

January–February 2006

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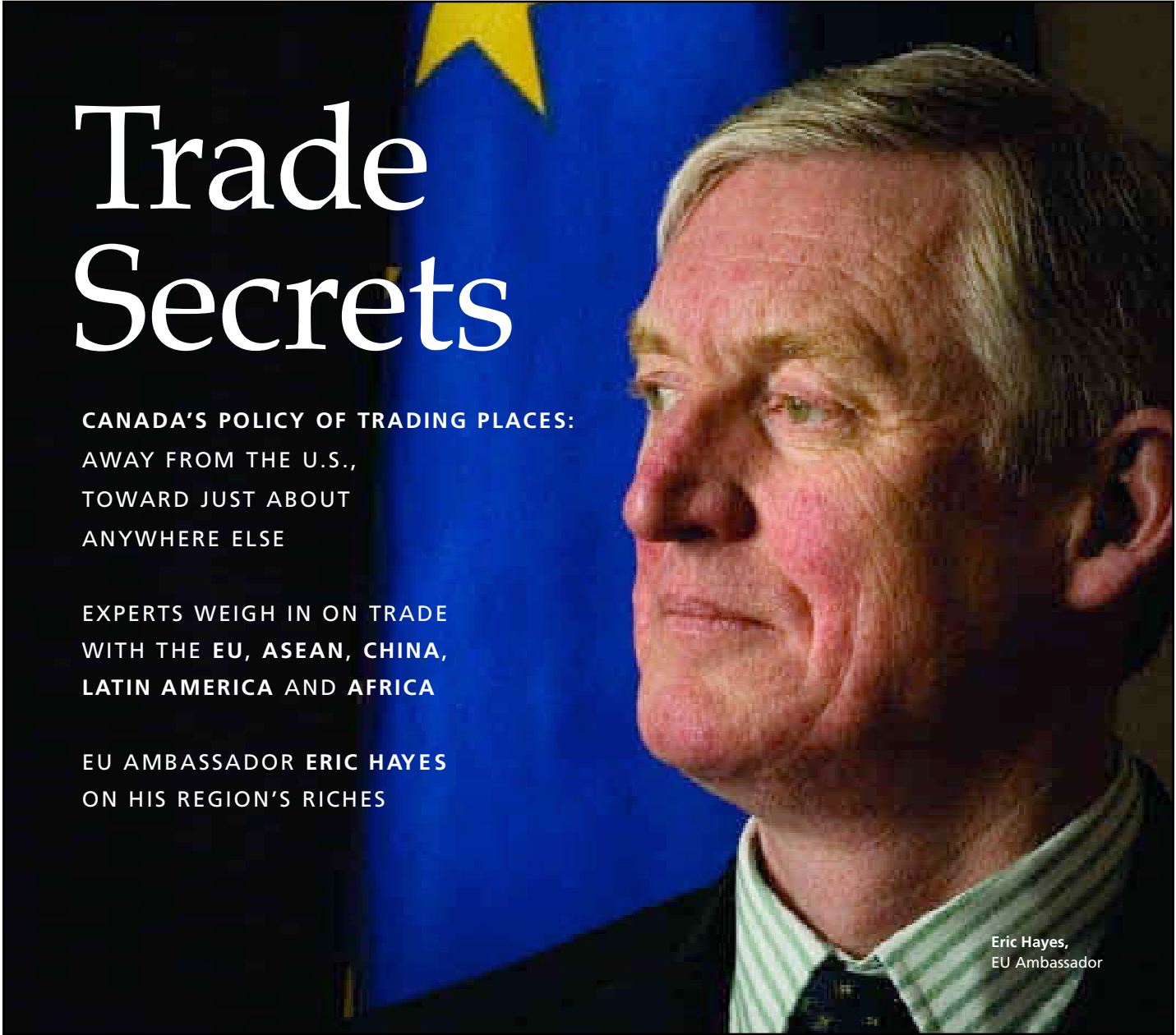
INTERNATIONAL CANADA

Trade Secrets

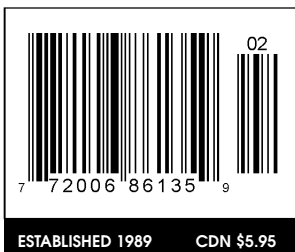
CANADA'S POLICY OF TRADING PLACES:
AWAY FROM THE U.S.,
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ANYWHERE ELSE

EXPERTS WEIGH IN ON TRADE
WITH THE EU, ASEAN, CHINA,
LATIN AMERICA AND AFRICA

EU AMBASSADOR ERIC HAYES
ON HIS REGION'S RICHES



Eric Hayes,
EU Ambassador



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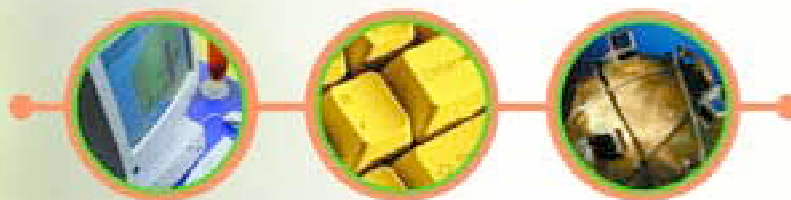


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Tricks of the trade

Canada's trade situation was in flux in 2005. While Prime Minister Paul Martin himself visited Brazil, India and China, and ordered his cabinet ministers off to China to foster links with that emerging trade dragon, relations between Canada and the United States were strained thanks to a contentious commodity called softwood. Analysts declared the U.S. unwillingness to heed tribunal decisions a blatant rebuff of the North American Free Trade Agreement. In response, Canada slapped a tariff on U.S. corn coming across the border.

Then came U.S. Ambassador David Wilkins, who scolded the Liberal Party for taking pot-shots at Americans during an election campaign. Mr. Wilkins was supposed to give an address with his Canadian counterpart Frank McKenna but Mr. McKenna had to back out because it's not considered proper for ambassadors to speak during election campaigns. But that was not the case for Mr. Wilkins, who kicked off three straight days of comment with a talk at the Canadian Club of Ottawa, telling the group that last time he checked, the United States wasn't on the ballot in Canada's election.

Despite the cross-border wrangling, the U.S. is still the recipient of 85 per cent of Canada's exports. But efforts to shift the country's trade dependence are slowly moving forward. Our cover package looks at Canada's trade policy and how the country is trying to tap into some emerging markets. Veteran journalist Dan Drolet looks at the future of Canadian trade while a panel of experts weighs in on Canada's trade policy toward the EU, China, the Association of South-East Asian Nations, Latin America and Africa. Trade Winds columnist Gurprit Kindra



JENNIFER CAMPBELL

drills deeper into the dynamics of Canada-EU trade when he interviews EU Ambassador Eric Hayes.

In our Face-off, Liza Frulla (who was heritage minister at press time) defends the Liberal government's practices for exporting culture, while critic Bev Oda offers a Conservative Party point of view.

In a book essay, writer Dean Foster makes his *Diplomat* magazine debut by looking at 2005 newsmaker Hugo Chavez. A proliferation of English-language books on Mr. Chavez shed some light on the man, and his "revolution" being closely watched by the world.

We also have "free advice" for 2010 Olympic organizers, and an interview with Japanese ambassador Sadaaki Numata, who not only answered questions but also played his three-stringed Okinawan instrument for *Diplomat* staff.

In our Delights section, we have Austrian eats, Pinot Noir wines, and Norwegian art. We also introduce a section for news from the Ottawa Diplomatic Association (see page 31) and we feature a new item called Hidden Gems, where diplomats share a secret destination in their home country – a must-see spot, off the tourist track. New Zealand High Commissioner Graham Kelly is first up with a look at the Hokitika Wildfoods Festival which features such delicacies as possum and shark penis.

As always, Allan Thompson has the last word with a piece on Canada's prisoner-of-war policy – or lack thereof.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat* magazine. Reach her at editor@diplomatonline.com, or (613) 231-8476 or P.O. Box 1173, Stn. B, Ottawa, ON, K1P 5R2.

UP FRONT

Photographer Jana Chytilova spent lots of time in the office of Eric Hayes trying out different backdrops for his portrait. "I wanted to have the EU flag as prominent as possible, since that really symbolizes Mr. Hayes' work and focus. He was most gracious – sitting patiently as I tried various angles to get the flag just in the right position," Ms. Chytilova said. "And at the same time, I learned about the newest set of countries that had joined the EU." Trade columnist Gurprit Kindra interviewed Mr. Hayes about trade between Canada and the EU.



CONTRIBUTORS

Dean Foster, author of *Instigator of the Year*



While visiting Scotland during an off-period of his studies at the London School of Economics last year, Dean Foster was surprised at the level of esteem held for the figures of its intellectual history. Numerous books have been written in recent years about Scotland's intellectual and scientific contributions, adding inspiration to its unmistakable nationalism. He is pictured next to the Edinburgh gravesite of Adam Smith, the author of *The Wealth of Nations* often referred to as the "father of economics." Mr. Foster is now pursuing research on international negotiations through the Centre for Negotiation and Dispute Resolution at Carleton University's Normal Paterson School of International Affairs.

Margo Roston, *Diplomat's* culture editor



A springtime trip to Athens and several Greek Islands brought unbelievable dividends for Mrs. Roston: Cool, sunny, weather, islands almost empty of tourists and Greek salads and local wines in the noonday sun. On Santorini, dazzling spring flowers, fresh fish and sturdy donkeys complemented the magical scenery. In Iraklion, on Crete, the Archaeological Museum showed off its Minoan treasures while the Palace of Knossos provided a look at the past. These days, Mrs. Roston spends her time dreaming of her next trip and writing for several Ottawa publications.

Since 2001, big events such as the Olympics have become more than international spectacles. They've become terrorist targets. The cost of security – and the cost of just putting on such a show – can also be prohibitive (think Montreal 1976). In the run-up to the Vancouver Winter Games in 2010, *Diplomat* decided to collect some planning tips from experts.

KEEP IT SAFE: "Post 9/11, the issue is almost always the cost of security," said Robert Sikellis, an Olympic security expert and managing director of Vance, a global investigations and security firm. "Athens estimates it spent \$1.5 billion but I'm sure when the final tally comes in, it will be higher. That's four times more than they paid for the Sydney Games. Torino hasn't reported anything yet. Vancouver will have a lot of the same security concerns as Athens did."

SPREAD IT OUT: "In Athens, there were really only two or three different areas where tourists would congregate and that made them prime sites for terrorists," Mr. Sikellis said. "If they're spread out and the area is larger, it makes it easier to secure. The more heavily populated, the more troubling for anyone dealing with security."

KEEP YOUR EARS TO THE GROUND: "Ninety-nine per cent of security is about intelligence information," Mr. Sikellis

said. "You can put armed guards on every street corner but if your intelligence isn't there, you have a problem. The old security model, which is to saturate the area with law enforcement officials and security guards, causes a lot of anxiety for everyone and it's long since been determined that it's not that effective in terms of thwarting any well-planned attack. You have to rely on international intelligence and have a

good network in place."

CONDUCT A THREAT ASSESSMENT: "(Security officials) need to do an assessment of the types of threats, whether man-made or natural – that's everything from a natural disaster like an earthquake or a hurricane, all the way up to international terrorism," Mr. Sikellis said. "It's about setting up a matrix and that threat assess-



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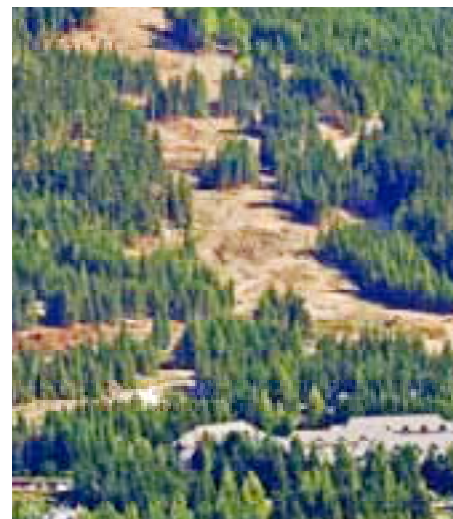
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ment will change all the time."

LEARN FROM THE PAST: "Sydney had a lessons-learned conference, consulting previous Olympics," Mr. Sikellis said. "They looked at everything from soup to nuts. They talked about what security system was used, what the faults were, how it could have been done better. I would strongly recommend that Vancouver do it. There has been a lot of good



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and bad in previous Olympics and they can learn from that."

CREATE A BUZZ: For ticket sales, the Olympics are an easy sell but Vancouver 2010 has the opportunity to turn this into the hottest ticket ever seen in sports, said James Chung, president of Reach Advisors, a Boston marketing strategy and research firm. "For example, Whistler already has a reputation as a winter scene for Hollywood starlets and Bay Area centi-millionaires. Vancouver 2010 should create early excitement, for example, by putting prime tickets up for charity auction on eBay where some of these people would kill to have the bragging rights of paying six figures for the best seats."

WHILE YOU'RE AT IT, BRAND B.C.: "The long-term brand marketing of British Columbia (which is in the hands of Tourism B.C. and related organizations) is one of the most critical marketing challenges," Mr. Chung said. "Ski Utah did a pretty good job at leveraging the 2002 games in a manner that took market share from Colorado in the following years. British Columbia must do the same since it doesn't have a well-defined brand reputation among American skiers and tourists."

The Winter Waltz

This year marks the 10th anniversary of the Viennese Winter Ball, a fairy tale evening for the who's who of Ottawa.

The black-tie event has had the support of the Austrian embassy since its inception.

On Feb. 4, against the backdrop of the National Gallery of Canada's rotunda, Austrian Ambassador Otto Ditz will be the honorary patron for the third year running. Mr. Ditz arrived in Ottawa two years ago, just a few days before the ball so – just as it does for the debutantes who kick off the evening – it served as his introduction to Ottawa society. "The Viennese Winter Ball gives the Canadian public a sensual taste what Austrian lifestyle is all about: elegance, diversity and up-lifting music," Mr. Ditz said. "During a few hours, the impossible becomes possible and the imaginary is more important than reality."

The most high-flying guests arrive at the ball in limousines, after having been treated to a reception at Mr. Ditz's Rockcliffe home. The evening includes a sumptuous meal with nibbles of crab, lobster, duck, lamb and milk-fed veal, all served with Austrian flair. The Thirteen Strings orchestra plays during dinner while the Ottawa Schrammel Quartet sets the musical tone in a Kaffee Haus, with free-flowing chocolate martinis.

The ball raises \$50,000 for two worthy causes, both related to children: The Thirteen Strings Junior Orchestra and Champions for Children.



Some 15 debutantes and their dance partners perform the Polonaise at last year's ball.



