EINEBASSIVE CANADA'S FOREIGN POLICY NEWSWEEKLY

OTTAWA, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 2010 ISSUE 300 • \$3.00



Not-So-Sombre Moment: Chief of Defence Staff Gen. Walter Natynczyk, Governor General Michaëlle Jean and Prime Minister Stephen Harper laugh last week during a ceremony commemorating the 93rd anniversary of Vimy Ridge. Participants also remembered Canada's First World War veterans, the last of whom died this year. Page 9.

Experts see link between Gualtieri, Colvin cases

■ Gualtieri's case 'would have been an embarrassment,' whistleblower says.

Carl Meyer

Experts and a former whistleblower are drawing a link between the heavy criticism the government received over its treatment of diplomat Richard Colvin and its recent decision to end a tumultuous 12-year legal battle with a former Foreign Affairs employee.

Joanna Gualtieri exposed profligate waste at Canadian missions abroad in the early 1990s. At the time, she said the department was wasting millions of taxpayer dollars on accommodations for diplomats that weren't being used.

When she filed her reports on the waste, Ms. Gualtieri said her superiors ignored them. When she went public, she alleged her peers harassed and tried to intimidate her. Eventually observers say she was pushed out of the department on unpaid medical leave.

In 1998, Ms. Gualtieri filed a \$30-million lawsuit against the department for the alleged harassment, naming a number of

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Is Security Council bid prompting pseudo-interest in Africa?

■ Michaëlle Jean trip highlights increased outreach, but absence of solid initiatives.

Lee Berthiaume

Governor General Michaëlle Jean will lead a small Canadian delegation on a four-country tour of Africa starting today that will include stops in Rwanda, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Cape Verde. The trip comes just over a year after the continent was shocked by a marked Canadian shift away from it in favour of Latin America and the Caribbean.

According to a rough itinerary of Ms. Jean's trip, the governor general will talk about the role of the media in Senegal and Rwanda, tour several CIDA projects in Rwanda and the DRC, deliver a speech to the DRC National Assembly, and look at the economic and social progress achieved in Cape Verde.

Ms. Jean, who was asked by Prime Minister Stephen Harper to undertake the trip, will be accompanied almost exclusively by several media experts, artists and human rights activists. Above all, it appears the purpose of the visit is to facilitate Canada-Africa contacts.

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Foreign Affairs gets new deputy minister as major overhaul launched

■ Morris Rosenberg gets stellar reviews as "Canada-builder."

Lee Berthiaume

After three years holding down Fort Pearson, Foreign Affairs deputy minister Len Edwards is preparing to pass the torch—just as the department is about to undergo a major shake-up.

Mr. Edwards's replacement, Health Canada deputy minister Morris Rosenberg, is being lauded by those who have interacted with him. However, foreign policy experts are now split on whether his apparent lack of international experience will help or hurt DFAIT, particularly as it is preparing for an overhaul.

A career diplomat, Mr. Edwards served in many parts of the world, including as ambassador to South Korea and Japan. He became deputy minister of International Trade in 2001, moved over to Agriculture Canada in 2004, then took over from Peter Harder as Foreign Affairs deputy minister in March 2007.

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POLISH EMBASSY MOURNS NATIONAL LOSS



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Diplomacy This Week

Polish Embassy mourns national loss

EMBASSY STAFF

Chatter House

he somber music playing at the National Arts Centre on Monday was very much in tune with the atmosphere of the evening as more than 2,000 people commemorated Polish president **Lech Kaczynski**, his wife **Maria** and 94 other Polish passengers who died in a plane crash over the weekend.

The tragic accident left Poland—and the world—in shock, especially considering the purpose of the trip. The Polish delegation was heading to the Russian city of Katyn to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the murder of more than 25,000 Polish officers killed by Soviet authorities.

The NAC room was filled to capacity. The concert began with an announcement of the catastrophe, followed by a minute of silence, recalls **Sylwia Domisiewicz**, press officer at the Polish Embassy in Ottawa.

"You can imagine 2,000 people standing," she says. "Really, it was so silent, so touching."

Red and white flowers with black ribbons, symbolizing Poland's national colours, covered the stage. Ottawa-based soprano Maria Knapik sang the *Elegia*, composed by Canadian-Polish composer Peter Paul Koprowski and directed by David Currie. *Elegia* is based on a Second World War poem about a son's death.

"The last phrase of the poem says 'Is it a bullet that killed you or is it just your heart that was broken?" Ms. Domisiewicz explains. "It was very moving, and the music was very appropriate, like lament music for a funeral."

During the second part of the concert, the room was covered in almost complete darkness as the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra performed *The Symphony of Sorrowful Songs*.

"I've never seen anything like this, but there were even no side lights on, only a little light on the stage, at the centre," Ms. Domisiewicz recalls.

Among the attendees were Czech Ambassador **Karel Žebrakovsky**, officials from the French and other European embassies, and from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

"Maybe it's not for me to judge, but I think this was a very wonderful and touching concert," Ms. Domisiewicz says.

Although the concert was dedicated to those who lost their lives last weekend, the Polish embassy had been planning it for about a year.

"It's only because the music was appropriate to this situation that some of us decided go," Ms. Domisiewicz said. "It really is just a coincidence that this happened."

Polish Ambassador **Zenon Kosiniak-Kamysz** did not attend, as ambassadors were asked to cancel all planned events during a national day of mourning. However, his wife was there.

Polish Prime Minister **Donald Tusk** was also supposed to start his visit to Canada yesterday, but that trip was understandably cancelled.

"We were positively tuned for this visit, it was so much work and preparation, everything was ready to go," she says. "And then it all turned into this tragedy."

Mourners have already filled a book of

condolences with what Ms. Domisiewicz thinks are more than 1,000 signatures. People have started writing their condolences and thoughts in a second book.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper, Liberal opposition leader Michael Ignatieff and Chief of Defence Staff Gen. Walter Natynczyk have already signed the book.

A photo of each of the 96 passengers who died in the tragic plane crash is displayed at the Embassy. "They were so important in our political life," Ms. Domisiewicz says. "We knew many of them personally."

Eighteen Polish members of parliament lost their lives in the plane crash, along with the commander of the Polish armed forces, the deputy ministers for foreign affairs and defence, the chief of diplomatic protocol and the chief of the Polish national bank.

Mr. Harper announced he will attend the funeral of Mr. Kaczynski and his wife on April 18.

The Polish embassy has its doors open from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. until Saturday for people to sign the book of condolences and light candles.

Danish FM catches Arctic heat

Canadian reporters and opposition critics had a field day at Foreign Minister **Lawrence Cannon**'s expense two weeks ago after US Secretary of State **Hillary Clinton** criticized the decision to exclude representatives from Sweden, Iceland and Finland from an Arctic meeting in Quebec.

However, it appears Mr. Cannon isn't the only one who has been burned by the experience.

Apparently Denmark's Foreign Minister Lene Espersen's decision to skip the Arctic coastal



Maria Knapik is applauded by the crowd.

state meeting in favour of a family vacation left Danish media and opposition parties howling.

Ms. Espersen is new at the job and it was felt she missed a key opportunity to interact with such bigwigs as Mrs. Clinton and Russian Foreign Minister **Sergey**Lavrov. However, even worse is the fact that Denmark currently chairs the Arctic Council.

"After only a month in her new position as foreign minister, Lene Espersen has by nearly all accounts committed a major blunder when she bailed out of an important meeting over the Arctic," the *Copenhagen Post* stated.

Apparently this isn't the first time Ms. Espersen's family commitments have gotten in the way of her job as a minister. The *Post* reported that as justice minister in 2006, she went to Spain while the Mohammed cartoon furor was burning. And in 2009, "she rubbed her boss, then-prime minister **Anders Fogh Rasmussen**, decidedly the wrong way by going to Portugal with her family the week he was stepping down from his post."

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Talking Points

US Embassy off the hook

A motion by Ottawa city councillor **Alex Cullen** to charge an annual \$111,690 fee for the United States Embassy's encroachment on Sussex Drive and MacKenzie Avenue was defeated at the transportation committee on April 7, reported the CBC. The concrete barriers are to be replaced next year with rigid posts, under terms of an agreement between the US, the federal government, the city and the National Capital Commission. These would take up a lane of traffic on each road. The city usually charges \$306 per day for encroaching on a road.

PM approved Libyan dictator's layover

Prime Minister Stephen Harper personally approved Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi's planned Canadian layover last year, even as his Conservative government was rebuking the Libyan dictator for celebrating a convicted terrorist, the Canadian Press reported. Mr. Gadhafi cancelled the planned stop in Newfoundland after the PMO warned he would be scolded for throwing a party for a man jailed in the Lockerbie bombing.

Pacific FTA eludes Canada

Canada has been shut out of a potentially historic Pacific free trade agreement involving the United States and seven other countries, reported the *Globe and Mail*. When asked in 2006 to join the **Trans-Pacific Partnership** negotiations that only recently got under way in Australia, the Harper government refused, largely to protect the Quebec and Ontario dairy industry from foreign competition. While Canada hasn't formally asked to join, it reportedly has been told it is too late.

Nuclear deal struck

Canada and the United States have struck a deal with Mexico that will see the three countries work to eliminate all **highly-enriched uranium** from Mexico, the *Toronto Sun* reported. Canada will work with the US and the IAEA to convert Mexico's facilities to one that can run on low enriched uranium. They will be engaged in an effort to transport stockpiles of highly-enriched uranium in Mexico back to the U.S. so it does not fall into the hands of terrorists.

Military warned of torture

Canadian diplomat **Richard Colvin** told a commission in Ottawa on



a commission in Ottawa on Tuesday that military commanders overseeing Canada's mission in Kandahar were warned repeatedly that detainees transferred to Afghan authorities faced a systemic risk of torture and abuse, reported the *Toronto Star*. Mr. Colvin said that

within a month of arriving in Kandahar in April 2006, he had "credible" information about the risks facing Canadian transferred detainees. That information was relayed in reports to headquarters staff with the Canadian Expeditionary Command, which was overseeing the Afghan mission.

Corrections

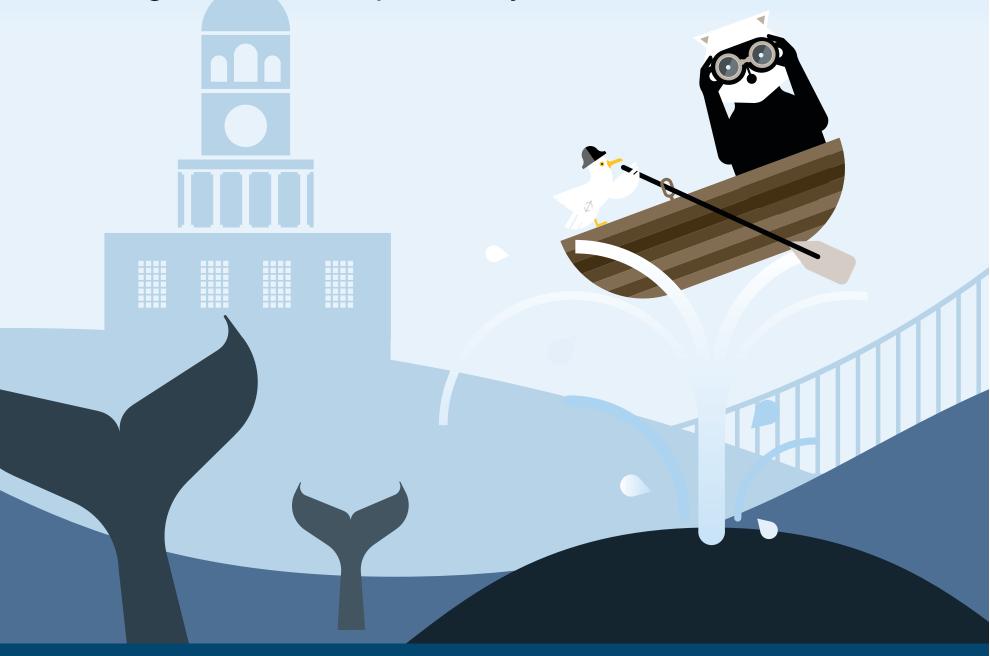
("Colombia rights statistics come under microscope," April 7, page 4) Due to an editing error, FOCAL executive director Carlo Dade was reported as saying that reports of Colombian trade union murder rates were false. In fact, he was referring to reports more Colombian trade unionists were killed than any other country in the region.

("Party Time," April 7, page 14) Anne Cools is an Independent Senator. Incorrect information appeared.



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EU copyright demands chill trade experts

Anca Gurzu

A recently leaked chapter of the trade deal Canada is negotiating with the European Union shows the 27-member bloc demanding what one expert described as a "complete overhaul" of Canada's intellectual property laws.

While some say the EU demands are a natural part of a negotiation process, legal and trade experts are seriously concerned over the depth and potential consequences of their implementation—and what it says about the trade negotiations as a whole.

Embassy reported at the end of January on an internal European Union strategy document, which blasted Canada's intellectual property and copyright laws and noted the lack of political will to make legislative changes.

The new documents feature a draft chapter that includes proposals to extend an author's term to copyright; additional copyright term extensions for audiovisual, anony-



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mous and unpublished works; a change to Canada's procedures for trademark registration; additional protection to block disclosure of pharmaceutical data; and compliance with several international treaties.

The chapter also includes several new rights for broadcasters, which Michael Geist, law professor and copyright expert at the University of Ottawa, said would force public places, such as sports bars, to pay additional fees to air European channels.

Mr. Geist described the EU demands as "stunning" and "a complete overhaul of our intellectual property system."

"The EU's approach is to simply take its rules and require Canada to adopt them," Mr. Geist wrote in an email.

Officials from the European Union and Canada will meet in Ottawa on April 19 for the third round of negotiations for a Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement.

The leak of the intellectual property rights chapter comes after *Embassy* reported on Feb. 24 that the European Commission is targeting Canada Post and provincial liquor boards in their trade talks. The EU has also expressed its displeasure with Ontario for its reluctance to open its doors to procurement.

Free trade agreements normally aim to reduce duties for goods and liberalize services, followed by a focus on investment and mobility of people, while government procurement and intellectual property laws usually come later in the negotiations, said Cyndee Todgham Cherniak, trade lawyer with Toronto-based group Lang Michener LLP.

"Up front we are dealing with these more fringe issues, so I am concerned we are already getting off track, considering what is being leaked," Ms. Todgham Cherniak said. "This is a little inconsistent [with the idea of trade promotion], especially since the IP chapter creates significant obligations which create obstacles to trade, as opposed to opening doors for trade to occur."

She was surprised to read the depth of the EU demands.

"My first reaction was 'Oh my goodness, I can't believe the EU thinks so poorly of Canada's intellectual property laws," she said. "I didn't realize we are the Zimbabwe or Somalia of intellectual property, that we are so bad that all of these demands have to be made."

Ms. Todgham Cherniak, who said she has seen many free trade agreement drafts throughout her career, describes the leaked chapter as going well beyond the usual international property obligations.

"I've never come across anything like this before. This is really a very extensive expansion of what is normal," she said. "We knew it is going to be comprehensive...but if this is an indication of how other chapters will look like, then we are looking to see something quite different than any form of free trade agreement we have."

A former Canadian top trade official described the leaked intellectual property chapter as a reflection of "the new generation of free trade agreements"—a commercial agreement that is trying to tackle business regulation, such as intellectual property laws.

"The issue that I have with doing complex business regulations like these in a trade agreement is worrying whether this is the right context," said Dan Ciuriak, former deputy chief economist at the International Trade department.

Trade liberalization is a simple process because it will benefit both parties involved, he said, but intellectual property laws are a complicated area, which may have unintended consequences and "depend on the context in which they are embedded."

The government has recently concluded a consultation process with Canadians and will introduce new copyright and intellectual property legislation during this parliamentary session, according to an Industry Canada spokesperson.

Regarding the EU free trade negotiations, the spokesperson said CETA is based on Canadian laws and policies.

"Before becoming party to any agreement, Canada would need to be satisfied that it reflected the Canadian interest," the spokesperson wrote.

Canada should proceed cautiously, Mr. Ciuriak said.

"To take on the whole corpus of European regulations, without context, without understanding how it works in Canada and whether or not it would address Canada's innovation problem would, I think, be a problem."

But the EU's position should not come as a surprise, said Jason Langrish, executive director of the Canada-Europe Roundtable for Business, representing the interests of both Canadian and European businesses.

"It's a negotiation," he said. "You would expect that at this stage in the game the Europeans would put forward an aggressive position."

Mr. Langrish said the main issue is not market access, since—according to his understanding—the two parties have already privately agreed on duty-free policies on almost all goods.

"So what they need to do now is look where the remaining sensitivities are."

Mr. Langrish pointed out the chapter is only in its draft form, and that the EU understands not all proposals will be adopted.

"What would be the point of negotiating and saying 'This is what we are willing to settle for?' No one would do that," Mr. Langrish said. "In a negotiation you say this is the absolute best we could hope for and then you move backwards. I doubt very much that the Europeans are hoping to change our regulations."

Ms. Todgham Cherniak said she is still in favour of the agreement, but "it is disappointing to see what is coming in at this point in time."

"It signals to me that there are some serious conflicts and obstacles that will slow down the process and we need the market access agreement sooner rather than later to create jobs," she said. "It means it will be years down the road until our economy can benefit from it."

agurzu@embassymag.ca

Calls mount for cyber-security strategy

Avinash Gavai

In 2007, Estonia became the victim of the first known cyber attack, which targeted the Baltic country's parliament and government ministries, banks and media outlets. When war broke out in August 2008, Georgia found itself on the receiving end of a similar cyber attack from Russia.

And now, a major cyber spy-ring originating out of China has been found. Not only were highly-classified military secrets taken from India, but so were Canadian passport applications made to the Indian embassy in Afghanistan.

These cyber incidents, experts say, represent the new reality that Canada finds itself in. And yet, despite the acknowledged importance of establishing a national security strategy for cyberspace, there are fears the country continues to be unprepared.

Last fall, Auditor General Sheila Fraser presented a report to Parliament. While a section on pandemic preparedness caught the most media attention, the auditor general also castigated Public Safety for its failure to take a leadership role on cyber security and other critical infrastructure.

"We found that Public Safety Canada has not exercised the leadership necessary to co-ordinate emergency management activities, including protection of critical infrastructure." said Ms. Fraser at a press briefing. The report also noted that "these cyber attacks may be initiated by individuals or groups and may be unintentional, amateur, or foreign state-sponsored espionage and information warfare, and present an everchanging and evolving threat."

David O'Brien, a principal consultant with GreyHat Information Security Consulting, a group that has provided computer security services and guidance to the government, says that though the government has vastly improved on the protection of its computer systems in the last five years, Canada is still "woefully unprotected."

"Of course they [the government] should worry. Because everything is going IP," he said. "For instance, if you are thinking of potential security breaches, some of the things they talk about are infrastructural; nuclear power plants, communication links, telephone links, and telecommunications."

Mr. O'Brien said when it comes to issues of government computer security, there is a false sense of security that has fed into complacency.

Governments around the world are formulating strategies around the security of computer systems to protect economic growth, emergency response systems, national power grids and other critical services.

The US has been aggressively addressing this $21^{\rm st}$ century menace by setting aside \$40 billion to tackle the issue. This includes setting funding for measures such the government's "Einstein" program, which scans all incoming communications to government-operated websites, amongst other defensive initiatives.

Public Safety Canada spokesman David Charbonneau said in an email: "Public Safety Canada continues to develop and expand national and international partnerships on cyber security with industry, law enforcement agencies and other governments both domestic and international, to encourage lawful information sharing and to prevent, detect and mitigate cyber incidents."

He added that co-ordination exists among a wide variety of government departments. This isn't a good enough answer for critics.

"The fact that the federal government doesn't have a plan, and hasn't even given a timeline when we will have one, should cause Canadians concern and makes some of our critical infrastructure very vulnerable," said Liberal Public Safety critic Mark Holland.

Michel Juneau-Katsuya says that as far back as 1995, when he was the head of the CSIS Asia-Pacific desk, Canada was losing an estimated \$12 billion a year as a result of industrial espionage, primarily from China.

Mr. Juneau-Katsuya also indicated that his investigations while in CSIS and the private sector uncovered numerous accounts of external cyber-espionage taking place against Canadian companies and the government.

"Private companies victimized by a form of espionage will feel uncomfortable revealing facts because this will reveal weakness in their security, resulting in a loss of confidence amongst investors, suppliers, and investors," he said, adding the same problem exists in government.

"CSIS has certain knowledge of the amount of espionage that is taking place, and the RCMP does too, but no one is talking about it, and this will hurt us."

agavai@embassymag.ca

30th Anniversary of Independence



On the 18th of April, Zimbabwe celebrates its 30th Independence Anniversary. This celebration comes after the first Anniversary of the formation of the Inclusive Government in February 2009 following the signing of the Global Political Agreement by the three major political parties led by His Excellency the President R.G. Mugabe, Honourable Prime Minister M.R. Tsvangirai and Honourable

Deputy Prime Minister Professor A.G.O. Mutambara.

