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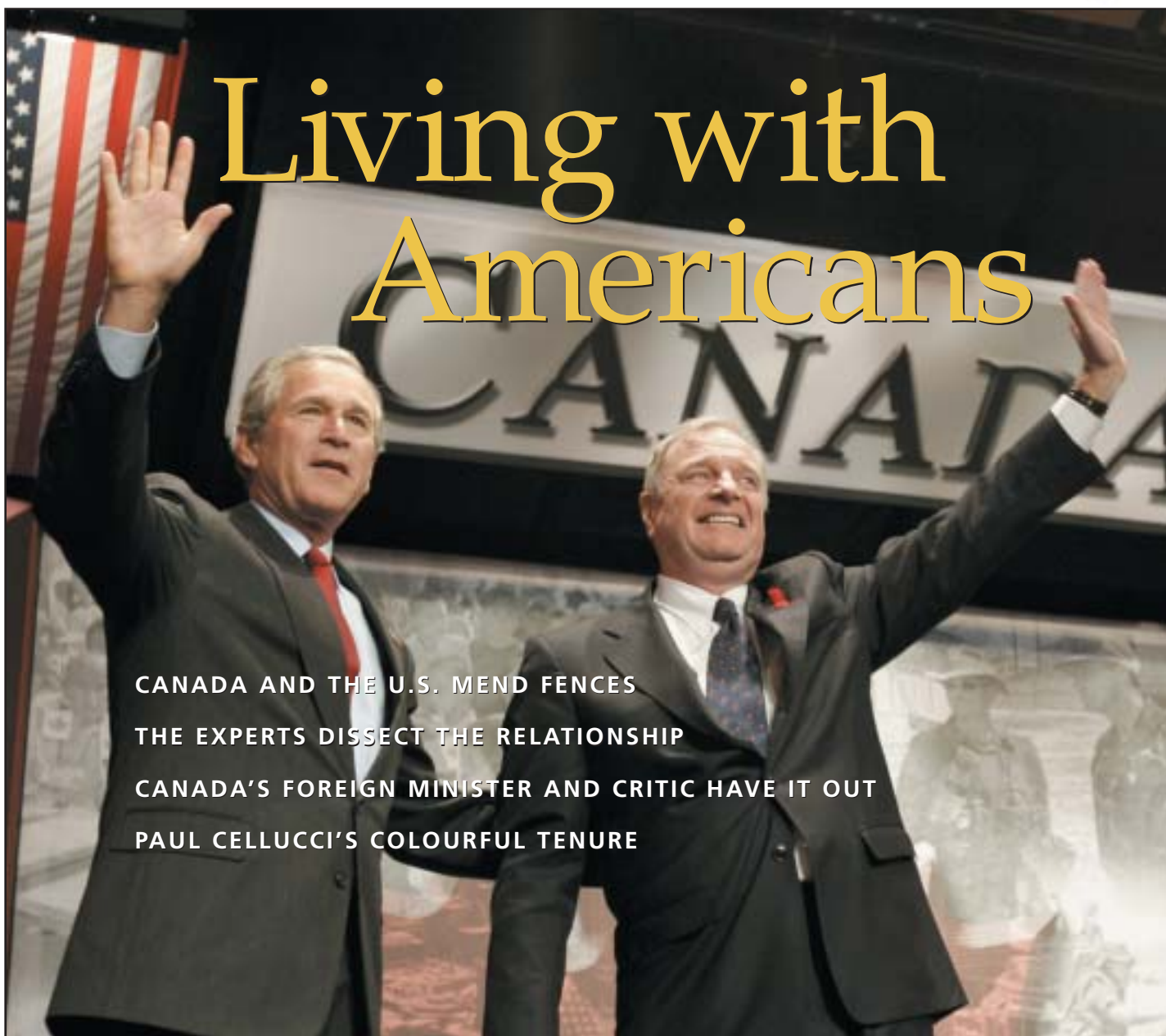
## INTERNATIONAL CANADA

January–February 2005



# Living with Americans

CANADA AND THE U.S. MEND FENCES  
THE EXPERTS DISSECT THE RELATIONSHIP  
CANADA'S FOREIGN MINISTER AND CRITIC HAVE IT OUT  
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The backroom battle to bring peace to the war museum  
Talking trade with China's ambassador  
Wine: Envoys of the grape from Down Under



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## Table of Contents

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### DIPLOMATICA |

News and Culture .....	3
Envoy's Photo Album .....	6
Recent arrivals .....	8
Beyond the Headlines .....	11
Tory foreign policy .....	13
Diplo-dates .....	14

### DISPATCHES |

#### Living with Americans

Stockwell Day on dangerous anti-American attitudes .....	16
Pierre Pettigrew defends Canada's approach .....	17
Andrew Cohen on the Republicans rising .....	18
Professor John Noble gives relationship advice .....	20
Professor Chad Gaffield dissects Canada-U.S. history .....	21
A look back at Paul Cellucci's sometimes rocky tenure .....	22

#### Darfur's Cry

Why the African Union must take action .....	24
Professor Vern Redekop on peace mediation .....	27

#### China's economic heft

Trade Winds: A chat with the Chinese Ambassador .....	28
---	----

### DELIGHTS |

Entertaining: Belgium's food fixation .....	30
The Art of Diplomacy with Italian ambassador Marco Colombo ...	32
On the Go: Sipping with the lads from Down Under .....	33
Wine: Stephen Beckta discusses divine matches .....	34
Food Haunts: Getting Guyana's goods .....	35
Canadiana: Border disputes of the past .....	36
This Capital: OCRI's Jeffrey Dale on Ottawa's assets .....	37
Books: A Canadian heroine for all immigrants .....	38

### DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS ..... 39

### DEBATE |

Allan Thompson on the battle for peace at the war museum .....	44
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## Four more years of Bush

**H**e came, he met, he cracked jokes. He surprised us with his unscripted urging on missile defence and he promised nothing on softwood or BSE.

As the U.S. inaugurates George W. Bush, *Diplomat* takes a look at what to expect over the next four years. In an eloquent essay, author Andrew Cohen argues that the Republicans aren't necessarily as unstoppable as it might seem.

IN AN ELOQUENT ESSAY,  
AUTHOR ANDREW COHEN  
ARGUES THAT THE  
REPUBLICANS AREN'T  
NECESSARILY AS  
UNSTOPPABLE AS THE  
MEDIA MIGHT HAVE US  
BELIEVE.

Trade professor John Noble offers some tips on how to mend the fragile relationship between Canada and the U.S. while history professor Chad Gaffield explains and analyses it. Foreign Affairs Minister Pierre Pettigrew and Conservative critic Stockwell Day describe their respective plans for a policy to deal with the U.S.

In our second feature, writer and conflict studies student Alan Martin shows how the African Union could use the situation in Darfur as its first significant intervention, to show the world that Africa really can solve its own problems. Professor Vern Redekop, who visited Sudan on a mediation mission, tells us what needs to be done to establish peace in Darfur.

On the economic front, Trade Winds columnist and marketing professor Gurprit S. Kindra sits down with Chinese Ambassador Ping Mei, who makes his first appearance in the magazine. The two discuss the economic giant that China has become and what the future holds.

Meanwhile, in Delights, we have Belgian eats, food and wine matches, and an excerpt from a book on Canadian



JENNIFER CAMPBELL

heroines. Staying in step with our Canadian-American focus, our history column looks at a border dispute of the past.

Back-page columnist Allan Thompson steps away from his usual subject – foreign affairs – and tells us about a discussion going on behind the scenes at the Canadian War Museum. The museum, set to open this spring, is to be a monument to all Canadian veterans, but some argue that Canada's peacekeeping role should have as much prominence as its military history.

Be sure to let us know what you think. Call me at (613) 231-8476, email at [diplomat.editorial@sympatico.ca](mailto:diplomat.editorial@sympatico.ca), or drop us a line by post at P.O. Box 1173, Station B, Ottawa, ON, K1P 5R2.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

## UP FRONT

Dave Chan, official photographer for the Prime Minister's Office, shot this photo of Prime Minister Paul Martin and U.S. President George Bush as the president arrived on the Hill. The late-November visit symbolized a desire to get Canadian-



American relations back on track after a few years of tenuousness. *Diplomat's* package on the subject includes an essay on the success of the Republicans in the November election, columns by a couple of professorial pundits and a showdown between Foreign Affairs Minister Pierre Pettigrew and the Conservatives' foreign affairs critic, Stockwell Day. The coverage begins on Page 15.

## CONTRIBUTORS

Alan Martin, author of *Darfur's Cry*



My trip to Rwanda was memorable because the magnitude of the genocide made me confront the worst human depravity one can imagine—not just of those who committed the genocide, but by foreign governments that did nothing. It also brought home how a conflict in far-off Africa can often have its roots in the heart of the political centres of Europe or North America. My trip to Rwanda was part of a year spent reporting in Uganda, Kenya and Zimbabwe. The experience played no small part in why I decided to pursue a Masters in Violence, Conflict, and Development at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.

Jana Chytilova, photographer for *On the Go and Art of Diplomacy*



I finally got a chance to visit Slovakia – where I was born and still have relatives – in the summer of 2001. I cherish many memories from my visit: meeting my cousins, many of whom had been symbolized by hand-writing on letters and one-dimensional photographs; seeing the beautiful countryside with rolling fields of grass, peppered with ancient castles; and, visiting the amazing churches found in almost every town. As a self-taught freelance photographer, I've been shooting since 2001. My photos have appeared in the *Ottawa Citizen*, the *National Post*, and the *New York Post*.

## Talking peace with David Malone

Until this fall, David Malone had spent the previous six years at the helm of the New York-based International Peace Academy, an independent institution that uses policy research and development to promote peace and end armed conflict. Mr. Malone had been on loan from the Canadian government. *Diplomat* caught up with him just after he returned.

**Q:** Of the many accomplishments during your tenure, which do you consider most significant?

**A:** In the research and policy development world, which is not-hierarchical compared to government, our biggest success was building a very strong team involving 20 nationalities, including eight tremendously impressive African colleagues.

Our work on economic factors in contemporary civil wars was groundbreaking, influencing the Security Council and a number of key governments.

Institutionally, IPA's independence is its greatest asset. It has no formal links to the UN or to any other institution, and is funded by roughly 20 governments, a dozen foundations and several individuals, making it relatively immune to attempts to influence its ideas or positions (this occurred only rarely in any event.) We were repeatedly asked to work closely with Security Council members, including the Permanent Five, and quite often to work with Kofi Annan and his immediate staff. These countries and individuals tended to turn to IPA when a subject was so sensitive that a non-official discussion or think-in was more likely to be useful than an attempt to proceed formally. Subjects included human rights, weapons of mass destruction, regional approaches to conflict countries and sanctions reform.

**Q:** Was it important for Canada to have a Canadian at the helm? Is it fair to say that Canadian ideas, as a result, had a pipeline to the secretary general?

**A:** Not really. There are lots of Canadians at the UN, starting with the terrific new ambassador, Allan Rock.

Being Canadian did help a great deal with American foundations and a number of our donor governments, as Canadians tend to be trusted. The Canadian public service is an excellent school for the types of skills required in interna-

tional work of various sorts.

**Q:** What are your new responsibilities at Foreign Affairs?

**A:** I am assistant deputy minister for Africa and the Middle East, both important regions. Africa (is) a continent where I have worked and which I love. Africa has been a major priority of successive Canadian governments, as CIDA programs there attest. The Middle East is geo-strategically volatile and vital to the rest of the world. – JC

## Canada's IPR coming

Canada's most ambitious International Policy Review (IPR) to date advocates an "activist and focused" agenda reminiscent of an era when it spearheaded a campaign against landmines and for the creation of an International Criminal Court. Distilling the report's contents days before its presentation to Parliament in February, Michael Pearson, the IPR's coordinator, said the report will answer the question, "How can Canada make a difference in the world?"

The IPR is expected to draw up a set of "achievable goals." In Mr. Pearson's words, "We can say something about everything, but don't have to do everything." It suggests a more issue-driven, thematic approach, rather than the traditional way of dividing up the world into regions and continents. This could mean a re-organization of the country's diplomatic resources, in the context of Foreign Minister Pierre Pettigrew's observation that Canada has a disproportionate amount of its foreign service officers concentrated in Ottawa, rather than abroad.

It will lend heft to Prime Minister Paul Martin's proposal for a "new multilateralism" embodied in an L-20 grouping of key world leaders and emerging powers. The UN and NATO, Mr. Pearson pointed out, are 60-year-old institutions, adding that the world will have to be innovative in its approach to humanitarian interventions. Canada hopes to contribute, using both 'soft' and 'hard' power assets.

The departments of foreign affairs, defence, international development and international trade began work on an 'integrated international policy for Canada' in January 2004. Aligning the four different strands into one policy statement was difficult enough, but the real challenge may lie ahead. – GA



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## Security Council struggles

Is it possible that the UN Security Council is at once the most out-dated and the most relevant of international institutions? At the end of November, a panel of eminent diplomats put forward a set of recommendations for reshaping the UN, primarily by making the Council more inclusive. Critics have argued that expanding the Council from 15 to 24 is a recipe for deadlock.

The prime candidates for permanent memberships – Germany, Japan, India and Brazil – have lobbied world governments for years. It has been *de rigueur* for their leaders to crow about every new endorsement and plead for more support while touring foreign capitals. But less known are the policies that see countries making themselves look good at the expense of their neighbours, which have hobbled their chances. For instance, India faces strident opposition from Pakistan, while Brazil has Argentina snapping at its heels. The lack of truly exemplary candidates in good standing may have made UN reform a Sisyphean exercise. – GA

## Rethinking Canada's international role

Rather than wring their hands and gripe about Canada's waning clout, an organization that speaks for Canadians aged 20-35 has come up with a set of forward-looking proposals. *From Middle Power to Model Power: Recharging Canada's Role in the World*, released by Canada 25 on Nov. 4, celebrates the nation's convening powers and its reputation as the ultimate "joiner."

The authors envision Canada as a "network node" and the military as a diplomatic tool. The result of 400 young Canadians responding to a web survey and 300 attending one of 11 regional roundtables in Canada, the U.S. and Britain, the report was a true exercise in democracy. Its lead author, David Eaves, is particularly gratified that "many of [the participants] are not expert in foreign policy issues but were able to engage and contribute on what is normally seen as an issue 'best left to the experts.'" The experts, of course, will have their say in the International Policy Review (IPR). – GA

## My Tam, my Canada



Consul General Sanjeev Chowdhury and Canada's goodwill ambassador in Ho Chi Minh city, My Tam.