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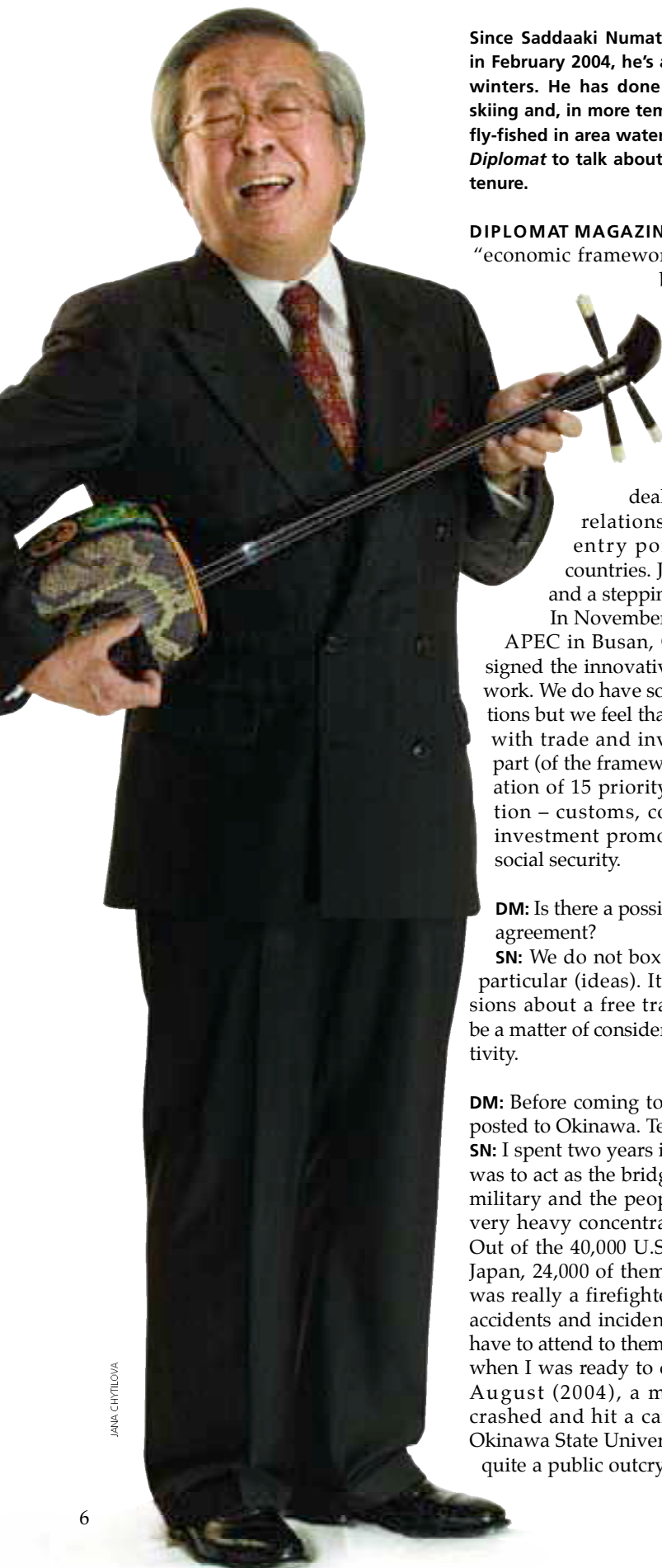
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Since Sadaaki Numata arrived in Canada in February 2004, he's adapted to Ottawa's winters. He has done some cross-country skiing and, in more temperate months, he's fly-fished in area waters. He sat down with *Diplomat* to talk about the first year of his tenure.

DIPLOMAT MAGAZINE: What does the "economic framework" recently struck between Canada and Japan mean to your country?

SADAACHI NUMATA:

Japan is a stabilizer and Canada could benefit a great deal from its economic relations with Japan as an entry point to East Asian countries. Japan is like a pivot and a stepping-stone to Asia.

In November, on the margins of APEC in Busan, Canada and Japan signed the innovative economic framework. We do have sound economic relations but we feel that more can be done with trade and investment. The first part (of the framework) is the enumeration of 15 priority areas of cooperation – customs, competition policy, investment promotion and possibly social security.

DM: Is there a possibility of a free trade agreement?

SN: We do not box ourselves into any particular (ideas). It's true that discussions about a free trade agreement can be a matter of considerable political sensitivity.

DM: Before coming to Canada, you were posted to Okinawa. Tell me about that.

SN: I spent two years in Okinawa. My job was to act as the bridge between the U.S. military and the people. Okinawa has a very heavy concentration of U.S. bases. Out of the 40,000 U.S. service people in Japan, 24,000 of them are in Okinawa. I was really a firefighter in the sense that accidents and incidents happen and you have to attend to them. One fire broke out when I was ready to come to Canada. In August (2004), a marine helicopter crashed and hit a campus building (at Okinawa State University) and there was quite a public outcry. I had to deal with

that situation for three or four months before coming to Canada.

DM: Tell me about your musical talents. I hear you sing and play *Four Strong Winds* (a Canadian folksong).

SN: When I was at university in Tokyo, I went to the U.S. for one year and folk songs were becoming popular so I started teaching myself to pluck the guitar and sing for my own pleasure. I learned a number of American folk songs. I continued that while at Oxford (University) and I learned some Indonesian folks songs as well.

In Okinawa, I started learning a three-stringed instrument called a sanshin. Okinawans are very fond of music and they use the sanshin for family gatherings. I learned some traditional songs. (He then plays the instrument, and sings). The instrument sounds like a banjo. It's a deep but dry sound. I've only been playing it for two years so my repertoire is much wider with the guitar.

DM: Why does Japan seek a permanent seat of the United Nations Security Council?

SN: We are the second largest contributor to the UN. If you look at the Security Council, there are five permanent members (China, U.S., Russia, U.K. and France) who were all there in 1945. The key decision-making body still reflects the realities of 1945. In the meantime, Japan's role on the international stage has expanded. We have been very active in peacekeeping, for example. Japan has joined efforts to fight terror. Japan has provided 20 per cent of the UN's budget. In light of all this, we feel we should be given a seat on the Security Council. At the Summit in September, we worked hard with like-minded countries like Germany, India and Brazil. We are now taking stock and we will continue our efforts.

DM: Have you read *Anne of Green Gables*?

SN: Yes, I have. I really love that story. My wife read it and then I read it and finished on the plane to PEI, five minutes before we touched down. I liked the expression "kindred spirits", which Anne uses.

I have three more provinces to visit: Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Newfoundland. When I was in New Brunswick, I told them that sea cucumbers and urchins taste better than they look.

Hidden hand

By George Abraham

Denis Lefebvre, a former senior official at the Canada Border Services Agency, is playing a pivotal behind-the-scenes role that may ultimately determine whether Palestinians secure a sovereign state. Working both with a U.S. security coordinator and a special envoy for the "Quartet," (the U.S., the EU, Russia and the UN), Mr. Lefebvre has been applying lessons learned in policing the post-9/11 Canada-U.S. border to the volatile Rafah crossing between the Gaza Strip and Egypt.

Security arrangements at Rafah – opened Nov. 15 – are among the most complex in the world, mainly to allay Israeli fears that it could serve as a conduit for terrorists and weapons. The Canadian expert works with U.S. Lt.-Gen. William Ward and the Quartet's special envoy James Wolfensohn, to develop a border-management strategy that is as rigorous as it is foolproof. While not physically participating in the EU monitoring mission that screens exits and entries at the busy crossing, "Canada will be providing additional expert assistance from the Canadian Border Services Agency to the Palestinian Authority in the area of border management in the coming months," according to Marie-Christine Lilkoff of Foreign Affairs.

Commenting on the arrangement at Rafah, Ms. Lilkoff said, "it shows the possibility of Israeli-Palestinian agreement and co-operation ... when the international community is prepared to step forward with assistance and support."

Part of the problem

Even as Canada is doing more to attract immigrants and investing in their retraining, only very recently did Ottawa wake up to the fact that it might be doing enormous long-term damage to the homelands of those immigrants, particularly in Africa. Nowhere is this brain drain more evident than among healthcare workers, whose representation among Africa's population has been thin at best – an estimated 750,000 health workers for a population of 680 million. Poaching by countries such as Canada has contributed to making them an even more endangered species.

Hence, it was interesting to hear Minister of International Cooperation (at press time) Aileen Carroll announce at an Ottawa conference a \$5 million contribution

to a WHO plan to remedy the dearth of human resources for health in Africa. The minister said the money will help train and retain about 100,000 African health professionals. There may be little Canada can do to dissuade African doctors and nurses from applying to immigrate to Canada, but at least it can be a part of the solution as well as the problem.

A people bridge

Listening to Reeta Chowdhary-Tremblay of Concordia University speak about Canada's missed opportunities in relations with India, one gets the feeling Canada has more to lose than India. Arguing that India was an alternate to the vast and nearby U.S. economy for Canadian trade and investment, she said Canada must first regain India's attention: In 1998 when Ottawa imposed sanctions against a resurgent nuclear weapons power, "Canada dropped off the Indian radar," she said.

Dr. Chowdhary-Tremblay sees the two nations bridging their differences through a "diasporic push" – the presence of between 700,000 and one million Canadians of Indian origin. That community, she said, has been handicapped so far by a disparate educational profile, ranging from PhD degree holders to unskilled workers who never made it past Grade 5. "[W]e can expect the next generation of Indo-Canadians to enjoy a stronger and more homogeneous educational and professional profile. As this happens, it is almost inevitable that the community's lobbying efforts in favour of closer and more positive bilateral relations will expand and intensify."

She cautioned her listeners from the Canadian Institute of International Affairs not to fall into the Western trap of privileging China over India. "These are not competing alternatives," she stressed.

A hung verdict

When Tookie Williams died by lethal injection in California in December, reams of column inches were devoted to debating the relevance of the death penalty in modern societies. Just a few weeks before, Canada joined a small group of nations that have disavowed capital punishment and signed a treaty that bans executions within their jurisdiction.

Although Canadian officials heralded the signing as support for the "international trend towards abolition," only about a quarter of the UN's member nations are party to the treaty. The treaty it-



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self is embedded in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Adopted in 1989, it's called the Second Optional Protocol. As of November, 56 states were parties to it. The jury is still out on whether this represents a consensus towards abolition of the death penalty or a hung verdict.

According to Rodney Moore, a Foreign Affairs spokesperson, "Many more states have declared moratoria on the death penalty, 88 are abolitionist de facto and de jure; a further 10 states have abolished the death penalty for ordinary crimes; and an additional 35 are abolitionist de facto, not having carried out an execution in at least 10 years." It would seem that the U.S. is bucking the trend, yet again.

George Abraham, a Nieman scholar, is a contributing editor to *Diplomat* (diplomat01@rogers.com)

Recognizing key staff members

Do you have a locally engaged staff member your mission couldn't do without? If so, now is the time to nominate that person for an evening of recognition.

Building on the success of their last award evening for locally engaged embassy and high commission staff, Star Motors, realtor Leena Ray, and *Diplomat* magazine are teaming up to present a Star-y Night awards evening this spring.

The idea came from Star Motors owner Jeff Mierins who said he and his staff members meet many of the front-line staff members – in their case drivers, mostly – who keep missions in Ottawa running and thought it would be nice to say thank you to them.

Last year's event saw 10 submissions from embassies and high commissions. Last year's winner, Lea Duarte, works as the receptionist at the South Africa High Commission.

Those who have a staff member who goes the extra mile simply need to write up, in 100 words or less, what that person has done to make him or herself an indispensable asset to the mission. Colourful descriptions are always welcome.

Those interested should send their submissions to *Diplomat* magazine by email (info@diplomatonline.com) or by fax (613) 789-9313 or by post (P.O. Box 1173, Stn. B, Ottawa, ON, K1P5R2).



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By Jose Brillantes



FIRST NAME: Jose
LAST NAME: Brillantes
CITIZENSHIP: Filipino
PRESENTED CREDENTIALS:
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OTHER FOREIGN POSTINGS:
 United States, Malaysia,
 Germany. See biography
 page 10.

As I begin my post in Ottawa, I am eager to pursue the ever-strengthening bilateral relations between the Philippines and Canada.

Since we established relations in 1949, we've seen expansion and cooperation in trade, investment, technical cooperation (both in governance and entrepreneurship) and people-to-people exchanges.

During my time in Canada, I will explore initiatives that further existing agreements – such as the live-in caregiver program that certifies Filipinos to work as caregivers for the elderly in Canada – bearing in mind our objective of mutually beneficial gains.

At the same time, I will look for other areas where bilateral cooperation can be pursued, particularly in defence and security, trade and investment, tourism, science and technology, education, welfare of overseas Filipinos, and cultural exchanges.

The Philippines and Canada already work hard to expand bilateral flows in trade, investment, and tourism and to promote educational and cultural exchanges. I intend to harness the resources of the embassy, our honorary consular posts, and the Filipino community in Canada to help promote the Philippines' export winners – such as electronic components, garments, jewelry and machinery, and transport equipment – and investment opportunities to the Canadian market.

We will keep Canadian investors informed about opportunities in the Philippines and encourage them to bring their

resources into our country, notably in the field of mining, information and communications technology (ICT), particularly in animation, medical transcription, and health and wellness.

Canada is one of the Philippines' priority areas for tourism promotion. I plan to pro-

mote Philippine tourism programs, emphasizing health and wellness getaways, as well as adventure- and sport-related travel. I will also sell seniors on my country's virtues as a retiree's haven.

When it comes to development, the Philippines appreciates the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA),

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 AND FAILING STATES AND
 PREVENTING THE PROLIFERA-
 TION OF WEAPONS OF
 MASS DESTRUCTION.**

which has implemented projects that improve public governance and business capabilities. CIDA grants are contributing effectively to institutional capacity-building. I plan to ensure the continuation of bilateral programming to the Philippines in areas where they are still needed.

I will explore an agreement on science and technology, which will focus on research and development, biotechnology,

health science and material science and I hope to pair up Canadian venture capitalists with Philippine inventors and entrepreneurs to commercialize available technologies.

Meanwhile, on people-to-people contacts, the 400,000 Filipinos in Canada can facilitate understanding between our two nations. Protecting the rights and well-being of Filipino workers abroad is a cornerstone of Philippine foreign policy, and will be among my top priorities. The demand for Filipino caregivers and nurses in Canada continues to grow, a reflection of their skill and proficiency. I will work to improve regulations in the deployment of caregivers and nurses to Canada, and will work toward greater recognition of their qualifications, particularly for health workers. At the same time, I will encourage Filipino nationals in Canada to become our partners in national development.

On defence and security cooperation, I will pursue a framework agreement that will govern military and training exercises, capacity-building, including training and education programs, exchange of information, and transfer of defence-related equipment.

I will continue to watch political, economic and other developments in Canada, with a view to promoting matters of mutual interest and benefit. The Philippines and Canada share resolute interest in preserving maritime security, combating terrorism and transnational crimes, peacekeeping in failed and failing states and preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Our vibrant bilateral cooperation is reinforced by our engagement in regional and multilateral forums particularly ASEAN, APEC and the United Nations.

I am fully aware that the challenges ahead are difficult and demanding. My resolve to meet them, however, is strengthened by the knowledge that I will work for them together with a Filipino-Canadian community eager to contribute, and through mutually beneficial interaction with professionals in the Canadian government and my highly qualified peers in the diplomatic community.

Jose Brillantes, ambassador of the Philippines, arrived in Canada in November.

New Heads of Mission

Vesela Mrden Korać
Ambassador of Croatia



Ms. Korać's appointment in Ottawa marks a return for her. From 1994-97, she was the first Croatian chargé d'affaires and counsellor at the embassy in Ottawa.

Ms. Korać has a master's degree in marketing from the University of Zagreb and studied before that in the Croatian city of Split. She trained in diplomacy in Zagreb, Paris and Brussels.

