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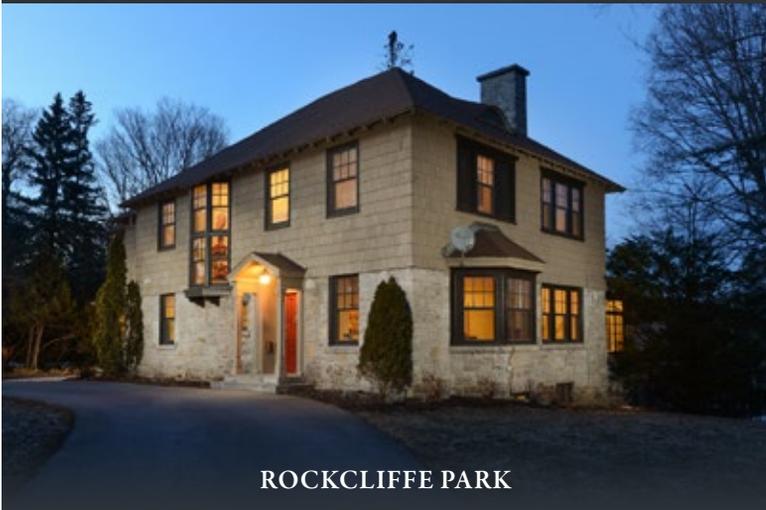
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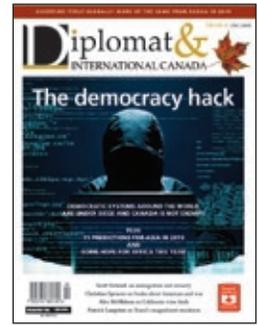


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Jennifer Campbell

Dangers to democracy

If someone told you 20 years ago that Russia would meddle in the 2016 U.S. presidential elections and that Donald Trump would become president, you'd have written them off as uninformed, or maybe even delusional. But here we are — and the U.S. has just completed another election, the results of which some have questioned.

Democracy is under siege and the conditions — social media, the Dark Web — that have led to this are not going away. In our cover story, Fen Hampson asserts that, “there is little doubt that there is a growing threat to democracy from the digital world, which increasingly seems to resemble a lawless Wild West. And it is not just American democratic institutions that are at risk, but democratic institutions everywhere, including Canada.”

He notes that the threat comes from authoritarian regimes such as Russia and China tampering with the electoral systems of foreign states by stealing email and disseminating fake news, but also the trend of corporations such as Facebook collecting personal data from users and selling it without the users' permission.

Also in our Dispatches section, we have three forward-looking features that will predict what you can expect in 2019. Russia expert Stephen Blank surveys the political landscape in that country and tells us that, thanks to President Vladimir Putin's insistence that Russia be seen as a superpower, we will see much of the same behaviour from Putin as we've seen in the past year. Our Africa columnist, Robert I. Rotberg, writes about what to expect on that continent and offers some glimmers of hope, including some elections that

might cause upsets for the better. He also offers some optimism about Ethiopia, which he refers to as the continent's “new prosperity powerhouse.” Robert Henderson, meanwhile, writes about what to expect from China and the countries that surround it, and talks about what he anticipates from Chinese President Xi Jinping.

Finally, in our Dispatches section, writer Wolfgang Depner takes a look at the Top 10 most unequal-income states in the world, and discovers that Africa — particularly Sub-Saharan Africa — is the continent with the highest number of unequal states. South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Central African Republic, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland all appear on the list. Depner notes that the other countries on the list are all from Latin America — Haiti, Colombia, Brazil and Paraguay.

Up front, I interviewed security expert Scott Newark, who says the biggest issue facing Western governments is mass migration. He likes Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador's suggestion that Canada, the U.S. and Mexico work together to deal with this. We also feature trade articles by the ambassadors of Afghanistan, Denmark and the EU.

In our Delights section, books columnist Christina Spencer writes about books on women, the war in Afghanistan and the First World War. Food columnist Margaret Dickenson offers four recipes that are great for winter entertaining — a complete dinner party. Wine columnist Alex McMahon takes us to California, whose wines he gives a rethink and offers reasons why we should consider putting some of this state's wine on our home racks.

Writer Patrick Langston takes us on a tour of the Sandy Hill residence of Denis Fontes de Souza Pinto, Brazil's ambassador to Canada and in a second piece, he suggests some of Ottawa's winter wonders — to keep you busy in and around the capital as the temptation to cocoon strikes in these darker months. Finally, German Ambassador Sabine Sparwasser offers a travel piece about Germany with her unique, insider's view.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

Fen Hampson



Fen Osler Hampson is distinguished fellow and director of the Global Security and Politics Program at the Centre for International Governance Innovation. He is also chancellor's professor at Carleton University in Ottawa, and served as co-director of the Global Commission on Internet Governance. A fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, he holds a PhD from Harvard University and has written 13 books and is the editor/co-editor of 28 other volumes. He is the co-author with Eric Jardine of *Look Who's Watching: Surveillance, Treachery and Trust Online*, 2nd edn. (2017).

Stephen Blank



Since 2013, Stephen Blank has been a senior fellow at the American Foreign Policy Council in Washington. Prior to that, he was a professor of Russian National Security Studies at the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College in Pennsylvania for 24 years. He has also been a professor of national security affairs at the Strategic Studies Institute since 1989 and between 1998 and 2001 he was Douglas MacArthur Professor of Research at the War College. He has consulted for the CIA, major think-tanks and foundations and chaired major international conferences in the U.S. and abroad.

UP FRONT

Our ominous cover image alludes to the many ways in which the web is interfering with democracy around the world. As columnist Fen Hampson writes in our cover story, democracy is under siege, with growing threats from the digital side, and those threats are hitting democratic institutions everywhere, including Canada. The story starts on page 40.



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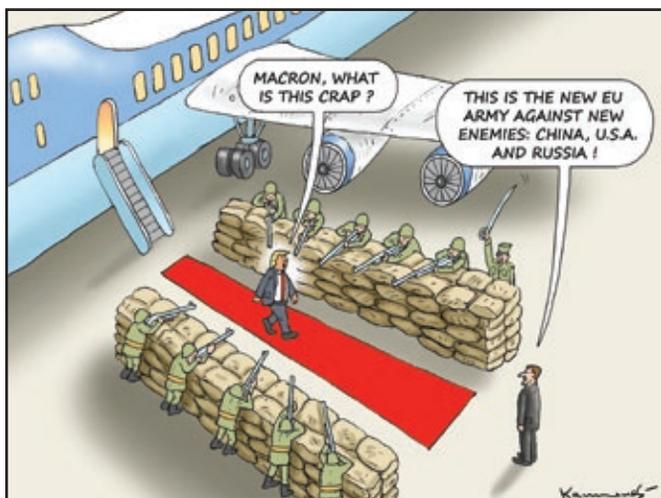
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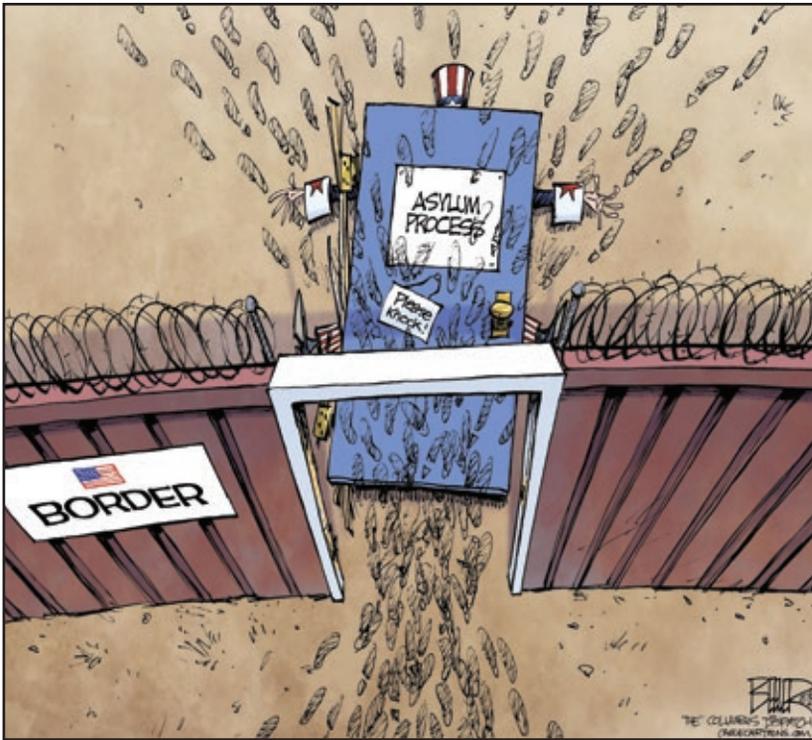
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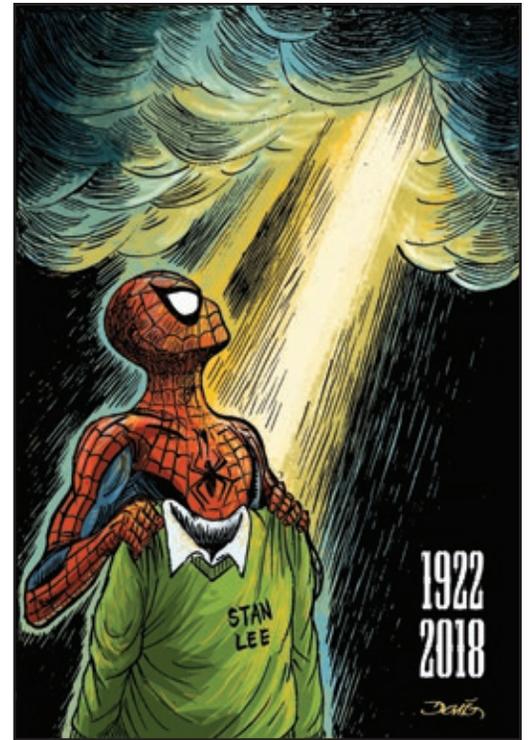
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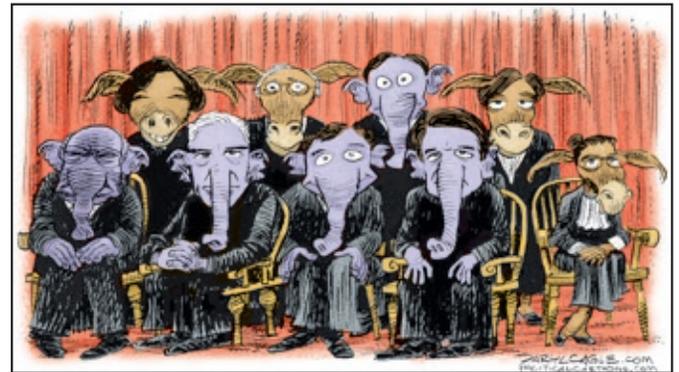
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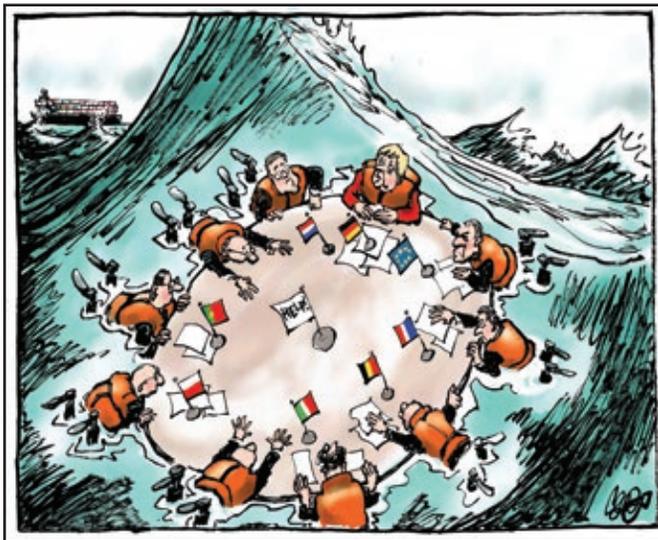
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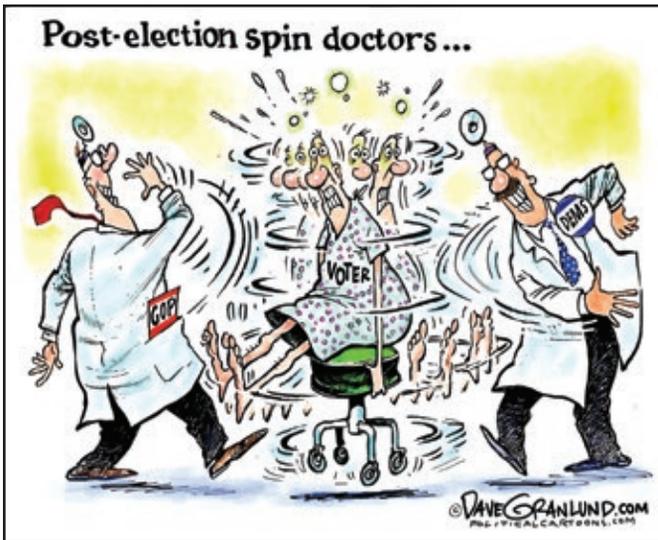
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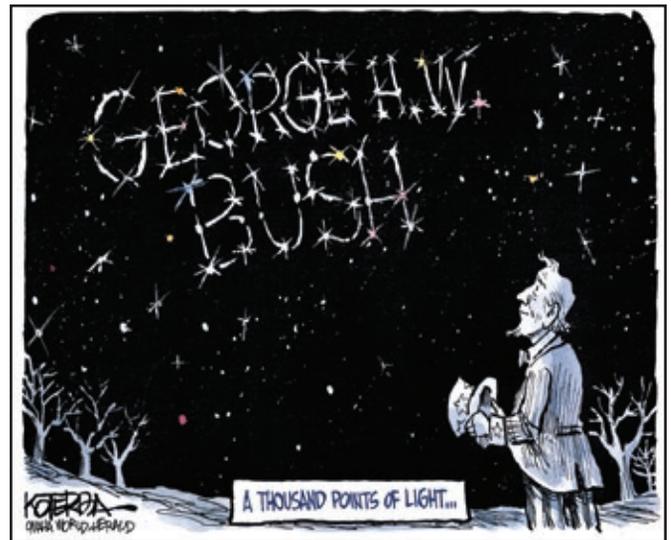
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Scott Newark, lawyer and security expert

Mass migration is 'probably the biggest challenge now facing Western countries'

Photos by Ashley Fraser



Scott Newark was a Crown prosecutor in Alberta until 1992. He also served as executive officer of the Canadian Police Association, director of operations to the Washington D.C.-based Investigative Project on Terrorism and as a security policy adviser to the governments of Ontario and Canada. He is currently an adjunct professor in the terrorism, risk and security studies program at Simon Fraser University. He sat down with *Diplomat's* Jennifer Campbell to discuss terrorism, immigration and security — his areas of expertise.

Diplomat Magazine: You've written about how Bill C-59 softened the terrorism propaganda offence section of C-51. You said that addressing the online publication of radicalization material is an important way to prevent domestic terrorism. What do we know about how propaganda plays into radicalization?

Scott Newark: It is a changing environment. One of the things we are aware of is that the bad guys aren't saying 'Come over here and help us fight.' They're saying 'Take up arms in your own countries.' That's being done through the reality of social media. The ways in which you deal with the threat have to evolve to the nature of the threat as it evolves.

That was my real concern about Bill C-59 — the fact that it was taking something and reducing it. It was a fairly technical concern because the change in the legislation was to get rid of the generalized promoting or advocating evidentiary standard and to change it to counselling another person. I guarantee defence counsel will say, 'Who is that person?' and if you can't prove who that person was, the offence isn't there. Plus, it's already a criminal offence to counsel someone to commit an offence. I don't imagine [softening the legislation] was deliberate, but I think it's a mistake. I testified at the committee and pointed that out and no one was able to address my concern about it.

DM: After the April 2018 attack in Toronto in which Alek Minassian

drove a van up a busy sidewalk, killing 10 pedestrians and injuring 16, you wrote that one other Incel (Involuntary Celibate) member praised Minassian for his actions. Under the current laws, can authorities do anything with that person? **SN:** It would depend on the nature of what the individual did. If all it was, was the person saying 'Way to go, good for you,' that is certainly something that would raise a red flag. You'd want to make sure this wasn't someone who himself potentially posed a risk. We have provisions in our Criminal Code about it being a crime to promote hate against an identifiable group. So someone promoting hatred against an identifiable group — like the guys who are anti-woman — could be captured by that. But each case is different.

It's the same issue with how we deal with detained jihadis abroad. You have to look at each case to see if you have the tools to actually prosecute.

One of the other tools that is available is peace bonds. It's an old preventive power that's in the Criminal Code. I encountered it as a prosecutor. I was leaving court one day and there was a lady at the front counter of the clerk's office. She was really agitated. I stopped and asked what was going on. The cop said she had a domestic violence case and was looking for a peace bond. The officer said 'Because it's not an offence, we're not involved as the police, and it's up to the person to request this.' I said 'That's ridiculous.' I said the Crown will prosecute. Normally in our system, you have to do a defined act — defined by the Criminal Code. This was preventive because [someone] posed a risk. We ended up getting involved as the Crown and this was a very successful tool.

Years later, when I was with the police association, [we used it.] In those days, once the sentence was up, there was nothing the state could do to keep the offender. You had to wait for another victim before you could intervene. We were looking for preventive tools, so I said 'Why don't we amend this and create new tools for people we think are going to commit sex crimes or crimes of violence?' We now

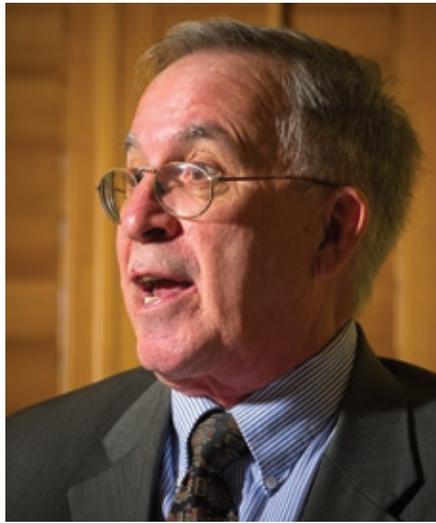


On copycats: "The public has a right to know, but you don't want to glorify it in such a way that it becomes inspirational to others."

have them for terrorism and organized crime offences. That's where this preventive power comes in and it's like a parole or probation order. We can use electronic monitoring, which is a very good idea, and if you breach the terms of those conditions, that's a crime and we can send you to jail for up to two years.

DM: At the time of the Toronto van attack, you said authorities must continue to assess whether the attack was part of a bigger plan or would inspire copycats. How do they do that?

SN: Literally by checking the guys, using electronic devices. They have to get warrants to do all that, but they have the grounds to do it. They can interview them. When you've got a bit of evidence on something like this and there's a suggestion that there may be something more involved, that's what law enforcement has to do. The thing about copycats is that it's a recognized trend. When



On preventive measures: "The OPP has put in place a program so if people are renting vans, there's a database the OPP can access."

something like this happens, it's sometimes an inspiration for other people. This is why there's an ongoing discussion about publicizing these things. The public has a right to know, but you don't want to glorify it in such a way that it becomes inspirational to others.

Look at the work of Stewart Bell at Global News. He went to Northern Syria and interviewed the guys who have been detained. The Kurds have 13 Canadians detained, three of whom are male jihadis. There are three wives and seven kids. They all want to come back to Canada. The kids were born in Syria. The Kurds are asking the Canadian government to 'Please come and take your people back.' We haven't done that. This one guy, who's a sniper — Mohamad Ali — no one has talked to him. He wants to come back. Stewart put together a team and they went to Northern Syria and conducted interviews with this guy. My first comment: If Global News can do the interview,



On mass migration: "It is the manifestation ... of what is probably the biggest challenge now facing Western countries, including Canada."

where the hell are the RCMP and CSIS and Global Affairs? There are specific things we can actually do. It's that kind of analysis where you look at it and say 'What are the options, where are the tools we need?'

DM: You've advocated for deploying vehicle access restrictions in specific identified mass-population venues — what other solutions would you suggest?

SN: It really is a model on things that are being done in Europe. The OPP, a couple of months ago, had a concern about an attack in downtown Toronto. It was reported then that the OPP has put in place a program so if people are renting vans, there's a database the OPP can access. The [rental agency] can check with the OPP about whether the individuals renting are of concern. It's also about taking lessons from past experience to try to find preventative measures and its security perimeters, mass-population venues.



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The best example of terrorists coming to other countries to commit acts of terrorism was the attacks on the World Trade Centre, says Scott Newark.

DM: What are your views on the “caravan” approaching the U.S. from Latin America and what should be done?

SN: I think it is the manifestation or representation of what is probably the biggest challenge now facing Western countries, including Canada, in relation to the larger issue of how you deal with immigration and security issues. This isn’t something that happened to the same extent 20 years ago, so there has to be a development about how we’re actually going to deal with this.

I [like] the suggestion by Mexican President [Andrés Manuel López Obrador], that Canada, the U.S. and Mexico should come together to figure out some kind of strategy, so people don’t just try to illegally enter the U.S., Mexico or Canada. What’s really going on here is that you’ve got an organized effort for people to essentially simply ignore the laws of other countries. Countries have rules in relation to regular migration, asylum claims and everything else. This is an organized effort — the same way it’s happening from the Middle East and into the European Union. It’s saying ‘to hell with your laws, we’re going to come in and that’s just what you’re going to have to deal with.’ Coming up with a strategy to deal with that phenomenon is one of the great challenges.

I was involved in what led to the Safe

Third Country Agreement. Back when I was at the Canadian Police Association — I think it was 1994 — a Toronto police officer named Todd Baylis was shot and killed by a career criminal named Clinton Gayle, who was supposed to be deported back to Jamaica. But the Jamaicans weren’t co-operating, so we were having difficulty removing him. Of course, he was released on bail and he went back to his chosen profession, which was being a drug dealer, and he shot and killed a young police officer. I was trying to find out what happened, but the walls of silence came up.

I asked for help [from the union that represents the frontline border officers] and they agreed for me to meet with the frontline immigration officers involved in the case and we learned the truth. It didn’t make any sense. The issue was why was he released on bail, given his record? [He was released because of procedural delays in getting the documents to remove him, which was largely due to non-co-operation from Jamaican officials.]

As I continued working with them on certain issues, I got alerted to the fact that at one point — towards the late ‘90s — you know what country the largest number of refugee claimants to Canada came from?

DM: Which one?

SN: The United States. They weren’t

Americans, but they were people transiting through the U.S. who decided they’d rather be a refugee in Canada because we have better health care and it’s easier to get welfare. Well, [that is not seeking protection], that’s called immigration — [instead they should] get in line with everyone else.

So we started discussions with the Americans. In late 1998, I worked with the Ontario government with the Office of the Victims of Crime. We were modernizing victim services, but I was also giving criminal justice policy advice because of my background. After 9/11 when the province of Ontario had a very strong relationship with the U.S. government, [we raised the issue with the Americans.] Bob Runciman was the [solicitor-general.] We started talking with the Americans and arguing that this makes sense.

They had instituted a program called NSEERS — National Security Exit-Entry Registration System — where essentially, they were creating a registry of everyone who was in the country on some kind of visa, and those from an Islamic country who’d overstayed. They were starting to crack down. They started with people from Iran and a whole bunch of them fled to Canada. I remember talking to the Americans and saying, ‘It’s not in your best interest to have them come to Canada because they can, at some point, go back to the United States. When we get them, collectively, we should deal with them, but we have to do that co-operatively. That is what led to the negotiations of the Safe Third Country Agreement.

After the Americans said they did want to move forward on this agreement, the federal government said it’s a federal responsibility and ‘We’ll do it.’ It was years later — maybe 2008 — when there was a huge surge in Mexican refugee claimants coming into Canada. [At that time,] someone from the minister’s office asked me about it and I said that shouldn’t happen under the Safe Third Country Agreement. I went and found the regulations under the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* and found the exceptions that are today causing problems. One was that it didn’t apply to people from non-visa countries. That’s why, when Jason Kenney was minister [of citizenship and immigration,] they put the visa requirement on Mexico. It was to stop that. The other one was nonsense that it doesn’t apply between ports of entry. To this day, [I don’t know] who came up with that idea, but that’s why we need to renegotiate with the Americans.

There was news recently that Customs

Border Protection has just released data that the numbers of people entering the U.S. illegally from Canada is going up. [American border agents reported in October that 32,000 had entered in recent months. On the New Brunswick-Maine border, numbers were up to 54 apprehended in the first 10 months of 2018, versus 33 the year before.] If you think about it, if they're cracking down from the U.S.-Mexico border, instead of paying a human smuggler to get you through, you get an airplane ticket to Canada, and now, thanks to Justin Trudeau, you don't need a visa anymore. You land in Canada and then you just need to get across that border.

Looking at the bigger picture, you need to appreciate exactly what immigration includes. It includes screening so we know who it is who's coming into the country. I've been involved for years on developing face-recognition biometrics. The point is you need to know who's coming into your country. This may come as a surprise to some people, but sometimes, the bad guys use phoney ID.

After 9/11, I got an order-in-council appointment as the special security adviser on counter-terrorism. It was one of the issues that was very real after 9/11. We had people they actually called the yo-yo bandits. And it was significant because almost always in those cases, when you talk about people who've been deported for criminality, when we catch them is when they commit more crimes.

Quite apart from the public safety consequences, it's also extremely expensive to investigate, prosecute, run a trial, incarcerate. So it's costing us a huge amount of money. The reality is a disproportionately small number of criminals [is] responsible for a disproportionately large number of crimes. When you target those people, you get positive results.

When the Syrian refugees were brought



To prevent copycats of such acts at the Toronto van attack in which 10 people were killed and 16 injured, authorities have enacted rules on van rentals, says Scott Newark. A memorial to those killed in the Toronto attack is shown here.

in [in late 2015 and 2016, for example], they were going to bring them in and do screening afterward.

DM: On the security side, what are your chief concerns?

SN: There are multiple components to it, and you have a better chance of achieving the desired results when you have a fulsome understanding of what you're dealing with. In terms of what security covers, probably the first area I dealt with was crime. If you've got more crime in your country, that affects public safety, which affects security. That's one side of it.

The other side, which is still a reality, is espionage. I got involved in that in the mid-1990s, with respect to Chinese spying in Canada. David Kilgour, an ex-Alberta prosecutor, had crossed the floor as a Liberal by then and he had a [secretary of state position at Foreign Affairs.] What happened was that the foreign affairs people and an RCMP liaison in Hong Kong had done some really excellent work on the penetration into Canada of Chinese triads. As the work continued, it expanded into what Canadians ultimately called The Trinity — the organized crime groups, which were partnered with the Chinese government and the vehicle through



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which it was done was 'business interests' that were active in Canada. Many gained access to Canada through the Canadian immigrant investor program.

It was this brilliant intelligence officer from Foreign Affairs named Brian McAdam and RCMP Officer Garry Clement who exposed all of this stuff and were trying to get some answers when Brian was transferred back to Ottawa and basically stuck in the Xerox room. They destroyed him because it made them look bad. Ultimately, Kilgour asked me what was going on. It really is a deliberately complex web of activity. The RCMP and CSIS decided to do an analysis of it and produced a report called *Sidewinder*, which was a study of Chinese espionage, triad activity and influence on government. On the morning they were having the briefing [on the report], the order came from the Prime Minister's Office [Jean Chrétien's office] to shut it down and destroy all documents. The point is the activity hasn't gone away. It's part of a larger Chinese strategic interest and immigration is just one aspect of it.

There was a Chinese intelligence officer named Chen Young Ling who defected in Australia. He exposed everything and got tonnes of attention. Our Senate Committee on National Security, then chaired by Colin Kenny, had done a study that said, basically, that China was a very big security threat to Canada. It got some attention and this guy wanted to come and testify before the Senate committee. He came to Canada and we had lunch at David Kilgour's place. I asked him: 'How are you getting your people into the country?' He described a number of scenarios — there's the use of foreign skilled workers, [for example.]