This fall, the Terry Fox Run in Ho Chi Minh city was flagged off by a vivacious Vietnamese pop star, My Tam, whose latest CD includes a ballad by Canadian song writer Lara Fabian. Winner of the first Maple Leaf Artist of the Year award, the singer has signed on as a goodwill ambassador to promote Canada as a student destination.

The program, the brainchild of Canadian Consul General Sanjeev Chowdhury, appears to be paying off. He guesses the hoopla surrounding My Tam's Maple Leaf award has generated publicity worth \$18,000. Mr. Chowdhury explained his math: "To arrive at the dollar figure, we collected all of the press clippings and then found out how much it would cost to buy that amount of space in each paper or on the electronic media. It's a rough estimate, but to be frank we could never buy that kind of publicity even if we tried." – GA

## Viennese Ball

Austrian Ambassador Otto Ditz will once again play host for the Viennese Winter Ball which takes place Feb. 5. One of the big social events of the season, it attracts a number of diplomats and takes place at the National Gallery of Canada. The evening includes a Champagne reception, a gourmet dinner in the rotunda and dancing to the music of Ottawa's Thirteen Strings Orchestra and the Stevens and Kennedy Band. A Kaffee Haus, with entertainment by the Ottawa Schrammel Quartet, provides a diversion for non-dancers. Fred Astaire Dance Studios provides complimentary dance lessons in January for ticket-holders wishing to refine their steps. Go to [www.winterball.ca](http://www.winterball.ca) for information. – JC

## A string of new relationships

When Eugene Munyakyanza arrived in Canada in late November, he not only had to establish himself, he had to establish an embassy. Because of cost, Rwanda has not had an embassy in Ottawa for the past few years and while there is still a residence in Aylmer, it is badly in need of repairs. For the first few weeks, before he got the office set up, Mr. Munyakyanza operated the embassy out of a hotel suite and then out of his residence on McKay Street in New Edinburgh.

Meanwhile, after 10 years of not having an Iraqi head-of-mission, Howar Ziad has arrived. In July, just three weeks after Iraq regained sovereignty from the U.S. occupation forces, it announced it would send 43 ambassadors abroad. The Canadian embassy had been closed for six months beginning in late 2003 and reopened in April under chargé d'affaires Samarah al-Homsi. She will remain on the job and other diplomats will follow, Mr. Ziad said.

Sudan's new ambassador, Faiza Hassan Taha, also comes into the job after a long tenure by former chargé d'affaires, Abd Elghani A. Elkarim. – JC

## DFAIT's divorce, one year on

When he was introducing Douglas Alexander, the UK's minister of state for trade, investment and foreign affairs, at a talk in December, Peter Harder, Canada's deputy minister of Foreign Affairs, called the joining of trade and foreign affairs portfolios "quite an idea." His comment garnered hushed chuckles from the crowd.

But, as the federal government celebrates the one-year anniversary of the split in the portfolio, many questions remain unanswered. Bill Clarke, former ambassador to the Baltic Republics and Brazil, said no one seems to know who made the decision—nor do they know why. "Many observers are wondering why," he said, adding that it's "questionable whether a good, open discussion was held."

The change, made through an order-in-council in December 2003 and announced in the Throne Speech, took many by surprise. It didn't become entrenched in law until the acts were passed in December. – JC



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**A musical evening:** Korean Ambassador Sung-joon Yim and his wife Kwee-joo hosted a Canadian Music Competitions (CMC) concert at their residence in Rockcliffe Park. They are shown here with Gilberte Leclerc, diplomatic liaison for the CMC (centre).



**Mauritius merry-making:** Montreal businessman Richard G. Gervais, who has spent 11 years as honorary consul of Mauritius, recently offered a reception in honor of Karl Offmann, former president of the republic. (Left to right): Mr. Gervais, president of GGA Communications; Mauricio Mena Hernandez, consul general of El Salvador and Dean of Montréal's Consular Corps; Mr. Offmann; Anand Gungah, permanent representative for Mauritius; and Vijay Poonoosamy, director of the Mauritius Airport Authority.



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Campbell writes *Diplomatica* - a comprehensive  
summary of the news and events in Ottawa.

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PHOTO: EMBASSY OF ROMANIA

**Sharing Romanian culture:**  
Romanian Ambassador Liviu Maior hosted a national day celebration Dec. 1 at the Museum of Civilization. Mr. Maior (left) is shown here with Turkish Ambassador Aydemir Erman.

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**New France on the big screen:**  
French Ambassador Daniel Jouanneau with Heritage Minister Liza Frulla at the Nov. 17 screening of *Nouvelle France* in Ottawa.

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**Adiós, Señor Fernandez:**  
Former Dominican Republic Ambassador Eduardo Fernandez (left), who left Canada in December, at his farewell party with Uruguayan Ambassador Alvaro Moerzinger (centre) and Como van Hellenberg Hubar, Ambassador of the Netherlands.

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### Poul Erik Dam Kristensen

Ambassador of Denmark



A long-time diplomat, Mr. Kristensen's career began in 1977 when he joined the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs as secretary. He quickly moved up in rank – by 1979, he was head of the section.

Bankok in 1981 represented his first foreign posting. Between foreign postings to Thailand and to Denmark's permanent mission to the EU in Brussels, he returned to the ministry in Copenhagen. From 1992-95, he worked as economic counselor at the embassy in Washington. Between 1995 and his appointment to Canada, he worked in Copenhagen as head of foreign trade, then head of personnel, and finally as ambassador and under-secretary for international trade.

### Howar Ziad

Ambassador of Iraq



This is Mr. Ziad's first official diplomatic posting but he spent the past several years in New York as a senior adviser to the general secretary of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and as representative at the Kurdistan regional government's UN liaison office. It's also the first time in a decade that Canada has had an ambassador from Iraq. The embassy had been closed for more than a year when it reopened last April and prior to that it has had chargés d'affaires

Born in Koya, in Iraqi Kurdistan, he spent two years studying at Oxford College of Technology in London and has a bachelor of science from the London School of Economics.

Mr. Ziad's family has always participated in the Kurdish freedom movement. His father, Muhammad "Kaka" Ziad, was a founding member and vice-president of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP). Mr. Ziad also has extensive international business and management experience.

### Piotr Ogrodzinski

Ambassador of Poland



Mr. Ogrodzinski is well prepared for his posting to Canada – he's been working on Northern Hemisphere files since 1997, most recently as director of the department of the Americas in Poland's foreign ministry. He also worked as deputy head of mission in Washington.

Since 1993, Mr. Ogrodzinski has worked for the foreign affairs ministry. Prior to that, he was an academic, teaching at the Polish Academy of Sciences between 1978 and 1997.

He has a PhD from the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences and an MA from the University of Warsaw. Born in Paris in 1951, he is married to psychologist Joanna Agata Kawalerowicz-Ogrodzinska. They have three sons.

Please see  
page 42  
for other  
recent arrivals.



### Eugene Munyakayanza

Ambassador of Rwanda



Ottawa represents Mr. Munyakayanza's first diplomatic appointment. He has spent the past 25 years working in education and the past 10, after the genocide in Rwanda, working in education reform for reconstruction and reconciliation.

From November 2002 until October 2003, he served as minister of state, in charge of primary and secondary education. For the previous two years, he was the administrative and technical head of the ministry of education. Since 1973, while working as a teacher and educational administrator, he's travelled extensively across Africa, Europe, and America as well as to China.

Mr. Munyakayanza has a Bachelor's degree in math-science education from IPN Butare in Rwanda and a Masters degree in science education from Clark Atlanta University in Georgia U.S.

Born in 1950, he is married to Consolee Uwindatwa Munyakayanza and they have four children.

### Faiza Hassan Taha

Ambassador of Sudan



Dr. Taha spent most of her career as an academic in Sudan. She has Masters and PhD degrees in political science from Khartoum University. She completed the first in 1990, and the second, five years ago. Last year, she was appointed director of the foreign ministry's information de-



partment. Between 1997 and 2003, she worked as a senior researcher at the Middle East and African Studies Centre in Khartoum and as a researcher at the Centre for Strategic Studies in Khartoum.

Dr. Taha, and her husband Dr. Sid Ahmed Tayfour, an economist with the African Development Bank, have two children. His job took them to Abidjan, Rome and Washington. Dr. Taha speaks Arabic and English.

### Dr. Sasko Nasev

Ambassador of Macedonia



Dr. Nasev has been a lifelong, world-travelling learner. Born in 1966 in Kocani, Macedonia, he went to school in Skopje. At the age of 22, he became editor of the "Studentski Zbor", a newspaper in which he had more than 100 articles published. Mr. Nasev moved to the U.S. to study in 1989 and then to Paris and London. Between 1990-94, he studied drama at the university in Skopje, moving on to Budapest for more study in 1997 and then moved to Paris and Berlin. He edited a magazine called "Puls" and then a newspaper called "Demokratija". After working for the municipal government, he went on to teach at a university in Skopje.

Mr. Nasev speaks French and English and is married with two children.

### Dr. Eduardo J. Tejera Curbelo

Ambassador of the Dominican Republic

Dr. Tejera comes to the diplomatic world from the world of business. After completing his PhD in economics at the American University in Washington, he went to work at the Dominican Republic's Central Bank and later spent 12 years as chairman of the board and CEO



of a commercial bank. He ran a construction company from 1976-1990. He has held many positions on the boards of companies, including being country manager for Enron until May 2001.

He spent seven years as an economic adviser to José Francisco Peña Gómez, past president and three-time presidential candidate for the PRD party. Dr. Tejera served as honorary ambassador and economic adviser to the ministry of foreign affairs between 2000 and 2003.

Dr. Tejera is married with five sons.

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EDUCATION BEYOND THE CLASSROOM

## Neolore Networks' personalized service is the key to meeting the IT needs of diplomatic missions, businesses and organizations

By Jeff Pappone

When companies work with the diplomatic community, knowing about cultural differences is as important as providing quality goods and services. So, while NeoLore Networks always provides the best service possible to customers, the company also goes out of its way to ensure that its workers are properly prepared to deal with the cultural diversity they encounter in the diplomatic community.

"Understanding the culture and the environment that you are going into is extremely important because the last thing you want to do is inadvertently insult someone or disrespect their customs," said NeoLore operations manager Brenda Pavolic.

"You might think it's crazy but when some of our embassy customers say they want something tomorrow, that actually means they want it at a certain time today and that's just something you can only become aware of through experience."

"There are often times where something comes up and we return to the office saying to each other: 'Gee, we never even thought of that!'"

While the company doesn't have formal culture training for employees, the small group of workers shares the lessons learned over the years and ensures the knowledge is passed to new hires.

NeoLore caters to small- and mid-sized businesses, organizations, and embassies, offering comprehensive and detailed network audit and analysis, as well as maintaining, installing and renting personal computers. It also provides Web development services.

The company gets many opportunities to interact with different cultures by contacting its embassy clients about every four weeks for status reports as part of its regular customer service. While once per month contact is the minimum, the company often increases the number of calls and visits

depending on the services provided and the network installed in the organization.

Whereas it would be a bit unrealistic for the company's employees to be fluent in all the dialects they encounter, its employees make an extra effort to ensure instructions are free of jargon and relayed in plain language. "When our technical support staff are working on the helpdesk, they always keep in mind that we're often dealing with frustrated users who may not have English as a first or even a second language," Pavolic said. "Some cultures are also hesitant to ask questions, so we always need to make an extra effort to ensure that they get the clarification they need to solve problems."

NeoLore Networks offers free evaluations to help business assess their IT needs. It can be reached at (613) 594-9199 or on the Web at [www.neoLore.com](http://www.neoLore.com).

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## BEYOND THE HEADLINES

By George Abraham

## The push and pull of foreign policy

Former Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson's world-changing diplomacy at the UN in 1956 was not without remorse. He fretted that Canada's desire to be an honest broker during the Suez Crisis meant turning its back on Britain and France. Nearly 50 years later, Foreign Minister Pierre Pettigrew has similar thoughts.

"Every region of the world has a clientele in Canada," Mr. Pettigrew notes, referring to pressure groups of immigrants with opinions about how Canada should relate to their birthplaces. Canada also has the highest proportion of dual nationals. In 1996, dual nationals were 2.7 per cent of the Canadian population, but 17 per cent of its naturalized citizens, according to Sergiy Pivnenko, a researcher at Simon Fraser University.

These dual nationals and immigrants are having a demonstrable effect. In November, thousands of Ukrainian-Canadians came out to support Viktor Yushchenko. Their numbers – one million total – probably helped convince Ottawa to speak out on the rigged elections.

But immigrants from Ukraine are not alone. China, India, Pakistan and the Philippines have the fastest-growing domestic constituencies in Canada. Roughly 40 per cent of the one million new immigrants between 1999 and 2003 came from those four Asian nations. With this accelerating trend, the push and pull behind Ottawa's foreign policy only promises to get more complicated.

## Democratic challenges

Until recently, on the world stage, Ukraine meant one thing, Chernobyl – how the power of the atom is both blight and blessing. Ukraine has now become an example of how difficult democracy can be to achieve, and how vulnerable it is.

Unlike the zealous democratization drive of the U.S., Canada recognizes that one size does not fit all. Afghanistan and Iraq pose different challenges, but Canada has implemented Project Democracy in both.

Palestine is the next challenge and, here again, Canada is at loggerheads with U.S. policy. Foreign Affairs officials want a democratic Palestinian state, but say "democracy is not a pre-condition for Canadian involvement" in a revived Middle East peace process.

## Nuclear right?

The world has obsessed over illicit weapons programs for decades, but the prospect of nuclear weapons in the hands of terrorists has made proliferation a front-page story. In the 1990s, attention was focused mainly on Iraq and Libya, then India and Pakistan were hauled over the coals following testing in 1998. The spotlight then turned to North Korea, and more recently, to Iran.

Each nation benefited from international help in setting up nuclear energy programs, mostly under the supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Vienna-based agency with a paradoxical, twin mandate: promoting atomic energy while also preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. The IAEA's director-general, Mohamed El-Baradei, recently admitted that the "technical barriers to mastering the essential

steps of uranium enrichment, and to designing weapons, have eroded over time."

Since 1974, Ottawa has probed the intentions of any would-be importer of Canadian nuclear materials or know-how. Iran, it seems, falls short. "Canada believes there is no economic or practical justification for Iran to have the full nuclear fuel cycle, including uranium enrichment and reprocessing capabilities, and that there is an ample supply of nuclear fuel available on the world market," said Foreign Affairs spokeswoman Marie-Christine Lilko.

