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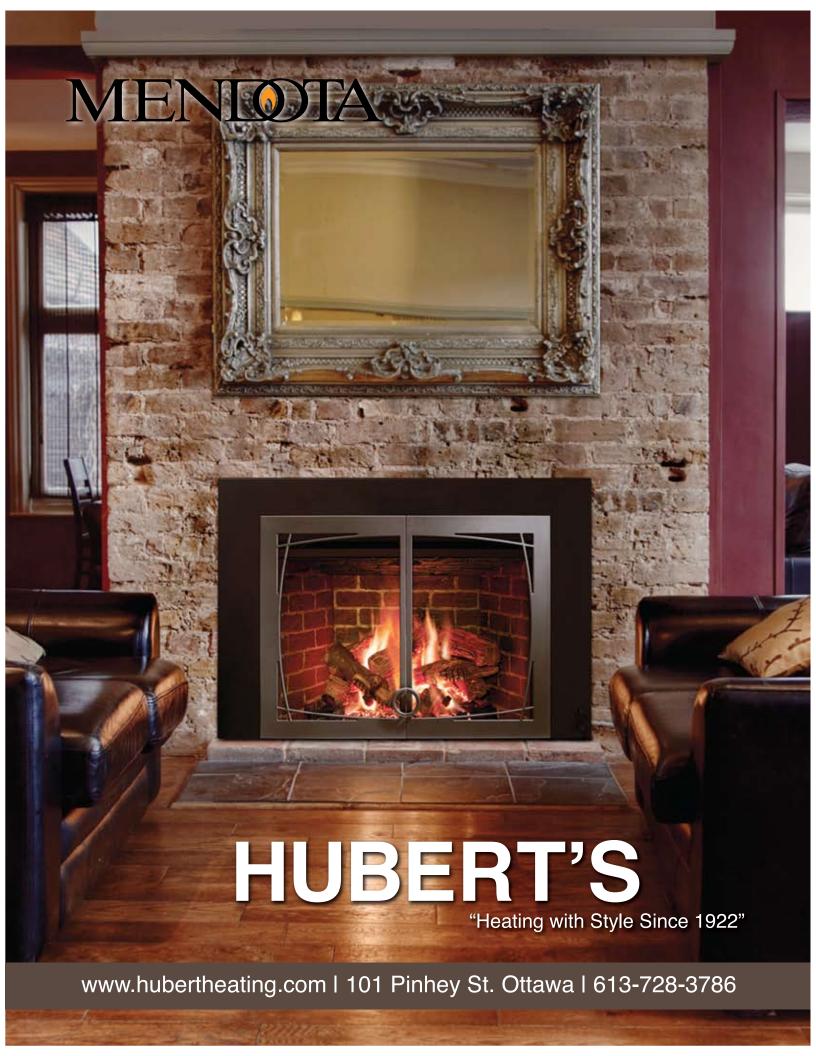
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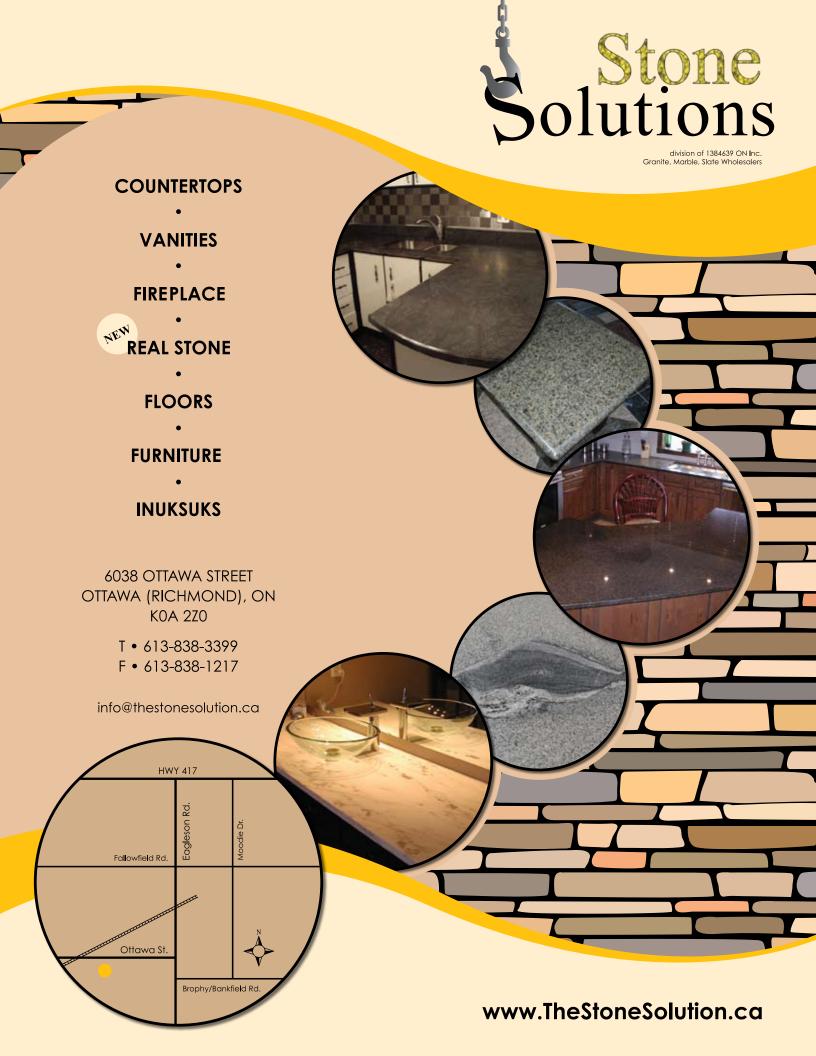
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#### The dominant issue

Then former EU Ambassador Dorian Prince arrived in late 2006, he vowed that before he returned to Brussels, Canada and the EU would have a trade deal. That didn't quite materialize (Ambassador Prince left about a year earlier than expected.) But by the time he did, the process was underway. A joint study looked at the costs and benefits of a "closer EU-Canada economic partnership." A "scoping exercise" followed to decide what would be on the table for the actual negotiations (which were announced at the Canada-EU Summit in Prague in May 2009.)

The Europeans are careful not to call it a free trade agreement because they feel it will go beyond that. Indeed, it will go beyond the landmark Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement signed in 1988. The voices of dissension aren't nearly as vocal now as they were back then, particularly given the scope of the agreement which will cover trade in goods and services, investment, government procurement, regulatory cooperation, intellectual property, labour mobility, competition policy, among others.

This is clearly the deal that dominates Canadian trade strategy. Given this, publisher Donna Jacobs interviewed Trade Minister Peter Van Loan, who discussed his department's priorities. He talked about the obstacles to the Canada-EU partnership and shared his own stories about

his upbringing and his Estonian heritage.

Still on the trade front, we offer a look at Canada's current and pending deals and have a column by trade expert Phil Rourke, who gets into the nitty-gritty of the Canada-EU deal.

Also in Dispatches, we have the story of Albanian Muslims who quietly opened their homes to Jews during Albania's occupation by Axis powers during the Second World War. The rescuers were operating under the concept of besa, an Albanian code that means "faith" or "keep the promise." This promise meant giving refuge to persecuted Albanian Jews and those who fled neighbouring countries. A touring photo exhibit documenting these stories will come to Canada this year and we offer a preview of photographer Norman H. Gershman's images.

We also visit Canada's North. After the Harper government announced a new Arctic strategy, it's fitting that regular contributor Laura Neilson Bonikowsky gives us an overview of Arctic sovereignty. Meanwhile, Chantaie Allick, who recently won a scholarship to travel to Norway, tells us how far ahead Norway is in developing policy for the North.

Further in Dispatches, veteran journalist Clyde Sanger, who covered Africa for the *Manchester Guardian* newspaper in the 1960s, details how Nathan Shamuyarira — journalist, cabinet minister, godfather to Mr. Sanger's son and Mugabe loyalist — has changed during the regime of Robert Mugabe, who has ruled Zimbabwe for 30 years.

In Delights, books editor George Fetherling looks at titles about the first Vietnam war and provides an entertaining travel piece about his visit to Dien Bien Phu.

We also have our regular features on entertaining, residences, wine and Canadian history.

I hope you enjoy our fall edition.

Jennifer Campbell is *Diplomat's* editor.

#### **UP FRONT**

Toronto Star staff photographer René Johnston took this photo of Trade Minister Peter Van Loan at home on the Georgina farm his family has owned since the late 1960s. His cabinet portfolio means he now travels the world in search of new trade opportunities for Canada, but on the rare occasions when he is in his York-Simcoe riding, he lives at the farm. Our trade package, which features interviews with Mr. Van Loan, details from Canada's trade agreements, and a column on the Canada-EU trade deal, begins on page 22.



#### CONTRIBUTORS

**Clyde Sanger** 



Mr. Sanger is an Ottawa-based journalist and international development specialist. He spent eight years in East and Central Africa, and was Africa correspondent for The Guardian (1960-1965) and then its UN correspondent (1965-1967) before moving to Canada and joining the editorial board of The Globe and Mail. He remained Ottawa correspondent for The Economist until 2006. He has also worked in CIDA, IDRC and the Commonwealth Secretariat, and been a lecturer at Carleton School of Journalism and in Zimbabwe and Costa Rica. He has written a dozen books, mostly on international affairs, and once climbed Mt. Kilimanjaro in three days.

#### Randi Winter



Ms. Winter is a travel writer based in Vancouver who, as a former director of The Eye Contact Foundation, has traveled to Israel, Albania, Kosova, the U.S. and Canada. She is currently writing a series of children's books for the families of children diagnosed with lifethreatening diseases. And through her travel agency, www.passionatetravel. com, she is working to create tourism experiences in Albania and Kosova as her way to say, to the Muslims who saved Jews in World War II, thank you — in Albanian, faleminderit: "I bow to your honour."

# Taiwan-Canada-China: A triplewin model to prosperity

By David T. Lee



hen Taiwan and China signed the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) in June 2010, it meant opening the door for deeper economic ties across the Taiwan Strait but it was also a significant milestone after decades of hostilities and confrontation.

When Taiwanese President Ma Yingjeou took office two years ago, he wanted to improve on relations which, for more than a decade, had soured to the point of several mini-crises. China reciprocated accordingly.

Travel for business or pleasure has never been easier. More than 370 direct flights go between Taiwan and China each week, both ways. The flight from Taipei to Shanghai takes only 90 minutes and last year, 5.5 million visits took place across the Strait. Three million of them were the direct result of a ban that was lifted on direct flights.

Among the 14 cross-strait agreements signed between Taiwan and China under President Ma's administration, ECFA is the most significant one. The key to its speedy negotiations and effective implementation in the future is the "early harvest" mechanism, which sets out the elimination of tariffs on products ranging from petrochemical, steel and iron, textiles, machinery and auto parts, to even the most sensitive agricultural items. Tariffs on 539 Taiwanese products worth CAD\$460 million and 267 Chinese goods worth CAD\$95 million are expected to be phased out in two years.

While ECFA is economically beneficial to Taiwan and China, windows of opportunity open for Canada at the same time. I have discussed this with Canadian government and business leaders and they are



Chiang Pin-Kung, chairman of Taiwan's Straits Exchange Foundation (left) and Chen Yunlin, chairman of China's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait, signed the Ecomomic Cooperation Framework Agreement in China this summer.

extremely interested in the implications of this new trade era.

Taiwan has been a major, active trading country and known powerhouse of information and communication technologies internationally for decades while Canada has been equally competitive in the same areas. Collaboration between the two countries has been steady. After the global economic meltdown in 2008, the world economy is gradually reshaping itself with the robust growth in the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) countries, most notably China. Today, China is no longer just a factory to the world but a consumer market with formidable potential. Needless to say, access to this market with Taiwan in the post-ECFA era is strategically important for Canada.

Last year, when I was invited to testify before the Canadian Senate, I cited three examples of successful partnerships in which Canadian businesses worked with Taiwanese counterparts to access the Greater China market.

Vancouver's Intrinsyc developed a software package to accelerate logistic information integration between Taiwan's Quata Computer, the world's No. 1 notebook manufacturer, and its plants in China. And Taiwan's TSMC, the world's largest semi-conductor foundry, acquired Kanata's Emerging Memory Technologies Inc. (EMT) to support its design capabilities around the world, including China. Finally, after its successful acquisition of Taiwan's Ulead Systems, Ottawa's Corel transformed Ulead into an R&D and marketing hub for its Greater China market which includes the 1.2 billion Chinesespeaking people in Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Macau and China and is a driving engine of the global economy. The connection of the three countries in the global supply chains such as this demonstrates the "triple-win model to prosperity" I like to emphasize.

Speaking the same language, sharing a common heritage, having a deep understanding of the nuances of the Chinese business and political culture and, above all, accumulating two decades of both positive and negative experiences, all constitute advantages behind Taiwan's success stories.

Just like many multinationals that made Canada their gateway to North America at the birth of NAFTA, Canada should make Taiwan Canada's gateway to Greater China in the post-ECFA era. With more liberalized trade, investment, transportation and travel across the Strait, Taiwan can serve as a springboard for Canadian companies wishing to build up their footprint in Greater China.

David T. Lee is the representative of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Ottawa. Contact him at tecoinfo@taiwancanada.org 613-231-4203.

# Albania: An investment option

By Besnik Konci



hough small in size and population, Albania has arguably emerged as the most dynamic economy in its region. Even in these tough economic times, Albania's GDP has grown for the third year in a row. It grew by 7.8 percent in 2008 and 3.1 percent in 2009. Experts

forecast the country will still see a 3.5 percent growth — the highest growth in Southeastern Europe — in 2010.

Both as a NATO member and, in the near future, an EU candidate, Albania is a fast-consolidating democracy with rule of law, political stability and a functional open-market economy.

Very rich in natural resources, Albania offers great opportunities for investment in oil and gas, minerals (including nickel, chromium, copper, zinc, gold, silver, iron, coal and lead). It is seeking investment for its renewable energy requirements which include hydroelectricity, wind power and solar power; for its infrastructure, including construction of roads, ports, airports, tunnels, bridges, railways and sewer systems; and for the production and distribution of water, waste recycling and processing. Canadian companies already have success stories from their investments in oil, gas and mineral exploration as well as hydropower dam construction and real

The country also seeks investment in tourism, such as help in building tourist-attracting villages and resorts and also establishing ecotourism opportunities. In addition, it's looking for information technology investment. Digital Albania, for example, is a huge project in place that aims at digitizing all levels of educational and government services by 2013.

Our expanding domestic economy and exports benefit from a low inflation rate, established trade with European Union and our geographical luck in being the gateway to the free trade Balkan area. Add to that the fact that our total labour cost, which is lower than comparable countries, is driven by a skilled and adaptable young labour force.

We specialize in on-the-spot, one-stopshopping for granting licenses, VAT credit on machinery imports, subsidized leases of state-owned premises, and economic zones (a zone with a special economic status, either an industrial park or a free zone). Our law on concessions, and our special financial incentives for investors in tourism and energy, are also reasons to consider Albania, as is our massive privatization.

We have the lowest taxes for business in Europe, fiscal policy incentives (including a flat corporate tax of 10 percent, a flat tax of 10 percent on personal income and a tax exemption on dividends designated for investments) in a fast-growing real estate market. Taken as a package, all these incentives combine to make the Albanian market an extremely attractive, low-risk

option for investors.

Albania and Canada enjoy very good bilateral relations. Canada has supported Albania in its process of political and economic reforms and has been a strong supporter of Albania's integration into NATO. Experts in both countries are working on a Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (FIPA).

Good progress has been made in promoting cooperation in the field of education (at press time the Albanian minister of education and science was on an official visit to Canada) and sea transport (authorities from the Port of Durres will visit the port of Saint John in New Brunswick this fall). Successful parliamentary cooperation and economic ties should be followed by regular contacts and dialogue at high governmental levels, in order to further strengthen our bilateral cooperation.

Besnik Konci is Albania's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at besnikkonci@yahoo.com or 613-324-1927.

# Philippines: A traveller's paradise

By Jose S. Brillantes



y priorities as ambassador of the Philippines to Canada are to reflect the three pillars of our foreign policy: firstly, to assist in our country's economic growth, secondly, to strengthen our national security and, thirdly, to ensure and promote the welfare of our citizens abroad.

Under the third pillar and enshrined in the Philippine Constitution is the mandate for our foreign service to ensure the wellbeing and protection of the rights of Filipinos working abroad. This is a priority in Canada, where there are more than 400,000 Filipinos and Filipino-Canadians.

The Philippines and Canada enjoy very strong bilateral relations. The two countries

are blessed with a cordial and mutually beneficial relationship which is founded on shared values and goals as freedom-loving nations.

Foreign Minister Lawrence Cannon was among the first to congratulate our new president, Benigno C. Aquino III, who was inaugurated June 30, revalidating once again the shared commitment of the Philippines and Canada to the democratic process.

Sixty years of relations between the Philippines and Canada have strengthened mutually beneficial cooperation which is rooted in human terms. Canada now receives 30,000 Filipinos as permanent or temporary residents each year, making the Philippines the country's No. 1 source of temporary workers. The more than 400,000 Filipinos living in Canada make up the third largest group of immigrant communities in the country.

I encourage Canadians to try the Philippines as their next vacation destination. I am 100 percent sure that Canadians who holiday in the Philippines will fall in love, and will come back again and again.

The Philippines, in many senses, is Canada in Asia. It is the only country in Asia that is predominantly Christian — most Filipino are Catholic, and we share the same centuries-old Christian traditions. Like Canadians, we are very friendly and deeply family-oriented.

Like Canada, we have excellent watersports and ecological tourism facilities. We have been rated as having the best scubadiving areas in the world. Our Tubbataha Reef is a UN World Heritage Site while Boracay Beach in the central Philippines has been voted by a world tourist organization as "the most beautiful beach in the world." Coro, in Palawan, with its lagoons and soaring cliffs, is said to be one of the most magical places on earth.

Only a few Canadians have discovered that Metro Manila has become one of the most bustling metropolises in Asia, and for shoppers, it's a paradise. We have more than two dozen malls in Manila, and the newest one, the Mall of Asia, located along the historic Manila Bay, is said to be the biggest and most beautiful in Asia now. Manila is known as a world-class shopping centre: prices of products are very, very reasonable, and the variety of things available covers the entire globe.

Jose S. Brillantes is the ambassador of the Philippines in Canada. Reach him at embassyofphilippines@rogers.com or 613-233-1121.

## **Total diplomacy**

#### A conversation with Morris Rosenberg, Canada's new deputy foreign minister



■he American politician-turned-diplomat, Chester Bowles, who served as ambassador to India under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, once opined that "We are coming to realize that foreign operations in today's world call for a total diplomacy ... ambassadors can no longer be content with wining and dining, reporting, analyzing and cautiously predicting." Bowles understood better than most of his contemporaries that modern diplomacy is a highly complex affair, that it engages many domestic and international partners, and that practically all of today's so-called "international" problems do not respect state boundaries or national jurisdictions. As he further noted, the "extraordinary multiplication of activities and agencies reflects the complexity and interdependence of our modern world."

Successive Canadian governments have struggled with the "total diplomacy" demands imposed by war and peace, disease and disaster, global recession and persisting poverty. Almost without exception, these foreign policy issues compel coherent and integrated decision and action by multiple departments and agencies of the federal government — often aligned with action by provinces, the private sector, NGOs and others. Almost invariably, securing co-ordination has proven an insuperable challenge.

That is not to say that successive Canadian governments have not tried to reform the foreign policy-making process to achieve a more integrated and coherent approach to the development and implementation of Canada's foreign policies. Canada and the World, the Chrétien Government's policy review, called for greater levels of integration in Canada's foreign policy machinery. Ten years later, the International Policy Review, conducted for the Martin government, tried to integrate foreign, defence, development and trade policies.

The Harper Government continues to wrestle with the problems of developing an integrative, inclusive policy process that involves major departments and agencies with meaningful involvement from provincial governments, business, labour and other interested actors. Issues such as Afghanistan, climate change, trade and development policy, and Canada's relationships with the United States, Europe, Latin America and Asia, especially India and China, all demand a "total diplomacy" approach to ensure coherence, program delivery and public support.

No one understands the challenges of "total diplomacy" in the 21st Century better than Canada's newly appointed deputy minister of foreign affairs, Morris Rosenberg, who assumed his post two months ago. A graduate of McGill University (B.A.), Université de Montréal (LL.L) and Harvard University (LL.M.), he served as deputy minister of health (2006-2010), deputy minister of justice and deputy attorney general of Canada (1998-2004), deputy secretary to the cabinet (operations), privy council office (1996-98) and assistant secretary to the cabinet, economic and regional development, privy council office (1993-96). In a wide-ranging interview with Diplomat magazine, Mr. Rosenberg discussed some of the biggest surprises of his new job, what he sees as the main challenges for the department in helping to manage Canada's international relations and some of the key assets and skills he brings to his post. The following has been edited for length.

Diplomat magazine: What has been the biggest surprise for you in your new job? Morris Rosenberg: The incredible quality of people at headquarters and in our missions abroad. I knew about DFAIT's talent pool from my previous jobs, but I am now seeing it first hand. There are so many outstanding young people in the department. It is quite clear that DFAIT attracts the very best and people who



Morris Rosenberg

have a strong understanding of international relations and public policy. The most unpleasant surprise is, of course, the daunting financial and management challenges we continue to face as we bring the organization into the 21st Century.

DM: What do you see as being the main challenges for the department in the conduct and management of Canadian foreign policy and Canada's international relations?

MR: On the management side, I have spent the past two months learning about the job. The department faces the same problems that confront all foreign ministries in a globalized world. Everybody is wrestling with the same question 'What's the added value of a foreign ministry?'... There has been lots and lots of discussion everywhere on these issues ... A modern foreign ministry has to play several key roles: (1) integrating foreign policy and a country's international relations; (2) strengthening working relationships with other government departments and international partners; (3) positioning our missions abroad with a whole-of-government approach.

In order to address these key strategic challenges, we will need to build up the

policy capacity of the department and to understand better the forces shaping the world ... The integration and interpretation of the international context is vital in order to help not just DFAIT but its government partners understand today's global challenges. The renewal of the foreign service is also a key challenge. DFAIT faces the same challenges as other departments. The baby boomers will eventually need to be replaced. The department must represent the country it serves. It needs diversity in terms of its intellectual and ethnic composition. But it is not just a matter of substituting the young for the old. It is also one of creating a workplace environment where people want to work and a place where there is also real learning on the job.

**DM**: How do you conceive of the whole-of-government approach to managing Canada's international relations?

MR: There are structural and attitudinal approaches to bringing about change. There has been a lot of structural change in the department in recent years. However, you can do things without turning things upside down ... I also want to bring those who can contribute at any level in the department into the discus-



sion ... Senior management has typically been the focus of the deputy's interactions (but it should not stop there.) I would like to reach out and involve a much wider group of individuals in the department ... I have begun to have regular luncheon meetings with junior foreign service officers to hear about and learn their concerns.

**DM**: What would you like to accomplish in the next six months?

MR: First, learning about the department, meeting people, visiting our missions. Second, building on the work initiated by my predecessor, Len Edwards, to provide a stable financial basis for the department's operations. Third, promoting outreach by strengthening the department's relationships with both traditional and nontraditional stakeholders here in Canada and abroad.

**DM**: What kind of team are you going to assemble to take the department forward?

MR: I am still learning about the team I have. The posting season is upon us. It affects the department at all levels. At Health and Justice, I managed these departments as a corporate, collaborative enterprise. I am looking for team players who can work for the greater good and look beyond narrow, short-term interests. We need leaders who understand the broader international context and can translate it into a domestic policy context ... I also want a team that reflects the diversity of the country.

**DM**: How do you see the department's relationship to other key departments involved in managing Canada's international relations? Has the whole-of-government approach to foreign-policy management been realized?

MR: The reality is that we won't succeed unless we place a premium on collaboration. This involves engaging key players at and beyond the federal level including the provinces who are also important international players. We also need mechanisms for collaboration. There are important lessons to be learned from our collaborative experience in Afghanistan where the mission has involved many departments including Corrections, Public Safety, Border Services Agency, the RCMP, etc., along with CIDA, DND ... To remain relevant, government has to perfect those mechanisms. This is true on both the operational and policy

fronts ... We have to be realistic and acknowledge that international relations in a globalized world affect everybody. The department can't just talk to itself. It has to talk to a wide range of people. At the same time, our job is to provide advice to the government. We won't make promises when we consult with others, but we can promise them that our advice to the government will be much better informed."

**DM:** Many see a tension in DFAIT between policy formulation and "process management." They see senior managers in the department being chosen for their management as opposed to policy-development skills. Is this a problem?

MR: Certainly, the policy enterprise is very important. But we also live in an era of accountability and transparency. However, there is a real danger that focusing too much on process simply feeds the beast. I think it is important that we organize ourselves so as to effectively address the substantive foreign policy issues facing the country. In the final analysis, appropriate attention to management ought to enable us to do this."

**DM**: What special assets in terms of your own background and experience do you bring to your new job?

MR: I worked in the trade law division office in the mid-1980s as a lawyer and helped to implement the Canada-U.S. Free Trade agreement. I also spent five years in the Privy Council Office and served as deputy minister in two departments, Health and Justice. I know how Ottawa works and have seen how many issues have a global character and involve not just Canadian, but international, partners. I was in the justice department at the time of the September 11 terrorist attacks when Canada had to deal with Washington on a whole range of complex anti-terrorism and security issues. I was at Health when Canada had to deal with the H1N1 flu crisis and work with drug companies and foreign regulators in the development and acquisition of a new vaccine. Justice and Health are essentially knowledge-based organizations which place a real premium on innovating thinking and outreach. DFAIT is no different.