This is an ongoing reality. Whether you see it in them acquiring assets or getting into security technology companies — it's real. It's not that all immigrants from China are security threats, but [immigration is] a tool that the bad guys use.

DM: What about terrorism — people who come to Western countries to commit terrorist acts?

SN: The best example of that is 9/11. I remember relatively immediately afterwards, as we learned the profiles of these guys and we realized they'd used the U.S. immigration system to [commit their acts]. I was relatively confident we could take measures to work against that. My concern was with the people who are already here.

DM: What does one do about them?

SN: You start to pay attention and you look for the groups with Muslim Brotherhood links. This is work I did down in Washington with the investigative project on terrorism. It's not necessarily tied to immigration, but to go back to my point from before, when you find organizations that are trying to block integration, that's a red flag. The Canada Revenue Agency has just shut down funding and charitable status on a number of Muslim Brotherhood and related groups.

DM: We've touched on it, but what can governments do about mass migration?

SN: We need to come up with a strategy that creates an incentive to people to obey our laws. That's why the Mexican president's idea of a camp where people



Since Jack Letts does have Canadian citizenship, Scott Newark maintains he must be allowed in the country.

can apply for refugee status is the way to go. They're trying to avoid the screening when they organize the caravans.

The most recent data show that more than 50 per cent are people who are coming from other countries, lawfully getting a visa to go to the U.S. and then they're sneaking into Canada. Why? Why not get a visa and come here and claim refugee status at an airport? It's because they don't want to go through Canadian screening. We do a better job on screening than the Americans.

One of the biggest problems we have, unfortunately, is a shortage in personnel at [Canada Border Services Agency]. In 2013, the Harper government came up with the deficit-reduction action plan. It was supposed to cut bureaucracy and back-office paperwork. But the leadership at the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) allowed it to cut frontline officers who do

primary and secondary inspections. As a result, [this] has cut our capabilities, which is really serious. If the government wanted to pick a single thing to improve border security, it would be to put those resources back into CBSA.

The other thing that makes the point on mass migration: I remember watching an interview with Moammar Gadhafi. This notion of Islamic terrorism was in the news. They were asking about all these people who were flooding into Europe. I remember him laughing and saying 'Yes, you're all worried about invasion and bombing. What's actually going to happen is immigration and birth rates. That's how we're going to take over.'

The status quo is not going to be a solution because this isn't going away. People need to candidly acknowledge that and look for solutions rather than yelling or doing nothing.

In the context of immigration and security, another challenge is [not to forget] that just because of the geopolitical circumstances, we have to make sure we have that bad-guy lookout system. It should be on foreign criminals. You don't want every person in the world, but [you want] high-risk kinds of offenders. There have been discussions of it over the years. We need to make sure we work with each other so we have information and we're using the right technologies.

DM: What kind of technologies?

SN: I don't know whether it's been put into place yet. It's called the Advanced Passenger Information System that CBSA is finally implementing. It used to be, believe it or not, that if you were flying to Canada, you got on the plane and once the plane was in the air, [the airline] sent the information to CBSA, as opposed to doing it before the plane took off. We've done what we can on our side. I gather there's been some dragging on the European side as to whether they'll share this info. The technology isn't complicated — as you're standing at the counter, your picture is taken. You have to do it in a fair way. It isn't [happening] at this point, but it could be and should be, with a legal requirement that the data must be destroyed within 24 hours.

DM: Do you see any members of the caravan eventually arriving in Canada?

SN: Wouldn't surprise me, which is why I think the Mexican president is correct in saying we should put together a facility where they're all secure and can make their claims.



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If you do get caught trying to enter the country illegally, instead of catch and release, it should be catch and return to their home country. That's logically the best way to proceed.

DM: In a piece called "Cutting cheques is not the answer," relating to Canada settling lawsuits with Omar Khadr and Mahar Arar, among others, you called for express statutory authorization for defined interactions and information sharing by certain Canadian officials on the terrorism cases with international entities. Has there been any progress on this?

cases is throwing our officials under the bus and creating a risk-averse culture.

DM: You commented on Bill Blair's appointment as minister of border security and organized crime reduction. In your estimation, how has he been doing since his July appointment?

SN: I haven't seen any specific results or actions taken. They're been very focused on the marijuana legalization, in fairness. As I know Bill, he is someone who's capable of getting things done.

DM: Specifically, how is he doing on ir-

September 2017, there were 15,102 RCMP interceptions of irregular border crossers and as of September 2018, there were 15,726.]

DM: Should Jihadi Jack be allowed to return to Canada?

SN: I've never really studied that particular issue, but my understanding is that he does have Canadian citizenship. I believe in the rule of law. And if the law is that as a Canadian, he is entitled to come back to Canada, I don't think we should look the other way.

DM: How do you feel about a person born in a country to parents who are not citizens automatically becoming a citizen?

SN: Anchor babies, we used to call them. I can see the logic philosophically, of why you grant citizenship, but once again, there's a reason they call them anchor babies. It's what the Khadr family did. They wanted to make sure their kids were always born in Canada. I guess my instinct would be to look at how I prevent that from happening in the first place. We knew what the Khadr's were doing. I think the biggest lesson out of the Khadr case is why child welfare services never took those kids away.

Let's say we do get off our asses and bring these people back that the Kurds have. You have three wives and a bunch of kids. It is entirely appropriate to ask whether the conduct of the wives constitutes a terrorist offence. If it doesn't, you could ask whether their activity would be placed under a peace bond. I think you could make a pretty compelling case about that. But the first thing I'd do is to have the child welfare people take a look and make sure those kids aren't at risk by having their parents around. The Khadr kids deserved better. We failed them.

DM: Does it encourage demand for giving birth in a foreign country as a direct path to citizenship versus applying from a foreign country first?

SN: Yes. I'm not kidding about the name — they're actually known as anchor babies. It's the same reason [asylum-seekers try to avoid] processing. The longer the system takes to make a decision, the greater the chance the person has to say 'I may be inadmissible, but I've been here for six years, so please grant me admission on humanitarian grounds.' People understand and are going to play the system, which is why we should have expedited decision-making processes on different kinds of cases. ▣



Scott Newark says that the government cutting cheques to child soldiers such as Omar Khadr isn't the answer. Shown here are protesters calling for his return to Canada in 2008.

SN: No. A big part of why it was determined Canada had violated the Charter of Rights [for folks such as Mahar Arar] was either because our people didn't do anything or did do something. I got to know Omar Khadr's U.S. Navy lawyer very well. I told him his client was on TV making a roadside bomb and [to] 'cut the best deal you can and ask for transference.' It was the Harper government that sent the letter to the American authorities saying Canada would give 'favourable consideration' to a request for transfer under the International Transfer of Offenders Act. The point, though, is if there's no statutory authorization that raises the potential of it being a Charter breach. If there's a statute authorizing an official to do something, then you can say 'this isn't just us acting on our discretion, we have specific authority to do this.'

All we've ended up doing on these

regular migration, especially in Manitoba and Quebec?

SN: My sense is that he recognizes there needs to be engagement with the Americans — to say we need to modernize the Safe Third Country Agreement. There are actions that can be taken. For example, gun smuggling: If you have guns and you come between ports of entry. It may be a federal act, but it has local impact. Because of his background, he understands that. I can see him taking action on that and also on modernizing CBSA to give them authority between ports of entry. I'm cautiously optimistic that he'll be someone who will want to see results as opposed to someone talking in blather.

Some things are complicated, but putting more money into border security's frontline operations [would be advisable]. [According to a Global News item from October the numbers are up this year. By

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Spreading Nelson Mandela’s kindness

Every year on July 18, staff at the South African High Commission observe Nelson Mandela International Day by volunteering at an Ottawa charitable organization that supports the needy, vulnerable and weak.

The day, which is the freedom fighter’s birthday, was adopted by the United Nations in December 2009 and has been celebrated every year since. When South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Yvonne Dlamini-Mntambo came to Ottawa in May 2017, she established the tradition that staff who wanted to could volunteer.

“The belief is that each individual has the power to transform the world,” Dlamini-Mntambo said. “You can make an impact. It is related to Nelson Mandela, recognizing his long history of dedication towards the struggle.”

She said Mandela dedicated about 67 years of his life toward the struggle for freedom in South Africa and on this day, the idea is that South Africans spend 67 minutes — one minute for each year Mandela devoted — doing some good in their community. But, of course, the high commission staff go beyond that. One year, they spent two days volunteering — one at the Ottawa Food Bank and one at The Ottawa Mission, where they prepared and served sandwiches to about 200 people in need, and cleaned up afterwards. Last year, they returned to The Mission.

The members of the high commission personally bought the food and also



Staff from the South African High Commission help out at The Ottawa Mission. From left, South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo, social secretary Trudi Hogue, third secretary Nondlela Maponya, receptionist Lea Allen, accountant Julia Shin, administrative clerk Lunga Majombozi, The Ottawa Mission’s executive director Peter Tilley and first secretary Fernando Slawers.

made a pooled donation of \$200 from their own pockets.

“It’s a small contribution,” Dlamini-Mntambo said. “It’s nothing compared to what Nelson Mandela did, but we do it gladly.”

Most of the high commission’s 17 staff members volunteer and contribute. If July 18 falls on a weekday, they leave a skeleton staff to keep the office running; when it eventually falls on a weekend, they’ll still show up in high numbers. In addition, some staff members have continued to volunteer at The Mission, so it’s turned into a long-term collaboration.

Fernando Slawers, first secretary at the South African High Commission, said

they’re considering adding a women’s organization to their volunteer mandate as well. The diplomats would cook a South African meal for up to 70 women from Cornerstone Housing for Women.

For The Mission’s part, they were extremely happy with the results of the high commission’s volunteer project.

“It was wonderful,” said Jake Harding, volunteer co-ordinator at The Ottawa Mission, and added that the relationship has continued. “A number of members from their group also came in and helped us with our volunteer appreciation event and served as volunteers at the Hope Charity Volleyball Tournament.”



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PeaceGeeks: Shedding light on extremism

By Tasneem Ma'abreh

My colleague Ahmad Al Zghoul and I arrived at the National Arab Youth Alliance offices 90 minutes before our workshop started. We arrived early to prepare and were surprised when 16-year-old Elias Al Terawi — one of the workshop participants — arrived, sporting a broad smile. Surprised by Elias' enthusiasm and early arrival, we greeted him and he told us why he was early.

"I left my house at 5 a.m. and walked here since there was no bus that would come early enough for me to make the start of the workshop," he told us. "I did not want to miss any part of it."

Meshkat, in Arabic, is the ancient nook in the wall of a home where people placed their lanterns. As lanterns could not be left hanging freely inside the house, due to the risk of being overturned and causing a fire, they were placed in this custom nook so families could safely enjoy their light.

Currently, in Jordan, the Meshkat Community is a project run by PeaceGeeks, a Vancouver-based non-profit. The project received \$1.15 million from the Canadian government to run its programs for three years (2017 - 2020). This project aims to embrace and incubate the light and energy of youth, providing them with a path away from the fire of extremism killing their communities and loved ones.

Meshkat promotes peace, moderation, tolerance and acceptance through a number of programs and activities. Using digital content, it offers Jordanian youth alternative story lines and creates and fosters places for dialogue.

These stories highlight and showcase the world as it should be — a place of harmony in which people respect each other and accept difference and diversity as strengths rather than as causes for discrimination and bullying.

Elias, the boy with the boundless smile, is a member of the Digital Peace Youth Network (DPYN), which seeks to empower youth in Zarqa' governorate, a densely populated and diverse region of Jordan, one that is threatened by poverty, especially among youth. With limited hope for the future, many young people risk being drawn into extremism.

By contrast, the network that Elias is a part of strives to provide youth with skills



Anwar al Shwabkeh, an artist in residence with the PeaceGeeks Meshkat Community project, works on her film in Jordan.

and tools in digital technology to help them earn money. It supports them in creating digital content to help them produce and share alternative story lines to the bleak ones surrounding them.

When I asked Elias about his experiences at the Digital Peace Youth Network, he said he learned never to judge others, as all people are special in their own way.

The Meshkat program also offers other services. One artist-in-residence with the program, who didn't want to share his name, said mentorship was his main reason for participating.

The artist-in-residence program engages artists working in areas such as filmmaking, blogging and photography. Meshkat supports and contributes to the production of art that addresses critical community challenges and highlights invisible stories of cohesion, tolerance and acceptance. The artists themselves contribute to other Meshkat programming and play a mentorship role to the youth of the Digital Peace Youth Network.

"Had I found someone who would guide and support me as a young person, I would have had a much better life," the artist said.

Most Meshkat programs and associated activities run year-round, but the Peace Awards Grants — Meshkat's third principal program — runs once a year. These awards represent an opportunity to identify, celebrate and support outstanding artists who contribute to a unique and compelling vision of the world.

Award winners — judged by a jury of Jordanian community leaders — are given grants to work with Meshkat to develop their existing work or create new work in alternative narratives.

On an ongoing basis, Meshkat runs digital content creation workshops for all segments of Jordanian society, regardless of experience or skill. Participants learn photography, filmmaking, editing, script writing and skills in digital technology. At the end of each workshop, each participant produces what is often his or her first piece of digital content — complete with a compelling social message.

The Jordanian community has been eager for a chance to work with the program. In only its first year of operation, Meshkat has engaged more than 40 youth in the peace network, recruited 16 artists-in-residence and peace awards grantees, and received more than 100 participants in the digital content creation workshops.

The Meshkat Community is starting its second year with plans to organize another round of all programming. It is considering a peace retreat, YouTube series and further community collaboration.

Remembering Elias and his smile, I'm even more excited and motivated for the days ahead. His words confirmed that we're moving in the right direction — a hole in the wall to embrace the light of Jordanian youth.

Tasneem Ma'abreh is a digital engagement officer for PeaceGeeks in Jordan.

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Like Canada, Taiwan is a full-fledged democracy that respects the rule of law, intellectual property and human rights.

Currently, Canada is home to 200,000 people of Taiwanese origin, while 60,000

Canadians live in

Taiwan, creating a valuable network of interpersonal connections that can be tapped to the advantage of both countries.

Two-way trade between the two countries in 2017 reached \$7.7 billion Cdn, a 9-per cent increase from 2016. Taiwan is



Taiwan is seeking a foreign investment promotion and protection agreement with Canada. It also wants Canada's support for its membership in the CPTPP.

currently Canada's 5th largest trading partner in Asia and 12th largest in the world. Foreign direct investment from Taiwan in Canada was \$59 million in 2017, while Canadian direct investment in Taiwan was \$64 million.

New policies offer more opportunity

Two of my government's new policies — the 5+2 Industrial Innovation Initiative

and the New Southbound Policy — can not only help open the door for increased opportunities for Canadian businesses in Taiwan, but also help gain access to other Asian markets.

This initiative aims to strengthen Taiwan's entire industrial base and is expected to boost my country's competitiveness in global markets. The 5+2 industries refer to seven development projects proposed by the government to shift Taiwan's industrial base away from its traditional concentration on contract manufacturing and gear it towards high-value-added, service- and solutions-oriented business models.

Among them is a project to turn Taiwan into an Asian Silicon Valley, along with others in fields such as biomedical, green energy, smart machinery, defence and high-value agriculture.

The initiative promises to link Taiwanese industries to global markets and corporations — and through its emphasis on innovation — to future technological and market developments.

Geared to meeting Taiwan's national development needs for the next 30 years and offering incentives for international companies, it affords many opportunities for Canadian entrepreneurs. For example, it would be an ideal time for the Montreal-based Bombardier company to expand its operations in Taiwan and to provide advanced railway infrastructure to support the country's projected growth in areas targeted by the 5+2 initiative.

A leading example of the opportunity offered to Canadian businesses, because of Taiwan's renewed emphasis on green energy, are the offshore windmill projects, namely the Hai Long II and Hai Long III, which are partnership projects between Toronto's Northland Power and Singapore's Yushan Energy. These projects could represent Canadian investment of up to \$8 billion, the single largest new investment from Canada in Taiwan.

This is a highly significant venture and has raised the profile of Taiwan's business opportunities available to Canadian companies.

The 5+2 initiative, with its commitment to boosting innovation-based growth, is reinforced by another signature policy of my government — the New Southbound Policy, a key strategy to deepen Taiwan's co-operation in areas such as agriculture,

Given the shifting winds of the global trade and economic landscape, it would be a win-win situation for Taiwan and Canada to take their already strong economic and cultural ties to an even higher level, and for both countries to work together to meet the new imperative for greater diversification in trade and investment.

While the North American Free Trade Agreement was being renegotiated and reshaped into the U.S. Mexico Canada Agreement, Canada has made an effort to blaze a more vigorous trail toward trade diversification.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is acutely aware of the need to diversify Canada's trade relationships, and has emphasized this many times.

Taiwan's President Tsai Ing-wen is on the same page in terms of prioritizing new strategies to meet the new challenges. In her national day speech this year, she affirmed her commitment to strengthen "value-based diplomacy with like-minded partners," and to "staunchly defend freedom, democracy and the market economy."

With both countries taking steps to diversify trade and investment, it is the perfect time to forge even stronger ties.

Foundations for stronger partnerships

In pursuing values-based diplomacy and a like-minded approach to trade and business, Taiwan and Canada would be building on a foundation of mutual trust, shared values, economic co-operation and people-to-people connections that has characterized the relationship over the years.

business, trade, culture and education with the 10 members of ASEAN, six South Asian countries (including India) as well as Australia and New Zealand. This policy has continued to interest international experts and policymakers, and both Japan and the U.S. have expressed support for it.

Taiwan's southbound policy presents another great opportunity for a natural Taiwan-Canada partnership. The master plan of this policy encompasses fields as diverse as public health, agriculture, technology and security and seeks to produce mutually beneficial co-operation and a sense of economic community between Taiwan and Southeast Asia, South Asia, Australia and New Zealand. The policy has already proven successful. Trade between Taiwan and the 18 targeted countries increased by 5.5 per cent between January and June 2018 compared to the previous year.

Taiwan is one of the biggest investors in ASEAN countries and can play a key role as a springboard in helping Canadian businesses gain further access to these lucrative markets where Taiwan's economic and soft-power strength can be leveraged.

Toward a FIPA and the CPTPP

The increased opportunities for two-way

trade and investment can move forward at an accelerated pace if two other elements come to fruition.

With the above incentives for investment, it would make sense for Taiwan and Canada to begin negotiations for a Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (FIPA) as soon as possible.

Because of the complementary nature of both countries' trade needs, this will unlock more potential investment opportunities. Canada has already signed FIPA agreements with more than 40 countries and is in negotiations with several other trading partners. Taiwan is probably the only major trading partner that does not yet have a FIPA agreement with Canada. The Taiwan-Canada avoidance of double taxation agreement, which came into effect on Jan. 1, 2017, has already laid a strong foundation for a FIPA agreement.

The other factor is the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP). By signing and ratifying the CPTPP, Canada has sent a strong message of support for rule-based, ethical free trade. Taiwan is seeking Canada's support to join this partnership when it becomes open to additional members.

Taiwan's CPTPP participation is im-

portant for several reasons. Among 11 countries, Taiwan's GDP is higher than seven of them, and only smaller than that of Japan, Canada, Australia and Mexico. In addition, Taiwan has been a member economy of APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation) since 1991 and membership in CPTPP is open to all APEC members. Canada and Taiwan already have strong co-operation in APEC and the World Trade Organization. In these platforms, both sides hold similar views on free trade and economic liberalization.

Finally, Taiwan maintains close economic and trade ties with Japan and Southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam, Singapore and Malaysia. All are CPTPP members. Taiwan also plays a critical role in the Asia-Pacific supply chains. It would work to the benefit of all members, including Canada, if Taiwan were included in CPTPP.

With so many incentives to move forward towards greater economic co-operation, neither Taiwan nor Canada can afford to lose the new opportunities on the horizon.

Winston Wen-yi Chen is the representative at the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Canada.

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Afghanistan: Transforming the way we trade



By *Abdul Jabar Rahimi*

Afghanistan is strategically located as a hub between rich and resourceful Central Asia and the fast-emerging economies of South Asian nations. Canada and Canadian investors can play a pivotal role in the transformation of the land-locked country by helping it to become a land-linked and regionally reintegrated country. Boosting regional and global trade would lead to economic growth for Afghanistan.

The Afghan government remains committed to working towards shifting the economic direction of the country, from an aid-reliant country to a country that is self-sustaining and self-reliant. Promoting trade with its regional and international partners is one of its key goals. The focus is on private-sector development and investment in agri-business, mining, oil and gas, major infrastructure development projects and the promotion of small and medium enterprises.

Afghanistan has made significant progress in reconstruction and development as well as lifting per-capita income over the past decade. With significant effort by the government and donors, Afghanistan has maintained macro-economic stability and built policy buffers. The country also has been implementing important infrastructural reforms, lowered debt and inflation and made progress towards achieving social and developmental objectives.

Between 2015 and 2017, Afghanistan's global exports rose from \$580 million US to \$784 million US, an increase of more than 35 per cent. The government anticipates a significant increase in 2018, estimated to surpass \$1 billion US.

Regional trade and transit facilitation remain high priorities for Afghanistan's government, which can tremendously



Afghanistan's main exports to Canada include fruit and nuts.

strengthen regional co-operation, stability and prosperity and increase investment. It is vital for the self-reliance of Afghanistan to foster investment, both public and private, foreign and domestic, so that development assistance is replaced with sustainable sources of national income.

To generate and encourage this growth, the government is committed to improving conditions of international trade and transit through the development of policies and regulations, capitalization on regional and global trade linkages and boosting trade through assistance in trade-policy liberalization, customs reform and trade facilitation. Afghanistan became a member of the World Trade Organization in 2016 and has also passed a public-private partnership law. The government has also reduced regulatory burdens by cutting the price of business licences from \$440 US to \$1 US and providing on-arrival visas to investors. The country has launched multiple air corridors with India, Turkey, Indonesia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Saudi Arabia to expand trade with new partners.

The government's national export

strategy adopts an open-access policy to promote pro-trade interventions with trade diversification, development and growth. The government aims to achieve socio-economic sustainability by empowering youth and women, building institutions, facilitating regional connectivity and building infrastructure and investment in the mining, agriculture and industrial sectors.

Canada has remained a critical international partner in political as well as economic arenas. Bilateral trade between Canada and Afghanistan totalled \$30.4 million in 2016. A major portion of the trade was merchandise exports to Afghanistan, which primarily constituted machinery and parts at \$26.4 million. Canadian merchandise imports from Afghanistan were led by fruit and nuts, and stood at \$4 million in 2016. Canadian companies are currently pursuing business opportunities in Afghanistan mainly in mining, information and communication technologies, transport, engineering services and agriculture.

Canada and Afghanistan have many potential economic opportunities that can be mutually beneficial — areas such as mining, agri-business, energy, mega-infrastructure projects, access to finance and banking and, importantly, promoting small and medium enterprises. When it comes to goods, fresh and dried fruits, saffron, marble and granite, carpets, precious stones and handicrafts produced by women in Afghanistan could attract markets across Canada.

The mandate of the Afghanistan embassy is to facilitate and promote a mutually beneficial relationship with Canada and Canadian investors. The embassy aims to facilitate discussions and a series of joint efforts between governments, private sector, chambers of commerce, trade and investment councils. It also aims to explore areas for economic empowerment of female entrepreneurs in Afghanistan that will lead to trade and investment agreements between Canada and Afghanistan.

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Promising trends on CETA's first birthday



By Peteris Ustubs

Canada and the European Union's ambitious, forward-looking vision of closer trade relations a decade ago has now been a reality for a year. On Sept. 21, 2018, we marked the first anniversary of the provisional implementation of the Comprehensive Economic Trade Agreement (CETA) between the EU and Canada. One year on, the agreement is already delivering positive results. By eliminating tariffs on almost 98 per cent of industrial goods, CETA has opened the door to new opportunities for businesses of all sizes and across all sectors on both sides of the Atlantic. The result is nothing short of impressive: A 7.1-per cent surge in European exports since the entry into force of the agreement. Large and small businesses are doing extremely well in Canada. Numbers speak for themselves: Exports of machinery and mechanical appliances, which make up one fifth of EU exports to Canada, are up by more than 8 per cent. Pharmaceutical products, accounting for 10 per cent of the EU exports to Canada, are up by 10 per cent. There's good news in the agricultural sector, too: Exports of fruit and nuts increased by 29 per cent and chocolate by as much as 34 per cent.

As ambassador of the European Union to Canada, I've had the privilege of visiting many companies already benefiting from CETA, ranging from a small shop importing European pianos to Canada and a European manufacturer of household products, which will now start selling its products in major Canadian stores, to an indigenous company in Nova Scotia exporting Canadian lobster to the EU. I am also pleased to see Canadian consumers enjoying a wider variety of tra-



Cecilia Malmström, European commissioner for trade, meets with International Trade Diversification Minister Jim Carr in Montreal.

ditional European products and more competitive prices thanks to CETA. As a result, for example, the sales of the Consortium of Italian San Daniele Ham producers are up by 35 per cent.

CETA also offers EU businesses the opportunity to bid on public procurement contracts at federal, provincial and municipal levels in Canada. And it works: A Spanish company supplying fitness equipment recently won a public contract, under CETA rules, to be the sole supplier over the next few years of this type of equipment to the Canadian government. Conversely, a Canadian company recently won two contracts for municipal bike services in France and Spain. This shows how rapidly CETA has been able to break down trade barriers between two mature economies that need each other to prosper in our shared quest for an open, rules-based international trading order.

The success of CETA is undeniable. But momentum must be maintained and expanded. Businesses on both sides of the Atlantic have to get to know each other to establish working relationships and distribution channels. Professional organizations have to reflect on their interest in having mutual recognition of their professional qualifications. Regulators have to devise ways of working together to ensure that regulations, which are created to protect our citizens, do not become obstacles to our two-way trade.

And perhaps most important, governments must make the agreement work

for all. This is why when Jim Carr, Canadian minister of international trade diversification, and Cecilia Malmström, European trade commissioner, co-hosted the inaugural meeting of the CETA Joint Committee — the highest body for the two partners to discuss CETA-related issues — last September, they agreed to help SMEs and female entrepreneurs better reap the benefits of the agreement through a series of concrete recommendations.

When CETA entered into force provisionally on Sept. 21, 2017, it was hailed as one of the most modern trade agreements on the planet, thanks to the far-reaching provisions it contains on transparency, inclusion of civil society, sustainable development and labour. One year later, it is keeping its promises, and creating new opportunities for millions of consumers, companies and workers on both sides of the Atlantic. And perhaps more important, it consolidates an already mature political relationship between two like-minded trading partners, while offering further proof to those who may be tempted by inward-looking, protectionist policies, that trade is part of the solution, not the problem.

I am convinced that the only way we can guarantee stability in the 21st Century is by returning to open global trade. CETA is a prime example of that.

Peteris Ustubs is the ambassador of the EU. Reach him at Delegation-Canada@eeas.europa.eu or (613) 238-6464.

Denmark: Europe's No. 1 for ease of doing business



By Thomas Winkler

Denmark is Canada's neighbour in the North. We have one of the world's most open economies and one of Europe's strongest, characterized by a balanced budget, a stable currency, low interest rates and low inflation.

Furthermore, the World Bank's 2018 index ranks Denmark as the No. 1 country in Europe for ease of doing business. This ranking shows that the regulatory environment in Denmark is responsive to business needs. Danish society is innovative and its overall business environment is favourable for entrepreneurs.

Danish-Canadian trade has taken an upward turn over the last couple of years. The import of Danish products into the Canadian market accounted for approximately \$1.1 billion in 2017, which is an increase of 41 per cent over 2016. Among the most important product groups are medical and pharmaceutical goods, which topped \$374 million.

Meanwhile, the import of Canadian products into the Danish market added up to \$360 million in 2017. Primary imports include fish, crustaceans and molluscs, worth \$192 million. Other Canadian imports to Denmark include soy beans, pharmaceuticals and medical products. The nature of the exchanges between our two economies shows that Canada and Denmark are in a number of supply chains together.

