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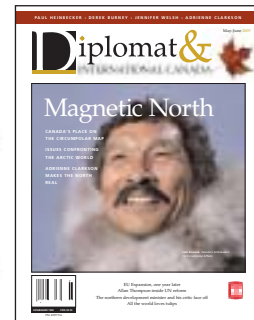
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Volume 16, Number 3

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SUBSCRIPTIONS

Diplomat & International Canada is published six times

a year. Subscription rates: individual, one year \$35.70.

For Canadian orders add 7% GST. U.S. orders please

add \$15 for postage. All other orders please add \$25.

Diplomat & International Canada welcomes

submissions. Contact Jennifer Campbell, editor,

at 231-8476 or diplomat.editorial@sympatico.ca.

DIPLOMAT & INTERNATIONAL CANADA

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Ottawa, Ontario Canada K1P 5R2

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Arctic Anxieties

The North – to many, it's a dreamy expanse that captures the imagination, evoking images of pristine landscapes and hearty inhabitants. In a sense, the northern way of life is how inhabitants of Northern nations, even those of us who live in the far south of our circumpolar countries, identify ourselves. And yet the North is more than an outstanding series of postcard images. Sovereignty, the environment, and the welfare of its people are all areas that must be addressed. To that end, our special feature on the North includes the words of Gov. Gen. Adrienne Clarkson, a passionate advocate of the North, as well as Jack Anawak, Canada's ambassador for circumpolar affairs. Indian Affairs and Northern Development Minister Andy Scott and his Conservative critic Jim Prentice also join the discussion.

Turning our view slightly south, we examine the European Union, that economic monolith that one year ago this month welcomed 10 new countries, the poor cousins of existing member states, into its fold. Peter Zimonjic, who keeps an eye on the EU for *Diplomat* from London, looks at how things have changed and what the future holds. We also consulted the experts in Ottawa – ambassadors from the new member states – to see how things look from their perspective, one year on.

We examine Canadian foreign policy with two learned observers: In one corner is Oxford academic Jennifer Welsh; in the other is seasoned diplomat-turned-academic Derek Burney.

Speaking of academics, kudos to backpage columnist Allan Thompson who has been nominated for a National Newspaper Award. This time, Mr. Thompson delivers the scoop on UN reform.

And there's much else: Korean nibbles, Riesling refreshments and Russian art, as well as a sneak preview of the Canadian Tulip Festival, an event that involves many more countries than the Netherlands and Canada. We've also introduced a letters section and look forward to much healthy debate on the letters pages.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of Diplomat.



JENNIFER CAMPBELL

LETTERS

In defence of India

We were somewhat bemused and disappointed by the slanted and rather snide piece "India's ambiguity towards aid", which appeared in the 'Beyond the Headlines' section of the March-April issue of your magazine, especially as it was written by a Nieman scholar.

There is no question of India doing somersaults over aid or anything else. That India neither sought nor accepted any aid from foreign governments for its tsunami relief efforts was not due to either arrogance or false pride. The plain and simple fact was that India, in the considered view of both the central government in New Delhi and the affected state governments, was capable of looking after itself in terms of the requirements, both material and logistical, for tsunami relief. More importantly, India did not wish to divert the foreign assistance from for the affected countries which needed it more. This reasoning is by now well understood by most observers, though not, one now perceives, by everyone.

Without any intention of boasting but purely as a matter of record, an Indian naval vessel equipped with helicopters and divers, medical teams and relief supplies reached Sri Lanka less than 24 hours after the tsunami hit. Three more Indian ships arrived a day later, and three others, similarly equipped, reached the Maldives by Day two. By Day six, an Indian hospital ship was operating in Indonesia. It was in recognition of India's ability to contribute swiftly, substantially and effectively to the tsunami relief – we eventually deployed 32 vessels and over 41 aircraft, plus over 16,000 service men and women - that the U.S. invited India to join the "tsunami core group" as soon as it was set up on Dec. 28.

As for accepting foreign assistance for long-term reconstruction, that is a separate issue. India has never said that it will not accept such assistance, but as of now, it has not sought any either.

It is curious that a Canadian who, coming from a country which is justifiably proud of its pioneering heritage, should be the first to understand and appreciate a 'can-do' spirit in others, apparently finds it difficult to appreciate this very spirit on the part of India.

Even more curious is that Mr. Abraham apparently took the remarks made by our minister of petroleum and natural gas,

Mani Shankar Aiyar, at the oil and gas road show in Calgary on Feb. 3, literally. Mr. Aiyar, who has a great sense of humour, was not intending to go down on his knees nor was he “practically begging” for Canadian investment in the petroleum sector in India. He meant that as a joke, and his Canadian audience, which laughed out loud, obviously shared his sense of humour and recognized it as such.

– Niraj Srivastava,
India’s Deputy High Commissioner

Close the Ticket Office

In his article “How to fix Canada’s immigration system” in the March-April issue of your magazine Allan Thompson compares our immigration department to an “airline that just keeps booking tickets when all the seats have been taken.”

Mr. Thompson’s remedy for the department’s inability to accommodate more immigrants seems to consist of looking for ways to increase the number of seats. As a pilot, I can assure him that although it may be possible to board more passengers by adding jump seats in the aisles, take-offs will become increasingly dangerous, and eventually disastrous. Would it not be more sensible to accept that the plane is already jammed to capacity and close the ticket office?

– Dan Farrell, Ottawa

Canada meets targets

Allan Thompson is right when he says there’s a huge backlog of potential immigrants wanting to come to Canada, many of whom have relatives here already. The suggestions in his article, “How to fix Canada’s immigration system,” on ways to reduce frustration by acknowledging that backlog upfront make sense.

There are many immigrants in Canada who have to wait years to sponsor their parents, for example, to come join them here. The federal immigration department made some recent changes to improve the process where spouses are concerned, but not when it comes to other relatives.

But, truth be told, Canada has been successfully meeting its annual immigration targets. It has counted 235,808 newcomers in 2004 so far, which is in line with projections. Canada just doesn’t have the capacity to open its borders to more than that on a bureaucratic level. Plus, the stretched-too-thin settlement service sector wouldn’t be able to handle



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much more. Immigrants who are already here are struggling, partly because of insufficient funding for ESL, employment counseling and other integration assistance. As well, they are faced with many barriers that prevent them from fully integrating into Canadian life. When you have a highly trained cardiologist from Iran who ends up driving a taxi, or a banker from the Philippines who has to mop floors at a mall because he has “no Canadian experience,” not only is the immigrant losing out, but so is Canada.

So the primary focus should be about better integrating the immigrants who are already here or on their way. One of the reasons Canada is one of few countries in the world aggressively accepting immigrants is because our population growth is declining and our labour shortage is increasing. Yet, once immigrants arrive, we don't give them enough support to ensure they can integrate and succeed in a strange new land. Our first priority in fixing the system needs to be making faster progress on things like recognition of foreign credentials, more ESL training at a higher level, encouragement of employers to hire immigrants and so on.

– Margaret Jetelina,
Editor, The Canadian Immigrant Magazine

The Commonwealth is a powerhouse

The *Diplomat and International Canada* undertook a most useful exercise in analysing the Commonwealth and the Francophonie in its March-April issue. The two associations are, contrary to Professor Chad Gaffield's view, very different international animals.

The Commonwealth evolved, unplanned, over many decades as the countries of the British Empire haphazardly became independent sovereign states.

Francophonie has been driven along by a desire to maintain French culture. Nothing wrong with that, but many of its members have no historical political link with France; it is difficult to understand why, for example, Bulgaria, Romania and Moldova belong while, say, Germany and Italy do not.

All but one of the Commonwealth's 53 members, on the other hand, have a historical link either with Britain or through another member country such as South Africa (Namibia) or Australia (Papua New Guinea).

Mozambique is so far the only country to be admitted with no historical tie (Cameroon was partly a British colony)

and there the rationale for membership was that all its six neighbours are Commonwealth members and English is, of necessity, widely spoken in its administration and by many of its people. Rwanda has applied to join on a similar basis.

There are other applicants. Yemen has a legitimate claim, the south having been the British protectorate of Aden. The Palestinian Authority applied some years ago but would only qualify once it became a sovereign state.

Ireland is likely to rejoin the Commonwealth when and if the Northern Ireland peace process is successfully completed. For some years occasional informal talks on this possibility have taken place and Dublin is mostly in favour.

So the idea that the Commonwealth is of diminishing importance and significance is quite misconceived. By comparison with the Francophonie it is a heavyweight, containing several of the world's largest and most important countries – India, Canada, South Africa, UK, Pakistan and Australia.

It is puzzling that Professor Gaffield should write without any explanation that “the notion of the Francophonie currently resonates much better in Canada”, since the Commonwealth is plainly much more significant internationally and the Canadian role in shaping it under Lester Pearson, Pierre Trudeau and Brian Mulroney has been huge. Indeed, in the course of its formation in the last few years, the Francophonie has several times taken tips on its structure and experience from the Commonwealth.

Recently cooperation between the Commonwealth and the Francophonie has been increasing - a most welcome development. There is no real comparison between the two bodies and plenty of room for both of them.

Derek Ingram, London.

(Editor's note: Derek Ingram was founding editor of Gemini News Service until 1993, and is the author of a number of books and articles about the Commonwealth.)



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Letters may be edited for length and clarity.

Writing the book on diplomacy

To pessimists, these are lean times for Canadian foreign policy. But apparently there's still enough grist to give authors something to chew on. **James Bartleman's** latest autobiographical tome, *Rollercoaster*, describes his life as Jean Chrétien's foreign policy advisor. On the shelves this month is **Derek Burney's** *Getting It Done*, detailing his experiences in the foreign service and working with **Brian Mulroney** (see reviews of both starting on page 26). In the fall, watch for *Unquiet Diplomacy* by **Paul Cellucci**, former U.S. ambassador. It's certain to rile those Cellucci critics who thought they had heard the last of the blunt-spoken diplomat.

Reconstructing Iraq

Michael Bell, former Canadian ambassador to Egypt, Israel and Jordan, has been named chair of the donor committee for the International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq, where he'll oversee spending of \$1 billion in aid. Mr. Bell, senior scholar in diplomacy at the Munk Centre for International Studies, has just finished

teaching a course on the Middle East to bleary-eyed undergrads at the University of Toronto, his first such gig. Maybe the new job will be easier.

An untimely return

On the topic of new jobs, where in the world is **Leonidas Chrysanthopoulos**? In Athens, one might expect. That's exactly where the current Greek ambassador to Canada, **Yannis Mourikis**, thought his predecessor was. Turns out though, that Mr. Chrysanthopoulos, who left his post as ambassador to Canada last spring, made a surprise trip back to Ottawa to brief the Canadian government on European affairs. The trip, paid for by the Greek government, was made without the knowledge of Mr. Mourikis – a breach of protocol that according to sources familiar with the affair, left the current ambassador furious. It's not clear whether Mr. Chrysanthopoulos' re-assignment, from deputy director of European Affairs to an agent of the minister with no fixed title, is a result of this diplomatic misstep. After all, if Canadians needed a briefing on Greece, they could have gone to Mr. Mourikis. Could

it be that Mr. Chysanthopoulos was just looking for an excuse to visit Canada? His son is studying here and Mr. Chysanthopoulos has enjoyed two Canadian postings in his long career. Perhaps he longs for another.

Post-tsunami play-by-play

Focusing on another coast, *Canada World View*, the in-house publication of Foreign Affairs Canada, looks at the response to the tsunami, featuring a précis of how **Serge Paquette**, director of emergency services, and his colleagues coped with missing Canadians and more than 100,000 calls to the operations centre in two weeks. It's a good snapshot of consular work, the oft-overlooked face of foreign policy. www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/canada-magazine/

The age of networks

And speaking of dealing with crises, the Munk Centre's **Janice Gross Stein** warns the future of global security will be defined by networks – whether they be al-Qaeda-like constructs or benign technological and social nodes, such as civil

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society networks, environmentalists, physicians or scholars. Hierarchical governments must master the art of networking if they wish to keep their societies safe, she suggests. The article's in the March-April *Policy Options*, the magazine's 25th birthday edition. www.irpp.org/po/

A class in curbing conflict

And now for some crisis reparation: The Canadian Institute for Conflict Resolution (CICR) is offering Ottawa's diplomatic community a special session of its "third party neutral" training. The course begins May 27th, and entails five days of training using a hands-on approach to conflict resolution. The teachers certainly have their own arsenal of examples from which to borrow. CICR has worked to cool tempers in such hot spots as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, Ukraine, and Taiwan. The organization is now partnering with the Conflict Studies Program for an intervention in Sudan. CICR is offering the diplomatic community a substantial discount off the regular tuition for this course. For

more information about this course visit www.cicr-icrc.ca or contact Dominique Guindon, at (613) 235-5800.

Winged writings

Perhaps there's something in the water at the Lester B. Pearson Building that predisposes employees to write books. **Peter Pigott**, a Treaty Custodian at Foreign Affairs Canada has just released his 12th book titled *On Canadian Wings*. Mr. Pigott wrote his first book while posted in Hong Kong. Upon returning to Ottawa after a posting in The Hague, he began to take writing more seriously. Mr. Pigott says, "It was coming back to Ottawa that was the shock. . . we were so broke that when our house needed a new roof, I began writing—and writing about what I knew best—aviation." Since then Mr. Pigott has managed to combine his full-time career at Foreign Affairs with his after-hours authorship. *On Canadian Wings: A Century of Flight* is a photo essay on Canadian aviation. The book is published by Dundurn Press and sells for \$49.99.

Recognizing front-line staff

An Ottawa businessman has teamed up with an event planner and *Diplomat's* publisher, Lezlee Cribb, to create a unique recognition evening for the locally engaged staff of embassies in Ottawa.

Jeff Mierins, owner of Star Motors, came up with the idea after years of dealing with embassies and high commissions in Ottawa. "We recognized that though the ambassadors give the direction, it's the front-line staff we always deal with and we thought that it would be nice to recognize them in some way."

The event, to be held on September 14, will celebrate the Canadians who work in embassies from all over the world in Ottawa. **Mr. Mierins**, event planner **Leena Ray-Barnes**, and **Ms. Cribb** are inviting colleagues to send us stories of deserving non-diplomats. They want a description of the way in which the employee has gone above and beyond the call of duty.

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On Syria, spies and Saudi Arabia

By George Abraham

Canada welcome in Lebanon

Syria's exit from Lebanon may provide Canada with the opening it has been seeking in the Middle East. Even before Damascus confirmed its military pullout, a Maine newspaper suggested that Canadian peacekeepers should fill the vacuum in Lebanon. The Syrian ambassador in Ottawa, Jamil Haidar Sakr, backs the idea. "The role of Canada is accepted and rather welcomed in view of its neutrality within the framework of the UN," Mr. Sakr said. Such a move could also give Canada a higher profile in the Arab-Israeli peace talks, he added.

Foreign Affairs spokeswoman Marie-Christine Lilkoff said a Canadian presence in Lebanon is speculative since neither Lebanon nor Syria has called for an international force. The possibility of civil war – a constant in Lebanon's recent history – can change minds rather quickly.

No spying in Ottawa, please

A counsellor posted in Ottawa in the mid-1980s may have caused mandarins at Foreign Affairs to take a closer look at the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961). In the days following the 'not guilty' verdict handed down in the Air-India bombing case, Maloy Krishna Dhar, was quoted in Canadian newspapers as saying that his four-year stint at the Indian High Commission included "clandestine intelligence gathering," mainly against suspected Sikh extremists.

