush, I can’t say, but I can say an overwhelming majority supported the policy of removing that regime. With all due respect, this issue has been too personalized. Ultimately, it’s the policy of the country and the national interests that dictate foreign policy, not individual tendencies of leaders.

DM: In 2008, Transparency International’s corruption perceptions index rated Iraq as one of the most corrupt countries in the world, ranking it 178th out of 180. Is that an accurate assessment? And what is your government doing to tackle corruption?
HZ: I don’t know how they grade this issue but corruption exists not only in Iraq but in democracies that have been in existence for decades. But what’s good about Iraq is that, in fact, the situation is open and the subject of corruption is not taboo. It is government policy to tackle that. We have much work to do in eliminating corruption and overturning the toxic legacy of decades of misrule and the politics of a failed state and the Ba’athist regime of Saddam Hussein.

But it does take time. We have numerous mechanisms and boards of audit which monitor official behaviour in order to scrutinize potential instances of corruption. You may read fairly regularly that our parliament discusses these issues and holds the government and officials accountable for their practices. I think that’s a very healthy sign.

Definitely, corruption is a factor which debilitates our progress and we need to improve that so that it doesn’t impede our growth. The growth of civil society can act as an important external check on official abuses, and we should also seek external advice in getting rid of corruption. For nearly four decades, Iraq was ruled by a corrupt minority and it monopolized everything. It was the ultimate Orwellian nightmare. It’s not easy to abandon that and turn it into a completely transparent system. I’m not making excuses but, as we’ve seen from other examples, it does take time to get rid of issues like corruption.
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Why Latin America turned left
A few countries in the Americas have experienced good growth but only some of their citizens have enjoyed its spoils. Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto explains what went wrong – and why it could get worse

Don Cayo reports from LIMA, Peru

You don’t see much to worry about on the bustling streets here, or in other prospering Latin American capitals like Bogota, especially in the nicer parts of these cities where visitors tend to spend their time. The shops and cafes are abuzz, and most of the people seem well-dressed and purposeful in the daytime, and even better-dressed and more cheerful when the sun goes down.

This is a reflection of the good news coming from the region these days. Latin America is feeling the pinch, to be sure, from sharp dips in things like commodity prices, tourism and foreign investment. But the region as a whole is still weathering the global economic storm better than most parts of the world. A lot better in the case of Peru, which is basking in the aftermath of seven years of record-setting growth.

But if you stop to read the newspapers, chat with the people and think a bit, you’ll note some ugly black clouds on the horizon. Because these tough times don’t just underlie the region’s key economic strength – the solid fundamentals that have been steadily generating new wealth for the past few years. They also expose its most glaring weakness: The grossly
lopsided way the fruits of this growth are divvied up between the rich and the poor.

This weakness explains the growing political rifts that threaten to explode, says Hernando de Soto, an economist whose theories of empowering the poor through property rights have won him global acclaim. It explains the election of anti-capitalist leaders such as Hugo Chavez of Venezuela, Evo Morales of Bolivia, Rafael Correa of Ecuador, Manuel Zelaya of Honduras and Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua. And it might even forebode a right-wing backlash for a volatile mix that could erupt in blood.

“Non-inclusive capitalism keeps the majority of people outside,” Mr. de Soto said during an interview at his home, which is nestled behind thick walls in a lush residential area of Lima and is guarded round-the-clock. “They’ll rebel against it eventually, one way or the other.

“The Chavezes of the world, the Morales of the world, the Correas of the world are here, especially in Latin America, because they have clear constituencies who don’t feel part of the globalization game. They haven’t been included. They’re angry as all hell and they’re rebelling.”

The sad thing is, he said, that they are striking out at the wrong target.

“They haven’t been fighting the traditional people who believe in market economies. They’ve been fighting the mercantilist classes,” he said.

They are the privileged elites who, pretending to favour the free market, hide behind their money and their political influence. They use every trick in the book, from discriminatory banking practices to exclusionary laws, to protect their sinecures and keep the masses marginalized. The option that poor people are left with is what Mr. de Soto calls the informal economy, the cash-only little businesses they must run from huts or on the street.

Mr. de Soto’s life’s work is giving poor people the tools to get around or over or through these barriers to the market. And he has proven time and again that, when poor people get fair access, they fend quite well for themselves.

In 1995, at his Lima-based Institute of Liberty and Democracy, he and his colleagues – including Canadian John McLaughlin, then a professor of and later president of University of New Brunswick – were well into a massive project to provide land title to hundreds of thousands of “extra-legal” homes and businesses.

His research, done a decade earlier and published in a ground-breaking book
The fruits of Latin America's growth are not being divvied up fairly between rich and poor. Millions still live in shanties and slums, locked out of what is still an exclusionary economic system.

called El Otro Sendero (The Other Path), demonstrated that providing good land title to squatters enabled them, for the first time in their lives, to leverage the capital they need to build better lives. Their incomes can increase as much as nine-fold.

At one point when the project was going well, Mr. de Soto thought he and his colleagues would get the go-ahead to provide titles to all 13 million landless Peruvians.

In the end, that didn’t happen. In time, Mr. de Soto had a falling out with Peru’s president of the day, Alberto Fujimori, and his work was stopped. But the government took up the task itself, and Mr. de Soto’s group moved on to similar projects in other countries throughout Latin America and in developing countries around the world.

Today, despite Peru’s population growth from about 24 million in the mid-1990s to almost 29 million now, only about 20 per cent of the people are still landless. That is just one-third the number at the start of his work.

Despite this success, millions and millions of rural campesinos and urban shantytown dwellers, both in Peru and in countries all around the region, are still locked out of what remains an exclusionary economic system. And, having seen how much better their title-holding neighbours have fared, they want in.

Yet Mr. de Soto does not foresee a decisive win for the left and yet another mass change of political direction for countries in the region, which has long been buffeted by left and right swings. It will likely be much messier.

“This billiard ball is going to bounce around for some time.”

For one thing, the region’s leftist leaders do not seem sure where they want to go.

“One of the reasons this hasn’t gone much further is because the leftist side, the socialist side, hasn’t really come up with formulas that would substitute (for the market economy). You don’t see the synthesis that Marx would have talked about. It isn’t there. So, what we’re basically talking about is forms of capitalism with enormous state control and with a lack of awareness of what it takes to empower poor people and get a market economy going.”

Then, too, there’s the question of how global events will cloud the regional crystal ball.

“There’s a new game in town. It’s called the recession.”

The worldwide economic crisis is already hitting two of Latin America’s biggest industries. Tourism numbers are tanking, and commodity prices are sagging. In countries like Honduras, the struggle to develop economic alternatives has been set back. Its fledgling textile industry – locally owned plants that manufacture garments on contract for global companies – has taken a brutal hit. It has already shed about 30 per cent of what once added up to 500,000 jobs.

So a big factor in what will eventually unfold, Mr. de Soto said, will be how long the recession lasts and how hard it hits.

If the economy recovers reasonably soon, many countries in the region will not suffer badly, and the impact might not be large.

But if it is long and nasty?

“Those who don’t believe in markets will say, ‘See, they don’t work for everybody. They have these booms and busts.  "
**PLUS ÇA CHANGE...**

Until the global recession hit, Latin America was growing briskly in wealth as well as population:

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Yet more than one citizen in three remains poor in the region, and one in seven is extremely poor – numbers that have barely budged during the years of economic growth.

We don’t want that. We want to go somewhere else.’”

If this happens, he expects some countries – and some voters – to veer left, or to stay on that course if they are already on it.

“Or there’s another thing that might happen. When a crisis like this comes along, there are people in the streets, and violence increases. Theft increases. People get politically mobilized.

“The demand for law and order becomes very big, which is what happened in Germany after the First World War.

“If you take away the Nordic countries, after the First World War most of Europe went right. Not because there weren’t big Communist parties around, but because the majority weren’t Communist and didn’t like disorder.

“So what will probably occur, if we use that historical example, is – in the worst case – we’ll be badly polarized.”

Harkening back to civil wars and violence that tore apart several countries in the region in the 1980s and later, he notes that the experience with radical socialism has left a bitter taste for most Latin Americans, and no one wants to go back to that.

“The radical left in Latin America had its chance some years ago,” he said. “And if disorder increases again, there will be people saying, ‘Whatever else is happening, let’s at least have law and order.’”

Thus, “it’s very difficult to say where it will go. But it will tend to go to extremes, if we go by historical precedents.”

In his optimistic moments, Mr. de Soto has some hope that hard times will drive governments in the region to learn from their own mistakes, and the mistakes of the West, that led to the economic crisis.

“Maybe the war of ideas will find whole new references, because we will all be repositioning our arguments concerning more economic liberties or fewer economic liberties around the realities of the recession.”

But, in his pessimistic moments, he worries about blood on the streets.

Don Cayo is a Vancouver-based journalist. His most recent visit to Latin America was as the volunteer project leader for Seeing the World Through New Eyes, part of a fellowship, administered by the Jack Webster Foundation and funded by CIDA, that gives working journalists their first chance to report on international development issues. See vancouversun.com/blogs for his blog on globalization.
Helping the poor help themselves

Billionaire philanthropists insist on using sound business practices – and teaching the same – in the projects they take on

Don Cayo reports from QUIBDO, Colombia

If the ailing global economy can’t be counted on to build more wealth in Latin America any time soon and to spread it around better than in the past, then what about aid? What are the prospects that donated money from afar can do much for the millions of poor people in the southern half of the Northern Hemisphere?

As a writer who has been tracking mass poverty issues for 15 years, I know the odds are daunting. But I also think that they’re better than they used to be.

Because, in the 15 years that I’ve been paying close attention, the world has learned a lot about how to help people make their lives better.

Three of the key things we’ve learned come from the world of business. They are:

- That trade, when it is unfettered and allowed to work, is far more effective than aid in lifting most people – though not quite all – out of poverty.
- That business tools – mainly access to a little bit of capital, but also some help with marketing and a practical business plan – can work wonders in the hands of the profoundly poor.
- That aid organizations work best when they run on business principles and focus on measurable results.

It’s not that these things were unknown...
in the past; it’s that they have now gained so much wider acceptance. I credit this in large part to resurgence in private charity. Billionaires like Bill Gates and Warren Buffet have led the way back to private philanthropy on a scale not seen since the days of Rockefeller and Carnegie. And they’re being followed by a host of lesser-scale, but still massive, donors who are looking for worthy ways – as opposed to merely profitable ones – to invest the fortunes they’ve amassed.

Fortunately, the habits that make men rich die hard. So guys like this aren’t keen to give away their money unless, or until, they know they’ll get good bang for the buck.

The first success ever in the entire region

The dugout canoe, long, graceful and powered by an incongruously large outboard motor, noses gently into shore. The occupants step out gingerly into ankle-deep mud.

Ahead is a small clearing in the jungle – four shabby huts on stilts, a few rickety racks made of logs that seem to be sprouting new growth, and that’s about it. Half a dozen women and as many small kids mill around awkwardly, waiting to murmur soft greetings when their visitors reach the slightly drier ground where they stand.

Welcome to TANA, a major business success – indeed, it may well be the first ever in the whole Choco region of western Colombia.

TANA is a 13-year-old co-op in the throes of expanding from 65 members to a little more than twice as large. Those rickety log racks are where its members grow the spices – basil, ginger, cilantro, turmeric and paprika – because the ground around their huts is too wet and too often flooded for normal forms of agriculture. The small quantities grown on these racks, plus what grows in tiny clearings on slightly higher ground further back in the jungle, provide TANA’s raw material.

Despite the small quantities, the little co-op provides a decent income supplement, though not a full livelihood, for the dirt-poor Afro-Colombian women who set it up. It has slowly acquired a couple of key assets – a ramshackle collection station built on the banks of the Atrato River, plus an old house in the city that has been converted into a simple processing plant. And it has managed both to get preliminary organic certification and to place its products on the shelves of supermarkets – though it still hasn’t won much market share – in the country’s big cities like Bogota and Medellin.

But it has been able to reach these small milestones only with the help of a string of NGOs who, over the years, have provided a series of small grants, “grains of sand,” in the words of Maritiza Parra Cordoba, one of the founding members.

Even this modest level of subsidized success, however, sets a precedent in and around the isolated little city of Quibdo.

Sergio Arango, the Medellin-based executive director of the non-profit Epave Foundation that acts as TANA’s sales agent, says that, incredible as it sounds, no business from Choco district – aside from inherently short-term ones like cut-and-run logging, or gold and platinum mining – has ever broke even, let alone made money, by selling to outsiders. Not fishing or slash-and-grow agriculture, which have no outside markets. Not handicrafts. And those are all the businesses that have been tried.

“Our spices are the only product from the entire region that you can find for sale in any big city,” he says.

But the simple foil packets of spice wholesale for about 75 cents and, while this more than covers the cost of production, the volume is so low it doesn’t pay for the distribution and marketing. If this doesn’t change, how long can it continue?