Denmark exports \$700 million worth of services to Canada, whereas Canada exports \$460 million worth of services to Denmark.

Danish companies also invest in the Canadian biopharmaceutical sector. For instance, Novo Nordisk, a Danish global health care company, has built warehouses and invested in a new head office and



Import of goods from Denmark's health sector accounted for \$374 million in 2016. Shown here is the New University Hospital in Aarhus, which will be completed in 2019.

research and development operations in Mississauga. Danes also invest in clinical trials and research in life sciences. The Leo Innovation Lab in Toronto is an example.

While Denmark has a trade surplus with Canada, we are currently suffering an investment deficit. Denmark's overall direct investment in Canada was \$1.9 billion in 2016, whereas Canada's direct investment in Denmark stood at just \$380 million.

More recent Canadian investments in Denmark include cannabis companies that not only produce medical cannabis, but also conduct research, administration and distribution. There is a case for Canadian companies placing extraction facilities in Denmark because of our highly innovative pharmaceutical industry. Canadians are currently investing about \$400 million in this field in Denmark, creating hundreds of jobs. Other Canadian investments in Denmark centre around the clean tech and IT sectors.

Business investments in Denmark profit from an attractive macroeconomic climate and competitive conditions with regard to taxation and labour costs. Investors receive tax advantages, companies benefit from favourable rules on depreciation and the Danish workforce is highly educated and among the most efficient in Europe. Furthermore, we have Europe's most flexible hiring and firing legislation,

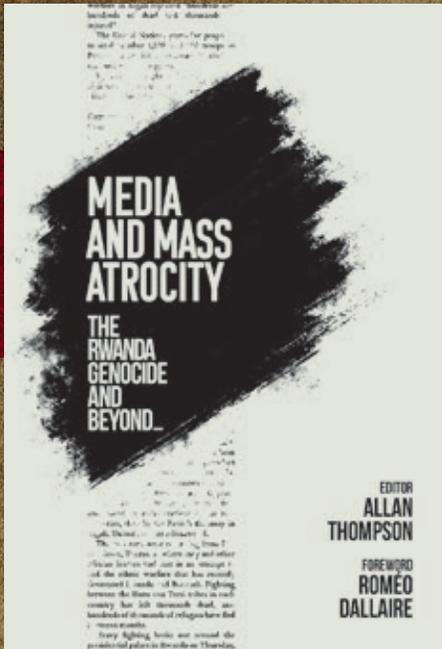
reducing the risk to companies as they expand.

In the past year, bilateral trade in merchandise between Denmark and Canada has increased and in the previous year, it had jumped by 41.4 per cent. It's probably not a coincidence that the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement between Canada and the EU has been in place since September 2017. I believe CETA had a role in this increase as it has made it easier and cheaper to export goods and services between our two countries. This benefits companies and consumers.

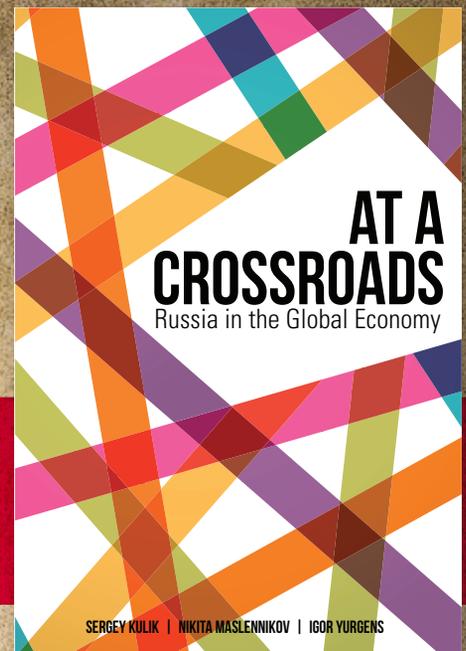
Over the past six years, Denmark's economy has grown rapidly. Real GDP growth accelerated from 0.2 per cent in 2012 to an estimated 2.1 per cent in 2017. Our growth rate has exceeded the EU average since 2007.

According to IMD World Competitiveness Rankings 2018, Denmark is (like Canada) among the world's 10 most competitive economies. With Denmark ranking No. 1 for ease of doing business in the EU and as a good gateway into the European market, I see a great business case for increased activity among Danish-Canadian value chains and for more Canadian investment in Denmark.

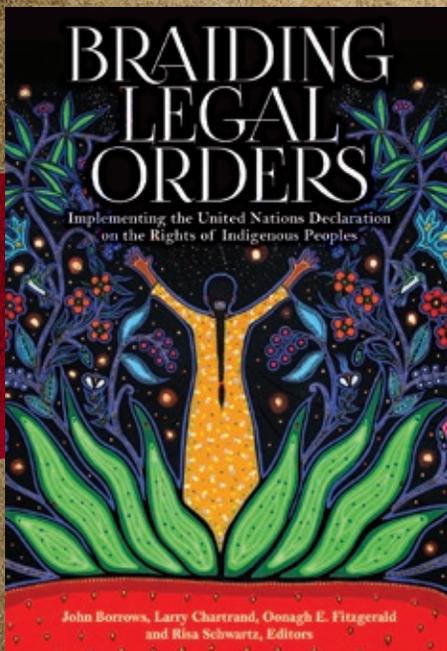
Thomas Winkler is ambassador of Denmark. Reach him at thowin@um.dk or (613) 797-2689.



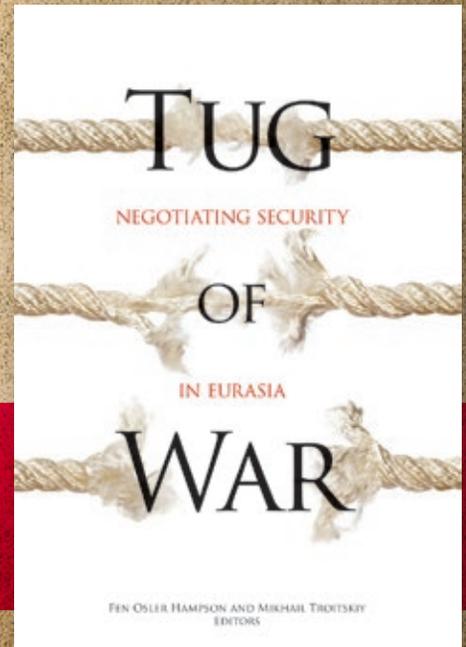
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There have been accusations that Russia didn't just commit electoral interference. Political collusion is also the subject of the special inquiry being led by former FBI director Robert Mueller.

The online threat to democracy

Knowledgeable observers are questioning whether democracy can survive in a world of big data and artificial intelligence. **Fen Hampson** investigates.

When U.S. National Security Adviser John Bolton met with Russian President Vladimir Putin in late October 2018, one of the clear messages he delivered to Putin was to stop meddling in U.S. elections. Bolton underlined that Russian interference, particularly in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, had damaged Russia's own interests and also been "particularly harmful for Russian-American relations without providing anything for them in return."

The list of Russian actions — all of which Putin has vigorously denied — is long. In 2015, the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) informed the Democratic National Committee (DNC) that one of its computers had been compromised by Russian hackers. The chairman of Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign, John Podesta, was the subject of a successful phishing attempt to get him to change his password so that someone could get access to his emails. In early June 2016, Wikileaks founder Julian Assange announced that Wikileaks had received hundreds of Clinton's emails and would publish them on its website.

Later that month, Wikileaks published thousands of emails it had secretly obtained from an unidentified source — likely Russian — that had been stolen from a DNC server. Some of those emails were so politically compromising that they forced the resignation of DNC chairwoman Debbie Wasserman Schultz. In August, hackers were able to get the personal telephone numbers and email addresses of leading Democratic congressional campaign members. There were more leaks and more compromising postings online, which again seemed to have Russian fingerprints all over them.



U.S. National Security Adviser John Bolton, shown here, told Russian President Vladimir Putin in late October 2018 to stop meddling in U.S. elections.

Then, exactly a month before the U.S. election, the Department of Homeland Security and the Office of National Intelligence on Election Issues confirmed everyone's worse fears. In a joint statement, the two agencies declared: "The U.S. Intelligence Community is confident that the Russian government directed the recent compromises of emails from U.S. persons and institutions, including from U.S. political organizations. The recent disclosures of alleged hacked emails on sites such as DCLeaks.com and WikiLeaks and by the Guccifer 2.0 online persona are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts. These thefts and disclosures are intended to interfere with the U.S. election process. Such activity is not new to Moscow — the Russians have used similar tactics and techniques across Europe and Eurasia, for example, to influence public opinion there. We believe, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, that only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities."

Regardless of whether Putin has hurt his own interests, he's sown deep dissension in the American body politic. Accusations not just of electoral interference, but of direct political collusion, are the subject of a special inquiry led by former FBI director Robert Mueller. At press time, his final report — following recent court filings, jail sentences and memos — on possible

collusion by U.S. President Donald Trump and close associates, was expected soon.

There is little doubt that there is a growing threat to democracy from the digital world, which increasingly seems to resemble a lawless Wild West. And it is not just American democratic institutions that are at risk, but democratic institutions everywhere, including Canada.

In the past two years, major cases of foreign election interference have been detected in the U.S. and French presidential elections, the German (parliamentary), Italian, and Mexican elections, Macedonia's name-change referendum and Catalonia's (illegal) independence vote.

The threat comes in many forms. To be sure, the actions of authoritarian regimes such as Russia and China to tamper with electoral systems, hack into political party computers, steal emails and other kinds of information, sow discord by spreading rumours and fake news through online disinformation campaigns and social media and reveal embarrassing personal details of politicians and celebrities are a growing threat, especially if they find willing accomplices who see partisan gain in supporting their activities. But there are other threats. Corporations that harvest personal data from social media platforms such as Facebook, and then sell that data without user consent, are among them.

In late 2009, Facebook changed its privacy settings to make more information

public by default. In 2010, Facebook's founder and CEO, Mark Zuckerberg, blithely stated that privacy is no longer a social norm: "People have really gotten comfortable sharing more information and different kinds, but more openly and with more people." His words would later come back to haunt him.

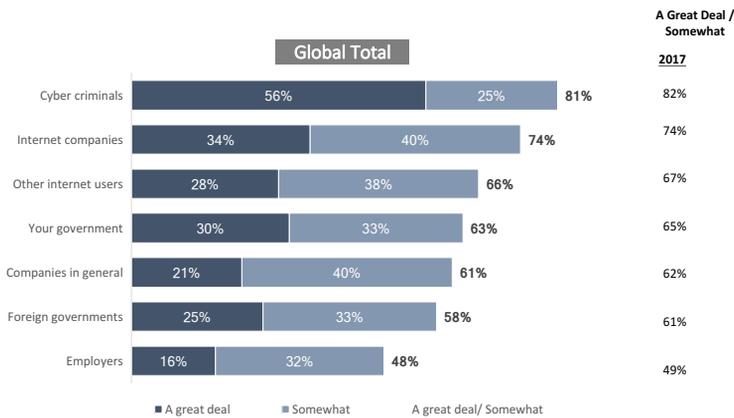
In 2018, the Cambridge Analytica scandal erupted when a company that had developed an app for Facebook, ostensibly for research purposes with the informed consent of users, used its access to Facebook accounts to collect all kinds of personal data that it subsequently harvested to develop psychological profiles of each individual. The information was then sold and used to direct highly targeted advertising in political campaigns. The scandal, which was revealed by young Canadian whistleblower Christopher Wylie, who had worked for Cambridge Analytica, was deeply embarrassing for Facebook and Zuckerberg, who found himself dragged before Congress and a British Parliamentary committee to apologize for his company's actions and the egregious breach of privacy of Facebook users.

The Cambridge Analytica scandal, however, may just be the tip of the iceberg when it comes to the different risks users confront when they go online and how their personal data are collected and manipulated by the unscrupulous or the unwitting. When nude photos of actress Jennifer Lawrence were leaked online without her consent, Lawrence complained to *Vanity Fair* that the event was no less than a sex crime. "Just because I'm a public figure, just because I'm an actress," she said, "does not mean I asked for this."

Although the digital world permits enormous freedom of expression and for all kinds of content to be posted and communicated online, in most liberal democracies, at least until recently, there have been few controls or regulation of online content. Stories that are patently untrue can go viral in nanoseconds. For example, in January 2017, *YourNewsWire*, a Los Angeles-based website, reported "that Justin Bieber told a Bible study group that the music industry is run by pedophiles" and that, according to a study by National Public Radio, "25 million fraudulent votes had been cast for Hillary Clinton." Both stories were untrue.

Hate speech and harassment are also major problems. As *New York Times* writer Frank Bruni wrote in the aftermath of a murderous attack on a Jewish synagogue in Pittsburgh and Cesar Sayoc's alleged

To what extent have the following sources contributed to your being more concerned than last year about your online privacy?



Among those more concerned, cyber criminals and internet companies continue to be primary sources of concern.

mailing of pipe bombs to prominent Democrats, the internet “creates terrorists. But well shy of that, it sows enmity by jumbling together information and misinformation to a point where there’s no discerning the real from the Russian.”

At the same time, maintaining diversity of content and allowing different voices to be heard are also growing challenges because of the overwhelming market dominance of a small number of online platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Google, Amazon, and, in the entertainment world, Netflix. These tech giants enjoy oligopolistic, if not monopolistic, control in cyberspace. Further, the algorithms that manage and curate online content on these platforms generally tend to be written by young white males who lack world experience or the kind of educational background that would expose them to different cultural viewpoints and processes of moral reasoning.

The lack of transparency in the way major internet platforms harvest and curate “big data” also means that the general public and regulators have little knowledge of corporate business models and how data are manipulated and marketed. Algorithms are closely kept trade secrets, much like the formula for Coca Cola.

Some knowledgeable observers now question whether democracy can actually survive in a world of “big data” and artificial intelligence. As the prestigious journal, *Scientific American*, explained in 2017, “Today, algorithms know pretty well what we do, what we think and how we feel—possibly even better than our friends and family or even ourselves....The more is known about us, the less likely our choices are to be free and not predetermined by

others. But it won’t stop there. Some software platforms are moving towards ‘persuasive computing.’ In the future, using sophisticated manipulation technologies, these platforms will be able to steer us through entire courses of action, be it for the execution of complex work processes or to generate free content for internet platforms, from which corporations earn billions. The trend goes from programming computers to programming people.”

In George Orwell’s novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, a big face gazed down from a wall with a caption that ran “Big Brother Is Watching You.” In today’s world, Orwell’s Big Brother seems archaic and clumsy. Governments and private entities have far more sophisticated tools at their disposal. *Scientific American* calls this the politics of “big nudging,” in which “on [a] massive scale, governments...[will be able to] steer citizens towards [preferred kinds of behavior]... The new, caring government is not only interested in what we do, but also wants to make sure that we do the things that it considers to be right.... To many, this appears to be a sort of digital scepter that allows one to govern the masses efficiently, without having to involve citizens in democratic processes. Could this overcome vested interests and optimize the course of the world? If so, then citizens could be governed by a data-empowered ‘wise king,’ who would be able to produce desired economic and social outcomes almost as if with a digital magic wand.”

We may think we are still far off from this kind of world. However, authoritarian regimes such as China are already moving quickly to harness these technologies for nefarious purposes. Using facial rec-

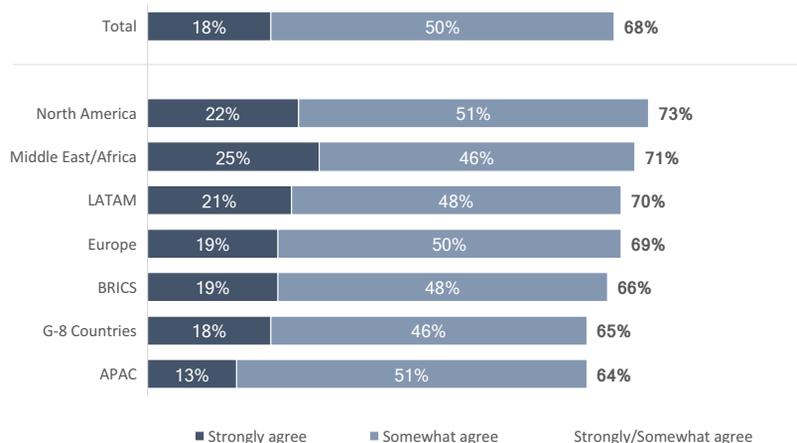
G7 goes on the offensive

At the Charlevoix Summit in June, the leaders of the G7 committed themselves to:

- Respond to foreign threats, together and individually, to meet the challenges facing our democracies.
- Strengthen G7 co-operation to prevent, thwart and respond to malign interference by foreign actors aimed at undermining the democratic processes and the national interests of a G7 state.
- Establish a G7 Rapid Response Mechanism to strengthen co-ordination to identify and respond to diverse and evolving threats to our democracies, including through sharing information and analysis, and identifying opportunities for co-ordinated response.
- Share lessons learned and best practices in collaboration with governments, civil society and the private sector that are developing related initiatives including those that promote free, independent and pluralistic media; fact-based information; and freedom of expression.
- Engage directly with internet service providers and social-media platforms regarding malicious misuse of information technology by foreign actors, with a particular focus on improving transparency regarding the use and seeking to prevent the illegal use of personal data and breaches of privacy.
- Support public learning and civic awareness aimed at promoting critical thinking skills and media literacy on intentionally misleading information, and improving online security and safety.
- In accordance with applicable laws, ensure a high level of transparency around sources of funding for political parties and all types of political advertising, especially during election campaigns.

ognition technology, China is deploying surveillance cameras and control over the country’s digital space to monitor the physical movements and online behaviour of all 1.4 billion of its citizens. As the *Business Insider* reported last year, “China’s facial recognition surveillance has already proven to be eerily effective: Police in Nanchang, southeastern China, managed to locate and arrest a wanted suspect out of a 60,000-person pop concert earlier this month.”

To what extent do you agree or disagree that social media companies contribute to your distrust in the Internet?



Those who feel social media companies contribute to their distrust of the internet are most numerous in North America, with the Middle East and Africa slightly behind.

To what extent do you agree or disagree that X influences your online behaviour in the following ways:

| | SOCIAL MEDIA | SEARCH ENGINES | ONLINE APPS | ONLINE ADVERTISEMENTS |
|---|--------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| Base: All Answering (total number of respondents) | 22639 | 22639 | 22624 | 22636 |
| Influences what I purchase online | 52% | 56% | 49% | 51% |
| Influences what websites I visit | 57% | 64% | 50% | 51% |
| Influences the media sites that I visit | 57% | 58% | 48% | 47% |
| Influences the news that I see | 60% | 60% | 48% | 45% |
| Influences what applications I use | 53% | 54% | 52% | 46% |
| Influences where I go during my day | 41% | 43% | 39% | 38% |
| Influences my political point of view | 42% | 39% | 35% | 32% |

Compared to other platforms, search engines have the greatest impact on what people purchase online and what websites they visit. Social media has the greatest influence over political views.

It comes as no surprise that citizens everywhere are becoming increasingly mistrustful of governments and internet companies, including social media, when it comes to their own data and privacy.

A CIGI-IPSOS global survey of public attitudes in 25 countries conducted in 2017-2018 found that cyber criminals (82 per cent) and internet companies (74 per cent) are the largest sources of distrust online, more so than even governments — and this survey was conducted before news of the Cambridge Analytica scandal erupted. Distrust runs highest in North America (73 per cent) followed by the Middle East and Africa (71 per cent), with significantly lower levels in the BRICS (66 per cent) and Asia-Pacific countries (64 per cent). Interestingly, despite identifying internet companies and social media plat-

forms as a common source of distrust, less than a quarter (23 per cent) of respondents pointed to control by corporate elites as a reason for their distrust.

An overwhelming majority (68 per cent) of those surveyed also exhibited high levels of distrust towards social media, with North Americans experiencing the highest level of distrust and countries in the Asia-Pacific region the lowest.

Ironically, however, social media companies exercise a disproportionate influence over what people see and do online, including the news they see (60 per cent) and their political point of view (42 per cent). For many of the world's global citizens, social media have become the prism through which they see the world and the online universe.

At the same time, though, people are

clearly worried that social media, in particular, have too much power (63 per cent) though there are significant regional variations in this perception.

Middle Easterners and Africans are the most concerned, followed by Latin Americans. North Americans and Europeans are somewhat more sanguine, but again not overly so, with the majority in both regions feeling social media have too much power.

On the one hand, the internet and the digital world have created unparalleled opportunities for freedom of expression, communication, commerce and the dissemination of knowledge. Such opportunities are vital to a vigorous, prosperous open society and democracy itself. On the other, the rapid evolution and growth of the digital ecosystem have led to major abuses and mounting public concern that the digital space needs gatekeepers to prevent such abuses and a further erosion of our democratic institutions.

Regulation of the digital space is “inevitable” as a recent report jointly produced by the Centre for International Governance Innovation and Stanford University’s digital policy incubator concludes. The report, titled *Governance Innovation for a Connected World: Protecting Free Expression, Diversity and Civic Engagement in the Digital Ecosystem*, argues that the challenge is essentially one of learning how best to apply the norms, standards and rules of the non-digital world — also sometimes referred to as the “analog world” — to the digital. It points out, for example, that “the non-digital world widely accepts that governments legitimately set ground rules in many sectors, for example, telecommunications common carrier regulation, transportation safety rules, broadcasting regulation and radio frequency allocation and spectrum management rules, among others.”

The report argues that the digital world increasingly needs similar kinds of regulation and legislation. However, in this new environment, it notes that “civil society will need to get over its long-standing aversion to having government intervene to control the behaviour of internet platforms and users [and] acceptance may be difficult to achieve because of fears that regulators may not take sufficient care to understand the fast-moving environment. The concern is that government may regulate to solve today’s (or yesterday’s) problems without considering that today’s dominant players can be replaced, which would rapidly make those regulations obsolete and could even work to impede innovation. The



Russian President Vladimir Putin, shown here with his foreign minister, Sergey Lavrov, has sown deep dissension in the American body politic, writes columnist Fen Hampson.

question is really how to avoid undesirable or unintended outcomes.”

When it comes to regulating hate speech, democratic security and privacy online, Europeans are clearly leading the way, though not without controversy. Germany recently introduced legislation banning hate speech online. The law known as NetzDG (act to improve enforcement of the law in social networks) was introduced to deal with growing hate speech online that was directed at the major influx of refugees into Germany. Under the law, social media platforms that have more than two million subscribers are required to remove illegal hate speech content within 24 hours after receiving a user complaint. If they don't, they'll suffer fines that could be as high as 50 million euros. A variety of concerns have been raised about the law. The legislation appears to be directed at American-operated social media platforms because of the high subscriber threshold. Because the fines are so hefty, freedom-of-speech advocates worry that media platforms will err on the side of caution and take down posts that fall into the grey zone — for example, those that are controversial, but not necessarily threatening to any group or person. Asking media companies to police hate speech online through their algorithms confers upon them too much power in the absence of proper oversight, accountability and

transparency mechanisms.

The European Union's new general data protection regulation, which went into effect in May 2018, has global ramifications. Under the law, which imposes uniform data privacy and data protection regulations right across Europe, companies are held accountable for the way they handle personal data associated with EU residents, regardless of whether they are incorporated in the European Union or not, with penalties for non-compliance running as high as four per cent of global revenue or 20 million euros, whichever is greater. European residents also have a legal right to access, correct and erase their data, and to move it to another service provider if they so choose. Companies must report breaches involving EU resident data to data protection authorities within 72 hours of the breach and to notify those individuals directly about it. The law also encourages corporations to review the way they handle and manage data on a regular basis and take remedial measures to strengthen security and privacy in their administrative and technical operations, as necessary.

Many countries, including Canada, are studying these requirements to determine whether they should introduce similar rules for the way data are handled, managed and distributed. An excellent series of recommendations to help policy-

makers steer their way through the digital labyrinth appears in a report, titled *Democracy Divided: Countering Disinformation and Hate in the Digital Sphere* and developed by Canada's Public Policy Forum and the University of British Columbia's Taylor Owen. The report urges publishers of online content to identify themselves; internet companies (or online intermediaries) to be held legally responsible for content they publish on their websites; all forms of advertising (including political) to be transparent in terms of source and funding; algorithms to be subject to regular audits by external “independent authorities” and the results made publicly available; non-criminal remedies to investigate and respond to hate speech online; and independent panels to investigate disinformation and hate speech online. The report also encourages educational programs to promote digital literacy and greater public awareness and literacy.

Some of these recommendations are sensible, but others won't wash. Internet and social media companies will fight tooth and nail against having algorithms — their trade secrets — scrutinized or validated by outsiders. Depending on how it's done, policing “fake news” could curb freedom of expression and thought. Some would argue that the best tonic for the “truth” is more “sunlight” in the form of public debate and airing of contrary viewpoints — not censorship or truth monitors.

Some historical perspective is in order. “Fake news” and the manipulation of the “truth,” especially in the political arena, are not new phenomena. Orson Welles' broadcast, *War of the Worlds*, which terrified radio listeners, was one of the first examples of “fake news” in the modern era. So, too, were Nazi propaganda campaigns and censorship, which were far less benign and aided Adolf Hitler's rise to power. As we debate the need to police the internet and social media, we should remember former U.S. Supreme Court associate Louis Brandeis's observation that “Publicity is justly commended as a remedy for social and industrial diseases. Sunlight is said to be the best of disinfectants; electric light the most efficient policeman.”

Fen Osler Hampson is Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University and a distinguished fellow and director of Global Security & Politics at the Centre for International Governance Innovation. He was co-director of the Global Commission on Internet Governance and is the co-author with Eric Jardine of *Look Who's Watching: Surveillance, Treachery and Trust Online*.

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Russia: More of the same in 2019

By Stephen Blank



In Slovakia, Russian biker groups such as the Night Wolves, pictured here with Russian President Vladimir Putin, have been called a threat to security.

Based on its current behaviour and existing trends, what can we expect from Russia in 2019? Unfortunately, we should expect more of the same. This conclusion about the continuation of this state of siege in Moscow's relations with the West flows directly from the nature of Russia's regime. Without a marked change in the regime's self-perception and orientation, not to mention its policies, this state will continue. Some analysts, such as this one in the *Routledge Handbook of Russian Foreign Policy*, even argue that Russian activities in the "information domain," which are only part of the overall ensemble of its national security policies, "would indicate that Russia already considers itself to be in a state of war" with the West.

It seems Russia's leaders feel Russia has been in a state of war or siege with the West since the first failed effort to subvert

Ukraine in 2004. Recently, Moscow attacked and seized three Ukrainian ships and their sailors, allegedly for entering the Kerch Strait and Sea of Azov that Moscow claims to own, merely on the basis of force. Clearly, severing Ukraine's Black Sea coast and annexing it to Russia remain Russia's operational and strategic goals vis-à-vis Ukraine. Other actors' violations of international law and practice, such as the Saudi murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi, reveal the affinities between Russian President Vladimir Putin and Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, as shown when they high-fived at the recent G20 summit in Buenos Aires. They also co-operate in establishing an energy cartel to rescue their economies.

Dmitri Trenin, director of the Moscow office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, concedes that, "Since February 2014, the Kremlin has been *de*

facto operating in a war mode, and President Vladimir Putin has been acting as a wartime leader." He further writes that the Kremlin will not step back and reconcile with the West. However, this is not a battlefield combat. Rather it is an example of political warfare as described by George Kennan: "Political warfare is the logical application of Clausewitz's doctrine in time of peace. In broadest definition, political warfare is the employment of all the means at a nation's command, short of war, to achieve its national objectives. Such operations are both overt and covert. They range from such overt actions as political alliances, economic measures... and "white" propaganda to such covert operations as clandestine support of "friendly" foreign elements, "black" psychological warfare and even encouragement of underground resistance in hostile states."

Russia employs all the instruments



Russia will continue to assert itself on the world stage, writes Stephen Blank. Pictured here are Russian President Vladimir Putin and Chinese President Xi Jinping in Moscow.

of state power in an unrelenting, multi-dimensional, relatively synchronized and global environment to force the West to accept it as equal in status to the Soviet Union and a great power whose free hand in the former Soviet sphere must be recognized and whose domestic arrangements must not be questioned.