Article 41(1) of the Vienna Convention requires diplomats to "respect the laws and regulations of the receiving State. They also have a duty not to interfere in the internal affairs of that State." Article 9(1) gives host nations the discretion to declare diplomats *persona non grata*.

While refusing to discuss Mr. Dhar's action specifically, Foreign Affairs spokesman Rodney Moore says Canada has rarely exercised this provision. A "small minority," does occasionally break the rules, including impaired driving, Mr. Moore said, adding that these are mostly resolved through consultations with individual missions.

Saudi looks east

Saudi Arabia has been on a charm offensive for some time now, long enough to give Karen Hughes, the new U.S. under-secretary of state for public diplomacy, some advice on image makeovers. "The recent appointment of a high-ranking American official for public diplomacy is an admission by the U.S. government that it is aware of the existence of an American image problem in the Arab and Muslim world," says Mohammed R. Al-Hussaini, Saudi ambassador in Ottawa.

Ms. Hughes should also be consulting Adel al-Jubeir, Saudi Arabia's communicator par excellence. Mr. al-Jubeir himself earned his spurs many years ago when he served at his nation's Washington embassy, but has since come to represent the embattled nation's face and voice to the world. Part of his job has been to correct the impression, especially among Americans, that Saudi society breeds terrorists.

But there are those who feel that Riyadh and Washington are headed for a break-up anyway. Vincent Lauerman, an analyst at the Canadian Energy Research Institute in Calgary, believes Saudi Arabia is looking for a new security guarantor and is courting China. "Yes, Saudi Arabia was on a PR offensive until last summer. . . . But they found that there was no way of swaying certain elements in the Bush administration." Saudi Arabia would prefer China because there are "no strings attached."

Nigeria's pitch

Nigerian lawmakers recently tried to stop their government from repaying foreign loans, arguing that major donors have an obligation to ensure that assistance goes to democratic governments, not military regimes. Although Canada is not a creditor to Nigeria, David Gamble, spokesman for the Department of Finance, says Ottawa will nonetheless support debt relief just as it agreed last November to forgive 80 per cent of Iraq's \$700 million outstanding to the Wheat Board. Nigeria's current external debt – the highest in Africa – stands at \$33.5 billion (U.S.).

George Abraham, a Nieman scholar, is a contributing editor to *Diplomat*. (georgeabraham@rogers.com).



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New Heads of Mission

Lu Shumin
 Ambassador of China



Mr. Lu's appointment to Canada is his second ambassadorial posting – and his second posting to Canada. The Shanxi province native was China's ambassador to Indonesia for three years before coming here.

Born in 1950, Mr. Lu went to university in China before joining the foreign service in 1976. He first served in the foreign ministry's department of North American and Oceanian Affairs but was sent to Canada a year later. He stayed for two years before returning home to the Beijing Diplomatic Personnel Services Bureau. Subsequent foreign postings included Australia and the United States where he served as minister counsellor from 1994 to 1998.

Mr. Lu is married and has one daughter.

William Fisher
 High Commissioner for Australia



Mr. Fisher is a career diplomat and comes to his Canadian posting on the heels of a term as Australia's Ambassador to France.

His Canadian and French postings will no doubt seem tame compared to his other head-of-mission positions such as ambassador to Israel (1990-93) and chargé d'affaires in Tehran (1982-83). He's also had postings in Thailand, Honolulu, Port

Villa and Noumea.

At the foreign ministry in Australia, he served in the public affairs division, the consular programs and security division, the international organizations and the legal division. He also held senior positions in the Americas and Europe division and South Pacific section.

Born in Canberra in 1946, Mr. Fisher studied at Australia National University. He is married and has one daughter.

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Soo Gwon Kim
 Counsellor, Republic of Korea

Yung Suh Park
 Second Secretary, Republic of Korea

Kyaw Tin U
 Counsellor/Chargé d'Affaires, Myanmar

Saqlain Asad
 First Secretary, Pakistan

Pedro Buitrón
 Minister/Chargé d'Affaires, Peru

Dora Monika Fitzli
 Counsellor, Switzerland

Edward David Jacobson
 First Secretary, United States

Lubasi Nyambe
 First Secretary, Zambia

Of irrelevant foreign policy reviews and inane cocktail parties

Ontario Lieut.-Gov. James Bartleman has just published *Rollercoaster*, a second memoir, this time on his years as diplomatic advisor to former prime minister Jean Chrétien. *Diplomat* sat down with him for a frank (read: non-diplomatic) chat.

Diplomat Magazine: You were with Jean Chrétien when the last foreign policy review was done. Do you think foreign policy reviews are actually useful?

James Bartleman: I think, to some extent, they are really irrelevant to the establishment of what the priorities are. It took a year in 1994 and it's been the same thing now. If you're in government for a year, you've been running a foreign policy all that time. So, the only value of these reviews, as far as I can see, is to engage the public in a consultation process. Otherwise, I don't see that they have any great value whatsoever. Foreign policy review or not, it's just as important that people use common sense as opposed to coming up with fancy schemes. Foreign policy reviews are overrated. Countries have basic interests and you use common sense in promoting your basic interests (to defend the foreign policy interests of the state, to ensure the economic well-being of the country and to project its values internationally.)

DM: Should Canada have an aboriginal as the next governor general, as some suggest the prime minister is considering?

JB: I think the personal qualities of a person far outweigh their ethnic origins, but having said that, maybe it's time we had a black Canadian, or an aboriginal, or someone reflecting the multicultural reality which Canada has become. I represent Ontario and I live in the Greater Toronto Area, where 50 per cent of the population was born outside the country. It's a really powerful economic force within the country. It would be entirely appropriate if leaders reflected the diverse nature of our country. But they should speak English and French.

DM: Should Kofi Annan resign?

JB: He was a highly capable bureaucrat within the United Nations system. He's had a difficult mandate, which is coming to an end anyway. No – I don't think he should resign.

DM: In order to stay slim, what has been your strategy when you were attending endless cocktail parties as a diplomat and now as lieutenant governor?

JB: In my current job, I have the great advantage that I only have to go to the last five minutes of cocktail parties, which precede substantive events like speeches and art exhibits so I have no problems. It is a world that's completely different from the inane diplomatic cocktail circuit that I was exposed to for many years.

DM: And what did you do then?

JB: Be courteous to your host. If they had attracted any members of the government or senior officials and you had business, you would slip over, do your business and then slip out the back door. The best strategy was never to eat at cocktail parties.

DM: (In your latest book), your description of Brian Tobin was biting. Would he speak to you if you ran into him?

JB: I don't see Brian Tobin. I'm sure that he would find it amusing.

DM: So he has a sense of humour?

JB: I haven't seen it but I'm sure he has. He was always too busy yelling at me to show his sense of humour.

DM: Does Jean Chrétien get enough credit for his foreign policy?

JB: It was an active period. It was a period of opening to Latin America, to Asia. It was a period of managing some big crisis files, like getting our troops out of Yugoslavia, managing the fish war with Spain without bloodshed, like becoming involved in a rescue operation in Eastern Zaire. . . It was a period when a lot was accomplished in terms of files such as anti-personnel landmines and climate change. The book speaks for itself and points out the mistakes as well as the accomplishments and I understand it's now required reading at the University of Toronto's political science section.

James Bartleman's second book, Rollercoaster, is published by McClelland & Stewart Ltd. It sells for \$37.99 and proceeds go Mr. Bartleman's aboriginal literacy project in the North.



JANA CHYTILOVA

Norway's gutsy fight for independence

By Ingvard Havnen

Norway is an old nation but a young modern state.

Until the end of the Viking era, the country was divided into several small kingdoms, and regional kings fought for the throne. By 1060, the unifying process was complete. From the 1300s onward, Norway was continuously in unions with its neighbouring Scandinavian countries. The last union, with Sweden, ended one hundred years ago and we are celebrating our centenary as an independent country.

While Norway was one of the poorest countries in Europe in 1905, it has rapidly developed and modernized. Today, the United Nations lists it as the best place in the world in which to live.

The union with Sweden began in 1814, as the Napoleonic wars ended and the Peace of Kiel obliged Denmark to hand the kingdom it controlled along the North Atlantic Coast over to the King of Sweden. The Norwegians refused to accept the legality of the treaty, and an elected assembly adopted a new liberal constitution for Norway on May 17, 1814. The Swedes recognized the Norwegian constitution, which provided Norway with much independence.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the relationship between Norway and Sweden became increasingly strained. Nationalistic tendencies were emerging.

The period is often termed "Norway's golden age" of literature, art and music. Some of Norway's most distinguished artists emerged, including playwright Henrik Ibsen, composer Edvard Grieg and painter Edvard Munch. The achievements of Norwegian explorers in the polar areas sparked nationalism. Roald Amundsen was the first to sail through the Northwest Passage, and later to reach the South Pole. Fridtjof Nansen crossed the Greenland icecap from east to west. Around the same time, Otto Sverdrup conducted various expeditions in which he mapped large parts of the Canadian Arctic.

Dissolution of the Union: A Swedish demand that the union's foreign minister must be Swedish, and the Norwegians' demand for their own consular service triggered the final conflict between the

two countries. In May 1905 the Norwegian Parliament, the "Storting", passed a bill that established a Norwegian consular service. King Oscar II vetoed the bill but Norwegian cabinet members refused to countersign the veto and handed in their resignations. Norwegian Prime Minister Christian Michelsen reasoned that because Swedish King Oscar II exercised authority over Norway through the government, he lost his

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power when the government resigned. Therefore he was no longer King and the union had ceased to exist.

"A Norwegian Revolution": The declaration by the Norwegian Parliament was viewed in Sweden as a revolution. Swedish politicians and the press reacted violently. Eventually, the Swedish Parliament concluded that it, in principle, could accept the breakup of the union, but not based on the action taken by the Norwegian Parliament. The Norwegians would have to hold a national plebiscite, and then negotiate the conditions for the dissolution of the union. A total of 368,392 Norwegians voted to end the union, while only 184 voted against. Although women did not have the right to vote, about 250,000 Norwegian women signed a petition that supported the breakup.

Friendly neighbours: The bonds between Norway and Sweden remained strained for some years but today the relationship is close, and filled with friendly rivalry. The states have a lot in common and cooperate closely. As neighbours in the North, with similar languages, and an intertwined history, Norway and Sweden share a similar world outlook. Both countries have maintained a social democratic model of society and a strong welfare system. Norway and Sweden are each other's largest trading partners. Although the two countries have chosen somewhat different foreign policy orientations – Sweden is a EU member, and Norway's not; Norway's a NATO member, and Sweden is not – foreign policy co-operation is still extensive. The two countries work closely together in the United Nations, the Arctic Council and the Nordic Council.

A line can be drawn from the Karlstad agreement in 1905 and the experience with peaceful conflict resolution, to Norway and Sweden's engagement to promote peace and development around the world today. In the last decade Norway has been involved in peace mediation in countries including Sri Lanka, Sudan, the Middle East and Indonesia. History has taught us that small nations can secure peace, by promoting co-operation between nations and the rule of international law.

The Centennial Anniversary: The end of the union in 1905 was an international event. Norway was acknowledged by other nations, and gained a voice of its own. That year also marked the start of the Norwegian foreign service. The centennial celebrations highlight modern Norway and Norway's relations with other countries. In Canada, there are today more than 350,000 people of Norwegian descent. Most Norwegians who came in the 1800s settled in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Events are therefore planned with these two provinces, as they also celebrate their centennial anniversaries in 2005. Visit www.emb-norway.ca for information on events taking place in Canada.

Ingvard Havnen is Ambassador of Norway.



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Diplo-Dates

April 28-May 10

Alberta Scene is presented by the National Arts Centre, showcasing hundreds of established and emerging Alberta artists who will be performing at more than 95 events across the National Capital Region. Visit www.albertascene.ca for tickets and information.

May 3

Poland's National Day



May 5 -23

Canadian Tulip Festival: The 2005 edition of the Canadian Tulip Festival commemorates the 60th anniversary of the end of Second World War and the gift of tulips to Canadians with the theme "A Celebration of

Peace and Friendship." Visit www.tulipfestival.ca or call the Tulip Hotline: 1-800-66-TULIP or (613) 567-4447.

May 6

Watercan's Embassy dinner

May 7

Israel's National Day

May 9

European Union's Schuman Day

May 13

Brazilian Jazz, Canadian Accent II is a concert presented by the Embassy of Brazil at Library and Archives Canada. Admission is free. For information, visit www.brasembottawa.org or call (613) 237-1090, ext. 176.

May 15

Paraguay's Independence Day

May 17

Norway's Constitution Day

May 20

Cameroon's National Day

May 22

Yemen's National Day

May 24

Eritrea's Independence Day

May 25

Jordan's National Day

May 25

Argentina's May Revolution

May 27

Third party conflict resolution training for diplomats is being offered by The Canadian Institute for Conflict Resolution.

The five-day course begins today. For information, visit www.cicr-icrc.ca or contact Dominique Guindon, at (613) 235-5800.

May 27-29



National Capital Race Weekend has become an international must for running enthusiasts. This year's Race Weekend will offer nine races, including the ING Ottawa Marathon and the MDS Nordion 10K. Visit www.ncm.ca for all the details.

May 28

Ethiopia's Downfall of the Dergue

June 1

Samoa's Independence Day

June 2

Italy's Anniversary of the Foundation of the Republic

June 4

Tonga's Independence Day

June 6

Sweden's National Day

June 10

Portugal's National Day

June 12

Philippines' National Day

June 12

Russia's National Day

June 13

United Kingdom's Her Majesty the Queen's Birthday

June 17

Iceland's Proclamation of the Republic

June18

Organization of Eastern Caribbean States' OECS Day

June 23

Luxembourg's Official Celebration of the Birthday of His Royal Highness Grand Duke Henri

June 23 – July 3

Ottawa International Jazz Festival: Jazz fans can visit www.ottawajazzfestival.com for information.

June 25

Croatia's National Day
Slovenia's National Day
Mozambique's Independence Day

June 26

Madagascar's Independence Day

June 30

Congo's Democratic Republic Independence Day

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NORTHERN PULL

the fragile North versus
the Northern frontier

DIPLOMAT EXAMINES THE ISSUES
FACING CIRCUMPOLAR COUNTRIES
THROUGH THE EYES OF JACK ANAWAK,
CANADA'S AMBASSADOR FOR
CIRCUMPOLAR AFFAIRS, EXPERTS
AT THE ARCTIC UNIVERSITY AND
NORTHERN CHAMPION GOVERNOR
GENERAL ADRIENNE CLARKSON

WEB EXCLUSIVE Read retired Canadian diplomat Larry Dickenson's high Arctic adventure travel log. Learn all the details of last year's Northern Tour from Chief of Protocol, Robert Collette. See the observations about the tour from heads of mission who went last year. Find it all on our new website. See www.diplomatonline.com

Making the North Real

As Canada's governor general, **Adrienne Clarkson** and her husband John Ralston Saul have been outspoken advocates for the North. Here, in her own words – excerpted from just some of the many speeches she has given on this subject – are some of Madame Clarkson's thoughts on the North.

On the occasion of the Third Northern Research Forum Open Meeting

Yellowknife, September 15, 2004

Often, when we speak of the North, we tend to focus on its fragility. We turn our attention to the ways in which exploration and development have endangered, and still profoundly affect, the culture and survival of the aboriginal inhabitants. We know, of course, that the Arctic and the Antarctic have acted as the "canary in a coalmine", as changes in the ozone layer or in the thickness of glaciers have warned us about the effects of manmade change on the world's climate. Even where the human footprint has often been small, it has been extremely heavy, and degradation shows dramatically.