The formation of the Inclusive Government has ushered in a period of renewed hope as the country has witnessed the return of macro-economic and political stability which had eluded the country the last few years. With the assistance of the international community, the social services sector most notably education, health, provision

of water and sanitation facilities as well as rehabilitation of supporting infrastructure has greatly improved and should be at normal operational levels soon.

This positive prevailing environment has raised further prospects for sustained economic recovery, growth and development. On the political front, the crafting of a new constitution which is already underway clearly demonstrates Zimbabwe's commitment to establish a more prosperous and stable democracy and to buttress the gains of our struggle for independence.

In the economic field, the inclusive Government introduced the Short-Term Economic Recovery Programme (STERP) whose main thrust was to restore macro-economic stability. The results have been pleasing with an annual average inflation of -5,5% for the year 2009 and for 2010 inflation is expected to be at 5.1%. The economy was expected to grow by about 7% in 2009. Capacity utilization which stood at less than 10% is now between 30-50% with some companies especially in the food sector already between 60-80%.

This improved environment offers vast investment opportunities in the various sectors of the economy. Below are some highlights of actual/projected performance in the major section of the economy.

• The agricultural sector is expected to grow by 10% based on improved performance following financial assistance to farmers by government/financial institutions and support from regional and international cooperating partners. The greatest challenge though remains the weather patterns that can adversely affect production and performance of other sectors too.



- Manufacturing is projected to grow by 8% following the implementation of market friendly stabilisation policies in the Short Term Economic Recovery Programme. These policies include the adoption of the multicurrency system, liberalization of the current account, removal of foreign exchange surrender requirements and price controls.
- The mining sector which was operating below capacity is showing signs of significant recovery in view of the measures introduced under the Short Term Recovery programme mentioned above. Growth is expected to be around 40% with substantial increases in platinum and gold production.
- Tourism which had experienced negative grown due to negative press coverage, compounded by the global recession is recovering following the return of macro-economic and political stability. Zimbabwe remains a safe and exciting tourist destination offering world class tourism attractions such as the Victoria Falls, Great Zimbabwe monument and renowned national parks. The World Cup being hosted by South Africa in June this year provides ample opportunity for sampling Zimbabwe's hospitality.

As Zimbabwe strives to consolidate its macro-economic and political stability and achieves sustainable levels of growth and development, the country is acutely aware of the need to positively engage the international community. This is a process which the Inclusive Government is committed to and is actively pursuing with the full support of its friends.

To the entire readership, Zimbabwe should be your destination of choice as it offers you vast trade, investment and tourism opportunities.

F.Z. Chideya Ambassador

Editorial Page

WHY DID PTE. TODD DIE?

n Sunday morning, Pte. Tyler William Todd was killed by an improved explosive device while his unit was patrolling southwest of Kandahar city. He was the 142nd Canadian soldier to die in Afghanistan. Only days earlier, Afghan President Hamid Karzai reportedly told

members of his country's parliament that he would join the Taliban if the US and other countries kept pressing him to clean up his corrupt administration. The president had been stoking Western anger for months, particularly for

failing to clamp down on corruption within his administration and stealing last year's presidential election. This, however, was the last straw. Prime Minister Stephen Harper rightly called Mr. Karzai's remarks "com-

pletely unacceptable to Canada" while the Globe and Mail reported Monday that Defence Minister Peter MacKay intentionally snubbed the Afghan president during a visit to the country over the weekend. Even the Canadian Forces' top soldier, Gen. Walter Natynczyk, said he was shocked.

Imagine, then, being the family of Pte. Todd. The 26-year-old was nearing the end of his first tour of duty in Afghanistan—a country most Canadians are clearly tired of and want to leave as soon as possible. How do you reconcile the fact Pte. Todd died while trying to build a country whose leader has threatened to join the people ultimately responsible for killing your loved one?

Gen. Natynczyk struck the right message when he told CTV on Sunday before Pte. Todd's death was reported—that Canada's efforts in Afghanistan are all about helping the average man, woman and child have a better life.

"We are indeed shocked by what's been said up in Kabul," he said, "but at the same time the men and women of the Canadian Forces are working on where Afghans live and enabling the Afghan police, enabling the Afghan Army to provide security for their people."

However, not only will this message be increasingly harder to sell if Mr. Karzai doesn't clean up his act, but also as the clock winds down on Canada's mission in Afghanistan. Nobody wants to be the last casualty in a war particularly one you don't win.

Canadian military officials and their civilian counterparts are likely facing an important question right now: Curb military operations to ensure casualties are kept to a bare minimum at the risk of undermining training and security efforts? Or continue as normal, hoping it will contribute to a successful outcome in Afghanistan, but risk further dead and wounded in an unpopular and nearly complete mission?

There is no clear answer. But there has never been anything clear about Canada's efforts in Afghanistan. And that is part of the problem. Gen. Natynczyk will say that Pte. Todd died while trying to help Afghan civilians. Others will say he died protecting a corrupt and ungrateful puppet government that will fall as soon as NATO leaves.

In the end, he died for both, and whoever makes the decision on whether to curb Canadian operations or continue as required will have to weigh the two sides of this reality. A tougher decision has likely rarely been made during this mission.



Nuclear summit proliferation



GWYNNE **D**YER

ne international agenda is jammed with high-level meetings on nuclear weapons: a US-Russian treaty on cutting strategic nuclear weapons last week, a Washington mini-summit on non-proliferation this week, and a full-dress review of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) next month. It's tempting to believe that we are making real progress in getting rid of the things, but I wouldn't get my hopes too high.

The "New Start" treaty between Washington and Moscow sounds impressive, committing the two powers to reducing their "deployed strategic nuclear weapons" to 1,550 each. That's a 30 per cent cut on what the two powers last agreed, in their 2002 treaty—but it's not as impressive as it seems because most of their nuclear weapons are not "deployed strategic" ones.

The two countries currently have over 8,000 other nuclear warheads "awaiting dismantlement," plus an unknown number of "tactical" warheads that are operationally available. They admit to having about 2,500, but those numbers are completely unverified and probably much lower than reality. Unofficial estimates suggest that Russia and the US really have at least 10,000 tactical nukes.

Add at least a thousand Chinese, British, French, Indian, Pakistani and Israeli nuclear warheads (plus a couple of North Korean ones that sort of work) and there are probably around 25,000 nuclear warheads on the planet. That's fewer than there were at the height of the Cold War, but it's still around one nuclear eapon for every 250,000 people on the planet.

With the right targeting pattern, therefore, you could still kill or maim almost everybody on the planet with the existing stock of nuclear weapons. In practice, of course, they are targeted at particular countries that should expect a much denser concentration of explosions in case of war. And the New Start treaty will eventually reduce that global total of nuclear weapons by only about seven per cent.

Besides, the US Senate will probably not ratify the treaty. It takes a two-thirds Senate majority-67 votes out of 100-to ratify a treaty, but all 41 Republican senators have already said that they will not support New Start. Their pretext is a non-binding statement in the treaty that recognizes a link between "offensive" missiles and ballistic missile defence, but in practice it's just Republican strategy to block every White House initiative.

President Barack Obama's commitment to a world that is ultimately free from nuclear weapons seems genuine, but his real strategy right now is not focussed on the weapons of

the existing nuclear weapons powers. What he really wants to do is strengthen the antiproliferation regime, and for that he needed some symbolic movement towards nuclear disarmament from the US and Russia.

The problem with the NPT from the start was that the non-nuclear powers kept their promise not to develop nuclear weapons, while the great powers that already had them did not keep their parallel promise to get rid of them. After 40 years of that, there is an understandable impatience among the non-nuclear majority, and New Start is the best piece of symbolism that Obama can come up with. It may not be enough.

Obama clearly hoped that the Washington summit of 47 countries this week would provide him with extra leverage at the major review conference on the NPT next month in New York. He could use it to bring pressure on Iran, a signatory of the NPT that he suspects of working secretly on nuclear weapons—but it turned out that other countries wanted to bring up Israeli nuclear weapons too.

Only four countries in the world have not signed and ratified the NPT. Three of them, India, Pakistan and North Korea, have openly developed and tested nuclear weapons. The fourth, Israel, refuses to confirm or denv that it has nuclear weapons, but it is generally reckoned to have at least 200 of them, plus a variety of delivery vehicles.

For almost 50 years, Israel has gotten away with this "creative ambiguity," but it was inevitable that it would be pressed to come clean if any other Middle Eastern country started working on nuclear weapons. The sheer hypocrisy of turning a blind eye to Israel's nukes while condemning a country like Iran for allegedly seeking them too would become unsustainable. And so it has.

Egypt and Turkey are leading a campaign to have the Middle East declared a nuclear weapons-free zone. Their real concern is Iran's putative nukes, but it is politically impossible for them to criticize Iran's ambitions while ignoring the reality of Israeli nuclear weapons, so they decided to bring them up in Washington.

As soon as Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu realized that was going to happen, he cancelled his plan to attend the conference and sent his deputy, Dan Meridor, to take the flak instead.

Netanyahu is already in a bitter confrontation with Obama over Jewish settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories. It would not help to have Netanyahu stone-walling on Israeli nuclear policy at the Washington meeting and personally sabotaging Obama's attempt to strengthen the NPT treaty. Better to have a subordinate do it instead.

So no dramatic progress soon on non-proliferation, but Obama's initiative has not yet failed. Subjects that have been taboo for decades are being openly discussed, and real progress on non-proliferation is becoming a possibility.

editor@embassymag.ca



SETTING AN EXAMPLE

"Do we have a government right now that is instilling a culture of transparency, that is taking a leadership role like the American president is taking in matters of promoting transparency...? I haven't seen evidence of that yet."

-Interim Information commissioner Suzanne Legault, April 13.

www.embassymag.ca 69 Sparks Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5A5 (613) 232-5952 Fax (613) 232-9055

Director of Advertising Don Turner dturner@embassymag.ca

Assistant to the Director of Advertising Marjorie Peart mpeart@embassyr

Craig Caldbick ccaldbick@embassymag.ca

Circulation/ Subscriptions Circulation Heather Marie Scheerschmidt heathermarie@embassymag.ca Director of Reader Sales and Service

Manager Greg McDonald

Retail Advertising Con Chris Eldridge

Retail/Classified **Art & Production** Production Manager

Retail & Classified Sales Benoit Deneault Design and Layou

HILLTIMES Administration

EMBASSY: Issue number 300

ery Week Since April 28, 2004 AUDITED CIRCULATION

Anne Marie Creskey - anne@embassymag.ca

Editorial Senior Editors jim Creskey jcreskey@embass Ross Dickson

Managing Editor Lee Berthiaume lee@embassymag.ca

Anca Gurzu agurzu@embassymag.ca Avinash Gavai

Reporters Carl Meyer

Photographer Sam Garcia cmeyer@embassymag.ca Columnists Gwynne Dyer Richard Gwyn Luke Eric Peterson Scott Taylor ccaldDickeenioss., Lillian Legault Повашlt@embassymag.ca mreaume@embassymag.ca Steve MacDonald

macdonald@embas

Ryan O'Neill subscriptions@hilltimes.com Subscription Sales Brad MacDonald

Zach Falsetto

Internet Services Manage

General Manager, CFO

Alia Kellock Heward Finance/Administration Tracey Brydges

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR are welcomed by email a letters@embassymag.ca, by fax at 613-232-9055, and by post to 69 Sparks Street, Ottawa, Canada, K1P 5A5

Canadian Publications Mail agreement No. 40068926. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Circulation Dept. 69 Sparks Street, Ottawa. ON K1P 5A5, Email: circulation@embassymag.ca

Opinion

The Afghan mission has become a propping-up exercise



he drastic developments in
Afghanistan in recent days have certainly left the self-proclaimed "pro-mission" lobby spinning in all directions.
Admittedly new life had been breathed into this long suffering gaggle of military cheerleaders by none other than US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

When she visited Ottawa last month and attempted to pressure Canada into extending our military commitment in Afghanistan, the dispirited war supporters were given fresh heart. They rose as one to applaud Hillary Clinton's position and wagged their fingers in admonishment of Prime Minister Stephen Harper for holding firm on the pullout date.

In desperation, the pro-mission gang have adopted a new tactic. What they propose now is to end the "combat" phase of the operation, but to continue providing as many as 1,000 troops to act as trainers for the Afghan security forces. Their main selling point is that after sacrificing so much in both blood and gold, it would be a national shame if Canada were to cut and run just as the NATO chefs are putting the icing on the victory cake.

Those with keen memories will recall that when the transition of our contingent from Kabul to Kandahar was first floated, it was described as being an approximately 1,000-member Provincial Reconstruction Team, which would feature a small security element.

It did not take long for that to morph into the current configuration of a 3,000-strong effort, primarily in battle group formation. From there, the very same promission commentators tried their damnedest to convince Canadian citizens that training the Afghan Army could not be done without mentoring them in actual combat.

However, what has become lost in the frantic debate over when to pull out our troops and/or the role they should play is the fact that all of the original premises for international military intervention have now been eroded. To paraphrase the well-worn government talking points, Canada, as part of an international coalition, has been invited by the democratically-elected government of Afghanistan to assist in providing a safe and stable environment in order to facilitate the reconstruction of this war-ravaged nation.

As of last August, when the farcical election process produced no verifiable result, it became clear that the democratic experiment in Afghanistan was a failure.

Without another viable option, the West had no choice but to continue backing the same presidential puppet—Hamid Karzai—that they first appointed to the post in 2002. But if NATO soldiers were going to fight and die to prop up Karzai's unelected government—which is hated by the vast majority of the population and regarded as one of the most corrupt regimes on the planet—then it was felt that pressure should be brought to bear upon the Afghan president to mend his ways.

First it was British Prime Minister Gordon Brown at the January London donors' con-



The Afghan mission that some tub-thumpers would have us extend has become that of propping up a drug-addicted, unelected, West-hating President Karzai who insists that his regime be allowed to conduct their corrupt distribution of aid dollars without interference—or they'll throw in their lot with the Taliban.

ference stipulating that future foreign aid to Afghanistan would be dependent on a reduction in corruption. That sentiment was echoed last month by US President Barack Obama.

However, all of this has prompted Karzai to publicly cut away his puppet strings and, just like, Pinocchio proclaim himself a real boy.

In a series of startling statements in recent weeks, Karzai warned against Western interference with his government, claimed that the West had sabotaged last year's elections, and threatened to throw his support behind the Taliban and declare them the legitimate resistance to the foreign occupiers.

In a short-sighted, but knee-jerk reflex response, the US immediately attacked Karzai's mental stability. A former American UN official alleged that Karzai's erratic comments could be a possible result of his addiction to opiates. That will no doubt be disturbing to all those Canadians who have lost loved ones in Afghanistan.

The mission that some tub-thumpers would

have us extend has become that of propping up a drug-addicted, unelected, West-hating President Karzai who insists that his regime be allowed to conduct their corrupt distribution of aid dollars without interference—or they'll throw in their lot with the Taliban.

The alternate option voiced by the Colonel Blimp brigade is to continue providing training and resources to create an Afghan security force capable of enforcing the laws put forth by the Karzai regime—those same laws which include the controversial wife-rape legislation affording an Afghan man the right to withhold food from his wife if she refuses him sex.

The current debate in Canada should not be centred on what we will do after the pullout date in the summer of 2011, but rather why we even still feel committed to that timetable given this drastic evolution of the mission itself.

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

editor@embassymag.ca

Will Canada go the non-proliferation distance?

DOUGLAS ROCHE

S President Barack Obama dramatized world attention on nuclear dangers during his extraordinary 47-nation Washington summit this week by warning that just an apple-sized container of plutonium could set off a nuclear bomb that "could kill and injure hundreds of thousands of innocent people." A "catastrophe for the world" is waiting to happen, he said.

It's a safe bet that the leaders of so many states where civilian nuclear sites lack even standard military protections, like barbed wire and checkpoints, will now invest in fuel vaults, motion detectors and central alarms. They left the summit with a new resolve to tighten security measures for all nuclear materials.

But since there is enough nuclear fuel in dozens of nations to make another 120,000 nuclear bombs, the question can rightly be asked: Did the Obama summit do enough to protect people from an impending catastrophe?

The answer is that Obama may have bought the world some time. But with nuclear power plants coming online in many countries, the risk of nuclear terrorism is going up, not down.

Obama himself recognized that the summit was only "one part of a broader, comprehensive agenda that the United States is pursuing—including reducing our nuclear arsenal and stopping the spread of nuclear weapons—an agenda that will bring us closer to our ultimate goal of a world without nuclear weapons."

Obama is prodding his fellow leaders to recognize that the nuclear risk is not confined to terrorism. The full risk consists of a growing number of nations refining nuclear fuels and, in the case of the suspicions about Iran, enriching uranium to bomb-grade level.

Can the world find a way to guarantee that nuclear energy will never be used for bombs? That is the question Obama is getting at.

He knows very well that global co-operation to secure all nuclear materials is impeded by the powerful nuclear weapons states, which think they can set the rules controlling access to nuclear energy while maintaining their arsenals of 23,000 nuclear weapons.

The president might get limited co-operation to control the most egregious cases of nuclear vulnerability, as in Pakistan. But a growing number of countries are chaffing at the idea of new international restrictions that would apply to them while the big boys exercise their nuclear hegemony.

Like it or not, the continued possession of huge stocks of nuclear weapons by the US, Russia, the UK, France and China—the five permanent members of the UN Security Council—is inextricably linked to new efforts to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and even efforts to strengthen control systems of nuclear fuels.

The Canadian government contributed to the Washington summit by stating that it would ship highly enriched uranium spent fuel from the Chalk River nuclear site back to the US. That set a good example, along with Canada's efforts to help Mexico convert its weaponsgrade fuel to a lower level and strengthen the G8 Global partnership to safely dismantle nuclear materials in Russia and other places.

But Prime Minister Harper should not think these moves are sufficient in addressing the real problem. He must couple this work to strengthen in a substantive way the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Non-Proliferation Treaty, two instruments that do the heavy lifting in reducing nuclear dangers. The NPT calls for nuclear disarmament negotiations and non-proliferation measures—as well as providing for the peaceful use of the atom.

The project of the 505 members of the Order of Canada—a prestigious lot to be sure—in endorsing preparatory work for a Nuclear Weapons Convention has hit the nail on the head. This would be a global treaty that would ban all nuclear weapons and put effective international control systems on nuclear energy.

Premature? The UN secretary-general and a growing number of world leaders don't think so. And President Obama, in bringing India, Pakistan and Israel—three nuclear weapons nations that shun the Non-Proliferation Treaty—to the Washington summit is indicating a "comprehensive" approach may be down the line that could be a new global regime.

The US military-political establishment is certainly not ready for global negotiations. There is powerful opposition within the US to Obama's vision of a nuclear weapons free world.

Shrewdly, Obama is building a base of support by first pointing so vividly to the nuclear terrorist threat. His new Nuclear Posture Review, demanding that proliferation of nucle-

ar weapons be halted and that North Korea and Iran reverse their "nuclear ambitions," recognizes that the US must meet its own NPT Article VI obligations to nuclear disarmament in order to be in a stronger position in advancing non-proliferation measures.

In addition to US pursuit of "rigorous measures to reinvigorate" the NPT, the review includes this passage concerning steps to be taken: "Initiate a comprehensive national research and development program to support continued progress toward a world free of nuclear weapons, including expanded work on verification technologies."

This is exactly the approach Canada should take.

At the end of the Washington summit, the 47 leaders issued a communiqué calling on all states to work co-operatively "as an international community to advance nuclear security, requesting and providing assistance as necessary." How much lasting co-operation will there be when the camera lights are turned off? The next such summit, two years from now in South Korea, will be a test.

Meanwhile, the US and Russia have committed themselves to converting 68 tons of plutonium—enough for 17,000 nuclear weapons—to electricity and other peaceful uses. Obama has started down the road to a nuclear weapons free world. How many states will go the distance?

Former senator and disarmament ambassador Douglas Roche is author of Creative Dissent: A Politician's Struggle for Peace. editor@embassymag.ca

Letters & Opinion

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

While your article cites concerns that the Canadian Society of Immigration Consultants is not meeting its mandate in enforcing discipline among its members, those who remember life as an immigration consultant before CSIC's creation understand how much progress has been made (RE: "Kenney says immigration consultant law on the way," March 24).

Two years ago, having left the immigration consulting firm I worked with for 16 years, I sought employment as an immigration consultant. I knocked on every door, including law firms, sole practitioner lawyer's offices, non-profit organizations, settlement services and Legal Aid Ontario-funded community legal clinics. In the end, my professional designation from CSIC and the security and confidence my membership in CSIC provided to my clients, allowed me to establish my own practice and to do very meaningful work for the community and for immigrants and refugees.

I believe that CSIC is meeting its mandate with regards to the education and discipline



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Suncor Énergie a le plaisir d'annoncer l'ouverture d'un bureau permanent à Ottawa dans le cadre de son programme de communications avec le gouvernement fédéral et de relations avec les groupes d'intérêt.



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Suncor Énergie accorde la priorité au maintien de relations de travail dynamiques avec les représentants fédéraux ainsi qu'avec les collectivités intéressées par les projets de la Société. Établir une présence permanente à Ottawa est une façon de renforcer notre engagement.