Furthermore, Russia is justified in waging this war on the West because the West is supposedly doing the same to Russia, thereby threatening the survival of the Russian state. Russia must see itself and be seen abroad as a great power. It must be free to have a sphere of unchecked influence on its frontiers, unlimited state authority at home and to subvert other countries in order to expand its “empire.” Otherwise the state — or Putin’s system — will collapse.

As Catherine the Great stated, “I have no way to defend my frontiers other than to expand them.” As Russian writers deeply believe, if Russia is not this kind of great power — and it can be no other kind in their view — it will cease to exist and be nothing in world politics. Consequently, its strategy must employ all instruments of state power to prove that it is a great global superpower — one of “multi-domain coercion.” And there is no end in sight as current headlines plainly tell us.

Flexing military muscles

If we merely examine recent reports, we find that Moscow utilizes diverse instruments of power to subvert the West’s political institutions, alliances, morale and cohesion. Military power and threats are still displayed prominently in Ukraine and

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Syria, but Putin also endlessly brandishes old and new nuclear weapons that can target military and civilian targets alike, all across the West.

Simultaneously, Moscow is building

22 nuclear-weapon projects today for all manner of contingencies, from local war to intercontinental nuclear war, while also building a large conventional high-tech weapon capability with which it threatens Europe, specifically countries such as Sweden, Norway, Romania, the Baltic states and Britain, on a daily basis through overflights and submarine probes. Likewise, Russian exercises clearly reveal the co-mingling of nuclear and conventional warfighting in potential battlefield scenarios and demonstrate Moscow’s resolve to threaten to use, if not actually use, nuclear weapons first, whatever the contingency, to make its interests heard. We saw this in Putin’s March 2018 address to the Duma when he presented supposedly new nuclear weapons that are invulnerable to any defences, one of which — the R-36M2 Voevoda, dubbed the SS-18 Satan by NATO — and more recently its updated version — the RS-28 Sarmat rocket — is “capable of wiping out parts of the Earth the size of Texas or France,” according to Russian state news outlet Sputnik. Russian Deputy Defence Minister Yuri Borsiov said the Sarmat warhead had the capability to destroy targets by flying across both North and South Poles. Its range is reportedly more than 11,000 kilometres with a 10-tonne payload.

The recent Novichok chemical warfare attacks in England, or support for Syria's use of chemical weapons such as Sarin, and the revival of the Russian biological warfare capability add to the argument that Russia is breaking almost every arms-control treaty on the books, potentially including the New START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty). Indeed, exercises going back several years confirm that Moscow expects its troops to have to fight through chemical and nuclear-warfare strikes. And that means it is preparing to launch them, as well.

Neither does international law mean anything to Russia. Despite treaties with all its post-Soviet and post-Warsaw Pact neighbours, Moscow neither accepts nor respects their sovereignty or territorial integrity. Instead, it sees those states and the treaties ratifying their sovereignty and territorial integrity as merely contingent affairs that can and should be revised when expedient to do so. Indeed, it constantly attempts to undermine those states by any and all means at its disposal, as Ukraine shows us. And there is abundant evidence of its unceasing violation of United Nations (UN) resolutions that it has signed to impose sanctions on North Korea, particularly with regard to shipping oil and hiring North Korean construction workers in Russia. Indeed, it has been expanding economic ties to North Korea for several years now. And the same may be said of its economic ties to such "outlaw states" as Iran and Venezuela which, despite their own failing economies, are trying to spread violence to their neighbours. Venezuela ran guns from Russia, with what is almost certainly Russian knowledge, to Colombia under Hugo Chavez. And Iran is sponsoring terrorist groups such as Hezbollah and the Houthis in Yemen and has all but converted Lebanon into its staging ground against Israel, arming Hezbollah with hundreds of thousands of missiles. It is also a major supporter of Hamas. And in some cases, such as the Central African Republic, Russian forces may actually be working with both sides in an insurgency.

But beyond these overt and dangerous military threats, Russia is currently waging an uninterrupted multi-dimensional domain war against the West on a global level.

Political warfare à la Russe

Moscow's wide-ranging methods for conducting political warfare are most fully on view in the U.S. Multiple investigations into the penetration of American presi-



Russia President Vladimir Putin, shown here with Iranian President Hassan Rouhani, has been expanding Russia's economic ties to Iran, among other "outlaw" states.

dential elections in 2016 and warnings that there would be a repeat in 2018 not only abound, but also bring forth fresh revelations on a daily basis. Thus we know that Russian agents have established links with U.S. think-tanks and lobbying groups such as the National Rifle Association.

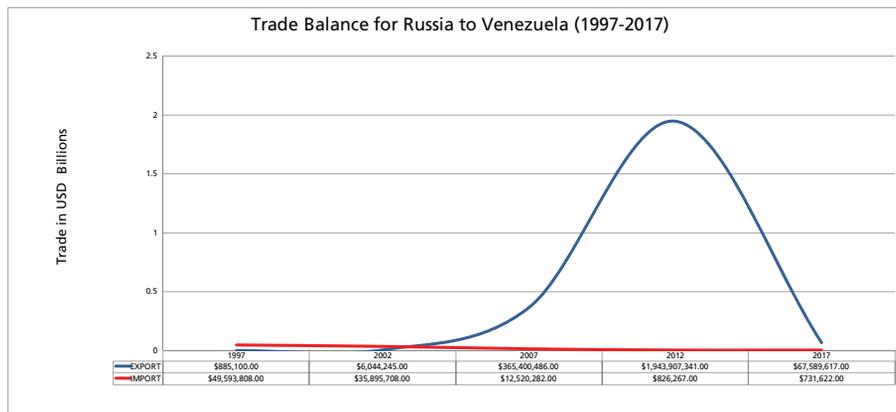
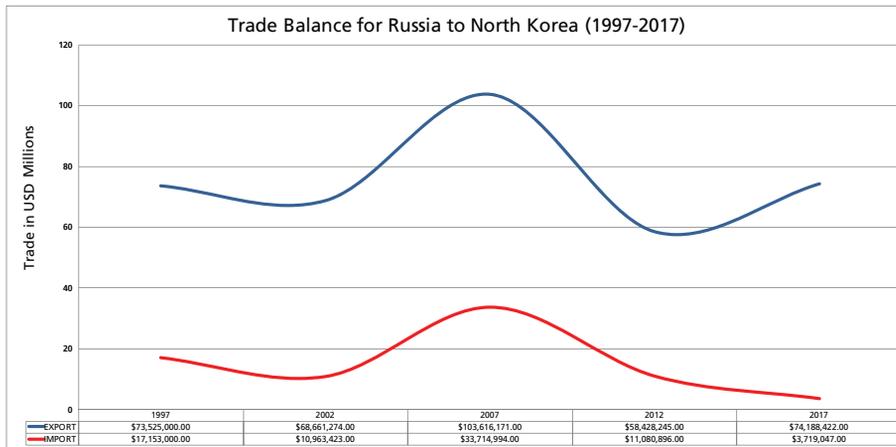
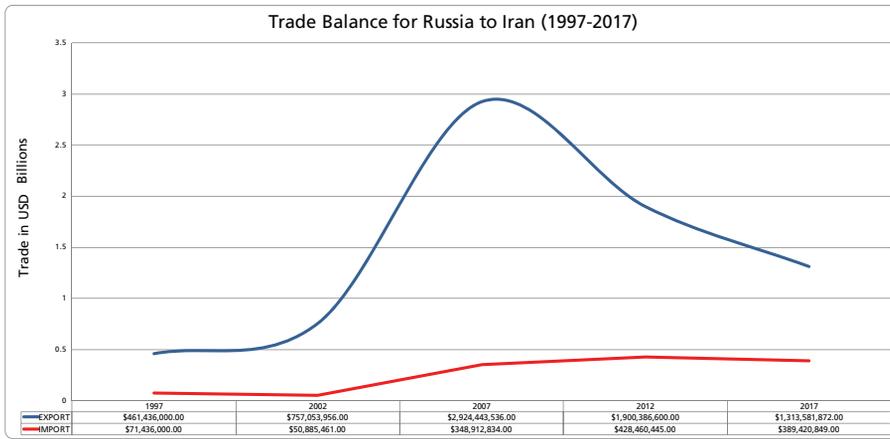
But Russia's war is not confined to the U.S. Rather, it is global in scope and befitting Moscow's aspirations to be seen as a global actor. And, in keeping with the multi-domain aspect of the strategy, Russia utilizes many different factors that reveal Moscow's impressive creativity in generating new methods by which to unhinge a society. In Slovakia, we have seen the use of Russian biker groups, the Night Wolves, that have now been called a threat to security.

Evidently in Italy, it is not enough that Moscow is reportedly financing Lega Nord (the Northern League, one of the members of the new ruling coalition.) It has also sought to recruit similar biker groups, skinheads and Russian mercenaries to foster destabilization by financing meetings of Russian and local groups or by recruiting Russian and other mercenaries whom we have seen in the Balkans, Syria, the Central African Republic and Ukraine.

In Greece and Macedonia, Moscow

apparently employed its own diplomats and spies to spread discontent and unrest in both societies to break up their recent accord that would rename Macedonia and allow it to enter NATO. But beyond that, Moscow, here too, used another of its newly created methods, namely "outsourcing" the organization of this mass unrest, leading to an attempted coup by a Greek businessman, Ivan Savvidis, who is tied to Russia. Savvidis apparently paid several hundreds of thousands of dollars to Macedonians to commit violent acts in advance of the recent Macedonian referendum. But those sums are only part of a much larger amount of money that was distributed to Macedonian politicians, nationalist organizations and soccer hooligans to derail the vote — which, among other Russia-inspired efforts, was accomplished.

Moscow has used this phenomenon of private contractors before and the practice now enjoys a discernible prominence in its policies. The invasions of Crimea and Donbass were, to some degree, financed and planned by oligarch Konstantin Malofeev. Malofeev apparently also organized and subcontracted the planned coup in Montenegro in late 2016 to assassinate Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic to stop its entry into NATO. Allegedly, he contracted



The above graphs show Russia's imports and exports with Iran, North Korea and Venezuela. Russia has been expanding economic ties to these "outlaw states" which, despite their own failing economies, are trying to spread violence to their neighbours.

Serbian mercenaries and biker groups as well as extremists to facilitate this coup. The supposedly private military company, Wagner, which has close ties to the GRU (military intelligence), functions in Syria and in the Central African Republic as numerous press reports have shown. Moreover, the Russian government has also launched a major campaign to upgrade Russian influence across Africa, an area that is of "growing importance" to the Russian foreign ministry and state.

Arms sales and energy deals

We see the confluence of arms sales and energy deals, including nuclear energy reactors and hydrocarbons throughout the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. Russia's national nuclear industry is currently involved in new reactor projects in Bangladesh, Belarus, China, Hungary, India, Iran and Turkey, and, to varying degrees, as a potential investor in Algeria, Bolivia, Brazil, Congo, Egypt, Indonesia, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Nigeria, Philippines,

Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Sri Lanka and Tajikistan.

And in Latin America, as well as other developing areas, such as Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East, Moscow employs military advisers to penetrate the armed forces and support anti-Western causes. For instance, Russian military and advisers operate in Nicaragua and Venezuela where Rosneft, one of Russia's national energy companies, led by Igor Sechin, one of the most powerful members of the government, is on the verge of becoming the owner of Venezuela's national oil company when that country defaults. And Moscow's economic ties to Venezuela reveal the extent of Russian support for that country's truly calamitous regime. In the Middle East, we see this in Sudan and now Egypt and in sub-Saharan Africa, we see Russian military sales in Angola and South Africa.

But energy is also a political weapon throughout Europe and has been for more than a decade, as numerous examples, such as the abortive South Stream pipeline, the impending Nordstream 2 to Germany and Central Europe and Turkstream pipelines to Turkey and the Balkans, have amply demonstrated. Moscow has also long since deployed energy sales as a weapon to the Baltic states, driving them to set up their own gas terminals. Even now, Russia's projected natural gas Nord Stream 2, along with the existing Nord Stream 1 pipeline, represent efforts to bypass Ukraine and the Baltic states as transit states and force them into direct dependence on Moscow. Similarly, the projected Turkstream pipeline through Turkey represents an effort to evade EU regulations in the provision of natural gas to Europe.

This "tour d'horizon" does not even include the use of organized crime syndicates in Spain, which has become a major issue there, or the subsidization of authoritarian anti-European and anti-immigrant as well as pro-Russian parties on the left and right in virtually every European country. For instance, Moscow may well have been involved in financing the Brexit referendum in 2016 by directing funds to the anti-EU party that prevailed there. Moscow has subsidized or is subsidizing the Front National in France, parties in the ruling coalitions of Italy and Austria and the presidential election of Czech President Milos Zeman and it is attempting to make deals with European energy companies that go beyond providing gas to also controlling downstream distribution rights in most of Eastern Europe. Energy

connections and funds also allow Moscow to buy enormous influence in European media and governing institutions in countries such as Bulgaria and Hungary, for example. Serbia is another example where Russia dominates the energy scene.

War on the press

Finally, Russia conducts a well-known, never-ending war against the media in the U.S. and Europe through countless trolls and influence-peddling schemes to eliminate any sense of objective truth about its activities and to subvert, corrupt and derange governing institutions from the Baltic to Washington. And it has been doing so for at least 10 years, starting with attacks on Estonia in 2007 and Georgia in 2008.

In Estonia in 2007, Moscow orchestrated a comprehensive attack on the entire edifice of socio-economic-political cyber networks to bring the country down as punishment for relocating the statue of the Bronze Soviet Soldier from Central Tallinn. In Georgia, a comprehensive information warfare attack, conducted in tandem with elements of Russian organized crime, immediately preceded and continued during hostilities throughout the Russo-Georgian war of 2008. Since then, the Baltic states have been in the forefront of NATO defence against Russian cyber and information warfare.

In Estonia, these attacks aimed to cripple the entire socio-economic and governmental network of the country, but failed due to Estonia's redoubtable cyber-defence capabilities. Since then, Estonia has taken the lead in NATO cyber-defence; it even hosts NATO's centre of excellence. Nevertheless it, and the other Baltic states, are under constant cyber-pressure and are targets of continuing espionage and political attacks on their policies towards Russian speakers as well as being the primary targets of Russia's Western Military District.

In Georgia, the 2008 war was preceded by massive cyber-attacks that failed. Their intention was to suppress the Georgian state's means of communication and discredit it abroad. Despite those failures, Russia continues to intervene in other countries, including efforts to intervene in the recent U.S. midterm elections. So those attacks were a portent of what we can continue to expect.

As the scope of American and European revelations about the extent of Russia's ceaseless and widespread attacks on the international order and the West show, this war continues without letup and along many fronts and there's no sign of

it ending. If anything, Moscow believes it has won the information war so it has no reason to stop now. Indeed, as Putin has steadily narrowed down the sources of his information to the intelligence community and his "court," all of whom tell him about Western perfidy and how Russia is supposedly winning over the decadent but jealous West, we should not expect any serious change anytime soon.

Accordingly, given the utter absence

targeted states, and cyber-war. Indeed, the facts produced here are hardly difficult to track down. What is and has been found wanting is the will to see this war for what it is and to act accordingly. Until that happens, 2019 will very much resemble 2018. Action to prevent Russian pressure has taken place through NATO's conventional buildup and the intensification of U.S. and NATO counter-cyber activities. Those activities have nowhere been dis-



In Latin America, Moscow, under Putin, shown above, employs military advisers to penetrate the armed forces and support anti-Western causes.

of any chance to reform the Russian government or alter its fundamental world view by domestic reform, the West needs to redouble its efforts and create from its superior resources an equally multi-domain strategy to prevail over Russia lest the drift to a revival of the kind of world our predecessors experienced in the 1930s gathers even more strength. The French saying "à la guerre, comme à la guerre" applies to this new kind of largely political war. But theatres of operation, such as Syria and Ukraine, also highlight the need for continued conventional as well as nuclear deterrence against Moscow, along with the strategy to counter Russian active measures that include financial, energy, criminal, intelligence and media activities aiming to derange or subvert

discussed publicly for obvious reasons, but mention of them in general terms has appeared recently in the press. Conventional deterrence, actions to counter Russian cyber-penetrations of Western society, and much more stringent regulation of illicitly obtained Russian money flowing through Western banks and businesses are among the critical means to prevent a replay of those past encroachments. But what has been done to date still does not suffice. Therefore, we cannot let down our guard and must continue to defend our societies resolutely and through co-ordinated allied action.

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Africa: What to expect in 2019



Ethiopia promises to be Africa's prosperity powerhouse for 2019. Shown here are tea and coffee packers, part of the country's important agricultural sector.



Robert I.
Rotberg

Africa in 2019 will continue to cope with a number of difficult and debilitating challenges: Terror, civil conflict, climate warming and drought, corruption, poor governance, weak rules of law and inconsistent and lackluster leadership. For all of those reasons, sub-Saharan African migrants will still attempt, in great numbers, to enter Europe by crossing the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean Sea.

More encouragingly, by the end of 2019, Africa should benefit from new dam construction and increased electrical-

generating capacity, from a plethora of Chinese-built roads and railways, and from the demise or removal of several autocrats. The example of Ethiopia's new positive leadership will also influence how the rest of sub-Saharan Africa responds to natural and political crises.

Ethiopia

Although South Africa is expected to remain in its second bout of recent recession for much of 2019, Ethiopia — the continent's new prosperity powerhouse — will continue to grow economically thanks to its burgeoning new industrial base (mostly shoes from local leather, some now exported to Europe, the remainder to China) and its reopened borders and diplomatic relations with Eritrea. Indeed, Ethiopia is bound to be 2019's African success story because of the forward-looking leadership of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed.

Ahmed became the head of Ethiopia's government in 2018 and soon signalled

a sharp break with the mostly autocratic methods of his predecessors, Meles Zenawi and Hailemariam Desalegn. He is the first leader to come from the Oromo, Ethiopia's largest ethnic group; to release political prisoners; to promise to develop all of the country's regions equally; to begin to dismantle its state- and military-controlled commercial enterprises; and to surprise almost everyone with his brokering of a peace deal with Eritrea. Both neighbouring nation-states went to war in 1998 over a minor territorial dispute that really stemmed from Meles Zenawi's personal falling out with Isaias Afwerki, Eritrea's dictatorial president and a one-time brother-in-arms (against Marxist/Stalinist rule across both jurisdictions).

Ahmed's rejuvenation of Ethiopia has greatly improved its economic prospects, giving foreign and local investors confidence that opportunities will now abound and that contracts will be respected. Removing Ethiopia from the list of Africa's

poorest places is now possible.

Ahmed's leadership has dampened the rolling protests that had characterized his immediate predecessor's regime. By the end of 2019, too, Ethiopia's massive new 6,000 MW Grand Renaissance Dam across the Blue Nile River should be producing power, thus providing hydroelectricity to a vast country long without reliable sources of energy. Ethiopia will also begin exporting surplus power to other parts of Africa, a continent that is well behind every other portion of the globe in generating capacity and usage. Half of all sub-Saharan Africans suffer from electricity shortages and daily blackouts.

Terror and civil conflict

Having ended its war with Eritrea and ceded territory, Ethiopia will no longer harbour major conflicts. But on its southern border, the al-Shabaab movement will continue in 2019 to kill and maim thousands of Somalis, effectively to control about one-third of Somalia, and to menace the constituted government of that hapless place and the African Union peacekeeping forces that forlornly try to beat back al-Shabaab militants. Special forces from the United States, the United Kingdom, other Western nations and even Turkey will all be busy bombing and otherwise attacking al-Shabaab. But there is little likelihood in the near term that African, Western and Somali government efforts will be able to repress al-Shabaab, or even to cut off its profitable smuggling of charcoal to Saudi Arabia and Iran. Nor will they easily stanch its trans-shipping of opium and heroin from India and Pakistan to Europe.

Just as this terror in Somalia will remain a problem for Africa and for world order, so will Boko Haram, Nigeria's home-grown terrorist movement (with ties now to al-Qaeda and the Islamic State) continue to cause deaths and turmoil in the northeastern corner of Nigeria and in neighbouring Chad and Cameroon. Nigeria's armed forces, hampered by corruption in their own military officer ranks, have been incapable for the past 10 years of quelling the Boko Haram insurgency and ending the suicide and other bombings of innocent civilians in all three countries. Boko Haram also derives cash from smuggling narcotics, people and guns northwards to the Sahara and Europe.

Outbreaks of terror will continue to plague the Sahel region south of the Sahara Desert in 2019. Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM) and outposts of the Islamic State will persist in raiding northern Mali and Niger and causing trouble in

Algeria and Libya. Again, AQIM exists, in part profitably, to transport narcotics and people across the Sahara to European conduit points in Tunisia and Libya.

Ambazonia is a new movement in northwestern Cameroon battling on behalf of the country's long-abused English-speakers — 20 per cent of the French-speaking country. It threatens the 36-year strongman rule of Paul Biya, Cameroon's often-absent president. In the nearby Central African Republic, the simmering



If Cyril Ramaphosa convinces voters with his anti-corruption policies, he'll be returned to South Africa's presidency in 2019.



The 36-year rule of Cameroonian President Paul Biya is threatened by a new political movement.

martial contest for control of the country between the Muslim Séléka movement and the Christian anti-Balaka group will continue, but at lower levels of intensity than in the past.

Back in Nigeria, Muslim Fulani herds-men will persist in fighting with Christian agriculturalists for control over land in central Nigeria. And in the oil-rich Niger Delta region, sea piracy and local attacks on villagers will continue to create havoc.

Other long-running wars will continue to fester in the eastern Democratic Repub-

lic of Congo. There, several local militias and warlords murder civilians throughout the North and South Kivu provinces and in sections of Kasai Province. A newly embattled frontier has also been opened along the eastern border of Congo with Uganda. These conflicts are mostly fuelled by resource-driven avarice; the militias try to monopolize mining wealth derived from coltan, diamonds and gold. A large UN peacekeeping force under an assertive mandate has largely been ineffective in restoring peace to the region. Partially as a result, this area may continue to be plagued by an Ebola epidemic.

Climate change, droughts, floods

Global warming is irreversible. So far, Africa has suffered from weather extremes, thanks to a major heating up of the planet. Large swaths of Africa have, in recent years, suffered from serious droughts: The Sahel states (south of the Sahara) have experienced famine. So have Somalia and the Horn of Africa. Even countries farther south, such as Malawi and Zimbabwe, have experienced prolonged poor rainfall episodes. Other countries have had unexpected periods of flooding.

Clearly climate shifts have adversely affected Africa's ability to continue to grow its traditional crops in the usual way. The traditional patterns and timing of the rainy seasons on which nearly all of Africa depends for food production are disrupted, and few positive climatic pauses should be anticipated in 2019. (Very few of Africa's agricultural lands are irrigated.)

The Atlantic and Indian oceans are rising, thanks to the glacial melts in Greenland and Antarctica. Thus African coastal cities, several of which are low-lying and among the largest in the world, are at risk. Lagos, Nigeria, for example, is built on a series of easily submerged islands and a peninsula that are already subject to periodic flooding.

Corruption

Aside from Botswana, Cape Verde and Mauritius, many of the states of Africa are rampantly corrupt. Average GDPs per capita are repressed because of corrupt dealings. So are the educational and health attainments of virtually all of the sub-Saharan African populations held back by the corrupt practices of their leaders. There will be no end of corruption in Africa in 2019; nor will leaders act decisively against the scourge.

Corruption is a top-down malady, with grand and petty corruption flourishing in those places where bribery, extortion,

fraud and peculation (theft and embezzlement) are all practised by political and other leaders, and where citizens consequently endure large-scale evasions of investigation and punishment. In a few jurisdictions, however, political heads of state or heads of government have themselves managed to curtail corruption by force of example, as in Rwanda and Botswana. In others, such as South Africa, civil society actions have checked the kleptocratic tendencies of a former president.

In Angola, a new administration will continue to unravel the corrupt machinations of its predecessor and the former ruling family of Eduardo dos Santos. Those two outcomes are unlikely, however, in the oil-rich textbook kleptocracy of Equatorial Guinea, or in mainstream corrupt entities such as Nigeria, Zimbabwe or Zambia.

Elections

Africa's most important national elections in 2019 will decide not only the immediate fate of two countries' citizens, but also whether the continent's peoples are prepared to accept business as usual over radical shifts away from prior political and economic trajectories.

South Africa and Nigeria go to the polls early in 2019. If Cyril Ramaphosa,

who ousted Jacob Zuma and assumed the South African presidency in 2018 as the head of the ruling African National Congress (ANC), can persuade voters that he has begun to reduce ANC-led corrupt practices and to tackle key educational, housing, electricity supply and economic growth issues in an effective manner, then he and the ANC will be returned to power. If not, the ANC might fall before the combined onslaught of the multi-racial Democratic Alliance and the left-wing Economic Freedom Fighters party.

In Nigeria, incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari will compete against former vice-president Atiku Abubakar and former World Bank official Oby Ezekwesili, among others. The first two are standard-bearers of the All Progressives Party and the National Democratic Party, respectively. Ezekwesili represents the much smaller Allied Congress Party. The first two are Muslims asserting that it is still the turn of a Muslim to be president; Ezekwesili and others favour overturning tradition and shifting the national leadership to a person (and a woman) from the Christian south of the country.

But the election outcome will more likely hinge on voters' views on whether Buhari has done enough, or anything,

during his first term to halt the Boko Haram mayhem in the northeast, to combat pastoralist/agriculturalist combat in the country's midsection, and to halt piracy and other conflicts in the oil-producing Niger River delta.

Then there is corruption, which Buhari promised to stem, but has not, and economic growth, of which there has been very little. If either Abubakar or Ezekwesili were more widely backed candidates, Buhari's chances of victory might be slim. Whoever wins, however, will likely prove unable to advance Nigeria into the ranks of Africa's better-governed, less internally troubled states.

Governance and leadership

The fates of South Africa and Nigeria demonstrate that Africa beyond Ethiopia and the stable states of Botswana, Cape Verde and Mauritius will have great difficulty "rising" in 2019. Even with continued Chinese purchases of oil, diamonds, gold, ferrochrome, copper, iron ore, timber and some agricultural products and continued Chinese assistance in the infrastructural sector, good governance (including strong rules of law and enhanced transparency) will be widely absent and consequently will be a drag on overall economic and social performance.

Similarly, except in Ethiopia and possibly South Africa, Senegal, and the Gambia, leadership favouring personal or family interests will prevail over the public interest, corruption will continue to flourish and living standards will continue to erode. Third-term President Yoweri Museveni will be running an increasingly dominant one-party state in Uganda, for instance, like Presidents Biya in Cameroon, Ali Bongo Ondimba in Gabon and Faure Gnassingbé in Togo. President Uhuru Kenyatta in Kenya will continue to rule that country mostly to benefit his Kikuyu ethnic group and its allies.

A Ramaphosa victory could help to raise leadership standards in Africa, and advance the cause of political and social progress. So could the very unlikely triumph of U.S.-trained Ezekwesili in Nigeria. Otherwise, Africa's consummate challenges will prove difficult to surmount during what promises to be a tough 2019.

Robert I. Rotberg is the founding director of Harvard Kennedy School's program in intrastate conflict, president emeritus of the World Peace Foundation and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. His latest book is *The Corruption Cure*. (Princeton, 2017)

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Outlook for Asia in 2019

By Robert D'A. Henderson



Chinese President Xi Jinping has been attempting to increase his country's involvement in international organizations and multilateral pacts.

At the UN General Assembly in September, U.S. President Donald Trump projected an “America First” worldview that American sovereignty and national interests were more important than multilateral international institutions and agreements.

Conversely, Chinese President Xi Jinping has been attempting to increase his country's involvement in international organizations and multilateral pacts.

Last autumn, CNN geopolitics analyst Fareed Zakaria wrote in *The Washington Post* that “the Trump administration's most significant and lasting decisions will be about U.S. policy toward China ... whether the 21st Century will be marked by conflict or co-operation between the two most prosperous and powerful countries on the planet.” At present, the U.S. has 24 per cent of the global gross domestic product while China is catching up

with 15 per cent — and China is expected to bypass the United States in the coming decades.