Ms. Korać started her diplomatic career as a senior adviser in the economic department of the ministry of foreign affairs in 1993. She has worked in various positions within the ministry and, besides Canada, has had appointments in Hungary, Belgium, and Luxembourg.

Born in Croatia in 1960, Ms. Korać speaks English, French and Italian and has a working knowledge of Hungarian and Norwegian.

Markús Örn Antonsson
Ambassador of Iceland



Mr. Antonsson comes to diplomacy from journalism. His posting as ambassador to Canada is his first.

Born in 1943, he graduated from Reyk-

javik College in 1965. He studied broadcast journalism and television production in the UK and Sweden and worked as a reporter and producer before becoming a city councillor for 15 years. He then became director-general of the National Broadcasting Service, RUV TV and Radio, for the following six years and was then elected to a three-year term as mayor of Reykjavik. He returned to RUV for 10 years before being appointed ambassador.

Mr. Antonsson is married to Steinunn Ármannsdóttir and they have two grown children and two grandchildren.

Karel P.M. de Beer
Ambassador of the Netherlands



Mr. de Beer is a career diplomat. He joined the foreign service in 1976, after studying social and political sciences at the University of Amsterdam.

His first posting was to Prague as third secretary. After that, he had a spate of foreign postings with increasing responsibility, in Israel, the U.S. and Kenya. He returned to foreign ministry headquarters in 1988 as head of the UN section, also responsible for multilateral cooperation and special programs. He stayed at the Hague until 1993 when he became deputy head of mission in New Delhi. He served as ambassador in Zambia before being appointed to Canada.

Mr. de Beer, who was born in 1946, is married to Loes Terlouw.

Jose S. Brillantes
Ambassador of the Philippines

Mr. Brillantes was deputy minister of foreign affairs prior to being appointed to Ottawa, a place he came to study years earlier.

A lawyer by profession, Mr. Brillantes career has included other diplomatic postings in Germany and the U.S. and he was ambassador to Malaysia. He served



as under-secretary of labour for employment promotion and manpower development; practiced law for 11 years; and was twice elected as councillor to Manila's city council.

He studied at the Ateneo de Manila College of Law and did graduate work in public administration at Carleton University in Ottawa. Dr. Brillantes has a doctor of laws degree from Lyceum Northwestern University in the Philippines and says he has always worked to protect the interests of Filipino workers.

Elena Sava Stefoi
Ambassador of Romania



Like many of her colleagues, the appointment to Canada represents a return to Canada for Ms. Stefoi.

A journalist, writer and poet for more than half her career, she was editor of several magazines before becoming adviser to the minister of foreign affairs in 1998. A year later, she was appointed consul general for Romania in Montreal for two years. Since then, she has worked at the foreign ministry, most recently as director general of the political affairs bureau.

Ms. Stefoi has a BA and a PhD in philosophy, the latter completed in 2005. Born in 1954, she has published six books of poetry and three books of conversations with members of the Romanian political establishment. She speaks English, French and German.

Ingrid Maria Iremark
Ambassador of Sweden



Before becoming a diplomat, Ms. Iremark put her journalism degree to work for a few years, working as both a newspaper reporter and later a communications officer. She joined the foreign ministry in 1979 but continued to work with the press within the ministry until she joined the Confederation of Swedish Trade Unions in 1983. She worked as press secretary in the ministries of labour and justice before joining the foreign ministry's International Press Centre. She worked as press secretary at the finance ministry in 1994 and the Prime Minister's Office in 1996, becoming head of the foreign ministry's press, information and culture department in 2000.

Ms. Iremark was born in Sweden in 1949 and is married to journalist Thomas Thornquist. They have one son.

Hetira Abdessalem
Ambassador of Tunisia



Mr. Abdessalem has always worked in international fields. Born in Tunisia in 1949, he completed his PhD in Social Pedagogy at the University of Oslo and, in 1979, became a lecturer at the same school in Norway. In 1986, he moved on to become an international consultant in education and social development, working for the Norwegian government and the World Bank.

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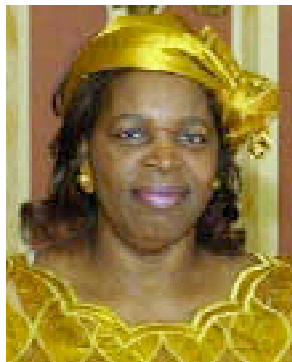
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He returned to Tunisia in 1988 as a special economic and social adviser before joining the ministry of foreign affairs.

In 1998, he was appointed ambassador to Malta and returned in 2003 for a two-year stint as special adviser to the foreign affairs minister before being appointed as ambassador to Canada.

Mr. Abdessalem is married with three children.

Florence Zano Chideya Ambassador of Zimbabwe



Ms. Chideya's appointment as Zimbabwe's ambassador to Canada follows an active life with various jobs. Most recently, she was a senior civil servant in the ministry of industry and commerce but she has also worked as a registered nurse and has owned and operated a travel agency.

She has a bachelor of science degree from the State University of New York in Buffalo and a diploma in public administration from the University of Zimbabwe.

Ms. Chideya is married to Ngoni Chideya, a retired ambassador who served in the Nordic countries and the UK. She accompanied him on his postings and was active in the diplomatic communities of those countries.

The Chideyas have two children and two grandchildren.

Non-Heads of mission

Azeddine Mebarki
Admin and Tech Staff
Algeria

Glenda Meryl Price
First Secretary
Australia

Walfrido Asin Sotelo
Attaché
Cuba

Oscar Felipe Izquierdo Arboleda
First Secretary
Ecuador

Vello Loemaa
Defence, Military, Naval &
Air Attaché
Estonia

Kazuo Tsukada
First Secretary
Japan

Masataka Tarahara
Minister & Deputy Head of
Mission
Japan

Jun Yanagi
Counsellor
Japan

Tomas Margaitis
Admin and Tech Staff
Lithuania

Sergio Valdivia Torres
Admin and Tech Staff
Mexico

Maung Maung
Minister & Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.
Myanmar

Barry Norman Prior
Counsellor
New Zealand

Romeo Merjudio
Attaché
Philippines

Adelio Rivera
Admin and Tech Staff
Philippines

Mario Masangkay
Attaché
Philippines

Costel Lazar
Admin and Tech Staff
Romania

Silvia Lazar
Admin and Tech Staff
Romania

Evgeny Verkhovtsev
Attaché
Russia

Hegab Abdelrahman G. Elaitiby
Attaché
Saudi Arabia

Boris Jelovsek
Counsellor
Slovenia

W.E.N.F. Charmi Lowe
Attaché
Sri Lanka

Elizabeth Majogo
Attaché
Tanzania

Hikmet Gundogdu
Attaché
Turkey

Oleksandr Ratsidlo
Defence, Naval & Air Attaché
Ukraine

James Kinch Foster
First Secretary
United States of America

Kimberly Ann Himmer
Admin and Tech Staff
United States of America

Stephen Joel Hirsch
Attaché
United States of America

John James Di Stasio
Attaché
United States of America

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Diplo-Dates

January 1

Cuba's Liberation Day
Sudan's National Day
Haiti's Independence Day

January 4

Myanmar's Independence Day

January 24

Canadian Club of Ottawa:
Economist Sherry Cooper is the guest speaker at the Canadian Club's luncheon at the Fairmont Chateau Laurier. For information, visit www.canadianclubottawa.ca or call (819) 682-2877.

January 26

Australia's National Day

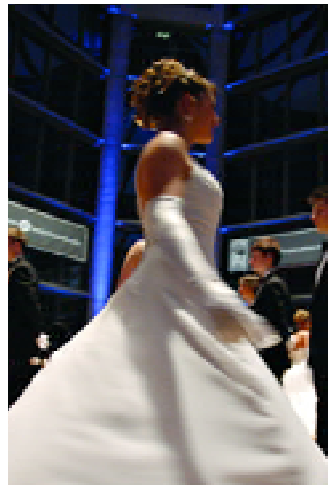


February 3 – 19 (weekends)
Winterlude: Celebrate winter in the capital region with ice and snow sculptures, in the city centre; a giant snow

playground at Jacques-Cartier Park and many activities along the Rideau Canal, the world's longest skateway. Visit www.canadascapital.gc.ca for more information.

February 4

Sri Lanka's National Day



Viennese Winter Ball: Austrian Ambassador Otto Ditz will host the 10th annual evening at the National Gallery of Canada. The ball features a sumptuous meal with Austrian wine and dancing past midnight. Visit www.winterball.ca for more details.

February 6

New Zealand's National Day

February 11

Iran's National Day

Snowflake Ball: U.S. Ambassador David Wilkins and

his wife Susan will be the king and queen of the sixth annual Snowflake Ball held at the Ottawa Congress Centre. Visit www.snowflakeball.com or phone (613) 237-0190 for more information.

February 14

Valentine's Day Ball: Held on Valentine's Day at Canadian Museum of Civilization this ball is a fundraising event that benefits the Canadian Postal Museum. The Grand Hall of the museum is turned into a romantic setting where guests enjoy dinner and dancing. For information and tickets, phone: (819) 246-6378.



February 15

National Flag of Canada Day

February 16

Lithuania's Independence Day

February 17

Ottawa Chamber Music Society concert: Violinist Kyung-Wha Chung performs at Dominion-Chalmers United Church in Ottawa. A rare Ottawa performance by Kyung-Wha Chung will feature music by Beethoven, Schubert, and Mozart. For more information, visit www.chamberfest.com or phone (613) 234-8008.

February 18

The Black & White Opera Soiree: Love, Death, and Divas – Four of Canada's most talented opera singers will present Opera's greatest hits from 400 years' worth of repertoire. Visit the National Arts Centre website at www.nac-cna.ca for more information.

February 22

Saint Lucia's Independence Day

February 23

Guyana's Republic Day
Brunei Darussalam's National Day

February 24

Estonia's Independence day

February 25

Kuwait's National Day

February 27

Dominican Republic's Independence Day

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Though much of Canada's trade is still with the United States, a policy shift is slowly changing things on the trade front. The Port of Vancouver, for example, trades \$43 billion in goods each year, with more than 90 different economies. Two thirds of its exports go to Asia.

COURTESY OF THE PORT OF VANCOUVER

Continental Drift

Canada has been inching away from its main trading partner, but as **Daniel Drolet** discovers, not quickly enough for some

In the introduction to the 23-page document that lays out Canada's trade policy, Jim Peterson, Canada's trade minister at press time, says the stakes are clear: "Our prosperity is anchored in our international success."

Up to now, "international" has largely meant "American." Thanks to the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement and decades of such policies as the Auto Pact (the 1965 agreement with the U.S. that saw Canada's tiny auto industry become a world leader), Canada's exports to the U.S. amounted to \$348 billion in 2004. That's nearly 85 per cent of the country's total exports and light years ahead of the \$8.5-billion figure for Japan, the country in the Number 2 spot.

But as China, India and Brazil emerge as trading powers and as capital flows more and more freely to any place that gives it a competitive edge, Canada is scrambling to stay in the game. Hence the Liberal government's effort to balance the country's dependence on the U.S. with opportunities in the rest of the world.

Last spring, Prime Minister Paul Martin ordered senior cabinet ministers to make their way to China. Several did.

Their backgrounding for the trip included Canada's refurbished trade policy, laid out last April as part of the government's International Policy Statement. Its three themes are trade inside North America, trade with the rest of the world, and the need to keep Canada competitive.

In the words of the policy statement, "Canada's first international economic relationship is with the United States."

Canada has recently increased its trade offices in the U.S. to 23 from 16 and is working to make sure trade flows freely despite the barriers thrown up by worries about security. And while the softwood lumber dispute grabs headlines, it's worth noting, as U.S. Ambassador David Wilkins frequently does, that 95 per cent of Canada's trade with the U.S. is dispute-free.

Stephen Blank, a professor at Pace University in New York City and lecturer at

**BUT AS CHINA, INDIA AND
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STAY IN THE GAME.**

Montreal's Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, said it's important to remember that the Canadian and American economies are so enmeshed, the two countries don't really trade. Rather, they make things together. Canada, for example, does not just make and export cars; it's part of a production system for North American automobiles.

"It's not like Canada could decide to sell its cars somewhere else," he said.

Michael Hart, the Simon Reisman chair in trade policy at Carleton University, said the government's main role in Canada-U.S. trade should be conflict resolution.

"We don't worry enough about the U.S.," he said, adding that it's a natural place for Canadians to do business because the two countries share language, attitudes and business practices, not to mention a border.

But the ease of trading across that border has made Canada complacent, said Debra Steger, a University of Ottawa law professor who was a Canadian negotiator in the Uruguay Round of trade talks from 1988-93. She said Canada coasted for a long time because the low value of its dollar gave this country an edge for exports to the U.S.

As shown in its April policy statement, the Liberal government agreed the country needed to expand its range of trading partners and did so, signing free trade agreements with Chile, Costa Rica and Israel – the provisions of the Israeli agreement were extended to the Palestinian Authority – and pursuing similar arrangements with El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, South Korea, Norway, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Iceland and the Caribbean Community.

In addition to supporting multilateral arrangements such as the Free Trade Area of the Americas, Canada is pushing hard for trade with Asia.

"Few Canadian companies can expect to succeed without an Asia strategy," the trade policy states. "We aim to double the

level of Canada's trade and investment relationship with China by 2010."

Not everyone agrees that's worth pursuing with trade missions that look like photo ops. "If there are opportunities in China and India, business will find them," said Carleton's Dr. Hart, adding that China and India offer more challenges than other trading partners. "I don't think Mr. Peterson leading more trade missions will make any difference except to his ego."

But Lawrence Herman, international counsel at the Toronto law firm Cassels Brock and Blackwell, said Canada should be taking aim at countries besides the U.S.: "I don't think we *should* entrench ourselves further and deeper into a one-sided relationship. If we want to sell, we should be targeting those economies that have the greatest annual growth potential over the next few decades."

That doesn't just mean Asia. Canada's trade policy notes that "one of NAFTA's most significant effects has been the change in our relationship with Mexico: It is now our sixth-largest export market and we are Mexico's second largest. In 1990, Mexico was Canada's 16th most important export market and Canada was Mexico's seventh largest."

Dr. Blank says Canada's not paying enough attention to Mexico.

"The great opportunity for Canada is not China, it's Mexico," he said, adding that he's surprised Mexico isn't at the top of the list for Canada.

"Mexicans want to buy Canadian products, and we have a free trade agreement with Mexico. It's a lot easier to do business in Mexico than in China because there's an enthusiastic audience there that is not just interested in Canadian raw materials."

"We know what China wants: China wants access to Canadian raw materials. I'm shocked at the enthusiasm of many of my Canadian friends to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for China."

Daniel Schwanen, director of research at the Centre for International Governance and Innovation in Waterloo, said that while Canada's trade with the U.S. is largely about manufactured goods, trade with Asia and Europe is more about raw materials.

So there's a danger that Canada could expand its range of trading partners, yet be stuck in its traditional role of delivering raw materials such as wood, water and ore. To avoid this raw materials trap

WHERE CANADA SENDS ITS GOODS

This table shows Canada's total exports for all products, expressed in millions of Canadian dollars.

