



EUROPEAN UNION<br/>PRE-ELECTION TRADE DEAL<br/>WINDOW CLOSING PAGE 19SINGING ENVOYS<br/>A NEW TYPE OF 'HYMN SHEET'<br/>PAGE 2





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# Defence 'renewal' plan has five-year timeline

■ Between 2,800 and 4,800 civilian and military personnel will be reassigned.

#### Ally Foster

The five-year implementation timeline baked into a new "defence renewal plan" being touted by Canada's military raises the question of whether it will ever be seen through to completion, says one defence analyst.

The Canadian Armed Forces is looking to reduce corporate overhead and inefficiencies by as much as \$1.2 billion annually over the next five years, to be reinvested back into "frontline priorities" mainly in the aerospace and cyber security sectors, it announced Oct. 7.

The military will re-allocate between 2,800 and 4,800 military and civilian employees to areas of higher priority, while decentralizing the operations in headquarters based in Ottawa, according to government documents.

But David Perry, an analyst for the Conference of Defence Associations Institute, warned the five-year timeframe could lead to issues like a loss of focus, potential for changing priorities, the possibility of a change in government and therefore policy, and the reality that staff working on the implementation will see several rotations over the next five years.

Veteran foreign correspondent Graeme Smith, above, is one of many Canadian authors featured in Embassy's annual books special. Pages 10-15

The renewal changes are piling up on top of a great number of other major defence adjustments in the past few years, he added. There have been two budget cuts, an operational budget freeze, an administration services review, the primary reserve employment capability study, an earlier report on transformation, and the move to Shared Services Canada, he noted.

As well, after almost six years, Peter MacKay was shuffled out of the defence minister portfolio in July, replaced with Rob Nicholson.

"This is going to be a five-year process of change coming on the heels of **Continued on Page 4** 

# Pluralism centre renos could cost 'significantly more' than expected

Once workers started looking inside walls, they saw it was more complex than estimated, says centre head.

#### Sneh Duggal

Renovations to the Global Centre for Pluralism's future headquarters are expected to cost "significantly more" than

anticipated, but the centre's head says the plan is still to eventually move into the former national war museum building. "I'm told that construction costs continue to rise in Ottawa quite a bit more than inflation and...once [workers] got in and started to look inside the walls, they saw it was more complicated. So I think it will end up being significantly more than that original estimate," the centre's secretary general, John McNee, said in an interview on Oct. 4.

Continued on Page 9

## Mexico's risky visa outcry

The country decided to gamble on aggressive public messaging, analysts say.

#### Ally Foster

Former Canadian diplomats and foreign affairs experts see the Mexican ambassador's nble on aggressive public

blunt and direct messages over Canada's visa policy as a sign that common channels of private diplomacy are failing.

Francisco Suarez said in a September interview with

the Canadian Press that his government is "really mad" at the Canadian government for its continued visa requirements for Mexican travellers, and that if the "major irritant" isn't solved by next year, the Mexican president may

**Continued on Page 5** 

# **Diplomacy This Week**



Cape Verde's UN envoy Antonio Pedro Monteiro Lima, Romanian UN envoy Simona-Mirela Miculescu, Canadian UN envoy Guillermo Rishchynski, and Costa Rican envoy Eduardo Ulibarri sing.

# Bringing new meaning to the term 'hymn sheet'

SNEH DUGGAL Chatter House

Some say the United Nations is all talk. But they're wrong—there's singing too. And five UN ambassadors are showing the world how it's done. The small group including Canada's own Guillermo Rishchynski, Romania's Simona-Mirela Miculescu, Cape Verde's Antonio Pedro Monteiro Lima, Costa Rica's Eduardo Ulibarri, and Nauru's Marlene Moses released a CD called Ambassadors Sing for Peace in September.

It's enough to bring new meaning to the term "singing from the same hymn sheet" a political phrase indicating that several officials are all working off the same list of approved talking points.

The ambassadors' album features 12 tracks in total including **Bob Marley's** One Love, **John Lennon's** Imagine and **Bob Dylan's** Blowin' in the Wind.

The ambassadors sang a few songs as a whole group including Heal the World, the famous **Michael Jackson** song that has come to be known as a global anthem for peace. As for Mr. Rishchynski's message to the

world? To smile. The ambassador did a solo number to **Charlie Chaplin, John Turner** and **Geoffrey Parson**'s Smile. It was a good song choice for Mr. Rishchynski, whose deep and soothing voice did the song justice.

Mr. Rishchynski could easily also be featured on an album of Christmas time and wintery wonderland-type songs.

The group sounds good, but as for why they turned to singing instead of the traditional way of doing diplomacy?

"We wanted to speak about peace in a way other than our speeches, which some people say are a little boring," said Ms. Miculescu in a statement.

The Romanian envoy was the one who initiated the project.

"In troubled times like this, I think absolutely every kind of peace message has to go out. I hope when listening to this CD people will be aware of the fact that peace starts with each of us," she said. *Chatter House* got in touch with Mr. Rishchynski's office, but was told he was unavailable for an interview.

However, he told the *Toronto Star* that singing contributed to greater cohesion as a group: "It was never intended as a solution to global challenges, but if you can do it with a song perhaps that could translate into other areas where we need to work collectively to solve the world's problems."

The project, which was sponsored by the Friendship Ambassadors Foundation, has gotten positive feedback from the ambassadors' fellow colleagues at the UN and others. A YouTube video featuring the album's Heal the World song, already has more than 3,000 views. Another video shows the group singing before an audience, all of them swaying from side-to-side in their business suits or skirts, and tapping their dress shoes to the same song.

At one point the group started clapping to the beat, definitely a sign that they were happy to be on stage.

*Chatter House* is sure that singing in the shower will now become a daily feat for these ambassadors, if they weren't doing so already.

#### German dip tips

Getting around the German ambassador's residence on Oct. 3 required some skilled maneuvering.

The reception marking the day of German unity was a great crash course for amateur partygoers trying to learn the ropes of diplomatic soirées.

For those who missed out, here are some general rules. Long lines to get into a party are just part of the package, but they do offer good opportunities to meet some fellow colleagues. Elbow bumping is not all that appropriate at these fancy affairs. If you're a fan of speeches, it's probably a good idea to set up shop early on near the speech-delivery podium, because it will be difficult to get there later.

Once you learn all this, you're set for a great evening out!

German Ambassador **Werner Wnendt** welcomed a large and steady flow of guests into his home on an unusually pleasant and slightly warmer fall evening. As Mr. Wnendt said, "I'd like to thank whoever is responsible for this wonderful weather."

The German Embassy's new deputy head of mission **Jörn Rosenberg** and new defence attaché Lt.-Col. **Ralf Heimrich** were also there greeting guests. Mr. Heimrich replaced the "Terminator on ice," or Lt.-Col. **Kay Kuhlen** as he is more commonly known. (The nickname was earned after a hockey tournament he played in).

Guests scattered through several rooms inside the house and dispersed through the garden as well. They included Egyptian Ambassador **Wael Aboulmagd**, Angolan Ambassador **Agostinho Tavares da Silva Neto**, Haitian Ambassador **Frantz Liautaud**, Dutch Ambassador **Cees Kole** and Greek Ambassador **Eleftherios Anghelopoulos**.

The new head of the European Union delegation **Marie-Anne Coninsx** was also there, with minister-counsellors **Manfred Auster** and **José Antonio Torres-Lacasa**, after a trip back from Quebec City that day where Ms. Coninsx presented her credentials.

Several journalists and columnists turned up

## **Talking Points**

Canadians in limbo in Egypt The two Canadian men that have been held in an Egyptian prison without facing official charges for more than 50 days have been released, but have not been permitted to leave the country, The Globe and Mail reported. John Greyson and Tarek Loubani tried to board a flight to Frankfurt after being let out of jail, where they protested their incarceration with a 20-day hunger strike, but their names were on **a no-fly list issued by prosecutors**. The two men do have their passports, and Mr. Greyson's sister, Cecilia, said Canadian consular staff are working to hurry their exit from the country, although she said it could take several days.

#### Malaysia sets new record for Canadian investment

The Malaysian state-owned energy company Petronas will be investing \$36 billion in Canada as it plans to construct a liquefied natural gas factory, as well as a pipeline to transport the gas, Postmedia News reported. Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak announced what he said **is the single largest foreign direct investment into Canada ever made** by a country on Oct. 6, as both he and Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper prepared to depart to the APEC Pacific Rim leaders' summit in Bali. as well from the *National Post*, Postmedia News and Reuters. Earlier that day, a news report in the French publication *La Presse* suggested that the much-talked about Canada-EU trade deal could be wrapped up in October and that Oct. 18 has been circled as a possible date.

One government employee seemed surprised by such a report. Mr. Wnendt said during his speech that he hoped the deal would be concluded "certainly very soon."

He also said he hoped values such as unity, freedom and peace that are talked about in Germany's national anthem would become a reality for the people of Syria. Mr. Wnendt also gave Senate speaker **Noël** 

Mr. Wnendt also gave Senate speaker **Noël Kinsella** the Grand Cross First Class of the Order of Merit of Germany for his contribution to relations between the two countries. And the embassy generously gave guests a goodie bag as they left for the night.

Much to his delight, even a cab driver picking up some guests was rewarded with one that evening!

#### Tweet defeat greet

It's time for a diplomatic whereabouts update. Remember **Linda Sobeh Ali**? Ms. Sobeh Ali was the Palestinian Delegation

Ms. Sobeh Ali was the Palestinian Delegation to Canada's chargé d'affaires in the fall of 2011 when she was reassigned to another country.

All this after she reposted a link to a YouTube video on Twitter that the Canadian government deemed offensive.

"Canada expects the Palestinian Authority to appropriately deal with this serious transgression," **Joseph Lavoie**, then press secretary to Foreign Minister **John Baird**, had said at the time.

Ms. Sobeh Ali is now heading the Palestinian mission in Caracas, Venezuela. In an Oct. 3 email to *Chatter House*, Ms. Sobeh Ali said she has been in Venezuela since she left Canada.

First she was a deputy at the mission and then became its chargé d'affaires. But it seems like she has risen in the ranks at the Palestinian mission once again.

Ms. Sobeh Ali said she presented her credentials to Venezuelan President Nicolas Maduro on Oct. 2 to become the head of mission.

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## Canada, Brazil discussing spying: Harper

Prime Minister Stephen Harper says Canada and Brazil are communicating over claims that the Canadian government spied on Brazil's ministry responsible for mining and energy, CBC News reported. Speaking from Bali, where he was attending an Asia-Pacific leaders' summit, Mr. Harper said he was "very concerned" about the allegations that Canada's electronic eavesdropping agency, Communications Security Establishment Canada, used metadata to gain access to communications within the South American government department. Canada's ambassador to the country, Jamal Khokhar, was summoned to a meeting with Brazil's foreign minister to provide an explanation.

### Canada and Somalia build new ties

Foreign Minister John Baird has put life back into Canada's relationship with Somalia, Postmedia News reported. After a failed Canadian military mission in Somalia in the early 1990s, the two countries have had very little by way of diplomatic ties. That changed on Oct. 1 when Mr. Baird announced—alongside his Somali counterpart—that there would be a closer relationship going forward. **Canada has promised \$6 million towards building peace and stability** in the country, which had no central government from 1991 to 2012.