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Télécopieur : 613-825-8592
Courriel : gshields@suncor.com

Pour plus de renseignements sur Suncor Énergie, visitez **www.suncor.com**. of its members. The admission process and exams are rigorous and the admission standards are very high. Once membership is granted, you have to take mandatory continuing educational development courses.

Also, CSIC's disciplinary actions against its members are no myth. CSIC is meeting its mandate with regards to disciplining its members. You quoted Sheetal Jhuti stating that "if someone complains against me, it's very easy for CSIC to penalize me and shut down my business."

If CSIC was not meeting it's mandate with regards to complaints and discipline, as per the Commons' Immigration committee's report from June 2008, I don't believe Ms. Jhuti would make such a quote. Her statement is sufficient to establish that CSIC is meeting its mandate with respect to disciplining its members.

CSIC publishes a list of hearings, a list of disciplined members and a list of revoked memberships on its website. The process may be a bit slow, but there is transparency in the process.

CSIC is still in its infancy, and during its short existence it has matured dramatically as a regulator. Just six years ago, consultants did not have to prove their competence, engage in continuing professional development or maintain a legal library. They didn't have to adhere to rules of professional conduct or maintain client accounts. And they didn't have to carry errors and omissions insurance or contribute to a client compensation fund. These are all significant achievements, which assist me to practice in a competent and professional manner, while maintaining the public's confidence.

Lisa Ramkissoon Certified Canadian Immigration Consultant Fellow of the Canadian Migration Institute Etobicoke, Ont. Brazil-Canada not trying to sidestep Mercosur

My admiration for *Embassy* and the work of your team cannot prevent me from expressing my shock at one of your recent articles (RE: "Brazil, Canada exploring options to sidestep Mercosur," March 24). Both the front page headline and the inner page headline ("Brazilian Interest in Canada non-existent: Experts") are extremely misleading.

In my view, nothing in my declarations or in those of my deputy, Minister Ernesto Araújo gives room for the interpretation that Brazil is seeking close economic ties with Canada in order to "sidestep" Mercosur.

We tried to present clearly the idea that the possibility of a Mercosur-Canada free trade arrangement attracts much interest in Brazil and in Canada, but that such a process, if initiated, would probably be slow in bringing concrete results, as it would face obstacles which are natural in any free trade negotiations.

On the other hand, we stressed that Brazil and Canada can already undertake many actions to increase their relations in the economic terrain, but also in other fields of mutual benefit without the need for a free trade agreement.

Mr. Araújo and myself expanded on these topics in our conversation, and I even provided a copy of the Agreed Minutes of the recent meeting of Brazilian and Canadian officials in Ottawa exactly to illustrate the potential for bilateral dialogue and co-operation.

At no point did we imply that Brazil intends to work bilaterally with Canada instead of pursuing negotiations between Canada and Mercosur. Regarding the inside headline, the fact that "non-existent" appears just above my picture suggests that I am one of those who think so. The text does not say that much, but the picture-headline association was so apparent that the ambassador of Ecuador, among other people, called to ask why I had said that Brazil is not interested in Canada. I then pointed out, as I would like to point out now, that Brazil is very much interested in Canada.

The aforementioned visit of the secretary-general of external relations of Brazil, at the head of a delegation comprising almost 30 authorities from 16 different ministries and agencies, is clear proof of unordinary interest, as is the launch of a Brazil-Canada Strategic Partnership Dialogue. Prof. Jean Daudelin, as quoted in the article, rightly sums up: "It's not the kind of thing that they [Brazil]...do a lot." Indeed, it is not.

Brazil and Canada enjoy a dynamic, diverse and productive relationship which surpasses the bilateral domain and are reflected in most multilateral fora, such as the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the G20 and the regional developmental banks (The Inter-American, the Caribbean and the Asian Development banks.) Both countries' joint actions in Haiti are also a remarkable example of their capacity to make a difference in the world.

Brazil and Canada are two relevant players in today's multipolar global scenario, working together for peace and stability in the planet. I regret that the *Embassy* article lost the opportunity to reflect those realities and prospects.

Paulo Cordeiro de Andrade Pinto Brazilian Ambassador to Canada

Stop tolerating human trafficking

David Bouchard

espite our efforts to stop human trafficking, without the full force of the law we will not succeed. Politicians, prosecutors, law enforcement and the general public need to collaborate on this issue if we hope to save lives.

Human trafficking is the fastest growing crime and Canada is not exempt. The US 2009 Trafficking in Persons Report lists Canada as a source, transit and destination country. Right here in Ottawa, three young girls were trafficked from a shelter to an

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apartment in Gatineau where they were beaten, raped, drugged and forced into sex slavery for months. Situations like this are occurring across Canada.

We have a number of NGOs in Canada who are working on this issue. We have made a lot of progress since 2005 when we first enacted legislation to make the penalties more severe. The advent of the Temporary Residents Permit for victims of trafficking was another baby step. As University of British Columbia professor Ben Perrin says, "We must celebrate every baby step we make toward ending human trafficking."

But there is still much to be done. Our government must get serious about applying the laws that already exist. Right now, we need to urge the Senate to pass Bill C-268 and return it to the House of Commons to become a law.

There are many naive young girls in Canada who fall into the trap of traffickers in our high schools and colleges, and in our shopping malls. A hard-hitting campaign aimed at 15 to 25 year-olds to make them aware of the dangers of sex trafficking is crucial. Not for Sale Campaign has created a website to document cases of human trafficking in Canada, in the sex trade or in the labor market.

We are well aware that Canadians go abroad to buy sex. Why are there so few convictions, you may ask.

It is time to get more serious on this crime. Human trafficking exists because of supply and demand. Stop the destitution in developing countries by eradicating poverty and encouraging education, and stop the demand by getting tough on crime everywhere.

I cannot count the number of Canadians who are surprised that people are trafficked in their own communities. Escort services, strip clubs and massage parlors are being used as legitimate fronts for trafficking in Canada.

How did child pornography get to be so out of control? CRTC recently approved an all-pornography channel in Western Canada with the only provision that the content must be at least 50 per cent Canadian. A steady diet of porn definitely increase the demand side of this invisible crime.

Slavery exists because people in developed countries demand products that are made by people who are enslaved. From the cotton fields of Uzbekistan or the cocoa plantations of West Africa, children are forced to work and are not given an opportunity to get an education.

International Labor Rights Forum has documented products from several countries that are slave made and readily available in Canada. Not for Sale Campaign is collaborating on identifying companies who state categorically that they will not use slavery in their supply chain. This allows us to be smart consumers.

All NGOs operating on the issue of human trafficking in North America call on legislators, prosecutors and law enforcement to end slavery now by acting on their promise to help the victims of trafficking and to punish the "perps" appropriately. Our government needs to create an endowment fund to set up shelters for people who are rescued or are able to escape from the nightmare of being trafficked. Our court system must not tolerate any human trafficking and give sentences that reflect the seriousness of this crime.

David Bouchard is national director of the Not for Sale Campaign-Canada. editor@embassymag.ca

Canada's Mission in Afghanistan

When wars used to make sense

JAMES TRAVERS

War is more easily remembered than explained. So it is that Canada celebrates the battle of Vimy Ridge as a defining moment even as it struggles to make sense of Afghanistan.

With much of the pomp and all the solemnity once reserved for Remembrance Day, official Ottawa now marks what happened 93 years ago in the mud of France as seminal in the birth of an independent nation. It's been that way since 2003, when April 9 was chosen to honour Canadian success and sacrifice in accomplishing what had frustrated its more powerful imperial allies.

Vimy looms larger in this country's story than it does in World War I's slaughterhouse history. Worn smooth by repetition, that account gained a biographical chapter Friday when the ceremony became a memorial for John Babcock, the last known veteran of the war that was to end all wars.

Babcock died in February at the remarkable age of 109 in Spokane, Wash. His death severs a human connection to the past and offers timely insight into the political utility of national narratives.

A modest man, Babcock gently resisted Ottawa efforts to make him larger in death than in life.

Late in his life, the Kingston farmboy who enlisted at 15 insisted with old-school honesty: "My service didn't amount to much."

Babcock never fired a shot in anger. Too young for active service, he was still training

in the Boys Brigade when the killing stopped.

Even so, Babcock has been pressed into duty as a symbol. On Nov. 11, 2008, he passed a videotape torch to veterans of other wars. Two years later, his death drew this statement from Stephen Harper: "His family mourns the passing of a great man. Canada mourns the passing of the generation that asserted our independence on the world stage and established our international reputation as an unwavering champion of freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law."

Such retrospective clarity is in stark contrast with current realities. Canada is barely a year from ending an Afghanistan campaign Liberals badly miscalculated and Tories no longer champion.

War has changed since Babcock marched away to serve King and country. Tests of strength between industrial states have given way to confused conflicts where the enemy is amorphous and military victory usually impossible.

Some things remain the same. Afghanistan has now claimed the lives of 141 soldiers, made casualties of 1,000 more, and will hand a \$20-billion bill to taxpayers.

Those blood and money costs demand a more candid explanation than either Liberals or Conservatives have yet provided. Canada's purpose in sending troops is no better understood today than what's been achieved. At least as troubling is the public silence over what may be lost by leaving a job so far from finished.

No one here wants to start that debate now, when Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai is proving such an uncertain friend there and another federal election is



Governor General Michaëlle Jean, Gen. Walt Natynczyk and Prime Minister Stephen Harper mark the 93rd anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge at the National War Memorial in Ottawa.

not far away here. The Canadian political truce reached with the help of John Manley's mission report is too mutually beneficial for both the largest parties for them to challenge the wisdom of the July 2011 withdrawal.

Any consideration of extending Canada's role will have to wait at least until federal voters next cast ballots. Until then, no questions will be answered about the practicality

of helping Afghanistan move forward after the troops move out, or the cross-border risks to Canada of turning a deaf diplomatic ear to US pleas to stay longer.

Instead, we remember, as we should, the defining wars of the past while waiting for someone to make sense of Afghanistan.

James Travers is a Toronto Star columnist. This article appeared on April 12. editor@embassymag.ca

Karzai can see the writing on the wall

HAROON SIDDIQUI

Politicians, including Stephen Harper, and pundits are united in condemning Hamid Karzai. He's crazy to claim that he might join the Taliban and that Americans have long-term designs on Afghanistan, retaining military bases there to keep an eye on neighbouring China, Pakistan, Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan, etc.) and the North Caucasus (Chechnya, Dagestan and Ingushetia).

What if Karzai has not gone off his rocker, is not cracking under pressure and not acting out wild mood swings, as alleged, but is, in fact, being smart?

He has seen the writing on the wall: the jig is up on the NATO mission.

The Dutch are done. The Canadians will be out in 16 months. The Americans will begin departing next year. The current military surge—conquering Marja and planning to retake Kandahar—is designed to create what's described as "a decent interval" to declare victory and get out, while landing punches on the Taliban to soften them up for political negotiations.

The Taliban seem to be obliging. They "melt away" as the Americans approach, forever eluding the promised "decisive battle," thereby giving new life to the old Afghan dictum, "foreign invaders may have the clock but we have time."

This puts into doubt the claim that most Afghans—women, especially—do dearly want us to stay on. If they did, Karzai wouldn't risk offending his own people by mocking the foreigners they ostensibly love.

Barack Obama, the most popular American president outside of America in modern times, "slipped into Kabul unannounced Sunday after sunset," as news reports put it. That wasn't exactly a triumphant entry onto friendly turf.

By contrast, Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was warmly received in daylight in Kabul last month. Even if Karzai had invited him out of pique with Washington, he wouldn't have been seen embracing his guest and beaming into the cameras had he not been reasonably sure that would go over well with most Afghans.

As difficult as it is for us to see an ungrateful wretch insulting his foreign protectors and funders, his behaviour is not all that bizarre, considering the absurdities surrounding the NATO mission in Afghanistan:

- It no longer has a purpose.
- We are decidedly not there to educate girls.
- If we are there to settle the score for 9/11, that was done nine years ago. And we don't have to be there to prevent another 9/11. Most al-Qaeda members are in Pakistan, where US drones are said to be assassinating them.
- NATO is still in Afghanistan because it does not want to admit failure. Obama, of all presidents, cannot afford to concede defeat.
- Canada is there mostly because the U.S. is there. (Canadians can see all that. The latest Ekos poll has 54 per cent opposing the mission, only 34 per cent supporting it.)
- Karzai has been cavorting with warlords because the Americans accepted their help in toppling the Taliban in 2001 and blessed their entry into power with him. It is with State Department approval that he has been making peace overtures to the most notorious of warlords, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, for the last two years.
- While Karzai is berated for not going after his corrupt brother in Kandahar and others raking in drug profits, American troops who recently took over nearby Marja



Prime Minister Stephen Harper and Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai in Bucharest in 2008.

are not destroying the opium crop because it provides the livelihood for local farmers—thereby facilitating the illicit drug trade from which warlords, and the Taliban, benefit.

There's obviously no clear-cut way forward, Afghan complexities being what they are. The mission has lasted too long, made too many mistakes, done too little nation-building. Instead it has became too militaristic, killed too many civilians (not only by aerial bombardment but also shootings from passing convoys and at checkpoints—incidents that continue to happen), displaced too many people, detained too many with little or no cause and without due process, violated too many local cultural norms (such as invading women's privacy in nighttime

raids) and caused too much resentment and anger not to have overstayed its welcome.

Whatever legitimacy the NATO mission won by liberating Afghans from Taliban tyranny was lost long ago by not fulfilling the first duty of an occupying force, namely establishing law and order and imparting a sense of economic hope for the local population. That was the vacuum the Taliban filled.

The lost trust cannot be restored, at least not quickly. It will take five or 10 years—time that no NATO nation has the patience or resources for.

Haroon Siddiqui is a columnist for the Toronto Star. This article appeared on April 11. editor@embassymag.ca It's said the digital revolution will be bigger than the industrial revolution.

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Africa waiting for more than visits

Continued from Page 1

"State visits by a governor general play an important role in strengthening Canada's relations with other countries," reads the release that announced the trip. "They are the highest form of diplomatic contact, and reinforce bilateral relations and exchanges among heads of State and local authorities."

Ms. Jean will be only the most recent Canadian official to visit Africa. Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon visited Mali and Tunisia in August and toured Libya, Israel and Saudi Arabia in October. Then at the end of January, Mr. Cannon was in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, for the 14th annual African Union summit. There he delivered a speech and held numerous bilateral meetings.

While much of Mr. Cannon's time in Ethiopia was spent talking about Canada's hosting of this year's G8 and G20 summits, the visit was seen in African circles as an important signal to the continent that Canada hadn't forgotten the continent.

"Minister Cannon's presence at the AU summit was a good sign," said Nejmeddine Lakhal, counsellor at the Tunisian Embassy in Ottawa

Meanwhile, upon being appointed Canada's new trade minister in January, one of Peter Van Loan's first trips outside North America was to South Africa and Kenya. Put all together, some are feeling hopeful.

"The more you have those trips, the more you have those exchanges, the more you are liable to do more," said Lucien Bradet, president and CEO of the Canadian Council on Africa, who is the sole business representative accompanying the governor general on her trip.

"The fundamental of those relations is friendship. And if you have friends, you want to deal with friends. And if you never see each other, that friendship is hard to develop."

The slew of visits stands in stark contrast to the message sent to African countries over the past few years. Starting in the summer of 2007, the Conservative government had indicated it was moving Canada away from the continent. A number of Canadian missions in Africa have since been closed or downgraded, most recently the embassy in Malawi and the consulate general in Cape Town.

But perhaps the most stunning action was the decision in February 2009 to cut seven African nations as bilateral CIDA partners. Instead, the government said it was focusing on the Americas.

"There was a concern, a grave concern, about the move away from Africa," acknowledged South African High Commissioner Abraham Nkomo.

In response, African ambassadors and high commissioners in Ottawa took the highly unusual step of banding together and openly lobbying for a new Canada-Africa relationship. In appearances before the Senate Foreign Affairs committee and the Commons' Foreign Affairs committee, and in a private meeting with Mr. Cannon, they asked for a new Canada-Africa forum to discuss ideas and for the Conservative government to develop a true, comprehensive Africa policy or strategy.

"We were very moved by the recent government decisions on our continent, which sound to us as the beginning of the end of the beautiful days of our relationship with Canada," Burkina Faso Ambassador Juliette Bonkoungou Yameogo told the Commons' committee on May 27.

The recent visits have been well-received by African diplomats who were hoping for some sign that Canada was reconsidering its position vis-à-vis Africa. There is cautious optimism that the government has heard calls for a new Canada-Africa relationship and that the visits represent a small step in that direction. "We invite Canada to continue to engage with Africa so that the reputation that Canada enjoys doesn't get frayed," Mr. Nkomo said. "So when we see these developments now, we hope that they are being made in that kind of context."

Yet experts, and some diplomats themselves, are still unsure just how much of a shift they are witnessing.

During his speech to delegates in Addis Ababa in January, Mr. Cannon failed to lay out even a hint of a comprehensive Africa policy. The maternal and child health initiative Canada is championing as chair of this year's G8 will undoubtedly have relevance for Africa, he said, but that's as far as he went. He also noted Canada's increased financial support to the African Development Bank as well as past Canadian contributions to UN peacekeeping efforts. But the minister started his speech talking about Canadian contributions to Haiti.

"There wasn't anything too new he was saying," said Blair Rutherford, director of Carleton University's Institute of African Studies, "and you get a sense it was a bit more geared towards, perhaps the G8 and G20, but also the UN Security Council."

Canada's ongoing campaign for a seat on the UN Security Council—a campaign that could be decided by Africa's 53 vote—has been bubbling in the background. One UN source who knew of the governor general's visit before it was announced said lobbying on behalf of Canada's bid will figure prominently in Ms. Jean's agenda.

Experts acknowledged the potential link—and the unspoken concern that once the campaign is over, Africa will again slide off the government's radar.

"There is no doubt, in my mind, that the question of the Security Council, has over the past 12 months, waked up people to the reality of the geopolitics," Mr. Bradet said. "And the geopolitics in this case is that there are 53 votes there."

African diplomats refuse to link the increased number of visits to Canada's Security Council bid, but acknowledge they are still looking for concrete signs that Canada is indeed interested in a re-energized dialogue that will pave the way for a strengthened relationship for the $21^{\rm st}$ century—a century many predict will see Africa's importance grow.

"It would be very hard for me to get into the brains of Canadian officials, but I think when you see those trips, maybe it could be some new signs," said Mr. Lakhal. "But I really don't know. There is still some action that needs to be done."

The absence of a formal Canada-Africa summit remains a concern while the lack of a comprehensive trade, investment, development and diplomatic policy stands as a stark reminder of the now-tenuous nature of relations.

"To be honest, it seems to be there is little thinking about re-engagement," said Mr. Lakhal. "Nothing is clear yet.... I think we need like what Europe does with Africa. They have a summit. The United States has a summit with Africa. And I think a summit with Africa and Canada would really help."

In January, the government hosted a special symposium on new technology in Africa at IDRC. One of Mr. Van Loan's first actions as trade minister was to attend. Mr. Nkomo is hoping this event will be followed by real action on the ground by both sides.

For the optimists, any contact between the two sides is a positive development and something that can hopefully be built upon, particularly given Canada's position as chair of the G8.

"There's a lot of small things that are putting together that it would not be a big step to put them all together," said Mr. Bradet.

But clearly everyone is still waiting for more. "My interactions with Foreign Affairs seems to be they're coming up with a coher-



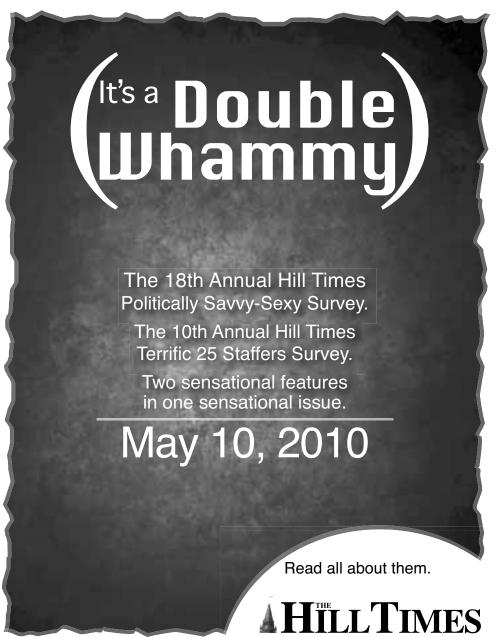
Prime Minister Stephen Harper in Tanzania in 2007.

ent policy and they're putting a real effort into trying to prioritizing and helping to strengthen and establish a Canadian presence, at least on paper," said Mr. Rutherford.

"But I suspect in terms of resources, my sense is that isn't happening. And you hear

backroom chatter about not only the closing down of embassies and missions but also lack of resources to support the work they could be doing, one doesn't get a sense that at the political level there's much attention on Africa."

lee@embassymag.ca



Rosenberg 'never pretended to be an expert'

Continued from Page 1

Experts say Mr. Edwards was practically pulled out of retirement when Prime Minister Stephen Harper appointed him deputy minister of DFAIT and that his pending departure had long been coming. He will stay on as the prime minister's personal representative for the G8 and G20 summits.

"He was actually scheduled to retire before he became deputy minister," said Fen Hampson, director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. "And he was sort of brought in because they wanted a steady hand at the tiller."