This is where big business steps in.

The Clinton Giustra Sustainable Growth Initiative (CGSGI), an arm of the Clinton Foundation that is funded by a $100-million donation from Vancouver mining magnate Frank Giustra, has chosen TANA as one of its first projects. It is using the co-op as a testing ground for a method it hopes to employ to help a host of other enterprises – a venture capitalist’s kind of approach that involves investing on a large scale for a short time, in order to make a business self-sufficient and sustainable.

In the TANA case, this means:
- Recruiting and training 85 new growers.
- Maintaining the preliminary organic certification and expanding it from the mere growing of spices to all the stages of processing in anticipation that it will provide an eventual marketing advantage. Thus the buildings that house the drying equipment and the collection station have been renovated, and a partner agency, a government-funded group called Accion Sociale, is assisting each homestead to get a pit toilet.
- Providing existing and new growers with technical assistance on everything from better planting techniques to fostering disease resistance.
- Redesigning the packaging, if possible to come up with something more attractive than those little foil packets and, at least as importantly, to find a way that TANA
members can do the work themselves and save the high cost of contracting this part of the process out to a high-cost commercial plant in Medellin.

- Marketing to expand their sales country-wide and, in time and with luck, internationally.

The Clinton Giustra initiative is involved in other kinds of projects – for example, funding 50,000 cataract surgeries to cure the most common and most easily cured form of blindness in Peru, or supporting schools and feeding programs for poor children in Barranquilla, north of Quibdo on the Colombian coast. While these have an ultimate economic goal – giving people the hand up they need to be able to make their own living – they don’t differ sharply from the conventional approach to charity.

But when it comes to economic development, the approach being pioneered in the Quibdo spice project – wading into a project for a short, fixed term and working with partners to address several different issues head-on and all at once – is the preferred model for other projects in the works.

So far, it is still being tested on a small scale.

In addition to the spice project, CGSGI has begun working with fishermen in an even more isolated community on the Pacific coast just east of here. They are trying to develop commercial markets for what has never been more than a subsistence activity.

In a touristy area on the Atlantic coast to the north, the challenge is to get local producers into the elegant resorts that have been bringing in all their supplies from the outside. This involves both getting the quality of local products up to scratch, and marketing to the hotels. In Peru, there’s a similar project to link small scale producers to local markets where they’ve always been excluded.

CGSGI is also working with other groups to foster economic opportunity for displaced people – many of them victims of drug-related violence – in the slums of cities like Bogota, and to find displacement activities for former coca growers.

The idea, says Monica Varela, who is in charge of all the CGSGI projects in Colombia, is to be much more than just a funding partner, but also a coordinating influence and a source of expertise in the way projects are designed and implemented.

Mr. Giustra is not personally involved with the implementation of projects like this, but he does sit on a small steering committee that approves each project to be undertaken and the budget to be spent.

The intention, he said in an interview 18 months ago when he first pledged his $100-million donation, is to identify projects that have a good chance of success, to start small to test the methods, and to scrupulously measure the results.

After all, he said, putting money to work for social ends “is no different than in a normal business plan for a regular business.”

Don Cayo is a Vancouver writer who specializes in development issues.
Finally, Canada really means business. No more sluggish, slow-motion free-trade negotiations. It took the federal government a decade to get a free-trade pact with the four-country European Free Trade Association (Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland). Now it seeks to sign a free-trade pact with the 27-nation European Union within two years. Set this objective alongside the government’s other trade negotiations around the world and you can understand why International Trade Minister Stockwell Day says his department is running “flat out.”

The remarkable thing is that Canada is pursuing such an aggressive trade agenda in the midst of a knockdown world recession – when many other countries are retreating to the deceptive comforts of protectionism. Even as he races to make up for lost time in trade agreements, he is concerned that Canada’s closest neighbour and most vital trading partner is slipping into defacto protectionism.

With the protectionist Buy America requirements enacted by Congress, the U.S. has effectively shut Canadian companies out of bidding for contracts at the state and local level in President Barack Obama’s US$787 billion stimulus package. State and municipal contracts represent a small percentage of the colossal cross-border trade. However, the Buy America provision could spread. U.S. companies could stop buying from Canadian suppliers for fear of “contaminating” supply lines and jeopardizing stimulus contracts.
But the fault is not altogether on the American side. In the 1990s, Canadians declined to pursue government procurement openings under NAFTA and the WTO General Procurement Agreement (GPA) – while 40 states have signed onto various trade agreements. Canada missed that boat. But another may be sailing in these recessionary times, and the provinces may be more ready to get on board. In a springtime change of heart, they signalled some support for Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s proposal that the provinces abandon their own Buy-Canada policy.

When protectionism starts, its damage is hard to quantify – on either side of the border. In 2008, the U.S. accounted for two-thirds of Canada’s two-way merchandise trade. With daily U.S.-Canada trade hitting $1.6 billion before the recession, and some seven million jobs in the U.S. and three million in Canada dependent on the world’s largest trade relationship, Canada correctly regards U.S. protectionism as strictly hostile to economic recovery in of both countries. Canada is, and always has been, a great trading nation, which means that a global recession will hit Canadian trade particularly hard.

From China to Europe to Latin America and the Caribbean, Mr. Day is now racing from continent to continent, starting, negotiating and signing trade agreements. He’s opening new trade offices around the world. Seemingly the only barrier, aside from complex negotiations that preserve such Canadian “sensitivities” as agricultural protectionism, is the number of trade negotiators at his disposal. The government’s trade negotiators are indeed working flat out. And so is he.

But he took time to speak with Donna Jacobs, associate publisher of Diplomat & International Canada, about his plans, his problems and Canada’s great push for freer trade.

**Diplomat Magazine**: What are your top international trade goals? How and when can you achieve them?

**Stockwell Day**: Well, the first goal is our policy objective of increasing opportunities for Canadian investors, entrepreneurs and workers by pursuing and expanding markets abroad. There are significant opportunities in the Americas, in Asia and in Europe.

**DM**: Specifically, what opportunities?

**SD**: The first thing I promote is Canada’s enviable financial situation. We have the most stable banking in the world, the most competitive tax system in the OECD over all other ports in the Western Hemisphere.) Second, there’s what’s called the dwell time advantage — the fact that our container ports in Vancouver and Prince Rupert have capacity. The dwell time is no more than 24 hours for a container ship. Third, we have the integrated rail and road connections for guaranteed swift access to major U.S. markets in Memphis and Atlanta. We market that on the Asia front.

And, then, we are pursuing broader trade agreements with India and China, specifically, but, of course, not leaving out the other Asia and ASEAN countries. But we’re going hard as far as India and China are concerned. When I was in Japan, my corresponding minister there had designated officials to sit down with Canadian officials to look at expansion of trade possibilities.

**DM**: What special areas of trade are you concentrating on with Japan?

**SD**: We want to see an expansion generally. They have agricultural concerns and my approach with them is that we, also, have agricultural sensitivities. But let’s work to see if we can get around those sensitivities to broaden our markets.

**DM**: Can you discuss sensitivities on agriculture, for example, Quebec’s dairy industry? Given Canada’s supply-management approach, how can Canada open itself to agricultural imports?

**SD**: Well, we have always made known our sensitivities, especially related to the supply-management. We have supply-managed (marketing boards) for dairy, for poultry. That’s clearly recognized. Even when I’m at WTO (World Trade Organization) discussions, everybody recognizes these are areas of sensitivity. Europe has some areas which they regard as sacrosanct.

**DM**: What are they?

**SD**: Some relate to agriculture areas. Some relate to non-tariff barriers — the whole question of genetically-modified products, for instance, certain hormones that are used either in Europe or Canada related to beef.

So we’ll look for ways to rely on a scientific approach where we can have agreements, where the same guidelines are used for both parties. And we can have truly science-based and health-based guidelines that both parties can agree on. There are a host of these areas which need to be looked at from the viewpoint of scienti-
ence and health — so that we don’t have non-tariff barriers being thrown up.

I can use the example that some countries have put a temporary ban on pork products from Canada and the U.S. because of the H1N1 flu. That is clearly an unscientific approach. (Scientific evidence indicates the H1N1 “swine” flu virus is not passed by eating pork.)

So, again, when you strike a trade agreement, you have already agreed beforehand that if there is a dispute, here’s the prior, agreed-on referee that we’ll go to for a ruling.

DM: In working on a Canada-EU free-trade agreement, what are the key stumbling blocks aside from agriculture and non-tariff barriers, that countries use to stifle trade?

SD: There are a host of other areas. I won’t prejudge in which areas the negotiators are going to be ringing the sensitivity bell.

The positive aspect is this: We have signed a formal agreement, in good faith, to enter discussions. That’s where the long process starts. I was encouraged to hear the members of the European Commission say, when the prime minister and I met with them in Prague in May, that they would like to see negotiations last no more than two years.

DM: You have stated that the agreement, if it were in effect today, would be worth $26 billion Euros (C$40 billion.)

SD: That would be the overall increase in two-way trade made possible by a free trade agreement. In one year. That statistic comes from one report. Another report, just on the Canadian side, estimated an increase of $12 billion in exports. Whichever studies have been done, we’re not going to hang our hat on any particular figure. But they point to a positive increase in trade. Typically, that is what happens when you have an opening of trade between countries.

DM: Do you think Canada could become the world’s No. 1 country in terms of its number of free-trade and special trade agreements?

SD: Well, our prosperity in the past has been built on the fact we’ve been a trading nation throughout our history. I don’t want to put a figure on it — so that next year, if we’re not, somebody is going to say ‘Hey, you said we’re going to be No. 1.’

DM: Is there any reason why Canada couldn’t aim for that?

SD: I think we have a great potential to be one of the (leading trade) nations of the world. We are one of the nations that is leading not only the discussion of free trade but the direction of it. Canada will continue to be in the forefront of prosperity-encouraging nations because we are open to international trade.

DM: In the sense that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney’s legacy is the free-trade agreement with the U.S., would an EU agreement be one of Mr. Harper’s legacies?

SD: There is no question. He has already established his position globally on that. He took a leadership position at the G20 meeting in Washington back in November when the full onslaught of the reality of the economic downturn was upon everybody. People were gripped, some almost in paralysis, by this freight train that was coming at us globally.

He’s already distinguished himself by taking a ‘let’s-not-fear’ attitude. Rather, let’s look for opportunities for our people. The prime minister took a leadership position against protectionism at the G20 summit in London in April. And when the Buy America provisions came out earlier this year, he was — both publicly, and privately with President Barack Obama — very clear that the U.S. had to live up to its international trade obligations.

DM: What countries and regions, besides China and India, are next on your agenda?

SD: We are finalizing a trip to follow up on the prime minister’s talks in April at the Summit of the Americas. We’ll meet with the key trade ministers in that region to pursue the possibility of opening up trade in Latin America and the Caribbean. I have talked with a number of ministers there and there is a good level of ambition to do that.

Our trade exports to Latin America and the Caribbean, not counting Mexico, were $8.5 billion last year. Beyond that, we made a science and technology agreement with Brazil when I was there last November. We also have one with Chile. We’re
advancing our corporate social responsibility in the mining sector.

I don’t want to put one region over another. We’re hitting on a number of fronts and I don’t want a trade minister from one of the regions calling me back saying ‘Hey, I thought we had (an understanding). We have a good number of trade commissioners and negotiators, but you only have a certain number (of agreements that can be made), and we’ve got them working flat out.

DM: You’ve been international trade minister since Oct. 30. Characterize your months in this portfolio. What percentage of time are you traveling and what is it like?

SD: Travel has gone up for me. It’s actually one of the mandates. I’ve been told I have to travel, either in connection with these negotiations or to keep up the momentum. Personally the travel doesn’t tire me out. I find it stimulating, when you come away from meetings where you — I don’t like to have meetings for the sake of meetings — actually get agreement, you get signatures on paper, to move ahead. That makes the travel portion worthwhile and I come back invigorated rather than drained.

DM: Word is that early risers who go to the parliamentary gym at 4 a.m. or 5 a.m. find you there, exercising hard. What is your exercise routine, how do you deal with jetlag and manage to run in the Boston Marathon, still keeping up a ministerial and travel schedule?

SD: I probably don’t like the thought of getting up early any more than anybody else. But, by forcing myself out of bed early morning, once I stumble past the bedroom door, just being able in an early-morning run, to breathe in the quiet and also the expectancy of a new day — I just find that invigorating.

By virtue of my schedule, 90 percent of the time, a workout or a run has to be very early morning.

DM: What time, typically?

SD: Depending on where my meetings start, where I am, it can mean getting up at 4:30 a.m., or I might have the luxury (he laughs) of sleeping in until 6 or 6:30. Getting ready for the marathon typically means trying to get in a running workout four days a week, roughly an hour a day.