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## **News** Defence

# Defence 'renewal' plan has five-year timeline

#### **Continued from Page 1**

three or four years of the same thing. The ability to sustain that...I would be concerned about," said Mr. Perry.

Several elements in the renewal plan have been discussed for years, Mr. Perry said, so taking another five years to implement them sounds unnecessary.

Over a five-year period, people lose focus in how to implement changes, priorities tend to change, there could be a change in government as a result of the 2015 federal election, or staff working on implementing the moves will be rotated, which can cause incongruity.

Spokespeople at the Department of National Defence were contacted but could not offer a response by press time.

#### The plan

Senior officials speaking at the technical briefing following the release of the renewal plan told reporters that there are too many employees doing low-value administration work, and that between 2,800 and 4,800 civilian and military personnel will be moved to do jobs of higher importance.

Employees could be relocated across the country to fill higher positions that have a more direct effect on capability and operational readiness.

When asked if some employees could be facing unemployment if they aren't prepared to move or can't be retrained, one official said that is a possibility, but that attrition, alteration, relocating, and retraining will be done to preserve the number of current staff as much as possible.

The government documents also state that there are too many managers in the mix.

The officials would not provide exact numbers of how many employees will be asked to move out of the Ottawa Capital Region, or how many individuals face the possibility of being let go.

A renewal plan document said there are several steps that have been identified for implementation sometime soon: creating a Canadian Armed Forces-wide framework to deal with readiness and which is also aligned to the mandated missions under the Canada First Defence Strategy, as well as relying on technology to make more use of simulation training so that operational equipment isn't used for training purposes. It will also mean that personnel can train for dangerous situations without being put in harm's way.

The program echoes suggestions from a leaked letter that Prime Minister Stephen Harper wrote to then-minister of national defence, Peter MacKay, and then-chief of defence staff General (Ret'd) Walter Natynczyk in June 2012.

One line of the letter, which instructed that a harder approach be taken with military budget cuts, read: "It is important that we reduce the current overhead in regular force military and civilian personnel, and in those activities that do not directly contribute to operational readiness." The 2012 federal budget, combined with the strategic review, has set out a plan to cut military spending by \$2.1 billion by 2015, but DND and Canadian Forces' officials stressed that this is a very different approach.

"Defence renewal is not a cost-cutting exercise," read a news release. The savings made on current expenses will be reinvested back into the CF to improve Canada's operational capabilities, it claims.

Officials said the idea for the project came from within DND, and was not commanded by the higher political echelons.

However, the implementation document states that the defence renewal team was created to "support the government's fiscal priorities." A senior government official, who was not permitted to be quoted by name, clarified that those fiscal priorities refer to the cuts laid out in the 2012 federal budget.

#### Leslie report

There are a great number of similarities between the defence renewal program and a report published in 2011 by Lieutenant-General (Ret'd) Andrew Leslie, who was the forces' chief of transformation, and chief of land staff.

"There's a lot of commonality in targets with what was outlined in the report on transformation," said Mr. Perry.

"That's not surprising because it's working under most of, but not all of, the same restraints that the transformation team was."

Both teams were meant to protect overall numbers of people at the maximum levels, and to maintaining the amount of money committed to projects in the Canada First Defence Strategy.

The biggest difference between the work done for the report on transformation and the recent program is that the renewal plan looks at making changes to the Canadian Forces' infrastructure holdings, said Mr. Perry, who added that he's pleased to see this included.

#### Streamlining infrastructure

DND is the largest owner of property and infrastructure in the federal government.

Mr. Perry said the idea of cutting out excess infrastructure has been tossed around by the CF and DND since the mid 1990s.

There are some military installations that have regularly come under fire for being unnecessary and not meeting multirequirements, such as the North Bay and Goose Bay bases.

The defence renewal implementation document points to infrastructure as one of the areas in which efficiencies can be found, and says that "the aging real property portfolio is not designed for modernday requirements."

"It's a good start that they're doing that," said Mr. Perry.

"Look at how many operational units are based out of [Canadian Forces' Base] Petawawa—I think that's a great model."

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# **News** Immigration

# Mexico's risky visa outcry

#### **Continued from Page 1**

postpone a scheduled celebratory trip to Canada.

Although his language is certain to catch the attention of the highest levels of the Canadian government, analysts agree the approach comes with a series of potential risks.

#### Four possible motivations

He isn't the first diplomat to use hardline public diplomacy to speak out against a Harper government foreign policy. During the past several years, various foreign diplomats posted to Ottawa have sent public messages that border on the undiplomatic to push for a change on issues ranging from climate change to Aboriginal rights.

When a country makes a bold statement, there are four possible explanations, said Adam Chapnick, a Canadian foreign policy expert who teaches at both the Canadian Forces College and the Royal Military College of Canada.

One, that the government is trying to create change in the host country; two, that the country is trying to show its own public that it is taking a certain stance, or action; three, that it is trying to do both; and four, that the diplomat is speaking off the cuff.

The last scenario is not the case in this instance, said Mr. Chapnick-this was intended to get a lot of coverage, maybe both in Canada and in Mexico.

The Mexican government may also be hoping to show its citizens that it recognizes the visa requirements to be an important issue, and is working hard to find a solution, he said.

It will certainly get the Canadian government's attention, Mr. Chapnick added, but he said he doesn't understand why Prime Minister Stephen Harper's team would be dragging its heels on lifting the visa requirement in the first place, so he's unsure whether it will have any direct effect.

It's also risky. If it doesn't work, he noted, the purveyor looks powerless. It could also backfire, ruffling the Harper government's feathers and affecting other areas of bilateral co-operation.

"In the Canadian system, the prime minister is very powerful; the potential for linkage is there," he said.

Former Canadian diplomat Daryl Copeland said public engagement is becoming a new type of diplomacy, and in many cases, the objective is to sway public opinion leaders, such as academics, lobbyists, and business leaders. Colin Robertson, also a past Canadian diplomat, said the type of messaging used by the Mexican ambassador does catch attention and often ruffles feathers, but that it's used when a bilateral issue appears to be deadlocked.

"In Mexico's case the visa issue has dragged on for years," he wrote in an email. "We promised we would lift it when we regularized our refugee determination process but we have not."

The Mexican ambassador was unavailable for an interview before press time, and the Canadian government did not offer a direct response to the ambassador's comments when asked.

#### Canada no stranger to the tactic

Canada has similarly been using aggressive public messaging in the US on the Keystone XL pipeline, he noted.

During a late-September trip to New York, Mr. Harper himself used some forceful language when discussing the controversial pipeline. Mr. Harper told reporters that Canada "won't take no for an answer" and that, "if we were to get that, that won't be final. This won't be final until it's approved and we will keep pushing forward."

Mr. Robertson said breaking free from vague niceties is "risky" because the natural reaction is to put the country at the back of the receiving line. But it usually forces some reflection, he said.



Foreign Minister John Baird and Mexican Foreign Minister Jose Antonio Meade Kuribrena in Ottawa in July

Sometimes the hardline diplomatic approach works, but the changes often take a long time to come to fruition. The targeted country, he said, can save face this way.

He also noted that the country using the megaphone often has to sweeten the deal behind the scenes in addition to using tough language, whether it be with a trade advantage or further co-operation on programs that has benefits to the targeted country.

The Conservative government has also been a target of harsh messaging from foreign diplomats from other sources in recent years.

Former British High Commissioner Anthony Cary was outspoken on the issue of climate change during his tenure in Ottawa, as was former South African High Commissioner Mohau Pheko when Canada pulled out of the Kyoto Protocol.

"It's disturbing and very disappointing that a country like Canada would pull out after having given leadership in this particular UN convention which is so important for the world," she was quoted as saying in a CBC story from November 2011.

She also asserted that Canada had lobbied other countries to leave the convention as well, and labeled Canada as the "pariah of the world on climate change."

Ms. Pheko was moved from her posting in Ottawa in January 2012 for a larger, more key posting, but not before also lambasting the conditions that Canadian Aboriginals live in.

She said Canadian Aboriginal women, and communities in general, face a plight that makes it the "number one human rights problem in Canada."

Analysts say it's hard to tell how much weight the Canadian government put behind the criticisms from the two high commissioners, but the Conservative policies on the environment and Indigenous issues have not significantly changed since.

Brian Bow, a professor at Dalhousie University who focuses on international politics and diplomacy, said there are several stages a diplomat will go through when they want to create change in a host country's policy, ranging from tactful, subtle diplomacy in private to being direct and abrasive in public.

"All diplomacy is trial and error," he added, but said there are certainly risks of souring bilateral relations when tough talk is used. "It doesn't work in a direct, causal way."

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Editorial Page

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**QUOTE** THE WEEK

eaction has been mixed to Prime Minister Stephen Harper's decision this week not to take his seat at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Sri Lanka next month. Mr. Harper is sending a parliamentary secretary instead.

Two years after threatening not to attend the summit if the Sri Lankan government didn't improve human rights and take steps toward accountability and reconciliation after its decades-long civil war, he said he hasn't seen the changes he was looking for.

'Canada noted with concern the impeachment of the Sri Lankan chief justice earlier this year, and we remain disturbed by ongoing reports of intimidation and incarceration of political leaders and journalists, harassment of minorities, reported disappearances, and allegations of extra judicial killings," said Mr. Harper in an Oct. 7 statement.

No one can fault the prime minister for taking human rights seriously, and backing words with actions-a seemingly rare occurrence these days.

Respected international watchdogs like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have denounced the Commonwealth for allowing Sri Lanka to host the summit, saying it doesn't reflect the group's commitment to supporting human rights and democratic reform.

The United Nations high commissioner for human rights last month, while commending the Sri Lankan government for its "impressive achievements" in resettlement and reconstruction since the war's 2009 end, raised concerns about a heavy military presence in the north, violence against minorities, and a lack of accountability for war crimes.

Mr. Harper's personal boycott, though, is not likely to be any real help to Sri Lankans whose human rights are being violated. Past Commonwealth campaigns, against South Africa's apartheid-era government for instance, were effective because they had widespread backing. In this case, though, it appears Mr. Harper might be the only Commonwealth leader skipping out on the Sri Lankan summit.

Sri Lanka's main Tamil party last month swept key elections in the country's north. Mr. Harper could have used the summit to encourage such signs of democratic reform, alongside allied Commonwealth nations.

Mr. Harper attended a Francophonie summit last year in the Democratic Republic of Congo, a country also plagued by human rights abuses. Ongoing conflict in the country has resulted in more than five million deaths, making it one of the bloodiest since the Second World War.

But Mr. Harper still went to the meeting, acknowledging the country's human rights problems, and engaging with civil society groups about how to help heal the wounded nation.

He could have used the same tactic in Sri Lanka. His reluctance makes you wonder whether his current hardline stance has more to do with pleasing the many Tamil diaspora members in the vote-rich Greater Toronto Area than effectively acting on Canada's human rights concerns.

Besides the summit boycott, Mr. Harper said the government is reviewing Canada's \$20 million funding for Commonwealth programs and the Commonwealth secretariat. Why his distaste for the Sri Lankan government is extended to the 53-nation Commonwealth is unclear.

Conservative Senator and Canadian Commonwealth renewal envoy Hugh Segal, in an interview with CBC's Power and Politics on Oct. 7, suggested the real problem was the secretariat, which receives \$5 million from Canada. He said the secretary-general hid legal opinions on Sri Lanka from member foreign ministers. If that's the case, why does Mr. Harper say programs are also being reviewed?