## Dhaliwal versus Bush

Herb Dhaliwal, the former federal minister of natural resources, has a unique take on Canada-U.S. relations, having been the only Chrétien-era minister who continued dealing with senior Bush officials, even after calling the president a "failed statesman" in March 2003. He counts recently retired U.S. energy secretary Spencer Abraham as a "friend." The two headed a joint commission formed after the August 2003 power blackout.

Mr. Dhaliwal said Canada-U.S. relations are so "institutionalized" that observations like his don't rock the boat. "People over-exaggerate" the significance of individual comments, he said, adding that as a close ally, Canada had a responsibility to warn the U.S. of the consequences of invading Iraq. "The proof is in the pudding," he said. "Are we any safer? In fact, many argue it's a more dangerous world."

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

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## Why the Tories think democracies deserve Canada's dollars

By Daniel Drolet

**T**he federal Conservative Party is moving toward a foreign policy that would re-evaluate Canada's foreign aid program and put support for democracy and human rights front and centre.

The Conservatives, formed a year ago when the Canadian Alliance and the Progressive Conservatives merged, hadn't worked out the details of a number of policy issues before last June's federal election. That work is happening now, as the party gears up for a policy convention in March. Ideas from meetings held at the constituency level, along with input from party committees and MPs, are being rolled into a discussion paper to be released to party members before the convention.

When it comes to foreign policy priorities, human rights and democracy are top interests for Stockwell Day, the Conservative foreign affairs critic in Parliament.

"All questions about our international involvements should be based on an understanding of Canada's sovereignty and what is in the best interests of Canada," Mr. Day told *Diplomat*.

"Using that as a platform, it is in the best interests of Canada to support democratic countries and emerging democracies around the world," he said – even if Canada doesn't always agree with everything those countries do. For example, he said, "Israel is a democracy surrounded by dictatorships; we should be prepared to support the democratic interests of Israel." And if Taiwan is threatened by China, "the policy decision should go in favour of giving support to the democracy."

In fact, he said Canada needs to have a clear policy related to China – and not because of its strong economic growth, but also with regard to foreign aid.

"Our government this year will give almost \$70 million to Communist China, which has a roaring economy, which has a space program, which spends trillions in defence and armaments," he said. "We should not be giving money to that government. They should be attending to their own needs if they can do these other things."

(Canada sponsors aid projects in China, through CIDA. CIDA officials said the total amount of Canadian aid to China in 2002-03 was just over \$54 million. For example, Canada is helping China's National Bureau of Statistics reform the country's statistical management system; the country is also involved in agricultural, educational and environmental projects.)

On foreign aid, Mr. Day said, "We should not be funding, on a government-to-government basis, any government that operates as a tyranny or without rule of law."

He said aid for non-democratic countries should be funnelled through non-governmental organizations, where the dollar flow can be carefully monitored.



The Conservative foreign affairs critic Stockwell Day says Canada needs to support countries that share its values while being strategic about foreign aid.

Trade, apparently, is different. Mr. Day said even if Canada doesn't agree with certain countries' policies, that should not be a barrier to trade. Rationale? Trade happens between people, not governments, and where trade flows, so do ideas.

Mr. Day also favours reform of the United Nations. He said failed states or dictatorships often manage to thwart the will of democratic nations, so a way must be found to make the UN more functional.

As for Canada's relationship with the United States – so central to any foreign policy – Mr. Day said it should be based on "maintaining our sovereignty, maintaining our policy differences, but also

maintaining the basic friendship."

He said Canadians must recognize that other countries are competing for the U.S. market. There is no guarantee the Americans will always look north.

Despite the threat of international terrorism, Mr. Day said, Canada must make sure the border with the U.S. remains open while also vigorously pursuing terrorists within its own borders.

Hugh Segal, chief of staff to former prime minister Brian Mulroney and now president of the Institute for Research on Public Policy, said however divided the Conservatives may have been over domestic issues, they have always agreed on foreign policy.

Mr. Segal said the basic theme of Conservative foreign policy has been to make sure there is no gap between Canada's intrinsic values, its history, and its interests. "Our history is one of a pluralist and democracy-based free society," he said, adding that Canada believes the more pluralism, democracy and freedom exist, the better the world is.

"We have roots both in terms of the civilizing effects of the British Empire, and the civilizing effects of the French Empire, and that's who we are: We are a society of laws, and various other constitutional positions because of those two very strong trends within our history. Those produce clear interests globally, and a clear map of who our allies are and how we have to be supportive to them," he said.

Mr. Segal noted that under Mr. Mulroney, there was a clear difference of opinion with the Americans on South Africa, the Middle East, Central America and Cuba, yet Canada was able to maintain those differences "while the relationship with the United States on really critical bilateral questions, like free trade and NAFTA and acid rain, actually showed immense promise and made great progress.

"So that's the knack – maintaining those areas of difference which are essential because we do have different views on matters, while not sacrificing those areas of mutual interest where every government has a duty to the citizens of Canada."

Mr. Segal said most Conservatives would agree that that capacity eroded "seriously" during the Chretien era and that "we're paying for it in many ways."

*Daniel Drolet is a veteran political affairs reporter and a Diplomat contributing editor.*

## Diplo-Dates

### Jan. 1

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

### Jan. 4

Myanmar's Independence Day

### Jan. 8

The Spanish Connection: Mexican ambassador Maria Teresa Garcia de Madero is the special guest at the National Arts Centre Orchestra TD Bank Young People's concert series. The NACO promises to deliver an infectious beat of Latin syncopation from Spain to the New World. For info, visit [www.nac-cna.ca](http://www.nac-cna.ca) or phone (613) 947-7000.



PHOTO: JANA CHYTILOVA

Her Excellency Maria Teresa Garcia de Madero will be NACO's special guest at the January 8th concert.

### Jan. 24

Ottawa Symphony Orchestra: In its 40th concert season, the OSO

performs at the National Arts Centre with featured performers from the department of music at the University of Ottawa. For info., visit [www.ottawasymphony.com](http://www.ottawasymphony.com) or phone (613) 231-7802.

### Jan. 25

Chamber Music: The winner of the 2004 Grammy for Best Chamber Chamber Music Performance, the Kronos Quartet, will be performing at the National Arts Centre. Visit [www.chamberfest.com](http://www.chamberfest.com) for information.

### Jan. 26

Australia Day

### Jan. 29

Designer diplomats: This fashion and dance extravaganza hits the runway at Library and Archives Canada. A total of 46 embassies and high commissions, along with Ottawa fashion star Richard Robinson, are participating in this fundraiser for "Centre psycho social des enfants et familles d'Ottawa," a charity that provides mental health services to children and their families. The fashion show will be followed by a reception. For info., call Christine Bassier Penot at (613) 746-4298 ([christine\\_bassier@hotmail.com](mailto:christine_bassier@hotmail.com)) or Marie Versmessen at (613) 749-6276 ([bertmarie@sympatico.ca](mailto:bertmarie@sympatico.ca)).

### Jan. 31

Nauru's National Day

### Feb. 4

Sri Lanka's National Day



PHOTO: ONTARIO TOURISM

### Feb. 4 to 20

Winterlude: Ottawa's popular winter festival, in its 27th year, will again feature a playground made of snow, ice sculptures and skating on the world's longest skating rink. Visit [www.winterlude.ca](http://www.winterlude.ca) for information.

### Feb. 5

The 9th Annual Viennese Winter Ball: His Excellency the Ambassador of Austria Dr. Otto Ditz hosts this, always-sold-out event held at the National Gallery of Canada. The charity ball will again be raising funds for the Champions For Children Foundation and the Thirteen Strings Orchestra. Visit [www.winterball.ca](http://www.winterball.ca) for information.

### Feb. 6

New Zealand's National Day

### Feb. 7

Grenada's Independence Day

### Feb. 11

Iran's National Day

### Feb. 16

Lithuania's Independence Day

### Feb. 18

Gambia's Independence Day

### Feb. 19

The Black and White Opera Soirée: Opera's greatest hits are performed at the NAC to benefit Opera Lyra and the National Arts Centre Orchestra. For information, visit [www.nac-cna.ca](http://www.nac-cna.ca) or phone the NAC at (613) 947-7000.

### Feb. 22

Saint Lucia's Independence Day

### Feb. 23

Brunei Darussalam's National Day  
Guyana's National Day

### Feb. 24

Estonia's Independence Day

### Feb. 25

Kuwait's National Day

### Feb. 27

Dominican Republic's Independence Day

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# Living WITH Americans

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES ARE NEIGHBOURS,  
BUSINESS PARTNERS AND FRIENDS. SO, WHY ARE THEY  
HAVING SO MUCH TROUBLE GETTING ALONG?

★ ★ ★

DIPLOMAT ASKED PIERRE PETTIGREW, STOCKWELL DAY,  
JOHN J. NOBLE AND CHAD GAFFIELD TO GIVE US THEIR  
VIEWS. AND ANDREW COHEN GIVES US AN INSIGHTFUL  
LOOK INSIDE AMERICAN POLITICS.

# Anti-Americanism is Crippling Relations

By Stockwell Day

Every student of the history of Canadian foreign policy has noticed these two crucial themes:

- that our relationship with the United States always has been and always will be the most urgent of the issues that we face; and
- that Canadian public opinion towards the Americans is subject to the most extreme swings of mood.

To take only the most recent example: Think back to the days and weeks immediately following September 11, 2001, when public opinion surveys were exposing unprecedented levels of identification with the people of the United States in an hour of great distress and when editorialists across the land were relentlessly rehearsing our shared values, the historical ties that bind, etc. Fast-forward three years, when public opinion polls indicate that most Canadians distrust American power and when editorialists pour limitless abuse upon the American public for having had the bad judgment to elect a president whom (they say) we would have thrown out.

A third related theme in the history of our foreign policy is the tendency of Canadian governments to court the good will of the electorate by following slavishly or leading superficially each of these recurring cycles, from enthusiasm through disapproval. Taking a free ride on popular pro- or anti-Americanism (depending on where we are in the cycle) reduces the burden of thinking in our government and in our foreign policy establishment. We have paid a high price for this. We have leaned too heavily in the direction of the transient popular mood about “those Americans” and have forgotten that our continuing and permanent security and economic interests and the defence of our values should be the beginning and end of our policy-making.

In the last session of the previous Par-



PHOTO: JOHN MAJOR, THE OTTAWA CITIZEN

## WE HAVE LEANED TOO HEAVILY IN THE DIRECTION OF THE TRANSIENT POPULAR MOOD ABOUT “THOSE AMERICANS”

liament – coinciding with the days when the United States was seeking support from allies in the task of bringing down Saddam Hussein, one of the foremost tyrants in modern history — the Chrétien government made little effort to disguise its sense of moral superiority over the government of George Bush, minimizing, even (in some quarters) trivializing the global issues that were at stake. Now, the Martin government is bobbing on the wave of widespread anti-Americanism, doing everything it can to avoid decisions in fear of affronting the worst spirits in our public life.

In this moment of grotesque but fashionable anti-Americanism – abetted by most irresponsible of our elected politicians – the Conservative Party presents to the Martin government the daily chal-

lenge of speaking calmly and reasonably about our real national interests. We do not deny the American warts. The attitude of all American administrations of the 20th century towards issues essential for our prosperity – lumber, fish, cattle, natural resources of all kinds – has always been maddeningly selfish and short-sighted. It is important for us to recognize that the official American attitude is short-sighted for the reason that none of these industries is as big a part of the whole of the American mega-economy as it is to our economic life. This is no excuse for treating these vital interests as the American administrations always do; but it is a reason for our being as patient and persistently robust as possible in defending these interests.

We must work with those few American politicians who have a realistic view of these things, and

turn on all the heat we can, regardless of which party is in charge in Washington. But our party recognizes that our overall behaviour and attitude is what Washington sees; and so long as we continue in the petulant spirit of these last two years, Washington will be less willing to hear from us on issues, such as softwood and BSE, so vital to us but seemingly peripheral to them.

A Conservative foreign policy is, almost by definition, one that looks to continuing interests and values. It stands for realism in accord with Canadian values, rather than unchecked idealism. It is always alert to the damage that can be done by moods and fashions – like the apparently buoyant but essentially ephemeral mood of anti-Americanism which hobbles the thinking-processes of our foreign policy makers.

*Stockwell Day is the Conservative Party's foreign affairs critic.*

# Canada-U.S. Relations are Rock Solid

By Pierre Pettigrew

Canada-U.S. relations have been much in the news over the past year. Not much happens in Canada or in our foreign policy without some connection to policies and legislation developed by the U.S. administration or Congress.

Certainly, we have disagreements with the U.S., notably on the trade agenda, where softwood lumber and BSE seem to symbolise our entire economic relationship in the minds of many Canadians. On foreign policy, the government's decision not to join the Iraq coalition seems to still loom large.

The reality is, however, quite different.

I could cite the usual statistics about Canada's trade with the United States – how 95 per cent of it is free from controversy, despite the well-known irritants. However, the strength of a bilateral relationship is best measured by adversity and, using this standard, it is clear that Canada-U.S. relations are rock solid. Since Sept. 11, 2001, our two countries have taken our traditionally excellent cooperation in security and defence to a new level of preparedness and mutual confidence. We are re-making our defence relationship to deal with the asymmetrical threats posed by terrorism and proliferation.

Most notable, however, has been our joint commitment to the Shared Border Accord, agreed to by Canada and the United States within three months of the attacks on New York and the Pentagon. Naturally, security was uppermost in the minds of our then-deputy prime minister and White House homeland security adviser, who brought this package together. Even at a time when fresh attacks were thought to be imminent, the two countries balanced the needs of security with the broader responsibility to maintain the strength of our two economies. They



BRIGITTE BOUVIER, CANWEST NEWS SERVICE

## THE STRENGTH OF A BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IS BEST MEASURED BY ADVERSITY.

mandated a plan that would make the border secure against terrorists and criminals but open to legitimate commerce and travellers.

The realities of Sept. 11 are those posed by failed and failing states, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the need to disrupt and defeat terrorist organisations that threaten regional and global stability. Canada and the United States are working side-by-side in these efforts. From combat in the mountains of Afghanistan to the NATO stability force in that country, Canadian soldiers, diplomats, election observers and development specialists are working with Americans and others to strengthen the nascent democracy that has begun to flourish in a country that had been held captive by Taliban fanatics. In Iraq, even

though Canada did not join the military coalition, more than \$300 million is being put to work by Canada for reconstruction and building new civil society institutions, in particular, a new Iraqi police force. Canada and the U.S. work closely to curb the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and missiles. We have contributed major resources to President Bush's Global Partnership Initiative to safeguard fissile material and decommission chemical weapons in the former Soviet Union and we work together in the Proliferation Security Initiative and key arms control groups such as the Missile Technology Control Regime and the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.