Fen Osler Hampson is chancellor's professor and director of The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University.

### From the French embassy to Carnegie Hall

f the ways in which they help out the Ottawa Bach Choir are any indication, it would seem that Johann Sebastian is a favourite composer among Ottawa's foreign diplomats.

The relationships started three years ago when board member Bill Caswell decided to approach some envoys about hosting fund-raising events. Once the Turkish embassy responded positively, and hosted a dinner, others got on board.

The Afghan embassy, for example, hosted a dinner for 15 and, later, a larger gathering with buffet dinner for 35. Last year, French Ambassador Francois Delattre and his wife, Sophie l'Helias Delattre, hosted a reception for 70 guests in the Art Deco embassy's main reception hall.

"Sophie and I were very happy to host a choir of superb quality which contributes to Ottawa's reputation of excellence in music," Mr. Delattre said.

Following the success of a soirée hosted by his predecessor, German Ambassador Georg Witschel and his wife, Sabine, hosted a garden party for nearly 400 in July to raise money for the choir's New York tour and Carnegie Hall debut. Guests, who paid \$65 each, heard the choir sing and washed down authentic German cuisine with German wine.

"It is fair to say that the 2010 garden party was one of the highlights of the year for both the Ottawa Bach Choir and the German embassy," said Peter Finger, counsellor at the embassy. "Given the very high standard of the choir's musical performances and its ever-increasing importance as a Canadian institution of classical music featuring Bach's oeuvre, the German embassy will continue to support and assist it in the coming years."



German Ambassador Georg Witschel and his wife, Sabine, hosted a July garden party for nearly 400, in support of the Ottawa Bach Choir.

In August, British High Commissioner Anthony Cary and his wife, Clare, hosted a fund-raiser at Earnscliffe, their official residence on the Ottawa River. All 90 attendees, who paid \$85 each, enjoyed hors d'oeuvres while the choir performed some of its best-loved works.

Meanwhile, the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office (Taiwan's proxy for a diplomatic mission in Ottawa) offered the choir a paying gig to perform at its March celebration, and the Polish embassy did the same for a concert it put on in April.

Mr. Caswell, who chairs the choir's corporate fundraising committee, estimates that the choir raises about \$30,000 annually through diplomat-related events. That's a considerable portion of its \$150,000 budget.

"The diplomats help us by providing revenue we would otherwise not have, Mr. Caswell said. "We help them connect to the Ottawa community of business people and choir enthusiasts. And, if they like good music, we provide that, too. As well, some of them fill their own social obligations by inviting people they feel they should entertain."

For the choir, the revenue means a great deal. "Their help means that many of the choir's financial obligations can be relieved. In the terrible economy of 2009, the corporate income all but dried up but because of our diplomatic events increasing, we balanced our budgets.

"It also allows us to provide a novelty to our audience; they seem to really enjoy these events."



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## A personal perspective on religion and government



EIRST NAME: Rafet

LAST NAME: Akgünay

CITIZENSHIP: Turkish

PRESENTED CREDENTIALS AS

AMBASSADOR: April 22, 2008

PREVIOUS POSTINGS: Cyprus,
Israel, Greece, Rome, U.S.,
and China.

he relationship between Islam and democracy continues to be debated by experts and laymen alike. When I was asked by *Diplomat* magazine to write a short piece on the matter, I considered the following: I am not an expert on Islam, nor do I personally or officially speak on behalf of all Muslims. But I come from a country which is predominantly Muslim and has been practising parliamentary democracy for decades. So I decided to share my personal views on the matter against the background of the Turkish experience.

As Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations was being debated in the face of vigorous rebuttals, the 9/11 attacks against the U.S. increased the risk of his thesis becoming a self-fulfilling prophesy. Knowledgeable people around the world have the intellectual responsibility to resist this

The re-emergence of religion as an important social force has been experienced across societies of different faiths for the last couple of decades, so the question of whether Islam and democracy are compatible has gained currency. We no longer even bother to question the appropriateness of juxtaposing two different categories — religion and a system of government, or religion (Islam) and geography (the West). Despite this shortcoming, I shall be using a similar framework due to its wide usage.

To quickly make a point, it is deceptive to associate Islam, or any other religion, with terrorism. Conflict, violence and terrorism are products of political aspirations. Yes, there are terrorists who might be motivated by the worthiness of their "sacred" cause and declare that they act in the name of religion. But a mere claim of acting in the name of Islam does not validate this assertion.

As we do not accept their rationale for terrorism as a method, so should we reject their claim to represent

Islam. We can try to understand why a militant minority within Muslim societies is successful in exploiting the sentiments of masses, especially where perceptions of deprivation are frequently associated with foreign powers. But we must oppose politicization of religion and reject violence in any form.

The task is twofold — one for Muslim societies, the other for the West. Bluntly put, Muslim polities must accept the primary responsibility to advance their societies politically, socially and economically. Arguing that present ills arise from the historical role of outsiders is not baseless, but it's altogether a different topic. To solve their own problems, Muslim countries must use the intellectual capacity of their own people. This human potential

prospers when freedom, tolerance and mutual respect come together in a democratic environment, and makes regimes stronger in the long run. That is what the experience of Turkey tells us. Turkey recognized its shortcomings and worked to overcome them.

The West, for its part, must avoid neo-Orientalist generalizations in dealing with Islam and Muslim societies. Unhelpful and ill-informed comments by prejudiced individuals and groups still find their way to our e-mail accounts and media outlets. Informed empathy, from all sides, is the best way to avoid Islamophobia as well as Westophobia.

Still, religion as a social force is relevant to politics. There is no positive correlation between any theocracy, of any faith, and liberal democracy. But this is not an essentialist argument about the incompatibility of Islam and democracy. If this argument were valid, and if Muslims by virtue of their beliefs were unable to practise peaceful democratic politics, how can we account for millions of well-integrated Muslims living in liberal democracies, including Turkey, or Canada?

Islam lends itself to a rational and humanistic understanding of the world. This quality produced remarkable social and philosophical achievements in the past, contributing to the transmission of classical thought to the modern era's collective wisdom. Glorification of the past



UROPEAN UNION, 2010

Turkish Ambassador Rafet Akgünay argues human potential is greatest when freedom and mutual respect come together which "makes regimes stronger in the long run." This, he says, is what Turkey's experience has taught.

can distract us from the need to look at today's issues, but such past achievements demonstrate that Islam itself is not the problem. Rather, issues of governance need to be considered in the debate about Islam and democracy.

Although historical conditions and cultural and political factors have led observers to talk about Turkish exceptionalism, Turkey's experience still speaks to the broader debate. Socio-cultural pluralism generated by Ottoman statesmanship made this an enduring, multi-cultural empire. But even more pertinent is modern Turkey's self-imposed democratization that has been facilitated by its interaction with the West.

Since the introduction of multiparty democracy, Turkish people have been voting governments in and out of office. While faith continued to play an important role in people's lives, parliamentary democracy was consolidated and performed a socializing function on all, including radical groups. As societal groups start breathing the air of democracy, they gradually become shareholders and supporters of that system. Such democratic socialization can be an effective tool to accommodate radical inclinations of the disenchanted masses in Muslim countries.

A key factor in the Turkish case, I believe, has been the principle of secularism. Following the founding of the new Republic in 1923, this principle became the cornerstone of the political structure in Turkey. With the peaceful transition to a multi-party system, pluralism became the norm institutionally. Secularism provided one of the necessary, probably the most important, pre-conditions for an environment where the state was expected to remain equidistant from all, within the religious diversity of society.

I do not claim that the Turkish model is directly applicable to other Muslim countries. Yet Turkey's experience could be a source of inspiration. This suggests broader implications. Provided that the European Union maintains a vision to become more than just a limited space of prosperity, Turkey's eventual membership would contribute to the realization of the Union's post-modern promise to serve as a positive global force in political, economic and cultural terms.

Rafet Akgünay is the ambassador of Turkey to Canada. The views in this article are those of the author and not necessarily those of the government of Turkey.





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German Ambassador Georg Witschel presented his credentials just over a year ago and since then the career diplomat with a PhD in international law has developed a great love for Canada — so much so that he spent six weeks of his summer on

vacation in the Maritimes, as well as
Newfoundland and Labrador. His wife,
Sabine, and daughter, Christina, are
also very comfortable in their temporarily adopted country. *Diplomat*editor Jennifer Campbell sat down
with him for a wide-ranging chat
about his home country.

**Diplomat magazine:** What are the biggest concerns to Germany about the proposed EU-Canada trade deal?

Georg Witschel: Germany was a driving factor in the European Union to have these negotiations start. It was in 2007 when the EU-Canada Summit took place in Germany that the whole thing was launched. Now if you ask why so, the EU Commission had prepared a quite thorough study about the benefits of a comprehensive trade agreement for both sides. Of course, if you open markets, you

will always lose something, but the benefits were pretty clear and they amount to 0.08 percent for the EU area in GDP terms and 0.07 to 0.08 percent for Canada. That means more trade, more turnover, more money, more profit. That is why we thought economically it makes a lot of sense. Also, we thought it makes sense to have open markets among partners which are otherwise so close. We are NATO partners, we have intensive trade and investment, so why not really open up

integrated market?
We have no major problems or concerns with CETA (Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement) and we are hoping that

completely and have a kind of

the EU and Canada will make steady progress.
So far, there have been four rounds of nego-

tiations and everything is on the table. It's a very intensive discussion with about 100 experts on both sides. (It's) interesting that on the Canadian side, the provinces take a very active part.

We want an agreement which then will be implemented by all the provinces. That is a prerequisite. If one or more provinces bail out, I don't think CETA will happen. That is why we're quite happy the provinces are taking an active part. We hope Newfoundland will take a more active part. For the time being, they're observing the whole thing but aren't really active.

**DM**: What does Germany see as the benefits?

GW: It's not really tariffs because most of the tariffs are flat anyway but since CETA will be much further-reaching than just free trade, we hope the government procurement area will be much more liberalized than now, and that means federal government, provincial government and municipalities. The second point is agriculture which won't be easy with the very special system here, particularly on dairy products. The third area is intellectual property. We know from our pharmaceutical industry that they are quite reluctant to invest in Canada because they perceive that the protection of their intellectual property is less tight here than in many of the OECD countries and that is a voice that one should take seriously.

**DM**: So the German concerns are basically the same as the concerns of the EU as a whole?

**GW**: Probably. I would say that geographical appellations is also a point for the EU — specifically for Italy (with its Parma ham) and France (with its Champagne). On the other hand, we do see that the Canadian side has its issues — let's take the export of agricultural products such as meat or GMO. It's not that the German or European side is the demander, but also the Canadians who have a number of issues and demands, understandably so.

**DM**: When do you think it will be finalized?

**GW:** I don't dare make predictions but so far it's been good — good progress and a good atmosphere. Let's agree you come back with that question after the stock-

taking in October. I do see that it will be done in a decent period of time. Two years is a tough timetable but maybe it's possible.

**DM**: The German parliament gave strong approval for the Greek bailout. Can you talk a little bit about Germany's role in an economically weak EU?

**GW**: I wouldn't consider it to be a bailout. The German parliament adopted the necessary decisions to allow the handing out of major credit lines to Greece and other countries to enable them to lend at normal market interest rates and not to pay exorbitant interest fees. It's not a bailout, it's credits being given by European institutions. Behind them are directives that enable them to keep the interest rates at a normal market level. That means these countries have to repay their debt and I'm quite sure that they will. It was not a German action, alone; it was all European countries.

If you look at the situation now, the economy in Europe isn't that bad. We had, all over Europe in the second quarter of 2010, an increase of two percent, compared to the first quarter of 2010. So the GDP does rise. In Germany, we had 2.2 percent

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in the second quarter, which is a really interesting growth. We are predicting GDP growth of three percent for Germany for 2010 and 1.9 or two percent for the EU.

Of course, there are factors we can't predict that easily. If the U.S. housing market leads to a new recession in the U.S., that will have repercussions on the Euro-zone. Our economic recovery has been driven mainly by exports to Asia, which have picked up quite considerably, and domestic demand. That means imports have increased more than exports, so we're also helping other European partners who export products to Germany, to get their economies in better order. We have pretty strong growth in Germany and reasonably strong growth in the Euro-zone.

The Euro has stabilized nicely. But we still need a lot of budgetary and fiscal discipline in quite a number of countries. We are in for a pretty tough budget in Germany in 2011. Like Canada, we are fighting to get our house in order.

**DM:** What was the reaction of the German people to the credits given to the Greeks? **GW**: The man in the street wasn't happy initially but that has calmed down and it has been more or less accepted.

DM: Can you talk about Germany's role as Europe's economic engine?

GW: First, whether we want it or not, we are Europe's economic engine. We're by far the largest economy in Europe and we're the fourth largest economy worldwide, second largest exporting country. We came under fire when we announced that from 2011, the stimulus packages would end and we would start to go into austerity, softly, so it would be slow and step-by-step. We will tighten our belts in order to achieve a balanced budget by 2016. People said we'd make it harder for other European countries to recover





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because imports would go down. The facts are quite different: The moment we made these announcements, the economy stepped up. Imports stepped up further and quicker than exports.

The theory that the more debt you have and the more stimulus, the more you will revitalize the economy seems not to be correct. Why? A lot of people realize that if the government finances ever more debt, it will come back to (haunt) them. It won't be the tax of today but of tomorrow. What a lot of citizens do, if they don't trust their government financially, is reduce their spending.

DM: Your defence minister recently backed proposals to cut the German army by a third and suspend compulsory national service. Can you comment on that? GW: Defence minister Karl-Theodor Freiherr zu Guttenber and his department are preparing models to reshape and reform the federal army. Why so? The coming austerity budgets mean there must be major savings with regard to the armed forces. We have major changes in our demographic development — fewer young people, more old people. We have no need to conscript an entire generation. We only draw on 25 per cent of those eligible.

The old days of Warsaw Pact Soviet armies are over and the army has no room for 60,000 conscripts. We have a number of missions abroad, Afghanistan among them, and we have hardship to support these missions with the necessary money, well-trained manpower and equipment. The level of ambition we now have might be too high for the present structure of the armed forces so there are various reasons why there is a clear need to reform the armed forces.

Reform with savings means cuts in terms of numbers but there are four to five models under discussion. It's downsizing and a major restructuring — cutting ranks in the hierarchy, slimmer structures, which might allow to set free some more money for investing in equipment. The whole thing is under discussion in the cabinet, with the chancellor and parliamentary committees. Nothing is really set yet.

**DM:** Would you say it's a change in philosophy?

**GW**: It's an ongoing change in philosophy. Conscription was part of Germany's postwar system until the fall of The Wall.

DM: Will it affect your service in Afghani-

stan where you have the third largest national contingent?

**GW**: No, I don't see that. We have about 3,000 soldiers in Afghanistan. We have a discussion about how and when to exit from Afghanistan - someday we will have to (withdraw).

DM: German Chancellor Angela Merkel – not to mention Nicolas Sarkozy – have made it clear they oppose Turkey's entry into the European Union. Can you talk about the reasons for that position?

GW: That is a long-standing issue. We do have a very special German interest in improving and deepening both bilateral relations with Turkey, which are pretty intensive anyway, and the links between Turkey and the European Union. This interest is there. Beyond that, the negotiations between the EU and Turkey are ongoing for quite a long time. To my knowledge, there are 13 out of 35 chapters, regarding the integration of the European Union, under discussion between the two sides. One has been closed (on scientific cooperation) and the others are not yet even open. Which means it will be a long process. This is something where I wouldn't dare to make any predictions.

**DM**: But Germany generally opposes their

**GW**: All I can quote is the (government's) coalition paper, which says that "Germany has a specific interest in deepening mutual relations with Turkey and with linking Turkey closer to the European Union. The negotiations, which have been started in 2005, with the aim of an accession, are a process with an open end which does not render any ultimate decision and whose result cannot be guaranteed beforehand."

DM: Can you talk a little bit about German-Canadian relations? How is the relationship?

**GW**: As someone who spent six weeks vacation in Canada and sees Rockcliffe as home, it's clear that I'm happy here and that's true for the whole family. There are no problems in bilateral relations. We have no stumbling blocks whatsoever.

I mentioned a few trade-related issues but that's dealt with under the EU framework. We might, here or there, have an issue with provincial legislation, such as local procurement, but that's nothing to the overall relationship. We have very intensive cooperation in various areas. In science, we're establishing a German-Canadian centre for innovation in Alberta. We have established, with Helmholtz Association, one of our largest think-tanks, a long-term project with the University of Alberta on the recultivation of open-air pits and water systems.

Oil sands drilling and open-air pits have a negative impact and Germany has a lot of experience with it. For example, one particularly problematic issue was with uranium mining done by the Soviets. There was a tremendous amount of hazardous substances on the surface of waters and lakes which we have repaired and recultivated. We will continue the cooperation that we have (with Canada) in Afghanistan which is, across the board, pretty good. We have a strong increase in political contacts.

If you had asked a year ago, I would have told you that relations are good but so good that neither side bothers to visit. That has changed. We've probably had more visits in the last year than we have in the last 20. D





# Canada – Europe: Peter Van Loan on the next big prize

"Canada will be, if we have this agreement in place, the only developed country in the world with a free trade agreement with both the United States and the European Union — the two biggest economies in the world"

By Donna Jacobs

nternational Trade Minister Peter Van Loan has no trouble making the switch from the negotiation nuances of a Canada-EU free trade deal to down-on-the-farm talk.

"The corn is 10 or 12 feet high — it's unbelievable. I've never seen it this high," he says of the cash crop that a neighbour farmer is growing on the 172-acre Van Loan farm. Next year's crop will revert to soybeans at the farm in the town of Georgina, an hour's drive north of Toronto on Lake Simcoe's southern shore.

But don't try to get the trade minister on a big tractor for a photo shoot. His own farm mount is a John Deere lawn tractor. He laughs: "It wouldn't look right."

And, anyway, as a globe-trotting trade salesman for Canada the Trading Nation, it's hard to catch him or his four-member family — his wife Cheryl Carson, nine-year-old Caroline and 15-month-old John Aleksander Peter Van Loan — down on the farm.

The minister named his son after the Scottish-born Sir John A. (for Alexander) Macdonald but spelled it in the Estonian way in honour of his own heritage. It's his most recent tribute to Canada's first prime minister. In 2007, as House leader, Mr. Van Loan began each caucus meeting with a Sir John A. story.

And his Centre Block office is a virtual Sir John A. historical art gallery and library that spills into other rooms: "Come on out here (into the reception office) — "there's more."

ut the real topic is free trade, and even though the sticky problem of protected farm products comes up—"I'm trying to resist the temptation to negotiate in public"—he still answers as many questions as he comfortably can.

Agriculture ranks as one of the most contentious areas of any free trade agreement, he says. And the disagreements include "geographical indications," best known by France's wish to allow the word "Champagne" solely for the vintage from its Champagne province or Italy's wish to use "Parma Ham" solely to describe *Prosciutto di Parma* from its Parma region. (In Canada, Maple Leaf acquired the registered name "Parma" for its traditionally-cured ham. The issue has been before the courts and the World Trade Organization for several years.)

As for the Quebec dairy industry, he says it's up for future discussion with the Canadian position of protecting its supply management system. And, much as the government wants to get rid of the Canada Wheat Board, he says, farmers should decide. "It shouldn't be done through a trade agreement."

Compared to many other negotiations ambling their way along in Asia and Latin America, the Canada-EU Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement is galloping.

The fifth negotiation round is scheduled for October, the sixth and seventh in January and April 2011. "Then, I'm told, it takes another year of fine tuning and legalese before you get to a final agreement," says Mr. Van Loan. "Certainly, we'd like to compress that time frame, if possible."

One could expect more delay, though, given that the European Commission is negotiating for 27 countries and Canada has all its provinces and territories at the tables. Sometimes, casino-like, there are 20 tables in action. The negotiations themselves, says Mr. Van Loan, are incredibly boring as they move into their more advanced technical phase.

Speed bumps and deferred disputes aside, he cuts to Canada's chase: Canada is in hot pursuit of a first-and-only prize.

"Canada will be, if we have this agreement in place, the only developed country in the world with a free trade agreement with both the United States and the European Union — the two biggest economies in the world."

Canada-U.S. two-way trade in goods and services was more than \$700 billion — or \$1.9 billion in cross-border trade every day — in 2008. In the same year, Canada-EU bilateral trade in goods and services totalled \$114 billion.

The EU (GDP: \$19 trillion) is Canada's second biggest trading partner already, and the world's largest single trading bloc. According to a Canada-EU 2008 study, the pact could boost bilateral trade by 20 percent by 2014. And it could boost Canada's GDP of \$1.3 trillion by \$12 billion.

Says Mr. Van Loan: "This is a conservative number."

"And that," he says, "will put Canada in a competitive position unlike any other developed country in the world."

"This is an advantage that we have to seize," he says. "As the United States economy is facing more challenges, the opportunity to expand more in Europe is very, very significant."

U.S. "challenges" are showing up dramatically in Canadian trade. In 2009, Canadian export of goods to the U.S. totalled \$270 billion — down 28 percent from 2008. Canadian imports of goods from the U.S. totalled \$187 billion, down 18 percent.

And Europe's slowdown is also taking a toll on Canada trade. In 2009, European merchandise exports fell dramatically: France by 17 percent, Netherlands by 25 percent, Germany by 16 percent.

Mr. Van Loan: "A lot of people talk about the growth in India and China, which is all very real and is a priority for us. When you get away from percentages and actually look at dollars, it takes a very small amount of growth of our trade with Europe to result in huge benefits in dollar terms.

"And we have tremendous people-topeople relations. I think what you're going to see is this: We have a generational change happening in our business sector, in our law firms, in our financial sector.

"Immigrants who came from Europe were slugging it out trying to make a living. Now their children are moving into positions of business leadership. They're going to be the ones saying, 'I'm the guy who knows how to speak Slovakian,' the guy who goes back to Slovakia and who succeeds there and who opens up new markets for us.

"Canada has an advantage, unlike any other country in the world: to be able to do that in almost any other country in the world, but especially in the European Union. And that generation is moving into positions of business leadership, so I'm looking forward to them helping Canadian business to succeed abroad."

His trip to Europe in July was strategic. "Part of the purpose for selecting Estonia, Slovakia, Lithuania, Romania and Bulgaria was to draw attention to the fact that in Europe you have more than 100 million people who have been held back, economically, for half a century under Communism.

"Some critics of the Canada-EU trade agreement say 'Ah, you shouldn't be doing that. You should be trying to do trade agreements with China and India.

"Now China, obviously, there are real challenges to doing a trade agreement. India, we're on our way."

He returns to the Baltics: "The reality is that with those 100 million people, you have a population that is huge, that is significant, that has been experiencing for the past 15 years the kind of growth you see



Agriculture is important sector for both Canada and the EU in their wide-ranging trade deal negotiations.

from emerging economies — between five and 10 percent.

"And we're going to have that for the foreseeable future as they catch up to the rest of Western Europe. So there is an area of very high growth in Europe that is worth targeting and paying attention. Canada has very strong people-to-people ties in those countries.

"So I wanted to highlight that particular economic opportunity back in Canada.

"You know, it's fun," he says. "I have this standard speech I give everywhere. Canada has the lowest debt of any G7 country, the lowest deficit. Then I go to Estonia — where they have a deficit equal to one percent of GDP, and debt equal to 3.5 percent of GDP."

He laughs unexpectedly, appreciatively, as only a trade minister could, and zestily delivers the punch line. "And 3.5 percent is our deficit." And then he fields questions on Canada's trade deals. An edited transcript follows.

Diplomat Magazine: What does Canada want from this agreement?

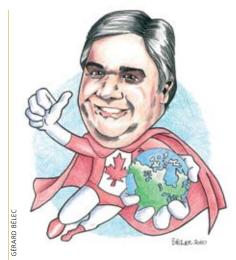
Peter Van Loan: Philosophically, we believe that as a country, as an economy, (Canada) is based on trade. The more free-trade arrangements we can have in place, the better off we are. Philosophically, economically, our consumers are better off, our economy is better off. We get access to more markets. We don't necessarily look at (only) what we want to get in a marketplace but rather at the notion that freer trade is better on all fronts.

**DM**: You have often said that, along with goods and services, philosophy, governance, democracy and ideas go across Canada's borders as well.

PVL: The stronger the relations on economic basis, the better. There are debates whether that's true or not — whether countries that have free-trade agreements never go to war with each other and whether greater trade does actually result in greater behaviour. But you do notice that more engagement gives you a greater opportunity to have flows of people, of ideas and of values.

We're not necessarily value imperialists. But I think there's a general recognition that once people experience freedom and democracy and value human rights, they are more likely to fight to keep them.

DM: The maps on your website track your extensive travels. (In August, Chile, Argentina, Colombia and Costa Rica. In



July, Russia, Estonia, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia and Slovakia. In May and June, Sweden, Belgium and Spain followed by China and Japan. In March, South Africa and Kenya.) How do you deal with jetlag?

PVL: Not very well. (He and Monika Bujalska, his press secretary, share a laugh.)

I don't travel well so it's always a challenge for me. The best way is to keep going until I get too tired and fall asleep. The deadliest meeting is the 3 p.m. PowerPoint presentation in a dark room with very little oxygen. Never put that in my schedule or I'm bound to fall asleep.

