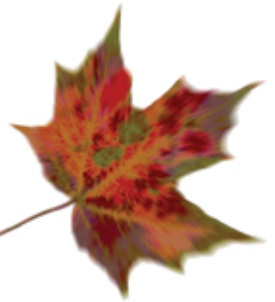


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ON THE COMING  
RESURGENCE OF  
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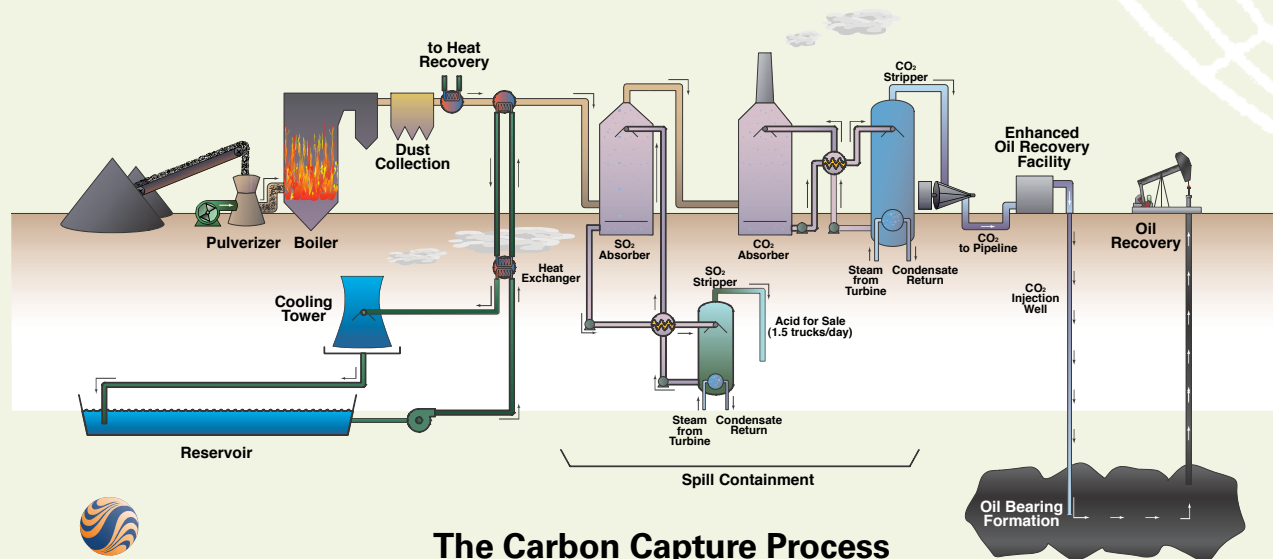
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JENNIFER CAMPBELL

## The enduring strength of oil

**O**il is power — no question about it. And though climate change has fueled a desire on the part of some people and some nations to curb our dependency on it, it seems clear that this truism will be around for a while. To that end, writer Wolfgang Depner has put together a top-10 list which looks at the countries that could give Russia and Saudi Arabia a run for their oil-supremacy money. His list will surprise you. It includes countries such as Israel, Greenland and Australia. Others are less surprising — Canada, Iran and Iraq, for example. Turn to page 36 for the full story, and the rest of the list.

Also in our cover package, Carleton University Dean André Plourde looks at the world's natural gas resources and tells us how technology changed North America's potential to become an even bigger player in this market. Then Lawrence Solomon, founder and executive director of the Energy Probe environmental research foundation, argues that the United States can have energy security "whenever it wants it" and quotes one industry insider who compares America's so-far untapped oil riches to "another Venezuela or Kuwait by 2020."

The second part of this issue's Dispatches section is devoted to responses to our July 2011 cover story. Mr. Depner's selection of despotic leaders certainly

sparked debate and we made space for the diplomats who wanted to respond. We heard from ambassadors from Saudi Arabia, China and Zimbabwe and from the Rwandan high commissioner. Their statements begin on page 50. In addition, we feature the thoughts of Derek Burney, former Canadian ambassador to the U.S. and one-time adviser to Prime Minister Stephen Harper, on Canada's relations with the U.S.

For the past few issues, we've brought you cartoons from across the Middle East, but this time we've canvassed the entire world. Meanwhile, our regular columnist, Fen Hampson, assesses Foreign Minister John Baird's performance in the job so far and offers some advice on how he can distinguish himself over the long term. In the same section, Guatemalan Ambassador Georges de La Roche gives a frank assessment of the drug problem that plagues Central American countries such as his own, and indeed all of North America. We also kick off a new feature called Notes from the Field, where key people from Canadian NGOs and charities tell us about their international projects. This time, we highlight SchoolBOX's program to establish schools in Nicaragua and Friends of Sudan's efforts to help the world's newest country — South Sudan — get off the ground.

In his books column, George Fetherling discusses Wendy Brown's book — *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* — that examines the walls nations have erected over time, from Hadrian's to the Great Wall of China and the Berlin Wall. In Canadiana, Laura Neilson Bonikowsky takes us back to the War of 1812 and its surrounding myths, while food columnist Margaret Dickenson offers up some great canapés. Wine columnist Pieter van Den Weghe pairs some wine and cheese for us while culture editor Margo Roston takes us on a tour of the newly renovated residence of Irish Ambassador Raymond Bassett. Rounding things out, South African High Commissioner Mohau Pheko takes us on a virtual vacation in her country.

### UP FRONT

Our cover package on the new petro power paradigm looks at the top 10 countries to watch as they flex their energy muscle in the coming years. We also have a piece by André Plourde, who talks about the potential of shale gas and shale oil and another by Energy Probe's Lawrence Solomon, who writes about the potential of both the United States and Israel as energy brokers. The package begins in page 37.



### CONTRIBUTORS

**Derek H. Burney**



Derek H. Burney is senior strategic adviser to Norton Rose OR LLP. He is chairman of GardaWorld's international advisory board, a director of TransCanada Pipelines Limited and a member of the advisory board of Paradigm Capital Inc. Mr. Burney is a senior research fellow at the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute. He headed the transition team for Prime Minister Stephen Harper from January to March 2006. He was president and chief executive officer of CAE Inc. (1999-2004) and was chairman and chief executive officer of Bell Canada International Inc. (1993-1999). Mr. Burney served as Canada's ambassador to the United States from 1989-1993.

**André Plourde**



André Plourde is an economics professor at Carleton University and dean of the faculty of public affairs. Over the years, he has twice taken leave from academic life to work in the federal public service (first with the department of finance and then with Natural Resources Canada). He has also served on numerous advisory committees. In 2007, he was appointed to the province of Alberta's royalty review panel and was also president of the International Association for Energy Economics that year. More recently, he was a member of the Royal Society of Canada's expert panel on the environmental and health impacts of Canada's oilsands industry.

## Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah seeks 'a new, modern society'

**A**s an avid and loyal reader of *Diplomat & International Canada*, I was surprised to see a photo of King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia included in "The Dirty Dozen" on the cover of your Summer 2011 issue.

After reading what seemed to be an amateurish item about Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah, I thought either the editor inadvertently approved the cover, or did not really review the article about the king. A seasoned editor would certainly have objected to the inclusion in The Dirty Dozen of a monarch whose foes and friends alike admit he is doing all that is feasible to modernize the kingdom without incurring the wrath of the solidly entrenched religious dogma in the society.

Despite the incoherence and shallowness, the article reveals encouraging information about the emerging modern Saudi Arabia, thanks to a king whose wisdom and determination are quintessential to moving Saudi Arabia into the 21st Century. But giving the writer the benefit of the doubt, I turned to reference books, to grasp a better understanding of the word "tyrant" and see how it is applicable to a king who, as the article summarizes: "... initiated several minor reforms..." and is "... spending \$36 billion on public services and reform."

Among the many definitions of the word "tyrant" or "dictator," I did not find a single one that even slightly describes King Abdullah or his rule: Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah is neither "a cruel and oppressive ruler" nor "a person exercising power or control in a cruel, unreasonable, or arbitrary way," as tyrant and dictator are defined. The King and members of his extended family are strictly bound by Islamic Shari'a (law) and the constitution of the country. One may or may not approve of the constitution but that which does not conform to one's belief and behaviour is not necessarily wrong or evil.

The King and his government do not rule by force or violence. On the contrary, Saudi Arabia and its government have been more often than not the target of terrorists who conceal themselves behind a thin veil of Islam.

The awakening of the Arab masses, or the "Arab Spring," is hopefully the beginning of a new era for the Arab World that



Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah, shown here with UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, didn't deserve to be listed as one of the world's worst despots, writes reader A. Eed Murad.

will eventually bring the 21st Century dawn to the many Arab states. Yes, the price for such a fundamental undertaking may be astronomical without a sure guarantee for the immediate future. It is not, as the article's author states, "the level of fear in Saudi Arabia" that keeps Saudis from getting aboard, but the fact that the King and the government have mutually realized that, for orderly, beneficial, positive and substantial change to take effect, it has to be gradual and steady. This is what differentiates Saudis, and to a certain extent other Gulf Arabians, from the rest of their brethren. What is happening in Yemen and Libya is a lesson not to be missed.

Change will eventually and certainly take place in Saudi Arabia, not only because of a change of the times and mentality, digital technology, and dissemination of information, but because of a wise and true understanding by the King and his government, who are preparing the

young Saudi generation to lead the future kingdom. Change, as some may claim, is very slow, granted, but one must not dismiss the entrenched traditions and culture when judging the pace of progress.

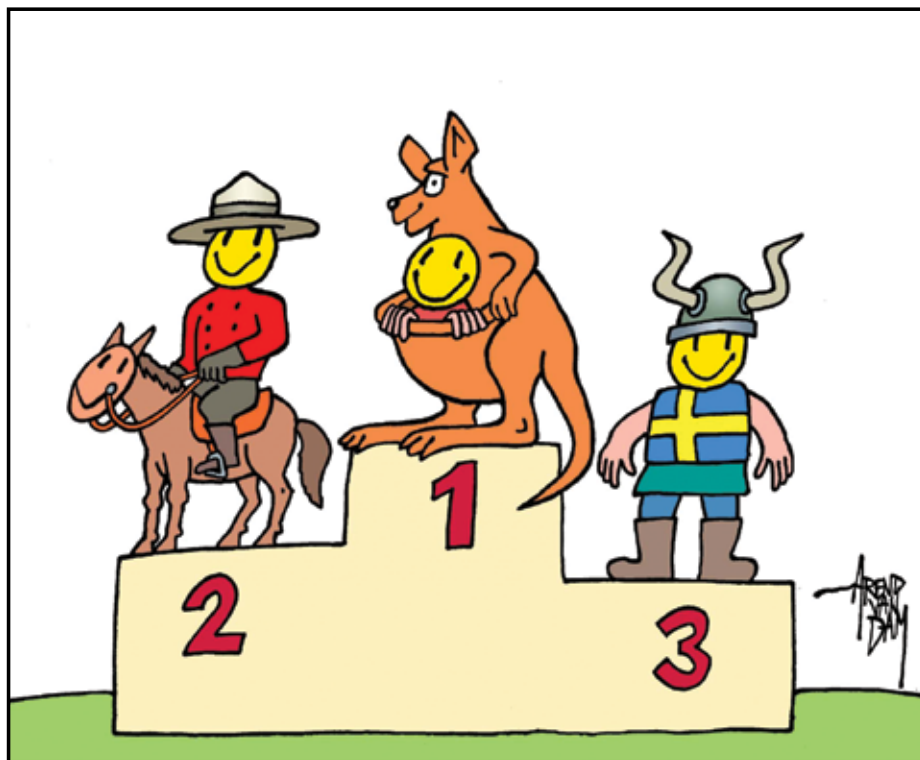
The King and his government's quest to build a new modern society is best witnessed by the scope of free education at all levels. Per capita, Saudi Arabians may enjoy a world peak in higher education, in the distribution of wealth and in security.

Including King Abdullah in your pack of "Dirty Dozen" is a distortion of facts, or perhaps an intentional twisting of the truth. If accidental, this is regrettable and requires unequivocal retraction and correction.

A. Eed Murad  
Scholarship Committee Chair,  
The National Press Club of Canada  
Foundation Inc.  
Ottawa



# Political cartoons: Commentary around the world



"Happiest people of the world" by Arend van Dam, Netherlands  
OECD Better Life Index



"US/China Co-dependency" by R.J. Matson,  
The St. Louis Post Dispatch, U.S.



"U.S. economy" by Manny Francisco, The Philippines



"USA and self-esteem" by Dave Granlund, U.S.



"Political Speech" by Pavel Constantin, Romania



"Somalian Hunger" by Emad Hajjaj, Jordan



"Let us die together" by Luojie, China Daily, China



"The New EURO" by Christo Komarnitski, Bulgaria

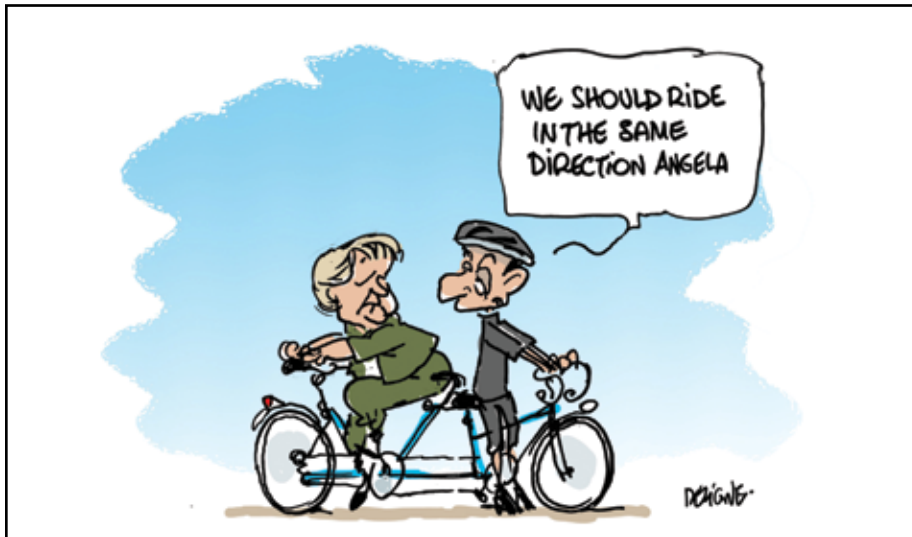


"Fire in the tail" by Olle Johansson, Sweden



"Bashar Al Assad" by Kap, La Vanguardia, Spain



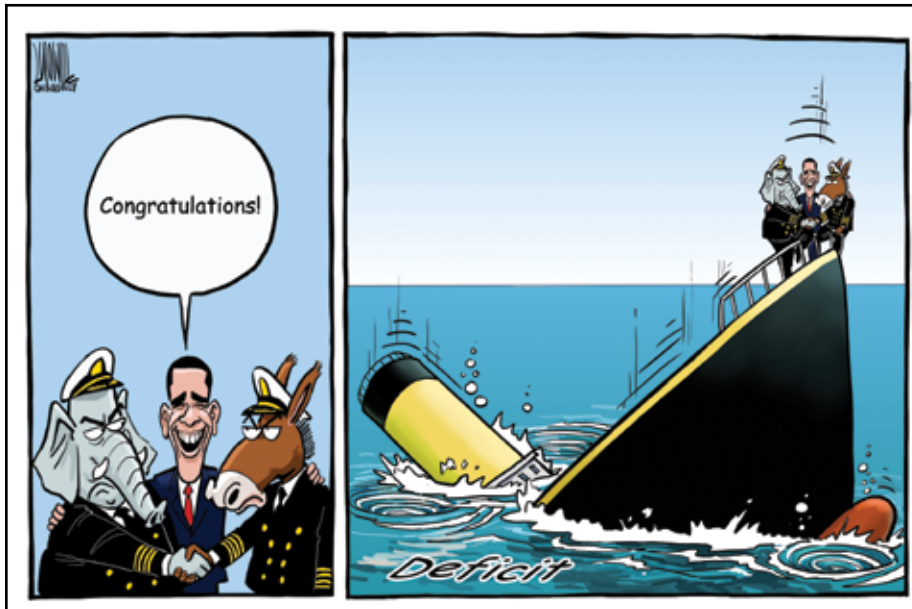


"German and French Europe" by Frederick Deligne, *Nice-Matin*, France

Courtesy of CagleCartoons.com



"Dollar Apocalypse" by Arend van Dam, Netherlands



"Arab Spring Bowling" by Osama Hajjaj, Abu Mahjoob Creative Productions, Jordan

"Congratulations" by Luojie, *China Daily*, China



"Unanimous Europe" by Arend van Dam, Netherlands



"Sinai attack" by Steve Greenberg, *VC Reporter*, U.S.



# Guatemala's No. 1 crisis: 'drugs and thugs'

By Georges de La Roche

Guatemalan ambassador to Canada



**D**rug trafficking is eating away at our young democracies, corrupting our institutions and infecting our societies in general. Worse still, we have evolved from transit countries to consumers, making us a destination market while poisoning our youth and our future. This is because the narcos find it more convenient to pay in drugs than in cash.

While trying to preserve modest advances in regional peace and democratic security, we are confronting a well-organized and better-financed adversary in the form of transnational organized crime, known to us as "drugs and thugs." Guatemala and Central America are now in a turf war between organized crime cartels, resulting in more gruesome occurrences in the region. The region's enemies are cartels that peddle anything outside the formal and legal sectors: drugs, contraband, people and weapons.

Small governments, representing the declared and formal market-state, struggle against the undeclared and informal, the illegal and the illicit. If the classic definition of a state is "having a monopoly on the legitimate means or use of violence," we are losing ground on a daily basis to the crime syndicates. These well-financed criminals often win the people over, displacing the state and becoming local heroes, even building schools and medical clinics.

Guatemala now has levels of violence not seen since the worst days of its internal conflict, with close to 13 people dying every day as a result of crime. The cartels are street-savvy, and their goal is to smuggle and sell drugs to a consuming market.

Guatemala has almost 5,000 homicides per year, and it is not the most violent country in Central America, in relative terms. The UN ranks us third. Some ana-



In July 2010, Ecuador's police and members of the military worked with the U.S. drug enforcement administration to seize this submarine built to transport cocaine.

lysts believe that half of all weapons flowing illegally into Central America account for most known homicides. Recently, 4,500 illegal weapons were confiscated in Guatemala, and we judge narco activity to account for much of the violence.

Another criminal actor in the informal illicit sector are the youth gangs or *maras*, with few people knowing exactly how many there are in Guatemala. Studies show different numbers. A USAID study points to more than 120,000, including 38,000 in the U.S. and 20,000 in Mexico. However, APREDE, Guatemala's Association for Crime Prevention, estimates there are 165,000 juvenile gang members in the country. One thing is certain: they outnumber our police and soldiers combined and have become much more involved with narco-trafficking.

Having identified security as one of the main challenges, the Central American Integration System organized a conference this year in support of the Central American Security Strategy in Guatemala City (held June 22). The strategy has four main axes: combating crime, preventing violence, rehabilitation and penitentiary security and institutional strengthening. Under these goals are more than 20 specific programs regarding organized crime, illegal drug trafficking, gangs, criminal deportees, homicides, weapons smuggling, terrorism, corruption, police reform, legal aspects, juvenile and gender violence, people trafficking, consumption, rehabilitation, institutional strengthening, etcetera.

This security strategy specifies the "need to integrate the different initiatives

that the region implements regarding security matters, so as to harmonize them, obtaining enhanced results." Also, it seeks to "facilitate the coordination, exchange of information and experiences (by) identifying necessary financial costs, resources and capacities demanded by the institutions in charge of public safety."

One principle presented at the conference was the idea of co-responsibility, with the notion that Central America is one piece of the puzzle, with South and North America being the others. Within this principle, a notion of "differentiality" exists between the nations that consume narcotics (destination markets), the nations that produce them, and our "corridor nations" used because of logistical considerations for the smuggling of narcotics.

In short, it is cash and weapons moving south and illicit products moving north through our nations. We are victims of our geographic location between the producing south and consuming north.

Central America is, in fact, the No. 1 transit route for cocaine being transported from South to North America. In 2006, only 23 percent of known cocaine shipments heading north passed through Central America, but by 2010 that number had risen to 90 percent and Guatemala alone contributes to more than 60 percent of the cocaine trafficked into the U.S.

According to our authorities, Guatemala could become the world's largest producer of opium, second only to Afghanistan. The cartels are branching out, taking advantage of record droughts and extreme rainy seasons, which have se-

verely affected rural subsistence farmers. Transnational organized crime does not recognize borders and the money the cartels use comes from consumer countries. Those markets, not the producer or transit countries, set the price for illicit drugs.

When discussing narco-trafficking, people talk about a “balloon effect,” which is a basic way of describing how the “drug wars” and cartels relocate from one geographic region to another depending on the pressure of counter-narcotic initiatives. Hence, when you press a balloon in one place it bulges in a new place. This metaphor has been used to advance a holistic approach to counter narcotics — one that simultaneously addresses most components of a security strategy in many geographic regions.

Far from regarding the “war on drugs” as a failure — as some do loudly these days — the efforts that have been accomplished in counter-narcotics and in strengthening the rule of law in Latin America point to a comparative success. Organized crime wouldn’t “balloon” elsewhere if there were no achievement to using these strategies. The U.S. tackled the problem in the early 1980s in their southern states, and expanded operations to

northern Latin America under programs like “Plan Colombia” in the late 1990s and later in Mexico with the “Merida Initiative” (which also includes programs for Central America) in 2006.

Colombia has improved, showing progress in the past 10 years with strengthened state institutions, a stronger rule of law and a healthier democracy, which may also be the case in Mexico. In these examples, the counter-narcotics programs “ballooned” the trafficking elsewhere, and this is why a comprehensive approach in addressing security issues and transnational organized crime is necessary.

A comprehensive approach is essential to address most (if not all) issues in the crucial regions of this hemisphere. Indeed to address the “drugs and thugs” reality, we need more than a Plan Colombia or a Merida Initiative. A Trans-American initiative is essential, one which must, of course, include Canada. As the U.S. assistant secretary for the bureau of international narcotics and law enforcement affairs, William R. Brownfield, said: “Our starting point is that these are regional threats, not country specific.”

Guatemala and Central America welcomed Canada’s high-level delegation at

the conference, as well as its heightened engagement and awareness of these issues. Nearly 40 countries participated, as well as the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Central American Bank of Economic Integration (among others).

Some senior policy advisers and civil servants propose that as Canada winds down its presence in Afghanistan, it should establish a larger commitment in Central and Latin America. Increased aid to Latin America in fighting this scourge could become a new priority. Already, Canada’s noticeable contribution to a UN commission in Guatemala (the CICIG) is making visible progress. By joining Ameri-Pol, Canada could also benefit from enhanced hemispheric participation on the issue, while brandishing increased involvement in the region.

In the fight against transnational organized crime in this hemisphere, Canada should raise its involvement in the security aspect as part of its trident “Americas Strategy.” Without success in security, Canada’s other two objectives — prosperity and democratic governance — could prove a futile pursuit. ■



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# Six essential steps: How John Baird can succeed as Canada's foreign minister

Fen Osler Hampson



**J**ohn Baird hit the ground running as Canada's new foreign minister. Within days of his appointment late last spring, he was off on a secret mission to Libya to meet with key rebel leaders of its Transitional National Council. That trip was immediately followed by meetings in Turkey, China, Indonesia, the U.S. and Mexico.

Unlike his predecessor, Lawrence Cannon, Mr. Baird enjoys close personal ties with Prime Minister Stephen Harper and his wife, Laureen. More important, Canada's newest foreign minister seems to have the complete trust and confidence of his boss. His trip to China, for example, was taken at his own initiative, not the PMO's. Not since Lloyd Axworthy paraded the halls of "Fort Pearson" (the nickname for the dark brown concrete slab that houses the foreign ministry) has a foreign minister enjoyed the kind of political access, self-confidence and freedom of maneuver that Baird apparently has. He is very much his own man.

Nor has Mr. Baird's energy, friendly demeanour and obvious desire to engage Ottawa's diplomatic corps gone unnoticed. As one ambassador Tweeted recently, "Baird saw more heads of mission in his first two weeks [on the job] than Lawrence Cannon did during his entire time as foreign minister."

With Mr. Baird at the helm, Canada's own diplomatic corps, which has long felt marginalized and demoralized, is now back in the game. There were some snickers when Mr. Baird personally ordered the replacement of two paintings by Quebec painter Alfred Pellan hanging in the main



Foreign Minister John Baird met with U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in August in Washington.

lobby of the Pearson building with a portrait of Her Majesty the Queen. His monarchist sentiments are now on full display on what is irreverently referred to as "the Sovereign Wall."

Does Mr. Baird have the right stuff to be a good (if not great) foreign minister? Does he have the makings of a Lester Pearson, a Joe Clark, or even a Lloyd Axworthy? Only time will tell but it is worth reflecting now on some critical ingredients of success.

1. "The sun's rays do not burn unless brought to a focus," said the great inventor Alexander Graham Bell. The same is true of the great engine of diplomacy and the kind of concentrated leadership that is necessary to leave a lasting footprint.

Whatever one's views about Lloyd Axworthy, he was a successful foreign minister because he had a clear agenda and was relentless in pursuing a small number of clearly defined initiatives — the global campaign to ban anti-personnel landmines, the establishment of the International Criminal Court and the rights of war-affected women and children. Joe Clark had similar success in leaving his mark as a champion — along with Brian Mulroney — of opposing apartheid in South Africa and stepping up to the plate to relieve famine in the Horn of Africa.

It is too easy for a foreign minister to

become hostage to multiple and competing demands from the bureaucracy and other interests. If pulled in too many directions, Mr. Baird could find his mission difficult to achieve, especially because he will also need a long-term vision rather than a sole focus on securing immediate, measurable results.

2. According to Henry Kissinger, "No foreign policy — no matter how ingenious — has any chance of success if it is born in the minds of a few and carried in the hearts of none." Kissinger understood that in a democracy, a successful foreign policy must be sold not just to one's boss, but also to the bureaucracy and the wider public. Mr. Baird is a good communicator; he will have to shape and articulate his message. He will also have to work with, rather than be at odds with, the bureaucracy. No foreign minister, no matter how good, can accomplish anything great or lasting without getting the bureaucracy excited and engaged.

3. During their years as a minority government, the Conservatives acquired a reputation for excessive partisan zeal even when it came to foreign policy. Now that they are in a majority, Mr. Baird might heed the advice of former Michigan Republican Senator Arthur Vandenberg who wisely remarked that foreign policy and national security "should be put ahead of partisan advantage." "Politics," he famously said, "stops at the water's edge."

4. Mr. Baird will work the levers of Canada's influence in the world. There is no great mystery here. Yet, it is remarkable how governments sometimes forget where our real influence lies. As Canada's former ambassador to Washington, Derek Burney, wrote some years ago, "To have influence of any kind, Canada must start from a position of mutual trust [with our key trading partner and ally, the United States] as well as have something sensible to say."

During the Mulroney era, Canada stood tall on the world stage not only because we had Washington's ear, but also because our leaders offered wise and sensible counsel. Recall Brian Mulroney's prudent advice to George H.W. Bush



that he should secure the approval of the United Nations Security Council before attacking Iraq for its seizure of Kuwait.

However, in an increasingly multi-centric world where there are different poles of attraction and influence, the U.S. is not sufficient as a sole partner. We will need to invest in forging deeper partnerships with constructive global powers like ourselves (e.g., Australia, Indonesia, Brazil, Mexico, Norway, Switzerland, Korea, Japan, South Africa and Turkey) who are not great powers in the traditional sense but are rising on the world stage, are committed to democratic values, and share a common interest in promoting a stable international order.

Joe Clark and Brian Mulroney used the Commonwealth to advance their agenda in Africa. Lloyd Axworthy had his like-minded group of powers in Europe and the developing world to help pursue his human security agenda. They understood that friends matter and Canada cannot work alone to advance its values and interests.

5. The marketing of Canada begins with our foreign service. The days of strict message control and gag orders, which were a point of obsession for Harper's minority government, should be relaxed. If the department is to do its job properly, our officials must be allowed to breathe and speak freely. As Jared Cohen, a former member of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's staff, prophetically observed before the WikiLeaks scandal broke, "The 21st Century is a really terrible time to be a control freak."