He worked quietly behind the scenes as Foreign Affairs struggled not only to clarify its role in a globalized 21st century, but in the face of spending cuts, mission closures—and a Conservative government that kept the department largely at arm's-length.

Mr. Edwards's appointment followed what appears to have been a tradition: All Foreign Affairs deputy ministers in recent memory have come from within the department.

Mr. Rosenberg's appointment, however, changes that. He has law degrees from the University of Montreal and Harvard, and spent most of his career in Justice Canada, including six years as deputy minister.

The only real breaks from the Justice department were three years as assistant deputy minister of the now-defunct Consumer and Corporate Affairs department, five years in the Privy Council Office in the 1990s, and, since December 2004, deputy minister of Health Canada.

His experience at Health Canada may offer the best barometer by which to measure what

he will bring to DFAIT as his resumé doesn't include any prior experience in the field. To that end, early reviews are positive.

"In terms of new files, he's certainly mastered—and I think that's why the prime

minister has so much faith him—he's mastered very complex, delicate and intricate files," said Russell Williams, president of Canada's Research-based Pharmaceutical Companies. "I think he brings a great deal of skill, expertise and comprehensive approach to all his files.'

"He's been the personification of a great public servant, in my judgment," agreed Bill Tholl, former CEO of the Canadian Medical Association. "There are deputy ministers of health and there are deputy ministers for health, and Morris is one

of those who took health very, very seriously." Mr. Tholl said Mr. Rosenberg didn't know anything about the file when he was appointed deputy minister of Health Canada. However, that didn't hurt him.

"I know he spent the first six, nine months listening very, very carefully to what the issues are," Mr. Tholl said. "He's a smart guy, he takes that all in. He never pretended to be an expert. But he has something that good deputies have, and that's very, very good judgment."

When Mr. Rosenberg took over Health Canada, the country was still feeling the aftermath of SARS, while concerns over

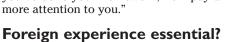
avian flu were emerging in Asia. Since then there have been safety scares related to Chinese products and, most recently, H1N1. The last, in particular, has highlighted the government's work towards improv-

ing pandemic preparedness, which has received mixed reviews.

"He's a cool customer, he's unflappable," said Mr. Tholl. "He's not prone to rash decisions at any time. He's very deliberate in his thinking. And in terms of being a leader, especially in times that are difficult, it's good to know that you have somebody up there in the deputy's chair that is unflappable."

The key when dealing with him, said Mr. Tholl, is to be prepared. "Have your act together. He's a very smart guy and if he knows that

you've done your homework, he'll pay a lot more attention to you."



Despite the positive reviews, foreign policy experts and former diplomats are split on Mr. Rosenberg's appointment. Many acknowledge that DFAIT has long been a virtual closed shop, which has created problems in the past.

"Frankly I think the place needs a bit of a shake up, and clearly the kind of leadership that I have been calling for for a long time has not been forthcoming from within

the department," said recently retired diplomat Daryl Copeland, author of Guerrilla Diplomacy, which advocates a new type of foreign service. "I have not seen much evidence of serious push back. The good diplomat not only stands up for his or her country abroad, but, when required, to his or her country at home.

"One of my prescriptions for fixing the foreign ministry has been to bring the outside in and turn the inside out. The place is too cloistered, it needs some fresh air.'

Bringing in an outsider with experience in managing a large department like Health Canada could help Foreign Affairs in the long run, some argue, by opening it up. It could also spark some new and innovative ideas.

"At the end of the day, it matters less in some sense where you come from than who you are," said Mr. Hampson.

Yet there are also concerns that Mr. Rosenberg's lack of international experience, and the fact he doesn't identify with DFAIT in the same way former foreign service officers and others do will create problems-particularly given an apparent plan to significantly change the department.

New Business Model unveiled

Shortly before the prime minister announced he was shaking up the top ranks at Fort Pearson, Mr. Edwards, his counterpart on the trade side, Louis Lévesque, and Foreign Affairs associate deputy minister Gérald Cossette sent out a message to all DFAIT employees.

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Morris Rosenberg.

The President of the Russian Federation Dmitry Medvedev visited the Polish Embassy in Moscow.

Dear friends, dear citizens of the Republic of Poland.

I and all citizens of Russia are shocked by the terrible tragedy that occurred, the death of the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Kaczynski, his wife Maria, and all Polish citizens on board the plane that crashed near Smolensk.

These days we have been holding joint commemorative events at Katyn and together we grieved for the victims of the totalitarian past. Lech Kaczynski flew to Russia to personally pay tribute to the perished Polish officers both as President and as their fellow citizen.

All Russians share your grief and mourning. I promise that all the circumstances of this tragedy will be investigated with utmost care in close collaboration with the Polish authorities. I have given comprehensive orders to this effect to law enforcement agencies.

On behalf of the people of Russia, I want to express my deepest, most heartfelt condolences to the people of Poland, and my empathy and support to families and friends of the victims. Monday April 12, 2010 will be declared a national day of mourning in Russia.

Dmitry Medvedev had a telephone conversation with Prime Minister of Poland Donald Tusk

The President expressed his sincere and profound condolences in connection with the tragedy that occurred: the death of the President of Poland, his wife, and a large Polish delegation in a plane crash near Smolensk.

Dmitry Medvedev informed the Polish Prime Minister of measures already taken and planned to investigate the crash, and stressed that



April 12, 2010, MOSCOW, Laying flowers before the photograph of President

he has given all necessary orders for a full and thorough investigation of the causes of the tragedy.

Mr. Tusk thanked Dmitry Medvedev for his condolences and commended the swift speed with which the Russian authorities have taken concrete steps through the ministries and agencies concerned.

Both sides noted the need for close cooperation in the investigation of the causes of the tragedy and their readiness to engage in such cooperation.

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"We are having to make tough decisions in light of the department's financial pressures," reads the internal email, which announced that a New Business Model was being implemented.

While details were still unclear, the senior officials said several bureaus and divisions will be merged, including the separate Foreign Affairs and International Trade communications bureaus. The bilateral and regional trade policy bureau will be eliminated while a new Canada bureau will be created to help trade commissioners working across Canada.

The senior officials said the business model "supports our commitment to rebalance resources from Headquarters to the field" and will "improve the mobility of employees between Headquarters, missions and regional offices."

The new geographic bureaus are looking at moving more "roles and responsibilities" into the field. In particular, the most important objective is to "encourage bilateral missions to take increasing ownership of the policy work, while progressively bolstering resources for mission operations."

Opinions are split on what this all means. Some see it simply as smoke and mirrors as the department struggles to make ends meet at a time of extreme fiscal constraint.

"Such restructuring comes and goes and is roughly equivalent to moving the deck chairs around on the Titanic," said Mr. Pardy. "With the budget cuts, there will be fewer people and less program money to do the work"

Added Mr. Copeland: "This is a foreign ministry that hasn't been called upon to develop much by way of foreign policy initiatives or to provide much substantial analysis or advice for about 10 years. So what do you do? You do these types of reviews."

The message says: "Most employees will not be affected" and that "some will continue their work, but with different reporting relationships or in newly created units; a small number will move to new jobs after their current positions are phased out." However, it also warned that senior managers will be affected, and that "a very small number of employees, whose positions will be phased out, will continue to receive their salaries and report to their current supervisors" until a new position at an equivalent level could be found.

After years of relegation to the sidelines by a government that is seen as not doing foreign policy combined with spending cuts and potentially disruptive salary negotiations, those within the department may not take kindly to an outsider coming in.

"I'm sure that given the recent history at Foreign Affairs, there is a bit of a shell shock mentality," said former ambassador Gar Pardy, who now runs the Retired Heads of Mission Association, "and they will see this as another rock being thrown at them from downtown."

However, Fen Hampson says Mr. Edwards was intentionally brought in to do the dull administrative shake-up the Conservative government had been looking for. Now that that is done, Mr. Rosenberg will be free to concentrate on coming up with the big foreign policy ideas and initiatives that have been sorely missing over the past few years.

"That will allow him to spend more of his time, I would think, on what I would call the more creative policy innovation aspects of Canadian foreign policy," Mr. Hampson said. "Len had to spend a lot of his time working to put these systems in place."

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International Trade deputy minister Louis Lévesque and his foreign affairs counterpart, Len Edwards have announced the launch of a New Business Model that will change the department.

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VCC audited circulation. Published every Wednesday since April 28, 2004.

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Publication Date
May 5, 2010

Booking Deadline
April 30, 2010

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Gualtieri's case 'would have been an embarrassment'

Continued from Page 1

managers, including then-foreign minister Lloyd Axworthy. An Ontario civil court ruled against her in 2000, but in 2002, the Ontario Court of Appeal overturned the decision.

Ms. Gualtieri's case was finally set to be heard by the Ontario Superior Court on March 1 following eight years of pretrial manoeuvering by government lawyers. However, before it could start, a settlement was reached. As part of the settlement, Ms. Gualtieri signed a confidentiality agreement.

The Conservative government was not in power during most of the duration of Ms. Gualtieri's case. However, it has come under intense criticism over the past five months for its treatment of another Foreign Affairs employee.

In November, Canadian diplomat Richard Colvin gave explosive testimony to a Commons' committee in which he said senior DFAIT and Defence department officials ignored repeated warnings throughout 2006 that civilians captured by Canadian soldiers in Kandahar and handed over to Afghan officials were being tortured.

Mr. Colvin said he was forced to appear before the committee after being subpoenaed by a Military Police Complaints Commission and told he could face jail-time if he didn't testify. However, he said government officials warned him he could be imprisoned if he did testify.

After his testimony, the government, led by Defence Minister Peter MacKay, launched a campaign—which included personal attacks—to discredit Mr. Colvin. In addition, the government initially refused to cover his legal costs.

All of this backfired on the government, prompting charges it was trying to bully and intimidate Mr. Colvin and, after he appeared before the committee, trying to get back at him. Former ambassadors took the unusual step of writing a letter to the government over the matter while the media and opposition parties criticized the government for attacking a civil servant.

Allan Cutler, a former Canadian public ser-

vant who blew the whistle on the government's payments to Quebec firms in what became known as the sponsorship scandal, said the government may have been trying to avoid having Ms. Gualtieri's information become public.

"Joanna's case was going to come to trial, and then it would have become a public embarrassment much more so because everything comes out," said Mr. Cutler, who is a founding president of Canadians for Accountability.

"Every document, every word, every delay that the government did, all becomes public property once it's in court."

Experts say successive governments have exhibited a pattern of repression when faced with public exposure of potentially explosive information, such as Mr. Colvin's revelations or Ms. Gualtieri's allegations of harassment.

Steven H. Appelbaum, who studies whistleblowing and organizational behaviour at the University of Concordia's John Molson School of Business, said "there's a whole science" to the question of how an organization deals with whistleblowers. An organization often gets an air of impenetrability, he said, such that "it has its own life," and "winds up doing what it wants to do."

"Anybody who says, 'hey wait a minute, you're polluting,' or 'the research is flawed,' or 'the data you're collecting is not precise,' or what have you—if the organization doesn't want to deal with this stuff, then you wind up having penalties. For most people there are consequences to this," he said.

Ms. Gualtieri started a volunteer organization focused on whistleblower reform called the Federal Accountability Initiative for Reform (FAIR). Current executive director David Hutton said that FAIR hears from someone roughly once a week, with federal public servants being about half of those. He said the most significant aspect of each case is the similarity of the stories.

"It's almost like there's a playbook. When someone is seen as

a threat to the organization, the tactics that are used to isolate them and punish them, harass them and force them out of the workplace seem to be so consistent," he said.

Mr. Cutler agreed that it was a pattern, arguing that it was a "government" issue and not a Conservative or Liberal one.

"It does not seem to be getting changed. The whistleblowers in the federal system are not being respected," he said. Mr. Hutton said Mr. Colvin's case "put

Mr. Hutton said Mr. Colvin's case "put the issue of whistleblowing back in the limelight," and as a result, the government "began to feel the heat." Mr. Colvin himself has rejected the label of whistleblower. After the initial controversy over his testimony hit the news in November, he released a letter through his lawyer where he wrote he was "not a whistleblower," but rather "a loyal servant of the Crown who did his job...working through internal and authorized channels."

As this story went to press, Mr. Colvin was in a hearing at the Military Police Complaints Commission with his lawyer, Owen Rees. Mr. Rees could not be contacted in time for publication.

University of Ottawa law professor Errol Mendes said Ms. Gualtieri's case may have been one of the few times where the federal government actually succeeded in its push to "kill anything that is damaging."

"In Gualtieri's case it may have worked.... The instinctive reaction is kill the news in any way, shape or form," he said.

John Guenette, who originally sued the government with Ms. Gualtieri, was contacted but declined comment.

When asked about Ms. Gualtieri, departmental spokesperson Dana Cryderman commented by email that "this case regarding a workplace issue was settled" and "the terms of the settlement are confidential."

The confidential terms of the settlement mean Ms. Gualtieri could not publicly discuss any aspects of it, or of her case, with *Embassy*.

But during an interview at her Ottawa residence, she did emphasize one part of her story open to public discussion—that she wanted to thank members of the public who phoned and emailed her expressing their support.

"I was saved by the kindness, support and loyalty of ordinary Canadians," she said.



Joanna Gualtieri.

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Five concerns the government is ignoring Page 1/8

Embassy Policy Briefing O April 14, 2010

'Canada's an Arctic power and we have to be prepared': Cannon

Two years ago, the government unveiled a new Northern Strategy in the federal budget. The crux of the plan was big-ticket items like a new Polar class icebreaker, mapping efforts involving the continental shelf as well as unexplored natural resource deposits on Canadian territory, and a greater diplomatic effort.

Foreign Minister Lawrence Cannon is the government's pointman on the last part, and he says he has taken a personal interest in selling Canada as an Arctic power to the world. However, that effort took a major hit on March 29 when US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton criticized Canada's decision to exclude three Arctic countries from a meeting of Arctic coastal states.

On April 1, Mr. Cannon sat down with CBS News's Pamela Falk to tell his side of the story, and explain to Americans Canada's Arctic vision.

The following is an edited transcript of that interview:

Mr. Minister, let's start with the contentious issues. First of all, what was the controversy, particularly about the Arctic with the Secretary of State [Hillary Clinton], and if you don't mind answering the question, who owns the North Pole?

"First let me point out that this meeting was convened under the auspices of, first and foremost, the initiative of the government of Canada, our initiative, to bring together coastal states. Now, the coastal states [are] Russia, Canada, obviously the United States of America, Norway as well as Denmark. And this is done purposely to be able to discuss issues that are common to both Canada, the United States, obviously, but to coastal states, generally speaking.

"What are those issues? The first issue is the delineation of the continental shelf under the rules of the United Nations Convention of the Law of the Seas.

"The second issue that we wanted to be able to discuss was search and rescue. What happens in terms of emergency preparedness. So as the ice is melting in the Arctic and temperatures change, obviously that opens up new routes to be able to go from, for instance, London to Tokyo, either through the eastern side of the passage or the western side of the passage, which is on the Canadian side.

"So that's sort of the context, and we're saying, 'Well, I think we have to take stock of the fact that ice is melting, and yes, we do have to put in place policies that, in the event that something occurs, we'll be ready for it."

So to some extent, this comes about because of global warming.

"In many respects it does, Pamela. It comes about because of global warming and because of an increased attention that's being paid to the Arctic. Canada's an Arctic power and we, of course, look at this and we say, well, we have to be prepared for it.

"Now, where there was a dispute was not on those fundamental issues. The dispute was there is another organization, which is known as the Arctic Council, that sort of umbrellas every gesture, every political action that's taken in the North, and the Arctic Council did not, was not invited to this meeting."

And so ultimately the aboriginal groups were left out.

"Ultimately the permanent participants were left out. I took upon myself to meet Canada's permanent participants. I spoke to our premiers in the Northwest Territories, the

Yukon, Nunavut, so that they indeed knew exactly what we were discussing, but these are things that are common between states.

"For instance, the *Exxon Valdez*, if another catastrophe like that takes place, search and rescue, emergency preparedness, it's Canada and the United States that work on that. It's not Sweden that works on that. It's not Finland that works on that. In the case of a disaster, a catastrophe, it's the countries that indeed are responsible for their border management that will do the task. So that is the position that Canada has taken.

"We did have a discussion on this. I could go so far as to say Secretary Clinton was in complete agreement with the positions that were taken, although she did want to defend the Arctic Council's right, and we, once again, agreed that the Arctic Council is the premier forum for discussions on all Arctic issues.

"But when it comes to the sovereignty of states, we won't be dictated to as to what we must do and how we must go about doing and exercising our sovereignty."

In what is usually a very friendly relationship between Canada and the United States, it appeared to be somewhat sparks flying. You're very diplomatic, she's very diplomatic, but she said she was notified by these groups that they wanted to be a part of it, and so there was a back-and-forth. Has all this been patched up?

"The issue is [that] states actually practice the politics of the geography, and that has been like that through the ages. So we will continue to make our points known.

"I actually, for instance, asked the United States and suggested very strongly to my colleague that very shortly the United States government follow up on their intention to...ratify the United Nations Convention of the Law of the Seas, which actually is the governing body that tells us how to go about and do Arctic mapping."

Without the United States' ratification of the Law of the Sea, who decides not only who owns it, but all of this offshore drilling money, the minerals around the North Pole and in the Arctic generally? "What President Obama announced

"What President Obama announced was...within US territory and within the 200 nautical miles economic zone, so we all possess that. When we talk about continental shelf mapping, that's beyond that area."

Beside the fact that the United States hasn't signed on to these limits, there's generally agreement that there's the 12 miles and the 200-mile exclusive economic zone.

"That's right, so there's no problem from that perspective. What we find a little funny here is that we've got four coastal states who have signed on to this, and said: 'Look, when you're doing the mapping of the continental shelf, it's science-based.' The convention writes out specifically what has to be done, how it must be done, under what circumstances, what's the delineation of, for instance, the ridges that are there, and so all that is done on a scientific base.

"Now, we work with the United States in doing that mapping, as a matter of fact. We had one of our icebreakers that is out there in the summer months with Coast Guard vessels from the United States, and that work is done together. But I would hope that in the very near future, ratification takes place so that we will all five of us have in place the policies that will govern the way we function in the High North."



Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon.

Did you get any indication from the United States that they would ratify?

"No, I didn't. I would leave Secretary Clinton with that.... I think, you know, the Obama administration has indicated in the past that it does intend to do something in that regard. So myself and our government hope that in the very near future that will be done.

"We do have, and we've managed, contentious issues with the United States, as friends do, in a civilized manner. So we have a border dispute, particularly in the Beaufort Sea, as to where that line is. That's one of the issues. We've got Canada's Northwest Passage, which is somewhat contested by the United States government. It is in Canadian sovereign territory. The United States government says it's in international waters. We dispute that. We've managed that since 1987.

"But I think that as the ice is flowing—is melting, I should say—we need to now step up to the plate and start doing the negotiation that's required to be able to make sure that we know where our border is between Canada and the United States on a going-forward basis, as well as determining, finally, the Northwest Passage, the Canadian Northwest Passage. So those are the issues that we need to look at."

Just on the law of the sea and the question about the North Pole, if the United States doesn't sign on before these negotiations go forward, the theory is that the four nations involved will be making a decision among themselves and that the winner there will be the one fighting with the United States.

"Well, the idea here, Pam, is to be able to, in Canada's case, we will be tabling, for instance, the scientific research. We've got a date here at the United Nations to table it in front of the commission before or by 2013. So we are progressing on our timelines.

"We've put a lot of money into this initiative, and so we will be ready by 2013 to do it. The Russians have done it. The Danes have just finished. I'm sorry, I think the Norwegians have just completed that. The Danes are doing it. So, we're all getting there."

So the odd man out is the United States. "Well, yes, that's it."

On that front, the Russians did drop a flag and dropped an anchor and raised a flag in 2007 and said, "We own it." Has that calmed down? Are the Russians more on

board with the law of the sea?

"On the North Pole, I don't get overly excited with what the Russians do, quite honestly. We've seen for years a number of countries go and put their flag on Mount Everest and say 'We claim it.' So whether you use a submarine and you go do it there...it's all going to be scientifically based on the Convention of the Law of the Sea."

Back to the Northwest Passage.... When the United States sent a submarine...there was a confrontation with Canada, where Canada does say it's its own territory. What would happen in this case now that there is more likelihood that there would be a passage used by US ships, because it is water, not ice, if it were to happen again?

"Well, look, we're going to assume our responsibilities. We're going to exercise our sovereignty. We feel that this is Canadian territory."

Exercising sovereignty meaning stopping the US?

"Well, we're going to exercise sovereignty by...diplomatic means. We won't hesitate to send a diplomatic note to speak directly to the government of the United States and say, 'Look, this is Canadian territory, and we have longstanding claims to this territory.' That's what I mean by exercising our sovereignty. And the international community will, as well, support our outstanding position."

What is your combined take on the offshore oil drilling? President Obama's changed course, really, in giving this green light. He was very much against it during the campaign. Do you think you will have environmentalists upset as he does in the United States?