No relationship can stand still. There is a growing consensus in the United States and Canada, as well as in our North American partner,

Mexico, that new initiatives are needed to ensure prosperity and security. Indeed, these questions shaped the agenda for U.S. President George W. Bush's first official visit to Canada. President Bush met Prime Minister Martin for detailed discussions on the full range of Canada-U.S. issues. They released a Joint Statement committing Canada and the U.S. to continued cooperation on initiatives to increase the security, prosperity and quality of life of their citizens. The statement also committed both countries to continued cooperation with Mexico on issues of tri-lateral importance.

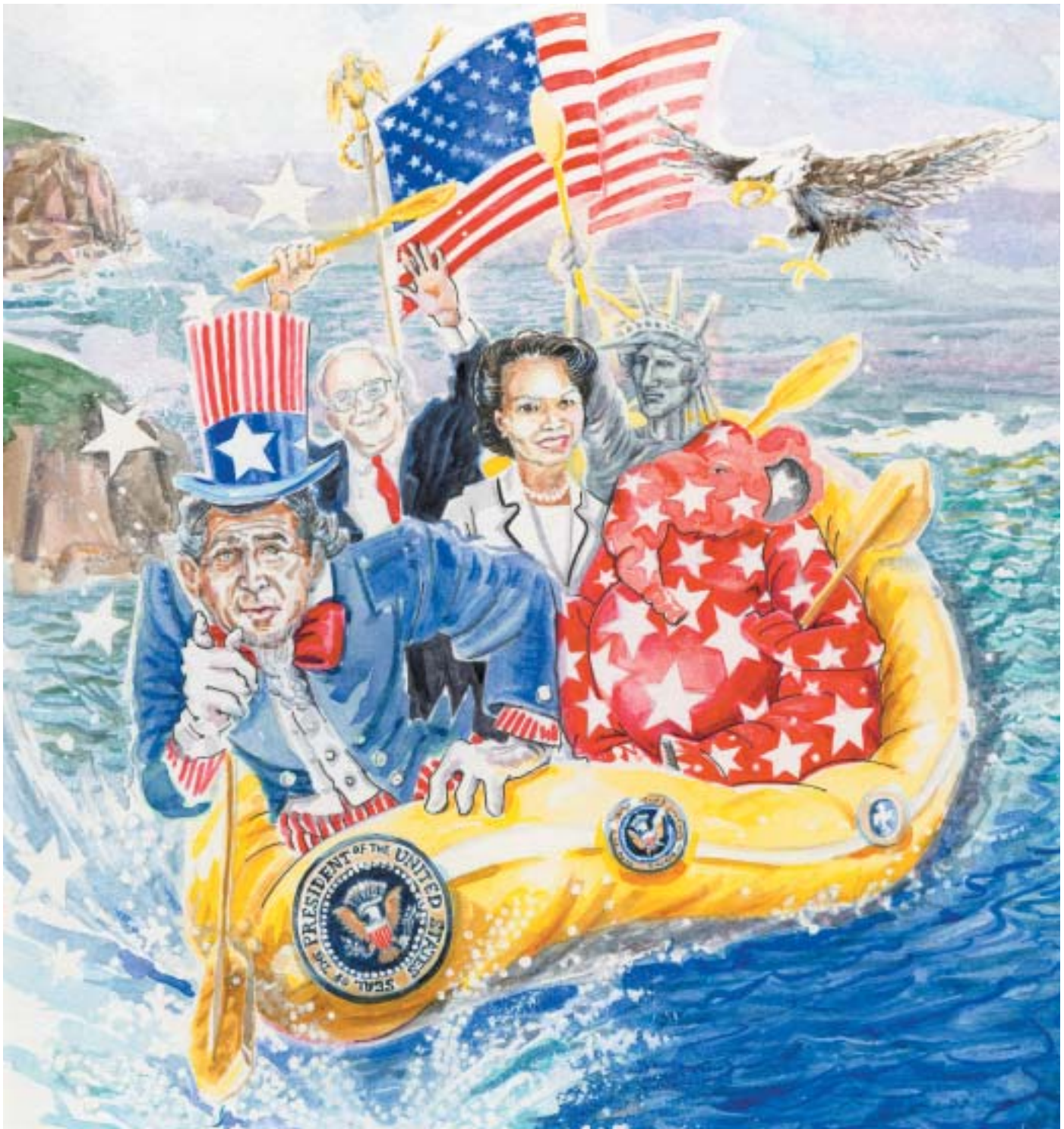
I am confident that Canada-U.S. relations will take on a new impetus that will build upon the accomplishments of decades in constructing the most dynamic bilateral relationship of peace and prosperity on the globe.

**Pierre Pettigrew** is Canada's foreign affairs minister.



# Are the “Ascendant Republicans” Really Unstoppable?

As the U.S. inaugurates George W. Bush for his second term, **Andrew Cohen** argues that the Republican stronghold isn't as unshakable as it seems.



HILARY ASHBY

**I**f politics is a river," writes Jeffrey Simpson, the thoughtful columnist and author, "elections are its white water passages." This is especially true of the United States, where presidential elections are more intense and more consequential than anywhere else in the world. Then again, the prize is the paramount office in the pre-eminent nation.

The re-election of George W. Bush has generated high anxiety this autumn in America. Many Americans ask whether their country is still a democracy. They wonder about the rise of two nations, one religious and one secular. They see an erosion of social freedoms and civil liberties. They fear a Republican Ascendancy.

For liberals, the future seems bleak. A devout Christian wins a second term as president. The Republicans increase their seats in both houses of Congress. The Democrats continue a losing streak which threatens to make them a permanent minority; they lost control of the House of Representatives in 1994, the Senate in 2002, and the White House in 2000, which they have occupied only 12 of the last 36 years.

No wonder, then, that despair spreads like an oil spill. Progressives declare America "Jesusland", see the blurring of church and state, and the reign of a highly conservative high court. Thousands make inquiries about moving to Canada.

Is it as dire as all that? Probably not. In fact, for all the threats, cries and laments this fading political season, it may be that the United States isn't as undemocratic, divided, and irredeemably conservative as many think today. This would be good news for the republic.

First, if the winner of the election was George Bush, the runner-up was democracy. Despite fears of fraud, the system worked. The new voting machines didn't break down, citizens were not disenfranchised, there were only pockets of skull-duggery. To the chagrin of those earnest international monitors who watched the polls zealously in Florida and Ohio, America didn't look like Panama this election.

More telling, a record 120 million Americans voted, some 15 million more than the last time. After decades of falling participation, almost 60 per cent of eligible voters turned out this year, the highest since 1968. That may be lower than other western democracies, but it suggests an engaged electorate.

That kind of participation gives legitimacy to the process and authority to the winner, claims you couldn't have made in 2000. George W. Bush is no longer the accidental president who was awarded a disputed presidency by the Supreme Court, filled with judges appointed by Republican presidents. This time, Mr. Bush won by three-and-a-half million votes, a decisive mandate (but hardly the rout his supporters boast).

Nor did Mr. Bush have to rely on the Electoral College for his victory; had he won there but lost the popular vote, as he did four years ago, it would have damaged the credibility of the presidency, perhaps beyond repair. That Democrats resented the result shouldn't obscure a larger reality: Mr. Bush won without challenge, and that strengthens confidence in a shaken system.

...AMERICA MAY NOT BE AS  
POLARIZED AS SOME SUGGEST.  
JOHN KERRY AND RALPH  
NADER WON 49 PER CENT TO  
GEORGE BUSH'S 51 PER CENT,  
WHICH IS A THIN MARGIN.

Second, America may not be as polarized as some suggest. John Kerry and Ralph Nader won 49 per cent to George Bush's 51 per cent, which is a thin margin. A shift of 65,000 votes in Ohio would have made Mr. Kerry president in the Electoral College. Some 23 states were won or lost by less than four points.

The map shows solid blocks of red and blue states, and it is persuasive. New England, the Pacific Northwest and much of the Mid-west went Democratic; the Old South, the Plains and the Southwest went Republican. But within those states there are divisions between urban and rural, black and white, men and women. In Nevada, for example, they voted to re-elect George Bush, the social conservative, but kept prostitution legal.

Some argue that the division between conservative and liberal America is a myth. Looking at surveys, they see the United States as largely moderate, nuanced and centrist. While most Americans voted on moral values, they note, many voted on security and terrorism.

Another view? Had John Kerry run a

more effective campaign, offering a consistent theme and a competing narrative, things might have been different. It wasn't that he was doomed as an eastern liberal, it was that he was the wrong eastern liberal. Had he been less Michael Dukakis and more John F. Kennedy – both fellow Bostonians – he might have won.

Third, the Republican Ascendancy is no sure thing. Sure, the Democrats haven't had a good election since 1998. And the Republicans continue to increase their majority in Congress, electing rock-ribbed conservatives in seats in the South which had been held by moderate Democrats.

But that doesn't mean that the President can pass a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage, stop stem-cell research or appoint ultra-conservative judges who will reverse abortion rights – all items high on the conservative agenda.

The Republican Party isn't a monolith. Just as there were conservative Democrats (Zell Miller of Georgia, John Breaux of Louisiana) who voted with the Republicans, there are moderate Republicans (John Chafee of Rhode Island, Olympia Snowe and Susan Collins of Maine) who voted with the Democrats. They know Maine and Rhode Island voted for John Kerry. It means that Mr. Bush may have a tough time winning confirmation of conservative judges in the Senate, and that a constitutional amendment banning gay marriage will fail.

Something else. Things change. Politicians leave. Voters turn. In 1964, Lyndon Johnson's Democrats won a landslide but lost to Richard Nixon's Republicans in 1968. Mr. Nixon won a landslide in 1972 but the Republicans lost in 1976. It happens.

The future may look dark for Democrats, but they shouldn't despair. It wasn't so long ago that they were in the White House for two terms. In 2008, Democrats will compete for a presidency uncontested by a sitting president or vice-president for the first time since 1952. By then, the universe may be entirely different.

And so the river runs. It runs forever. It bring new forces and new faces, and in four years, another election and another day.

*Andrew Cohen, a former Washington correspondent, teaches journalism and international affairs at Carleton University. He is the author of While Canada Slept: How We Lost Our Place in the World.*



# Getting it Right with the U.S.

Paul Martin mustn't squander this chance to patch things up with George W. Bush

**P**resident George W. Bush's whirlwind trip to Ottawa and Halifax in November has set the stage for a new North American partnership focused on security, prosperity, quality of life and new approaches to multilateral cooperation. The joint statement issued by President Bush and Prime Minister Martin did more than re-establish the channels at the top of the two governments; it identified a long list of subjects for bilateral and multilateral cooperation. That doesn't signal the end of differences in trade or foreign policy matters, but it shows the two countries have a lot more in common than several Canadian commentators would have you believe.

Getting the relationship with the United States right is an essential cornerstone for an effective Canadian foreign policy. It remains to be seen just how much of this new partnership will be reflected in the Martin government's long-promised International Policy Review (IPR) of foreign, trade, aid and defence policy.

The biggest challenge facing any federal political party which wants to govern in Canada is how to deal with the realities of increasing integration of the North American economy in the post 9/11 era, when security trumps trade. Some of Mr. Martin's advisers and ministers appear seduced by the attractiveness of "new emerging markets" and no doubt we need a strategy to deal with them. But the biggest challenge remains our largest market, which accounts for over a third of our GNP; and how to best protect our continued access to it. Ideas of recycling the Third Option to lessen our dependence on the U.S. market may excite the chattering classes but will fall on deaf ears with those who actually trade.

In September 2003, the Chrétien Government's report NAFTA @ 10 admitted that "the susceptibility of Canada-U.S. trade to increased security and delays at the border is one of the most challenging aspects of Canadian trade policy over the medium term." The same report also suggested that "the greatest impact of in-



JOHN J. NOBLE

creased border frictions may not be on trade, but on foreign direct investment (FDI). This would include Canada's ability to attract new investment as well as maintain existing investment and may even include keeping Canadian companies in Canada." That should be of prime concern to any thinking Canadian, but will the IPR address these issues and propose a plan of action?

Mr. Martin needs to stop worrying about the left wing of his party and the NDP, who were both on the wrong side of history on the free trade debate, and provide us with his vision of how he intends to deal with the issue of the economic integration of the Canadian

completion of the current round of WTO negotiations and the promotion of free trade in the Americas.

If Canada wants a truly functioning multilateral system, it must figure out how to get the United States recommitted to multilateralism. A multilateral system without the U.S. as the major player is doomed to fail as did the League of Nations. President Bush recognized in his 2002 National Security Strategy that there was "little of lasting consequence that the United States can accomplish in the world without the sustained co-operation of its allies and friends in Canada and Europe". That acknowledgement was systematically ignored by Canadian commentators and politicians alike. It doesn't mean that the United States can't act unilaterally or that Canada has to agree to everything the United States proposes. It does mean however that we

IF CANADA WANTS A TRULY FUNCTIONING  
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and American economies. The integration is happening whether Canadians like it or not. The new North American partnership may be the first step in the direction.

The Bush/Martin statement gave some details on an ambitious program of international cooperation. Areas of cooperation include counter-terrorism, preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, building democracy and peace in the Middle East and building democratic institutions in troubled states. They also include combating the spread of infectious diseases, new approaches to multilateral cooperation, improved human rights and a global commitment to the rule of law, the early

have to start thinking much more about where our true interests lie and act accordingly. The president's commitment to work with the prime minister to improve the effectiveness of multilateral institutions provides an opportunity for Canada to help get the U.S. back into the multilateral system which helped establish after the Second World War. Canada shouldn't squander this opportunity by getting side-tracked about National Missile Defense, something the U.S. is proceeding with regardless.

*John J. Noble served for more than 35 years in Foreign Affairs and is now director of research and communications at the Centre for Trade Policy and Law at Carleton University.*



# Diversity and Complexity: Rethinking Can-Am relations

**M**any metaphors have been used to describe the relationship between Canada and the United States ranging from those of family (such as cousins) to animals (most famously, an elephant and mouse) to geography (usually, neighbours). Despite their differences, these metaphors all include two key assumptions: That there is a great familiarity between Canada and the United States, and that the closeness of the relationship is inevitable. Just as family members, animals, and homeowners are forced to learn about each other, it is assumed that Canadian and American leaders know a great deal about each other's thinking, habits and priorities. And, as implied by the familiar metaphors, the assumptions of familiarity and closeness include elements of affection and fear although, of course, the intensity of these emotions is much greater on the Canadian side.