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
United States	359,289	351,751	345,366	326,700	348,142
Japan	9,284	8,340	8,360	8,144	8,558
United Kingdom	5,747	5,059	4,431	6,087	7,734
China	3,698	4,264	4,132	4,766	6,654
Mexico	2,034	2,755	2,420	2,212	2,994
Germany	3,155	2,930	2,955	2,896	2,669
France*	1,901	2,171	2,003	2,187	2,378
Korea, South	2,337	2,017	2,017	1,936	2,267
Belgium	2,128	1,932	1,918	1,841	2,224
Netherlands	1,432	1,556	1,774	1,622	1,922
TOTAL	391,003	382,776	375,376	358,390	385,542
Other countries	22,211	21,309	21,002	22,476	26,260
TOTAL (all countries)	413,215	404,085	396,378	380,866	411,802

*(including Monaco and French Antilles) Data obtained from Statistics Canada and the U.S. Census Bureau (U.S. Department of Commerce).

in emerging markets, the country needs capital and smarts.

"It's not who we're trading with, it's what we're trading," said Daniel Trefler, who holds the J. Douglas and Ruth Grant Canada research chair in competitiveness and prosperity at the University of Toronto's Rotman School of Management.

"The core focus should be on how trade helps us become more competitive," said Dr. Trefler, explaining that it's one thing for Canada to export unprocessed resources, and quite another to export sophisticated goods.

Dr. Trefler said Canada should be looking for trading opportunities that force Canadian firms to innovate. For example, Canada shouldn't just sell wood, it should be transforming it at home and selling high-end wood products.

"We need to be high up on the value chain," he said.

He said China and India have the potential to become consumers of sophisticated products, and "we want to be located wherever there's a sophisticated group of consumers on the globe."

Mr. Herman, the international lawyer, said he was encouraged by this possible new direction for Canada. "Prior to the policy statement, I felt we had no idea of our priorities. I think the policy now attempts to focus it on key emerging markets."

But Dr. Blank says the trade policy is not enough.

"This is the moment for Canada to decide what (it) wants over the next 10 or 20 years. And the question is not whether we want to trade more with the U.S., but

what do we want North America to look like in 20 years?"

Dr. Blank said too many Canadians, partly because they don't like the administration of U.S. President George Bush, are refusing to consider the hard questions Canada needs to ask about North American trade.

For example, he said the North American transportation system is becoming overloaded, and this will put a strain on trade if there is no overall continental transportation strategy. And he said Canada needs to have a transportation strategy in place before the next terrorist attack on the U.S. creates a crisis.

"It's clear the U.S. has only one arrow in its quiver, and that's to close the borders – and that's completely unacceptable for Canada," he said. "Canada has got to come up with a plan for a way of avoiding closing the borders. Most people think that's something like a security perimeter. We have to have Canadians put something on the table to protect themselves."

Dr. Blank, who spent the last year crossing Canada on a Fulbright scholarship, says he couldn't find many Canadians asking questions such as these.

"It's a lot of fun to piss on Uncle Sam's shoes, but that's not the response we need. What we need most is a vision of where we want to go. We want a sense of what we want to make North America, and this is the moment for Canadians to put down a vision."

Daniel Drolet is a veteran political journalist and *Diplomat's* contributing editor.

Trading Places

As promising trade markets emerge worldwide, Canada's policy makers have had to adapt. Increasingly, those at the helm believe that relying on the U.S. as the country's sole trading partner doesn't make sense as markets such as Southeast Asia, Brazil and China begin to offer impressive trading opportunities. *Diplomat* assembled experts to look at the possibilities in five markets: The EU, China, Southeast Asia, Latin America and Africa.

Canada-EU

Canada can't ignore the EU's might

By David Crane

In a recent commentary on European Union summits, Peter Ludlow, the chairman of EuroComment (a Brussels-based publisher of information on the European Union) made the point that not all European summits or ministerial meetings with trading partners are created equal. He used talks between Canada and the European Union as an example. "The recent-six monthly Canadian summit," he wrote, "was designated the stealth summit because it evaded detection on any normal radar screens."

There's no doubt that the Canada-EU relationship, with political-level meetings every six months, attracts little public attention on either side of the Atlantic. Yet from a trade and investment point of view, the relationship is more important than many recognize and could pave the way to important advances and broader international co-operation. It could also strengthen the multilateral system of global governance.

While the EU economy is similar in size to NAFTA, Canada's preoccupation with its U.S. relationship has led to a neglect of the EU. But that may be changing. In March 2004, for example, the EU and Canada agreed on a new EU-Canada "partnership agenda," which has set in motion negotiations to broaden the relationship, including cooperation on climate change technologies and advancing the Kyoto Protocol, addressing overfishing in the North Atlantic, improving trade and investment relations, and working together to strengthen the multilateral system.

Canada and Europe have a two-way



Tapping into Europe's bounty: Canada imports more medication from the EU than anything else. Wine, shown above, takes the seventh position on the Canada-EU import list.

trade in goods and services worth about \$90 billion, with the Europeans selling Canada about \$11 billion more than Canada sells to the EU. The European Union is Canada's second largest trading partner and home to about 27 per cent of Canada's foreign direct investment. About one-quarter of foreign direct investment in Canada comes from the EU and the EU enjoys both a trade surplus and a current account surplus with Canada.

EU companies have just over \$90 billion invested in business activities in Canada and Canadian companies have almost \$120 billion invested in businesses in the EU. Canadian companies such as Alcan, Magna International, Power Corp., Nortel, McCain Foods, and Bombardier are well established in Europe while prominent European companies such as Siemens, Ericsson, Alcatel, Shell, BP,

IKEA, and GlaxoSmithKline are important participants in Canada's economy.

Moreover, Canada and Europe are like-minded players in world affairs. Whether it's the importance of the United Nations and multilateralism in general, action on climate change, the negotiation of a UNESCO convention on cultural diversity, the creation of the International Criminal Court or a land mines treaty, Canada's key diplomatic partner is the European Union, not the United States, which consistently opposes such Canada-European initiatives.

From a trade and investment perspective, the relationship could expand much more. Both Canada and the EU are in the process of restructuring their economies for greater growth and productivity in the face of growing competition from nations such as India and China. In Canada, this is the productivity agenda; in the EU, it is the growth and jobs agenda. This focus in itself should create new opportunities on both sides of the Atlantic.

Canada and the EU are also negotiating a new "trade and investment enhancement agreement" on standards, public procurement, recognition of professional qualifications, investment provisions and mutual recognition of stock exchange regulations. They are also looking at possibilities in e-commerce, financial services, science and technology co-operation and sustainable development.

This is not a negotiation for a free trade agreement but a look at non-tariff issues. Still, in today's trading world, where average tariffs are so low that often they are simply a nuisance tax, the main barriers are so-called non-tariff barriers. These can range from different standards on food safety or regulatory requirements in automobiles, with the goal to achieve mutual recognition of each other's standards wherever possible.

Business is also more directly engaged

through the Canada-Europe Roundtable for Business, which is identifying opportunities in many different sectors such as telecommunications, aerospace and biotechnology. The expansion of the Canadian electric power system offers significant opportunities for European businesses in electric power generation technologies and software systems to manage electricity grids and energy efficiency technologies. Canadians can also learn from the EU's experience with its greenhouse gas emissions trading system.

At the same time, Canadian fuel cells and hydrogen companies are providing technology for the EU's pilot program with fuel cell buses in selected European cities, powered by fuel cells from Ballard Power Systems in Vancouver. I have ridden on one such bus in Stockholm, where there is a fueling system provided by a division of Hydrogenics of Toronto.

There are, to be sure, trade disagreements between Canada and the EU. Many have to do with agriculture, including Canada's push to see greater trade liberalization in agriculture in Europe and the EU's efforts to diminish the role of the Canadian Wheat Board. Canada is a proponent of the use of growth hormones in beef and the broader issue of genetically modified foods while the European Union is opposed.

The big challenge on both sides of the Atlantic is to sustain interest in maintaining and enlarging the relationship. But Canada-EU free trade is unlikely. Instead, the relationship will expand by steady increments, dealing with one sector at a time and looking for opportunities where there are shared needs or competencies, such as energy efficiency or advances in automotive technologies.

David Crane is a Toronto journalist whose column appears Fridays in the Toronto Star.

Canada-China

Trade Restrictions: Last resort, not first response

By Jack Hughes

It is no secret that when the People's Republic of China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO), it did so with considerable economic advantages –

chief among these being a large and inexpensive workforce. What remains to be seen is whether the global trading community, Canada included, will welcome this Goliath to the table.

In recent months, we have seen an emerging trend of Canadian industries responding to the rise in Chinese imports by filing "safeguard" complaints with the Canadian International Trade Tribunal



A new operating system: The number one commodity Canada imports from China is laptop computers.

(CITT). Safeguard measures provide that where products are being imported in such numbers as to cause or even threaten market disruption, an affected WTO member can withdraw trade concessions or impose surtaxes or quotas.

Some industries have filed global safeguard cases with China as the primary target, while others have used the China-specific safeguards allowed by the WTO *China Accession Protocol*.

The China-specific safeguards are emergency measures intended to help WTO members manage a sudden and unexpected influx of imports that are a direct consequence of China's joining the WTO. They were not, however, designed to create islands of protectionism amidst a sea of globalization.

In some safeguard inquiries, as in the recently concluded case of Chinese outdoor barbecues, the goods in question will be fairly traded goods – they are neither being illegally dumped nor subsidized. For this reason, it is essential that

the safeguard measures do not unjustifiably penalize either Canadian consumers or Chinese producers.

Moreover, constant use of safeguard measures against Chinese products could set off a chain reaction of dozens of similar complaints if any of the early test cases – barbecues, tobacco and furniture – are successful. Already the CITT has determined that safeguard measures should be imposed in the case of imported barbecues, but it is far from certain that the Canadian government will adopt the CITT's recommendations.

In Chinese safeguard inquiries, the CITT recommends a remedy that members of the Canadian cabinet can either accept, reject or modify. That means cabinet members must weigh the competing factors, as it is they who are ultimately responsible for siding with one faction against another.

The process is further complicated by the fact that a decision to impose a safeguard would clearly contradict signals for increased trade being sent by Canadian officials to their Chinese counterparts.

None of this is to say that safeguard remedies must never be used. There could be circumstances in which they would be entirely appropriate and necessary. But if Canada is going to respect both the letter and spirit of the trade agreements it signs, and if Canada is serious about expanding trade with China, safeguard measures must be a last resort not a first response.

That said, there is no question that Canadian businesses must adapt to a "new normal" in which China will continue to be one of our nation's most important trading partners, second only to the United States.

To adapt effectively, the country cannot build barriers around domestic industries. Rather, Canada must identify and specialize in those markets where it can excel, despite fierce global competition.

Last year in Beijing, Trade Minister Jim Peterson highlighted three areas where Canada can remain competitive: It enjoys abundant natural resources, it has a highly skilled workforce and it continues to develop innovative technologies. For these reasons, there is no question that Canada can and will be a world leader in some manufacturing and service-related operations.

China clearly needs Canada's energy resources and agriculture to fuel its massive economic engine. As for new technology, Canada sold more than \$573

million worth of computer equipment, electronic machinery and mechanical appliances to China in 2004 alone.

A arguably Canada's greatest challenge involves maintaining a skilled workforce. Canada is on the verge of a massive demographic shift, as an increasing number of Canada's greatest minds are preparing for retirement without experienced successors to replace them.

In order to replenish their ranks, Canada will need to reinvest in post-secondary education and other professional training. It will also need to renovate its immigration system to attract and retain the best minds the world has to offer.

Imposing trade restrictions on imports will not allow Canada to master, or even manage, its trade relations with China. Instead, Canada's strategy must be to play to its strengths and become a force in its own right.

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Canada-ASEAN

Pay attention to ASEAN

By Sarah Tsang

Canada would do well to pay attention to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. The ASEAN Free Trade Area comprises 10 member economies and 540 million people. With a GDP of approximately \$860 billion and a growth rate forecast to exceed 5.5 per cent in 2005, ASEAN economies are larger than India's and Brazil's combined, and almost half that of the Chinese economy. As such, Canada's "emerging markets strategy", as outlined in the April 2005 International Policy Statement, must pay closer attention to this part of the world.

The leaders of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), who gathered in Kuala Lumpur Dec. 12-14 for the inaugural East Asia Summit took the first real steps of harmonizing border controls, as well as laying a legal framework to form an ASEAN Economic Community – an idea that was first proposed in 2003. The participation of the three major East Asian economies (China, Japan and South

Korea) as well as India, Australia and New Zealand highlighted the economic appeal of a consolidated Southeast Asian region.

Canada's longstanding diplomatic relationship with Southeast Asian nations predates the formal establishment of the regional grouping in 1967. Ottawa was also one of the first non-member "dialogue partners" that ASEAN embraced in 1977. Economic relations have not lagged far behind. Indeed, in 2004, two-way trade between Canada and the association reached \$11 billion.

Canadian exports to Southeast Asia have primarily been in resource-based goods, such as wheat, fertilizer, wood pulp, lumber and copper. But the figure for exports has traditionally hovered at around one-third of imports from ASEAN. Yet from 1994 to 2003, ASEAN slipped from being Canada's fifth-largest trading partner to its current rank at seventh.

In May 2005, Canada and ASEAN started talks to reverse this downward trend. Senior economic officials met in Toronto, along with a business forum on



Small but no shrimp: On the list of items Canada imports from ASEAN countries, shrimp is 11th. Integrated circuitry is Number 1.

market opportunities in Southeast Asia. In preparation for these meetings, Foreign Affairs Canada and International Trade Canada commissioned the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada (APF Canada) to study Canada-ASEAN trade. While it's too soon to say whether business between

the two economies has improved since the May meeting, Ottawa could still be doing much more.

For a start, International Trade Canada could schedule regular follow-up meetings. While big names such as Manulife, Nortel, and Bombardier have already set up offices, if not regional headquarters in places like Singapore, Southeast Asia as a whole remains ripe for Canadian compa-

TOP 10 PRODUCT PROVIDERS

This chart shows who Canada imports from, as expressed in millions of Canadian dollars.

United States	208,967
China	24,100
Mexico	13,412
Japan	13,369
United Kingdom	9,654
Germany	9,415
Korea, South	5,825
France	5,334
Norway	4,955
Italy	4,569
Subtotal	299,599
Others	56,112
Total – All countries	355,711

Source: Statistics Canada
Note: France includes Monaco and French Antilles

nies. Economic opportunities abound for small and medium-sized firms particularly in the energy and agricultural/agri-food sectors, as well telecommunications, electronics, and environmental technologies.

Canadian investment in ASEAN countries is significant, accounting for more than a third of total Canadian investment in Asia, and far greater than Canadian investment in China. According to an APF Canada survey of investment conducted in January 2005, China was the preferred investment destination for 22 per cent of respondents, but ASEAN countries were not far behind at 16 per cent.

Challenges remain, however, for Canadian businesses hoping to tap into Southeast Asia. One of them is the disparity among ASEAN members such as the sophisticated economy of Singapore, contrasted with less developed countries like Laos and Cambodia. Regional marketing strategies could be easier if Canada were to conclude free trade negotiations with Singapore, which have stalled since the sixth round of talks ended in October

2003. A free trade agreement with Singapore, a regional trade and investment hub, would provide a gateway for Canada into the economies of the rest of Southeast Asia.