What does this international conflict versus co-operation mean for Asia? Will Trump's unpredictable transactional moves result in serious regional upheavals in Asia in 2019? Will areas of tension result in international flashpoints between the U.S. and China, such as their bilateral trade war or the situations in the Korean Peninsula, the Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea?

1. How the world views Donald Trump

In the Pew Research Center's 2018 Global Confidence Poll, in which it asked 26,000 respondents across 25 countries about global leadership, Trump received a lower rating than Xi and Russian President Vladimir Putin. Only 27 per cent gave favourable responses about Trump, but Putin got

30 per cent and Xi got 34 per cent. Perhaps not surprisingly, German Chancellor Angela Merkel received 52 per cent favourable responses and French President Emmanuel Macron got 46 per cent.

While 63 per cent of respondents among all countries preferred the U.S. as the world leader — compared to only 19 per cent who preferred China — 70 per cent of respondents across the 25 countries surveyed said they have no confidence in Trump. It seems they echoed the views of the United Nations General Assembly. When Trump gave his anticipated speech to a packed chamber in September, his boasts about his achievements being “better than any previous U.S. administration's” prompted open laughter.

2. China-United States trade war grows

At a working dinner on the sidelines of the G20 Summit in Buenos Aires last

November, Trump and Xi held face-to-face trade issue discussions. Trump agreed to “freeze” for 90 days hiking U.S. tariffs on \$250 billion US in Chinese imports from 10 per cent to 25 per cent on January 1. In response, Xi agreed to “freeze” Chinese retaliatory measures as well as to buy an unspecified but “very substantial” amount of American agricultural, energy, industrial and other products. Both leaders agreed that, if no agreement is reached in 90 days on a variety of trade issues, both parties would raise tariffs to 25 per cent. Xi also agreed to designate the drug fentanyl as a “controlled substance” and that sellers would be “subject to China’s maximum penalty under the law.” This synthetic drug has been linked to the current epidemic of opioid-related deaths in the U.S. — and in Canada as well.

Viewing this bilateral trade war with its growing tariff barriers, Indonesian President Joko Widodo recently likened the world economy to feuding dynasties in the HBO series *Game of Thrones*. He went on to warn of “global economic dystopia.”

While it is difficult to determine the coming steps in the 2019 U.S.-China trade negotiations, it is useful to outline what took place in 2018. At the first round of bilateral trade talks in May, 2018, U.S. negotiators gave Vice-Premier Liu He a detailed list of more than 140 specific demands to “correct” their bilateral trade and to help reduce the growing American trade deficit with China. This included eliminating Chinese market access barriers and major long-term purchases of American energy and agricultural commodities.

But it is uncertain that such steps will reduce Beijing’s large trade surplus in goods with the United States — and it could impact world trade in some commodities. For example, China — the largest buyer of the 2017 U.S. soybean crop — cut its American soybean imports in retaliation for U.S. tariffs and sales dropped by 94 per cent from the previous year. As a result, Chinese importers switched major orders to Brazilian soybeans. So large were the orders, they cut into soybean supplies for the domestic Brazilian market.

In August, Chinese trade negotiators indicated agreement could be reached on one third of the concessions the U.S. demanded and that they would discuss another third of the list. On the remaining third, they declared these were off limits due to national security or sovereignty concerns. Among them were U.S. demands that China’s domestic cloud computing market be opened to foreign

companies.

Some American economists have predicted that the U.S.-China trade war will last more than a year. At a recent *South China Morning Post* China Conference in Kuala Lumpur, keynote speakers felt that the U.S. efforts to isolate China through trade tariffs were bound to fail because of the world’s closely interconnected national economies.

Perhaps surprisingly, prominent Chinese economists reportedly have begun



Last autumn, Japanese President Shinzo Abe made the first visit to China by a Japanese leader in seven years.

blaming the “China model” for the trade war with the U.S. and its impact on the Chinese economy — including the drop to 6.5 per cent GDP growth. They argue that China’s state capitalism had sparked backlash from Western industrialized countries, especially the Trump White House with its growing tariff barriers to Chinese imports.

3. Détente between China and Japan

In October, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe made a landmark state visit to China — the first by a Japanese leader in seven years. Commemorating the 40th anniversary of the China-Japan Peace and Friendship Treaty, this marked a major effort to improve co-operation between the second and third biggest economies in the world. Abe and Xi reportedly signed business accords worth \$2.6 billion US. The primary reason underpinning this Sino-Japanese détente is the trade war being waged by Trump and the tariffs slapped on Chinese goods.

But Sino-Japanese security relations continue to be confrontational. Abe has pursued a more assertive Japanese foreign policy accompanied by efforts to

strengthen the Japanese Self-Defence Force — which China has denounced. At the same time, he has opposed China’s claims to Japan-held islands in the East China Sea and counselled against China’s man-made islands in the South China Sea. Following his Beijing visit, Abe hosted a summit meeting with Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi. The two regional powers are concerned by the rise of China and its increasing military assertiveness in the Indo-Pacific region. Yet they are also concerned by the unpredictable, transactional Trump White House that is confrontational to its allies and competitors alike.

4. China’s BRI leads to debt traps

From Central Asia to South Asia; Southeast Asia to Africa; and the Middle East to Central and Western Europe, China under Xi has been provoking the United States by making major investments, offering huge development loans and encouraging Chinese construction companies and financial institutions to pursue megaprojects. Since late 2013, China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has been exploiting these regions’ need for investment and development — even while leveraging out American influence. This \$1-trillion infrastructure investment plan is seen by U.S. defence officials as part of Beijing’s drive to expand its global influence and military power-projection capabilities.

But these megaprojects have led to a number of less-developed countries entering into huge loan obligations and overwhelming debt. This has been the case for at least five countries, including Sri Lanka (loans and port lease), Pakistan (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor project loans), Montenegro (highway loan), the Maldives (bridge and port loan) and Djibouti (port and rail). It has led to these countries being pressured to take on long-term Chinese control leases on ports and basing rights.

Pakistan, which has been China’s landmark BRI infrastructure and trade project, has stirred up considerable controversy. Saddled with its large Chinese loans for megaprojects, the country has seen its foreign currency reserves continue to dwindle to such an extent that newly elected Prime Minister Imran Khan has sought debt relief from Saudi Arabia and an International Monetary Fund bailout. He seems likely to even seek debt relief from China itself to weather Pakistan’s ongoing financial problems.

In Malaysia, its new prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad, cancelled four BRI-funded megaprojects, thereby reducing the

country's loan debt by more than US\$72 billion. This included BRI loans for the East Coast Rail Line (ECRL), the Kuala Lumpur-Singapore High-Speed Rail and the Trans-Sabah Gas Pipeline projects. According to Mohamad, these mega infrastructure projects incurred huge debts without considering the government's ability to repay them, "giving problems to the people." And, in the case of the ECRL project, the funds had been "borrowed on the condition that a foreign [Chinese] company would be given the contract.

5. Rising concerns about AIIB funding

A number of BRI projects have been funded by loans from the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), which is based in Beijing. This new multilateral financial institution was founded in December 2015 to fund regional infrastructure development, but some see it as a tool for regional economic integration and a foreign policy instrument for China's Communist leadership. China holds more than 26 per cent voting rights — compared to just one per cent voting rights for Canada, while 52 other member states have even less — in the AIIB for determining approval for foreign project loans.

Apparently in response to growing criticisms of massive infrastructure financing increasing debt loads of developing countries in an unsustainable way, AIIB president Jin Liqun recently stated that "infrastructure projects funding by the [AIIB] must not add to the receiving country's debt burden." He went on to say that the AIIB should "work with the private sector companies in those countries so that our investments would not build up heavy pressure on their debt burden."

Interestingly, in a sharp reversal of its foreign-aid approach, the Trump administration in October signed into law legislation to underwrite \$60 billion US in loans, loan guarantees and insurance to companies prepared to do business in Africa, Asia and the Americas. While at a substantially lower level than China's \$1-trillion US BRI program, it has been seen as an attempt to counter China's infrastructure investments in those regions.

6. Taiwan Strait: More cyber-attacks

Taiwan's ruling Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) is traditionally independence-leaning, but President Tsai Ing-wen has said she wants to maintain the status quo with China. Alternatively, China's Xi has continued to apply political, economic, diplomatic and military pressure on the island. As he has said previously, the issue

of Taiwan being brought under Beijing's control cannot be postponed indefinitely; and some analysts believe he is determined to do this during his time in office. In addition, there have been more cyber-attacks across the Taiwan Strait.

ing to improve their economic relations, several multilateral economic groupings are pursuing free trade and energy relations in the Asian region. Although Trump took the U.S. out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) by executive order in



In early October 2018, there was a near collision between the U.S. Navy guided-missile destroyer *USS Decatur* (shown here launching a standard missile) and the Chinese People's Liberation Army Navy destroyer *CNS Lanzhou*.

Currently, Taiwan is braced for an increased onslaught of disruptive cyber-attacks from mainland China — both ahead of the nationwide local-level elections and into 2019, Howard Jyan, director-general of Taiwan's cyber-security department, told *Bloomberg News*. He stated that the Taiwanese government endured 360 successful cyber-attacks in 2017 after tens of millions of cross-strait attempts, possibly compromising sensitive and classified data. There are also fears there will be increasing social-media interference as national elections approach in January 2020.

7. Evolving Asian economic integration

In addition to Japan and China attempt-

ing to improve their economic relations, several multilateral economic groupings are pursuing free trade and energy relations in the Asian region. Although Trump took the U.S. out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) by executive order in

January 2017, the remaining 11 member countries, led by Japan and Canada, agreed on a replacement trade pact called the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP). This trade and regulatory agreement can come into force 60 days after six signature countries pass enacting legislation. Mexico ratified the pact in June 2018, Japan in June, Singapore in September and Canada, New Zealand and Australia in October — with Vietnam and Chile poised to ratify at press time. With the Australian ratification, the CPTPP was to come into force in December, giving momentum to liberalized trade amid global tariff wars. But the implementation of lowered or

eliminated tariff barriers in various economic sectors will be phased in over 2019 and later years.

Although it has not been a party to the original agreement or the new CPTPP, the Chinese government has hinted that it might be interested in participating in the agreement in the years ahead — if only as a way to bypass American economic pressure. Meanwhile, a specific clause in the new United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) provides Washington with a near-veto over any attempt by Canada or Mexico to reach a free-trade deal with a “non-market economy.” The clause is widely thought to refer to trade pacts with China.

And even Trump has publicly voiced the possibility that the United States might reconsider membership in the new CPTPP “on more favourable [America First] terms” — even as he seeks more favourable bilateral trade deals with several CPTPP members in an effort to contain China’s regional ambitions.

The 16-country Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) — currently under negotiation — would, if concluded, be the world’s largest free-trade deal. Though negotiations on seven of the 16 chapters of the agreement are complete, the *Economic Times of India* has suggested that the “heart of the negotiation will only begin next year [2019].” The ASEAN countries and their key partners had been seeking to conclude this region-wide pact by year-end 2018, but little is now expected to be concluded until after mid-2019 as several countries — including Indonesia, the Philippines, India, Japan, Australia and New Zealand — are going for national elections. The RCEP agreement is to maintain the free trade and rules-based multilateral trading system that has underpinned the region’s economic growth. The RCEP group comprises the 10 ASEAN countries (Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam, Myanmar, Cambodia, Brunei and Laos) plus India, China, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand.

In addition, at the Eastern Economic Forum (EEF), in the Russian city of Vladivostok, Russia, Mongolia, China, Japan and South Korea signed a series of hydrocarbon production and supply agreements designed to accelerate development of regional energy supply infrastructure in Northeast Asia. To support this regional development, Mongolian President Khaltmaa Battulga proposed, as part of his country’s “Economic Corridor” strategic policy, that Russia build a natural gas

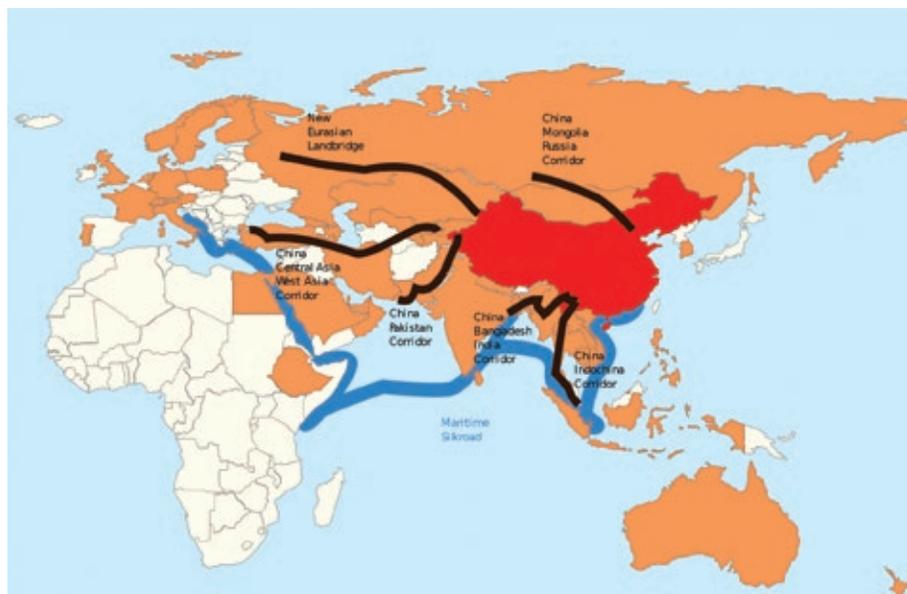
pipeline to China via Mongolia as well as an “Asian Super Grid” to help balance the regional electricity peak load. Reports say Xi and Putin have voiced support for pipelines through Mongolia pending feasibility studies.

8. Possible second Trump-Kim summit

At the East Asia Summit in Singapore last November, U.S. Vice-President Mike Pence said the Trump White House was

The North Korean regime has been demanding an easing of the international sanctions and a declaration of the end of the Korean War (which stopped based on truce agreement in 1953). It also wants the U.S. to take “reliable corresponding measures to guarantee the security of the [North Korean] regime” in step-by-step progress on denuclearization.

Following three summit meetings with Kim, South Korean President Moon



Chinese President Xi Jinping’s Belt and Road Initiative is shown here, with the Silk Road corridors in black, the Maritime Silk Road corridors in blue and member countries of the Beijing-based Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank in orange.

planning a second summit in 2019 between President Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un — but no summit date or location had been confirmed.

In June 2018, Trump held an unprecedented summit with Kim in Singapore and signed a vaguely-worded statement on denuclearization for the Korean peninsula. A follow-on summit will again aim to persuade the North Korean regime to abandon its nuclear weapons program.

Despite four visits by U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to Pyongyang and the cancellation of the third major joint American-South Korean military exercise, there have been no breakthroughs on the slow-moving denuclearization talks with the North Korean regime. The Americans want an inventory of its nuclear weapons systems and facilities. It has still not given a firm commitment to irreversible steps to its nuclear disarmament or even an inventory of its nuclear weaponry. In addition, it still has its chemical and biological weapons stores — and armed forces with one million personnel.

Jae-in stated in an interview with French newspaper *Le Figaro* that “this year [2018], I have discussed in depth with Kim for hours. These meetings have convinced me that he has taken the strategic decision to abandon his nuclear weapons.” As a result, North Korea and South Korea have begun reducing security tensions on the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) dividing their territories, including reducing security posts and conducting mine-removal in the DMZ.

North Korea is receiving increasingly warm responses to its communist regime. Mongolia has invited Kim to visit its capital of Ulaanbaatar, which had earlier been offered for the first Trump-Kim summit — and possibly could host the second summit, if and when it takes place. Kim has also been invited for a state visit to Moscow, and surprisingly, there are reports that Kim will send Pope Francis a formal invitation to visit Pyongyang.

In October, Russia, China and North Korea released a joint statement insisting that all issues relating to Korea be solved

in a peaceful, political and diplomatic way. This supported the North Korean demand for a “step-by-step” approach, lengthening the process of denuclearization, if it ever occurs. As diplomatic and security dialogue between the two Koreas has reduced tensions, there have been suggestions that China, the United States, Japan and Russia should work to launch a “Northeast Asian Security Forum.”

9. More naval tensions in the Indo-Pacific

In early October 2018, there was a near collision between the U.S. Navy guided-missile destroyer *USS Decatur* and the Chinese People’s Liberation Army Navy destroyer *CNS Lanzhou*. The Chinese vessel approached from the rear and then cut across the U.S. naval ship’s bow at a distance of 45 metres. The *USS Decatur* was conducting one of a series of “freedom of navigation” aerial and sea operations that American ships have done near China’s fortified manmade islands in the South China Sea. China has pursued a massive island-building effort to establish military outposts on reefs and islets in the Spratly Islands, including airstrips and missile launch sites. This is to support its claims over most of the South China Sea — the “Nine-Dash Map” — even though the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague in July 2016 disallowed China’s “sovereignty” claim.

In April 2018, Admiral Philip Davidson, the new head of U.S. Pacific Command, told his U.S. Senate confirmation hearing that “China is now capable of controlling the South China Sea in all scenarios short of war with the United States.” Also in July and again in October, pairs of U.S. destroyers transited the international waters of the Taiwan Strait “in accordance with international law” — in response the Chinese government protested that such sail pasts were provocative. And there have been reports that Trump administration policymakers in Washington are considering sending an American aircraft carrier through the strait sometime in the future.

In addition, the Australian Navy has also conducted sail-past cruises in the South China Sea and through the Taiwan Strait. Similarly, the British Royal Navy is planning cruises through the South China Sea to “showcase support for its Pacific allies” — possibly even including its new *HMS Elizabeth* aircraft carrier.

10. China may join a new INF Treaty

In 1987, U.S. president Ronald Reagan and Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev signed the intermediate-range nuclear forces

(INF) treaty to eliminate all land-launched missiles and cruise missiles with a range between 500 and 1,000 kilometres. In October 2018, Trump announced that his administration planned to withdraw from the treaty in the coming year. While the arms-control agreement has been highly successful in eliminating an entire class of nuclear weapons, in recent years the U.S. and Russia have each accused the other of treaty violations. Trump has suggested the U.S. will have to develop new land-launched INF weapons unless Russia and China commit to stopping their development process.

It was reported that Trump and Putin would likely meet to discuss the INF Treaty in November — either when they both visited Paris or attended the G20 summit in Buenos Aires later that month — but, in fact, for various reasons, no sit-down meeting took place.

Nevertheless, Trump had earlier extended an invitation to Putin to visit Washington in 2018. But the unprovoked Russian military attack and capture of three Ukrainian naval vessels at the mouth of the Kerch Strait between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov placed any visit by Putin on hold. According to senior Putin aide Yury Ushakov on *Rossiya 1 TV* channel after the G20 summit, Putin and Trump may meet in June 2019 at the next G20 summit in Japan, but “it’s vital for Moscow and Washington to find a chance to hold these crucial talks earlier.”

The main issue for negotiation will be the end, continuation or adjustment of the treaty’s terms, but a key side issue will be China. At present, China is not a signatory to the INF treaty and, as a result, it is free to develop and deploy intermediate-range missiles from the Chinese mainland. This is one of its primary weapons systems for deterring U.S. naval forces operating in the Western Pacific and South China Sea. The new strategic weapons systems of the PLA Rocket Force — formerly the Second Artillery Corps — have the range and accuracy to attack hardened targets, such as airfields and command and control centres in the Asia-Pacific region. This includes targeting American military bases in Japan and South Korea.

In a recent press conference, Trump insisted that China “should be included in a new [INF] agreement.” But the Chinese foreign ministry countered that “it’s completely wrong to link the U.S. withdrawal from the [INF] treaty to China” This is likely because being a signatory to a future trilateral INF agreement would restrict China’s regional military options.

But the U.S. withdrawal from restrictions on INF weapons systems could begin a new arms race with Russia and China. While an American withdrawal from the treaty would signal a return to nuclear brinkmanship, a trilateral INF treaty between the United States, Russia and China could herald a new era of global nuclear peace and détente. However, it would also be necessary to ensure the compliance of North Korea with its nuclear-capable missiles.

Asia needs to closely monitor Trump

In the U.S. midterm elections, the Democrats gained majority control over the House of Representatives, but the Republicans held on to a slim majority in the Senate. This means international agreements that Trump negotiated or forced upon foreign governments — allies or competitors — still need approval from the Senate when the new Congress begins in January 2019. Any future U.S.-China trade agreement or a renegotiated U.S.-Japan economic agreement or a possible renewed interest by the Trump administration to join in the new CPTPP will require this approval. And this will be in the face of warnings of a potential economic crash as early as 2020, due to Trump’s tariffs and China’s counter-tariff disruptions in world trade, in addition to growing national debt levels in the U.S. and China. But there are no indications that such a future crash would be at the same level as the 2008 global economic crash.

In a recent *Nikkei Asian Review* article, Minxin Pei wrote that, “if Trumpism [America First] dictates that the U.S. must get better terms than its partners under all circumstances, then fewer allies may sign on, making it harder to isolate China.” In any case, the American allies and competitors in Asia will need to closely monitor Trump’s worldview for his transactional policies, tweets and statements, to keep from being caught off-guard and wrong-footed in 2019 and beyond.

A recent *New York Times* investigation reported that Trump has continued to use one of his unsecured iPhones to call old friends and outside advisers. American intelligence officials have warned that foreign intelligence agencies, especially Chinese and Russian, could be listening in on his personal conversations.

Dr. Robert D’A. Henderson currently does international assessments and international elections monitoring. Previously, he taught international relations at universities in Canada and overseas.



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The inequality conundrum

Divisions between rich and poor are growing globally. We look at the world's Top 10 most unequal countries — and the five most equal.

By Wolfgang Depner



In 2014, the United Nations Development Program stated that the wealth of the richest one per cent of Haitians is equal to the wealth of the poorest 45 per cent of Haiti's population.

Humans have discussed the origin and outcomes of income inequality for millenniums. The sacred texts of all major monotheistic religions generally denounce it, but contemporary interpretations of the same faiths often disagree about the best way to remedy it, or if a remedy is even necessary.

Aristotle considered it corrosive for political communities; European medieval societies institutionalized it through

feudalism. Jean-Jacques Rousseau warned of its corrupting influence on the psychological health of individuals in the 18th Century and Karl Marx argued in the 19th Century that it would lead to the fall of capitalism after being responsible for its historic rise.

Such central economic thinkers of the 20th Century as Harvard University professor Joseph Schumpeter downplayed its significance, as long as society ensured

social mobility. And Austrian-born British economist Friedrich Hayek considered it fundamental to progress.

U.S. academic John Rawls, perhaps the most important political philosopher of the 20th Century, considered it unjust if it does not benefit the least well-off, while his American contemporary, Robert Nozick, warned against measures that forbid “capitalistic acts between consenting adults.”

Civil rights leaders, feminists, environmentalists and non-Western philosophers of various ideological hues have since expanded this discussion, starting with the 1950s and stretching into the present, by linking income inequality to racial injustice, male domination, the unsustainable exploitation of the natural environment and northern control of the globe's southern hemisphere.

Others have dismissed these critiques, and it was not so long ago that Simon Kuznets, Nobel laureate in economics, argued that inequality would eventually disappear "because growth is a rising tide that lifts all boats."

Former U.S. president Barack Obama has declared income inequality "the defining challenge of our time" and various commentators have argued that the rise of economic populists around the world reflects a desire to reform the worst defects of capitalism in the early 21st Century, including its growing income inequality.

In short, perspectives on inequality have varied over time. As French economist Thomas Piketty writes in his groundbreaking book, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, the "history of the distribution of wealth has always been deeply political, and it cannot be reduced to purely economic matters."

He also states that the "history of inequality is shaped by the way economic, social and political actors view what is just and what is not, as well as by the relative power of those actors and the collective choices that they make."

These choices actually start with the methods that researchers choose — or don't choose — in presenting the very phenomenon they seek to describe.

As Piketty and his co-authors in the *2018 World Inequality Report* acknowledge, these choices are not neutral and may substantially impact not only findings, but also policies.

We have chosen the Gini index to present the 10 countries with the greatest income inequality. As with all inequality measures, it is the distribution that shows the number of individuals in any group and their share of the group's total income or wealth.

Drawing on the work of American economist Max Otto Lorenz, the index developed by Italian economist Corrado Gini represents the average distance between the income or wealth between all individuals, if paired up.

If the Gini index is zero, everyone has the same income. If the index is 100, one person possesses all the wealth. So what

does this list show? Overall, it identifies Africa — especially sub-Saharan Africa — as an epicentre of inequality, along with Latin America. More fundamentally though, it underscores the importance of institutions, which themselves reflect political choices.

Most of the entries on this list possess enormous economic potential, which, if realized, could be more equally shared. Yet these elites have chosen the selfish path of personal enrichment at the public's expense by rigging institutions in their favour and by undermining the rule of law with pluralistic politics and lack of transparency by way of the media and non-government organizations. Such moves may pay off in the short term for the few who practise them, but their persistence will eventually bring misery upon all. As such, this list is not just a snapshot of the present, but also a warning about the future.

1. South Africa:

The world's most unequal state is also the most industrialized state of the African continent. The sole African member of the G20, which represents 19 industrialized and emerging countries plus the European Union, recorded Gini index of 63 in 2015, the highest in the world, as reported by

the World Bank's March 2018 *South Africa Poverty and Inequality Report*.

Worse, inequality has been rising since the end of apartheid in 1994. South Africa's Gini index stood at 61 in 1996 and actually peaked at 65 in 2006 before "dropping" to its current rate, which would have been 10.5 points higher without social assistance.

Other measures confirm South Africa's high degree of inequality. It ranks last among surveyed states on the Palma Index (the ratio of the richest 10 per cent of the population's share of gross national income divided by the share of the poorest 40 per cent) with a ratio well above 7, according to multiple sources. Wealth inequality even exceeds income inequality.

Reasons for this state begin, but hardly end, with apartheid's legacy. "South Africa inherited very high inequality from the time of apartheid, and it increased since," the World Bank states in the same report.

Inequality has increased because the polarization of the South African labour market has intensified. As the World Bank says, South Africa possesses two economies: a productive one that allows a small number of skilled people to access highly paid jobs; and an unproductive economy that employs a large number of unskilled



The most unequal country in the world — South Africa — is its continent's most industrialized and the sole African member of the G20. Shown here is a shanty town in Soweto.

individuals with low wages.

Worse, a lack of social mobility and sluggish job growth have closed off the first labour segment from the second, trapping individuals in poverty across generations.

True, poverty rates have dropped since apartheid, as South Africa has emerged as a genuine global player as a member of the BRICS group. But the unequal distribution of these dividends bedevils South Africa. "Race," writes the World Bank, "still affects the ability to find a job, as well as wages received once employed." Gender does, too.

But other factors, such as access to education, increasingly determine social outcomes in South Africa, and South African elites starting with the ruling African National Congress (ANC) will find it increasingly difficult to blame others for current deficits a quarter century after South Africa began its long journey into freedom.

2. Namibia

A long list of issues faces this former German colony, which did not shed South African control until 1990, following occupation during the First World War. The list includes the effects of HIV/AIDS (12.1 per cent of its adult population lives with it), and climate change that threatens its large agricultural sector and bio-diversity, a major source of foreign income through tourism. Not surprisingly, the list also includes inequality, with a Gini index of 61.

Foreign interference, coupled with periods of civil war, had destabilized Namibia for decades before independence and left behind a legacy of race-based apartheid at least partially to blame for its high inequality, according to a World Bank report titled *Does Namibia's Fiscal Policy Benefit the Poor and Reduce Inequality?* While poverty rates have "declined substantially" since the early 1990s from 58.9 per cent of individuals in 1993-1994 to 15.3 per cent in 2009-2010, according to the report, "daunting challenges" remain.

Namibia should be rich, thanks to its wealth in precious gems and minerals, including uranium, of which it is one of the world's largest producers. Yet only a minority of the population lives in conditions expected in an upper middle-income country. The World Bank notes that "a century of colonial rule and apartheid concentrated Namibia's wealth — including ownership of land, companies and financial assets — in the hands of a small minority," according to the World Bank.