For Canadians, the North has a compelling and mythical pull. However, relatively few people actually get to the North and certainly very few beyond the Arctic Circle. I have taken it as one of my duties, as Governor General, to point out how important the North is to us, in practical terms but also as it informs our national imagination. We strongly feel the spaciousness of our country as it stretches right to the North Pole, past the tundra and the ice flows, through the ocean, all the way to that magic magnet. We are learning to look beyond it to our circumpolar neighbours.

Among northern nations, we face a challenge that may be unique. Canada has always been a nation of immigrants, initially Europeans who came to settle, mostly in our southern reaches, among the aboriginal peoples who had long been here. In the last 40 years, Canada has opened itself to immigration from Asia, from Africa, from the whole world. As much as these prospective citizens admire our country, they have little acquaintance with the North,

with the vast wilderness areas of Canada. This is part of our challenge: communicating the reality of Canada to over 200,000 immigrants per year...In common with their fellow citizens, who may have been here for generations, their idea of Canada becomes a greater thing if we can capture their imaginations with an



SGT. ERIC JOUIN, BIDEAU HALL

understanding of our northern dimension. Then they will know better what Canada means, and why we sing of "the true North strong and free".

Northern people are different; northern people have a distinct perspective. This is something that we can give to the world....you have to understand that behind it all is a leap of the imagination, which Canadians share with our northern

neighbours. We need to understand and emphasize this with our children and grandchildren. The pull toward technology and commerce in the south is enormous; the tendency to ignore or downgrade what is "up here" is strong. A great part of our task is to make the North more real, more compelling, for national populations that often understand it in only the vaguest of ways.

Address at the Stefánsson Memorial Lecture

Akureyri, Iceland, October 13, 2003

We must do away with the idea of the North as a frontier and a barrier and something that must be crossed, penetrated, overcome, managed or subdued. We have to finish with that logic which leads to the marginalization of the North and our pushing of the North to the periphery of our imaginations. As Dr. Jim McDonald, the anthropologist from the University of Northern British Columbia, and Arthur Erickson, our pre-eminent architect...have said, we must live by latitude and be joined to the people who are on the same latitude as we are.

This east-west pull along the latitudes should be compelling for us as circumpolar people. ... We have explored with indigenous peoples of Russia and Finland and with environmentalists,

artists, architects and educators of these countries the possibility that we can stretch our imaginations beyond the limitations that we have had for so long. Limitations imposed by a cavalier and, at times, contemptuous attitude of some towards the north and its meaning.

The need for revised and refreshed thinking is apparent. For instance, while remaining people of northern latitudes,

we in Canada have developed a fine wine industry in our southernmost areas in Niagara Peninsula and in microclimates in the Okanagan area of British Columbia. The Finns and the Icelanders can grow hay at their latitudes because of the effects of the Gulf Stream. So our countries are northern in different ways. Nevertheless, we share the North. We all end up in the Arctic. As Karen Kraft-Sloan, a member of [Canadian parliament], puts it, the Arctic is our neighbourhood.

There are other realities that we are encountering as northern countries. We know that there is the phenomenon of climate change that is starting to deeply affect the north. We know that there are natural resources in the North – gas, oil, precious gems like diamonds – that are becoming more and more accessible to industry. And we know that our indigenous peoples have had their traditional ways of life uprooted by the changes that are occurring in the North.

So we have to take seriously what [the explorer] Vílthjalmur Stefánsson knew nearly a hundred years ago – that the North needs not only to be respected, but also to be a part of our total imagination as people.

On the occasion of a doctor honoris causa from St. Petersburg State Mining Institute
St. Petersburg, September 30, 2003

We have come to you to discuss what the North means to both our countries because we share that North with you and Russia accounts for 55 per cent of the land and 80 per cent of the population of the circumpolar North. Of the 11 cities of over 200,000 inhabitants north of 60, 10 are in Russia. This we Canadians are learning.

We feel that we have been very shaped by our North even if a relatively small percentage of our population gets to visit or live there. That's what we want to know about you – how you've been shaped by these human and physical facts. And that is why it is a good thing to think of the North – as our poet, Pierre Morency says – “not on a compass but in us.” It is a good thing to think about the North when one is in St. Petersburg looking out towards the West.

I believe in the dream of nature and the North in our Canadian psyche. Our ‘vision of the imagination’ includes our North, even if we have never gone there. We know the North is there, just above our heads on the map, but in our heads imaginatively. It fulfills and describes that

archetypal image which all Canadians have and which they respond to – or try to deny. But denial of the North is a form of self-contempt that is extremely puzzling and terribly depriving. We should glory in our snow and cold. It has rendered us into very hardy people who also have a sense of including and looking after others. It is what helps to give the

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Canadian spirit its life, its expression, its uniqueness. Which is why we have come to the Russian North, to explore our similarities and learn from each other.

We've returned from Salekhard, where modern and traditional ways of life interact in ways that are sometimes very similar to what we have seen in Canada. The North is not a place to be preserved and insulated from the rest of society and from modernity, as a kind of ethnographic or anthropological museum. There is wealth in natural resources in the North, much of which lies in the ground and must be extracted to be of industrial use. This you know so well at this Institute, the repository of so much expertise and knowledge of the physical makeup of Russia, especially the North, and of what lies beneath its soil and its waters.

Yet it seems desirable for the future of our societies and of generations to follow us that we cannot, nor should not, be indifferent to the lives and welfare of indigenous peoples and the health of the natural habitat in the North. Canadians and Russians are both blessed with lands

that are simply irreproducible in beauty and life, and it would be to our enduring shame if we despoiled this wantonly.

And doubly so if we today have increasingly the technology available to reduce and control the negative impact of large-scale industrial and extractive activities on the land and on its traditional uses. It's certainly within our imagination – and within our reach – to practice a form of economic and social intervention in the North that involves the participation of the indigenous peoples – who, after all, have much more experience and knowledge of preserving and sustaining their habitat.

This, to me, is the new humanism of the North – the dove-tailing of our vision of the future with the possibilities that technology can offer.

Closing address for the Northwest Territories Symposium

Yellowknife, June 19, 2002

When I was going to public school in the 40s and 50s, we studied about native people. We made wigwams out of wax paper and painted them. We gathered cedar from our cottages and put them inside the wigwams as mattresses. And we looked at examples of beading. We were taken to the Museum of Man in Ottawa to look at beading and skins and quill work. But we never met a native person. The underlying assumption was that this was all historical and in the past. That somehow the people who lived this way and made these things didn't exist anymore. For myself, I can say that I didn't meet or know an aboriginal person until I went to university and met Guy Brant of the Six Nations. I was 18 by then.

So that was the kind of atmosphere which perpetuated the idea that the North was an empty land. That it was waiting for exploitation from the south and an infusion of capital. That all of this was good for the North and good for the country. What we didn't realize then as we should have was that, as the French writer, André Sigfried, said: “Many countries – and they are to be envied – possess in one direction or another a window which opens out on to the infinite, on to the potential future. ... The North is always there like a presence, it is the background of the picture, without which Canada could not be Canadian.” That is something that we must never forget.

Adrienne Clarkson is governor general of Canada.

Ignore the North at Your Peril

By Greg Poelzer and Heather Exner

For most of the 20th century, the circumpolar North was viewed not as a region but as a critical military space, and international co-operation across the region was viewed as either unnecessary or unfeasible. Little thought was given to the people who inhabited the North or the importance and fragility of the circumpolar environment.

The end of the Cold War, however, facilitated a new era for the circumpolar North. During the Russian period of glasnost and perestroika, as the relationship between East and West warmed, President Mikhail Gorbachev laid out a program for co-operation in a speech in Murmansk in 1987, pledging his “profound and certain interest in preventing the North of the planet, its polar and sub-polar regions, and all Northern countries from ever again becoming an arena of war.”

Gorbachev’s speech was a harbinger of remarkable changes in the way the circumpolar nations [Canada, Denmark (Greenland), Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the United States (Alaska)] viewed their northern expanses and the way they cooperated with each other to achieve common goals in protecting and preserving Arctic peoples and lands, thus building a circumpolar region.

The circumpolar nations’ first formal measure was the *Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy* (AEPS) of 1991, manifested in the Rovaniemi Declaration. The AEPS led to environmental protection co-operation, and Canada later led the establishment of the Arctic Council.

These developments provoked serious reflection by the Canadian government about its own northern foreign policy. Following a series of consultations, discussions and forums driven by Lloyd Axworthy, Canada formally initiated the *Northern Dimension of Foreign Policy* (NDFP), now in its fifth year. Its objectives include enhancing security and prosperity, ensuring Canada’s sovereignty in the North and promoting the human security of northerners and the sustainable development of the Arctic.

As part of these wider objectives, one of the priority areas of the NDFP is to help es-

tablish a University of the Arctic.

The University of the Arctic is an international network of universities, colleges, research institutes and indigenous organizations from the eight Arctic states. Financed primarily by state funds, UArctic was officially established in 2001, and counts many priorities, including building research and graduate networks, facilitating student exchanges, and providing undergraduate programming, while consistently incorporating indigenous knowledge and respecting northern community needs and desires in its activities.

Human security and sustainable development for northern communities is a critical goal of government policy. This is not only essential for the future of northern communities, but also for Canada’s claim to sovereignty in the Arctic, a goal that should be of interest to all Canadians.

Enhancing the human capacity of northern communities is key to long term human security and sustainable development. Education is the tool to make that happen. Canada has three vibrant colleges in the Arctic that, admirably and with limited resources, provide critical educational opportunities to the residents they serve. However, in contrast with the other seven circumpolar nations, Canada does not have a university north of 55°.

It is no accident that among UArctic’s six international offices, Foreign Affairs Canada funds the office of undergraduate studies located at the U of S campus in Saskatoon, which manages delivery of the Circumpolar Studies undergraduate program. UArctic, as a consortium of university, colleges, and indigenous organizations, will provide a unique vehicle for students who live in the North to complete university degrees without leaving home. Although in its infancy, UArctic has had more than 600 course enrolments in its Circumpolar Studies program, with students coming from regions including Nunavut, Yukon, northern British Columbia, Greenland, Russia, Finland, Norway and Iceland.

This increased access to university education means there will be more northern

residents with post-secondary education able to participate effectively in building government capacity, managing land claims, and overseeing resource management. Moreover, the educational capacity of northern institutions is also increasing through UArctic membership, as 85 per cent of Circumpolar Studies papers have been written by scholars resident in the North, and more than 20 per cent of the curriculum has been written by indigenous scholars from the circumpolar North—a feat unparalleled by virtually any other post-secondary institution in Canada.

UArctic also serves to build a circumpolar region and strengthen circumpolar co-operation. While the network of more than 70 institutions and organizations has clearly enhanced circumpolar relations among educational institutions, UArctic has done much more than that.

UArctic’s North2North student exchange program has had approximately 180 students participate — a huge number for this region of the world. The future contacts and networks that these students will build will enhance understanding and cooperation on a scale unprecedented in the history of the circumpolar North.

A strong North means a strong Canada. The eight Arctic states recognize that circumpolar cooperation and nation-building go hand in hand. In December 2004, the federal and territorial governments announced the development of the first-ever comprehensive strategy for the North. As it articulates the new *Northern Strategy*, Canada can no longer afford to ignore either the economic and strategic importance of the North or the pressing social and environmental challenges of the region. Human security and capacity are vital to meeting these challenges. The University of the Arctic, as a dimension of Canada’s Northern foreign and domestic policies, has an integral role to play in ensuring a prosperous future.

Greg Poelzer is dean of undergraduate studies and Heather Exner, is program assistant in the office of undergraduate studies at the University of the Arctic.

Building Circumpolar Bridges

Economic, social and environmental challenges abound as Canada looks up, and ahead

By Jack Anawak

The Government of Canada recently announced it will work with northerners and northern government partners to develop a comprehensive strategy for the North. The *Northern Strategy* articulates a number of principles, most notably to “develop a common long-term vision for the North and to jointly identify the actions and initiatives needed to achieve this vision.”

At first glance, this development may seem out of place in the international context. Not so, however, as integral to the strategy are seven goals and objectives that have an important international dimension. These are in addition to the specific aims of reinforcing sovereignty, national security and circumpolar cooperation—goals in which Foreign Affairs Canada has a principal role.

The impacts of globalization have a direct effect on all Canadians and we recognise that we must make the necessary links between what we do domestically and what we do internationally in order to ensure our own security and prosperity. With respect to the North, we have made this link through *The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy*. Our objectives in carrying out this policy include: enhancing the security and prosperity of Canadians, especially northerners and aboriginal peoples; ensuring the preservation of Canada's sovereignty in the North; establishing the circumpolar region as a vibrant entity within the international system; and, promoting the sustainable development of the Arctic. It is clear that these objectives fit nicely with those articulated by the *Northern Strategy* and as such, The Northern Dimension of Canada's Foreign Policy will be the primary means by which Foreign Affairs Canada plays a substantive role.

A further expression of this link between domestic and international initiatives is Canada's direct role in the establishment of the Arctic Council. This body, has contributed to better relations with our circumpolar neighbours on northern issues of common concern.



Jack Anawak, wearing his traditional seal vest, says the Canadian government has a strategy to reinforce sovereignty, improve national security and increase circumpolar cooperation in Canada's North.

Canada's support for the inclusion on the council as “permanent participants” six circumpolar northern aboriginal organizations indicates our commitment to ensuring those most directly affected by national and international policies are involved in the policy decision-making process.

The council has also initiated substantial work on specific issues. At last November's meeting of Arctic Council ministers, the council released a number of reports and studies including *the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment*, *the Arctic Human Development Report* and *the Arctic Marine Strategic Plan*.

The *Arctic Climate Impact Assessment* sets out scientific findings and policy initiatives on how to combat the effects of climate change on the circumpolar Arctic. Together, these lay down of challenges that require new ways of thinking and creative approaches and, most of all, cooperation, to address them properly.

In addition to our work in multilateral fora, we continue to pursue the important bilateral relationships we have fostered with our neighbours. Canada and Russia

recently agreed that reconstituting the Arctic and north working group of the Intergovernmental Economic Commission would be a good place to continue building our northern relationship. This working group, which comprises business, NGOs, federal and provincial governments, and most importantly northerners, will work to bring the issues to a forum to move the yard sticks along.

Our relationship with EU member states also holds considerable promise particularly as their northern dimension evolves over the coming year and a half, culminating with Finland's presidency of the European Union in the second half of 2006. It is anticipated that a long-term vision for the EU's activities in the Arctic and North will be a priority. It is in Canada's interest to promote this vision strongly, in the context of the northern dimension of our relations with the EU and its member states.

The upcoming International Polar Year in 2007-2008 is a great opportunity to highlight progress in both physical and social science knowledge across the circumpolar North and develop new partnerships to further this knowledge. Canada is particularly interested in promoting the social, cultural and human health dimension of Arctic research and actions to enhance the quality of life of northerners.

There is a great deal of work ahead as we deal with the serious economic, environmental and social impacts – both threats and opportunities. Foreign Affairs Canada has a vital role to play, within and beyond the Arctic Council, to promote cooperation among circumpolar states and peoples. We are guided by important principles: meeting our commitments and taking a leadership role; establishing partnerships within and beyond government; and maintaining ongoing dialogue, with all Canadians, but especially northerners.

Jack Anawak is Canada's Ambassador for Circumpolar Affairs.