There are further opportunities. For example, Malaysia's recent push to build a rail line linking Singapore to southern China welcomes foreign investment, including Canadian bidders. Ottawa might also consider formalizing institutional partnerships at all levels, mirroring the recently inked U.S.-ASEAN Enhanced Partnership, which not only symbolically upgraded the relationship, but also called for follow-up action on a U.S.-ASEAN trade and investment framework agreement.

While Canada has long been regarded as a steady dialogue partner in ASEAN-related organizations, as well as a contributor of humanitarian aid and disaster relief, it is now time to upgrade its image in Southeast Asia as an economic partner as well.

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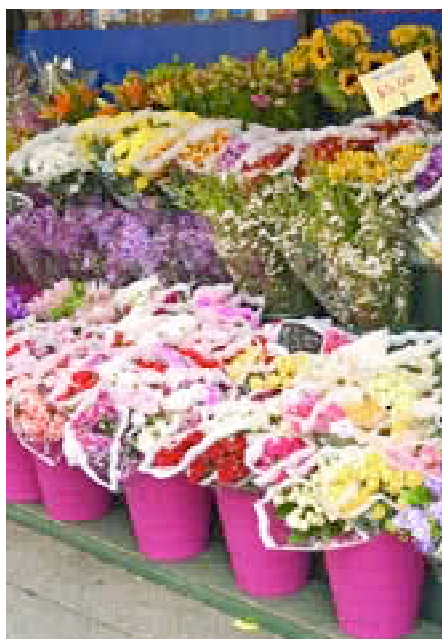
Canada-Latin America

A region of riches

By Veronica R. Prado and Sidney Weintraub

Canada's shipments to the United States are so overwhelmingly large as a percentage of the total that they leave little room for exports to other regions. Merchandise exports to the United States in 2004 were \$348 billion, nearly 85 per cent of all such Canadian exports. They represent more than a quarter of Canada's gross domestic product.

This overwhelming dependence on a single country has not harmed Canada's economic growth in recent years, but the potential is there. Canada has tried for decades to diversify its export destinations, but without much success thanks primarily to the size of the U.S. market and the fact that more than 70 per cent of the trade with the United States is between related parties. That means trade takes place from within firms or between companies that have set contracts. The two countries can ship goods to each other with low transportation costs and few border barriers at all stages of production. Both advantages have improved



A blooming market ignored: Canada imports more oil from Latin America than anything else. Cut flowers are 17th on the list.

through the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement.

Looking further south, Canada was slow to accept the reality that it shared a hemisphere with Latin America, but it is coming around. The country joined the Organization of American States in 1990, and has since played a constructive role there, both by promoting democracy and offering technical assistance. With its entry in the North American Free Trade Agreement, Mexico also entered the Canadian consciousness.

But the region hasn't been completely ignored. Many Caribbean countries formed part of the Commonwealth, so Canada has had some economic relations with the English-speaking countries of this region. To this day, however, Canada exports little to the bulk of Latin America — the area extending south from Mexico to the Straits of Magellan.

The table at right shows Canadian trade in 2004. Canada's export to Latin America (other than Mexico, which is included in the North American figures) was only one per cent of its total trade that year. The United States is less dominant in Canada's imports, which leaves more room for other suppliers, but even here, the Latin American share is only 2.6 per cent of the total.

Do these relatively low percentages reflect iron laws of economics, or can they be explained in part by Canada's relative neglect of Latin America in its trade ef-

forts? The argument for the latter is that Canada's merchandise exports to Mexico between 1994 and 2004 (that is, after NAFTA) increased from \$1.1 billion in 1994 to \$3 billion in 2004. Canada's merchandise imports from Mexico over this same period increased from \$4.5 billion in 1994 to \$13.4 billion in 2004. This implies that a free trade area that encompasses the entire hemisphere would be beneficial for Canada. Apart from NAFTA, Canada has free trade agreements in South America only, with Chile and Costa Rica.

The most interesting potential hemispheric market for Canada outside of North America almost surely is Brazil, the dominant economic power in South America, with a population of 186 million. Canada's merchandise exports to Brazil in 2004 were a mere \$950 million, but imports were higher at \$2.3 billion. By contrast, Canada's exports to Cuba — population 11 million — that year were \$327 million, and imports \$590 million. Perhaps Canada's trade with Cuba was relatively large — more than with Argentina, for example — because both Cuba's and Canada's efforts to trade have been greater. Canada is also the second-largest source of foreign direct investment in Cuba. But clearly, other countries, such as Brazil, are building steam.

Canada has considerable foreign direct investment in the Caribbean — \$34 billion in 2003, more than eight per cent of Canada's total foreign investment at that time. The investment in Bahamas and Barbados is predominantly in finance and insurance. By contrast, in South America, it is focussed on energy and mining.

Canada has advantages if it decides to deepen its economic interests in Latin America. It has no history of self-aggrandizement and its GDP is higher than that of any hemispheric country other than the United States. The contrast in this

CANADIAN MERCHANDISE TRADE BY REGION:
2004 (BILLIONS OF CANADIAN DOLLARS)

	Exports	%	Import	%
North America	351.1	85.27	222.4	62.6
Latin America	4.3	1.02	9.1	2.6
Europe	25.9	6.28	50.6	14.4
Asia-Pacific	26.4	6.41	61.2	17.3
Middle East	2.9	0.70	4.2	1.2
Africa	1.3	0.32	4.6	1.4
TOTAL	411.8	100.0	355.7	100.0

Notes: 1. Totals may not add due to rounding. 2. Mexico is included in North America. Source: Statistics Canada

hemisphere is with the United States, which is a global power. So when Canada sits down to talk with a South American country, the atmosphere is more relaxed.

Even if Canada increased its economic activities in Latin America, the amount of trade diversification that would result would be modest at best, but there is no downside to such a move.

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Canada-Africa

Africa needs trade, not aid

Elliot J. Feldman

Many say the 2006 Doha Round should be the trade session devoted to developing countries. To succeed, however, meaningful trade relations between the developed and developing worlds would have to exist. That, unfortunately, is not always the case. For Canada, at least, aid and trade are separate worlds.

Forty-six per cent of Canada's current foreign aid (about \$1.6 billion) is devoted to Africa, but only 0.3 per cent of Canada's exports make their way to that continent, and Africa supplies only 1.4 per cent of Canada's imports. Were it not for Nigerian oil and growing trade with the more prosperous South Africa, Africa's share of Canada's vast import market would barely reach a full percentage point. Canada's humanitarian instincts are inclined strongly to Africa, but it has little interest in what Africa has to offer economically. Oil is just over half of total Canadian imports from Africa, and imports of manufactured goods are virtually non-existent.

Africa is a weak market for Canadian goods, which generally are too sophisticated for poor countries. Top exports to Africa include used clothing, along with machinery, cereals and communications equipment. African societies do not ap-

pear ready for most Canadian goods.

This pattern contrasts with other developing areas where Canada perceives greater long-term interests and more trade potential. With burgeoning immigration from Asia, Canada is focused increasingly on trade with India and China, countries eager to buy both Canada's natural resources and its finished goods. Like most of the advanced Western world, the Canadian market is wide open to Chinese and Indian goods, and China has emerged as Canada's third-largest foreign supplier.

Historical relations also define trade patterns. Canada depends overwhelmingly for trade on the United States, which absorbs more than 86 per cent of Canada's exports and supplies nearly two-thirds of its imports. Canada's second-largest trade partner is the European Union. Such advanced societies can af-



Ripe for the picking: The primary commodity Canada imports from Africa is oil, cocoa beans are second and oranges (mandarins, clementines, Wilkings, and similar citrus hybrids) are fifth.

ford Canada's goods, and can supply Canada's appetite for similarly sophisticated products.

The North American Free Trade Agreement and the World Trade Organization tie Canada to the United States, Mexico, Europe, Japan, and now China and the rest of Asia. These economic interests mirror Canada's ethnic origins, most prosperous development, and its strategic interests around the globe. Africa is simply not a significant player: neither a pri-

mary source of Canadian immigration nor strategically important.

There is an exception in the Canadian scheme, but it is episodic. Quebec's continuing desire to connect to the French-speaking world creates special ties to the countries of francophone Africa, but those linguistic and cultural ties have translated little into trade and economics. Instead, Quebec has been a force encouraging African aid, but not trade.

Canadian exports to South Africa, the only African country among Canada's top 30 trade partners, is growing more than 25 per cent annually. Nevertheless, trade with South Africa consumes less than one-tenth of one per cent of Canada's exports. Africa remains remote, undercapitalized, and incapable of attracting Canada's strategic or economic interest. Humanitarian aid will surely continue and grow, but there are no obvious reasons why or how trade should or would develop.

For the Doha Round, Canada may champion the cause of developing countries, as often it has in the past, but Canadian-African trade cannot be expected to approach significant levels in the near or mid-term, and will not likely do so until Canadians feel an impact from immigration and an increased demand for African goods.

Development of trade derived from immigration remains remote for Canadian-African relations because Canadian immigration is biased toward the professionally trained and skilled, the affluent and healthy. With widespread HIV compounding more general poverty, Africans have great difficulty qualifying for permanent Canadian status. The interest in products from home stimulated by immigrants and ethnic roots would require more Canadians of African origin, which cannot be expected any time soon.

The only possible change could come from terrorism and a concern that Africa could be a breeding ground threatening Canadian security. However, the response more likely would be more aid, not trade.

This focus would be a mistake. A stable relationship will require more reciprocity than charity, but there is little in Canadian foreign policy or its trade priorities that is likely to adjust Canada's understanding of how its interests could best be served in Africa.

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An “extremely” open market

The EU Ambassador tells **Gurprit Kindra** Canadian businesses ignore the EU’s potential because trade with the U.S. is easier

Canada and the EU have had close historical and cultural ties for centuries, with a formal relationship in place since 1976. They confer and consult regularly.

With four “basic instruments of agreement”, some 23 sectoral agreements in place and the “trade and investment enhancement agreement” under negotiation, the trading partners hold two summits a year, and numerous other meetings.

In 2004, the EU was a significant trade partner, accounting for more than 14 per cent of its imports and more than six per cent of its exports. From an EU perspective, during the same period, Canada was its ninth largest external trading partner accounting for 1.6 per cent of EU imports and 2.3 per cent of its exports.

The trade relationship is healthy, but, as the EU expands and evolves, it faces numerous challenges including international security, the uneven distribution of the rewards of globalization, threats to multilateralism, climate change, and a potential avian flu pandemic.

Diplomat’s trade columnist Gurprit Kindra sat down with EU Ambassador Eric Hayes to chat about some of these issues.

GK: In terms of regions, the EU is Canada’s second largest trade partner, yet in absolute terms, Canadian exports to the EU are very small. The trade deficit between the two partners is significant. Why does EU not buy more of Canadian products and services?

EH: Trade and investment decisions are made by businesses and not governments. Business decisions are influenced by a range of factors like transport and other costs of doing business, language, culture, consumer tastes, as well as by the regulatory environment. Governments can try to create a regulatory environment that is conducive, which is what we are trying to do with the “trade and investment enhancement agreement”. But, at the end of the day, it’s (businesspeople) that make the decision. Canada runs a trade deficit with the EU and a surplus



Canadians should be attracted to the EU because there are many similarities between the two markets — and because the EU has 450 million consumers.

with its trade with the U.S.; this is perfectly normal in a multilateral trade environment.

GK: What should Canadian businesses be doing to sell more to the EU?

EH: The EU market is an extremely open one. It could be that Canadian businesses have not yet focused sufficiently on the substantial opportunities it offers, in part because of the ready attraction of the neighbouring U.S. market.

GK: Of course, a more complete picture emerges when we look at the investment figures. Canada and the EU show a lot of mutual confidence in this area. What

makes the EU an attractive destination for Canadian investors?

EH: Investment is indeed an important issue. These days, investment is becoming a key driver in the economic linkage between mature economies such as Canada and the EU. If one looks at the investment figures, we find that in any given year, EU accounts for approximately 25 per cent of two-way Canadian FDI (foreign direct investment), which is far higher than for trade in goods and services. In terms of what attracts Canadian investors to the EU, a recent study points to things like the relative ease of conducting operations in the EU, linguistic factors (for certain member states), an established legal

framework, availability of a skilled workforce, good infrastructure, geographic advantage for entry into the Eastern Europe markets, and of course the large size of the EU market – over 450 million consumers. So, Canadian businesses find the EU an attractive place for investing.

GK: In spite of the rising Euro?

EH: The Euro goes up and the Euro goes down. The rising Euro does not seem to have discouraged certain recent major Canadian business investment decisions in Europe.

GK: What attracts EU investors to Canada?

EH: Many of the factors that attract Canadians to the EU also apply in the opposite direction. But also, Canada provides easy access to the greater North American markets. Canada also provides incentives to investors at the federal and provincial levels that are attractive to small- and medium-sized businesses in the EU.

GK: Globalization presents a real opportunity for the world's poor to improve their standard of living. However, it seems the benefits of globalization cannot be distributed evenly without a proper balance between market forces and protectionism. Who do you think is best positioned to enforce this balance?

EH: I am not sure that the Commission would agree with the premise of your question. In our view the best way to promote development is to offer trading opportunities to developing countries, and then to help them, via our assistance programs, to exploit those opportunities. As you might know, we have a program called "Everything but Arms" which gives total tariff and quota-free access to EU for the 50 least developed countries on the UN list. We hope that, in the Doha Round, other countries follow our example of providing totally free access to the poorest countries, to help provide a development-friendly package of trade liberalization. This program is an example of our attempts to provide opportunities for sharing the benefits of trade and globalization.

GK: But the poor countries are saying that is not enough. Agricultural subsidies within the EU are a major point of contention and many feel that the poor countries might lose more than they gain from a trade deal that does not eliminate EU subsidies across the board. And this view

is partially supported by a new World Bank study.

EH: The reality is that all countries in some form or another assist their farmers. It's true in the U.S. and it's true for Canada, and even for countries like Australia and New Zealand. What we have to do in the Doha process is to move forward on all three pillars: export subsidization, domestic subsidies and market access. This is what we have sought to do.

GK: The Joint Summit Declaration of Canada-EU Summit meeting of June 2005 makes it clear Canada and the EU are committed to a "rules-based multilateral

**THE U.S. AND EU HAVE HAD
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system with the United Nations as its central organ". But with strong unilateral instincts of the U.S. and France for example, is this realistic?

EH: The EU and its member states are firmly committed to the multilateral process, both as regards international trade rules and as regards international policy in general. France is a founding member of the EU and plays its full part in the formulation of EU positions. The U.S. and EU have had their differences. This is hardly surprising given the size and the importance of the relationship. But the emphasis of both sides is very much on increasing cooperation and moving forward on the basis of our many shared values and concerns.

GK: Talking of shared values, of late, one sees more examples of value-discord rather than cooperation, like the issue of secret U.S. prisons in some member states of the EU. Are nerves getting frayed?

EH: There have always been points of disagreement.

GK: But not of this magnitude?

EH: Well, if you look back over two or

three decades you can see similar examples. I think the important thing is that both sides have to look at the size and importance of the relationship between the EU and the U.S. and recognize that at the end of the day both have a vested interest in making it work despite differences of opinion on individual issues. This is very much where the thrust of the relationship is these days.

GK: Like the previous two ministerial meetings, there are strong indications that the Hong Kong round will remain polarized, because the 148 member nations cannot bridge the gap between agricultural subsidies, industrial tariffs and market access. Does the EU share the blame for this failure?

EH: EU is the world's largest importer of agricultural goods. We import more from developing countries than the rest of all developed countries put together. Canada, for example, I think, runs a substantial surplus in agriculture. As I said before, all countries assist their farmers in one form or another and the important thing is that in the Doha Round, we should address all the aspects of agricultural support: export and domestic subsidies as well as market access. We will look for all our partners – including Canada – to follow our example in putting a generous offer on the table to move the process forward.

GK: As you near the end of your term in Ottawa, are you satisfied with what you have accomplished?

EH: Yes. My mandate was to nurture and enhance our bilateral relationship with Canada. A lot has been achieved over the past three years. We have seen the new "partnership agenda" adopted, the development of the framework for the TIEA (trade and investment enhancement agreement), which we are in the process of fleshing out through negotiations, as well as a number of other important bilateral agreements such as the ones dealing with joint crisis management, and the sharing of information related to passengers' records. I am very much pleased that these things have reached fruition, and would venture to hope that my own efforts have played at least some part in that process.

Dr. Gurprit Kindra is an international marketing consultant and a professor of management at the University of Ottawa. Email kindra@management.uottawa.ca to reach him.

Gently supporting cultural exports

The Liberal government has helped foster Canada's \$5-billion cultural export industry through effective programs, explains **Liza Frulla**

Canada's vibrant arts and culture sector is a significant force in our economy. Simply in terms of dollars, it represents \$40 billion, or nearly 4 percent of Canada's GDP. However, the Canadian population – at less than 32 million – is too small to sustain the full potential of Canadian culture.

Fortunately, world markets have a role to play here. They enable us to share our culture and tell our stories, and they are essential to ensuring that our cultural enterprises remain viable and competitive. For that reason, developing international markets play a key role in meeting the Canadian government's cultural policy goals of investing in excellence and ensuring a healthy cultural supply chain, from creator to citizen.

Trade Routes, is a government of Canada program that facilitates the export of cultural products and services around the world. Having worked closely with the cultural industry since 2001, this program supports a variety of cultural trade sectors, including design, visual arts, crafts, film and television, new media, publishing, and sound recording. Employing 597 000 Canadians, the cultural sector represents annual exports of more than \$5 billion.

The Trade Routes program helps Canada's cultural entrepreneurs, in particular small- and medium-sized businesses, succeed in the global market by enabling them to make the most of opportunities to increase their exports and sales in international markets.

Cultural trade advisers, located across Canada and in key Canadian missions abroad, help businesses decide if they are ready for these new markets. Those same trade advisers help them assess their business plans and establish the networks necessary to secure agreements with international buyers. These advisers are responsible for making more than 2,500 contacts each year—including potential foreign partners, consumers, and Canadian exporters.

Thanks to the support provided by the Trades Routes program, a music publish-



CHRISTOPHER DODD

**WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED
OUR COMMITMENT TO
INCREASING CULTURAL
EXPORTS BY WORKING
CLOSELY WITH CANADIAN
CULTURAL BUSINESSES.**

ing company that supplies teaching materials to elementary schools, called Themes and Variations, expanded from Canada into the Australian and U.S. markets. Like many other companies, Themes and Variations would not have risked the investment required to market its products so extensively in the U.S. and Australia on its own. Trade Routes provided the information and advice this company to choose the right market for the its at the right time.

The government is also working to increase cultural exports by equipping Canadian companies with the tools they need to be successful in foreign markets and by providing more complete statis-

tics on the export of cultural products and services. In addition, we are working to widen the scope of market intelligence in the arts and cultural sector so Canada can capitalize on its strengths. We also want to help exporters better adjust to market changes.

Because of its diverse approach to promoting culture, Trade Routes was able to provide assistance to the Conseil des métiers d'art du Québec in marketing its craft sector in international markets.

According to Louise Chapados, director of development, services and project funding at the Conseil, the program "contributes to the reputation of artists and creators and to the development of cultural trade abroad in an important way."

Canadian cultural exporters have been successful in diversifying into the European market. The federal government, through Trade Routes, will continue to seek new market opportunities for Canadian products and services in the United States—our largest cultural trading partner—and in emerging markets like China, India, and Latin America.

This government has always recognized the importance of sharing culture to enhance the diversity of global expression. For that reason, Canada has played a leading role in bringing about the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions.

We have demonstrated our commitment to increasing cultural exports by working closely with Canadian cultural businesses. However, in the long run, it is up to Canadian entrepreneurs to make the decision to export abroad.

We are very proud of our cultural performers, artisans, and industries, and we will continue to work to ensure that all areas of the arts and culture sector remain competitive in this ever more globalized world.

At press time, Liza Frulla was Canada's heritage minister.

Exporting Can-con

The Conservative Party is committed to making culture a significant part of Canada's bevy of trading commodities, **Bev Oda** argues

I have had a life-long passion for Canadian culture and the arts. I have always believed that Canada has an enormous wealth of talented creators to offer the world. In every region of Canada our creative community contributes to the heart and soul of who we are as a people, a community and a country.

The Conservative Party of Canada supports and respects the UNESCO Declaration for Cultural Diversity. Every nation must continue to have the freedom to support and enhance its artistic and cultural endeavours.

Our artists, musicians, painters, writers, sculptures and architect are world-renowned. They are our cultural ambassadors. However, we have the potential for so much more. The Canadian arts and culture sector currently contributes \$40 billion a year to our economy, yet less than \$5 billion of that is in the international exports of our cultural products and services. This means that less than 13 per cent of the sector's revenues are generated through the exports of our world-class works and talent.

Canada needs to open more doors to address our trade deficit of \$2 billion in cultural goods. By focusing on exploring the full potential in the international community, our cultural exports can flourish.

Our diversity provides Canada with the ideal platform from which to export our cultural products worldwide. It gives us access to overseas markets, and facilitates the international promotion of Canadian culture by each and every Canadian. I want to ensure that government programs recognize this unique advantage to improve on our efforts for the promotion of our arts and international market development.

Existing programs within International Trade Canada must be reviewed. Reports to the Standing Committee for Canadian Heritage show there is no accountability or measurement of the success of its programs. We must ensure that the programs are focused on increasing opportunities for successful market share growth of our cultural products in the international



**REPORTS TO THE STANDING
COMMITTEE FOR CANADIAN
HERITAGE SHOW THERE IS
NO ACCOUNTABILITY OR
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SUCCESS OF ITS PROGRAMS.**

marketplace. This requires looking at every step along the way.

Canada can build its support for the arts by sharing responsibility with the private sector and other governments internationally. Canada's private sector has always been an essential partner in the promotion of our cultural talent and artists. Its members recognize the value of putting a spotlight on Canada's arts and culture communities. These mutually beneficial endeavours are integral to the survival of our arts and culture.

Many of our provinces undertake and launch rich, robust programs in support of their cultural organizations and agencies. By working together, incremental

benefits might be achieved with joint strategies and planning with these provinces. Cultural trade missions, cooperative tours and exhibitions, shared spaces and exchanges are only a few recommendations presented to me by many Canadians.

An exciting opportunity is developing for a new group among our cultural creators and artists. We must look to the potential in new media. We are entering a time where voice, graphics, text and video content can be accessed in a borderless world, providing exciting new opportunities for our artists and creators. Rapid technological advances are challenging our traditional approach in the many cultural sectors and, with them, our management and exchange of our works in this format must also evolve. With creativity, foresight and determination, I know we can capture the possibilities in the new media world as a boundless and export-friendly support for our cultural products and services.

The Conservative Party recognizes that the way in which young people view and express culture is changing. We understand that this emerging sector in areas such as animation, video game design, interactive media and other creative digital pursuits, is largely composed of individuals, small and medium enterprises in Canada. I want to build on the growing success of our new media creators and recognize Canada's potential for international recognition in this field.

I will continue to support, guide and nurture the increased trade of Canadian cultural products and services – an essential component to the survival of Canada's cultural industries as part of a new government.

I look forward to being part of a new era in Canada's cultural history. The Conservative Party has a deep commitment to culture and the arts. We will build on their strengths here in Canada and enhance their participation internationally.

At press time, Bev Oda was the heritage critic for the Conservative Party of Canada.

Instigator of the year

Chávez's Bolivarian Revolution is a hodgepodge of state-led initiatives to provide basic health and education for the poor, but shrewd fiscal policies show the man is not entirely left-leaning

By Dean Foster

Hugo Chávez, the fiery-tongued president of Venezuela, was no stranger to North American headlines in late 2005. Openly attacking the Bush administration and "American imperialism" last fall at the United Nations in New York and the Summit of the Americas in Argentina, Mr. Chávez has drawn applause from the anti-globalization left, condemnation from the right, and inquiry from all sides regarding his history, politics and the ambitions for his "Bolivarian Revolution" in Venezuela and abroad.

In this regard, non-Spanish-speaking readers benefited from a spurt of publications on Mr. Chávez in the second half of 2005. They included Richard Gott's *Hugo Chávez and the Bolivarian Revolution* and Michael McCaughan's *The Battle of Venezuela*, two books by veteran British journalists working in Latin America.

Both authors, while sympathetic to Mr. Chávez and his political project, are clear-headed and even-handedly tell the story of the Venezuelan president's rise to prominence and his country's turbulent politics since he came to power in a 1998 election. The first half of Mr. Gott's book sketches Venezuela's history of revolutionary politics, the political and intellectual influences on its current president, and his rise to prominence before coming to power. That prominence includes the failed 1992 military coup led by Mr. Chávez, then a colonel in the Venezuelan army.

The second half details Mr. Chávez's command of events following his 1998 presidential election victory, including the formation and politics of his opposition, the failed 2002 military coup against him, the "economic coup" that included the devastating strike of the country's oil workers later that year, and the recall referendum organized by the opposition in 2004, where Mr. Chávez was victorious at the polls in a vote certified clean by international observers.

Mr. McCaughan offers a more straight-up, journalistic account of Venezuela's



Appealing to the impoverished majority in Venezuela, President Hugo Chávez has built an army of supporters acting on personal faith.

political history since 1998 and complements Mr. Gott's book fairly well, often adding new details or context to the story. Particularly illuminating is Mr. McCaughan's description of Mr. Chávez's populist political style. Reaching out to Venezuela's impoverished majority, most of which work in the informal sector and remain outside of traditional political organizations like political parties and unions, Mr. Chávez has built an army of supporters that act more upon "personal faith than ideological conviction" and

have saved Mr. Chávez from the opposition's numerous attempts to unseat him.

Both books paint Mr. Chávez as a brilliant and pragmatic political operator: "an ideological chameleon with an instinctive grasp of the issues discussed at dinner tables" in Venezuela, according to Mr. McCaughan. The sympathy of both authors to Mr. Chávez doesn't harm their clarity, and their biases can be offset by attending to the growing chorus from conservative American think-tanks and most news media. These critics accuse

Mr. Chávez of packing the country's courts with his supporters, weakening the private news media, beginning an arms buildup with purchases from Russia and elsewhere, and attempting to spread his Bolivarian Revolution across Latin America.

The authors, however, see the story as one of Mr. Chávez struggling to sweep away Venezuela's entire corrupt political system, including much of the private media and judiciary which form part of that system, to empower the country's forever-ignored and impoverished majority. Even his military purchases are justified in light of hostility from the United States and the chaos just across the border in Colombia.

Mr. Chávez's "Bolivarian Revolution," while grand in his speeches and television addresses, remains vague in practice: It's a hodgepodge of state-led initiatives to provide basic health and education for the poor with the help of Cuban doctors and learning programs, farming and industrial experiments, and some land reforms and property rights granted to land occupied, but not formally owned, by squatters, (not unlike the ideas advocated by Peruvian neo-liberal economist Hernando de Soto). Mr. Chávez, so far, is no diehard communist planning to rework the Venezuelan economy along the Cuban model. While he wins points at anti-globalization rallies throughout Latin America for denouncing neo-liberalism, capitalism, U.S. "imperialism" and the Free Trade Area of the Americas, he has maintained the importance of the private sector in the economy, promotes foreign investment in his country and seeks trade liberalization in other ways, like making Venezuela a full partner in the Mercosur trade bloc of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay.

After the failure of opposition attempts to unseat him, Mr. Chávez is now firmly in power. The failed military coup against him in 2002 and the strike of workers within the state oil company the same year allowed him to legally retire scores of hostile figures in both institutions and promote his supporters. Both are now under the control of Chávez loyalists, and reports are emerging of repression against Chávez critics in the military. His political opposition, a leaderless and deeply divided coalition, is in tatters after losing the 2004 recall vote. Flush with oil cash for spending at home and beyond his borders, Mr. Chávez is enjoying higher than ever public approval and,

barring catastrophe, is a lock to win the country's 2006 presidential election.

Given the probability that he will remain in power until at least 2012 (and likely remain an influential figure in Venezuela and the rest of Latin America much longer), any foreign policy strategy towards him has to look reasonably far into the future.

In the United States, advocates of a hard line against Mr. Chávez will take issue with those who seek less hostile engagement, along the lines of the Cuba debate (with many of the same voices on

**WHILE BUSH
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HAS BEEN UNABLE TO
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FROM HIS LATIN
AMERICAN NEIGHBOURS.**

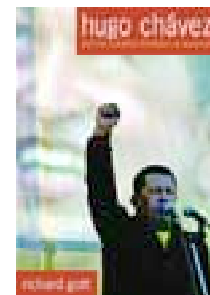
each side). Latin America hawks are unhappy with his revolutionary rhetoric, growing arsenal, and support (including financial) for leftist groups in the region, several of which may soon come to power through elections in Bolivia and Nicaragua. However, Venezuelan oil sales to the U.S. (15 per cent of the market) and the potential for global oil price hikes from a supply disruption in Venezuela preclude either an economic embargo or "regime change," especially while the country lacks a credible opposition to support.

While Bush administration rhetoric has turned hostile again after a lull, this strategy may soften. The United States needs

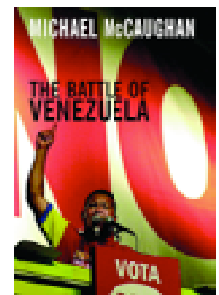
Venezuela's oil and has been unable to isolate Mr. Chávez from his Latin American neighbours. Also, he remains in power because he won elections so the Americans can't call him a dictator, as with Fidel Castro in Cuba. As for Mr. Chávez himself, his anti-American rhetoric did not appear until after the 2002 coup attempt, an adventure that was quickly endorsed by Washington. The U.S. leadership change in 2008 may produce friendlier relations, even with a Republican president.

So far, Canada has remained silent on Mr. Chávez, even though he has helped thwart Canada's efforts to promote democracy in regional summits. He is also the most vocal opponent of renewed negotiations for a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), Canada's trade priority in the hemisphere. However, Venezuela is Canada's second-largest trading partner in South America (after Brazil) with \$1.8 billion exchanged in 2004. As noted, Mr. Chávez seeks to make Venezuela a full member of the Mercosur customs union, with which Canada may negotiate a free trade agreement. Canada could one day find itself talking trade, with Venezuela sitting across the table.

Should Mr. Chávez be cleanly elected in 2006, a higher level of contact with him could allow Canada to reach out to the resurgent Latin American left and dampen conflict between the Venezuelan president and Canada's foreign and trade policies in the region. As with Cuba, Canada's best bet is to applaud any advances made by the Chávez government's pro-poor efforts, and rebuke any drift towards authoritarianism.



Hugo Chavez and the Bolivarian Revolution, by Richard Gott. Verso, 2005 (\$25)



The Battle of Venezuela, by Michael McCaughan, Seven Stories Press, 2005 (\$17.95)

Dean Foster is a research associate in the Centre for Negotiation and Dispute Resolution at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs.

Vienna's victuals

"Don't worry. Larry's fine. You have probably heard that there has been a fire at the embassy," said a calm voice at the other end of the telephone.

It was to be a milestone in our young married life: My husband Larry's first day of work as a Canadian diplomat abroad coincided with our first daughter's first birthday. Hours later, when Larry – dirty, disheveled, without his glasses, shoes and suit jacket – walked through our hotel room door, the shock set in. A deranged Eastern European immigrant to Canada had fire-bombed the fifth floor or the Canadian Embassy in Vienna.

With the stairwell positioned beside the centrally located elevator shaft at the site of the exploding Molotov cocktails, employees rushed to remote offices hoping firefighters would rescue them in time. Two perished while the others narrowly escaped. It was a rough start to a career.

Larry was on temporary duty in Vienna for an unspecified length of time before he would be sent to Moscow for a permanent assignment. After three months, we had hoped to stay for a full-length assignment; but that was not to be.

Accredited to Austria and several Eastern European countries, Larry traveled a lot. I didn't mind being left behind with our daughter Tonya. Our ground-floor apartment in a large home within walking distance of Schoenbrunn Palace, was a far cry from our student-loan-poor digs in Ottawa. For our daily needs, we went down the street to a series of small shops, each providing an individual staple – eggs, dairy products, meat, wine, fruit, bread, etc. Austrians love of children so merchants would slip Tonya a bun here, a slice of cheese or meat there – and always a chocolate. I simply accepted that our outings would be lunch on the road for Tonya. It was amazing to see local woman purchasing only what was required for that day. But at that time – it was the summer of 1969 – many were war widows living alone in small flats without a fridge or much in the way of cupboards.

Vienna was magical. During the extravagant winter ball season, the city be-



MARGARET
DICKENSON

came animated with hundreds of glittering balls, from the Plumbers' Ball to the most prestigious Opera Ball. We splurged and danced through the imperial ballrooms of the Hapsburgs along with 3,000 other guests at the Hofburg Palace. It was rather exhilarating for a couple of farm kids from rural Ontario.

We had frequent casual outings to traditional Heuriger taverns (wine bar restaurants) for a true taste of local culture. Although Grinzing was among the best known areas for such amusement, we preferred locations where the clients were Austrians. These simple restaurants furnished with basic picnic-like tables and backless benches, offered local wines from the current year's harvest served in suspended decanters (much like in chemistry labs). The unpretentious but tasty menu was predictable – grilled chicken, steak or sausage served with salad and fries.

A stay in Vienna had to include at least one visit to the historic Sacher Hotel to indulge in a sample of its world-renowned Sacher tort. The secret recipe created in 1832 by Franz Sacher, is three layers of chocolate cake with apricot jam, covered in a rich creamy chocolate glaze and served with mounds of whipped cream. (The Linzertorte is another famous Austrian cake.)

Viennese food was hearty and always homemade delicious: dumplings, Wiener schnitzel, stews, roasts of all kinds including venison, hare, goose and offal. From cookies and cakes to strudels and fritters with poppy seeds, sweets were abundant. We loved trying them, along with good strong coffee, at the many local coffee houses.

Images of Austria have inspired me to create many recipes. My Prunes in Port with Chestnut Cream recipe brings back fond memories of chestnuts roasting in large drums on cold fall street corners and of prunes, which served as the head of dried fruit sculptures of Krampus. Krampus is the devil-like figure that, on the night of Dec. 6, St. Nicolas's day,

leaves a piece of coal rather than a chocolate in the shoe of naughty children. Larry and I still observe this occasion in our home. Experiences in the foreign service have sensitively shaped our lives.

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.margaretssenseofoccasion.com).

PRUNES IN PORT WITH CHESTNUT MOUSSE



LARRY DICKENSON

Makes 4 to 6 servings

Memories of our short posting to Austria, have inspired this recipe where "less is more". Exceedingly quick and easy to prepare, it is gracefully appealing in all its simplicity. Just soak ordinary pitted prunes in Port for a few days, whip a little cream, fold in some chestnut purée (if desired) and dessert is ready. However, it is the presentation that makes all of the difference.

20 pitted prunes (about 7 oz or 200 g)
1/2 cup (125 mL) Port (red)

Chestnut Mousse

1/2 cup (125 mL) heavy cream (35 per cent fat), chilled
1/4 tsp (1 mL) ground cinnamon
1/2 cup (125 mL) chestnut purée with vanilla*, chilled

Garnish

1/3 cup (80 mL) toasted sliced almonds

1. Rinse prunes, drain well and place in a single layer in an airtight plastic container. Cover prunes completely with port and store refrigerated for at least several days (or up to several months). Turn occasionally.

2. Whip cream and cinnamon in a small chilled bowl with chilled beaters until firm peaks form. Fold in chilled chestnut purée to create a Chestnut Mousse. (Makes about 1 1/3 cups or 325 mL.)

3. Shape individual prunes into little "nest" shapes (with slit at top centre).

4. Just before serving, fill prunes generously with Chestnut Mousse (or whipped cream) and crown with toasted slivered almonds.

5. For individual portions, serve three filled prunes. (An extra couple of prunes per person remain, if seconds are desired.)

Option: Simply serve the prunes with the whipped cream or cinnamon whipped cream (sweetened to taste) and crowned with toasted sliced almonds.

* This is a commercial product (sweet) available at many supermarkets (or specialty food stores) in the canned fruit section. (Note: I always freeze leftover portions of the chestnut purée in a labeled airtight plastic container, to be used the next time I make this recipe.)

Make ahead tip (Step 2): The Chestnut Mousse may be prepared a day in advance and refrigerated. (I have had success both in keeping the Chestnut Mousse refrigerated for up to several days and also in freezing leftover portions for use later.)

Presentation tip: I present the dark prunes in an isolated manner on a stark white plate. Note: Sometimes instead of filling the prunes, I simply plate them and serve the Chestnut Mousse (or whipped cream) separately either on the individual plates or in a bowl to be passed at the table.

Alternative use idea: Serve a plate of Prunes in Port (with Chestnut Mousse) as an impressive finishing touch for a special occasion breakfast or brunch. (Do this in much the same way you might serve chocolates after dinner.)



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Indulge in the comfort of a spacious one- or two-bedroom suite with separate living and working areas. Each suite comes with a full kitchen, making it easy to prepare a meal or a late-night snack. Hate washing dishes? Great – Les Suites will do them for you! Like most homes, your suite includes the convenience of a laundry facility. But unlike most homes, it's not located in the basement, or down a long apartment hallway. The washer and dryer are located right in your suite! Very handy for families travelling with children, or when you're in town for an extended visit.

Les Suites provides guests with free local calls, including voice mail. Staying in touch with the office and others is made easier, thanks to the complimentary wireless high-speed Internet, available throughout the hotel.

Need a break? The Presse Café is a place where you can take a moment to "breathe, eat and drink". Enjoy fresh baked, tasty sandwiches, specialized coffees, desserts, as well as large selections of magazines and newspapers. This innovative café is conveniently situated next to the hotel lobby.

Begin or finish your day with an invigorating workout in the health club. This fine facility, located on the fifth floor, features a variety of exercise equipment, a steam room, sauna, whirlpool, and indoor pool. If you're an avid runner, or inline skater, you will be pleased to know there are a number of recreational pathways close by.

For those planning a meeting or special get-together, Les Suites offers three well-equipped meeting rooms. The ByWard Suite, designed to accommodate up to 60 people, comes complete with chalkboard, whiteboard, balcony and breakout room. Flip-charts and white boards are provided. For larger meetings or conferences, adjacent to Les Suites is the Ottawa Congress Centre.

"Guest satisfaction is always our top priority", says Georgopoulos. Recently, at the 2005 *Stars of the City Customer Service Awards*, Les Suites had finalists in four categories, and was proud to be recipient of the overall "Star of the City" award. Young guests are also given special treatment – with a Kids Welcome Package. Les Suites is a Child and Youth Friendly Ottawa accredited hotel.

"Our suites are excellent for both the lone traveller and families. They have all the amenities one could possibly require." *Steve Georgopoulos - General Manager*

Exceptional value combined with a great location make Les Suites Hotel, Ottawa the perfect accommodation for business and leisure stays. If you are planning an extended visit, be sure to ask about their longer stay discounts.



A wild idea

By Graham Kelly

Hidden Gems is a regular travel feature where diplomats recommend their favourite unusual and not traditionally touristy places to visit in their own countries.

New Zealand has just the occasion for daring epicureans who want to challenge their tastebuds and maybe put a "wrinkle in their toenails".

The Wildfoods Festival takes place each March (this year on March 11) in Hokitika on the West Coast of the South Island in New Zealand.

The one-day festival has grown in size since its humble beginnings in 1990, and now attracts more than 22,000 people with open minds and strong stomachs.

The festival's 90 stalls feature such popular dishes as gourmet garden snails, Chatham Island seagulls, roast boar, huhu grubs, shark penis, marlin, venison tongue, possum pies, sheep's eyes, cow's udders, gorse flower wine, and many other equally innovative foods.

The festival includes top-class entertainment throughout the day, continuing into the wee small hours.

Hokitika is located in Westland, along a narrow strip of coastline surrounded by mountains, glaciers, rivers, rainforests, national heritage parks, wildlife and fauna, which is unsurpassed in the South Pacific.

If you like the idea of something different, somewhere off the normal tourist track, somewhere other international tourists won't go, take your tastebuds on a roller coaster ride of a lifetime at the next Hokitika Wildfoods Festival in March in New Zealand.



COMPLIMENTS OF THE WILDFOODS FESTIVAL

There's much to taste at the Wildfoods Festival in Hokitika on the West Coast of the South Island in New Zealand

Visit www.wildfoods.co.nz for more details about the 2006 Wildfoods Festival.

New Zealand High Commissioner Graham Kelly says his "delicate and weak stomach" couldn't cope with the Wildfoods' "yummies" but admits he could be tempted by the gorse flower wine.

Ottawa Diplomatic Association News

The Ottawa Diplomatic Association has succeeded in getting another governor general as its patron. Michaëlle Jean has agreed to preside over the association, something Adrienne Clarkson had done during her tenure. In other news, the group held a meeting between diplomats, Foreign Affairs and the RCMP in mid-December to talk about the relationship between the police and diplomats. The discussion was "very frank" and useful, said Bolivian Ambassador Carlos Carrasco, who serves as association president. With 130 diplomats in attendance, more than 100 missions were represented. Refer to page 42 for ODA contact information.

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Star-y Night awards recognizes the contributions and efforts of individuals working at diplomatic missions who have gone beyond the call of duty. Their efforts have resulted in a positive outcome for their diplomatic mission and their community.

Awards highlighting the efforts and achievements of locally engaged staff at diplomatic missions in Ottawa will be presented at the Star-y Night reception on

May 10, 2006. Awards will be presented in four categories: administrative staff, drivers, hospitality/chefs and 'other'.

The winning nominees will be recognized and awarded with a prize at the Star-y Night reception. Names of nominators submitting a nomination will be entered in a draw for prizes to be presented at the reception.

Deadline for nominations: noon, Monday, April 24, 2006.

For more information and to download the nomination form please visit www.diplomatonline.com or phone 789-6890.



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Perfect Pinot Noir

Pinot Noir is today what Chardonnay was in the 80s and Merlot became in the 90s. And the explosion has been most intense in California. Experts point to the movie *Sideways* for skyrocketing California's version of this old and noble grape to the top of the hot wines list worldwide. But there is more to it. I think people are getting bored with knock-out punches of alcohol and tannin from big New World Cabernet Sauvignon and Shiraz wines and realize food and wine truly do taste better when they're well-paired. Pinot Noir is food-friendly because it has less tannin, more acid and is lighter than most other red grapes, while still having flavour. Hands down, it gets me more excited than any other grape.

A big part of the Pinot tale starts with Josh Jensen, the central character in Marq DeVilliers' book *The Heartbreak Grape* (the winemaker's nickname for the Pinot Noir varietal). In this true story, Mr. Jensen spends years searching all over California for a tract of land that has Burgundy's legendary limestone soil. He finds it on the central coast, in Hollister, is also the garlic capital of the world and home to a large chapter of a certain motorcycle association. Not the kind of place you think of when picturing beautiful wine country. In spite of that, Mr. Jensen has turned this little outpost into a home-away-from-home for the red grape from Burgundy, crafting some of the most "Burgundian" California Pinots at his winery called Calera. Year-after-year, his single vineyard Pinots (Reed, Seleck, Jensen and Mills) are beautiful and well worth the extra money. (Good news: They're also occasionally available through Vintages in Ontario.) But they are not the smooth-as-silk, overly approachable wines that make up today's California Pinots. Like great red burgundies, they require age and patience to come into their own. I would suggest laying them down for at least five years.

If Calera was the first chapter in the California Pinot book, William-Selyem stars in the next. When Napa Cabernets and Chardonnays were all the rage, two country gentlemen started a little winery near Healdsburg. Until it was recently purchased by a New Yorker, its entire



STEPHEN BECKTA

PHOTO: PAUL COUVRETE

production existed in an unmarked barn away from Highway 29 tourists. These two gents put the Russian River Valley on the map for great Pinots. Both since retired, they showed the world what can

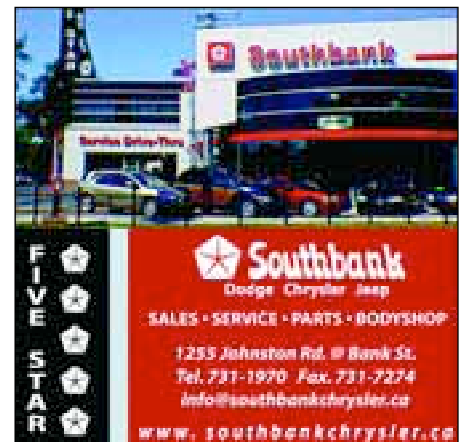
happen when you take care of this temperamental grape in cool microclimates within a hot region. They also had a geographic advantage. Each morning, the fog comes down the Russian River, which empties into the Pacific Ocean a few miles away, bringing cooler temperatures and acting as a parasol that protects the delicate Pinot skins. This, coupled with a unique Californian soil called "Goldridge" (for its gold flecks within the dense clay), makes a singular and stunning wine. The soil imparts a velvety richness which can only be described as sexy. Famous producers include Ironhorse, Paul Hobbs, Delinger, Patz & Hall and Kenwood.