Saturdays are more challenging because you have to get in your long run. Let’s say getting ready for a marathon, you start a four-month build-up. Your minimum Saturday run would be an hour-and-a-half, but that builds up to a three-hour run the month before the marathon. Three weeks before, you start to taper it down. So the Saturday run is pretty early — 4 a.m. or 4:30 a.m. — if you’ve got stuff on during the day.

If I’m in my constituency, I can sleep in ’til 7 or 7:30 a.m. and go for a run along Lake Okanagan, which is one of the best in the world.

DM: Where do you exercise when you’re in Ottawa?

SD: I run along the trails here, either along the Rideau Canal, or I go the other

Anti-globalization protests, such as this one in Ottawa in the lead-up to the G-8 Summit, are increasingly commonplace around the world.
China, ‘The Party’ and Adam Smith

Stockwell Day, in his website weekly commentary, gives his constituents a lively sense of his “other job” as Canada’s salesman abroad. His comments are excerpts from his report from Beijing.

April 13th, 2009.

It’s 4:00 a.m. on Monday morning in Beijing as I tap out this message to you on my BlackBerry. With the time change, I wake up at strange (but peaceful) hours and, later in the day, I try to fight off the urge to sleep, especially if I’m in a hot meeting room. Not a good thing to start snoring when somebody is giving you a high-level presentation.

I can tell you that we are having some amazing meetings (and results) in both Japan, and now in China. We are being treated warmly and generously and are doing presentations with Canadian companies at every stage of the trip. I find that the pressure of the global economic downturn is actually serving to draw competitors together on all sides in the urgent search for solutions that will benefit everyone.

In meetings in Japan with the Chairmen and CEOs of companies like Toyota, Honda and Mitsubishi, we talked of ways to collaborate on new technologies and emissions reductions. Together with Canadian transportation companies, we met the people who ship by sea to point out the Asia-Pacific advantages of using the Ports of Vancouver and Prince Rupert.

In the city of Shenyang (four million people) in China’s northeast, I presented at a business conference with Canadian construction companies. I also met with Chinese officials at a new airplane plant where a Canadian company is hoping to get a joint fuselage construction project with a Chinese company. Last night, back in Beijing, I was able to officiate with our ambassador at a ceremony where some of those construction companies signed contracts as a result of the meetings two days earlier in Shenyang.

What is happening in China these days is almost beyond belief. Entire cities are being transformed as job opportunities are being opened up for millions of people from the vast rural areas. The process may not be perfect but the direction and results are undeniable. Highways and modern airports now exist where barren and empty land once was. Tall, efficient apartment buildings with surrounding open park areas have replaced untold acres of previously impoverished low-level dwellings.

We rode the new train on the energy efficient public transit system from the gigantic Beijing airport to the transformed downtown core. The train cars are produced as a result of Canadian collaboration. Officials here are trying to come to grips with staggering environmental challenges. Smog in large cities is a daily reality. But so is the emergence of alternative energy research. Solar panel projects and wind power farms are everywhere and again, opportunities for innovative Canadians abound everywhere and are welcomed.

The expression of democratic systems as we know them are obviously not a fact of life here … yet, even on these important freedoms, there are changes on the landscape. Today, one of the prominent (and promising) government cabinet ministers with whom I will be meeting is not a member of “The Party.” That would have been unheard of 10 years ago. Their prime minister quotes openly from Adam Smith (author of the 1776 free-market classic The Wealth of Nations.) And he ended last month’s annual meeting of the People’s Congress with a frank reflection on human rights.

Do we still have concerned discussions with the Chinese government on these matters? Of course we do. Do we have full agreement with them on every item? Of course we don’t. The key question is one of direction. Do we abandon engagement with them (or any other country) on environmental issues just because they still have problems? The answer to that question is clear. In the mutual interests of a cleaner planet, we engage, with measurable results.

We will take the same approach on all of these issues, as people who have had to learn these lessons as well, and are still learning.

The planet will benefit in the process.

Stockwell Day is Canada’s international trade minister.
I’ve met with Charles Rangel, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, the most powerful committee in the U.S. because it oversees all appropriations. I’ve gone over this with him and his staff, and met with the U.S. trade representative who represents the U.S. administration, Ron Kirk. He’s a good guy and he is a free trader but the administration does not control Congress.

We’re running into some real difficulties: the whole issue of black liquor — a huge unintended consequence of the U.S. alternative fuel bill that softwood lumber companies in the U.S. are tapping into. (It gives alternative fuel tax credits to pulp producers who mix a pulp by-product — black liquor—with diesel fuel. The credits have reportedly reached as high as 30 percent of their pulp selling price which puts Canadian softwood lumber companies at a pricing disadvantage.)

I raised with Mr. Kirk Canada’s concerns about the impact this fuel tax credit will have on global pulp and paper markets and on the Canadian industry. We are examining this closely and will consider all options for a way forward.

We’ve been successful in getting the White House to ask for that program’s planned termination date to move up from Dec. 1 to Oct. 31. Because of pressure in Congress, the U.S. Buy America provision is being translated in a protectionist way. We are very aggressive in our pursuit to bring this to their attention.

Our economic prosperity depends on opening doors to Canadian businesses. We also rely on the goodwill of our trading partners to open doors to us.

**DM:** What was the strongest personal reassurance given by President Obama during his Ottawa trip, and, more recently by U.S. Trade Representative Ron Kirk during your meeting in Washington?

**SD:** Mr. Kirk and I had a productive meeting on a wide range of topics. We reiterated our shared commitment to support trade liberalization through the World Trade Organization, NAFTA, and also through the Canada-U.S. economic relationship.

I also expressed Canada’s views on issues including country-of-origin labeling, “Buy American” provisions, softwood lumber, the enforcement of intellectual property rights, and the “black liquor” credit. We agreed to maintain a high-level engagement to resolve these issues.

**DM:** Besides municipal contracts, where

The equivalent of $1.6 billion worth of goods moves back and forth between Canada and the U.S. daily, through border crossings, such as this one, at Windsor-Detroit. And, some 300,000 people cross the Canada-U.S. border every day.

Trying a flight simulator at a training centre in Dubai, UAE, in March.

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Trying a flight simulator at a training centre in Dubai, UAE, in March.

are Canadians facing discrimination by a protectionist faction in the U.S. Congress? Can you cite concrete examples of harm?

**SD:** We have been closely monitoring U.S. plans for implementing the Recovery Act – including the Water Quality Investment Act. Canada and the United States have enjoyed relatively open and fair trade in relation to the municipal water and waste water procurement market in the past.

Unfortunately, the U.S. Congress passed a version of the legislation that included Buy American provisions, watered down only by the promise that, when implemented, they comply with trade agreements. This has upset the existing relationships between suppliers and customers, especially concerning municipal procurement.

The Canadian and American supply chains are inextricably integrated and depend on each other for parts and components, as well as production, transportation and distribution channels. Disruption of these supply chains will increase costs and slow down progress of much-needed municipal infrastructure projects. Many U.S. companies and water utilities share our concerns.

We will continue to work with the U.S. administration to find more flexible ways to implement the new rules that respect the realities of this sector.

Of course, we want them to abide by their international trade obligations, but also to recognize the deep and wide economic cross-border ties that are put at risk by such protectionist measures and en-
## TRADE DEALS AT A GLANCE

### Middle East & Africa

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- Air Transportation Agreement
- Trade and Investment Cooperation/ Enhancement Agreement
- Science and Technology (S&T) Cooperation Agreement
- Priority Market
- Pending/Future

### Status

- In Force
- Pending/Future

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**Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada**

**Affaires étrangères et Commerce international Canada**

**DIPLOMAT AND INTERNATIONAL CANADA**
Canada's trade missions around the world
The most recent incarnation of a Canada-Europe trade agreement was proposed at the Canada-EU Summit in Berlin in 2007. Shown at the G8 Summit in Heiligendamm a few days later are, from left, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, her husband, Joachim Sauer, Laureen and Prime Minister Stephen Harper.

courage them to promote the least trade restrictive implementation possible of the Buy American provisions.

**DM:** What is the greatest problem facing Canada in terms of increasing trade worldwide? Protectionism? How can Canada boost its productivity? Are our goods too expensive, our labour costs too high?

**SD:** One of the most pressing issues we face today is the threat of protectionism. History has shown that protectionist measures do not stimulate economies. Rather, they provoke retaliatory actions, stifle commerce and lead to expensive and inefficient production. During this time of global economic uncertainty, it is crucial to resist the temptation to move toward protectionism.

**DM:** What opposition in Canada have you faced, or might you face, with an EU agreement? Even when there are many ‘winners,’ realistically there are sometimes displacements and ‘losers’ as well.

**SD:** Canadian business has for a long time supported a closer economic relationship between Canada and the EU, including a Canada-EU free-trade agreement.

A bilateral agreement with the EU could deliver commercial benefits across many sectors of the Canadian economy, including petroleum, aerospace, chemicals, aluminum, wood products, fish and seafood and automotive vehicles and parts, agricultural products such as wheat and pork, as well as transportation, engineering and computer services.

Provinces are also very supportive of this initiative. As is the case in all of our negotiations, nothing will be agreed upon until everything is agreed.

**DM:** Does Canada have a tentative general plan to compensate for displacements – personal or provincial?

**SD:** Negotiations are in the initial stages, as they were only launched on May 6, 2009 at the Canada-EU Summit in Prague. Our government wants to conclude negotiations with the EU as quickly as possible. Canada will continue to seek the views of Canadians through open consultations with the public, business groups, NGOs, and direct involvement from provinces and territories.

**DM:** Does the U.S. feel in any way threatened by its No. 1 trading partner and neighbour casting longing eyes abroad?

**SD:** Canada pursues trade agreements that are in the best interests of Canada. The United States is obviously our largest and most important trading partner, but there are many other opportunities to supplement and expand markets for our exporters. That is why we have been so aggressively pursuing new free-trade agreements with many partners, includ-
ing an expanded economic agreement with the EU.

**DM:** Can this EU agreement be interpreted as a message to the U.S. Congress and administration?

**SD:** Not at all. As I’ve often said, Canada is a trading nation and this government is committed to opening doors and expanding opportunities for Canadian business.

**DM:** Can it also be seen as a template for an EU-U.S. agreement down the road?

**SD:** That is a question to ask the European Union and the United States. We already have a very successful free-trade agreement with the United States and Mexico.

**DM:** Agriculture is always a difficult issue. You mentioned dairy and poultry. Can you enlarge on those?

**SD:** The launch of negotiations toward a comprehensive economic agreement with the EU is very good news for Canada, including Canadian agriculture. And we want to make the relationship even stronger and more profitable for the benefit of our farmers.

Through these negotiations, Canada is looking forward to exploring new and expanded opportunities for Canadian agricultural exporters and farmers, including in such sectors as beef, grains and oilseeds, pork and processed foods.

As the process moves forward, the government will continue to consult very closely with the full range of Canada’s agriculture and agri-food industry stakeholders, about how best to advance Canada’s interests.

**DM:** How will the provinces be brought into negotiations, and on what issues, so that the agreement can be a federal one with wholehearted provincial support – given their constitutional and legitimate areas of jurisdiction?

**SD:** The provinces and territories support an ambitious and comprehensive negotiation with the EU and will be involved at an unprecedented level. This will include extensive consultations and participation in the actual negotiations in areas that fall wholly or partially under their jurisdiction – for example in sub-federal government procurement.

**DM:** The agreements signed during your recent trip to China committed another $11 million in grants from the Canadian taxpayer to China. China, not a Third World country, is already receiving millions of dollars in Canadian grants. What will be the benefit of these grants to Canada?

**SD:** Canada has science and technology agreements with Brazil, China, the European Union, France, Germany, India, Israel, Japan and Korea. These agreements serve as the guidelines for Canadians to effectively partner and work with the partner country to increase international science and technology capacity.

Over the last few years, the Government of Canada has increased its focus and placed more emphasis on innovation, science and technology, as key elements of growing Canada’s national prosperity. Research and development is crucial for Canada’s success as a trading nation. We have several programs aimed specifically at aiding Canadian business conduct the research it needs to compete around the world. Budgets 2007, 2008 and 2009 all recognize that Canada’s ability to prosper in today’s economy depends on the skills, knowledge and creativity of Canadians. We have science and technology agreements with many of our important partners. These foster the transfer of ideas from the laboratory to the factory floor.

**DM:** Our current balance of trade is in China’s favour. In 2008, we exported $10.3 billion to them and imported $53 billion. What will improve the balance most quickly with this potentially huge market?

**SD:** My recent trip to China showcased Canada as an interested and engaged innovation partner and promoted Canada as a supplier of high-quality goods and services for China.

The Chinese market offers many opportunities for Canadian companies, particularly in areas such as infrastructure, agriculture and agri-food, information and communications technology (ICT), and bio-industries. It is one of the world’s fastest growing major economies and could become the world’s largest economy by 2025.

**DM:** How does the thawing of trade relations with China affect Canada’s support for Taiwan’s independent existence? How do you walk this line?