The bad news is that history does not give much credence to the familiar metaphors. Moreover, their appropriateness is becoming even less convincing as the 21st century unfolds. The good news is that new perspectives on the countries' respective histories suggest promising ways to rethink the relationship in the rapidly changing international context. The result could be an improved relationship that does better justice to both countries and may enhance all our prospects for the coming years.

Two examples illustrate how historical research is undermining long-established assumptions about Canada and the United States: attitudes toward diversity and attitudes toward complexity. In both cases, the histories of the two countries have produced starkly different attitudes toward these phenomena. Canadians see diversity as enriching, and see complexity as inherent in human conditions. The point is not that Canada is a more diverse society; in fact, scholars suggest that the United States is at least as diverse culturally and socially and more diverse economically. Similarly, the claim is not that Canadians are faced



CHAD GAFFIELD

with more complexity than are Americans; indeed, it is hard to imagine more complex challenges facing any country. Rather, the major difference lies in how the two countries interpret

diversity and complexity. For Canadians, diversity is good while complexity cannot be avoided. Cultural, social, and economic diversity strengthen and enrich society. Complexity must be embraced because there is no core simplicity within such complexity; humans are complex beings that interact in complex ways. Taken together, these attitudes explain a great deal about popular opinion and public policy in Canada.

The strong preference in Canada for the candidacy of John Kerry was not based on self-interested evaluations of political platforms. In fact, Kerry's insistence on multilateral military action or protectionist trade policies should have alienated Canadian support. The crucial factors in Kerry's favour included his perception of complexity and his recognition of diversity especially on the world stage. Kerry's reported flip-flops endeared him to Canadians as he appeared to be struggling with what he saw as complex issues evolving in complex times. Similarly, Kerry's idea that different countries of the world might legitimately see things differently was music to Canadian ears. The fact that specific policy proposals seemed quite anti-Canadian was discounted in favour of attitudes that seemed quite Canadian.

So, how should we move forward to enhance Canadian-American relations? One point of departure is to recognize that, for historical reasons, the two countries share many things but also differ significantly on certain fundamental presuppositions such as how diversity and complexity are interpreted. Rather than assuming that bilateral agreements should be arrived at easily since Canada and the United States

know each other well, the appropriate approach to would be to accept that reaching understandings will be always be difficult since certain underlying convictions are distinct across the border. Indeed, we should celebrate how well the Canadian-American relationship has worked over the decades despite, rather than because of, these convictions. Rather than being annoyed that there are irritants, both countries should view with pride the fact that there has been nothing more serious to threaten national interactions. Not only has the reality of vastly different sizes been significantly overcome at the diplomatic table but the deep differences in key attitudes have not prevented effective agreements on the major bilateral issues. This historic pattern has continued during the past four years and, with better recognition of the differing interpretations of diversity and complexity in the two countries, could be improved during the second George W. Bush presidency.

The history of recent centuries also suggests the intriguing possibility that the changing world stage may encourage Canada and the United States to develop an unprecedented empathy as both countries come to grips with the rise of a new global power. It would be simplistic to predict that the 21st century will be China's century just as the 18th is associated with France, the 19th with Great Britain and the 20th with the United States. Nonetheless, the prospect of Canada and the United States drawing closer together in terms of fundamental presuppositions as they increasingly reorient themselves from north-south to east-west is not far-fetched. And a continental – indeed, global – embracing of diversity and complexity would enhance all our prospects for peace, justice, and liberty around the world.

*Chad Gaffield is a history professor at the University of Ottawa and the 2004 recipient of the J.B. Tyrrell Historical Medal given every two years by the Royal Society of Canada.*

# The Outspoken Envoy:

## A look back at Paul Cellucci's term

**P**rior to the U.S. election last fall, U.S. Ambassador Paul Cellucci announced he planned to head back to Massachusetts in early 2005. The past three-and-a-half years have been eventful when it comes to Canada-U.S. relations and Mr. Cellucci hasn't shied away from controversy. Here, we take a chronological peek at his tenure in Ottawa.

**SPRING 1998:** Massachusetts Gov. Paul Cellucci enrages federalists by suggesting Québec sovereignty wouldn't hamper relations between the province and his state.

**APRIL 2001:** U.S. President George W. Bush announces he's sending Massachusetts Gov. Paul Cellucci to Canada. The appointment is taken as a sign Mr. Bush wants to mend fences with Canada.

**JULY 2001:** Mr. Cellucci says Canada must increase its defence spending saying that without "significant increases, the Canadian Forces could lose much of their effectiveness."

**SEPTEMBER 2001:** After terrorists attack the World Trade Centre and Pentagon, Mr. Cellucci says both countries must emphasize security over sovereignty.

**FEBRUARY 2002:** Mr. Cellucci urges Canada to figure out a way to transport its troops to war zones, saying it seems ironic that Canada insists its sovereignty is sacred but relies on others to mobilize its forces.

**APRIL 2002:** Mr. Cellucci denounces Canada for allowing the political wing of the Hezbollah to continue raising money within its borders.

**SEPTEMBER 2002:** Mr. Cellucci says Secretary of State Colin Powell personally told him to push for more investment in defence in Canada.

**DECEMBER 2002:** Mr. Cellucci warns that decriminalizing marijuana may cause congestion at the U.S. border.



**MARCH 2003:** Mr. Cellucci admits Americans were "disappointed" and "upset" with Canada's decision to stay out of the war against Iraq. He tells the Economic Club of Toronto that the U.S. would be "ready, willing and able" to help should Canada experience a security threat.

**APRIL 2003:** Speaking to the Insurance Bureau of Canada, Mr. Cellucci calls it "incomprehensible" that Canada's navy wouldn't turn escaping Iraqis over to Americans. Later, he says though Mr. Bush understood Prime Minister Jean Chretien favoured UN authority, he still thought Canada would join the fight in Iraq. He says he expects Canada to get on board with missile defence.

**APRIL 2003:** Mr. Cellucci says Maher Arar, a Canadian the U.S. arrested and deported to Syria after he was accused of having terrorist links, had been known to Canadian authorities who understood the American authorities' course of action.

**AUGUST 2003:** An embassy spokeswoman says U.S. officials didn't discuss Mr. Arar's deportation with Canadian police, contradicting Mr. Cellucci's earlier statement.

**NOVEMBER 2003:** Liberal Senator Leo Kolber writes a book that says Liberal cabinet ministers David Collette and

Don Boudria wanted Mr. Cellucci sent home.

**DECEMBER 2003:** The U.S. government prevents Canadians from bidding on reconstruction contracts in Iraq, saying the contracts would be reserved for nations that joined or supported the war.

**DECEMBER 2003:** Mr. Cellucci says the Bush Administration fully supports an agreement that would eventually see free trade in softwood lumber.

**JANUARY 2004:** Mr. Cellucci floats the idea of U.S. airlines providing passenger service within Canada while allowing Canadian companies to do the same in the U.S. market.

**MARCH 2004:** After the Madrid train bombings, Mr. Cellucci warns that cities in the Montreal-Windsor corridor would be easy targets for similar attacks.

**JUNE 2004:** Mr. Cellucci repeats calls for Canada to join the missile defence initiative.

**JULY 2004:** Mr. Cellucci announces he'll return to Boston, and to quiet family life, in early 2005.

**OCT 2004:** Mr. Cellucci weighs in on the U.S. election, saying a Kerry win would slow down the chances of lifting the U.S. ban on Canadian beef.

**OCTOBER 2004:** Mr. Cellucci suggests terrorists could use Canada as a base for future attacks on the U.S. Later, he says the U.S. government won't stop its citizens from buying cheaper prescription drugs across the border and says Canadians have reason to be optimistic about re-opening the border to Canadian beef.

**NOVEMBER 2004:** A Montreal university cancels a speech by Mr. Cellucci for security reasons. Later this month, Mr. Cellucci participates in Mr. Bush's three-day "working visit" to Canada.



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# Why Africa Should Solve the Darfur Crisis

*By Alan Martin*

# Darfur

is the way Africa usually gets noticed.

On the television and in our newspapers, the pictures tell a familiar story: a dishevelled and terrified mass of humanity huddles in dusty refugee camps having fled a maelstrom of rape, murder and political persecution.

In Darfur, the violence has come courtesy of the *Janjaweed*, an Arab militia that has been given licence by the Islamist regime in Sudan to ethnically cleanse (meaning kill or drive out) their black African compatriots. Since the pogrom in the eastern part of the oil-rich country came to the world's attention last spring, human rights activists and relief workers have estimated that as many as 50,000 people have been killed in the violence, 1.2 million displaced, and upwards of 300,000 face starvation.

But the continuing humanitarian crisis in Darfur is anything but routine. It is proving to be a precedent-setting case. The 53-member African Union has broken with tradition and not only condemned the actions of a member state, but agreed to send a small military force to keep the peace. It is a hopeful sign of Africa finally demonstrating a will to solve its own problems.

For the wider international community, Darfur presents a chance to implement lessons learned from past failures – Somalia and Rwanda in particular. But doing this demands the international community abandon a tradition of diplomacy that requires action to be driven by national self-interest alone. There are small but positive signs of this happening.

Equally, there are lingering signs of the old way of doing things.

The United States has been one of the most vocal advocates of intervention, but its offers of help have been motivated less by altruism and more by domestic pressures, particularly from the religious right and human rights activists. Sudan's lucrative oil reserves are also plainly influencing American interests. So, with the old way already shaping the type of intervention that might come to pass, the world could easily get it wrong again.

The only way around this would be an African solution to the Darfur crisis.

The urgency behind intervention in Darfur can be traced back to the 1994 Rwandan genocide, in which as many as 800,000 people were killed as the international community stood idly by. The

tragedy sparked a period of soul-searching, promises of "never again," and efforts by governments to agree on when and how to intervene in the affairs of another country.

Canada's response to this challenge was to establish the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty in September 2000. Headed by former Australian foreign minister Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, a special adviser to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, the 12-person commission was made up of diplomats, politicians, scholars and non-governmental activists.

The result was a report entitled *Responsibility to Protect*. Paul Heinbecker, Canada's former ambassador to the UN, called it "one of the boldest contributions to international diplomacy in the last 50 years." It is a radical and controversial document because it challenges the traditional understanding of sovereignty by suggesting that nations have rights, but beyond that, they have responsibilities.

The commission's most daring assertion is that "the responsibility to protect" binds individual states and the international community as a whole. While the primary onus is on a state to protect its own citizens, where it fails there is a responsibility for the international community, acting through the UN, to intervene.

Darfur certainly meets those criteria, as does much of the rest of the country. Long before the current crisis, Khartoum stood guilty of some of the worst human rights abuses on the continent. For 20 years, a civil war has raged between the

largely Muslim north and the Christian south. It is a war over political identity and a share of Sudan's oil revenues. Estimates place the death toll at over a million people according to the United States Committee for Refugees.

Ironically, a cessation of hostilities was close to agreement when Darfur, emboldened by concessions the south had wrestled from Khartoum in the peace process, began to flex its muscle. In response, Khartoum unleashed the *Janjaweed*.

Despite tough talk from Britain and the U.S., neither is capable or willing to take on "the responsibility to protect."

British Prime Minister Tony Blair first called on the EU to create a rapid military intervention force capable of responding to such crises within 10 days. It is a noble idea, but hardly any help. Mindful of their colonial pasts, Africans quickly assailed the plan as "neo-imperialistic." Moreover, the 15,000-strong force won't be in place until 2007 at the earliest – too late to be any good to the suffering Darfuris. Mr. Blair's suggestion of sending 10,000 troops through the UN was equally unhelpful.

The Americans, while they lack will, are also handicapped in their ability to intervene.

In early September, then-Secretary of State Colin Powell labeled Darfur a genocide in front of the Congressional foreign relations committee. His words followed a similar – and unanimous – pronouncement by the House of Representatives in July. Observers, such as John Prendergast,

a Sudan specialist and Bill Clinton's former adviser on Africa, were stunned, as under international law countries have a moral duty to intervene once evidence of genocide is found.

Others were equally suspicious about why the Bush Administration, whose interest in Africa can best be described as limited, would entertain the thought of engaging in yet another foreign conflict when the American military is already heavily occupied in Iraq and Afghanistan. The answer relates more to matters of oil, religion and the "War on Terror," than compassion for the suffering people of Darfur.

A month after Mr. Powell's announcement, foreign aid workers and officials in Darfur accused Washington and the American government's aid agency (USAID) of "hyping" the gravity of the crisis for domestic and economic reasons.

While none of the relief workers questioned that there is a crisis in Darfur, many were puzzled that it had become the focus of such "hyperbole" when there are humanitarian disasters of similar or greater magnitude in northern Uganda and eastern Congo. If indeed Darfur was a genocide, they asked, why had the U.S. not stepped in to help? As one aid worker told the British newspaper *The Observer*: "It suited various governments to talk it all up, but they don't seem to have thought about the consequences. I have no idea what Colin Powell's game is, but to call it genocide and then effectively say, 'Oh, shucks, but we are not going to do anything about that genocide' undermines the very word genocide."

According to Alex de Waal, a British expert on Sudan, Mr. Powell and the State Department were put up to saying it by two powerful groups in the U.S.

"On the one hand you had the liberal media, particularly the *New York Times*, drumming on about how bad things are in Darfur," Mr. de Waal told *Diplomat*. "At the same time, the Christian right, a key ally to President Bush's administration and re-election campaign, have been going against the Khartoum regime for years over religious freedoms, and see Darfur as the excuse they need for regime change."

Sudan has also long been in the State Department's black book for providing financial and material support to international terrorists, including Osama bin Laden.

Despite Powell's tough pronouncement, however, the biggest barrier to action by the Bush administration is the



PHOTO: BRIGITTE BOUVIER, PMO

Prime Minister Paul Martin visited Sudan in November and "urged all parties to the Sudan conflicts to respect international humanitarian law and human rights." He met with Sudanese President al-Bashir who agreed to facilitate humanitarian efforts.

war in Iraq. The same holds true for Britain. Intervention would be interpreted, not only in Sudan but elsewhere, as yet another highly politicized Anglo-American attempt at regime change in an oil-rich Muslim country. (Sudan's oil reserves are comparable to those of Saudi Arabia.) Worse, it would add credence to those who espouse a dangerous ideological "clash of civilizations" between Christianity and Islam.