6. We sometimes forget the main reasons why Lester Pearson was thought by some to be our greatest foreign minister. It was not just his tenacious internationalism, his longevity on the job (he served as secretary of state for external affairs from 1948-1957), and his smarts that made him great.

He also had, in the words of the renowned historian Norman Hillmer, "a breezy personality conveying the enthusiasm and innovation of a country coming into its own in the world." Mr. Baird has some of these same personal qualities. Although we have more than come of age as a country, enthusiasm and innovation are in short supply and needed more than ever.

**Fen Osler Hampson is Chancellor's Professor and director of The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University.**



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## Gaining influence: Military role puts Canada back on the map



Richard Cohen was born in Montreal and attended the Royal Military College in Kingston before enlisting in the Canadian army. Seven years later, he left

Canada to join the British army where he felt he'd find more action and where he did find more action — enough to keep him there for 21 years, including a three-year stint with NATO in Brussels and, after leaving the army, one academic post. He then returned to Canada in 2003 and has worked as senior defence adviser to Defence Minister Peter MacKay for the past four years. He left that post this summer to restart his Ottawa-based consulting practice, RSC Strategic Connections. Over the years, he has advised many of the new European democracies on the development of national security and defence strategies. He recently sat down with *Diplomat's* editor, Jennifer Campbell, for a chat.

**Diplomat magazine:** You were working in the office of the minister of defence for nearly four years. Was there a typical day?

**Richard Cohen:** [laughs] Well, a typical day would be going into the office in the morning, looking at the press clippings and getting together with a small team to decide how we would react. We would look at coming events, and then deal with lots of issues every day including briefings with the minister. There was a great variety. When I first arrived, we'd inherited the [preliminary] work that Gordon O'Connor and his team had done on the Canada First Defence Strategy. Minister Peter MacKay took it on. He'd come straight from Foreign Affairs, not really having a huge background in defence. We worked on [the strategy] for at least a year and came up with what we

eventually put out as the Canada First Defence Strategy. [It's] a 20-year strategic plan that involves major equipment purchases, an improvement of readiness and an increase in the personnel strength in the armed forces. I think it's a milestone in Canadian defence planning in that it looks so far out.

**DM:** Would you consider that one of your big accomplishments?

**RC:** Well, it was one of the early ones. I think everyone was very happy to come up with a long-term plan. It's something that certainly in recent years had not been the case and it indicated a certain amount of stability and predictability, not only for the armed forces but also for government as a whole. It provides a commitment for the long term. It also does so for Canadian industry that supplies the armed forces.

**DM:** You must have traveled to Afghanistan. What's your feeling about the future?

**RC:** Pundits have talked a lot about that. I think we've done a really good job there, given the complexity and the difficulty of the situation. And I must say, you hear about Canadian soldiers doing so well in Afghanistan, but when you go there and see them on the ground, you can't help but be extremely impressed by their professionalism and their determination to get the job done. I've had a pretty broad military background, especially with the British armed forces. At one time, we kind of looked down our noses at the Canadian forces. We thought of them as peacekeepers and not much else. I was so impressed with Canadian soldiers on the ground — how they operated and how professional they were. That also carries through to Libya. The last time the air forces were engaged was in Kosovo and most of those [Canadian] pilots [now in Libya] were not involved in that. But they've kept up their expertise and that allowed them to deploy into the theatre and operate so effectively with allies from a cold start. I found that very impressive.

**DM:** What do you see for Afghanistan's future?

**RC:** I think we've made good progress. Looking at the attacks in Kabul [where insurgents launched a coordinated attack on the U.S. embassy and NATO headquarters, killing seven Afghans], I think there will always be those attacks. But I think it looks as though we will be able to reduce our forces to the extent that the Afghans will be able to handle their security for themselves. I don't think it's any secret that a lot of people wanted Canada to stay, and I was among them, but the prime minister made a promise and he kept it.

**DM:** You mentioned the NATO engagement in Libya. How do you see that ending?

**RC:** I'm not so optimistic about Libya. I think it could go either way. It could go the way we'd like to see it — it could evolve into a moderate state with some semblance of democracy or it could go the other way and become a real problem, like Iran has become. It's hard to know.

I think Canada made a relatively painless investment in Libya. It allowed us to take the lead. Our aircraft and our ships and so on have made a big contribution at relatively small cost in terms of lives and money. It really put us at the forefront of that group of nations that are willing to stand up and do something. It's added to our international credibility.

Whether you like it or not, your credibility on the international scene is a function of your ability, in extremis, to exercise some hard power. And that's what Canada has lacked for a long time. This is what we've re-established now and are in the process of building up.

Whichever way it goes, in Canada, we've done ourselves a service by being in the forefront. It could become a long-term headache but unless we try, we'll never find out.

It's the same with Afghanistan. My philosophy is that sometimes it's not possible to win but being there, and shouldering the burden with your allies, you still come out of it with a lot of credit. You enhance your reputation and your international influence. It's not always about winning and losing. We're playing the game in big ways and it has a huge influence on our relationship with the U.S. especially which is, of course, one of the keystones of our foreign and economic and every other policy.

**DM:** Speaking of which, Canada and the

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U.S. have announced a joint action plan on perimeter security. What are your thoughts on that?

**RC:** I worked mainly on the defence side but defence and security are closely linked. In principle, I think it's an excellent idea. We've got to do something to assure the Americans that their border with us is not a source of insecurity. If they have any concerns, it'll make trade more difficult which will ultimately affect jobs in Canada.

The perimeter security arrangement is excellent because it means we put a hard shell around the U.S. and Canada and then anything within that can move much more freely. We'll never have a completely free border but at least it won't have the security impediments that have been slowing down trade. It has its downsides. Some argue it means a loss of sovereignty but I think the advantages far outweigh the perceived disadvantages.

**DM:** When it comes to defending the North, what should Canada's policy be?

**RC:** This government has been pretty practical. In defence, I think we plan to do more or less what is required. I don't think the North will open up as fast as people think but I may be wrong. If it does, then perhaps we've got to take other measures on the search-and-rescue side. At the moment there are few incidents that can't be handled on the local level. I think it's not really practical [to do more]. We can't afford the resources of air bases and so on for the eventuality that something might happen once a year. It's a bit of a hard-headed way of looking at things but I think we've got to trim our



COMBAT CAMERA

At an event marking the return of *HMCS Charlottetown* to the port of Halifax after a six-month deployment to the Mediterranean Sea, the Maritime Libya Association's Fathi Ghannai tells Defence Minister Peter MacKay about the thanks he's receiving from Libyans for Canada's contributions in their country.

ambition to our resources and the money available.

**DM:** Does China play into our policy?

**RC:** China plays into everything. Other

countries eye the North as a transit route and also possibly [as a chance] to exploit some of the resources that might be up there. A lot of those resources that have been already identified, oil and gas in



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particular, are situated within national boundaries. So there's not a lot of dispute about the known resources. It's a bit of a myth that there are known resources that are in play. There may be [other resources] but I don't think anyone's identified them. So it's really about transit. We have this agreement with the U.S. and other countries about whether the Northwest Passage — and there are several, not just one — whether they are international waterways or Canadian sovereign territory. This will be resolved in negotiations. It's a difficult issue but it's not one that's going to lead to any real confrontation.

**DM:** In terms of Canada's place in the world, do you feel our recent military engagements have improved things?

**RC:** In the eyes of the United States, I think we've rehabilitated ourselves in a partnership which has suffered because of our lack of willingness and ability to participate in some of the more robust operations the U.S. was involved in. That is our most important relationship. Our engagement in Afghanistan, reinforced by what we've done in Libya, has had a ripple effect across the whole of our relations with the United States. Iraq was a

low point and Afghanistan has erased all those bad feelings. Minister MacKay and Secretary Robert Gates had a very close friendship that allowed all kinds of things to happen behind the scenes in terms of procurement. That would never have happened without our active role there. I have friends staying [with us] from the United States who don't know very much about Canada. One chap is a former CEO of a big company. He said, 'All I know about Canada is that you've got soldiers fighting alongside us in Afghanistan and we really feel good about that.'

**DM:** Robust operations versus peacekeeping — where do you stand on that?

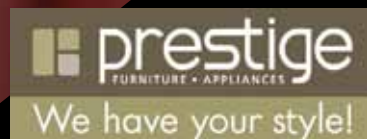
**RC:** I left the Canadian forces in 1973 because I felt it wasn't doing the kinds of things that I personally, as a young fellow, wanted to do. Had I been growing up in the Canadian military today, I would have stayed because we're doing just the kind of things that I think people who join the military want to do. I think we've come to a realization that, for better or for worse, we've moved beyond the stage of peacekeeping. ■



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# How a 50-cent donation has helped 10,000 children and built 26 classrooms in Nicaragua

By Tom Affleck

It's spring and the road to Monte Olivo in northwest Nicaragua is washed away with heavy rains. According to our director of operations, we cannot get through, even with 4X4s, to reach the construction site. Three members of the SchoolBOX construction team, stationed at the site, continue to advance with the four-classroom school building project. However, if we don't get this road fixed, the 11-member Canadian volunteer team and much-needed building materials won't be getting through.

SchoolBOX, a Canadian charity dedicated to "making education possible," has built 26 classrooms and is helping more than 10,000 children go to school in Nicaragua. SchoolBOX began in 2006 after I gave a notebook and a pencil to two young girls, Sandra and Yessenia, in the north of the country.

Upon seeing these simple gifts, one girl's father beamed and said: "Now that you have a notebook and a pencil, you can go to school this year." His words sparked the dream that became SchoolBOX.

Having worked in international development in Guatemala, Peru and Nicaragua, I can honestly say that I had never seen anything like it: 50 cents worth of school supplies were going to empower a child to get a basic education. The two girls don't understand, of course, that they were the catalysts who ultimately empowered thousands of children to get an education in their country.

One day, as we're bouncing along the dirt roads, the thought occurs to me that perhaps our guide knows the one person that I remember from that experience. "Do you know Vicente Padilla?" I ask. The guide says he does. Later, near a cluster of small shacks, we meet Sandra and Yessenia. We learn that Yessenia dreams of becoming a doctor and Sandra is striving to be a veterinarian.

Despite having no start-up capital, and no government funding to date, SchoolBOX has flourished as an organization. Out of necessity, we have become great penny-pinchers. SchoolBOX does not pay for office space in Canada (thanks to Sleep Country Canada), bases key management positions in Nicaragua rather than Canada (a huge saving in salaries) and remains fo-



The Shirley Case School in Monte Olivo in rural northwestern Nicaragua now holds classes for 118 students.

cused on simple, cost-effective programs.

But back to the floods in the spring of this year: With the clock ticking, we decide to purchase transport-truck loads of rock and earth to fix the road. Last year, road access to the Monte Olivo community, where 118 children are now awaiting the completion of their new school, was cut off for three months due to the rains. So waiting for the municipal government to repair the road simply isn't an option.

In the end, with the help of community members, we repair the road for less than \$300. While it looks more like an ATV track than a road for a few kilometres, it is passable. Our collective relief is tangible as we confirm construction will be complete for a school inauguration the next weekend.

The four-classroom school, which includes a sports area and three latrines, will cost \$50,000. A civil engineer is overseeing the project and the construction exceeds the building code. We've taken numerous steps to strengthen the building for earthquakes. For \$5 each, SchoolBOX will also provide educational supplies to every student and teacher in the school. Our goal is to hand out 12,000 packages in our Nicaraguan partner schools in 2011.

By the time it was complete, more than 55 Canadians had travelled to Nicaragua to help build this school. Hundreds more Canadians have generously donated money and goods to the project. The school will be named in honour of Shirley Case, a remarkable Canadian aid



The two girls who sparked the charity, Yessenia and Sandra.

worker who was tragically killed in Afghanistan in 2008. Shirley's compassion led her to serve children in impoverished regions worldwide. That compassion will continue to shine as 118 children attend classes in their new school.

The project is proof that ordinary Canadians can have an impact, can make a difference and can change the world.

Tom Affleck is president of SchoolBOX Inc., an Ottawa Valley-based charity which builds schools, provides school supplies and runs sports programs for students in Central America. See [www.schoolbox.ca](http://www.schoolbox.ca) for more information.



# The world's newest country needs help

Justin Laku, founder of Canadian Friends of Sudan, tells how

**T**he world's newest nation, South Sudan, was born on July 9 to become the world's 193rd country after its people nearly unanimously chose independence from the war-torn nation of Sudan.

South Sudan's population, mostly black, Christian and indigenous tribes people, has been at war — largely regarded as genocidal — with the mostly Muslim north whose power was centered in its capital, Khartoum, and in its president, Omar al-Bashir.

He is under indictment by the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague, Netherlands, for war crimes and crimes against humanity committed in Darfur.

In 2008, the chief prosecutor of the ICC told the court: "The most efficient method to commit genocide today, in front of our eyes, is gang rape, rapes against girls and rapes against 70-year-old women. Babies born as a result have been called *Janjaweed* babies and this has led to an explosion of infanticide. Al-Bashir is executing this genocide without gas chambers, without bullets and without machetes. The desert will do it for them. Hunger is the weapon of this genocide as well as rape."

In South Sudan, more than two million people died in the conflict; more than six million people fled their homes. In Darfur, more than 200,000 died and millions became refugees. Violence continues and both sides are in conflict over control of Abyei, a strategic town near disputed oil-rich South Kordofan. A UN report released in August documented atrocities it alleges were committed by the Sudan Armed Forces and allied paramilitary forces in this region. It estimates that at least 200,000 people were killed, injured or forced to flee between June and the end of August.

South Sudan's departure was not welcomed by Sudan. About half of Sudan's GDP and almost all of Sudan's exports had been based on oil production largely in the south — with 85 percent exported to China. South Sudan will pay substantially for use of Sudan's pipelines.

The new nation may be rich in oil and may possess an abundance of natural resources such as gold, copper, iron, and vast land for agriculture. Yet it is poor in



UN PHOTO/PAUL BANKS

Thousands of people displaced by conflict in Kadugli, the capital of South Kordofan State, have sought refuge in an area secured by the UN Mission in Sudan.

almost every other aspect of development. It faces, as a new nation, the overwhelming shortages of food, water, medical supplies, gasoline, shelter and jobs that it has suffered for years.

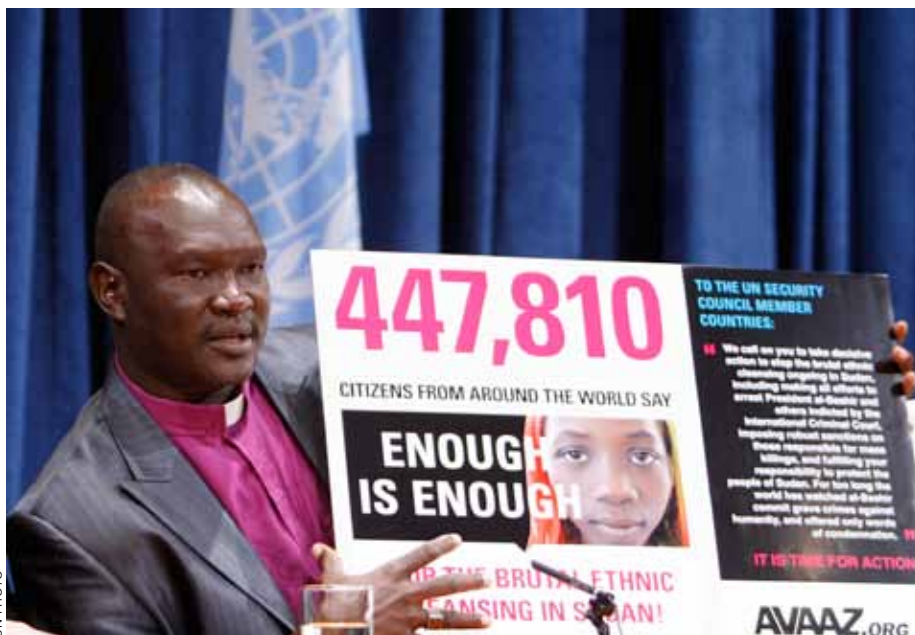
It does not lack passionate supporters and international champions (most prominently, actors Don Cheadle and George Clooney).

Justin Laku, born in South Sudan, is a Canadian citizen and founder of Canadian Friends of Sudan and the University of Ottawa's Friends of Sudan internship program. The organizations' active supporters include Maurice Vellacott, MP Saskatoon-Wanuskewin; John Weiss of Cornell University; and David Kilgour, former Alberta MP and secretary of state for Latin America and Africa.

Mr. Laku, who travels frequently to South Sudan, is working on his master's

in development studies at St. Paul University in Ottawa, and responded to *Diplomat's* request for a 'wish list' for medical equipment and volunteers to help build a new nation.

His list includes: Dental and physiotherapy equipment, examination desks, child-delivery beds, manually operated hospital beds, mattresses, acute care beds, blankets, sheets, X-ray equipment, dual-head stethoscopes, The Mark of Fitness MF-46XL automatic inflation blood pressure monitor, blood pressure kits and cuffs, first aid kits, bandage wraps and tapes, 4½-inch penlight, 3 ½-inch reusable thermometers and digital thermometers in plastic sheath, tweezers with magnifiers, surgical gloves, syringes with needles, hypodermic needles, operating room equipment, tropical medication, wheelchairs and computers.



Bishop Andudu Adam Elnail, of South Kordofan, Sudan, appeared at the United Nations headquarters to discuss the "Enough is Enough" campaign to stop ethnic cleansing in Sudan.

While medical equipment is important, he says, there is an even greater need for five ambulances to transport pregnant women to Juba Teaching Hospital. He also asks if the Canadian Medical Association

would send surgeons — especially eye surgeons — and other specialists to provide tertiary care. "Three of South Sudan's regional governments (the Central, Eastern and Western Equatoria States) have

offered to provide visiting doctors with accommodations, food, transportation and security. Those interested in volunteering can reach Friends of Sudan through their website [www.thefriendsofsudan.com](http://www.thefriendsofsudan.com).

South Sudan also needs science and English teachers at all levels. It welcomes textbooks, desks and chairs, as well as footballs and basketballs for homeless children.

The three regional parliaments need libraries to help the newly elected lawmakers with draft legislation and with law enforcement. "I do hope that Canadian parliamentarians will be able to support these initiatives to maintain rule of law, accountability, answerability, coherence, and the role of parliament in maintaining the constitution," he said.

Mr. Laku said that the new members of parliament would like to establish partnerships and exchanges with federal and provincial legislatures in Canada. "We seek to exchange notes, share ideas and learn from each other's experience to foster good democratic governance in Eastern Equatoria State to our mutual benefit."

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## U.S. Ambassador David Jacobson lends a hand

**H**e wore an old black turtleneck, jeans, black knee guards and sneakers. It was a far cry from his usual suit-and-tie work attire but, for U.S. Ambassador David Jacobson, it was a more sensible outfit for the job at hand — to help retrofit a Habitat for Humanity home for an Ottawa family in need.

Habitat for Humanity raises funds, organizes volunteers and builds and renovates homes for low-income working families who wouldn't otherwise be able to afford a conventional mortgage. The families themselves invest 500 hours of their time to help build the home, but so do a raft of volunteers. A family must also commit to paying the interest-free mortgage, payments for which are set at no more than 30 percent of their income.

While Habitat does build houses from the ground up, this particular home was originally built several years ago for another Habitat family — a mother and her children. Her two sons were raised in the home and went on to serve, with distinction, in the Canadian Forces. With the boys all grown up, the mother decided another family could use the house more than she could. She told Habitat she wanted to sell the house back to them so another family could enjoy it and thrive in it the way she and her family had.

The lucky latest family — the Hachokakes, who emigrated from the Democratic Republic of Congo — were chosen to move into the five-bedroom Hiawatha Park Drive house. Christopher Hachokake and his wife, Charlotte, have five children who range in age from 18 years to one year. They had been renting in the neighbourhood next to Bayshore Shopping Centre, one plagued by the illegal drug trade and associated crimes.



David Jacobson enjoyed his afternoon of manual labour as part of a Habitat for Humanity project in Orleans.

Mr. Jacobson's wife, Julie, also volunteered her time on Easter weekend to help outfit the Hachokakes new home, as did a number of embassy staff members.

"It is, of course, wonderful that families like the Hachokakes will get to live in a beautiful home," Mr. Jacobson told his blog readers about his volunteering gig. "But there is something else just as important about the Habitat experience. Members of the community, people like

my friends and colleagues at the embassy, can be involved citizens. They can give back, they can participate in making the communities in which they live better for themselves and for others.

"I thank Habitat for Humanity for the opportunity we were afforded and I hope all of you, in a way that is meaningful to you, have the same opportunity to give back to a world to which we owe so much." ■



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# Investment opportunities abound in Azerbaijan

By Farid Shafiyev



In a recent article about Azerbaijan's capital, Baku, *New York Times* travel writer Kathleen Kingsbury lauds its "magnificent European-style Beaux-Arts mansions, built by the city's first oil barons a century ago," which, she says, sit next to the newly-constructed "Guggenheim Bilbao-style Museum of Modern Art" and dozens of new hotels, futuristic malls and arcades.

This depiction typifies modern Azerbaijan, which will celebrate the 20th anniversary of its independence from the Soviet Union this fall. The glorious past of the first oil boom in the 19th Century is often compared to the second oil boom which independent Azerbaijan is now experiencing.

Over the past several years, Azerbaijan, famous worldwide as an oil-producing country, has continued its economic growth despite the global financial crisis. However, over the past 10 years, the government has been carrying out reforms to develop the non-oil sector aimed at the diversification of the economy, thus creating an auspicious condition for the production and exportation of other products.

The government has taken a number of steps aimed at the reduction of the country's dependence on oil revenues and avoidance of the so-called "Dutch disease," which describes the negative consequences that can accompany large increases in a country's income.

Non-oil exports, which have special significance for the country, increased by more than 16 percent in 2010. Currently, the goods exported by Azerbaijan comply with EU requirements. Major fast-growing non-oil export products include fruit juices (especially pomegranate juice), canned products (jams and fruits), fishery (caviar), mineral waters, hazelnuts, tea, olive oil, furniture and carpets. These products are in very high demand and sold at competitive prices in international markets.

Azerbaijan is a country of wide investment opportunities. Today, the country is the regional leader not only in terms of overall economic growth, but in its foreign direct investments (FDI) attraction as well. Within the last 15 years, \$95 billion (USD) has been invested in our economy, more than half by foreign investors. Foreign direct investments outside the oil and gas sector currently are mainly in construction, services, transport, telecom and manufacturing. The main advantages of doing business in Azerbaijan include such important factors as political and financial stability, favourable geographical location and relevant FDI legislation.

The 2005 issue of *Trade & Investment* (published by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) named Azerbaijan No. 1 globally in its FDI inflow



Azerbaijan continues to enjoy economic growth in spite of the global financial crisis.

performance index. Azerbaijan is also a front-runner in the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, which sets a global standard for transparency in oil, gas and mining, and received the UN Public Service Award in June 2007. In 2008, the World Bank named Azerbaijan the world's leading reformer of business regulations. In 2010, the World Economic Forum called Azerbaijan a leading information and communications technology user among Eurasian countries. In January, the government launched an unprecedented campaign against corruption.

Bilateral business ties between Azerbaijan and Canada have intensified considerably over recent years but there's still plenty of potential. Bilateral trade between the two countries increased from US\$20 million in 2004 to close to \$1 billion in 2008. Last year, trade reached \$332.35 million, with exports to Canada at \$317.07 million and imports at \$15.28 million. Our primary trade consists of Azerbaijani crude oil exports to Canada. From Canada, Azerbaijan primarily imports manu-

facturing and construction equipment, industrial and engineering technology, electricity meters, gas turbines, medicine and food industry items such as tools for processing and harvesting.

In September 2004, the two countries signed a convention on abrogation of double taxation in respect to income and property taxes and prevention of tax evasion. At present, we are negotiating a foreign investment promotion and protection agreement.

The government of Azerbaijan attaches great importance to developing bilateral cooperation in various fields, especially in the non-oil sector, including information and communications technology (ICT), renewable energy sources and the knowledge-based sector. ICT is the No. 2 recipient (after the energy sector) of foreign direct investment. Promising areas of economic cooperation also exist in infrastructure development and agriculture, including food processing and seed production. Agriculture is one of the important sectors of Azerbaijan's economy, employing about 35 percent of the labour. Cotton is Azerbaijan's leading crop, together with grapes (for wine production), fruits, vegetables and tobacco.

There are plenty of opportunities for cooperation in tourism. Located at the crossroads of many civilizations, dotted with mosques, churches, synagogues and Zoroastrian temples, Azerbaijan attracts many visitors. The shores of the Caspian, the mountains, forests, rivers, springs, lakes, summer recreation areas and historical monuments are headline tourist attractions. CTV recently featured a unique oil spa — Naftalan — which cures skin diseases and arthritis. Azerbaijan has built its first ski resort and the government is looking for investment in many tourist-oriented projects.

The embassy has detailed information on potential investment projects in various sectors of Azerbaijan's economy, as well as information about priority investment areas, which we regularly share with Canadian businesses. We welcome Canadian business people to visit our country, seize the investment opportunities and witness Azerbaijan's growth with us.

Farid Shafiyev is Azerbaijan's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at [azerbaijan@azembassy.ca](mailto:azerbaijan@azembassy.ca) or 613-288-0497.

# Brazil offers Canada a partnership beyond economics

By Piragibe dos Santos Tarragô



**S**trengthening the economic ties between Brazil and Canada stands out among the objectives of every Brazilian ambassador in Ottawa. Trade flows and investments have traditionally sustained bilateral relations. But recent figures show that much more can be achieved.

In 2010, trade was still limited, especially when seen in the context of both countries' commercial transactions with the rest of the world. Brazilian statistics reveal that our exports to Canada amounted to US\$2.3 billion while imports reached US\$2.7 billion. Bilateral trade is concentrated. The main Brazilian exports were aluminum oxides, crude oil and raw sugar, accounting for more than 50 percent of the total. Potassium fertilizers, coal and newsprint were responsible for approximately 40 percent of the imports from Canada.

Both countries have recognized the potential to increase and diversify the pattern of trade. Better knowledge of each other's economic advantages, as well the removal of obstacles to trade, are at the root of our common desire to have Canada and Mercosur (a customs union among Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay) explore the possibility of starting negotiations on a free-trade agreement.

Where investment stock is concerned, the figures are much more revealing. Since 2006, owing to the acquisition of the major Canadian mining company Inco by Vale, a Brazilian company, Brazil has become the fourth largest investor in Canada, just behind the U.S., France and the UK. Brazilian companies have also made major acquisitions in the beverage, cement and steel sectors.

In Brazil, opportunities for Canadian business are promising, especially in the infrastructure sector. By virtue of strong economic growth in the past years, mas-

sive investments in upgrading Brazil's infrastructure will be needed. The Brazilian government has embarked on an ambitious program to accelerate investments in such areas as housing, energy, water and sanitation, urban development and transportation. This initiative is known as the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC). In the next four years, the PAC is expected to attract investments in the amount of US\$ 700 billion, from both public and private sources.

Public works are on the top of the government's agenda, not least because two international games will be held in Brazil: the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in Rio de Janeiro in 2016. Canada has accumulated a wealth of expertise in putting together mega-sports events. Brazil will require substantial investments



Opportunities for Canadian business are particularly strong in Brazil's infrastructure sector.

in infrastructure and services related to those tournaments, as well as for training the staff to manage the many features involved in their operation. A critical sector to be addressed with urgency will be the expansion and modernization of the main Brazilian airports. Also high on the agenda is the construction of a high-speed railway between Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, the expansion of urban metros and the building of numerous hotels.

In addition, Petrobras, the Brazilian oil company, is undertaking a substantial program of investments to put into operation the offshore fields known as "pre-salt." The initiative will offer big opportunities not only for companies interested in exploring areas allocated under the program, but also for suppliers of off-shore equipment, ships, platforms, pipes, etc.