Mr. Harper needs to justify this decision. editor@embassynews.ca

# SRI LANKA SUMMIT The US government is not broke



Spying undermines the

sovereignty of nations and privacy of people and companies

-Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff's Twitter account on Oct. 7, after leaked

documents showed Canada spied on Brazil's energy and mining ministry.

salient feature of American A"exceptionalism" is the belief that the United States can never be ordinary. If it is not the best, then it must be the worst. If it is not destined to dominate the world forever, then it is doomed to decline and decay

This kind of thinking explains why much of the commentary in the United States about the recent "shutdown" of the US government, and also about the impending default on the national debt (due on Oct. 17), has started at hysterical and quickly geared up to apocalyptic. We Americans have lost the mandate of Heaven, and it will soon be raining frogs and blood.

So everybody take your tranquilizer of choice (mine's a double scotch), and let's consider what is actually going on here.

The United States is the world's oldest democratic country, with an 18<sup>th</sup>-century constitution that is bound to be an awkward fit for 21st-century politics. But that hasn't stopped the United States from becoming the world's biggest economy and its greatest power. Has something now gone fundamentally wrong?

The problem lies in Congress, specifically in the House of Representatives, where the Republican majority is refusing to pass the budget, and threatening not to raise the official debt ceiling either, unless President Barack Obama postpones the implementation of his bill extending medical care to all Americans

The Affordable Care Act was passed by both houses of Congress and signed into law by Obama almost four years ago. Last year it passed scrutiny by the Supreme Court, and was subsequently welcomed by a majority of the voters in the presidential election, so Obama is understandably refusing to yield to blackmail. But the House Republicans seem mysteriously unworried by the fact that the public blames them for the impending train wreck. Why?

Because 80 per cent of the Republicans in the House of Representatives don't have to worry about what the general public thinks. They represent congressional districts that have been so shamelessly gerrymandered by state legislatures that it is almost impossible for anybody who is a Republican to lose an election there. National public opinion is no threat to them, whereas the views of their extremist Tea Party colleagues are a potentially lethal danger.

You can't gerrymander the Senate; every senator's "district" is the entire state he or she represents.

State legislatures controlled by the Democrats also gerrymander congressional districts to create safe seats for their own party, but there is no organized extremist group in the Democratic Party that will try to destroy elected members of their own party who do not toe the ideological line. Whereas in the Republican Party, there is

Republicans seeking re-election to the House of Representatives may not have to worry about their Democratic opponents, but they certainly have to fear the Tea Party. If it decides to mount a challenge to an incumbent in the Republican primary elections, the far-right challenger will be lavishly funded by the Tea Party's wealthy supporters, and that may mark the end of the incumbent's political career.

So the Republicans in the House of Representatives, even those generally open to compromise, are keeping their heads down for fear of angering the Tea Party. That means it is possible (though not probable) that the Oct. 17 deadline will be missed, and the US government will be forced to default on its debt. How bad would that be?

Very bad, according to the US Treasury: "[c]redit markets could freeze, the value of the dollar could plummet, US interest rates could skyrocket, the negative spillovers could reverberate around the world." And it might rain frogs and blood.

Or maybe not. There would certainly be turmoil in the markets: many people would lose money, and some would gain. But it would not be a repeat of the crash of 2009, when it was suddenly understood that huge amounts of the mortgage debt held by banks could never be repaid. The US government can still pay its debts; it just has to get Congress's permission first. And the markets, while prone to panic, are not completely stupid.

Nor is the US Constitution fundamentally broken. It always requires a fair degree of compromise between the various branches of the government in order to work smoothly, and at most times in history that co-operation has been forthcoming. The current paralysis is due mainly to the gerrymandering of congressional districts that makes members of the House of Representatives less afraid of public opinion than of the views of their own party's hard-liners.

It wouldn't hurt to put some controls on election spending as well, so that rich ideologues had less influence over the political process. But that is merely desirable; ending the gerrymandering is absolutely essential. It will take time, but this is a problem that can be fixed. And in the meantime, the US government is not really going broke.

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# **Opinion** Defence & Canada-US

# The magnitude of the Libyan mistake

Brutal reprisals. Tens of thousands illegally detained in makeshift prisons. Ethnic cleansing. Terrorist attacks.



ast week, there was a minor news story about a Libyan armed mob storming the Russian embassy in Tripoli, resulting in one of the Libyan attackers being shot and killed. The incident had apparently been sparked by the murder of a Libyan air force pilot the previous day. A Russian woman has since been arrested and charged with that murder.

While this particular case may seem like a bizarre occurrence, the fact is that it serves to illustrate the absolute chaos that continues to grip this war torn country. It has been almost two full years since Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi was brutally murdered in cold blood at the hands of a vengeful mob in the streets of his hometown Sirte.

Gaddafi's death signified the final resistance of his regime and tribal followers who had resisted the NATO-backed rebel onslaught for nearly eight bloody months. It was supposed to be a glorious victory for democracy.

From the outset of the conflict, the Western media had demonized Gaddafi for his eccentricities throughout his heavyhanded three decades in power. The UN Security Council passed Resolution 1973, which authorized NATO-led air forces to enforce a no-fly zone over the skies of Libya.

This was intended to prevent Gaddafi loyalists from using their aircraft to establish an unfair advantage over the rebels. However, instead of levelling the playing field, NATO forces under the command of Canadian Lieutenant-General Charles Bouchard decided to tip the balance in favour of the rebels. To prevent Gaddafi from bombing innocent Libyan people, NATO mounted its own massive bombing campaign, which inadvertently resulted in the deaths of innocent Libyans.

As for enforcing the UN-imposed arms embargo, NATO forces had a policy of enforcing this mandate only against weaponry intended for Gaddafi loyalists. Munitions headed for the rebels were openly ignored, while Britain and France made no secret of the fact they were openly supplying weaponry to the rebel factions.

When the inevitable end came, the NATO allies declared it a tremendous victory. The combined might of the most sophisticated military alliance in the world had successfully toppled a sixth-rate democracy with a primitive arsenal. Proof of the discrepancy in technology is the fact that in eight months of continued air strikes, the combined NATO air fleet did not suffer a single casualty. This bloodless victory was also achieved in part because the Western powers deployed only a handful of Special Forces boots on the ground.

After more than a decade of frustrating ground combat in both Afghanistan and Iraq, the Libyan intervention appeared to be a blueprint for easy success: bomb with impunity and arm the rebels to do the actual fighting.

The result: Gaddafi was overthrown, no NATO blood was spilled, and the cost of all those precision-guided munitions we expended can easily be recuperated



Foreign Minister John Baird at the Bab Aziziya military compound in Tripoli, Libya on Oct. 11, 2011.

through future oil trade with resource-rich Libya. Prime Minister Stephen Harper celebrated Canada's lead role in this military feat of arms by staging a Napoleonic-scale victory parade, complete with a fly-past over Parliament Hill. For his outstanding generalship in saving the world from Libyan domination, LGen Bouchard was fasttracked to receive the Order of Canada. Unfortunately, for the Libyan people, it seems that no real plans were made for what would happen after the victory parades. Those who fought to oust Gaddafi were never unified under a common banner. They fought for very diverse objectives, many of them, in fact, linked to al-Qaeda. Much of the conflict's root causes were tribal based, and many of those from the Gaddafa and Warfalla tribes which were aligned to Gaddafi still suffer brutal reprisals at the hands of the former rebels.

Despite the best intentions of the impotent central government, the young ill-disciplined volunteer militia who fought against Gaddafi still refuse to hand over their weapons. Tens of thousands of Libyans remain illegally detained in makeshift prisons throughout the country. In the Tawergha suburb of Misrata, the rebels conducted one of the most extensive examples of ethnic cleansing in modern history, driving some 10,000 residents from their homes for the simple reason that they are black.

It has been more than a year since the 9/11 anniversary attack in Benghazi killed United States Ambassador Christopher Stevens and three other Americans when al-Qaeda terrorists stormed their embassy. Although American security services fingerpoint and try to analyze their intelligence failure in the anarchy that is post-Gadhafi Libya, no actual perpetrator has yet been brought to justice for the attack.

Before entering any debate about a potential Western intervention in Syria, perhaps we should admit the magnitude of our mistake in Libya. Two years of anarchy is not a victory.

Scott Taylor is editor and publisher of Esprit de Corps magazine.

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## de Adder's Take



ADVERTISEMENT



# SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY (SADC) AT 33: "TOWARDS A COMMON FUTURE"

n April 1, 1980 Southern African leaders met in Lusaka, Zambia and formed the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) transformed in 1992 into the Southern African Development Community (SADC). It has 15 member countries: Angola, Botswana, DR Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The 33rd Summit of the Heads of State and Government of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) was held in Lilongwe, Republic of Malawi on 17th and 18th August 2013. The Summit elected H.E. President Joyce Banda of the Republic of Malawi and H.E Robert Gabriel Mugabe, President of the Republic of Zimbabwe as Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of SADC, respectively.



Summit also elected H.E. President Hifikepunye Pohamba of the Republic of Namibia and Right Honourable Thomas Motsoahae Thabane, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho as Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation, respectively.

In its 33 years of existence SADC has made huge strides in ensuring the political stability of the region providing a huge impetus for it to vigorously drive the economic agenda of the bloc with a view to improving the livelihoods and economic well-being of its people. In this regard, a number of projects which cooperating partners including Canadian investors may be willing to consider for investment have been identified for investment with some already under implementation. Outlined below are some of the sectors with abundant Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) opportunities:

#### **ENERGY SECTOR**

SADC identified 73 power generation projects to increase generation from the current 56 000 MW and surpass the projected demand of 96 000 MW by 2027. The estimated investment cost of all planned electricity generation projects is US\$62 billion for the short term (2012-2017), US\$39 billion for the medium term (2017 -2022) and US\$72 billion for the long term (2022 – 2027), totalling US\$173 billion. Prioritised generation projects with capacity greater than 1000 MW were estimated in this study to cost between US\$65 billion and US\$104 billion, while those prioritised with a capacity of less than 1000 MW were estimated to cost between US\$7 billion and US\$18 billion. The total cost of the prioritised projects would range between US\$42 billion and US\$122 billion. In addition, the estimated cost for priority inter-connector and transmission projects is US\$3 billion.

#### REGIONAL TOURISM SECTOR

The region recognises the urgent need to improve tourism infrastructure in readiness for the forecasted growth that could see the SADC region receiving approximately 58% of the total continental traffic by 2027. Recent reports indicate that international tourist arrivals increased from 882 million in 2009 to 940 million in 2010 and reached 980 million in 2011. Tourism receipts improved from US\$852 billion in 2009 to US\$940 billion in 2010 (United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), 2012 Report). This shift has, in many ways, benefited the Southern African countries, mainly because of its diverse cultural and geographical nature.

SADC has developed the strategy of Trans-Frontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) to ensure the ease of movement of tourists across the SADC region and wilderness protection. This in turn allows for employment creation and income generation translating into an improved quality of life for the people. Indications are that the number of tourists coming to the SADC region could triple by 2027; hence there is an urgent need to have physical infrastructure in the TECAs to capture and increase the market share. The Tourism Chapter identified an Infrastructure Development Action Plan, comprising five priority projects, among others, for implementation within the regional Trans-frontier Conservation Areas The estimated cost for these projects is US\$1.1 billion.

#### SURFACE TRANSPORT

SADC identified key transport projects for roads, railways, inland waterways, land borders, air and seaports, at a cost of 100 US\$ billion. The highlights of the transport diagnostic analysis indicate that there is a widening gap in the provision of infrastructure in the surface transport subsector across the region. The forecast made by the Programme for Infrastructure Development for Africa (PIDA) - a continental strategic framework for infrastructure development, estimated that transit traffic for land-linked SADC countries would increase from 13 million tonnes in 2009 to 50 million tonnes by 2030 and 148 million tonnes by 2040, at an average annual growth rate of 8.2%. In this regard, huge investment opportunities exist in the expansion of various airports and dry-ports in the region.

#### INFORMATION, COMMUNICATION AND TECHNOLOGY (ICT)

The region has stepped up its momentum in the development of regional infrastructure in the field of ICT. The ICT Chapter has identified numerous projects that promote increased private sector participation. The cost of providing ICT infrastructure projects is estimated at US\$21.4 billion.

#### **METEOROLOGY**

The SADC region faces recurrent droughts and floods to which end it has identified various projects to strengthen the region's meteorological systems and infrastructure to mitigate the adverse effects thereof. The estimated cost of public/private investment is US\$125 million.

#### WATER AND SANITATION

The Water Chapter identified some 34 water infrastructure projects that are ready for immediate implementation between 2013 and 2021, at an estimated cost of US\$16 billion.

#### MINING

SADC region boasts of having almost all of the precious mineral resources in the world for exploration and development with cooperating partners through various investment models.

In conclusion, the sectors mentioned above are non exhaustive; others include health, education, agriculture etc. It is apparent that the SADC region is an excellent choice for investment destination in view of the relatively stable macro-economic and political environment, abundant labour and high literacy rate. SADC has a large economic base catering for almost 277million people.



## **News** Diplomacy

# Pluralism centre renos could cost 'significantly more' than expected

#### Continued from Page 1

The Aga Khan, the spiritual leader of Ismaili Muslims, created the centre in partnership with the Canadian government. It's meant to advance global understanding of pluralism, the Harper government's preferred term for Canada's brand of cultural diversity.

Originally announced in 2006, the centre's staff members have been on the job for more than a year, but they have yet to move into their expected permanent location at 330 Sussex Dr. For now, they work down the street in Ottawa at the Delegation of the Ismaili Imamat, home to the Aga Khan Foundation Canada.

The Aga Khan pledged at least \$20 million to renovate the former war museum building. This was in addition to the \$10 million the Aga Khan Development Network committed towards an endowment fund to keep the centre running day to day, and \$30 million that the Canadian government pledged for the fund.

"It's turned out that the renovation is going to cost more, but [the Aga Khan is] very committed to this project," Mr. McNee said. "This whole thing was his initiative and he's committed to doing that."

The fact that a minimum of \$20 million was pledged suggests that even when it was made, the Aga Khan thought the renos might cost more. Just how much more is unclear.

"I think it's significantly more than [\$20 million], but I really don't know yet and that has to be worked out," Mr. McNee said.

He said the cost would depend on the outcome of technical tests being done on the building to determine what would be required during the renovation phase. The actual reconstruction hasn't started, since the centre had to sort out a plan, permits, a budget and timeline. Mr. McNee said he hoped the renovations could start in the spring.

The National Capital Commission owns the building, but in 2007 it leased it to the centre for 99 years for \$1. The lease specifies that the centre is to cover renovation costs, which the Aga Khan has agreed to support.

The work could take a couple of years given the building's large size and the fact that it's a heritage site so there is a "necessity to get it absolutely right," Mr. McNee said.

The building has asbestos, which needs to be removed. It also needs to be brought up to the proper seismic standards.

#### Activities underway

Mr. McNee said staff members have been working on setting the strategic direction for the centre, expanding awareness of it, broadening the centre's knowledge base and preparing for when they move into their permanent home.

Staff got the word out about the centre by, for instance, developing a new website and hosting lectures and forums on pluralismrelated topics.

Former United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan delivered this year's lecture at the centre in May. Mr. Annan is a member of the centre's board of directors.

The centre has also chosen two initial focus countries: Kenya and Kyrgyzstan.

Mr. McNee told *Embassy* last November that both countries had experienced "dramatic pluralism failure" in recent years, specifically during ethnic clashes in 2010 in Kyrgyzstan and after Kenya's 2007 elections.

"We see those as countries which have needs and potential because there are people in those societies who are dedicated to these values and want to change things," he had said. "The



Canada's former war museum building, pictured last fall, is the expected future home of the Global Centre for Pluralism.

[centre] can, we hope, be a source of support and encouragement in what they're trying to do." During the last year, the centre along

with help from outside scholars has been researching and trying to understand the causes and consequences of ethnic tension in the two countries.

Mr. McNee recently returned from a trip to Nairobi where he launched a book in partnership with a local group called the Katiba Institute, which was formed to promote the implementation and understanding of the new Kenyan constitution.

"GCP isn't going to become a publishing house, but here's the [centre]...supporting a Kenyan organization publishing the book," he said. "I think the GCP helps encourage the debate amongst the people...about the problems related to diversity in their society."

He said one of the lessons coming out of the past couple years is humility.

"It's extraordinarily important to listen to people in different societies to determine, to understand the issues...what really matters to them, what they think is wrong," he said. "Several people said to me in Nairobi, 'Outsiders can help us address these issues, it's hard for us.' So I think there's some openings for the centre."

The centre is set to hold a meeting in Istanbul later this month with Kyrgyz civil society groups, government officials, researchers and international experts. Mr. McNee said they'll use the centre's background papers as a basis for discussion in order to ensure they have their analysis right and so they can also talk about what outside organizations like the centre can do in the country.

He said the centre is trying to develop its own capacity to analyze and interpret situations so that when people go to them with a problem, they can provide advice.

"Right now we can do so, but in a more preliminary way," said Mr. McNee, who is one of about five staff members at the centre.

He said the board would discuss its program for next year when it meets in November. *sduggal@embassynews.ca* 

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#### Kristen Shane

rom climate change to cyber security and continued insecurity in places like Afghanistan and Somalia, Canadian authors have been busy this year writing on a range of timely topics.

*Embassy*'s annual list of top foreign policy books dispenses this year with reaching a certain rounded number. These are books that have made waves in Canadian policy circles and the media. Some are controversial for their arguments, others especially poignant in their descriptions.

There are a lot of great Canadian books, but to keep the list manageable, it focuses on popular works, not scholarly material. It emphasizes issues that Canadian policymakers are grappling with today, rather than narrow historical snippets. The list is limited to books written in English, although there is no shortage of quality books coming out of French Canada—Mr. Cormier's book is a testament to that.

To be considered, books had to be published between November 2012 and Oct. 9, 2013. They must have a clear Canadian connection, with preference for Canadian authors. And they must deal with *Embassy*'s key coverage areas: foreign affairs, development, diplomacy, trade and immigration. We also continue to limit the list to hardcopy or paperback books rather than journal articles, reports or e-books (although a couple good ones on Prime Minister Stephen Harper were penned by *Maclean's* writer Paul Wells and Postmedia parliamentary bureau chief Mark Kennedy).

Here, organized by category, are this year's top foreign policy books.

#### FOR THE ECO-CONSCIOUS

**Consumed:** Food for a Finite Planet Sarah Elton HarperCollins Publishers Ltd. April 23, 2013

How will the world's population be fed in 2050? A growing world population and the symptoms of climate change will take humans to the brink, Canadian journalist Sarah Elton writes. On top of that, she argues the current global food system is unsustainable. Multinational conglomerates harvest food in environmentally irresponsible ways and then ship it around the world, squeezing out smaller local farmers. While some argue that to have enough food to feed the world's population there's no sense in romanticizing our view of preindustrial food and farming, Ms. Elton says the global food system is largely contributing to greenhouse gas emissions. Her research is based on travels across three continents. Ms. Elton is the food columnist for CBC Radio's Here & Now program in Toronto.

#### Blue Future: Protecting Water for People and the Planet Forever Maude Barlow

House of Anansi Press Sept. 28, 2013

This is the final book in Maude Barlow's trilogy on world water security. The national chairperson of the Council of Canadians and former water adviser to the United Nations writes of the struggle to have water recognized as a human right and not as a commodity, the need to protect source water and for the world to come together to "live more lightly." Her book has been lauded by other well-known Canadian activists including David Suzuki and Naomi Klein.

# Insightful international reads of 2013

*Embassy*'s annual reading list of the year's most notable Canadian foreign policy books.



#### FOR THE SNOWDEN-OBSESSED

Black Code: Inside the Battle for Cyberspace Ronald J. Diebert Signal/McClelland & Stewart May 25, 2013

Well known for his work as the director of the Canada Centre for Global Security Studies and the trailblazing research hub Citizen Lab, Ron Diebert's book is particularly timely. Whistleblower Edward Snowden's disturbing revelations about the United States National Security Agency this summer and more recent allegations of Canada spying on Brazil through its electronic eavesdropping agency have made his research all the more relevant. Mr. Diebert's book examines global cyber trends, from data-harvesting of citizens' social media



#### information control among governments, businesses, crime syndicates and security firms.

#### FOR HISTORY BUFFS

**The Legacy of Tiananmen Square** Michel Cormier, translated by Jonathan Kaplansky Goose Lane Editions April 23, 2013

CBC Television's former China correspondent, Michel Cormier, uses the voices of young dissidents to tell the story of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. It's the peak of the history he traces of the fight for Chinese democracy. He uses interviews with dissidents and transcripts of Communist Party meetings to elucidate interesting details. His book is of particular interest to Canadian policymakers pivoting to higher-gear relations with Asia. Originally written in French, the book was translated, and updated by Mr. Cormier to include events in 2012.

#### FOR DEVELOPMENT GURUS

#### The Idealist: Jeffrey Sachs and the Quest to End Poverty Nina Munk

Signal/McClelland & Stewart Sept. 10, 2013

Over six years, Canadian-born journalist and author Nina Munk checked up on two of the famed economist Jeffrey Sachs's Millennium Villages in Africa and was disillusioned by what she saw. Through trailing Mr. Sachs in Africa and speaking to his African colleagues, she documents Mr. Sachs's unrelenting drive for poverty eradication, and the successes and failures of his ideas when they are put into practice. Her critical view of him and his work has, not surprisingly, irked him.

#### Ascent of Women Sally Armstrong Random House Canada March 5, 2013

Journalist and activist Sally Armstrong describes the struggle of women worldwide to take control of their own bodies: whether it's female protesters in Egypt's Tahrir Square or Kenyan women launching a historic lawsuit against their government for not protecting them against rape. Female emancipation is an economic necessity now, she argues. "The world can no longer afford to oppress half its population," she writes. One Globe and Mail reviewer says: "if Sally Armstrong sees resistance and progress where the cynical do not, it's not only admirable, it's a necessary precondition for changing the world. How she has seen the worst and still believes in the best is nothing short of inspiring." This book follows Ms. Armstrong's 2008 book Bitter Roots, Tender Shoots: The Uncertain Fate of Afghanistan's Women.

#### FOR POLICY WONKS

#### A Diplomat's Handbook for Democracy Development Support: Third Edition

Jeremy Kinsman and Kurt Bassuener

CIGI/Council for a Community of Democracies

Sept. 9, 2013

The third edition of this 464-page guide outlines relevant current case studies useful to diplomats in the field, such as the struggles for democracy in post-Arab Spring Tunisia and Egypt. It shows concrete ways diplomatic tools are being applied in such places to encourage democratic change (listening to civil society and government actors, showing respect for the government and sharing information and tasks among Western governments, for instance, in Egypt). The book also explores changes in China, Ukraine, Cuba, Russia, Belarus, Myanmar, Zimbabwe, Chile and South Africa. It's a useful, although lengthy, read for Western diplomats who are working at headquarters or abroad in countries facing a democratic transition.

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# Insightful international reads of 2013

Continued from Page 10

Canada Among Nations, 2013: Canada-Africa Relations: Looking Back, Looking Ahead Edited by Rohinton Medhora and Yiagadeesen Samy CIGI/Carleton University June 10, 2013

The latest in a long-running well-known series on Canada's relations with different regions of the world, this book takes stock of how Canada's relations with Africa have progressed and where they should be. Rohinton Medhora, president of the Centre for International Governance Innovation think tank, and Yiagadeesen Samy, an associate professor with Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, compile insight from leading Canadian development professionals who offer advice on how Canada and Africa can work together in areas including democracy, development aid, natural resources and regional security. Former Liberal prime minister Paul Martin writes the preface.

#### Policy Arrogance or Innocent Bias: Resetting Citizenship and Multiculturalism Andrew Griffith Anar Press Sept. 8, 2013

This former director general responsible for the federal government's multiculturalism portfolio gives readers a glimpse into the sometimes uncomfortable gap between public service expertise and ministerial direction. Mr. Griffith says he witnessed a fundamental reset of multiculturalism policies and programs between 2007 and 2011 under Jason Kenney's direction (who was first secretary of state and then minister responsible for the file). "Given the sharp nature of the policy reset, and the entrenched views of many public servants, this book aims to provide a small case study of how public servants adjusted to the new reality—one in which their expertise was fundamentally challenged, discounted, and at times ignored," he writes. Mr. Griffith's book is making waves in the Ottawa bubble.

#### FOR WAR JUNKIES

**The Dogs Are Eating Them Now: Our War in Afghanistan** Graeme Smith Knopf Canada

Sept. 24, 2013

Graeme Smith tells his raw first-person account of reporting from southern Afghanistan between 2005 and 2011 as a veteran foreign correspondent with the national newspaper *The Globe and Mail*. He gives new insight to the big Canadian stories of the war like the detainee abuse scandal and Sarpoza Prison jailbreak. He tells of being bombed, shot at, rocked by a suicide bomber and chased through narrow streets. He laments his own reporting failures and Western governments' flawed counterinsurgency tactics, and he pleas for continued engagement in the country he says shouldn't

#### FOR POLITICAL DIEHARDS

This fall has seen a political book bonanza. These reads are chiefly focused on Canadian politics, not foreign policy. But for any foreign diplomat hoping to get a deep, insider's view into the inner workings of political parties on Parliament Hill, these are required reading.



Fire and Ashes: Success and Failure in Politics Michael Ignatieff Random House Canada Sept. 24, 2013 Shopping for Votes: How Politicians Choose Us and We Choose Them Susan Delacourt Douglas & McIntyre Sept. 6, 2013

The Big Shift: The Seismic Change in Canadian Politics, Business, and Culture and What it Means for Our Future Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson HarperCollins Feb. 15, 2013 be left behind. Seduced by a country where he says geopolitical tectonic plates are grinding up against each other, Mr. Smith no longer reports for *The Globe* but still lives in Afghanistan, working for the International Crisis Group think tank.

#### A House in the Sky

Amanda Lindhout and Sara Corbett Scribner

#### Sept. 3, 2013

Another Canadian journalist, Alberta-bred Amanda Lindhout, stepped into danger in Somalia. But she didn't have a big Canadian newspaper to back her up. Ms. Lindhout was a freelance journalist with no formal training, but a passion for adventure. After travelling in Asia. Latin America and Africa she tried her hand at journalism, working in Baghdad for Iran's Press TV and freelancing elsewhere. Somalia was "the most dangerous place on Earth." She and her Australian friend Nigel Brennan leapt into the country in August 2008 and were soon kidnapped. They spent 15 months in captivity enduring abuse, before they were set free by a ransom payment. Ms. Lindhout's book has elicited strong reaction: some commentators call her actions that led to the kidnapping recklessly naïve and others point out that much more seasoned journalists have met the same unfortunate fate. A National Post reviewer described the book as being written in "transfixing, heartbreaking, yet measured detail." Ms. Lindhout had the help of New York Times Magazine contributing writer Sara Corbett to pen her memoir. Their book has lately been at the top of Canadian non-fiction bestseller lists. kshane@embassynews.ca @kristenshane1

Svend Robinson: A Life in Politics Graeme Truelove New Star Books Oct. 17, 2013

Paikin and the Premiers: Personal Reflections on a Half Century of Ontario Leaders Steve Paikin, A J. Patrick Boyer Book Sept. 28, 2013

dePICTIONS: Editorial Cartoons by Michael deAdder Michael deAdder Nimbus Publishing Sept. 13, 2013

# an *embassy* policy briefing **Security**

In an age when mass government surveillance has been unmasked as remarkably commonplace, personal privacy and security appear to be the latest victims of a new global arms race. Is the security of Canada and Canadians simply a passing casualty of this new cyber competition, or can the country and its citizens actively work to protect themselves, and if so how? In its 2013 Security Policy Briefing, *Embassy* will look at cyber security and Canada's place in the emerging global surveillance society, through in-depth analysis and interviews with political officials and subject-matter experts.

ONES TO WATCH

goes on sale Oct. 22.

Don Newman, a former CBC TV

all-news channel, has penned

journalist who hosted a daily poli-

tics program on the broadcaster's

Welcome to the Broadcast. which

Former chief adviser to the late NDP

tells how the third-party rode a wave

of Quebec support to clinch the offi-

cial Opposition spot in the 2011 elec-

tion in Building the Orange Wave,

Noted Canadian military historian

Patricias: A Century of Service as

David J. Bercuson authors The

the Princess Patricia's Canadian

Oct. 15 by Goose Lane Editions.

Light Infantry celebrates its 100<sup>th</sup>

anniversary in 2014. To be published

Former Progressive Conservative prime

minister Joe Clark comes out with How We Lead: Canada in a Century

of Change, billed to be "a passionate

place on the world stage" on Nov. 5.

to release her latest book, Lives

argument for Canada's reassertion of its

Ottawa author **Denise Chong** is set

of the Family: Stories of Fate and Circumstance, on Oct 12. The

book chronicles the lives of early

Toronto-born historian Margaret

ning Paris 1919, goes back further

in time with The War That Ended

it on bookshelves on Oct. 29.

MacMillan, author of the award-win-

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**<u>A HILLTIMES</u>** EMBASSY



Publication Date: October 23, 2013 Booking Date: October 18, 2013

# A skeptical take on a development rock star

The Idealist: Jeffrey

to End Poverty

By Nina Munk Signal/McClelland

260 pp; \$32.95

& Stewart

Sachs and the Quest

Canadian-born journalist Nina Munk spent six years chronicling the good and bad of famed economist Jeffrey Sachs's poverty-eradication project.

#### Ally Foster

hat started as a six-month task of profiling famed economist Jeffrey Sachs for Vanity Fair turned into a six-year book project that took Canadian-born journalist Nina Munk around the globe to follow a man that has been called everything from a boy genius to a bully in his obsessive mission to erase extreme poverty.

Every few months, Ms. Munk would visit Dertu, in Kenya near the border with Somalia, and Ruhiira, in Uganda. These are two of about a dozen poverty-stricken areas that were chosen to become case studies for Mr. Sachs's development plan: the Millennium Villages Project.

With a budget of roughly \$120 per person, per year, each petri-dish community could break free from the poverty trap and create a self-sustaining economy, argued Mr. Sachs.

As Ms. Munk writes, he believed that pouring enough money into key sectors all at once would give the villages the boost needed to set foot on the bottom rung of the ladder of economic growth. From there, populations could continue to climb on their own.

But there were towering roadblocks that Mr. Sachs, director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University, and his team of

Western development and economic experts could never imagine, she wrote.

Strategies believed to be common sense by those in New York, such as cutting and drying hay and storing it for times of drought, were deemed impossible by recipients.

"God has brought us this grass," Ms. Munk reported a villager from Dertu as saying. "It is not ours to cut."

There were many other unforeseen challenges: environmental crises, state-of-the-art medical equipment that sat useless without predictable electrical power, villagers that used anti-malarial bed nets to cover valuable livestock instead of themselves.

In her new book, The Idealist: Jeffrey Sachs and the

Quest to End Poverty, Ms. Munk writes about the complexities of poverty eradication and about aid that is delivered under the guise of development. She writes that the fear of admitting failure may be one of international development's biggest failings.

But she also writes of signs of progress, of hope and hard work, and of the redeeming qualities of being an unfaltering idealist.

Embassy made several attempts to get Mr. Sachs's response to Ms. Munk's arguments, but he did not respond by press time.

A post on the Millennium Villages Project website, responding to a New York Times column based on Ms. Munk's book, calls the book "error-filled and out of date." The post goes on to say that the project has "gained enormous strength in recent years," including through expansion to new countries. "The [United Nations] Millennium

Development Goals, together with other factors, and supported by the Millennium Villages Project, are helping Africa to start winning the battle against extreme poverty," read the post. The following interview has been edited for style and length.

> After writing this book, what have you learned about the differences between foreign aid and foreign development?

"So many people have said to me, 'Your book appears to be an indictment of foreign aid,' and I have stated very clearly that that is not the case. I'm a firm believer in foreign aid as long as we are honest with our-

selves about what the objectives are ... "If you—as in the case of the Millennium Villages Project-invest \$10 million or more in a small isolated African village, you will see positive results. It's called charity. It works, and it's good when it's done well ...

"But that is not economic development, and it certainly is not the solution to global poverty...Can economic development take hold in a desolate, desperate place with no roads or water? Where people are illiterate? Where people are unlikely to live past the age of 55?...

"You can of course improve dramatically the health of people living in isolated villages with a few fairly simple interventions, and not actually spending a great deal of money. But in no way can you guarantee that those people will have anything resembling long-term employment, or that they will...ever be connected to the outside world or to the global economy...

"If our objective is simply to improve the health of people living in extreme poverty, that's a goal I know we can accomplish...but if our goal is to lift people out of extreme poverty and thrust them into the global economy of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, well then I'm afraid in that case, we are not having a whole lot of success."

#### What was Mr. Sachs's objective, as you understood it?

'[His] goal was not to transform the lives of a few thousand people in a dozen remote villages. From the beginning, what mattered to him was to take this project to scale, and he was convinced that his approach-this holistic...set of interventions—could be replicated all across Africa, and that as soon as that approach was validated, it would be embraced by development experts, and by aid donors, and by governments...

'Today, seven years after the launch of what started out as a five-year project and then was elongated to become a 10-year project, it's clear by any measure that the Millennium Villages Project did not succeed in the ways that Jeff Sachs intended ... Continued on Page 15



Instagram



# 'We still haven't figured out what medicine heals a country'

Policymakers need to learn from their counterinsurgency mistakes in Afghanistan, says veteran foreign correspondent Graeme Smith.



The Dogs Are Eating Them Now: Our War in Afghanistan By Graeme Smith Knopf Canada 300 pp; \$32

#### Kristen Shane

Policymakers need to take a sober, public look at what went wrong during Canada's combat mission in Afghanistan in order to better execute future foreign campaigns, says a veteran foreign correspondent who extensively covered the war.

In his new book, The Dogs Are Eating Them Now, Graeme Smith tells the story of some of the sad, stupid and moving moments he saw and heard of while reporting for *The Globe and Mail* in southern Afghanistan between 2005 and 2011 alongside Western troops and independently.

Mr. Smith has since left *The Globe* but stayed in Afghanistan. After reporting postings in Russia, India, and Turkey, he's now a senior analyst based in Kabul for the International Crisis Group, the Brusselsbased think tank devoted to conflict prevention and resolution.

With foreign troops readying for a full handover to Afghan security forces next year, violence continuing, and the race for a spring presidential election just getting underway, Mr. Smith isn't sure what comes next.

But he is sure that Canada should continue to be engaged, if not through an extended training mission, than by standing up for its investments in organizations like the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission.

The following interview given Sept. 26 was edited for style and length.

#### Why did you write the book?

"There was too much that was not making it into the newspaper. And so I started keeping records. Pretty early on, like in 2007, I started organizing my days chronologically. So I literally had a computer folder for each stint in Afghanistan. Usually they were seven-week stints...

"And [takes a big breath out] it was also partly my way of trying to make sense of things for myself. Because when I finally did take the year off to write the book...it was good to just sort of sit and reflect. And I think to mourn, in some ways, everything that happened: friends who were killed or kidnapped, and aspirations that we had for southern Afghanistan that just didn't happen.

"And also, for me personally, to look back at all the scary, stupid stuff that I did that I should never ever do again..." You wrote in the opening of your book "as if bombs and bullets could cure extremism." Where did it all go wrong?

"There are lots of points of departure. On Sept. 12, 2001, we could have made a greater distinction between Al Qaeda and the Taliban. And our policy-makers were confused between this group, that group. They're just all dark shadowy forces at first blush.

"And then you start to realize that these various shadowy forces have different kinds of darkness and some of them have global ambitions, like Al Qaeda, and some of them don't, like the Taliban. Taliban are not nice people, but they don't want to fly planes into skyscrapers on the other side of the world...

"When we surveyed the Taliban and just asked them, 'Where is Canada?' we asked them the most rudimentary question possible...And one out of 42 got that correct. They did worse than randomly...

"So it took some time for the foreigners to realize who it was that they were fighting. Which has a big influence on policy.

"I think we also made a fundamental mistake of believing our own COIN doctrine—this counter insurgency doctrine that makes so much sense on paper, but in practice turned out to be so disastrous for southern Afghanistan. Maybe it would work somewhere else at some other time, but in practice what happened was every surge of troops coincided with higher levels of violence. And when more and more people are dying all the time, it's hard to say that's actually a success."

You wrote earlier in the book that you could see bad signs early in 2006. There was untrustworthiness between foreigners and Afghan troops. You said with the poppy eradication you could see signs of backlash...If that was realized early on by a lot of people...why wasn't there a change of policy then?

"...The different capitals had a hard time agreeing amongst each other about policy, first of all. And even if there was consensus, they had a hard time when the indications from the ground suggested that what they were doing wasn't working. It's hard to turn that battleship around, policy-wise. And if we had just been more clear-eyed and nimble, if we had been more able to adjust our course as we realized things were or weren't working, we may have avoided some of these ridiculous problems.

"Sometimes we avoided the very worst of it. On counter-narcotics, for example, the Americans were ready to spray chemicals over the fields to eradicate the opium from planes, and the Canadians and the British said behind closed doors, 'Absolutely not.' And they managed to stop that from happening. So there were these adjustments that were made, but not dramatically enough..."

#### What should Ottawa policymakers take away from this book?

"Canada's policymakers are often a few years behind their counterparts to the south, I'm sorry to say.



"We need to be more clear-eyed about our history, so we can be more clear-eyed about our future," says author Graeme Smith.

"And in the [United] States, you're starting to see a realization and a public reflection on the fact that the surges were mistake. You're seeing things like General Karl Eikenberry coming out with a piece in *Foreign Affairs*, this most prestigious policy journal, saying that COIN, counter insurgency, as a doctrine, was flawed in southern Afghanistan—that it didn't work.

"And that kind of self-reflection is just beginning to start amongst our allies, and clearly has not started at all in Canada, at least not publicly. The Canadians are still saying, 'What are you talking about? This is a success. We had a great victory in Afghanistan. We are leaving behind a stable, democratic government and life is better now for Afghans. And we're walking away with our heads held high.'

"...I think the reality is that Canada will be called upon to participate in something in the future. And it's not enough to simply say, 'No thank you.' We have to continue being a part of the NATO alliance.

"And so that being the case, we need to be more clear-eyed about our history, so we can be more clear-eyed about our future. You have to learn the hard lessons from Afghanistan. And that can't all happen behind closed doors. It has to be a public conversation.

"Not only that, but I should say as well, Canada supported important things in Afghanistan, and is now just cutting and running.

"Things like the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission. We gave millions of dollars to that organization and it is now being gutted. The senior brass are being replaced. It's being turned into an organization that's less likely to challenge the government and less likely to reveal to the world when human rights violations are occurring.

"And, if nothing else, Canada needs to stand up for its previous investments in that organization..."

#### Can you describe the story behind the name of the book?

"As you know, I spent a lot of time just transcribing audio. And one of the bits of audio I recorded in the Panjwai Valley in September 2006 was a soldier describing to me one of the failed tactics that we tried in that big chaotic fight [Operation Medusa].

"It was Canada's biggest fight since the Korean War. And it was touch-and-go for a while there. The Taliban resisted fiercely. The Canadians were pounding so many artillery shells into that valley that they ran out of ammo.

"And amidst that chaos and desperation, some soldiers apparently thought it would be a good idea to drag some Taliban bodies out into the open, mark them with glow sticks and sit waiting for the other Taliban to come and collect their dead, because they usually collect them promptly to give them a proper Islamic burial. So they sort of had bait for an ambush with human corpses.

<sup>4</sup>And the Taliban didn't take the bait. And the soldiers apparently waited all night and watched the dogs eat them.

"So it represents not only failed tactics, but also more specifically it represents things that I should have followed up at the time. I was listening to this little snippet of audio years later, writing my book, thinking: "Why didn't I chase that?"

Partly it was just that I was wrapped up in the war. I really enjoyed spending time with the guys who I was with, you know these noble Canadian soldiers. And that really didn't fit the narrative of noble Canadian soldiers. So there's a kind of reporter's regret there."

#### You're a foreign correspondent, having reported from many different places. But you stayed in Afghanistan, and now you're not doing foreign corresponding anymore...Why stay in Afghanistan and not Moscow or somewhere else?

"I think a lot of people stayed in Moscow 20, 30 years ago, because it was where the tectonic plates of geopolitics were grinding up against one another. And that place for the last 10 or 20 years or so has been Afghanistan.

"It is where the whole team is. Everybody's there. All of the [United Nations] agencies. All of the spy agencies. All of the big countries have sent their A-Teams to Afghanistan, diplomatically, over the last decade or so. It's where our very best ideas about how to intervene in a country have played out, in many cases disastrously.

"I use this image in the book that it's like watching the very beginnings of modern medicine. Once upon a time, we would just ignore countries that imploded. And now, in our thoroughly interconnected international system, we feel the need to go and do something about it. So now when there's a Mali or a Syria or a Libya or Afghanistan, we try to go in there. I mean, it's good that we want to do something, but we're like witch doctors waving eagle feathers over the body and chanting incantations. Because we still haven't figured out what medicine heals a country.

"And that comes back around to that idea of learning from mistakes. You can't just blame the evil spirits and walk away." *kshane@embassynews.ca* 

@kristenshane1

## **Opinion** Development

# A balanced Caribbean path to shared prosperity is possible

#### HASAN TULUY

he recent High Level Caribbean Forum in Nassau, which included Canada, was the latest in a series of discussions to develop a road map for the region's long-term economic growth while addressing persistent debt and fiscal issues. A significant consensus about the path forward is clearly taking shape.

Now, it's time for decisive action, so that the region can build on hard won social and economic gains.

The reasons are multiple. The region's poverty reduction and shared prosperity gains in the past decades are at risk of being reversed. In the three decades after 1980, the Caribbean region's gross domestic product per capita increased six fold, bringing about significant

poverty reduction. Then, the global financial crisis of 2008/09 hit exposing the fragility of the growth model in some Caribbean countries.

Jamaica and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States islands experienced contractions of 3.1 per cent and 5.3 per cent respectively in 2009. Jamaica, which had seen its poverty rate drop almost 20 per cent over two decades, saw it increase by eight per cent in a few years.

The forum took place the day after the United States Federal Reserve revealed that it would not start tapering its asset purchases after all. By then however, countries in the Caribbean such as Belize and the Dominican Republic had already seen yields of sovereign bonds rise by 130 and 40 basis points, respectively.

That episode served as a stark reminder that, for the Caribbean, challenges from outside can be significant and uncontrollable, yet

**Top Foreign Policy Books** The Idealist

#### **Continued from Page 13**

"The only way to move forward responsibly when it comes to trying to end poverty is to discuss our failures as openly as we discuss our successes.

#### Why do you think Jeffrey Sachs may not be as successful as he expected?

'I think it's patently clear when you read my book that for all of the magnificent work that Jeffrey Sachs has done to help people living in extreme poverty, that he is someone who is monomaniacal, who is very thinskinned, [and] who has no tolerance for people who disagree with him.'

Speaking of not agreeing with him, do you think it's possible for Westerners to create meaningful, sustainable development in Africa without inherently trying to change the recipients' beliefs, cultures and ways of life?

"One of the things that gives me the greatest optimism when I look at what's happening in Africa today is the rise of development experts who are actually African. That gives me a tremendous degree of hope because I believe that ... many of our failings on the ground in development have come about because we're outsiders trying to impose our ideas on people, cultures, countries that...we don't understand and can never understand ...?

#### Who was the most inspiring person you met while working on this book?

There is just no doubt in my mind that the people who work in development on the ground in Africa are a great inspiration to me...

"Over and over again, I was struck by their commitment to their jobs, their commitment to trying to make the world a better place. I remain in awe of the work that people who work in development do. My book follows, in particular, two men-one a Ugandan and one a Somali-Kenyan-who were in charge of ending poverty in two of the Millennium Villages that I spent time in...

"They really shared Jeff Sachs's idealism, and they had a tremendous amount of faith in



Jeffrey Sachs celebrates the opening of the Dertu Millennium Villages Project livestock market in Kenya.

his ideas and they believed fully that they could change the lives of their people. It amazed me that for every setback—and there were many setbacks-they never lost hope and I admire that deeply. I can only wish that more of us shared that kind of idealism and hopefulness."