Khartoum has proven a wily opponent in the past, and indeed it has already drawn parallels between Iraq and any intervention by the U.S. or Britain in Sudan. When Mr. Blair suggested the idea of going it alone in the summer and sending 5,000 British troops, Sudan's Foreign Minister Mustafa Osman Ismail threatened a terrorist backlash, claiming that before long the troops would be considered "occupying forces" and treated as such.

These factors taken together make it imprudent for the U.S. or Britain to intervene in Darfur.

Darfur, however, demands a solution. The best option lies largely overlooked: the African Union. In the past it has been strictly governed by the belief that state sovereignty is sacrosanct, even in the face of some of the most egregious breaches of human rights. This, after all, is the organization which managed to live with Idi Amin in Uganda, and has lived more or less comfortably with Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe.

Not this time. Prompted by the prospect of sleepwalking toward another Rwanda, the organization has decided to act. Spurred on by its own experience, Rwanda has led the way by committing several hundred troops to a peacemaking mission with the first of the African Union force arriving in November. This means African governments are finally

doing something to back their lofty promises of African solutions to African problems. Moreover, as Africans, they would be less of an affront to the local people and would also deflate the rhetoric of the Khartoum regime.

There is a catch, however: The success of any African Union force is dependent on outside help, particularly financial support, logistics, electronic intelligence and air cover. Western countries would be best equipped to meet the challenge. Canada, especially, is well placed to lend its logistic and telecommunications experience from decades of peacekeeping missions. For other countries, helping to foot the bill would be much cheaper and less risky than sending their own troops.

That said, Foreign Affairs Canada (FAC) has only spoken broadly about what Canada's commitment will be.

"Canada believes the international community has a responsibility to protect civilians from mass atrocities," spokesman Andrew Hannan said. "Canada has been active diplomatically in the UN; we are facilitating negotiations to end the crisis and we are assisting with enhancement of the African Union mission now in Darfur."

Since October 2003, the government has sent \$26 million to Darfur for "basic needs, protection and human rights activities in response to the crisis," he said. And, the Department of National Defence has sent two people to Khartoum for Operation Safari. A further two are in Ethiopia supporting the African Union-led military operations. Larger contributions are not expected in the near term.

Regarding Canada's obligations as stated in the *Responsibility to Protect* document, FAC says "the responsibility to protect civilians lies with the government. We urge the government of Sudan to immediately proceed to disarm the *Janjaweed* and for the rebel groups to disarm their militias."

Further, it says, the international community must to apply pressure on all players.

If this, and other help materializes, AU intervention could be a win-win-win situation – for the international community, for the principles of justice and human decency, and most importantly, the people of Darfur.

*Alan Martin is a Canadian journalist who specializes in African issues. He is enrolled in the violence, conflict and development program at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.*



# Darfur Needs a Communal Approach

*There is a longing for peace in Sudan. It is also clear that traditionally there has been a proclivity to talk things over to resolve conflict. There is also a strong tradition of using rituals and cultures in reconciliation process. What is needed are structures and resources to allow Sudanese people to recognize their own peace traditions and act upon them.*

Sudan Trust-Building Initiative Report: Caux, Aug. 2-11, 2004

**A**fter four decades of lethal, deep-rooted conflict, Sudan desperately needs the kind of reconciliation that will heal emotional wounds and change structures. Today, Darfur stands as the most urgent and most visible of many violent and destructive conflicts.

The Darfur conflict itself involves a host of conflicting players including the government of Sudan, the *Janjaweed* militias, the Fur people of the region, and the rebel movements—Sudan Liberation Army (SLM) and Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). The government of Chad is also involved as Chad camps house many displaced indigenous people.

Talks are now underway to find a political settlement to the overt armed conflict. When peace agreements put an end to formal armed hostilities throughout the country, communities must begin to repair the systems badly damaged by civil wars. Political parties from the North and the South, women's groups and academics all agreed to the priority of reconciliation during a mission to Sudan undertaken by George Justin Achor, a Canadian with roots in Sudan, and myself.

Since the mid-90s, Sudanese people from North and South have participated in seminars that I have conducted; more recently they have enrolled in the newly established MA in Conflict Studies at Saint Paul University. Ongoing conversations with them and visitors from Sudan have generated a vision for the development of a community-based conflict resolution program in Sudan. Such a program would create the structures and systems mentioned in the opening quote.

The Darfur conflict has now focused



VERN NEUFELD REDEKOP

PHOTO: DENIS BRUNET

the world spotlight on Sudan. Such attention is usually shortlived. But concern for acute problems facing Darfur could be a catalyst to empower Sudanese people to address their challenges.

Here are some suggestions based on meetings with academic, police, political and religious leaders in and from Sudan.

First, a council of peace studies academics could research topics that would feed peace processes. They could analyse effective reconciliation processes in Sudan such as:

- People-to-People Peace Conferences sponsored by the New Sudan Council of Churches in Southern Sudan;
- abduction return processes developed within the Ministry of Justice;
- inter-faith dialogue processes in Khartoum;
- conflict resolution training offered by women's groups; and,
- development of peacebuilding mission statements by women's groups organized by the Sudan Council of Churches.

This would generate lessons learned, a database of resources, and basis for dialogue on the vision for reconciliation in the Sudanese context.

Second, third-party training should be offered to the police academy and military in Khartoum and the SPLA in the South. Such training would emphasize the use of processes to deal with conflict. It would reinforce the need to respect human dignity and rights. As much as possible, people from different sides should be in the same training sessions to build bridges of mutual understanding and respect.

Third, representatives of all of the affected parties in Darfur should gather for a series of meetings to establish a vision and plan for community-based conflict resolution and reconciliation. Such talks could be modeled after those held in preparation for the Wunlit People-to-

People Peace Conference that put an end to hostilities between the Nuer and Dinka peoples in 1999.

Fourth, a group of academics and religious leaders knowledgeable about indigenous cultural practices, Islam and Christianity should explore and develop a common value-base to guide reconciliation processes and the ongoing effort to develop a judicial system that could attend to the needs of the Sudanese. Leaders within the Ministry of Justice revealed an openness to such an approach.

Sudan has competent people, many of whom have a vision for peace. What they need now are the structures and resources—organizational, human and financial—to respond to the massive challenges of reconciliation and community-based conflict resolution in the post-civil war period.

*Vern Neufeld Redekop is a professor of conflict studies at Saint Paul University.*

## SUDAN BY THE NUMBERS

**LOCATION:** Northern Africa, between Egypt and Eritrea, bordering the Red Sea.  
**SIZE:** slightly larger than one-quarter of the U.S. Sudan is the largest country in Africa.

**PRIMARY NATURAL RESOURCE:** petroleum  
**POPULATION:** 39,148,162

**LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH:** 58.13 years  
**AIDS PREVALENCE:** 2.6 per cent of adults  
**ETHNIC GROUPS:** Black (52 per cent), Arab (32 per cent), Beja (6 per cent), foreigners (2 per cent), other (1 per cent.)

**RELIGIONS:** Sunni Muslim (70 per cent, mostly in North), indigenous beliefs (25 per cent), Christian (5 per cent, mostly in the south and Khartoum).

**GOVERNMENT TYPE:** Authoritarian regime

**INDEPENDENCE:** From the U.K. in 1956

Source: CIA World Factbook

## MORE ON THE WEB

See [www.diplomatcanada.com](http://www.diplomatcanada.com) for the perspective of Sudan's new ambassador, Faiza Hassan Taha.

# The World's Next Supertrader

**W**ithout a doubt, China's growth in the last 20 years represents the most stunning economic event of the 21st century. During this period, the Chinese economy has grown five-fold and incomes have quadrupled. Now the world's seventh-largest economy in terms of gross domestic product, China stands poised to match the might of the U.S. economy in the later parts of the next decade.

Fear of China's growing industrial might is widespread. Critics charge that China's total dominance of the world-wide bicycle industry is just the beginning, and that a string of other industries – most notably garments, shoes, and electronics – will follow. However, trade is a two-way street and as China gets bigger, Canada and other trading nations stand



China's ambassador, Ping Mei, says his country's government censors websites to protect its citizens from "unhealthy stuff" found on the Internet.

to benefit enormously, provided three conditions are met. First, China must follow the rules of the game as laid out by the World Trade Organization. Second, all parties must avoid trade distortions and protectionist sentiments, and third, politically charged issues like human rights must continue to grace the back-burner.

China's ambassador to Canada, Ping Mei, spoke with me about China's economic and trade aspirations.



areas and among different regions of China. The government has come to realize the gravity of the situation, and will spare no effort to resolve it. Since launching the Western Development Strategy about five years ago, hundreds of millions of people living in 11 provinces and autonomous regions and the Chongqing Municipality have benefited from the program. As a result, the region's GDP has grown at an average annual rate of 10 per cent, with fixed assets investments growing around 20 per cent per annum.

Also, President Hu Jintao has recently called for the coordinated development of urban and rural areas, and among different regions of the country. Therefore, our efforts to reduce disparities are sustained and ongoing.

**GK:** Some say that a slowdown of the over-heated Chinese economy is inevitable. Such a slowdown, however, will hurt Canada, Australia, Brazil, Russia, and other countries that depend on Chinese imports. Do you think that slowdown is inevitable? What will be its effect on Canada?

**PM:** First, I should say the overall Chinese economy is not over-heated. The development of some sectors of the economy is not well harmonized, and this has resulted in excessive investment in such sectors as steel, auto and housing. To rationalize the economic structure and achieve sustainable development, the Chinese government has adopted additional macro-economic regulations and controls. The results have been gratifying. The growth rate forecast for this year is about nine per cent; I don't see any slowdown here.

The Chinese and Canadian economies are highly complementary. As China gains a lot from its trade with Canada,

**GK:** Is the economic transformation of China expected to be wide-spread – bringing prosperity to the inner regions of the country?

**PM:** There is a widening gap between the urban and rural

Canada will also continue to benefit from China's economic growth.

**GK:** To what extent has China moved from a low-cost manufacturer of most household products in Europe and North America to a marketing-oriented, brand-based, high-value producer of goods and services?

**PM:** In the process of a nation's industrialization, it is quite natural and common to move from a low-cost manufacturer of household products in the industry chain to high value-added products. China's economic growth will certainly follow that pattern. However, labour-intensive industry will also continue to play an important role in the development of China's economy over a fairly long period of time.

**GK:** Chinese consumer-goods makers are showing a new level of understanding of Western markets. They seem focused on creating brand equity. Are we going to see more and more sophisticated marketing campaigns coming out of China? Does the government encourage measures that promote psychographic targeting of markets, rather than a simple promotion of product attributes?

**PM:** After more than 25 years of reforms, China's economy has become market-oriented. It has also become more and more integrated into the world economy, especially after its entry into the WTO. Chinese enterprises and companies have learned quite a lot, even if sometimes the hard way. In the course of opening up the country to foreign investment, we have taken in capital, management skills and marketing technologies. Psychographic targeting is one of the new techniques the Chinese companies have acquired in order to win the hearts and minds of customers and gain brand loyalty.

**GK:** Under WTO rules, as China opens up lucrative markets such as the media, telecommunications, banking and insurance, there is bound to be domestic resentment caused by loss of jobs and perceptions of weakness on the part of the Chinese government. How does China balance WTO demands with domestic politics?

**PM:** After China became a WTO member in late 2001, it has fully and seriously fulfilled its WTO commitment. And will continue to do so by opening up service sectors like media, telecommunications, insurance and banking. The advantages of our membership in the WTO outweigh the costs. In the long run, it is good for China. People will eventually see the benefits and learn to accept it.

**GK:** Chinese local media is weak and its content undesirable: Chinese people find it boring and distrustful. Is the government going to allow further liberalization of the media, thereby resulting in improved infrastructure and content?

**PM:** There are thousands of newspapers in China. Different people look for different type of content. Some look for entertainment while others seek out serious discourse. Sometimes, I find the Canadian media boring . . .

**GK:** But, the point is that while China does have a large quantity of newspapers, their quality is perceived as being low, both in terms of trust as well as its content. The advertisers avoid the Chinese media, spending only \$7 billion (USD) on TV, radio and print combined, compared to nearly \$130 billion spent in the United States. On a per capita basis, this is dismal. Now, by liberalizing the media, major improvements in content and infrastructure might be expected, leading to increased advertising expenditures, resulting in a more sophisticated market economy, don't you think?

**PM:** We welcome joint ventures in the media sector. The government is considering opening it up further. For example, Mr. Rupert Murdoch is negotiating in China the possibility of one such joint venture.

**GK:** It is often charged that in addition to blocking websites, the Chinese govern-

ment deploys a wide range of technical tools to monitor and even attack certain websites. China, it seems, also encourages self-censorship among the ISPs and content providers. Why are such actions undertaken?

**PM:** Because of the inherent complex nature of the technology, a lot of unhealthy stuff can be found on the Internet: propaganda of cults, false information, pornography and violence, which is extremely harmful to its viewers, especially to the young ones. We must differentiate between what is good and what is bad on the Internet. That's why China has taken actions to prevent from spreading on the Internet information that is violation of the law or what is considered detrimental to the stability of China.

**GK:** What are your hopes and aspirations concerning trade relations with Canada?

**PM:** China-Canada bilateral trade has

been witnessing rapid growth during the past few years, thanks to the concerted efforts of the governments and business communities of both countries. The total trade volume this year is expected to reach \$14 to \$15 billion (USD). We have set the goal of quadrupling trade with Canada by 2010, and are looking forward to expanding our cooperation in the areas of energy and natural resources, mutual investments and the service sector. I believe this goal will be reached through our joint efforts and Prime Minister Paul Martin's forthcoming visit to China.

**GK:** Thanks.

*Dr. Gurprit S. Kindra is a recognized international marketing consultant and a professor of management at the University of Ottawa. He can be reached at: [Kindra@management.uottawa.ca](mailto:Kindra@management.uottawa.ca)*



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## Belgium's national sport: Dining

**A**fter a posting in the former USSR and before heading off to our next gig in Australia, my husband Larry and I learn, while visiting Ottawa, that plans have changed. "The exigencies of the foreign service" the bureaucrats explain, will see us re-routed back to Europe, now en route for Brussels.

While Larry headed off to work at the Mission to the EU (known as the European Economic Community in those days), my first task was to get our four-year-old daughter into a local kindergarden. That was easy. I just stepped out the door at 8:30 a.m. and followed the other mothers. Then, to perfect my French, I glued myself to a chair and studied until my concentration was interrupted by the shrill whistle of the beer man (yes beer, not milk) who would make his daily home deliveries on our street.