We Mustn't Forget the North

Northern affairs deserve more space on the national stage

By Andy Scott

For many Canadians, the North is a source of profound fascination. Generations have been captivated by its stark beauty, expansive spaces, and the strength of its people and their traditions. As a result, to this day, the region is often viewed and interpreted through a romanticized lens. As geographer Louis-Edmond Hamelin once noted, "The North is more than an area, it is a passion."

Despite this fascination, however, for far too long northern issues have been misunderstood, or worse neglected, by the national polity. There can be no doubt that Canada's Arctic region is an area of vast opportunity. Yet northern affairs and the ambitions of northerners have rarely occupied a role on the national stage commensurate with the growing contribution they make to our federation. This must change.

To that end, the prime minister joined with the territorial first ministers in December to announce their intention to develop a comprehensive strategy for the economic and social development of Canada's Arctic region. The time has come to work together to build a coherent, reasoned and realistic vision of what the North is and what it aspires to be – a vision that identifies and acknowledges the obstacles to progress and prosperity, and systematically find ways to overcome them.

This *Northern Strategy* is to be broad-based and holistic, addressing issues as diverse as economic development, security and the preservation of culture. It will articulate clear principles, but it will equally be rooted in concrete action. Northerners do not need abstractions, they need to see their governments working together to achieve tangible results in the areas that affect their lives. Of course, such a strategy must be the product of broad and varied consultation. It must reflect the views and wishes of northerners from all walks of life. This consultation process is underway.

Canada is not alone, however, as a



NORTHERN AFFAIRS AND THE AMBITIONS OF NORTHERNERS HAVE RARELY OCCUPIED A ROLE ON THE NATIONAL STAGE COMMENSURATE WITH THE GROWING CONTRIBUTION THEY MAKE TO OUR FEDERATION.

steward of the Arctic lands and seas. The *Northern Strategy* must also explicitly recognize the importance of circumpolar cooperation as a mechanism to promote common prosperity and security. Working in isolation will not enable us to reach our goals. Many of the challenges facing northern residents, such as pollution and transformative effects of global warming, are not issues that any member of the community of nations can address alone. All partners must be engaged to achieve the protection and stewardship of the North's unique and fragile ecosystem. Development in the region has to be responsible, sustainable and responsive to the needs all over, not just today, but into the future. This is why the promotion of sustainable development is one of our overarching commitments to the circumpolar world.

The Arctic identity provides us a special kinship and affinity. Efforts have been underway for some time with our cir-

cumpolar partners to build on this foundation for cooperation. Our commitment in this respect finds clear and eloquent articulation in the northern dimension of Canada's foreign policy and in our leadership on bodies such as the Arctic Council. The council, which Canada is proud to have helped establish in 1996, provides a critical voice for the interests of the North – a voice that must continue to be supported and strengthened.

Beyond our participation in international fora, Canada also works bilaterally on issues of common economic, social and environmental concern. Like all circumpolar nations, we recognize the profound importance that a stable and prosperous Russia has on the region. For this reason, we will continue to nurture the special relationship between our two countries, collaborating on issues such as environmental protection and economic development. We will also provide support for indigenous people in the Russian Arctic.

In many respects the future of the Arctic will belong to those who know the Arctic best – those who have a solid grasp of northern science and technology, as well as a clear understanding and respect for traditional knowledge. Through support for northern science and international initiatives, such as the University of the Arctic and International Polar Year (2007), we will continue to promote the learning, skills development and basic research that is often the prerequisite for sustainable economic and social development.

At the turn of the century, Sir Wilfrid Laurier optimistically predicted that the 20th century would belong to Canada. As we look at the horizon and the opportunities that lie ahead, it is not far-fetched to suggest that the 21st may belong to the North. I am confident that the *Northern Strategy* will help to bring this to fruition.

Andy Scott is Canada's minister of Indian affairs and northern development.

Lost in the Canadian Arctic

Where are the Prime Minister and Andy Scott?

By Jim Prentice

The 1847 disappearance of Sir John Franklin and his Arctic expedition marks a mysterious and confusing chapter in the history of Canada's north. Curiously, 154 years later, Canada's prime minister and his boatman, Andy Scott, minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, seem no less lost – at least with respect to their public policy bearings.

I begin with the observation that the mythology of the North captivates Canadians. The Arctic speaks to who we are, or more properly put, to who we think we are – rugged Canadians, stewards of the North, benevolent guardians of its people, protectors of its fragile environment and ultimately, the vigilant wardens standing over its sovereignty.

The truth is somewhat different. Since 1869, when Canada purchased the Hudson's Bay Company and passed a statute aptly called *An Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land*, our efforts towards in the North have been temporary and uncertain at best. Indeed, the only politician since Sir John A. MacDonal, who grasped the spiritual importance of the North was John Diefenbaker. Regrettably, his "northern vision" lacked substance. Other initiatives, such as Perrin Beatty's 1980s proposal for military enhancements including nuclear submarines to patrol the North, have been halting, intermittent and partial.

Since 2003, I have spoken often and passionately about the need for a northern vision. I too am captive to the romance of the North. I listened with anticipation to the 2004 Throne Speech which promised to develop the "first ever comprehensive strategy for the North." A bold promise I agree, but regrettably, a Liberal expedition that is still seriously adrift.

The critical issues involve five areas:

- the need to assert Canadian sovereignty;
- the need to delegate governance and arrange revenue sharing so northerners control their own futures;
- the need to simplify the federal author-



THE GOVERNMENT SAYS IT'S COMMITTED TO REFORMING THE REGULATORY MORASS WHICH IT HAS ITSELF CREATED. THIS IS DISINGENUOUS.

ity that threatens economic development in the North;

- the need for an effective environmental plan, balancing ecological protection with economic prosperity;
- the need to ensure that Canadians who live in the 96 northern communities have access to comparable standards of health, education and economic opportunity.

The Liberal government has applied neither courage, nor vision, to achieving these objectives. Consider the evidence.

The government has spoken of "national efforts to reinforce sovereignty" but has been tepid in addressing any of the following:

- Denmark's challenge to Hans Island
- the Yukon maritime boundary dispute with the U.S.
- the continental shelf issue
- Canada's sovereignty over the Northwest Passage

In fact, the *Northern Strategy* document mentions only the last of these challenges.

The government says it's committed to reforming the regulatory morass which it

has itself created. This is disingenuous. In the past year, Minister Scott's department has been savaged by the Auditor General and the independent Smart Regulation Auditor. Both have identified the federal regulatory "spider's web" as a significant barrier to economic progress for aboriginal and non-aboriginal northerners. And yet, the *Northern Strategy* addresses none of the auditors' recommendations.

The situation with governance is more confused than ever. The Auditor General has criticized the government's failure to adequately fund and implement comprehensive land claim settlements it had negotiated in the north.

Meaningful revenue sharing is also stalled. For example, the government of the Northwest Territories would today receive a paltry four cents for every dollar of the estimated \$22 billion in government revenue flowing from a Mackenzie Valley pipeline. And the federal government promises to give northerners control over their own resources?

Canada has an opportunity to articulate a modern northern vision. Virtually all Canadians want to see this happen. Sadly, however, it will never happen under the aegis of a moribund Liberal government besieged by scandal.

In my view as a Conservative, Canadians need to act with conviction and courage. We must exercise federal jurisdictional authority in the North and assert our sovereignty to protect and advance the interests of the Canadians who live there. We must take immediate action to devolve governance and resource-sharing authority to the territorial, aboriginal and local governments of the North, and we must work with northerners to streamline the regulatory process and clarify the environmental laws necessary to protect the fragile ecosystem of this precious part of the world.

As for Prime Minister Martin and Andy Scott, well, they were last seen...

Jim Prentice is the Conservative Party's Indian Affairs and Northern Development critic

America is not Canada's Only Friend

Jennifer Welsh argues Canada can't make up to the U.S. at the expense of all other relationships.

Excerpted from Jennifer Welsh's address to the Centre for International Governance and Innovation given in Waterloo on April 5 2005. Visit www.diplomatonline.com for the full text of the speech.

Reality should drive what Canada does in its foreign policy, but what reality do I see?

First and foremost, I see power. Call the United States whatever you like – a hyperpower, a hegemon, an empire – but there is little doubt that we are living a unipolar world, particularly when measured in military terms. Yet, it is also clear that there are other emerging powers, such as China, India, and Brazil, who are already exerting their influence in ways that affect Canadians. This, ladies and gentlemen, is also reality. We need to engage with those powerhouses not just in economic ways, but also diplomatically and politically. Countries like China and India aren't just markets to tap into; they are the potential leaders of a future multilateral system. As such, we have an interest in ensuring that in the decades ahead, they are embedded into a global governance structure that continues to reflect Canadian interests and values. In addition, I see limits to U.S. power. Financially, the size of the U.S. economy still allows it to dominate global investment flows and to sustain a very large budget deficit. But the 'degrees of freedom' the U.S. has enjoyed are shrinking. Today, U.S. debt is largely in the hands of Asian central banks. It is the decisions of these institutions about U.S. reserve holdings, perhaps even more than the statements of Mr. Greenspan that will have the greatest effect on U.S. interest rates.

Politically, the same point can be made. Swiftly after 9/11, the United States demonstrated its awesome military power in Afghanistan. But could that military prowess impose the political solution that the U.S. preferred? In a recent meeting in Ottawa, the first finance minister of post-Taliban Afghanistan, Ashraf Ghani, declared that only the United Na-

tions – in the form of the Secretary General's Special Representative – could create the conditions for a political settlement. Only the UN – not the U.S. – had that legitimating power. As we saw 18 months later, the very same is true in Iraq. This, ladies and gentlemen, is also reality.

Secondly, as much as I might wish it were otherwise, I don't see a special relationship between Canada and the United States. Indeed, I daresay that this is where some of the realists might be dreaming?

Let me be clear: we have a unique and deep relationship, built on more than two centuries of close economic, security, and

**I'M SIMPLY QUESTIONING
WHETHER 'BEST FRIEND'
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personal ties. Canadians and Americans intermingle constantly, both professionally and personally, and we have built a regional economy that has outstripped all expectations in terms of trade expansion and economic growth. This is good, and something we should take greater pride in as Canadians. Canada and the U.S. can and must continue to pursue economic, security, and political cooperation where it makes sense for the citizens of both of our countries. Canada should also continue to collaborate with the U.S. globally on issues of joint concern. I say continue, because it seems to me that some Canadians overlook that collaboration, or try to argue that we have no values or interests in common with the U.S. on the international stage – something I strongly contest. Our values and priorities are not identical, and nor are our means of pursuing them. But it shouldn't be considered heresy to admit some overlap.

Does this mean we are America's best friend, or that we have a 'special relationship'? I would suggest not. This isn't a normative statement: I'm not saying anything about what we might want to have. I'm simply questioning whether 'best friend' is how the U.S. perceives and understands Canada today.

In a post-September 11th world, in which the U.S. feels under siege, its greatest priority is to secure the American people and the American way of life. The Al Q'aeda attacks, in the words of Secretary of State (Condoleezza) Rice, "crystallized America's vulnerability" and put the idea of threat – even more than power – at the forefront of the Bush Administration's foreign policy. The strategies to secure America are new; they are in many ways departing from the traditional alliances that defined our world in the past. They also involve reaching out to new "friends" around the world, who share the same assessment of the threat and have particular assets at a particularly opportune moment. Today, the U.S. is working through ad hoc coalitions – of the willing, and of the capable – rather than long-term partnerships. And, in Defense Secretary Rumsfeld's words, "the mission determines the coalition, rather than the other way around."

Rejecting the mantra of America's best friend is not to deny the very real links that exist between the U.S. and Canada. As I argued above, our economic interdependence is substantial, and growing. But it does mean that Canada should stop trying to claim, or to prove, that it is "America's best friend". The very idea is outdated, suggests John Herd, head of Duke University's Canadian Studies Program: "There isn't any special relationship between the United States and anybody, much less Canada. American policy toward Canada pretty much conforms to American policy towards other countries. It serves what the U.S. perceives is in its national interests at any particular time."

Jennifer Welsh's book, [At Home in the World](#), is published by HarperCollins.

Canada Needs U.S. Approval

Derek Burney offers his unapologetic pro-U.S. views in his 2005 Simon Reisman Lecture.

Excerpted from Derek Burney's Simon Reisman Lecture in International Trade Policy given on March 14, 2005 in Ottawa. Visit www.diplomatonline.com for the full text of the speech.

I believe from direct experience that the relevance and effectiveness of Canada in global affairs is never greater than when its views are trusted and considered by the U.S. government and when Canada is perceived by the rest of the world as having such a special relationship. That is not a position we enjoy today and, once lost, trust is not easily regained.

Be wary of nostrums on the virtues of multilateralism. Canada is staunchly in favour of all forms of multilateralism as if the process was an end in itself rather than the means to an end. We can pretend that multilateralism will offset excessive dependence on the United States but history has demonstrated that, without U.S. commitment and involvement, multilateralism has limited effect. That is why, in years past, a major foreign policy objective for Canada has been to try to keep the United States actively engaged in the multilateral system. And, no matter how powerful American military capability is, the U.S. still needs support and cooperation from its friends and allies. The need and the benefit are mutual.

At a time when the United Nations struggles for credibility, when NATO searches for new relevance and when the latest round of global trade negotiations moves at glacial speed, this underlying objective should be in the forefront. Ideas about new global processes or new structures are one thing. Ideas that help galvanize stronger consensus on major issues of concern are more certain to stimulate results.

The actual effect of any multilateral process or institution ultimately depends on the commitment and resolve of individual participants. There is no magical outcome or value from the process itself. The goal is collective will, rising above

narrow, national interest or the lowest common denominator of consensus. Not by wish fulfillment, nor by assertions of moral high-mindedness, but with less sentiment and more substance. Less pretence and more coherence.

Fundamentally, it is a choice between engagement and irrelevance; between tackling hard issues vital to our well-being or dancing on the periphery to the global tune of the day. Critics may well complain that by "getting closer" to the United States we risk being associated with policies on which we disagree and appearing to the world as having no convictions of our own. This makes for

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colourful cartoons, sloppy metaphors and easy political game-playing, but a careful examination of history would confirm that the opposite is true. We do not have to 'go along in order to get along.' Quite the contrary, by building respect through constructive engagement, we also develop a credible platform from which contrary views will receive a fair hearing. (South Africa, Star Wars, and Haiti come to mind as examples where this happened more than a decade ago.)

We have every right and good reason to be concerned about what the U.S. will do, unilaterally or otherwise, with its massive military power. But, if we hope to influence the U.S. on decisions of that kind, we need to have something sensible to say. And, if we expect to be heard, we need to be systematically engaged. It may not be popular on the home front, which is probably why it is often avoided, but popularity should not be the best meas-

ure of influence or effectiveness in foreign policy.

The luxury of our geographic proximity to the U.S. works to our advantage without much effort on our part. Would it not be better for us to seek to shape this inevitable trend in a manner more-suited to our interests and our values and in a way that enables us to make a more credible contribution to global affairs?

We value our involvement in annual G-8 summitry, as well we should, since we are clearly the smallest power at the summit table. But I suspect that this is really a mixed blessing, one that also supports the "Let's Pretend" thesis of contemporary Canadian foreign policy. It leads us to believe that we are more significant in world affairs than we really are. It gives the impression of involvement without the requirement of tangible contributions.