Nevertheless, Brazil believes that a

strong relationship should go beyond economic relations. Cooperation with Canada is possible in many fields. Science and technology, education and tourism are some of the areas in which both countries could be partners.

The outlook is bright on cooperation in science, technology and innovation. A memorandum of understanding, recently signed, has paved the way for joint cooperation of universities and scientific research centres of both countries. Projects are being developed or considered in sectors such as information technology, renewable energies, oceanography, nanotechnology and bio-sciences. Cooperation between educational institutions of both countries will receive an added boost from Brazil's program to considerably expand the number of Brazilian students benefiting from scholarships abroad.

The significant increase in the flow of passengers between Brazil and Canada has already prompted the conclusion of an open-sky agreement on air services. To facilitate further reciprocal travels, our governments are committed to make less cumbersome the process for issuing visas for multiple entries. This is consistent with the objective to intensify business contacts, student exchange, cultural relations, family ties and tourism.

Canada and Brazil are working together in the G20 to find ways to improve global governance, as well as in the World Trade Organization, to achieve a freer and fairer trading system. Brazil hopes that our efforts could result in making the main multilateral decision-making bodies more representative, legitimate and democratic. Our co-operation with Canada should also extend to our hemisphere, especially in Haiti. Being two major food producers, Brazil and Canada are positioned to develop initiatives to assist the poorest developing countries to fight against hunger and improve their food security.

Brazil is ready to partner with Canada to help build multilateral and hemispheric systems that are able to ensure international peace and security and render more efficient development assistance.

Piragibe dos Santos Tarragô is Brazil's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at [ptarrago@brasembottawa.org](mailto:ptarrago@brasembottawa.org) or 613-237-1090.



# Serbia and Canada: new reasons for optimism

By Zoran Veljic



**B**ilateral relations between Serbia and Canada are almost a century old. The first consulate general opened in Montreal in 1922, and the Ottawa legation in 1941; it became an embassy 10 years later.

Relations had their ups and downs with periods of mutual understanding and dynamic development followed by periods of stagnation and visible tensions.

Serbia and Canada were allies in both world wars and since have been developing more fruitful bilateral relations and cooperation. However, there have been hard times. In 1999, the NATO bombing of Belgrade — and Canada's strong participation in the attack — resulted in the most challenging time in bilateral relations between Serbia and Canada, but after democratic changes began in Serbia in October 2000, relations started to recover.

Unfortunately, Canada's decision in 2008 to recognize the unilateral secession of the Serbian province of Kosovo did not help to hasten a better relationship.

However, as a small country, led by pragmatic necessity to look forward, Serbia is working hard to develop a better image and good relationships with all countries of the world. It aims to recover trust and co-operation with its neighbours, and to continue the process of integration into the European Union and other Euro-Atlantic structures.

Serbia also seeks to continue to develop good relations and mutually beneficial cooperation with Canada, an objective based on the fact that Canada is a member of G8 and NATO with a strong presence over the past 20 years, until recently, in the Balkans region. From Canada, one of the most developed countries, we expect more significant foreign direct investment (FDI) in the Serbian economy. After all, Serbia and Canada enjoy strong people-to-people relationships thanks to an es-

timated 200,000 people of Serbian origin living in Canada.

Both countries express interest in intensifying high-level political dialogue. Several forthcoming important visits in both directions may stimulate further development of our bilateral cooperation.

At this point, merchandise trade between Serbia and Canada is hardly more than symbolic. In 2010, Canada-Serbia bilateral merchandise trade totaled some US\$44 million (\$29.4 million in 2009), consisting of \$8.85 million (\$10.3 million in 2009) in Serbian exports to Canada, and \$35.2 million (\$19.1 million in 2009) in imports from Canada. Canada is not among major partners of imports for Serbia, nor is it a major export destination.

At the provincial level, exports to Serbia originate mostly from Ontario and Quebec.



National Bank of Serbia

Major import products from Canada to Serbia include live animals, energy and related machinery and equipment, pharmaceuticals, motor vehicles and parts, organic chemicals, electrical goods, electronics and vegetables.

Major export products from Serbia to Canada include copper, other metal articles, furniture, prefabricated buildings, iron goods, steel, fruits and nuts, clothing, apparel, footwear, beverages and spirits.

Canadian capital investments into the Serbian economy amount to only \$150 million, but there is a steady and

promising increase. These investments are primarily in agriculture (\$50 million), in mining (\$50 million), in exploration of copper and other minerals and in telecommunications and information technology (\$10 million).

There is a strong possibility that the next significant Canadian investment in Serbia will be in construction of electric power stations. As well, a number of Canadian companies are interested in further investments in agriculture and food processing, mining, transportation infrastructure, telecommunications and information technology.

It would be of great value to the Serbian economy if large Canadian companies would recognize opportunities and incentives offered by Serbia for investments in the aviation industry, auto industry and the agriculture machinery industry. Serbia is interested in the Canadian experience in renewable energy sources, commercialization of bio-mass and the rational use of thermo- and hydro-electric power stations.

Further improvement of Serbian business rating at Export Development Canada and Canadian banks will be an additional encouragement to the Canadian business community to consider Serbia and its region as a potential market.

A significant booster to faster development of economic cooperation would be ratification of a few important bilateral agreements, for example, on aviation and social security, which are of particular interest to Canadians of Serbian origin. Some of these Canadians are considering a number of business ventures that will link their Canadian experience with Serbian incentives in new investments.

A few weeks ago, we got assurances from the Canadian side that the agreements on social security and avoidance of double taxation are being prepared for signing. It is now up to both sides to assure a fast-track ratification process.

If we continue with hard work and mutual understanding, there is good reason to look with optimism on the future of bilateral relations between Serbia and Canada. The embassy will do its best to achieve this goal.

Zoran Veljic is Serbia's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at [ambassador@serbianembassy.ca](mailto:ambassador@serbianembassy.ca) or 613-233-6289/80.

# Costa Rica: Canada's primary partner in Central America

By: Luis Carlos Delgado Murillo



**S**trategically located in Central America, Costa Rica offers investment opportunities for companies interested in broadening their horizons and settling themselves in a country that — with its strong democratic institutions and its efforts to achieve sustainable inclusive growth — represents a success story and a valued partner and friend for Canada.

Costa Rica shifted its development model in the early 1990s, to focus on opening up its economy. Since then, it has accomplished consistent growth of its exports and a diversification of its export products and destinations. Exports have grown at an average annual rate of 8 percent since 2001.

While the traditional agriculture exports (bananas, coffee, sugar and beef) are still important, the country has been very successful in diversifying its production and export trade toward higher value-added goods and services (notably high tech) and niche sectors (eco-tourism). Currently, Costa Rica exports more than 4,000 different products to 153 destination countries, and exports and imports represent 90 percent of our GDP.

In the last 10 years, the country has achieved a consistent growth in foreign direct investment (FDI), which has become a significant complement to domestic savings. Total FDI inflows have grown an average of 10.2 percent every year since 2000.

Currently, more than 200 multinational companies are operating in Costa Rica.

The country has had success in attracting foreign companies in innovative industries such as services, advanced manufacturing and medical devices. The number of companies in the advanced manufacturing sector is 83 percent higher than in 2000, 288 percent higher for the medical devices industry, and 1,800 percent higher for the services industry.



Costa Rica has added high-tech manufacturing to traditional exports, such as coffee from Orosi Valley plantations.

What attracts these companies to invest in Costa Rica? *FDI Intelligence* has selected San José as one of the 10 best cities for future foreign direct investment due to its competitive advantage in promoting business establishment and growth.

The country's political, social, and economic evolution set it apart from the rest of the region. Due to the country's commitment to social inclusion, Costa Rica is considered one of the countries with the best human development performance.

It started in 1870, when Costa Rica made education free and mandatory, which has allowed us to have one of the best education systems worldwide and a qualified workforce. According to the *Global Competitiveness Report 2010-2011*, Costa Rica ranks first in net primary education enrolment rate, and our education system is the highest ranked in Latin America.

The country has a strong and world-renowned tradition of, and commitment to, democracy, stability and human rights. Costa Rica has been the most stable democracy in the developing world, with no breakdowns since 1948, when it abolished its army. Consequently, Costa Rica is among the top-ranked countries in the *Political Stability and Absence of Violence Index* in Latin America (World Bank, 2008) and is the safest country in Central America and Latin America (*Latin Security Index* 2009). It also offers a high quality of life to its residents: San José ranks fourth among

the cities in Latin America for the best quality of life.

As well, Costa Rica has a strong commitment to environmental protection, ranking No. 3 in the world in environmental performance (*Environmental Performance Index*, 2010). In 51,000 square kilometres (0.03 percent of the planet's whole surface), Costa Rica has 91,000 animal and plant species, equivalent to 4.5 percent of the species identified so far in the whole world. In 1970, the country decided to create a national parks system, of which 25.5 percent is now under a variety of preservation regimes.

Thanks to this natural richness and environmental stewardship, the country is one of the top destinations in the world, especially for ecotourism. Annually, we receive more than 100,000 Canadian tourists, and we have more than 13,000 Canadian residents.

Because of its strategic position, Costa Rica is a platform to North America, and to the rest of the world. Companies established in Costa Rica have exceptional access to the world's greatest markets, accounting for 2.3 billion people and more than 68 percent of worldwide GDP. We also have free trade agreements with nearly all of our relevant commercial partners, including Canada, the United States, the European Union and China.

Due to its low prices for Internet access, its positive press liberty and its percentage of high-tech products, the World Economic Forum ranked Costa Rica third in Latin America in technological competitiveness.

Currently, Costa Rica is Canada's most important commercial partner in Central America. In 2001, we signed a free trade agreement which has allowed the commercial flow to increase more than 40 percent, reaching US\$529 million in 2010. However, we are now looking to add more activities and look forward to a relationship with more opportunities in both directions.

While Canada and Costa Rica already share a good relationship and many common values, during my term of duties I would like to help strengthen ties between the two countries.

Luis Carlos Delgado Murillo is ambassador of Costa Rica to Canada. Reach him at [embcr@costaricaembassy.com](mailto:embcr@costaricaembassy.com) or 613-562-2855.

# It's time for cross-border recalibration

By Derek H. Burney



**T**he joint action plan on perimeter security and economic competitiveness announced with much fanfare by Prime Minister Stephen Harper and President Barack Obama in February was a refreshing step in the right direction. The concept is compelling in principle. The question is: Will it produce yet another spasm of communiqué massage offering the promise of relief but with little lasting effect? Or will it deliver actual benefits in terms of enhanced security and improved border access? There is some merit to the effort itself because, for Canada, constructive engagement with the U.S. can be more rewarding than neglect. While it is more than timely to reconsider and recalibrate North America's mutually dependent economic and security environment, the proof, as the saying goes, will be in the pudding.

For the better part of the decade since 9/11, the bilateral relationship between Canada and the U.S. languished more or less on idle, reflecting a lack of common resolve, a dearth of ideas and a diminution of mutual respect. Meanwhile, U.S. security concerns introduced a plethora of new inspection and monitoring procedures and fees at our shared border which violated the spirit of NAFTA undertakings and hobbled the efficiency of cross-border trade in goods and services.

The Canadian Chamber of Commerce estimated that these new provisions added an average of \$800 in cost to autos produced in North America, parts and sub-assemblies of which cross the border several times.

Long line-ups and cumbersome reporting requirements — all in the name of enhanced security — undermined the quality and the quantity of trade, as well as the competitive positions of North American companies facing rising pressures from rapidly growing Asian econo-



Long line-ups and cumbersome reporting requirements, all in the name of enhanced security, have undermined the quality and quantity of Canada and U.S. trade, writes Derek Burney.

mies. Negatively affected as well was the 40 percent of bilateral trade that is based on intra-firm value chains where products are assembled from components from various North American suppliers. Efficient trade flows were hampered further by duplicative but separate regulatory regimes, divergent standards and inspection routines that often defied rational explanation. All served to compound border administration.

As a recent study by the Canadian Federation of Independent Business (CFIB) confirmed, the cost of understanding and coping with thousands of regulations and paperwork requirements prevented many small and medium-sized Canadian firms from attempting to serve other markets, notably the one on our southern border.

John Noble, president of the Ottawa-based Canadian International Council, and Michael Hart, Simon Reisman Professor of Trade Policy at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, estimated that in 2003, Canadian border officials were charged with ensuring compliance with almost 100 statutory instruments on behalf of dozens of federal departments and agencies. Their U.S. counterparts administered roughly 400.

Patrick Grady<sup>1</sup> has observed that the number of U.S. agents at the border increased six-fold from 340 in 2001 to 1,845 in October 2009. (The food industry is rife with incompatible grading, inspection and packaging requirements that hobble trade. Some, on beef for example, are blatantly protectionist and have nothing to do with food safety.)

The Beyond the Border Working Group (BBWG), led by senior officials, is expected to report annually to the leaders on the implementation of its work plan and the mandate is to be reviewed after three years.

[It] is joined at the hip by the creation of a regulatory cooperation council (RCC) with a two-year mandate to improve regulatory cooperation and adopt more compatible approaches that, in turn, are meant to drive greater efficiency and fuel prosperity for both countries. This is a tall hill to climb and one that has frustrated many initiatives in the past.

Much [bilateral trade] is based on "value chains." This is especially true of the automobile, telecommunications and aerospace industries. Yet integrative trade is hampered by needlessly divergent standards and inspection procedures from different jurisdictions compounded by



burdensome border administration. It is at the border that compliance is monitored most meticulously, adding to time and cost.

As Kathleen MacMillan<sup>2</sup> has written, “regulatory incompatibility means reduced trade, higher compliance costs for business, extra expenses for consumers and less than optimal outcomes... that damage our competitiveness unnecessarily.” She added, more pointedly, that Canadians are simply “shooting themselves in the foot” by maintaining and even expanding minor but wasteful regulatory differences.

The differences are particularly damaging for smaller companies, and because Canadian companies tend to be smaller, the burden on Canada is lopsided. The examples of inconsistency are legion, reflecting what Prof. Hart<sup>3</sup> has characterized as the “tyranny” or the “narcissism of small differences” — the obsession for maintaining difference to sustain distinction:

- In Canada, anti-theft immobilizers are required on all vehicles; in the U.S., lower-cost entry-level vehicles are exempt. This is just one of more than two dozen different standards undermining efficient production by North American auto companies;

- In Canada, cheese-flavoured popcorn, which is imported, must contain no more than 49 percent real cheese — perhaps with a nod to Canadian dairy farmers — whereas, in the U.S., no less than 53 percent;

- In Canada, fortified orange juice is classified as a “drug.” In the U.S. it is classified as “food;”

- Because of different labeling requirements and despite our colder weather, Canadians pay more for body deodorants than Americans;

- There are differences over the colouring and nutritional content of jellybeans, a distinction that David Ganong once highlighted at the top level of the two governments, to no avail.

That is why a more balanced approach to trade and security makes sense. On security, the objective fundamentally is to enable both countries to cooperate better using 21st-Century technologies, measures and techniques to identify and monitor more closely those posing a real risk to the security of the U.S. and Canada (as opposed to those who pose no risk whatsoever). New challenges from cyberspace are best countered, as well, by joint surveillance mechanisms.

To ease border congestion, bi-national

port of entry committees will be established to coordinate planning and funding for building and updating shared border facilities. (Most of the current infrastructure was established in the first half of the last century.) The two leaders also pledged to focus investments in modern infrastructure and technology at our busiest ports

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of entry. Should the new Windsor-Detroit bridge ever become a reality, it could serve as a pilot project to move this cooperation one step further, establishing a single, bi-national facility for customs and immigration inspection and epitomizing a bold new standard of trust and efficiency.

The forces of globalization oblige countries like Canada and the U.S. to examine all possible ways to bolster the competitiveness of our firms, to streamline regulatory barriers and to expedite trade flows. It is relevant to note that what we decide to do better together can also enhance our ability to take advantage of growth opportunities elsewhere.

On regulatory reform, the fundamental objective will be to achieve greater compatibility and complementarity of regulatory standards, not harmonization. The essential ingredient for success will be an enlightened approach to mutual recognition. Differences should be confined to those that serve distinct, identifiable and transparent public policy purposes

and not the “iron rice bowl” mindsets of bureaucrats. Either country can pick and choose where it makes sense to align or refine common standards. Similarly, each can choose to leave some topics off the table. That is the nature of any negotiation. But the current system would benefit from a firm shake up and a heavy dose of common sense.

Because many of the regulations and standards involved are provincial in nature, it will be imperative to include the provinces in negotiations, directly and substantively. It would be prudent for the negotiators to be guided by a formal consultative network of those with a direct stake in the outcome, including public interest advocates and experts in regulatory matters. Privacy concerns about sharing personal information will also have to be addressed in a manner consistent with existing laws and regulations in both countries.

For too long, the U.S. has seemed to prefer to deal with Canada primarily through trilateral summits despite the fact that this approach generated a meagre track record in terms of achievement. Besides, Mexico is not a party to NORAD, nor to NATO. Nor is it a shared partner in the Arctic. Especially on matters of security, these distinctions are acute. Nonetheless, giving greater attention to bilateral border and regulatory issues does not preclude the prospect of doing something trilateral if and when it makes sense. After all, NAFTA began as a bilateral agreement between Canada and the U.S.

The potential benefits to both countries from the perimeter security and regulatory reform initiatives are obvious but may not be sufficient to drive success. Deeply-held attitudes on security will not be easy to change. Even more troubling is the fact that the U.S. is beset by seemingly intractable challenges at home and abroad — an unsustainable fiscal problem, a sputtering economy and the wear and tear of three protracted and frustrating wars. A bilateral initiative with Canada, no matter how promising, will have difficulty capturing the necessary political support.

For Canada, there is always concern about a perceived loss of sovereignty in any bilateral negotiation with the U.S. That sentiment will never fade away even though history has demonstrated that bilateral accords with the U.S. on trade, defence and the environment have, in fact, been assertions of sovereignty serving to strengthen our prosperity, our security and our well-being as a society.

In the negotiations, the Americans will attach top priority to enhanced security arrangements whereas, for Canada, the major objective will be smoother access at the border to reinforce the benefits of free trade. Arriving at a healthy balance will pose the most daunting challenge of all for the negotiators.

Support for the initiative from the private sector has been cautious to date, no doubt tempered by the fact that previous efforts to facilitate border access and rationalize regulatory differences have died without much in the way of result. Officials will need to focus their initial negotiating efforts on solutions to what can be readily identified as key obstacles, thus generating tangible results and needed credibility for the whole exercise.

Some early achievements would also help spur momentum and may help galvanize broader support, especially from those who have the most to gain. Tangible examples of why changes make sense will be needed to counter both the inevitable attitudinal concerns in Canada and the chronic apathy or indifference of Americans to all things Canadian.

The essential tonic for progress, however, will be firm and persistent prodding

from the two leaders. Backed now by a solid, majority government, Mr. Harper is in a good position to lead and drive the twin initiative forward. He will need to, especially as Mr. Obama will be otherwise pre-occupied in the run-up to the 2012 election campaign.

The goal of the perimeter security and regulatory initiative is pragmatic. It may not be as dramatic in impact as the free-trade negotiations which dismantled tariffs across the board and provided a better basis for dispute settlement. But it is an exercise whose purpose is to remove many of the barnacles that have since stifled that agreement's original intent. As well, it can reduce longstanding, outdated regulatory impediments to more efficient, more competitive operations in North America.

The political environment has also changed dramatically since the 1990s and success is not pre-ordained. The obstacles, both overt and benign, are formidable. But the prescriptions established by the two leaders provide the opportunity for constructive engagement. The focus for negotiations should be on delivering concrete results. If the priority is sustained from the top, if key stakeholders become committed and a significant degree of trust is es-

tablished between the negotiating teams, there is reason to believe that innovative solutions can be implemented that will advance the interests of both countries.

1 Patrick Grady, "A More Open and Secure Border for Trade, Investment and People," Carleton University, Canada-U.S. Project: From Correct to Inspired: A Blueprint for Canada-U.S. Engagement, January 2009.

2 Kathleen MacMillan, "A Canada-U.S. Regulatory Accord," Carleton University, Canada-U.S. Project: From Correct to Inspired: A Blueprint for Canada-U.S. Engagement, January 2009.

3 Michael Hart, "Steer or Drift: Taking Charge of Canada-U.S. Regulatory Convergence," C.D. Howe Institute Border Papers, March 2006.

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# Eliminating AIDS in Rwanda, one woman at a time

By Maurice Twahirwa

About 70 Rwandan women have been volunteer subjects since 2004 in a medical project to prevent HIV/AIDS, and, at the same time, to change attitudes toward the disease.

About three per cent of Rwanda's population carries HIV, but knowledge about the disease and its prevention is sparse. As well, going public is a tough choice in a socially conservative society.

Uwineza Ariane, 34, is among the women enrolled for the two successive trials of a microbicide called Dapivirine gel and ring. The gel lasts 24 hours inside the vagina, and the ring lasts an entire month. Both combat the HIV virus. Ms Ariane decided to participate and go public to ensure that the drug trial benefitted her whole community, the Gitega district of Kigali, the Rwandan capital.

"As a nurse, I participated to calm down doubts from neighbours' husbands, who didn't understand what their wives were telling them. Men started to come to me, and asked me all about the microbicides because I was someone they thought knew a lot."

Many women who enrolled for the tests found it difficult to talk with their husbands about it.

Eugenie Mukabisangwa, 36, who lives in the Kicukiro District in Kigali City, is among them. She says, "It's not that easy, as you have first to talk about it with your husband. When I told him, he agreed to go with me the next day to get more information." For Mukabisangwa, the talk worked, but it was difficult to tell her husband she had talked about sex with another person — in a traditional society people just don't do that. And she felt she needed permission from her husband to take part in the trial.

Public exposure was difficult, as well, for Naweniwe Zamida, 29, when she enrolled for the tests. Her neighbours assumed incorrectly she was HIV-positive because she was involved with the research.

"I am not infected by HIV/AIDS. But I'm proud of being part of a test of a medicine that could prevent it — this is what pushed me into the tests." Every woman we interviewed who was undergoing the tests said she wanted the chance to be tested gynecologically with up-to-date



MAURICE TWAHIRWA

Rwandan women in Kigali attend an information session on microbicide trials.

techniques like colposcopy — an examination of an illuminated, magnified view of the cervix and vagina and vulva for malignant growths.

"It was the first time I was tested by colposcopy. I thought it was only done in foreign countries," Zamida says. "I was also surprised when Project Ubuzima (the name means "health" in the local language, Kinyarwanda) took care of a woman who had infections that barred her from the trials." The project does that for any women who apply, but who suffer from other gynecological diseases.

The gel-and-ring project is a regional version of the International Partnership for Microbicide (IPM). Starting in 2004, it has been aiming to change attitudes toward sexually transmitted disease among the population at large, and recruited an initial 71 volunteer women to test the drug.

According to a 2009 UNAIDS report, sub-Saharan Africa had 22.4 million people living with the HIV/AIDS, the highest rate in the world. And women are the most vulnerable.

Rwanda is one of the African countries testing the new generation of microbicide gels and rings, and the population has been the target of government programs about its benefits.

A typical Project Ubuzima information session in Kigali's Kicukiro District had about 60 people with women outnumbering men two to one. Everyone wanted to know whether the man could feel the gel during sex. Ms. Zamida spoke up, saying,

"My husband said that he can't feel anything different, there's no harm or bother." After she spoke, it looked like most of the men at the meeting were no longer worried.

Dr. Joseph Byankandondera, a researcher with the project, says the gel is usually preferred more than the ring.

He said the fact that women can use the gel on their own means they get a chance to protect themselves, even if their partner refuses any method of protection, an attitude he considers common in a society where men expect women to obey them, no matter what.

Dr. Jeanne d'Arc Mujawamariya, the minister of gender and family, agrees. "In Africa, when it comes to sexual intercourse, men decide whether and when. The miracle from this medicine is that women will have the ability to choose whether to protect themselves, as was not the case for several methods that have been used before," she says.

As well, she says, this project could be part of a solution for a society where rape and similar crimes against women are increasing. A woman inserts the gel into her vagina daily as part of her toilette. The ring can be inserted for as long as a month.

Project Ubuzima's public awareness campaign is multi-faceted. Evelyne Kestelyn, another project researcher, says they assess community knowledge about HIV/AIDS, and organize visits to health centres and clinics devoted to sexually transmitted diseases. Social workers talk



about the trial with men, take the message to women's associations and NGOs, and brief local leaders about the trials.

The PR leader of the project, Marie Michele Umulisa, says the mission has reached a stage where there are "no problems enrolling women. Instead, what we needed was appropriate communication. We are in a stage where women come to us wishing to be tested, because they understood the impact it has on them for the future."

Most women are eligible to take part, unless they test positive for HIV/AIDS. Participation is voluntary and the project provides them with about \$10 to cover the time lost to consultation and travel to the clinic.

Women are impatient to get the drug. "We needed a medicine we can use with our own preference, because there are partners who deny any kind of protection," says Gertrude Mukayiranga, 43, president of an association of HIV-positive women. "Other methods of preventing AIDS do not interest women because they are sometimes hard to practise, or men can discover that you used them without their approval. We need this medicine on the market with a cheap price as soon as possible." The trial is expected to be completed by the end of 2012.

On the other side, some say the microbicide could mean more infidelity. "I believe people should abstain from having sex with people who are not their spouse," says Bernard Gatore, a leader of a Christian community in Huye District, Southern Province, who also heard about the project over the radio. But, he says, "I would go for the microbicide only in cases of rape."

And one local leader says the microbicide could reduce harm in unconventional households. Hope Placide Mwiseneza, the executive secretary of Kigali's Gikondo Sector, says, "One of my sector's districts is notorious for its numbers of sex workers. I think it will help them in their daily business without contracting AIDS."

As the microbicide is still in the trials, no official results are available yet but Project Ubuzima, a similar South African project, has said it expects the microbicides to reduce the number of infections by 90 per cent in users. And the drug used in the gel (Dapivirine) in Rwanda is considered more effective than the Tenofovir used in South Africa.

Maurice Twahirwa is a Rwandan journalist.

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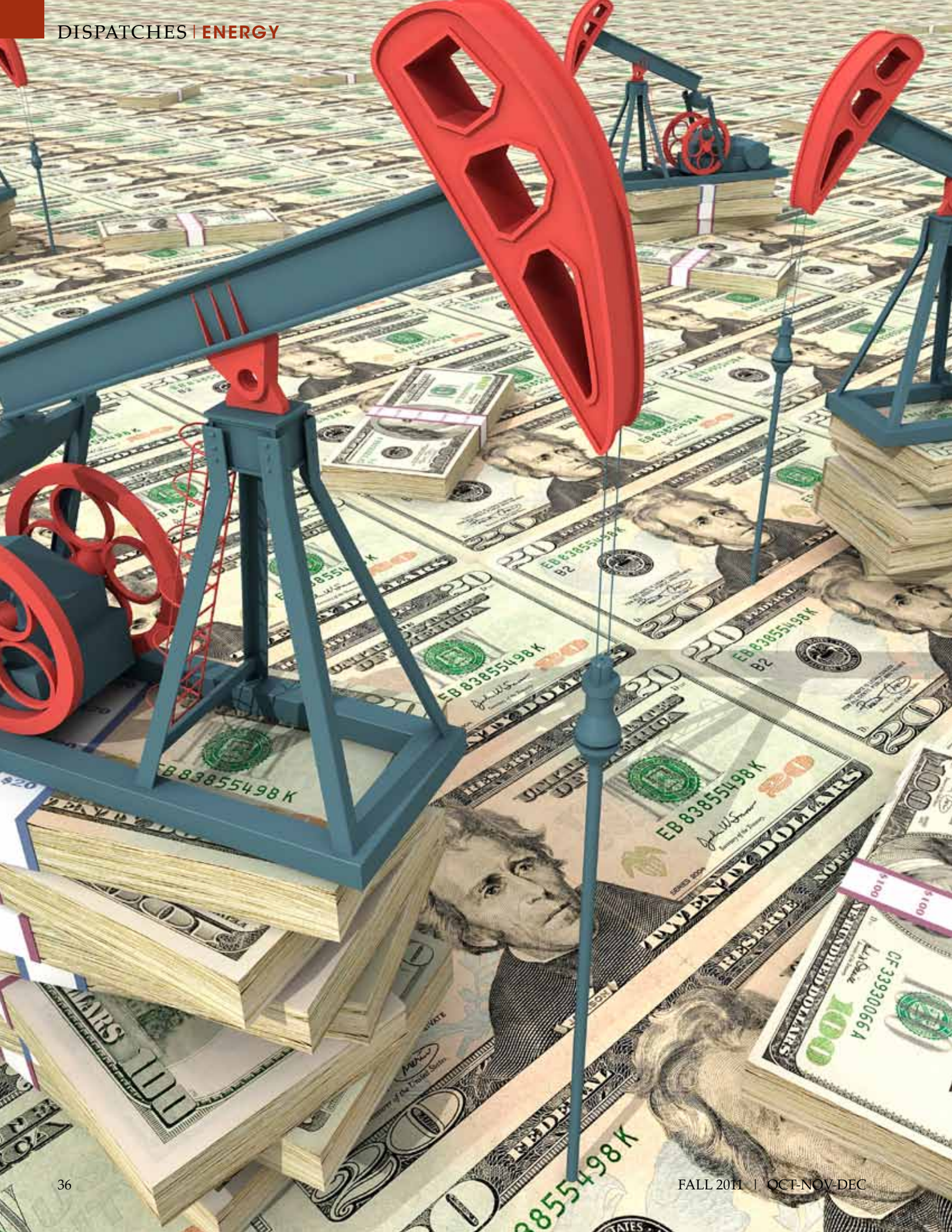
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- Energy Probe executive director **Lawrence Solomon** anticipates the revolutionary political and economic implications inherent in the vast shale oil deposits discovered in the Shfela Basin.