"Canada has a regime in place that requires regulatory buy-in. We have environmental laws that are respected, and any company that wants to go and undertake a new drilling has to abide by our environmental code, our environmental standards. And so it is with any other country. For instance, here in the United States.

"We certainly believe that there is obviously potential; the High North and the Arctic have a potential of over 13 to 20 per cent of untapped oil reserve, a lot of natural gas, but we've put in place our own policies, and we have our northern strategy. The pillars of that northern strategy deal with, yes, economic development, yes, governance structures, but obviously deal with environmental sustainability.

"So we are making sure that as we move forward eventually down that lane or down that road, we will protect the pristine nature of the environment, whether it be through drilling, whether it be through fish harvesting. Those are the principles that we've put in place, and we want to make sure that they will be well respected, yet you cannot have any social development in the High North without any economic development. So both have to go hand in glove."

And is your sense, you are in favour of all of this, what they call in the United States during the campaign, "drill baby, drill," just moving forward on the offshore oil drilling?

"I don't want to get involved in a domestic debate that is ongoing here in the United States. But I do think that as these fossil fuels become more and more rare, because they do not regenerate themselves, we have to be able to at the same time look at what renewable energy is."

editor@embassymag.ca

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Promises of Arctic co-operation ring hollow



Dennis Bevington

anada received another international relations black-eye (following on the heels of our shameful performance at the Copenhagen Climate Change conference in December) when it excluded circumpolar indigenous groups and Arctic states like Sweden, Finland and Iceland from the Arctic summit meeting in Gatineau, Quebec, on March 29.

This was the second meeting of the socalled five Arctic coastal states and was even more exclusive than the first held in Ilulissat, Greenland, in May 2008. As the NDP critic for Arctic sovereignty, I attended that meeting as an observer, but was denied similar status for this meeting.

More importantly, the exclusion of other Arctic states and circumpolar indigenous groups was an issue that arose from that major event, and its repeat in Gatineau is even more concerning.

Following the Ilulissat meeting, Canada had committed that future meetings would be more inclusive. However, as Inuit Circumpolar Council president Duane Smith said, "He [Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon] had a unique opportunity here to invite ICC Canada to be a part of his delegation to—at the very least—observe the meeting to show that Canada is more inclusive by having us there."

US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was correct when she said, "Significant international discussions on Arctic issues should include those who have legitimate interests in the region. And I hope the Arctic will always showcase our ability to work together, not create new divisions."

Canada's Arctic indigenous peoples have a legitimate interest in how Arctic sovereignty is handled. This is not just because they live there, but due to their constitutionally protected treaties.

These treaties grant a measure of control over Arctic waters to groups like the Inuvialuit of the Northwest Territories and Inuit of Nunavut. By excluding these groups from high-profile meetings like the one in Gatineau, Canada has shown that it is not willing to be co-operative and inclusive in its approach to Arctic sovereignty.

The case of the Inuvialuit is illustrative of how wrong Canada's approach to Arctic sovereignty is.

The Inuvialuit Settlement Region (ISR) includes the Beaufort Sea from the coast to 80 degrees north latitude. The ISR's western boundary is 141 degrees west longitude. This is the same line as where Canada says the maritime boundary with the United States lies. Canada argues that the line was set in the 1825 treaty between Great Britain and Russia. The concept of longitudinal boundaries was strengthened with the settlement of the Russia-US boundary in the Bering Sea.

However, the United States says the maritime boundary in the Beaufort has not been defined and should follow the median line between the two coast lines or at an a roughly 15-degree angle to the right of 141 degrees west longitude. The area of dispute is more than 7,000 square nautical miles.

Recently, the United States has begun taking unilateral action to exert its control over this disputed area. (One might argue that this is a move made as a result of Canada's misguided identification of Russia

as the threat in the Arctic.)

In 2009, the United States imposed a fishing moratorium over its Arctic waters, including the disputed area of the Beaufort Sea. Last year, the state of Alaska proposed issuing petroleum exploration licenses in the disputed area. Canada's response to these encroachments has been to simply say this is a "well-managed dispute."

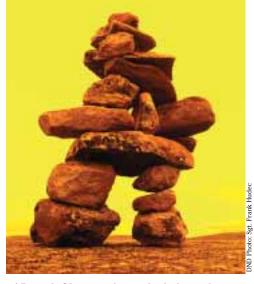
If the Harper government believes that managing this dispute well means not doing anything in response to these encroachments, then it is shirking its responsibility. Through the terms of the Inuvialuit Final Agreement, Canada has a constitutionally-mandated responsibility to protect the integrity of the ISR. The Harper government also has a responsibility to all Canadians due to the massive potential petroleum reserves believed to be in the area.

If the Harper government just lets the United States have a free hand in this area, then the interests of the Inuvialuit and all Canadians will be damaged.

The first step the Harper government must take to protect our interests in the Arctic is to stop its threat-based militaristic approach to Arctic sovereignty. Stephen Harper has demonstrated time and again that he and his ministers are willing to utilize the Arctic for internal political gain through military flag waving, rather than engaging with others and working co-operatively with all who have legitimate interests in the Arctic.

Actions like freezing out indigenous groups from the recent meeting in Gatineau are just the most recent example of their unwillingness to work co-operatively. While they talk of co-operation, their actions show these words to be hollow.

Times have changed and the time for cooperation and inclusiveness in dealing with Arctic sovereignty is now. As Hillary Clinton told the US Senate, before the inauguration



of Barack Obama, when asked about the incoming Democrats' approach to Arctic sovereignty, "President-elect Obama and I see that as one of those areas that offers a chance for co-operation."

It is time we began co-operating before we are isolated just like we are being isolated when it comes to dealing with climate change.

The government could get back on track by hosting a major meeting on the Beaufort Sea issues, engaging the people of the area, the governments of the Northwest Territories, Yukon and Alaska, and the US to re-establish a basis of co-operation in the region where we have the most immediate concerns. I would suggest Inuvik, Northwest Territories, as a location.

Dennis Bevington is member of Parliament for the Northwest Territories and the NDP critic for the Arctic.

editor@embassymag.ca

Five Arctic concerns the government is ignoring



Acouple of weeks before Parliament resumed, the Liberal Party held 32 expert panels. One was on the North.

During the event, guest speaker after guest speaker from the North enunciated several common themes of how the federal government could help improve the lives of Northern Canadians.

First, the excessive poverty in many parts of remote northern Canada was outlined. Poverty so horrendous that, if it occurred within the constant reach of southern reporters, it would never be tolerated in 21st-century Canada. Perhaps what is confusing people is the fact that a person could be making the same wage as an average Canadian in the south, but live in extreme poverty due to the prohibitive cost of living in the Arctic, which can be three, four, five or more times more expensive than in Canadian cities.

Second is the lack of residential facilities to deal with high levels of substance abuse. Of course, the government should be looking to eliminate the root cause of substance abuse, but in the meantime, numerous groups across the North have condemned

the dearth of residential treatment centres north of 60.

Third is education. Educational outcomes are consistently lower in the North. Parity in outcomes would help alleviate many other serious problems in the Arctic; high levels of unemployment in remote communities, substance abuse, suicide and incarceration.

Fourth is the fact that there are serious problems with the implementation of the modern treaties, the Land Claim and Self Government Agreements north of 60. The auditor general has pointed this out several times. It is perhaps the most serious problem facing many Aboriginal governments in the North.

Canada's northern agreements are revolutionary potential pilot projects that Aboriginal people around the world can and are looking at. But if you fail to live up to your side of a treaty, and fail to create a living implementation in the spirit of the agreements, failure looms at the doorstep.

Fifth is adaptation to climate change. Nowhere in the world is climate change occurring more rapidly than Canada's Arctic. Hundreds of millions of dollars, representing the infrastructure backbone of the economy and lives of northerners, is being damaged or under threat. With rapidly melting permafrost, roads and runways breakup, water and sewer lines buckle, ice roads and bridges to resources melt too early, and species needed for subsistence move.

So northerners have spoken. Now ask yourself: was the Government of Canada listening?

Think back to the prime minister's visits to the North and even to the Throne Speech

and budget now being debated before Parliament. Do you remember even one of these five major priorities being dealt with?

In relation to the first, poverty, there is little to alleviate the exorbitant costs of survival, especially in the High Arctic, the rural North, and northern Quebec and Labrador.

In regards to the second, lack of residential facilities to deal with the high levels of substance abuse, little progress has been made. In fact, in relation to substance abuse, the federal government has taken a giant step backward, and caused a national uproar and emergency debate last month by closing the Healing Foundation and the 134 projects and institutions across Canada that were very successfully assisting many victims of substance abuse.

On the third point made by northerners—education—the situation is no better. Nothing was offered to the vast majority of Arctic students to help with the high cost of post-secondary education; in fact, nothing significant was offered to students anywhere in Canada.

The number of aboriginal students in the North (and elsewhere) who wish to attend post-secondary institutions is growing rapidly, as are tuition costs, yet the federal government's budgets are not keeping pace with these growing needs.

And what has been the response to the fourth major priority of northerners, namely land claim and self-government implementation? Still there is virtually nothing to show progress in correcting the major failings in Implementation.

In fact, in BC the government has used a specific fishery study as an excuse to stall and put new land claims that were in a critical point in negotiations on hold, even when the fish being studied are not involved in their claim. Some believe that because of this delay, some of these First Nations will have to abandon the talks altogether.

And on the fifth and last point, for adaptation due to the devastating effects on the North of climate change, instead of confronting this northern crisis head-on with major new investments, the government is letting existing programs sunset, with no glimmer of hope of them being renewed in the future.

The scientific community across Canada (and especially in the North) was aghast when the federal government, in this budget, effectively shut the doors of the CFCAS (the Canadian Foundation For Climate and Atmospheric Sciences), which has funded hundreds of researchers across Canada on atmospheric studies, drought, climate change baseline data collection, high Arctic studies, etc. One scientist compared it to another Conservative government decision: the Avro Arrow fiasco. Now many of these world-renowned scientists will again have to go the United States and will be lost to Canada.

So there you have it: five major requests by the people and the experts who live in the North. Has the Harper government listened? You be the judge.

Larry Bagnell is member of Parliament for the Yukon and the Liberal critic for the Arctic. editor@embassymag.ca

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Thawing out Canada's Arctic foreign policy

Avinash Gavai

Last summer, the government unveiled blueprint for its Arctic policy. Entitled Canada's Northern Strategy, the document laid out Ottawa's intent to manage and protect Canadian sovereignty over its resource-laden territories on land and water, while addressing peripheral goals such as environmental protection, employment and indigenous issues.

While diplomatic efforts are also mentioned—and have been cited by Foreign Minister Lawrence Cannon and Prime Minister Stephen Harper—experts say the strategy document largely relegates Arctic foreign policy to the sidelines. As a result, there has been considerable uncertainty on what the government's official position is with regards to key international issues, and what efforts it is making to achieve those unstated goals.

Ken Coates, an Arctic affairs expert and professor at the University of Waterloo, has identified key areas which he feels are vital in assessing the impact of a robust diplomatic policy. These include understanding and responding to climate change in the North, joint monitoring and response to maritime accidents, and maintaining circumpolar control of Arctic issues in the face of growing demands by the EU, China, South Korea, Japan and others that they have a say over the opening of the Arctic.

"In this context, diplomacy is critical on all files," he said in an email. "It is essential if indigenous collaboration across the circumpolar world is to be supported. It is crucial to produce a regional science and environmental policy. It is essential on matters relating to transportation...circumpolar diplomacy is absolutely critical."

When asked about Canada's Arctic foreign strategy, a spokeswoman for Mr. Cannon said: "The Arctic is a priority for the Canadian government and Canada is playing a leadership role on Arctic issues internationally and at home. This government is dedicated to fulfilling the North's true potential as a healthy, prosperous and secure region within a strong and sovereign Canada."

Mr. Coates's view that urgency needs to be accorded to building a credible foreign policy in the Arctic is echoed by a number of other



Foreign Minister Lawrence Cannon and US Secretary Hillary Clinton in Gatineau on March 30. The day before, Ms. Clinton scolded Canada for excluding Iceland, Sweden and Finland from an Arctic meeting.

experts, many who feel that Canada has not articulated a clear and focused vision in this regard.

"I would like to see the Arctic put on the agenda of leaders and would like to see it in the agenda for the G8 meeting later this year," said Michael Byers, project leader of ArcticNet, a federally-funded group of Arctic scientists. Mr. Byers noted that creating more inclusive representation at last month's Arctic coastal states meeting in Quebec would have provided far greater channels and means where co-operation would have been strengthened, thus adding legitimacy to Canada's assertion of leadership.

"It was a diplomatic error of calculation to not invite Iceland, Sweden, and Finland for a couple of reasons—one of which is that there is no disagreement between those three countries and the so-called 'Arctic 5," he said.

Mr. Cannon has defended his decision to host only the US, Russia, Norway and Denmark at the meeting, saying the Arctic coastal states have specific issues that need to be addressed and are outside the concerns of fellow Arctic but non-coastal states Iceland, Sweden and Finland. That didn't stop those three countries—and, surprisingly, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton—from criticizing the move.

Mr. Byers felt the decision to exclude the three non-coastal states "was an overly narrow focus on the issues that caused them to miss the larger diplomatic picture."

Experts say it's not the only mistake that Canada has been making. Canada's less than enthusiastic climate change policy—exemplified in last year's Copenhagen summit—under the Harper government has come in from strong criticism in many quarters and has a direct bearing on polar politics.

"The issue of climate change is now driving everything in the Arctic, and, of course, Canada is very much a laggard rather than a leader. As a result of our regressive position on climate change, it does affect our ability to lead and persuade on Arctic issues," said Mr. Byers.

Meanwhile, the combination of climate change, a never-ending desire for energy sources, and the prospect of new shipping lanes offering commercial potential have now conspired to create a situation where Canada, along with the other seven Arctic countries, have a great deal at stake in the region; one-fifth of the world's undiscovered oil and gas is believed to be in the Arctic.

A growing consensus has emerged that proactive co-operation under firm binding

international regulations such as the Law of the Sea will help the Arctic states safeguard their interests amid what would otherwise be a scramble for resources and increasing militarization. To this end, some are saying Canada needs to start looking south to protect its North.

"I hope to see a strategy that would have us engaged with the United States and ensure a common North American view of the future of the Arctic be put together and presented to the other members of the Arctic Council," said Franklyn Griffiths, a retired professor at the University of Toronto. "This is vital and there seems to be an opportunity in that."

Mr. Griffiths, who authored a comprehensive study on Canadian Arctic strategy, noted that in 2013, Canada will take over as chair of the Arctic Council for two years. In 2015, the United States will follow. "So there will be a four-year window to achieve certain North American objectives."

Co-operation between the two countries has been strong of late, with both countries having undertaken a joint expedition to survey the continental shelf in the Arctic last August. However, the sensitive issue of the Northwest Passage remains unresolved. The Canadian government maintains that it is Canadian waters, but various countries, including the United States, maintain that it is an international strait or transit route.

Mr. Griffiths feels that increased bilateral co-operation will help to minimize the effects of this disagreement. At the same time, he said policies towards Russia—often demonized in some quarters as harbouring aggressive intentions—have to be recalibrated in Canada.

"I'm not that worried about Russia because it has been working within the framework of international law in the Arctic and it has every incentive to continue to do so," he said.

That sentiment is echoed by Sergey Khudyakov, an official with the Russian embassy, who said that "Canada is number one in our international Arctic strategy because we co-operate very closely. Both our foreign ministers confirmed our common ground [at the meeting in Chelsea] and common approach to the Arctic problem."

agavai@embassymag.ca

A European Union Arctic policy in the making



Matthias Brinkmann

he European Union Arctic policy, gradually shaped since 2008, was received in some circles with suspicion. I therefore appreciate this opportunity to clarify its origins and objectives.

Firstly, it is important to look at geography. The EU has an Arctic component of which we feel proud. For example, we value as part of European culture and diversity, the Sami populations of northern Sweden and Finland. The Sami, along with the rest of the EU Arctic population, are the engine behind cross-border co-operation projects with the Russian Federation and Norway in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region. Another example is our solid links with Greenland,

a Danish territory outside the EU, which nevertheless maintains strong interactions with the EU.

Secondly, the EU needed to have a comprehensive basis to apply its large number of policies, programs and projects focussing and benefitting the Arctic. The most obvious example is the research policies of the EU and of its member states, which for years have been at the forefront of Arctic research, with the explicit objective of co-operating and networking with Arctic research centres and universities across the entire Northern hemisphere. More recently, the EU contribution to the success of the International Polar Year has been recognized world-wide.

Presently our main concern is to ensure, together with all Arctic stakeholders, that the International Polar Year legacy is maintained and enhanced, and that an efficient system of Arctic observation and monitoring is in place. But there are many other EU policies that have a direct or indirect impact in the Arctic region, such as those of indigenous peoples, the environment, climate change, transport, energy and natural resources, fisheries,

and tourism, among others; it was simply a logical step forward to set up a common basis for their implementation.

Since Sweden and Finland joined the EU in 1995, special attention has been given to the High North, and thus an EU Northern Dimension Policy was established, and later extended to Iceland, Norway and the Russian Federation. The Canadian and US observer status in the Northern Dimension has been very valuable, particularly Canada's active involvement and contributions to the Northern Dimension partnerships on environment and on health and social well-being.

However, in addition to this successful policy, which concerns Europe and, in particular, the northwestern region of Russia, we needed a truly circumpolar perspective.

The three main objectives of the EU's Arctic policy largely coincide with the Canadian Northern Strategy, and are the following:

■ Protecting and preserving the Arctic in unison with its population. The rapid effects of climate change in the Arctic are of great concern to all of us. Furthermore, I would like to recall that the European Union and its member states have been the promot-

ers of the UN Declaration on Indigenous Peoples Rights adopted in 2007;

■ Promoting sustainable use of resources. This includes environmental and safety sustainability, as well as access in line with the internationally recognized principles mentioned in the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea: and

■ Contributing to enhanced Arctic multilateral governance: We call for the respect of UNCLOS, as the main convention applicable to the Arctic Ocean, as well as other Arctic international agreed conventions and structures (e.g. in the International Maritime Organization). As well, we call for developing internationally the applicable pieces of legislation in order to ensure a specific Arctic focus.

We recognize the Arctic Council as the key body for Arctic co-operation, and therefore the European Commission has applied for the status of permanent observer. This would allow for an active involvement creating a win-win situation for all stakeholders, including Canada.

Matthias Brinkmann is the European Union ambassador to Canada. editor@embassymag.ca



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Richard Goldbloom, Was Chancellor, Technical University of Nova Scotia

red Godwin, Painter Richard Goldbloom, Was Physician-in-Chief, Walton Killam Children's Hospital Ruth Goldbloom, Was Chancellor, Technical University of Nova Scotia Victor Goldbloom, Was Québec's first Minister of the Environment erative Fedn in NW Territories

Victor Goldbloom, Was Quebec's first Minister of the Environment Martin Goldfarb, Busi.nessman and Philanthropist Andrew Goussaert, Founded Canadian Arctic Cooperative Fedn in NW Territc Anthony Graham, Cardiologist & Prof of Medicine, UofToronto Charlotte Gray, Historical Biographer John Gray, Playwright & Composer Shirley Greenberg, Lawyer, Women's Rights Advocate, Philanthropist Claude Grenier, Ceramic Artist (Aboriginal art, handicrafts) Stanley Grizzle, Trade Unionist (Human Rights) Phyllis Grosskuth Biographer

yllis Grosskurth, Biographer ne Grant Guerette, Artist & Community Educato

Ramsay Gunton, Cardiologist (Cardiac Catheterization)
Grete Hale, Businesswoman
Douglas Hall, Prof. of Christian Theology, McGill University
Francess Halpenny Librarian Entired Distinction (Cardiac Catheterization) Francess Halpenny, Librarian, Edited Dictionary of Ganadian Biography
Stuart Hamilton, Musician
Stephen Hanessian, Pharmacy Research, Chemistry Dept University de Montréal
Buzz Hargrove, Former President, Canadian Auto Workers

Buzz Hargrove, Former President, Canadian Auto Workers Richard Harington, Curator, Quarternary Zoology Emeritus

Donald Harron, Actor, Author & Playwright
Brent Hawkes, Senior Pastor, Metropolitan Community Church
Linda Haynes, Co-Founded ACE Bakery Ltd.
Raymond Heimbecker, Cardiovascular Surgeon
Gerald Helleiner, Development Economist, University of Toronto
David Helwig, Writer, Poet
Ydessa Hendeles, Art Collector & Curator
Lyman Henderson, Writer and Business Consultant
Thomas Henderson, Writer and Business
Margaret Hess, Arist & President, Calagny Zoo
Jacques Hertu, Musician & Composer (deceased)
Angela Hewitt, Planist; "musical ambassador.for Canada"
Meg Hickling, Sexual Health Educator
Charles Hill, Curator & Art Historian
Margaret Hilson, Was Head, International Program, CPHA
John Hobday, Executive Director, Bronfman Family Foundation
Peter Hogg, Constitutional lawyer
Catherine Hooper, Community organizer
Myer Horowitz, Was President. University of Alberta
Norman Horrocks, Library Science, Dalhousie U.
Eric Hoskins, Co-founded War Child Canada
Stuart Houston, Diagnostic Radiologist
Mel Hurtig, Journalist, Author, Published Canadian Encyclopedia
Helen Huston, Physician (30) years in Nepal)
Tony Ianzelo, Cinematographer (100+ NFB films)
Elke Inkster, Book Publisher (The Porcupine's Quill)
Tim Inkster, Book Publisher (The Porcupine's Quill)
Imm Instear, Book Publisher (The Porcupine's Quill)
Laurent Isabelle, Past President of Algonquin College, Ottawa
Richard W. Ivey, Businessman
Richard W. Ivey, Bu

endorse and begin negotiations for a Nuclear Weapons Convention as proposed

by the UN Secretary-General in his five-point plan for nuclear disarmament."