Consider the following: In 2009-2010,



In 2009 and 2010, the richest 10 per cent of Namibians accounted for 70 per cent of personal income taxes, because of low labour-force participation. Shown here is an historic villa in posh Luderitz.

the richest 10 per cent of Namibia's population accounted for 70 per cent of personal income taxes because of low labour-force participation.

Namibia (like its southern neighbour and former colonial master, South Africa) confronts a "triple challenge" of poverty, unemployment and inequality. While the economy has steadily grown over the years, it has not grown strong enough to create a sufficient number of jobs that would lift its population out of poverty, thereby reducing inequality.

But if Namibia (along with South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) confirms southern Africa as perhaps the most unequal region of the world, it is also a role model for them.

Oxfam, for example, recognized Namibia in the second edition of its Commitment to Reduce Inequality Index (CRI), and none other than U.S. economics Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz (along with co-author Anya Schiffrin) praised Namibia's exemplary efforts to reduce inequality through various measures that focus on unleashing human potential starting with, but not ending with, education. They include efforts to improve medical services and infrastructure, while rooting out corruption by way of guaranteeing press freedom.

3. Haiti

Jovenel Moïse entered Haitian politics as an unknown figure who made familiar promises: Improve the economy, especially agriculture; rebuild infrastructure; and curb corruption. Bearing the nickname of Banana Man because of his background in produce, Moïse emphasized his entrepreneurial credentials as evidence of his political effectiveness. Fewer than two years after assuming office in February 2017, Moïse's record is poor.

The economy remains stuck and an unpopular hike in fuel prices, part and parcel of an agreement with the International Monetary Fund, led to deadly riots in July 2018 that included demands for his political departure. Moïse, unlike then-Haitian prime minister Jack Guy Lafont, has remained in office, but his grip on power appears tenuous, as his government continues to confront public anger over pervasive corruption — in this case, allegations that a Venezuelan-led oil alliance funnelled funds into the pockets of public officials. Moïse, in promising justice, has fired individuals connected to the PetroCaribe scandal. Haitians, however, have heard such claims before, and few are likely to believe them.

This unfolding episode encapsulates one of the reasons, if not the central one,



A 2009 survey found that fewer than 15 per cent of Haitians asked their government for help after the 2010 earthquake. Shown here is Cap-Haitien, which was severely impacted.

behind Haiti's pervasive inequality: The cast of political characters rotates, but corrupt institutions persist.

As American sociologist Scott G. McNall argues, it is this corruption that has kept Haiti poor, for it serves as an "almost perfect example" of what MIT economist Daron Acemoglu and Harvard economist James A. Robinson describe as a society with closed political and economic systems. Writing in *Why Nations Fail*, they state "extractive political institutions in the hands of a narrow elite place few constraints on the exercise of power. Economic institutions are then often structured by this elite to extract resources from the rest of the society."

Wealth, accordingly, concentrates in the hands of the few, leaving the many with little—and little faith in their institutions.

A 2009 survey found more than 50 per cent of Haitians bribed officials to secure services, and fewer than 15 per cent asked their own government for help after the 2010 earthquake that destroyed large parts of the country.

Perhaps worse, the concentration of wealth at the very top of Haitian society—Haiti records a Gini index of 60.8—only deepens corruption as groups try to preserve their sinecures. It also encourages political instability as elites compete

against each other for them, creating a vicious cycle that deepens violence and corruption, while inequality persists.

4. Botswana

This former English protectorate might be land-locked, but it is nonetheless an island of bliss amidst the many storms that swirl through sub-Saharan Africa.

First, its government has proven stable and its institutions strong. While military coups remain routine across the region, Botswana can look back upon more than five decades of uninterrupted civilian government. However, the ruling Botswana Democratic Party has won every election since independence in 1966 and Freedom House, a watchdog organization, has raised concerns about its increasingly authoritarian ambitions, as it has stifled the media, sought to pack the courts and discriminated against various ethnic and sexual minorities.

But Botswana's multi-party system allows political opponents of President Mokgweetsi Masisi to organize themselves, and outside observers consider local elections to be free and fair. Second, Botswana's government has pursued a number of economic policies that have expanded opportunities for its population, now numbering around two mil-

lion. These policies include, among other measures, reducing fertility, while raising the educational achievements of women. (Economists and other experts fear that Africa's baby boom represents a major source of political poverty and instability in light of sluggish growth).

Third, Botswana's elites have avoided the resource curse that has crippled so many other African nations. Elites could have easily captured the mineral wealth of the country, as Botswana is the world's second-biggest producer of diamonds. But the presence of an independent judiciary and various anti-corruption measures have deterred the kind of corruption that has devastated other countries. (It ranks



Botswana's President Mokgweetsi Masisi's government has pursued a number of economic policies that have expanded prospects for its citizens.

34 out of 180 countries in Transparency International's Corruption Index; and it's the least corrupt of African nations).

Not surprisingly, the international business community likes this sort of stability.

Fitch Solutions—which assigns Fitch Ratings—touts it in its assessment of Botswana: "Botswana is likely to continue enjoying broad-based political stability over the next years."

But this assessment also includes a cautious note that specifically highlights Botswana's "highly skewed" income inequality with a Gini index of 60.5. To be clear, Fitch's assessment of Botswana is largely positive. But it identifies income inequality as a "high-impact risk" that

could lead to “increased instability in the next decade.” This said, Fitch considers the probability of such an outcome “low.” Still, this assessment neatly highlights the corrosive potential of inequality.

5. Central African Republic

Lost among the litany of human sufferings coming from corners of the world such as Syria, Yemen and South Sudan lies the Central African Republic, whose Gini index of 56.2 arguably ranks among the least of its problems.

New York Times columnist Nicholas Kristof has called this landlocked country of 5.6 million the site of the world’s “most neglected crisis” thanks to more than 14

events in CAR, and little, if any, international aid has reached the country, despite an overwhelming and growing need. The security situation has forced humanitarian organizations to head home, and a high-ranking UN official had spoken in 2017 of a genocide in the making as tensions between rivalling factions remain high, despite the presence of UN peacekeepers and mediation efforts.

In fact, it is hard to find a corner of the country where groups of various sorts are not competing against each other. Many of these ethnic-religious conflicts have economic origins, a familiar phenomenon for many resource-rich countries. CAR’s catalogue of natural resources includes oil,

authority, an absence that leaves behind “no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain” and “which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death, and life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.”

6. Zambia

This landlocked sub-Saharan African country of 15 million people currently finds itself in the spotlight because of its escalating debt caused by allegedly unsustainable loans from China. China holds somewhere between a quarter and a third of the country’s debt, which has increased rapidly, from 21 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2011 to 59 per cent at the end of 2017, according to *The Economist*. Western observers, including senior U.S. officials, have warned that Zambia represents an example par excellence of the “debt-trap diplomacy” that China pursues in Africa and Asia as part of its hegemonic Belt and Road Initiative.

Non-Western voices have acknowledged this argument, but also added that Western countries have contributed to this problem, too. Regardless of the reasons,



The people of the Central African Republic have endured more than 14 years of civil war and ethnic cleansing at the hands of a changing cast of armed groups.

years of civil war and ethnic cleansing with a changing cast of armed groups. It’s been six years since the start of the most recent conflict that pits militia from CAR’s Christian majority against rebels from its Muslim minority and half of the population now needs humanitarian assistance.

More than a million people — roughly a quarter of the population — find themselves on the run either inside or outside their own country. This crisis has received just as much attention from the global media as it has from international donors and organizations — namely, next to none. Crises in the Middle East, not to mention neighbouring Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo, have overshadowed

gold and diamonds and its rich soil grows such cash crops as cotton, coffee and sugar, as well as food crops such as corn, yams and millet.

Yet decades of mismanagement and civil unrest following decolonization have denied CAR fulfilment of its potential and left it with a legacy of inequality that only hints at larger problems.

Government in the Central African Republic is not just corrupt, it is largely absent — or as Kristof writes, “mostly just a rumour.” CAR — along with some of its immediate neighbours — brings to mind philosopher Thomas Hobbes’ state of nature, where “every man is enemy to every man,” thanks to the absence of



A combination of easy money and widespread corruption contribute to inequality in Zambia.

the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has identified Zambia as one of 18 African countries at risk of debt distress, with another eight already in debt distress, meaning that they are delinquent or in default. Zambia’s debt level does not only make

it politically dependent on others, it also poisons the well for business, and worse, undermines any efforts to deal with the country's inequality (its Gini index is 55.6.) The biggest budget item in Zambia, as *The Economist* notes, used to be education. "Today," it says, "it is debt service, with nearly a quarter of government spending going to pay back loans."

Back in 2005, the IMF cancelled all of Zambia's debt (upwards of \$6.6 billion US). That grace and a high price for copper, Zambia's main export, helped spark an average annual growth of seven per cent between 2000 and 2010. Zambia, in other words, had a chance to ease inequality. But a toxic combination of easy money and widespread corruption helped Zambia's kleptocratic and increasingly authoritarian elite squander the IMF gift and this chance.

7. Lesotho

Its status as a constitutional monarchy and stunning mountains have earned this enclave the popular nickname of the Kingdom in the Sky. More than two thirds of its 30,335 square kilometres is mountainous, with many areas only accessible by horseback or light aircraft. For foreign photographers and adventurers, Lesotho offers unique sights, including snow-

covered mountains, a rare sight in Africa by any measure. The reality for the 2.2 million residents of Lesotho is a different one, with the harsh mountainous nature of their realm rendering their livelihoods very difficult.

They use 76.1 per cent of their land for agriculture, but only 10.1 per cent of this is arable and areas with permanent crops account for 0.1 per cent of total agricultural land. The rest — 65.9 per cent — is suitable for animal herding.

Its exports consist of two commodities — water and people — with both flowing towards South Africa, its only neighbour. Those who remain, in turn, scratch a living out of the land, while relying on remittances from those who toil in the mines and homes of South Africa, as miners or domestics.

Remittances, according to the CIA's *World Factbook*, account for 17 per cent of the country's GDP. A small textile industry dominated by immigrants from Taiwan and mainland China has started to emerge. But Lesotho ranks as one of the poorest countries in the world with a per-capita GDP of \$3,600 US in 2017, ranking it 186th globally, according to the World Bank. This is one reason its index is 54.2.

Poverty is not the only reason. Other key reasons include corruption and civil

conflict as its elites find themselves in a constant struggle to control the country's few spoils, as evidenced by the recent run of political instability.

8. Colombia

This Latin America country of 48 million finds itself near the top of many regional and global economic rankings. It is the fourth-largest oil producer in Latin America, the world's fourth-largest coal producer and the world's third-largest coffee exporter. In short, it possesses natural wealth. But this natural wealth has not reduced — at least not yet — income inequality in Colombia, whose Gini index of 53.5 makes it the most unequal country in a region defined by inequality.

True, Colombia has managed to reduce poverty during a period of growth, fuelled by oil, that stretched from 2006 to 2014. This is no small feat in light of the fact that



The right-wing government of Colombian President Ivan Duque has promised to step up enforcement against the country's powerful drug cartels, which may increase political violence.

Colombians have found themselves in the middle of a civil war that started in the mid-1960s and did not officially end until late November 2016.

A 2015 World Bank report argued that per capita income in Colombia would have been 50 per cent higher if it had been at peace for the past 20 years. Yet the peace dividends promised by the 2016 settlement between the government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) have not yet materialized, partly because the other major left-wing rebel



Lesotho ranks as one of the world's poorest countries, with a per-capita GDP of \$3,600 US in 2017.

group — the National Liberation Army (ELN) — remains outside the peace process and continues to harass Colombia's oil industry. Colombia also remains the world's largest producer of cocaine, and the right-wing government of newly elected Ivan Duque has promised to step up enforcement against the country's powerful drug cartels, a move likely to raise the level of political violence. Finally, Colombia has failed to redress its unequal distribution of land, one of the systemic reasons for its political instability and, therefore, inequality. An Oxfam analysis shows that the largest one per cent of landholdings concentrate 81 per cent of available land, forcing the remaining 99 per cent of farms to share 19 per cent of the remaining land.

9. Paraguay

The history of this landlocked South American country of seven million people point to many of the same conditions and circumstances among countries of great inequality. First, Paraguay has deficient infrastructure, though the country's economy would do even worse without its natural waterways. Second, corruption is endemic. As Transparency International noted in a briefing on Paraguay, the 35-year-long military regime of Alfredo

Stroessner had two defining features: its gross violation of human rights (which the West quietly tolerated) and the institutionalization of corruption. "Corruption is the price for peace," Stroessner himself said.

While Stroessner's regime ended in 1989 following a military coup that eventually restored electoral politics, corruption has survived and thrived, touching every area of Paraguayan society and daily life.

The 2013 Global Corruption Barometer, for example, found at least 36 per cent of respondents said they had paid a bribe and 61 per cent said they thought corruption was getting worse — not better.

To be fair, Paraguay has made efforts to fight corruption in order to attract more international investment (especially in the area of infrastructure). In this context, Taiwan has emerged as an unlikely partner through a shared history of strident anti-communism.

Whether additional growth will help reduce Paraguay's Gini index of 51.7 is another question, in light of corruption.

Finally, the distribution of resources is highly unequal, especially in the important agricultural sector, which accounts for almost 18 per cent of its GDP. Paraguay is one of the world's most important producers of soybeans.

According to Transparency International, only one per cent of the population owns 77 per cent of arable land and the poverty rate in rural areas hovers around 45 per cent — more than 20 points higher than in the urban areas.

10. Brazil / Eswatini (formerly Swaziland)

On the surface, these two countries could not be more different. One is Latin America's largest country by area (8.51 million square kilometres) and population (almost 210 million) and is an emerging global power whose influence resonates far beyond its southern hemispheric borders. The other is a landlocked spot in Africa, roughly three times the size of Prince Edward Island with an estimated population of fewer than 1.5 million people.

One has one of the world's largest economies with a 2017 GDP estimated at \$3.24 trillion, ranking it ninth globally, according to the *CIA World Factbook*. The other has a total GDP of \$11.34 billion, putting it in 159th place. And yet these two countries share the same Gini index of 51.5. Of course, it would be a mistake to make too much of this statistical match.

Both places took very different paths towards their respective states of inequality and they possess different resources to escape them. Major demographic and immutable geographic differences quickly render any comparisons mute. Still, these two countries share more than just the same Gini index. First, large sections of their respective societies are not active participants in the economy, leaving them in poverty.

Second, both countries are dealing with the effects of infectious diseases (including HIV/AIDS) that strain public resources, create private poverty and undermine human capacities. Third, both confront a host of environmental issues that threaten their long-term economic future, especially in Eswatini, where climate change threatens subsistence farming. Fourth, both countries have suffered and continue to suffer from corruption that misdirects resources and undermines the legitimacy of institutions. (Notably, both countries find themselves near each other in the rankings of International Transparency, with Eswatini scoring 39 out of 100, Brazil 37 out of 100).

In fact, corruption was perhaps the defining issue during Brazil's divisive 2018 presidential elections in the aftermath of a money laundering scandal, with the eventual winner, Jair Bolsonaro, promising to drain the swamp. Whether his efforts are sincere and effective is uncertain.



The distribution of resources in Paraguay is highly unequal, especially in the important agricultural sector, which accounts for almost 18 per cent of its GDP.



Half of Brazilians are considered middle class, but income inequality remains high, especially for some demographics, including women, blacks and individuals of mixed or indigenous descent.

Five most equal

Ukraine: 24.1

Unlike its big neighbour, Russia, with its own Gini index number of 41.6, Ukraine has avoided excessive inequality. Reasons include, among others, measures that curb corruption (though more measures are needed). But unlike its large neighbour, Ukraine's per capita GDP of \$8,700 US is lower than Russia's \$27,800. Ukraine's challenge, accordingly, lies in raising growth while maintaining its commitment towards equality, a difficult balancing act in light of its fraught relations with Russia over the latter's annexation of Crimea and ongoing incursion in Ukraine's eastern region of Donbass.

Slovenia: 25.6

Melania Trump, wife of the current U.S. president, has undeniably raised the profile of this country, which emerged out of the former Yugoslavia in 1991. Perhaps less well known, however, is its reputation as the little economic engine that could, thanks to a well-educated workforce, excellent infrastructure and stable democratic system. As a member of the European Union, the European customs union, the Schengen area and the Euro currency zone, Slovenia has sought to take full advantage of European integration, not to mention its strategic location between

the Balkan countries and Western Europe. Accordingly, it leads all successor states of the former Yugoslavia in terms of per capita GDP with \$34,400 US (2017), while remaining mindful of inequality.

Norway: 25.9

Liberal circles of the North American commentariat have long praised the inequality-busting policies of Scandinavian countries such as Norway, where successive governments have used wealth from oil discovered in the 1960s to build up human capacities through investments in education and other policies. With a per capita GDP of \$71,800 (2017), Norway is ahead of all G7 economies (including Canada and the U.S.) while maintaining one of the lowest levels of inequality. True, oil always helps. But the respective Gini indices of Finland (27.1), Sweden (27.3) and Denmark (29.1) — Scandinavian countries without oil — suggest that the Scandinavian model relies on more than just mere riches to produce one of the wealthiest and happiest corners of the globe.

Slovak Republic and Czech Republic: 26.1

2019 marks the 30th anniversary of the Velvet Revolution during which the former Czechoslovakia peacefully freed itself from Communist rule and Soviet tutelage. Fewer than four years later, the country went peacefully through the Velvet Divorce as it separated into

the Czech Republic and Slovakia. More than a quarter-century later, many ties continue to bind the two successor states, including a "history of shared institutions and similar transformations" that "can be expected to manifest [themselves] in similar inequalities with similar development," as a 2014 scholarly article on the two countries noted. (The article notes that taxation and transfers have "significantly" mitigated income equalities). But scholars are also expecting growing inequality in both countries in coming years. If health care and education "largely" determine the future prospects of inequality, trends are diverging. While the Czech Republic is spending more on health care, Slovakian spending is stagnating.

Academics also find that the Czech and the Slovak education systems remain "notoriously underfunded and in need of structural reforms, yet there have been few signs of improvements." Finally, respective Roma minorities of both countries continue to find themselves on the margins.

Wolfgang Depner holds a PhD from the University of British Columbia and writes in Victoria, B.C., where he teaches philosophy and Canadian history at Royal Roads University. He has also taught political philosophy and international politics at the University of British Columbia (Okanagan).

When women rule the world



Christina
Spencer

A warning: The first chapter of *100 Questions About Women in Politics* by Manon Tremblay features a few linguistic eye-glazers — such as “hegemonic scope,” “antagonistic binomials” and “intersectionality.” They made me fear that I wouldn’t be able to plod through many pages without drowning in jargon.

Perhaps Tremblay thought about that, too, because both the writing and the pacing brightened after that leaden start, and the English translation of this 2015 work (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2018) turned out to be loaded with fascinating facts and sharp research.

It’s worth your time for three reasons: The work is global in scope; its question-and-answer format addresses all the right questions; and Tremblay is unwaveringly committed to conclusions actually supported by data. This is not a reinforcement of dreary feminist tropes — though feminists should heartily appreciate it.

Let’s start with a few global tidbits:

- In lower or single chamber parliaments around the world, women occupied just 22.8 per cent of the seats as of June 2016;

- That same year, only two countries (Rwanda and Bolivia) had at least as many women in their parliaments as men. Most countries had a “feminization” rate of between 10 and 33 per cent;

- In general, the Nordic countries had the highest rate, 41.1 per cent; with the Americas in second place at 27.7 per cent; Europe at 24.3 per cent; sub-Saharan Africa at 23.1; Asia at 19.1; the Arab states at 18.4 and the Pacific region at 13.5.

Those are interesting numbers, but so what? Tremblay’s exploration of this question is what provides the value. Is there actually a “female vote”? Answer: No, though women do shade more in favour



of spending on education, health and other social needs than men. Do voters perceive female and male politicians differently? Growing research indicates they do. Is the electorate sexist toward female politicians? As a general rule, no. Are the media sexist? Yes ... and no. Do indig-

enous and non-indigenous women vote similarly? Should there be quotas? Does proportional representation favour more women winning office?

The book backs up its discussion with quick references to the growing breadth of research on women in politics. As a reader

mostly skeptical of the “victim school” of feminism, I appreciated the author’s sober summation of this research, including where it didn’t fit conventional views.

This book also tells you in which countries women first got the vote — places where women once had the vote then lost it, at least for a time (hello, Canada); where women were first allowed to run for office (fun fact: Australia was the first nation in which women were simultaneously allowed to both run for office and vote — in 1902. On the other hand, Swiss women only voted for the first time in federal legislative elections in 1971.)

Research on the “glass ceiling,” on whether explicitly feminist parties are effective, and on which kinds of women actually win office (hint: the word “elite” features here) provide more surprises.

When all is said, the most important question is: Do women actually change politics? Writes Tremblay: “I resist this proposal ... It seems to me that this idea promotes a moralizing concept of ‘women’ as the redemption of politics — a conception that I do not endorse.”

That’s a brave conclusion. Women are as capable of good or bad decisions as men are. We may want to see more of them in politics, but they aren’t saviours. They’re just humans.

Keystone cops, shattered lives

In the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, U.S. security agencies leapt into action, but with such panicked overreach that they routinely trampled the basic norms of international behaviour. Eager to assist in preventing more attacks, Canadian security officials — and those of other nations — enabled this egregious reaction. Western nations are still paying the price.

Many Canadians, for instance, criticize the federal government’s payout to one-time Guantanamo Bay inmate Omar Khadr. But Canada is far from alone among Western countries picking up the pieces of its own actions since 2001. Daniel Livermore’s book, *Detained: Islamic Fundamentalist Extremism and the War on Terror in Canada* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2018) explores why this is.

Livermore is an authoritative source for such discussion. A Canadian foreign service officer for 30 years, he was director-general for security and intelligence at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade from 2002 to 2006, when many of the episodes in this book took place.

He argues that Canada, at least, still

hasn’t learned some central lessons about the war on terrorism, even with two major commissions of inquiry into the fate of four citizens detained and tortured after 9/11. And he is clearly frustrated about that.

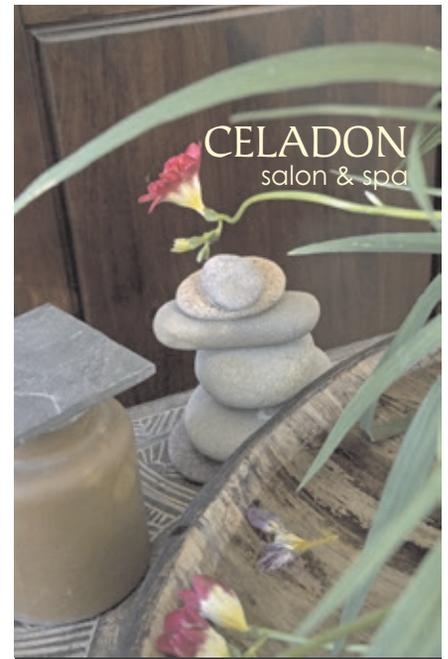
Detained starts with a helpful history of how Islamic fundamentalist extremism evolved, and how Western agencies didn’t see major terrorist attacks coming. It’s astonishing to read, for instance, how little U.S. intelligence knew about al-Qaeda prior to 9/11, even though the organization had already carried out major attacks against embassies and other Western targets, and even though some only failed because of dumb luck (such as the millennium plot to blow up the Los Angeles Airport, involving Canadian-based Ahmed Ressam).

Once the attack on the Twin Towers occurred, “perspective ... was not possible,” writes Livermore. “Fear of the unknown and the absence of intelligence on al-Qaeda would frame much of the response to 9/11 and it would not abate for several years.”

The Americans’ goal soon became detaining any suspected al-Qaeda operative, anywhere, a policy that would have devastating impacts on Canadians and other foreign nationals. High-profile commissions of inquiry have looked into the detention and torture abroad of Maher Arar, Abdullah Almalki, Ahmad Abou-Elmaati and Maeyyed Nureddin. Yet earlier (and lesser reported cases) point to alarming ineptness on both sides of the border.

For instance, a handful of “suspect” Canadians or landed immigrants had the misfortune of being in the U.S. around the time of 9/11. They were detained not merely for a few days as authorities checked them out, but sometimes for months. A young Algerian, Benamar Benatta, in the U.S. legitimately, overstayed his visa and tried to make a refugee claim at the Canadian border in 2001. Instead of following correct protocols for such cases, Canadians turned him over to the U.S. and, though he had no ties to terrorism, he was jailed until July 2006. (His lawsuit against the Canadian government, settled confidentially, was thought to have cost \$1.7 million).

Such things happened even before the phenomenon of “extraordinary rendition” — whereby the U.S. arranged for people it suspected of terrorism ties to be sent to countries with brutal interrogation methods. Many Western allies were caught up in helping the Americans snatch people off the street and fly them to Syria, Egypt



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or other torture-friendly zones. In a three-year period after 9/11, reports Livermore, the number of “renditions” rose to between 100 and 150, involving nationals from several U.S.-friendly countries, and later leading to lawsuits against those countries. Livermore laments that Canada’s commissions of inquiry never studied the cases of people “rendered” from other nations, even though some cases bore striking similarities to Canadian events.

Meanwhile, Canadian agencies “were investigating cases that were murky and confusing and they had no operational protocols on consultation within the community or on agreed systems as to the right way to proceed ... each Canadian agency went its own way,” Livermore writes. “In the fog of the war on terror, policies, principles and accountabilities were unclear or non-existent. Over time, the groundwork was laid for serious errors...” Senior political leaders weren’t briefed about these cases and “were not asked or encouraged to participate in decision-making.”

This operational chaos would come home to roost in sagas as different in their details as those of Arar, Abdullah Khadr (brother of Omar) and Abousfian Abdelrazik. Each story is told through Livermore’s lens.

They illustrate specifics of where the Canadian government failed in its basic duties. But he also argues that the commissions of inquiry the federal government set up later also failed, in important ways.

For instance, when the U.S. “rendered” a suspect abroad, it believed it was acting with the co-operation of the host government. Writes Livermore: “Despite two public inquiries in Canada, many court cases and several police investigations, no one has satisfactorily addressed the significance of this point regarding the Canadian cases. If co-operation was the norm, who in Canada co-operated in the cases of Maher Arar and others in their renditions and detentions?”

Have improvements been made since? Will we get this right in future? Amid the shrill voices currently dominating public discourse on terrorism, the arguments over foreign fighters, and the federal government’s struggles to ensure better oversight of security agencies, it is too early to say. But Livermore does not sound optimistic. Reading his book, Canadians should not be, either.

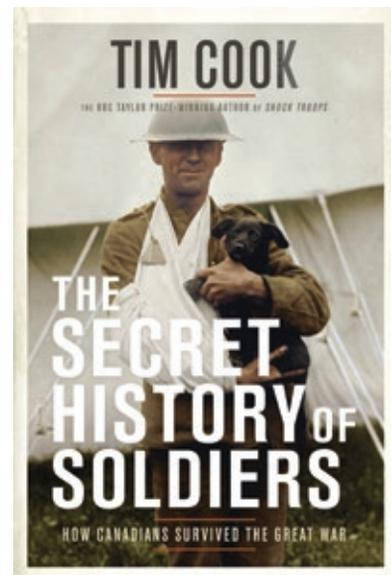
How to survive in hell

The average education level of Canadians

serving in the First World War was Grade 6. But lack of schooling didn’t prevent the men in the trenches — cold, terrified, itching with lice — from creating a rich record of their experiences through poetry, newspapers, diaries, songs, cartoons and much more.

Marking the 100th anniversary of the end of the First World War in November 2018, historian Tim Cook’s latest book — *The Secret History of Soldiers: How Canadians Survived the Great War* (Allen Lane Canada, 2018) — focuses on the special battlefield culture of the men who fought the “Great War.” This isn’t military history as written by academics; it’s a smooth read about how soldiers coped with horrific surroundings, the constant expectation of death, and the abrupt, bloody loss of friends.