# Gas and oil galore

Winners: The Top 10 rising contenders for energy superstar status

By Wolfgang Depner

**//** “Control energy and you control the nations.” This thesis, as advocated by Henry Kissinger, might not be the most original theory that advances our understanding of politics, particularly in the arena of international relations. Determinism of this sort unduly diminishes the role of other, non-materialistic factors in the fortunes of nations, for if it were true, we would not think of South Sudan as an afflicted country. But as historian Paul Kennedy and others have reminded us, energy has always played a pivotal, even primary, role in the rise and fall of great powers. Indeed, if historians were geologists, they might be inclined to vigorously stratify the various eras of human history and their respective events according to their dominant source of energy. Noted political strategist Kevin Phillips did as much in his book *American Theocracy: The Perils of Radical Religion, Oil, and Borrowed Money in the 21st Century* (2006) where he writes that “the world’s age of oil has also been its era of American supremacy” — and argues that both might have already peaked.

DREAMSTIME

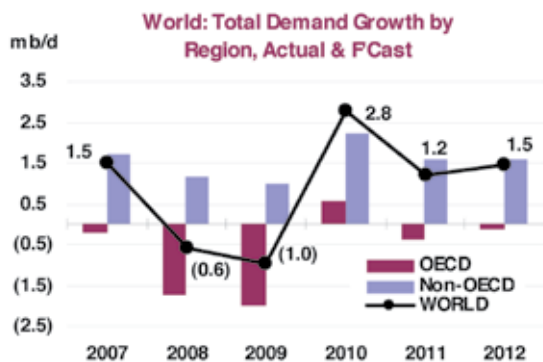


Perhaps. Setting aside the most perilous pronouncements about the long-term state of global petroleum supplies, however, no one can deny that a growing segment of the international community has developed a more than critical attitude towards oil, thanks to its complicity in global climate change, terrorism and financial turmoil. But if citizens — particularly western ones — feel increasingly uncomfortable about greasing the skids of Middle Eastern despots in contributing to a planetary meltdown, they seem to accept their contributing role by being more than ambivalent about the alternatives.

Consider Germany. While other nations are doubling-down on nuclear power despite the events of Fukushima, Germany has decided to phase out its nuclear reactors by 2022. Held up against

in the Arctic, where the predicted — not to mention profitable — scramble for its resources might already be underway. But if this quest for new riches might be the source of geo-political conflict in the future, it has also seen its fair share of co-operation.

U.S. giant Exxon Mobil recently won what *The New York Times* called a “coveted prize” in the global petroleum industry, by securing the right to drill for oil off Russia’s Arctic coast. The scale of this agreement with Rosneft, Russia’s state-owned oil company, is, in the words of Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, “scary,” as investments by both companies might reach \$500 billion, according to *The Times*. As part of the deal, Exxon has agreed to give Rosneft assets, including some in the Gulf of Mexico and in Texas.



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the unfolding process of climate change, this turn of events has stoked fears around kitchen and corporate boardroom tables that electricity will become too expensive and unreliable.

But Germany’s decision to phase out nuclear power could also boost its position as one of the most important manufacturers and exporters of technology, designed to collect and carry alternative forms of energy, such as wind, solar and geo-thermal power. Getting out of nuclear power, therefore, could be the best or worst thing Germany has done for some time.

So what should be done? How does the international community reconcile ecological inevitabilities with economic necessities? To paraphrase Winston Churchill, safety and certainty in energy lie in variety and variety alone. Oil will likely remain the most important source of traditional energy for some time. This is partly thanks to the tragic irony that climate change, often attributed to the burning of fossil fuels, promises to open up new reserves

With such figures in the room, one can only surmise that the potential of future profits readily trumps political grievances, past and present.

Technological improvements such as carbon-sequestration also promise to lower environmental inhibitions about the use of coal and other non-renewable hydrocarbons.

But all depends on supplies and exploration costs. Other energy alternatives, including renewables one, will emerge as part of a moving puzzle and, with them, new players in the great game for energy.

This review has sought to recognize this unfolding transition by acknowledging nations whose traditional energy resources remain under-explored for a variety of reasons. But it has also sought to highlight nations that are taking steps to break their dependence from traditional forms of energy. Saudi Arabia and Russia, today’s energy super-powers, could soon find themselves competing for energy supremacy.

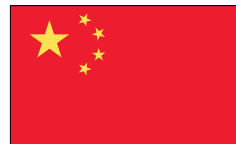
## 1. Brazil



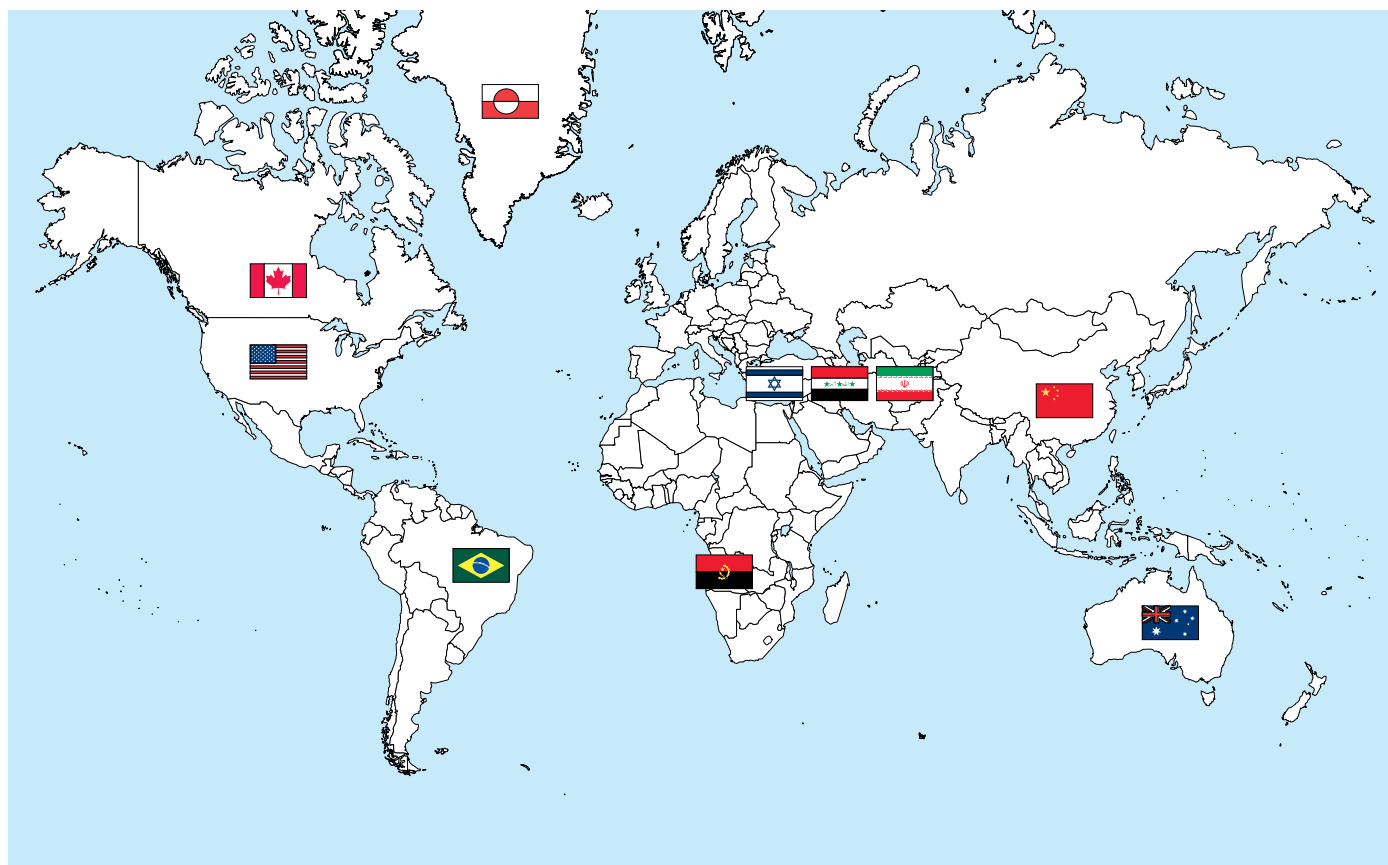
It was a brief moment of levity that says much about the growing leverage of Brazil as a global energy player. When German Chancellor Angela Merkel visited Brazil in 2008, then-president Luiz Ignacio Lula da Silva, told her she would soon be able to call him “Sheikh Lula” — given the discovery by Brazil’s state-owned oil company Petrobras and its European partners of massive oil deposits off the Atlantic coast. While it will take considerable effort and expense to extract and exploit these reservoirs as they lie beneath more than four kilometres of water, rock and salt, they hold an estimated 8 billion to 12 billion barrels of oil, according to published figures.

Impressive statistics of this kind have naturally inspired interest from some of the world’s largest energy consumers, including the United States, which has sought to strengthen commercial and political ties with this increasingly important global power. But oil represents only one part of Brazil’s diverse energy portfolio. The country is already among the leading producers of hydro-electricity and continues to invest in additional capacities. Brazil, the second-largest producer of ethanol behind the United States, according to *The Wall Street Journal*, has also prepared the ground for additional growth in its bio-fuel sector. In contrast, the U.S. Senate has moved to scrap ethanol subsidies to combat rising deficits and food prices. Brazil, in short, stands poised to become an energy giant.

## 2. China



Call it a case of stating the obvious. As the International Energy Agency notes in its 2010 *World Energy Outlook*, developments in China will have “major implications” on the global supply and demand for oil, natural gas, and coal, not to mention prospects for limiting climate change. While this assessment acknowledges the status of China as the world’s largest consumer of energy and producer of



greenhouse gases, it also hints at its present-day dependency on foreign sources of carbon-based energy and the long-term environmental impact of this reliance.

The Chinese leadership has responded to this reality in two ways. Short-term, China remains committed to a policy of securing traditional forms of energy, at home and abroad. Long-term, however, China seeks to reduce its use by moderating growth, improving energy efficiencies and diversifying its energy sources.

China plans to break ground on 40 new nuclear reactors in the next five years and widen its lead as the world's largest manufacturer of solar panels and wind turbines. This position has not gone unnoticed. As *The New York Times* wrote in 2010, "the West may someday trade its dependence on oil from the Mideast for a reliance on solar panels, wind turbines and other gear manufactured in China."

### 3. Iran



One form of energy — nuclear power — has dominated much of the recent dis-

course about Iran. Often heard and rarely believed claims from the Iranian leadership that the country's emerging nuclear program will serve an exclusively civilian purpose strain credulity. That said, Iran already has the capacity to project power across the Middle East thanks to its rank as one of the world's top five producers of both oil and natural gas.

Iran stands to retain this status for some time as it possesses the third and second largest-known reserves of oil and natural gas respectively, according to the *CIA World Factbook*. Intriguingly, Iran's current influence falls below expectations in light of its immense energy reserves. For better or worse, Iran remains under-exploited with production levels below its potential.

An influx of foreign investment could remedy this condition, but Byzantine investment rules and international sanctions against the ruling Mullahs have damaged the country's energy infrastructure.

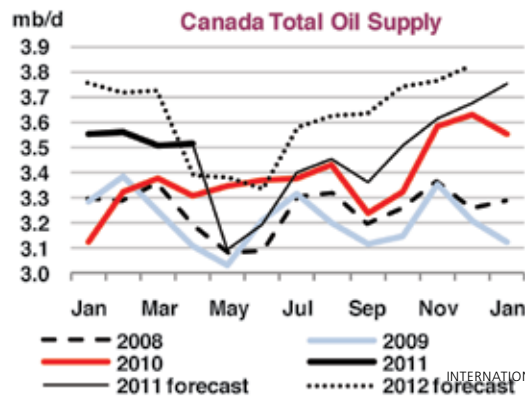
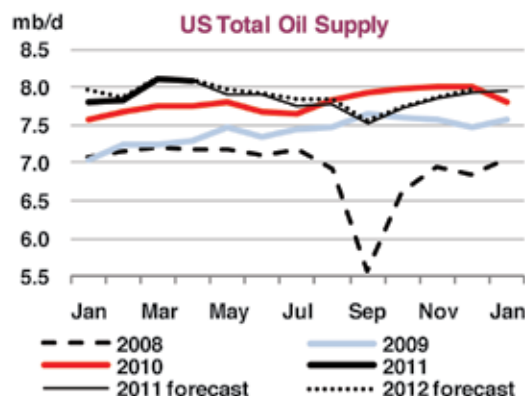
It is ironic, if not paradoxical, that Shiite Iran depends on its Sunni Arab neighbour of Oman and others to refine its oil and natural gas for domestic consumption. This condition — which bears the seed of political instability inside and outside the country — also exposes Iran as a nation whose ambitions far exceeds its institutions.

### 4. Iraq



History will have to decide whether the United States invaded Iraq in 2003 for the purpose of securing its oil reserves, said to be the fourth-largest in the world, according to the CIA. But no one can deny that the resource wealth of Iraq remains grossly under-utilized. The Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), the Gulf War (1990-91) and the economic sanctions that followed it, and the sectarian conflicts that accompanied the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq (now winding down) have extensively damaged Iraq's political institutions and infrastructure with obvious social and economic consequences.

Iraq might possess a princely reservoir of energy riches, but its citizens will likely live like paupers for some time compared to their equally oil-rich Arab neighbours. The U.S. Energy Information Administration projects that Iraq's per-person net revenue from oil sales reached only \$1,686 in 2010 compared with \$7,685 for Saudi Arabia, \$21,416 for Kuwait, and \$34,110



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for Qatar.

Iraq's natural gas sector offers another measure of this under-performance. Whereas the country possesses the 11th largest known reserves of natural gas, its domestic production levels are only good enough for 58th spot in the world. Among exporters, Iraq currently ranks 116th in the world. Statistics of this kind are only the most superficial measure of Iraq's present status and future potential.

## 5. Canada



Prime Minister Stephen Harper has more than once promoted Canada as an "emerging energy superpower" when abroad.

It should be noted, in passing, that Mr. Harper does not describe Canada as "an energy superpower." In his first use of the phrase (at a G8 summit in St. Petersburg in 2006), he said only that his government "intended to build" the country into "an emerging energy superpower." With this rhetorical qualification, Mr. Harper's words appear more aspiration than assertion.

The supporting facts, though, are impressive enough: Canada is the world's fifth-largest energy producer; the world's third-largest natural gas producer; the world's seventh-largest oil producer; the world's largest uranium producer; and the world's largest hydro-electricity producer. And these numbers don't count shale oil and shale gas. In a 2009 report, the National Energy Board reported that Canada

possesses 1,000 trillion ("if not more") cubic feet of shale gas — enough, all by itself, to heat every house in the country.

But the facts do not necessarily warrant this bravado — at least not at this time. No one can deny the presence of vast quantities of energy sources such as oil, natural gas, uranium and hydro-electricity within Canadian borders, with perhaps more available in the medium future as climate change "opens up" the Arctic. It is no wonder that Chinese investors have joined their American competitors in staking out the Alberta oil sands. But the obvious foreign presence in the Canadian energy market speaks to one of the conditions that might make it difficult for Canada to fulfill Mr. Harper's vision.

As energy expert Annette Hester argues (in a 2007 paper), the federal government neither possesses nor apparently desires the ability to leverage Canada's energy abundance for grand political purposes. Plus, she suggests, Canadians might be uncomfortable with throwing their weight around. Canada, as she notes, is not Russia. That said, Ottawa officials have begun to meet with provincial leaders — perhaps the true power brokers in all matters of Canadian energy — in heeding the call of business to develop a more coherent, comprehensive and, dare we say it, national energy policy.

## 6. Australia



In no other developed nation might the causes and consequences of climate

change trigger more ambivalence than in Australia. An alternating array of environmental calamities — be they droughts, floods or wildfires — have convinced many Australians that climate change has become an undeniable and potentially irreversible fact of life.

On the other hand, Australia holds the distinction of being the world's largest exporter of coal, which also produces most of the country's domestic electricity. The current Labor government of Julia Gillard aims to resolve this by charging industrial emitters a carbon tax to support more climate-friendly energy sources.

It is this very transition that could benefit Australia's growing natural gas sector. A 2011 report by the International Energy Agency identifies Australia as a potential "giant" in the exploration and export of liquefied natural gas. The same report also identifies several deficiencies in the necessary infrastructure needed to process and transport this increasingly important energy resource and warns against rising costs in face of geographic obstacles. As for the broader climate change agenda, it has experienced a recent decline in political and financial support. Big Coal powers Down Under in more than one way.

## 7. Angola



Severe, often violent political problems currently plague this former Portuguese colony as it continues to recover from the on-again, off-again civil war (1975-2002) that began even before it had received its

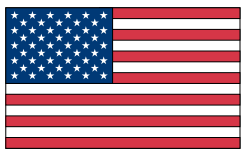


formal independence. Yet this condition has done nothing to reverse the rising status of Angola as one of the leading exporters of oil.

A member of OPEC since 2006, Angola has rivaled and occasionally surpassed Nigeria as the top petroleum producer from Africa, with much of it going to China, which has long identified sub-Saharan Africa as an important supply region. The benefits for both parties appear obvious. China diversifies its energy sources while developing countries such as Angola receive much needed cash without having to answer questions from western donors about political corruption and human rights concerns.

Western governments have also begun to beg for the attention of Angola, as well as other oil-rich nations along the western African shoreline. Angola recently received a controversial offer from Germany to supply a fleet of patrol boats. The vessels would not only be capable of patrolling the country's large coastline, but also of protecting its offshore oil platforms.

## 8. The United States



Shale oil, sedimentary rock containing material that can be transformed into crude oil, continues to generate serious interest among policy-makers and investors. Nowhere might this interest be more intense and understandable than in the United States, which possesses the largest supplies in the world.

Consider the numbers. Using a middle-of-the-road figure, the Rand Corporation estimated in 2005 that 800 billion barrels of recoverable shale oil from the Green River Reservoir in the western United States could meet 25 percent of American energy demands for 400 years.

The Bakken Field, stretching across the American and the Canadian Prairie (Saskatchewan and Manitoba), has also drawn attention from energy investors, who have not been shy in framing their potentially profitable ambitions as a public, even patriotic, service.

In fact, though, the four largest shale oil zones in the world all fall within the continental United States — and the collective recoverable reserves of these deposits have been estimated at 3.3 tril-

lion barrels. Counting even half as much, these oil reserves, by themselves, would exceed Saudi Arabian reserves by a factor of five.

Industry salesmanship might be crude, but effective. Freed from the tyrannical — not to mention costly — grip of oil from the Middle East, the United States could count on a plentiful, cheap and easily accessible source of energy for its economy and military as Washington focuses on domestic priorities such as rebuilding the country's crumbling infrastructure, sub-par education system and manufacturing sector — if the political elites choose to do so. Whether they will remains another question. As the protracted fight over the raising of the debt ceiling revealed, political will and functionality might be the most precious commodities in the United States these days and for some time to come.

## 9. Israel



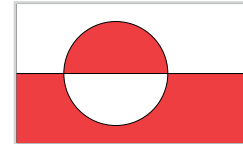
Jewish comedians have often asked how Moses managed to lead his people to the one place in the Middle East that lacked oil. Well, they might have to re-write that joke. According to figures reported in *The London Times* in March 2011, Israel is sitting on shale oil reserves that could contain 250 billion barrels of oil, a figure that would nearly equal proven Saudi reserves of 260 billion barrels.

Israel's shale oil is land-based, not far from Jerusalem, in what is known as the Shfela Basin. Its gas deposits, on the other hand, are conventional and off-shore. The Tamar deposit, the world's biggest conventional gas discovery in 2009, is transformative by itself; the Leviathan deposit, discovered last year, was the world's largest deepwater natural gas discovery in the last decade. Tamar gas is expected to hit the market in 2012.

Figures of this sort could significantly change the geo-political calculus of the region. Israel, which for obvious security reasons buys the bulk of its energy from sources outside the Arab Middle East, would likely see its regional strength rise. Israel's economy — already superior to those of its oil-rich but politically backward Arab neighbours — would achieve a far greater measure of independence. But this scenario — if it unfolds — could

be quite costly to the environment. As Canadians familiar with the oilsands can confirm, the extraction of unconventional oil sources requires an immense amount of energy and water, an increasingly precious commodity, especially in the desert. The Israelis are reportedly working with a unique technology that eliminates as much as half the emissions produced by conventional drilling — and all of the water. Moses would applaud.

## 10. Greenland (Denmark)



Local reactions to the 2010 claim by Scottish oil giant Cairn Energy that it had discovered gases that might indicate oil off the coast of Greenland could not have been more different. Ordinary residents living near the offshore drilling site in Baffin Bay experienced what *The Guardian* described as "euphoria" in anticipation of future jobs and prosperity, whereas their politicians intensified their chatter about genuine independence from Denmark. Greenland has received many symbols of sovereignty since 1945, but remains a formal part of the Scandinavian country.

Environmentalists, meanwhile, sounded depressed in describing would-be scenarios of environmental destruction and devastation. Whether any of these visions will unfold remains an open question. While the Arctic might well contain up to 25 percent of the world's undiscovered, recoverable hydrocarbons, as a 2008 report by the United States Geological Survey claims, its geography and geology will likely pose a formidable challenge with current extraction technologies, even as climate change continues to "free" said resources from their icy prison. The region around Greenland may also become a growing source of geo-political conflict between other interested and far more powerful parties, namely the United States, Russia and China. Experts who suggest that oil explorations off Greenland could be as lucrative as in Iraq, but without the instability, have a point. Like a quiet neighbour, Greenland is unlikely to generate attention. But its neighbours might.

Wolfgang Depner is a Ph.D. candidate in interdisciplinary studies at the University of British Columbia-Okanagan, in Kelowna, B.C.

# Shale gas, shale oil: Peaking upward



KATE BRAYDON/TELEGRAPH-JOURNAL

Operator Dean Douthwright, of Corridor Resources, checks the methanol injection pump at a Sussex, N.B., operation that produces natural gas from shale.



By André Plourde

**A**t the beginning of the last decade, many energy market forecasters and analysts foresaw a transformation of natural gas markets into something akin to the world crude oil market. Basically, the world's three main

regional natural gas markets (Asia, Europe and North America) which, to date, had evolved mostly independently, would become much more integrated as North American and Western European production declined steadily over time.

In the future, supply patterns would be characterized by rapidly rising shipments of liquefied natural gas (LNG) — the glue, if you will, that would increasingly bind together the three regional markets into one, a market structure much like that prevailing for crude oil. There was even talk of the possible creation of an OGEC — Organization of Gas Exporting Countries — a cartel that would operate much along the lines of OPEC.

After all, at the end of year 2000, approximately 55 percent of the world's

known reserves of natural gas were located in three countries: Russia, Iran and Qatar. The geopolitics of natural gas were about to become much more complicated and would evolve to parallel that of crude oil, with North America (aka, the United States) becoming increasingly reliant on Middle East countries to meet domestic natural gas consumption requirements.

We had seen this movie before and hadn't liked it much then, but it seemed that we were, however reluctantly, resigned to a second screening.

By the middle of the first decade of the 2000s, not much had happened to challenge this view of the future of natural gas markets. In 2006, for example, when the Energy Information Administration (EIA), part of the U.S. Department of Energy,



released its annual energy outlook, the picture it presented of natural gas markets was one where net imports were forecast to meet about 20 percent of U.S. domestic consumption by 2030 — a sharp increase in the penetration of the U.S. marketplace by foreign sources of supply. And this in spite of the assumed construction and operation of a pipeline bringing Alaskan production to the lower 48 states. Canada's importance as a source of gas supply for the United States was portrayed as falling sharply (even with a fully operational Mackenzie Valley pipeline), leaving much higher LNG shipments to account for about 80 percent of U.S. gas imports (up from a share of about 5 percent in 2005).

Over the next few years, this picture of future natural gas supply patterns changed significantly. In the 2011 edition of its *Annual Energy Outlook*, for example, the EIA projected that the United States would be almost self-sufficient in natural gas by 2030. Marked increases in domestic production would replace steadily falling import volumes from Canada and limit LNG imports, which would remain a minor source of North American gas supply, in sharp contrast to the situation envisaged as recently as in the 2006 version of the *Outlook*. All this was seen as occurring without the construction of pipelines across Alaska and down the Mackenzie Valley.

From this perspective, the North American natural gas "island" would thus appear to be sustainable for much longer than had been conceived even a few short years earlier. For the foreseeable future, there would be no single, integrated world market for natural gas and North Americans, at least, would be spared its complicated geopolitics.

What brought about this change in perception about the future of natural gas in North America? Simply put, the growth in supply capacity was driven by the assumed commercially viable extraction of North America's huge reserves of shale gas. The successful marriage of two techniques, namely horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing (or fracking), that had been increasingly observed over the last 10 years or so led the EIA, among others, to revise its vision of the potential role of shale gas in the North American supply picture.

Not only was it technologically possible to tap these resources, but it was now also economically feasible to do so: actual production experience using horizontal drilling and fracking (which typically involves the high-pressure injection of water and chemicals to release gas trapped in

formations) showed that shale deposits could be tapped at much lower cost than previously believed. Shale gas, it is now thought, holds a competitive advantage over production from Arctic regions and LNG imports and will continue to do so for decades to come. What had previously been seen as a possibility only far into the future now emerged as current-day reality. And this in less than five years.



There's been talk of creating an Organization for Gas Exporting Countries, similar to OPEC whose headquarters, in Vienna, is pictured above.

Granted that shale gas production presents its own challenges. For example, there are concerns that the liquids and chemicals used in fracking could, under certain circumstances, contaminate underground water supplies. However, this technique has been used for a long time by the North American oil industry which has an excellent track record in preventing groundwater contamination from occurring. While it is simply not possible to state categorically that nothing will ever go wrong, it is also clear that an appropriate regulatory environment has encouraged and will continue to encourage industry to operate responsibly and minimize the likelihood of water contamination due to fracking.

Heightened activity levels in North America have generated a lot of information about the location, extent, and properties of shale gas deposits. This is not the case elsewhere in the world, and so the prospects for shale production to impact natural gas markets in Asia and Europe re-

main much more uncertain. Nonetheless, a recent report issued by the World Energy Council suggests that Russia has potentially larger quantities of shale gas than the rest of the world (excluding North America) combined.

If this were to prove correct, then one could imagine a future that would include a much closer integration of Asian and European natural gas markets, with Russia at the heart of this development. Europe would become even more reliant on Russian supplies of natural gas and potentially huge market opportunities in Asia, especially in China, could be tapped by Russian production. The geopolitics of natural gas outside North America would thus revolve even more closely around Russian interests.