Bruce Kirdd, Educator & Olympic Athlete
Joy Kogawa, Posul Artist
Kenneth Kramer, Co-Founded Regina Globe Theatre
Marcel Kretz, Master Chef
Anton Kuertl, Musician & Co-Founder, Concertmasters
Antia Kunz, Illustrator

Anton Kuerti, Musician & Co-Founder, Concertmasters
Anita Kunz, Illustrator
Eva Kushner, Was President, Victoria University of the University of Toronto
Ernie Kuyt, Retired Wild Life Biologist (Whooping Cranes)
Donat Lacroix, Fisheman, Singer, Compose, Actor
Jack Laidlaw, Dir. Inst. of Medical Science, Uof T
Zaheer Lakhani, Cardiologist
Leslie Laking, Director Emeritus, Royal Botanical Gardens
Roger Lalonde, Businessman & French Culture Activist
Phyllis Lambert, Founded Canadian Centre for Architecture
Arthur Lamothe, Film Maker & Director, Native Canadian Theatre
Aldéa Landry, Chaired Altanite Prox. Econ Council
Antonie Landry, Heritage & Community Devt Activist
Edmond E. Landry, Former businessman and mayor
Eva Landry, Educator. First woman Inspector of Schools in NS
Robert Landry, Business man (Oil Executive)
Michele Landsberg, G&M & Toronto Star Columnist; Edited Chatelaine
Laurier LaPierre, IV Journalist & Commentator
Elizabeth Lane, Research Chemist
Philip Lapp, Engineer
Dennice Leahny, Businesswoman; was Senior VP, RBC Financial Group
Diana Fowler LeBlanc, Spouse of the 25th Governor General of Canada
John Leberg, Musician. Invented Language Subtitles for Operas
Claude Le Bouthillier, Novelist, Columnist & Foe
Mary-Jo Leddy, Founder of the Catholic New Times
Dennis Lee, Co-Founded House of Anans Press
Viola Léger, Actress and former senator
Martin J. Légère, Founder, Féd. des casses populaires acadiennes
David Leighton, First Canadian President of Amer. Marketing Ason

Martin J. Légère, Founder, Féd. des caisses populaires acadiennes
David Leighton, First Canadian President of Amer. Marketing Assn
Marguerite Lescop, Writer. Co-Founded Editions: Lescop
Joseph Letendre, Orthopaedic Surgeon
Rita Letendre, Pioneered abstract art in Québec
Jacques Lévesque, Was Dean of Political Science, UQAM
Stephen Lewis, Was Can Ambassador to UN & its Special Adviser on Africa
Gérard Limoges, Chartered Accountant
Roy Lindseth, Geophysicist (Seismic Signal Processing)
Leonard Lockhart, Businessman, Chaired Greater Mondon Economic Commn
Diane Loomer, Founded & Directs Elektra Women's & Choir Leoni Choirs
Alexina Louie, Classical Musician
Frederick Lowy, Psychiatrist

Alexina Louie, Classical Musician Frederick Low, Psychiatris Harry Lumsden, Biologist. International authority on grouse & waterfowl Janet Lunn, Writer; chaired Writers Union of Canada Manoly Lupul, Prof of Utrainian Studies Norman Lush, Neurologist Flora MacDonald, Former Minister of External Affairs H. lan Macdonald, Former President, York University

Thelma MacDonald, First Woman Mayor of Souris, PEI Julien MacKay, Lawyer Ross MacKay, Geographer (Arctic Permafrost) Ronald MacLeod, Leader in the Pacific fishing industry Margaret MacMillan, Historian, Author Teresa MacNeil, Adult Educator Garfield Mahood, Non-Smokers' Rights Association Léon Major, Washington, DC. Opera Director Aidan Maloney, Director, Canadian Saltfish Corporation; was Consul Gen of Japan to NI.

วยก บา Japan เอางะ Robert H. Marchessault, Polymer Chemist

Gen Marlow, Konderson, Dec. Opera Director
Aidan Maloney, Director, Canadian Saltish Corporation; was Consul
Gen of Japan to NI.
Robert H. Marchessault, Polymer Chemist
Michael Marrus, Historian
John Matheson, Was Judge & Pearson's Parliamentary Secretary
Arthur May, President & Vice Chancelloi, Memorial University.
Elizabeth May, Leader of Green Parly of Canada, was Executive Director, Siera Club
Gordon McBean, Climate & Disasters Scientist
James McCambly, Was Founding President, Canadian Federation of Labour
Alexa McDonough, President, Mount St. Vincent University
Pearl McGoringal, Former Lieut, Governor of Manitoba.
Don McKay, Nature Poet
John McKellar, Lawyer & cofounder of Theatres (Crest, Tarragon, Augusta etc.)
Audrey McLaughlin, Was Leader of NDP
Gerald McMaster, Artist & Curator, Art Gallery of Ontario
Roy McMurry, Was Chief Justice of Ontario
Ian McWhinney, Was known as the Father of Family Medicine
Jonathan Meakins, Head, Surgical Services, McGill Univ
John Meisel, Political Scientist, Queen's University; was Chair, CRTC
Alexander Meisels, Cytopathologist
Pierre Medicche, Businessman (Group Insurance)
Brenda Milner, Neuropsychologist
Robert Moody, Mathematician
Raymond Moriyama, Architect
Lawrence Morley, Geophysicist
Avrum Morrow, Businessman & Philanthropist
Ann Mortimer, Ceramist; Past President of Canadian Guild of Potters
Balfour Mount, "Father of Palliative Care in N.A.".
Heather Munroe-Blum, Principal, McGill University
Robert George Murray, Sculptor
T. Jock Murray, Litt Physician (M.Sclerosis)
Helen Mussallem, Was Executive Director, Canadian Nurses Association
Fraser Mustard, Cardio-vascular Disease Specialist
Alex Neve, Lawyer & Executive Director, Ammesty International Canada
Andrina Newbory, Community Service ind. Native Studies & Burwash Projects
Peter Newbery, Physician; UCK Minister, Dir, UBC Dept of Family Practice
Hanna Newcombe, Chemist & Peace Researcher
Peter Newman, Biographer, Was Editior of Maclean's
Christopher Newton, Artist CDirector, Shaw Festival
John Nichol, Founding Chai

Raymond Price, Geologist (Evoln of Rockies)

J. Robert Prichard, Pres & CEO, Metrolinx. Was President, Univ. of Toronto
Dorothy Pringle, Dean Emeritus, Faculty of Nursing, Univ. of Toronto

Dorothy Pringle, Dean Emeritus, Faculty of Nursing, Univ. of Toronto Valerie Pringle, Journalist and TV host Richard Puddephatt, Professor of Chemistry, University of Western Ontario Jack Rabinovitch, Businessman & Philamthropist Royden Rabinowitch, Sculptor, with works in more than 50 museums worldwide Robert Rae, Liberal Foreign Affairs Critic Nina Raginsky, Photographer, Sculptor and Painter Lola Rasminsky, Arts Education for Children Naz Rayani, Pharmacist

ehr, Co-founded Project Ploughshares; Adj. Prof. University of Waterloo

pennis Reid, Research Curator, Art Gallery of Ontal Fiona Reid, Actress Ian Reid, Physician & Community Health Programs Boyce Richardson, Journalist, Write, NFB Narrator Kathleen Richardson

lan Reid, Physidan & Community Health Programs
Boyce Richardson, Journalist, Write, NFB Narrator
Kathleen Richardson, Philamthropist
Donald Rickerd, Lawyer; was President, Donner Canadian Foundation
Wayne Riddell, Musician. Choral Master, Montréal Symphony Orchestra
Bernard Riordon, Director, Beaverbrook Art Gallery
Margaret Ritchie, President of Human Rights Institute Of Canada

Roderick Robbie, Architect, Designed SkyDome, ExpoBldgs
Edward Roberts, Was Lieut, Governor of Newfoundland & Labrador
John Peter Roberts, Founder & President, Cliens Gould Foundation
Douglas Roche, Author, was Senator & Canadian Disarmament Ambassador
Robert Ross, Emeritus Prof of Medicine Neurology
Joseph Rouleau, Opera Bass & Pres. Les Jeunnesses Musicales du Can.
Byron Rourke, Learning Disabilities Psychologist
Claude Roussel, Sculptor & Painter
Jean-Louis Roux, Co-Founded National Theatre School
Louis-Joseph Roy, Surgeon; & Past President, Québec Medical Assn.
Muriel Rent Roy, Historian of Acadian Heritage
Susan Rubes, Founder & Producer, Young People's Theatre
Peter Russell, Political Scientist (Admin of Justice)
Nancy Ruth, Senator and Philanthropist
Ann Saddlemyer, Historian
Edward Safarian, Economist
Annette Saint-Pierre, Promoter of Francophonie in Western Canada
Genevieve Salbaing, Choreographer & Artistic Dir, Ballets Jazz de Mont'l
James Sanders, President, Can. National Institute for the Blind
Peter Savaryn, Lawyer, Former Chancello, Uch Alberta
Ezra Schabas, Lawyer. Helped create International Criminal Court
Paul Schurman, Former Broadcaster
Irving Schwartz, Eritepeneur, Co-founded Canadian International De-mining Cente
Alfred Scow, Founded Canadian Indian Lawyers Assn.
Charles Scriver, President of American Pediatric Society
Ed Sebestyen, CM. Saskatoon, SK. Community Service
Hugh Segal, Senator & Columnist
Raymond Setlakwe, Lawyer and Businessman
John Sewell, Lawyer, was Mayor of Torontof, founded Citizens for Public Justice
Jack Shapiro, Businessman & Chair, Canadian Cancer Action Network
Richard Share, Agriculturalist, Was CEO, Shaver Poultry Breeding Farms
George Shields, Specialist on the Speech Disabled
Michael Shenstone, Was Ambassador & Director-General Africa & Mid
Eastern Affairs
David P. Silcox, Biographer, President of SothebyS Canada

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David P. Silcox, Biographer, President of Sotheby's Canada
Louis Siminovitch, Research Director, Mount Sinai Hospital
Gordon Slemon, Electrical Engineer
Ian Smillie, Co-founded Inter Pares
Gordon Smith, Visual Artsit
Gérard Snow, Lawyer & Jurilinguist
Michael Snow, Painter, Sculptor, Musician
Theodore Sourkes, Scientist (Parkinson's and Hypertension)
Jeffrey Spalding, President, Royal Academy of Arts
Erik Spicer, Parliamentary Librarian Emeritus,
Richard Splane, Professor Emeritus, Social Policy, UBC
Verna Splane, Was Principal Nursing Officer, Health & Welfare
Arnold Spohr, Founder of the Royal Winnipeg Ballet
Boris Spremo, Photojournalist; Fellow, Royal Society of Canada
Brian Sproule, Pulmonary Medicine Specialist
Joseph Stangl, Was President, Canadian School Trustees Assn.
Mark Starowicz, CBC Producer (As It Happens, Sunday Morning)
Robert Stephens, Physician. Established hospital centres in Africa
Stratton Stevens, Businessman (Real Estate)
Alec Stewart, Prof Emeritus in Physics, Queen's University
Boris Stoicheff, Physicist (Spectroscopy, Optics)
Grant Strate, Founded Dance Dept., York University
Boris Stoicheff, Physicist (Spectroscopy, Optics)
Grant Strate, Founded Dance Dept., York University
David Suzuki, Environmentalist, Science Broadcaster
Constance Swinton, Public Health Nurse (Iongtime in SE Asia)
Takao Tanabe, Landscape Artist
Ronald Tasker, Neurosurgeon
Veronica Tennant, Was National Ballet of Canada's prima ballerina
David Thauberger, Painter and Teacher
Lionel Théorer, Founder of Centre Epic for preventing heart disease
Ian Thom, Art Curator
Paul Thompson, Theatrical Producer, founded Theatre Passe Muraille
Murray Thomson, Co-Founded Project Ploughshares
Shirley Thomson, Or-Founded Project Ploughshares
Vincent Tovell, Radio & TV Producer
William Toye, Editor & Publisher
Peter Tureana, Journalist, anchored Global TV News
Edward Turner, Was, Pres, Sask Wheat Pool &

John Wada, Neuroscientist (treatment of Epilepsy)
Norma Walmsley, Founder of MATCH International
John Warkentin, Historical Geographer
Gary Warner, Dept French & Peace Studies Centre, McMaster University
Mamoru Watanabe, Pioneered Telemedicine
Patrick Watson, Was TV Producer & Chair, CBC
Phyllis Webb, Poet & Prof of Creative Writing

Phyllis Webb, Poet & Prof of Creative Writing
Norman Webster, Was Editor-in-Chief, G&M & Montréal Gazette
William Weintraub, Journalist, Filmmaker (150 NFB Films)
Boyd Wettlaufer, Archeologist, Floused on Plains First Nations
Frederick Wiegand, Surgeon, Médecins Sans Frontières
Blossom Wigdor, Gerontologist, Founded Centre for Studies in Aging
Ian Wilson, Was National Archivist of Canada
Lois Wilson, President, Can & World Councils of Churches
Morden Yolles, Structural Engineer
Noreen Young, Master Puppet Builder & Puppeteer
Eberhard Zeider, Architect (McMaster Health Sc Centre)
Joyce Zemans, Art Historian; was Head of the Canada Council
Adam Zimmerman, Businessman; was Chairman, CD Howe Institute

Ensuring sustainable management of the Arctic



he vast area of the Arctic creates challenges and opportunities. I am pleased that the Arctic Ocean states meeting in Ottawa on March 29 reaffirmed the Polar states' commitment to co-operate and find sustainable solutions to the future of the Arctic.

The retreat of the Arctic sea ice creates opportunities for commercial activities such as utilization of the natural resources of the Arctic Ocean.

These new activities might be further ahead than many expect. Our knowledge about the Arctic Ocean is limited, and conditions there will be harsh even without summer ice. However, new activities may come, and they will have to be managed by the Arctic states in order to protect the environment and ensure sustainability.

Long-term conservation and sustainable use based on scientific knowledge and an ecosystem-based approach are key principles of management of natural resources globally. These principles must also apply to the Arctic Ocean.

Managing fish stocks

There are no fisheries in the Arctic Ocean today. However, we know that climate change may lead to changes in the migration patterns of important fish stocks and make them available in the Arctic Ocean.

The coastal states bordering the Arctic Ocean—all parties to the UN Fish Stocks Agreement—share responsibilities for the conservation and management of the fisheries resources in this ocean. Fisheries management in the Arctic Ocean should follow the same rules and principles as management in other areas, including the regional and precautionary approach outlined in the Fish Stocks Agreement.

I think it would be beneficial to discuss how we can implement the provisions of the Fish Stocks Agreement that are applicable to the current and future situation in the Arctic Ocean.

The precautionary principle and the provisions related to scientific knowledge are of particular relevance. At this stage it would thus be natural to focus on exchanging scientific information, discussing knowledge gaps and possible future developments, sharing views on future management issues.

The Joint Norwegian-Russian Fisheries Commission has requested the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea to analyze the potential impact of climate change on the straddling pattern of joint fish stocks covered by the joint commission and relevant to the Arctic Ocean.

A new oil and gas region?

The Arctic region is the world's largest unexplored prospective area for petroleum. Thus the Arctic may emerge as a new oil and gas region, a complex but potentially prospective region for new industrial activity in a fragile Arctic environment.

Estimates indicate that large volumes of oil and gas remain to be found in the area—especially offshore. These energy resources may be vital for future world energy supplies and could provide income and local employment.

We still need to develop new technology to enable operations under Arctic conditions. The investments required will be considerable, and increasing use of unconventional gas, particularly shale gas, might delay activities in the Arctic.

But we see the direction. Our responsibility will be to approach these opportunities step by step—building on solid knowledge of what it takes to safeguard sustainability.

Safety and environment first

Norway subscribes to the highest possible health, safety and environmental standards. Further, our regime has been based on co-existence with other interests at sea, such as fisheries and sea transport.

We have adopted an integrated management plan for our northernmost sea areas. The plan takes a comprehensive, step-by-step approach to the development of petroleum resources in the High North, taking vulnerable areas and total impact into consideration.

Norway supports the work being done by the Arctic Council on energy resource management, not least the work on guidelines for offshore petroleum activities in the Arctic. This work is a fine opportunity to exchange views and knowledge on national practices concerning petroleum activities in the North.

Sustainable management is demanding. We should improve our mechanisms for

sharing best practices. During the Norwegian chairmanship of the Arctic Council, we started with best practices for ecosystems-based ocean management. We should now continue with more specific aspects of petroleum management. Our various systems for impact assessments could be the next step.

Another element could be to facilitate co-operation within the industry in our respective countries. We have co-financed a joint Russian-Norwegian project on the harmonisation of industry standards for health, safety and environment for oil and gas operations in the Barents Sea. Partners in the project include DNV, Statoil and Gazprom, as well as a number of other Norwegian and Russian participants. This is a good example of our partnership with Russia. We are eager to develop this in a wider regional context.

Petroleum activity and the related transport needs will increase the risk of accidents. Oil spills and other accidents are particularly difficult to handle in the Arctic. It is therefore crucial to reduce this risk.

The last Arctic Council ministerial meeting approved a new project on the development of safety systems in connection with the implementation of economic and infrastructure projects in the Arctic. Norway will assist Russia in bringing this important work forward.

As outlined above, international co-operation to prepare for a sustainable management of the Arctic is well underway. Norway will continue to be an active partner in these deliberations.

Jonas Gahr Støre is the Norwegian minister of foreign affairs.

editor@embassymag.ca

Secretary Clinton vs. Minister Cannon

The Arctic Ocean and

its coastal zone is a

special place, and it

requires from time to

time a special focus.

Whose side did Inuit take?

Duane Smith

hen US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton came to Ottawa on March 29 for the Arctic Oceans summit hosted by Canada, she was widely portrayed as having very divergent opinions from her host, Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon, on how the summit should have been handled.

Secretary Clinton made no bones about the fact she thought it should have been more than the five states that border the Arctic Ocean at the table and that the other three states normally at the broader Arctic Council should have been invited as well. Further, Mrs. Clinton made it abundantly clear the Arctic's indigenous peoples should have been key players.

Minister Cannon, on the other hand, felt there was a strong need for a separate meeting focused on a smaller zone than the Arctic Council covers. He also disagreed with Hillary Clinton that the meeting needed Sweden, Finland, and Iceland, and so forged ahead by inviting only the US, Russia, Denmark, and Norway.

Denmark invited the Inuit premier of Greenland to sit on its delegation, making them the only state to have Inuit representation, while Minister Cannon clearly resolved that indigenous peoples of the Arctic would not be invited to sit at his table. It was this latter disagreement between Minister Cannon and Secretary Clinton that we Inuit took the most interest in.

So whose side did we take?

While we strongly agree with many of the statements Secretary Clinton made, and we commend her for opting to take a strong and

contrary stand in her host's backyard instead of sticking to "diplomatic" risk-free generalities, we did not embrace completely everything she put forward. And while we take great umbrage with several of Minister Cannon's positions, we see he had a point on others.

To fully discuss where Inuit stand on the various conflicting issues raised and why, one has to understand a few things about Inuit, the Arctic Ocean, and the Arctic Council.

First, a few things about Inuit. From Russia across to Greenland, we have lived on and used the coastal zones and the sea ice of the Arctic Ocean as one people since time immemorial. We understand its fragility and its power. Our grandparents' grandparents learned from their grandparents how to live on and near the Arctic Ocean, and survive there through careful observations of the weather, sea currents,

animal migration patterns, plant growth, and marine mammal behaviour. And our grandparents passed this traditional knowledge on to us

Having Inuit at the table would only have made sense. We would have had a lot to offer. Inuit have, in more modern times, made peace with our colonizers and, through land claims settlements and self-government agreements, we have demonstrated not only our willingness to pursue mutually-beneficial undertakings with states, but we also have a right to be at the table. Secretary Clinton was right: Inuit should have been there. Minister Cannon was wrong.

Now a word about the Arctic Ocean. It is facing numerous challenges. The sea routes are opening up, transportation companies

are moving in and across our Inuit sea ice, and tourist ships are suddenly coming to our Inuit homeland in droves. States—both Arctic and others—are interested in making claims to this part and part of the Arctic.

Questions of Arctic sovereignty, such as who owns what and who has rights where, are being pursued by Arctic and non-Arctic actors alike. Oil and mining companies are moving in at an unprecedented rate. The

Arctic Ocean and its coastal zone is a special place, and it requires from time to time a special focus. Here Minister Cannon was right. Where he failed was not inviting us to contribute positively to the discussions.