#### What's your relationship now with Jeffrey Sachs, and what has his reaction been to the book?

"Jeffrey Sachs's reaction to my book has been very hostile...

"He's attacked me personally; I'm a grown-up, I can handle that. [But] what disappoints me is that it does nothing to help the billion people in the planet that continue to live in extreme poverty. It may be good for Jeff Sachs personally ... to dismiss my reporting, to dismiss the six years I spent following this project in the field, but it is certainly not good for the people that Jeff Sachs claims to want to help.

"It is essential if we are to make progress in the areas of development...that we admit to our failures and that we examine them closely and discuss them closely." afoster@embassynews.ca

@allyfoster1

Caribbean nations have many good reasons to be open to foreign investment, increased trade, and financial market access. The benefits outweigh the uncertainty of global economic and financial engagement.

The solution is not to close themselves, but to be more open, and to implement fundamental changes that will increase resilience. The risk of not establishing strong fundamentals now is that when the expected increase in financing costs finally happen, pressure will rise on local exchange rates and international reserves, especially for those countries with large current account deficits such as those in the Caribbean.

Investors will likely become more selective and focus on country fundamentals, moving their resources to those economies that are successful in implementing credible and sustainable reforms.

That would only add to an already challenging situation. Weak fiscal positions, declining foreign investment, frequent natural disasters, limited access to financial markets and other factors have already conspired to bring about a major debt burden for many Caribbean countries, hampering government's ability to deliver services to the people. Working with governments and devel-

opment partners, we have put forward a Comprehensive Debt Framework, a balanced approach that will require the contributions of the international community, private sector, public institutions, and civil society to succeed. It will focus on building a more sustainable growth model, improving fiscal balance, public sector management, building resilience to natural disasters, pursuing debt restructuring and strengthening debt management.

Meanwhile, initiatives such as Canada's distance education project will also contribute to increase employment opportunities of Caribbean citizens generating new economic opportunities. In May, Canada announced \$19.6 million over five years for the Strengthening Distance Education in the Caribbean project.

If we are to preserve the gains of the past and secure the future for today's youth in the Caribbean, we need to work together to create a virtuous cycle of faster economic growth and lower debt, generating opportunities for all and shifting the region's economic outlook to a more sustainable path, a path which puts people at the center, ensuring that human and social investments are part of the new, balanced shared growth paradigm.

The time for diagnostics is definitely over. Hasan Tuluy is the World Bank vice president for Latin America and the Caribbean. editor@embassynews.ca



Phone: 267-5237

# **Opinion** IPCC Report



A child stands by a parched riverbed in Tahoua Region, Niger in November 2011 during a time of drought and rising food prices.



# NIHWS FROM AFAR THAT HITS HOME

Inside the decisions that change your world.



# Wanted: Coherent handling of the climate change file



Www e don't know who will be prime minister in December 2015, the year of Canada's next federal election. But whoever it is will be on the hot seat when global leaders gather in a Paris suburb to negotiate a new action plan on climate change. At the previous and failed effort, in Copenhagen in 2009, Canada was reviled for its poor record on climate change and its efforts to sharply increase production of climate-threatening oil sands. In fact, Prime Minister Stephen Harper was reluctant even to show his face there.

If Harper wins the 2015 election, there is a good chance we will again be seen as Ugly Canada. With the release of the latest report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the sombre message that the evidence of human activity contributing to climate change was "unequivocal" and that without strong action climate problems would get much worse, was greeted with serious concern in major capitals.

But in Ottawa the Harper government responded with a cheap, partisan press release denouncing the opposition parties and claiming, falsely, that the Harper government was "playing a leadership role in addressing climate change." In other words, business as usual. The Tories forget their opposition to climate action in their days as the Reform or Canadian Alliance parties—or their questioning then of the very science.

Yet it's not just an issue grossly mishandled by the Conservatives. Neither the NDP nor the Liberals have a coherent climate change strategy they can take to Canadians. While they are good at attacking the Harper government for its disgraceful lack of action, they have yet to develop detailed approaches of their own. Yet one of them, potentially, could form the government in 2015.

#### A numbers game

The goal of climate experts is to limit the increase in the average global temperature to 2 degrees C from 1860-1880, since this is believed to be the threshold beyond which we would face grave consequences for human life. Some scientists believe that even 2 C is too high an increase while other experts believe that failure to meet 1997 Kyoto Protocol commitments means it is already too late.

The IPCC report poses a significant challenge for major emitting nations, such as Canada, in its new approach, in which it sets a one-trillion-tonne budget for the amount of carbon that can be emitted if the world is to hold to the 2 C threshold.

Since 531 gigatonnes of carbon have already been emitted, and subtracting noncarbon dioxide greenhouse gas emissions, this means the remaining carbon budget for the 21<sup>st</sup> century is only 269 gigatonnes of carbon. Based on current annual emissions of 10 gigatonnes, HSBC Global Research estimates that the carbon budget for the remainder of the  $21^{st}$  century could be depleted before 2030.

"We believe this carbon budget will provide the core framing for negotiations for a new international climate agreement, and we expect considerable disputes over the level and geographical distribution of the budget," the climate team at HSBC, one of the world's largest multinational banks, argues.

For investors, "the key will be how this diminishing budget is distributed between regions and sectors, and how it impacts capital allocation for both low- and highcarbon investments."

One thing is clear: barring some radical new technology, a large share of the world's fossil fuels—coal, oil and natural gas—will have to remain undeveloped.

#### Time to get ready for 2015

Moreover, as Nicholas Stern, author of the groundbreaking 2007 Stern Review on the economics of climate change, argues that with the new IPCC report, the need for action is even stronger than his own report warned.

"Slow, weak action increases the risks because greenhouse gas emissions continue to accumulate in the atmosphere and the installation of long-lasting high-carbon capital and infrastructure locks in future emissions. It is this brutal arithmetic that should persuade companies, communities, cities and nations to seize the opportunities for sustained and sustainable growth by hastening their transition to a low-carbon economy."

In the Harper government's rush to rapidly expand oil sands production the cumulative effect on greenhouse gas emissions is often overlooked. But every new oil sands plant will emit high levels of greenhouse gases for anywhere from 15 to 50 years. In one estimate by the independent Pembina Institute in Alberta, based on approved projects, annual greenhouse gas emissions would nearly triple between now and 2022. The oil sands are the fastest-growing source of greenhouse gas emissions in Canada.

The world's leaders are to show up in Le Bourget, a Paris suburb, to negotiate and sign a legally binding agreement to implement a pledge they made in Durban, South Africa in 2011. While the earlier leaders' summit in Copenhagen in 2009 failed to reach an agreement, it did result in an accord in which individual countries were to make voluntary emissions reduction commitments that, overall, would hold the global rise in temperatures to less than 2 degrees C.

Canada's pledge is to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 17 per cent below 2005 emissions by 2020. But Canada is only halfway there, with no strategy in place to meet its emissions reduction target. Emissions reductions so far have largely been due to provincial actions such as Ontario's decision to stop producing electricity from coal.

If the job of government is to represent the future to the present, then the Harper government gets a failing mark. But the opposition parties might not do any better. It's time to get ready for 2015.

David Crane is a Toronto-based writer on economic, political and environmental issues. crane@interlog.com

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# Party Time



Argentina's chargé d'affaires, José Ureta (whose Canadian posting has since ended), hosted a press conference and reception on Sept. 25 at the country's official residence to launch the film series and research workshop Viva Argentina!

1. Canadian Film Institute executive director Tom McSorley shakes hands with Mr. Ureta.







Palestinian General Delegation Chief Representative Said Hamad and his wife, Claudette Shwiry Hamad, in co-operation with the Federal District Council of the St. John Ambulance, hosted a reception on Sept. 27 at the delegation office in support of the St. John of Jerusalem Eye Hospital. All proceeds were to be donated to the hospital. 4. Conservative MP Rick Dykstra

- addresses the crowd, with Mr. Hamad by his side.
   Louis Barré, CEO of the St. John
- Canada Foundation; Allan Bird, chair of the St. John Ambulance Federal District Council; Mairi Arthur, chancellor of The Priory of Canada; Ms. Shwiry Hamad; Mr. Hamad; and Steven Gaetz, CEO of the St. John Ambulance Federal District Council.
- Independent Senator Anne Cools speaks.



lockey Night in Shanghai

 Models Kristen and Elana, both from Models International Management, pose on the runway on Sept 15 with Inna Prystaiko, wife of the Ukrainian ambassador, and model Sophie, from Angie's Models & Talent International. The models are wearing dresses by Carissa McCaig of Copious Couture in Toronto.



The Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai helped organize the second Hockey Night in Shanghai at the Feiyang Skating Center on Sept. 18. The World team beat Canada 3-2, but "the Canadian team fought until the very end," said a chamber spokesperson. 2. Canadian Consul General Rick Savone and Chinese Olympic speed skating champion Yang Yang drop the puck. 3. Some patriotic Canucks in the crowd give a shout-out to their home TV networks.





The Peruvian Embassy held a reception on Oct. 1 at the

ambassador's residence to mark Peruvian Armed Forces Day.
8. Chinese defence attaché Senior Colonel Daozhong Li, Venezuelan military attaché Brigadier General Juan Elieser Medina, Peruvian Ambassador José Antonio Bellina, Peruvian defence attaché Colonel Julio Román Samander, and Chinese assistant defence attaché Major Tuan Jiang.
9. Mr. Bellina, Col. Román and Canadian vice-chief of defence staff

Mr. Bellina, Col. Román and Canadian vice-chief of defence staff Lieutenant-General Guy Thibault, in conversation.

> On the occasion of Nigeria's 53<sup>rd</sup> independence anniversary, High Commissioner Ojo Uma Maduekwe, and his wife, Ucha Maduekwe, hosted a reception on Oct. 1 at the Chateau Laurier hotel. 10. Mr. Maduekwe leads a toast to

- his country. 11. Yemeni Ambassador Khaled Mahfoudh Abdulla Bahah and Deepak Obhrai, parliamentary secretary for foreign affairs
- and human rights. 12. Ghanaian High Commissioner
- Samuel Valis-Akyianu and N'Goran Kouamé, ambassador of Côte d'Ivoire.

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## **Envoys & Events**

Before that she served as a minister-counsellor at the EU's delegation in Geneva and

She has also worked as a staff member of

Ms. Coninsx, who is Belgian, studied law in her home country and said the most interesting course she took was on Europe's diplomatic history. It led her to study international relations at Cambridge University.

Ms. Coninsx said she has often been in

contact with Canadian diplomats through

**Rishchynski**, who was formerly posted as Canada's ambassador to Mexico during the

time when Ms. Coninsx was heading the EU

They often exchanged notes on the EU

and security issues.

"He was a great col-

league and I had a lot of

contact with him, and it's

provided he doesn't know

yet that I am here," she

said with a laugh.

Touchdown

in Canada

my intention to inform him

Ms. Coninsx said the

"It is I think for every

credentials ceremony

in Quebec City was an

"impressive" one.

her career. This included Guillermo E.

also in New York.

delegation there.

several commissioners.

# Pre-election trade window is closing, warns EU er



he window in which Canada and the European Union can finalize a trade deal before elections potentially change top officials in both entities is quickly closing, warns the EU's new ambassador to Canada.

Sitting at the EU Delegation in downtown Ottawa, Marie-Anne Coninsx seemed hopeful about the talks towards a Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement that have been front and centre in Canadian foreign policy for the past several years.