What of crude oil? It is, after all, the single most important commodity in world trade. What kinds of changes in the market structure for this energy source are contemplated by forecasters and analysts?

In comparison to the developments envisaged for natural gas, the answer is rather placid: basically, the future is presented as a rather straightforward extrapolation of the present and of the recent past. The U.S. EIA and the International Energy Agency, among others, foresee continued dominance of OPEC on the supply side and demand patterns characterized by weak (if not negative) growth in OECD countries, contrasted with robust increases in oil product consumption in emerging and developing economies, in particular China and, to a lesser extent, India, Brazil, and some Middle Eastern countries, such as Saudi Arabia.

For some, this is seen as a situation where the benefits of continued U.S. investments (military and otherwise) in efforts to enhance the security of world crude oil supplies would increasingly accrue to consumers outside of the United States, and especially to those in China and select other emerging economies. The future would thus be one where U.S. taxpayers increasingly subsidize oil product consumers elsewhere in the world. Continued political resistance within the United States to military expenditure reductions, even in the face of deep concerns over government budget deficits, is certainly supportive of the kind of world oil market evolution described above.

It is true, however, that huge amounts of non-conventional crude oil are known to exist and that Canada's oil sands deposits contain significant reserves on a world scale. But even the most ambitious forecasts



of which I am aware have Canadian production reaching no more than 50 percent of current Saudi Arabian output by 2030.

Yes, an important source of supply for the world crude oil market, but one highly unlikely to account for much more than 5 percent or so of total world production in the foreseeable future. To complicate matters even more, recent estimates (including that reported in BP's *Statistical Review of World Energy 2011*) of extra heavy crude oil reserves in Venezuela (a founding member of OPEC) exceed those of Canada's oil sands. The preeminence of crude oil reserves held by OPEC members appears to be a factor that will be with us for quite some time.

Nonetheless, sustained high crude oil prices are certainly having an impact on exploration and development activity patterns. In the United States, for example, where much of world oil and gas drilling occurs, for every drilling rig involved in oil-related operations in 2005, there were on average six such rigs working natural gas prospects.

By April of 2011, however, the EIA reported that there were more active oil drilling rigs than gas rigs in operation in the United States. Some of this increased oil-related activity was directed at U.S. shale oil deposits, which are estimated to be 50 percent larger than Canada's oil sands and, according to a World Energy Council report, thought to be by far the largest in the world.

Development and production of these deposits along with Canada's oil sands production could go a long way in reducing U.S. dependence on sources of crude oil outside North America, thus making it even more evident that U.S. investments in enhancing the security of world oil supplies primarily benefit consumers in other parts of the world. However, currently available technology is such that the costs of producing shale oil are high (even relative to other non-conventional sources). Furthermore, the chemical composition of the oil extracted from shale formations differs from that of conventional and other non-conventional crudes, and poses significant challenges at the refining stage.

If only someone were to find a commercially viable way of extracting and processing shale oil, future prospects for the world crude oil market might look quite different than these do today and could signal a new era in the geopolitics of oil.

André Plourde is an economics professor and dean of Carleton University's Faculty of Public Affairs.

# Oil-rich America set to 'drill-baby-drill'

By Lawrence Solomon



**R**ichard Nixon was the first U.S. president to vow and fail to wean the United States off its dependency on Middle Eastern oil. Barack Obama will be the last. The United States today has the wherewithal to become independent in energy. Once Obama goes, it will also have the will.

Obama and previous presidents failed by ignoring economics in favour of environmental prescriptions of the day — they lowered highway speed limits, imposed mileage standards, turned down thermostats, subsidized electric and hydrogen-fuelled vehicles, and subsidized just about every kind of alternative energy imaginable, from synfuels to nuclear to solar to ethanol to wind.

Just about the only thing they didn't do — and the one thing that just about any successor to Obama will do in spades — is aggressively deregulate oil and gas development, both on and offshore. Today's Republican dream of "Drill, baby, drill" will be tomorrow's universal standard.

A Rasmussen poll in June shows why. A striking 75 percent of American voters want more oil and gas drilling in the United States, and the percentage is higher still among Republicans and independents, those to whom a Republican president would be beholden. More significantly, most Americans oppose Obama's ban on offshore drilling in parts of the Gulf of Mexico and off the East Coast: 67 percent of American voters favour offshore drilling and 59 percent favour deep-water drilling. And the number of Americans who blame humans for global warming has dropped to one-third as the credibility of environmentalists decline.

Little wonder that the drumbeat for removing restrictions on fossil fuel development steadily grows stronger.

How feasible is it for the United States to achieve energy security when oil imports have doubled since Nixon's promise to eliminate them? The United States can have energy security whenever it wants it.

Of the 9.2 million barrels of oil per day that the United States today imports, 6 million come from the OPEC cartel. About half of those OPEC imports, or 3 million barrels per day, could be wiped out in the next decade through the oil industry's existing plans if governments don't intervene.

"This is very big and it's coming on very fast," stated Daniel Yergin, chairman of the global intelligence company IHS CERA, and one of world's most respected authorities on oil, in an interview last month with *The New York Times*. "This is like adding another Venezuela or Kuwait by 2020, he said, "except these tight oil fields are in the United States."

Mr. Yergin is referring to a revolution well underway — despite government foot-dragging — in new technologies that are obtaining oil from shale and other so-called "tight rock" formations. The Eagle Ford field in south Texas, entirely unknown until recently, is already producing 100,000 barrels a day. One independent company, Chesapeake Energy, expects to hit 500,000 barrels a day by 2020 from the 3,000 wells it's planning to drill. Other companies that have flocked to this giant field in south Texas, including Chinese, European and Canadian oil multinationals, are investing billions of dollars to drill wells by the thousands in Eagle Ford.

But Eagle Ford is only one of 20 hot new shale oil fields, and not even the largest. The larger Bakken oil field in North Dakota, long known but considered uneconomic until a few years ago, already produces 400,000 barrels a day and is expected to reach one million barrels a day by 2020. And the Green River formation, located within Colorado, Wyoming and Utah, contains some 6 trillion barrels of oil, of which (according to the U.S. Department of Energy), approximately 1.38 tril-



U.S. COAST GUARD PHOTO

The Gulf of Mexico oil spill last year demonstrated to the oil industry the need to protect its bottom line by upgrading safety.

lion barrels — or five Saudi Arabias — are potentially recoverable.

All told, the United States has more oil recoverable from shale than any other country in the world. Remarkably, the new technologies now in use allow many of these wells to become profitable in a mere eight months, compared to a typical two years for conventional oil operations, helping to explain the new oil rush.

Not that the United States even needs shale and tight rock oil to blow off OPEC. According to the U.S. government's Congressional Research Service, America's federal lands contain an estimated 163 billion barrels of technically recoverable conventional oil, enough to replace all Persian Gulf imports while maintaining America's current rates of production. Most of those conventional barrels are today beyond reach, either because the cost of pulling them out of the ground is too high with today's technology or because government policies either discourage or ban their exploration on environmental grounds. The ban is especially sweeping for offshore oil, where some 85 percent of the 1.76 billion acres of American coastal waters is off limits to new drilling.

Those bans would largely be swept aside should any Republican become president in 2012, or under any president, Democrat or Republican, in 2016. One large reason, ironically, is the aftermath

of the horror that was the BP Gulf oil spill last year. That seemingly never-ending, worst-case blowout demonstrated to the oil industry the need to protect its bottom line by upgrading safety. It demonstrated to government regulators the dangers in their laxity. And it demonstrated to the public at large the resiliency of Mother Nature: One year after the blowout, the damage is seen to be much smaller than once feared and most consider the cleanup to be all but complete, thanks less to human efforts than to nature's awesome recuperative capacities.

America's will to wean itself off foreign oil dependency will come less from the declining credibility of environmentalists, however, than from economic imperatives — the need of the federal government and many states to avoid a default on their debts and to avert bankruptcy. The United States spends US\$1 billion a day on imported oil, making it the chief contributor to America's balance of payments deficit. A drill-baby-drill policy would represent America's single biggest boost to the economy and the single biggest spur to new jobs, providing hundreds of billions in royalties and taxes a year to governments as people and companies get back to work. Most important, it would put a lie to the sinking sense that so many Americans have, that America's best days are behind it.

## Israel's Shfela Basin holds vast oil supply

**T**he old energy order in the Middle East is crumbling, with Iran and Syria having left the Western fold and others, including Saudi Arabia, the largest of them all, in danger of doing so.

Simultaneously, a new energy order is emerging to give the West some spine. In this new order, Israel is a major player.

The new energy order is founded on rock — the shale that traps vast stores of energy in deposits around the world. One of the largest deposits — 250 billion barrels of oil in Israel's Shfela basin, comparable to Saudi Arabia's entire reserves of 260 billion barrels of oil — has until now been unexploited, partly because the technology required has been expensive, mostly because the multinational oil companies that have the technology fear offending Muslims.

"None of the major oil companies are willing to do business in Israel because they don't want to be cut off from the Mideast supply of oil," explains Howard Jonas, CEO of IDT, the U.S. company that owns the Shfela concession through its subsidiary, Israeli Energy Initiatives. Jonas, an ardent Zionist, considers the Shfela deposit merely a beginning: "We believe that under Israel is more oil than under

Saudi Arabia. There may be as much as half a trillion barrels.”

Because the oil multinationals have feared to develop Shfela, one of the world’s largest oil developments is being undertaken by an unlikely troop. Jonas’s IDT is a consumer-oriented telecom and media company that is a relative newcomer to the heavy industry world of energy development. Joining IDT in this latter-day Zionist Project is Lord Jacob Rothschild, a septuagenarian banker and philanthropist whose forefathers helped finance Zionist settlements in Palestine from the mid-1800s; Michael Steinhardt, a septuagenarian hedge-fund investor and Zionist philanthropist; and Rupert Murdoch, the octogenarian chairman of News Corp. who uncompromisingly opposes, in his words, the “ongoing war against the Jews” by Muslim terrorists, by the Western left in general, and by Europe’s “most elite politicians” in particular.

Where others would have long ago retired, these businessmen-philanthropists have joined the battle on Israel’s side. While they’re in it for the money, they are also determined to free the world of Arab oil dependence by providing Israel with an oil weapon of its own. The company’s oil shale technology “could transform the future prospects of Israel, the Middle East and our allies around the world,” Lord Rothschild says.

To win this war, Israeli Energy Initiatives has enlisted some of the energy industry’s savviest old soldiers — here a former president of Mobil Oil (Eugene Renna), there a former president of Occidental Oil Shale Inc. (Allan Sass), over there a former president of Halliburton (Dick Cheney). But the field commander for the operation, and the person who in their mind will lead them to ultimate victory, is Harold Vinegar, a veteran pulled out of retirement and sent into the fray. Vinegar, a legend in the field, had been Shell Oil’s chief scientist and, with some 240 patents to his name during his 32 years at Shell, revolutionized the shale oil industry.

Before oil met Vinegar, this was dirty business, a sprawling open mine operation that crushed and heated rock to yield a heavy tar amid mountains of spent shale. The low-value tar then needed to be processed and refined. The bottom line: low economic return, high environmental cost.

Vinegar boosted the bottom line by dropping the environmental damage. No open-pit mining, no spent shale, no heavy tar to manage. In his pioneering approach, heated rods are inserted underground into



In the new energy order, Israel is becoming a major player. The Meged oil field, pictured, is one of the biggest on-shore fields in the country.

the shale, releasing from it natural gas and light liquids. The natural gas provides the project’s need for heat; the light liquids are easily refined into high-value jet fuel, diesel and naphtha. The new bottom line: oil at a highly profitable cost of about \$35-\$40 a barrel and an exceedingly low environmental footprint. Vinegar’s process produces greenhouse gas emissions less than half that from conventional oil wells and, unlike open-pit mining, does not consume water. The land area from which he will extract oil equivalent to that in Saudi Arabia? About 25 square kilometres.

Although the Israeli shale project is still at an early stage, its massive potential and Vinegar’s reputation have already begun to change attitudes toward Israel. “We have been approached by all the majors,” Vinegar recently told the press, and for good reason. “Israel is very well positioned for oil exporting” to both European and Asian markets. The majors have other reasons, too, for casting their eyes afresh at Israel. Through its natural gas finds in the Mediterranean’s Levant Basin, and with no help from the oil majors, Israel is becoming a major natural gas exporter to Europe. According to the U.S. Geological Survey, the Levant Basin has vast natural gas supplies, most of it within Israel’s jurisdiction.

Attitudes to Israel in some European capitals — those in line to receive Israeli gas — have already warmed and the shift to Israel may in time become tectonic, in Europe and elsewhere, when oil is at stake. (Many of the 38 countries which have an estimated 4.8-trillion barrels of shale oil would benefit from the shale oil technology now being pioneered in Israel.) Speeding that shift could be the Arab Spring, which many fear will flip pro-Western Arab states into hostile camps. Long-time U.S. ally Saudi Arabia is reportedly so distrustful of the U.S. following its abandonment of long-time Egyptian ally, President Hosni Mubarak, that it has pulled back its relationship with the West in favour of China.

But freed of the threat of Arab punishment, and in a new world energy order, Western countries may turn again, to their benefit. Rupert Murdoch expresses well the highest hopes of his partners: “If [our] effort to develop shale oil is successful, as I believe it will be, then the news we’ll report in the coming decades will reflect a more prosperous, more democratic and more secure world.”

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# Land THE MATTERS,

A forest should look and feel like a forest. Thirty years ago, reclamation meant planting trees. Today, we create a much more diverse and natural landscape, including wetlands and a variety of trees, shrubs and plants. We want to leave restored land that makes everyone proud.



Steve Gaudet  
Sincruce Canada Ltd.



[oilsandstoday.ca](http://oilsandstoday.ca)

A message from Canada's Oil Sands Producers.

The Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP) represents member companies that produce over 90 per cent of Canada's natural gas and crude oil, including Canada's Oil Sands Producers.



CANADIAN ASSOCIATION  
OF PETROLEUM PRODUCERS



# Poland assumes the Presidency of the Council of the European Union



*July 1, 2011, marked the beginning of the Polish Presidency of the Council of the European Union. During the second half of the year Poland will have the duty of efficiently leading the passage of legal acts with ministers of the 27 members of the EU. The Polish Presidency will concentrate on three fundamental priorities: integration, security and openness.*

## European integration as a source of growth

The Polish Presidency will foster economic growth through the further development of the EU's internal market, use EU budget funds to design and develop a competitive Europe, and pursue free trade agreements. Poland plans to introduce legislation on e-commerce, intellectual capital, the European patent system, reducing roaming fees and increasing access to capital for small and medium-sized enterprises. The Presidency will oversee the launch of negotiations on the multiannual EU budget linked to the Europe 2020 strategy. Investments in infrastructure and human capital will be prioritized and the role of cohesion policy and the Common Agricultural Policy will be discussed. Poland hopes to oversee the completion of free trade negotiations with Canada, Ukraine, India, Singapore and Malaysia, commencement of negotiations with Moldova and Georgia and progress in Doha Development Round negotiations.

## European security

The Polish Presidency believes that European security can be improved by expanding the EU and pursuing a new European Neighbourhood Policy. Accession negotiations with Turkey will continue. The Presidency supports

progress in negotiations with Iceland and the European aspirations of the Western Balkans. An Eastern Partnership summit in Warsaw should deepen multifaceted cooperation between the EU and Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. The Presidency supports the democracy movements in North Africa and a new strategy for EU relations with the Arab world.

## Europe benefiting from openness

Energy security, the Common Foreign and Security Policy and food security are areas of primary interest during the Polish Presidency. The EU's external energy policy will be analyzed and reconsidered while recommendations will be developed to strengthen common EU energy policy. Developing the Common Foreign and Security Policy should strengthen the EU's capabilities to plan and implement crisis management operations, strengthen EU operational capabilities and increase EU-NATO cooperation. The future of the Common Agricultural Policy will be discussed. The effective use of EU funds and the maintenance of market orientation for commodities remain priorities.



*Chopin Statue, considered the world's best Chopin monument, stands in Warsaw.*

## About Polska

Since its accession to the EU in 2004, Poland has been considered a dynamic and ambitious country that is advancing European policy. The country is experiencing the biggest economic boom in its history. Poland is today widely perceived as a leader in the region and an excellent place to invest and develop business, particularly in the area of manufacturing and services. Based on its experience, Poland is prepared to lead during difficult

economic times. Committed to further European integration, Poland has a vision of a Europe united in solidarity to address problems affecting the continent.



*Palace on the Water in Łazienki Park, Warsaw.*

Political, economic, military and cultural relations between Poland and Canada are exceptional. Political exchanges since Poland regained its independence in 1919 often involve broad, high-level contacts. Both countries are interested in increasing bilateral trade and investment and support the completion of negotiations on the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement between Canada and the EU. Poland and Canada, which believe that effective military cooperation is a crucial part of their relationship, agree that the traditional role of NATO remains significant and the Alliance is fundamental to their security policies. Academic relations programs between the two countries are growing, resulting in considerable cultural exchange among students and young professionals.

Thirteen million foreigners visit Poland every year to experience the country's renowned hospitality, culture and cuisine. The cities of Warsaw, Cracow, Poznan, Wrocław and Gdansk are bustling cultural and commercial centres that have something for everyone. Poland's historic landmarks, beautiful parks, expansive museums and distinctive nightlife are unforgettable. As soccer is a national pastime, Poland is co-hosting the UEFA Euro 2012 with Ukraine. The tournament, which will see 16 European nations compete between June 8 and July 1, would be the perfect time to visit Poland and take in everything that the country has to offer.

*Contact the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Ottawa at: [ottawa.press@msz.gov.pl](mailto:ottawa.press@msz.gov.pl) or visit: [ottawa.polemb.net](http://ottawa.polemb.net)*



# The European Union in Canada



**W**hen Poland and nine other countries joined the European Union in 2004, European integration was already well underway.

The groundwork was laid some 60 years ago by former French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman whose declaration on 9 May 1950, now Europe Day, led to the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The main idea behind it was to control production of the strategic materials that could be used for military equipment and thus prevent any future conflict in Europe. Afterwards, the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and later the European Economic Community (EEC) were created, which established free movement of goods, services, people and capital among the six founding Member States: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

Today, the EU family counts 27 nations with Croatia poised to become the 28th Member State. These democratic countries have opted to pool their resources, building a political and an economic union whose partnership goes far beyond the scope of a multinational trade bloc. EU citizens enjoy the benefits of a single market (with a common currency - the Euro - for 17 of its Member States), which facilitates trade, improved workers' rights and free movement of people (travellers in Europe benefit from a borderless, passport-free Schengen zone throughout 25 countries - three of which are non-EU Member States).

Over the years, the EU has become an important player in international affairs. Most recently, with the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty in December 2009, the EU is even better equipped to reinforce and support our fundamental values such as democracy, human rights and the rule of law, within its borders as well as in multinational fora. The newest EU institution,



*Catherine Ashton, High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and First Vice-President of the European Commission*

the EEAS (European External Action Service) under the leadership of Catherine Ashton, High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and First Vice-President of the European Commission, has been created to strengthen the Union's role in the international arena.

## EU-Canada relations

While trade and economic relations are at the heart of our transatlantic dialogue, both partners cooperate on a number of strategic issues ranging from environment and climate change, energy security and regional stability to higher education and academic exchanges.

In recent years, EU-Canada relations have intensified significantly with regular EU-Canada summits and other frequent high-level contacts.

In particular, negotiations for an ambitious Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA), which were launched in October 2009 and are set to be concluded in 2012, provide for a unique opportunity for both economies to reinforce their cooperation even further.

## The EU's face in Canada

The EU maintains strategic partnerships with key international players and is deeply engaged with emerging powers around the globe. The EU has diplomatic relations with nearly all countries in the world and is represented abroad by a network of 136 EU Delegations, including the Delegation in Ottawa, which have similar functions to those of an embassy.

In 1976, the EU opened its Delegation in Ottawa - a fully-fledged diplomatic mission, whose Head of Delegation is now formally accredited as the official representative of the European Union to the Government of Canada with the rank of Ambassador.

The Delegation promotes the EU's positions in the areas of political, trade and economic affairs. It is also very active in public affairs and provides information to the Canadian public on EU policy.

Since the Lisbon Treaty came into force, the Delegation, in close collaboration with Member State diplomatic missions, also assumes the role and functions of the EU Presidency concerning local coordination, representation and consular protection of EU citizens abroad.

*For more on the EU's mission in Canada visit [eeas.europa.eu/delegations/canada](http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/canada) or contact our Press Officer at [Diodora.BUCUR@eeas.europa.eu](mailto:Diodora.BUCUR@eeas.europa.eu)*



*EU Trade Commissioner Karel De Gucht and EU Ambassador Matthias Brinkmann*





EMBASSY OF SAUDI ARABIA

# King Abdullah: 'Reformer, peacemaker'



By *Osamah bin Ahmad Al Sanosi Ahmad*

In a nebulous environment where culture and tradition are intertwined with Islamic religious beliefs on one hand and modernity flooding through an era of globalization on the other, The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz, has made a clear mark by balancing continuity of traditional values, upholding the noble teachings of Islam and introducing widespread reform in a manner that has captured the hearts and minds of his people. His reform initiatives, along with his tireless efforts to achieve peace in the region, supporting human rights and introducing a culture characterized by open and transparent dialogue, ranked him as the third most powerful man in the world, according to the leading American business magazine, *Forbes*. But to get to know King Abdullah is to understand that he does not seek power; rather his sincere efforts are to shoulder the responsibilities in order to have a secure, moderate, sustainable and functional society, locally and regionally.

## King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz and reform

*Newsweek* published a Top-10 list of the most respected leaders around the world in August 2010 and King Abdullah was featured on that list as a "reformer." When asked about his initiatives, King Abdullah explained that the reform project in the Kingdom began with the late King Abdulaziz bin Abdulrahman, who laid the foundation and the framework for a modern state. It is a little known fact that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was an un-unified region that consisted of tribal forces and rulers. The Saud family founded the



Prime Minister Stephen Harper greets King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz at an official dinner at the G20 Summit in Toronto.

Kingdom by unifying the region through establishing a new political, social, and structural society while preserving the basic principles and policies recognized by the people of that region. The founder of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, King Abdulaziz bin Abdulrahman, adopted the values, traditions and customs of the people in return for their allegiance to the new unified state, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The Kingdom continues to respect that mutual understanding and works in uni-

formity with its people towards achieving a government that is based on the pure principles of Islam, while preserving Arab values and introducing gradual changes that respect the Saudi heritage. These changes are to place Saudi Arabia as a leading player in the global market.

The daunting task of reform was started by King Abdullah before he was crowned King. Even as crown prince, he realized that the challenge of change is a balance that needs to preserve deep tra-

THE CANADIAN PRESS IMAGES/ PAUL CHIASSON



SAUDI COMMISSION FOR TOURISM & ANTIQUITIES

Makkah (Mecca) is the holiest city in Islam. Millions of Muslims visit Makkah every year to perform the pilgrimage known as Hajj.



SAUDI COMMISSION FOR TOURISM & ANTIQUITIES

Medina, the second holiest city in Islam.

ditions yet make gradual grassroots and lasting transformation.

The introduction of Saudi municipal elections in 2005 was the first sign of that gradual change, and as crown prince at that time, he monitored very closely the process of election for the country's municipal councils.

Economically, his most notable achievements can be marked by the billions of dollars spent on social welfare development projects in the Kingdom, the launch of four mega economic cities, as well as developing strong policy institutions such as the Supreme Economic Council. He also held a number of important international summits and meetings in the Kingdom to encourage constructive global coop-

eration. In June 2008, he hosted the Jeddah energy summit to discuss ways of stabilizing global oil markets.

King Abdullah heralded a new era of judicial reform by announcing an overhaul of the legal system. This included new regulated responsibilities for the courts, establishing a board of grievances (administrative judiciary), approving new laws to combat human trafficking, ratifying new labour laws, establishing the code of law practice and introducing criminal procedure law in the Saudi legal system.

His primary focus was on education and implementing a plan that would showcase the intellectual achievements of Saudi citizens nationally and internationally.

As a result, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia launched a pilot project in 2005-2006 under the direction of King Abdullah geared towards curriculum reform and teacher retraining that spanned up to six years and cost nine billion Saudi Riyals (\$2.3 billion). The program was designed to promote religious tolerance and balance, and to build a modern state.

King Abdullah launched a multi-phased international scholarship program that has reached 120,000 Saudi students, 40,000 of whom are studying in the United States and almost 15,000 in Canada. The Kingdom has spent billions of dollars on training Saudi students abroad. The program covers all expenses for Saudi undergraduate, graduate and medical students in universities around the world with the goal to produce a generation of students who are achievers and innovators.

The international scholarship program provides Saudi students with the opportunity to learn and be immersed in other cultures during the course of their studies. This exchange not only endorses the freedom to make academic choices but also allows for new ideas and methods to be adopted and translated into a reality that works for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Empowering Saudi women continues to be a fundamental priority for King Abdullah through opening up all fields of education and giving women equal opportunities. In 2009, King Abdullah appointed the first female minister in the Kingdom, Dr. Norah Al Fayez as deputy minister in Saudi Arabia for women's education. His most remarkable achievements in this area are the Princess Nourah Bint Abdulrahman University, for women, and King Abdullah University for Science and Technology, which is open to women and men.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is proud to showcase the excellence and achievements of Saudi women under King Abdullah's leadership. The opportunities given to the Saudi women have guaranteed them fundamental political and social roles in Saudi society.

To name a few of the women achievers in Saudi Arabia, amongst many:

- HRH Princess Adela bint Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, who received a distinct arab woman award in 2008 for her support of women and humanitarian causes;
- Dr. Salwa Al-Hazaa, whose name appeared amongst the Marquis List for most prominent people in the world and who was named the international



woman of the year by the biographical center in Cambridge, Britain;

- Dr. Ayda Al-Aqeel, who received the world distinguished medical researcher award in the field of hereditary diseases in Japan;
- Lubna Al-Olayyan, who was listed by *Forbes* as being among the 100 most powerful women in the world in 2005-2006;
- Dr. Hayat Sindi, a Saudi researcher at Harvard University, who was ranked by the American Organization of Pop Tech as among the top 15 scientists in the world.

On the issue of human rights, King Abdullah established the Human Rights Commission in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 2005. Its governance is under the direct supervision of King Abdullah. It is an independent commission founded to protect and strengthen human rights according to standards that are applied internationally and are cohesive to the teachings of Islam. The commission's efforts are focused also on promoting the culture and knowledge on human rights in the country.

King Abdullah also approved the project to establish a National Society for Human Rights. This private society includes 41 members, 10 of whom are women. It is an independent body that is not controlled

or supervised by any government institution, and its mandate is the well-being of all citizens, residents and visitors.

#### King Abdullah and peace

King Abdullah continues to use his influence to curtail conflicts that threaten the region; his efforts have re-established Saudi Arabia as a force that promotes peace, tolerance, stability and prosperity.

In March 2002, at the Arab Summit in Beirut, then Crown Prince Abdullah introduced a peace initiative that offers comprehensive solutions to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The King Abdullah Peace Initiative offers official recognition and the establishment of normal relations between Israel and the 22 nations of the Arab League while calling for full Israeli withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied since 1967, and implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

His efforts to promote peace in the region also include: Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Darfur and Yemen.

#### King Abdullah and dialogue

In his continuous efforts to promote tolerance, King Abdullah introduced a unique culture of dialogue that called for open and transparent exchange of ideas, thoughts and beliefs by establishing the

King Abdulaziz Center for National Dialogue. The centre promotes open and honest discussions about various topics and subjects ranging from religion, terrorism, women's role in society to educational reform. Its goal is to spread a culture of dialogue and give equal opportunity to men and women in Saudi society.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, under the direction of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, held the third extraordinary summit of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in 2005 (OIC) in Makkah (Mecca). The King denounced extremism and called for unity and tolerance in the Muslim world to face the challenges that lie ahead.