This failure was surprising to Inuit, especially since in the Arctic Council ministers' meeting in April 2009, he paid tribute to the Circumpolar Inuit

Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic, something we launched at that time. He seconded the declaration's call to working collaboratively and stated our interests and concerns should be "reflected in the deliberations of other (non-Arctic Council) multilateral institutions because decisions taken there will affect Arctic peoples."

Finally, a bit of background on the eightnation Arctic Council: when established in 1996, it was acknowledged that providing transnational indigenous peoples' organizations, such as the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), a direct seat and meaningful say at the ministers' table was beneficial for everyone. Hence ICC and others were accorded permanent participant status.

The Arctic Council's ground-breaking move in this regard was only equalled by the constructive input to the council made by ICC and others since its inception. The Arctic Council, however, covers a much larger area than focused on by the Oceans Five group. By shrinking the Arctic Council zone to that of the ocean and its coastal zones, Minister Cannon deftly removed us from the table, as the Oceans Five group has no such commitment to indigenous participation.

As perplexed as we were with Minister Cannon for shutting us out, we do agree with him, however, that the coastal zones of the Arctic Ocean do from time to time merit a unique discussion, as this is where much of the race to the Arctic is taking place. But this is where Inuit live, and so we should have been there.

We therefore take significant umbrage with Mr. Cannon for excluding us. With respect to Mrs. Clinton's views, while we were not opposed to having Sweden, Norway, and Iceland at the meeting, we viewed this as less important than having those at the table that are directly implicated.

ICC welcomed the frankness of Mrs. Clinton, and especially her strong support for the inclusion of indigenous peoples at the Oceans Five summit. Her words, however, would have rung more loudly if she had backed them up by inviting Inuit from Alaska to sit on her own delegation, as Denmark did. While Inuit sitting at her side would not have been the same as ICC having a separate voice at the table, she would have been more convincing in her convictions. That way, Mr. Cannon would have gotten the message even more clearly.

Duane Smith is the president of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) Canada. ICC is the international voice of the world's 160,000 Inuit who live in Russia, Alaska, Canada, and Greenland.

editor@embassymag.ca

Finland supports EU in the Arctic



oday, the Arctic has become the focal point in international discussions ranging from the environment and climate change to energy, security, transport, tourism and the future of indigenous peoples. Climate change is an indisputable fact with wide-reaching consequences; it signifies the single most important development in the Arctic region, and carries a global reach. As such, the Arctic is the subject of rapidly increasing interest in Finland.

In 1991, the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy was formulated, based on the Finnish initiative. This paved the way to the Ottawa Declaration and the establishment of the Arctic Council in 1996. The Arctic Council is the key in enhancing multilateral governance in the Arctic, corresponding to the new circumstances. As Finnish Foreign Minister Alexander Stubb has stated: "[The Council] is a representative circumpolar, transatlantic co-operation forum joining together the eight Arctic states. The Council includes also the indigenous peoples, whose voice must be heard loud and clear now and in the future.... It is apt to call [the Council] the A8+."

All member states of the Arctic Council agree in principle on the need to strengthen the Council. Further discussions are needed on how to carry out this aim. The Council has a proven track record in research and standard-setting, particularly in environmental and shipping sectors.

The work of the Council, however, is not adequately known around the world. This has been recognized in the Council, and the draft-

ing of a communications and outreach strategy has commenced under Canadian leadership.

Another challenge to the Council right now is how to engage the growing group of interested parties and stakeholders in Arctic co-operation. We see this interest as an asset, not as interference. The current mechanisms for securing permanent observer status in the Council warrant serious consideration.

To that end, why should the European Union be a permanent observer in the Arctic Council?

First of all, the EU has an Arctic vocation, with a rooted interest in geography, history, economy and scientific achievements (with significant research programs in the Arctic).

The EU is also a frontrunner in dealing with climate change and other global challenges. Three EU member states—Denmark, Sweden and Finland—are Arctic countries; Norway and Iceland are participants in the EEA; Canada, Russia and the US are close co-operation partners. And the Northern

Dimension policy has an Arctic Window which we hope to become operational soon.

Finland is an Arctic state. Not only does a third of our territory lie north of the Arctic Circle (above 66 degrees latitude), but until the end of the Second World War, we had direct access to the Arctic Sea. And it was a Finnish explorer, Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, who first sailed through the Northeast Passage all the way from Norway to the Bering Straits.

Three points of departure in the Arctic policy of Finland—according to Minister Stubb—are: First, we have a primordial interest towards Arctic issues. Based on our geography and history we have significant economic, political and security interests in the region.

Secondly, Arctic issues should in our view be dealt with in a rules-based multilateral framework with an emphasis on comprehensive security and environmental sustainability. We stress fostering co-operation instead of building fences.

And thirdly, the future of the Arctic is not only of concern to some states, but a legitimate concern for all.

Finland's expertise in the Arctic relies essentially on state-of-the-art, multi-disciplinary Arctic research and training. The University of Lapland (with the Arctic Center as a national and international hub of information and centre of excellence), the University of Oulu (with the Thule Institute) and the University of the Arctic/UArctic (an international co-operative network of over 100 universities, colleges and educational institutions situated in Rovaniemi) are prime examples of our many-faceted Arctic research facilities.

In the field of information and communication technologies, Finland has contributed to the detailed Arctic monitoring systems (including recent co-operation with Canada on satellite monitoring on communications and weather).

In winter, as a rule, all Finnish ports are frozen. The country is dependent on effective winter navigation and icebreakers, which has contributed to the development of top-level expertise and applied research in the field of Arctic maritime technology.

Ice service for merchant vessels and icebreakers by the Finnish Meteorological Institute is based on a long experience of using of satellite remote sensing technology and on observation networks and knowledge of the geophysical characteristics of sea ice.

Finnish companies have extensive expertise in Arctic shipbuilding and other industries suitable for Arctic conditions, in enabling them full participation in big energy and infrastructure projects in the Arctic region.

Facilitated by a lively parliamentary debate on Arctic issues in November 2009—which unanimously emphasized the importance of the Arctic to Finland and supported an adjustment of the government policy on the Arctic—the Prime Minister's Office appointed a working group at the beginning of 2010 to prepare a report on Finland's policy review for the Arctic region. The report will be finalized during spring 2010 with the aim of the government submitting it to the Parliament before the summer recess.

In addition, the government has appointed in April 2010 an Advisory Board on Arctic Affairs with a wide participation of relevant stakeholders of the Finnish society. The board—as a permanent consultative body—will contribute to the further formulation of the Finnish Arctic policy by making recommendations and following-up the above-mentioned report.

Hannu Halinen is ambassador on Arctic affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and secretary-general of the Advisory Board on Arctic Affairs in Helsinki, Finland. editor@embassymag.ca

Connecting the global North

HAYLEY HESSELN

he University of the Arctic is a multi-national consortium of 121 post-secondary institutions that was officially launched in Rovaniemi, Finland in June 2001 and endorsed by the Arctic Council, of which the government of Canada was a leading proponent.

Since then, Canada has played a leading role in UArctic through curriculum development and teaching, student mobility and Arctic and northern research. Additionally, through the network Canadian members have formed hundreds of partnerships to collaborate on northern and arctic research and education.

International collaboration with institutions in the Arctic Eight—Canada, Finland, Greenland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the United States—is important given issues such as climate change, sovereignty, health and welfare, and the development of new sources for sustainable energy.

The similarities among the northern countries are greater than the differences in terms of climate, resource types and availability, access and, often, culture. Collaboration among the members of UArctic serves to foster greater understanding of emerging challenges and innovative approaches to solving problems that most member countries face.

In 2009, the government of Canada, through its Northern Strategy, laid out a vision for the North that focuses on four priority areas: exercising Arctic sovereignty; promoting social and economic development; protecting the North's environmental heritage; and improving and devolving northern governance.

The government's intention is to prepare northerners for the future and to have a greater say in their own destinies. The UArctic network has been critical in helping the government achieve this vision and to be recognized for its leadership as an Arctic Nation.

Regarding training and education, in the absence of a university north of 60 degrees North latitude, Canadian members—33 northern and territorial colleges and universities in five provinces—have been collaborating with international members of UArctic to deliver post-secondary programming to northern peoples and those interested in the north.

The UArctic curriculum offers degree completion courses specializing in areas such as northern policy and governance, adaptation to Arctic climate change, public administration, and land and resource management, and make these courses accessible to practitioners as continuing education and professional development options.

Additionally, the link between education and research facilitates closer collaboration and communications between researchers and educational institutions globally.

The success of UArctic has been tremendous in its short existence. UArctic members have developed a relevant and accessible curriculum for northern students and have produced over 100 graduates to date. Member institutions have collectively built 18 research networks that produce world-class science and social science, and that engage communities and graduate students. UArctic has also created a mobility program that provides opportunities for students to become well versed in northern issues.

By sharing resources through the UArctic network, northerners have immediate access to some of the world's highest quality educators and scientists. Collaborating through such a network with partners who understand the unique opportunities and challenges in the North, creates synergies that lead to innovation. Such innovation will support increasingly self-reliant communities and governments, and enable northerners to participate fully in the economic and social development of their region.

Canada's role has been to facilitate the network and to contribute to its success.

UArctic is not without its challenges, however. Several member institutions govern the network with the aid of federal funding. For example, the government of Norway supports the UArctic president through Tromsø University, while the government of Finland supports the secretariat at the University of Lapland.



A circumpolar network.

The government of Canada has traditionally provided funds to host the UArctic Office of Undergraduate Studies and to support student exchanges. Although the undergraduate office is housed at the University of Saskatchewan, it serves all international members by co-ordinating curriculum development and delivery.

Education in the Canadian context falls within the purview of the provincial and territorial governments. While the government of Canada has funded the educational component of UArctic, the commitment is not sustainable.

A long-term commitment to support UArctic is critical at this juncture for a number of reasons. First, it will enable UArctic to continue to build on its success and to seek alternative funding sources from industry and charitable sources.

Second, it will ensure continued access to education for Canadian and international students to enable them to complete post-secondary degrees.

Finally, funding UArctic Canada will signal to our international partners and to Canadians that the government of Canada is committed to its North and the circumpolar north by building capacity through research and education.

Hayley Hesseln is dean of undergraduate studies at the University of the Arctic. editor@embassymag.ca

Balancing sovereignty rhetoric, resource control

Anca Gurzu

Just a week ago, Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon returned to Ottawa following a two-day tour in Resolute Bay and the Borden Island ice camp in the Arctic.

"The Arctic is of strategic importance to the future of Canada and we have a choice: use it or lose it," Mr. Cannon told reporters a day after his return. "And I'm proud to say that our government has made the definitive choice to use it. We, as one of the coastal states to the Arctic, will do what is necessary to assume and exercise our sovereignty."

The word "sovereignty" can be unmistakably spotted in almost all the government's Arctic-related statements. The word instills a fierce pride, a sense of protecting Canadian territory, perhaps even its very image and existence as "the True North Strong and Free."

Yet during his trip, Mr. Cannon met with a team working to delineate the outer limits of Canada's continental shelf. This is not Canadian territory. It never has been. Rather, Canada and other Arctic coastal states will be divvying up the oil, gas and minerals that are potentially stored beneath the sea floor. Is this sovereignty?

"At some point, there will be another line on the map of Canada showing the outer limits of the extended continental shelf," Mr. Cannon said in a release from his trip. "Canada is an Arctic power, and we will continue to exercise our sovereignty."

The press release didn't mention the abundance of natural resources that constitute the real focus of the mapping exercise. But some experts say that potential treasure trove is a big reason for the government's "sovereignty" rhetoric.

The potential that oil, gas and miner-

als might be stored beneath the sea floor is what drives Canada's long-term interest in the Arctic, said Benoit Beauchamp, executive director of the Arctic Institute of North American at the University of Calgary.

"If they were 100 per cent convinced there weren't any resources, really they wouldn't be spending a dime trying to extend their jurisdiction because it would be kind of useless," he said. "It may be that never in our lifetime, or that of our children or grand-children, that oil and gas will be explored there, but it doesn't matter. Canada is taking advantage of the UN clause...and it would be crazy not to do it."

Natural resource development is what drives the Arctic states' interest in the Arctic, agreed Alexander Braun, professor in the geosciences department at the University of Texas at Dallas.

"If you exclude access to natural resources, what would be the benefit of Canada to be more sovereign in the North?" he asked. "What type of force should attack Canada from the north? It's logistically completely impossible."

At the same time, Mr. Beauchamp said, there is a race, "perceived or real," for nations to acquire their piece of the Arctic. He said this apparent race is being largely driven by Russian aggressiveness in the area.

In August 2007, Russian explorers travelling in two mini-submarines planted their country's flag on the Arctic seabed, 4,200 meters below the North Pole. Canadian officials denounced the move as a "stunt." More recently, Mr. Cannon accused Russia of "pulling stunts" after reports the country wants to send paratroopers to the North Pole.

"There is a bit of a race, and the Russians have raised the bar. It would be a bit of an

embarrassment if our government wouldn't try to extend our jurisdiction if it can, while the Russians are making a big splash about it," said Mr. Beauchamp.

No real 'race'

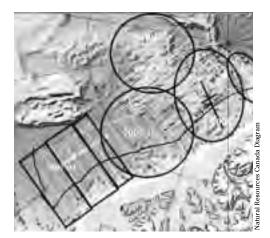
According to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), a country's jurisdiction extends 200 nautical miles into the ocean beyond the tip of the continental shelf. Canada has until 2013 to submit its claim to the UN, while Denmark has until 2014. Russia recently completed its own submission, while the US has yet to ratify the convention.

These deadlines, plus the tough talk from Russia and Canada—the latter referring to protecting Canadian sovereignty—are seen as having contributed to a sense of urgency, as well as fears within Canada that the country is under threat of losing its northern holdings.

But Peter Harrison, director of the School of Policy Studies at Queen's University, who was part of Canada's 2003 UNCLOS ratification, dismisses what he calls the "land-grab" notion. He said resources do play a role in the Arctic debate, but coastal states are simply following UN rules in establishing their jurisdiction.

These thoughts are echoed by Michael Byers, international law professor at the University of British Columbia and author of *Who owns the Arctic?* The idea of an Arctic competition is false, he said.

"What we have here is a very carefully regulated system that all the relevant countries agreed to," Mr. Byers said, referring to the UN laws. "Either we [Canada] have existing rights which we need to demonstrate through science or there is no extended continental shelf, but an international area administered by the UN." Either way, he said the science-based method will determine the extent of Canada's



Canada's mapping plan for the continental shelf.

access to any potential resources.

Mr. Byers said Canada's Arctic land is almost completely unchallenged internationally, pointing to the only two existing disputes: one with the United States over the Beaufort Sea, and the other with Denmark over Hans Island.

During his Arctic tour, Mr. Cannon said he will invite the Russians to co-operate on the Arctic mapping project. This, Mr. Byers said, is a sign the Arctic sovereignty rhetoric is just for public consumption.

"Sovereignty doesn't have to be competition, sovereignty can be co-operation," Mr. Byers said. "The Arctic is a huge place, so there is more than enough to go around for all coastal states. There is no need to contemplate conflict."

However, he was critical of the government's passive position towards the US dispute over the Northwest Passage. This, he said, is a different sovereignty issue than the Arctic, which the government needs to tackle.

agurzu@connect.carleton.ca

Nunavut: Waiting on unfulfilled promises



The nations of the Arctic are rushing to stake their claim to territory and resources in what was once an isolated part of the world. Inuit have a critical role to play in any decisions that are made.

The Arctic is not some distant frontier to us; it is our home. Our deep knowledge of the Arctic comes from centuries of interaction with its fragile environment. Its lands and seas continue to sustain our communities with food, clothing and income. We are the Arctic's natural stewards. And it is we who will be most affected by any decisions made at the national and international level regarding the management of its resources.

Over the past few decades, Inuit have built new institutions that empower us to manage the land, wildlife and resources based on our values and priorities. In 1999, Inuit were successful in establishing a new Canadian territory. This was an historic achievement.

But it really only marked the beginning of a much greater effort. We aspire to nothing less than writing the latest chapter in the building of Canada as a nation. We want to complete the map of Canada. Inuit are one of Canada's founding peoples. Centuries before the arrival of the first Europeans, we occupied vast areas of land, sea and ice. Our hunters and their families marked their presence with thousands of place names in the Inuit language that are, only now, being recognized on the official maps of Canada.

Our country's claim to sovereignty over this vast territory, which makes up one-fifth of Canada's landmass, is based on the fact that Inuit have lived on the land and made use of its resources for countless generations.

Self-reliance is one of the strongest Inuit values. Survival in the Arctic environment depended on it. The transition, though, from our traditional life in seasonal camps to one in modern, permanent communities was difficult. Our ways of providing for our families, of educating our children and of exercising leadership and decision-making were all disrupted.

The intense desire to reclaim our self-reliance was the motivation behind the decades' long struggle to create a territory of our own. We have achieved much in that time. Our leaders negotiated the largest land claim in Canadian history. We are in the process of creating new models of governance that are built on Inuit principles and values, while protecting the rights of those who have come to Nunavut from outside the territory.

My government's *Tamapta* mandate sets out a plan for building vibrant, healthy communities. Inuit and the government of Nunavut, meanwhile, are working with the government of Canada to regain control over lands and resources within our boundaries.

In the path that leads us towards our renewed self-reliance, however, there is a stubborn obstacle that lies in our path. Unlike Ontario, Quebec and the other provinces, Nunavut does not have final authority over its Crown land or its natural resources. Instead, final say still rests with a minister in Ottawa.

Part of the solution to this challenge lies in a devolution agreement between Canada and Nunavut. Devolution involves the transfer and sharing of powers that would enable Nunavummiut to participate more directly in the decisions that affect the development of the territory, its land and its resources.

This is not some petty squabble over jurisdiction. Devolution is fundamentally about nation-building and governance. It's about ensuring Nunavummiut like other Canadians can make our own economic choices. It is time for Canada to stop dreaming about the Arctic as its northern frontier. We are, instead, a region that wants to be fully integrated with the rest of the country.

Despite assurances that Canada wants to proceed with devolution, little action has taken place. Our government has a mandate to negotiate and a team ready and waiting to get down to work. We look forward to moving forward with Canada.

Incredibly, not a single thread of the vast network of roads and railways that bind the other 12 provinces and territories together reaches Nunavut. This is all the more remarkable when one considers the achievements that have been made in building a wireless communications network in the Arctic. Thanks to a determined effort led by Nunavummiut, all 25 of our communities, none of which are connected by road, have access to high-speed broadband internet.

This came about because of a renewed commitment on the part of the Government of Canada to participate in nation-building.

We hope that the concerns many Canadians have over questions of sovereignty in the Arctic will accelerate the integration of Nunavut with the rest of the country.

There is no doubt that Nunavut is Canada's gateway to the circumpolar world. The Northwest Passage runs from one end of our territory to the other. Nunavut also lies at the heart of Inuit Nunaat—the Inuit homeland that stretches from Siberia, along the coast of Alaska, the Northwest Territories, Arctic Quebec and Labrador and as far as the eastern shore of Greenland.

Inuit have strong bonds that reach across the international borders that divide our homeland. Living in four different countries, we share a common language, culture and history. We have fortified our political ties through organizations like the Inuit Circumpolar Council. Nunavummiut have also played an important role at the Arctic Council, a high-level intergovernmental forum for promoting co-operation, co-ordination and interaction between the Arctic States.

The Arctic Council provides an important forum for the Aboriginal peoples of the Arctic to be consulted and actively involved in making decisions about its future.

In international negotiations, Nunavummiut expect to be part of the discussions that will forge a stronger relationship with our Arctic neighbours. And we expect the government of Canada to be respectful of the relationships that already exist.

Eva Aariak is premier of Nunavut. editor@embassymag.ca

NWT: It's about the people



s much of the world begins to emerge from a period of recession and volatility, nations are starting to plan forward, and attention is again focusing northward.

Much has been written about the great potential—and great sensitivity—around the Arctic and Canada's North. Resource exploration, climate change, increased international shipping activity, boundary disputes and the need to assert sovereignty.

As Northerners, we are acutely familiar with these issues. For us, the North is not a geopolitical region considered in the abstract. It is our home. It is where we work and raise our families. It is a tapestry of diverse communities with rich traditions and deep connections with the land.

Northerners are also infinitely aware of the incredible potential offered by Canada's North, and the role it stands to play nationally and internationally.

Over many decades, the Northwest Territories has evolved and matured. Our territory is already an important contributor to the nation, with one of the highest per capita GDPs in Canada.

We have abundant resources, including largely untapped oil, base and rare earth metals and minerals, all of which the world will need to power its economic growth.

Our rivers and lakes contain an estimated 11,000 megawatts of hydroelectric power potential—offering a source of renewable energy and helping Canada reach its climate change objectives.

And our people have a bold and industrious spirit. Living in the North requires resourcefulness and inventiveness. We have found ways to forge productive partnerships with industry—and among the various levels of government in the NWT—to create exciting and prosperous opportunities.

When it comes to advancing Canada's northern interests, the pillars of the Canadian government's Northern Strategy offer a solid foundation for action.