'The momentum is there," Ms. Coninsx told Embassy on Oct. 7, just four days after she presented her credentials to Governor General David Johnston.

She said one reason for this is that the two sides have come a long way with the negotiations.

'If you are nearly there, it would not be good to stop it or delay it more ... this momentum, particularly since the last [few] weeks...we are nearly there," said Ms. Coninsx, who was previously heading the EU's delegation in Mexico.

The European Parliament is slated to have its elections next May, after which elected members who are strong supporters of the trade talks may no longer be around.

This would also mean changes to high-ranking officials within the European Commission. Ms. Coninsx said European Commission President José Manuel Barroso, for example,

would finish his term as head of the union. Meanwhile the EU's high representative for foreign affairs and security policy, Catherine Ashton, has said she would step down after her term expires in 2014.

In addition, "we will have a new president of the European Council," Ms. Coninsx said, adding that the current president, Herman Van Rompuy, is a very big supporter of Canada-EU ties.

Then there's Karel de Gucht, the current trade commissioner. "[He's] very much in favour; I don't know if he'll still be in the commission or not, he might be, but we don't know if it will be trade, it's all a big question mark," Ms. Coninsx said.

The European Council would nominate the European Commission president, for example, after the parliamentary elections. This would then go to the European Parliament for a vote.

'So the whole year 2014 is a big election year within the EU where [there will be] a lot of change and uncertainties," Ms. Coninsx said. The new leaders will likely also have other priorities and focus initially on getting a new team in place, she said.

Canadian political parties will be just as busy the following year with expected federal elections. To add to that, trade talks between

the EU and the United States have also begun. They are also very important for the EU, and therefore I think it would be an interest of both Canada and the EU if we could finalize something which is nearly finalized," Ms. Coninsx said.

When asked about an Oct. 3 report in La Presse that suggested a deal could be signed this month, with Oct. 18 being a possible date, Ms. Coninsx said, "I would like to know their source."

"I don't know where this is coming from," she said. "It might be true or not, I don't know the source of that information.

Canada and the EU have also been negotiating a parallel political deal called the

Strategic Partnership Agreement, which would cover a wide range of the relationship and replace a 1976 framework. Those talks hit a snag because Canada had a problem with a clause in the deal that could lead to the suspension of the trade deal. Ms. Coninsx said the

two sides are still in talks on the political deal. Alexandra Bugailiskis,

who has been Canada's chief negotiator for the political deal, told the House for-

eign affairs committee in February 2012 that the goal was to wrap up the agreement that year. Ms. Coninsx described the two ongoing

negotiations as a "whole package," with talks being "quite well advanced.

The European envoy said the EU has  $10\,$ "strategic partners" around the world including Canada, Mexico, and the US. While the trade relationship gets a lot of attention, other aspects such as co-operation in eradicating land mines or the training of police officers and judges are not well known to the broad public, she said.

"It's something we have ... in common and this is something I would like to advocate ... to demonstrate its strengths, all the things we do together," Ms. Coninsx said.

"Also I see it as my task to give visibility to the EU, which does not always have a right impression or perception abroad," she said. Ms. Coninsx said working with Canada in the Arctic is another priority for her.

**Canadian contacts** 

Prior to her posting in Mexico, Ms. Coninsx was overseeing the unit for European and Latin American ties within the external relations department from 2004 to 2009.

She traveled to Ottawa four or five times during this period for meetings with Canadian officials to compare policies on Latin America and the Caribbean.

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and Canada's work with Mexico on justice The European Union's ambassador

to Canada, Marie-Anne Coninsx.

ambassador a very important moment not only because then onwards you can start officially your functions, but it's a touching exercise and particularly also because the governor general pronounced some very nice words," she said.

Ms. Coninsx said she would like to visit other parts of Canada-a "huge task" given the size of the country.

She said she would also like to have the European ambassadors go on joint missions to the provinces and territories.

"It's a country which is very pleasant and easy to live in," she said. Ms. Coninsx said Canadians and her fellow diplomatic colleagues have received her very well.

She has been meeting with her European and non-European counterparts and had an informal meeting with Trade Minister Ed Fast.

"Everything that I've seen until now is very promising and positive. Ms. Coninsx and her husband, Kurt

Schelter, are both fans of winter sports. 'We are looking forward to the winter com-

ing up to do some skiing, that's what we like," she said "But everybody tells us we have also to

learn some skating; we're not so young anymore but we'll try in any case to do it," she said with a smile.

sduggal@embassynews.ca @snehduggal

# VALIStin

#### WEDNESDAY, OCT. 9

Uganda celebrates its independence day. It gained independence from the UK in 1962. For information on any ations, please call the embassy at 613-789-7797

Ottawa Economics Association Luncheon-Guest speaker is Mark Jaccard, who will discuss Climate Change-Canada's Contribution to a Global Tragedy of the Commons. 11:45 a.m., \$45 pre-paid online; \$75 at door; non-members \$90. Fairmont

Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St. Details and registration at cabe.ca. Autumn-The Uruguayan Embassy presents an exhibition "Autumn" by Uruguayan artist Daniel Tomasini. 6:30-9:30 p.m.

Exhibit runs until Oct. 13. Saint Brigid's Centre, 310 St. Patrick St. Fire and Ashes-Former Liberal leader Michael

Ignatieff discusses his new book with Craig Oliver, chief political correspondent, CTV News. Presented by The Ottawa International Writers Festival. 7 p.m., \$15-\$20. Southminster United Church, 15 Aylmer Ave. writersfestival.org

#### THURSDAY, OCT. 10

Fiji celebrates its national day. It gained independence from the UK in 1970.

Equatorial Guinea celebrates its national day. It gained independence from Spain in 1968.

#### FRIDAY, OCT. 11

Art of Pakistan-The High Commission of Pakistan Sadequain and several contemporary Pakistani artists. 5:30-7:30 p.m. Continues until Oct. 13 (10 a.m.-6 p.m.). Jean Pigott Place, Ottawa City Hall, 110 Laurier Ave. W. 613-238-7881. SATURDAY, OCT. 12

Celebration of Uganda's 51st Independence Anniversary-The Uganda Association of Ottawa presents an evening of Ugandan food, dance and music in celebration of Uganda's 51st Independence Anniversary. 6 p.m., \$25. Royal Canadian Legion Hall, 330 Kent St. 613-316-0767

#### SUNDAY, OCT. 13

Parliamentary Associations-The Canadian Delegation to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe travels to Budva, Montenegro for fall meetings. Until Oct. 15. For more information, please visit www2.parl.gc.ca/iia.

#### TUESDAY, OCT. 15

Promoting Democracy: What Role for Emerging Powers?-This conference will examine what role the de cratic emerging powers can play in promoting democracy beyond their own borders. It is co-organized by the Centre for International Policy Studies at the University of Ottawa, the German Development Institute and IDRC. Presented by the German Development Institute, in partnership with CIPS and the IDRC. Registration is required. Until Oct. 16. Free. Room 4004, Faculty of Social Sciences Bldg., 120 University Ave. To register, please contact Isabelle Karar by email at or by phone at 613-562-5800, ext. 2664 or ikarar@uottawa.ca

Turn the Tide of AIDS in Africa-The Rideau Grandmothers and Shepard's Fashions present an evening of fun, fashion, and shopping. 6:30-8:30 p.m., \$25. Shepard's Fashions, 145 Train Yards Dr. Tickets available through felicity.garrard@gmail. com or sallyhutchison@hotmail.com; grandmotherscampaign.org. WEDNESDAY, OCT. 16

Throne Speech-Gov. Gen. David Johnston will read the Throne Speech when Parliament returns after a summer break.

Iran: Challenges and Policies-CIC NCR presents a talk with John Mundy, former Canadian diplomat, and Thomas Juneau, UQAM. They will discuss "Iran: Challenges and Policies. 5:15 p.m. Rideau Room, Sheraton Hotel, 150 Albert St., Ottawa, Ont. Register to 613-903-4011 or ottawa@opencanada.org.

Meeting the Infrastructure Challenge: The Case for a New BRICS Development Bank – The CIGI Global Policy Forum is an exclusive, invitation-only series of talks offering authoritative analysis on policy-relevant issues affecting Canada and its place in the world. 5:30-7 p.m. Rideau Club Lounge, 99 Bank St., 15th Floor. cigionline.org/events

Ask Me More About Brecht-The Austrian Cultural Forum presents Ask Me More About Brecht, featuring conversations between Hans Eisler and Hans Bunge on Bertolt Brecht, a multi-media presentation with music and a dramatic reading. 6 p.m. Free. Rideau Club, 99 Bank St., 15th Floor. RSVP to ottawa-kfa@bmeia.gv.at.

Embassy Listings is edited by Alia Heward at 613-232-5952, ext. 200. Information regarding events should be emailed with the subject line 'Embassy Listings' by Friday at 5 p.m., in a paragraph with all the relevant details. listings@



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# FALL 2013 HIGHLIGHTS



SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26 @ NOON: CAMPAIGNING FOR JUSTICE: Human Rights Advocacy in Practice with Jo Becker Hosted by The Hill Times' Jim Creskey

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26 @ 2:00 PM: **ONTARIO LEGAL SYSTEM IN CRISIS with** Mitch Kowalski, Julie MacFarlane and Thomas Conway



SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26 @ 4:00 PM: A HOUSE IN THE SKY One on One with Amanda Lindhout Hosted by Louisa Taylor



SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27 @ 2:00 PM: A VERMONT GIRL'S WINDING PATH TO THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE: One on One with Jody Williams Hosted by CBC's Lucy van Oldenbarneveld



SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27 @ 4:00 PM: ASCENT OF WOMEN with Sally Armstrong Hosted by CBC's Sandra Abma



MONDAY, OCTOBER 28 @ 6:30 PM: PAIKIN AND THE PREMIERS: Personal Reflections on a Half-Century of Ontario Leaders with Steve Paikin Hosted by The Ottawa Citizen's Joanne Chiannello



MONDAY, OCTOBER 28 @ 8:30 PM: THE WAR THAT ENDED PEACE: THE ROAD TO 1914 with Margaret MacMillan Hosted by CBC's Laurence Wall

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29 @ 8:30 PM: STATE OF THE NATION with John Ibbitson, Susan Delacourt and Paul Wells

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30 @ 8:30 PM: SCENE OF THE CRIME with Marcia Clark, Thomas Enger, Jørn Lier Horst and Peter Robinson Hosted by CBC's Sandra Abma



NORLA

It's a dark and violent world out there, and our four international bestsellers are having a lot of fun bringing us to its most sinister corners. Join us for a globe-spanning trek to the scene of the crime.

## SCHEDULE & TICKETS: WRITERSFESTIVAL.ORG













**HILLTIMES** 

EMBASSY

BRIDGEHEAD The Epoch Times

TICKETS ALSO AVAILABLE FOR THIS

Hosted by CTV's Craig Oliver

ARC

OCTOBER 9 @ 7:00 PM:

**FIRE AND ASHES:** 

PRE FESTIVAL SPECIAL EVENT:

One on One with Michael Ignatieff



A ONTARIO ARTS COUNCIL CONSEIL DES ARTS DE L'ONT

**OCT 24**TH



EXPERIENCE OFIDEAS