Needless to say, Brussels was different from Moscow. We had so much to learn from the Belgians. In the mid-70s, everyone dressed well with clothing made from quality fabrics. On Sunday strolls in the Petit Sablon, we could pick up reasonably priced antiques. We also snapped up stunningly carved oak furniture from the dusty rooms of Les Petits Riens. In Antwerp, diamonds of any size, colour and shape were available from merchants walking the street with briefcases chained to their wrists.

Belgians also taught us the art of eating, or rather "dining", which we determined they relished like a national sport. Many spent much of the weekend driving to remote and nearby corners of the country to feast on local cuisine. I was amazed by the consistent high quality of the food, the variety, and the inspiring and delicious combinations. This was true, whether we were in the pricy palatial three-star dining room of La Cygne in the Grand Place or in more modest, character-filled restaurants.

The Ogenblik, just off the Grand Place, had a sawdust-covered floor, marble-slab tabletops set on what may have been cast-iron sewing machine legs, and a single, unisex washroom. I, to say nothing of my mother, was shocked to be washing my hands while urinal-using men came and went. At another memorable restaurant, as guests entered, the waiter would ceremoniously rip a huge sheet of utility paper



MARGARET  
DICKENSON

from a massive roll to create a fresh clean tablecloth upon which he would write down the order and calculated the bill. Restaurant windows decorated with cuddly rabbits, colourfully plumed birds, all hanging comfortably by their feet, or with pictures of graceful horses, sent a message as to the fare available. Curiously, Belgian menus showed "Steak Tartar" as "Filet American". It was amusing to see the sly grins on waiters' faces as they took orders from unsuspecting tourists, and to witness the reactions as raw beef was delivered (topped with a raw egg) to those who obviously preferred their steak well done.

It was in Belgium that we were introduced to deliciously smoked eel originating from Canada where it was regarded as a pest, not a fashionable gourmet food.

IT WAS IN BELGIUM THAT WE WERE  
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As a family, we discovered the fun of mussels and the art of using the empty shell of one mussel as tweezers to pluck out and eat the meat of the others. Frites, the best on the planet, always accompanied the mussels.

But what impressed me the most was the uniqueness of Belgian chocolates, extravagantly packaged in costly fabric boxes which changed to reflect the seasons and fashion. To this day, I continue to create my own chocolates, packaging them in my signature "House Box" and offering them as hostess gifts. I invite you to try my husband's favourite chocolate as well as my recipe for mussels (which I serve with rice).

**Margaret Dickenson** hosts "Margaret's Sense of Occasion", a Rogers TV series which airs in September 2005. ([www.margaretsenseofoccasion.com](http://www.margaretsenseofoccasion.com)).

### CRANBERRY NUT CLUSTERS



PHOTO: ROGERS TELEVISION

This could be one of the best chocolate recipes you will ever taste. The combination of flavours, textures and colours is original and exciting. Every ingredient plays a unique role; omitting one will make a difference. If you are a white chocolate fan, you will adore these. They are extremely quick and easy to make.

Makes 18 chocolate clusters.

3 1/2 oz (100 g) white chocolate, chopped  
1/2 cup (125 mL) dried cranberries  
1/3 cup (80 mL) chopped roasted pecans  
2 tbsp (30 mL) desiccated coconut

Partially melt chocolate over hot water in a double boiler (or soften in microwave oven on "defrost" mode\*). Remove from heat; stir until chocolate is very smooth. (Note: White chocolate may not always appear to have completely melted.)

Add all other remaining ingredients; combine. Using 2 teaspoons, drop clusters of chocolate mixture (about 2 tsp or 10 mL portions) onto a wax paper lined tray.\*\* Refrigerate until firm.

Store chocolates refrigerated in an airtight plastic container. Stored properly the chocolates stay fresh for months.

\* My technique: Put chocolate in a heavy earthenware soup bowl (microwave proof); place in microwave oven on "defrost" mode until softened but not melted (about 2 1/2 to 3 minutes). Remove from microwave; stir until chocolate is very smooth.

\*\* Tip: Secure the wax paper to the tray with a couple of dabs of soft butter or margarine.

## FRAGRANTLY ORCHESTRATED POACHED MUSSELS



Mussels can be a perfect "quick meal" for impressing both family and guests. The thick, deep-flavored sauce makes this dish outstanding. Feel free to adjust the seasoning to suit your own taste.

Makes two main course servings or four appetizer servings.

2 lbs (900 g) mussels  
1 can plum tomatoes (14 fl. oz or 398 mL)  
2/3 cup (160 mL) dry white wine  
1/2 cup (125 mL) tomato sauce  
1/4 cup (60 mL) tomato paste  
1 1/2 to 2 tsp (7 to 10 mL) finely chopped fresh garlic  
1 tsp (5 mL) fines herbes (or dried mixed herbs)  
1 tsp (5 mL) dried tarragon leaves  
1/2 to 3/4 tsp (2 to 4 mL) peeled and grated fresh ginger root  
1/4 to 1/3 tsp\* (1 to 2 mL\*) (Indonesian) hot chili paste  
1/3 cup (80 mL) heavy cream (35% fat)  
3 tbsp (45 mL) chopped fresh parsley  
2 tbsp (30 mL) chopped fresh dill weed  
1/2 tsp\*\* (3 mL\*\*) sugar  
Salt and crushed black peppercorns to taste

Garnish  
sprigs of fresh herbs (optional or as desired)

Before cooking, scrub mussels and pull off any beards; rinse and drain well. Place any mussels that are not closed in a bowl of cool water and stir them. Discard all that do not close after a minute.

Cut tomatoes into quarters; put tomatoes and juice into a large pot. Add wine,

pasta sauce, tomato paste, garlic, fines herbes, tarragon, ginger and chili paste.

Shortly before serving, bring contents of pot to a boil over medium-high heat. Add mussels and bring back to a boil, turning mussels frequently and into sauce. Cover, reduce heat to medium-low and cook for five minutes.

Add cream, parsley and dill; turn mussels in sauce; reduce heat to low. Add sugar, salt and crushed black peppercorns according to taste. Discard any mussels that do not open.

Serve mussels with their sauce in large flat bowls. Garnish with sprigs of fresh herbs as desired. Place an empty bowl on table to catch discarded shells.

\* Option: To adjust the "hot" spicy flavour of this dish, decrease or increase the quantity of the (Indonesian) hot chili paste according to taste. (The amount of garlic, ginger and crushed black peppercorns may also be adjusted.)

\*\* Or to taste

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# A sentimental favourite

By Jennifer Campbell



PHOTO: JANA CNYTLOVA

Italian Ambassador Marco Colombo treasures a small "not so well done" watercolour of his home in Tuscany.

The art collection Italian ambassador Marco Colombo and his wife Gabriella have built over his long career as a diplomat is a painterly roadmap of their postings. A few of those paintings – the ones most important to them, although not necessarily the most valuable in their collection – came to Canada with them three years ago. The eclectic collection now decorating their Aylmer residence features everything

from colonial South American paintings, to antique prints, to works passed down from the ambassador's family.

Asked to choose an Italian piece to talk about, Mr. Colombo picks a sentimental favourite. It's a small watercolour of the Colombos' country home in the medieval Tuscan town of Capalbio. This home, which they bought 12 years ago, is where they go to escape the mayhem of Rome, where they have their main resi-

dence. The vacation town, settled in 1100, is a 15-minute jaunt from the beaches of Tuscany's Argentario coast and a 90-minute drive from Rome. Two of its churches boast frescoes of the Sienese or Umbrian Schools and one is attributed to the painter Pinturicchio.

Mr. Colombo's own sentimental favourite painting is about the size of this magazine and shows the side of his country home, with its second-floor balcony, a rarity in this town. He "commissioned" it when he came upon a street painter just outside his door and asked him to paint his home. "There are two advantages to watercolours," Mr. Colombo said. "They are fresh and they are cheap."

Although he acknowledges that it's a humble choice given the international reputation his country has for art, it's a painting that transports him to a warmer place in contrast to the depths of Ottawa winter.

Another treasure in the ambassador's Aylmer residence is a tome, filled with full-colour reproductions of some of the most important Italian works of the past century. Current secretary-general Umberto Vattani, a visionary at the Italian foreign ministry – and the 1920s building is a masterpiece in its own right – recently decided the ministry should start collecting important modern images by major painters including Balla, Sironi, De Chirico, Carrà and Morandi. The result? A collection that brightens up the offices and exposes foreign visitors to some of the best modern work Italy has to offer.

*Jennifer Campbell is editor of Diplomat.*

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# Down Under: From wool to wine

By Margo Roston

I'm told that Crossing Pinot Noir is a concentrated wine "that exhibits aromas of black cherries and violets." And Redbank Victoria Shiraz promises to provide "a neat marriage between fruit and cedary oak. The palate following down the same well-balanced track; savoury, spicy berry fruit and supple tannins completing the picture."

My instructors in the fruit of the vine from Down Under are New Zealand High Commissioner Graham Kelly, whose pick is a New Zealand Pinot Noir, and Australian High Commissioner Tony Hely, who admits to a passion for his country's Shiraz.

We are sitting with glasses of rich, ruby-red wine, sampling some of the 12 vintages set out at the Rideau Club,

## AUSTRALIA TRACES WINERIES BACK TO THE 1830S WHEN GERMAN SETTLERS FIRST LANDED IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

where the two diplomats are setting up a wine-tasting for MPs and Senators.

Just before his guests arrive, Mr. Kelly takes off his gold kiwi bird lapel pin and exchanges it for one that displays the flags of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. It's the insignia of the CANZ Friendship Group, an organization created three years ago.

This wine-tasting has become a popular event on the parliamentarians' schedule, with good nibbles and fine wines.

"We established the group when we felt we should encourage the extensive links between like-minded Commonwealth countries," says Mr. Kelly, the fast-talking former MP, who also happens to be a first-rate Dixieland pianist.

"Wine for Australia and New Zealand is a significant part of our lives today," he says. "We like talking about it incessantly, but years ago when I grew up, we thought of wine as something from France or Germany."

In fact, the wine industry in both countries has grown significantly in the



Australian High Commissioner Tony Hely and New Zealand High Commissioner Graham Kelly relax with some red at a wine tasting they jointly hosted. Their national allegiances are reflected in their glasses.

last 25 years, with New Zealand exporting about \$600 million worth. In Australia, the international market for Australian wine is valued at \$2.36 billion per year. Canadians alone import \$205 million worth.

And wine has changed drinking and dining habits in both countries. Mr. Hely notes that 25 years ago Australia was a beer-drinking country. And Mr. Kelly affirms that "wine has overtaken it by a country mile. New Zealanders, like the Australians, have taken to wine like sheep to grass. We now see wine as part of the food industry." And that has helped the restaurant industries to flourish in both countries.

Australia traces wineries back to the 1830s when German settlers first landed in South Australia. Dalmatians who came to work in the gum fields of New Zealand grew a little wine but the industry really took off in the late 1980s when growers discovered the Marlborough region was perfect for Sauvignon Blanc.

But the grape harvest has exploded. "Where once you saw fields of sheep, it's now vines. We've gone from 70 million to 39 million sheep. But that's still a lot of wool and roast lamb." (Sheep populations fell in 1984 when subsidies were suspended and the country's producers diversified.)

While Australia has lots of land and lots of vineyards, New Zealand is restricted by its size, which is the same as that of the United Kingdom. And it comes with plenty of mountains. "So we try to produce quality premium and boutique wines at a higher price," says Mr. Kelly.

Suddenly, the first guests are through the door, led by House Speaker Peter Milliken and Conservative House Leader John Reynolds. Both high commissioners leap to their feet, ready to seduce their guests with truly delectable libations. Cheers indeed.

Margo Roston is Diplomat's culture editor.

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## On foie gras, Sauternes and other celestial matches

**M**uch has been written about wine and food pairing. There are countless books and articles devoted to the subject and even more cookbooks that list the “perfect” match with a particular dish. The best match I ever had was a simple linguini dish with gorgeous olive oil, lemon rind and shaved bortaga (dried red mullet roe) paired with a Grauburgunder (Pinot Gris) from Austria. On their own, both had very strong and somewhat unappealing flavours. But together, they just sung like an opera diva. Here’s the test: Do both the wine and food taste better together than they do on their own?

Wine-matching is not an exact science, but there are some general rules that will help you get the most out of the food and the wine. There are some classic matches but the most exciting ones are those you

### AN INTENSELY FLAVOURFUL STEW CALLS FOR A BIGGER WINE.

discover through experimentation. Most importantly, remember to have fun and follow your instincts.

**Always try to match the flavour “volume” of the wine and food.** If you have a light salad, you need a light wine. An intensely flavourful stew calls for a bigger wine. To be clear, this is about how much flavour – not weight or tannins – are in a wine. It’s a simple trick that goes a long way.

**Acid needs acid.** Whether it’s acid from the vinegar in a vinaigrette, from citrus fruit in a garnish on seafood, or from the tomatoes in a pasta sauce, when you have acid in your food you need acid in your wine. Without it, the wine seems flabby and the dish too sharp. Some examples of higher acid wines are: Sauvignon Blanc, Riesling, Champagne, Chenin Blanc (Vouvray etc.), Pinot Grigio, Sangiovese (Chianti etc.), Barbera (Piedmont etc.), Gamay Noir (Beaujolais, Niagara etc.) and Pinot Noir (Burgundy, Niagara, California etc.). Some examples of lower acid wines that are better paired with dishes with lower acidity are: Gewurztraminer, Viognier, and also Chardonnay, Cabernet



STEPHEN BECKTA

PHOTO: PAUL COUVRETE

Sauvignon, Shiraz and Merlot from warm, New World wine regions. Acid also cleanses the palate of oils and salt, making you want to go back for another bite.

**Match the wine to the “doneness” of your meat.** If you prefer your meat rare, it is better to have a wine with some tannin, such as a young Cote-du-Rhone or Cabernet Sauvignon, that will bind with the un-coagulated proteins in the meat, making both taste better. If you prefer your meats well done, you are usually better off with fruit-forward, softer reds (think Pinot Noir or Gamay Noir) that have good acidity to “freshen-up” your palate from the heavy flavours of long cooking.

**Match the sweetness of the wine to the sweetness of the food.** This is especially important with dessert. Is your dish mildly sweet, moderately sweet, or very sweet? Pick a wine that has a similar profile otherwise either the wine or food (the less sweet) will taste bitter and sour against the other.

To get a sense of how heavenly proper matches can be, and to give you the confidence to experiment on your own, here are some classics: Foie Gras Terrine and Sauternes, Consommé and Dry Sherry, Blue Cheese and Vintage Port, Rack of Lamb and Red Bordeaux, Boiled Lobster with Garlic Butter and New World Chardonnay, Smoked Salmon and Dry Riesling, Fresh Goat Cheese and Sauvignon Blanc, pasta and tomato sauce with Chianti, Beef Bourguignon or Coq au Vin and Pinot Noir (Red Burgundy), Bouillabaisse with Provencal Rosé, and Oysters on the half shell with Champagne.

Whether you like to re-explore the classics or come up with your own, know that every dish and wine is unique and only through experimentation can you truly understand the wonderful and sometimes mysterious world of wine and food pairing. Happy matching!

**Stephen Beckta** is the sommelier and owner of Beckta dining & wine in Ottawa ([www.beckta.com](http://www.beckta.com)).



## Guyana groceries away from home

**G**uyana is made up of six races. First, there were indigenous Amerindians and then the Europeans came in search of gold, followed by Africans, East Indians, Portuguese and Chinese.

Each group brought their traditional recipes and methods of cooking so our local dishes are many: pepperpot and cassava bread from the Amerindians, "cook-up rice and mettagé" from Africa,



Fameeda Singh

roti and curries of different meats and vegetables from India, garlic pork from Portugal and chow mein and fried-rice from China.

Guyana has fresh fruits and vegetables and an abundance of fish and seafood. We raise cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and poultry. Guyana is also famous for its wild meats found in the interior. With our local herbs, spices and peppers, meals have a wonderful mixture of flavours.

Ingredients for typical Guyanese meals can be found at Grace Ottawa on Bank Street. Here you can find coconut milk in creamed or liquid form; black-eyed peas or pigeon peas in cans to be used in our "Cook Up"; yellow split peas for soups or filling for roti (dhal puri); and cod fish for making salt fish cakes.

At St. Laurent Fruit, you can find the spices to make your own curry or you can buy the curry powder and massala in packets. You can also find Norman Sue noodles for Chow Mein (recipe is on the package). For our desserts, you can find mangoes, pineapples for making Pineapple tarts (known as pine tarts), black-eye peas for making Chinese cakes and desiccated coconut for making coconut cake (salara). Enjoy!





*Fameeda Singh is the wife of Guyana High Commissioner Rajnarine Singh.*

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# The not-so-peaceful Canadian-American border

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky

In December 2001, U.S. Attorney-General John Ashcroft announced plans for a military patrol of the Canada-U.S. border in response to the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. It was not the first time the world's longest undefended, perhaps indefensible, border caused problems.

Before the 1783 Treaty of Paris, boundary disputes were common. Diplomats, unfamiliar with the area, produced a vague, unrealistic document, determining the border as a latitudinal line from the upper corner of Lake of the Woods due west to the Mississippi River, a non-existent connection.

On Oct. 20, 1818 a British-American convention clarified the border between the countries "as a line from the farthest northwest part of Lake of the Woods to the 49th parallel and thence west to the Rocky Mountains." Britain and the U.S. quickly registered claims over the Oregon Territory, which lay west of the Rockies

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between 42° N and 54°40' N. America saw the boundary at Russian Alaska while the British saw it at the Columbia River. The resulting conflict lasted into the 1840s.

In 1844, presidential candidate James Knox Polk promised war over the issue, campaigning with the slogan "54-40 or fight!" He won the election but decided to negotiate instead and the British happily complied. The 1846 Oregon Treaty extended the 49th parallel as the border to the Pacific.

Both nations appointed boundary commissions. Lt-Col. John Hawkins headed the British Commission; his American counterpart was Archibald Campbell.

They began by disagreeing about how to proceed. Hawkins thought boundary markers should be placed every mile "in

open ground." The Americans refused to share the cost equally but agreed to place markers wherever the 49th parallel crossed "streams of any size, permanent trails, or any striking natural features." It took four tension-filled, back-breaking years to map the boundary determined by the Oregon Treaty and another half-century before the Hawkins-Campbell survey was officially recognized.

When the British and Americans finally met to prepare official maps, they found some discrepancies. Reconciliation was surprising—they merely split the difference between the original lines.

WHEN THE BRITISH AND AMERICANS FINALLY MET TO PREPARE OFFICIAL MAPS, THEY FOUND SOME DISCREPANCIES. RECONCILIATION WAS SURPRISING—THEY MERELY SPLIT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ORIGINAL LINES.

It seemed a good compromise, but it proved confusing when settlers moved into boundary areas and found two, sometimes three, cut-lines and multiple boundary markers. To fix the maps, the authorities needed the survey documents but they had disappeared.

The Americans had postponed publishing their reports to save money after the Civil War. Canadian astronomer Otto Klotz found the British reports at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich in 1898, when he noticed boxes marked "B.N.A." and asked the janitor to retrieve them.

Both governments undertook new surveys between 1901 and 1907. In the end, Hawkins' and Campbell's original surveys required few corrections.

**Laura Neilson Bonikowsky** is the associate editor of *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. See [www.histori.ca](http://www.histori.ca) for more.



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What may be less obvious is the critical role non-governmental organizations play in maintaining and strengthening Ottawa's high quality of life; in contributing to the development of a great city; in fostering new sources of wealth.

Over the past 10 years, Ottawa has made the transition from an economy heavily dependent on government, to an economy where technology, government and tourism all contribute.

The Ottawa Centre for Research and Innovation (OCRI), Ottawa's principal economic development and technology association, represents more than 600 local businesses and public-sector institutions. OCRI works with government, business and academic sectors to advance Ottawa's globally competitive knowledge-based economy.

OCRI is particularly cognisant of Ottawa's quality-of-life issues – the features that make this city such a desirable place to live, visit and do business. Much of our work focuses on our own backyard. But we also reach out to the world, identifying and nurturing strategic partnerships that benefit Ottawa-based businesses, researchers, educators and government decision-makers.

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- Since it opened in 1992, OCRI's Entrepreneurship Centre has helped establish more



JEFFREY DALE

than 10,600 new businesses, that then created nearly 11,000 new jobs, and \$555 million in capital invested.

• Since 1998, OCRI's Venture Capital Fair has seen \$1.95 billion disbursed to the fair's alumni companies – more than half of the total venture capital investments directed to Ottawa-based firms.

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• OCRI's OttawaReads program draws more than 400 public- and private-sector volunteers to read to kindergarten and Grade 1 students in nearly 40 area schools.

• In 2004, OCRI posted more than 30 "tech coaches" to Ottawa-area schools to help introduce technology into the curriculum.

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Along with its partners in business, government and education, OCRI is helping advance Ottawa's globally competitive, knowledge-based economy. We bring people, ideas and resources together to create wealth and maintain the quality of life in this vibrant G8 capital.

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*Jeffrey Dale is the president of OCRI.*

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# A Chinese Voice

**Jean Lumb (1919–2002) :** A strong believer in the family, she lobbied to ensure that Chinese Canadians could bring over their loved ones from China.

If Prime Minister John Diefenbaker hadn't had trouble hearing in one ear, Jean Lumb might not have become an important spokesperson for Chinese Canadians. Jean was one of twenty people — and the only woman — selected by the Chinese community to present their concerns about immigration restrictions to the federal government in 1957. Fun Sing Wong, the leader of the group, happened to be seated beside Diefenbaker's bad ear and Jean was on the other side. The Chief kept asking Jean to repeat what Wong said in the brief. Since Jean had helped prepare the presentation and had memorized it, she easily repeated the plea for changes to the law, which would help reunite Chinese families. "The change to the immigration laws was my greatest accomplishment," said Jean.

Jean was born in Nanaimo, B.C., in 1919 as Wong Toy Jin. As a child she had a registration card with her picture, as the 1923 Exclusion Act required all Chinese



PHOTO: QINING CAVOUK, COURTESY OF AILENE CHA

Jean Lumb got the ear, the good ear, of former prime minister John Diefenbaker.

living in Canada to be registered. After arriving from China in 1899, Jean's father had worked as a labourer for a landowner who soon helped him bring over his wife and eldest son. Her father became a coal miner before settling the Wong family in Vancouver, where the parents and twelve children lived in a small apartment and operated a fruit store.

Jean was devastated at having to quit school at age 12 to work in the store. A few years later she moved to Toronto to work for her recently married older sister and at seventeen opened her own fruit store. As her business prospered the young entrepreneur moved her family from Vancou-



**Canadian Heroines:  
Famous and Forgotten Faces**  
Author: Merna Forster  
Publisher: Dundurn Press  
Price: \$24.99  
Pages: 279 plus biography

ver to Toronto. Thanks to the efforts of a matchmaker, in 1939 Jean married Doyle Lumb — a determined Chinese emigrant who managed to enter Canada before the Exclusion Act by lying about his age and paying a \$500 head tax. The happy couple raised six children while managing a grocery store for 20 years and then operating the successful Kwong Chow restaurant in Toronto's Chinatown.

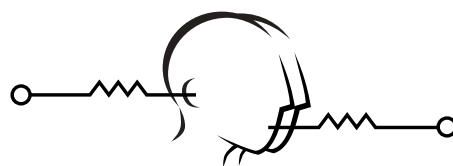
Jean Lumb also became a prominent political activist and community volunteer, primarily because of the influence of her father — who had been so eager to be fully involved in his new homeland. In addition to lobbying for changes to immigration laws, Jean became president of the Women's Association in the Chinese community in 1940 and started the Chinese Community Dancers of Ontario. In the late 1960s Jean Lumb led a successful campaign to save Toronto's Chinatown, and was later involved in similar efforts in Vancouver and Calgary.

Jean supported many Chinese organizations before deciding to volunteer outside the Chinese community — a move she was encouraged to take by Pauline McGibbon, the future lieutenant-governor of Ontario. Jean Lumb became active in a multitude of organizations, serving on the governing boards of such groups as the Women's College Hospital and University Settlement House. Jean also worked as a Citizenship Court Judge.

"She is one of Toronto's greatest heroes," said former Toronto mayor David Crombie.

Because of her important contributions to her community and to Canada, Jean Lumb received many awards prior to her death in 2002. Jean was particularly proud to receive the Order of Canada in 1976 — becoming the first Chinese Canadian recipient. The annual Jean Lumb Awards of Excellence were created to honour the accomplishments of this remarkable Canadian.

*Author Merna Forster is a native of Alberta who has been discovering historical heroines from coast to coast during her travels. She lives in Ottawa. Reach her at [www.heroines.ca](http://www.heroines.ca), her website.*



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# The art of war – and peace

**H**istorians often remark that Canada came of age at Vimy Ridge, that this nation was forged by the brutality and bravery of the First World War. And yet, some of Canada's most significant contributions on the world stage have been efforts to find peace and to prevent war.

Should a museum that has been devoted thus far to Canada's military history combine war and peace under one roof?

A few months from now, a spectacular new Canadian War Museum will be inaugurated within sight of Parliament Hill in downtown Ottawa. With more than 4,000 square metres of exhibition

BEHIND THE SCENES,  
AN OTTAWA-BASED  
COALITION IS QUIETLY  
CANVASSING SUPPORT FOR  
A CAMPAIGN TO SHIFT THE  
MANDATE OF THE MUSEUM  
TO BETTER REFLECT THE  
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PREVENT WAR.

space and a new research centre, the facility replaces a cramped, 1920s-era office building on Sussex Drive.

Museum officials hope to receive more than 300,000 visitors each year – triple that of the old building. It is worth noting exit surveys conducted with visitors to the old museum in the 1990s consistently showed a majority wanted more emphasis on the impact of war and conflict.

The war museum's mandate describes it as "a living memorial to those men and women who served in Canada's armed forces" and a centre for research and dissemination of information on all aspects of Canada's military history.

Behind the scenes, an Ottawa-based coalition is quietly canvassing support for



ALLAN THOMPSON

a campaign to shift the mandate of the museum to better reflect the role Canadians have played and continue to play, in efforts to prevent war.

The "committee for an expanded mandate of the Canadian War Museum" is headed by Debbie Grisdale, longtime peace activist and executive director of Physicians for Global Survival, and has won support from nearly 1,000 Canadians, including former foreign affairs minister Flora MacDonald, Nobel laureate John Polanyi, Senators Doug Roche and Landon Pearson, diplomat Geoffrey Pearson and a number of retired military officers.

So far, the group has not tried to make any kind of splash in the media, focusing instead on efforts to negotiate directly with museum staff.

A committee brief acknowledges the museum should continue to be primarily a living memorial to veterans, but one that is "faithful to the oft-repeated pledge, made by Canadian men and women in every violent conflict: 'Never again war!'" This purpose, then, combined with the will, never to glorify war itself, should determine the major themes, stories and components of the museum.

The committee is urging the museum to add at least two exhibits, in time for the grand opening next May, with a focus on Canadian efforts at war prevention. It also proposes exhibits on war-affected children, Canadian efforts at post-war rehabilitation in such places as Sierra Leone and Rwanda and on the role played by Canadians linked to peace efforts awarded the Nobel Prize. The committee also urges the museum to examine some of the side-effects of war, such as the disgraceful internment of Japanese-Canadians during the Second World War.

We had a debate like this before and the last time, those who insist "we shouldn't mix peace and war," won the day. In 1997, museum officials approved a plan to expand and renovate the old building to put more emphasis on peace-keeping. There were also plans to create a

Holocaust memorial in a new wing.

Veterans organizations lobbied hard against the shift and vehemently opposed inclusion of a Holocaust gallery, arguing the museum was a virtual shrine to the work of Canada's veterans and should focus exclusively on Canada's military history.

Those who now run the facility and are overseeing planning for the new building contend that the range of new exhibits will take account of the full impact of war.

Dean Oliver, the museum's director of research and exhibits, says the museum is not in the business of glorifying war, but nor will it adopt a resolutely anti-war posture.

That said, there is nothing in the museum's mandate that would preclude many of the temporary exhibits the committee advocates, says Oliver, who says he would gladly consider exhibits on the land mines treaty, the history of the United Nations and the Canadian peace movement.

And he says the new museum will devote much more space than before to such subjects as peacekeeping, the story of draft resisters in the First World War, peace demonstrations during the Cold War and so on.

"What isn't there is a blanket adoption of an editorial position that would propose the advocacy of peace at all times...any more than there would be an adoption by the museum of a position that would advocate war in all times," Oliver says. "We're trying to tell the history warts and all, but that said, the museum is of course based on artefacts and at present most that we have relate in one way shape or form to elements of the institutional history of the armed forces."

Fair enough. But this time, let's not cut short the important debate about how Canada should remember what war has meant to our society. This discussion shouldn't be a battle that is won by one side or the other, then set aside. Our history is too important to be frozen in amber.

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