Cook reminds us early on of just how inhuman the soldiers’ lives were: Death was everywhere at the front; the sight of corpses was inescapable. No surprise that



the imaginations of the soldiers were filled with “spectral beings, premonitions of death, and a belief in otherworldly events.

“No Man’s Land was unknowable and unoccupied. Within that ghost-haunted space, some soldiers felt there were monsters, including a supposed army of deserters,” he writes.

Yet, Cook continues, “In a war where soldiers could scream or laugh, most chose to do the latter.”

Start with their frequently colourful takes on popular songs of the era. “*It’s a Long Way To Tipperary*; it’s a long way to go” became “*That’s the wrong way to tickle Mary, it’s the wrong way you know.*” The song descended from there. The well-known



Tim Cook's new book, *The Secret History of Soldiers: How Canadians Survived the Great War*, details how soldiers such as Pte. Donald Johnston McKinnon, above, survived war's hell.

hymn "What a Friend We Have in Jesus" became "When This Lousy War Is Over," with decidedly non-religious lyrics. Indeed, "The more blasphemous the song, the more it was sung with gusto, with some of the raunchiest songs being belted out on the march," recounts Cook.

There were constant jokes about the food, including the ubiquitous army biscuits. One soldier's description went thus: "The word 'indispensable' does not emphasize enough the value (the biscuits) have been to us, using them as candlesticks, paper weights, and hammers; as well as feeling pretty safe against shrapnel and sniper's bullets, whilst carrying them in our pockets."

The war also spawned its own vocabulary for the terrifying weapons that wreaked awful and sudden destruction. A high explosive shell was a "Jack Johnson," named for an American heavyweight boxer. A light shell of high velocity was a "whiz-bang."

"German hand grenades were known as 'potato mashers' because, with their long handle and larger metal head filled with explosives, they bore a similarity to this kitchen device. The multiple types of trench mortars had names like 'flying pigs,' 'pineapples,' 'toffee apples,' 'footballs,' 'rum jars,' and 'minnies,'" Cook

informs us. "Referring to the enemy's 'morning hate' or 'strafe' was a sanitized way to describe the gut-wrenching, sphincter-clenching artillery bombardments that reduced men to red paste or drove them insane."

To the delight of this journalist, Cook spends a chapter analyzing the trench newspapers of the day, which, while amusing, also often took aim squarely at superior officers. *The Dead Horse Corner Gazette*, for example, carried an inquiry from one soldier about "whether the officer of a certain Canadian battalion who ordered one of his men to pick up scraps of paper from the top of a communication trench in broad daylight attended the man's funeral?" Another newspaper wrote that a "strategist" (presumably a general), was "a person who doesn't care how many lives he risks as long as he doesn't risk his own."

Limericks, diaries, Vaudeville performances and cartoons filled with popular characters and gallows humour rounded out the attempts of these scrappy trench warriors to make their existence bearable.

Normally, Cook notes, we think of First World War soldiers as "men caught in a no-win situation, who stumbled around like the living dead until they were put out of their misery. This is the soldier as



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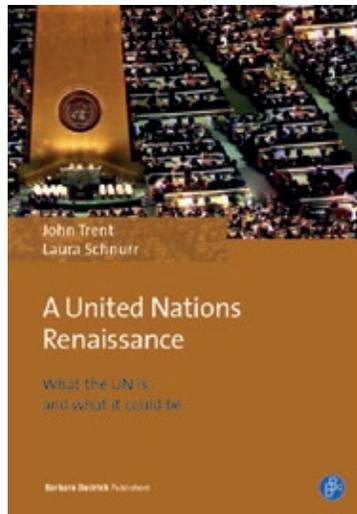
victim. *The Secret History of Soldiers* offers another way to understand the Canadian soldier in the Great War.” Brave, patriotic — and, for the sake of survival — often irreverent.

Other reads worth your time:

A United Nations Renaissance

By John Trent, Laura Schnurr
Barbara Budrich Publishers
Toronto, 2018, 168 pages

Someone has to defend the idea of the United Nations, particularly at a time when Canada still harbours ambitions of joining the Security Council. Happily,



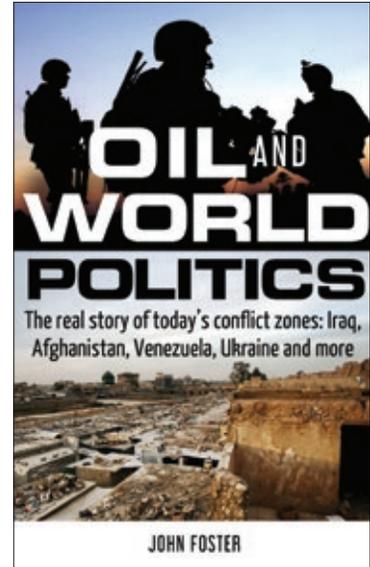
Trent and Schnurr are willing to take it on, and, just as happily, without rose-coloured glasses.

They readily acknowledge that the world’s biggest diplomatic chat room needs improvement and, in what amounts to both a primer and a manifesto, they explore a better future for the organization.

Oil and World Politics: The Real Story of Today’s Conflict Zones – Iraq, Afghanistan, Venezuela, Ukraine and More

John Foster
James Lorimer and Company Ltd.
Toronto, 2018, 280 pages

It’s not the first time someone has examined the role of black gold in world affairs, but Canadian energy economist John Foster does so in clear, engaging language, drawing on his own considerable global experience, to shine light on some key conflicts — Iraq, Syria, Iran, Libya, Afghanistan and Ukraine — using the lens of



oil. “Given the acknowledged connections between petroleum and climate change, understanding petroleum becomes critical to our future on Earth,” he writes. “The links between petroleum and ongoing conflict and misery merit attention too.” In other words, Western nations are not always fighting the good fight when they march off to “liberate” other places.

Economic Statecraft: Human Rights, Sanctions and Conditionality

Cécile Fabre
Harvard University Press
Cambridge, 2018, 218 pages

Any book that starts with a reference to the Peloponnesian War automatically wins my heart, but there are better reasons to pick up this tome. *Economic Statecraft* asks important moral questions about the impact of economic sanctions between countries. Is it ethical, for instance, for states that are nuclear powers to impose sanctions on other states that want to develop their own nuclear armaments? Is it moral to punish any state with sanctions if we know the resulting suffering will mostly impact impoverished civilians? Fabre, an expert on the ethics of war, bravely navigates the long, long history of such tactics and dissects the dilemmas for countries that care about human rights.

Christina Spencer is the editorial pages editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*. She holds a master’s degree from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University, and is a past winner of the National Newspaper Award for international reporting and for editorial writing.



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Easy recipes that shine on the plate

Photos by Larry Dickenson



Hot Smoked Salmon on Seaweed Salad is a simple appetizer or hors d'oeuvre.



Margaret
Dickenson

If you want to add a touch of pizzazz to casual dining experiences and you enjoy relaxed and easy entertaining, the following recipes hit the mark. Enjoy.

Hot Smoked Salmon on Seaweed Salad

Makes 12 hors d'oeuvre portions

With a bit of imagination, one can create

simple hors d'oeuvres with nothing but commercial products. Here is an example of one that only takes minutes to assemble. (For an appetizer/first course at the table, increase the quantities appropriately and serve in martini glasses.)

12 hors d'oeuvre porcelain Oriental spoons

1/3 cup (80 mL) seaweed salad* (commercial)

2½ oz (75 g) hot smoked salmon**

2 tbsp (30 mL) sour cream (thick)

1½ tbsp (23 mL) black caviar (mullet and herring or lumpfish roes)

1. Arrange seaweed salad in bottom of each spoon (a little more than 1 tsp or 7 mL per spoon).

2. Remove and discard skin and any dark

fatty areas of the salmon. Flake salmon into largish pieces. Divide the smoked salmon into 12 equal portions. Add one portion to each spoon, top with ½ tsp (3 mL) of sour cream and crown with caviar (about 1/3 tsp or 2 mL).

3. Refrigerate until ready to serve.

*Note: Seaweed salad is available at some grocery and fish stores or at most Japanese and Korean food stores. I usually add a touch of sesame oil to balance the flavours.

** Home-smoked or commercial

Make-ahead tip: This hors d'oeuvre may be assembled up to an hour in advance. To avoid the possible weeping of black liquid onto the sour cream, add the caviar immediately before serving.



Zucchini Ribbon Salad with Feta is a playful way to begin a meal.

Zucchini Ribbon Salad with Feta

Makes 4 servings

This playful salad is the perfect way to begin a meal. The delicate notes of fresh herbs, plus a discreet accent of lemon zest, give these zucchini ribbons a subtle depth of flavour. However, it's the small pickled capers and walnut pieces working in tandem that make the salad pop.

8 oz (225 g) young zucchini (yellow or green, but preferably both)
 1 tbsp (15 mL) finely grated lemon zest
 2 to 3 tbsp (30 to 45 mL) basil-infused olive oil
 3 oz (90 g) feta cheese, coarsely crumbled
 3 tbsp (45 mL) walnut pieces
 1½ tbsp (23 mL) of both fresh mint leaves (small or torn into small pieces) and fresh thyme leaves
 1½ tbsp (23 mL) of both coarsely chopped

fresh parsley and tarragon
 1½ tbsp (23 mL) pickled small capers (drained)

To taste, crushed black peppercorns and Kosher salt

1. Slice zucchini lengthwise into paper-thin ribbons. Use a special vegetable slicer/peeler, a mandolin (or perhaps even an ordinary vegetable peeler) for this job so the ribbons are almost paper thin.
2. Just before serving, on a large platter, gently toss together zucchini ribbons and lemon zest. Drizzle with basil-infused olive oil and toss lightly. Sprinkle with feta, walnut pieces, mint, thyme, parsley, tarragon, capers plus crushed black peppercorns and kosher salt to taste. Gently toss again.
3. Divide the zucchini ribbons between 4 individual bistro bowls or dinner plates, arranging them with the ribbons inter-

twined and in a delicate “pile” formation. Sprinkle with another touch of kosher salt. Serve promptly.

Mushroom-Dusted Veal Chops with Mustard Red Currant Sauce

Makes 4 servings

4 veal chops (each: 8 oz or 225 g; 1-inch or 2.5-cm thick)
 2½ tbsp (38 mL) garlic-infused olive oil
 ¾ tsp (4 mL) crushed black peppercorns, divided
 6 oz (175 g) fresh mushrooms (e.g., shimeji, cremini, small oyster; etc.)
 ¼ cup (60 mL) garlic butter
 ½ cup (125 mL) pulverized dried mushrooms* (such as shiitake)
 To taste, salt
 3 tbsp (45 mL) butter
 ½ cup (125 mL) Mustard Red Currant Sauce**



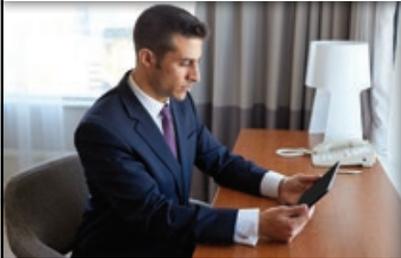
Mushroom-dusted veal chops with Mustard Red Currant Sauce make for a meaty main course.

1. Drizzle veal chops with garlic-infused olive oil and sprinkle with only ½ tsp (3 mL) of crushed black peppercorns. Let rest for at least 20 minutes.
2. Meanwhile, in a large skillet over medium-high heat, sauté fresh mushrooms in garlic butter; season with crushed black peppercorns and salt to taste. Set aside.
3. Dust veal chops with pulverized mushrooms, pressing powder gently into all surfaces.
4. Heat butter in a very large skillet over medium heat. Sprinkle chops lightly with salt and place in skillet. Cook chops for 1½ to 2 minutes per side, turning once, until chops are browned and internal temperature approaches medium on an instant-read thermometer (i.e., 130F or 55C). Transfer chops immediately to plates or a platter and tent loosely with aluminum foil (shiny side down).
5. Serve veal chops with sautéed mushrooms. Drizzle individual plates with about 1½ tsp (8 mL) of Mustard Red Currant Sauce and pass remaining sauce at table.

* Pulverize the dried mushrooms to a powder using a coffee or spice grinder.

** To make ½ cup (125 mL) of Mustard Red Currant Sauce, in a small saucepan

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over low heat, melt ½ cup (125 mL) red currant jelly. Whisk in 2 tsp (10 mL) of Dijon mustard and 1 tsp (5 mL) of raspberry (or red wine) vinegar to create a smooth sauce. If desired, thicken sauce by whisking in ½ tsp (3 mL) of cornstarch suspended in ½ tsp (3 mL) of cold water and bring the sauce to a boil. Place in a glass jar and store refrigerated for weeks.

Crunchy Toffee Chocolate Bark

Makes about 20 pieces

Who doesn't enjoy chocolate or toffee? I put the two together for a doubly yummy treat. Biting through thin chocolate with the fun of crunching on bits of crisp toffee is part of this recipe's appeal.

3½ oz (100 g) semi-sweet chocolate, coarsely chopped
2½ tbsp (38 mL) plus 1½ tbsp (23 mL) toffee bits*, divided

1. Line a baking sheet with wax paper. (Note: To hold the paper in position, apply a couple of dabs of soft butter to the baking sheet before adding the wax paper.)
2. Put the chocolate in a microwave-proof bowl. Place the bowl in a microwave oven at medium-low heat or defrost mode until the chocolate softens. (This will take about 2½ minutes.)
3. Remove the chocolate from oven; carefully stir until it is completely melted and smooth. Add 2½ tbsp (38 mL) toffee bits and stir to incorporate.
4. Promptly pour the chocolate mixture onto the wax paper-lined baking sheet.
5. Gently tap the baking sheet on the counter so the chocolate mixture spreads evenly into a thin layer (about 1/5 inch or 0.5 cm thick). Sprinkle the surface of the chocolate lightly with the remaining 1½ tbsp (23 mL) of toffee bits. Refrigerate until firm.
6. With clean fingers, break the slab of firm chocolate into about 20 pieces. Store the chocolates in a wax paper-lined airtight plastic container, separating the layers with wax paper. Refrigerate until ready to serve.

* "Toffee Bits" are available at supermarkets. Don't confuse them with butter-scotch chips.

Margaret Dickenson is a cookbook author, TV host, menu/recipe developer and a protocol, business and etiquette instructor.



Crunchy Toffee Chocolate Bark is a tasty way to wind down a meal.



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Rethinking California wine



Alex
McMahon

I like to think about California wines as belonging to one of three different categories. Some wines might fit into more than one category or none at all, but for the sake of this column, let's say there are the modernists, the traditionalists and the avant-garde.

As a sommelier, when guests at my restaurant tell me they tend to like California wines, more often than not what they are telling me is that they like bold and powerful wines with intense flavours, a healthy dose of new oak and a high percentage of alcohol.

There could be several reasons California produces wines like this. For one, the warmer climate means riper fruit, which means bigger wines. Or maybe winemakers are chasing points from Robert Parker? Perhaps the American palate, in general, leans towards bolder flavours? Whatever the reason, it's no secret that California is synonymous with "big."

The popularity of these wines is not surprising. The whites often boast flavours of toast and butter and the reds lean towards jam and chocolate, so they appeal to a huge portion of the public. In my three-category system, these are the wines produced by the modernists. I say modern because these wines emerged in the early '90s and often employ modern technology in the winemaking process.

The traditionalists category is made up of new and old wineries that strive to make wine the way it was made in California in the '60s and '70s. More reminiscent of classic Bordeaux than an Australian Shiraz, they're powerful but harmonious. The winemakers use oak more conservatively so the alcohol levels can be high, but balanced. Leaders in this category include Heitz Cellar, Diamond Creek and Dunn Vineyards, all of which make high-quality classic California wines.

The "avant-garde" category is the one that's most excited me about what Califor-



Les Lunes Wine in Sonoma is what wine columnist Alex McMahon calls an avant-garde winemaker. McMahon recommends this winery's Wabi-Sabi red.

nia has to offer. These experimental producers have completely abandoned any preconceived notions of how California wines "should" taste. Whether they're approaching grapes such as Cabernet Sauvignon and Zinfandel from a different angle and producing lighter wines with higher acid or making wines from international grapes not commonly associated with California, the one constant with these wines is that they break the mould.

Shaunt Oungouliau of Les Lunes Wine in Sonoma is a perfect example of one of these winemakers. His wines are bright and energetic and although they absolutely have a sense of place, stylistically they are much more French American.

"A lot of what we do is about curiosity. Are we doing anything new? No, but is it counter to current norms?" Oungouliau said when I asked him about his winemaking style. "We are trying to make the wines that we want to drink, while maintaining beautiful vineyards that are crawling with life and are better places than they were 10 or 15 years ago."

The winemakers and grape growers in this last category spend time together and share information freely rather than viewing each other as competition.

"It's a small, grassroots movement," Oungouliau said. "We see the growth and success of each other's projects as a rising tide."

He was quick to recommend other wines in California that he found inspiring, including the wines of Chris Brockway of Broc Cellars. Brockway makes a range of phenomenal natural wines from various sites in California using grapes such as Roussanne, Chenin Blanc, Alicante Bouschet and Nero d'Avola.

Another producer who immediately comes to mind when talking about California's avant-garde category is Steve Matthiasson of Matthiasson Wines. His wines made me rethink everything I thought I knew about Napa. His Cabernet Sauvignon sits at 13 per cent alcohol, even in 2015, which was the hottest vintage since '97. It's a wine that's dense, but bright at the same time.

"Winemaking for us is a natural extension of farming," he writes on his website. "We explore classical expressions of different grape varieties, some well-known like Chardonnay or Cabernet Sauvignon, and some rare, like Ribolla Gialla or Refosco. In all cases, we try to respect the purity of the variety and the individuality of the site. Our wines are refreshing, complement food and are moderate in alcohol." He was speaking specifically about his wines, but his comments could easily be applied to many of the other producers who have decided to explore the endless options California offers its vignerons.

Readers interested in a beautiful "traditional" expression of Chardonnay might try the 2015 Chardonnay from Heitz Cellar in Napa (Vintages #205500, \$62 per bottle in a pack of six). For something a little more avant-garde, the Wabi-Sabi red from Les Lunes is a blend of Carignan, Zinfandel and Syrah and available in cases of 12 through www.lifford.com for \$34 per bottle. And while you're ordering one case, try two by adding the 2016 Cunoise from Broc Cellars to your list. It's available in cases of 12 through groupesoleil.com for \$35.95.

Alex McMahon is wine director at Riviera restaurant in Ottawa.

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Brazilian couple makes a house their home

By Patrick Langston

Photos by Ashley Fraser



The home of Brazilian Ambassador Denis Fontes de Souza Pinto and his wife, Maria do Carmo de Moura Rocha de Souza Pinto, was built in the Tudor Revival style and is designated a heritage property by the City of Ottawa.

It's a big house. The official residence of Brazilian Ambassador Denis Fontes de Souza Pinto and his wife, Maria do Carmo de Moura Rocha de Souza Pinto, commands the property at 400 Wilbrod St. in Sandy Hill.

Showing many characteristics of the Tudor Revival style, the home features towering chimneys, a splash of bay, gabled and flush windows, and an extended portico — clearly a later addition — to keep visitors dry as they wait for the heavy wooden front door to be answered.

Inside the home, which is a designated heritage property, there are six fireplaces (most are now decorative) and enough

main-floor space to accommodate 60 or more guests. The dining room seats 20 comfortably.

Despite its size, the ambassador, who assumed his current post in early 2017, says, "This house has a soul, a personality. It has a human dimension. You don't feel like you're in a big house because it is cosy and warm."

Indeed, the wood-panelled foyer, the warm yellow walls and deep white mouldings in the main living area, and features such as the small, bright plant conservatory looking out on Wilbrod Street all conspire to lend the official residence a homey — even laid-back — feel.

The location is also convenient. Just steps away from the Brazilian Embassy at 450 Wilbrod, "it makes me able to wake up a bit late because it doesn't take any time to get to work," jokes the ambassador.

The three-storey red brick home was built in 1910 for lawyer J.S. Ewart. It's been the official residence of Brazilian ambassadors since the Brazilian government bought it in 1942, one year after the establishment of Canadian-Brazilian diplomatic relations.

While the main floor is often given over to official functions, the top two storeys, accessed directly from the foyer, are



The ambassador and his wife are shown here with Dan, their beloved 12-year-old Yorkshire terrier, who has his own passport.



Pride of place is occupied by a Heintzman piano that belongs to the residence and has been restored.



This reception room opens into a small sunroom full of light.

the private quarters of the ambassador, his wife and Dan, the couple's beloved 12-year-old Yorkshire terrier. Perky and sociable, Dan travels everywhere with his human companions and has his own passport.

He's also a fixture in the neighbourhood. "I walk with Dan three times a day," says de Moura Rocha de Souza Pinto. "I like the area. It's very nice. There's the university over there and young people coming and going."

The couple, who have an adult son in New York City (another child died in an accident 14 years ago), clearly have a flair for making wherever they live their home. In the case of their Ottawa residence, that includes outfitting it mostly with their own furnishings and possessions. "The official house turns out to be your house because it has your memories," the ambassador says.

Those memories include handsome Chinese vases in the foyer and elsewhere, collected during the couple's posting to that country from 1989 to 1991.

They also have a taste for fine paintings, including one by the late Brazilian artist Lula Cardoso Ayres. Titled *The Ghost*, the mysterious painting — who is that person whose shadowy outline we see against an uncertain background? — hangs above the fireplace in the expansive living room. It was a gift to the ambassador from his wife.

"This is my favourite," he says. "I very much like the colours and the idea of it being called *The Ghost* because normally you don't have a picture of a ghost."

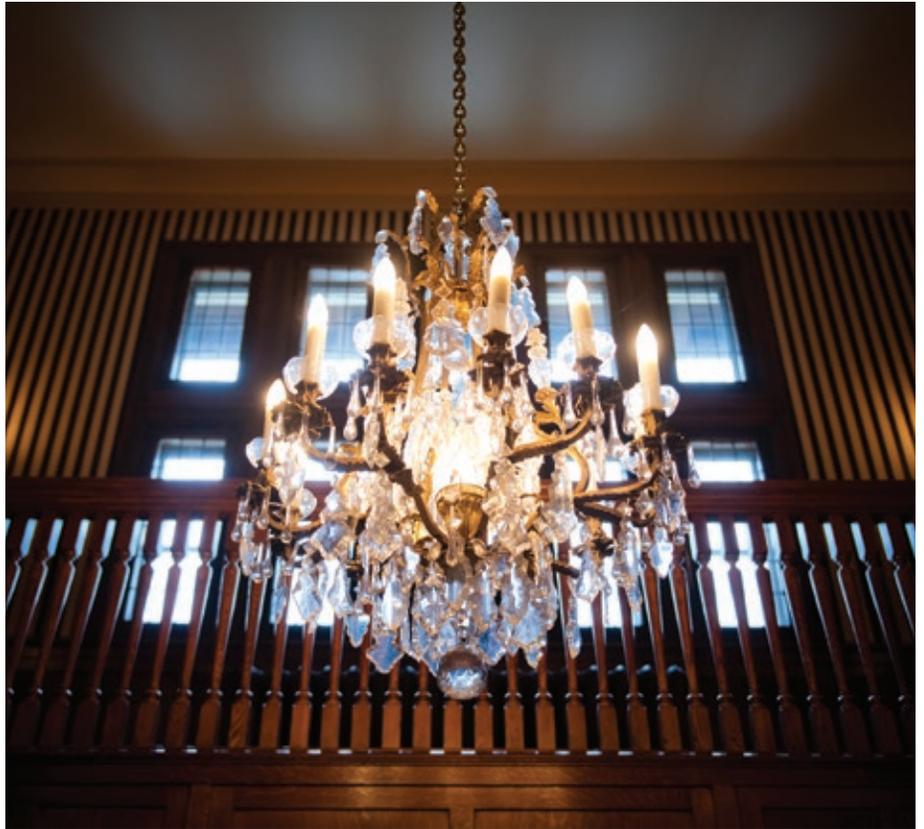
Surrounded by such examples of artistic generosity and creativity, it feels almost impertinent to ask how the recent election of far-right President Jair Bolsonaro might influence the ambassador's work in Canada.

He's careful in his response. "It's a new president. There is going to be conversation. Naturally, with a new government there are new emphases, new avenues of co-operation. We will see," he says.

What won't change with shifting political winds are the dishes offered to dinner guests at the residence.

Brazilian favourites, such as *moqueca de peixe* (a fish, vegetable and coconut combo), *feijoada* (a national dish made of black beans and meat) and *bacalhau* (salted and dried cod) rank high among the fare served in the dining room, where blue and white wall panelling and similarly coloured ceiling beams add notes of both warmth and ceremony.

Noting that owning an old home means



The dramatic foyer features this chandelier and is two storeys tall.



This fireplace, one of six in the residence, greets visitors when they arrive.



The pretty blue and yellow dining room seats 20 comfortably.

A modern kitchen with white cabinetry, a stainless steel refrigerator, and a white subway tile backsplash. The kitchen features a stainless steel range hood, a gas cooktop, and a built-in oven. The countertop is white and holds various kitchen items, including a mixer, a bowl of fruit, and a cutting board. The backsplash is made of white subway tiles, and the walls are painted a dark color. The kitchen is well-lit by under-cabinet lighting and a range hood light.

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frequent updates, the ambassador offers a visit to the basement. Far from damp and dingy, this 110-year-old space has been recently upgraded following some water damage and is a bright, functional area that will be used for entertaining.

Pride of place is held by a gleaming Heintzman baby grand piano that belongs to the residence and has been restored.



Sunny yellow walls are prominent in the residence.

With a bit of coaxing, de Moura Rocha de Souza Pinto picks out a few notes, explaining that, after years away from playing piano, she is again studying the instrument.

"The guy who repaired it said it needs to be played," she recounts. "So I said, 'Let's do both: Take care of the piano and enjoy myself.' It gives such pleasure."

The entire home is clearly a source of pleasure and pride for her and the ambassador. Like any of us, each also has a favourite spot in the home. In their case, though, that's close to each other in a couple of comfy living room chairs with a large window behind them.

"We sit here and read," says the ambassador. "During the whole year, there is a lot of light."

Patrick Langston is an Ottawa-area writer with an abiding fondness for older homes (he lives in a 1904 farmhouse), dogs (his is a Lab-German Shepherd mix who answers to Betty) and art (he would like to be a renown watercolourist, but keeps his day job).



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New arrivals

Reginald Farley
High Commissioner for Barbados



High Commissioner Farley is an accountant and former cabinet minister. He received his certified management accountant designation from the Society of Management Accountants of Nova Scotia in 2013.

He started his career teaching at the Barbados Community College. He later moved to the Barbados Industrial Development Corporation and then to the Barbados Chamber of Commerce as executive director (1992-1994).

He was appointed to Barbados' Senate in 1994 and served as an MP with the Barbados Labour Party from 1999 to 2008.

As a minister, he held several portfolios, including industry, commerce and business development, industry and international business, economic development, education, youth affairs and sports and housing and lands. Since 2009, he has been executive director of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Barbados.

Ahmed Abu Zeid
Ambassador of Egypt



Ambassador Abu Zeid is a career diplomat with 24 years of experience in diplomatic and governmental affairs. He joined the foreign ministry 20 years ago and has worked in several positions at headquarters and abroad. Most recently, he spent three years as spokesman for the ministry.

Abu Zeid has also served in Washington, New York and at the consulate general in San Francisco.

At headquarters, he worked for nine years as an adviser to the cabinet of the foreign minister. Before joining the foreign service, he served at the Egyptian cabinet of ministers, information and decision support centre. He also worked for the Egyptian Social Fund for Development.

The ambassador is on the board of directors of Future University, the Atlantic Council and Ahram Canadian University in Cairo.

Yadmaa Ariunbold
Ambassador of Mongolia



Ambassador Ariunbold joined the foreign ministry in 1995 as an attaché in the consular department. He moved on to the embassy in New Delhi in 2000 and then returned

as deputy director of the consular department.

In 2008, he became head of the consular section at the embassy in China and three years later, he was sent to Hong Kong and Macau as consul general.