One would not expect Kenwood to produce exceptional wines in their somewhat entry-level priced Pinot, but here is the anomaly of the big wine house: Sometimes they don't know what they have. Years ago, sparkling wine giant Korbel purchased Kenwood and did some grape trading. Korbel had long-term vineyard contracts for Pinot Noir in the Russian River Valley and found some vineyards produced grapes that were too rich and lush for their sparkling wines, so they gave them to Kenwood to make a still Pinot. It turns out that the same vineyards were producing some of the best Pinot Noirs in California, fetching upwards of \$100 per bottle. You can still get this little bargain for roughly \$25 occasionally at Vintages or through Rogers & Co., their agent in Ontario (866-202-9579). It's worth twice the price.

I encourage you to further explore this amazing grape. Try wines from Santa Barbara, Santa Maria Valley, Carneros, Sonoma Coast and Mendocino.

Cheers!

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



Avant-garde artistry from Norway

By Margo Roston

When Tor Berntin Naess and his wife Bodil came to Ottawa in September to begin their new posting, they brought with them an exciting piece of modern Norwegian art. They wanted to add new art to the residence walls and their foreign office agreed that a piece by one of the country's better-known artists, Kjell Pahr-Iversen, would fit the bill.

"I think he's an interesting artist and (it's) an interesting painting – and he's well-known in Norway," Ambassador Naess said.

Born in 1937 in Stavanger on the Western coast, the Norwegian painter was maimed by an alarm gun (a device designed to be used as a perimeter alarm or poacher alert) on New Year's Eve, 1945, and lost his right eye. Still, he went on to study graphic arts and later fine arts in Amsterdam. Along with major exhibitions in his home country, he has shown his art in Paris, London, Spain and Switzerland among other places.

"I THINK NORWEGIANS APPRECIATE MODERN ART MORE THAN ANY OTHER," MRS. NAESS SAID. "IN NORWAY THE YOUNG ONES ARE VERY FOND OF FUNCTIONALISM AND WANT TO MATCH THE ART WITH MODERN FURNITURE."

The work in the residence is an oil painting of autumn from the artist's Herbie series of abstract landscapes. The large, eye-catching canvas splashed with thick strokes of blue and black stands out in the pale blues and yellows of the living room.

But this isn't the only art in the home. Indeed, the Norwegian couple has an extra dividend. According to a new book, *Rockcliffe Park, a History of the Village*, by Martha Edmond, their heritage house is a piece of artistry in its own right. "It can justifiably be called Rockcliffe's oldest



DYANNE WILSON

Ambassador Tor Berntin Naess shows a well-loved painting by Kjell Pahr-Iversen, who lost his right eye in a 1945 accident but still went on to study art and become one of Norway's best-known artists.

home," the book notes. "Despite some later additions, Crichton Lodge on Lisgar Road remains the original Gothic Revival villa built during the 1880s." It was acquired by Norway in 1949 and has been carefully maintained ever since.

This gracious house is also home to a group of lithographs by Norway's most famous artist, Edvard Munch, recognized for his by-now iconic work, *The Scream*, which was stolen from the Munch Museum in Oslo in 2004. The painting is still missing but six people were indicted Dec. 19 for their roles in the theft.

"But we think to have modern art is more interesting," Mr. Naess said.

"I think Norwegians appreciate modern art more than any other," Mrs. Naess added. "In Norway the young ones are very fond of functionalism and want to match the art with modern furniture."

The Naesses are also eager to have Ørnulf Opdahl, a friend and artist who

paints evocative landscapes of Norway's mountains and fjords, come to Canada.

"We had a show of his works in Brussels and have thought of inviting him if he's interested in coming to Canada," the ambassador said. "But it is a very expensive job to transport the art and pay the insurance and not many artists are interested."

His first view of Canadian art came when he presented his credentials to Gov.-Gen. Michaëlle Jean at Rideau Hall and had a chance to view the collection there. He approved.

"They have very interesting things," he said.

The ambassador hopes to see most of Canada during his stay here and it's a sure bet he'll be checking out the art scene, especially the works by this country's most avant-garde artists.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.



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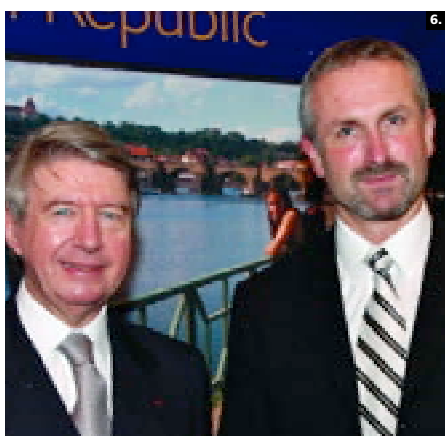


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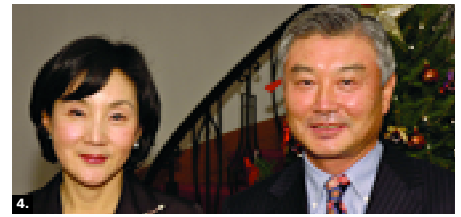
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THIS PAGE 1. Kuwaiti Ambassador Musaed Al Haroon offered his majestic Rockcliffe home for a fundraiser for Salus in November where, for a fee that went to the charity, ladies gathered for lunch and bridge. Left to right: Margaret Singleton, executive director of Ottawa Salus; Zainab Alrube, Kuwaiti cultural affairs attaché; Mohammad Al-Mutairi, Kuwaiti second secretary; player Gladys Pfeffer; and Salus volunteer Mary Jenkins. • 2. Japanese Ambassador Sadaaki Numata and his wife Kyoko enjoy their national day celebration at the Chateau Laurier Dec. 13. (Photo: Sam Garcia) • 3. A group of second- and third-year marketing students at the University of Ottawa are raising money for Niger, a country that has faced multiple crises in the past year. After raising more than \$100,000 in corporate donations, they hoped to raise more by selling orange ribbons and wristbands. They are shown here at the campaign launch. • 4. Thai Ambassador Snanchart Devahastin and his wife Pattamavadee hosted an innovative national day at the Hellenic Banquet Centre Dec. 5. Members of the Thai community of Ottawa provided food at several different stations. (Photo: Dyanne Wilson) • 5. The Canadian Federation of University Women hosted a tour of the Aviation Museum Nov. 4. Shown here are (left to right) Christine Jane of the UK; Sheila McDonnell, from Canada; and Edith Odoi-Sykes, wife of Ghana High Commissioner Sam Odoi-Sykes. • 6. Czech Ambassador Pavel Vosalik hosted a national day celebration at the National Arts Centre Oct. 27. Mr. Vosalik (right) is shown with French Ambassador Daniel Jouanneau. (Photo: Dyanne Wilson)



THIS PAGE 1. A reception hosted by Ogilvy Mercedes-Benz was held prior to the Canadian Club of Ottawa luncheon that featured David Wilkins (left) as speaker. Mexican Ambassador Maria Teresa Garcia de Madero and Canadian Club member Dennis Jackson join Mr. Wilkins. (Photo: Dyanne Wilson) • 2. Jamaican Ambassador Carl Marshall, right, hosted a gathering of the Jamaican community Oct. 22. Sir Howard Cook, Governor General of Jamaica, (left) was the keynote speaker. They are shown with then-Ottawa MP Marlene Catterall. (Photo: Dyanne Wilson) • 3. Korean Ambassador Sung-joon Yim and his wife Kwee-joo hosted a Christmas party Dec. 7 at their residence. Pianist Teresa Jin-Hyung Lim, shown here, performed with Paul Marleyn on cello. (Photo: Dyanne Wilson) • 4. Mr. and Mrs. Yim. (Photo: Dyanne Wilson) • 5. Arnold Piggott, high commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago, hosted a Christmas party for staff at his embassy. He is shown here with Flora Parris-Mills. (Photo: Dyanne Wilson) • 6. Panamanian Ambassador Romy Vasquez hugs South African High Commissioner Theresa Solomon, who left her post last month. (Photo: Dyanne Wilson) • 7. Esprit de Corps magazine hosted a book launch Nov. 10 at Nicholas Hoare Books. Author Les Peate presented copies of his book, *The War that Wasn't*, to 20 embassy representatives from countries that participated alongside Canada in Korea. Shown here is Korean Defence Attaché Lucky Lee receiving his book. (Photo: Darcy Knoll) • 8. Sheila Martin, wife of Paul Martin, welcomed diplomatic spouses to 24 Sussex Dr. this fall. She is shown here welcoming Juyena Khan, wife of Bangladeshi High Commissioner Rafiq Ahmed Khan. (Photo: Brigitte Bouvier, PMO)

The world's most exclusive club

By Thomas S. Axworthy

The G-8 is the most exclusive club in the world. The UN has 190 member nations, the Commonwealth 54, and NATO 19, but the G-8 has only the United States, Russia, Japan, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Canada.

How did Canada come to be a member of this political directorate when economic giants like China and Brazil are excluded?

In 1975, France's President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing had an idea. In that era of energy crisis and galloping inflation, France recognized that the world economy needed the most important states to work in concert. To develop a coordinated strategy, Mr. d'Estaing recommended the world's leaders meet to forcefully and informally debate the issues of the day, free from the protocol and bureaucracy of most internal organizations. But a major issue arose: What countries would be members of this new club?

France extended invitations to its partners in the G-5 economic consultative group, and as a neighbourly gesture, Mr. d'Estaing also invited Italy. Canada, however, was left out. France's decision may have been a continuation of the Gaullist campaign to diminish Canada that had begun with General Charles de Gaulle's "Vive Québec Libre" speech in Montréal. Or France may not have wanted to set a precedent for other middle powers. Either way, the French president was adamant. No Canada!

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau launched a quick and effective counteroffensive. At that time, Canada had a larger GNP than Italy and still had significant military and foreign aid assets. In short, Canada then had more relative capability than it does today. Mr. Trudeau's good personal relations with the leaders of that time also came into play. James Callaghan of Great Britain intervened while Chancellor Helmut Schmidt told the French he would not attend any future meetings unless Canada participated. The Japanese made it known that another non-European voice would be welcome.

But Canada's key friend was President Gerald Ford of the United States. As a long-time representative of Michigan in the Congress, Mr. Ford knew Canada well. When he became president, he and Mr. Trudeau immediately hit it off. Presi-

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dent Ford was irate about Canada's exclusion, and he briefly considered refusing to attend the summit. Instead, he chose a more diplomatic solution. As the United States was to host the 1976 summit in Puerto Rico, Mr. Ford de-

Minister Brian Mulroney led a dialogue on South Africa; and in 2002, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien made African development the centrepiece of the agenda. Through the G-8, Canada plays in the major leagues of international diplomacy. Canada's membership is probably the most significant foreign policy achievement of the Trudeau era. However, the



Prime Minister Paul Martin met with U2 leadman Bono during the G-8 Summit at Gleneagles, Scotland last year.

cided to invite Canada to attend, just as France had invited Italy in 1975. Once invited, President Ford concluded, Canada would not be excluded in the future. So it has proved.

Today, the G-8 is one of the most important forums in the world. In 1983, Mr. Trudeau persuaded his partners to endorse his peace mission; in 1987, Prime

country owes this elevated status to a decent man largely unrecognized in his own country's history, President Gerald Ford.

Thomas S. Axworthy is the chairman of the Centre for the Study of Democracy at Queen's University. He served as principal secretary to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau from 1981-84.

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Canada's prisoner policy confuses its values

Canada has had a military presence in Afghanistan for more than four years now and it is about to ramp up its participation on the Afghan front of the "war on terror."

The country's soldiers are risking their lives to project Canadian values abroad. Sometimes I wonder if the country's decision-makers have sorted out what those values are. For example, after so many months of military involvement in Afghanistan, why is there still such ambiguity about Canada's policy on the treatment of prisoners taken there?

Gen. Rick Hillier, Canada's top soldier, famously quipped last summer that our troops were going to Afghanistan to battle "detestable murderers and scumbags." Surely Canada must not lose track of the fact that our soldiers sometimes capture people who emerge months or years later from detention as unfortunate wretches who were in the wrong place at the wrong time. And indeed the reason Canada is in Afghanistan is to defend the notion that even scumbags have rights.

Every now and then, the media report on the Canada's policy for dealing with prisoners in Afghanistan. There was a brief flurry of attention last fall after the Canadian Forces confirmed a prisoner hand-over. But the military has never come up with satisfactory answers to questions about our policy on detainees. Presumably that is because our policy is to turn these prisoners over to the United States and wipe our hands.

For example, listen to this exchange between BGen. Mike Ward and a reporter at a defence department briefing held last year to confirm that Canada's Joint Task Force 2 commandos had taken prisoners in Afghanistan and turned them over to the U.S. military:

Reporter: Do you receive assurances from (the U.S. military) on whether or not they'll be transferred to third parties or outside of the country?

BGen Ward: Not the fact that third parties...what we have are agreements about the treatment that they'll be afforded once they're in detention. And at that point in time their



ALLAN THOMPSON

legal status is then confirmed by the long-term holding authority.

Reporter: Could you give a bit more detail about the assurances you receive? Do they agree that they will hold them or do they give you — or do they just agree gener-

ally that they'll treat them well? But do you have any assurances that these detainees aren't transferred to another country where they might be treated differently and less humanely?

BGen Ward: You know I'd like to actually get back to you with that one. My understanding right now is that we hand them off and we — I shouldn't say hand them off. We ensure that they're transferred in good order with assurances from the U.S. authorities.

Reporter: You don't seek a direct assurance that you're going to keep them, you're not going to do something with them after, ship them somewhere else?

BGen Mike Ward: I want to get back to you on that one.

Reporter: Do any of these prisoners end up in Guantanamo Bay?

BGen Mike Ward: I don't have that answer.

We're still waiting for that answer. How many prisoners have Canadian soldiers apprehended, then turned over to the U.S. military on the basis of vague assurances the detainees will be treated "humanely"? Does Canada have an obligation to keep tabs on the prisoners it turns over, to make sure they aren't transferred to a third country known to use torture?

Four years after the issue of Canadian handling of Afghan prisoners burst into the news, there still are no answers to these troubling questions.

If they are prepared to make such a significant investment in Afghanistan, Canadians have the right to know where they stand.

There have been months of revelations about the abuse of prisoners in Guantanamo Bay, Abu Ghraib, Bagram and

points in between, and confirmation of the U.S. policy of "rendering" prisoners by transferring them for questioning to countries known to use torture — sometimes on secretive CIA flights.

The official word is that Canada accepts the U.S. assurance that the prisoners it hands over will be treated in the spirit of international law. But often, the U.S. military's treatment of prisoners captured in the name of the war on terror ignores that law. And Canada is becoming a part of that.

In February 2002, there was a media sensation after the revelation that Canadian commandos in Afghanistan had turned prisoners over to the U.S. military. The last we saw of them, they were being bundled across an airport tarmac in orange jump suits. What became of those men?

There is reason to wonder whether Canada has been assured that such prisoners will not be transferred to a third country for questioning. Yet the Canadian military admits it has no control of what happens once prisoners leave its custody.

The procedure for handling prisoners apprehended by Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan is to turn them over to the appropriate authority — in this case Afghan officials who then turn prisoners over to the U.S. military — then notify the Red Cross of the transaction.

In accordance with that policy, a Department of National Defence memo dated June 14, 2002 told the Red Cross personal details of four men first captured by the Canadian military, then turned over to U.S. authorities. "It remains our intention to pass on all available information regarding detainees. In this particular case, no other information is known," the memo states.

Apparently, Canada makes no further effort to track that "other information." Given the record of the U.S. military of late, it should.

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



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