Following the Makkah conference, King Abdullah met with Pope Benedict XVI, the first meeting between a Saudi King and the leader of the Catholic Church.

King Abdullah also convened the World Conference on Dialogue in Madrid from July 16-18, 2008. The Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques emphasized that for this meeting to succeed, the participants needed to focus on the commonalities that unite us as people, "namely, the deep faith in God, noble principle and lofty moral values which constitute the essence of religion."

King Abdullah's vision encompasses the global reality of the era in which we live, through which all cultural, economic, religious, and political borders are overlapping and perhaps even, as some would argue, fading away. We live in a world where ideas and concepts can't be contained by boundaries and borders. His efforts to send students in the hundreds of thousands abroad is a testament that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is not afraid of change, but rather that King Abdullah is preparing the next generation to embrace it.

How can a man who continues to work tirelessly to improve the lives of his people, enhance government practices, advance the nation nationally and internationally be a dictator? What many people, particularly in the West, do not understand is that despite his strong efforts to influence the process, King Abdullah is faced with an environment that presents many challenges, obstacles and resistance to change. To introduce structural change in a society that has intrinsic traditions and to actually succeed in doing it is truly an achievement of a remarkable leader and a courageous reformer.

Osamah bin Ahmad Al Sanosi Ahmad is Saudi Arabia's ambassador to Canada.



This view of the city of Riyadh, Saudi Arabia's capital, shows the Kingdom Centre, also known as Al Mamluka Tower, which is the tallest skyscraper in the country.



EMBASSY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

# China: More progress, more 'opening up'



By Zhang Junsai

October 1 marked the 62nd anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. In those years, and especially over the past 33 years since its reform and opening up, China has awed the world with stunning development. China's development has attracted increasing international attention.

## How do we view China's development?

In the past 62 years, more than 200 million Chinese have been lifted out of poverty. And 1.3 billion Chinese now have enough to eat. In the past 33 years, China's annual economic growth reached 9.9 percent. China's GDP totaled US\$5.88 trillion in 2010, making us the world's second largest economy. We top the world in the number of cars produced and sold, as well as in Internet and cell phone users.

Some believe that with the U.S. and

Europe entrenched in the sovereign debt crisis and a lack of economic driving force, China will soon catch up with the West.

This view fails to see China as it is. As our reform and opening up deepens and our economy and society develop, China's future is ever more interconnected with that of the world. The U.S. and European debt crisis have harmed their own economies. They also show that world economic recovery is still unstable and uncertain.

China is not an outsider in the volatile global economy. We also face a number of major challenges. With a population of 1.3 billion people, our GDP per capita is US\$4,000, ranking 100th internationally, which is less than one-tenth that of Canada and even less than that of many African countries. Based on UN standards, 150 million Chinese — nearly five times Canada's total population — still live in poverty on less than \$1 a day. And 10 million Chinese have no access to electricity. China needs to provide 24 million jobs each year. China still suffers from a weak economic foundation, uneven rural, urban and regional development, unreasonable industrial mix and insufficient productivity. We may be a big country in terms of population but we are a small country in terms of economic size per capita. China's reality matches our status as a developing country.

China's economic and social challenges are perhaps the toughest nut to crack. We

have no reason to be arrogant. It takes generations to achieve greater prosperity and to improve the Chinese people's livelihood. Even when China's GDP per capita approximates that of developed economies, our economy performance and quality of living will still be far behind.

## Is China's development sustainable?

The answer is yes. No country can avoid "growing pains." Just as a train that had been running at high speed for 30 years would wear out, the problems in our fast development are natural. It is unwise to put China's future path in doubt simply because of these challenges. China is still in the middle stage of industrialization and accelerating phase of urbanization. This means China is still in great need of infrastructural investment. In the next 20 years, we need to help more than 300 million rural migrants relocate in the cities; upgrade people's consumption mix from food and clothing to moderate prosperity; and reduce the development gap between eastern and western China. Therefore, the Chinese economy does not lack power or potential. We have every reason to be optimistic.

China has formulated and is implementing its twelfth five-year plan, which calls for faster economic growth mode transformation. The plan features economic growth model innovation, social development and further reform and



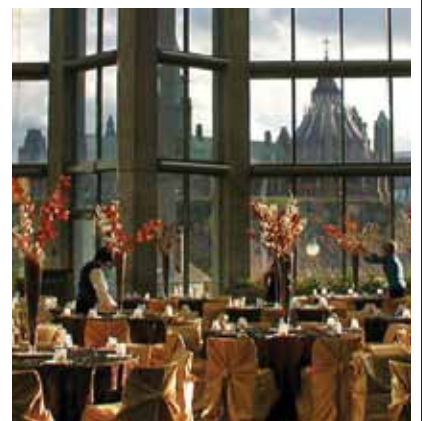
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Chinese Ambassador Zhang Junsai argues that although China has, over the past 62 years, lifted more than 200 million Chinese out of poverty, the country, run by President Hu Jintao, above, is still considered a developing nation.

opening up. Our main goal is to maintain China's stable and fast development over the long term to ensure that our progress is enjoyed by all Chinese. To meet this goal, we will focus on three priorities:

- **Expanding domestic demand:** We are working hard to adjust our national income distribution pattern — to match income growth with economic development, to increase urban and rural income, to enhance people's buying power and tap into the world's largest consumer market. We are actively promoting universal access to basic public services, including education, employment, housing, health care, senior care and building a social welfare safety net to ensure that the gains of our economic growth benefit all and boost our economy by stimulating domestic demand.

- **Highlighting innovation and transformation:** At present, the contribution of scientific and technological progress to China's economy is 25 to 30 percent lower than that in developed countries. We will rely more on technological advancement and management innovation in boosting our economy. Meanwhile, we will accelerate the development of energy conservation, of

next-generation InfoTech, of biotechnology, high-end equipment manufacturing, of new sources of energy, of new materials and new energy vehicles and other strategic emerging industries to support our present and future growth.

- **Focusing on green development:** China is trying to catch up with the West in terms of per-capita GDP. Our energy consumption per capita, however, should never exceed that of developed countries, since the global environment is already under huge pressure. We will not follow the old path of western industrialized countries. Instead, we will pay close attention to ecological costs and effects; develop clean, renewable energy and a circular economy; actively respond to climate change and transform our extensive economic growth pattern to a low carbon and green one.

#### What does China's development mean to the world?

More than 2,000 years ago, China's classical work *Book of Songs* noted that "... people who are heavily burdened need a little ease. This shall preserve the kingdom and world peace."

Today, a "moderately prosperous" life

in China means having access to education, income, medical care, senior care and housing — a life more than just sufficient food and clothing. It also means national prosperity and well-being while at peace with neighbouring countries. These are China's development goals today: building harmony within and around the world. China will be accountable to its 1.3 billion people. Meanwhile, we will not shrink from our responsibilities for world peace and development. In doing so, China's development will benefit not only the Chinese, but people worldwide.

Ever since the beginning of our reform and opening up, China has made safeguarding world peace and promoting common development one of our three historic missions. In recent years, China has also proposed to facilitate the building of lasting peace, common prosperity and a harmonious world. We are closely following international and regional affairs. China has been active in responding to global issues such as energy, food, climate change, terrorism, natural disasters, infectious diseases, financial crisis and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Iran nuclear issues, Arab-Israel conflict and Darfur as well as other regional hotspots. Moreover, China has been a responsible player, builder and contributor



in the building of international order.

The current international order is not perfect. It needs to be reformed to answer the call of the times and be fairer and more justified. China is ready to be more active in international rule-making and improvement and to continue to undertake international responsibilities and obligations in line with our national capacity. Finally, China has been consistently promoting domestic and world development. On one hand, we concentrate on solving our own development issues. As a major country, China's continuous development can benefit the world at large. Over the past five years, China's contribution to the world economy exceeded 20 percent, making us a crucial engine for global economic growth. Since China joined the WTO in 2001, our annual import averages \$750 billion. We have created more than 14 million jobs worldwide. In the next five years, China's total imports are expected to exceed \$8 trillion, which will create more business opportunities for other countries.

On the other hand, China is an important player and champion in world development. We are willing to work together with other countries to advance the UN Millennium Development Agenda and jointly promote world prosperity and progress.

China's achievements in the past few decades are unprecedented. To better understand China, where China is going and seizing the immense opportunities brought in by China's development, the world needs to see China through our soaring growth and gigantic changes.

China is also willing to have open and candid dialogue and cooperation with other countries. The world will see China as it is — a country of good faith, sense of responsibility and respect for others but a country that shall never be bullied. It is a country that has been advocating socialist democratic politics in accordance with its national conditions and values and respects and protects human rights — a country facing numerous challenges, but which always keeps a fresh mind and sticks to reform and opening up, a country that learns from others, pursues equal treatment, harmonious co-existence, mutual benefit and common development with other countries. The world can feel comfortable and confident in dealing with China.

Zhang Junsai is China's ambassador to Canada.

## HIGH COMMISSION OF RWANDA

# In defence of Paul Kagame



By Edda Mukabagwiza

In response to an article that appeared in your summer edition, permit me to indicate where Rwanda stands today and where we are heading under the leadership of President Paul Kagame.

While your readers know the agony Rwanda and its people went through during the 1994 genocide, and how it shattered our political and economic infrastructure, Rwanda is now a changed nation, one offering hope to all its people for the future, peaceful coexistence, freedom, development and national harmony.

Overcoming the challenges presented by the genocide has been a collective effort by every Rwandan. Developing and improving institutions have also transformed us into a nation that is currently praised for its

recovery and admired by many.

On her recent African tour, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton praised Rwanda for being one of the African countries successfully diversifying its economy, creating jobs in different sectors and reducing poverty. Rwanda has launched a remarkable turnaround by replacing a stagnant economy with steady growth, a vibrant democracy, improved governance and decreased poverty.

Rwanda continues for the fourth year in a row to outperform many countries in making it easy for business start-ups. It moved up 12 positions in 2011 according to the World Bank's latest *Doing Business* report, which measures 183 countries annually on how easy or difficult it is for local entrepreneurs to open and run their businesses. In 2011 alone, Rwanda introduced several initiatives, which means that it now takes an average of 24 hours to start a business compared to the 45-day average for the African continent.

My country is one of the safest and most transparent countries in Africa and has a president who does all he can to attract new businesses. Paul Kagame has provided vision, energy and direction in improving the overall business climate. A host of reforms have positioned Rwanda as an investment destination and attracted foreign



Rwandan High Commissioner Edda Mukabagwiza argues that President Paul Kagame has provided "vision, energy and direction in improving the overall business climate."

investment in agriculture and telecommunications. We are seeking even more investors as we move towards fulfillment of our Vision 2020. Rwanda has joined larger economic groupings, including the East African Community, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa and most recently the Commonwealth of Nations.

Rwandans prefer to develop home-grown solutions to problems. Fully 96 percent of us, for example, have access to affordable and available health care.

On Rwanda's relations with the Democratic Republic of Congo, we have seen a steady improvement since the two countries resumed diplomatic relations a few years ago. In 2009, the two governments initiated a joint operation aimed at uprooting the genocidal forces that are still at large in the jungles of the Eastern DRC. Having been victims of its hate, Rwandans know how destructive having a group like the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda in one's territory can be.

Despite abandonment by the international community during the 1994 genocide, Rwanda has been at the forefront of numerous peacekeeping missions in recent years. We were among the first countries to respond to the call to deploy our troops in the troubled Darfur region. Since then, we have seen our deployments expand to Haiti, Liberia and Chad.

These endeavours and others are what make Rwanda unique. Seventeen years ago, nobody would have imagined Rwanda as a leader in gender parity in the world. Currently 56 percent of the seats in Parliament are held by women, making Rwanda the world leader in female democratic representation.

This progress, coupled with our president's strict accountability, is what has made individuals such as writer Wolfgang Depner get it wrong. Mr. Depner's assertion that President Kagame outlawed major political parties except his own ruling party to ensure re-election is simply wrong. Mr. Kagame stood against three strong and seasoned politicians in a race of four political parties.

Rwandans generally seem more than satisfied with where our nation is headed. We won't allow ourselves to be distracted by bickering. Development is our lifeline and we won't accept anything less. I would encourage anybody who wishes to observe where Rwanda stands to visit the country. You will return inspired by its progress.

**Edda Mukabagwiza is Rwanda's high commissioner to Canada.**

## EMBASSY OF ZIMBABWE

# 'Robert Mugabe is revered as a hero'



By Florence Chideya

**Y**our unfair criticism of President Robert Mugabe as a worst dictator is based on disrespect for democratic choices made by Zimbabweans and Africans, and ignorance of the political situation on the ground. President Mugabe enjoys a majority of total support from Zimbabweans as the 2008 elections



Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe

show, and this victory is the basis for other political parties in Zimbabwe accepting to form a coalition government. A continent-wide survey by *New African* magazine rated President Mugabe as one of the most influential people in Africa, in a list that also included Nelson Mandela

and Kwame Nkrumah. In Africa, he is revered as a hero, a fact also acknowledged by the European Union in *New African* magazine's winter edition for his role in the liberation struggle and his fight against neocolonialism and neo-imperialism.

It is his stand against these two evil pursuits that have earned him demonization from those who seek to protect vested minority economic interests while pretending to protect the interests of the majority of Zimbabweans.

Zimbabweans are not disengaged from the political process as suggested. On the contrary, the majority, regardless of class, are the vanguard of the struggle in defending the national interest, with President Mugabe providing unwavering support to this cause.

President Robert Mugabe's struggles align with those of Zimbabweans against neocolonialism, indigenous economic empowerment, and fighting the illegal economic sanctions that are causing deaths and unprecedented suffering to ordinary Zimbabweans. President Mugabe cannot be fearful of any North African-like revolution alluded to in your article because his cause promotes the national interest. The same cannot be said of Western interests in that region.

The native-led land reform program vigorously pursued by President Mugabe despite the demonization from the West, has recorded strong growth of 19 percent, coming second after mining in an economy expected to grow by 9 percent this year. Further growth and foreign investment is expected within the context of balancing investment and national interests.

It is preposterous to think that Robert Mugabe, the individual, cares about being restricted from travelling to Western countries, other than that it undermines Robert Mugabe, the president of Zimbabwe, from fulfilling his international governance responsibilities as mandated by Zimbabweans.

**Florence Chideya is Zimbabwe's ambassador to Canada.**



# The walls of the world: keeping in, keeping out



GEORGE FETHERLING

**W**endy Brown's *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty* (Zone Books/MIT Press, US\$25.95 cloth) is concerned with the role that walls — the Berlin Wall, for example, or the Israeli wall that winds through the West Bank — play in modern political discourse and economic thinking. She begins by quoting Paul Hirst, the late British political theorist. Hirst was speaking about the Atlantik Wall, which the Nazis erected to slow the Allied invasion of Normandy in 1944. Once it was breached, Hirst observed, walls designed to prevent enemy egress “as a principal means of defence, even on the most extensive scale, were obsolete.” On the same page Dr. Brown quotes this sentence from Niccoló Machiavelli, the Florentine diplomat and philosopher whom some consider the Henry Kissinger of the very early 16th Century: “Fortresses are generally much more harmful than useful.”

Yet fortress-like walls are becoming an evermore common feature of the modern world. In Dr. Brown's view, they are the price of globalization and the tensions it creates, or at least magnifies: “tensions between global networks and local nationalisms, virtual power and physical power, private appropriation and open sourcing, secrecy and transparency, territorialization and de-territorialization.” Other conflicts are born in the no-man's land “between national interests and the global market, hence between the nation and the state, and between the security of the subject and the movements of capital.” These tensions, she believes, find expression “in the new walls striding the globe, walls whose frenzied building was underway even as the crumbling of the old Bastilles of Cold War Europe and apartheid South Africa were being internationally celebrated.”



Germans crowd on top of the Berlin Wall, near the Brandenburg Gate in November 1989, the month the wall came down.

Some examples might include:

- South Africa, which maintains a thicket of security walls and checkpoints inside its own boundaries and plans to build an electrified wall on its border with Zimbabwe.
- Saudi Arabia, which has a 3-metre-high

wall on its border with Yemen and a most fearsome one on its border with Iraq. The latter is 885 kilometres long. By comparison, Hadrian's Wall, built by the Romans to keep the Scots tribes from invading southward, was only about 120 kilometres in length.





JAKUB HALUN

The Chinese — the world's master wall-builders who erected the Great Wall of China, pictured above, to protect the northern borders of the Chinese Empire — have erected a retaliatory wall to keep out North Korean refugees.

- India tries to wall out Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma while walling in the part of Kashmir that is in dispute. The last-named wall consists of a long minefield inside parallel barricades of barbed wire and concertina wire. (I never realized, until I heard Lloyd Axworthy speak on the subject, that landmines are, of course, far cheaper than security personnel and so are often used as unmanned alarm systems in certain areas of operation.)
- Uzbekistan fenced out Kyrgyzstan in 1999 and Afghanistan two years later. Two years after that, Botswana walled out Zimbabwe, first claiming it did so in order to protect the health of livestock.
- The European Union builds walls round Spanish communities in Morocco as the Moroccans erect ones of their own to secure resources in Western Sahara.
- There are retaliatory walls, such as one that the Chinese (after all, the world's master wall-builders) erected to keep out North Korean refugees. This caused people on the other side to put up their own wall, to keep at bay those hordes of non-existent Chinese refugees eager to live in luxury in North Korea. Then there are co-operative walls. Malaysia, worried about Muslim guerrillas in the north, worked on a system of steel-and-concrete barriers in partnership with Thailand, which is

alarmed periodically by the same violent extremists in its own three southern-most provinces. Looking ahead, the United Arab Emirates plans a wall to protect its border with Oman.

With so much wall-building going on, could we be headed for a wall gap, analogous to the missile gap of which defence analysts and pundits spoke so often during the Cold War? To Dr. Brown, who teaches at the University of California in Berkeley, the answer would doubtless be no. To her way of thinking, protective walls, though as old as civilization itself, covering everything from "little more than crude fences [that ran] through fields [to] mammoth imposing structures heavily armed with contemporary surveillance technology," are constantly changing. The greatest changes have been the most recent.

The medieval fortifications that punctuate the European landscape were built not only to deter invaders. They also were made to shock and awe (as well as comfort) those living inside. The architectural gigantism they saw every day made docile taxpayers of poor souls living in tiny dwellings in sight of the gates. In the same way, stained glass windows in cathedrals made devout worshippers of these same people, who otherwise rarely saw bright

colours except in nature. In early modern Europe, city walls were built up and repaired over generations as part of every citizen's duty. Such practices encouraged the rise of city-states, such as those in Italy during the Renaissance. In turn, competition among city-states brought nation-states into being. Such nation-states, intertwined with the idea of sovereignty, lie at the heart of this book.

Walled living (the phrase sounds as though it belongs in a prospectus for a new condo development) ensured everyone a place to hide when jealous rivals and wacky potentates attacked communities for their belief-systems or their wealth. Now, with the global economy playing havoc with nation-state sovereignty, or at least making separate concepts of what used to be only one, Dr. Brown sees all these new wall megaprojects not as "resurgent expressions of nation-state sovereignty [but as] icons of its erosion."

Her view is that "far from defenses against international invasions by other state powers, 21st-Century walls are responses to transnational economic, social, and religious flows that do not have the force of political sovereignty behind them."

Thus, she continues, there is a strange unspoken dialogue between "neoliberals,





Hadrian's Wall, built by the Romans to keep the Scots tribes from invading southward, was 120 kilometres in length.

cosmopolitans, humanitarians, and left activists" who dream of a world without political borders and the full range of conservatives who desire both increased trade as well as walls with filters to keep human and chemical dangers from slipping through. "Security today," she writes, "requires not just containment, but movement, flow, openness, and availability to inspection."

To paraphrase as briefly as possible, when the concept of nation-state sovereignty is weakened, the two concepts linked by the hyphen move apart from each other as they decline individually. The result: more damn walls everywhere. Dr. Brown sees a single historical phenomenon at work in the building of all these walls, notwithstanding the widely varying purposes to which they're put and how they're constructed. The strongest adhesive binding them together may be the fact that they don't work terribly well in "resolving or even substantially reducing the conflicts, hostilities, or traffic." But they do prove as a rule that they are far more expensive than first imagined and almost invariably become permanent fixtures though conceived of as only temporary measures.

To illustrate, Dr. Brown cannot resist (who could?) retelling the story of the

odd assortment of walls built along the U.S. border with Mexico. The first section, erected between 1990 and 1993, extended inland only 23 kilometres from San Diego on the Pacific. The material used was surplus aircraft landing mats from the Vietnam War. These were found to provide good traction for illegal immigrants and drug traffickers. Later initiatives kept pushing the wall eastward into Arizona, New Mexico and finally Texas, always one step behind the enemies' movements. The border walls now cover about 1,368 discontinuous kilometres.

Some stretches are triply reinforced concrete-and-steel walls 18 metres high. In other places the defences consist of concrete posts stuck in the middle of desert roads. At still others, there are virtual fences consisting only of cameras, sensors and the like: drone-walls, one might call them. So far, 36 state and federal laws have been circumvented in such construction. Some portions of these barriers have cost \$21 million a mile (\$13 million a kilometre). Middle-aged white male civilians have formed armed vigilante groups to patrol some of the obvious gaps in coverage. Dr. Brown believes the project may have lowered illegal immigration from Mexico but actually increased drug smuggling. She puts it all down to erosion

of state sovereignty combined with the "heightened xenophobia and nationalism increasingly prevalent in Western democracies today."

In all the superficial ways, Ralph D. Sawyer, the author of *Ancient Chinese Warfare* (Basic Books/HarperCollins Canada, \$46 cloth), could hardly be more different from the author of *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. Mr. Sawyer is an independent scholar in the fields of China's military and its intelligence apparatus, subjects on which he serves as a consultant to corporations and defence agencies. He lives in Boston and is a fellow of the Centre for Military and Strategic Studies at the University of Calgary. His book, the second in a projected series of three on the general subject, runs to more than 550 pages. Even the author himself calls its level of detail "somewhat tedious." It is, however, of enormous value in letting us look at some of Dr. Brown's points in greater detail, at long range, and from the perspective an entirely different culture.

For the few thousand years that we know about, China was a civilization that lived hunkered behind walls of one kind or another, usually because there was no one central government or at least not a strong one. City walls became even more important through the imperial period but

SAJJAD ALI QURESHI



Osama bin Laden's compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan — the place he was hiding when he was found and killed by a U.S. special forces military unit.

JUSTIN MCINTOSH



Children run toward the Israeli West Bank Barrier.

took a terrible drubbing during communism. Mao Zedong, for example, ordered the magnificent walls of Beijing destroyed because they were, to him, unpleasant reminders of European colonialism during the Qin dynasty (though of course they extended back much farther in history). Mr. Sawyer's book covers the Legendary Era and the Hsia and the Shang Dynasties, leaving off at the commencement of the Chou Dynasties in the second century BCE. Allowing everything for the great stretch of time involved, the huge amount of territory covered, and the amazing diversity of the feudalist people involved, it is still possible, with the help of modern archaeology and other tools, to arrive at some useful generalizations.

First, groups of people lived together in self-contained settlements for the protection of themselves, their food stores and their animals. Most of the earliest examples of such places appear to have been protected only by shallow ditches around the perimeter. Later, ditches were supplanted by moats; these were easier to make than walls if one lived on a lake, stream or river. Second, there was never, despite the common assumption otherwise, a long period of more-or-less complete peace. Some groups were almost always at war with some other ones.

Walled settlements were the result. These grew much safer, more resistant to attack and of course far more populous as architecture and engineering became more sophisticated. (At least for a long time. Later, during the Chou Dynasties, they almost always proved vulnerable to siege, regardless how thick or high the walls or how complicated the defensive geometry.) One of Mr. Sawyer's examples had walls 25 metres high. So it was that slowly that the typical Chinese city took shape: "an inner, generally segmented, and fortified sector containing the royal quarters, palaces, and ritual complex; outer walls encompassing the important inhabitants; and an external area for the general populace, workshops, and livestock..."

To date, Mr. Sawyer has put 30 years' work into researching and writing *Ancient Chinese Warfare* and its predecessor. He's nothing if not inclusive. At one point, he slips out of character and speculates on the physiological need that leads humans to feel that they are safe when behind walls. Dr. Brown also dabbles with the same question but on a higher level, searching Martin Heidegger and Sigmund Freud for support of this notion (but not finding much). She does far better on her



own, exploring what she calls the various “fantasies of walled democracy,” such the irrational fear “of the dangerous alien in an increasingly borderless world.” She adds: “The projection of danger onto the alien both draws on and fuels a fantasy of containment for which walls are the ultimate icon. The protective walls of the home are now extended to the nation, taking to a parodic height [the political philosopher] Hannah Arendt’s argument in *The Human Condition* that the overtaking of the political by the social in modernity converts the national into a giant household.”

Personally, I see nothing parodic in this. Walls as protection from whatever one fears or despises has its origin in the single family (if not, as old Freudians would have said, in the womb itself). But it is constantly adjusting to new cultural and political changes on the other side of the wall or cultural changes taking place inside the pale. I don’t know whether or to what extent this is actually true, but I once read of an experiment in which an American and a Japanese were asked to bed down in separate identical bare rooms, each equipped with only a sleeping mat. The American always moved his


mat against one wall while the Japanese moved his to the centre of the room. Each felt safe and contented in his own way. Dr. Brown notes that wall-building megaprojects in South Asia are usually undertaken to keep out immigrants while those in Middle Eastern countries are generally built to keep out terrorists. This statement is open to so many obvious exceptions as to be nearly without merit. Walls such as she describes are being built to guarantee the belief that there are two classes of citizenship — no, of humanity — so that the higher order of people can keep out the one they demonize. These are different sorts of walls than those that keep a family together; the latter concern solidarity and privacy rather than security. Recently we’ve read and heard a great deal about Osama bin Laden’s “family compound” in Abbottabad — just as a generation ago we heard so often of “the Kennedy compound in Hyannis Port.” Thinking in terms of Dr. Brown’s and Mr. Sawyer’s ideas rather than in terms of world news, don’t both examples use the word compound in the same way?

George Fetherling’s latest book is *Indochina Now and Then* (Dundurn Press).

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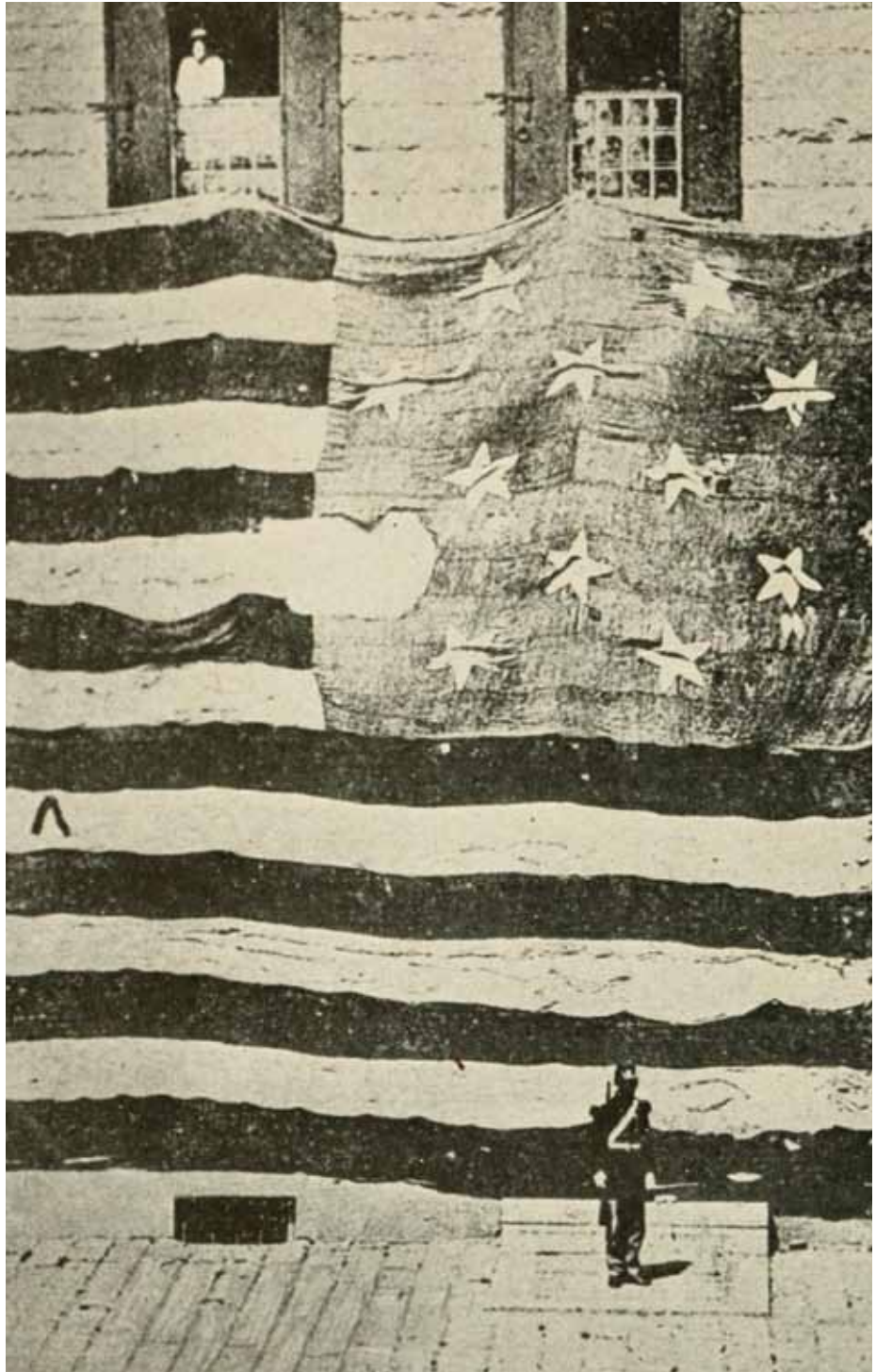
# Win, lose or draw? Mythology of the War of 1812

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky

**T**wo hundred years after the War of 1812 began, the war, and the question of who won, remains lodged in the Canadian tendency toward cultural mythologizing. The war was fought between Great Britain and the United States and involved Upper and Lower Canada (today Ontario and the southern portion of Quebec, respectively) and many First Nations. It was a broad war, fought in the Canadas and across the present-day states of New York, Maryland, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Louisiana and Alabama as well as on the Great Lakes, the Atlantic coasts of North America and Great Britain and all the way to British Guyana. We commemorate it in Canada but in Great Britain and the United States it is largely forgotten. Many — perhaps most — Canadians think of it as a war that Canada won (burning down the American White House in the process). Canadians tend to forget that in 1812, Canada was a British colony. Fighting so far away from the Empire gave the people of the colony a sense of belonging to the colony more than to Britain, and, in some ways, a sense of nationhood grew from that.

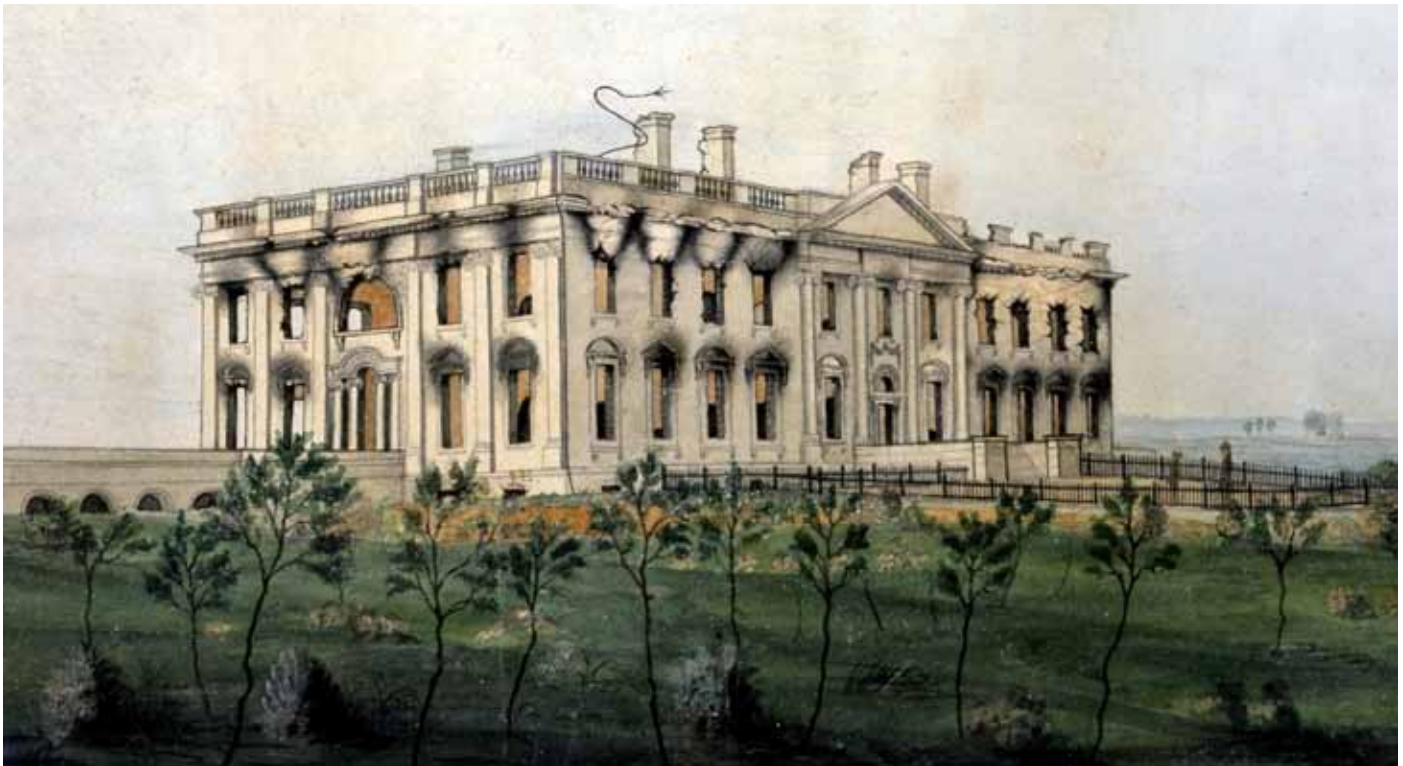
National identity is partly built on legend, which invokes heroes, whether we raise them from the playing field or the field of battle, or mythologize them in our history books. Among the heroes of the War of 1812 are Sir Isaac Brock, the “saviour of Upper Canada”; American president James Madison; Tecumseh, chief of the Shawnee nation; and of course, Laura Secord, who warned the British of an impending American attack. The war also produced the American national anthem, *The Star-Spangled Banner*, whose “rockets’ red glare, bombs bursting in air” refers partly to the explosions of British Congreve rockets fired at the American Fort McHenry (during the Battle of Baltimore, Maryland, September 12-15, 1814).

The conflict originated in the Napoleonic Wars (1799-1815), a series of wars between France and nearly everyone else in Europe, driven by Napoleon’s desire to rule all of Europe by creating puppet states. The wars caused Great Britain to adopt measures that the United States found somewhat irksome, in particular



The flag that flew over Fort McHenry in 1814 — the largest battle flag in existence — measures 36 by 29 feet and was made by Mary Young Pickersgill and her two nieces, who cut its pieces at home and sewed it at a local brewery. During bombardment, it was pierced several times. It was restored some 100 years later and taken to the National Museum in Washington, D.C.





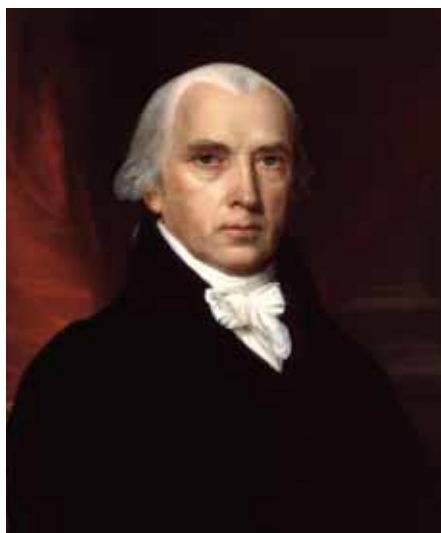
The White House as it looked to artist George Munger following the burning of Washington in August 1814.

blockades that cut off the Spanish-American colonies, making the colonies dependent on British trade for European goods. Napoleon responded to the blockades by establishing the Berlin Decree on November 21, 1806, intending to cripple British trade by closing European ports, and the Continental System, which decreed the seizure of neutral and French ships that had visited a British port prior to a continental port. Great Britain countered with orders-in-council that forbade its colonies, allies or neutral powers from trading with France and imposed restrictions on neutral vessels wanting to trade at continental ports.

Tensions escalated when the British began searching American ships for contraband and for deserters from the Royal Navy. Life in the king's navy was nasty, and many British mariners took jobs on American vessels and were granted American citizenship, which made no difference to the Empire. Besides retrieving deserters, the British began to press American-born sailors into service. The situation grew worse in 1807 with the Chesapeake Affair. British sailors from a squadron watching for French ships near Chesapeake Bay deserted to enlist in the American navy. Captain Salusbury Pryce Humphreys, commanding *HMS Leopard*, sent a boarding party to *USS Chesapeake*, commanded by Commodore James Barron. When Barron refused to accede to demands, the

50-gun *Leopard* opened fire on the 38-gun *Chesapeake*, killing three and injuring 18, including Barron. The British boarded and captured four sailors, three of whom were American-born, each claiming to have been pressed into British service. In 1811, the impressment issue became untenable when the *HMS Guerriere* impressed an American sailor from a coastal vessel.

In Washington in 1812, President James Madison was informed by Major General Henry Dearborn that Canada would be an easy conquest and that Canadians would even welcome an American invasion.



U.S. President James Madison

At the same time, Madison was being harangued by the “war hawks,” a group of republican congressmen, puffed up by anti-British sentiment and visions of manifest destiny, who demanded war as retaliation for the blockades and for the British having encouraged the First Nations to resist American westward expansion. Some predicted an easy victory — Thomas Jefferson famously said that the conquest of Canada would be “a mere matter of marching,” and Henry Clay, governor of Kentucky, boasted that the Kentucky militia could take Canada on its own. Madison was no war monger, but he caved to the pressure and on June 1, 1812, submitted to Congress a request for a declaration of war. Congress voted in favour three days later and the Senate did likewise on June 17. On June 18, 1812, President James Madison signed a declaration of war against Great Britain.

The Americans outnumbered the British and Canadian troops. They saw their easiest target as Upper Canada, which was predominantly American and lightly defended, unlike remote Lower Canada, which was protected by Quebec's fortress, and the Maritime provinces, which were protected by British naval power. However, the Americans were unaware of how well prepared the British were, largely thanks to Major General Sir Isaac Brock, the administrator of Upper Canada. He

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Sir Isaac Brock, "saviour of Upper Canada"

had established defensive measures long before war was declared, and had wisely made allies among the First Nations, including Tecumseh. With only 1,600 regulars available, Brock believed that the best defence was a strong offence that would incite the population, including the First Nations. He acted boldly, handily taking the American fort at Michilimackinac Island in Lake Huron on July 17.

In August, against the counsel of his advisers, Brock advanced on Major General William Hull's troops at Detroit, preceded by Tecumseh and his warriors who had established themselves in the forest north of the town. Hull had no way of knowing how many warriors there were, but he feared them and thought there may be thousands. There is no real evidence to support the popular story that Tecumseh marched his men three times through a forest clearing to give the impression of a larger force. British ships shelled the fort with no real physical impact and Hull surrendered to Brock without firing a shot. It was a great victory, and one that many considered the saving of Upper Canada.

At Queenston Heights, (Niagara-on-the-Lake), although it resulted in another British victory, Brock's audacious decision to launch a direct attack on the Americans without waiting for reinforcement proved rash. As he led his troops, he was shot in the chest and died instantly. Contrary to myth, Brock did not say "Push on brave York Volunteers."

Brock's loss was devastating, but the British did "push on" as the American campaign of 1813 focused on cutting the link between Upper and Lower Canada. Rather than taking Kingston, the logical



Tecumseh, an ally of Brock's

choice, the Americans turned to York (Toronto), a lesser prize, briefly occupying it in May and burning the public buildings as they left town. Setting a place ablaze was sure to frustrate the enemy and both sides used the tactic, partly as strategy but largely as retaliation, as it turned out. The retaliatory burning culminated in British troops burning the White House in August 1814.

In May 1813, a large American army captured Fort George (Niagara-on-the-Lake) and in June the British won the Battle of Stoney Creek. Shortly afterward, the 49th Regiment, led by Lieutenant James FitzGibbon, set up camp at Thorold close to Beaver Dams, while First Nations scouts watched for American troops led by Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler of the 14th Infantry.

In the middle of all of that was Laura Secord, wife of Sergeant James Secord, who had been wounded at Queenston Heights. While she was nursing him back to health in June 1813, with the village of Queenston occupied by Americans, they were forced to billet American officers in their home. In some way, Laura heard about the plans to attack the British at Beaver Dams and, with James unable to make the trek, she set out herself to warn FitzGibbon. Along the way she was assisted by a group of First Nations.

It was a dangerous journey, made even more dramatic in the retelling; some of the stories have her barefoot and leading a cow, which she supposedly milked in front of American sentries. Secord never revealed how she learned of the attack and it is uncertain if she reached FitzGibbon ahead of his own Aboriginal scouts.

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FitzGibbon did write letters of support for her later appeal for a government pension for her actions, but he provided no details concerning the timing of her warning. (Seccord has been memorialized many times, most famously in chocolate. But chocolate has no connection to her or the war; company founder Frank O'Connor chose her name because she "was an icon of courage, devotion and loyalty.")

The war reached its official end on Christmas Eve 1814 with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, which determined that all conquests were to be restored and the boundary disputes deferred to joint commissions, essentially maintaining the pre-war status quo. Unfortunately, the news didn't reach North America until February and in the meantime the Battle of New Orleans was a major American victory that assuaged American feelings over the burning of the White House. New Orleans was not the last engagement of the war, however; there were several naval skirmishes, including the absolute final battle of the war, which was fought in the Indian Ocean in June 1815 between the US sloop-of-war *Peacock* and the East India Company cruiser *Nautilus*.

The War of 1812 is neither the longest nor bloodiest war ever, but its conclusion is perhaps the most ambiguous. The situation in Europe had changed with Napoleon exiled to Elba. The peace treaty did not solve boundary disputes nor did it address impressment or maritime rights. Canada was not annexed to the United States, as the war hawks had hoped. There was no absolute victor, but it is clear that the First Nations lost. Tecumseh's death at the Battle of the Thames broke up the confederacy that was his goal in supporting the British. The First Nations' defeat ended their hopes of stopping American expansion into "Indian Territory." The British abandoned their Aboriginal allies, breaking their promises as they had so often.

In Canada, the seeds of nationalism were sown by the belief — mythic or not — that "we" had won the war whose outcomes shaped our present geography. National identity has had much to do with the mythology of the war for both Canada and the United States, but more so in Canada, given our seemingly endless quest for a discernible identity. Though it's not clear if the war was a win, loss or draw, perhaps that doesn't matter 200 years later; we have our heroes.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is an Alberta writer.



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## The art of small bites



MARGARET DICKENSON

Over the past decade, food and wine have become a serious part of many people's lifestyle. Just take note of the number of new restaurants popping up, the myriad TV cooking shows and the expansion of high-end kitchen accessory and gourmet stores.

With all these resources and sources of inspiration, entertaining at home may be on its way to making a welcome comeback. And one of the most popular trends in entertaining is serving small bites or petite portions. They are fun, packed with flavour and easy to eat.

While small tastes are coming on strong as a trend, this way of entertaining has been our family's favourite for almost two decades. It's a more convenient way to entertain than throwing a dinner party — no table to set, no centrepiece to arrange, no long hours of preparation and clean-up — and it usually doesn't mean a late night.

Such a tasting party may be a simple drinks party for a few people or a more ambitious event such as a cocktail reception or garden party. What makes today's parties (casual or formal) different from those of the past is that the bar has been raised. Guests recognize and appreciate unique and tantalizing culinary combinations, quality ingredients and ingenious presentations. Indeed, the beauty and originality of some creations and their presentations display what I might call a sense of food fashion. In short, they're clever, artistic and deliciously tempting — a delight for both the eyes and the palate.

Quality is appreciated, no doubt, but this type of entertaining need not be expensive, complicated or time-consuming. The trick is to be well organized and to think through the logistics of the event. In order for you, as host, to be relaxed, able to socialize and have fun, you must first make the event doable. It's imperative

to do what suits you and your resources (including time, talent, budget and space).

Over the years, I have honed my experiences into developing an easy (yes, easy) but guaranteed successful four-pronged formula for hosting finger food parties. Its elements include hors d'oeuvres, a canapé soup, taster dessert(s) and chocolates. In other words, it works as a progression from savoury to sweet. There are times when I might skip either the canapé, soup or the taster dessert if it's a short drinks party but never the chocolates. However, if all of the four elements are included, guests joyfully depart convinced that they have had virtually a little or even a complete meal. By the way, I do find it interesting to see an ever-increasing number of caterers, hotels, embassies as well as regular households adopting my formula. Why? Because it works, regardless of the resources available and the skill level of those involved.

Remember, everything does not need to be homemade; but try to think like an artist when choosing and presenting your menu. Strive for a sampling of meat, fish, seafood, vegetarian items and sweets. Include lots of colour and a variety of textures (soft, firm, chewy, crisp, crunchy),

flavours and temperatures. Knock the drama and excitement up a notch or two by serving your small bites on spoons (oriental porcelain spoons are my favourite), forks, speared with chopsticks, or in small cocktail dishes, bowls, demi-tasse cups, shot or martini glasses, just to mention a few. To transport these intriguing tastes, go beyond ordinary trays. Think boxes, floral containers, plates raised to different heights, long, boat-like olive trays, multi-tiered plate stands, shells. All are options worthy of consideration. Indeed exciting presentation can give any event bonus points in the minds of guests, so be sure to consider it carefully.

In our home, tasting parties are a huge hit. They are a parade of culinary treats which delight guests with the entrance of one irresistible morsel after another. Generally speaking, it's best to serve one type at a time as each signature bite merits its own individual attention. Guests then focus on tasting, savouring, socializing and getting a chance to explore an ongoing adventure of flavours which undoubtedly stimulates robust conversation. It is a superb ice breaker, particularly when guests do not know one another.

The featured smoked salmon recipe is



LARRY DICKENSON

Smoked salmon with pesto on pumpernickel coins



an example of a dead-easy hors d'oeuvre that requires absolutely zero culinary skills. And it's guaranteed to get a "wow" out of guests. Don't forget the strategic touches of wasabi. They are critical in making this canapé pop.

From our table to yours, "Bon Appétit!"

(This is the fifth in a series of six articles, highlighting themes from *Margaret's Table*, her cooking and lifestyle series on Rogers TV.)

### Smoked Salmon with Pesto on Pumpernickel Coins

Makes about 12 pieces

1 pumpernickel bagel  
2 tbsp (30 mL) pesto\*, thick\*\*  
3 oz (85 g) smoked salmon, thinly sliced

Garnish:

1 1/3 tbsp (20 mL) sour cream  
1/2 tsp (3 mL) wasabi paste  
1 1/2 tsp (8 mL) black caviar (or lumpfish roe, well-drained)  
12 pieces of fresh chives (length: 1 inch or 2.5 cm)

1. Cut pumpernickel bagel vertically into coin-like slices (thickness: 1/4 inch or 0.6 cm). Coins must be round and level/flat.
2. Top each pumpernickel coin with a small central mound of pesto (about 1/2 tsp or 3 mL), then wrap smoked salmon (about 1/4 oz/7 g or 1 1/2 tsp/8 mL) in rosette fashion around the pesto to enclose it.
3. Garnish the top of each salmon rosette with 1/3 tsp (2 mL) of sour cream, a pinch of caviar, a speck of wasabi paste and a short piece of chive stem.

\* Virtually any type of thick pesto (commercial or homemade) may be used.

\*\* The pesto must be thick enough to form a mound which does not "weep." If pesto is too thin, place it in a wire sieve lined with a coffee filter, set it over a bowl to catch drained liquid and refrigerate at least overnight. Or, spread it on a plate, place a paper tissue directly on top of surface of the pesto to absorb the extra oil/liquid.

Margaret Dickenson is the author of the international award-winning cookbook, *Margaret's Table - Easy Cooking & Inspiring Entertaining*, as well as creator and host of the TV series, *Margaret's Table*. Visit [www.margaretstable.ca](http://www.margaretstable.ca) for more.



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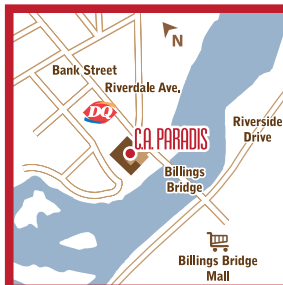
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# The art of pairing dairy and grapes



PIETER VAN DEN WEGHE

**W**ine and cheese: At first, the pairing seems natural. Both are beautiful examples of nature and humanity working together. Both can express a time and place from whence they came, and both, perhaps a little less poetically, are the result of controlled spoilage. Unfortunately making the pairing pleasurable is not a simple task. With two complex, often intimidating histories and cultures, and so many varieties to select from to combine, the pairing of these two ancient forms of drink and food can prove difficult. However, with a little proper preparation, we can

experience a terrific wine and food pairing.

To set the stage, the cheese needs to play its role properly. Stephen Whittaker, maitre d'fromage at Beckta dining & wine, has some insights on this.

"There are four basic things anybody can do to ensure a fantastic cheese tasting," said the man who's known to colleagues at the Cheese Whiz.

"First off, your cheese needs to be great." But how do you know you're getting the right cheese? Mr. Whittaker suggests, "Get to know your cheese monger and sample cheeses before you buy. And stay away from cheeses wrapped in plastic. There's no way to know how long they've been suffocating like that." As with purveyors of any fine product, buy your cheeses from people who care about what they sell.

Lesson two: Less is more. When tasting and appreciating cheese, it should be conducted as one would a wine tasting. "It's always better to try four great cheeses than to overwhelm your palette with a dozen," Mr. Whittaker says.

The third item is to set a theme for the cheese. Go for all goat milk cheeses, or

sheep. Old world vs. new world is always fun, and all blue cheeses can be interesting.

The last point is the most critical. "Remember to take your cheeses out of the fridge an hour before serving so that they're properly tempered," Mr. Whittaker advises. Like wine, cheese has a temperature at which it's best served. Served too cool, cheese will have less flavour and a less pleasurable texture. Let it warm to room temperature so the real joy can be had.

Now that we have our cheese arranged, what wines should we serve? Though often thought of as an ideal pairing with cheese, red table wine can prove to be a difficult and unpredictable match. Part of our belief in red wine's role with cheese is based on Europeans historically pairing cheese with mediocre red wines which have high levels of rough tannins. Cheese softened the tannins and made the wine more palatable. But, cheese also has a tendency to dampen the qualities of good red wines. On the palate, such red wines can feel dissonant especially when paired with a variety of cheeses.

There are some exceptions, though: A big dense Shiraz with an aged Manchego or a plush dark-fruited Zinfandel with a soft, bloomy rind cheese for instance. However, much more success and joy can be found with pairing cheese with white table, late harvest and fortified wines.

For a more specific pairing, younger cheeses made with goats' milk shine when served with Sauvignon Blanc. Soft cheeses go well with Pinot Gris, Gewurztraminer, late harvest Riesling and Late Bottled Vintage Port. Washed rind cheeses with a strong sense of earthiness can be paired either a Chenin Blanc with a touch of residual sugar or Chardonnay with lots of rich, barrel-fermented character.

Hard cow and sheep's milk cheeses are excellent with dry and slightly off-dry Sherry and Tawny Ports. As for blue cheese, botrytized whites such as Sauternes and Tokaji Aszu, Recioto-style Amarone, Vintage Port and Pedro Ximenez Sherry are all great partners.

Every genre of art and pleasure has its classic iconic combinations, and wine is no different. Wine and cheese can be explored by all those who enjoy wine and food pairings. With a little preparation, a proper pairing can deliver flavour both pleasant and lingering.

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

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# The Irish residence: A home and a harp

By Margo Roston



ALL PHOTOS DYANNE WILSON

The residence of Irish Ambassador Raymond Bassett and his wife, Patricia, has undergone an expansion. It's now 12,000 square feet.

Cars slow down at the busy intersection in the heart of Rockcliffe and people stop and stare. The object of their attention is the newly-renovated Irish embassy. Once a modest but stately home, it's been renovated into a stunning 12,000-square-foot stone and brick behemoth.

The residence has had quite a journey to get where it is today. Back in the 1930s, Ottawa architect H. Gordon Hughes designed a sophisticated stone "French Inspiration" home at 291 Park Road for D. Irving Cameron, a local investment

banker. Located on a spacious lot in a heritage area — specifically on the corner of Springfield Road — the house has endured many changes from Hughes' initial design. A glass portico on the front and two wings to give added space for entertaining were the first changes the Irish made to the house.

But in the last decade, and at the height of Ireland's economic boom, the government decided to do a total renovation. They not only wanted to add much-needed space, but also set about ridding the old house of asbestos and dated

insulation. At a cost of about \$6 million, the project caused some controversy in Ireland following media coverage in Ottawa, perhaps because by the time it was finished, the Irish economy had tanked.

Ambassador Raymond Bassett and his wife, Patricia, have been in Canada just over a year, although Mrs. Bassett spends most of the year in Dublin with their son Kevin, 17, who is their youngest and is still in school there.

"Ireland's been represented in Ottawa since 1939," says the ambassador. "We think it was a very good investment. We





Clockwise from top left: The front door opens into this elegant glass portico; Ambassador and Mrs. Bassett; the dining room, which seats 24; the mammoth living room fireplace, decorated with Celtic knots, was made in Toronto.



ALL PHOTOS DYANNE WILSON

Part of the expansion includes a glass gallery loggia that runs along the north side of the original house and links the new east and west wings.

think our relations with Canada are very important. When Canada was founded, we were part of the United Kingdom.”

Mr. Bassett says he has been welcomed by many of Irish descent in the area.

“They have preserved the customs very well in the Ottawa Valley,” he notes.

His new home, which features the modified original stone house at its centre, has handsome clay and brick extensions on either side. The brick complements the beige highlights of the original stone, says renovations architect Sarah Murray, a partner with her husband at Nicholas Caragianis Architect Inc. The design won a 2010 City of Ottawa award for infill and restoration of a heritage property.

Ms Murray changed the arrangement of the house with the service side facing Rockcliffe Park Public School, the community hall and police offices on Springfield Road, thus leaving the deep setback in the front in synch with other large homes on Park Road.

Entering through the glass portico, Ms Murray has created a wide, bright hallway leading straight back to a glass gallery loggia along the north side of the original house and linking the east and west new wings. “It provides a porch-like connec-

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tion to the garden," she says, "mediating between the old and new."

The west wing is considered the living room wing with the ambassador's quarters above, while the east wing has the dining room and services, including the kitchen, with staff quarters above.

Almost all the interior design elements come from Ireland and the overall look is very contemporary. The dining room, which seats 24, is fitted with a fascinating "turf bog" oak table and matching chairs with hand-painted seats and backs. Opulent Waterford crystal chandeliers hang overhead. The iconic Irish company closed its doors in 1990 and Ms Murray admits there was quite a scramble to find appropriate Waterford chandeliers for the residence.

Contemporary taupe-coloured Irish carpets are designed with modernistic splashes of burnt orange, the prevailing colour of the furniture. Taupe/gray walls dominate most of the hallways and main floor reception rooms including the library, while the living room and dining room are a creamy yellow shade. The contemporary wood furniture and most of the artisan pieces in the residence come from the award-winning Dublin furniture makers zelouf +BELL and their craftspeople. Columns in the living room, used to break up the large space, were made in Ottawa while a mammoth living room fireplace, decorated with Celtic knots, was made in Toronto.