In 2013, he became counsellor in the department of public administration at the foreign ministry and a year later, he became deputy director of public diplomacy. He was director of the consular department when he received his posting to Canada.

The ambassador has master's degrees in law, economics and information technology. He is married, has three children and speaks Russian, Mongolian and English.

Saoud bin Abdullah Zaid Al-Mahmoud
Ambassador of Qatar



Ambassador Al-Mahmoud has bachelor's and master's degrees in management from Southwestern University in London. He joined the public service of Qatar in 1980

and was assigned to work with the International Police Organization, Interpol in 2000.

From 2001 to 2006, he worked as Interpol's director for North Africa and the Middle East region and in 2006, he joined the interior ministry as head of the international co-operation directorate.

In 2014, he was named ambassador to Russia, a post he held until late 2016 when he returned to Qatar as an assistant to the prime minister.

Al-Mahmoud speaks Arabic, English, French and moderate Russian. He is married and has three daughters and one son.

Madukande Asoka Girihaagama
High Commissioner for Sri Lanka



The high commissioner joined the foreign service in 1992 as an assistant director of the economic affairs division. In 1993, he was sent to Hungary as third secretary and

became chargé d'affaires in Austria from 1994 to 1996. He returned to the foreign ministry in various positions until 2000 when he was sent to India as first secretary. He returned to headquarters three years later, and was then appointed deputy high commissioner in Australia from 2005 to 2008. He returned to headquarters for a year before becoming chargé d'affaires in UAE for six months.

He became director-general in the overseas administration division and then director-general of consular affairs until 2011 when he became ambassador to Oman.

Until his posting to Canada, he was director-general of the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation.

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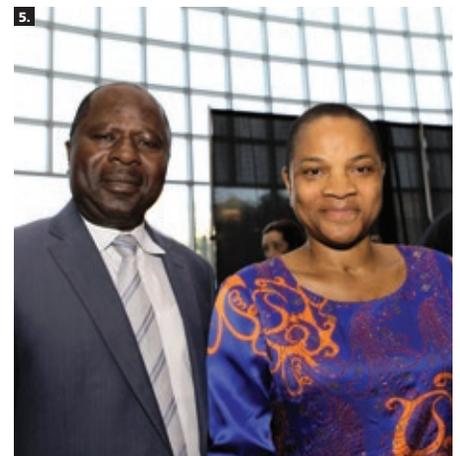
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1. Algerian Ambassador Hocine Meghar and his wife, Elbia, hosted a national day reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. Polish Ambassador Andrzej Kurnicki hosted a reception and concert at the Canadian Museum of History to mark Poland's National Independence Day and the 100th anniversary of Poland regaining its independence. From left: MP Andrew Leslie, Krzysztof Ksiazek, Poland's defence, military, naval and air attaché and Kurnicki. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. To mark the 69th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Ambassador Lu Shaye and his wife, Wang Liwen, hosted a reception at the embassy featuring live performances. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. CIGI's Global Policy Forum featured a talk by Stephen de Boer, ambassador and permanent representative of Canada to the World Trade Organization, at the Rideau Club. From left: de Boer and Polish Ambassador Andrzej Kurnicki. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Croatian Ambassador Marica Matkovic hosted an exhibition on the country's intangible cultural heritage at the Bytown Museum. From left: Zeljko Drinovac and Matkovic. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. Chilean Ambassador Alejandro Marisio and his wife, Maria Cecilia Beretta, celebrated the 208th anniversary of independence of Chile at Ottawa City Hall. (Photo: Lois Siegel)



1. House of Commons Speaker Geoff Regan and EU Ambassador Peteris Ustubs hosted an award ceremony for the EU-Canada Young Journalist Fellowships on Parliament Hill. From left: Winner Andrew Seal, Ustubs, and winners Patrice Senécal and Kyle Greenham. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. A reception to mark the anniversary of the Caribbean Community took place at the Fairmont Château Laurier. Shown are St. Kitts and Nevis High Commissioner Vaughna Sherry Tross, right, with Guyana High Commissioner Clarissa Sabita Riehl in the background. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. The EU Film Festival launched with a screening of Austrian film *Mademoiselle Paradis*. From left, Austrian Ambassador Stefan Pehringer; Inara Eihenbauma, wife of the Latvian ambassador; Canadian Film Institute executive director Tom McSorley; and Piret Lukk, wife of the Estonian Ambassador. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. To mark the 75th anniversary of the rescue of Bulgarian Jews from deportation to Nazi death camps, the Embassy of Bulgaria hosted an exhibition. Ambassador Svetlana Sashova Stoycheva-Etropolis, right, is shown with Seena Akhtari, senior desk officer for Eastern Europe at Global Affairs Canada. (Ülle Baum) 5. Cameroon High Commissioner Anu'a-Gheyle Solomon Azoh-Mb and his wife, Mercy, attended the Chilean national day reception. (Photo: Lois Siegel) 6. Chinese Ambassador Lu Shaye and his wife, Wang Liwen, (both centre) stand with performers in colourful traditional costumes during the Chinese National day celebrations at the Chinese Embassy. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



1. Philippines Ambassador Petronila Garcia hosted the launch of the Winter Escapade 6 tour at the Sentro Riz Ottawa. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. The Africa group of the Heads of Mission Spouses Association (HOMSA) held HOMSA's annual welcome reception and hosted a fashion show at the residence of the Nigerian high commissioner. From left: Joy Akinmoladun, head of the chancery of the Nigerian High Commission; Olawunmi Ibilola Asekun, wife of Nigerian High Commissioner Adeyinka Olatokunbo Asekun, and Happy Lyimo Kidata, wife of the Tanzanian High Commissioner Alphayo Janani Kidata. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. German Ambassador Sabine Sparwasser and her husband, Gary Soroka (not pictured), hosted an Oktoberfest reception at their residence on the occasion of the Day of German Unity. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 4. Kosovar Ambassador Lulzim Hiseni, left, hosted a reception in honour of former of Kosovar President Atifete Jahjaga, at the House of Commons. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 5. Tourism Ireland hosted a special event at the Canadian Museum of Nature to showcase Ireland's heritage, culture and cuisine. From left: Dana Welch, marketing manager and Jim Kelly, ambassador of Ireland. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 6. The Hong Kong Canada Business Association organized a discussion, "Chinese Investment in Canada and Why Hong Kong Can Help" at BLG's offices in Ottawa. Ottawa chapter President Amy Willis was one of the speakers. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



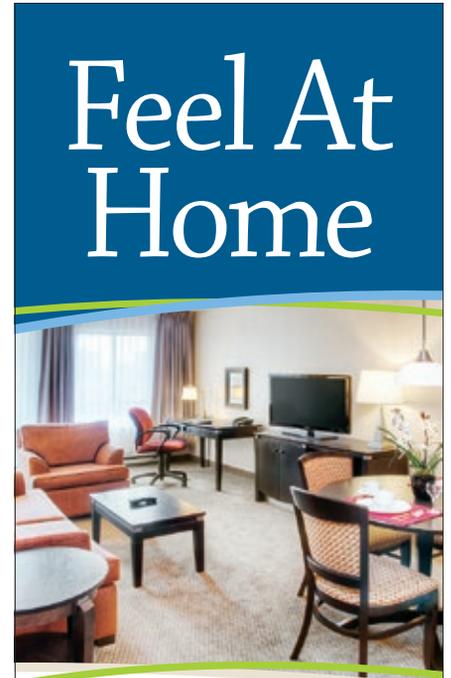
1. Carleton Initiative for Parliamentary and Diplomatic Engagement hosted a resource fair at the eighth annual orientation for newly arrived diplomats. From left: Sanjay Shan, president, ExecHealth Inc.; Belgian Ambassador Johan Hendrik E. Verkammen, his wife, Kathleen Patricia I. Billen; Slovenian Ambassador Melita Gabric; and Mongolian second secretary Zolzaya Dorjsoo. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Yvonne Dlamini-Mntambo, left, and Global Affairs Canada hosted a seminar to mark Nelson Mandela's 100th birthday. Former prime minister Brian Mulroney, right, spoke. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Icelandic Ambassador Petur Asgeirsson and his wife, Johanna Gunnarsdottir, hosted a national day celebration at their home in Rockcliffe. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. On the occasion of the Korean national day and armed forces day, Ambassador Maengho Shin and his wife, Dongmin Lee, hosted a reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. Nigerian High Commissioner Adeyinka Olatokunbo Asekun and his wife, Olawunmi Ibilola Asekun, hosted a national day reception at the Westin Hotel. The Ijo Vudu dance troupe from Toronto performed. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



1. U.S. Ambassador Kelly Knight Craft and Mexican Ambassador Dionisio Pérez Jácome attended the 22nd National Arts Centre Gala. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. To celebrate Latvia's centennial anniversary, Ambassador Kārlis Eihenbaums, his wife, Ināra Eihenbauma and MP Jamie Schmale, hosted a reception at the Sir John A. Macdonald Building. From left: Canadian Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan, Eihenbaums, Eihenbauma and Schmale hold Team Latvia hockey pucks. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Saint Kitts and Nevis High Commissioner Vaughna Sherry Tross hosted an independence day celebration at the Marriott Hotel. From left: MP Stephanie Kusie, MP Andrew Leslie, Tross and MP Yasmin Ratansi. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. The Norwegian Embassy and The Royal Canadian Geographical Society (RCGS) organized an exhibition featuring items belonging to Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen. From left: Geir Kløver, director of Norway's Fram Museum, Norwegian Ambassador Anne Kari Hansen Ovind and RCGS CEO John Geiger. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Yvonne Dlamini-Mntambo hosted a reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier to celebrate South African Freedom Day. She's shown with MP Rob Oliphant. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. Nepalese Ambassador Kali Prasad Pokhrel and his wife, Kamal, hosted a national day reception at Ottawa City Hall. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 7. To mark the anniversary of Slovakia's constitution, Ambassador Vit Kozíak and his wife, Janka Kozíaková, hosted a reception. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



1. A photo exhibition by the MIKTA countries (Mexico, Indonesia, Korea, Turkey and Australia) took place at Ottawa City Hall. From left, Chilean Ambassador Alejandro Marisio; Mexican Ambassador Dionisio Pérez Jácome; Ian Shugart, deputy minister at Global Affairs; Lerzan Unal, wife of Turkish Ambassador, Selcuk Unal; Indonesian Ambassador Teuku Faizasyah and Korean Ambassador Maengho Shin. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 2. The third annual defence and security summer social took place at Earl of Sussex. From left: Krzysztof Ksiazek, Poland's defence, military, naval and air attaché; Astrid Neuland, business development executive of Thales Canada; and Paul Fortin, national director of international business development at Borden, Ladner, Gervais LLP. (Photo: Ülke Baum) 3. Winston Wen-yi Chen, representative for the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Canada and his wife, Sylvia Pan, hosted a reception to mark the 107th Taiwanese National Day at the Fairmont Château Laurier. From left are Pan, Chen and MP Alice Wong. (Photo: Ülke Baum)



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Sharon Kelly, *Still Waters*, 2017, acrylic mixed media on panel, 36 x 36, purchase: \$2,200 / rental: \$82 per month

No excuse for cocooning this winter

By Patrick Langston

It's January, and the cold stuff will be with us for awhile. You could head south — and maybe you will — but why not get out and relish an Ottawa winter? It's bracing, sometimes breathtakingly gorgeous and always a reminder that life offers unending variety.

With that in mind, we've cooked up some cool stuff for you to do over the next three months. Some of it involves a bit of travel and some of it is practically on your doorstep. Have fun.

A different sort of Rideau Canal: Skating Through the Forest is one of those ideas we all wish we had, along with 100 acres of forested land on the edge of



Skating Through the Forest is on the edge of Gatineau Park and stretches for three kilometres.

Gatineau Park. Dave Mayer had the idea, the land and the equipment, including an old fire truck with a water tank and a Zamboni. So now he and his family run Skating Through the Forest, a three-kilometre maintained skating trail that snakes through the quiet woods near Wolf Lake and has been a hit since it opened a couple of years ago. There are also walking and snowshoe trails, plus a little chalet with snacks and drinks. patinageenforet.com

Out of this world: Cosmodome is a family-friendly space science museum in



Montréal en Lumière takes place Feb. 21 to March 3 and features a Ferris wheel and 2,500 kilograms of cheese, as well as a zipline for soaring over the site.

Laval, near Montreal, that's anything but a bunch of exhibits, although exhibits, including lunar rocks, are part of it. The experiential focus at Cosmodome includes astronaut training simulators and short, immersive 4D films that put you in charge of a racing spacecraft or plunk you on the moon in the midst of a massive asteroid strike. Open daily, including holidays. Information: 1-800-565-2267, cosmodome.org. There's plenty more to do in Laval, from Immersia's escape rooms to simulated free-fall skydiving at SkyVenture. Tourismelaval.com will fill you in on what you need to know, including essentials, such as where to eat.

How sweet it is: Maple syrup may stretch back to pre-colonial indigenous culture, but the sheer simplicity of making it — basically boiling sap from maple trees for a really long time — the ambrosial result, and a long-standing entwinement with our national identity mean

that the sugar bush experience never gets old. Late February to early April is when you can visit any one of dozens of sugar bushes in the Ottawa Valley, including Proulx Maple & Berry Farm in Ottawa's east end and Fulton's Pancake House and Sugar Bush in Pakenham. Brunch, hay rides and petting zoos feature large at many of these spots. Full listing at ontariomaple.com

Blowing bubbles: How exactly do glass-blowers create those marvellous shapes and swirling colours in everything from ornamental flowers to friendship balls? Compact, affordable classes at Flo Glassblowing are your ticket to finding out. Better yet, you don't have to travel any further than the studios at 957-C Gladstone Ave. They offer day and evening classes, some for those as young as six. Flo Glassblowing is close to the restaurants and bars of Preston Street. 613-695-3563. floglassblowing.ca

Slippery when cold: We'll doubtless spend part of the winter battling icy sidewalks, so why not meet the slippery monster head on by becoming an ice climber? Membership in the Ottawa section of The Alpine Club of Canada gets you into guided ice climbing outings, including training, around the Ottawa area with starting prices as low as \$28 for youth. There are also out-of-town trips to New England and elsewhere. Membership includes other winter and summer adventures, from snowshoeing to rock-climbing and hiking. alpineclubottawa.ca

Cottage country: A lakeside cottage is your ticket to unwinding in the summer, so why not in the winter as well? Ogopogo Resort in the Haliburton Highlands — part of the Canadian Shield, it's about 300 kilometres from Ottawa — boasts everything from a cosy studio cottage with fireplace and Jacuzzi to three-bedroom affairs with room for eight. Cross-country skiing, skating on a lit lake rink, snowshoeing, ice-climbing, dog-sledding, ice fishing ... You get the picture: This is a dandy destination for a wintry mid-winter break. Rates start at \$175/day. 866-405-8938. ogopogoresort.com

Under the (mainstream) radar: The tagline for the undercurrents theatre festival is "theatre below the mainstream" and it



The undercurrents theatre festival is not on the radar of most theatre-goers.

is exactly that — a mid-winter festival of shows that, at least for now, are not on the radar of most theatre-goers. Which is not to say they shouldn't be on our radar. The festival, now in its ninth year, has presented some outstanding original, contemporary theatre by local, national



Ogopogo Resort offers skating on a lit lake rink, as well as snowshoeing and ice fishing.

and international artists. This year's lineup of nine shows includes *Tales of an Urban Indian*, which takes place on a bus, and *Broken Tailbone*, about hidden Latinx dance halls and featuring no-holds-barred performer Carmen Aguirre with DJ Don Pedro. Feb. 6-16 at Arts Court (except for the bus, of course). 613-232-6162. undercurrentsfestival.ca

Rural romance: A one-horse open sleigh really is about laughing all the way ... plus cuddling under a blanket as you sweep across a snowy field with your own true love. Stanley's Olde Maple Lane in Edwards, southeast of Ottawa, offers a one-hour ride for two in an antique open cutter-sleigh along with more crowd-friendly jaunts in sleighs that hold up to 20 adults. Prices are \$300 for the former, \$245 for the latter, and both cost a bit more on special occasions, such as Valentine's Day. Hot chocolate drinks — and a visit with farm animals for those on the big sleigh ride — are included. Stanley's also has a seasonal sugar bush. 613-821-2751. stanleysfarm.com

Fun central: No one's ever accused Montreal of being the place that fun forgot, and that's especially true during the annual Montréal en Lumière festival. A sprawling celebration of performing arts, gastronomy and free outdoor family activities, it includes music, a Ferris wheel, 2,500 kilograms of cheese and a zipline for soaring over the site, where one million visitors are expected between Feb. 21 and March 3. Highlights include a fine dining program with chefs from five continents, tastings and workshops. Also popular: Nuit blanche, a one-night shindig of cultural events, most of them free, spread over the

city and a Metro that never shuts down. montrealenlumiere.com

Instant community: Sure, you'll make some catches, but the real fun of ice fishing is the socializing, especially at east-end Petrie Island on the Ottawa River. A convivial community springs up there every winter when folks set up their cosy ice-fishing huts, play a little impromptu hockey and down gallons of hot coffee and other refreshments. Ice fishing chalets with wood or other heating are available for rent starting at \$50 for a half-day, with minnows and other essentials also on site. When you go, don't be shy about approaching those with fancy huts: Owners are generally proud to show them off and enjoy visiting with everyone. 613-841-0778. oziles.com

Pale people: Named for Maj.-Gen. Isaac Brock, hero of the War of 1812, Brockville had a long industrial history and was a favoured spot for the production of dubious patent medicines, including Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People. The history of the city, 115 kilometres south of Ottawa, has been captured in the unassuming Brockville Museum on the St. Lawrence River. Exhibits include Stetson Hats, Smart's frying pans, those pink pills and fine examples of Brockville's carriage-making past and its brief stint as an automobile manufacturing centre. When in Brockville, don't miss the self-guided walking tour of the city's Victorian architecture (guide available at the tourism office, 10 Market St. W.) and the best fudge at O'Mally Kourt Fudgery, 55 King St. W. Museum: 613-342-4397. brockvillemuseum.com

Down we go! Tobogganing is the ultimate outing for family and friends: It's free (assuming you own a toboggan or can scrounge one from a neighbour), healthful, uncomplicated and non-digital. The City of Ottawa boasts more than 55 toboggan runs and, being a conscientious municipality, lays them out online in alphabetical detail with a map. Want to know the size of the hill and whether it's man-made? The information is there. Parking? Ditto. Worried there might be a tree at the bottom of the run? The city tells you, adding whether there is a haysack to protect life and limb. The only thing the city doesn't do is provide snow. But Mother Nature usually takes care of that. ottawa.ca

Patrick Langston is an Ottawa writer who thinks there's adventure around every corner.

Germany: History, culture and cuisine



The palaces and parks of Potsdam, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, date back to 1745, when Frederick the Great commissioned Sanssouci Palace, above, to be built as his summer residence.



By Sabine Sparwasser

Every year, nearly half a million Canadians visit Germany, a number that increased by 8.8 per cent between 2016 and 2017 alone — and for good reason. Even though it is only about the size of Newfoundland and Labrador, Germany offers an amazing array of natural and cultural landscapes — from enchanted forests and rugged mountain ranges to North Sea beaches and islands shaped by the tides; from medieval castles to cutting-edge museums and architecture. Once in Germany, international travellers can access the country's diverse offerings easily and quickly. A car trip

from the southernmost to the northernmost points takes no more than 10 hours; a flight takes fewer than 90 minutes.

Visitors from Canada are especially drawn to Bavaria, which welcomes a third of all Canadian visitors to Germany and offers spectacular alpine scenery, medieval towns and the sophisticated delights of Munich, home of the world-renowned Oktoberfest.

A quarter of all Canadian tourists to Germany visit Berlin, home to fabulous museums, three opera houses, a famous club scene and a creative “buzz” that few cities can match. In Germany's capital,

there are two lesser-known sites I particularly enjoy. The first is the Berlin Wall Trail. At approximately 160 kilometres long, this hiking and bike trail follows the course of the former East German wall, which encircled all of West Berlin. Sections of historic interest, with traces of the old Wall, alternate with stretches of natural beauty.

Not even half an hour away from the centre of Berlin by public transport is the second site: the palaces and parks of Potsdam, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Encompassing 5,000 acres (2,023 hectares), the site dates back to 1745, when Frederick the Great commissioned Sanssouci Palace to be built as his summer residence. Today, visitors find numerous Baroque monuments and 17 palaces surrounded by opulent parks. Potsdam's appearance is notable not just for its royal palaces and parks, but also for many luxury villas that give it an almost Mediterranean flair.

The island to forget time

About 300 kilometres north of Berlin, in the Baltic Sea, lies the little-known island of Hiddensee. Shaped like a seahorse and almost 17 kilometres long, it is only 250 metres wide at its narrowest point. Cars are not allowed on the island. The majority of the public transport and goods traffic is provided by horse-drawn carriages. The special blend of unspoiled nature and total tranquillity has been attracting novelists, poets, artists and actors to the island for more than 100 years. Today, the island is popular with families who enjoy its spectacular beaches and explore its many charms on foot, by bicycle or on horseback.

Travelling counter-clockwise through the North German Plain, one reaches another unique UNESCO World Heritage Site: the Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex or, in German, *Zeche Zollverein*, a vast former industrial site in the city of Essen. Called by some the "most beautiful coal mine in the world," its buildings are outstanding examples of the modern movement in architecture. It consists of a complete installation of an historic coal-mining site: the pits, coking plants, railway lines, pit heaps, miners' housing and consumer and welfare facilities. More than 25 years after its closing, the once largest coal mining complex in Europe now hosts numerous events, including concerts, open-air cinemas, a gourmet festival, the avant-garde Red Dot Design Museum, the Ruhrtriennale Arts Festival and a swimming pool and ice rink.

Continuing our counter-clockwise circle,



An aerial shot of Hiddensee, an island that's shaped like a seahorse and is only 250 metres wide at its narrowest point.



Cars aren't allowed on Hiddensee Island and most public transport is offered by horse-drawn carriages.



Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex is a former industrial site in Essen. Its buildings are outstanding examples of the modern movement in architecture.



The small town of Traben-Trarbach was the second largest wine-trading city in Europe after Bordeaux at the turn of the 20th Century.

two hours south of the Zollverein lies one of Germany's most beautiful river valleys: the Moselle. Between Trier and Koblenz, the river flows through a region that has been shaped by man for more than 2,000 years, ever since it was first cultivated by the Romans. Terraced vineyards, which are home to some of the country's best Rieslings, seem to rise up to the sky. Many castles towering over romantic wine villages line the banks of the river. The small spa town of Traben-Trarbach was the second largest wine-trading city in Europe after Bordeaux at the turn of the 20th Century; the enormous wealth generated by wine trading led to the construction of many unique Art Deco buildings, which are still in excellent condition today.

For me, one of the most important aspects of visiting a foreign country is sampling its cuisine. While several German dishes have become household names in North America, here are a few that readers might not be familiar with and that I particularly enjoy.

Roasts, soups and breads

Sauerbraten, which literally translates as "sour roast" is a German pot roast prepared from a variety of meats. It was originally made of horse meat, but nowadays it's usually beef, though venison, lamb, mutton or pork are also possibilities. Before being cooked, the meat is marinated from three to 10 days in a mixture of vinegar or wine, water, herbs, spices, and seasonings — the marinade ingredients can vary depending on the region. The long process results in a tender, deeply-flavoured dish with a wonderful sauce. In some parts of Germany, *Sauerbraten* is accompanied by potato pancakes known as *Kartoffelpuffer* or *Reibekuchen*; in others, it comes with red cabbage, dumplings, *Spätzle* — egg and flour noodles — or boiled potatoes.

Another one of my favourite dishes is *Linsensuppe*, a hearty lentil soup typically served in the fall and winter. Aside from the lentils, its rich and satisfying flavour is due to the addition of a ham hock or ham bone and smoked sausages.

In my opinion, nothing goes better with a soup or stew than rustic German bread. For centuries, sourdough-leavened breads made from grains such as rye or spelt have been a staple of the German diet. The German word for supper, *Abendbrot*, literally translates to "evening bread." Estimates say there are 3,000 varieties of bread in Germany, many specific to certain regions. It is no surprise that Germany's bread culture has been named an Intangible

Cultural Heritage by UNESCO.

Last, but not least, no vacation would be complete without the purchase of souvenirs — not just for friends and family, but also as a special treat for oneself and as a permanent reminder after the trip has come to an end. Foreign visitors to Germany like to purchase traditional hand-crafted items such as Christmas decorations. However, German design is not just confined to the past, but continues to evolve in exciting and surprising ways. To purchase beautifully designed, functional gifts and souvenirs, why not get off the beaten track and walk into a small, well-stocked houseware store located in a historic city centre instead of the touristy gift shop next door? Or why not venture into a luggage, clothing, toy or book store? Germany still has many family-owned specialized retailers selling beautifully designed quality products that are made to last and will impress your friends and family. From kitchen knives to porcelain, from wallets and handbags to slippers and scarves, and from heirloom wooden toys to family board games, the possibilities are endless.

Sabine Sparwasser is the ambassador of Germany to Canada.



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Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

| January | | |
|----------|--------------------|--|
| 1 | Cuba | Liberation Day |
| 1 | Haiti | Independence Day |
| 1 | Sudan | National Day |
| 4 | Myanmar | Independence Day |
| 24 | Maldives | National Day |
| 26 | Australia | Australia Day |
| 31 | Nauru | National Day |
| February | | |
| 4 | Sri Lanka | National Day |
| 6 | New Zealand | National Day |
| 7 | Grenada | Independence Day |
| 11 | Iran | National Day |
| 15 | Serbia | National Day |
| 16 | Lithuania | Independence Day |
| 17 | Kosovo | Independence Day |
| 18 | Gambia | Independence Day |
| 22 | Saint Lucia | Independence Day |
| 23 | Brunei Darussalam | National Day |
| 23 | Guyana | Republic Day |
| 24 | Estonia | Independence Day |
| 25 | Kuwait | National Day |
| 27 | Dominican Republic | Independence Day |
| March | | |
| 3 | Bulgaria | National Day |
| 6 | Ghana | National Day |
| 12 | Mauritius | National Day |
| 17 | Ireland | St. Patrick's Day |
| 20 | Tunisia | Proclamation of Independence |
| 23 | Pakistan | Pakistan Day |
| 25 | Greece | Independence Day |
| 26 | Bangladesh | National Day |
| April | | |
| 4 | Senegal | Independence Day |
| 16 | Denmark | Birthday of Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II |
| 17 | Syria | National Day |
| 18 | Zimbabwe | Independence Day |
| 19 | Holy See | Election Day of Pope |
| 26 | Tanzania | Union Day |
| 27 | Sierra Leone | Republic Day |
| 27 | South Africa | Freedom Day |
| 27 | Togo | National Day |
| 27 | Netherlands | King's Day |

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Photo: Phillipa Maitland



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Photographer Mike Beedell: "The spectacle of sparring polar bears is a breathtaking experience I've had the privilege of observing every October for more than 40 years. During the months of October and November, polar bears (*Ursus maritimus*, which is Latin for "bear of the sea") gather along the coastline of Hudson Bay. In this instance, we were walking near the Seal River Lodge in Manitoba just south of the Nunavut border and observing these Tundra Titans as they waited for the ice to freeze. When the ice will bear their weight, they hunt for seals on the frozen, shifting roof of the ocean. Often male bears hang out together along the shoreline. Intense play sessions can reach the point where the bears rear up on their hind legs and duke it out until both are exhausted and overheated from the effort. A grown male on all four paws measures 1 to 1.5 metres at his shoulder. But standing upright, he can be a towering 3 metres high. Being close to these beasts (males weigh 350 to 600 kilograms; females weigh 150 to 300 kilograms) is humbling and fascinating. In this instance, the bears were body-slammng each other in front of us. The sound of their heavy breathing, coupled with huge paws smacking each other was enthralling. Polar bears, the world's largest carnivores, are under tremendous stress due to shorter sea-ice seasons and reduced success in hunting ringed seals. Climate change and human-induced pollutants are the major problems."



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