**SD:** Canada’s One China policy is comprised of two key elements: Canada recognizes the government of the People’s Republic of China as the sole, legitimate government of China and Canada takes note of China’s claims regarding Taiwan. Canada’s One China policy framework opened the way to the establishment of diplomatic relations with China. It has given Canada flexibility in advancing its economic and other interests in Taiwan. Canada values its relationship with Taiwan.
Whither a deal with Europe

Leaders of Canada and the European Union have launched formal negotiations for a trade deal that many say will go well beyond NAFTA

Jennifer Campbell reports from BRUSSELS, BELGIUM

Back in May, when Prime Minister Stephen Harper, Czech Prime Minister Mirek Topolánek and José Manuel Barroso, president of the European Commission, signed the document that blessed the start of negotiations for a Canada-EU trade agreement, there was plenty of enthusiasm on both sides. After all, this was the major achievement of the bi-annual Canada-EU Summit in Prague.

The leaders put a timeline of two years on these negotiations, which begin, in earnest, now. It’s not binding but it’s a reflection of how keen both sides are. The most significant progress in a decade of talks was made over the past two years, particularly after the provinces on this side of the Atlantic agreed to do whatever they can to make this deal happen. Numbers vary but studies conducted in advance of the May summit estimated that trade would increase anywhere from $12 billion a year to $40 billion in the first seven years. They also showed that investment, already rising significantly, would also continue to grow. Trade in goods between Canada and Europe is worth $77 billion (2008 figure), while trade in services is worth $33 billion (2007 figure).

When the negotiations get going, there will, of course, be sticking points, principally agriculture. From the European point of view, the predominant concern is that Canada won’t be willing to open all sectors for the deal, particularly when it comes to the protected dairy, as well as the poultry and egg industries. The Europeans put it diplomatically – they say they look at deals previously struck by Canada and are concerned by the “lack of ambition” on the agriculture side.

For its part, Canada has raised the issue of EU export restitutions – subsidies the union provides to member states to cover the difference between internal prices and world market prices for some products. But Europe has said it will eliminate these by 2013, provided Canada, in turn, gets rid of all forms of trade- and export-distorting mechanisms, such as state-trading enterprises.

Still, there may well be enough self-interest on both sides to work out these differences. There’s certainly enough to motivate: The joint study, conducted by experts from both the Canadian and European side and published in October 2008, found that nearly half of the overall benefit of a deal would come from agriculture. And it found that the sector would be the single biggest winner for both sides. Obviously, it’s an important part of the deal. So much so that if negotiators can’t come to an agreement on this file, Europe will likely say there’s no point in pursuing a deal on other fronts.

There’s clearly plenty at stake on the farm, but there are other issues as well. Canada, from the European point of view, is an international delinquent when it comes to intellectual property (IP). Europe has charged that there is either a lack of awareness or a lack of political will on Canada’s part to get serious about IP because the country has signed World Intellectual Property Organization treaties but has failed, for the past 10 years, to ratify them. The explanation from Canada – that there have been several changes in government and the ratification has been caught in revolving doors on Parliament Hill – doesn’t fly overseas.

It’s not just Europe that’s noticed the problem. The United States Trade Representative has included Canada on its Special 301 Watch List – an annual review of the state of intellectual property rights, protection and enforcement – for the 14th year in a row. For 2009, Canada is on the “priority watch list” with countries such as China and Russia. Even Canadian officials admit the problem. The standing committee on industry, science and technology stated in a 2007 report that “Canada’s enforcement regime lags behind those of other developed countries.” Meanwhile, the Canadian Intellectual Property Council states, in a 2008 report entitled A Time for Change, that “Canada’s inaction to date against counterfeiting and piracy has brought unwelcome attention to the world stage.”

In previous bilateral trade agreements, Europe has always tried to include an...
Canada-EU: A trade model for protectionist times

By Roy MacLaren

The arguments in favour of a free-trade agreement between Canada and the European Union are longstanding but they have become ever more compelling in the past few years. They are now finally in the way of realization.

For Canada, support for a transatlantic accord began to accumulate as early as 1949 with the drafting of the North Atlantic Treaty. Canada pressed for NATO to be more than a military alliance, convinced that the addition of an economic dimension would consolidate the North Atlantic community as nothing else would. The Canadian proposal was, however, rejected by those who believed that the negotiation of comprehensive economic ties would deter the early realization of NATO’s immediate military role.

During the 60 years since, transatlantic economic harmonization has made but little progress beyond the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (the GATT). From the days of the Treaty of Rome, Europe has been understandably preoccupied with the broadening and deepening of its economic and political union. The United States, for its part, has been preoccupied by its various global involvements, which have little room for regional economic cooperation. During past decades, Europe and the United States continued to relegate their trade relations largely to the GATT and eventually to the World Trade Organization.

I say “largely” because, in time, Europe, the United States and Canada engaged additionally in a number of bilateral and regional trade agreements, which somewhat diluted their oft-stated commitment to multilateral, rules-based trade and investment liberalization. To be sure, most of the new bilateral and regional agreements were intentionally with developing countries and all were duly endorsed by the GATT, but the European Union did conclude agreements with the developed countries of Switzerland and Norway and the United States and Canada did conclude agreements with each other.

In 1994, the then Canadian Prime Minister, Jean Chretien, in speaking to the French Senate, urged that a NAFTA-EU agreement be negotiated but neither Washington nor Brussels displayed interest. Brussels did, however, subsequently conclude a transatlantic agreement with our NAFTA partner, Mexico. Canada, in its continuing search for trade and investment diversification, did eventually negotiate a transatlantic free trade agreement with Norway and Switzerland.

The main transatlantic prize of NAFTA-EU, however, remained elusive. Canada, over several decades, attempted without success to interest Brussels in closer economic ties. Several minor agreements were reached but they soon proved to be of little substance. Washington, for its own domestic reasons, declined to confront what were for it the near intractable issues involved in transatlantic free trade. Instead, like Europe, it proclaimed its overwhelming allegiance to the ill-begotten Doha Development Round of the World Trade Organization.

Nevertheless, when I was minister of trade for Canada in the late 1990s, I continued to press the case in Brussels for a comprehensive transatlantic economic agreement that would be, as it were, WTO Plus, taking the transatlantic countries beyond even the substantial achievements of the Uruguay Round. In doing so, I continued to be courageously rebuffed by a succession of EU commissioners for trade. Gradually, however, the private sector on both sides of the Atlantic made clear its commitment. For example, through the Canada-Europe Roundtable for Business, of which I have the honour to be chairmain, more than 100 large transatlantic corporations proclaimed their strong support.

In 2007, something of a breakthrough occurred when Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper and German Chancellor Angela Merkel the then EU President, agreed upon a joint study to identify the benefits of a comprehensive trade and investment agreement between Canada and Europe. The United States unfortunately still demonstrated little to no interest in a NAFTA-EU agreement. That the Canadian prime minister and German chancellor...
were able to agree on the important first step of a joint Canada-EU study was in part a reflection that the Doha Development Round was showing little signs of progress.

Since then, the joint study has concluded that a bilateral agreement would increase trade and investment by at least $40 billion within seven years of being negotiated. The major increase will occur in trade in services. Bilateral investment will also continue its dramatic increase, which has risen over the past 10 years from $100 billion to more than $260 billion. The result of all this investment activity is that sales in each other’s market by wholly-owned affiliates are four times the value of exports.

These numbers are themselves highly persuasive, but added to them are two important factors: first, with the Doha Development Round going nowhere, trade liberalization must seek a new route; second, protectionism has recently raised its ugly head. Brussels has concluded that, in these circumstances, the time has come to test the possibility of concluding an agreement with Canada, not only for its intrinsic merits but as a model for later agreements with what it has called “OECD countries”: Australia, New Zealand, Japan and, eventually, the United States. The challenge in confronting the second factor, protectionism, more recently underpinned the decision to “scope” a Canada-EU agreement. What better way than a transatlantic agreement to send a signal that Canada and 27 members of the European Union remain open for business?

In March, the European Commission and the government of Canada successfully completed the “scoping” of the Canada-EU negotiations. They opened the way for Mr. Harper and Czech President Vaclav Klaus, this semester’s president of the EU, to announce in Prague on May 6, the beginning of formal negotiations. Having progressed this far, it is difficult to believe that the negotiations will not be successful.

To be sure, trade obstacles have in recent years moved chiefly from tariffs at the border to internal regulations, obstacles that are much more challenging to reduce or eliminate. A range of new trade issues, some at the sub-national level, will need to be tackled: intellectual property, mobility of workers, government procurement, investment and taxation and trade in services to cite but a few examples. Here, the prospects for a successful negotiation recently improved with a statement by the Canadian provinces that they fully support negotiations and will implement its decisions within their areas of jurisdiction.

Although the prospects are now most promising for the negotiation of a Canada-EU agreement, much of course remains to be done. But having achieved the agreement to proceed against the suspension, if not the demise, of the Doha Development Round, and in the face of renewed protectionism spawned by the global financial crisis, the commitment of Canada and Europe to liberalized trade and investment will be there for all to see. They have together the resources to pursue a two-pronged strategy of a bilateral free trade agreement and, at the same time, of a continuing commitment to a multilateral, rules-based agreement. Such a strategy is squarely in line with the growing recognition that deeper transatlantic cooperation is a precondition – not an alternative – to broader global cooperation.

Roy MacLaren is a former Canadian trade minister and chair of the Canada Europe Round Table for Business.

Continued from page 38

ambitious chapter on intellectual property rights that encourages the partner country to bring its standards closer to those of Europe. To that end, the joint report on the Canada-EU “scoping” exercise states that “any agreement should establish and/or maintain very high standards of protection and enforcement of IP rights.” But Europe says that Canada has made encouraging statements in the past, only to do nothing in terms of IP vigilance. So the value of that joint statement remains to be seen.

Europe is uncomfortable with Canada’s legislation to combat piracy in broadcasting, which is a concern, for example, for companies that want to cover events such as the Vancouver Olympics.

In addition, Canada and Europe have had World Trade Organization spats in the past over geographical indications. Some Canadian winemakers label their sparkling releases as “Champagne”; pork producers have been known to label their cured pork product “Parma ham.” The scoping report makes specific mention of “broad protection of geographical indications.”

Further, EU Trade Commissioner Catherine Ashton has sent a letter to three different Canadian ministers whose files involve copyright law, to draw their attention to the deficiencies she’s noted in IP. She’s politely invited them to act soon, before there’s another election.

What really has Brussels perplexed is that it’s in Canada’s interest to get its IP legislation in order – to stop being considered a bit of a black sheep internationally. The World Trade Organization’s TRIPS (Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) Agreement makes it compulsory for all members to protect geographical indications. But in Canada, it’s not easy for foreign companies to use their own geographical indications because Canadian companies receive preferential treatment. For example, there’s a pre-existing trademark for Parma ham in Canada – so European companies which actually produce ham in Parma cannot label them as such when they sell to Canada.

Europe’s other big priority is government procurement, the issue that stalled similar talks in 2005 and 2006. The member states have mandated the European Commission, which will do the negotiation on Europe’s behalf, to seal public procurement in the deal. Indeed, it’s unlikely they’ll go for a deal that doesn’t include it. All of Europe’s other bilateral agreements have such a section. It’s particularly important to Brussels to have a section that includes provincial procurement because that’s where the money is in Canada.

So there are issues. Though Canada and the EU have a very good relationship, both sides understand these negotiations will be tough. That said, it’s good to start such talks from the same general moral position, the seal hunt notwithstanding. Europe has been trying to get a trade deal with the Gulf States for the past 20 years but there are overriding issues – different values on human rights and on non-proliferation, for example – which have a stultifying effect on negotiations. Not so for Canada and Europe. Both sides enter negotiations with respect for the other, and with a genuine desire to make this happen.

As Ross Hornby, Canada’s ambassador to the EU, says: “The business communities in Canada and the EU are strongly supportive of launching negotiations. This will send a strong pro-growth signal in these times of global economic uncertainty.”

Jennifer Campbell is Diplomat’s editor.
Diplomats as writers: A fine, old tradition

By George Fetherling

The death in December of Conor Cruise O’Brien at 91 didn’t exactly write finis to the idea of the writer-diplomat but it was a reminder of just how old the tradition is, even though it is far from as vigorous as it was once. As Ireland’s ambassador to the United Nations in the 1950s and very early 1960s, O’Brien was the face of his country’s moderate foreign policy and independence in all things. In 1961, he was instrumental in getting the UN to make a large-scale military intervention in what only a year earlier was still being called the Belgian Congo. Later he became a politician. Through it all, he was one of the transatlantic world’s foremost public intellectuals.

He wrote a fine biography of Edmund Burke and a long shelf of other highly readable books on government, public policy and international affairs. Then there were his innumerable essays, articles, reviews and columns, at once both feisty and thoughtful, for such publications as, to name one of many, the New York Review of Books. Although not himself a writer of fiction, poetry or plays, he nonetheless descended from the stream of other diplomats who were, going back through history. In the 14th Century, for example, Geoffrey Chaucer, author of The Canterbury Tales, was an English diplomat in Milan. In the 16th, Miguel de Cervantes, who wrote Don Quixote, represented Spain’s interest in Rome. Washington Irving, the first American to become famous at home and abroad as a professional author, was a secretary at the U.S. embassy in London in the 1820s and, by 1842, was ambassador to Spain.

This writer-diplomat tradition has been particularly prominent in Latin America. Carlos Fuentes, the great Mexican novelist who became his country’s ambassador to France in the 1970s, was born in Panama when his father was serving in the embassy there. Later the father was dispatched to Paraguay, Brazil, and Chile, finally becoming Mexican ambassador to the United States. The Chilean poet Pablo Neruda (Nobel Prize for Literature, 1971) spent much of the 1920s and 1930s as a diplomat in Rangoon, Colombo, Singapore, Buenos Aires, Barcelona, Madrid — and, a low point perhaps, Bandung, in Java. Another Nobel Prize poet (1990), Octavio Paz, served his native Mexico in France and Argentina.

Of course there are many illustrations to be found in Europe as well.

Giorgos Seferis, a Greek foreign service officer from 1925, served in Albania and other places, until he retired in 1961 as ambassador to Britain. For some of the time, until his country was liberated from Nazi control in 1944, he operated in exile under the banner of the Free Greek government. He became a Nobel laureate in literature in 1963, three years after the French poet Saint-John Perse received the same honour for his lifetime of literary endeavour. Under his real name, Alexis Léger, Perse was a diplomat from the start of the First World War to the start of the Second, variously in Peking (as Beijing was still called)
and at the foreign ministry in Paris. Being a creature of both spheres, he was a friend of both W.H. Auden and Dag Hammarskjold. He once recalled for Mr. Auden an exchange he overheard in about 1937 in which Benito Mussolini, disappointed at the world’s low opinion of him, sought the advice of André Briand, the former French president. “How can I become respectable?” the dictator asked. M. Briand replied, sensibly enough, “It is too late.” M. Léger left the diplomatic service when the Vichy government, the Nazis’ puppet regime, lifted his credentials. He never returned. (So good to have a career as a poet to fall back on.)

Not all literary diplomats have left favourable impressions on both literature and diplomacy. The French poet Paul Claudet, who was 87 when he died in 1955, served in the French diplomatic corps between 1893 and 1936. He was vice-consul in New York, Boston, Fuzhou, Prague, Frankfurt, Hamburg; full consul in Shanghai, Peking and Copenhagen; and ministre plénipotentiaire in Rio. He concluded his career as ambassador to Tokyo, Washington and Brussels. Paradoxically he was both a virulent anti-Semite and a keen foe of the Nazis, whom he believed were “wedded to Satan.” Yet when, in 1940, following his retirement, the Nazis overran France, he had the bad taste and worse judgment to publish poetry in praise of Maréchal Pétain, whom Germany had installed as the head of Vichy administration. Not a popular figure.

In addition to Carlos Fuentes, many other children of diplomats have blossomed as literary figures. There are several modern Canadian examples such as the Calgary writer Don LePan, whose father, the poet and novelist Douglas LePan, was with what was then External Affairs from 1946 to 1959, the supposed golden age, serving most notably at the high commission in London. Only a few years earlier, beginning in 1940, the Russian-born George Ignatieff had also toiled at Canada House in Trafalgar Square, under Vincent Massey. Later he became Canada’s ambassador to the UN and then to Yugoslavia. His son, Michael Ignatieff, in addition to his other claims on our attention, is one of Canada’s most wide-ranging writers, working in such forms as the novel, memoir, biography, political and social non-fiction, even the screenplay. His considerable literary talent, many admirers fear, will be overshadowed by his life in politics. An almost exact contemporary of George Ignatieff at External Affairs was the well-regarded poet R.A.D Ford who had quite a run of ambassadorships in the 1960s: Colombia, Yugoslavia, the United Arab Republics, followed by a remarkable 16 years as ambassador to the Soviet Union. The last of these appointments led him, in 1984, following his retirement, to publish a collection of his own translations entitled Russian Poetry: A Personal Anthology.

You can often tell which real writers, such as Michael Ignatieff, had diplomats in their families, for having grown up in various cultures, often changing schools and so on, they are socially sophisticated, fluent in other languages and possess fully formed worldviews. I can never read Kate Taylor in the arts section of the Globe and Mail without refreshing my understanding that she was reared among cosmopolitan grown-ups and educated beyond North America. Her background shows through even when she writes about television.

A list of other Canadian writers with diplomacy in their attic would include Jan Drábek, a native of then Czechoslovakia, where he worked for the country’s foreign service before fleeing the communist regime for, eventually, Canada. When the communists were driven from power in 1990, Václav Havel, the president of the new Czech Republic, with whom he had gone to school, persuaded him to become ambassador to Kenya and later Albania. He has published nearly a dozen novels and assorted other works, including a behind-the-scenes memoir of his diplomatic life, His Doubtful Excellency. He lives in Vancouver. A curious example is the admired Toronto novelist Austin Clarke. He was born in Barbados and once allowed that country’s prime minister to talk him into being the Barbadian cultural attaché in Washington and Ottawa.

In the past, some governments undertook, at least tacitly, to appoint certain writers to diplomatic positions as a means of supporting their work – in one case, at a distance. Sir Richard Burton was the scapegrace explorer, eroticist, translator of obscure texts in a variety of languages and author of numerous learned books that are almost unreadable today. Acting, I suspect, on a desire to keep him out of Britain as much as possible, London appointed him Her Majesty’s consul in, by turns, Fernando Po off the African coast, Santos in Brazil, Damascus, and Trieste. Such postings in themselves hardly add up to a stellar career in the Foreign Office, but they kept him going, and hence
supported his other work, for a period of 29 years, ending only with his death in 1890. Then there is the rather different practice of giving diplomatic credentials to certain writers either to recognize personal relationships or repay political favours. In 1853, Nathaniel Hawthorne, author The Scarlet Letter and The House of the Seven Gables, was made U.S. consul in Liverpool by the new president, Franklin Pierce, an old college chum. The job did wonders for Hawthorne’s career and his personal exchequer, as American consuls in those days were permitted to pocket the fees they received for issuing visas and passports.

One political appointment proved to be an extraordinary success for both Canada and the U.S. The diplomatist, as people then said, was William Cooper Howells, a writer, editor and printer. He was also an incessant founder of unsuccessful newspapers with names such as the Gleaner, the Retina and the Eclectic Observer. In them he did not stop at arguing for the abolition of slavery but took the next step, calling for full civil rights for African-Americans. His son, William Dean Howells, the famous novelist of late-Victorian America and editor of the Atlantic Monthly, memorized him as “not a very good printer, not a very good editor [but] the best man I have ever known.” Readers may judge for themselves, using W.C. Howells’ autobiography, Recollections of Life in Ohio from 1813–1840. Fewer books than this one can ever have had so unpromising a title.

In the decade following the time covered in his book, the elder Howells found himself the proprietor of a mainstream paper in central Ohio, using it to promote the newly formed Republican Party (the party of Abraham Lincoln, that is, not the one of George W. Bush). Howells loudly endorsed James A. Garfield in his first run for the House of Representatives, and was rewarded for his prescience long before Garfield reached the White House. In 1874, Congressman Garfield persuaded President Ulysses S. Grant to make the elderly editor the American consul in Quebec City. There his daughter, the novelist and journalist Annie Howells, met and married Achille Fréchette, the journalist and poet (whose elder brother was the far better known Quebec poet Louis Fréchette).

Quebec City was far from being a highly desirable posting. For one thing, there was little opportunity for personal financial enrichment as there was in European cities such as Venice, where William Dean Howells himself had served during the Civil War. But the elder Howells threw himself into the job nonetheless, winning friends in a way that amateur American diplomats in Canada rarely do. In time, the damp weather in Quebec began to affect him adversely, and supporters arranged for him to be promoted to the consulship in Toronto. There too he carried out his duties conscientiously, good-naturedly, and with a deep and affectionate interest in Canada’s history and culture. When his patron President Garfield was assassinated, former President Grant and Mark Twain interceded successfully with the new president, Chester Arthur, to keep him from being replaced with some other patronage appointee. In 1883, however, failing health forced him to resign. He died in 1894. His book of recollections was published posthumously.

By that time, his daughter and son-in-law had long since settled in Ottawa (where Fréchette became the chief French-to-English translator in the House of Commons during Sir Wilfrid Laurier’s government). There, they furiously wrote books and articles and presided over a lit-
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Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes was his country’s ambassador to France in the 1970s.

ery salon that at various times included Charles Sangster, W.D. LeSueur, John G. Bourinot, Archibald Campbell, Wilfred Campbell — in fact, pretty much the full roster of 19th-century literary Canada. Until Annie Howells, the anglophone and francophone literary communities had never had a place where they could interact regularly and collegially, equals in the struggle to vivify the arts in Canada.

As for W.C. Howells himself, no other American diplomat had ever taken such a beneficial interest in Canadian writing and culture, learning all he could, at least up to the point beyond which he would have ceased being welcome. Certainly none since his time has done so. Howells was a far cry from the party bagmen, prominent bootleggers and former cowboy actors (I exaggerate slightly) who so often and so staunchly have promoted the views of Foggy Bottom to listeners on Parliament Hill.

George Fetherling’s novel Walt Whitman’s Secret appears later this year (Random House Canada).
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Eating outdoors, or dining al fresco, is the perfect way to absorb and appreciate the wonderful warm summer weather. And al fresco dining can take many shapes. Consider all those pleasure-filled situations where eating takes place in the open-air. It could be in the garden, beside the pool, at a sidewalk café, at the cottage, around a campfire, on a restaurant patio or at a picnic. The options are endless, but since it’s unique and requires some creativity, let’s focus on picnicking.

I think picnics must, to be fun, be a time to relax and enjoy the company of family and friends in the intimate surroundings of nature. Picnics must definitely be convenient, portable and why not also chic? Of course, the clean-up should also be minimal upon returning home.

I thrive on the challenge of bringing a special energy and style to my picnics. Everyone (wee grandchildren and adults) will delight upon seeing a picnic laid out with warm originality, tactfully orchestrated into casual pizzazz. The mood of this al fresco occasion will become energized. It will already be fun and a great success before anyone has sat down.

What’s the secret formula? Convinced that picnicking does not have to be sandwiches in plastic bags and containers, I pack lunch or dinner (from appetizers to dessert) into handy oriental steaming baskets (i.e., dim sum baskets) as well as attractive boxes and a few well-sealed jars. The trick is to carefully line the steaming baskets with plastic wrap and then fit a plate (of slightly smaller diameter) securely into the bottom. (If appropriate, add a bed of lettuce leaves.) In this way, food (even sandwiches, if that suits you) can sit comfortably and naturally in the baskets. Cover the food loosely with plastic wrap before adding another steaming basket or its lid.

I generally use three steaming baskets – one for the main dish, another for accompaniments and a third for salad. The baskets may be filled hours in advance (sometimes the previous evening) and refrigerated until departing on the picnic. If necessary, place the filled steaming baskets into a cooler (or a large strong plastic bag will do) and pack other items (including ice packs) around them. Imagine the thrill of the moment as food is served ceremoniously from these oriental baskets directly onto individual plates. At the same time, food can also be set in attractive boxes lined with plastic wrap or napkins.

In terms of dishes, glasses and flatware, fabulous plastic choices are now available and at economical prices. However, think of using chopsticks whenever possible instead of regular flatware. They continue the Asian theme, they are fun and if lost, it is not a big deal. Fresh cedar planks make excellent bread boards and serving trays for picnics.

To define the picnic space, don’t forget to pack a large blanket or a couple of inexpensive grass or fabric roll-up mats. Take along a colourful, fresh, air-inspired tablecloth to be placed in the centre of your picnic space and upon which the food can be arranged. You may want to consider fabric napkins for two reasons. Besides elevating the picnic to another level, a single fabric napkin may do the job more efficiently than two or three paper ones.

Enjoy your chic al fresco picnic experience. Bon Appétit!