That used to happen in Public Safety. (He was Minister of Public Safety from October 2008 to January 2010.) It hits you after lunch, when it's quiet. So I try to simply keep going and to take an interest in wherever I am — the history, the architecture — and learning a little bit about wherever I am as a way of staying mentally engaged.

DM: When it comes to the Canada-EU trade agreement, what are the sticking points?

**PVL**: I think most people know what the sensitivities are that are going to be most troublesome. In every single free-trade agreement between any two countries anywhere on this planet, agriculture is a sticking point at some stage.

If something in the agreement affects provincial or national law, legislation might be needed, for example, some provinces have monopolies on liquor stores.

The name of products — that's a big issue with the Americans. We're encountering that right now in the ACTA negotiations — the copyright and trademark agreement.

There will be some questions on labour mobility, investor mobility. Other big concerns are the actual architecture — this concept of negative lists versus positive lists.

Our approach is for a negative list agreement, meaning everything is subject to free trade except for those items you put on your list to exclude from free trade. A positive list is the opposite: The only things subject to free movement or free trade are those items you put on your list.

We prefer a negative list because we think it results in a more ambitious agreement. Europeans have, in the past, used positive lists. They're very open to considering a negative list this time, though there are some issues with the member states.

If you are concerned, for example, about the involvement of the provinces, you have to spend political capital to put something on the list. And your peers say 'Why are you doing that?'

If you make it harder to put items on a list to be exempt from free trade, it obviously gets you a greater agreement.

**DM**: Specifically, Quebec and dairy how are you dealing with that? Is that an issue or is it settled?

PVL: That's an issue that we'll deal with down the road. We've made it quite clear that our government will defend our system of supply management for supplymanaged industries which are dairy, eggs, turkeys and chicken.

DM: The EU balks at importing some GMO foods due to human health concerns. Last autumn, the EU detected GMO flax in the Canadian crop (Canada is the world's largest flax producer), halted shipments and damaged the Canadian flax market.

PVL: I'm a great believer, as is the government of Canada, that GM properly used can make a huge difference. I'll use the example of my farm.

When I was a kid, you could hear the frogs all the time. In fact, I played with the frogs and chased them in the stream. And then, as pesticides became used much more heavily, frogs basically disappeared.

And then along came Roundup Ready soybeans. All of a sudden, you're putting Roundup down as a herbicide, wiping everything out instantly. It disappears in the soil in a few days. And then you're able to grow crops with very minimal applications (of farm chemicals), not using any pesticides or herbicides other than Roundup. And all of a sudden over the years, the frogs are back. At the right temperature in spring, you can't hear yourself



Prime Minister Stephen Harper, centre, watches as Trade Minister Peter Van Loan and Roberto Henríquez, Panama's minister of commerce and industry, sign the Canada-Panama Free Trade Agreement.

from the sound of them.

As a result, I'm a great believer that there are enormous benefits for the environment, overall. Frankly, we've been doing genetic modification since Gregor Mendel (the 19th century Austrian priest famous as the father of genetics for his work on pea plants). Mendel called it hybridization and now we've gotten more advanced techniques for doing the same thing.

**DM**: People want to know how they will benefit from a Canada-EU agreement — what new will be on store shelves? What is the benefit for us? What are we giving up?

**PVL:** The benefits are obviously more jobs, more growth and some lower prices for goods and products that come in with a tariff right now, ranging from European automobiles to agricultural products. They already come in. What's going to be different is a little better pricing and a greater amount of goods flowing back and forth.

But half the benefits of this agreement come not from tariffs, but rather from the other side of the equation. So you will see a lot of movement of people, of financial services. That's an area where Canada has been showing a lot of expertise with the strongest banking system in the world.

**DM**: Europeans will bid on government procurement jobs here and there are a whole lot more Europeans (pop. 500 million) than there are of Canadians (pop. 34 million).

**PVL:** I don't think anyone is afraid that Canadians can't compete. I know we can compete. To the extent that we're going to have more of them bidding means we're going to have more value for our consumers here — lower taxes, or at least more services for the same taxes.

**DM:** So we will be hiring people from Europe?

**PVL:** We don't know the actual form labour mobility will take, but our objective is to facilitate more movement of people in both directions, particularly people who are investors, who are management trainees, who are spouses.

**DM:** What are the critics saying? All the consequences can't be positive.

**PVL:** The critics are saying the same things they said in 1988 during the North American Free Trade Agreement — that we will lose our cultural sovereignty, that we

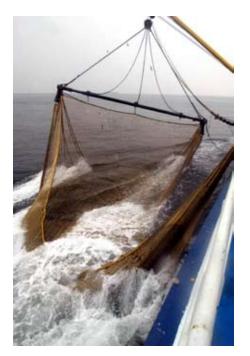
will lose our control over our healthcare system, or our water.

They (critics) are not getting a lot of attention. History shows that if loss of sovereignty didn't happen with the United States, the likelihood of it happening with Europe is virtually non-existent. It's hard to take seriously the threat in 2010 that the Europeans are going to take over and submerge our culture.

**DM**: Poland is an example of a place where an experimental surgery is being performed for treatment for multiple sclerosis patients, to improve blood flow and oxygen to the brain. Aside from Saskatchewan's initiative to finance clinical trials, it will not soon be available here. Many pharmaceuticals are available in Europe but are not approved here.

**PVL:** We don't have an agreement yet so it's hard to prejudge. We've been already moving — on Health Canada's front — separately and independently to accelerate approvals.

The question is: At what point and for what issues do we accept the standards of Europe? The European Union makes the case, quite rightly, that they are not a developing country with a track record of putting fraudulent or counterfeit products



Nets are hauled in from the North Sea.



Italy wants the trade deal to specify that Canadian companies can't call their made-in-Canada products "Parma" ham, which is one of its geographic designations.

on the table — that the EU has fairly high standards. And that's very valid.

That's why the kinds of negotiations we're having over standards do take as long as they take, and why they are complex. We can have a very ambitious agreement that covers a lot of stuff because both economies are very sophisticated, welldeveloped economies. And neither of us is competing to get jobs based on filling their dollar stores with cheaper plastic goods.

DM: And there will be no risk that regulation will be used simply as a barrier?

PVL: One hopes there won't be. The objective is to allow legitimate regulation in the marketplace for legitimate health or regulatory purposes.

Most of what people consider to be trade barriers in the form of regulations are actually a legitimate exercise of jurisdiction to meet their objectives. And that applies to interprovincial trade barriers in Canada. These regulations are not made specifically to keep out goods or products or services from other provinces.

To align standards or objectives — so that goods can attain fuller access in both directions — improves consumer choice, gives better value and raises the standard of living for Canadians and for Europeans.

DM: Will the U.S. use this as a blueprint for a free-trade deal with the EU?

PVL: I think the European Union is using

it that way. I don't see the same appetite on the American side. But the EU is trying to set it up so they can — whether with this administration or a subsequent one — have that option and be able to build on this agreement.

**DM**: If the U.S. doesn't have an agreement - and President Obama probably won't seek one — will some U.S. products come through Canada and be free-traded to Europe?

PVL: This is one of the issues that the Europeans are concerned about, and that's why origin rules are being discussed. That's a challenge for us because much of our economy is integrated. Automobiles go back and forth across the border many times in the manufacturing process, so arriving at a proper approach to this is important for Canada.

**DM**: And it's one of the sticking points? PVL: It is certainly a discussion point and a complicated point.

DM: Can you update other agreements pending or contemplated?

**PVL**: With Korea, we have the same issues — mainly beef and autos. With beef, they simply aren't opening their market to our beef and are not applying the accepted scientific standards.

With autos, we have to have the same kind of treatment for our auto sector that the Americans achieve in any agreement that they may have with Korea.

We would need access to the "snapback" provision.

If we were to see a sudden imbalance of the relationship, a snap-back provision allows for a kind of cooling down, correction period to re-impose tariffs. Americans have a snap-back provision in their negotiated agreement with Korea. We do not.

Part of the problem with Korea is many of the trade barriers are standards and safety rules that keep their market closed to autos from elsewhere. They're non-tariff barriers.

DM: And are negotiations stalled with CARICOM (the 15 members of the Caribbean Community)?

PVL: I wouldn't say stalled. They are moving forward at a gentle pace.

The European Union is an exception because it negotiates through a commission. But when you negotiate with countries where the organization is relatively loose, and sovereignty of each country is still very strong and the interests different, obviously it becomes more of a challenge.

DM: The Central American Four freetrade deal with El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua?

PVL: That's even more of a challenge. We are continuing to advance with all of them. In the end, you may see bilateral agreements rather than one with the Central American Four.



Canada imports Colombia's world-famous coffee.



With the Panama deal signed, Canadian automobile exporters should benefit.

**DM:** And the Transpacific Partnership (open to 21 member economies of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation)?

**PVL:** We're discussing it with them to see if Canada can contribute in a positive way. I think they have some further talks coming up this fall that might provide a little more insight.

**DM**: What about APEC?

**PVL:** If you were looking for a vehicle for freer trade or to reduce trade barriers in Asia, broadly speaking, APEC is the best-placed vehicle to do that. But at this point, we don't see any appetite among the APEC countries for that kind of role. They are assessing what the future holds. Is it just going to be a talk shop or is it going to be more ambitious in that regard?

**DM**: Despite its good economic performance, Canada has lagged on productivity. Is this a concern?

**PVL:** Productivity is a legitimate concern when you go down all those economic stats about our low debt, our low deficit, our strong economic and job growth,

our sound banking system. The one area where we lag a little bit is productivity. Now we've been seeing movements in the right direction. We've been doing a lot in terms of government policies to encourage higher productivity.

The tariff-free zone (that the government established) for manufacturers was a big part of that.

(În its 2010 budget, the government announced — simultaneously, by Mr. Van Loan and Finance Minister Jim Flaherty — that it would eliminate all remaining tariffs on manufacturing inputs, both products and intellectual components such as technical plans, machinery and equipment. Essentially, the announcement created a tariff-free zone for manufacturers, saving the industry \$88 million a year right away and as much as \$300 million a year by 2015. This initiative makes Canada the first country in the G20 to allow manufacturers to operate without tariff.)

The accelerated capital cost allowance write-off that we've had for a number of years to encourage investment in equipment and machinery is also designed to make us more competitive. And, frankly, all these trade agreements are designed, as well, to improve our productivity and competitiveness. So I'm less concerned about productivity than the entrepreneurial and opportunity-oriented mindset of Canadian business.

**DM**: What concerns you the most about Canada's free-trade deals?

**PVL:** What concerns me the most is whether Canadians, businesses, manufacturers and others, will be sufficiently externally oriented to take advantage of the opportunities that exist.

Canada's business sector often finds that when things are good, you can do very well focussing on the U.S. It's easy. It's a huge marketplace. Same language. You probably know people there already.

The effort it takes to penetrate the European market requires a much greater cultural shift in your mindset. You're dealing with many more languages, all these different countries, a whole different approach for a lesser benefit.

Many business people say "Well, we're good enough now, why should I make that effort?"

In Europe, on the other hand, you've got 27 countries with some 20 languages and Europeans are accustomed to travelling and to manufacturing for their entire economy. The European Union economy is one unit, so their mindset is already there. For them, Canada is just a question of distance and they're probably already interested in the American market, anyhow.

**DM**: What keeps you awake at night?

**PVL:** I used to get asked that all the time in Public Safety. I haven't been asked that yet, until now, in International Trade. Probably what keeps me awake is the earlier question.

Will our business community respond? Will Canadian entrepreneurs walk through the door that we're opening for them? Will Canada have an economy that's in a position to grow in the long term? We can, as a government, continue to create these opportunities, change all the rules, pave the way for our businesses. We can't make decisions to invest, to trade, to open up a new marketplace. That really comes down to the innovation, appetite for risk and external orientation of our business sector.

And this is where I count so much on that new generation coming along.

Donna Jacobs is the publisher of *Diplomat*.

# Canada's nine free trade agreements

Canada started signing free trade deals as far back as 1988 when it signed the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, which eventually grew into the North American Free Trade Agreement. Since then, this country has signed deals with 10 other countries and one principality and has agreements pending with Ukraine, Morocco and Korea, to name a few. Find the details below.

#### **North American Free Trade Agreement**





Population: Mexico, 111.2 million; United States, 306.6 million; Canada, 33.3 million. GDP: Mexico, \$1.4 trillion; United States, \$14.1 trillion; Canada, \$1.3 trillion. GDP per capita: Mexico, \$13,940; United States, \$49,000; Canada, \$40,300.

In 1987, Canada and the United States agreed to the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement. Negotiations toward an FTA with the U.S. began in 1985. Sixteen months later, the two nations brought in an agreement that placed Canada and the United States at the forefront of trade liberalization.

Key elements of the agreement included the elimination of tariffs and the reduction of many non-tariff barriers. It was among the first trade agreements to address trade in services. It also included a dispute settlement mechanism for the fair and expeditious resolution of trade conflicts.

The historic expansion of the FTA to include Mexico (NAFTA) came into force in 1994. The NAFTA region is now home to more than 450 million people. Trilateral trade has soared since then. Merchandise trade has nearly tripled since NAFTA came into force in 1994, exceeding \$1 trillion in 2008.

One in five jobs in Canada is linked to international trade. As such, the North American continental partnership is an important competitive advantage for Canada. The United States, which has largest and most diversified economy in the world, is a world leader in computers, medical equipment and aerospace, and in services including financial services and telecommunications, and agriculture. Mexico's exports have diversified from primarily oil to include a wide array of manufactured products.

#### **Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement**



Population of Israel: \$7.3 billion GDP: \$222.5 billion GDP per capita: \$30,600

On July 31, 1996, Canada and Israel signed the Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement, which became effective Jan. 1, 1997. It was Canada's first free trade agreement outside the western hemisphere.

Israel is Canada's fourth largest merchandise export market in the Middle East and North Africa. Bilateral merchandise trade in this goods-only agreement has more than tripled since its implementation in 1997 (from \$507.3 million in 1996, to a record high of \$1.8 billion in 2008).

In 2009, Canada's exports totalled \$353.2 billion, notably in machinery, electrical equipment, recorders, chemicals, paper and newsprint, plastics, wood and aluminium, iron, steel and associated products. Agricultural exports included vegetables, oil seeds, oil-producing fruits, grains, industrial or medicinal plants, straw and fodder.

Canada's imports totalled \$946.3 billion; top categories include chemicals, plastics, textiles, precision instruments, precious stones, metals, machinery, optical equipment, electrical, recording and television equipment.

The Canada-Israel Industrial Research and Development Foundation (CIIRDF) was established in 1994 to promote collaborative R&D between the countries.

Among CIIRDF's projects are: 1) development of techniques to predict large earthquakes and minimize their damage, 2) creation of cars that provide better fuel economy while minimizing greenhouse gas emissions, 3) transformation of sea water into fresh water to address the global shortage of drinking water.

#### **Canada-Chile Free Trade Agreement**



Population of Chile: 7.1 million GDP: \$187.2 billion GDP per capita: \$11,020

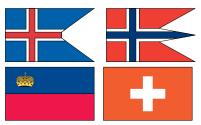
Canadian-Chilean relations reached a milestone in 2007 with the 10th anniversary of the Canada-Chile Free Trade Agreement (CCFTA). Signed on Dec. 5, 1996, and implemented on July 5, 1997, the CCFTA is a comprehensive agreement that covers trade in goods and services, as well as a bilateral investment relationship. The CCFTA was Canada's first Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with a South American country, while for Chile, it was the first comprehensive FTA concluded with any country.

Since the agreement entered into force, bilateral trade in goods has increased by 226 percent, growing from \$718 million in 1997 to \$2.34 billion in 2006. Bilateral trade in services reached \$164 million in 2005 (the latest year for which statistics are available).

Canada's exports to Chile fell in 2009, down from \$644.4 million, a decrease of 11 percent from 2008, Canada's imports from Chile also fell — to \$1.7 billion — but not as drastically: a year-over-year decline of 3.5 percent. Canada's Foreign Direct Investment in Chile retreated as well: a 13.6 percent decline, year-over-year, to \$8.3 billion.

Since the implementation of the agreement, Canada's bilateral merchandise trade with Chile has flourished and diversified. Two-way merchandise trade has more than tripled. The main Canadian exports to Chile include machinery, mineral fuels and oils, and cereals. Merchandise imports from Chile to Canada include precious stones and metals, copper, edible fruits and nuts (fresh grapes), and fish and seafood.

#### Canada-European Free Trade Association Agreement



Population: Iceland, 4.2 million, Norway, 4.6 million; Liechtenstein, 34,761; Switzerland, 7.6 million.

GDP: Iceland, \$182.1 billion, Norway, \$282.4 billion; Liechtenstein, \$4.3 billion; Switzerland, \$332.3 billion. GDP per capita: Iceland, \$43,300; Norway, : \$60,630; Liechtenstein, \$128,960; Switzerland, \$44.040

On July 2, 2009, the free trade agreement (FTA) signed by Canada and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries of Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland, entered into force. Also entering into force at the same time were three associated bilateral agreements on agriculture with Iceland, Norway and Switzerland and a separate Canada-Switzerland bilateral agreement covering Liechtenstein.

The Canada-EFTA FTA was a "first-generation" agreement with an emphasis on tariff elimination. It did not include substantial new obligations in areas such as services, investment, and intellectual property.

The EFTA countries are significant economic partners for Canada. In 2008, two-way merchandise trade was valued at \$13.2 billion, including Canadian exports of \$4.2 billion. In addition, two-way investment trade with Norway and Switzerland reached \$28.4 billion in 2008.

Together, the EFTA countries are the world's 16th-largest merchandise trader and Canada's seventh-largest merchandise export destination.

Canadian merchandise exports to the EFTA countries include nickel, precious stones and metals, pharmaceuticals, base metals and mechanical machinery. Canadian merchandise imports include mineral fuels and oils, pharmaceuticals, organic chemicals, mechanical machinery, and scientific and precision instruments.

In 2008, direct investment in Canada from Norway and Switzerland reached \$18.4 billion. Canadian direct investment in those two countries reached \$10.0 billion.

#### **Canada-Colombia Free Trade Agreement**



Population of Columbia: 44 million GDP: \$424 billion GDP per capita: \$9,700

The Canada-Colombia Free Trade Agreement (along with companion labour and environment agreements) has received royal assent. Canada has now completed its domestic approval process for these agreements. Once Colombia has completed its processes, the two countries can decide when they will come into force.

On Nov. 21, 2008, Stockwell Day, thenminister of International Trade, signed the Canada-Colombia Free Trade Agreement (FTA). This was the third FTA signed by Canada in 2008 and Canada's sixth FTA with a country in the Americas.

Colombia is a dynamic emerging market with an economy with high-growth potential. Canadian investors and exporters are entering the Colombian market in greater numbers. In 2008, two-way merchandise trade between Canada and Colombia totalled more than \$1.3 billion, with hundreds of Canadian companies doing business with Colombia. Colombia is also a strategic destination for Canadian direct investment (mining, oil exploration, printing and education).

Once implemented, the FTA with Colombia will stimulate the growth of Canada's commercial relationship and help level the playing field for Canadian business vis-à-vis competitors who have or are seeking preferential market access in Colombia.

Canada's merchandise exports to Colombia (worth \$708.3 million in 2008) include wheat, off-road dump trucks, newsprint, copper wire, potassium chloride, lentils and barley. Canada's service exports add another \$130 million. This includes services related to mining, oil and gas, engineering, environmental, information and communication sectors.

Canada's imports from Colombia (worth \$643.7 million in 2008) include coffee, bananas, coal, oil, sugar and flowers.

Canada announced in 2002 that it would seek a FTA with Colombia. The government launched extensive consultations with business, citizen-based organizations as well as with provincial and territorial governments — which indicated broad support for a FTA with Colombia.

#### Canada-Jordan Free Trade Agreement



Population of Jordan: 5.9 million GDP: \$24.1 billion GDP per capita: \$45,480

On June 28, 2009, Stockwell Day, thenminister of International Trade, signed the Canada-Jordan Free Trade Agreement with his counterpart, Jordan's minister of Trade Amer Hadidi. On March 24, 2010, the government tabled legislation to implement the agreement. Once this legislation is passed, the government will work with Jordan to implement it.

Canada's two-way merchandise trade with Jordan is now \$82.5 million. Canada's exports in 2009 (\$65.8 million) included vehicles, forest products, machinery, pulse crops (mainly lentils and chickpeas), ships and boats and plastics.

Canada's merchandise imports from Jordan (\$16.6 million) included knit and woven apparel, precious stones and metals (mainly jewelry, vegetables and inorganic chemicals.

Once implemented, the FTA will expand Canada-Jordan trade and help further strengthen the bilateral relationship. This agreement demonstrates the importance that Canada places on further developing relations with Jordan, especially given its role as a moderate Arab state that promotes peace and security in the Middle East.

An FTA with Jordan was undertaken as part of the government's broader strategy to strengthen the competitiveness of Canadian companies in global markets. Canada and Jordan already enjoy good economic and trade relations. In addition to the FTA, Canada has a bilateral air services agreement and a nuclear cooperation agreement, as well as a FIPA agreement (Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement), which was signed at the same time as the FTA.

#### Canada-Peru Free Trade Agreement



Population of Peru: 28 million GFD: \$133.9 billion GDP per capita: \$8,980

On May 29, 2008, Helena Guergis, then secretary of state for Foreign Affairs and International Trade, signed the Canada-Peru Free Trade Agreement (FTA).

On March 26, 2009, the government introduced legislation in the Commons to implement the Canada-Peru Free Trade Agreement (and its companion labour and environment agreements) which formally went into effect in August 2009.

In 2008, two-way merchandise trade between Canada and Peru totalled more than \$2.8 billion, with hundreds of Canadian companies doing business with Peru. Peru is also a strategic destination for Canadian direct investment (mining and financial services).

The FTA with Peru will stimulate the growth of Canada's commercial relationship and help level the playing field for Canadian business vis-à-vis their competitors who may be benefiting from preferential market access terms in these markets.

In 2008, Canada's exports to Peru were worth \$390.8 million, mostly cereals, pulses, paper, technical instruments and machinery. Canada's imports from Peru — gold, zinc and copper ores, oil, animal feed and vegetables — were worth \$2.5 billion. Canadians already invest heavily in Peru, \$2.35 billion in 2008.

The removal of barriers that limit Canadian participation in a growing market should increase Canadian exports to Peru. Tariffs have been eliminated on a range of sectors including mining, agriculture and agri-food products.

#### **Canada-Panama Free Trade Agreement**



Population of Panama: 3.5 million GDP: \$26.2 billion GDP per capita: \$12,800

On May 14, 2010, Canada and Panama signed the Canada-Panama Free Trade Agreement (FTA). The agreement must still be approved by the parliaments of both countries before it can go into effect.

Panama is an established market for Canada, and the bilateral trade and investment relationship has strong potential for long-term growth. In 2009, bilateral merchandise trade between Canada and Panama totalled \$132.1 million, with Canadian exports accounting for \$91.4 million and imports totalling \$40.7 million.

Once implemented, the FTA will benefit Canadian exporters in numerous sectors through the elimination of Panamanian tariffs. Those sectors include agriculture and agri-food products; pharmaceuticals; wood, pulp and paper products, electrical and industrial machinery, vehicles and auto parts, information and communication technology, aerospace, plastic products, fish and seafood, and iron and steel products.

In 2008, Panama had one of the highest real gross domestic product (GDP) growth rates in the Americas at 10.7 percent. Despite the global economic downturn, Panama posted positive growth in 2009 at 2.4 percent, and real GDP is expected to rise further in 2010.

As home to the Panama Canal, Panama plays a pivotal role in the flow of goods around the world. Expansion of the canal is underway and is slated to be completed by 2014 at a projected cost of US\$5.3 billion.

#### Canada-Costa Rica Free Trade Agreement



Population of Costa Rica: 4.5 million GDP: \$51.2 billion GDP per capita: \$11,500

The Canada-Costa Rica Free Trade Agreement (CCRFTA) and two parallel accords on environmental and labour cooperation entered into force on Nov. 1, 2002. The negotiations took only nine months. The agreement itself was signed by both trade ministers April 23, 2001. It was approved in the Commons Sept. 20, 2001 and received royal assent Dec. 18, 2001.

The agreement eliminated tariffs on most industrial products. This includes some key Canadian export interests such as automotive goods, environmental goods, prefabricated buildings and some construction products, such as steel structures.

Canadian companies realized significant competitive gains immediately with such products as French fries, pulses, grains and oilseeds products, fresh fruit and vegetables and processed food products. About 94 percent of Canada's current agriculture and agri-food exports to Costa Rica gained superior market access. Tariffs have been eliminated gradually in a process that could take another few years to complete.

As usual in Canada's trade agreements, beef and supply-managed dairy, poultry and egg products were exempt from tariff reductions — as were cultural industries.

Strategically, Canadian exporters have gained an important advantage over their principal competitors in the Costa Rican market, including U.S., European and Asian suppliers, as well as, ultimately, a level playing field with Costa Rica's other preferential trade partners, such as Mexico and Chile.

PRIMARY SOURCE: DFAIT

#### **FTA Pending Agreements**

With varying degrees of progress, Canada is negotiating an expanding number of free trade agreements around the world, among them an historic deal with the European Union. Most recently, the government has announced that it will consider seeking a trade deal with Turkey, a growing economic

power in the Mediterranean. Other agreements pending include: Ukraine, Morocco, Korea, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the Dominican Republic, the Central American Four, India, the Andean Community and Singapore. A more distant goal: a comprehensive trade agreement that includes all

of the countries of North and

South America.

CARICOM is an association of 15 Caribbean countries as full members and five countries as limited members. Members include Antigua and Barbuda, The Bahamas, which is a member of the community but not the common market, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis,

Saint Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago.

The Central American Four ("C4") are El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua.

The Andean Community includes Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia and Peru. Canada already has free trade agreements with Colombia and Peru.

# Lessons from Estonia

'The home I grew up in was Estonian,' says Trade Minister Peter Van Loan... 'At nine years old, the wisdom of age was upon me'

By Donna Jacobs

furnished office in Centre Block, Canada's International Trade Minister, Peter Van Loan explains how a first-generation Canadian of Estonian heritage wound up with a Dutch name. "On my father's side, there is a Dutch heritage — Van Loon — which one of my ancestors changed to Van Loan to reflect the real pronunciation. But the home I grew up in was Estonian."

His views of trade and politics meet and blend into a philosophy of freedom — non-protectionist movement of goods and services, and the ultimate freedom of democracy.

The 47-year-old lawyer and former University of Toronto professor with the speak-easy style has packed a lot into his brief political career as Conservative MP for Ontario's York-Simcoe riding.

Since entering politics in 2004, Peter Van Loan has served in a number of cabinet-level positions — among them, parliamentary secretary for foreign affairs, minister of intergovernmental affairs, and House leader and minister of democratic reform, and minister of public safety. Early this year, he was appointed minister of international trade.

Mr. Van Loan credits his family's Estonian heritage for his political beliefs. In conversations with *Diplomat* publisher Donna Jacobs, Mr. Van Loan described the important influences in his life:

"I grew up in a home where I was essentially raised by my mother, my grandmother, Juta Valjaots Rentik, and my grandfather, Leho Rentic, who were Estonians.

"They had fled Estonia during the Second World War first as refugees to Sweden and ultimately to Canada.

"Across Europe, my grandfather had seen Finlandization.\* He'd seen the Chinese Revolution. He'd seen the Korean War. And the fear of many people in Europe was that Sweden was next. He chose Canada as the country he thought was the best destination for freedom and democracy, and also a country that was far, far away from the threats he had faced.



Nazi soldiers in Estonia.

"It sounds a little bit crazy from where we sit today but if you put yourself in the context of that time, that era, it was not that wild. He saw Canada not only as a safe place but also as a place of opportunity.

"They came to Canada around 1950, after the successive waves of Nazi and Soviet occupation, because they believed there was no other choice, really. If they had stayed, they would have faced the same fate that many others in the family faced.

"My grandmother had been a lawyer in Estonia back in the 1920s, an unusual career at that time. And my grandfather had been an agronomist which, in a largely agricultural society, was a fairly significant responsibility. It made him into a bit of a community leader.

"In the case of my grandfather's brothers and sisters, some were simply executed and shot. "There was a particularly vicious attack — by some Communists with axes — in their homes while they were sleeping. They were bludgeoned to death in their beds. My grandfather's parents were among those who went to the gulag in Si-

beria and who ultimately died there.

"One can debate what the gulag was about. I'm firmly of the view that these were essentially concentration camps designed to depopulate, in the case of the Baltics, the ethnic Estonians and Latvians — particularly the leadership. Those who hadn't been dealt with one way had to be dealt with another way. Using the gulags also allowed the Russian occupation to take hold, to take root. Soviet efforts towards Russification, especially in Estonia and Latvia where they had small enough populations, was a viable proposition.

"In Stalin's time, there was an era of brutality. Anyone who represented any kind of leadership was a threat and particularly if you represented any kind of leadership in an occupied country, you were a particular threat.

"The Poles suffered greatly, too, and lost an entire generation of leadership. The loss was repeated in the tragedy we just witnessed in the deaths of Polish leaders who were en route to observe the memory of the Katyn Massacre.\*\* The April plane crash in fog near Smolensk Airport killed Polish president Lech Kaczynski, his wife,

Maria and 94 others, including senior politicians and the heads of the Polish military.

"People argued, and you often hear that unlike Hitler's mass murders that were methodical and orderly, Stalin's were brutal and erratic. That is not entirely true. There always was, undoubtedly, a focus on the elites, the leadership in society, anybody who was educated.

"Once they were safely in Canada, my grandmother, the lawyer, went to work on the order desk at Sears. And my agronomist grandfather went to work in a paper factory in Riverdale, (a Toronto neighbourhood). I think they embraced their new home, were pleased to be in Canada and certainly encouraged me to think in those terms. But they also graced me continually with the stories of what they had endured.

"I'm told that there are two strains in the Estonian personality. One is the survivors, the other is the warriors. On my grandfather's side were more warriors. And my grandmother's side were more

"They told so many stories — of hiding in the woods, of running away from the Communists.

"They were lucky sometimes to get a heads up, to hear what was happening and to be able to stay on the run and sleep. One memorable story, not actually told to me until I was in politics, was the story of grandfather's candidacy in an election the Communists had held.

"The non-Communist parties got together and fielded a single candidate. They tried to be non-partisan. My grandfather was tagged to be the candidate for them. And the day of these rigged elections, about three hours before the polls closed, a contingent of about 25 or 30 Red Army soldiers came up my grandfather's farm lane and showed up at his door.

"They said: 'We're here to accept your concession of defeat.'

"My grandfather, with his warrior personality, said: 'You won't decide that. The people will decide.'

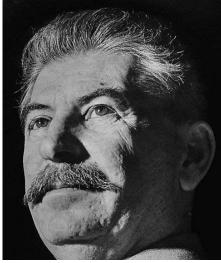
"And they said: 'We'll give you 45 minutes to think about it. We'll be back.'

"And they marched down to the end of the farm lane and my grandmother, the survivor, said: 'Are you nuts? They're going to kill you.'

"And at that point, aided by the family's hired help, they were spirited off into the woods and once again were on the run.

"My grandfather's parents — I saw the photo of them in Siberia where they died.





Mr. Van Loan says you often hear that Hitler's mass murders were methodical and orderly and Stalin's were brutal and erratic. But, he says, that's not entirely true. "There always was, undoubtedly, a focus on the elites, the leadership in society, anybody who was educated," he says.

And I saw a photo of one of my grandfather's siblings standing beside old wooden crosses on the rocky graves. Those photos kind of seared in my memory.

"It wasn't until I had been an MP for about five or six years, my grandmother and mother — my grandfather had died by then — got a little more explicit (about their initial lack of enthusiasm for a politi-

"They said that when the Russians came to send the people to Siberia, one of the first things they did was go down the Party membership lists. So they had this fear— notwithstanding being very, very strong in their views — of getting involved and exposing oneself to that kind of risk.

"One of my favourite stories was about the time when my grandfather and a friend were on the run. In those days, hay was stacked up in an old-fashioned haystack — just a big pile of hay. And to hide from the Red Army soldiers, they dug out a little cave for themselves within one of these haystacks to sleep. They were adults - my grandfather had a six -yearold daughter.

"So they're sleeping in there. And along come a couple of Red Army soldiers who decide they're going to sleep on top of this haystack for the next while.

"'O, my God,' they said, 'we're doomed for sure.'

"And then one of the legs — the boot of the soldier — drops into the cave they made for themselves. They carefully try to gently push it back out so that the soldier won't notice. After several tries, it works.

"It's just a litany of stories of these close calls. Another time, they were shot at and a bullet just grazes by and hits the tree behind them.

"They were targeted because they were Estonian nationalists, strong Estonian nationalists, and because they were leaders in the community, and therefore obvious targets. But it wasn't just the Communists.

'German was the mother tongue in the family because in Estonia, in the Czar's time before they gained independence before the First World War — the Hansiatic League State (Estonia), had a German landed-class aristocracy. The language of government was German. My grandmother's father was township administrator. He spoke German.

"When my mother was about five years old, the Nazis had already arrived. She and my grandmother and grandfather encountered a couple of German soldiers on the street. It was obvious that the soldiers were ready to shoot them.

"Who knows what happens in war? They were a threat. That's what you do if you're a soldier. My mother starts pleading for her life in German. And the soldiers go from being angry and ready to shoot to laughing.

"There is this very funny little girl—she speaks German." (Mr. Van Loan is speaking German mimicking the soldiers.) So the soldiers thought that was funny and they let them go.

"It's on those little moments that life and death can turn.

"This was enough to make me committed to learning a second language. I just speak English and French and some German which I've largely forgotten, and about



The Estonian Cyber War of 2007, which shut down websites of the Estonian parliament, banks, ministries, newspapers and broadcasters, came amid Estonia's dispute with Russia over the relocation of this monument, known as the Bronze Soldier of Tallinn, an important symbol of the Soviet era.

30 or 40 words or phrases in Estonian. It was in hearing those stories of my family that I became very highly politicized.

"When I was five, I was a big fan of Pierre Trudeau. He was very committed to freedom and human rights, so we were told. But then in the years that followed, I saw him cozying up with Castro and Kosygin and Brezhnev and these are the people who are imprisoning what was left of my family still in the Soviet Union, in occupied Estonia.

"So that's when I realized they (Trudeau and his Liberal Party) were not *really* committed to freedom and democracy. And that's when I became a Conservative. At nine years old (he chuckles) the wisdom of age — as they say — was upon me.

"From 1972 on, I was a Conservative. So this is really what has always driven my involvement in politics. It was a very strong concern that we have to do what we can — at that time when I was growing up — to work to restore freedom to these occupied countries that lost their freedom and to the millions of people all across the Baltics and Eastern Europe who lived involuntarily under Communism, effectively as prisoners in their own society.

"When independence and freedom were restored in 1991, with the fall of Communism, I almost had a bit of an identity crisis, a crisis of purpose. Then I realized: Those threats will remain and will continue. Optimistic as some may

be, it quickly became apparent that we do have to work hard to ensure that the gains aren't rolled back, as they were in the past — that those countries that gained their independence and restored their freedom continue to be able to retain their sovereignty and freedom now.

"We've seen threats to them. We saw the cyber attack which took place on Estonia. We saw the conflict that took place in Georgia. We know (what can happen) if we don't remain committed and vigilant towards protecting these countries, like the Baltics, that are our NATO partners.

"I don't think we can be complacent."

(The Estonian Cyber War has been described as the world's most sophisticated cyber attack. It began in April, 2007, and proceeded to close down the websites of the important Estonian institutions, including the Estonian parliament, banks, government ministries, newspapers and broadcasters. The attack came amid Estonia's dispute with Russia over the relocation of the Bronze Soldier of Tallinn, an important symbol of the Soviet era. The Russian government denied that it was responsible for the cyber attack; one Russian national was eventually convicted.)

**Diplomat magazine:** What about the controversy between the U.S. and Russia over a Poland-based missile defence of Europe?

Peter Van Loan: All the countries of Europe have the right to make their own choices about the alliances to which they belong, their own choices about how they want to participate in those alliances militarily, what commitment they want to make. But no country should have a veto over those choices. No country should be able to intimidate these countries. They're sovereign free countries.

**DM**: What regions of the world does the state of democracy cause you concern?

**PVL:** As a government, we have great concerns about democracy in many places. We want to see human rights advanced and there's no secret our government has made that a cornerstone of our agenda. It's not something that we're going to compromise for the sake of trade — which has happened in the past.

We continue to raise these issues, whether it be countries in the Middle East that could treat women better and have better human rights, or countries like Myanmar. We're on the record with our concerns about the quality of democracy in Russia. We have concerns about human rights in China — all of these we have spoken about clearly in the past and will continue to.

**DM:** Does this make it difficult to trade with these nations?

**PVL:** There is a lot of talk, but the reality

is that every year since we've become the government, our trade with China has increased. So I would suggest we've succeeded in trading at the same time staying true to our Canadian values and our commitment to those fundamental core values: freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

That's why Canada is such an attractive place to invest, because people know we represent a stable democracy with the rule of law. The rule of law is a concern to Canadians who want to invest abroad. It comes up repeatedly. In countries without the rule of law, people feel they've lost their investments, feel they aren't treated fairly. They can't rely on the courts. A contract doesn't mean a contract.

In Canada, no matter where you come from, you can count on the rule of law. You can count on your property rights. You can count on a contract. And if somebody defaults, you have remedies. And, of course, we'll take the side of right.

We will continue to advance our human rights agenda all around the world where we can. And we've been doing that in Afghanistan at the cost of significant blood, lives and treasure. This is consistent with Canada's history for as long as we've been a country.

In Central America and Latin America, I think we've seen tremendous progress in the last two or three decades. There are always hiccups and we always have our countries of concern. But I should say that there is probably more good news today than bad.

Africa is a little more mixed in outcomes. Zimbabwe remains an area of tremendous concern to us. We watch Zimbabwe with interest and hope we'll see progress there. There are some good news stories, like Ghana. Kenya was very good news story until the violence after the last round of elections; we're working very closely with Kenya. They're going through a constitutional process right now hopefully that will resolve some of the tensions that existed.

One of the most important (pro-democracy) initiatives is our proposal in our platform last election to establish a Democracy Promotion Institute.

When we were preparing our platform last year, it was something I strongly advocated. It builds on work I began when I was parliamentary secretary for Foreign Affairs and we had the Foreign Affairs committee doing the work on democracy

promotion. There's a study looking at what other countries have done in that area — the British with the Westminster Institute, some of the Scandinavian countries — what they have done. So that work is continuing and (Minister of State for Democratic Reform) Stephen Fletcher will bring forward some very good proposals in that area.

Each country has its own story. We have a lot to offer and a lot to provide in the way of help — but at the end of the day, the solution is always with the people of those countries.

### Footnotes:

\*The policy of neutrality of a country under the influence of another more powerful one, without being formally allied to it, similar to the neutralization of Finland with respect to the Soviet Union after 1944.

\*\*In 1940, Stalin ordered his NKVD security police to execute by gunshot 25,700 Poles. The NKVD took more than 4,000 Polish officers from the Kozelsk Prison Camp to the Katyn Forest, shot them and mass buried them. **D** 



# Canada-EU deal: 'Now the hard part starts'

As negotiators start to deal with the nitty-gritty of an agreement where everything is on the table, these trade talks are becoming interesting

By Phil Rourke



Dairy is one of the more contentious issues in Canada-EU negotiations, partly because of Canada's protection of the industry.

he easy part — if ever there were one — is over. Now the hard part starts.

This fall marks the midpoint in the two-year timeframe for the completion of a Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA). Canada and Europe have had four rounds of formal negotiations and many informal discussions. Even a volcanic eruption in Iceland that grounded all but of few of the European negotiators last May didn't slow the pace of meetings. Both sides plugged in their video conferencing gear and got down to business.

The Centre for Trade Policy and Law (CTPL) has been monitoring these negotiations from the beginning. We have run a simulation after each formal round, with graduate students representing each side and some of Canada's most experienced

former trade negotiators as the observers. We've created scenarios that are as close to real-life as possible to provide insights into the process and potential outcomes.

The latest simulation illustrated how complex these talks have already become From the beginning, it was agreed the negotiations would be "ambitious" in both scope and coverage. What this means is that the agenda — agriculture, government procurement, services and investment, intellectual property, environment and others — is filled with issues that are difficult to negotiate and hit directly at domestic political sensitivities.

For example, the Europeans want their firms to be able to bid on contracts from the provincial governments, especially provincially-owned hydro and telecommunication utilities. These areas were excluded from the government procure-

ment deal which Canada concluded earlier this year with the U.S. But the EU will insist on their inclusion.

Another example is what is referred to as geographical indications or GIs. According to John Curtis, a former chief economist with DFAIT, "this is a very tough area for Canada."

For the Europeans, "parma" is both a type of ham and the place from which it originates. The EU is intensely interested in trademarking this and many other names, thereby stopping foreign competitors from riding on the coattails of what the Europeans perceive as their brands. Any movement that Canada makes in this area could affect domestic producers of cheese and meats. Indeed the parma ham issue has been before the WTO for several years.

The challenge, said Mr. Curtis, "is

to work with the producers to determine if there are any names that would have a minimal negative impact on business."From that, government can then work with the producers to adapt if they are affected by the agreement.

This approach worked with the wine industry when business and government got together to figure out a strategy to compete under the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Could the same approach work for the artisan cheese producers who are gaining acclaim in the Eastern Townships, Prince Edward County and elsewhere? That may be a long-term solution. But it would require reforms that won't be realized within the current timeframe for a deal.

Another level of complexity is the number of players involved and how they are organized. Prior to the launching of formal negotiations, the EU developed a detailed mandate that was endorsed by all 27 member states.

The Canadian government went through a similar consultative process. But the number of players involved has added to the complexity.

The CETA negotiations are the first to see representatives of 14 levels of government (one federal, 10 provincial, and three territorial) directly involved in the negotiations. Previously, the provinces and territories were consulted but did not sit at the table. This ensures that they all have a stake in an agreement. But it has also meant there is some "learning-bydoing" involved in developing positions on key issues.

Canada's position as the demandeur in these negotiations further complicates its team's work. Canada has tried for years to engage Europe in a closer economic relationship as part of a strategy to diversify its trading relationships. The EU finally agreed, laying out specific objectives to be achieved within a limited time frame.

This is a difficult position for Canada. As Terry Collins-Williams, the chair of the negotiation simulation and former Canadian deputy chief negotiator to the WTO, said: "What was apparent early on in the simulation was how hard it is for Canada to try to find a balance between what the EU wants us to put on the table and what we can put on the table that makes practical commercial sense."

Former NAFTA negotiator Bill Dymond cautioned that such a situation can compromise Canadian interests. "The government should be alive to the risks of



Coast Guards and Official Fisheries Inspectors set out, at night, to control fishing vessels in the North Sea. Everything — including fisheries — is on the table in the Canada-EU trade deal currently being negotiated.

negotiating in the absence of a businessdriven agenda," he said. "If there is no agenda, the agreement will have little effect on Canada-EU trade and investment."

"Without broad and persistent support from the Canadian business community, there will be little countervailing pressure when inevitably some Canadian sector objects to the concessions offered to the EU."

According to Pierre Gosselin, a former chair of the Canadian International Trade Tribunal and trade negotiator, this situation also plays to the EU's advantage.

"The negotiations are all 'plus' for the Europeans. What they give us, they have already given to others," he said. "So any gains are a net benefit for them. And if the negotiations fail, they move on."

And where would they go?

"Clearly, the Europeans are considering the demonstration effect of these negotiations on the U.S.," said Mr. Collins-Williams. "Their negotiators have as much as admitted that."

There has been progress. Draft text has been prepared for several chapters. Both sides have exchanged offers that would have 90 percent of tariffs (both by number of tariff lines and by value of trade) eliminated the first day the agreement comes into effect. The teams are now engaged in how to eliminate the remaining 10 percent.

Canada is being particularly aggressive in finding an agreement on mutual recognition of professional and technical qualifications to allow greater movement of people across borders for business purposes. The issue is linked to the government's broader interest in attracting more highly-skilled foreign workers to meet growing labour shortages. By linking the CETA negotiations to broader immigration objectives, greater internal support for an agreement is possible.

For Gilles LeBlanc, a former lead negotiator for Canada on trade rules during the Doha Round, this illustrates a critical point: "Are both parties prepared to make reforms in key areas where they have political sensitivities, with potential implications that could well go beyond the Canada-EU context?" For Mr. LeBlanc, this is a bellweather for how much can actually be realized.

John Curtis described the longer term challenge: "The CETA negotiations are forcing us to think about what kind of Canada we envisage for the 21st Century."

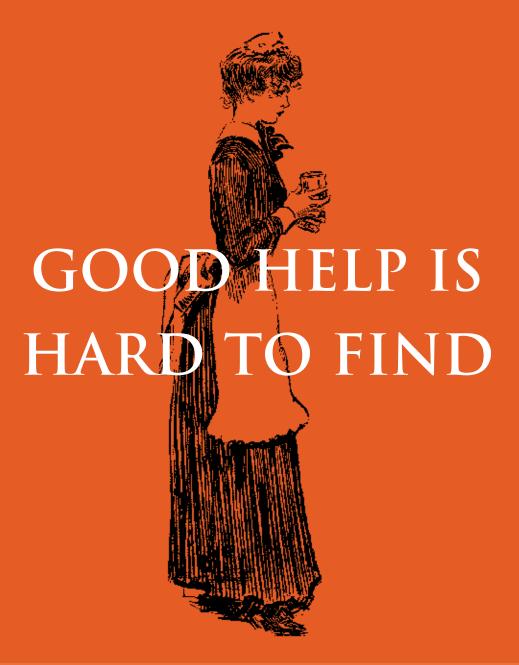
Given these complexities and challenges, it is too early to tell what an agreement that is politically saleable on both sides of the Atlantic might look like. It's a work in progress. What all of our former trade negotiations could agree on is to caution against the tendency towards "agreement syndrome" — allowing the momentum of the negotiations to cloud judgment about what an acceptable deal should look like.

Meanwhile, negotiators on both sides continue to do what they do best: finding solutions where there aren't any just yet.

Phil Rourke is the executive director of the Centre for Trade Policy and Law (CTPL), a leading research and training centre on trade issues jointly sponsored by Carleton University and the University of Ottawa.



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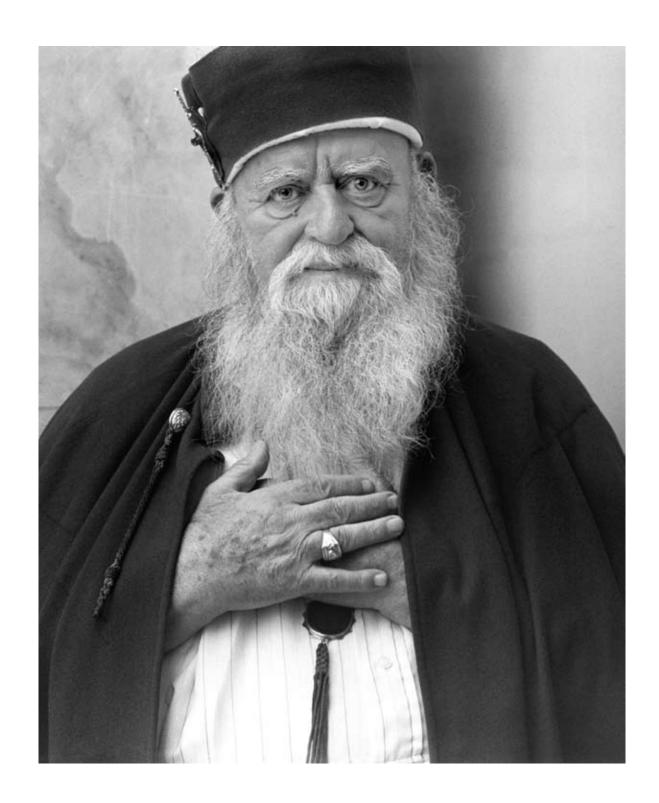
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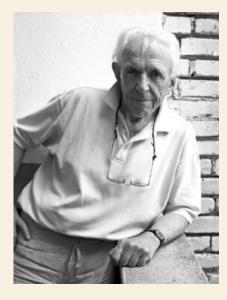
# Muslims who saved Jews

A remarkable photographic exhibition of Albania's inspiring record in saving Jews from the Holocaust

# Muslims Who Saved Jews? Who Ever Heard of It?

When I first learned of the WWII rescue of Jews in Muslim Albania and Kosovo, my reaction was visceral. Muslims who saved Jews? I must record this forgotten event with my camera and tell the story through the various family histories of the people I was to meet. As a Jew and a Sufi, my spiritual connection with the beauty of Islam and Judaism is seamless. The old adage of "A picture is worth a thousand words" is manifested in our photographic project.

For more than six years, I have been traveling to Muslim Albania and Kosovo, documenting and doing portraits of Muslim families that saved Jews in World War II. Although besa is a traditional Albanian code of honour, many Muslim families have incorporated it into their religious beliefs and often were inspired by their faith in saving Jews from the



Nazis. The rescue of Jews in Albania was a unique experience in Holocaust history as Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler were welcomed not as refugees, but as guests.

Besa is a message to the world of brotherhood and compassion for those in need and unique to the Albanian people. Equally important is the message, through my portraits and stories, of the compassion extended to Jews by Albanian Muslim families during the Holocaust.

As a Jew, and a student of the Sufi tradition, I always made it a point to thank those Muslim families I photographed for the saving of Jews during those harrowing times.

- Norman H. Gershman

Norman H. Gershman established The Eye Contact Foundation to promote religious, political, cultural and economic understanding and tolerance among people worldwide through the use of portrait photography. Its origins lie in the citizen diplomacy of its founder, through his years of international humanistic portrait photography. And they lie in the Albanian honor code of besa, which requires individuals to protect anyone in danger regardless of all religious and political affiliations.

### Baba Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi (Previous page)

For fifteen years, I have been the head of the worldwide movement of Bektashi. There are more than seven million Bektashi in the world, including in the United States. Our sect derives from the Shia. We trace our heritage back to Imam Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet Mohammed.

We are the most liberal of Muslims. Our religious practices are in the language of the country where we live. Many of our rituals are secret. Ataturk expelled our order from Turkey in the early 1920s because we refused to take off our religious garb in public. It was then that we moved our centre here to Tirana. All around us is the colour green. This has been the colour of our mosques for 800 years. Green is pure, peaceful and clean. It is the colour of the earth.

At the time of the Nazi occupation, the prime minister of Albania was Mehdi Frashëri. He was a member of the Bektashi. He refused to release the names of Jews to the Nazi occupiers. He organized an underground of all Bektashi to shelter all the Jews, both citizens and refugees. At that time, nearly half of all Muslims in Albania were Bektashi. Prime Minister Frasheri gave a secret order: "All Jewish children will sleep with your children, all will eat the same food, all will live as one family."

We Bektashi see God everywhere, in everyone. God is in every pore and every cell, therefore all are God's children. There cannot be infidels. There cannot be discrimination. If one sees a good face, one is seeing the face of God.

God is Beauty. Beauty is God. There is no God but God.

# Abaz & Zade Sinani (facing page)

I was nine years old. We lived in a big house in the village of Lushmja, in southern Albania. My parents took in a Croatian Jewish family of three — Fritz, Katherine and their daughter, Gertrude. I do not remember their family name. A fourth member of the family was sheltered with our cousin. We gave them false passports, and Gertrude went to school with me. Fritz was a carpenter, and I remember that the family was educated. We always treated Fritz and his family as guests. We never gave them work assignments. We were secular Muslims. In our home, we celebrated all the holidays — Jewish, Muslim and Christian.

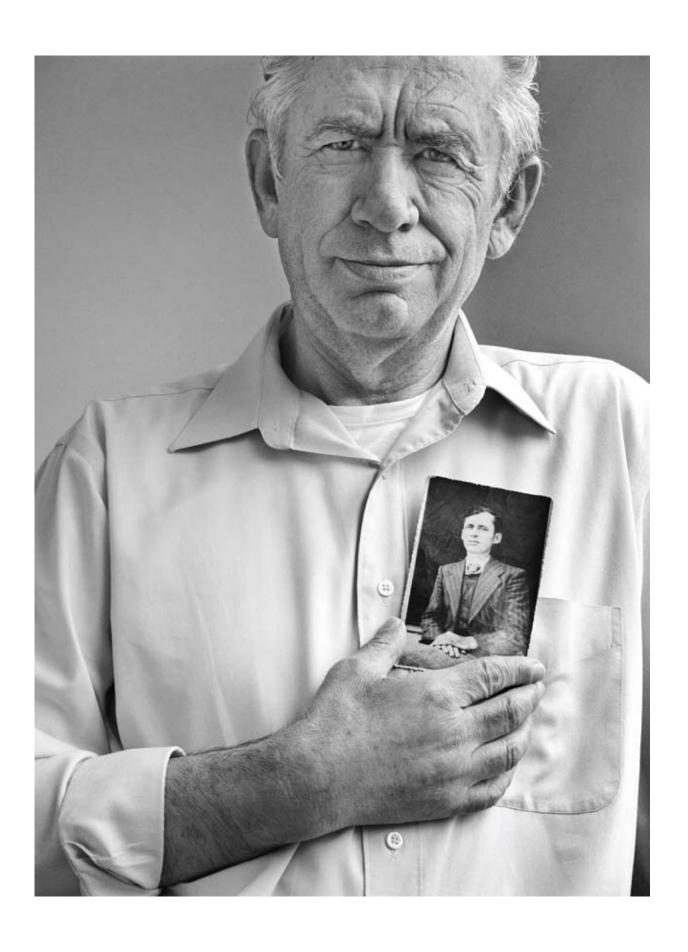
At times, the situation became dangerous because of German patrols, so we would move the Jews back and forth between our home and our cousin's home. They stayed with us for six months and at the end of the war, they left for England. After the war, we lost contact with all those we sheltered.

Why did we shelter the Jewish family? We had the biggest house in the village. Any villager would have done the same.

We also sheltered two Italian soldiers during the German occupation. And in 1912, after the war with Turkey, my mother's family sheltered Turkish soldiers.

Why should we be honoured? We did nothing special. We did what any Albanian would do. We are all human.

This is a picture of my father. All else has been lost.





# Beluli Sadik & Son Rruzhdi (above)

We lived in the small village of Novosel in Kosovo. My father owned a pastry shop. Our entire family fought against the Italians, the Bulgarian fascists and the Germans. The Bulgarians jailed me in 1941, when I was 20 years old. It was easy to bribe them with a chicken and I was released.

In 1942, a prisoner train from Serbia came through our region. Chaim Cohen escaped with 72 other Jews into the mountains near our village. We sheltered Chaim in our home when he sought asylum. At first, we found it strange that he never took off his clothing. He even slept in his clothing. It was because Chaim had sewn gold coins into his garments. We assured him that no one in our family would steal from him. We then dressed Chaim as a woman in traditional Muslim clothing, including a veil. After three weeks, we sent him to my sister's house where her father-in-law provided him with false Albanian papers. My father then walked Chaim to the Albanian border.

We know that he spent three years in Elbason, Albania, and opened a textile shop. After the war, he immigrated to several countries in South America, to Italy, Israel, Serbia and then finally to Brazil. We know all this because Chaim visited us with gifts, first in 1957 and then again in 1981. We also were privileged to meet his family on his second visit. Under the communists our family suffered. My father, as a nationalist, was first condemned to death and then his sentence was commuted to 10 years in prison.

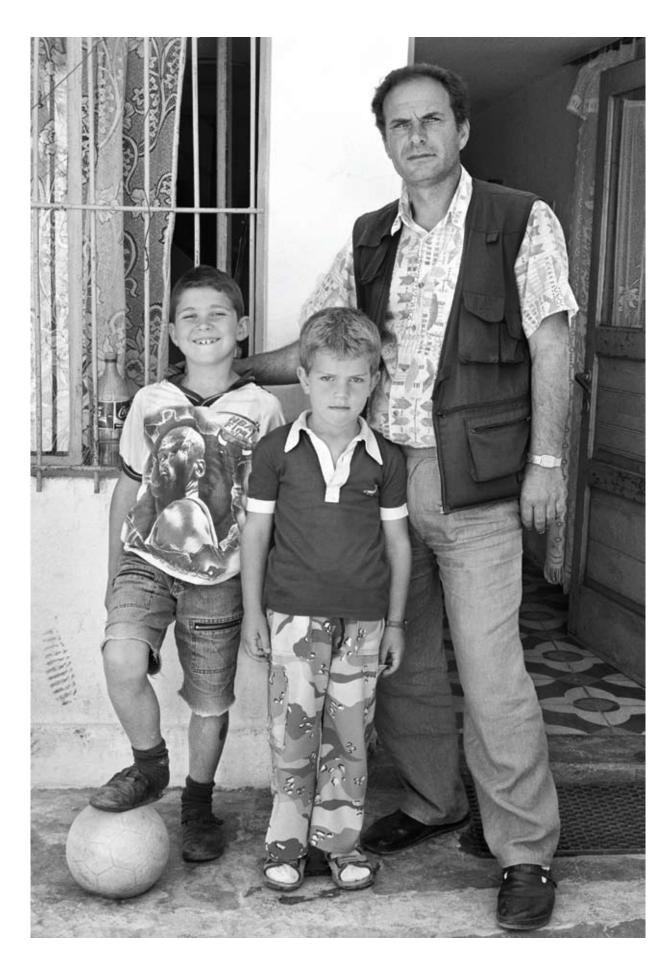
Our family are Albanian nationalists and devout Muslims. It was through the Koran and Besa that we felt the courage to shelter Chaim. No one in our village knew. We acted from our hearts.

# Esheref & Easuere Shpuza (facing page)

My parents lived in the town of Durres. In 1944, my father befriended the Jewish family of Raphael (Rudi) Abravanel. They were originally from Yugoslavia. He provided the family with false passports for Rudi, his wife and two children, and escorted them to the border. They escaped first back to Yugoslavia, then to Italy. Then our family lost all trace of the Abravanels.

It was through the help of another righteous Albanian, Refik Veseli, that in 1990 we again made contact with Rudi and his family, now living in Israel. We received letters and exchanged telephone calls. It seems strange to ask why my father did what he did for this Jewish family. Besa is a tradition of the entire nation of Albania.

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# Family Of Ali & Ragip Kraja (facing page)

Solomon Adixhes, his wife and son Isak escaped certain death in Skopie, Macedonia, by bribing a guard and crossing at night over to Albania after the entire Jewish community in Skopie had been rounded up for transport to a death camp. A courier brought them to our fathers who were twins, shoemakers. The times were difficult and dangerous for any family to harbour Jews, but we sheltered the Jewish family in our village near Shkoder from 1943 until the end of the war. All three families lived under one roof. We often dressed Solomon in peasant women's clothing to hide his identity. Sometimes he worked in a garment factory owned by a friend of our father's. Once Solomon cured a peasant of an infection, and the villagers then revered him as a healer. Isak was always peering out the window in fear of a Nazi patrol.

After the war, the Adixhes family settled in Israel. In 1994, Solomon and Isak came from Israel to visit our families. What a joyous occasion! A film was made of that trip: One Wants To Remember — One Wants To Forget. Last year, Isak again visited us from Los Angeles. We have many pictures from his trip.

We are gathered near the sign that we erected: "The Jewish Refugees of Solomon Adixhes and family drank from this nearby well while being sheltered by Ali and Ragip Kraja when being chased by the Nazis." We sheltered the Adixhes family out of the goodness of our hearts. We are all brothers and proud of our heritage. If need be, we would do it again.

## Family Of Ali & Nadia Kazazi (above)

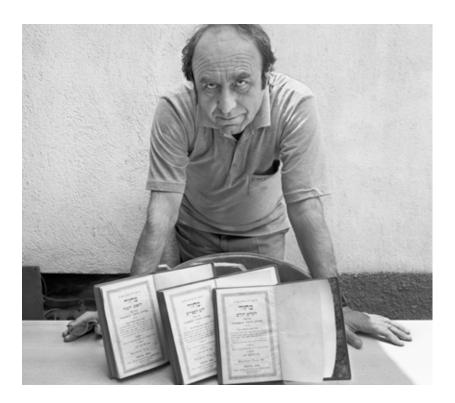
Our grandfather sheltered refugees from the war in Yugoslavia in 1913. Our father was illiterate, and very kind-hearted. He was a baker.

This is the neighbourhood in Tirana where we lived and sheltered the Solomon family. It was a very friendly neighbuorhood and everyone, including the children, knew we were sheltering a Jewish family. We gave the family Muslim names. Matilda and Memo played with us in the inner courtyard. The father and mother were terror stricken, but when there were searches, our Jewish guests were able to hide by scrambling through connecting doorways to other homes. Those were dangerous times.

For six months in 1943, we sheltered the Solomon family — David and Esther Solomon and their children, Matilda and Memo. We now know that Memo's real name was Mori Amarilio Solomon. Esther was a dressmaker. She sewed gold into her dress as a potential source of survival.

Memo became a teacher of music in Beersheba, Israel. He now lives in Jerusalem. Matilda is a businesswoman in Israel.

Our parents were not very religious, but they believed in the Koran and Besa. Without the Koran there is no Besa. Without Besa there is no Koran. For the heart there is no colour of skin. No man or woman can forget God.



### Rexhep Rifat Hoxha (above)

I was born after the war. My father only told me of his rescue of a Jewish family shortly before he died, when I was 17 years old. He waited until he felt I was mature enough to accept the obligation he had committed to and would be unable to complete.

In 1944, under the German occupation, my parents sheltered the (Bulgarian refugee) family of Nesim Hallagyem, his wife, Sara, and their son, Aron. They stayed with my parents for six months. Fortunately, my father spoke Bulgarian, and he and Nesim became good friends. There were times of great danger, when German patrols went from house to house seeking Jews. My father then arranged shelter for Nesim and Sara in outlying villages, safe from German patrols. Aron, who was 10 years old, stayed in my parents' home, pretending to be their son.

Toward the end of the occupation, my father escorted Nesim and his family to the port city of Durres, where they embarked as refugees, hopeful of gaining access to Palestine. Just before leaving, Nesim entrusted to my father three beautifully bound books in Hebrew to keep until he could retrieve them "when the waters are still," after the war. "Save them as you would save your eyes," he told my father.

After the war, my father did receive a letter from Nesim that he and his family were safely in Palestine. This was during the communist period in Albania, when any correspondence from abroad was considered a crime, subject to arrest. My father was prohibited from answering the letter, and that was the last time there was any communication.

My father gave me both the honour and the responsibility of safeguarding these Hebrew books until Nesim or his descendants return to retrieve them. This is a heavy burden and I will be saddened if I have to pass this responsibility on to my son. Perhaps Aron is alive in Israel. Perhaps there are grandchildren. I have never been outside of Albania and do not have the means to travel.

The books remain in my home. They are a treasure. I still await the Hallagyems' return.

## Basri Hasani (facing page)

I do not remember my parents. I am an orphan. I have lived all my life in Mitrovica, Kosovo, and have been the city administrator for many years. Our town is known as Red Mitrovica because we have seen so much bloodshed. We suffered under the Nazis from 1941 to 1945, then experienced the Serb ethnic cleansing and NATO bombing in 1998 and 1999. I lived through it all. I know the history and suffering of the families, and especially of the Jews.

Before the war there were 11,000 inhabitants of Mitrovica. There were Turks, Serbs, Jews and Albanians. All citizens worked together and respected the individuality of all.

The Rubenovic brothers were my next-door neighbours. There was Rakamin, Aron and my best friend Moshe. Moshe's uncle was the Rabbi of Mitrovica. The Jewish families of our town were religious and prayed at the synagogue. Most of the Jews were traders.

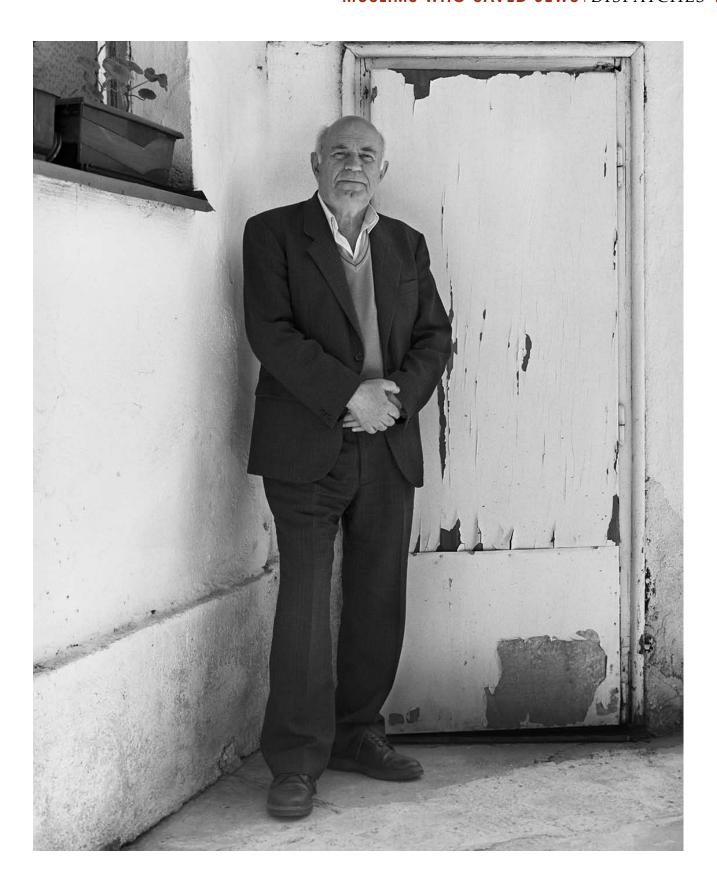
In 1941, the Germans occupied our town. Rakamin's shop was closed. The Prefect of Mitrovica organized an escape for the Jews. They were hidden in surrounding mountain villages. We also helped to shelter Italian soldiers whom the Germans were killing.

The Nazis captured both Rakamin's and Aron's families. We never heard from them again. Moshe joined the partisans in 1941 and fought the Nazis throughout Albania and Kosovo. He came back as a captain of the partisans and I sheltered him in my home while he and his band fought the Nazis in our town.

In 1945 Moshe left for Israel and then I think he settled in America. I don't really know as I have lost all contact with my friend. Forgive my tears, but Moshe was such a good friend during those years. I long to be reunited with him.

I do not go to the mosque, but I am a true Muslim. The Holy Koran is in my genes. I say my prayers each evening. My door is always open to anyone in need.

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# Understanding besa, the Albanian code of honour

"All Jewish children will sleep with your children, all with eat the same food, all will live as one family"

— Albanian Prime Minister Mehdi Frashëri. 1943

By Randi Winter



Rachel Goslins, director of the upcoming film, *Besa: The Promise*, with Baba Haxhi Dede Reshat Bardhi, in Tirana, Albania.

s the only country in Europe whose Jewish population grew 10-fold during World War II, and included refugees from all over Europe, Albania, with its 70 to 75 percent Muslim population, would seem an unlikely candidate to stand alone in its way of providing unwavering support of Jews.

Yet, King Zog and his foreign minister led by example, rescuing people from outside their borders, and most often unknown to them. People from every walk of life joined the informal underground to shelter anyone fleeing the Nazis. It was reminiscent of the underground railway between the North and the South during the U.S. Civil War.

A secret statement by Prime Minister Mehdi Bej Frashëri, a Bektashi Muslim, declared: "All Jewish children will sleep with your children, all will eat the same food, all will live as one family."

Here, Jews, who had escaped from other countries and who had literally been

branded on the forehead with a J, were astonished to learn that the local population was jostling amongst themselves for the honour of sheltering them, for the honour of saving their lives.

Neighbours even shared the privilege, based on their ability to contribute to the welfare of their "guest." In one case, a rich neighbour fed the people in their care, while a poor neighbour gave them a bed to sleep in each night. No threats of punishment or death could cause these people to waver in their commitment.

Now, as these extraordinary, ordinary individuals are rightfully coming into the world's consciousness, we need to honour their simple requests. In some cases, they want to restore to the Jews the things — the money, the possessions — they left behind for safekeeping. After these 60 years, they hope that someday, some way, a letter or knock on the door will reunite them with the people who temporarily became family and, for most, are still sought out as long-lost relatives.

Beyond their wish to find the people they sheltered, they are perplexed at the attention — at why someone would even want to photograph them and tell their stories to the world. Some 50 years of oppressive dictatorship and then the harsh rule of Communism has dampened but not defeated their spirit. Each one said that if the knock came to their door today, they would answer it again. Some of them answered the knock many times, giving shelter not only to Jews, but also to some 25,000 Italians fleeing the Nazi wrath — and even to Nazi defectors. It must be noted that Muslims were by no means the only rescuers, though being the predominant group in Albania, they saved the largest number of Jews. In fact, relative to their populations, Catholics and Orthodox Christians equally sheltered and protected Jews.

hen he heard of these stories, photographer Norman H. Gershman, a former Wall Street broker and headhunter, felt compelled to

document them. The results of many years of travel, interviews and photography are three-fold. There are photographic exhibitions that travel the world; there's his book Besa: Muslims Who Saved Jews in WWII; and there's the soon-to-be-released film Besa: The Promise, originally titled God's House.

After speaking with many Albanians and Kosovars, Mr. Gershman came to understand how a deeply-ingrained cultural virtue saved thousands of lives from the Holocaust.

For centuries, Albanian conduct has been guided by the Kanun and besa. The Albanian word besa is usually translated in English as "faith," "trust" or an "oath of peace," but its real spirit is "to keep the promise." Besa lies at the heart and soul of trust in Albanian personal and familial life.

Besa first gained prominence in the Kanun, a set of customary oral laws started in the 15th Century, passed down through generations, and not written down until the 19th Century.

The Kanun says: What is promised must be done. According to the Kanun of Lek, article 601: "The house of an Albanian belongs to God and the guest." Article 603 says: "The guest must be honoured with bread and salt and heart." Article 609 adds: "Receive a guest also with a fire, a log of wood and a bed."

While the Kanun of Lek (the best-known kanun) is often perceived as archaic or even feudal, its modern interpretation is really the essence of honour. Mr. Gershman was told: "Without the Koran, there is no besa, and without besa, there is no Koran."

He established The Eye Contact Foundation to use art as the primary form of expression to break down stereotypes and build upon the deep roots of humanism that cross racial, ethnic, religious and national boundaries. His photographs are purposeful. What is reflected in his portraits is his overriding belief in the goodness of people.

Besnik Konci, Albania's ambassador to Canada describes besa as an Albanian code of honour that means "to keep the promise" and "word of honour" and "to protect someone in need regardless of faith, race and nationality."

"Besa is an important part of personal and familial standing and is often used as an example of 'Albanianism,' he says. "Based on besa, Albanians saved thousands of Jews during the Holocaust. During one of the darkest period of human history, Albanians, by their example, showed that the spirit of humanism was alive, and even strong.



The Et'hem Bey Mosque in Tirana circa 1940.



From left: Neil Barrett, director of photography, with film director Rachel Goslins, and photographer Norman H. Gershman on set in Tirana, Albania.

"Promoting the principles of besa is a great service to the peoples of our world. We all want to live, and can live, in full peace and harmony free of prejudices and mistrust. This is the fundamental message found in Mr. Gershman's photos, exhibits, books, videos and upcoming documentary."

ow can we learn how to "keep the promise?" Promise implies taking responsibility for others. We should ask ourselves: If there is a knock on our door, would we, as individuals, take responsibility?

If those are the questions, then the principles of besa is an answer. Mr. Gershman's photographic exhibition should

serve as an inspiration, on its own, for generations to come. Many around the world have already seen it.

Yad Vashem, also known as the "Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority," is Israel's official memorial to the Jewish victims of the Holocaust and was established in 1953. The name comes from a Biblical verse: "And to them will I give in my house and within my walls a memorial and a name (Yad Vashem) that shall not be cut off." The organization opened the first exhibition of Gershman's work in 2007, finally bringing faces to a story shrouded for 60 years behind the Iron Curtain. It's had subsequent international showings in South Africa, Italy, Turkey, the U.S. and Israel and at the UN



JMW Productions, the Emmy-award winning film crew producing the movie *Besa: The Promise*, visit a synagogue in Vidin, Bulgaria. The story of Rexhep Hoxha, the main character in their film, appears on page 46. Here, he's the synagogue where he learned the man his father had sheltered was married in 1928.

and the European Union for the 60th anniversary of its founding declaration. Its newest international exhibit, specially designed for Canada, will be opening in Toronto in November and will see a 2011 date in the UK.

Yad Vashem, which on behalf of the State of Israel and the Jewish people, gave the official title Righteous Among the Nations to non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jews during the Holocaust, has already documented 63 Albanians who saved Jews. Recently, with help from Mr. Gershman's Eye Contact Foundation, Yad Vashem awarded the Rezniqi family from Kosova the "Righteous Among the Nations" designation. (Mustafa Rezniqi was also co-founder of the Kosova-Israel Friendship Society with Xhangyle Ilijazi.)

Mr. Gershman has since found many more rescuers with help from Apostol Kotani and Petrit Zorba, both of the Albanian-Israel Friendship Association, as well as from the corresponding Israel-Kosova and Israel-Albania Friendship Societies and from Mordechai Paldiel, former head of Yad Vashem's division to honour righteous non-Jews.

But, as the war gets further and further away, time is running out. The Eye Contact Foundation and Yad Vashem are looking for people who were saved — or those who saved these fortunate Jews. Stories and photos are not enough. Corroboration

is needed to help honour those who have done so much and who expect nothing in return.

Mr. Gershman has also taken on a promise, his own besa. He believes that every story of heroism, anywhere in the world, even incomplete, may be a missing piece of an important puzzle. Wherever they are, people must be inspired in these troubled times to choose dialogue, goodness and trust. The Eye Contact Foundation's mandates are specifically to continue the recognition of those rescuers from this period, and to encourage young photographers to look for goodness in the world and to document it for future generations.

"During my travels in Albania, I met the children of rescuers, their widows and, occasionally, the elderly rescuers themselves," says Mr. Gershman, "people like the Hoti family, who sheltered a young Jewish girl named Rashela Lazar for almost a year, even though Germans occupied the lower floor of their home.

"(I met) people like the Veseli family, whose youngest brother, at 13, smuggled Rina Mandil and two Jewish families out of Tirana dressed like Muslim villagers, through a German checkpoint, and then walked with them for two days to the safety of their mountain village."

Photographing these rescuers in Albania was not easy. Mr. Gershman rarely saw

a lamp. Electricity and even water were rationed. "Yet the people always welcomed me with fruit, candy, their national drink of raki (distilled from fermented grapes and other fruits), and warmth. None spoke English and none sought any compensation. They wished only to honour their family tradition and to be remembered. In turn, I gave them unadorned portraits that, I believe, reflect their simple dignity, and I thanked my Muslim hosts on behalf of the Jewish people for what they had done during World War II."

No fewer than three separate travelling photographic exhibitions are on loan around the world in Holocaust memorial and education centres, galleries, museums, synagogues, churches, community buildings, universities and soon, Islamic centres.

In addition to Yad Vashem's on-line and worldwide travelling show, currently in Vancouver, Simon Fraser University's Teck Gallery and Centre for the Comparative Study of Muslim Societies and Cultures are sponsoring The Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion exhibit until October 29. The Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre at the Jewish Community Centre houses the exhibit from Nov. 8, 2010 through May 27, 2011, creating educational programs for students, teachers and community groups. This exhibit normally only tours within the U.S.

A third exhibit, *Besa: Albanians Who Saved Jews During WWII*, is curated by the U.S. Embassy in Albania and primarily tours the Balkans. It is the most comprehensive as it includes all rescuers of Albanian descent from Albania and Kosova.

All three exhibits feature up to 70 compelling photos and stories that give a glimpse into the mettle of Albanians and why they chose — and as importantly, still choose — to exercise a moral honour to protect and shelter any "guest in need" in their home. The answer often heard by Mr. Gershman was that it was "not their house," in fact it was "God's House."