Team Canada trade junkets also give the illusion of focus or strategy without the benefit. They have more than outlived their limited utility and are no substitute for the analysis and negotiating effort needed to address obstacles to market access affecting Canadian exporters. (The most recent junket to Washington was certainly ill-timed.) Our objectives in trade policy need to reflect genuine Canadian aspirations and not be manufactured, like instant meals, to provide a convenient press release for a sudden prime ministerial or ministerial visit. In consultations among key trade negotiators, we have been replaced by Australia. Over the past five or six years we have initiated a flurry of free trade negotiations, but concluded none. What are our priorities and why are there no results? Regrettably, our trade policy actions have become as obscure as our foreign policy objectives. Changing the labels and rearranging the desks in this building behind separate lines of authority will not facilitate much in the way of achievement or clarity.

Derek Burney's book "Getting It Done", published by McGill-Queen's University Press, comes out in June.

Where Goes the Neighbourhood?

The "old" EU ponders new members and wannabes

By Peter Zimonjic

London

It has been one year since that cheerful day in May when Western European leaders reached out their hands to pull their poor cousins to the east aboard the Good Ship Europe. The family that had perfected the art of feuding seemed ready to sail into a bright future.

The European Union today however may seem more like a rudderless ship than a reunited family. This ship of states has endured endless debates on how to sail it. And all the while, around the gunwales, castaways have been complicating matters by trying to clamber on board.

The first of many challenges is the EU's new constitutional treaty, the document that is supposed to outline how the EU will work now that it has expanded from 15 nations to 25. While the leaders of all the 25 EU countries signed the treaty at an October ceremony in Rome, each country must ratify the treaty before it comes into full effect. For some, ratification will only require a parliamentary majority, but for others it will mean a national referendum.

Critics have claimed the treaty is too long and its language too cumbersome for a national vote. The document was intended to reduce the notorious democratic deficit between the EU and the people of Europe. The treaty's more than 500 pages of legal mumbo jumbo however have only succeeded in making the EU even more abstract than it was before.

Slovenia, Hungary and Lithuania have already ratified the document, but 22 countries remain undeclared. Spain has been the only country to hold a referendum so far. Its vote Feb. 20 secured a yes with 77 per cent supporting the treaty compared to 17 per cent against. But turnout on voting day was only 42 per cent.

In the nine countries that have yet to hold national referendums (France, Denmark, Poland, Britain, Portugal, Ireland,

The Netherlands, Luxembourg and the Czech Republic) there is the real possibility the democratic malaise will lead to a no vote, with the most likely pessimists being Britain, Denmark and France.

Days after President Jacques Chirac announced that France's referendum would be held May 29; hundreds of thou-

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sands of people took to the streets for three days of protests. The gripes were domestic in nature: postal workers, rail workers and teachers want better pay and increased resources and all want to keep the current 35-hour work week. But European observers fear a growing unpopularity with the Chirac government could sink the yes vote.

Britain, however, is where the greatest fears lie. Prime Minister Tony Blair has promised to hold a referendum after the general election, expected in early May. Should Mr. Blair remain prime minister, as is expected, he will be in his third term with his ability to sway the public greatly diminished.

There is growing domestic disappointment with Mr. Blair after the flawed intelligence that justified Britain's part in the Iraq war. This, combined with failures to reform public services, may leave Britons, perhaps the most euro-skeptic of Europeans, unwilling to trust their prime minister's word that he knows best. If even one country rejects the treaty then the whole of Europe could be thrown into a crisis that could last years.

The unanimous acceptance of the treaty is but one of the challenges facing the newly expanded union. The other centres on identity. What is a European? How far should the European Union expand? Where are its natural borders? What are its core identities? There are many answers to these questions depending on who one asks. Some suggest there is no common identity at all.

"Just as the Soviet empire tried to create a Soviet Man, so too are proponents of the EU trying to create the idea of a European Man," says Robert Oulds, who runs the euro-skeptic think tank The Bruges Group. "The idea of Europe as a unified cultural force is a fantasy dreamed up by people who want to create a counterweight to the United States."

The debate over European identity has always existed to one degree or another but now that Europe's "natural family" has been reunited and there is serious talk of letting in "outsiders" such as Turkey and Croatia the debate has been reignited in earnest.

Before moves towards further expansion had even begun Europeans were asking: How much does a Swede have in



ALAN KING

common with a Spaniard, an Irishman with Lithuanian? Now a great many Europeans are asking what do any of them have in common with Turkey.

Most of Turkey's 72 million people are Muslim and inside its borders there is political conflict with the Kurd minority in the east. Geographically, the only EU country Turkey shares a border with is Greece, and only just. To allow Turkey into the union would be to admit the only non-Christian country to the club and would push the borders of the EU up against Iraq, Iran and Syria. The cultural, religious and geographical implications of Turkey's membership threaten to divide European opinion.

Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the former French president and the man who oversaw the drafting of the constitutional treaty, told *Le Monde* that people who would welcome Turkey in were "the adversaries of the European Union" and Turkey's membership would mean "the end of Europe." He argued that because Turkey's capital is not in Europe and 95 per cent of its population lives outside Europe, it is not a European country.

That argument resonated with French public opinion, forcing President Chirac to announce that when Turkey had eventually met the criteria for membership, the French people would decide in a referendum whether Turkey could

join. No other countries have announced similar referendums yet, but with Turkey's accession possibly 10 to 20 years away, there's much time for things to change.

"Turkey's membership would be a good thing for the EU," says Katinka Baryseh, chief economist for the pro-EU think tank the Centre for European Reform. "The EU that some are trying to protect – a unified, homogenized Catholic club – no longer exists. France itself has five million Muslims alone.

"Geographically Turkey is outside Europe but politically and culturally it is becoming more and more European all the time. And what many forget to mention is

that if we do not sort out our economic and political problems, Turkey may not want to join and that would be a great loss to the union," says Ms. Baryseh.

The great allure of the European Union for prospective members has been access to its massive market and the EU subsidies that come with it. Membership is seen as a pre-requisite to economic stability and growth. Since last year's expansion, countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary have done remarkably well.

In the first nine months after expansion, Poland's exports rose by more than 30 per cent and tourism jumped by 20 per cent. The success story has a great deal to do with the low cost of labour in "New Europe," which is far below those of neighbouring countries such as Germany and France.

"The main problem is that German labour is too expensive and their labour market is too strict," says Ms. Baryseh. The heavily regulated and expensive labour markets of Germany and France have had trouble competing with much cheaper manufacturing labour markets now available in the new Eastern European economies of Poland and Hungary.

Unemployment in Germany is currently over five million or 12.6 per cent, the highest since the Great Depression, and France is not doing much better. Manufacturing jobs are flowing out of Germany and France as these countries try to come to grips with the shock of abundant, cheap labour now available from the newly joined Eastern European member states. The situation could get a great deal worse if the service industry is similarly liberalized.

At present about 70 per cent of jobs in the EU are in the service sector, but unlike the free movement of manufacturing jobs, strong barriers prevent the service sector from tapping into new markets outside their own country. This has prevented some of the bigger EU economies from being able to farm out their accounting and legal needs on the cheap, across a permeable border.

A recent proposal from the EU Commission to liberalize the service sector was scuppered by France and Germany who are desperate to keep all remaining jobs at home.

But how long can these two countries hold out? When the constitutional treaty is sorted out, Germany and France will have less influence in the EU decision-

making process and liberalization would be easier to push through against their will.

One year after the EU's biggest expansion, the search for unity continues yet still new members seek to join enthusiastically as existing members want to expand the union. The internal difficulties

are seen as details that will be sorted out in time. The rewards for success have been peace and prosperity in Europe and beyond. So far the quibbling seems worth the effort.

Peter Zimonjic is a Canadian writer who makes his home in London.

A BIGGER EU BY THE NUMBERS

REAL GDP

GROWTH RATE (IN PER CENT)	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
EU 15 countries	1.7	1.0	0.8	2.2	2.2
Czech Republic	2.6	1.5	3.7	4.0	3.8
Estonia	6.4	7.2	5.1	5.9	6.0
Cyprus	4.1	2.1	1.9	3.7	3.9
Latvia	8.0	6.4	7.5	8.5	N/A
Lithuania	6.4	6.8	9.7	6.7	6.4
Hungary	3.8	3.5	3.0	4.0	3.7
Malta	-1.7	2.2	-1.8	1.5	1.5
Poland	1.0	1.4	3.8	5.3	4.9
Slovenia	2.7	3.3	2.5	4.6	3.6
Slovakia	3.8	4.6	4.5	5.5	4.5

N/A: NOT AVAILABLE

SOURCE: EUROSTAT

THE EU: MEMBERSHIP HAS ITS PRIVILEGES

It's been one year since the EU welcomed 10 new states into its club. We thought it was time to check in with the neophytes to find out how things have gone. Here's what we asked them:

1. How has your country changed since it became a member of the EU in 2004?
2. What advantages and disadvantages has membership brought?
3. What economic impact has membership had?

Euripides Evriviades, High Commissioner for Cyprus

1. Strategically, EU membership was the single most important event since Cyprus' independence in 1960. Accession paved the way for economic improvement, enhanced world stature, and offered greater challenges and opportunities but, above all, gave us security and stability. Unfortunately, Cyprus' EU accession was tempered by the reality that we had to enter as a divided country.

2. EU membership has brought social policy in line with the Acquis Communautaire and has given greater emphasis to environmental issues and improving safety and quality standards. Challenges include meeting EU commitments for tax reform, adjusting to the highly competitive business environment, and preparing for pressure on domestic business.

3. The overall economic impact of EU membership is more than positive. It lets Cyprus share in the growth and development of the EU economy. It also attracts investment in areas in which Cyprus possesses comparative advantages, thus accelerating the transformation of Cyprus into a regional business centre.

Pavel Vosalik, Ambassador of the Czech Republic

1. It's not so long since we became members and we were working years and years to prepare the country. In order to join the EU, we had to reach some level of development in the social, judicial, educational and economic systems. May 1st represented the closing of that chapter. The changes moved us closer to the other EU countries.

2. I think it's too early to say if there are advantages or disadvantages. The population

is still learning to live as a member state of the EU.

3. I feel quite comfortable to say that nothing dramatic has happened. The economic outlook is positive but that's not because of one year of membership, it's more a result of what we had to go through to join the EU. This has been a very positive experience from the beginning of our negotiations with Brussels.

Denes Tomaj, Ambassador of Hungary

1. EU-membership brings rights and obligations. The most important right gained is a voice in the decision-making process, by having equal votes in the European institutions. This new situation has important political implications. Hungary has become a "policy-maker", able to influence its future development.

2. The main advantage is that Hungary has found the place in a community of stability, democracy, security and prosperity, which might determine its future for centuries. Hungary now enjoys free movement of labour, goods, services and capital so there is easy access to the enlarged European markets with 450 million consumers. For disadvantages, some have false fear of losing identity and some entrepreneurs feel discomfort about the increased competition.

3. Some general macro-economic benefits have been felt. GDP growth rate, industrial output, and export dynamics have been positively affected. There was a significant inflow of EU funds for environment protection, education, research, farmers and SMEs.

Atis Sjanits, Ambassador of Latvia

1. In May, Latvia celebrates its first anniversary as a full member state of the European Union and the NATO Alliance. This is the date that bridges at last the divide that had split our continent ever since the end of the Second World War.

2. For Latvia, accession signified the final, concluding chapter of a tragedy that began in 1939, when Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union secretly agreed to divide Central and Eastern Europe amongst themselves.

3. The newest member states still lag behind and this is the case in Latvia, which is close to last place in terms of average income. Latvia's per capita income level is still less than half the EU average. In turn, the EU's new member states, where wages are generally lower, but growth rates are high, might provide the needed stimulus for Europe to increase its competitiveness.

Sigutė Jakstonytė, Ambassador of Lithuania

1. Preparation for EU membership contributed to the growth and strength of the Lithuanian economy and was a stimulus for transformation into a democratic society. EU membership has also helped create conditions for economic well-being and political stability. Now, our main aim is to maintain our current achievements.

2. EU membership brought added security and stability to our country. Membership has also brought greater stability and predictability to our business environment and its legal regulations. Upon joining the EU, Lithuania became part of the EU market, which has 450 million consumers.



PHOTO CREDIT: EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, 2005

3. Lithuania has become a dynamic, rapidly growing economy. Today, we reap the benefits of our miraculous economic achievements: GDP grew 9.7 per cent in 2003 and 6.7 per cent in 2004. Booming exports, a low inflation rate, a rock-steady currency, shrinking unemployment and a low budget deficit indicate the Lithuanian economy's health.

John Lowell, High Commissioner for Malta

1. The big change for a small island country like Malta is that we've opened borders with 24 countries. That means our children and grandchildren can move freely to those countries to visit or work.

2. Security is a big advantage. Malta has been conquered or ruled by everyone under the sun. Now that we are part of the EU, we no longer have fears of being ruled. Eventually, even the euro will help us but,

in the short term, life in Malta will become more expensive so that is a disadvantage.

3. Economically, this is a plus for us. There will be more free trade for us and EU membership will give Malta a bigger stake in the international trade system.

Piotr Ogrodzinski, Ambassador of Poland

1. Our membership has become a tangible stimulus of Poland's development. Life for our farmers – the group that expressed the most concerns about Poland's EU membership – has improved. EU membership has also transformed the Polish political scene, affecting our foreign policy.

2. Joining the EU was a great challenge for the state administration and the Polish business community. The prospect has forced structural changes aimed at greater effectiveness. Removing technical and physical barriers between member countries has resulted in a surge of trade turnover with EU countries. The farmers were first to feel the benefits of EU financial aid. A noticeable increase in prices of agricultural products immediately after accession is the most noted disadvantage.

3. For Poland, helping coordinate the EU economic policy is of great significance as it allows a chance to adopt an appropriate direction of its development. Thanks to participation in this process domestically, economic policy becomes more predictable and stable.

Veronika Stabej, Ambassador of Slovenia

1. Slovenia has not changed much since it became EU member. Always part of Europe, the accession only formally confirmed Slovenia's status. So far, the EU entry hasn't changed daily life. People mostly noticed there was no longer customs control on Slovenia's borders with EU members. The turning point will arguably be the introduction of the euro in 2007.

2. The biggest advantage is unlimited access to the common market, free flow of capital, people and goods. Slovenian language, spoken only by two million people, has become an official language of EU, which is good for national identity. We are proud that Slovenia becomes the first newcomer to preside over the EU – in 2007.

3. In 2004, the Slovenian economy achieved the fastest growth rate over the past four years (4.6 per cent) and domestic and foreign demand has increased. The EU entrance impacted the regional trade structure.

The embassies of Estonia and Slovakia did not participate.

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Burney's prescription is not a good fit for today's Washington

By Paul Heinbecker

Getting it Done

By Derek Burney
McGill-Queen's University Press
Montreal, 2005 \$39.95

Derek Burney's book fills a gaping void. The precipitous collapse of the Progressive Conservatives in 1993 and the withering, even irrational, animosity the former prime minister evoked in many Canadians left few people standing who were willing and able to tell the story of the Mulroney years. Beyond the boss himself, no one is better qualified to discuss those years from the inside than Derek Burney. Former chief of staff to the prime minister, ambassador to Washington and G-7 "sherpa", Burney served at the pinnacle of Canadian diplomacy at a time when Canada had substantial influence on issues as diverse as apartheid in South Africa and American policy in the Gulf and when we racked up significant accomplishments, including agreements with the U.S. on free trade and acid rain. As history, the book is a compelling account, especially of the Mulroney era, told with wit, insight and, at times, devastating honesty and unabashed partisanship. As policy prescription, the book gives advice born of experience, albeit with some of the inevitable rear-view-mirror-driving disadvantages of memoirs that look forward as well as backward.

Caveat emptor: My career in External Affairs followed that of Derek Burney by only a couple of years. I am one of many ex-colleagues who have the greatest respect for his competence. He, like contemporaries such as Glenn Shortliffe and Don Campbell, arrived in "External" in the early 60s just as Canada was giving itself a flag of its own. He was part of a made-in-Canada generation, tough-minded, self-confident and savvy, even a little ruthless, neither to the manor nor to the manse born, contemptuous of the fake Oxford accents and Ivy League preciousness that many predecessors had cultivated. His success in navigating from public service to politics to business was as gutsy as it was extraordinary, despite how simple his book makes it seem.

Burney's account of the roller coaster-like free trade negotiations rings espe-



cially true. From the 10-10 tie in the U.S. Senate, almost lost because a senator sent the administration a message on Soviet slave labour, to the choice of the U.S. representative, a textiles negotiator uncon-

connected to the White House, the disparity of interest on the Canadian and American sides was stark. The crunch issues were clear from the beginning, namely trade remedy and dispute settlement for Canada and investment access for the United States, but agreement was elusive because, as Burney asserts, free trade with Canada was just not a priority for Americans. The talks were salvaged by last-minute American acquiescence on dispute settlement even as Prime Minister Mulroney was preparing to tell Canadians the talks had failed. Burney personally led the final leg of this politically death-defying ride, flanked by two ministers, an exceedingly rare line-up in public service. In fact, Canada's first team of officials, Burney, Simon Reisman, Allan Gotlieb and Campbell, was as good as Canada ever iced, including in the country's diplomatic golden age.

Running the Prime Minister's office is one of the most difficult jobs in government and Burney's observations are timeless, whichever party is in charge. "Agenda and message control" were vital if not always achieved. "The major task... is to focus the Prime Minister's time and ... to ensure consistency between the message and the delivery of government action." Burney concludes that "the people who get you elected are not necessarily the best to help you govern". Prime Minister Mulroney gave Burney carte blanche to make his office effective. The Prime Minister looked after cabinet and caucus exercising leadership skills to maintain balance, commitment and direction, his "most unheralded achievement" that saw him through scandals, plummeting polls and national unity crises.

The book rewards the reader with acute insights into national character and human nature. His sketch of Japan is exceptional, a country he portrays as "(e)asy

to respect (and) hard to admire”, which, apart from its American alliance, “is very much alone in the world and has little stature of consequence in any international association other than the G-8,” a Bonsai tree, “carefully cultivated but tightly controlled ...its growth stunted to an unnatural degree.” The Koreans, by contrast, were “rugged, in-your-face direct”, for whom “accommodation was not a strong . . . suit.” Closer to home, “the Americans are singularly powerful, – number one in many ways. They know it and act accordingly. Canadians know that they are not number one and, in that sense alone, are very unlike Americans. But Canadians also seem less certain about what or who they are, other than ‘not American.’” On people, if he could not say something nice, he usually said nothing at all, with a few intriguing exceptions, notably regarding former trade minister Pat Carney (“erratic”), U.S. trade negotiator Peter Murphy (“not much vision and even less clout”) and U.S. secretary of the treasury James Baker (“Texas crude”). Nor was he sparing of former prime minister Pierre Trudeau whose foreign policy, especially the abortive “peace mission”, he rightly saw as dilatantish.

As prime minister, Mulroney put a premium on good and civil relations with Washington and it, undoubtedly, paid dividends, including with third parties. Burney’s stress on the importance of similar engagement now is less persuasive because that Washington, regrettably, scarcely exists anymore. He argues “we can decide to either harness advantage from our proximity or seek to distance and differentiate ourselves from the United States.” In fact, we can do both. We can recognize Americans’ sense of vulnerability and protect our backdoor through their defences, preserving our economic access as a by-product of helping them. But, it is also realism and elementary self-interest, not misguided soft power, to differentiate ourselves from an American regime that is near universally loathed and feared for its aggressive use of hard power, the religiosity of its policies, its double standards and its exceptionalism. While “agreements based on the rule of law constitute the best antidote to the power imbalance” as Burney rightly argues, what are Canadians to do when their superpower neighbour becomes contemptuous of the international law that Wilson, Roosevelt, Kennedy and George H. W. Bush helped to create? Nor is it (Continues on page 39)



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Less caviar and more meat, please

By Christina Spencer

Rollercoaster: My Hectic Years as Jean Chrétien's Diplomatic Advisor, 1994-1998

By James Bartleman
McClelland & Stewart Ltd.
Toronto, 2005 \$37.99

Rollercoaster recounts how well one is fed when travelling abroad as part of the prime minister's entourage. The Queen, for instance, offers *couronne de tomate à l'homard and suprême de volaille Edouard VII*. French President Jacques Chirac serves up *rouget farci au pistou*, and *gigot*. And when he was in the White House, Bill Clinton favours maple-cured salmon with fiddlehead ferns, and herb-crusted lamb with artichokes.

What exquisite care James Bartleman takes in explaining the finer points of high-level dining while he was foreign policy advisor to Jean Chrétien from 1994 to 1998. And what a disappointment he doesn't exude the same meticulous love of detail when discussing some of the foreign policy decisions he helped Chrétien make during that same period.

As one example of disappointing vagueness, Bartleman seems unable to explain Canada's inaction on the Rwandan genocide. He speaks of the "failure of the international community" as if Canada were not part of it, and reverts to the third-person "there was even reluctance to call the butchery 'genocide'" without explaining why Canada didn't utter the word. He says the Canadian government didn't have any idea that Major-General Romeo Dallaire was battling for UN authority to head off the slaughter, without explaining why we were so breathtakingly ignorant of the plight of our own officer. Bartleman



writes that Dallaire's "own country could have done more" but never explains what that "more" entailed, and why we didn't pursue it. If one is going to "demystify the operations of government and learn lessons

from our foreign policy successes and failures," as Bartleman promises in his foreword, soul-searching over this catastrophe would have been a good start.

It may be that the author was ashamed, as many Canadians are, of our passivity during the Rwandan bloodbath; he does admit to having trouble looking Dallaire in the eye later. Yet simple political avoidance was probably at work over Rwanda. The clue comes in a snapshot of another genocide-related challenge: a call from the U.S. Secretary of State to see if Canada would be willing to place Pol Pot on trial in this country for abuses during the Khmer Rouge rein in Cambodia. Bartleman decided to recommend against a trial on Canadian soil, because the enabling legislation was untested and it was possible Pol Pot might get off on a technical hitch. In other words, fearing possible embarrassment, the Canadian government refused to try a man broadly viewed as one of the worst butchers on the planet. Apparently, it all turned out OK, though: Pol Pot died of illness soon after – thus justifying Canada's cravenness. Now, please pass the pâté.

From this you may think I find nothing redeeming in Bartleman's book. Not so; he does better in other areas of foreign

policy, and his writing is clear and often entertaining. The chapter devoted to the turbot war with Spain offers a briny taste of just how ad hoc foreign policy decisions can sometimes be, and includes a delightful description of Fisheries Minister Brian Tobin at his famous East River press conference displaying "the bathos of an over-acting diva in a bad 18th-century Italian opera." Bartleman can be biting and concise when he wishes.

His entries on Chrétien's unsuccessful attempts to help democratize Cuba are also revealing, and give the former prime minister more credit for supporting human rights than the media often do. Other conclusions the author drew in four years of advising the prime minister? Clinton was the brightest leader, but Chrétien "had far more common sense." French prime minister Edouard Balladur was "an insufferable snob." And Chrétien was set up by the family of accused terrorist Ahmed Said Khadr, which asked him to intervene with Benazir Bhutto when Khadr was arrested in Pakistan (even so, the prime minister did not pressure Pakistan for favours, the author stresses).

But always there are those menus. In Russia, for instance, one braved offerings of caviar, pickled eels, borscht, wild boar, pheasant, venison and fine Crimean wines. Did the decision-making match the quality and adventure of the cuisine? Sometimes. But not always.

Christina Spencer, former editorial pages editor of the Ottawa Citizen, won a 2004 Canadian-Association of Journalists-CIDA fellowship for Africa. She is completing an MA in international affairs at Carleton University.

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How Austria helped bring tulips to the world

By Otto Ditz

2005 is a truly significant year for we Austrians. We are celebrating many important anniversaries: 50 years ago the then-Austrian Foreign Minister Leopold Figl and the foreign ministers of the four Allied powers signed the State Treaty, restoring full state sovereignty to the republic of Austria. At the same time, Austria became a member of the United Nations; 10 years ago, Austria joined the European Union.

But the anniversary that is most important for us here in Ottawa is this: 150 years ago the first Austrian diplomatic post was opened on Canadian soil.

**THE HABSBURG EMPIRE IS NO MORE,
BUT AUSTRIA STILL MAINTAINS
A CONSULAR POST IN HALIFAX.
IN FACT, THE CONSULATE HAS
RECENTLY BEEN UPGRADED TO A
CONSULATE GENERAL TO UNDERLINE
ITS INCREASED IMPORTANCE.
THE CURRENT HEAD IS NOT AN
ENGLISH SHIPPING TYCOON BUT A
SUCCESSFUL LOCAL BUSINESSMAN
WITH ROOTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.**

In August 1855, the Emperor appointed William Cunard, son of the famous founder of the Cunard Steamship Company serving the Liverpool-North America route, as Imperial Honorary Austrian Consul in Halifax. Canada, at that time, was known in Vienna as the "English Dominion on the Northern Coast of America".

The Habsburg Empire is no more, but Austria still maintains a consular post in Halifax. In fact, the consulate has recently been upgraded to a consulate general to underline its increased importance. The current head is not an English shipping tycoon but a successful local businessman with roots in Central Europe.

Since the establishment of the first Austrian consular post tens of thousands of Austrians have settled in Canada. They

not only brought their skills and determination to their new home but also their experience of having lived in a multinational and multilingual environment. For them, diversity and multiculturalism was nothing to be afraid of. Instead, they viewed it as life-enriching and stimulating.

Austria has not only provided Canada with industrious and skilled emigrants like composer Agnes Grossmann, the



dens of Emperor Ferdinand I. There, in the *Burrgarten*, the tulips blossomed, stunningly beautiful, but unappreciated by the Emperor. He had other things on his mind. But one man did appreciate the tulips – Carolus Clusius, the imperial gardener. When Clusius became professor of botany at Leiden University in Holland in 1593, he took his tulips with him to the Netherlands.

The rest, literally, is history and in 1945 a grateful Queen Juliana presented 100,000 tulip bulbs to the City of Ottawa. Tulips make an excellent gift. Their bloom and their radiant colours which once so impressed the Imperial ambassador in Istanbul now attract thousands of tourists to Canada's national capital. At this year's Canadian Tulip Festival, we plan to highlight the Austrian link in the history of the tulip. To that end, an Austrian pavilion is to be set up at Major's Hill Park.

Otto Ditz is the Austrian Ambassador.

ODE TO AUSTRIA

The Austrian Canadian Council, the Austrian Society of Ottawa and the Friends of Austria Ottawa Inc. are co-hosting an Austrian celebration and symposium during the Tulip Festival.

Symposium schedule:

Saturday, May 21: A day-long discussion involves former Austrian ambassadors to Canada, academics and artists at the University of Ottawa's Alumni Auditorium, starting at 9 a.m. A dinner follows at 6 p.m.

Sunday, May 22: An ecumenical service will be held at Notre Dame Basilica, followed by lunch at the Sheraton Hotel and dinner at the Ottawa Congress Centre. Dinner will mark a number of anniversaries including the 150th anniversary of relations between Austria and Canada. Contact Roland Pirker at atroland@rollframe.ca for more information.

Bentley family and Frank Stronach, to name just a few, has also has been instrumental in bringing tulips to Ottawa. Surprising? Here's the story. Approximately 450 years ago, in the mid-1500s, Ambassador Ogier G. de Busbecq from the Imperial Court in Vienna visited Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent in Istanbul. He admired Suleiman's tulip garden and was presented with bulbs and seeds as a gift. These bulbs returned with the ambassador to Vienna and ended up in the gar-

60 years of friendship marked by royal visit

By J.G. van Hellenberg Hubar

May marks 60 years since the Netherlands were liberated from the Nazi occupation by Canadian, British, American and Polish forces. The Netherlands still honour the Canadian Armed Forces as their liberators. The liberation, and the hospitality that was extended by the citizens of Ottawa to Crown Princess Juliana and her children during the Second World War, are two of the pillars on which the strong friendship between our two countries is based.

In view of the anniversary, the embassy in Ottawa and consulates general in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver are planning numerous events. We hope to honour the past by also highlighting the contemporary accomplishments made possible by the liberation.

Her Royal Highness Princess Margriet of the Netherlands and her husband Pieter van Vollenhoven will be visiting Montreal May 9-12 and Ottawa May 12-14.

During her stay in Ottawa, Princess Margriet will open the Tulip Festival at Major's Hill Park. The Ottawa Tulip Festival, of course, originates from the fact that the Dutch Royal Family has, since 1945, made a yearly donation of tulip bulbs to the city of Ottawa to express its gratitude for the hospitality that the family received here during their stay from 1940-1945. Princess Margriet herself was born in Ottawa during the war.

The opening coincides with the official kick off for the "Tulips 2005 . . . 60th Anniversary Friendship Tour" featuring Luluk Purwanto & the Helsdingen Trio. This cross-Canada concert tour will be made by a unique multifunctional stage bus, a mobile podium designed by Dutch audio-visual installation artist Aart Marcus, which lets the artists travel in the space they perform.

Between May 1 and Sept. 30, the performers will visit 70 cities.

Meanwhile, the National Arts Centre will feature a series of Dutch dance and

ballet performances. The repertoire varies from contemporary dance by the ensembles of Emio Greco and Pieter Scholten, to the work of Dylan Newcomb and Dutch-Canadian choreographer Andre Gingras, to Amsterdam's world-renowned "Het Nationale Ballet".

The commemoration will honour venerable Canadian veterans, who actually fought and suffered on Dutch soil. Princess Margriet will visit the veterans hospital of St. Anne de Bellevue and will lay a wreath at the National War Monument.

To complete the circle of celebrations, Prime Minister Paul Martin and Gov. Gen. Adrienne Clarkson will both visit the Netherlands in early May.

The website www.dutchliberation.ca provides further information on the many events to be organized throughout Canada for this occasion.

J.G. van Hellenberg Hubar is *Ambassador of the Netherlands*.

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Canadian Tulip Festival blooms internationally

By Michel Gauthier

The theme for the 2005 Canadian Tulip Festival, "A Celebration of Peace and Friendship", will commemorate the 60th Anniversary of the end of the Second World War and the gift of tulips to Canadians by the people of the Netherlands.

When the Netherlands was invaded in 1940, Crown Princess Juliana – later Queen Juliana – escaped with her family to Ottawa. In January of 1943, she gave birth to a daughter, Princess Margriet, at the Ottawa Civic Hospital. In order for the princess to be born a Dutch citizen, Canadian Parliament proclaimed her birthing suite at the Ottawa Civic Hospital Dutch territory. Upon news of the birth of the princess, the Dutch flag flew from the Peace Tower (the only time in history that a foreign flag has flown there) and the carillon on Parliament Hill rang out the Dutch national anthem.

Since 1945, the Netherlands has sent 100,000 tulip bulbs to Canada's capital.

These 100,000 tulips became the genesis of the Tulip Festival, the largest of its kind.

Millions of tulips in more than 70 varieties are planted in Ottawa-Gatineau each year. There are more tulips blooming in Ottawa each spring than in any other capital city in the world, including The Hague.

The festival has taken this gift of friendship and promulgated it around the world, first by creating "friendship countries", and by inaugurating the International Peace Garden. The garden, at the Canada and the World Pavilion, is the site for an annual reception for the diplomatic corps, hosted in collaboration with the National Capital Commission in honour of the receiving capital city.

In 1994, the Canadian Tulip Festival paid tribute to Turkey, the origin country of the tulip, starting a 12-year partnership with the Turkish community by establishing a pavilion in Major's Hill Park. Through similar pavilions, the festival

has paid tribute to the Netherlands, France, Britain, Australia, and Japan. The nurturing of international friendship continues in 2005 with a special "friendship weekend" (May 21-23) that will feature an Austrian pavilion.

The legacy of the International Peace Garden comes from the powerful story of friendship between Canada and the Netherlands. In 1990, the Canadian Tulip Festival and Ottawa Tourism and Convention Authority offered Washington, D.C., a garden of Ottawa tulips as a gesture of friendship. Washington was so impressed, it offered Warsaw a garden of Ottawa tulips for Poland's achievement of democracy. Since then, the Peace Garden has been passed on from capital to capital every year as a sign of peace and friendship. In 2005, the Peace Garden is being given to Nicosia, Cyprus by Athens, Greece.

Michel Gauthier is executive director of the Canadian Tulip Festival.

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EDUCATION BEYOND THE CLASSROOM

Korea's culinary charms

By Margaret Dickenson

For the fourth time since we'd become a Canadian foreign service family, our posting took a sudden and unexpected turn. With two weeks' notice, our household effects had left Egypt. My husband Larry, the diplomat, was called home to Canada to be briefed while our two daughters and I found ourselves being blasted by a barrage of shrill air raid sirens as we were whisked from an embassy van into a pitch black hotel lobby. Yes, we had arrived in Seoul, South Korea during one of the air raid exercises which were held regularly as a precaution in case of an attack from the North.

It was 1981. Korea was unlike anything our family had experienced to that point. The contrasts within Seoul were enormous: tall modern sky scrapers hap-hazardly punctured a horizon of low-lying traditional tile roofed buildings, extravagantly wide boulevards seemed unnaturally super-imposed on a sea of tiny lanes. Many locals still wore national dress and a strict curfew saw everyone, diplomats included, scurry home by 9:30 p.m. Small green Hyundai Pony taxis darted around like busy ants. Wonderful markets offered everything from local food products to designer fashions and hand bags as well as pig heads, a necessary element of some official ceremonies. From my perspective, equally intimidating were the sidewalk fast-food wagons with vats of boiling snakes and pans of crusty roasted insects.

Never to be forgotten was an invitation extended to us by one of my English students, a prominent local steel executive. It was to be a particularly special evening as we would be going to a "live fish" restaurant. Of course, I assumed his reference to "live" actually meant "fresh". When a huge tub swimming with handsome fish was ushered in, we were asked to make our choice for dinner. While they were being prepared, a large bowl of live translucent shrimp was presented to me. I admired it for some time. Finally our host, realizing that I did not understand what was expected of me, proceeded to dip in his hand. Catching a shrimp with tail and head trapped between two fingers, he dunked it into a dish of fiery sauce, nipped off the curled central part



MARGARET
DICKENSON

with his teeth and ate it, shell and all. Larry and I politely insisted that we would wait for the fish to arrive. And, so it did, skewered lengthwise, scaled, its flesh slashed into bite-size pieces with some portions removed and

artistically re-arranged back on the fish's body. It was only when the tail flicked, the fins moved and an eye rolled that we realized our dilemma. Apparently "live fish" restaurants do not, by definition, have much in terms of cooking facilities. The next day, local embassy staff were impressed such an honour had been bestowed upon us. This had been our introduction to sushi and other raw fish which we grew to love.

On the other hand, Larry and I quickly submitted to the addictive power of kimchi in its dozens of varieties (mild to "volcanic") and the many little side dishes of greens that were served along with rice at most meals. Certainly our favorite dishes were Bulgogi and exquisitely lacquered mixed Korean vegetables with noodles. In my personally developed versions of these recipes, much of the preparation can be done in advance.

Margaret Dickenson is author of the award-winning cookbook, "From the Ambassador's Table" and creator/host of "Margaret's Entertaining Minutes" seen daily on Rogers Cable (www.margaretsenseofoccasion.com).

BULGOGI ©

Bulgogi must be served with a tasty stir-fry of Korean mixed vegetables and noodles. With the thin slices of beef taking only minutes to grill, Bulgogi is a perfect recipe for a barbecue event; however, it can be grilled effectively in a large heavy grill pan or skillet.

Makes four regular servings

1 lb (450 g) flank steak or beef tenderloin*
1/4 cup (60 mL) soya sauce
1/3 cup (80 mL) finely sliced green onions
1/4 cup (60 mL) sugar
1 ? tbsp (22 mL) sesame oil
3 tbsp (45 mL) medium dry sherry or red wine
1 1/2 tsp (8 mL) finely chopped fresh garlic
1/2 tsp (3 mL) peeled and grated fresh ginger



FROM THE AMBASSADOR'S TABLE

Bulgogi on the lower right, Chapchae on the lower left.

root

1/2 tsp (2.5 mL) crushed black peppercorns
1 to 2 tsp (5 to 10 mL) liquid smoke (optional)

Garnish

1 1/2 tbsp (22 mL) (total) black and toasted white sesame seeds

Cut slightly thawed beef into 1/8 inch (0.3 cm) thick slices.* Mix together soya sauce, green onions, sugar, sesame oil, sherry, garlic, ginger and crushed black peppercorns. Drizzle 1 1/2 tbsp (22 mL) of soya marinade over bottom of a large glass baking dish. Add a single layer of beef slices and drizzle with more of marinade; add another layer of beef and repeat process using remaining beef and marinade. Allow beef to marinate for at least one hour at room temperature or up to eight hours refrigerated.

Just before serving, if desired, carefully drizzle liquid smoke over surface of beef slices. Working in batches, sear beef slices (arranged in a single layer) on a well-oiled preheated (medium-high) grill, grill pan or skillet for a matter of seconds per side; transfer to a clean platter. (If serving Bulgogi for a "stand up" event, cut slices into shorter lengths of about 2 1/2 inches or six cm.) Serve as soon as possible sprinkled with toasted sesame seeds.

* To facilitate slicing and handling, freeze the beef and slice it when the beef is only (very) slightly thawed.

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KOREAN MIXED VEGETABLES AND NOODLES (Chapchae)©

The combination is one of those dishes that is always a treat for the palate. The recipe may be quickly stir-fried minutes before serving if the vegetables are prepared (even sautéed) and the other ingredients assembled in advance.

Makes 4 regular servings

8 dried shitake mushroom caps
4 oz (120 g) vermicelli bean noodles

- 10 cups (2.5 litres) boiling water
- 3 1/2 oz (100 g) fresh spinach leaves, stems removed
- Salt, to taste
- 1/2 tsp (3 mL) finely chopped fresh garlic
- 1/2 tsp (3 mL) peeled and grated fresh ginger-root
- 3 tbsp (45 mL) vegetable oil, divided
- 2/3 cup (175 mL) peeled and sliced onion
- 1/2 cup (125 mL) peeled and julienne carrot
- 1/2 red bell pepper (medium size) thinly sliced vertically
- 1/4 cup (60 mL) sliced green onion
- Crushed black peppercorns, to taste
- 2 tbsp (30 mL) soya sauce
- 1 tbsp (15 mL) sweet soya sauce
- 1 tsp (5 mL) sesame oil
- 1 tsp (5 mL) sugar
- 1/2 tsp (3 mL) (Indonesian) hot chili paste
- 1 tsp (5 mL) toasted white sesame seeds
- 1/3 cup (80 mL) whole cashew nuts (optional)

Soak dried mushrooms in lukewarm water until soft (about an hour). Squeeze out and discard liquid; cut mushroom caps into thin slices.

Drop vermicelli noodles into a large pot of boiling water. Turn heat to lowest setting and stir noodles gently to loosen. Allow noodles to soak until tender but firm (about 5 to 7 minutes). Drain; rinse with cold water until cool and drain well again. (Makes about 2 1/2 cups or 625 mL.) If not using until later, place noodles in a container lined with a triple layer of paper towels. This may be done up to a day in advance. (Note: When serving the Korean Mixed Vegetables and Noodles at a “stand up” event, cut the noodles in shorter lengths of 3 inches or 7 cm.)

If spinach leaves are large, tear them into smaller pieces. Spread them on a large microwave oven-proof platter; place in microwave at high heat for a minute (tossing leaves from time to time) until wilted; season with salt and set aside. In a wok or large skillet over medium heat, sauté garlic and ginger in hot vegetable oil (2 tbsp or 30 mL) for about 30 seconds. Add onion and carrots; stir-fry for about 30 seconds. Add red pepper, green onions and mushrooms; stir-fry until tender crisp (about another two minutes), seasoning with salt and crushed black peppercorns. Transfer to platter with spinach. Toss ingredients evenly together; add salt and crushed black peppercorns if necessary. (Note: This may be done an hour before serving or up to a day in advance. Be sure to refrigerate.)

Combine soya sauces, sesame oil, sugar and chili paste in a small bowl. Just before serving, heat remaining vegetable oil (1 tbsp or 15 mL) in wok over medium to medium-low heat. Add noodles and quickly drizzle with soya sauce mixture; toss to coat noodles evenly. Add stir-fried vegetables, toss lightly together and adjust seasoning if necessary; heat through. (Avoid overcooking.) Sprinkle with sesame seeds and if desired cashew nuts; serve.

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The noblest white grape

If you are not a huge fan of this wonderful grape already, I hope to make a convert out of you before too long. Riesling — often referred to as the greatest white grape variety — can be found in an unprecedented amount of climates, regions and styles. From the piercingly dry, minerally and austere style of some Alsatian or Australian producers to viscous, intensely sweet Trockenbeere-nauslese of Germany or Icewines from Canada, there is a Riesling to satisfy almost every palate.

When offered a Riesling, many people automatically shoot back “No thank you . . . I don’t like sweet wines”. This is a mistake. These days, most world-class Rieslings are made in a dry or almost-dry style. Even the Germans like their Rieslings really dry on most occasions. The secret about Riesling is that it is one of the most acidic white grape varieties out there. The higher the acid level in the wines, the drier the wine seems. Even when allowed to develop into richer late-harvest or Icewines, you can still count on a high level of natural acid that keeps even the sweetest Rieslings in balance.

Rieslings can have a lush silkiness or tense backbone. They can be light and crisp or heavy and rich. Because of this high level of acidity, Rieslings are also some of the longest lived white wines, with many examples capable of aging 30 or 40 years in the bottle. There are as many styles of Riesling as there are colours in the rainbow.

Because they are one of the latest picked grape varieties (of either white or red), Rieslings can produce wines of unequalled complexity due to their long “hang-time” on the vine. You can find aromas of peach, grapefruit, lime, passion fruit, green or red apple, pear, ginger, pine needle, flowers, minerals (like mineral water), chalk, smoke, and of course the wine lover’s favorite . . . diesel fuel. (Trust me, it’s a good thing!) Because of their balance and clean, pure flavours, Rieslings can be some of the most versatile wines for difficult-to-pair dishes found in Asian, South American and Indian cuisines.

Here are some major regions along with my favorite producers and the style you can expect:



STEPHEN BECKTA

PHOTO: PAUL COUWETTE

Germany: I like Mosel, the most minerally, steely and savoury of German Rieslings. Look for: Egon Muller, St. Urbans Hof, Selbach-Oster. From Pfalz, the ripest region in Germany with lush and round wines, look for: Kurt Darting, Dr. Burklin-Wolf, Muller-Catoir. Kabinett is usually the lightest and driest of the German Rieslings, followed by Spatlese, Auslese, Icewein, and Trockenbeere-nauslese.

RIESLINGS CAN HAVE A LUSH SILKINESS OR TENSE BACKBONE. THEY CAN BE LIGHT AND CRISP OR HEAVY AND RICH. BECAUSE OF THIS HIGH LEVEL OF ACIDITY, RIESLINGS ARE ALSO SOME OF THE LONGEST LIVED WHITE WINES

Alsace: These are typically dry to off-dry, light to full. Search out Grand Crus that have exceptional concentration and depth. Look for Trimbach (their Clos Ste. Hune is my favourite Riesling vineyard in the world) or Cuvée Frédéric Emile. Their regular Riesling is really good too. Also look for Domaine Weinbach and Paul Blank.

Canada: The country has many good producers, led by Cave Spring, Henry of Pelham, 13th Street, and Vineland Estate. Styles range from dry to sweet to really sweet (Icewine). The difference is usually listed on the bottle going from dry to off-dry, late-harvest (sweet) to Icewine (really sweet).

Australia: These are typically the driest in style, and are minerally and occasionally austere, in a pleasant sort of way. Look for: Mitchell, Henschke, Pikes.

I hope you fall in love like I did.
Cheers!

Stephen Beckta is the sommelier and owner of Beckta dining & wine in Ottawa (www.beckta.com).



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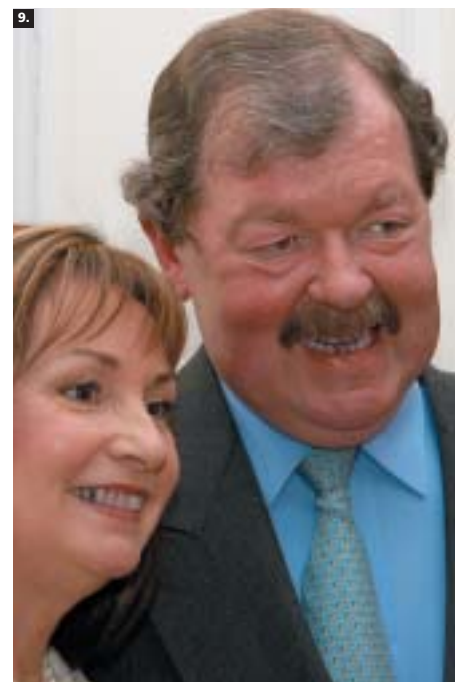
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FIVE STAR



THIS PAGE 1-3. Performers wowed audience members at a Latin Carnival celebration involving 15 embassies including Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Venezuela on March 13. • 4. Czech Ambassador Pavel Vosalik (left) and Jean-Claude Bergeron, owner of Galerie d'art Jean-Claude Bergeron, appeared at the opening of an exhibit of works by provocative Czech artist Oldrich Kulhanek, March 17. • 5. Pakistani High Commissioner Shahid Malik and his wife Ghazala had a large crowd to help them celebrate their country's national day on March 23. • 6. Lithuanian Ambassador Sigutė Jakstonytė (left) and Ildiko Tomaj at the Pakistani party. • 7. Afghani Ambassador Omar Samad and his wife Khorshied at the Pakistani party. (All photos by Dyanne Wilson)



THIS PAGE 1. Eugene Munyakyanza (right) and MP Don Boudria, at a ceremony to kick off a nine-day commemoration of the Rwandan genocide, which happened 11 years ago. (Photo: Dyanne Wilson). • 2. Italian Ambassador Marco Colombo held a farewell dinner for outgoing U.S. Ambassador Paul Cellucci. Mr. Colombo (left) is shown here with two Italian colleagues, Mr. Cellucci (centre) and Luigi Ventura, Ambassador of the Holy See. • 3. Lt. Gen. Romeo Dallaire received the United Nations Association in Canada Pearson Peace Medal for his achievements in the field of international service and understanding. Gov. Gen. Adrienne Clarkson presented it. (Photo: Sgt. Eric Jolin). • 4-6. New Ambassadors traditionally pay a courtesy call on the mayor. Shown here are Greek Ambassador Yannis Mourikis (4), Dominican Republic Ambassador Eduardo Tejera (5) and Kuwaiti Ambassador Musaed Al-Haroun (left) with Mayor Bob Chiarelli (6) (Photo: Roger Lalonde) • 7. Slovenian Ambassador Veronika Stabej with her new baby Zala Sara. Zala means "beautiful". (Photo: Dyanne Wilson). • 8. Irish Ambassador Martin Burke and his wife Mary hosted a St. Patrick's Day party at their Rockcliffe residence home on March 17. Shown here are Netherlands Ambassador J.G. van Hellenberg Hubar (left) and his wife Lilliana (second from left) with the Burkes. (Photo: Sam Garcia). • 9. Martin Burke and his wife Mary. (Photo: Sam Garcia).

A whimsical style exhibited around the world

By Margo Roston

Natalia Karpova arrives for an interview, prepared to explain the vision behind the startling and colourful paintings lining the walls of the small gallery at the Embassy of El Salvador. Her husband, Bolivian Ambassador Carlos Antonio Carrasco Fernandez, is along to help her with her English, a language she is learning at break-neck speed.

A Russian from the Republic of Bashkortostan in the Ural region of the country, Ms. Karpova is an established painter, ceramic artist and a member of the Union of Artists of Russia. She not only studied and exhibited in Moscow but also in Paris where she lived and worked for 12 years.

That's where she met her Latin husband, who was then Bolivia's ambassador to France and an admirer of her work.

As we look around the room at what can best be described as charming, detailed and slightly whimsical paintings – one of them depicts a man carrying balloons flying over the onion domes of Russian Orthodox churches – she explains that her work really depicts her life.

"It is whimsical and I like Chagall, but it's my art. I worked many years and this exhibition is the result and (shows) my individual style," she explains in a mixture of elegant French and some English.

"I try to express my life, my experience, my inspiration," she continues. "One picture is a party in Russia, the Sunday before Easter. And there are snowflakes in the background. And there's a triptych of Russia."

A painting of a golden pear sitting on a highly detailed tablecloth, is decidedly



Natalia Karpova poses in front of some of her paintings, displayed this winter at the Embassy of El Salvador.

Russian, part of the Russian School of hyperrealism, explains her husband. His favourite work, however, is a painting of a large bright blue dog with a tiny ballerina standing on its back.

The artist creates these neo-realistic prototypes in her works and shows a fascination with the late 17th and 18th centuries. There are coloured pears and ladies in crinolines and cream-jugs, boxes and caskets, which evoke the objects that might be found in a Russian peasant's hut.

Her work has been exhibited in major shows in Russia, Germany, Poland, Belgium and France, with her most recent exhibition taking place in Paris in 1998 at the second Festival of Slavic Culture, also known as the Dyagilev Festival.

The couple met five years ago and have been in Ottawa for one year. It's a

busy time for an artist who attends English classes, paints, loves to cook, and also finds time for diplomatic activities.

"But she's a little used to it," her husband says.

Ms. Karpova's captivating show, which ran for more than a month, opened in early March with much fanfare and many diplomatic friends filling the exhibition space. In the fall, she plans to have another exhibition at the University of Mexico in Gatineau. For that, she'll use angels as her inspiration.

"She was inspired by Spanish baroque in the churches of Bolivia," her husband says. "So she has painted angels and they are very detailed."

When the show opens, her growing fan club will surely be there.

Margo Roston is Diplomat's culture editor.

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Discovering “everything of value” in Canada’s North

By Gerard Kenney

As far back as Marco Polo’s time, European mariners dreamed of a shorter sea route to the riches of Asia. They imagined a marine passage through that looming, rocky barrier—North America. Spaniards called this mythical passage the Strait of Anián. Britons called it the Northwest Passage.

After two false starts, Samuel Hearne departed on Dec. 7, 1770 from Fort Prince of Wales (Churchill) on Hudson Bay. He sought the Far-Off Metal River that natives said “abound[s] with copper ore, animals of the fur kind, ... which is said to be so far to the Northward, that in the middle of the summer the Sun does not set, and is supposed by the Indians to empty itself into some ocean.” Hearne’s purpose was to discover “everything that might prove of future value in opening up the territory to trade.” His orders from the Hudson’s Bay Company were to resolve, finally, the question of “a passage out of Hudson’s Bay into the Western Ocean.”

With native guide, Matonabee, and his wives, this white man walked and paddled 3,000 kilometres northwest to find the Coppermine River. He sped down its rushing waters to become the first European to reach the Arctic Ocean by land from Canada. Hearne also solved the mystery of the Strait of Anián. It did not exist.

The return trip offered a physical challenge. Matonabee, and several natives who became attached to the expedition, had left their wives behind days before reaching the Arctic Ocean. They missed their wives and set a mean pace to return to them. “It was fast becoming a race between native passion and Hearne’s stamina,” commented author Gordon Speck in *Samuel Hearne and the Northwest Passage*. On June 30, 1772, Hearne finally reached Fort Prince of Wales, completing a round trip of 6,000 kilometres in 19 months.

Hearne’s discovery did not banish the idea of a northwest passage. It merely redirected the focus of those seeking it toward the ice-choked waters north of the Arctic Circle where mariners before and after Hearne suspected a passage might exist. Columbus, Hudson, Frobisher, Cartier, and the Cabots all tried to find it, and all failed. The most spectacular failure was Sir John Franklin’s. He disappeared with the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and 128 offi-

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cers and men, into the Arctic mists in 1845. Although McClure is credited with proving that a northwest passage existed, it was Norwegian Roald Amundsen and his crew in the 43-tonne *Gjøa* who first navigated it in a three-year east-to-west transit from 1903 to 1906. The first to sail it in both directions was a Norwegian-born Canadian, Henry Larsen, in the 175-tonne *St. Roch* from 1940 to 1948.

The Northwest Passage may be navigable by small boats, but it is not practical for the commercial traffic of large ships. Not today, at least. But global warming is slowly, melting the ice that prohibits shipping in the Northwest Passage. When the Passage finally does open, perhaps Canada’s sovereignty in the Arctic will be challenged more severely and with more threat than any previous tests.

Gerard Kenney’s latest book is *Ships of Wood and Men of Iron*.

Burney (Continued from page 27) wise to give your neighbours the benefit of the doubt when their secretary of state misleads the UN Security Council on a matter as grave as war; when their attorney general chisels the Torture Convention; when the president is counseled to ignore the Geneva Conventions; when the administration uses the metaphor of war to lock-up anyone indefinitely without charge; when they run an international Gulag archipelago of prisons (Guantanamo, Abu Ghraib, Bahram, Diego Garcia and who knows where else) and when they “rendition” our citizens abroad to be tortured. What is required rather is, civilly but directly, speaking truth to power. That too is engagement and of a kind that current circumstances require. Few Canadians would do it better than Burney, himself.

Paul Heinbecker, former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations, is the inaugural director of the Laurier Centre for Global Relations, Governance and Policy.



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Stop the UN's imminent train wreck

This will not be a restful summer for those who concern themselves with United Nations reform.

Kofi Annan, the beleaguered UN secretary general, has urged world leaders to agree on a sweeping package of changes to the world body in time for the September summit marking the UN's 60th anniversary.

With that deadline looming, major UN players will spend the coming weeks mulling a series of reform proposals. The most recent is Mr. Annan's own blueprint, (*In Larger Freedom*), which was released in late March, – just as Mr. Annan was about to be engulfed in the oil-for-food scandal.

The secretary-general's proposal is itself an amalgam of two major initiatives that preceded it: the report from the 16-member High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, and the report of the Millennium Project, a plan of action from more than 200 experts for the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals.

Attention to Mr. Annan's blueprint has focused on a number of key measures, including his proposal to expand the 15-member Security Council "to make it more broadly representative of the international community as a whole, as well as of the geopolitical realities of today and thereby more legitimate in the eyes of the world." Mr. Annan urged leaders to choose from the two expansion models outlined by the high-level panel: Model A would add six new permanent seats, with no veto, and three new two-year rotating seats. Model B would provide no new permanent seats but create a new category of eight, four-year seats and one new two-year seat.

In addition to the highly contentious proposal to reform Security Council membership, Mr. Annan also outlined a new focus on development, a proposal to effectively define and outlaw terrorism, to clarify rules for the use of force and to establish a peacebuilding commission to better co-ordinate post-conflict reconstruction efforts. He also proposed creation of a new human rights council to replace the discredited Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

This is but the latest wave of reforms. In 1997 – after the debacles of Rwanda



ALLAN THOMPSON

and Srebrenica and other UN failings – Annan brought forward a reform package that included the appointment of Canadian Louise Frechette as the first deputy secretary general, charged with cleaning up the

organization.

There have been other steps since then, but after the Security Council's implosion over Iraq in March 2003 and this year's corruption scandal, even top insiders concede it feels as if UN reform efforts are back to square one.

"It is difficult not to feel that we have, in some respects at least, slid back down the greasy pole to somewhere near the place where we started eight years ago," the normally cautious Ms. Frechette told a high-level gathering here in Canada a few weeks back.

Ms. Frechette delivered opening remarks at a three-day conference on UN reform pulled together by Canada's former UN ambassador, Paul Heinbecker, now senior research fellow with the Waterloo-based Centre for International Governance Innovation. With the exception of Ms. Frechette's address and some dinner speeches, the conference took place behind closed doors. Strict rules against attributing remarks to the speakers were in place to encourage a frank exchange among the gathering of 100 people, which included a host of UN ambassadors, academic experts and observers.

What emerged from the remarkable event – something of a microcosm of the UN reform deliberations – was a foretaste of the deadlock that could emerge because of the dispute over how, or indeed whether, to change the composition of the Security Council at this time.

Some contend that instead of remaining focused on "groundbreaking" work to truly outlaw terrorism and to give much more prominence to the UN to human rights and the 'responsibility to protect' doctrine, Mr. Annan fell victim to pressure by candidates for Security Council seats and put Security Council change high on the agenda – even though the

subject threatens to hijack the rest of the reform package.

"We have only four months to go and unless we are very careful this is a recipe for disaster," one participant warned. "Rather than rushing into Security Council reform we have to get it right, we should be very cautious. We are not heading for a triumph. Everything in my gut tells me we are heading toward a train wreck."

The reform documents that are the basis of these discussions formally advocate choosing one of the two proposed models for Security Council expansion. But it seems there is a third option, written in the kind of invisible ink that only UN veterans can read: "none of the above."

The primary argument against changing Security Council membership is that this simply is not the right time for such a radical change, with the Bush administration still suspicious of the UN and regional candidates for Security Council seats digging in for a showdown over membership. And would more seats around the table actually change the way the Security Council functions, or should the focus be on improving the council's performance?

For others, Security Council enlargement is paramount. There is no longer any way to justify permanent, veto-wielding seats for the U.S., Britain, France, Russia and China, while denying a spot to the likes of South Africa, Brazil, Japan and Germany, advocates of reform insist.

And if leaders depart New York in September without having changed the Security Council membership, the argument goes, the front pages of newspapers around the world will declare reform efforts a failure, further eroding support for the UN.

There is no sense yet whether middle ground can be found between the two positions. But if world leaders want this September's UN summit to produce tangible reforms – rather than a calamity – they had better find a compromise in the coming weeks.

Allan Thompson is an assistant professor of journalism at Carleton University. He writes a weekly column for the *Toronto Star*.

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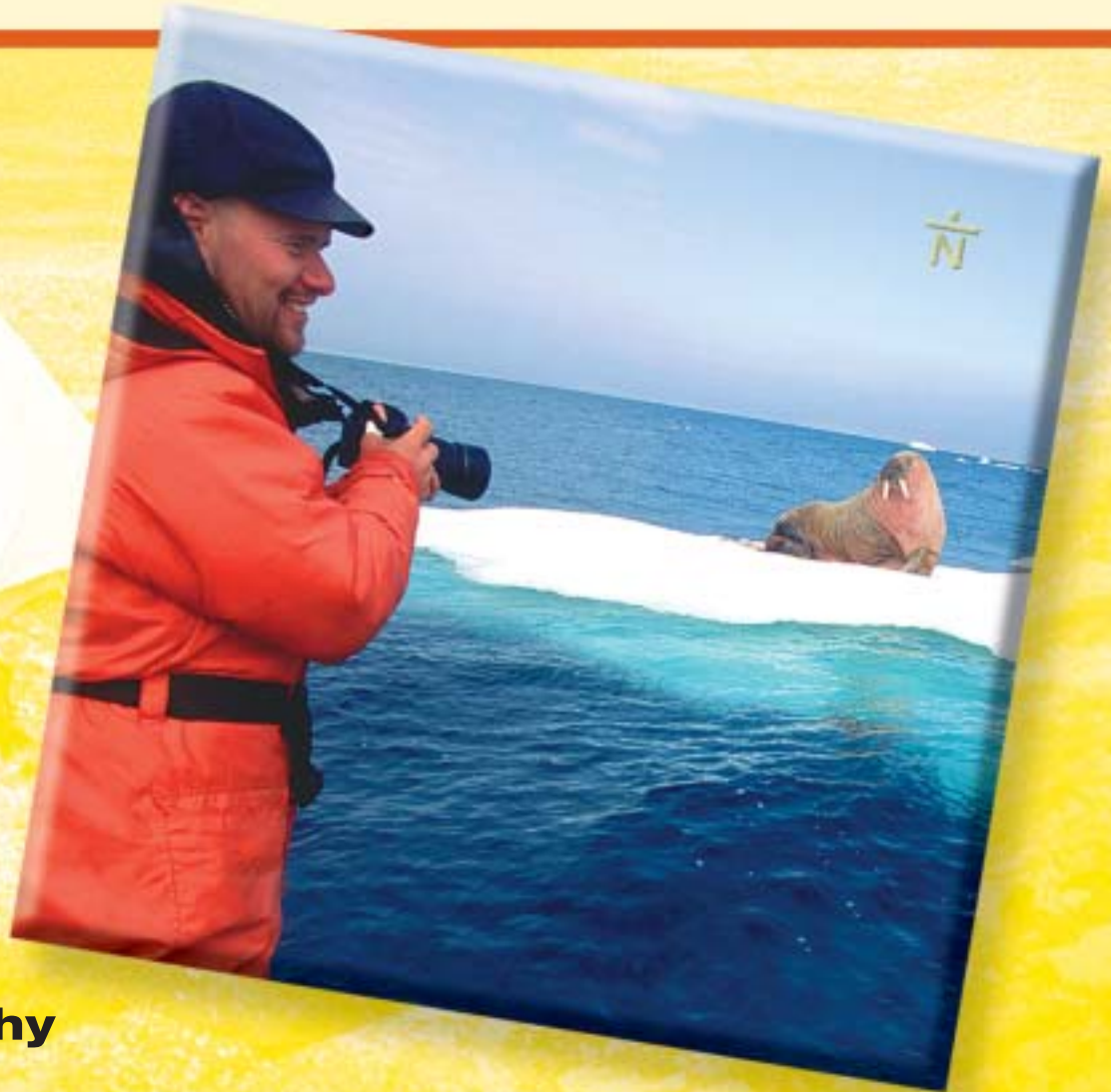
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