Margaret Dickenson is author of the international award-winning cookbook Margaret’s Table – Easy Cooking & Inspiring Entertaining. See www.margaretssenseofoccasion.com for more.
Blueberry and Almond Rice Salad

Makes about 4 cups or 1 litre (5 to 6 servings)

3 cups (750 mL) cooked long grain rice (cooled)
3/4 to 1 tsp (4 to 5 mL) ground cumin
1/2 tsp (3 mL) finely chopped fresh garlic
1 1/2 to 2 tbsp (23 to 30 mL) mayonnaise
2 to 3 tsp (10 to 15 mL) olive oil (preferably garlic infused)
To taste salt
1 cup (250 mL) fresh blueberries (or dried cranberries or the seeds from 1 or 2 fresh pomegranates)
3 tbsp (45 mL) chopped fresh parsley
1 3/4 cup (80 mL) toasted slivered almonds
1 to 1 1/3 tbsp (15 to 20 mL) mustard-herb vinaigrette (recipe below)

1. Toss rice, cumin and garlic together.
2. Whisk together mayonnaise and oil; drizzle over seasoned rice and toss to combine evenly. Add salt to taste.
3. Fold in blackberries and parsley. Refrigerate for at least an hour if possible or until ready to use.
(Note: The salad may be prepared to this point up to 8 hours** in advance.)
4. Just before serving, add toasted almonds and toss. If desired, drizzle with vinaigrette according to taste and toss.

Mustard Herb Vinaigrette

Makes 1 1/2 cups or 375 mL

3/4 cup (180 mL) salad oil
1/4 cup (60 mL) olive oil
1/4 cup (60 mL) vinegar
2 tbsp (30 mL) lemon juice
1 1/3 tbsp (20 mL) granulated sugar
1 tbsp (15 mL) chopped fresh dill weed
1 tbsp (15 mL) chopped fresh parsley
1 1/2 tsp (8 mL) powdered mustard
1 1/2 tsp (8 mL) finely chopped fresh garlic
1 1/2 tsp (8 mL) salt
1 tsp (5 mL) crushed black peppercorns

1. In a medium size bowl, whisk ingredients together well.
2. Pour vinaigrette into well-sealed glass jars and store refrigerated for up to several weeks.
3. Stir well before using.
The mansion known as Marchmont

The Indonesian ambassador’s residence has a picture-perfect vantage point

By Margo Roston

The home of Indonesian Ambassador Djoko Hardono and his wife, Ulfah, offers panoramic views of the Ottawa and Gatineau rivers.

Indonesian Ambassador Djoko Hardono and his wife, Ulfah, have the best view in Rockcliffe, he says. And who could argue? Perched on a cliff looking out over the Ottawa and Gatineau rivers, their official residence offers a panorama of the town of Gatineau, the Gatineau Hills and, as summer ends, not only fall colours, but the site of the Gatineau Hot Air Balloon Festival.

But the impressive stately home, known as Marchmont, has a lot more going for it than just a view. A sweeping driveway from Manor Avenue leads up to the door of the red brick French Chateau Revival style three-storey mansion, with its gracious window-lined reception rooms, patios and indoor swimming pool.

Just off the foyer full of Indonesian paintings, a long hall showing off intricately carved wooden puppets from Java and Bali extends to the main reception room. The room covers the back of the house with windows and a patio for the view. Indonesian art and orchids – some real, some not – fill the side tables. The room’s highlights are stunning hand-crafted sofas, chairs and an intricate coffee table from Jepara, the central Java city known for teak and mahogany furniture.

A side sitting room has more contemporary furniture and a family area alcove with a TV. The reception room door leads out onto a large patio and garden where, each August, the embassy holds its national day festivities.

The dining room is dominated by a large gilt mirror, and the couple, who entertain twice a month, can seat 24 for sit-down dinners. It opens onto an addition consisting of a small, family dining room with tile floors, a hallway, and a 25-metre indoor swimming pool, surrounded by windows and opening onto a patio. The addition was built 18 years after the Indonesian government bought the house from businessman Mervin Mirsky and his wife, Barbara, in 1977.

The site of the house with its view of the Gatineau River was chosen with care by David Gilmour, a third-generation heir to the Gilmour family lumber fortune. According to Martha Edmond’s Rockcliffe Park: A History of the Village, the house was a kind of homage to a family that, at one time, was the largest sailing ship owner in the world. The family lumber business began in 1853 in Bytown, when the family pulled up stakes in Quebec to take advantage of the new demand for sawn lumber from the American market.

Mr. Gilmour, a former member of the famed Silver Seven hockey team
and founder of D.G. Gilmour Lumber Co., named his house after Marchmont, his ancestral home in Quebec City. The house was finished in 1925, but the family had lived there only seven years before Gilmour died on a hunting trip. It was bought by another scion of a fabled Ottawa family, Walter Eddy Soper. These days, there’s nothing but good cheer in the house. The ambassador proudly shows off some of his own oil paintings, which he works at passionately in his spare time, and while visitors nibble on scrumptious Indonesian spiced layer cake baked by his wife, he serenades his guests with a jazzy set on the piano. The career diplomat, who has served in Turkey, London, Singapore and Tokyo, also plays traditional Indonesian instruments, including the angklung, a percussive bamboo instrument, one of which is displayed in the dining room.

While the ambassador runs the political side of the embassy, it’s clear his wife runs the social backup. With the help of two assistants, she does all the cooking for diplomatic functions. Their 19-year-old son is a student at Rideau High School and two other sons live in Jakarta. “I enjoy the work in the kitchen,” Mrs. Hardono says. Dinner guests can expect to be treated to her specialties—traditional fried noodles, rice and chicken soup along with sate, when invited for dinner. “You should be happy in your life and it will be easier,” she says with a wide smile.

This summer, at the end of August, the family returns home, seemingly with some regret. “Canada is nice,” says the ambassador. “People are friendly.”

Margo Roston is Diplomat’s culture editor.
1. The WaterCan Embassy Dinner took place at Lansdowne Park. Joyce Kallaghe, wife of Tanzanian High Commissioner Peter Kallaghe, attended. (Photo: Frank Scheme) 2. Spouses of foreign heads of mission and the Canadian parliamentary spouses association met at the German Ambassador’s residence in Rockcliffe. Shown (from left) Assetou Diawara (Mali), Christina Höpfner (Germany), Marjatta Pipponen (Finland), Mehera Yakub (Bangladesh), Clare Cary (United Kingdom) and Thea Geerts (Netherlands) (Photo: Thomas Thornquist) 3. Maria Al Masani, a Yemeni Canadian public relations consultant, enjoyed meeting the camel who made a guest appearance at Yemen’s national day reception, hosted by Ambassador Khaled Bahah at the Hilton Lac-Leamy. (Photo: Jean-Marc Carisse) 4. Prior to Gov. Gen. Michâelle Jean’s visit to Norway and the Ukraine, both countries’ ambassadors appeared at a cultural event at Rideau Hall. Shown is Ukrainian Ambassador Ihor Ostash. (Photo: Rideau Hall) 5. Councillor Clive Doucet (left) and Netherlands Ambassador Wim Geerts took part in “Go Green, Go Dutch, Go Bike” during the Tulip Festival. (Photo: Garth Gullekson)
1. Austrian Ambassador Werner Brandstetter, right, and his wife, Leonie Maria, hosted a reception in honour of Canwest Publishing senior vice-president Scott Anderson who received the decoration of merit in gold from Austria. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 2. Katherine Matisi, wife of Greek Ambassador Nikolaos Matisi, and Keiko Nishida, wife of Japanese Ambassador Tsuneo Nishida, at the Humane Society’s annual Fur Ball (photo: Dyanne Wilson). 3. Retired Canadian ambassador Arthur Menzies held a book launch at Foreign Affairs, for his new book, *Australia and the South Pacific Letters Home, 1965-1972*. (Photo: Frank Scheme) 4. At a St. Lucia Independence dinner were, from left, Nefertari Carnadine, Evelyn Greaves, high commissioner for Barbados; his wife, Fran Greaves, and Jacqueline Beckles. (Photo: Sarah Onyango) 5. Langlin Gu, wife of the Chinese ambassador, hosted a Richard Robinson fashion show for the Canadian Federation of University Women. Here, Ms. Gu, and Geng Hailing, also of the Chinese embassy, present traditional Chinese dress. (Photo: Ulle Baum)
New Heads of Mission

Jose Del Carmen Ureña  
Ambassador of Dominican Republic

Mr. Ureña has a degree in accounting and has studied business and marketing at Yale University. He joined the ministry of foreign affairs in 2005 when he was appointed ambassador to Japan, a position he held until he was appointed to Canada this year. Prior to his first posting, he was honorary consul for Hungary in the Dominican Republic from 1994 until 2005. From 1978 to 1996, he was president of Bancomerco and related companies, including Bancomerco Mortgage, Bancomerco Insurance, Bancomerco Development Bank and Data Center.

He has founded several charities and community centres in the Dominican Republic. He has a partner and has three children.

Chan-ho Ha  
Ambassador of the Republic of Korea

Mr. Ha has more than 30 years’ experience in the Korean foreign service, including postings in Pakistan, Austria, Singapore and most recently, as ambassador to Iraq from 2007 to 2009. He also served as minister at Korea’s permanent mission to the United Nations headquarters in New York and has held several high-ranking positions at the foreign ministry in Seoul. He served in the prime minister’s office, and as deputy director-general for international organizations, ambassador for geographic names and special commissioner for investment inducement.

He studied English and literature at Donghae University in Pusan, then went to graduate school for a business administration degree at Pusan National University. He is married and has two sons.

Simon Wanyonyi Nabukwesi  
High Commissioner for Kenya

His diplomatic posting to the top job at the high commission in Canada is Mr. Nabukwesi’s first. He began his career in 1989, as a teacher, and eventually became a school principal for 11 years. During this time, he was involved with the Kenya Secondary Schools Principals Association, and through this group, he traveled the world to attend conferences and exchange programs.

Mr. Nabukwesi has a post-graduate degree in education planning and management, and completed a management course at Hiroshima University, Japan. He is married to Evelyn Mabel Lung’ahi, who is also a high school principal. They have five children.

Nouzha Chekrouni  
Ambassador of Morocco

Ms. Chekrouni comes to diplomacy after a career in academia and politics. She has a post-graduate diploma completed in 1979 at the Sorbonne Nouvelle in Paris.

A linguistics professor who speaks Arabic, French, English, and Spanish, she headed up the languages and French literature department at the University of Meknes from 1986 to 1990. She also taught classical Arabic at Middlebury College in Vermont in 1990.

Heavily involved in the labour movement, she served as delegate minister in charge of women’s issues, family, child protection and integration of the disabled
from 1998 to 2002 and spent the following five years as a member of parliament and minister in charge of Moroccans abroad. Ms. Chekrouni is married and has two children.

Akbar Zeb
High Commissioner for Pakistan

Mr. Zeb studied at Aitchison College in Lahore, as well as Edwards College Peshawar and Cambridge University. He joined Pakistan’s foreign service in 1979 and obtained a degree in French from the Institute of Modern Languages in 1981.

He has served in various capacities at the foreign ministry and was in Washington from 1983 to 1987. From 1994 to 2000, he was Pakistan’s deputy high commissioner to India and from 2000 to 2002, he served as director general (Europe) and then director general for the Americas for the following year. He served as Pakistan’s high commissioner to South Africa from 2003 to 2005 and then as ambassador to Afghanistan from June to September 2005. He then served as director general (disarmament.)

Eudaldo Mirapeix
Ambassador of Spain

Mr. Mirapeix is a career diplomat who has a bachelor of law and a master’s in international public policy from Johns Hopkins University.

He started his career in the foreign service with postings in Washington and Lisbon and then became director general for North America and Asia at headquarters in 1985. He became Spain’s ambassador to Egypt in 1990 and, for three of his five years there, he also served as non-resident ambassador to Sudan. In 1995, he was ambassador to Cuba, and two years later, to Jordan. He returned to Madrid in 2001 as special ambassador for Mediterranean affairs and was ambassador to Israel from 2003 to 2008.

Mr. Mirapeix is married and has a daughter and a son.

His Excellency Mohamed Abdulla Al Ghaflie
Ambassador Designate of the United Arab Emirates

Mr. Al Ghaflie began his government service in the UAE Air Force, reaching the rank of lieutenant colonel. The government then transferred him from the military to diplomacy. He served for seven years at the UAE mission in Paris, initially as first secretary and later as minister.

He has studied in several countries, including France, Egypt, Greece and the United States. In 2000, he obtained his master’s in military studies at the French Staff Military College. He also has a bachelor of science in electronic engineering from Colorado Technical University.

Ambassador Al Ghaflie is married. He and his wife have four children, two daughters and two sons. He is fluent in English and French.
New Non-heads of Mission

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Attaché

Morita
Antonio

Leonor
De
Fatima
A.R.
De
Ferreira
Attaché
Australia
Julie Anne Heckscher
Deputy High Commissioner and Counsellor

Bolivia
José C. Aldunate Lujan
Air Attaché

Bosnia and Herzegovina
Mithat Pasic
Counsellor

Bulgaria
Svetozar Boykov Velikov
Attaché

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ShaoHua Liu
First Secretary
Xiaobin Lu
First Secretary
Minmin Jin
Attaché
Lianghua Li
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Loukou Emilienne Diby
Lesme
Counsellor

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Attaché
Maykel Vega Vaquero
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Ana Melba Rosario De Arias
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Serbia
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Military Attaché
Sulaiman Ali Mohamed

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Assistant Military Attaché

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James Andrew Libovitz
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‘GO WHERE IRELAND TAKES YOU IN 2009’

BY DECLAN KELLY
Ambassador of Ireland

With fascinating history and a culture thousands of years in the making, the Irish people and inspiring scenery are still the main reasons why the island of Ireland is loved by so many. Declan Kelly, Ambassador of Ireland to Canada, highlights some of his favourite spots throughout Ireland and invites you to experience the many unexpected sights, people and places that this island has to offer.