Cultural pieces include a display of Waterford crystal glasses. "I'd love to add a bottle of Irish whiskey to that cabinet," laughs the ambassador with a twinkle in his eye. Along the loggia wall, a series of bright and charming pictures, some of the historical ships that carried Irish immigrants to Canada, attracts visitors' attention.

Obviously enjoying his multi-million-dollar residence, the ambassador is keen to show it off every chance he gets. The embassy's annual St. Patrick's Day reception draws about 500 guests. He has also opened his front door for charitable groups, including a springtime fundraiser for the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra. A state-of-the-art conference room located in the basement is used frequently for meetings and get-togethers.

Ambassador Bassett has hung an Irish harp over the front door. Now, he says, more people than ever slow down to admire the symbol and his beautiful home.

Margo Roston is *Diplomat's* culture editor.



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THIS PAGE: 1. Indian High Commissioner Shashishekhar Gavai, right, and his wife Rina, centre, hosted a national day reception at the Museum of Civilization which Deepak Obhrai, parliamentary secretary for foreign affairs, attended. 2. Vietnamese Ambassador Sy Vuong Ha Le hosted a national day reception at the National Arts Centre. The Ao Dai dance troupe performed at the celebration. (Photos: Ulle Baum) 3. Russian Ambassador Georgiy Mamedov, right, hosted a national day reception at the embassy. He's shown with Foreign Minister John Baird. (Photo: Frank Scheme) 4. Robert Moulié, chargé d'affaires with the French embassy, hosted a Bastille Day reception July 14 at the embassy. (Photo: Julie Bedos-Duhaut) 5. The Westin hosted an annual Canada Day party which was attended by many diplomats including Egyptian Ambassador Wael Ahmed Kamal Aboul Magd and his wife, Hanan Mohamed Abdel Kader. 6. Also in attendance were German Ambassador Georg Witschel and his wife, Sabine. (Photos: Westin Ottawa)





THIS PAGE: 1. Mexican Ambassador Francisco Javier Barrio Terrazas played host to Sebastian, one of Mexico's most revered artists, who poses with one of his works. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell) 2. On the 44th anniversary of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a flag-raising ceremony took place at the Embassy of Indonesia. From left, Greg Giokas, DFAIT; Filipino Chargé d'affaires Minerva Jean A. Falcon; Myanmar Ambassador Kyaw Tin; Thai Ambassador Udomphol Ninnad; Brunei Darussalam High Commissioner Rakiah Haji Abdul Lamit and Indonesian Ambassador Dienne H. Moehario. (Photo: Embassy of Indonesia) 3. Rina Gavai, wife of the Indian high commissioner, hosted the inaugural tea for the India Women's Association. The executive from left: Ramma Kamra, Mangal Waghmare, Asha Mehta, Majula Allan, Mrs. Gavai, Seema Narula and Meena Roberts. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell) 4. Peruvian Ambassador Jose Bellina Acevedo hosted a celebration of the 190th anniversary of the independence of Peru at the Chateau Laurier. Foreign Minister John Baird is shown in the background. (Photo: Bruce MacRae)





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THIS PAGE: 1. Japanese Ambassador Kaoru Ishikawa hosted a garden party to thank community members who held fundraising events in support of earthquake relief in Japan. From left: Gonzalo Peralta, executive director of Languages Canada; Conrad Sauvé, secretary general and CEO of the Canadian Red Cross; Pam Aung Thin, national director of public and government affairs at the Canadian Red Cross, and Mr. Ishikawa. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell) 2. Polish Ambassador Zenon Kosiniak-Kamysz and his wife, Katarzyna, hosted a boat cruise reception to inaugurate the Polish presidency of the European Union. From left, Spanish Ambassador Eudaldo Mirapeix, the Kosiniak-Kamyszs, Madeleine Brinkmann and her husband, Matthias, ambassador of the EU. (Photo: Bruce MacRae)





THIS PAGE: 1. Danish Ambassador Erik Vilstrup Lorenzen hosted a jazz soiree at his home in Rockcliffe Park on the eve of the Jazz Festival. He's shown with, from left, Anne Toft Sorensen, policy adviser at the Danish embassy; Heini Harala, acting head of press and culture at the Finnish embassy; and Maria Fischer, intern at the Danish embassy. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell) 2. To mark the 38th anniversary of the creation of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the heads of mission from CARICOM countries hosted a reception. From left: Ashwin Gavai, South African High Commissioner Mohau Pheko, Guyana High Commissioner Harry Nawbatt, Rina Gavai, wife of Indian High Commissioner Shashishekhar Gavai, and Haitian chargé d'affaires Nathalie Menos-Gissel. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell) 3. The Canadian University Women's 'University Women Helping Afghan Women' group held a fundraiser hosted by Hally Siddons. Among the panellists were, from left, Sina Naebkhil, program co-ordinator for Against Prejudice, Hedvig Alexander, managing director of Turquoise Mountain (an organization that protects Afghan art and architecture) and Senator Mobina Jaffer. (Photo: Ulle Baum)

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THIS PAGE: 1. British High Commissioner Andrew Pocock (second from left), and his wife Julie (second from right), hosted a reception in honour of Equiterre, an organization which encourages individuals and organizations to make ecological and equitable choices. Equiterre co-founder Sidney Ribaux, left, co-hosted the event which Steven Guilbeault, right, attended. (Photo: Jennifer Campbell) 2. The embassy of Indonesia hosted an Indonesian festival. Dancers from left: Dyah Anggraini, Febry Sari, Ririn Astari and Chiccarina Kerukaspari from the Gebyar Nusantara. (Photo: Ulle Baum) 3. At a CUSO event in Ottawa, Nigerian High Commissioner Iyowuese Hagher was reunited with Diane Labelle-Davey, a Canadian woman who taught him French 41 years ago in Nigeria. 4. U.S. Ambassador David Jacobson and his wife, Julie, hosted an Independence Day party at their residence. They're shown with Lauren Harper. (Photo: Gregory Abraszko) 5. Petra Klobusiakova, third secretary at the Czech Embassy, hosted a farewell before returning to Prague this summer with her husband, Roman Klobusiak. 6. Argentine Ambassador Arturo Bothamley hosted a fundraising reception in support of Opera Lyra, which Chief Justice Beverley McLachlin attended. (Photos: Ulle Baum)



## Celebration time

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

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## New heads of mission

**Armen Yegharian**  
Ambassador of Armenia



Mr. Yegharian was born in Georgia and began his university studies at Leningrad State University where he studied history, a subject he continued to pursue for three years at Yerevan State University in Armenia.

From 1987 to 1989, he served in the USSR Armed Forces in Leningrad and six years later, he joined the foreign service as an attaché in the consular department. In 1996, he served as third secretary at Armenia's mission in Russia and later at the embassy in the U.S. Shortly thereafter, he was promoted to first secretary and head of the visa division in the consular department and then made a return post to Washington for three years. He then worked at headquarters for four years as director of the Americas before becoming ambassador to Canada.

Mr. Yegharian speaks Armenian, English and Russian and is married with three sons.

**Andrés Teran Parral**  
Ambassador of Ecuador



Mr. Teran Parral is a career diplomat who joined the foreign ministry 30 years ago. He started his career in the cultural section and then became a desk officer, responsible for the

U.S. and Canada. He later worked for Ecuador's undersecretary of bilateral affairs, deputy minister of foreign affairs, vice-president and president.

His foreign assignments have included Paraguay (1984-1989), Spain (1992-1997), Belgium, the EU and Luxemburg (2001-2004), the U.S. (2004) and Uruguay and Colombia (2009).

In 2006, Mr. Teran Parral became a legal adviser to the ministry of foreign affairs. In 2007, he worked as deputy secretary general of the board of Ecuador's central bank. A year later, he became the foreign minister's chief of staff.

Mr. Teran Parral has a doctorate in jurisprudence from the Universidad Internacional of Ecuador. He is married to Maria Rosa Eguez, who is a clinical psychologist. They have three children.

**Philippe Zeller**  
Ambassador of France



Born in 1952, Philippe Zeller studied at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration in the 1970s and began his diplomatic career shortly thereafter. As director of finance, he was in charge of administrative and budgetary matters at the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs where he was subsequently appointed director general of administration.

Following his appointments as head of the cooperation mission in Seychelles (1984-1986), second counsellor in Morocco (1986-1988), and ambassador-at-large for environmental issues (2000-2001), Mr. Zeller served as ambassador to Hungary (2004-2007) and ambassador to the Indonesia (2008-2011). During the same period, he also represented France in Timor-Leste and at the general secretariat of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

Mr. Zeller was awarded the title of officer of the French Legion of Honour and officer of the French National Order of Merit. He is married to Odile Zeller and has two children.

**Juris Audarins**  
Ambassador of Latvia



Mr. Audarins studied to be an engineer at the Riga Polytechnic Institute and worked for seven years, from 1977 to 1984, as a senior engineering mechanic at Film Studios Riga.

Several years later, in 1992, he joined the foreign ministry as a senior desk officer in the administrative section. He soon became head of that division and then head of the embassy division. By 1995, he was under-secretary of state and was sent to the Italian embassy as counsellor in 1996. In 2000, he became consul-general in St. Petersburg, Russia, for a four-year stint and then became ambassador-at-large, first in the office of the state secretary and later in the information and public relations department.

Early in his career, Mr. Audarins spent two years (1984-86) studying to become a screenwriter at a school for film directors and writers in Moscow. He speaks Lat-

vian, English, Russian and Italian and is married with two children.

**Kyaw Tin**  
Ambassador of Myanmar



Mr. Tin completed a master's of science in maths at Yangon University and did post-graduate work in environmental management. He joined the foreign service in 1978

and had his first posting at the embassy in Australia. Back at headquarters in 1983, he became deputy assistant director of international organizations and a year later, went to the UN mission in New York as third secretary.

Between stints at headquarters, he had postings in Thailand and at the UN mission in Geneva (1994-1997). He then returned to the international organizations and economic sections of the foreign ministry. He had subsequent postings to New York (2003-2005), Ottawa (2005, as chargé d'affaires), and then returned to headquarters before coming back to Canada. His most recent position prior to this one was as director-general in the political department.

Mr. Tin is married with two children.

**Furio de Angelis**  
Representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees



Mr. de Angelis was born in Rome and attended the Sapienza University of Rome and the Institute of European Studies, also in Italy.

The ambassador began his diplomatic career in 1987, as an assistant legal officer at the UNHCR offices in Belgrade and then moved on to become protection officer in Afghanistan and then a field officer in Croatia. In 1994, he spent three years as a protection officer in Pakistan and then, in 1997, became assistant representative at the office in Turkey. Between 2001 and 2011, he had postings to Nauru (Micronesia), Geneva (first as senior resettlement officer and later as senior legal officer), Sudan (as senior field officer), Kenya (as senior field officer), and finally Ukraine, where he served as deputy regional representative prior to coming to Canada.



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Counsellor  
**Helen Wilson**  
Counsellor

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**Zlati Guerguiev Katzarski**  
Minister  
**Desislava Ivanova**  
**Atanasova**  
Third secretary

China  
**Daoshong Li**  
Military, naval and air  
attaché  
**Jian Wang**  
Attaché  
**Hao Zhang**  
Third secretary

Colombia  
**Jorge Rafael Pinilla**  
**Cardenas**  
Military, naval and air  
attaché  
**Elizabeth Cadena**  
**Fernandez**  
Minister-counsellor

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**Maja Plancic Lelas**  
Counsellor

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**Kenia Ador Agramonte**  
Second secretary

Ecuador  
**Isabel Elena Aguirre Millet**  
Attaché

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**Karine Gonnet**  
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Finland  
**Sari Aulikki Lietsala**  
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Chargé d'affaires

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First secretary  
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**Mohamed Adam**  
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**Abdulla Alfadel**  
Attaché

Thailand  
**Thanaporn Mailaeied**  
Second secretary

Turkey  
**Hasan Basri Mese**  
Defence, military, naval  
and air attaché

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# My Zulu love letter says: 'Embrace the exuberance of South Africa'



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Hout Bay is a coastal suburb of Cape Town.

*By Mohau Pheko*



**M**y South Africa is the white man in his ML500 stopping to tow to a nearby petrol station the broken-down car of a young black mother and child stuck in traffic. It is the successful accountant who works for a global conglomerate and returns to Langa, the township he grew up in, to run Saturday school math classes in his community. It is the local mayor who has given up his salary to drive home the message that if his constituency is going through tough financial times, the sacrifices must be shared by all.

My South Africa is my 11-year-old daughter who is passionate about giving and who requests that all her birthday gifts be donated to a home for children living with HIV/AIDS.

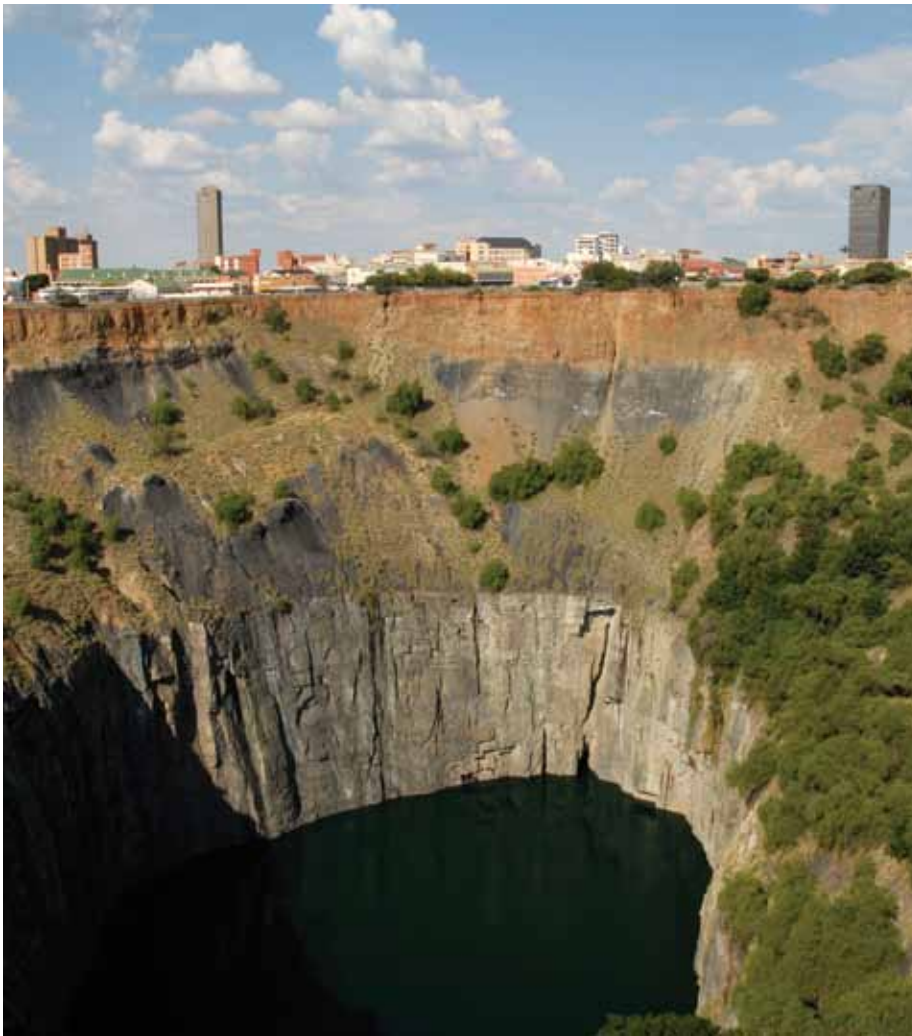
My South Africa is the white woman who speaks fluent Sesotho and organizes music festivals for rural children in the Free State province. It is the guy living with a disability who wakes up rain or

shine and directs traffic on crutches at the intersection near the University of South Africa in Pretoria.

It is the radio station DJs who collect shoes for school children who often walk up to 10 kilometres to rural schools every day. My South Africa is the remarkable lives of ordinary people who will put out their best tea cups and 'Eat Some More' biscuits for strangers and visitors and treat them like long lost friends. It is the citizens' passion for their country, and their obsession to keep it vibrant through millions of acts of daily kindness despite decades of oppression under the pre-1994 apartheid regime.

My favourite parts of South Africa have to be a drive along the best coast in the world. Meandering slowly, the 200-kilometre route takes you through South Africa's Garden Route. The south coast takes you between Mossel Bay and the mouth of the Storm River through resort towns, such as George, Wilderness,





The Northern Cape is famous for the Kimberley diamond mine, where digging started in 1871 and finished in 1914. Today, it's a crater known as The Big Hole.

Knysna and Plettenberg Bay. Stopping to buy a feast of seafood from the fisherman, inhaling the aroma of peri-peri prawns and curry fish and eating it on the sandy beach is nirvana. Replete with good wine and food, at sunset, the sky and the sea make perfect love to each other offering variations of blue, purple and turquoise and finally a reflection of bronze fire colouring both the sea and the sky.

Ixopo in the Midlands of KwaZulu Natal has a beauty that is so surreal you have to keep pinching yourself to make sure it's not a photograph in a coffee table book. I have sucked the most addictive, juicy, sweet sugarcane that flowed down my chin. It reminds me of my childhood when we could not wait for the sugarcane harvest to come. The landscape is so breathtaking; Alan Paton in the opening lines of *Cry, The Beloved Country* said "There is a lovely road which runs from Ixopo into the hills. These hills are grass-

covered and rolling, and they are lovely beyond any singing of it."

Exquisite and lush, these hills are a mystical haven to retreat and renew. I love waking up to the fresh mist. Sipping a warm cup of tea on the veranda, I watch as the mist wages a losing battle with small rays of sunlight which allow a peep of homes painted in pink, blue and green hues in Zulu *kraals* [villages] scattered like polka dots on the rolling hills.

Ixopo is where the old people speak proudly of great warriors of the past through the ancient oral tradition of storytelling. They tease the imagination with their legends and tales of victories in the great wars fought in the hills.

Where else can you smell the heady scent of rain coming? It is across the veld amongst the flowers that perfume the grasslands with air so pristine its freshness touches your lips like a cool drop of water. Flower season begins as



Beads in South Africa, particularly among Zulu-speaking people, contain codes for the giver's feeling toward the recipient.



A lilac-breasted roller at Limpopo Kruger National Park.

if by magic — an enticing tapestry of brilliantly coloured blooms in Namaqua National Park. In August and September, the dusty valleys of the Namaqualand are carpeted with wildflowers. More than 1,000 of the estimated 3,500 plant species are found nowhere else on earth.

From Uppington to Port Nolloth in the Northern Cape province, you can experience a sun that burns away the endless balmy afternoons to unlock the Southern Cross that will appear so close you'll have an irresistible urge to reach out and touch it. If you walk softly in the Kalahari Desert, you'll no doubt meet a meerkat, the 30-centimetre-high member of the mongoose family. A precocious animal, it is cute but strong enough to kill a cobra snake.

This exotic combination of landscapes, people, history and culture offer the visitor to South Africa a unique diversity of experiences. It forces one to leave everything that's ordinary at home.



CHRIS KIRCHHOFF/MEDIA CLUB SOUTH AFRICA.COM

Traditional performers at the Johannesburg cultural festival.



CHRIS KIRCHHOFF/MEDIA CLUB SOUTH AFRICA.COM

A balloon passes over Hoedspruit, a small town not far from Kruger National Park.

### Wine & Culinary

Cape Town is well known for producing great wines. What is less known are the gastronomic adventures at the country's many wine estates. The highly unusual wine pairings are not to be missed. Imagine a Shiraz matched with a masala chai dark chocolate. Or how about a Cabernet Sauvignon with dark-rock salt chocolate? Springbok, South Africa's favourite game meat, pairs well with a fruity Chardonnay. Very few places in the world will offer a Pinotage matched with a Prego steak roll (a hot steak, sauced and served on a roll) with chocolate shavings. Decadent is a

word you'll use over and over again.

You know you are a special guest in a South African township such as Gugulethu when you are offered African beer. The customary way to deal with this honour is to take at least one sip or your audience will be chaffed (teased). The most common place to get this beer is a Shebeen (a tavern). Our African beer, called *Umqombothi* from the Xhosa language, is made from maize (corn), sorghum malt and yeast. It's gritty, thick and creamy with a somewhat sour aroma. Surprisingly its alcohol content is less than three percent — less than most beers. *Umqombothi*

is served at celebrations, weddings and funerals.

Tripe, also called offal, is a traditional treat favoured by most black South Africans. Many white South Africans also love it, especially those with a farming background. Tripe consists of the parts of an animal that are left over from cutting up a carcass; they are also called "variety meats."

South African indigenous food restaurants are in every township. Try some liver, kidneys, brains or chicken feet stew. The rich dynamic of 11 official languages, and a land steeped in diverse cultures produces a variety of food that is the spice of life. For something mild, try the *Mieliepap*, *boerewors en sous* (maize porridge, sausage and sauce), a favourite with all South Africans.

### Erudite South Africa

South Africans are erudite and love telling and writing their stories. A proliferation of book fairs and literary festivals enlivens just about every corner of the country.

South African writers have distinguished themselves as cutting-edge creators of literary excellence. Boasting two Nobel winners in literature and a linguistic paradise of nearly a dozen languages, the textures, experiences and themes of the written or spoken word give the visitor a glimpse into South Africa's values.

Our literary talents address topics from AIDS to inter-racial tension and go beyond the simplistic black-is-good, white-is-evil formula, to look at the struggle to maintain African tradition against urbanization/modernization. Identity and class mobility are challenges now surfacing in discourse on our social fabric.

Children's literature is my favourite genre. African storytellers use African proverbs and folktales to impart lessons about anti-social behaviour — using a tortoise story, for example, to teach children the importance of self-esteem. The images, values and messages have a universal resonance that teaches us about humility, honesty and how to use our power carefully. Buy a book by Gcina Mhlope, a noted South African storyteller, for an experience that can be passed on for generations.

### A Feast of Festivals

Every month offers a feast of festivals in South Africa from the arts to the sciences. SciFest Africa, the national festival of science, engineering and technology, draws more than 35,000 visitors each year. The





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The Maropeng Cradle of Humankind is a UNESCO World Heritage Site which contains limestone caves where the 2.3-million-year-old fossil *Australopithecus africanus* was found in 1947.

week-long festival is held in late March in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape where some 600 events include a laser show, workshops, lectures, sunset shows, game drives, robotics competitions and a science Olympics.

Visitors can enjoy an old tradition of a festival of theatre, notably the groundbreaking musical *King Kong*, based on the 1950s movie. Theatre created in South Africa by South Africans has showcased local productions at the Johannesburg's Market Theatre since the mid-1970s. Such internationally acclaimed plays as *Sarafina* brought audiences worldwide to the stage. Festivals such as Arts Alive premiere artistic expression as dance companies expand their repertoire.

From the end of May to the end of November, every year, the southern right whales travel thousands of miles to the Cape south coast to mate and calve in the bays. The villagers of Hermanus hold an annual festival that features the best land-based whale-watching in the world. The dolphins also come to play, and if you stay long enough, you may even see a humpback whale.

#### Music and Dance

Music and dance pull in new audiences and a number of home-grown productions, particularly those aimed at the popular market, have taken South Africa and, in some cases, the world, by storm. Where else would a visitor hear a rendition of *Carmen*, an adaptation of Georges Bizet's 19th-Century opera relocated from a Seville slum to a contemporary black township and sung entirely in the Xhosa language? Dubbed UCarmen eKhayalitsha, it is sung by young musicians with a South African twist in a township in Cape Town.

If you like the blues, the Oppikoppi Easter Festival takes place over the holidays and its stage draws a traditional blues-and-folk audience.

I am almost certain that, somewhere in history, we invented the voice as a musical instrument. South Africa stands out as the only place you can go to a concert knowing nothing about the artists or their music and come away feeling overwhelmed by the performance. We have festivals featuring everything from choral music to reggae, Kuwaiti and Magana. Our music

has passion, musical excellence, diverse tradition, mass participation, prestige and uniqueness.

Not only can we sing, we are a nation with rhythm. We were born dancing. Even if your dancing is sub-standard, the South African shuffle done in straight line with many people will hide your less-than-coordinated efforts. The choral festivals have multiple choirs in extraordinary venues and diverse and sizeable audiences. You will experience African rhythms, dancing, and their wonderful, unique singing. This festival is different from our other festivals as it includes adult choirs, university choirs, bluegrass, symphony, reggae, Cajun and opera and the modern popular music styles of Kwaito, House Music and Mbaqanga.

#### Sampling the provinces

The Eastern Cape Province is the home and birthplace of President Nelson Mandela. There is a Hole-in-the-Wall at Coffee Bay, an intriguing landmark formed by millennia of constant erosion. The headland has stood while surrounding land masses have crumbled back into the sea, which adds to its significance. The sullen crashing roar of the sea through the hole has given this famous natural feature the isiXhosa name *esiKhaleni* (the place of sound). Access to Hole-in-the-Wall is mostly along paved roads and features a hotel which also offers surfing lessons. The beach at Hole-in-the-Wall is excellent for swimming, fishing and snorkeling. While there, it's worth going to e-Mvezo, the village where Mr. Mandela was born, in order to taste his favourite traditional Xhosa dish of dried maize and bean mix called *umngqusho*.

#### Mpumalanga

Mpumalanga is one of South Africa's top tourist destinations. People are drawn to it by the magnificent scenery, its fauna and flora and by the saga of the 1870s gold-rush era. Few regions in the world can match the extraordinary beauty of the Mpumalanga Lowveld and escarpment. Mountains, panoramic passes, valleys, rivers, waterfalls and forests dot the landscape.

This is also Big Game Country, the setting for dozens of sanctuaries teeming with wildlife and birds. Among them, the Kruger National Park is world-renowned, as are several of the luxurious private reserves on its western boundary. The entire Mpumalanga area offers exceptional opportunities for bird-watching, hiking,

horse-riding and fishing. The Middleveld region has an area inhabited by the Ndebele people, notable for their traditional costumes and the precise geometric patterns that decorate their homes.

#### Northern Cape

Apart from being the Diamond Capital, the Northern Cape is famous for Kimberley, its stunning scenery, pristine air and history-changing diamond mine.

Digging commenced at Kimberley mine site in 1871 and continued until August 14, 1914. The mine has yielded 2,722 kilograms of diamonds, extracted from 22.5 million tons of excavated earth. Today, what remains is a massive crater, 214 meters deep, with a surface area of 17 hectares and a perimeter of 1.6 kilometres. It is surrounded by original buildings from the heyday of the mine, relocated from earlier sites to form an unforgettable open-air visitor experience. Recently upgraded, the Big Hole offers three experiences.

In the Underground Mine Experience, visitors enter a re-creation of a historic mine shaft to experience the perilous 19th-Century mining conditions. A fascinating 15-minute film introduces visitors to the story of diamonds at Kimberley. The Real



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The Hole-in-the-Wall at Coffee Bay is an intriguing landmark formed by millennia of constant erosion.

Diamond Display, which is housed in a vault, features the famous "616," the largest uncut diamond in the world, and the "Eureka," the first diamond discovered in South Africa.

#### A Zulu love letter from South Africa

Just as different kinds of flowers and colours symbolize and express different emotions, beads in South Africa, particularly among the Zulu-speaking people, hold a sophisticated code about the giver's

feeling toward the recipient.

The Zulu Love Letter — *incwadi yothando ucu or ubhala abuyise* — means "one writes in order that the other should reply." Its symbolic message is associated with certain types of beaded necklaces. Love among the Zulu people was a very private matter. A traditional woman would never say "Yes, I love you" because love must always be kept secret. Love messages are transmitted in a discreet manner, through beads.

Traditional Zulu women may write a letter made from beads to pass the message. For example, by using white beads, a woman might say "Whenever I see you, my heart goes white as the milk of cattle when they are milked in the morning," or "My heart goes white as the goat's milk."

My Zulu Love Letter to you is written with ruby beads. It says: Travel to South Africa is more than visiting places of interest; it is a profound, life-changing experience that is deep and enduring.

South Africa: Where you leave ordinary behind.

Mohau Phoko is South Africa's high commissioner to Canada. Reach her at (613) 744-0330 or [rsafrica@southafrica-canada.ca](mailto:rsafrica@southafrica-canada.ca).



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