Shining the light of recognition on all acts of goodness anywhere in the world is the greatest gift and inspiration we can give to ourselves and others. Towards this goal, we have miles to go and promises to keep.

Randi Winter is a Vancouver-based travel writer. To contact photographer Norman H. Gershman, email normgersh@sopris. net or see The Eye Contact Foundation at www.eyecontactfoundation.org

Norman H. Gershman:

# The photographer who documents heroes

By Randi Winter

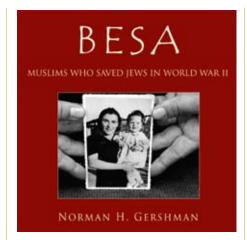
eople are his passion. It was Norman H. Gershman's Wall Street headhunting skills (he founded Consultants Period, Ltd..) that gave him the patience to track down an almost unknown story in a country cut off from the rest of the world for 50 years.

But it was his passion for people that led him to the quest to find and document the stories of the Muslims who saved Jews during the Holocaust. He used Yad Vashem's archives as his reference and traveled to Albania and Kosova with Stuart Huck, a photographer based in Aspen, Colorado. Over a period of six years, they searched for, met and photographed Albanian rescuers or their descendants.

In his interviews, he always asked them why they had rescued Jews. Their response was besa, the code of honour deeply rooted in Albanian culture and incorporated in the faith of Albanian Muslims, who believe that every man is his brother's keeper. It exemplifies what is possible when humans act at their highest potential.

Mr. Gershman, at age 44, studied with some of the greatest portrait photographers of our time — Ansel Adams, Roman Vishniac, and Cornell Capa of the International Centre of Photography (to whom this book is dedicated). Even today, at age 78, Mr. Gershman continues to collect and deal in fine art photography. Travelling and documenting unique human conditions and stories is nothing new to him. His first project, commissioned in the 1980s by singer-songwriter John Denver, was to photograph concerts in the Soviet Union.

When he was researching his book, every story he heard from Albanian Muslims included a different description of how besa influenced their lives and actions. The mayor of Tirana told the Nazis: "We don't know any Jews, we only know Albanians." They gave the Jews documentation with Muslim names and opened their



**MANY JEWS PASSED** THROUGH ALBANIA, **INCLUDING ALBERT** EINSTEIN. IF YOU ASK THEM, **ANY ALBANIAN WOULD** HAVE DONE THE SAME. THEY WERE SIMPLY KEEPING THEIR PROMISE.

homes to them.

People fought for the privilege of saving a Jew, not killing one. Albania's King Zog personally issued more than 400 visas. Among the people he rescued were 13-year-old Fritzi Weitzman and her family of 11, from Vienna. He helped them to re-establish the family's photography business in Albania, and rescued one of their relatives from a concentration camp.

Years later, King Zog, in exile, found out that the Ostereichers, Austrian court jewelers whom he had rescued, were alive but destitute in England. He promptly returned the crown jewels he had commissioned from them, to give this family an opportunity to rebuild their lives.

"There was no government conspiracy, no underground railroad, no organized resistance — only individual Albanians acting to save lives," says Mr. Gershman. "My portraits and their stories are meant to reflect their humanity, their dignity, their religious and moral convictions, and their quiet courage."

The book is a tribute to the courageous people whose remarkable, humble actions resulted in 10 times more Jews living in Albania after the war. Many Jews passed through Albania including, as Prince Leka, King Zog's grandson, reminded me, Albert Einstein. If you ask them, any Albanian would have done the same. They were simply keeping their promise.

Albanians say: "If there is a knock on the door, take responsibility because every knock on the door is a blessing from God." A guest's safety and honour become the responsibility of the extended family. To allow harm or insult is the deepest disgrace. A guest, protected by besa, is shielded by an invisible army.

Mr. Gershman often heard these words: "To do good is to get good from God" and "Everybody knew; nobody told."

He called the portraits and profiles "bittersweet — so many more stories, so many more heroic people."

He continued: "I don't know the end to this story. I only know that there are wonderful people in the world. I choose to look at (them) and honour them, as opposed to chronicling war. This is visceral in me, important to me and I hope it is important to the rest of the world to know that there are so many good people in the world, regardless of religion."

"I believe in the goodness of people."

Besa: Muslims Who Saved Jews During WWII, by Norman H. Gershman, was published by Syracuse Press in 2008. It is available online www.amazon.ca, www. eyecontactfoundation.org and at bookstores.

# Who owns the Arctic?

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



Vilhjalmur Stefansson and his ice party beginning an Arctic expedition in March 1914.

igh in the Canadian Arctic, working from a camp on Borden Island, a group of scientists uses autonomous vehicles to survey the floor of the Arctic Ocean. If they are successful in proving that Canada's continental shelf is connected to a region around the geographic North Pole, their work will support the Canadian government's assertion of sovereignty over the Far North. Canada has announced plans to stake a claim under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea to an area that could comprise 1.7 million km<sup>2</sup>, roughly the size of the Prairie Provinces. A successful claim would change our maps and, more significantly, our responsibilities as stewards of the North.

For roughly 300 years, coastal nations claimed sovereignty under customary law over a narrow region along their coastlines and the high seas were governed by the principles of the Freedom of the Seas. Such freedom encompassed fishing, trade, travel, navigation, warfare and research. In 1945, the United States claimed jurisdiction over the natural resources of its continental shelf beyond its territorial limits; other nations quickly followed suit. In 1967, to satisfy the need for changes to the law of the seas, the United Nations undertook a conference comprising a series of sessions spanning 15 years to produce a comprehensive set of laws known as the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, or UNCLOS. The convention recognizes a nation's sovereignty over natural resources within 200 nautical miles and allows territorial claims up to 350 nautical miles from shore provided the country

can prove that its continental shelf extends beyond the 200-mile limit.

Canada asserts that the waters of the Arctic Archipelago, including the Northwest Passage, are internal, resting its claim to the North on history and proximity, but the promise of energy resources has prompted challenges from other nations. The United States, Russia, Norway and Denmark are all staking similar claims. It is already apparent that some claims those of Canada, Russia and Denmark, for example — will overlap. Nothing in UNCLOS compels the arctic countries to accept the recommendations of a UN commission ruling on competing claims. No one could predict what would happen should the commission leave it up to individual countries to deal with disputed boundaries in energy-rich areas. The region could even be open to claims from countries with no physical connection; Chinese Rear Admiral Yin Zhuo stated recently in comments relayed by the official China News Service that the "Arctic belongs to all the people around the world as no nation has sovereignty over it."

Canada's original claim to the North lies in the 1670 charter granted by Charles II giving Rupert's Land to the Hudson's Bay Company. Today's Northwest Territories and Nunavut were added in 1821. When HBC transferred its title to the Dominion of Canada in 1870, the new nation acquired sovereignty over the northern territories but not over the islands north of the mainland. In July 1880, the British government transferred to Canada the rest of its arctic possessions, including "all Islands adjacent to any such Territories"

whether discovered or not. Britain's right to give Canada undiscovered islands, those discovered by foreign interests or regions inhabited by the Inuit was dubious at best.

Since the 1880s, the Canadian government has sporadically undertaken ventures to secure arctic sovereignty. Government sponsored voyages were made by explorers such as Joseph-Elzéar Bernier and Vilhjalmur Stefansson who left plaques or cairns and raised flags on several islands, including Ellesmere and Melville. However, such symbolic acts are insufficient under international law. Besides, they weren't alone in their explorations. Americans Adolphus Greely and Robert Peary were busy around Ellesmere Island at the same time, and between 1898 and 1902 Otto Sverdrup became the first person to set foot on the islands of Axel Heilberg, Ellef Ringnes and Amund Ringnes; even the Inuit had not been to the islands. Sverdrup claimed them for Norway.

The first real assertion of Canadian sovereignty was made in 1903 with a North West Mounted Police post on Herschel Island. The RCMP operated a post office on Bache Peninsula, although no one lived anywhere near it; despite once-a-year mail delivery, the operation of a post office was proof of sovereignty. In 1931, Norway formally abandoned its claim to the Sverdrup Islands and Canada paid \$67,000 for the records of the Sverdrup expeditions.

The reason for the current activity in the High Arctic came to light in the 1950s due to exploration by the oil and gas industry and the Geological Survey of Canada. In 1967, a partnership between govern-

ment and industry created a consortium, Panarctic Oils Ltd., which began drilling on Melville Island as a show of Canadian arctic sovereignty. In 1969, Panarctic discovered a gas field at Drake Point that held an estimated 99 billion cubic metres of gas. By the late 1980s, Panarctic had drilled more than 400 wells. Low gas prices, high transportation costs and the end of government incentives brought the consortium down. That may ultimately have been cause for celebration, because the company's environmental record was poor. Besides dumping tonnes of junk steel and waste oil into the Arctic Ocean, the company had several well blowouts. The worst occurred in 1970 when the King Christian Island well blew, causing a fireball so hot it collapsed the ground around the camp. It spewed gas and fire for more than three months before it was brought under control.

Today, while scientists map the undersea geography, others from the Geological Survey of Canada and survey departments of other nations seek signs of gas and oil. Geological studies suggest that there are more than 400 oil and gas fields north of the Arctic Circle, estimated to contain 90 billion barrels of oil, 1.6 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, and 44 billion barrels of natural gas liquids, of which approximately 84 percent is expected to be found offshore, beneath waters that are icecovered for most of the year. The extensive exploration makes arctic sovereignty about more than territoriality, defence or mineral rights. Sovereignty is the key to protecting a vulnerable and crucial environment.

Canada, historically, has not been very committed to asserting its authority "from sea to sea." However, the December 2009 Report of the Standing Committee on Fisheries and Oceans of the Canadian Senate recommended "that Canada develop a long-term plan and provide the funding necessary for the acquisition of a suitable number of new multi-purpose polar icebreakers capable of operating year-round in its Arctic Archipelago and on the continental shelf." To that end, the government is pursuing a project worth \$3.1 billion to build five new ice-class Coast Guard vessels, with delivery of the first anticipated in 2014. The new vessels would require an additional commitment of \$4.3 billion for operation and maintenance for their expected life span of 25 years. This implied commitment to standing on guard for the "true north" is also a pledge to facilitate increased traffic in arctic waters — traffic not only for transporting goods to market



Captain Bernier (with the young muskox) claims Canada's jurisdiction at Parry's Rock by laying a plaque in July 1909.

but delivering oil out of the sea, traffic that could very well be more than the fragile environment could take.

And what of the Inuit? More than 50,000 Inuit live in Canada (2006 census). Industrial development in the North would bring extensive economic changes to them, but at the risk of their traditional way of life. More significantly, the North is among the areas that will feel the first and most substantial effects of climate change. As permafrost and sea ice melt and shorelines erode, the fabric of northern life will dissolve along with them. According to Steven Ferguson, leader of the department of fisheries and ocean's global warming and arctic marine mammals (GWAMM) project, declining sea ice appears to be shifting the Hudson Bay marine ecosystem from "a polar bear-seal system with Inuit hunters at the apex to one dominated by cetaceans with killer whales at the apex." Furthermore, the changes are happening more rapidly than expected; predictions of ice-free summers in the Arctic in 100 years have been re-evaluated to five years.

An event similar to the Gulf of Mexico disaster in this Arctic environment could be more catastrophic than we can imagine. It would probably exacerbate the effects of global climate change by creating instability of the sea ice and speeding pack ice melting. It would cause the growth of algae and plankton, seriously harming fish and marine birds. Larger animals such as polar bears would be harmed as well, according to environmental scientists like William Adams who was one of the researchers of the decade-long 1976 Beaufort Sea Project, which studied the impact of an oil spill in the Beaufort. Cleaning up an arctic spill would be much more difficult than a spill in any other environment imagine rescuing oil-covered polar bears.

There is substantial evidence that the arctic environment is at risk, and with it the traditional existence of the Inuit people; global warming has opened the Northwest Passage and caused increased glacial melting. Exploiting the Arctic's natural resources, particularly offshore, will increase that risk. The explosion of a British Petroleum well in the Gulf of Mexico has shown the world the impact of a failed offshore oil rig. The damaged well pouring tens of thousands of barrels of oil a day into the ocean for months has proven the insufficiency of safety regulations and the unpreparedness of corporate oil to cope with the failure of its equipment. When the BP rig exploded, the company was actually trying to convince Canada's energy regulator that safety standards established for offshore drilling in the Arctic were "expensive, impractical and should be relaxed." Offshore exploratory drilling was scheduled to begin in the Arctic in July of this year, but the well failure brought hearings to an end and Canada imposed a stay on drilling pending a review of existing rules.

Although Canada's environmental record is far from spotless, we would be foolish to absolve ourselves of the responsibility to protect our vulnerable northern coastline.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is a writer from Alberta.

# Arctic action

Norway overshadows Canada as the big melt warms the north

By Chantaie Allick

here's a kind of scorecard for where Canada stands in Arctic development compared to its Arctic neighbours, particularly Norway.

In 2006, Norway published a detailed, 92-page outline of what it intended in its Arctic territory, and updated it three years later. Canada got around to the same kind of outline in 2009, and it had full text in English, French and Inuktitut crammed into its mere 40 pages.

With about 39 million square kilometres of polar sea ice during the darkness of winter and about 21 million in summer, the Arctic is a huge, relatively self-contained ecosystem with vast economic and strategic potential. And climate change is making it an accessible option for development and resources.

It's been overlooked until now by much of the world as of no use to anyone beyond its few inhabitants. But as the big melt continues, governments, scientists and industries are beginning look to the top of the globe.

Canada has lagged behind other more organized and engaged regional neighbours in the Arctic, including Russia with its history of Arctic exploration and its fleet of seven nuclear icebreakers and plans for more. And the United States tabled a policy update with a strong national security emphasis in January 2009. The U.S. plan begins with the statement, "The United States is an Arctic nation, with varied and compelling interests in that region," and goes on to outline what those interests are and how they intend to pursue them.

But in a less menacing way, Norway, using resources based primarily on money from oil, has been actively engaged in Arctic economic development and its clear-headed action is something Canada would do well to emulate.

In 2006, the Storting, Norway's parliament, established its high-north policy. In an update in early 2009, it said the North was "Norway's most important strategic priority area." It's there for anyone to read in *New Building Blocks in the North: the Next Step in the Government's High North Strategy.* 



Prime Minister Stephen Harper and Chief of Defence Staff Walter Natynczyck visit Operation Nanook, an annual military exercise to reinforce Canada's sovereignty in the North.

While Canada has a vague plan set out in *Canada's Northern Strategy*, a document produced last year, it lacks detailed legislation to address the Arctic.

With clear policy guiding its government, Norway has energetically pursued research, funding and development in its northern regions, particularly in climate research, the environment and biodiversity. It has also invested in better satellite technology for shipping and scientific research in the north.

The country set seven political priorities for the region (including the intent to be the best steward of the environment and natural resources in the north), and put together a timeline with a 15-year horizon.

Norway's first goal is to "develop knowledge about climate and the environment in the high north," the *Building Blocks* document says. It has pumped in more than \$250 million (the Canadian dollar equivalent of 1.5 billion Norwegian krone) since 2006, when it allocated NOK 350 million (\$58.7 million) through the Research Council of Norway. (Norway's population is about 15 per cent of Canada's.)

Along the way, the Norwegian plan lays out details of improved responses to

oil spills. Norway's interest in developing the oil industry in the North is based on lots of experience and expertise in offshore drilling.

Statoil, Norway's state-owned oil and gas company, is the largest offshore oil and gas company in the world and much of its product comes from the country's continental shelf and northern gas fields. It calls itself "a test lab for technology development."

In that vein, Norway is currently developing a centre for climate and environmental research in Tromsø, a northern city which is also home to the Norwegian Polar Institute and the University of Tromsø, a leader in high north research.

In contrast, Canada, with immense Arctic territory and one of the few nations with indigenous people living there, has struggled to create a lasting Arctic policy. Canada's Northern Strategy says the government "recognizes what must be done to secure the future of Canada's North, for the benefit of all Canadians, and is taking concrete action to turn this vision for the North into reality."

But it provides few details, simply a list of intentions including the preservation of Arctic sovereignty. It cites long-established mining and gas projects like the Mackenzie gas pipeline as cornerstones of "sustained economic activity in the North," but lays out no plans for future development.

Scientists anticipate an all-season Northwest Passage and other sea routes soon. But at the University of Alberta, Arctic expert John England says the lack of a clear Arctic policy means Canada cannot hope to compete, prosper or lead in a region where so many nations have a stake.

"I think we do a lot of posturing and it's time we stop posturing and actually get down to the brass tacks and produce a proper national policy on the Arctic," he said.

The Canadian Arctic conversation centres on sovereignty disputes with Denmark and the United States as well as concerns over Russia, while Norway is forging ahead, an untapped source of experience and progress in the region.

For the government, Foreign Minister

Lawrence Cannon released a statement on Arctic policy in August. "The Arctic is part of us. Was, is and always will be," he said. "The importance of the Arctic and Canada's interest in the North has never been greater," he added.

But Dr. England says a strategy alone fails to commit government departments to action and Canada cannot expect to compete with Russia and the U.S. without a clear policy, particularly when it comes to research. While Canada was the largest contributor to International Polar Year research projects between 2007 and 2009, scientists, including Dr. England, are sceptical about the country's ability to maintain those projects without policy commitments.

Over this past summer, the Canadian military and the Department of Foreign Affairs staged Operation Nanook, a yearly Arctic exercise to reinforce Canada's sovereignty in the North and to let the military practise responses to mock disasters. This year, Operation Nanook, which ran August 6-26, involved sovereignty patrols, emergency preparedness training and military exercises. American and Danish troops were invited to participate for the first time with a total of 1,500 troops from the three countries in

"For far too long, we feel that the Arctic hasn't been spoken for and we believe it's time that Canada takes full recognition of the importance of the Arctic," Minister Cannon said in his statement to the media in August. He then expanded on the country's Northern strategy, adding an international element to the plan.

He said Canada would work with regional neighbours in developing the North and continue to promote Canadian arctic sovereignty abroad, he said. "We will pursue targeted actions on the international level to advance our sovereignty agenda in concrete ways," including the settlement of boundary issues with the U.S. and Denmark.

While Canada is focused on military exercises to promote its sovereignty, Norwegian Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Støre's government proposed a record increase in funding for the Arctic of almost \$90 million for 2010. Canada has no exact figures readily available for total investment in the North, though the 2010 budget includes more than \$400 million for scientific research in the North over the next two to five years.

Rune Raelfson, the head of the Norwegian Barents Secretariat, a regional alliance of Russia, Norway, Finland and Sweden, says he sees great opportunities for the Arctic, but is critical of a solely researchbased focus at the expense of development.

"If you look at the Arctic Council, it has been a research-driven institute. They are more interested in ice and polar bears than they are in the economic development of this area." Raelfson says economic development is necessary for the well-being of people living in the North, and it would include oil exploration.

On the other side of the Arctic Ocean, Minister Cannon seems to agree stating, "Creating a dynamic and sustainable northern economy is essential to improving the well-being of northerners and unleashing the true potential of Canada's North."

This land of the midnight sun matters to Norway in a way that is only beginning to take root in Canada. The challenge is to catch up.

Chantaie Allick is an Ottawa-based freelance journalist and master's student at Carleton University.

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# Enigma in Zimbabwe – a descent of man

By Clyde Sanger



Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe in 1983.

imbabwe (in its earlier life, Rhodesia) has been so many things for different people: delight and despair, opportunity and persecution. For me, half a century ago, it was an escape from my London birthplace and a fusty England clinging to Empire; a land of glorious weather and broadest horizons; a romantic place where I met and courted my Canadian wife. Most of all, it was a graduate school in world politics where my best tutors were half a dozen memorable African nationalists.

Nearly all of them are dead now, and buried in Heroes' Acre near Harare. Joshua Nkomo, too gentle for his role as "father of the nation." George Nyandoro, an accountant remembered for his huge laugh as he predicted rivers of blood. Leopold Takawira, "the lion of Zimbabwe" who died a political prisoner after years working for multiracialism alongside the desert war hero Colonel David Stirling. Willie Musarurwa, honest contrarian as an editor. And for me, the best tutor and friend of all, Enoch Dumbutshena, schoolteacher turned lawyer in middle age, and the first Zimbabwean black chief justice. Finally, the single one who has survived: journalist, scholar, cabinet minister and Mugabe loyalist, the enigmatic Nathan Shamuyarira.

Zimbabwe is itself an enigma. Why did it slide from high promise to deep disarray? Why has its neighbours, why has the wider world, not known how to deal with its appalling decline and save its comparatively few millions of people from misery? Puzzling questions. And Nathan is central, almost emblematic, in this story.

When I went to Southern Rhodesia in March 1957 to help launch a progressive magazine, The Central African Examiner, Shamuyarira was already editor of the African Daily News. He had taught at a secondary school near the Bechuanaland (now Botswana) border before landing in Salisbury in 1953 as a 24-year-old cub reporter. The Examiner at once broke the race barrier in journalism by inviting articles from leading African nationalists, and several — Dumbutshena, Takawira and others — contributed strong pieces. Nathan didn't, probably too busy on his own paper, but we talked often and became friends.

In 1960, when I was based in Nairobi as the Africa correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, its foreign editor appointed Shamuyarira as the paper's stringer in Salisbury and later wrote: "His coverage was authoritative but also brave. He had to contend not only with the hostility of the (Rhodesia Front) government but also with the terrible faction fighting and house burning that broke out between Shona and Ndebele in the African townships."

By 1964, both divisive forces — black versus white and the tribal split prompted him to look abroad and he arrived suddenly in Nairobi with a halffinished book. He stayed some weeks with us, enjoying his role as godfather of our son, Toby. He and I worked together on the second draft of his Crisis in Rhodesia, which André Deutsch neatly published the month before Ian Smith boldly declared Rhodesian UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) in November 1965. Shamuyarira by then was on his way, with his wife, Dorothy, to Oxford University and then to Princeton where he completed a PhD in political science. Meanwhile, many African leaders of his generation — Nkomo, Musarurwa, Mugabe, Takawira and dozens more — were in detention camps or Smith's prisons.

Two passages in his book give clues to the bitterness in his soul that erupted as a cabinet minister in the 1990s. He tells how



Nathan Shamuyarira holding Clyde Sanger's son, Matt, in 1961.

his mother would send him as a small child to chase a swarm of locusts that would provide relish for the sadza porridge, and how the chase would abruptly end at the fence of a European farmer nicknamed Mukandabutsu (he who throws the boot) "who threatened to shoot any trespassers without warning." In an adult encounter, he describes how he and his brother behaved when his car broke down as they drove through a European farming area:

"We took off our ties and shoes before going to the nearest farm to ask for assistance. We greeted our host with the title "Boss" from a long distance away, in order to indicate immediately our subservience. Expectedly, we got all the help we needed, although he was rather taken aback to find we had a fairly new car, and to see that our jackets and ties were on the back seat."

Back in Zambia in 1971, among the squabbling exile groups ZANU and ZAPU, he helped form a third faction, Frolizi (Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe) under Shelton Siwela, who had studied both at Boston University and a North Korean guerrilla school. Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda hoped it was the start of a united front; but the leaders of both parties condemned it from their places of detention. Shamuyarira scrambled to regain favour with ZANU leaders — literally, by sweaty training with guerrilla recruits in the Zambezi escarpment.

The year 1975 opened up Mozambique as a base for ZANU forces after the Portuguese abandoned their colony and Nathan left a lecturer's job (and his small vegetable plot) in Tanzania to join Robert Mugabe's retinue in Maputo. I met him and Mugabe there in 1979, acting as envoy for the Commonwealth Secretary-General Shridath Ramphal, and clearly Shamuyarira was part of the inner circle. It helped that he is from Mugabe's Zezuru clan. In the April 1980 elections, he won a seat and became minister of information and tourism.

From this point, his stellar career becomes murky. He at once organized the screening of foreign journalists, who had to have a work permit approved monthly by the government. (I had to obtain permits during the four months in 1982-83 when I taught, at his invitation, at the Institute of Mass Communication alongside the demoted Shelton Siwela.) Then, in buying out the South African interests in Zimbabwe's newspapers, the government set up the Mass Media Trust primarily to protect the independence of editors. Yet Nathan sacked Willie Musarurwa as editor of the largest circulation paper Sunday Mail, to make way for "a true and trusted cadre." Later, he sued Geoffrey Nyarota, then editor of the Bulawayo Chronicle, for defamation in the Willowgate scandal over imported limousines that ministers were allocated and then sold at large profits. Nyarota fled the country in 2003 and, in his memoirs Against the Grain, he writes:

"The turnover of editors between 1980 and 2002 at Zimbabwe newspapers was the highest anywhere in the media world, and editorship became arguably the most endangered occupation in Zimbabwe."

Shamuyarira moved on to become foreign minister and then industry minister, to lead negotiations with Nelson Mandela's new government. He left parliament, but remained the main party spokesman. In this role, his pronouncements increased in violent language, lacking any academic balance. In March 2005, he described the Catholic archbishop Pius Ncube as "a mad, inveterate liar" fitting into "the scheme of the British and Americans, who are calling for regime change and are feeding him with these wild ideas."

In October 2006, he praised the North Korea-trained Fifth Brigade who, in 1983, massacred as many as 30,000 villagers in Matabeleland, saying its actions were "not regrettable as (the soldiers) were doing a job to protect the people" against some ZAPU dissidents. And in August 2007, in a private letter, he criticized as "the usual demonization of Mugabe" an article I had written in The Globe and Mail, suggesting a trio of Commonwealth ministers talk with Mugabe on rescuing Zimbabwe from utter misery. "Mugabe is very angry with the Commonwealth for expelling him over an allegation of rigging elections which he denies." Shamuyarira is now writing Mugabe's biography.

Most puzzling is his determination to acquire Mount Carmel farm, which used to produce 600 tonnes of mangoes, as well as beef and milk from more than 500 cattle. Last year, the elderly owners, Mike and Angela Campbell and their son-in-law Ben Freeth, were abducted and beaten up for hours. This seemed to be revenge for Freeth having won an appeal at a regional tribunal to keep the farm. In April, a group of war veterans under a "Comrade Landmine" (otherwise, Lovemore Madangonga) invaded it again, saying it was on orders from his relative, Shamuyarira. Recently the farmhouse was burnt to the ground.

Besides deploring the brutality, I am puzzled why a man of international standing, who is now 81 and has no children to inherit this farm, should be behind this plundering. Is it because everyone else in his circle has seized farms, and because land is the one dependable asset in inflationary Zimbabwe? Or does it go back decades to the days of chasing locusts and taking his shoes off before asking a white farmer to help with his car? Is bitterness about apartheid still that deep? How sad and how enigmatic that lovely country has become.

Clyde Sanger is an Ottawa-based journalist who has worked in Britain, Africa and North America.

# Getting to your goals

When the goaling gets tough, try these simple tips to keep your motivation high

By Timothy A. Pychyl



hat does a diplomat living in Ottawa have in common with a public servant on the Hill or a private-sector CEO? Goals. Sure, the nature of the goals varies, but successful goal-pursuit is the defining common feature of success in any of our careers.

We all have goals. We don't all achieve them. The question that fascinates me as a psychologist is: Why? What contributes to goal success, on the one hand, and what factors lead to procrastination or goal abandonment on the other?

It turns out that there are many different answers to these simple questions. In fact, when we look at our goals over time, we can see that goal success or failure can be determined at any stage in our goal pursuit. For example, some goals are defined so badly at the outset that they are destined for failure even before we take action. Other times, we set meaningful

goals for which we hold great hope only to find that they become terribly aversive to us when we actually try to do them, and we begin a self-sabotaging cycle of avoidance.

Goal success depends on strategies that fit the different stages of our intended tasks or projects. Although it is a complex process, I think you'll be surprised at the power of simple "if-then" intentions to foster success.

# Problems with initiating goal action

The most important strategy for successful goal pursuit is just get started. It's that old issue of "a job begun, is a job half done." Getting started primes the pump for success, as research shows that progress on our goals boosts happiness and motivation. But what if getting started is your problem?

A practical way to help get started

is to visualize what you will do — and when. It's important to do this, as it puts the cue for action in the environment. For example, my goal may be to prepare a report. My specific intention becomes: "if I have arrived at my office desk, then I will immediately write out the main points." Numerous studies demonstrate the effectiveness of this simple if-then strategy.

# Staying on track

It's one thing to get started. It can be quite another to stay on task. Keeping our focus on the job at hand often means resisting temptations. Strangely enough, these temptations can even be other tasks. An if-then temptation-inhibiting intention can help here. For example, "if my email alert chimes, then I will ignore it until this task is complete."

Interestingly, research has shown that the effects of these if-then intentions are important at any age. Six-year olds who prepared for an experiment by thinking "If I see a distraction, then I will ignore it," more successfully ignored funny cartoon pictures or movie clips while trying to complete a categorization task than the children who did not prepare this way. If six-year-olds can actually ignore cartoons to stay on task, we can all enhance goal pursuit with these temptation-inhibiting intentions. The trick is to make this if-then decision ahead of time.

# Stop doing what doesn't work

Let's face it. We often get stuck in the pursuit of a goal because we're approaching it the wrong way. One key to success then is to recognize when to switch our approach — or the goal itself. Research in this area has shown that preparing mentally by thinking "If I receive disappointing feedback, then I'll switch my strategy" kept people on task. This simple approach can keep us from following a non-productive route, procrastinating or from giving up completely.

# Preventing willpower burn out

We are all familiar with the common expression, "where there is a will, there's a way." The successful completion of almost any goal requires effort, often courage and always willpower. However, we all know that our willpower is a limited resource. And, there are days when we're convinced it's not a renewable resource, especially as we reach the end of our ability to cope. Not surprisingly, given these experiences, researchers argue that willpower is like a muscle that can be easily exhausted or underused in our human desire for feelgood comfort.

Yet, when it comes down to it, being strategic and being able to muster up the willpower to exercise self-control is at the heart of successful goal pursuit. In the excerpt below, taken from my recent book chapter, "Willpower, willpower, if we only had the willpower," I outline some things to think about to strengthen and make more strategic use of this important limited resource.

# **Strategies for Change**

We all feel depleted throughout the day. We all have moments where we think, "I'm exhausted, I just can't do anymore" or "I'll feel more like this tomorrow." This is true, this is how we are feeling at the moment. However, successful goal pursuit often depends on us moving past these momentary feelings of depletion.



Given the role of motivation here, it is crucial to acknowledge the role of higherorder thought in this process, particularly the ability to transcend the feelings at the moment in order to focus on our overall goals and values. Otherwise, we may give in to 'feel good', and stop trying.

It is exactly when we tell ourselves we'll feel more like doing it tomorrow that we have to stop, take a breath and think about why we intended to do the task today. Why is it important to us? What benefit is there in making the effort now? How will this help us achieve our goal?

Here are some willpower-boosting strategies you might use to ignite what feels like the fumes left in your own willpower gas tank.

1. The "willpower is like a muscle" metaphor is a good fit, as the capacity for self-regulation can be increased with regular exercise. Even two weeks of selfregulatory exercise has improved research participants' self-regulatory stamina. So, take on some small self-regulatory task and stick to it.

This can be as simple as deliberately maintaining good posture or using your non-dominant hand to eat. The key element is to exercise your self-discipline. You don't need to start big, just be consistent and mindful of your focus. Over time, you will be strengthening your willpower muscle.

- 2. Sleep and rest also help to restore the ability to self-regulate. If you seem to be at the end of your rope, unable to cope and unwilling to do the next task, first ask yourself if you are getting enough sleep? Seven or eight hours of sleep are important for most of us to function well.
- 3. A corollary to sleep and rest is that self-regulation later in the day is less effective. Be strategic, and don't look to exercise feats of willpower later in the day.
- 4. A boost of positive emotion has been shown to eliminate self-regulatory impairment. Find things, people, or events that make you feel good to replenish your willpower.

- 5. Make a plan for action. "In situation X, I will do behaviour Y to achieve goal Z" or "If this happens, then I'll do this" (anticipating possible obstacles to your goal pursuit). This puts the stimulus for action into the environment and makes the control of behaviour more automatic. It may well be the thing that gets you to exercise in the evening even though you usually feel much too tired to begin. "Just get started" supports this approach.
- 6. Self-regulation appears to depend on available blood glucose. Even a single act of self-regulation has been shown to reduce the amount of available glucose in the bloodstream, impairing later self-regulatory attempts. Interestingly, just a drink of sugar-sweetened lemonade eliminated this self-regulatory depletion in experiments. The message from this research is that if you become hypoglycemic, your self-regulation will suffer. Keep a piece of fruit (complex carbohydrate) handy to restore blood glucose.
- 7. Be aware that social situations can require more self-regulation and effort than you may think. For example, if you are typically an introverted person but you have to act extraverted, or you have to suppress your desired reaction (scream at your boss) in favour of what is deemed more socially acceptable (acquiesce again to unreasonable demands), you will deplete your willpower for subsequent action. These social interactions may even make it more likely that you will say or do something you will regret in subsequent interactions. Getting along with others requires self-regulation, so you will need to think about points 1-6 to be best prepared to deal with demanding social situations.

Finally, so much of our ability to selfregulate depends upon our motivation. Even on an empty stomach, exhausted from not enough sleep and pushed to the limit for self-regulation, we can muster the willpower to continue to act properly. It is difficult, but it can be done, particularly if we focus on our values and goals to keep perspective on more than just the present moment. In doing this, we can transcend the immediate (and temporary) feelings we are having to keep from giving in to 'feel good,' which lies at the heart of so much self-regulatory failure.

Timothy A. Pychyl is an associate professor of psychology at Carleton University (procrastination.ca). His just-published book is The Procrastinator's Digest: A Concise Guide to Solving the Procrastination Puzzle.

# The romance of late harvest wine production



utumn is an exciting time in a vineyard. After a long year of work, patience and more than a little concern and anxiety, everything comes to fruition. In the Northern Hemisphere, the time for harvest can begin in September and, depending on the grape varietal, vineyard location, the year-todate climatic conditions and the desired final style of wine, can carry on until February. Thinner skin grape varieties and grapes destined for drier styles of wine will usually be harvested earlier, while thicker skin grapes are collected later. If the intention is to make a rich and concentrated still wine with slight to significant sweetness, the grapes are usually harvested even later. This beautiful and expressive style of wine is labour intensive, difficult to produce and delicious, especially at this time

Though late harvest wines can be made in many wine-producing countries, Ontario's Niagara region consistently produces some of the world's best. VQA Ontario designates late harvest wines from "Late Harvest" through "Select Late Harvest" to "Special Select Late Harvest" depending on the sugar content of the grapes used. Each change in level is a step up in richness, power, and, typically, sweetness until the most concentrated level is reached. That one is known as "Icewine". The first Icewine is thought to have been made in 18th Century Germany. Legend has it that one year, freezing cold weather arrived

before the grapes could be picked. The winemaker carried on anyway and produced a wine of great power, Eiswein. Though Germany and Austria continue to produce Icewine to this day, Ontario is now the world's leading producer and has earned

much global acclaim. Late harvest wines are a universally risky venture with animals, diseases and weather all posing as potential threats. Combine this with the fact that the entire process is long, arduous and uncomfortably cold with hand-harvesting in sub-zero temperatures, and you can see why the cost of these wines can be high.

An excellent example of a select late harvest wine from Ni-

Southbrook Vinevards' 2004 Barrel Fermented Vidal Icewine is densely layered with flavours of apricot, papaya, orange and baking spices.





agara is Cave Spring's 2007 "Indian Summer" Riesling. This wine is produced from grapes grown in selected vineyards of Niagara's Lincoln Lakeshore subappellation, which lies along the south shore of Lake Ontario. The grapes were left on the vine to partially raisin during late autumn, with a further concentration of sugars and acids occurring when the grapes became partially frozen. Selective hand-harvesting occurred between the middle of December and early January at temperatures of -7°C. The wine has aromas of pear, apricot and ginger, followed by a rich palate with hints of baking spice and a strong seam of acidity. This wine is an excellent accompaniment for foie gras whether seared or done as a torchon, soft pungent cheeses or desserts involving tree fruits, nuts and citrus. The wine is available in 375ml bottles either through the LCBO or the winery, and, at \$24.95, serves as a reasonably priced introduction to the late harvest style of wine.

An interesting alternative would be Cattail Creek's 2008 Select Late Harvest Meritage. This red late harvest wine is made of Cabernet Franc, Cabernet Sauvignon and Merlot grapes from Niagara's Four Mile Creek sub-appellation. Harvest occurred in mid-January at temperatures of -5°C. Each grape varietal was vinified separately and blended together just before bottling. The wine exhibits enticing aromas of candied sour cherries and raspberries with a hint of spice and mint. Though very rich and robust, the wine is still elegant. Enjoy it with duck terrine or desserts with red and dark fruit, rhubarb pie and chocolate. A 375ml bottle is \$30 and only available directly from the winery.

If you want an Icewine, try Southbrook's fantastic 2004 Barrel Fermented Vidal Icewine. It's densely layered with flavours of apricots, papaya, orange and baking spices. The texture is smooth and balanced with acidity while the finish is tremendously long. Enjoy with powerful, blue-veined cheese and desserts with peaches and apricots. Coming in a 375ml bottle for \$49.95, this excellent wine is available only from the winery.

As the days grow shorter and the air cools, you can experience the excitement and romance of late harvest wine production. Every taste will echo the labours and success of the grape growers and winemakers.

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

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# Margaret's Table on TV: A preview



re you one of those ardent viewers of TV cooking shows? Many people do spend hours each day watching a myriad of chefs stir, toss, sauté, purée and whatever. Well, this fall, I am again joining the ranks of those zealous chefs who attempt to share their own brand of culinary skills with viewers — or who simply strive to provide great entertainment.

Actually, *Margaret's Table* is both a cooking and a lifestyle show. Each half-hour episode consists of six segments. Four are devoted to cooking, another to a decorating tip, and, finally, a sign-off signature tip. The concept is mine. I chose the themes (for example "Creating a wow breakfast," "The ultimate stacked dinner," "Crêpes go exotic") and have written all the scripts.

The filming took place in our home with only a producer, a cameraman and one volunteer. My dear husband, Larry, and a special friend also offered their assistance.

From a technical point of view, each segment had to be done at least three times. First, there was a dry run with voice and action but no product, then a real take, followed immediately by close-up shots featuring selected actions. Being well organized helped make the project great fun.

The series is on Rogers (Channel 22) and will also be available on Rogers on Demand, a free service for Rogers Cable subscribers.

Let's take a peek into one of the episodes. The philosophy behind "An all-seasons menu" is that one can rely on certain products being on the market all year round, offering a sense of security, particularly when entertaining.

Smart choices for appetizers include smoked salmon, pâté, scallops, shrimp,

escargots and even sushi. Be inspired, and remember not everything needs to be homemade. Do what suits you. For family meals or more casual occasions, you may want to start with an enticing salad.

Dealing with the main course, the standard wide selection of meat, poultry, fish and seafood is always in abundant supply. Only some species of seafood and fish, such as mussels and Arctic Char, are more seasonal. When cooking these on a cooktop or in an oven, the time of year is irrelevant.

On the other hand, if you prefer to use your outdoor grill, even in wintery weather, by all means do so. Yes, you may have to shovel a path through the snow to reach your barbecue grill, or perhaps, like myself, it's simply a matter of rolling it out of the garage and onto the driveway. (Note of caution: Keep the vehicle a safe distance from the barbecue.) For those who want to avoid barbecuing in inclement weather, I suggest investing in a heavy grill pan or two. Set on top of a cooktop, they can be a reasonably acceptable alternative to outdoor grilling. Broiling your food is another alternative.

As for main course accompaniments, who isn't thrilled to have a continuous year-round supply of asparagus, baby potatoes or mini vegetables at their disposal?

For desserts, berries in some creative form are on my all-seasons menu. Strawberries, blackberries and blueberries are particularly dependable, whether fresh or frozen. Everyone will dive into a berry dessert.

And remember, regardless of the month, easily available fresh herbs bring freshness to plates. They are well worth their small price tag.

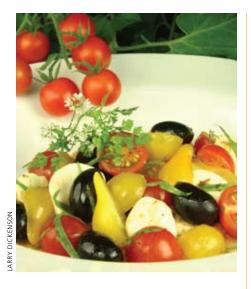
Attached is the perfect example of how a great summer salad can be conveniently adapted for year-round enjoyment. I have taken a delectable trio of principal ingredients (Bocconcini cheese, grape tomatoes and olives) and then dazzled the palate with a generous infusion of fresh herbs. The beauty of this salad is that practical substitutes may be made for the tomatoes and herbs. Served in individual large bistro bowls, the salad is allowed to breathe while the wide rims artistically frame it.

Bon Appétit!



Margaret Dickenson's kitchen became a TV studio this fall. Here, the camera captures her Coconut-Crusted Shrimp.

LARRY DICKE



**Bocconcini Tomato Salad with Fresh Herbs** Makes 5 cups or 1.25 litres (4 servings)

- 11/2 cups (375 mL) red cherry/grape tomatoes, cut in half
- 1 1/2 cups (375 mL) yellow mini tomatoes\*, cut in half
- 1 1/4 cups or 8 oz (300 mL/225 g) sliced mini Bocconcini cheese
- 1 cup (250 mL) marinated black olives\*\*, whole and unpitted
- 2 1/2 tbsp (38 mL) fresh whole tarragon leaves\*\*\*
- 3 to 4 tbsp (45 to 60 mL) vinaigrette, a mustard herb type
- 1 tbsp (15 mL) balsamic vinegar

To taste salt and crushed black peppercorns

Garnish (optional)

fresh sprigs of tarragon or herbs of choice (e.g., cilantro, dill, chevril)

- 1. Just before serving, toss ingredients together in a large bowl. (Be generous with fresh tarragon leaves and crushed black peppercorns.)
- 2. Garnish with sprigs of fresh herbs and
- \* Option: Yellow or orange bell pepper (cut into 2/3 inch or 1.5 cm squares); small green or yellow zucchini (sliced)
- \*\* Sun-dried black olives are excellent.
- \*\*\* Option: dill weed, cilantro or herb of choice; but tarragon is our first choice. Do-ahead tip: Hours in advance of serving, the ingredients may be prepared (i.e., tomatoes cut, cheese sliced and tarragon leaves removed from their stems.)

Margaret Dickenson is author of the Margaret's Table – Easy Cooking & Inspiring Entertaining.

See www.margaretstable.ca for more.









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Best Overall Performance

# An Italian castle in the woods

By Margo Roston



Italian Ambassador Andrea Meloni and his wife, Paola Bracci, live in this stately home, said to be built of the same limestone as the Parliament buildings.

he phrase "It was a dark and stormy night" might echo the thoughts of the new Italian ambassador when he arrived at his home on the Aylmer Road on a dark, frigid January night this year. But when he woke up, he found he was in one of the most beautiful diplomatic residences in the national capital region.

"It's a little isolated, but it's beautiful," says Andrea Meloni. "It was not the best welcome, but the next day was sunny and the house looked fantastic."

The cut-stone Aylmer Road mansion, built by lumber baron Robert L. Blackburn in 1924, is large and elegant, sitting on 2½ hectares of land next to the elite Royal Ottawa Golf Club. From its site on a hill, and past the entrance where a small fountain tinkles a merry tune, the house shows complementary charms on the inside.

Blackburn designed the house himself with help from John Pearson, the architect for the Parliament buildings when they were re-built after their destruction by fire in 1916. Ottawa artist Jennifer Dickson suggests in a book she wrote about the residence that the stone of the house was quarried at the same location as the stone for Parliament.

The Italian government bought the house in 1956 from Blackburn's daughters, one of whom lives next door.

"The house is cleverly designed," says the ambassador. An abundance of large windows, the design of the rooms, and some irregular angles assure there is light in every space. The curved ceiling of the entrance hall, the nine windows lighting up the foyer and the polished oak staircase, all invite guests into the glamorous interior.

Elaborate woodwork and plaster cornices detail the main floor reception rooms, including the drawing room that runs almost the length of the house. This room has ceiling plaster work and a Car-

rara marble fireplace, all lit by two large crystal chandeliers. Neapolitan-era paintings of cherubs demand attention from one end of the room, while two Corinthian columns highlight a deep bay window area.

These rooms are carpeted with oriental rugs the ambassador and his wife, Paola Bracci, have collected over the years. The pair has had many postings, most recently in Brussels, where two of their three children live.

A bright conservatory with an informal tiled floor has windows facing the garden and the large loggia, used as an awning-covered concert stage by Opera Lyra at its annual fundraising garden party.

Ambassador Meloni has moved his favourite desk, made in Pakistan, to the library, a dark walnut-panelled enclave with recessed book shelves. The plastercovered ceiling beams are decorated with floral emblems, including the fleur-de-lis,









Mr. Meloni and Ms. Bracci; the grand foyer and staircase; the dining room, which seats 18 comfortably; and a dark-walled study with a stunning carved ceiling.

the rose of York and the thistle of Scotland. In her book, Dickson again suggests that the same plasterers and cabinet makers who worked under Pearson on Parliament Hill, may have worked at the residence as well.

Among other points of interest is the dining room, set at a 38-degree angle to the rectangle of the house. It boasts an oval ceiling medallion with Canadian flora in its stucco design, and a dining room table in the style of Thomas Sheraton that seats 18.

Dinner often features Italian favourites but the menu varies depending on the guests, the ambassador says with a laugh.

"If someone is familiar with the techniques of Italian food, we might serve tagliatelle. If not, the menu might include risotto, which anyone can manage."

We sample flaky crostata cookies, provided by the residence's cook, who, while not Italian herself, has worked at the residence so long she has learned all the subtleties of fine Italian cuisine. A full-time maid and a part-time driver/butler keep the residence ship-shape.

As we leave, Ms. Bracci points to a delicate reminder of her homeland. I love this," she says, pointing to a small lemon tree.

Margo Roston is Diplomat's culture editor.













THIS PAGE: 1. Italian Ambassador Andrea Meloni and his wife, Paola Bracci, hosted a fundraiser for Opera Lyra at their residence on June 16. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell) 2. Korean Ambassador Chan-Ho Ha, and his wife, Young Shin Kim, both centre, back row, hosted a reception June 18, for members of the Little Angels folk ballet, who were in town to perform at the National Arts Centre in June as part of a tour to honour all UN Korean War Veterans. (Photo: Embassy of Korea) 3. The Westin hosted its annual Canada Day fireworks party July 1. From left, Lady Diana Farnham, lady-in-waiting to Queen Elizabeth, Sally Verhey, William Verhey, the Westin's director of protocol events and diplomatic hospitality, and Lady Susan Hussey, lady-in-waiting to Queen Elizabeth. 4. Moroccan Ambassador Nouzha Chekrouni, left, with her daughter Sarah Bentefrit, at her national day reception July 30. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 5. Guatemalan Ambassador Georges de La Roche held a fundraiser June 30 and raised \$16,000 to send directly to the Disaster Relief Institution in Guatemala to help in the wake of June's volcanic eruptions followed by the flooding from tropical storm Agatha. (Photo: Lois Siegel)

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THIS PAGE: 1. An event to celebrate the cultures of Latin America took place at Ottawa City Hall Aug. 22, and featured several Latino performers. 2. India's independence day celebration took place Aug. 15 at Ottawa City Hall and was hosted by Deputy High Commissioner Narinder Chauhan and Rina Shashishekhar Gavai, wife of High Commissioner Shashishekhar Madhukar Gavai as Mr. Gavai had to return to India on short notice. Shown here are three Bangra dancers who performed that evening. (Photos: Frank Scheme)





THIS PAGE 1. Erfan Naza Ahari, renowned Iranian author, gave a talk entitled "Spiritual writing and the challenges of human beings today" at the Ottawa Public Library Aug. 14. She's shown here with Hamid Mohammadi, cultural counsellor at the Iranian embassy. (Photo illustration: Dyanne Wilson) 2. Joyce Kallaghe, wife of Tanzanian High Commissioner Peter Kallaghe, held a reception to bid farewell July 3 at her residence. She asked guests to wear hats. Pictured are, from left, Keiko Nishida, wife of former Japanese Ambassador Tsuneo Nishida; Ms. Kallaghe; and Vera Lucia de Andrade Pinto, wife of Brazilian Ambassador Paulo Cordeiro de Andrade Pinto. (Photo: Ulle Baum).



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# **New Heads of Mission**

Roberto Cristian Ibarra Ambassador of Chile



Mr. Ibarra is a career diplomat who was born in Santiago and joined the foreign service in 1974. He studied law at the University of Chile before pursuing diplomatic studies at the Academia Diplomatica de Chile Andrés Bello. He also studied foreign relations at the University of Belgrano in Argentina.

His first assignment was as third secretary at the embassy in Argentina and he has subsequently had assignments as first secretary in Brazil (1984-1985), consul general in Rio de Janeiro (1986-1988), consul general in Munich (1990-1991), counselor in Italy (1992-1994), and minister-counsellor at the EU mission in Brussels (1997-2000). He's served as ambassador to Malaysia (2000-2004) and consul general in La Paz (2006-2009). At headquarters, he has worked in the South American division for political affairs, the consular and immigration division and the foreign policy planning division.

The ambassador speaks English, French, Italian and Portuguese.

Abdulrahman Hamid Mohammed Al-Hussaini Ambassador of Iraq



Mr. Al-Hussaini's background is in computer science and academia. He began his formal education in 1980, eventually earning a bachelor's degree in statistics at the College of Administration and Economics at the University of Baghdad and later completed a master's and PhD in computer science in 1995 and 1998, respectively.

He began his working life in 1985, teaching at the same college from which he graduated and held that position until 2003 when he became head of the supervision and scientific office at the ministry of higher education and scientific research. Two years later, when life became dangerous in Iraq, he moved his family to Bahrain where he became a professor at the College of Information Technology at the University of Bahrain.

In 2009, on his return to his native country, he joined the ministry of foreign affairs in Baghdad and presented his credentials in Ottawa in June.

Jhannett María Madriz Sotillo Ambassador of Venezuela



Ms. Sotillo is a lawyer, but has spent the past several years working in politics. She began her academic schooling by earning a bachelor of law at the University of Santa Maria in Caracas and then studied international economic rights and integration and international politics at the University of Central Venezuela. She served as a member of the group of lawyers that defended soldiers processed in the uprising of Feb. 4, 1992.

She is the founder of the Movement Fifth Republic, a political party known as MVR. She entered politics in 1998 when she was elected to the Andean Parliament. She was re-elected in 2000 and again in 2006. She held portfolios concerning women, family, natives, human rights, education, culture, science, technology and, most recently, foreign policy and parliamentary relations. She was president of the Andean Parliament from 2001 to 2003 and vice-president for two terms, from 2003 to 2007.



Ms. Sotillo is divorced and has one grown daughter.

# Milan Kollar **Ambassador of Slovakia**



Mr. Kollar is returning to Ottawa for the second time after a 1994 posting as second secretary and consul. He began his studies in the faculty of law at Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia, and then went to the Moscow State Institute for International Relations in Moscow.

He joined the federal ministry of foreign affairs in Prague as a legal officer in 1991 and then became director of the international law department in 1993. He also

served as counsellor, legal adviser, and deputy head of mission at the Hague. At the ministry's headquarters, in addition to being director of the international law department, he's served head of the treaties division, head of the law of treaties division, and director general for legal affairs. He has also taught public international law and diplomatic protocol at Matej Bel University.

Mr. Kollar is married and has two daughters. He speaks English, Russian, German, French and Norwegian.

Kaoru Ishikawa **Ambassador of Japan** 



Mr. Ishikawa graduated in law from the University of Tokyo in 1972, at which point he joined the foreign ministry. Two years later, he studied at l'Ecole Nationale d'Administration in Paris.

Mr. Ishikawa had early postings to Paris, Cairo, Geneva and Kinshasa and then returned to headquarters to become director of the developing economies division. He held several positions in Tokyo before being appointed minister at the embassy in France in 1996. Two years later, he became deputy director-general of the Middle Eastern and African affairs bureau. He worked on Tokyo's international conference on African development and as a sous-sherpa for the G8 summit in foreign affairs. In 2005, he became director-general in the economic affairs bureau and two years later, he was appointed ambassador to Egypt. His posting to Canada follows that one.

The ambassador has received decorations from the governments of France and Egypt. He is married and has two daughters. He speaks Japanese, French and English.

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# Celebration time

# A listing of the national and independence days marked by the countries

October		
1	Nigeria	National Day
1	Palau	Independence Day (1994)
1	China	National Day
1	Cyprus	Independence Day
1	Tuvalu	National Day
2	Guinea	National Day (1958)
3	Korea, Republic	National Foundation Day
3	Germany	Day of German Unity
4	Lesotho	National Day
9	Uganda	Independence Day
10	Fiji	National Day
12	Spain	National Day
12	Equatorial Guinea	National Day
23	Hungary	Commemoration of the 1956 Revolution and Day of Proclamation of the Republic of Hungary
24	Zambia	Independence Day
26	Austria	National Day
27	Turkmenistan	Independence Day
27	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Independence Day (1979)
28	Czech Republic	Proclamation of Czech State
29	Turkey	Proclamation of the Republic (1923)
November		
1	Antigua and Barbuda	Independence Day (1981)
1	Algeria	National Day
3	Panama	Independence Day
3	Dominica	Independence Day (1978)
3	Micronesia	Independence Day (1986)
9	Cambodia	National Day
11	Angola	Independence Day
18	Oman	National Day
18	Latvia	Independence Day
19	Monaco	National Day
22	Lebanon	Independence Day (1943)
25	Suriname	Independence Day (1975)
28	Mauritania	Independence Day (1979)
28	Albania	National Day
28		Independence Day
30	Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste Barbados	·
December	baibados	Independence Day (1966)
1	Central African Republic	Proclamation of the Republic
1	Romania	National Day
2	Laos	National Day
2	United Arab Emirates	National Day  National Day (1971)
5	Thailand	National Day (1971)
	Finland	
6		Independence Day (1917)  National Day
11	Burkina Faso	· ·
12	Kenya	Independence Day (Jamhuri Day)
16	Bahrain	National Day
16	Kazakhstan	Independence Day
18	Qatar	Independence Day
23	Japan	National Day



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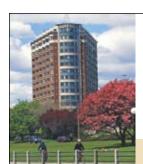
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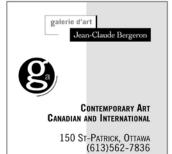
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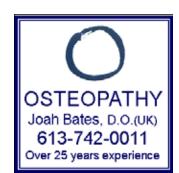


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# Thomas Chandler Haliburton, aka Sam Slick

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky

■homas Haliburton was an upper-crust Tory, a successful lawyer and businessman who was appointed to Nova Scotia's Su-

preme Court and held office in England after his retirement. He was wealthy, respected and influential — and deeply frustrated.

As a member of the conservative elite, Haliburton could not freely express his progressive opinions in Nova Scotia where conservative anti-republicanism and pro-British colonial patriotism dominated, bolstered by memories of the violent American Revolution and years of war against the bloody French revolutionary republic.

Haliburton thought protests against Britain's mismanagement of the colonies were justified but feared that a campaign for "responsible government" would end in demands for independence from Britain, ultimately resulting in absorption into the United States. He maintained that Nova Scotians could help themselves by emulating Yankee industriousness to exploit their abundant natural resources, but they must avoid American vices.

To assuage his frustration, Haliburton created alter-ego Sam Slick, a Yankee clockmaker who peddled his wares around Nova Scotia. Slick cantered into public view on his horse, Old Clay, in September 1835 in Joseph Howe's newspaper, The Novascotian. Slick, with acerbic wit, made pithy observations and critiqued Bluenose attitudes, dispensing homespun homilies in an over-the-top regional dialect.

Under the guise of a slick Yankee, Haliburton could criticize Britain and her co-

lonial administration in ways a colonist never could. His observations on Nova Scotia life were pointed and sarcastic. "We (Americans) reckon hours

and minutes to be dollars and cents. They do nothin' in these parts but eat, drink, smoke, sleep, ride about, lounge at taverns, make speeches at temperance meetin's, and talk about 'House of Assembly.'"

An energetic entrepreneur and an unscrupulous con man, Slick's business



Thomas Haliburton

motto was "let the buyer beware." He insisted that, although stealing a watch was wrong, it would be "moral and legal" to cheat someone out of one. He was a great conniver and an astute observer of his fellow human beings, and allowed that it was the "knowledge of soft sawder and human natur" that made him a successful pedlar.

To counter his protagonist's critical outsider persona, Haliburton created a foil, the Squire, a Nova Scotian who was not ignorant, lazy or uncouth, and who was endowed with an ironic Bluenose sense of humour. The Squire embodied the positive qualities of industriousness and energy that Slick contended Nova Scotians should acquire.

Sam Slick was wildly popular on both sides of the Atlantic. Haliburton established his reputation as a writer with serious works on provincial history, including An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia (1829). But it was The Clockmaker; or the Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick of Slickville that made him the first internationally popular Canadian writer. His contributions to literature were recognized in 1858 when Haliburton became the first colonial writer to be awarded an honorary degree in literature by Oxford University.

When Haliburton died in 1865, his writing career had spanned 37 years, he had written 18 major works and had become a prominent figure in 19th-Century English literature. Haliburton's work does not resonate politically with modern readers as it did with his contemporary audience. Today we value Slick's dialogue more for how he says things. His colourful lexis has greatly enriched the English language. "He drank like a fish." "The early bird gets the worm." "It's raining cats and dogs." "You can't get blood out of a stone." "As quick as a wink." "Six of one and half a dozen of the other."

Although he wrote in a satirical and comedic tone as Sam Slick, as Haliburton put it, "There's many a true word said in jest."

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



# The French debacle in Dien Bien Phu

By George Fetherling



Vo Nguyen Giap, now 90 years old, is a former Hanoi high-school teacher whose father had died in one of the French colonial prisons. He was the military brains behind Vietnam's liberation movement.

ien Bien Phu is a market town in an almost preposterously remote corner of northwest Vietnam. Today it has a population of about 9,000. In 1953, however, it was so small it wasn't even considered a community and, in fact, didn't have a name. The phrase Dien Bien Phu translates roughly as "border-area administrative post." Few outsiders had ever heard of it. By the spring of 1954, though, it was a place very much in the news internationally.

What was commonly called Indochina consisted of colonies that the French built up in Southeast Asia in the latter half of the 19th Century. They had different names and configurations at various times but are now Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The Japanese had occupied them during the Second World War, but in 1946 the French were eager to resume their rather lucrative control. The ambition was stymied by a growing nationalist movement known as the Viet Mihn. The most important figure of the force was a professional revolutionary, an intellectual who had been educated in France, the U.S. and the Soviet Union and who had spent more half his life living in exile under various names. The alias that stuck was Ho the Enlightened, or Ho Chi Mihn. He was the political brain of the liberation movement. The military brain was Vo Nguyen Giap, a former Hanoi high-school history teacher whose father had died in one of the French colonial prisons.

Ted Morgan writes of him as "a man of action with a chess player's mind."

Mr. Morgan, a senior American journalist and biographer, is himself a pseudonymous individual. Until he chose to become an American in the 1970s, he was Sanche de Gramont, a minor member of the lingering French nobility. (He selected "Ted Morgan" because it is an anagram of "de Gramont".) As a young man, he was an intelligence officer in the French Army, serving during the war in Algeria, where he knew fellow soldiers who had survived the horrible battle at Dien Bien Phu, the encounter at which General Giap drove the French out of Indochina (just as he would later drive out the Americans).

Few battles of the 20th Century were more resoundingly decisive or remain such

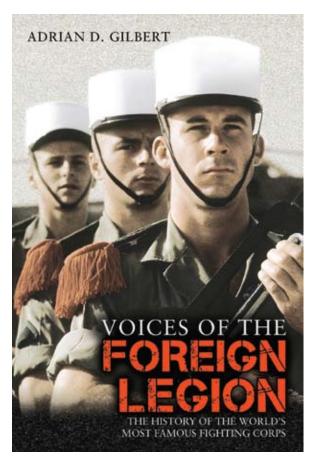
powerful cautionary tales. What took place at Dien Bien Phu has become the subject of a vast literature in both celebratory Vietnamese and exculpatory French. In English, too, the topic keeps recurring in new books. Some are as scholarly as The First Vietnam War: Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis edited by Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall (Harvard University Press, US\$22.95 paper); others are as relentlessly pop as Voices of the Foreign Legion: The History of the World's Most Famous Fighting Corps by Adrian D. Gilbert (Skyhorse Publishing, \$31.50).

Until now the foremost work in English has been Hell in a Very Small Place by Bernard Fall. It was published in 1966, the year before its author was killed by a landmine in (the Second) Vietnam War while reporting for the New York Times. But now comes Mr. Morgan's Valley of Death: The Tragedy at Dien Bien Phu That Led America into the Vietnam War (Random House of Canada, \$43). His subtitle says a great deal. I suppose he is still so French that his former nation's defeat seems a tragedy in more than just loss of life. It also probably

indicates that he has become so American that, like many others in the United States, he continues to seek precedents for what happened between 1965 and 1975. In any case, the two books are quite different. Mr. Fall loved military jargon and put far more effort into explaining logistics, for example, than ideology. By contrast, Mr. Morgan writes excellent journalistic prose and attempts the difficult task of giving us the serious political context for the battle narrative and vice versa.

What exactly went so wretchedly wrong for the French? Cultural condescension, certainly, but impatience as well. There were 50,000 French people—the colons—in Vietnam and 23 million Vietnamese. The latter had stereotypes of the former: for instance, that of the fat French officials and businessmen, growing rich and cruel on exorbitant taxation, rigidly imperial economics and military might while living with their Vietnamese mistresses (congai). For their part, the French saw the local population as backward and ignorant.

For a number of years, the Viet Mihn had been using standard guerrilla and terrorist tactics in both the cities and the rural areas, as David Kilcullen analyses in his highly important new study Counterinsurgency (Oxford University Press, \$19.95 pa-



per). By 1953, however, the former ragtag guerrillas had become a formidable and highly disciplined army. We all know the cliché about the tendency of generals to refight the previous war. In this case, the previous war was the recently concluded one in Korea. As historian Bruce Cummings reminds us in his own new work The Korean War: A History (Random House of Canada, \$28), the war's most glaring feature came right at the beginning, in June 1950, when the North invaded the South by suddenly sending a "human wave" of 213,000 across the 38th Parallel.

In Vietnam, the French, tired of the standard anti-colonial scrapping, and fearful that the Viet Mihn would expand the war into neighbouring Laos, came up with a plan. They would fortify a strange misty valley a few miles from the Lao border. It was, and is, an elliptical plain made of red clay and surrounded on all sides by thick jungle and very high mountains. Such a tempting target was supposed to lure the Viet Mihn into making a humanwave attack. The French imagined tens of thousands, maybe scores of thousands, of lightly armed bo dois in those conical straw hats called condong charging over open ground, only to be mowed down by French artillery and air power in a

single coup. The French believed they were well prepared for their mission. They had even brought along two field-brothels (bordels militaires de campagne) staffed with Algerian and Vietnamese women. But French G-2 work was very poor at best and at worst almost non-existent. They didn't know how many Vietnamese they were facing or where exactly these enemies were or even how they were armed. They knew only that the Viet Mihn, which admittedly had no air force, likewise had no artillery to speak of or the skill to use it effectively if they had. These assumptions were mistaken. It was the French who became the sitting ducks.

The commander in Indochina was General Henri Navarre, who came from NATO headquarters in Europe. In his ignorance of Indochina, some saw the promise of a fresh perspective. He gave field command at Dien Bien Phu to an officer who had served under him in Italy during the Second World War: Colonel (but now, instantly, General) Christian Marie

Ferdinand de la Croix de Castries, a cavalryman, had chosen to work his way up through the ranks rather than profit from the influence of his ancient military family. One of the officers Castries himself would most rely on at Dien Bien Phu was Colonel Charles Piroth. He too was a veteran of the Italian campaign, during which he had lost his left arm at the shoulder. He was an artilleryman whose task was to keep the Vietnamese human wave at bay until the optimal moment.

There were 13,000 French troops in all. Most of the rank-and-file were Algerians, Moroccans or members of the Légion Étrangère. Of this last group, many, perhaps a majority, were ex-Nazis who considered questions about the previous decade somewhat impertinent. There were also some loyal tribal people, whom the French called Autochthones. The French weren't fully aware that there were 50,000 Vietnamese with as many again in reserve.

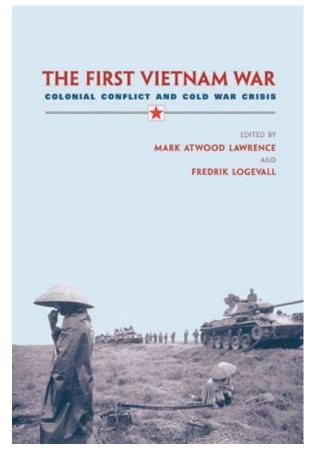
When the first French troops arrived by parachute in November 1953, during the dry season, they began building an airstrip and then, on either side of the Nam Yum River, nine defensive positions, what Mr. Morgan calls "this network of overlapping little fortresses, this labyrinth of barbed wire and sandbags...." The strongholds

were given feminine forenames, beginning with Anne-Marie and extending down the alphabet to Isabelle (and, contrary to legend, these were not the names of Castries'—or anybody else's — mistresses back in Paris). They were made of earth, concrete and barbed wire, and were connected to one another by communication trenches. The building materials for these and for the allimportant airstrip, not to mention all the weapons, ammunition, food, medical supplies — everything had to be flown in, for although Hanoi was only 185 miles away, it was 16 hours distant by road: a road controlled by the Viet Mihn in any case. The airlift involved cargo planes acquired from the United States: C-47 Dakotas (in the early stages, they made 80 flights a day) and C-117 Flying Boxcars. This is when the trouble began.

The French foresaw no danger in occupying the lower ground rather than the higher, because they doubted that the Viet Mihn had much artillery. The French possessed 60 guns. Although none of the Viet Mihn pieces was as large

as the heaviest French ones, they numbered 200 in all, many of them from China. Similarly, the French couldn't accept that their enemy could move their big guns to the rugged mountaintops that surrounded the plain. But that's precisely what General Giap did. He disassembled the field pieces as much as possible, cordelling them with ropes, dragging them inch by inch and foot by foot, using thousands of ungloved hands and sandaled feet; for "although the French had tanks and airpower," the author writes, "it turned out that long lines of coolies were more dependable." The Viet Mihn dug heavily disguised caves in which to conceal the cannon, bringing them out of hiding just long enough to do their work, before retracting them again. Also, they dug dummy caves at which they set off tiny explosions that mimicked muzzle flash, tricking Colonel Piroth into wasting ammunition.

With terrible and inexorable efficiency, the guns in the mountains destroyed the fix-winged aircraft of the French as well as helicopters and tanks. Food, ammunition and medical supplies were running out as the casualties piled up, with no way to transport the wounded to Hanoi where they could be treated effectively. "By the end of March," Mr. Morgan writes, "Dien



Bien Phu was surrounded. The only way in was by parachute, and there was no way out." And as the cannon in the mountains pounded away, the Viet Mihn down in the valley continually dug trenches of their own, moving ever closer. "Here, nine years into the nuclear age, was a return to siege warfare that went back to medieval times." General Giap was a close student of the military classics — Napoleon, Clausewitz and, most tellingly of all, the Marquis de Vauban (1633-1707), the father of modern siege tactics. For his part, Castries asked Hanoi to air-drop him four copies of the official manual of siege warfare published during the First World War.

The siege became a daily melodrama in the eyes of the world, including of course the United States, which, then as later, saw Ho Chi Mihn not as a nationalist primarily but as a tool of the Third International, bent on propagating global communism. When General Navarre took over in the region, insisting that the purpose of the campaign was to prevent the Viet Mihn from attacking Luang Prabang, the old royal capital of Laos, he told a subordinate: "We've had American generals, veterans of Korea, tell us how satisfied they were with our deployment. They invested a lot of money here and they didn't want us to

lose." His listener replied tactfully: "My only desire is to believe you, General." At one point Washington considered using nuclear weapons but decided against the plan, fearing it would lead to sending U.S. ground troops into Vietnam.

A few French troops were getting in by parachute, but only a few. One sergeant wrote to his brother back home: "The Viets are two hundred metres from our barbed wire, hiding in trenches. They look at us. We look at them." He added: "On top of everything, we've run out of wine." A major with a safe desk job in Saigon learned that his wife was lost at sea en route from France by steamship. In despair, he asked to be dropped into Dien Bien Phu. He was volunteering to commit suicide or, as he put it, "doing Camerone". The reference was to a famous 19thcentury battle in which an entire Légionnaire command was wiped out, down to the last man. Colonel Piroth no longer counted enough pieces of artillery to keep the enemy away and or enough gunners left alive to man the guns if he still had them. He retreated to his bunker. Hav-

ing only one arm, he found it difficult to load and cock his pistol, so he committed suicide by using his teeth to pull the pin on a grenade. Castries was, in the author's words, "marinated in despondence." (Mr. Morgan enjoys culinary metaphors. A few pages on, a certain section of the battlefield is "truffled" with landmines.)

Most of the French strongholds were quite low, but there was one, code-named Dominique, that was 1,500 feet high and 300 yards long. Indeed, it is still the dominant geographical feature of Dien Bien Phu, overlooking the town. A full battalion was needed to defend it properly. Towards the end, it was manned by only two thin companies of Algerians, whom Castries considered unreliable in any case. "Better to obliterate a company than rout a battalion," Giap observed, as he tightened his stranglehold on each of the sorry outposts in turn. In Paris, the government began to look a bit shaky. In Dien Bien Phu, the monsoon had begun. Mushrooms sprouted on the soldiers' boots after only twenty-four hours. The troops were out of almost everything. Both the living and the dead were sucked down into the mud.

On May 7, 1954, after 56 days of actual siege, General Castries surrendered. The most famous photograph of this First



A Second World War-vintage M24 Chaffee light tank operated by the French.



Ho Chi Minh was the political brains behind the liberation movement

Vietnam War is one of Viet Mihn soldiers standing atop the round corrugated-iron roof of the general's bunker, waving their flag. Of the thousands of French troops taken prisoner, relatively few survived captivity and made it back to Europe or North Africa. Today, Dien Bien Phu's principal boulevard is named May Seventh Street.

The lessons of Dien Bien Phu are numerous and altogether obvious. At the end of his book, Mr. Morgan writes: "When he later read that some of Castries' men had died without showing any apparent wounds, Giap concluded that 'their endurance had failed, because they did not know what they were fighting for.' Navarre's defeat at Dien Bien Phu, Giap believed, had come from 'an error in judgment in that he did not understand his adversary. He didn't realise it was a people's war.' For the French elite troops, war was their profession. But what were they fighting for? Navarre's mistake was that he couldn't believe illiterate peasants could become good artillerymen, or that cadres who hadn't graduated from Saint-Cyr could solve strategic and tactical problems."

As I write these words, Vo Nguyen Giap is still alive, age 99. He is, to say the least, his country's greatest living hero.

George Fetherling is the author *Walt* Whitman's Secret, a novel (Random House Canada).



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# To hell and back

By George Fetherling

ien Bien Phu was made the capital of Lai Chau Province 17 years ago, but partly by default. The previous capital kept suffering devastating floods, caused partly by deforestation. It may soon disappear altogether under the reservoir of a huge hydro dam. But, of course, there was also another reason to elevate the status of DBP: patriotism. The stunning Vietnamese military victory there in 1954, ending French colonialism in Southeast Asia, is an event celebrated in school books, songs and public art, in street names, memorials and museums.

The town's place in history has brought a certain amount of tourism, leading to construction of such modest local institutions as the Lottery Hotel, the Construction Hotel and the Beer Factory Guesthouse. But the past hasn't made anybody rich. DBP is a town of small-business people, families mostly, who live upstairs over their shops. Old men kneel on the sidewalk to spit, talk and gamble. Their game resembles checkers except that the pieces are numbered and, like the board itself, very crudely carved from scrap lumber.

Development, such as it is, has chewed up some of the edges of the battlefield but not enough to keep visitors from getting a clear understanding of what the fighting must have been like. In contrast to China, which will often raze some historical site to build a modern replica of it, Vietnam tends to skilfully redo or replace lost or damaged elements without taking away from the original. Examples include some parts of the French blockhouses and bunkers. Others include the surprisingly deep trenches dug by both armies during their deadly and deadly serious game of catand-mouse.

One reference puts the town's population at 22,000, another at 9,000. The latter seems more accurate to me, but judging the number of people in any Asian town or city is an iffy thing for westerners to attempt because density is so high and census-taking is not a cherished art. The place is a world away from Hanoi. There are no stylish shops and no fancy restaurants. The best spot to eat is a depressing seafood place where customers sit crunched together at long tables, as in a prison, and the drinking water is served in old vodka bottles. In short, DBP is a very small and isolated locality with little com-



The stunning military victory at Dien Bien Phu remains its major tourist attraction.

motion and less cosmopolitanism. Let me illustrate further.

I have one badly arthritic knee that will need replacing in the next few years. Until then, it acts up from time and time, buckling at inopportune moments. I had one such incident in DBP while climbing stairs at the only place with a vacancy: a combination hotel/massage parlour. The next day I had to hobble about in search of ice with which to bring down the swelling. The only supply I found was in a cell phone shop that also sold beer from an ancient fridge badly in need of defrosting. I paid the owner a few *dong* for the ice that had built up at the bottom. For days afterward, I was a famous personage in town: the westerner who spends good money on frozen water!

The community, whose local crops include rice and (in nearby tribal areas) opium, sits on red clay soil that reminded me of Prince Edward Island. In the dry season (I was there in February, the driest of the dry), the stuff is hard and dusty, but by the end of the rainy season it has the consistency of pancake batter. For the past 56 years, as it has dripped down the hillsides and embankments at the conclusion of each monsoon, it has revealed artifacts, including bits of human bone and sometimes teeth (French teeth, presumably). I was there to research part of a book about the French in Indochina, and without any effort whatever, I found three dirt-encrusted brass casings from 50-calibre machine gun ammunition. Two days before my arrival, a history buff from Britain discovered a French helmet. Inside was a scrap of scalp. But that was exceptional. After the French War, just as after American War two decades later, the Vietnamese picked the countryside clean of valuable scrap metal.

The Englishman's discovery of the helmet was somewhat out of the ordinary in another way as well, as relatively few western visitors spend time in DBP. I was the only one aboard the incoming flight, and while there I saw no more than three or four particularly hardy American and Canadian backpackers. Groups of Vietnamese school children on field trips—certainly. People with parents and grandparents buried in neat rows in the huge Vietminh cemetery—of course. But few Europeans, for example. The ranks of Frenchwomen widowed by Dien Bien Phu are pretty thin now, and the place is so far away and so difficult to get to, even from the major Vietnamese cities. In fact, it's hard to get out of as well.

The tiny airport is built on the site of the French military airstrip whose destruction by General Giap's artillery ensured the Vietminh victory. After an hour or so on the ground, the empty Vietnam Airlines flight to Hanoi hadn't refuelled or allowed us few ticket-holders to board. Eventually, two workers came and removed all of our luggage from the hold. Then mechanics, overseen by an official with a clipboard, began to disassemble part of the engine and the fuel system, leaving the components on the tarmac before quitting for the day. Eventually we heard an announcement that no other plane would be available for a day or two.

I had an important meeting in Hanoi the next morning. There being no bus and, of course, no train, I hired a taxi. The fare was astonishingly low but the journey took the rest of the day and all night, over narrow mountain roads, unpaved for long stretches, with rock cliffs on one side and 1,000-foot drops on the other — with no guard-rails or even white lines. The driver played loud Vietnamese rock on a CD player the whole time and honked the horn whenever he feared another vehicle was approaching in the darkness or when, as sometimes happens, a water buffalo, trying to stay cool, had taken refuge in a mud puddle in the middle of road.

I got to my meeting with moments to spare.

George Fetherling is the author *Walt Whitman's Secret*, a novel (Random House Canada).



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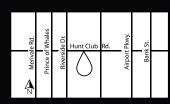
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