The risk exists, however, that Northern issues become viewed through a purely political prism. Rather than a sustained and bold policy agenda for northern development, the North becomes a sound-bite about sovereignty that plays well with voters.

The Arctic may be in Canada's backyard but it's our front-yard.

Here, Northerners believe the assertion of sovereignty in the North should go beyond military manoeuvres or symbolic flag-planting on the ocean floor and focus instead on real, durable demonstrations of ownership and use.

Here it is the construction of modern infrastructure that is needed to promote our territory—improving access to our rich and abundant storehouse of resources, and enhancing the flow of people, goods and services facilitating development and economic opportunities across Canada.

Keep in mind, when the federal government invests in the NWT, almost every shingle, steel beam and slab of concrete gets built in southern Canada. Investing in the North doesn't just benefit the North, its benefits trickle down to other provinces and the entire country.

What better reason to make major projects

like the proposed Mackenzie Gas Project part of our effort to assert Canada's interest in the North. Such a transformative project wouldn't just be a northern project, but a national undertaking from which the entire country could benefit. So while bolstering Canada's reputation as a world energy superpower, the Mackenzie Gas Project also has the potential to create thousands of jobs and billions in economic activity across the country.

The NWT's hydro advantage could further make the territory—and Canada—a leader in clean energy generation, lowering our greenhouse gas emissions in the process. The effective modernization of the NWT's electricity transmission network and strategic investment in NWT hydroelectric development is yet another desirable demonstration of northern interest that could bring huge benefits to the North and the country.

At the end of the day, can there be a clearer assertion of our northern sover-eignty than a host of thriving communities across the NWT, anchored by numerous industries and businesses with healthy citizens and vibrant culture?

Realizing this vision will require a comprehensive and integrated approach—one which must include meaningful partnerships with those who live here. Decisions about the Arctic cannot continue to be made in isolation from those who stand to be impacted by those decisions.

Northerners have been stewards of Canada's Arctic for generations—long before it was a political priority to pay attention to the North. It's a role we're proud to have and which we take seriously.

Northern residents will be the ones who bring reality to the plans and aspirations for the region. We'll be the ones who shepherd the region for generations to come. So it makes sense to involve Northerners in deci-



Virginia Falls in the Northwest Territories.

sions about the North—meaningfully, from the beginning. That means being at the table for key conversations about Arctic issues.

Northerners stand ready to assume greater roles and responsibilities as we pursue our national aspirations for a strong, dynamic and prosperous North. We look forward to working with our fellow Canadians in a meaningful partnership as we seize opportunities and act together for our future.

As the world focuses greater attention on the North, and tackles northern and Arctic issues more deeply, a useful touchstone is this: ultimately, it's about the people.

Floyd K. Roland is premier of the Northwest Territories.

editor@embassymag.ca

Yukon: Building a strong Canadian North



s Canadians look more and more to the North as a place that helps define our country, we, as northerners, welcome the opportunity to share with all Canadians as we build a stronger region and country.

Yukon has, for many years, worked to ensure the issues and opportunities of Canada's North are more prominent and better understood nationally and internationally. Strong, healthy communities will create a presence that will contribute forcefully to Canada's sovereign rights in the North. We believe that working in collaboration with other governments and aboriginal partners, and investing in communities and community infrastructure, will result in a stronger and more secure North.

The profile of Yukon on the regional and national stage has increased dramatically as a Canadian jurisdiction of increased private and public sector investment, as a leader on social and economic policy and as a territory with 11 self-governing First Nations implementing modern-day treaties for the betterment of their citizens. These efforts have contributed to significant social and economic innovation and growth for Yukon citizens and Canada.

The Yukon government has focused its efforts on responsible fiscal planning, development of infrastructure and natural resources, and investment in Yukon's people, communities and natural environment to position our jurisdiction for a strategic and healthy economic and social future.

We have invested funds in areas with strong and sustainable economic growth potential. A new three-year budgeting process is in place, which incorporates a more strategic approach to planning; it creates more certainty for capital investments and allows the opportunity for the private sector to plan and grow their companies. It also allows us to better schedule major infrastructure projects and match the capacity of local contractors.

In collaboration with Canada, Yukon has successfully accessed more than \$94 million of the federal stimulus funds. These are being invested in affordable and seniors' housing, in educational research, and environmental facilities, and energy and other strategic infrastructure projects. We are continuing our efforts to promote tourism and cultural opportunities to Canadians and abroad, as well as investing in natural resource wealth.

While we focus on developing our economy, we are placing an equal focus on ensuring the citizens of our territory have services that will support and strengthen healthy individuals, families and communities. We are, for example, investing \$230 million in health care and social services, providing Yukoners more access to resources for community development including increasing grants to municipalities.

A Northern Vision: A Stronger North and a Better Canada, a document developed and endorsed in 2007 by the three territorial premiers of Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut, recognizes the dramatic transformation that is taking place in the North. We continue to have shared interests in building thriving and healthy communities here.

In the *Northern Vision*, the territories committed to working with federal and aboriginal partners to build a North that is:

- A place where self-reliant individuals live in healthy, viable communities, and where northerners manage their own affairs;
- A place where strong, responsive governments work together for a prosperous, vibrant future for all;
- A place where northern traditions of respect for the land and the environment are cherished, and actions and decision-making are anchored in the principles of responsible, sustainable development;
- A place where citizens celebrate their diversity; and
- A place where the territories and their governments are strong contributing partners in a dynamic and secure Canadian federation.

Northerners want a greater voice in shaping positions on security in the North. For us, this means finding ways to adapt to climate change, assuring environmental stewardship and investing in sustainable communities.

We are facing increased challenges from issues such as uncertain ice conditions, increased shipping and the need for enhanced monitoring and search and rescue capacity.

In order to continue to advance Yukon's strong position both economically and socially, we have committed to seek leadership roles on issues of interest with other governments and position the territory to influence regional, national and international activities.

Through this collaborative approach, we can help to enhance the position of Yukon, Canada's North and the entire federation.

Our partnerships naturally extend to the circumpolar world. Yukon is one of the founding members of the Northern Forum, and we participate with Canada and our sister territories at the Arctic Council, a high-level intergovernmental body of circumpolar nations. Yukon shares its western boundary with Alaska, and we understand the value and importance of good relations with Canada's closest neighbour and partner.

Through investments in infrastructure, education and training, tourism, energy, resource development, the environment, health care facilities and services and intergovernmental co-operation and co-ordination, we will continue to build the economic and social future of Yukon and the North. We will continue to make the decisions that will shape our territory in the years ahead, creating benefits that we share with all Canadians.

We are building a North where governments, organizations and the private sector work towards a common goal, and where governments have the capacity to govern and respond effectively to those they serve.

Dennis Fentie is premier of the Yukon. editor@embassymag.ca

Presence, social conditions key to security

Carl Meyer

Canada's first priority in keeping its Arctic territory secure should be to improve the dismal social conditions of northern communities, say experts.

In conversations with Arctic security analysts, an emerging consensus is that the security situation in the Arctic in the immediate future will not be threatened by invading foreigners, requiring a heavy military presence.

Rather, healthy, productive and environmentally safe Northern communities would best address the security issues that will arise in the next decade. This is because these communities are needed to create a base upon which to build long-term security infrastructure such as telecommunications and monitoring capabilities.

But the answer to what "Arctic security" means depends on whether security is being sought for the short-term or the long-term, what effect global warming will have on the region and whether Canada plans to open up its Arctic seaways to international commercial shipping.

"If we're looking at human security, we're talking about housing issues, first and foremost. If we're looking at security in terms of dealing with some sort of emergency in the north, we're looking at making sure we have some sort of air capabilities," said University of Waterloo assistant professor P. Whitney Lackenbauer.

Mr. Lackenbauer said that the "very short-term security issues in the north" are "clearly human security issues" such as housing, the availability of healthy foods, and adequate health care.

"We have to start on fundamentals, which is to ask what are the capabilities that we really want to have. We're still doing, I think, a very vague job of actually defining what the probable threats are," he said.

Benoit Beauchamp, executive director of the Arctic Institute of North America, called this "social security." He wants to see a stronger push "to protect it, to promote it, and to make sure that the people who live there are healthy mentally, physically and whatnot and can benefit from a decent economy."

"The Russians are not coming to attack. The problems with the Arctic are things like lack of proper housing," said Centre for Security and Defence Studies research associate Andrea Charron.

And as for the Inuit population, "health and well-being" are "front and centre" for security in the Arctic, said Inuit Circumpolar Council president Duane Smith in an email.

"If Canada wants to demonstrate its sovereignty in the Arctic, develop a proactive approach and strategy with the Inuit for us to have a 'win-win' situation," he wrote.

The government sees security in part as



Prime Minister Stephen Harper during a visit to the North last August. Experts say social well-being is the key to long-term security infrastructure.

a question of use. Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon reiterated Prime Minister Stephen Harper's oft-quoted phrase at a press conference on Thursday when he said Canada has "a choice" in the Arctic, either to "use it or lose it."

As a result, the government believes it can "use it" by conducting things like increased military patrols, continental shelf mapping and developing an Arctic strategy.

University of Waterloo dean of arts Ken Coates said more Canadian military and civilian personnel could be used in the Arctic to monitor the area effectively and build infrastructure and telecommunications capacity.

"Being able to know where the ships are, whether the ships are abiding by proper environmental regulations, and being able to go and rescue them...requires a much better radar system," he said.

"I think we have the capacity to monitor ships on a very small, localized basis, and there's obvious benefits in terms of any kind of military. But the major question is the increase in shipping, which is likely to start increasing quite dramatically as the years go along."

He cited Australia as an example. Australia's northern territory, he explained, is "not much dissimilar to the Northwest Territories in population distribution," and other aspects such as a harsh climate.

"Over time, what Australia's done is investments in the military to actually make things a lot better for the civilian population...that's the part that we've been missing. We always tend to look at defence in complete isolation."

Associate director of the Centre for Military and Strategic Studies at the University of Calgary Rob Huebert would like to see just such an "overall Arctic capability project."

Canada announced its "Arctic Strategy" last July with much fanfare. The document released by the government refers twice to the word "security," once in the context of Canadian Forces patrols and the other in sharing common interests in the Arctic with the United States over issues such as search-and-rescue.

Mr. Huebert said he would like to see something more comprehensive, suggesting that "it's one thing to come up with an Arctic strategy, it's another thing to try to get those promises in a coherent and sustained fashion as possible."

"The problem that we've always faced with Canada is that we will, all of a sudden, recognize a problem in the Arctic region, we'll make some fairly decent plans...and then we say we're going to do it all at once," he said.

"What happens is that everyone gets all confused and panics, we spend two years trying to figure out what to do, and then inevitably another economic crisis comes along and completely distracts us."

Mr. Huebert said that a lack of a long-term strategy is "bad for security" since it creates the impression amongst Arctic states that "we're all talk and no action."

Some think the best way to address the issue is to simply increase the population of the North. William Morrison, who teaches

Arctic history at the University of Northern British Columbia, said that "the best defence against any kind of danger, real or imagined, is a forceful demonstration of sovereignty."

Canada's folly would be to "leave it empty," said Mr. Morrison, and whether that increased population is military or civilian matters less than the fact that there is a larger population.

"Infrastructure doesn't count without human beings, you can build all the remote sensing equipment that you want, but you have to have people on the ground," he said.

But he predicated his comments on the fact that while "there's no current danger" in terms of security, there may be such in the future if global warming ends up changing the Arctic environment as much as some are predicting.

Global warming is one aspect of an environmental disaster. Another is localized incidents, which is what Mr. Beauchamp believes is the primary threat to Arctic security.

"A lot of these issues you keep hearing about, the sovereignty issue, the Northwest Passage and all of that, underlying all of that is an environmental threat. If our Northwest Passage becomes an environmental seaway, we won't be able, or not as able, to enforce the international laws when it comes to environmental protection," he said.

"You cannot do anything in the shortor even medium-term to prevent climate change. However, we can certainly enforce a number of laws and policies in the north to protect our environment."

cmeyer@embassymag.ca



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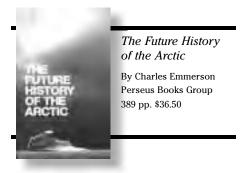
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Charting the most recent Arctic 'scramble'



Carl Meyer

T he Arctic is a crowded field in non-fiction these days.

Bookstores are filled with academic analysis of energy security, geopolitics, climate change, and the environment, all attempting to be more comprehensive than the last.

But what has been missing, says Charles Emmerson, was a book looking at the interplay between all of these issues. Having worked as an associate director for the World Economic Forum, Mr. Emmerson turned his skills examining the interplay of these types of issues toward creating just such a book.

The result is *The Future History of the Arctic*, a book that swims back and forth between historical narratives, political issues and everything in between.

Mr. Emmerson's book is divided into five sections that deal with the Arctic from a different perspective. "Visions" discusses its Arctic explorers, "power" its political masters, "nature" its natural forces, "riches" its natural resources and "freedom" its potential new states, such as Greenland.

It's written in a style Mr. Emmerson calls "future history," which is an attempt to narrow the potentiality of future Arctic scenarios by comparing current events to historical circumstances.

One reoccurring element of future history is the "scramble" for the Arctic. Already the subject of entire books, the scramble is for the last part of the world that is unclaimed—the vast territory under the Arctic Ocean's pack ice that hides untold riches.

Mr. Emmerson argues that what might be most interesting about the current scramble is that there have been previous ones. Why those have succeeded or failed gives insight, he thinks, into the current political struggle.

Embassy sat down with Mr. Emmerson two weeks ago when he was in town to promote his book. The following is an edited transcript of that interview:

On this latest Arctic scramble, there's been a lot of news coverage lately about Arctic issues, and it feels as though it has taken on a new sense of urgency. But the Arctic still feels transient in the news cycle, pushed into the headlines by government action or inaction, but typically disappearing soon thereafter. Despite all the history you mention, it hasn't been a constant on front pages.

"Well I suspect that's going to change. The way I think about it is now, if you look for the word 'Arctic' in the newspaper, it's likely to be on the environment pages, or in the travel pages. I would say that it's going to migrate in the next few years. Maybe in five-years time we'll see it very regularly on the business pages. I'd say in 10-years time we'll see it extremely regularly on the global politics pages and even on the front page.

"So I see it as one of those issues which is only just beginning to lodge itself in the consciousness of governments and states and peoples as a political issue or an economic issue.

"From the point of view of perceptions, which I find very interesting, I'd say people's

misperceptions of the Arctic are actually more influenced by books by Jack London, and by tales of the explorers, nearly a century old, than they are by political or economic analysis. That's one aspect my book tries to address: it tries to draw a broader portrait of the region which brings things out of writing about the Arctic only in terms of aesthetics or only in terms of explorers."

You talk about the Soviet expansion in the Arctic and about Stalin's desire to see a strong Russian Arctic presence. But if we're just starting to wake up to the Arctic, then how do we discuss the Cold War? Is the scramble just old news?

"What's interesting is that the Arctic was a tremendously important strategic area for basically one reason during the Cold War, which was, of course, the military dimension of the Arctic, and the simple fact of geography being that had there been a nuclear exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union, then the Arctic would have been pivotal. I quote a US Air Force general in 1950 saying that if there was a third world war, the Arctic would be a strategic centre. I think that's been the dominant idea of the Arctic.

"Then after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Arctic really fell off the strategic radar screen. Attention was focused elsewhere by the foreign ministries and defence ministries, and focused on other parts of the world. And indeed in some respects that's still the case, with Iraq and Afghanistan.

"But I would argue that over the last few years, largely because of climate change, but also this burgeoning idea that the Arctic will be a strategic arena in the future, that interest among foreign ministries and defence ministries has begun to return. It's very early days, but they're trying to figure out what their role in that area will be."

I find it really odd that a government like Canada can put little emphasis on climate change science—our recent budget had almost no mention of it—and at the same time talk about the geopolitics inherent in opening up the Northwest Passage, which is dependent upon climate change. It seems like there's a disconnect there.

"The interesting thing about the Canadian position, from my understanding of it, is that Canada emits more carbon per head than the United States, and Canadians, I think, tend to think of Canada as more in tune with its environment than say the United States, but in some respects that isn't true.

"I think somebody like Stephen Harper understands that, to a large degree, the Canadian economy and the geography of Canadian cities is built on the notion of carbon being quite cheap. That's one reason why I think Canada hasn't been so constructive in climate negotiations as you might expect. That's one thing.

"The other thing that I think is interesting is that there are no doubt people in Canada—I'm not saying that this is the position of government—but there are no doubt people in Canada who do see climate change as being a net positive for Canada, as for other northern nations. For example, the Russian position on climate change has tended to be that climate change is not necessarily a bad thing, and the notion that maybe Russia will gain as a northern nation."

But that's a political faux pas to say that publicly.

"It would certainly be a political faux pas to say it publicly, but I think it is certainly thought about. And I think increasingly Russia and Canada are seeing the downsides.

"On the Russian side of things, the Northeast Passage might open up, and it



might be a good thing strategically from their point of view. But many of their pipelines are built on permafrost; the permafrost becomes unstable, that's a big problem and it's going to cost a lot of money.

"And I think similarly with the Canadian perspective, the idea of the Northwest Passage opening up has been imagined as a great economic boon to the country, but I think now there's a countervailing concern about whether we have people to monitor it, whether we have the ability to [monitor] it, whether we have the ability to protect it. If there would be shipping, for example, from the port of Churchill, fine, but will the railway that goes up there, is that going to buckle even more than it already does? Are we actually prepared to make the investments that go along with this stated northern destiny?"

You discuss the UN Convention of the Law of the Sea. What have been the problems with the US ratifying it? Is this something that is coming soon?

"A couple of important points. UNCLOS took such a long time to negotiate. There is absolutely no appetite for anyone to reopen negotiation or negotiate some new law of the sea

"Secondly, the US has not ratified, but it does recognize the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea as having the customary force of international law.

"So, in other words, if you speak to State Department officials about UNCLOS, they will say the fact that the United States has not ratified UNCLOS does not in any way change the territorial rights that are afforded to all states under UNCLOS."

"There is a real bandwidth issue in DC. The focus of this presidency has almost entirely been on a couple of big domestic issues: the financial crisis and health care. There hasn't been space to think about the UN convention on the Law of the Sea. Not only that, it's quite a divisive subject and there's a hard core of Republicans who would probably vote down any move to ratify UNCLOS. Is it really worth the president's while to stake political capital on that issue?

"And as well, although the argument against UNCLOS in the American context tends to be made on the basis of national security, in other words there are some who view UNCLOS and indeed any international agreement as infringing on America's sovereignty and power—the interesting thing is that the United States Navy is 110 per cent behind US ratification, the Department of Defence is 110

per cent behind it, the State Department is 110 per cent behind UNCLOS. So if all those bodies which think about US power and US national secutity all the time are in favour of United States ratifying the Law of the Sea, it's hard for me to fathom why there are a group of senators and congressmen who still insist on this idea that it would be terribly dangerous."

Russian Arctic Policy seems increasingly driven by gas policies. Do you see this happening in other countries?

"Well that's always kind of been the case. It's always been the case that development in the Arctic only really happens when there is a state backstop, when there is political support for it. That's sort of one of the preconditions. And that's true whether you're talking about the Russian Arctic or the American Arctic.

"As an aside, it's very interesting now to look at what's happening in the Mackenzie Valley, the gas pipelines. In the 1970s the government was very unsure about whether it wanted to push ahead with the gas line; the Berger commission eventually kiboshed the idea and it was never built. And so the potential of the Canadian Arctic was not developed to the oil and gas potential that the American Arctic was.

"Now things have changed where the government is pretty much behind the development of this part of the Canadian Arctic, and a lot of this is in regards to land claims in the First Nations have been solved, but now the issue is well maybe the price of gas is unjustified.

"But the state has always played an active role in the Arctic development. If you compare the Russian Arctic with the Canadian and American Arctic, and the fact that there's way more people in the Russian Arctic, there's much more infrastructure and development, well, there are two reasons for that. The first reason is that northwest Russia is warmer than the Canadian Arctic. So it's clearly a geographic reason.

"But the other reason is that in the period of time that the Russian Arctic did develop, there was no regard to human cost or environmental cost or even economic cost. So much infrastructure in the Russian Arctic was put there by the Soviet Union, and a lot of that was driven by gulags, slave labour. So one of the reasons the Canadian Arctic is less developed than the Russian Arctic is that Canada has never been a dictatorship."

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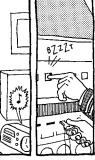


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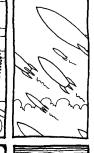
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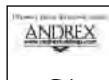
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Party Time







The Turkish Embassy hosted a presentation on the Tayinat Archeological project on April 7 at the residences of the Turkish Ambassador.

- Timothy Harrison, Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, University of Toronto; Rafet Akgunay, ambassador of Turkey; Harvey Slack, the Canadian Fund; Laurier La Pierre, a former Liberal senator.
- 2. Mr. Harrison; Mr. Akgunay; former Canadian ambassador to the UN Paul Heinbecker.
- 2. Mr. Harrison; Mr. Akgunay; former Canadian ambassado 3. Don Budria, lobbyist, Hill and Knowlton; Mr. Akgunay.





A concert was held at St. