Christina Spencer on 15 Years of Canadian Diplomacy

November–December 2004

Diplomat & INTERNATIONAL CANADA

The news journal for Canada's international community

Established in 1989

Mexican Evolution

Ten Years of Free Trade

Maria Teresa Garcia de Madero, Ambassador of Mexico

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SUBSCRIPTIONS
Diplomat & International Canada is published six times a year. Subscription rates: individual, one year $35.70. For Canadian orders add 7% GST. U.S. orders please add $15 for postage. All other orders please add $25.

Diplomat & International Canada welcomes submissions. Contact Jennifer Campbell, editor, at 231-8476 or diplomat.editorial@sympatico.ca.

DIPLOMAT & INTERNATIONAL CANADA
P.O Box 1173, Station B
Ottawa, Ontario Canada K1P 5R2

Phone: (613) 789-6890 Fax: (613) 789-9313
E-mail: diplomatmagazine@sympatico.ca

www.diplomatcanada.com

Published by Ganlin Media Inc.

GANLIN MEDIA INC.

Volume 15, Number 6
Our 15th anniversary issue

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Publication Mail # 40957514. Return undeliverable Canadian copies to:
Diplomat Magazine, P.O. Box 1173, Station B, Ottawa, ON K1P 5R2

Our first 15 years


Jennifer Campbell

Fifteen years ago this month, the Berlin Wall came down. With its fall, the Cold War came to an abrupt end, creating dramatic changes internationally. It was an exciting time to be launching a diplomatic magazine in Ottawa.

Diplomat has changed a lot in 15 years, no more so than in the past 12 months when it was purchased from its founder and significantly transformed. Over the last year, the magazine has been given a new look, more content and national newstand distribution.

With this issue, we celebrate the magazine's first 15 years. We look back at the highs and lows of Canada's foreign policy and the way this country has wielded its diplomatic ideas and influence. Award-winning writer Christina Spencer assesses Canada's performance, looking at recent history through the eyes of both optimists and cynics.

Up front, we celebrate the magazine's birthday with comments from Diplomat's founding editor and Cameroon High Commissioner Philémon Yang.

In Delights, wine columnist Stephen Beckta gives a primer on the best beverage for toasting purposes.

Speaking of toasts, here's to our new columnist, award-winning cookbook author Margaret Dickensen. New to these pages, Ms. Dickensen is no stranger to Ottawa's diplomatic community. A home economist, she is married to retired diplomat Larry Dickensen. The two spent 20 years abroad. In each issue, she will introduce us to the culinary delights she encountered in her postings. This time, readers will discover the treasures she found in the former Soviet Union.

Before I sign off to try one of Mr. Beckta's sparkling recommendations, let me invite you to review our list of diplomatic milestones on page 19. Be sure to let us know if there are any you think should be included. We look forward to hearing from you.

Visit www.diplomatcanada.com to read comments from Carlos Miranda, Costa Rica's ambassador.

Back in the early days…

Diplomat's first editor recalls the tribulations of another age

By Bhupinder S. Liddar

Diplomat & International Canada has come a long since its inception in 1989.

When I told then Chief of Protocol Ted Arcand I planned to launch the magazine but wouldn't be asking for any government money, he threw his hands into the air with joy and encouraged me to proceed.

Technology has made immense advances since the days when text had to be input and film made. Back then, we had to cut and paste columns on art boards. God forbid we should have to make a change.

We found out early on that meeting deadlines was not easy, a fact driven home when our first layout artist missed a Cuban vacation to get the second issue to the printer.

Obviously, everything is simpler now. Articles must no longer be written in long-hand or tapped out on a typewriter. Stories and photographs now come by e-mail. Nowadays an entire issue goes to the printer on a single CD.

From the Dean's desk


Comments from Philémon Yang, High Commissioner for Cameroon and dean of the diplomatic corps. Mr. Yang gave his credentials 20 years ago last month.

"*Diplomat and International Canada* has constantly evolved and progressed with the gradual 'internationalization' of Ottawa, a city which has become more cosmopolitan, embracing a perceptible multiculturalism … Even though most diplomats spend only a few years in Ottawa, it is always possible and even advisable for such diplomats to become, in practical ways, members of the local community where they live and carry out their duties. That is what may make diplomats citizens of the world, as they travel around the globe serving sending states and humankind."

Building an even better NAFTA

Excerpts from a speech by Thomas d'Aquino, President and Chief Executive of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives, to the Mexico Business Summit in Veracruz, Mexico, Sept. 2004

More than a decade ago, Canada, Mexico and the United States launched a magnificent experiment. Building on the historic Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement of 1989, our three countries signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

In the years since, the foresight and courage that led to the NAFTA have produced huge benefits for the people of all three countries. While these benefits are undeniable, the world has changed during these years. As individual nations and as a continent, we face new threats, challenges and opportunities.

Given our shared successes of the past decade in North America, the time has come to decide how best to shape our shared future. We need new arrangements that will strengthen our collective security and that will position our continent as a more competitive force in the global economy.

With this vision in mind, the Canadian Council of Chief Executives last year launched its North American Security and Prosperity Initiative (NASPI). In April of this year, our initial research led to the publication of a major discussion paper titled New Frontiers.

Canada's chief executives have put a great deal of effort into this initiative and our work has garnered strong support among leading thinkers in all three countries. Our work is far from done, however, and the cause of building a stronger North America must have many champions.

To this end, we are in the process of working with the Council on Foreign Relations in the United States and with the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations to establish a joint task force of eminent persons from all three countries. This task force will be co-chaired by former Canadian deputy prime minister John Manley, former governor of the state of Massachusetts Bill Weld and former Mexican finance minister Pedro Aspe. Dr. Robert Pastor, Ambassador Andrés Rozental of the Mexican Council on Foreign Relations and I will serve as the vice-chairs.

The mandate of the task force is to articulate an ambitious vision for the future of the relationships between the United States, Canada and Mexico and to develop a realistic plan for achieving this vision over the next 10 years. In doing so, we will focus on five areas: deepening North American economic integration, encouraging regulatory convergence, closing the development gap between Mexico and its North American partners, enhancing continental security, and developing flexible new institutions for managing the trilateral relationship.

For the complete text of Thomas d'Aquino's speech go to www.ceocouncil.ca.

Up Front

Mexican ambassador Maria Teresa Garcia de Madero took time out of her busy schedule preparing for the visit of Mexican President Vicente Fox to sit down with columnist Gurprit Kindra to discuss NAFTA a decade after its birth. Our photographer, Jana Chytilova, said of the photo shoot: "She's very warm and welcoming – always has a smile and a hug to greet you." See Trade Winds, Page 25.

The case of the naked salute … and more

Can't get to the Cenotaph for Remembrance Day ceremonies? Several websites honour the accomplishments of the military. After you have finished with them, try this grassroots effort: www.peacekeeper.ca, run by MCpl (retired) Frank Misztal from Kingston, Ont. His site links to DND, the major broadcast networks, even to Environment Canada. But the best feature is a collection of anecdotes from soldiers. These include the tale of the French peacekeepers in Croatia who mistook a Canadian communications post for a McDonald's outlet; the "killer monkey" who took on a Canadian corporal in Haiti; the case of the naked salute; and, more movingly, poems about the tragedies of war, penned by a former soldier. MCpl Misztal also lists the Canadian peacekeepers killed in the line of duty since 1950.

A new Ottawa embassy

Azerbaijan and Canada established diplomatic relations in 1992. The embassy was always based in Washington with the U.S. ambassador having joint accreditation. But this fall, Fakhraddin Gurbanov presented his credentials and became the first Azerbaijani ambassador with residence in Canada. The establishment of an Ottawa base isn't particularly new, however. Mr. Gurbanov came in late 2003, as chargé d'affaires, to set up the office.

Meet Lester (honorary B.) Pearson

Not everyone gets to work in a building that bears their name. But Lester Pearson does. True, the building was named in 1971, long after the Nobel Peace Prize winner and prime minister had retired. But we're not talking about the fellow who introduced the world to peacekeeping and carefully crafted Canada's international reputation. We're talking about Lester James Howard Pearson, a one-time diplomat who now works in systems management at Foreign Affairs Canada.

"Hardly a week went by throughout my life that someone didn't comment on my name," the unassuming British-born 50-something now says, adding that he's never been given Mr. Pearson's nickname, Mike. "But I have never been bothered by it because it is still an honour to bear the name of someone whose reputation is so outstanding, and closely linked to the honour of Canada."

Lester J. Pearson only met the great man once, when he was 10 years old. A classmate was the son of Toronto Liberal MP Johnny Walker and when he told his dad about the famously named student, dad orchestrated a media event at Toronto's Royal York Hotel. Yuri Gagarin's orbiting the world pre-empted Lester J's television debut but he appeared in the *Toronto Star*. When asked by the reporter what he wanted to be when he grew up, he gave what appeared to be the wrong answer: An astronomer. But not wanting to let the facts get in the way of a good story, the newspaper reported that he wanted to follow in the footsteps of his namesake.

"I was not very happy about that, and while I did not become an astronomer, and eventually did follow in some of Mr. Pearson's footsteps by joining the Department of External Affairs 10 years later, I have never entertained the thought of becoming a politician," he says.

After joining the department, he recalls being home to Ontario for a visit from his assignment in Nairobi. When he was returning to his post, he flew out of the Toronto airport on the very day, back in 1984, that they were renaming it Pearson International. His London, Ont. parents had considered seeing him off but decided against it, so they called the airport and had him paged.

"It obviously caused quite a stir," he said.

So, was he actually named after the big guy? Indeed. His folks, who were then living in Redruth, England and emigrated to Canada six years later, were told of the great Canadian and decided to give their boy his name. Lester J. is not related although he frequently has to fight that suspicion on the part of people he meets.

"I probably look more like him than his son does," Mr. Pearson said.

Designer diplomats

A fundraising fashion and dance extravaganza will have been in the works for a year when it hits the runway Jan. 29. The event now has 46 embassies and high commissions on board. Even Ottawa fashion star Richard Robinson has agreed to present his "Dress of Peace" made with flags donated by the missions in Ottawa. Funds will go to the "Centre Psycho Social des Enfants et Familles d'Ottawa," a charity that provides mental health services to children and their families. The event takes place at 7 p.m. at Library and Archives Canada. The fashion show will be followed by a reception put on by the embassies and high commissions. For information, call Christine Bassier Penot at 746-4298 (christine_bassier@hotmail.com) or Marie Versmessen at 749-6276 (bertmarie@sympatico.ca).

Kadidia Bagayoko sports Richard Robinson's (left) "dress of peace."

Advertising feature

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Dr. F.B Bajramovic can help you look and feel your best. As the Director of the Ottawa Vein and Cosmetic Medical Clinic, Dr. Bajramovic takes great pride in the fact that she personally provides the consultation and treatment of all her patients. She explains, "nothing can be more gratifying for physicians then to treat and interact with their patients directly." In fact, all treatments at the Ottawa Vein & Cosmetic Medical Clinic are provided by caring physicians who will take time to offer you the personalized care you deserve.

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Feliz Cumpleanos, Mexico!

Mexico celebrated its national day Sept. 16 with the embassy's usual panache. A swank party at the Westin Hotel featured a mariachi band, dancers and long tables with sumptuous Mexican treats. The margaritas were many. Shown here are Ambassador Maria Teresa Garcia de Madero (centre), and her husband Manuel, with South African High Commissioner Theresa Solomon.

Photo: Sam Garcia

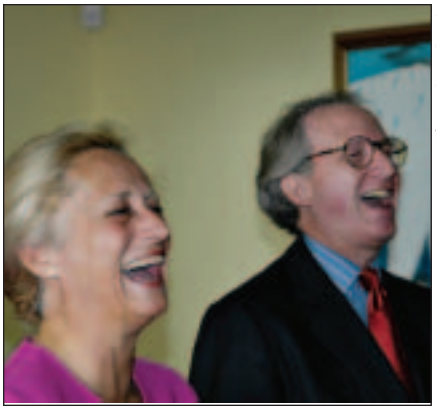

Photo: Sam Garcia

Socializing, Spanish Style

Spanish Ambassador José Ignacio Carbajal and his wife Elisa Iranzo held a garden party on an unseasonably warm Oct. 12 afternoon to celebrate their national day. Here, they share a laugh while greeting their guests.

Celebrating Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabian Ambassador Mohammed R. Al-Hussaini celebrated his country's national day Sept. 24 at the Chateau Laurier. Shown here are (left to right) Egyptian Ambassador Mahmoud F. Al-Saeed, Saudi Arabian Ambassador Mohammed R. Al-Hussaini, Jonathan Fried, senior foreign policy adviser to the Prime Minister, Netherlands Ambassador J.G. van Hellenberg Hubar, and Moroccan Ambassador Mohamed Tangi.

November 1st, 1954 **November 1st, 2004:**

Algeria celebrates the 50th anniversary of its National Day

The occupation of Algeria by French colonial troops which started on July 5th, 1830, marks the beginning of deep turnovers in the Algerian society. The fight got organized under the leadership of charismatic personalities, such El-Emir Abdelkader, Bouamama and El-Mokrani. In spite of the fate that was reserved for them, many Algerians were mobilized, beside the Allies, during the two World Wars. On May 8th, 1945, while the world was celebrating the armistice, a terrible repression swooped down on the Algerian population who took to the street to demonstrate for dignity and independence. This tragedy induced the leaders of the national movement to consider the option of the armed struggle, considering that political struggle had not succeeded. The launching of this armed struggle took place on November 1st, 1954. Seven and a half years after, Algeria recovered its independence on July 5th, 1962.

The building of the Algerian State and the national economy began with the implementation of the State's structures and development plans. To overcome the new challenges appearing in each stage of its evolution, political and economic reforms have been implemented. The emergence of the terrorist phenomenon was added to the challenges to be taken up, however the long tradition of the Algerian people's tolerance and opposition to extremism permitted to overcome this hardship.

The election of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika allowed the reforms, which include a redeployment of Algerian diplomacy, to deepen. The latter strengthened dialogue with many countries, especially France. Presidents Bouteflika and Chirac are the architects of the refondation of the Algerian – French relationship. State visits undertaken by both parties argue well for a promising future with the signature of a Treaty of friendship, expected in 2005.

The relationship with Canada dates back to the fight for national liberation reflected by the sympathetic expressions from people such as René Lèvesque. Algerian-Canadian relations have always been marked by friendship and mutual respect. At the political level, mutual visits of high-ranking officials allowed to maintain a fruitful dialogue between both countries. Economically, besides Canadian investments, especially in the hydrocarbons sector, and important business relations, Algeria is Canada's first commercial partner in the Arab World and in Africa with trade exchanges of about three billion dollars. The recent establishment of the Canada-Algeria Business Alliance aims at strengthening the existing business relations and extending trade exchanges to more diversified sectors.

Presented by the Embassy of Algeria

A horse-y hello from the RCMP

On a beautiful Saturday morning this fall, the RCMP Musical Ride presented a performance to members of the diplomatic community. Hundreds of diplomats and their children came out to enjoy the show which was followed by tours of the stables and exhibits on the grounds at RCMP headquarters. Shown here are South African High Commissioner Theresa Solomon (top right); Tanzanian High Commissioner Ben Moses (lower right); and Christine Leroy, wife of Belgian Ambassador Daniel Leroy (left).

Farewell Mr. Aujali

Libyan Chargé d'Affaires Ali Aujali hosted a lavish party, which doubled as a farewell to the out-going head of mission, at the National Gallery of Canada. Shown here are Robert Collette, chief of protocol, and Mr. Aujali.

Photo: Sam Garcia

Korea's National Day

The Republic of Korea held a swish party at its Boteler Street embassy Oct. 4 to celebrate the country's national day. Here, left to right, are Korean Ambassador Sung-joon Yim, Takiko Hogen, Kwee-joo Yim, and Japanese Ambassador Kensaku Hogen.

Photo: Arun Pandya

Caribbean nations work toward a united effort to recover from nature's fury

By Daniel Drolet

Photo: Bahamas Information Service

Beyond the deaths, material damage and suffering, the series of hurricanes to hit the Caribbean this fall underlined the willingness – and the ability – of Caribbean countries to work together in the face of disaster.

But the magnitude of the storms' impact has also showed their vulnerability – an issue the heads of Caribbean governments will likely be discussing in January when representatives from small island nations worldwide meet in Mauritius for a UN-sponsored conference.

Just about every Caribbean country felt the effects of a hurricane this fall. Charley, Frances, Ivan, Jeanne – the storms laid waste to Grenada, killed thousands in Haiti, hit every island in the Bahamas for the first time in history, and inflicted misery all around.

Carol Joseph, the Haitian chargé d'affaires at the embassy in Ottawa, said with devastating understatement that "this has not been a very clement summer for us." The destruction of Hurricane Jeanne came in the wake of flooding in May and June that had already left an estimated 1,200 dead.

Despite the damage, the storms showed how people in the Caribbean can work together.

"That's one of the things about hurricanes," said Philip Smith, High Commissioner for the Bahamas. "They remind us in the Caribbean that we are one."

The countries have various mechanisms in place to help each other. The major one is the Caribbean Emergency Disaster Response Agency (CDERA), which was created in 1991.

Darius Pope, political and cultural affairs officer at the High Commission of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), said the agency was able to begin immediately to assess the fall-out in Grenada, where 90 per cent of the buildings were damaged or destroyed by Hurricane Ivan.

Then came the planning for assistance. In the short term, the Caribbean mobilized. For example, Trinidad and Tobago sent soldiers to help with security and school repairs, among other things; the country also sent food, water, generators and construction material.

Meanwhile, the OECS Secretariat sent a 10-person mission to Grenada to evaluate damage; their 145-page report was presented to the country's prime minister on Sept. 24, two weeks after the disaster. The report makes recommendations and identifies projects to assist in meeting three major objectives: reinvigorating the economy, generating employment and reducing social vulnerabilities caused by the combination job loss and loss of homes. The report was also sent to the country's major development partners.

Mr. Smith said an effective network exists for sharing electrical power crews from one country to next when a hurricane strikes, and this year's storm prompted other demonstrations of regional solidarity.

"It's how we in the Caribbean look at each other," he said. "We may be separate political entities, but we're the same people sharing the same history."

But the storms also exposed problems.

"The Caribbean doesn't have the resources to respond to disasters of the magnitude of what happened to Grenada," Mr. Pope said. So the countries work to co-ordinate international relief efforts. (Canadians interested in donating to relief efforts should contact Caribbean embassies and high commissions.)

And there are other financial problems, such as a how to underwrite insurance risks when the whole region is hit.

"What has happened has brought to the fore calls the region has been making for years with regard to our vulnerability," said Mr. Pope, adding that regional planners will be turning their minds to ensuring effective rebuilding from major disasters in future.

For example, the report on the disaster in Grenada underlined weaknesses in disaster preparedness and called attention to the need to re-think plans.

Meanwhile, Mr. Smith said that life must go on: "What is essential for folks to realize is that we have a history of dealing with the effects of hurricanes."

He said in most cases, the tourism industry and infrastructure will be ready to welcome Canadians to the sun this winter, and those tourist dollars will be needed to help rebuild.

"So anyone planning a vacation should not shelve that plan," he urged. "Just make sure the hotel you are going to is fully operational."

***Daniel Drolet** is* Diplomat *magazine's contributing editor.*

Diplo-Dates

November 1
Algeria's National Day

November 3
Panama's Independence Day

November 5
World Trivia Night: Canada's largest live trivia event raises money for the Champions for Children Foundation. This year, for the first time, the event will include a diplomatic challenge. So put your teams together and test your knowledge against other diplomats. Located at The Aberdeen Pavilion in Lansdowne Park, Ottawa. For information, visit the website at www.worldtrivianight.com or phone (613) 826-0267.

November 5 to 7
The Capital Antique Fair: Antiques presented by Canadian formal, country and decorative arts dealers at La Cité collégiale, 801 Aviation Parkway, Ottawa. Nov. 5, 6 – 10 p.m.; Nov. 6, 10 a.m. – 6 p.m. and Nov. 7, 11 a.m – 5:30 p.m. For information, phone (613) 749-4952 or e-mail antiqueshows@rogers.com

November 5, 6 and 7
Ottawa Wine and Food Show: Sample wine, beer and spirits from around the world while enjoying an international spectrum of fine foods at the Ottawa Congress Centre. France is the featured country at this popular event. For information, phone (613) 567-6408.

November 6
2004 Governor General's Performing Arts Awards Gala: For information or tickets phone the National Arts Centre at (613) 947-7000.

November 11
Angola's Independence Day

Remembrance Day Ceremony at the National War Memorial

November 12-14
Lebanorama: A celebration featuring Lebanese cuisine, performances and art exhibition at the Rideau High School Auditorium, 815 St. Laurent Blvd. For information, phone (613) 742-6952

November 18
Latvia's Independence Day

November 20 – December 5
European Union Film Festival: The Canadian Film Institute presents, in collaboration with EU member states and Delegation of the European Commission in Canada, its annual showcase of contemporary European cinema. For information, visit www.cfi-icf.ca, CFI's website.

November 13
Indian Art and Music Masala: The National Gallery of Canada is holding a day-long extravaganza to celebrate the new installation, Heavenly Harmonies Art and Music in India, which explores the relationship between art and music in Indian culture. Activities include guided visits, henna booths, art projects, classical and modern Indian dancing and music, Bollywood films, and Indian food. The activities will take place in the Great Hall between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. For information, phone (613) 990-1985.

November 15 – December 15
Ottawa Chamber Music Society's Second Annual Online Auction. For more information visit their website at: www.chamberfest.com or phone (613) 234-8008

November 21
Canadian Football League Grey Cup in Ottawa

November 22
Lebanon's Independence Day

November 25
Bosnia and Herzegovina's National Day

November 28
Albania's National Day

Mauritania's National Day

November 30
Barbados' National Day

December 1
Romania's National Day

December 2
United Arab Emirates' National Day

December 5
Thailand's National Day

December 6
Finland's Independence Day

December 11
Burkina Faso's National Day

December 12
Kenya's National Day

December 23
Japan's National Day

Ambassadors

Omar Samad
Ambassador of Afghanistan

For 30 of his 43 years, Mr. Samad lived outside Afghanistan. It wasn't until Afghanistan's interim government was formed that he moved back to his native country. He spent 21 years living in the United States, five in France, and four in the United Kingdom.

Mr. Samad has a Masters degree in International Transactions from George Mason University in Virginia, and an undergraduate degree in communications and international affairs from the American University in Washington, D.C. For 20 years, between 1981 and 2001, he worked in information technology in the U.S.

Prior to coming to Canada, Mr. Samad was a spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kabul and between December 2001 and July 2004, he worked as director-general of ministry's information division.

Fakhraddin I. Gurbanov
Ambassador of Azerbaijan

Mr. Gurbanov is Azerbaijan's first ambassador to be stationed in Canada. Previous to his presentation of credentials this fall, his country's ambassador to Canada was always a non-resident who was concurrently appointed to the U.S. Mr. Gurbanov had been chargé d'affaires in Ottawa since his country opened an embassy in October 2003.

Prior to his appointment in Canada, Mr. Gurbanov served as a counselor at the embassy in the U.S. Over his foreign service career, he has held several positions in Azerbaijan including director of the information section and director of the office of protocol office in the ministry of foreign affairs. Between 1993 and 2001, he served as first secretary and consul in Washingon, D.C.

Mr. Gurbanov, born in 1954 in Azerbaijan, is married to Saida Samadova, and has one daughter.

Ernesto Antonio Sentí Darius
Ambassador of Cuba

Canada represents Mr. Sentí's first posting abroad. Prior to his appointment, he served as first deputy minister at Cuba's Ministry for Foreign Investment and Economic Cooperation. He held a similar position in the Justice department prior to that.

Born in Havana in 1956, Mr. Sentí has an international law degree from the State Institute of International Relations in Moscow. He has worked as a legal expert in the permanent secretariat for the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, which is part of the Council of Ministers of Cuba. He taught mercantile law in the University of Havana's faculty of economy.

Pavel Vosalik
Ambassador of the Czech Republic

One of Ottawa's youngest ambassadors, Mr. Vosalik celebrated his 41st birthday this summer. Mr. Vosalik studied law at the University of Prague and then joined the government in 1986 as an officer in the foreign exchange department. Four years later, he joined Czechoslovakia's federal ministry of foreign affairs as an inspection officer and director. In 1993, he became general inspection director and director-general of the legal and consular section at the Czech Republic's ministry of foreign affairs.

Between 1997 and 2001, he was ambassador to South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Mauritius, Lesotho and Swaziland. Prior to coming to Canada, he served as deputy minister of foreign affairs for multilateral relations.

Mr. Vosalik is married to Magdalena Vosalikova. They have one daughter.

Mahmoud El-Saeed
Ambassador of Egypt

Mr. El-Saeed joined the ministry of foreign affairs in Cairo in 1968 as a second-secretary. Since then, he has held postings at Egypt's permanent mission to the United Nations in New York, and as ambassador to Pakistan. He's held several positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Cairo. He's served as director of the department of international cooperation, and, most recently, as assistant minister for American affairs.

Mr. El-Saeed has a PhD in political science from the University of New York. He speaks Arabic, English, French, and Russian. He arrived in Canada with his two daughters and his wife.

Daniel Jouanneau
Ambassador of France

Mr. Jouanneau's arrival in Canada marks the first time a former Quebec-based diplomat has returned in the role of ambassador. The career diplomat served as consul-general in Quebec from 1987 to 1989. Prior to that appointment, he'd held postings in Egypt, Zimbabwe and Guinea as well as several positions in France. Since then, he's served as ambassador to Mozambique, with non-resident accreditation to Lesotho and Swaziland, as well as ambassador to Lebanon. From 1993 to 1997, he served as France's chief of protocol and the inspector general of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Jouanneau, was born in 1946 in Vendôme, studied politics and has a masters degree in law. He's married to Odile Jouanneau They have one daughter.

Joseph Obiang-Ndoutoume
Ambassador of Gabon

Mr. Ndoutoume is a career diplomat who joined the foreign service 30 years ago as director of the department of foreign affairs' political division. He held several posts during his first five years in the civil service and in 1979, he was appointed as consul general to Equatorial Guinea where he stayed for a decade. From 1990-94, he served as ambassador to Nigeria and for the following 10 years, he was ambassador to China and South Korea. From there, he came to Canada.

Mr. Obiang-Ndoutoume studied at the University Oman Bongo de Libreville and the National Administration School. He was born in 1951 and is married with several children.

Alan Baker
Ambassador of Israel

Before his appointment as Israel's ambassador to Canada, Mr. Baker spent eight years serving as legal adviser to his country's ministry of foreign affairs. He was involved in the Middle East Peace Process. For the past 30 years, he's helped negotiate and draft peace treaties and agreements between Israel and Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and the Palestinians. He has represented his country on numerous international committees involved in establishing the International Criminal Court. Between 1985 and 1988, he was seconded to the UN in New York as a member of the legal division. Mr. Baker has a law degree and a masters of law with specialization in international relations. He was born in Leeds, U.K. in 1947 and emigrated to Israel 22 years later. He is married with three children.

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ARMENIA
Mikhayil Vardanian, *Counsellor*

AUSTRALIA
Dean Hogarth, *First Secretary*
Caroline Jane Linke, *First Secretary*

AUSTRIA
Maria Theresia Unger, *Third Secretary & Vice-Consul*
Sigurd Pacher, *Minister-Counsellor*
Matthias Radosztics, *Attaché*

CHINA
Xianglin Xu, *First Secretary & Consul*
Sanping Hou, *Second Secretary*
Xueqin Wang, *Second Secretary*
Wutong Liu, *Second Secretary*
Wei Shi, *First Secretary & Consul*
Xiaojun Wei, *Counsellor*
Zhehua Dai, *First Secretary*

CROATIA
Ante Barbir, *Minister & Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.*

CUBA
Arecia Ramos Garcia, *Attaché*
Carlos Ibarra Gomez, *Attaché*

CZECH REPUBLIC
Stanislav Benes, *Counsellor*

ECUADOR
Jose Anibal Revelo Cadena, *Military Attaché*

EGYPT
Mohamed El Said El Baz, *Third Secretary*
Amr Mahmoud Abbas, *Chargé d'Affaires*
Nasr Eldin Abdel Kader Mansour, *Attaché*

EUROPEAN UNION
Christopher John Otto Kendall, *First Secretary*

FRANCE
Jean-Baptiste Pierre R. Lesecq, *Second Counsellor*
Jean-Charles Allard, *First Secretary*
Gilles Huberson, *Second Counsellor*
Jean Sarrazin, *Counsellor*
Christian Guy Serge Dupouy, *Counsellor*

GABON
Venance Mbingt Abdoulaye, *Counsellor*

GEORGIA
Zurab Tinikashvili, *Counsellor & Consul*

GERMANY
Gerald Axel Moeller, *Defence Attaché*
Clara Gisela Heidi Duske, *Attaché*
L. Christian Rumplecker, *First Secretary*
Birgit Gillissen, *Attaché*

HOLY SEE
Michael Francis Crotty, *First Secretary*

HUNGARY
Janos Varga, Defence, *Military & Air Attaché*
Ferenc Gabor Banyai, *Counsellor*

INDONESIA
Trisari Dyah Paramita, *Third Secretary*

IRAN
Alireza Sabzali, *Second Counsellor*

ITALY
Orazio De Minicis
Defence, Military, Naval & Air Attaché

JAMAICA
Viola Felicia Walton,
Attaché

JAPAN
Kaoru Kusuda, *Minister & Deputy Head of Mission*
Naoko Uchida,
Second Secretary
Hiroyuki Uchida,
First Secretary

KAZAKHSTAN
Samat Zhanabay,
Second Secretary

KOREA, REPUBLIC
Rak Gi Lee, *Defence Attaché*
Gi Soo Ryu, *Counsellor*
Sung Wook Moon,
First Secretary

LIBYA
Abdrazag S. Ghafar,
Attaché
Mohamed N.M. El-Attug, *Counsellor*

MALAYSIA
Suzilah Mohd Sidek,
Second Secretary

MEXICO
Carlos Gustavo Obrador Garrido,
First Secretary

NETHERLANDS
Saskia Elisabeth De Lang, *Minister & Deputy Head of Mission*

PAKISTAN
Najm Us Saqib,
Counsellor
Saqlain Asad,
Second Secretary

PHILIPPINES
Alvar Estraza Rosales,
Attaché

POLAND
Marcin Szymanski,
Second Secretary
Bozena Serzysko,
Third Secretary

RUSSIA
Konstantin Gusev,
Second Secretary
Nadezda Obukhova,
Attaché
Alexander Komarov,
Counsellor

RWANDA
Déo Nkusi, *First Counsellor & Chargé d'Affaires*

SAUDI ARABIA
Obaid Mohammed Ahmad Basahih, *Attaché*
Eyad Ghazi S. Hakeem,
Second Secretary
Abdullah Saleh Al Awwad, *Counsellor*

SOUTH AFRICA
Nowetu Ethel Luti,
Counsellor
Christina Louisa Britz,
First Secretary

SUDAN
Adil Yousif Omer Banaga, *Minister & Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.*
Imadel Din Mohamed Atiatalla, *Attaché*

SWITZERLAND
Yannick Yvan Roulin,
Attaché
Jean Philippe Praz,
Second Secretary

SYRIA
Mahmoud Obeid,
Attaché
Majd Khirbik, *Attaché*

TANZANIA
Richard Tibandebage,
Minister

TURKEY
Levent Gurcan, *Attaché*

UGANDA
Benedict Lawrence Lukwiya, *Counsellor*

UNITED KINGDOM
David Greig Masson,
First Secretary
George Edmund Pearse Norris, *Second Secretary*

U.S.A.
Patricia Ann Lieberman,
Attaché
David Matthew Shemenski, *First Secretary*
Keith Powell, *Minister-Counsellor*
Keith Wayne Mines,
First Secretary
Thomas Kalina,
Second Secretary
Timothy Edward Roddy,
Minister-Counsellor
John Shields Dickson,
Minister
William Franklin Van Pilsum, *Second Secretary*
Margaret Helen Henoch,
First Secretary
Robert William Merrigan,
First Secretary

URUGUAY
Eduardo Gabriel Bouzout V., *Minister-Counsellor*

Canada's New Appointments

Nicholas Coghlan, Consul General in Cape Town, South Africa: Mr. Coghlan worked as a teacher in Argentina and British Columbia before spending four years sailing around the world. He joined External Affairs in 1991 and has served in Mexico City, Bogota, Khartoum and, since 2003, Cape Town.

Denis Comeau, Ambassador to Thailand: Mr. Comeau joined the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce in 1973 and has served in Cleveland, Paris, Berne, Jakarta, Singapore, Washington, Tokyo and as Ambassador in Seoul. He has concurrent accreditation to the Union of Myanmar.

Louis-Robert Daigle, High Commissioner to Mozambique: Mr. Daigle joined External Affairs in 1976 and has served in Port-au-Prince (twice), Brussels, Yaoundé, Dakar, Nairobi and Kigali.

Mario Laguë, Ambassador to Costa Rica: Following a career in the Quebec provincial government including in the Office of the Premier and in the Ministry of International Affairs, where he served as provincial delegate to Venezuela and Mexico, Mr. Laguë ran his own communications firm. Between stints in the Privy Council Office, he served as Deputy Chief of Staff – Communications in the Prime Minister's Office.

Louise R. Marchand, Ambassador to Cape Verde and High Commissioner Gambia: Ms. Marchand joined the Canadian International Development Agency in 1977 and served in Dar es Salaam and Islamabad.

John McNee, Ambassador to Luxembourg: Mr. McNee joined External Affairs in 1978 and served abroad in Madrid, London and Tel Aviv. From 1993 to 1997, he was ambassador to Syria.

The Days of Whine and Roses

Christina Spencer outlines two views of the past 15 years of Canadian diplomacy

On November 9, 1989, elated Germans danced atop the Berlin Wall. I have a shard of concrete from that ugly barrier, brought back by a friend who witnessed the joyful crunching of sledgehammers against cement and mortar. A scant four years earlier, when I reported from Europe, the wall and what it represented seemed impregnable.

But 1989 was a special time. Eastern European states opened their borders. At home, Canada and the United States welcomed free trade. Francis Fukuyama's essay "The End of History?" was published. And although the Chinese crackdown in Tiananmen Square reminded the world that Fukuyama's liberal thesis would not be easily realized, the image of a lone protester blocking a line of tanks in Beijing encouraged hope. The Cold War was abating.

Diplomat magazine was also born that year. This proved a happy coincidence: By 1989, global diplomacy promised to be about more than East versus West, communism versus capitalism. The number of nation-states was set to explode. International organizations such as the United Nations were poised to assume new importance. And perhaps, just perhaps, a modest, amiable nation called Canada would find its place in the sun.

Has it? Today, 15 years later, *Diplomat* asks retrospectively: How brightly has Canada shone on the international stage? Was the last decade-and-a-half a time when the country counted? Have Canadians made a significant impact on international diplomacy? Not surprisingly, there are differing viewpoints.

Let's call them the "glass-half-empty" and "glass-half-full" schools. In the parlance of the foreign policy community, they're known as the "declinists" and the "optimists."

Photo: Janet Crawford

Twenty years ago the Berlin Wall seemed impregnable. Five years later, it came down.

To judge how Canada has performed over 15 years in world diplomacy, let's take a few sips from both glasses (being mindful not to drain them). We'll start with the one that's half-empty.

Two scenarios. In the first, an American diplomat tells a closed meeting of the UN Security Council in August, 1990, that following Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, the United States intends to undertake a naval blockade of Iraq. The Americans invoke Article 51 of the UN Charter to justify this military action.

Canada's UN ambassador, Yves Fortier, begs to differ. Article 51, he argues, permits unilateral acts only until the UN itself takes action, and the UN has already passed several resolutions. The U.S. should not proceed without Security Council approval, he suggests, adding that he is confident it will be forthcoming.

The Americans are livid. Their representative storms out of the room, telling the Canadian, "I hope you know what you've done!" Yet, days later, the Americans propose a naval blockade of Iraq to the Security Council, just as Ambassador Fortier suggested. And the council approves it.

Cut to the second scenario, Gulf War 2003. Canada isn't on the

Security Council, but its respected UN ambassador, Paul Heinbecker, still searches valiantly for a compromise that will head off the looming unilateral invasion of Iraq. This time, the Canadian ambassador is brushed aside by the Americans. The U.S. gets no UN endorsement; the subsequent Iraq war divides the world. Canadian diplomacy has failed to knit a compromise when it counted.

Admittedly, comparing the two scenarios is simplistic: the administrations of George Bush Sr. and George Bush Jr. were very different in character, and Canada was hardly to blame if the latter wouldn't heed his friends. But in diplomacy, symbolism counts. Back then, they listened to Canadians. Today, they don't.

It's not just the Americans. Journalist Graham Green, who was first secretary at Canada's UN mission and alternate representative to the Security Council during the Fortier days, recalls Brian Mulroney's 1991 plea to the UN for intervention in Yugoslavia. The prime minister grabbed attention by offering 2,500 troops for any UN peacekeeping force established. He won both respect and UN action. In contrast, this past September another Canadian prime minister, Paul Martin, pleaded for humanitarian intervention in Sudan. He offered no troops. He got little attention.

Many experts, declinist or not, note that Canada's loss of status on the world stage – if indeed one concedes the point – is not entirely Canada's fault. "With the end of the Cold War, our place in world affairs became unhinged," says Robert Bothwell, a professor of history and director of the international relations program at the University of Toronto. China rose as a serious power, Brazil and India began to make a mark on the world economy. European integration moved from dream to reality. Globalization, the rise of information technology, the turbulence within Islam – all of these phenomena altered the landscape.

As Daryl Copeland, a foreign service officer and analyst, concludes in the current Canadian Foreign Policy, "it's wild out there … there has been more change swirling around us over the past 15 years than there was in the previous 60." Any nation would have trouble adapting.

But even if Canada's decline was only relative, it was morally deflating. Here is some of the evidence with which the glass-half-empty school washes down the point:

The Fall of the Foreign Service

International perturbations aside, Canada was too weak domestically to seize the diplomatic opportunities of the 1990s. The federal deficit had ballooned; the debt loomed like a dirigible. With federal departments facing "program review," Foreign Affairs lost about one-quarter of its budget and 13 per cent of its staff, writes Andrew Cohen in his "declinist" book, *While Canada Slept*.

In 2000, meanwhile, Mr. Bothwell told an *Ottawa Citizen* reporter that the foreign service was "dumb and getting dumber." It wasn't necessarily a shot at individuals plying the trade, but at the number of talented diplomats who were leaving because of low pay and lousy conditions. "I got the impression that more of the people who survived were time-servers," he says today. "Some were very good, still are, but they are increasingly less rewarded." The loss of young people became a problem too. "In some years, 20 to 50 per cent are leaving (the foreign service) after just one posting," Mr. Copeland writes.

Other structural issues exaggerated the problem: the tendency to shift foreign service officers to federal jobs elsewhere; the involvement of so many federal departments, from finance to health to justice, in foreign affairs; and the focusing of the policy-making function in the Prime Minister's Office. This year, responsibility for trade was hacksawed from Foreign Affairs Canada. All these things reduce the sense of Canada's diplomatic service as an elite profession. It threatens to become "just another department," warns John English, a professor of history at the University of Waterloo.

Mushy multilateralism

Canada likes to join international organizations – it's a good way to assert influence – but can't always follow through. After all, being part of global clubs, just like being part of country clubs, is pricey. Holding a G-8 summit, for instance, can run the host government several hundred million dollars. Not that we don't benefit from that particular organization; other middle powers wilt with envy at Canada's G-8 status. But the country suffers from multilateral overstretch. Robert Bothwell sums it up: "Champagne appetite, beer budget."

Sticking it to the States

Aaah, the Americans … Can Canada do anything right on this file in the eyes of the declinists? It once did. Canada negotiated a bilateral free trade agreement, then a North American trade accord, that have helped bolster the country's economy and strengthen its relationship with the United States. Brian Mulroney established effective ties with both Ronald Reagan and George Bush Sr.

Anti-landmine crusader Jody Williams and Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy celebrate the signing of an international treaty to ban landmines in 1997. Canada's work is considered a diplomatic triumph.

The favours were mutual. In 1995, President Bill Clinton took the diplomatically unusual step of helping Jean Chrétien with Quebec, by endorsing national unity during an Ottawa visit. Mr. Clinton's secretary of state reiterated American preference for a united Canada just weeks before the October referendum.

But this diplomatic back-scratching turned to cat-clawing as the 1990s progressed. In 2000, Raymond Chrétien, the prime minister's nephew and ambassador to Washington, opined that Canada might do better with Al Gore as president than with George Bush. The softwood lumber dispute sawed on. The mad-cow crisis left even western farmers annoyed at America.

Then there were the cheap insults that Chrétien's MPs hurled at the Bush administration during the Iraq-war debate. They ought not to have mattered in the grander scheme of global diplomacy but they probably did, says Mr. Bothwell, because of Mr. Bush Jr.'s "vindictive" nature. Could anything have eased Canada's relations with the Bush neo-conservatives? "Even if we sent Mike Harris (former Ontario Premier) down as our ambassador, it wouldn't matter," he says.

The declinists have much more to lament – after all, hollowed-out defence forces and dwindling foreign aid are a big part of what makes them mope – but at least we now have a flavour of what they're drinking. What sort of cocktail do the optimists, the glass-half-full groupies of Canadian diplomacy, have to offer?

Again, two scenarios. In the first, Canada's fisheries minister, Brian Tobin, holds a press conference on a barge in New York's East River in March 1995, where he denounces overfishing by Spain on the high seas. Mr. Tobin has sparked anger from the Spaniards and the European Union after ordering the arrest of the trawler Estai just outside Canada's 200-mile limit.

Gazing toward the United Nations building, Mr. Tobin intones: "We're down finally to one lost, lonely, unloved, unattractive little turbot, clinging by its fingernails to the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, saying 'Someone reach out and save me in this 11th hour.'" He shows the

assembled media some tiny fish and the illegally sized net the Estai used to catch them. It's pure melodrama, of course.

But Mr. Tobin's public diplomacy scores a major victory in the fight to preserve shrinking fishing stocks. He has broken a logjam at the UN, which proceeds to reach a major agreement on so-called "straddling" fish stocks and migratory species. A nation of modest naval means has stared down the EU. Professor John Kirton, a political scientist at the University of Toronto and director of the G-8 research group, calls it "a landmark achievement in global environmental governance."

In the second scenario, it is November 3, 1997. Newspapers splash on their front pages a photograph of anti-landmine crusader Jody Williams, hugging other activists while Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy and Prime Minister Chrétien beam in the background. They've just detonated 100 anti-personnel landmines at the Connaught Range on the outskirts of Ottawa. The international treaty to ban these deadly weapons is about to be signed by 120 countries at an Ottawa ceremony.

A diplomatic triumph for Mr. Axworthy? Absolutely, says Mr. Kirton. The landmine treaty was a genuine leap forward in international weapons control. "No other Canadian minister has produced a real arms control agreement."

So the "optimist" school has evidence to offer that Canada is very influential 15 years after the end of the Cold War. Here's a taste:

Selling soft power

The term is detested by traditional hard-power advocates, who believe a country only gets its way in the world if it has a robust military. Yet soft power, (defined as the ability to get other nations to want what you want) was the philosophy behind the anti-personnel landmine ban; the creation of the International Criminal Court; Canadian-backed initiatives to ameliorate the conditions of women and children during war; and the drive to make more AIDS-busting drugs available at affordable cost to Africa.

Key people in key jobs

If Canada's foreign service is in decline, it hasn't been particularly noticed at the international level. Observes Mr. Bothwell, "We're taken seriously in international organizations because of the quality of our diplomats … we're taken seriously in any organization or context where intelligence and experience can be brought to bear." Doubtless that's why Canadians hold such a disproportionate number of influential positions in global governing organizations such as the UN.

It's not just internationally, adds John Kirton. He points to a cadre of senior foreign affairs experts on the job in Ottawa today. "I'd put them up against any configuration of (Lester) Person's generation," he says. Wistful references by the declinists to an earlier "Golden Age" in Canadian diplomacy are, he adds, "intellectual ancestor worship."

Governing the globe

While Canada supports UN reform, it has also proposed cutting-edge ways of co-ordinating global organizations. For the landmine treaty and the criminal court, Canada skillfully exploited the power of non-governmental groups. The Canadian-initiated humanitarian report The Responsibility to Protect challenges how the world maintains state sovereignty in the face of human disaster. An international network to help protect national culture against trade pressures was spearheaded by Heritage Minister Sheila Copps. "If even Sheila Copps can make a contribution to a new generation of global governance, we must be on a roll," laughs Mr. Kirton.

Finally, there is Paul Martin's proposal to turn the G-20 group of finance ministers into an "L-20": an influential institution of leaders from both North and South. It could change the way major world organizations do their work. Enthuses Mr. Kirton: "He could well pull it off; there's good momentum there."

Half-empty or half-full? Declining or ascendant? In the end, measuring the success of Canada's diplomacy starts with judging the foreign policy goals of the government. In 1995, it identified three: the promotion of prosperity and employment; the protection of security; and the projection abroad of Canadian values and culture. Soon, we are told, there will be a new plan, a fresh set of standards by which to gauge the efforts of Canada's diplomatic service.

At this point, advice from a veteran may be in order. Thomas Delworth is a former Canadian ambassador to Indonesia, the CSCE, Hungary, Sweden, Germany and – well, just about everywhere. He is a former provost of the University of Toronto's Trinity College, and a senior fellow at Massey College across the street. Hand-wringing about whether Canada's influence has ebbed or flowed is "a peculiarly Canadian fixation," he says. "Do they ask it in Denmark or Peru? Or France?"

Canada's task in the world, professor Delworth asserts, is relatively straight-forward: to survive, to protect itself and "to flourish if we can." Grandiose plans and strategies (and presumably debates about our stature) are somewhat distracting.

In other words, we don't need to go about tearing down walls, as the Germans bravely did in 1989. Our strength, in the end, is that we don't build them in the first place.

Christina Spencer, *former editorial pages editor of the* Ottawa Citizen, *is a 2004 Africa Fellowship winner from the Canadian Association of Journalists and CIDA. She is completing an MA at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs.*

The Diplomatic Dance: A Canadian Chronology since 1989

January 1989: The Canada-U.S. Free trade Agreement takes effect.

June 1989: The Chinese government cracks down on protesters in Tiananmen Square. Canada and other nations respond with limited sanctions.

October 1989: Canada joins the Organization of American States.

December 1989: Canadians Christine Lamont and David Spencer are among those charged in the sensational abduction of a Brazilian super-market magnate. Their conviction and the public campaign to free them spark a diplomatic row.

June 1990: Nelson Mandela, newly freed from prison in South Africa, visits Ottawa to thank Canadians for leading the Commonwealth in the anti-apartheid struggle.

January 1991: A U.S.-led coalition, including Canada, goes to war with Iraq over its invasion of Kuwait the previous summer.

March 1991: Mohamed Al-Mashat, former Iraqi ambassador to Washington, is secretly granted landed immigrant status in Canada, sparking public uproar. The Conservative government deflects blame toward senior foreign affairs officials, including Raymond Chrétien, nephew of Jean Chrétien.

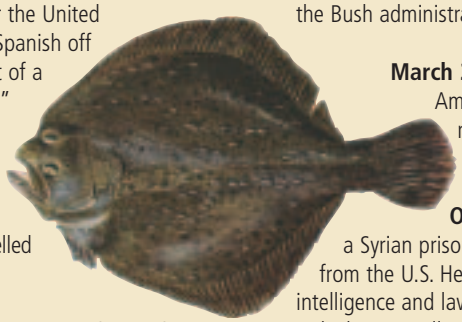
April 1993: Several members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment at a peacekeeping base in Belet Huen, Somalia, are arrested in the torture and death of a 16-year-old Somali, Shidane Arone.

January 1994: The North American Free Trade Agreement takes effect.

April 1994: Canadian Major-General Roméo Dallaire begs the world to stop the genocide in Rwanda. Canada, among other nations, rejects any strong troop commitment.

February 1995: On a trip to Ottawa, U.S. President Bill Clinton indicates his backing for a united Canada. When the referendum on Quebec's future is held later that year, the U.S. reiterates its disapproval of separatism.

March 1995: Federal Fisheries Minister Brian Tobin tries public diplomacy from a barge in the East River near the United Nations, where he decries overfishing by the Spanish off the Grand Banks and defends Canada's arrest of a Spanish trawler in the so-called "Turbot Wars."



Turbot

November 1996: Canada musters diplomatic support for a rescue mission of hundreds of thousands of Rwandan Hutus stranded in eastern Congo. The mission is cancelled when the refugees return home on their own.

December 1996: Canada's ambassador to Peru, Tony Vincent, is among those kidnapped by Tupac Ameru rebels during a party at the Japanese embassy in Lima. He is quickly named by the rebels and government as a credible mediator. The standoff continues for months however, ending in a raid in which all the hostage-takers are killed and one civilian dies. Mr. Vincent, one of the fall guys in the Al-Mashat affair years earlier, is praised for his role.

December 1997: The international treaty banning anti-personnel landmines, a campaign strongly backed by Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy, is signed in Ottawa.

October 1997: Canada's ambassador to Mexico, Marc Perron, resigns his post after telling a magazine interviewer that corruption in that country "makes you want to cry."

July 1998: The statute creating an international criminal court is signed in Rome. Participants credit Canadian diplomat Philippe Kirsch for the success of the often-rocky negotiations.

April 1999: Canada joins the NATO military campaign against Yugoslavia for its actions in Kosovo.

May 2000: Canada's ambassador to Washington, Raymond Chrétien, says Canada would be more comfortable with Al Gore as president than with George Bush Jr.

January 2001: A drunk-driving Russian diplomat, Andrei Knyazev, kills Ottawa resident Catherine MacLean and seriously injures her friend, Catherine Doré. The incident leads Foreign Minister John Manley to announce a tough crackdown on diplomats who drive over the limit. Knyazev eventually stands trial in Russia.

October 2001: Air strikes begin in the U.S.-led mission to invade Afghanistan and topple the Taliban government after the terrorist attacks against the United States on Sept. 11.

January 2002: Public Works Minister Alfonso Gagliano, plagued by accusations of meddling in government contracts, is named ambassador to\ Denmark.

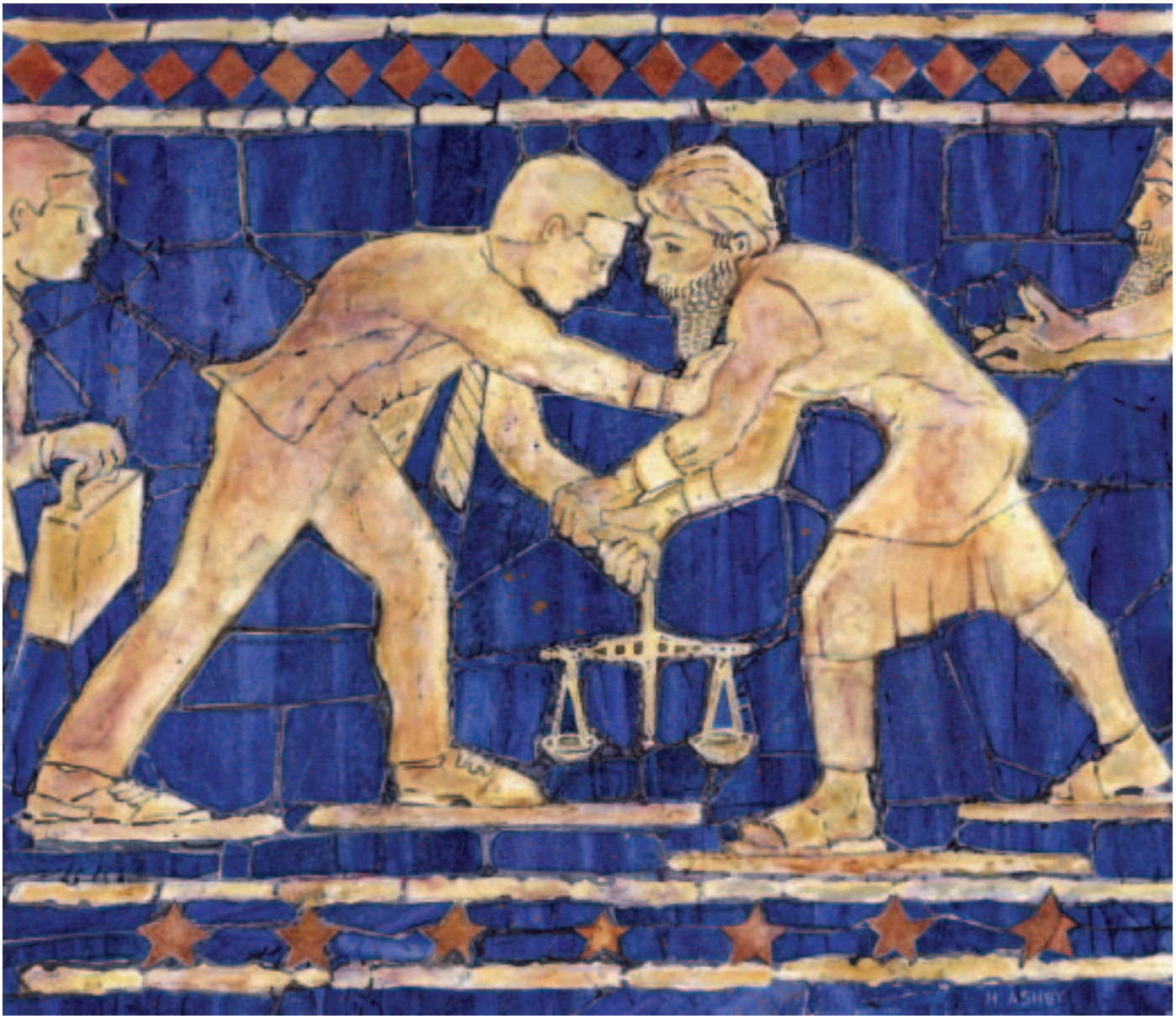
June 2002: The G-8 countries, gathered for a summit in Kananaskis, Alberta, pledge $6 billion for poverty alleviation in Africa, a cause for which Prime Minister Chrétien has energetically campaigned.

February 2003: Canada says it will not join the United States in the war on Iraq. The refusal comes amid rancor over the decidedly undiplomatic language some Liberal MPs and a prime ministerial aide have directed at the Bush administration.

March 2003: Paul Cellucci, U.S. ambassador to Canada, says Americans are "disappointed" and "upset" by Canada's refusal to join the Iraq invasion. "We would be there for Canada" if it ever faced a security threat, he says.

October 2003: Canadian Maher Arar is released from a Syrian prison where he says he was tortured after being deported from the U.S. He demands a public inquiry into the role Canadian intelligence and law-enforcement agencies may have played in his ordeal. Eventually, an inquiry is set up, although it quickly goes behind closed doors.

July 2004: Canada recalls its ambassador from Iran after the government in Tehran holds a sham trial into the beating death of a Canadian woman, Zahra Kazemi, in an Iranian prison.



The New Struggle for Democracy

Thanks largely to U.S. enthusiasm, democracy has become a hot issue in the Mid-East

By George Abraham

Democracy's finest hour may yet happen in the Middle East. Long a bastion of head-in-the-sand governance, the region could be coming around thanks largely to the fall of Saddam Hussein. Some of the world's most durable leaders are now reconciled to the inevitability of change, helped along by the western realization that democratic rulers make better allies than despots.

Having missed the great bus of democracy that swept through large tracts of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the latter part of the 20th century, the Middle East has consistently rebuffed the idea of change in that direction. It has been the most recent test for a campaign that began with President Woodrow Wilson's lofty goal of making the world safe for democracy nearly a century ago.

Clearly, George W. Bush sees himself in the Wilsonian tradition, committing his nation's diplomatic arsenal to secure peace through democracy. The invasion of Iraq is controversial even in the United States, but it has also spawned a broader coalition that includes Canada, engaged in the hard task of sowing civic empowerment in the hearts and minds of people across the wider region.

The State Department now terms the process of democratization a "central pillar" and America's "greatest legacy," a prism through which every other issue concerning the Middle East is judged. This explains why Washington is staying the course both militarily and rhetorically, despite the bloodletting in Iraq.

Mr. Bush told the Republican convention in New York on Sept. 2, "I believe that millions in the Middle East plead in silence for their liberty. I believe that given the chance they will embrace the most honourable form of government ever devised by man." The assertion was a classical Bush truism, audacious since there is no evidence to suggest that a majority of the people of region are yearning for democracy. If this were true, change would have come by now.

In the words of Tom Lippman, who was the Washington Post's Middle East bureau chief for many years, "We are going through a phase when all the worst, most fascistic tendencies within Islam are ascendant. Those tendencies are by definition anti-democratic."

U.S. unease with the region's political order goes back at least a generation. Mr. Lippman's *Inside the Mirage*, for instance, cites a 1962 cable from then secretary of state Dean Rusk to the U.S. ambassador in Saudi Arabia. The instructions are blunt: The ambassador was to tell Prince Faisal that Washington's continued support for the Al-Sauds was contingent on political reform. While the Bush administration sees reforming governance as an antidote to the radical ideologies in the region, diplomats with knowledge of Arab politics fear that "democracy has become a kind of code for American imperialism."

A former Canadian ambassador to Egypt, Jordan and Israel, Michael Bell, author of the code quotation above, said this may be damaging both to democracy and to American interests. Fifty years ago, the U.S. had another calling – the defeat of communism. In the name of this struggle, a covert Anglo-American operation ousted Iranian prime minister Mohammad Mossadegh, the best democrat the region ever produced, stymieing any movement toward liberal regimes. Mr. Mossadegh, deposed in August 1953 after he nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., gave way to despotic rule by the Shah, who in turn was forced to flee by the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

Diplomats fear that "democracy has become a kind of code for American imperialism"

In *All the Shah's Men*, New York Times reporter Stephen Kinzer observed, "Operation Ajax (the CIA codename) taught tyrants and aspiring tyrants there that the world's most powerful governments were willing to tolerate limitless oppression as long as oppressive regimes were friendly to the West and to western oil companies. That helped tilt the political balance in a vast region away from freedom toward dictatorship." This toleration prevailed for much of the 20th century.

Recent U.S. ambassadors in the Middle East confirm that geopolitics trumped democracy until Mr. Bush changed the terms of reference. According to Michael Sterner, a former ambassador to the United Arab Emirates who is now a member of the board of governors at the Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C., these factors included oil, the Arab-Israeli peace talks, the need for forward bases, and more recently, the hunt for Al-Qaeda. In the eyes of critics, the Iraq invasion is yet another attempt to corner oil reserves.

"While our political leaders have at times drifted toward one kind of 'thesis' or another about Middle East affairs, for the thoughtful

About Our Illustration

Diplomat's contributing artist, Hilary Ashby took her inspiration from the frieze, *The Royal Standard of Ur,* which was found in a Sumarian tomb. The wrestlers were inspired by a classical greek frieze. The figures are generic, but the wrestler on the right looks like Sargon, a Mesopotamian king who lived in 2350 BC.

The D-count

The word "democracy" has become one of George Bush's favourites. Our reporter counted the number of times the nine-letter term appeared in his major (non-election) addresses over the past four years.

Date	Address	D-Count
Sept. 21, 2004	UN General Assembly	12
Sept. 2, 2004	Republican Convention, New York	07
May 24, 2004	Iraq Transition, Pennsylvania	08
Jan. 20, 2004	State of the Union	05
Sept. 23, 2003	UN General Assembly	06
Sept. 7, 2003	Address to the Nation	04
May 1, 2003	End of Iraq Combat Operations	01
Mar. 19, 2003	Launch of Operation Iraqi Freedom	0
Jan. 29, 2002	State of the Union	0
Aug. 3, 2000	Republican Convention, Philadelphia	0

Compiled by George Abraham

professional it has always been about striking a pragmatic balance between our many, sometimes conflicting, interests in that area," Mr. Sterner said from Washington. Another former U.S. ambassador to the region, Patrick Theros, said in the late 1990s, the accent was on "maintaining relations with the established order and a very low emphasis on democratization." Mr. Theros was ambassador to Qatar and witnessed some momentous changes – including the Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani providing seed capital for Al Jazeera in 1996 – and he views reforms as a largely domestic process.

Like his colleagues when he was on the job, Mr. Theros was not willing to sermonize about democracy without explicit instructions home. However, he said public perception in Qatar and the rest of the region was very different. Qataris were convinced that changes were a quid pro quo with the U.S. in return for security guarantees. In an interview with *Diplomat*, Mr. Theros said the speculation was only half right. "It was a Qatari initiative as part of an overall strategy to get close to the United States, and also as a self-defence progressive move to accommodate the inevitable arrival of democracy, perhaps in some form not so good for Qatar."

In recent years, Bahrain, Kuwait, Jordan, Yemen and Lebanon have also taken baby steps toward democracy. All of them now have elected national assemblies, but they are weak, often mere rubber stamps for the real leaders. Thanks largely to Washington's enthusiasm, democracy has become a hot issue in the Middle East. Take for example events at the Tunis Arab League meeting in May. Its joint declaration included a paragraph which said member states should, "Endeavour … to pursue reform and modernization in our countries, and to keep pace with the rapid world changes, by consolidating the democratic practice, by enlarging participation in political and public life, by fostering the role of all components of the civil society, including NGOs, in conceiving of the guidelines of the society of tomorrow, by widening women's participation in the political, economic, social, cultural and educational fields and reinforcing their rights and status in society …"

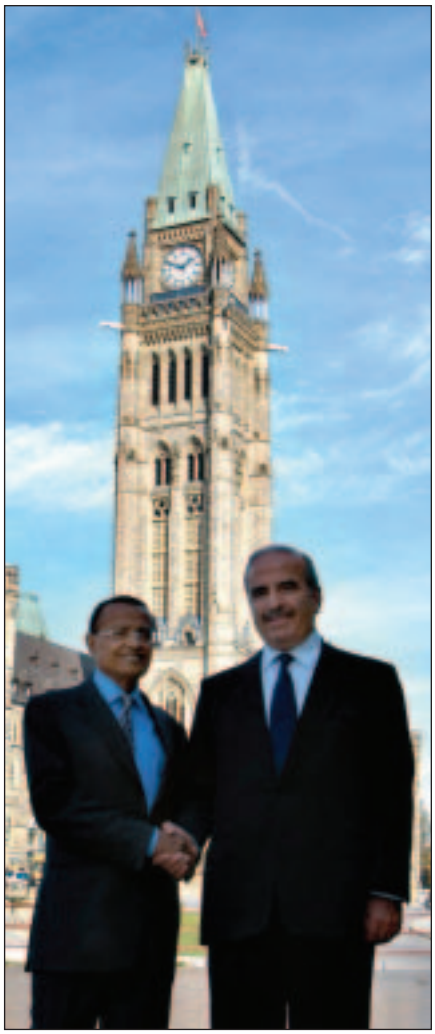


Photo: Sam Garcia

"Democracy cannot be a ready-made pill," Jordanian Ambassador Fouad Ayoub says. His colleague, Yemeni Ambassador Abdulla Nasher, agrees.

Canada has been part of the effort to export democracy. Ottawa "facilitated" contacts between Canadian political parties and their counterparts in post-Franco Spain in the mid-1970s and played a role in South Africa to end apartheid. It was Canada that virtually invented the notion of human security – the revolutionary idea that national sovereignty is not sacrosanct and can be violated by foreign powers if they are operating to protect citizens exposed to the ravages of their own governments.

Fortunately for the U.S., the more progressive regimes in the region generally see the country operating this way, although they wish Washington was less shrill about it. "Democracy cannot be a ready-made pill, but has to be homegrown, incorporating the historical, social and political realities of the region," said Jordan's ambassador, Fouad Ayoub. His Yemeni counterpart, Abdulla Nasher, said, "When the people of any country and their government feel that such a prescription is timely and good for them and their future generations, democracy and what follows, like good governance, will evolve naturally and will develop and flourish in a very normal way."

While few of Saddam Hussein's fellow leaders are commiserating with him, there has been no rash of abdications either. Though Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi dropped his weapons programs, he has shown no interest in ending his 34-year rule. The region's leaders, by and large, remain mired in the past, even as democracies clamour for them to introduce universal suffrage, regular elections and term limits. Arab ambassadors in Ottawa recognize that the U.S. action in Iraq has created an opening, offering for the first time the prospect of a fully democratic Arab nation.

But there are pitfalls. Brian Buckley, a former senior Canadian diplomat who teaches foreign policy at Carleton University, described an inverse relation between the American footprint in Iraq and the prospects for democracy. The army of occupation, he said, provides a sharp contrast to the kind of values that are being promoted by U.S. public diplomacy.

Despite this argument, project democracy is awake, mostly at the micro-level. The U.S. State Department is pouring in millions in funding through its Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour and the Middle East Partnership Initiative. The bureau, begun in 1976, has programs in virtually every Middle East nation, supplemented by money from the

partnership – $129 million since its founding in December 2002, and a further $145 million this year. Nations including Canada are stepping up to the plate, despite their opposition to the invasion.

Mark Bailey, Foreign Affairs Canada's director-general of the Middle East and North Africa bureau, recently identified "regional democratic development" as one of five priorities, adding that Canada will increase funding to take advantage of "new opportunities to promote reform." Canada sees Iraq as crucial for this experiment. "[T]here is a great opportunity to establish institutions of democratic governance, and to put Iraq on course towards a stable, prosperous, and democratic future," Mr. Bailey told the National Council for Canada-Arab Relations this summer.

Canada has yet to announce specific projects that take advantage of this unusual moment in the Middle East, but a spokesperson for the Canadian International Development Agency said the agency is scouting the region for democratic development and good governance projects. They would be on top of the investments already made by CIDA mainly in Iraq and the Palestinian territories.

Canada is providing $20 million to the UN to support Iraqi elections slated for January as well as $10 million and 20 police instructors to an academy in Jordan training Iraqi officers; along with security, they are taught about democratic principles and human rights. The agency also funded a Canadian Parliamentary Centre project in Jordan, Morocco, Yemen, Lebanon and the Palestinian territories to tell Arab parliamentarians how Canada tackles democratic policy-making.

Arab ambassadors in Ottawa argue the ground is fertile for democracy, but some observers warn that U.S. cheerleading is counter-productive. Maher Abdullah, an Al Jazeera anchor, said in an interview from Doha that, "anything the Americans want is rejected out of hand."

But, increasingly, what the U.S. wants is also what Canada wants – a democratic Middle East. Ottawa's spending is modest (under $4 million) and its efforts nuanced and consensual, focused on raising awareness about civic rights and responsibilities. The Americans are heavily invested in public diplomacy and projects that cut a vast swath across the Middle East through programs administered by U.S. embassies or NGOs.

The megaphone approach, Hubert Védrine would say, is typical for a "hyperpower." For more temperate powers such as Canada, the former French foreign minister would reiterate advice he first gave at a June 2000 Community of Democracies conference in Warsaw: "Democracy is not like a religion that lends itself to converts, but rather a process of evolution that involves long maturing processes within nations on such matters as economics, the collective state of mind, and in the end, politics."

George Abraham, *a Nieman scholar and Carleton University graduate, writes on foreign affairs from Ottawa.*

Encouraging Democracy the Canadian Way

Robert Miller

When we think of the Middle East, the subjects of parliaments and the World Trade Organization are not the first things that come to mind. Instead, our heads fill with images of conflict and suffering. However, it is time to notice another reality: The political discourse in the region is changing. As indicated by the 2003 United Nations Human Development Report, Arab decision-makers are beginning to recognize that governance will have to improve if they are to achieve economic and social progress. That, in turn, brings us back to parliaments and the WTO.

The Parliamentary Centre, funded by the Canadian International Development Agency, has been working with parliaments and civil society organizations in the region to strengthen their role in overseeing international trade agreements, notably those of the WTO. This may sound dull but Middle Eastern countries must succeed in the global economy to create the jobs they need and reduce poverty. To ensure trade policy promotes the well-being of the majority, parliament has to play an active role.

That's where the Parliamentary Centre's program comes in. A Jordanian parliamentary delegation visited Canada in the late 1990s to study the role of the Canadian parliament in trade policy. They were surprised to discover that prior to Canada's accession to the WTO, the foreign affairs committee of the House of Commons travelled across the country to hear from Canadians, and then prepared a report for government. The Jordanians returned home determined to involve their own parliament in overseeing trade policy. Since then, parliamentarians from many Middle Eastern countries have come together to launch what's called the Arab Parliamentarians Network on WTO Issues.

The role of the Parliamentary Centre – a Canadian not-for-profit organization – is to facilitate and support the efforts of these Arab parliamentarians. The approach illustrates the Canadian way of strengthening democracy. We don't preach; we try not to be overbearing; we have few, if any, hidden agendas; and, we are relatively free of historical baggage. The decision by the Canadian government to sit out the Iraq war has strengthened our position. In general, we are seen as working in a balanced and fair way to support constructive change in the Middle East.

Some scholars would like us to adopt a more interventionist style in pressing for political change in the Middle East and elsewhere – something closer to the overtly political style of our American neighbours. Without debating the merits of that approach here, it is simply not the Canadian way. Over the past 20 years, the Canadian government and organizations such as the Parliamentary Centre have learned a lot about providing practical assistance to those working to reform and strengthen their own political institutions. We've learned that all peoples have their distinct history and culture that must be respected and cannot simply be swept aside. We've also discovered that the effectiveness of assistance rests on building trust, an asset that is slowly acquired but easily squandered. Still another lesson: No democracy (including Canada's) is so perfect as to justify holding it up as the model for all to emulate.

Canadians have earned trust by the modesty of the role they claim for themselves in supporting democracy abroad. That said, modesty can be carried too far. Many in the Middle East respect our approach but wish we would do more to support the struggle for democratic change. Canada has lessened its influence by neglecting the resources on which influence depends. The International Policy Review currently underway is an opportunity to confirm the Canadian approach to democratic development while also substantially increasing – and strengthening – Canadian efforts. This is an opportune time for Canadians to affirm that supporting democracy is an important national interest, as well as an expression of who we are and how we relate to the world.

Robert Miller *is executive director of the Parliamentary Centre.*

Mexico at the Crossroads

Some experts say Mexico is on the cusp of an economic explosion while others claim income disparity, security lapses and corruption will stymie that growth

Mexico is rapidly approaching full scale industrialization. It has the 11th largest gross domestic product, and last year, its exports of $165 billion and imports of $171 billion meant it became the eighth largest trading country. Mexican exports alone are higher than the GDP of countries such as Greece, Poland and New Zealand, while the country's imports are higher than all member countries in the Free Trade Area of Central Europe (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovenia). Mexican oil reserves are the fifth largest in the world and the country is a major supplier to the U.S.

Gurprit S. Kindra

In the 10 years since the implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), nearly 100 per cent of tariffs on industrial products and agricultural products have been removed, and duty-free goods produced within the region are more competitive worldwide. Last year, trade between Canada, Mexico, and the U.S. accounted for $626 billion – an increase of 117 per cent since 1993. During the same period, Mexico's trade with NAFTA members reached $259 billion – an increase of 186 per cent.

Canada and Mexico have increased their trade by 217 per cent since 1993.

By many accounts, Mexico is poised for a major economic transformation. Others contend that such predictions ignore its failure to diversify its trade. For example, last year 89 per cent of Mexico's total merchandise exports were destined for the U.S. Less than one per cent of total Mexican exports went to Central America and 3.4 per cent went to the EU. As well, after many years of dynamic growth, Canadian exports to Mexico have declined for the past two years. Last year, Mexico also registered major trade deficits with trading partners such as China, Chile, the EU, Israel, Argentina, Brazil, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Japan. Reports of corruption, income disparities, and security lapses on the U.S.-Mexico border add to the uncertainty of Mexico's future.

I sat down with Mexican ambassador Maria Teresa Garcia de Madero to discuss her country's trade vision and strategic direction.

GK: This is a special year for Mexico-Canada relations. It marks the 10th anniversary of NAFTA, and the 60th year of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries as well as the 30th anniversary of the establishment of Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program. How does it feel to be representing your country during this period?

MdM: The Fox government has a special relationship with Canada and having travelled the 10 provinces and the three territories, I can truly say that I understand and appreciate this country, and am truly honoured to be representing Mexico during this special year.

GK: Looking at the trade figures, it is clear NAFTA has not only benefited the three nations, but also set an excellent example for other aspiring countries. Where do you see NAFTA 10 years from now?

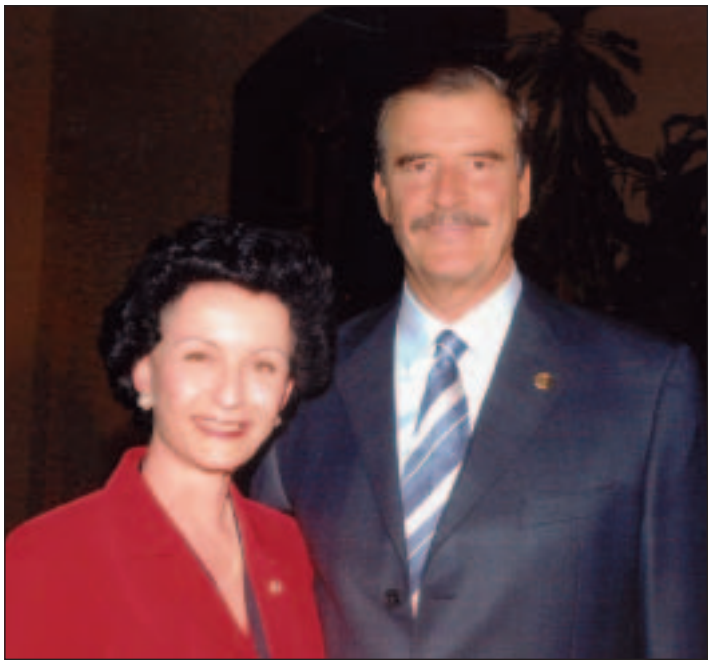
MdM: President Vicente Fox has been very specific on the need for a common vision of the future, since his very first visit to Canada. NAFTA has been extremely successful but in order to remain competitive before other emerging nations and blocks, we will need to focus on the future. In recognition of the need to address income disparities, President Fox has proposed initiatives like "NAFTA Plus" and, "Partnership for Prosperity." It is also essential that medium- and small-sized companies become more involved and get benefits from NAFTA. I believe that our region will have to become more integrated and coherent in terms of labour markets as well.

GK: What about Free Trade of the Americas? Does Mexico support it?

MdM: Mexico has been a very active supporter of free trade. As you might be aware, my country has the largest network of agreements signed in the world (12 free trade agreements with 33 countries). We have been very active facilitators regarding the process of negotiating an FTA of the Americas. Indeed, Mexico has even offered to host the FTA directorate.

GK: There is strong political pressure in the U.S. to curtail outsourcing to specialized, low-cost countries like China, India, and Mexico. Will Mexico and Canada will prevail upon the U.S. to continue the liberalization of trade in the hemisphere?

MdM: We need to continue the liberalization process and strengthen the work done within the World Trade Organization. There has always been pressure from different groups opposed to free trade. Therefore, I think one of our main challenges is to prove to these groups that free trade is beneficial to all.



Mexican Ambassador Maria Teresa Garcia de Madero hosted President Vicente Fox who visited Ottawa Oct. 24-26.

GK: The U.S is interested in reducing its dependence on Mid-Eastern oil, and Mexico holds the world's fifth largest oil reserve. Does your country support a Continental Energy Policy? Is Mexico interested in exporting more oil to the U.S.?

MdM: After the 2001 Quebec City Summit of the Americas, Mexico, the U.S. and Canada established a North American Energy Working Group in which a more integrated approach to different issues related to energy was discussed. Industrial production and growth are certainly related to energy policies. However, as for the future of oil exports, I believe that conditions in the international markets and other factors will play a significant role.

GK: Last year, 89 per cent of Mexico's merchandise exports were destined for the U.S. Does it worry your government that this lack of diversification might represent a high-risk approach?

MdM: Well, yes. We are aware of the risk and are doing everything possible to gain additional diversification. We are working hard at improving our trade with countries in many parts of the world.

GK: Last year, according to Transparency International, Mexico was perceived as the 64th (out of 133) most corrupt nation in the world. How serious is this problem from a Mexican perspective?

MdM: Perceptions of corruption hurt trade and create a negative impression of Mexico. Therefore, the fight against corruption is an important crusade for the Mexican society and government. In recognition of the fact that Mexico cannot be a first-world nation without the total eradication of corruption, last year, the government enacted The Law on the Professional Career Civil Service, which constitutes the cornerstone of our effort to consolidate good governance. This law requires the establishment of new mechanisms for recruitment, retaining, promotion and even termination based on merit and equity. Another legislation recently endorsed by the Mexican Congress is the Federal Transparency and Access to Public Government Information Act. The federal government is convinced that accountability is the key principle underlying administrative efficiency. In addition, the new Administrative Responsibilities for Public Officers Act, recently approved by the Mexican Senate, empowers the Department of the Comptroller to "break" bank secrecy for effective handling of corruption by public officers. And, finally, the government is making attempts to involve Mexican society itself, in its effort to change attitudes toward the practice of corruption.

GK: Amid media reports of intelligence indicating terrorist groups may be trying to enter the United States through Mexico, politicians have called for a North American security parameter. Does Mexico support this idea?

MdM: Mexico is convinced the security of our three nations is strategic, interdependent and complementary, and should be based on shared interests. In this regard, on different occasions, President Fox has proposed the establishment of a security policy for the entire North American region. For Mexico, a common security pact to protect North American borders represents a logical next step after NAFTA, following the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on September 11, 2001. We should seize the opportunity to promote the common interest of protecting Mexican, Canadian and U.S. citizens, by engaging in trilateral discussions on security and border issues.

Nevertheless, I would like to underline that at this time, Mexico's security agenda is focused only on matters related to borders and the sharing of information. My

country has not taken part in any dialogue regarding its prospective participation in any type of military initiative.

GK: How important is the issue of "open borders" to free trade between the three countries? Do they compromise U.S. domestic security? Is Mexico concerned that tighter borders might have a negative impact on free flow of goods?

MdM: Needless to say, three years after the tragic events of September 11th, one of the most important challenges regarding trade is how to reconcile trade and security. Both Canada and Mexico are export-oriented economies and share the same main trade partner. Any disruption to trade, related to security issues, can have a negative impact on our exports and therefore, affect jobs and economic growth.

By recognizing that the U.S. anti-terrorist measures implemented at its borders may have a direct impact on economic, commercial and social flows among our countries, the Government of Mexico considers that the definition of the extent of its cooperation with the U.S. is a strategic issue, as it is for Canada.

Mexico is aware of the fact that, in the event of a terrorist-related incident in the U.S. … security repercussions might be felt both in Mexico and in Canada. Therefore, in order to truly preserve these interests that are vital to the economic and social development of Mexico, Canada and the U.S., we must continue to work toward a secure continent.

As to how 'open borders' would compromise U.S. domestic security, (that) is for the U.S. Government to evaluate.

GK: Muchas Gracias!

Gurprit S. Kindra *is a professor at the University of Ottawa's School of Management.*

NAFTA by the Numbers

1. The NAFTA is the world's largest trade bloc with a gross domestic product (GDP), at present, of US $11.4 trillion, about one-third of the world's total and seven percentage points more than that of the European Union (EU).

2. The U.S. accounts for the lion's share of both population and GDP in the NAFTA region as well as having the highest GDP per capita. Canada, while having a slightly lower GDP per capita is only about one-ninth the size in terms of population and has one-11th the GDP while Mexico, having a slightly smaller GDP than Canada, is about three times as populous and posts a standard of living about one-third that of Canada.

3. $1.9 billion of goods and services crosses the Canada-U.S. border every day, making the Canada-U.S. trade relationship the largest in the world.

4. Since 1989, Canada-U.S. trade has nearly tripled from $235.2 billion to $677.8 billion in 2002. In 2002, the U.S. accounted for 80.8 per cent of Canada's total exports, up from 71.1 per cent in 1989.

5. Merchandise exports to the U.S. expanded by 250 per cent since 1989 to reach $345.4 billion in 2002 and account for 87.2 per cent of Canada's total merchandise exports. Imports from the U.S. grew by 150 per cent over the same period to reach $218.3 billion which contributed to Canada's $127.1 billion merchandise trade surplus with the U.S.

6. The importance of trade with the U.S. has increased for every Canadian province and nearly every industry. Canada now exports more manufacturing production to the U.S. than it consumes domestically.

7. There has been a shift in Canada's trade with the U.S. toward the South and West of that country.

8. Services are a relatively small and declining share of Canada-U.S. trade; however, this is mostly due to a rapid increase in merchandise trade rather than to poor performance of services, which expanded at an average annual rate of 8.8 per cent for exports and 6.5 per cent for imports between 1989 and 2002.

9. FDI (foreign direct investment) flows between Canada and the U.S. increased dramatically between 1998 and 2001, driven by booming stock markets, and surging merger and acquisition activity. However, the U.S. share of Canada's inward FDI stock fell from 65.6 per cent in 1989 to 64.2 per cent in 2002, and of the outward stock from 63.0 per cent to 46.7 per cent.

10. The susceptibility of Canada-U.S. trade to increased security and delays at the border is one of the most challenging aspects to Canadian trade policy over the medium term.

11. The U.S. economy is also heavily dependent on trade and investment linkages with Canada; this dependence has increased over the past decade as production in each country has become increasingly interdependent. Canada is the most important destination for exports from 39 U.S. states and the number one supplier of energy, including oil, to that country (see note).

12. Canada-Mexico trade and investment flows remain relatively small with Mexico accounting for only 0.7 per cent of Canadian exports and 3.1 per cent of imports in 2001. Mexico accounted for an even smaller share of Canada's outward FDI stock, at 0.8 per cent, and of its inward FDI stock, at 0.02 per cent, in 2002.

13. However, trade, and especially imports, has exploded in recent years. Between 1994 and 2002, Canadian merchandise exports to Mexico rose 10.5 per cent per year while imports increased at a rapid rate of 13.8 per cent per year.

14. On the surface, Canada and Mexico appear to exchange many of the same products: Motor Vehicles, Machinery & Electrical, and Special Instruments. But, at a more detailed level, the differences become apparent. Canada exports higher value-added products, such as telecommunications equipment and specialized technical equipment, while importing from Mexico more labour-intensive products, such as ignition wiring, television receivers and thermostats.

Source: NAFTA @ 10, a report by International Trade Canada.

Note: All figures are in Canadian dollars, unless otherwise noted. Energy trade is calculated on a customs basis while all other trade is calculated on a balance of payments basis.

How I fell for Soviet cuisine

"Margaret, just follow the crowd," explains my husband Larry in an emphatic whisper. "Up the escalator, before they are all put into reverse. There are supposed to be blinis and caviar for sale if we arrive in time."

Margaret Dickensen

The year is 1970. It's intermission at the Kremlin's Palace of Congress and we've just been riveted by a Bolshoi ballet performance. That was my introduction to real caviar and blinis. They cost mere kopeks – ice cold vodka included.

Thriving on the challenge of introducing new elements experienced in our host country into my own culinary repertoire, I began serving blinis and caviar with chilled vodka. The combination has evolved, indeed mutated, during subsequent foreign postings, each offering its own source of inspiration and local ingredients. Today, smoked salmon crepe purses are one of my many signature recipes, initially inspired during our stay in the USSR.

The early 70s were a remarkable period. The height of the Cold War was juxtaposed against a growing Western fascination with the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Trudeau brought his stunning young bride, Margaret, on an official visit. We attended a magical lunch in the Kremlin and then a private dinner at Kosygin's "dacha" with local bear on the menu. To the envy of many, we had seventh row, centre seats at all four games of the "Hockey Series of the Century."

As a young diplomat's wife, finding appropriate food supplies to meet both entertaining and family needs was a challenge. Products were limited and often of modest quality. Although, we had access to "duty free" foreign trading houses and weekly deliveries from Stockmann's in Helsinki, our limited budget didn't allow us to take significant advantage of those pricey privileges.

Rather, with coupons, we shopped at a store catering uniquely to diplomats. It offered more fresh produce as well as preserved and packaged foodstuffs than all local markets and stores in Moscow combined. But even there, ingredients were scarce and supplies unpredictable. We could count on finding potatoes, beets, carrots, onions, cabbage and garlic, a variety of jams (including apricot), yogurt, sour cream, whipping cream, chicken, pork, and usually some beef, liver, tongue, crab meat, caviar and curious little rolls of chocolate-covered cream cheese. (Those rolls became a treat for our daughters, but only on occasion.)

Wonderful local bread was sold in our neighbourhood but buying it was a test of patience. We stood in

D | RECIPE APRICOT-GLAZED CHICKEN BREASTS

This delightful combination of simple ingredients illustrates how comfort food can be included on fine dining menus. Although it is a fabulous recipe on its own, the sautéed shrimp and the Cognac White Wine Cream Sauce make this dish a unique culinary experience. (Note: A whole chicken, cut into pieces, may be used.) *Serves 6.*

6 single chicken breasts, skin on
⅓ C (85 ml) lightly spiced flour *
2 tbsp (30 ml) vegetable oil
1½ to 2 tsp (8-10 ml) finely chopped fresh garlic
¼ to ⅓ C (60-85 ml) apricot jam
2 C (500 ml) Cognac White Wine Cream Sauce (recipe attached – optional)

Garnish
12 large shrimp (fresh or frozen, unpeeled)
1 tbsp (15 ml) herb garlic butter **
salt to taste
crush black peppercorns to taste
6 sprigs of fresh herb (dill, thyme or rosemary)

Dust chicken breasts with lightly spiced flour. Heat oil in a heavy large skillet over medium heat. Add chicken (skin side down); cook until golden brown; turn. (Chicken breasts are only turned once). Spread top browned surface of chicken (skin side) with garlic and then apricot jam. Be careful not to allow garlic or jam to fall onto surface as they burn easily. Once second side is golden brown, cover skillet and reduce heat to a gentle simmer. Cook until chicken is fork-tender and juices run clear. (Total cooking time, 15-20 minutes). If desired, sprinkle lightly with salt.

Meanwhile, peel shrimp leaving tails attached; devein, rinse and drain well. In a medium skillet over medium heat, sauté shrimp in herb garlic butter. Season with salt and crushed black peppercorns to taste; sauté until just barely cooked. Immediately remove shrimp from skillet.

Continued on next page

three lines – one to see what was available, another to buy a chit, and a third to actually pick up the goods, if they were not all gone by then.

One day, curiosity drew me to an open window near our daughter's "detski sad" (kindergarden) where Russian women with net bags of empty bottles were lined up. They were the same squat bottles I purchased filled with dairy products at the diplomats' store. Pulling a children's wagon groaning with "empties," I discovered an entrepreneurial opportunity. Not only did they take my empties, they gave me 15 kopeks for each. Having paid only 10 kopeks for full bottles, I now had another incentive to create new recipes using dairy products. A five-kopek profit on each bottle wasn't a bad deal. My cream sauces and homemade ice creams are, to this day, irresistible.

Ultimately, Moscow taught me one of the principles of my culinary philosophy: the pleasure of cooking and entertaining within the limits of locally available supplies. We mesmerized our guests with my unique recipes to the point that we began dining on those same recipes in other diplomats' apartments across Moscow. Very popular was my Apricot-Glazed Chicken Breasts with Cognac White Wine Cream Sauce. It is quick, simple, inexpensive, always successful and a definite treat for guests and family. Over the years, I have added the shrimp topping to give it more pizzazz when entertaining. Please try it. Bon appetit!

D | RECIPE

If desired, serve Apricot-glazed Chicken Breasts topped artistically with sautéed shrimp (two per chicken) and sprigs of fresh herbs. Drizzle plates/platter with Cognac White Wine Cream Sauce and pass extra sauce at table.

* To make the lightly spiced flour, mix together ⅓ C (85 ml) of all-purpose flour, ½ tsp (2.5 ml) of curry powder. ⅓ tsp (2 ml) each of crushed dried tarragon leaves and salt, and a pinch of each of the following: pepper, garlic powder, ground nutmeg and dried mustard powder.

** To make herb garlic butter, cream ¼ C (60 ml) of butter together with ¼ tsp (1 ml) of both finely chopped fresh garlic and dill weed. Add 1 tsp (5 ml) of finely chopped fresh parsley and combine thoroughly (makes ¼ C or 60 ml). Place an airtight plastic container, store refrigerated for up to a couple of weeks.

Cognac White Wine Cream Sauce
This quick and charming sauce is lovely with chicken, veal, pasta, sweetbreads, fish and seafood. It is usually on hand in our freezer. This recipe makes two cups (500 ml).

1 ⅓ tbsp (20 ml) crushed chicken bouillon cubes (or powder)
2 tsp (10 ml) prepared mustard
1 ½ C (375 ml) hot water
2 tsp (10 ml) finely chopped garlic
½ tsp (3 ml) peeled and grated fresh ginger root
2 tbsp (30 ml) butter
3 tbsp (45 ml) all-purpose flour
¼ C (60 ml) white wine
½ C (125 ml) heavy cream (35 per cent fat)
1 tbsp (15 ml) cognac

Dissolve bouillon cubes and mustard in hot water.

In a medium saucepan, sauté garlic and ginger in melted butter over medium heat for about one minute; blend in flour and cook for another minute. Remove saucepan from heat; whisking constantly, add bouillon mixture and wine; whisk until smooth. Return saucepan to heat; whisking constantly, bring to a boil. Reduce heat to medium-low; continuing to whisk constantly, add cream and bring sauce to a simmer. Allow sauce to simmer gently for a couple of minutes; remove from heat; stir in cognac. Cover and let sauce rest for at least five to 10 minutes, allowing flavours to develop. If serving later, store cooled sauce refrigerated or frozen in an airtight plastic container. Stored properly, this sauce retains its quality for several days in the refrigerator or for months in the freezer.

Margaret Dickenson *studied Foods and Nutrition at the University of Guelph. She is married to Larry Dickenson, a 28-year veteran of Canada's foreign service. Author of the award-winning cookbook,* "From the Ambassador's Table," *she created and hosts "Margaret's Sense of Occasion," a Rogers TV series which airs in September 2005). Her website is www.margaretssenseofoccasion.com.*

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An homage to St. Petersburg

By Margo Roston

I take a peek and notice that Russian Ambassador Georgiy Mamedov and his wife Ekaterina are holding hands during the march and scherzo from Prokofiev's *The Love of Three Oranges.*

We are sitting together in row F at the National Arts Centre and it's the opening night performance by the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra. On the program is Russian music, part of the orchestra's Five Cities concert season. This homage to St. Petersburg obviously delights these Russian guests.

"I'm very excited to listen to the orchestra," says the lively ambassador, who has been on the job in Ottawa for one year. He's just returned from a trip to Churchill, Manitoba, where he says he met some polar bears and some caribou and watched Russian conductor Andrey Boreyko put the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra through its paces. The orchestra also plans to bring a young Russian composer to Winnipeg.

"It's Russian season all the way," he smiles.

Ambassador Mamedov is passionate about his country's culture and, although a native of Moscow, is especially fond of St. Petersburg, the cradle of Russia's artistic life.

"To promote culture is part of the mandate of any embassy," he says. "And to show people things that you personally love most about your own country. Music, painting, and literature are part of those things."

The ambassador is familiar with Canada after spending 13 years as deputy foreign minister in charge of relations with the U.S. and Canada. Last year, he accompanied Gov. Gen.

Photo: Jana Chytilova

Russian Ambassador Georgiy Mamedov poses with members of the Rousskiye Uzory Dance Ensemble.

Adrienne Clarkson on her state visit to Russia, a trip which drew some criticism because of the large group accompanying her, and the costs.

"I know she took with her the best and the brightest from the Canadian arts community. They were all very excited to visit St. Petersburg. They were shown Russian ballet, they listened to our music and visited the Hermitage. They had numerous round tables with Russian writers and scientists and philosophers. I was almost ecstatic when I learned she is going to stay with us for one more year." (On Sept. 30, Prime Minister Paul Martin asked the governor general to extend her term by another year.)

There is now a Group of Seven exhibition at the Hermitage. "It's spectacular because the kind of art that is on display not only resembles the northern parts of Russia – lakes, forests, hills – but it also gives you a kind of northern spirit that pervades Russian culture as much as Canadian," he says.

While he seems to enjoy the evening's Stravinsky and Prokofiev offerings, both he and his wife say that Shostakovich's Symphony No. 5 is the piece that most touches them, and most Russians as well. "It's because of the suffering of Shostakovich under the Soviets," he says. "It's in his music."

Things have changed in Russia he says and now the country's cultural institutions are learning about finding sponsors, something he thinks Canadians are very used to.

"Under the Soviets the arts were pure, but on the other hand they suffered from censorship. Government footed your bill all the way but it gave the government the right to tell you what to see, what not to see, what to read, what not to read. Now everything is open and you can enjoy it. Prokofiev was at one time prohibited by the Soviet government because he was considered counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet. Imagine, even music played a part in this great class struggle."

Mr. Mamedov and his wife are also searching for sponsors to help them shine a spotlight on Moscow and some of its talented young artists. "We have plans, (my wife) and I, to bring some young stars to Ottawa," he says.

"It would be a wonderful concert – fabulous," says Mrs. Mamedov, who worked for 30 years putting on shows for the largest industrial exhibition company in Russia. "We will be lucky to arrange it next year."

The concert ends. We have listened to wonderful music from the rich Russian repertoire, watched traditional dancing by six members of a Russian troupe from Montreal, and are headed for a post-performance party. "Now we'll have some social chitchat and some Russian vodka supplied by Mr. Smirnoff," says the ambassador.

Just the right ingredients to end an evening full of echoes from Canada's neighbour to the north.

Margo Roston *is* Diplomat's *culture editor.*

El Salvador's embassy houses a professional art gallery

By Jennifer Campbell

Two young women are making clay trays on which to bake Salvadoran delicacies. They work on the ground in front of a modest hut, surrounded by cacti. In the background, bright green trees dance in the wind before distant, sun-drenched mountains.

Asked to survey his art collection and pick his favourite Salvadoran piece, Mauricio Rosales Rivera, ambassador of El Salvador, chooses this landscape, *Las Comaleras* by José Mejia Vides (1903-1993).

The ambassador explains that the trays are called comales and the women, from the town of Panchimalco in the central part of the country, are known as comaleras because of their trade. They use the trays to make tortillas for pupusas, traditional Salvadorian treats filled with cheese, pork and beans.

"He always has the hut, fruits and flowers and lots of green," Mr. Rivera says of Vides' paintings. "The cactus shows that the land is sandy. You wouldn't have clay if the land wasn't a little bit sandy."

The mountains in the background are called "Devil's Mountain" because they divide the Pacific

Photo: Jana Chytilova

Ambassador Mauricio Rosales Rivera

Ocean from a lake and give Satan a good surveying spot for his evil deeds, Mr. Rivera says.

"(Vides) has always put the indigenous style first," the ambassador says of the artist. "And he loved the town of Panchimalco."

Mr. Rivera has been in Canada for eight years. He knows his art. Indeed, his embassy is the only one in Ottawa that has its own gallery, which hosts exhibitions of art from Latin American countries. Currently, it's showing the works of Chilean artist Anita Junge-Hammersley, and next year it will host an exhibit of paintings by Natalia Karpova de Carrasco, wife of Bolivian Ambassador Carlos Antonio Carrasco.

Mrs. Carrasco's exhibition is no favour for a friend. The gallery has a professional curator who remains independent from the embassy itself – which has the dual benefit of protecting the curator's artistic standards, and frees Salvadoran officials from being asked for exhibitions by amateur artists among the local diplomatic corps. "It's out of our hands," Mr. Rivera says with a shrug.

The embassy doesn't charge artists or other embassies for displaying works, but asks the artist to donate one work to its collection. As a result, the embassy's walls are a vivid roadmap of exhibits past. An ornately carved aluminum box came from two craftswomen who exhibited years ago. A painting by Borka Sattler, the Peruvian embassy's cultural attaché, hangs on the wall behind the ambassador's desk. A Salvadoran artist's colourful abstract adorns the opposite wall.

"We have started to build a nice collection of Latin American art," Mr. Rivera said. Nice indeed. The collection now numbers 16 works, and counting.

Jennifer Campbell *is the editor of* Diplomat *magazine.*

The global somnambulist

By David Long

In *The European Dream: How Europe's Vision of the Future is Quietly Eclipsing the American Dream*, Jeremy Rifkin presents a personal view of global developments. His approach is wide-ranging and eclectic – Alex the African Grey Parrot makes an appearance on page 350 – and his outlook, a broadly progressive American one. Rifkin borrows promiscuously from social, political and scientific theory to paint a picture of a world at odds with itself. For some time, the American Dream – individualism, competition, private property, self-assertiveness and acquisitiveness, autonomy and self-reliance, and an optimistic go-it-alone spirit of adventure – has been the successful outlook. According to the author, it is now out-of-date and dysfunctional. The parochial national egotism and gross inequality of this American vision confronts an immanent world community forged by the forces of globalization. Eschewing what he sees as the appeal with significant drawbacks of collectivist Asia, Rifkin embraces the European vision as the successor to the American Dream. This is a worldview, he argues, based on universal human rights not national interests, community not competition, connectedness over autonomy, networks rather than hierarchies, multiculturalism and multi-level governance as opposed to the sovereign state. While this is a vision of global scope, it is a European vision because it has been developed, elaborated and, within geographical and practical limits, implemented in Europe.

This is a book with grand aspirations and a wide scope; it is also a book with big problems. Don't be misled: This is not a book about Europe, though there is some discussion of European attitudes and the development of European regional governance, especially the EU. Rather, Rifkin argues for the superiority of a progressive vision of the world stressing human rights and community. However, to advance his case, Rifkin reduces all the complexities of modern life to a simplistic dichotomy. The world, he argues, is a complex place with a mess of overlapping connections, networks and groups. Yet, he wants us to believe that one simple view of global issues is better than another simple view. As such, this is a book-length exegesis with the analytical structure and assumptions of CNN's *Crossfire*.

Following in the footsteps of neo-con Robert Kagan, Rifkin attaches national and regional identity labels to the visions he has concocted. This adds a second dimension to the problems with this book because such labels are at best a shorthand for understanding the visions presented. It is a grave error to mistake these caricatures for a summation of whole societies and ways of life. Kagan sees America as virile and warlike and Europeans as impotent and feeble. Rifkin modifies but does not challenge this dichotomy, valuing European diplomacy over American force. Over-generalization is not the only or greatest weakness of this type of scholarship, though it can mean that the text appears to be little more than name-dropping of a huge swath of academic and other literature. Rifkin dallies with concepts like postmodernism and networks in an attempt to encapsulate global trends. Yet his approach amounts to stipulation concealing ambiguity: Surely the world of networks Rifkin applauds is as much modern and individualist as it is, in his description, postmodern and communitarian.

In this short-hand, Europe is represented by the EU. This is precisely the pretense that the European Commission would like everyone to accept. Refusing to challenge the pretense, Rifkin conflates the broad and varied sweep of European culture, civilization and social norms and practices with the rarified vision of a European elite. Viewing the Union through rose-tinted glasses, his quick history of the development of the EU acknowledges the stuttering development of common foreign and defence policies but portrays it as a project for Europe rather than questioning its premises. An alternative view sees this EU rope as a noose around Europeans' necks. The EU remains sclerotic and arthritic; a collection of regional and national government policies and social and economic structures desperately in need of reform. The truth, of course, is somewhere in between these views.

Because it doesn't fit with his vision, Rifkin neglects to tell us that the EU has been at its most successful precisely when it has been in tune with neo-liberal governance such as in its 1992 Single Market program. He also fails to relate the melancholy fact that the EU could not be a member of itself because it does not measure up to the standards of democracy that it sets for new member states. The EU certainly does well on the rhetoric of democracy and human rights. The achievements of enlargement in this regard are impressive but by their very nature are not universalizable; the EU is a European Union. In the wider world, the EU's declaratory foreign policy is cheap and does not require extensive resources, the instances of substantive common action are increasing in number and significance but very slowly. Kosovo still looms larger than its several police missions as a measure of the impact of the EU's international actions.

Ultimately the book doesn't fulfill the promise of its subtitle; rather, Rifkin admits that the European vision at the very least needs work and in some contexts (see demographic decline and immigration controversies) desperately needs shoring up. Simply repeating the mantra 'universal human rights'

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A sad country indeed

By Roger Bird

The stereotype is that Colombia is one of those tiny South or Central American states headed toward failure – political corruption, violence, narcotics, a vast gap between rich and poor, illiteracy – or trying to recover from it.

To get past the stereotype, start with geography. Tiny? Not exactly. Colombia is more than twice the size of France. To learn why it's "the saddest country" for its people, Nicholas Coghlan's book is a good source. He was political counsellor at the Canadian embassy in Bogotá from 1997 to 2000. Beyond that, he was adventurous, curious, and brave and travelled everywhere in the country.

The book has a quick historical sketch and only brief connections to the geopolitics of our era (did the fall of the Soviet Union have any impact on the Marxist rebels? We don't know.) It is not an academic study, it doesn't preach or bemoan, it just describes; it's journalism on the run by an intelligent and compassionate observer.

The author provides a picture of Colombia's diversity and the efforts of some of its people to overcome the agonies of narcotic traffic, political corruption and violence. He describes oil exploration (some by Canadian companies), banana plantations, endless cocoa fields (being supplemented, when Coghlan was there, with opium poppies), indigenous people, rich, sophisticated and cultured elites in Bogotá, Medellín and Cartagena. The latter is a port city on the Caribbean, part-time home to novelist Gabriel García Márquez. We meet him in person, part of Coghlan's firm grasp on, and interest in, the culture of his posting.

Most of Colombia's appealing, friendly people yearn for an end to the troubles. They're not perfect certainly, and Coghlan suggests that everyone lies about the troubles: police and politicians, the military and the rebels, the paramilitary thugs, social workers and priests, narcotic kings and princelings, even water taxi or bus drivers ("We're leaving for sure in five minutes"; don't count on it). But what also emerges elliptically – Coghlan is far from a know-it-all – is that terror and poverty destroy morality along with lives.

The book shows the people who are in the dark, behind the headlines and TV images. Foreign news correspondents come home and tell their colleagues tales that include what was in the stores, on TV, what people did for laughs or at funerals, what life was like at school. But they rarely put this material in their stories. This, for the most part, is what Coghlan's book is about. One example: Colombian schools include properly ironed uniforms at one end of the spectrum and a shack in the jungle with the roof blown off at the other.

The people of Colombia are sad, yes, and with good reason, living as they do with a murder rate astronomically higher than Canada's. They are also realistic, alternately cynical and idealistic, determined that this will end and they'll somehow find a way to have fun. We see the annual Reinado de Cartagena, (the Miss Colombia contest), the Terry Fox Run, Sundays in Bogotá, which look and sound like Sundays in Ottawa, especially the blocked off roads for cyclists and 12 hours of terror-free relaxation.

We meet fiercely dedicated people. "Concretely, what's your ambition?," the author asks Lucía, a rebel group comandante in the jungle.

" 'To take over the government of Colombia and install a dictatorship of the proletariat.'

" 'And would you say, in three or four years time, call elections?'

" 'Elections in Colombia,' frowned Lucía, 'have never produced a true government of the people … and look what happened to the Sandinistas when they decided to go that way … no, I don't think so.'"

Coghlan calls them the revolutionaries that time forgot, but they show no signs of going away.

Then there are the four agents of a group called Renacer ("Rebirth") whose mission is "to entice underage prostitutes off the street and into healthier and safer lines of business." Coghlan accompanies them one night as they go about "the process of acercamiento, or trust-building" in dives no one would write home about. We meet campesinos, driven away from their villages to a refugee camp, organizing to force the government to live up to its promise to clear the area of rebels and paramilitary thugs and let them return. Priests take the lead for peace and justice, often ending up murdered. We watch the parade of kidnappings, accounting for half the world's total every year.

Coghlan went to banana plantations and coca fields, as a witness to back-country negotiations with the rebels; to meetings of indigenous people, as a guarantor of legitimacy or just a human shield on behalf of Colombia's National Human Rights ombudsman. Often he did plainly dangerous things, like driving in a cab at night on remote roads, travelling to the wrong side of town for an interview.

His book manages to answer, partly, what anyone can do about the suffering in a country like this. In this case, a Canadian diplomat demonstrates that no side in the Colombian conflict has a monopoly

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Why Champagne goes to your head

Celebrating *Diplomat's* 15th anniversary with a little bubbly

By Stephen Beckta

In honour of *Diplomat's* 15th anniversary, let's toast the publication and talk about Champagne and sparkling wine. They are, after all, the best toasting beverages.

Champagne came along by accident in the 19th century when wine, stored in cold caves during the winter, was bottled and transported to England, where it warmed up and allowed a "secondary" fermentation in the bottle, inadvertently creating bubbles for the imbibers. Brits fell in love with this "new style" of wine and demanded more "fizzy stuff." Winemakers, led by Madame (Veuve) Clicquot, were happy to oblige and went on to improve the technology making a consistent and pleasing wine. Because bubbles were rare and hard to reproduce, Champagne soon became the festive drink of the upper class. (It also doesn't hurt that the carbon dioxide trapped in sparkling wine causes the alcohol to absorb into one's blood stream faster than with still wine).

Currently, only one in 12 bottles of sparkling wine in the world comes from the famous Champagne region in France. Everything else is just sparkling wine. But don't limit yourself to the real thing: There are plenty of great sparkling wines from around the world that use the Champagne method in their production. Most notable examples are Cava from Spain, Prosecco from Italy and some good up-and-comers from Canada, California and Australia. The best value sparkler I've ever come across is Seaview Brut from Australia ($11.05 in Ontario). But if real Champagne is what you want, here are a few points to better understand them.

Photo: Paul Couvrette

Beckta's advice: Drink what you like

Non-vintage Champagne is usually priced between $45-80 per bottle and is a blend of up to seven different vintages (some good and some not-so-good years). It ages in the bottle for at least three years before release. Most houses have a consistent style from year to year, so if you preferred Bollinger to Pol Roger last year, new bottles should taste the same next year. Non-Vintage (restaurants will label these as "N.V.") is the most common form of Champagne and is often referred to simply as "Brut." Non-vintage wines can be made several ways. They can be a blend of three grapes (Chardonnay, Pinot Noir and Pinot Meunier), or they can be made with a single grape (known as Blanc de Blancs, these are made with Chardonnay). Yet another variety – Blanc de Noir – is white wine made with red grapes, and finally Rosé is made either from lightly pressed red grapes or a blend of red and white grapes.

Vintage Champagnes are made three or four times per decade and only in the best years. These wines are of higher quality and are aged longer in bottle. The grapes used all come from the same year.

Finally, there is what's known as Tête du Cuvée or luxury brands from a particular house. These are made only in vintage years with the finest grapes. They cost much more than regular non-vintage Champagne and can usually be cellared for years after release. Some examples are: Roederer's Cristal, Moet &

Chandon's Dom Perignon and Tattinger's Comte du Champagne. Only you can decide if they are worth the extra money.

An exciting new breed of Champagne, now on shelves in Canada, is worth a sip. Known as "Small-Grower" Champagnes, because rather than selling their grapes to the larger corporations, owned by luxury goods manufacturers and insurance companies, these estates grow, make, bottle and sell their wine themselves. You can often get better quality than the well-known houses and a lower price tag because you aren't subsidizing huge advertising budgets and executives. Some of my favorite small-grower Champagnes found in Canada are: Egly-Ouriet N.V. Grand Cru, Pierre Peters Blanc de Blanc and Billecart-Salmon Brut Rose.

Those Brits were onto something way back when. Champagne is now the most celebrated wine in the world and the one most often celebrated with. Let's be honest … you can't possibly be down when you have a glass full of bubbles. Cheers!

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

Museum recognizes vets in their lifetimes


Joe Geurts

May 2005 will see the opening of the National Capital's newest cultural attraction: the new Canadian War Museum (CWM) on LeBreton Flats. The timeline for this project, from groundbreaking in November 2002 to its official opening on May 8, 2005, is a short 30 months. That's two-and-a-half years for the construction of a 440,000-square-foot facility. In the same period, we must move 500,000 artifacts, install the permanent exhibition, and launch a public facility which meets the expectations of its visitors.

Designing and constructing a national museum is challenging and complex. As a public institution, we must respond to public and media interest, expectations and sometimes criticism. Further challenges involve developing a building, a storyline and exhibitions, which all respect the Canadian War Museum's commemorative aspect while ensuring broad public appeal to visitors.

We began the monumental project by selecting a design that would speak to the mandate of the museum and respect its functional requirements. After working closely with the architects, we reduced 64 concepts to three. We presented these to our key stakeholders and made efforts to reach the Canadian public. We launched a website to present the concepts, and most importantly, collect public comments.

The building site has been a challenge in itself. LeBreton Flats, a former industrial and residential neighbourhood expropriated in the late 1960s, was contaminated and required significant preparation before we could begin work. We had to strengthen our partnerships with the NCC, the City of Ottawa and other levels of government to lead the project to fruition.

The schedule is an additional challenge. The new CWM is the first major cultural project in the nation's capital in more than a decade. A review of other capital projects of this size and scope revealed that four to five years were required between the beginning and the opening of a new facility.

From the outset, we had a firm date in mind for our opening. May 8, 2005 is the 60th anniversary of V-E Day, representing the end of the Second World War in Europe. But more than just an anniversary, with most Second World War veterans over the age of 80, this is a realization of a promise that their contributions would be recognised within their lifetime.

It is a pleasure to lead an excellent team of staff at the CWM who are producing the results that visitors will soon see. All the staff of the Canadian Museum of Civilization Corporation continue to provide their best efforts for this national project. With the completion of the new CWM, Canada's history and national identity will be found in its two museums – the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the Canadian War Museum.

Joe Geurts *is director and CEO of the Canadian War Museum.*

Keeping the peace

By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky

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Peacekeeping is Canada's forte. We deployed the first peacekeepers to Egypt on November 24, 1956. Today, despite our small and under-resourced military, Canada provides about 10 per cent of the world's peacekeeping force.

The 1956 Suez Crisis impelled the modern concept of peacekeeping when External Affairs Minister Lester B. Pearson saw the need for a force to maintain peace during political negotiations. He and UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld envisioned the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF).

The 1945 UN Charter afforded Canada the opportunity to extend to the world the rule of law and a framework from which to regulate disputes. The need for an independent UN force was proven during the Korean War, when the UN formed an army, as permitted under the Charter. Canada contributed to that effort.

Though the UN had pledged to forge a unified, democratic Korea, it had developed an image as the "lackey for the United States." Clearly, the UN required independence during an international situation, as Egypt illustrated.

Egyptian Prime Minister Gamal Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, declaring martial law, when America and Britain withdrew financial support of the Aswan Dam project because of Egypt's increasing chumminess with Czechoslovakia and the USSR. America was already miffed at Egypt for recognizing Communist China. England and France feared Nasser would close the canal, stopping petroleum shipments to Western Europe. The UN became involved when Britain and France cooperated with Israel in attacking Egypt on Oct. 29.

The UN General Assembly condemned the three attackers in an emergency session Nov. 1. The assembly took sides when the U.S. demanded a ceasefire. Mr. Pearson knew that support from Canada would antagonize Britain and France. A ceasefire would be ineffective without a provision to enforce it. Mr. Pearson abstained from the vote, gaining time to finalize his plan.

In his address to the assembly, Mr. Pearson remarked that a ceasefire was insufficient. He proposed a special emergency force to keep peace on the Israeli-Egyptian border pending a settlement.

The resolution of Mr. Pearson's plan was passed Nov. 4. UNEF, history's first peacekeeping force, was established, commanded by Canadian General E.L.M. Burns, to supervise the ceasefire and withdrawal of French, British and Israeli troops from Egypt. Later it was a buffer between Egypt and Israel.

Canada initially deployed 300 service troops, followed by reconnaissance, administrative and support troops. By January 1957, there were more than 1,100 Canadian military personnel in Egypt.

Though the UN initiative didn't end war, it made big wars less likely. The Suez Crisis was significant in Canada's relations with Britain. Canada had always automatically responded to imperial requests. This time she stood on her own.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky *is associate editor of* The Canadian Encyclopedia. *To learn more, consult* The Canadian Encyclopedia, *published by the Historica Foundation (www.histori.ca).*

Rifkin, continued from page 35

against 'American' individualism is not going to solve Europe's, or the world's, diverse and complex problems, whether these are poverty and lack of development, global insecurity, the degrading environment, or the greying and decline of western populations alongside the continuing exponential growth of some developing country populations. In *The European Dream*, Rifkin sleepwalks through the realities of global politics. If I might be excused for over-extending Rifkin's metaphor, Canadians, indeed all of us, don't need more dreaming, we need to wake up and smell the coffee (Fair Trade, organic, and from a region formerly prone to violent conflict, naturally).

David Long *is an associate professor at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University.*

The European Dream
Author: Jeremy Rifkin
Publisher: Jeremy Tarcher/Penguin
Price: $38
Pages: 434 pages

Colombia, continued from page 36

on truth, and helps guide money and material support to Colombians who are working against all odds for a better day.

Roger Bird, *a retired Carleton University journalism professor, is* Diplomat *magazine's copy editor.*

The Saddest Country: On assignment in Colombia
Author: Nicholas Coghlan
Publisher: McGill-Queen's University Press
Price: $39.95
Pages: 255 plus index

AFGHANISTAN
His Excellency Omar Samad
246 Queen Street, Suite 400
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5E4
TEL. 563-4223 . . . . . FAX 563-4962
email: info@afghanistanembassy.ca

ALBANIA
His Excellency Adhurim Resuli
130 Albert Street, Suite 302
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 236-4114 . . . . . FAX 236-0804
e-mail: embassyofalbania@on.aibn.com

ALGERIA
His Excellency Youcef Yousfi
500 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N2
TEL. 789-8505 . . . . . FAX 789-1406
e-mail: ambalgcan@rogers.com

ANGOLA
His Excellency Miguel Maria N. Puna
189 Laurier Avenue East
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6P1
TEL. 234-1152 . . . . . FAX 234-1179
e-mail: info@embangola-can.org
www.embangola-can.org

ARGENTINA
His Excellency Arturo Bothamley
90 Sparks Street, Suite 910
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5B4
TEL. 236-2351 . . . . . FAX 235-2659
e-mail: embargentina@argentina-canada.net
www.argentina-canada.net

ARMENIA
His Excellency Ara Papian
7 Delaware Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0Z2
TEL. 234-3710 . . . . . FAX 234-3444
e-mail: embottawa@rogers.com

AUSTRALIA
His Excellency Tony Hely
50 O'Connor, Suite 710
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L2
TEL. 236-0841 . . . . . FAX 236-4376

AUSTRIA
His Excellency Otto Ditz
445 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6M7
TEL. 789-1444 . . . . . FAX 789-3431
e-mail: Ottawa-OB@BMaA.gv.at

AZERBAIJAN
His Excellency Fakhraddin Gurbanov
275 Slater Street, Suite 904-C
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H9
TEL. 288-0497 . . . . . FAX 230-8089

BAHAMAS
His Excellency Philip P. Smith
50 O'Connor Street, Suite 1313
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L2
TEL. 232-1724 . . . . . FAX 232-0097

BANGLADESH
His Excellency Rafiq Ahmed Khan
275 Bank Street, Suite 302
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 2L6
TEL. 236-0138 . . . . . FAX 567-3213

BARBADOS
His Excellency Glyne Samuel Murray
130 Albert Street, Suite 1204
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 236-9517 . . . . . FAX 230-4362
e-mail: ottawa@foreign.gov.bb

BELARUS
Her Excellency Nina Mazai
130 Albert Street, Suite 600
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 233-9994 . . . . . FAX 233-8500
e-mail: belamb@igs.net

BELGIUM
His Excellency Daniel Leroy
360 Albert Street, Suite 820
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 7X7
TEL. 236-7267 . . . . . FAX 236-7882
e-mail: Ottawa@diplobel.org
www.diplomatie.be/ottawa

BELIZE
Her Excellency Amilia Mai
350 Albert Street, Suite 2120
Ottawa, Ontario, K1R 1A4
TEL: 232-2826 . . . . . FAX: 232-4279
e-mail: hcbelize@bellnet.ca

BENIN
His Excellency Francis Loko
58 Glebe Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2C3
TEL. 233-4429 . . . . . FAX 233-8952
e-mail: ambaben@benin.ca

BOLIVIA
His Excellency Carlos Antonio Carrasco Fernandez
130 Albert Street, Suite 416
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 236-5730 . . . . . FAX 236-8237
e-mail: bolcan@iosphere.net

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA
His Excellency Vjekoslav Domljan
130 Albert Street, Suite 805
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 236-0028 . . . . . FAX 236-1139
e-mail: embassyofbih@bellnet.ca

BRAZIL
His Excellency Valdemar Carneiro Leão
450 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6M8
TEL. 237-1090 . . . . . FAX 237-6144
e-mail: mailbox@brasembottawa.org

BRUNEI
His Excellency Dato A. Aziz Mohammad
395 Laurier Avenue East
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6R4
TEL. 234-5656 . . . . . FAX 234-4397
e-mail: bhco@bellnet.ca

BULGARIA
His Excellency Branimir Zaimov
325 Stewart Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6K5
TEL. 789-3215 . . . . . FAX 789-3524

BURKINA FASO
Her Excellency Juliette Yaméogo Bonkoungou
48 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J4
TEL. 238-4796 . . . . . FAX 238-3812
e-mail: burkina.faso@sympatico.ca
www.ambaburkina-canada.org

BURUNDI
Her Excellency Epiphanie K. Ntamwana
325 Dalhousie Street, Suite 815
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7G2
TEL. 789-0414 . . . . . FAX 789-9537
e-mail: ambabucanada@infonet

CAMEROON
His Excellency Philémon Yang
170 Clemow Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2B4
TEL. 236-1522 . . . . . FAX 236-3885

CHILE
His Excellency José Miguel Cruz Sánchez
50 O'Connor Street, Suite 1413
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L2
TEL. 235-9940 . . . . . FAX 235-1176
e-mail: echileca@chile.ca
www.chile.ca

CHINA
His Excellency Ping Mei
515 St. Patrick Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 5H3
TEL. 789-3434 . . . . . FAX 789-1412
www.chinaembassycanada.org

COLOMBIA
His Excellency Jorge Anibal Visbal Martelo
360 Albert Street, Suite 1002
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 7X7
TEL. 230-3760 . . . . . FAX 230-4416
e-mail: embajada@embajadacolombia.ca
www.embajadacolombia.ca

CONGO (ZAIRE)
Ms. Louise Nzanga Ramazani
Chargé d'Affaires
18 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J3
TEL. 230-6391 . . . . . FAX 230-1945

COSTA RICA
His Excellency Carlos Miranda
325 Dalhousie Street, Suite 407
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7G2
TEL. 562-2855 . . . . . FAX 562-2582
e-mail: embcrica@travel-net.com

CÔTE D'IVOIRE
Her Excellency Dienebou Kaba
9 Marlborough Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8E6
TEL. 236-9919 . . . . . FAX 563-8287
e-mail: ambacicons@rogers.com

CROATIA
His Excellency Zeljko Bosnjak
229 Chapel Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7Y6
TEL. 562-7820 . . . . . FAX 562-7821
e-mail: croatia.emb@bellnet.ca
www.croatiaemb.net

CUBA
His Excellency Ernesto Antonio Se
388 Main Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 1E3
TEL. 563-0141 . . . . . FAX 563-0068
e-mail: cuba@embacuba.ca
www.embacuba.ca

CZECH REPUBLIC
His Excellency Pavel Vosalik
251 Cooper Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0G2
TEL. 562-3875 . . . . . FAX 562-3878
e-mail: ottawa@embassy.mzv.cz

DENMARK
His Excellency Svend Roed Nielsen
47 Clarence Street, Suite 450
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9K1
TEL. 562-1811 . . . . . FAX 562-1812
e-mail: ottamb@um.dk
www.danish-embassy-canada.com

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
His Excellency Eduardo Fernandez Pichardo
130 Albert Street, Suite 418
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 569-9893 . . . . . FAX 569-8673
www.drembassy.org

EASTERN CARIBBEAN STATES
Her Excellency Lorraine B. Williams
130 Albert Street, Suite 700
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 236-8952 . . . . . FAX 236-3042
e-mail: echcc@travel-net.com

ECUADOR
His Excellency Alejandro Suárez
50 O'Connor Street, Suite 316
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L2
TEL. 563-4286 . . . . . FAX 235-5776

EGYPT
His Excellency Mahmoud F. El-Saeed
454 Laurier Avenue East
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6R3
TEL. 234-4931 . . . . . FAX 234-4398
e-mail: egyptemb@sympatico.ca

EL SALVADOR
His Excellency Mauricio Rosales Rivera
209 Kent Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1Z8
TEL. 238-2939 . . . . . FAX 238-6940
Email: embajada@elsalvador-ca.org

ERITREA
Ms. Nura Mohammed Omer
Consul
75 Albert Street, Suite 610
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5E7
TEL. 234-3989 . . . . . FAX 234-6213

ESTONIA
Mr. Argo Küünemäe
Chargé d'Affaires
260 Dalhousie Street, Suite 210
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7E4
TEL. 789-4222 . . . . . FAX 789-9555
e-mail: embassy.ottawa@mfa.ee
www.estemb.ca

ETHIOPIA
His Excellency Berhanu Dibaba
151 Slater Street, Suite 210
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5P2
TEL. 235-6637 . . . . . FAX 235-4638
e-mail: infoethi@magi.com
www.ethiopia.ottawa.on.ca

EUROPEAN COMMISSION
His Excellency Eric Hayes
45 O'Connor Street, Suite 1900
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1A4
TEL. 238-6464 . . . . . FAX 238-5191
e-mail: mailto@delcan.cec.eu.int
www.delcan.cec.eu.int

FINLAND
His Excellency Pasi Mikael Patokallio
55 Metcalfe Street, Suite 850
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6L5
TEL. 288-2233 . . . . . FAX 288-2244
e-mail: embassy@finland.ca

FRANCE
His Excellency Daniel Jouanneau
42 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 2C9
TEL. 789-1795 . . . . . FAX 562-3704
www.ambafrance-ca.org

GABON
His Excellency Joseph Obian Ndoutoume
4 Range Road, P.O. Box 368
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J5
TEL. 232-5301 . . . . . FAX 232-6916
e-mail: ambgabon@sprint.ca

GERMANY
His Excellency Christian Pauls
1 Waverley Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0T8
TEL. 232-1101 . . . . . FAX 594-9330
e-mail:germanembassyottawa@on.aibn.com

GHANA
His Excellency Samuel A. Odoi-Sykes
1 Clemow Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2A9
TEL. 236-0871 . . . . . FAX 236-0874

GREECE
His Excellency Yannis Mourikis
80 MacLaren Street, Suite 76
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0K6
TEL. 238-6271 . . . . . FAX 238-5676
e-mail: embassy@greekembassy.ca
www.greekembassy.ca

GUATEMALA
His Excellency Carlos Jiménez Licona
130 Albert Street, Suite 1010
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 233-7237 . . . . . FAX 233-0135
e-mail: embassy1@embaguate-canada.com

GUINEA
His Excellency Aly Diané
483 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N1
TEL. 789-8444 . . . . . FAX 789-7560
e-mail: ambaguineott@inexpress.net

GUYANA
His Excellency Rajnarine Singh
151 Slater Street, Suite 309
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3
TEL. 235-7249 . . . . . FAX 235-1447

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Mr. Carol Joseph
Chargé d'affaires
130 Albert Street, Suite 1409
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5P2
TEL. 238-1628 . . . . . FAX 238-2986
e-mail: bohio@sympatico.ca

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724 Manor Avenue
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TEL. 746-4914 . . . . . FAX 746-4786

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151 Slater Street, Suite 805
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3
TEL. 233-8900 . . . . . FAX 232-0193

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299 Waverley Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0V9
TEL. 230-2717 . . . . . FAX 230-7560
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His Excellency Gudmundur Eiriksson
360 Albert Street, Suite 710
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 7X7
TEL. 482-1944 . . . . . FAX 482-1945
e-mail: icemb.ottawa@utn.stjr.is

INDIA
Her Excellency Shashi Tripathi
10 Springfield Road
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TEL. 744-3751 . . . . . FAX 744-0913
e-mail: hicomind@hciottawa.ca
www.hciottawa.ca

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His Excellency Eki Syachrudin
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www.indonesia-ottawa.org

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Ottawa, Ontario K2P 2K2
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e-mail: iranemb@salamiran.org
www.salamiran.org

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Mrs. Samarah AL-HOMSI
Acting Chargé d'Affaires
215 McLeod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0Z8
TEL. 236-9177 . . . . . FAX 567-1101
e-mail: iraqyia@bellnet.ca

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His Excellency Martin Burke
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TEL. 233-6281 . . . . . FAX 233-5835
e-mail: embassyofireland@rogers.com

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333 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 1J9
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Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G8
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Ottawa, Ontario K1S 3Z5
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e-mail: info@lebanonembassy.ca
www.lebanonembassy.ca

LIBYA
Mr. Ali Suleiman Aujali
Chargé d'Affaires
81 Metcalfe Street, Suite 1000
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6K7
TEL. 230-0919 . . . . . FAX 230-0683
e-mail: info@libya-canada.org

LITHUANIA
Her Excellency Siguté Jakstonyté
130 Albert Street, Suite 204
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 567-5458 . . . . . FAX 567-5315

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Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2A9
TEL. 236-8931 . . . . . FAX 236-1054

MALAYSIA
His Excellency Dennis Ignatius
60 Boteler Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8Y7
TEL. 241-5182 . . . . . FAX 241-5214
e-mail: malottawa@kln.gov.my

MALI
His Ex. Mamadou Bandiougou Diawara
50 Goulburn Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8C8
TEL. 232-1501 . . . . . FAX 232-7429

MAURITANIA
His Excellency Mahfoud Ben Deddach
121 Sherwood Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1Y 3V1
TEL. 237-3283 . . . . . FAX 237-3287

MEXICO
Her Excellency Maria Teresa de Madero
45 O'Connor Street, Suite 1000
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1A4
TEL. 233-8988 . . . . . FAX 235-9123
e-mail: info@embamexcan.com
www.embamexcan.com

MONGOLIA
His Excellency Galsan Batsukh
151 Slater Street, Suite 503
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3
TEL. 569-3830 . . . . . FAX 569-3916
e-mail: mail@mongolembassy.org

MOROCCO
His Excellency Mohamed Tangi
38 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J4
TEL. 236-7391 . . . . . FAX 236-6164
www.ambassade-maroc.ottawa.on.ca

MYANMAR
His Excellency Aye U
85 Range Road, Suite 902
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J6
TEL. 232-6434 . . . . . FAX 232-6435
e-mail: meott@rogers.com

NETHERLANDS
His Excellency J. (Como) van H. Hubar
350 Albert Street, Suite 2020
Ottawa, Ontario K1R 1A4
TEL. 237-5030 . . . . . FAX 237-6471
e-mail: nlgovott@netcom.ca

NEW ZEALAND
His Excellency Graham Kelly
99 Bank Street, Suite 727
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6G3
TEL. 238-5991 . . . . . FAX 238-5707
e-mail: info@nzhcottawa.org
www.nzembassy.com

NIGER
Her Excellency Nana Aicha Mouctari Foumakoye
38 Blackburn Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8A3
TEL. 232-4291 . . . . . FAX 230-9808

NIGERIA
His Excellency Olufemi Oyewale George
295 Metcalfe Street
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1R9
Tel. 236-0521 . . . . . Fax 236-0529
e-mail: hc@nigeriahighcommottawa.com
www.nigeriahighcommottawa.com

NORWAY
His Excellency Ingvard Havnen
90 Sparks Street, Suite 532
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5B4
TEL. 238-6571 . . . . . FAX 238-2765
e-mail: emb.ottawa@mfa.no

PAKISTAN
His Excellency Shahid Malik
10 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J3
TEL. 238-7881 . . . . . FAX 238-7296
e-mail: parepottawa@rogers.com

PANAMA
Her Excellency Marianela Díaz
130 Albert Street, Suite 300
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 236-7177 . . . . . FAX 236-5775
e-mail: pancanem@magma.com

PARAGUAY
His Excellency Juan E. Aguirre Martinez
151 Slater Street, Suite 501
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3
TEL. 567-1283 . . . . . FAX 567-1679
e-mail: consularsection@embassyof-paraguay.ca

PERU
His Excellency José E. Romero
130 Albert Street, Suite 1901
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 238-1777 . . . . . FAX 232-3062
e-mail: emperuca@bellnet.ca

PHILIPPINES
His Excellency Francisco L. Benedicto
130 Albert Street, Suite 606
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 233-1121 . . . . . FAX 233-4165
embassyofphilippines@rogers.com
www.embers.rogers.com

POLAND
Mieczyslaw Olender
Chargé d'affaires
443 Daly Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6H3
TEL. 789-0468 . . . . . FAX 789-1218
e-mail: polamb@ns2.tryTel.com

PORTUGAL
His Excellency Joao Pedro Silveira Carvalho
645 Island Park Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1Y 0B8
TEL. 729-0883 . . . . . FAX 729-4236
e-mail: embportugal@embportugal/ottawa.org

ROMANIA
His Excellency Liviu Maior
655 Rideau Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6A3
TEL. 789-3709 . . . . . FAX 789-4365
e-mail: romania@cyberus.ca

RUSSIA
His Excellency Georgiy Mamedov
285 Charlotte Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8L5
TEL. 235-4341 . . . . . FAX 236-6342
e-mail: rusemb@rogers.com
www.rusembcanada.mid.ru

SAUDI ARABIA
His Excellency Mohammed Al-Hussaini
99 Bank Street, Suite 901
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 6B9
TEL. 237-4100 . . . . . FAX 237-0567

SENEGAL
His Excellency M. Amadou Diallo
57 Marlborough Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8E8
TEL. 238-6392 . . . . . FAX 238-2695
e-mail: ambassn@sympatico.ca

SERBIA & MONTENEGRO
His Excellency Perko Vukotic
17 Blackburn Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8A2
TEL. 233-6289 . . . . . FAX 233-7850
e-mail: diplomat@yuemb.ca
www.embscg.ca

SLOVAKIA
Mr. Stefan Rozkopál
Chargé d'Affaires
50 Rideau Terrace
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 2A1
TEL. 749-4442 . . . . . FAX 749-4989
www.mfa.sk

SLOVENIA
Her Excellency Veronika Stabej
150 Metcalfe Street, Suite 2101
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1P1
TEL. 565-5781 . . . . . FAX 565-5783
e-mail: vot@mzz-dkp.gov.si

SOUTH AFRICA
Her Excellency Theresa Mary Solomon
15 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 1M8
TEL. 744-0330 . . . . . FAX 741-1639
e-mail: rsafrica@southafrica-canada.ca
www.southafrica-canada.ca

SPAIN
His Excellency José Ignacio Carbajal
74 Stanley Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1M 1P4
TEL. 747-2252 . . . . . FAX 744-1224
e-mail: embespca@mail.mae.es
www.embaspain.ca

SRI LANKA
Her Excellency Geetha DeSilva
333 Laurier Avenue West, Suite 1204
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1C1
TEL. 233-8449 . . . . . FAX 238-8448
www.srilankahcottawa.org

SUDAN
Mr. Abd Elghani A. Elkarim
Chargé d'Affaires
354 Stewart Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6K8
TEL. 235-4000 . . . . . FAX 235-6880
www.sudanca.com

SWEDEN
His Excellency Lennart Alvin
377 Dalhousie Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 9N8
TEL. 241-8553 . . . . . FAX 241-2277
e-mail: sweden@bellnet.ca

SWITZERLAND
His Excellency Anton Thalmann
5 Marlborough Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8E6
TEL. 235-1837 . . . . . FAX 563-1394
e-mail: vertretung@ott.rep.admin.ch

SYRIA
His Excellency Ahmad Arnous
151 Slater Street, Suite 1000
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3
TEL. 569-5556 . . . . . FAX 569-3800
www.syrianembassy.ca

TAIPEI ECON. & CULTURAL OFF.
Dr. Thomas Chen, Representative
45 O'Connor Street, Suite 1960
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1A4
TEL. 231-5080 . . . . . FAX 231-7112
e-mail: teco@magi.com

TANZANIA
His Excellency Ben Gwai Moses
50 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J4
TEL. 232-1509 . . . . . FAX 232-5184

THAILAND
His Excellency Snanchart Devahastin
180 Island Park Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1Y 0A2
TEL. 722-4444 . . . . . FAX 722-6624
e-mail: thaiott@magma.ca

TOGO
His Excellency Bawoumondom Amelete
12 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J3
TEL. 238-5916 . . . . . FAX 235-6425

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
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200 First Avenue, Third Level
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 2G6
TEL. 232-2418. . . . . FAX 232-4349
e-mail: ottawa@ttmissions.com

TUNISIA
His Excellency Mohamed Saad
515 O'Connor Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 3P8
TEL. 237-0330 . . . . . FAX 237-7939
e-mail: atottawa@comnet.ca

TURKEY
His Excellency Aydemir Erman
197 Wurtemburg Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8L9
TEL. 789-4044 . . . . . FAX 789-3442
e-mail: turkishottawa@mfa.gov.tr

UGANDA
Her Excellency Cissy Helen Taliwaku
231 Cobourg Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J2
TEL. 789-7797 . . . . . FAX 789-8909
www.ugandahighcommission.ca

UNITED KINGDOM
His Excellency David Reddaway
80 Elgin Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5K7
TEL. 237-1530 . . . . . FAX 237-7980
www.britainincanada.org

UKRAINE
His Excellency Mykola Maimeskul
310 Somerset Street, West,
Ottawa, Ontario, K2P 0J9
Tel. 2302961 . . . . . Fax 230-2400
www.ukremb.ca

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
His Excellency Hassan Al-Suwaidi
45 O'Connor Street, Suite 1800
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 1A4
TEL. 565-7272 . . . . . FAX 565-8007
e-mail: safara@uae-embassy.com

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
His Excellency Paul Cellucci
490 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 1G8
TEL. 238-5335 . . . . . FAX 688-3100
www.usembassycanada.gov

URUGUAY
His Excellency Alväro M. Moerzinger
130 Albert Street, Suite 1905
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5G4
TEL. 234-2727 . . . . . FAX 233-4670
e-mail: uruott@iosphere.net
www.iosphere.net

VENEZUELA
His Excellency Jorge Osorio
32 Range Road
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8J4
TEL. 235-5151 . . . . . FAX 235-3205
www.misionvenezuela.org

VIETNAM
Her Excellency Hoi Thi Nguyen
470 Wilbrod Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6M8
TEL. 236-0772FAX 236-2704

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788 Island Park Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1Y 0C2
TEL. 729-6627 . . . . . FAX 729-8915
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Forever Waiting on a Foreign Policy Review


Allan Thompson

Well below the radar screen, a draft of Canada's new International Policy Statement was taken to cabinet weeks ago by Foreign Affairs Minister Pierre Pettigrew. A final version is to be released in mid-November in the context of the October 5 Throne Speech, which made clear the policy statement will be the basis of a round of parliamentary and public consultations on Canada's place in the world.

So it should be. This country hasn't had full-blown foreign and defence policy review in a decade and it's been even longer since foreign and defence policy were debated in tandem.

The last comprehensive review of Canada's international policy took place at a time when the U.S. was just emerging from its Cold War preoccupations. Now, after a decade of flux and the cataclysmic events of Sept. 11, 2001, Canada's all-important neighbour has a new prism through which to view the world: the war on terrorism.

In its Throne Speech, the government said Canada's diplomacy, defence, international aid, and trade efforts must "work in concert." It will take quite a conductor to get that quartet – Foreign Affairs Canada, the Department of National Defence, the Canadian International Development Agency and International Trade Canada – to play from the same score.

The review's purpose is to formulate an "integrated" approach and "to identify the niche where Canada can play a real influence" in the world says Mr. Pettigrew, the lead minister for the review. Foreign Affairs will produce the overall "framework" document to be tabled mid-November and within days of that release, Defence, Trade and CIDA will unveil their own reviews.

The draft of Mr. Pettigrew's document, hammered out by officials, was presented to the cabinet on Sept. 23. A few days later, it was subject to more discussion at a meeting of the cabinet's global affairs committee, chaired by Mr. Pettigrew. Negotiations continued after the Throne Speech.

The international policy statement is built around five themes, the most important being Canada-U.S. relations. The others are Canada's contribution to global security (grappling with such issues as terrorism, disease and failed states); economic opportunity and equality (development assistance and the role of such emerging powers as China, India and Brazil, and Martin's proposal for a G-20); the environment (the oceans, the Arctic, climate change); and finally, human rights, democracy and good government. In some form, this foreign policy review has been in the works for years. Former foreign affairs minister Bill Graham, now defence minister, embarked in early 2003 on a months-long dialogue with Canadians across the country. Mr. Graham also used an internet discussion forum to solicit the views of ordinary Canadians.

Apart from those structured review processes, there has been an incremental foreign and defence policy review going on in the media, in government and in the public mind. Since the end of the Mulroney era, each new Liberal foreign minister has sought to leave his imprint. Those attempts could almost be reduced to bumper stickers.

For André Ouellet, the policy doctrine boiled down to a slogan would have been "trade trumps human rights." His successor, Lloyd Axworthy, famously championed the "soft power" doctrine that shifted Canada's attention to a range of initiatives meant to foster "human security." John Manley took a step back from that and shifted attention to Canada-U.S. relations. Mr. Manley's bumper sticker: "The U.S. is our friend." In some respects, Mr. Graham didn't have time to impose his personal imprint before being replaced with the ambitious Mr. Pettigrew, who hopes to make his mark with the policy review.

For his part, Pettigrew says his priority is figuring out how to position Canada at a time when some experts argue globalization is virtually erasing borders.

The review process is challenging. The government departments involved are working on documents outlining their own policy priorities. The task of integrating those plans into the overall statement remains. This is not an editing job. It will spark fierce interdepartmental turf wars.

Apart from the content, officials are deliberating with their political masters about how and when the policy paper will be unveiled, against the backdrop of a minority government beholden to opposition parties.

Mr. Pettigrew says that while the framework document should not be called a "white paper", on it will be a statement of the government's policy direction. But, that will be open to review and revision after cross-country parliamentary committee hearings likely to stretch into next summer.

In 1994, the newly elected Chrétien government asked a joint parliamentary committee to seek out the views of Canadians and report back on principles and priorities that should guide foreign policy. The committee held more than 70 meetings, heard from more than 500 witnesses, and commissioned several studies. Its report fed into the foreign policy white paper, Canada in the World, issued in 1995. In all likelihood, the current foreign policy review process that began years ago will continue for months to come. And what comes out, rather than being a definitive statement of Canada's foreign policy, could become fodder for an election campaign.

Allan Thompson *is an assistant professor of journalism at Carleton University and a freelance journalist who writes a weekly column in* The Toronto Star.

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