Dublin – A City of Living Culture
My wife, Anne, and I were both born in Dublin. Today, Ireland’s capital city proudly commands title as one of Europe’s top urban hotspots, renowned for its beauty and culture. It is also known for its friendliness as TripAdvisor recently voted Dublin the friendliest city in Europe for 2009.

Dublin is a city with a thriving culture and is steeped in a tradition of literary excellence. It is the birthplace of world-renowned James Joyce and winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature: William Butler Yeats, George Bernard Shaw and Samuel Beckett. Today, it is home to literary landmarks such as the James Joyce Tower, the Writers Museum, the famous Gate and Abbey theatres and historic Trinity College, alma mater of many of Ireland’s greatest writers and keeper of the world-famous, ancient and ornate Biblical manuscript, the Book of Kells.

The Castles and Gardens of Dublin
Dubliners are lucky to have so many beautiful parks to choose from, including St. Stephen’s Green and Merrion Square, in the heart of the city, and many others in the surrounding suburbs. Just three kilometres from the city centre is Phoenix Park, Europe’s largest enclosed urban park and home to Dublin Zoo since 1830. The official residence of the President of Ireland is also located in the park.

With our three children, Ruth, Declan and Richard, and our granddaughter, Isabelle, living in Dublin, we have many reasons to go home each year. When in Ireland, one of our favourite pastimes is visiting the wonderful castles and gardens which abound in Ireland.

The National Botanic Gardens in Glasnevin, incidentally five minutes from where Anne and I went to secondary school, was founded in 1795. The recently restored Victorian-era glass houses are very special. When we go to the Gardens, Anne and I always visit the orchid collection and the magnificent Palm House.

Within a 30-minute drive from Dublin airport, you can visit three of our favourite castles/country houses, each set in magnificent grounds and ideal for a family outing. Malahide Castle, for example, features beautiful period furniture and an extensive collection of Irish portrait paintings and offers a special treat to children with the magnificent Fry Model Railway. A short distance from Malahide Castle, Newbridge House in Donabate is a delightful 18th Century manor set on a 350-acre estate. There is also the beautiful Ardgillan Castle, located between Balbriggan and Skerries. Built in 1783, it stands on an elevated coastline and boasts magnificent views of the Irish Sea.

A further 25 minutes north from...
Ardgillan Castle are the world famous megalithic tombs (3500-2000 B.C) at Newgrange, County Meath. The passage tomb at Newgrange was built more than 5,000 years ago and it is exactly positioned so that at dawn on the winter Solstice, a shaft of light penetrates the passageway and illuminates the inner chamber. A beautifully designed interpretative centre explains with wonderful dioramas the rich history of the site.

Ireland – Value for your Loonie
One great thing about travelling to Ireland right now is the unbelievable special offers to be had on air fare and accommodation. Discounted passes are also available, including the Ireland Visitor Discount Pass, with reductions on more than 100 attractions. The Northern Ireland at a Glimpse and Ireland at a Glimpse booklets contain substantial reductions on various attractions. “Ireland’s Heritage, Theatre, Music and Festivals Explorer” provides a list of 130 top discounted venues. You can also save money at more than 30 attractions around Dublin City with the “Dublin Pass.”

From the spectacular St. Patrick’s Festival in March to events such as Bloomday, Bloom in the Park and the Festival of World Cultures, Dublin is hosts hundreds of festivals and events throughout the year. Visit the Guinness Storehouse and Ireland’s National Stadium, Croke Park, to join in on year-long festivities celebrating the 250th anniversary of Dubliners’ favourite drink, Guinness, and the 125th anniversary of the G.A.A (the Gaelic Athletic Association).

Northern Ireland
Northern Ireland’s natural beauty is intertwined with rich traditions and culture. This region of Ireland consists of a wide coastline of sandy beaches and crystal clear waters. From oyster festivals to authentic horse fairs, from ancient castles to elegant country houses, this spectacular part of Ireland is packed with things to do.

Belfast, capital of Northern Ireland, prides itself on diversity and its status as one of Europe’s most exciting cities. It was one of only three European cities to top the Frommer’s Hot Spots List of must-see destinations for 2009, just one year after being listed on Lonely Planet’s Top Ten Cities on the Rise. Check out where the Titanic was built, marvel at the architecture of City Hall and Queen’s University, or immerse yourself in Belfast’s sparkling city life. Must-sees include the Custom House, the exquisitely opulent Grand Opera House and an architectural gem, the Crown Bar. The city can be divided into four quarters, each with a particular story: the Queen’s Quarter, the Gaeltacht Quarter, the Titanic Quarter and the city’s oldest quarter, the Cathedral Quarter. This August, Belfast will host the Grand Finale of the Tall Ships Atlantic Challenge -- all the way from Halifax, Canada! For four days and nights, the quaysides of the city will be packed full of fun and excitement with music, street theatre, food markets, fireworks, and performances suitable for everyone in the family.

North of Belfast, you will find the magnificent Causeway Coastal Route, a drive that offers dramatic scenery and some 200 kilometres of stunning coastline, windswept cliffs, unspoilt beaches and lands dotted with historic castles, churches and forts. This route includes the Giant’s Causeway, the Carrick-a-Rede Rope Bridge and Dunluce Castle. The Giant’s Causeway, a UNESCO World Heritage site, is renowned for its columns of layered basalt which mystified ancients believed to be the work of legendary giant Finn McCool. It is said he built a causeway of stones so that his great Scottish rival, Benandonner, could have no excuse not to travel across the seas and face him in battle.

West of Ireland
The west of Ireland is known as ‘The Cultural Heart of Ireland,’ for a variety of reasons, and I consider a vacation in this region to be the authentic Irish experience. From Donegal in the North to Cork in the South, the West of Ireland is home to a landscape that will leave you speechless and people that will envelope you with their charm.

Galway is a city literally alive with culture. Located on the Atlantic Coast of Ireland, you’ll be sure to find plenty of music, dancing, street theatre, ‘craic’ (fun) and atmosphere.

This thriving city enjoys a strong artistic heritage and a flourishing arts, music, theatre and film scene. Home to the renowned Galway Arts Festival in July, it also hosts the Galway Oyster Festival in September, where you’ll encounter live music, the finest gourmet seafood and the best Guinness in town. In the last week of July each year, a wonderful week of thoroughbred horse racing takes place there.

County Mayo has the dramatic splendour of the Atlantic Ocean, and boasts the glorious island of Achill, the award-winning “Tidy Town” of Westport and Ireland’s holy mountain Croagh Patrick among its many sights. Unchanged for millennia, the landscape...
for the ‘gift of the gab!’

Waterford City, strikingly beautiful, was founded by the Vikings in 853AD. Its long theatrical and musical tradition includes the Waterford Opera Festival, Waterford Spraoi Festival and the Hullabaloo International Children’s Festival, making this one of the most vibrant vacation cities in the Ireland.

And 2009 is a great year for the medieval city of Kilkenny, as it celebrates its 400th anniversary. Visit the 800-year-old Norman castle that overlooks the ancient streets or go to the National Crafts Council, centre for Kilkenny’s thriving arts and crafts industry.

Culinary Ireland

Ireland has become a destination for food-lovers. Gourmet travellers come to try our seafood, experience renowned top cookery schools, excellent artisan industries, our unique farmer’s markets and Michelin-starred restaurants.

One region that particularly stands for its culinary excellence is Ireland’s South West, home to Ireland’s gourmet capital, Kinsale town, as well as the Ballymaloe Cookery School, the only cookery school in the world located in the middle of its own 100-acre organic farm. Founded by celebrated chef Darina Allen, the school’s emphasis is on food – growing it, preparing it, cooking it, eating it and, crucially, savouring it.

If you find yourself roaming the Emerald Isle, try some Irish soda bread -- Ireland is well-known for its many delicious and mouth-watering breads. Irish farmhouse cheese is always a favourite too but nothing beats Irish seafood – crabs, lobster, prawns, whitefish, salmon – its lamb or grass-fed beef. Sample local, organic and artisan produce from a farmer’s market – the perfect purveyors of food from the ground to your table.

If you want to do a gourmet tour of Ireland, then look up “The Blue Book,” a comprehensive list of exceptional properties, and “Good Food Ireland,” an organization that promotes the country’s exceptional gastronomic enterprises.

South of Ireland

Famed for its relaxed pace of life and outstanding natural beauty, the South promises endless variety and opportunities for sightseeing, great shopping, outdoor activities, lively towns and villages, and some real gourmet delights.

Kerry boasts an abundance of incredible spas and the world-famous scenic drive, the ‘Ring of Kerry.’ Cork City offers a plethora of diversions, from the 300-year-old tower of St. Anne’s Church, to the French Gothic spires of St. Finbarr’s Cathedral. The English Market stalls sell food from all over the world and don’t forget to visit Blarney Castle and don’t forget to visit Blarney Castle stalls sell food from all over the world.

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Golf

Ireland is famous for golfing. Given the size of our country, it is bewildering that we can boast more than 420 courses, 150 of which are genuine links courses. That’s greater than one-third of the world’s coastal links courses. Ireland also continues to host major tournaments: The 2011 Solheim Cup will take place in Ireland on the Nicklaus course at Killeen Castle in County Meath and the 2009 Irish Open returns to the classic links of the County Louth Club, Baltray.

I believe there are two reasons in particular why golfers are besotted by Ireland. Firstly, there are numerous hidden gems waiting to be discovered, in addition to the stunning courses of greater fame. Secondly, Ireland provides many options that can enhance the golfing experience, such as outstanding accommodation and world-class comfort. Try resorts such as the new Lough Erne Resort (County Fermanagh), the Doonbeg Lodge and Golf Club (Co. Clare) Druids Glen and Druids Heath Golf Courses (Co. Dublin), the K Club (Co. Kildare -- home to the 2006 Ryder Cup), Dromoland Castle (Co. Clare) or the Slieve Donard Resort and Spa (Co. Down).

2009 Highlights

As well as the Guinness 250th, GAA 125th and Kilkenny 400th anniversaries, another event taking place includes the traditional Irish music festival known as the All-Ireland Feadh Cheoil, held in Tullamore, Co. Offaly from August 16 – 23, 2009. Also in August, the Tour of Ireland (August 19 – 23) which will see around 126 top professional cyclists from Europe, the U.S. and Canada compete in an adrenaline-pumping tour around much of the South, West and Midlands of Ireland. There is also the Kilkenny Arts Festival (August 7-16), The Dublin Theatre Festival (September 24 – October 11) and the Belfast Festival at Queens (October 16 – 31).

If you vacation in Ireland, be spontaneous and allow for the unplanned, as you will be taken in by the warmth of the people and the unique characters you will encounter in this beautiful land.

Getting there has never been easier. Fly direct from Toronto, Hamilton and Montreal with Air Canada, Air Transat and Flyglobespan.

See www.discoverireland.com for more information on travel in the Island of Ireland. You can also call 1800 SHAMROCK or email info.ca@tourismireland.com.

Declan Kelly is Ireland’s ambassador to Canada. Tourism Ireland assisted with this article.
he Romanian-Canadian bond dates back to 1896, when the Honourable Clifford Sifton, Canada’s minister of the interior, visited Bucovina, a Romanian province that belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He encouraged farmers there to migrate to Canada. From 1896 to 1900, a group of Romanians settled in Saskatchewan. Two families from the Romanian village, Boian, stopped in Alberta in 1898. Another 30 Boian families followed. They gave their Canadian settlement the name of their village of origin. Born near Boian myself, I visited the other Boian, near Edmonton, in May 2007.

There, the Romanian Cultural Centre, the Museum and the Orthodox Church preserve the treasures of Romanian traditions, paying tribute to generations of immigrants that brought Canada’s progress and brightness. Each encounter with Romanian communities living in Canada has re-confirmed to me the richness of our common history. I have seen all over Canada how well this history melds with modern days.

The official partnership started in July 1919, when Lt. Colonel Joe Boyle convinced Prime Minister Robert Borden to help Romania. World War I had left Romania in an appalling condition. Bereft of food or fuel, people starved and froze. Boyle was a well-known war hero in Europe, called the Saviour of Romania. He had devoted himself, with great courage, to recover part of the Romanian treasury from Russia, to protect the Royal Family and to negotiate the release of high-ranking officers who had been taken prisoners on the Eastern Front. He had met Romania’s Queen Marie, on the night of Romania’s capitulation to Germany, becoming her confidant.

When the war ended, he procured aid for Romania from the British Cabinet and the U.S. Red Cross, and upheld Romanian interests at the Paris Peace Conference. Col. Boyle traveled from Bucharest to Paris and met Herbert Hoover, president of the Allied Council for Feeding, and organized three convoys of food for Romania. Then he met Prime Minister Borden in London where he got a loan of $25 million’s worth of Canadian products. Col. Boyle was designated as government representative to deliver the aid offered by Canada. A written agreement, signed by him and the Romanian Prime Minister, could be considered the first diplomatic act between our countries.

A Romanian consular office was set up on August 16, 1919, in Montreal; on December 1 that year, it became an Honorary Consulate General, the first Romanian diplomatic institution in Canada. The Consulate’s activity, over time, strengthened cultural ties between the two countries, established economic agreements and represented the interests of the Romanians living in Canada.

In 1920, the Hon. Geo A. Simard from Quebec was Honorary Consul of Romania in Montreal. In 1926, three years after the Col. Boyle’s death in London, Queen Marie visited Canada. She never forgot either his great friendship or the poetry of Canadian Robert Service that the colonel had recited to her. As requested by the Queen, two of his lines were engraved on Boyle’s tomb. (Actually, Service himself stayed a couple of days in Bucharest, as a war correspondent.)

On July 20, 1927, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King asked the Honorary Consul General of Romania in Montreal “to convey to Her Majesty the Queen Mary the deep sympathy of the Canadian Government and people at the passing away of King Ferdinand.” In 1931, an Honorary Consul of Romania, Marcel Romanet, was appointed in Regina. In May 1938, the Romanian grand tenor, Jean Nicolesco, performed in Montreal in the presence of the corps consulaire. Canadians newspapers highlighted his triumph and the enthusiasm showed by representatives of France, Italy, Poland, Greece, the U.S. and others.

On April 3, 1967, Paul Martin, secretary of state for external affairs, and the Romanian deputy minister, met in Ottawa to discuss establishment of diplomatic relations at the embassy level. The Embassy of Romania to Canada was opened in 1970. Canada commissioned its first ambassador in Bucharest in 1976, the year that Romanian gymnast Nadia Comaneci earned seven perfect 10s at the Olympic Games in Montreal.

Since then, the two countries have built a multi-faceted relationship, with sound cooperation across important policy areas. They share membership in the UN, OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), la Francophonie and NATO. They have established a solid legal framework to guide their cooperation, with future agreements under consideration.

A vibrant community, numbering more than 200,000 citizens of Romanian
origin, contributes to Canada's prosperity while also improving and diversifying the bilateral dialogue. To assist them, Romania has two Consulates General (in Montreal and Toronto), an Honorary Consulate (in Moncton) and intends to open a third Consulate General (in Vancouver). At the same time, hundreds of Canadians live and work in Romania, bringing their added-value to our society. Seven Romanian universities host Canadian Studies Centres. We are optimistic that Romanian civilization chairs in Ottawa and Toronto will be established soon.

In terms of trade, Romania is an important partner of Canada in Europe. Canada and its partners have built two CANDU reactors at the Cernavoda power plant. The site provides almost 18 percent of Romania’s electricity. Numerous Canadian companies are involved in the Romanian infrastructure sector, natural resources, electronics and engineering. We are enjoying strong economic links and there is plenty of room to grow, given the great potential as Romania accesses structural funds and Canadian business people offer their expertise.

Although separated by significant geographical distance, the two countries value a longstanding partnership and close cooperation in crucial fields, including defence and energy. As they commemorate their 90th anniversary, the bilateral dialogue has been focused on adequately matching these excellent political ties by increased trade and investment. Two high-ranking diplomats from Romanian Foreign Affairs discussed energy security projects with DFAIT officials in Ottawa. The Romanian deputy minister of transport participated in Toronto at a debate on regional infrastructure initiatives. Several Canadian companies representing the nuclear sector visited Romania. International Trade Minister Stockwell Day signed a Foreign Investment Protection Agreement in Bucharest. Speaker of the Senate Noel Kinsella led a parliamentary delegation to Romania.

There are grounds for optimism that our economic benefits will continually rise over the coming years. All lessons learned serve as a basis for future cooperation as equal partners, while development of the South-Eastern European region opens up new opportunities.

Elena Stefoi is Romania’s ambassador to Canada.

**DISCOVERING ROMANIA THROUGH THE DANUBE GATEWAY**

Whether they seek luxury and comfort, wildlife experiences or resorts and health spa retreats, Canadians can make a splendid holiday choice by taking a “floating vacation” through Romania.

A Danube River cruise is the best way to experience the greatness of the European continent, its cultural heritage and dynamic development. Covering the Southern Romanian territory from West to East, Danube cruises are easy on the budget, yet satisfy even the most discriminating tastes.

The Danube is a scenic river whose picturesque, winding course passes through forested areas, rich farmland, imperial cities, old villages, spectacular gorges that run between the Carpathians and Balkans mountains, a fascinating Delta, towards its final destination – the Black Sea and miles of golden sand on Romanian beaches.

“King of European Rivers,” as Napoleon dubbed it, the Danube is also the most international river basin in the world: It covers part or all of 19 riparian countries, being the subject of many treaties, as well. In his Blue Danube Waltz, Johann Strauss expressed the charm and the romance of its gorgeous landscapes, its vineyard-valleys, its cities’ baroque palaces and gothic cathedrals and incredibly well-preserved medieval ruins.

Romania has been blessed with the final 1,075 kilometres of the Danube – 38 percent of its length. The part where the river acquires Romanian citizenship begins in Bazias. Legend says that the Romanian ancestors used to drink water from the Danube before leaving for a battle, convinced that it had the power to instil courage and good luck. This belief may be shared by today’s sailors who reach the gorgeous area called the Danube Cauldrons, beyond Bazias. An exercise of virtuosity is required here to slip past the steep calcareous rocks. On this route, the Danube flows through a narrow gorge – the Iron Gates. Before the river merges into the sea, the tourist can enjoy stunning sights. The pleasure of a cruise combines with the chance to explore the treasure and civilizations of some of Romania’s most impressive destinations: Orsova, Drobeta Turnu Severin, Giurgiu, Oltenita, Cernavoda, Mehedinti, Romania’s most impressed destinations.

MRACONIA MONASTERY ON THE DANUBE GORGE IN MEHEDIINTI, SOUTHWESTERN ROMANIA
Braila and Tulcea. All of them are cities built on the sites of antique settlements and fortresses.

Near Cernavoda, at Hamangia, a marvellous surprise has been offered to mankind: two small clay statues, of modest dimensions, considered masterpieces of Neolithic art. One, a man with his elbows on his knees, his head resting upon his hands, in a thinking position, and the other, a woman with a big, fertile belly, embody the primordial couple and the mystery of life. They were discovered in 1959 and currently can be admired at the Museum of National History in Bucharest. This ancient landmark, called “The Thinker of Hamangia,” was chosen as the symbol of the 11th Sommet de La Francophonie, hosted by Romania in 2006.

Arriving in Constanta, Romania’s biggest port but also the city where the Roman poet, Ovid, wrote some of the most delicate poems of love of the ancient world, the visitor may admire the flourishing fortress of Tomis, the eclectic architecture that arises from the ethnic mix, the Casino that guards the sea, the charming and fancy cafes on the beach. Romania’s Black Sea Coast resorts mean holidays in a Mediterranean style, offering a wide range of inland attractions and leisure activities from wildlife to water sports, as well as a string of therapeutic and health spas that cater to all ages and interests. Throughout the summer season, there are feasts with local dishes, plum brandy, wine, music and dancing for every person who wants to touch the heart of the warm, welcoming Romanian experience.

Not far away, lie the Greek ruins at Histria, the circular monument built at Adancai to commemorate the victory of the Roman emperor Trajan, the Murfatar and Niculitel vineyards, where the wines are white or red, sweet and flavoured, with a soft bouquet reminiscent of flowers from the region and the restless whispers of the sea waves. In the Macin’ Mountains area, whose central part has been granted National Park status, there are close to 560 species of superior plants, rare fauna and coloured granite rock of astonishing shapes.

Seaside vacationers can join organized trips to a number of locations in the country, including the painted monasteries of Bucovina, the nation’s capital city of Bucharest, Dracula’s Castle in nearby Brasov or the Danube Delta.

Before emptying into Black Sea, the great Danube splits into three branches; in their turn, these divide into countless channels and streams, lakes and sand banks, woods and expanses of rushes. It is the fabulous Delta, formed in less than a thousand years, a veritable oasis for the people stressed by the metropolitan life. The cruise liners’ route, from Tulcea to their terminus at Sulina on the Delta, is pure, breathtaking beauty.

With its birdlife and mysterious waters, the Danube Delta has been given the triple status of nature reserve, Ramsar Convention wetlands zone and UNESCO World Natural Heritage site. It houses almost 160 species of fish, both salt and fresh water, and more than 300 species of birds. It is one of the few wetlands of major global importance, celebrated and traversed since ancient times, a favourite destination for specialist and tourist alike.

The Danube Delta is particularly favourable for growing all kinds of vegetables and watermelons. Its small vineyards produce a light, rosy wine. Whoever comes to this part of Romania will not be able to resist the temptation to sample its famous dishes: cheese pie baked in a round brass dish, belly broth (soup made with lamb or pork bellies), lamb stew or steamed quail. The variety of Delta fish is endless; garlic juice and polenta enhance many mouth-watering fish culinary delicacies; the taste of “fish borsch,” known as “the star of Delta recipes” – nowhere has the same savour of Paradise. All visitors down through the centuries have marvelled at the bounty of fish and the skills of fishermen, especially those who battle with huge sturgeon at the mouth of the Danube. The fishing villages offer the image of a multicultural world: alongside Romanians live Russians and Ukrainians; their festivals and olden time songs, in a magnificent setting, are formidable.

So are holidays in Romania!
Masterpiece performances in Chamberfest 09

From July 25 to August 8, more than 250 of the world’s finest musicians gather for the 16th Ottawa International Chamber Music Festival for two weeks of superb music-making. Once again, the diplomatic community makes a significant contribution to the Festival, beginning with the festival launch hosted on May 20 by the Embassy of France at the lovely residence of Ambassador François Delattre. On July 28, the Embassy of Israel sponsors the Aviv Quartet in a celebration of the 60th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Canada and Israel.

This year, Chamberfest 09 celebrates the 200th anniversary of Haydn’s death and Mendelssohn’s birth. More than a dozen string quartets from around the world and a handful of piano trios and other ensembles perform masterpieces by these musical giants. Each festival day begins with Highlights from Haydn – a live performance of a piece by Haydn. A colourful concert by James Campbell and Gene DiNovi celebrates the 100th anniversary of Benny Goodman’s birth.

“This festival is a celebration of that special bond between performer and audience, where the magical communication of music happens. We all know and love that exchange of energy that has kept us all coming back for more,” says Roman Borys, on behalf of Artistic Directors, the Gryphon Trio.

Chamberfest begins with a spectacular opening benefit concert featuring Grammy and Juno award winner James Ehnes and Jon Kimura Parker partnering on an Ottawa stage for the very first time.

Early Music aficionados will be thrilled with performances by Juno-award-winning Ensemble Caprice and world-renowned soprano Ann Monoyios. Canadian composer Gary Kulesha offers insights as the host of New Music Dialogues, a series of concerts featuring many

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Ottawa performers. Renowned European musicologist Harry Halbreich returns to offer “Musical Musings” on the day’s concerts.

The next generation of virtuosos are well represented by Calgary pianist 14-year-old Jan Lisiecki and the Afara Quartet, Canada’s hottest new entry on the international quartet scene. The ever-popular Rising Stars highlights accomplished young local artists.

Young People’s Concerts make their popular return, as well as family-friendly concerts presented in partnership with the Rideau Canal Festival. The first of two concerts involves the crowd making music while participating in the Rideau Canal Festival’s Bicycle Parade. The second concert features Chamberfest musicians animating dozens of decorated boats in the

Ottawa Canal Flotilla. Be captivated by brass musicians performing from flotilla boats, on the shore and the bridges above.

Chamberfest brings Late Night concerts to Ottawa’s coolest hot spot, Saint Brigid’s Emerald Club (Saint Brigid’s Centre for the Arts and Humanities). Festival-goers can relax with their favourite brew as they enjoy classical, jazz and world music while mingling with musicians in an informal, relaxed atmosphere.

The festival closes with a dazzling benefit concert. CelebrateEIGHT! includes Ottawa’s own Donna Brown and the Festival Cello Ensemble (eight cellos!) performing the glorious Bachianas Brasileras No. 5 and the St. Lawrence String Quartet and the Ying Quartet performing Mendelssohn’s famous Octet.

All ticket information and the full schedule are available online at www.chamberfest.com or by calling 613-234-6306.
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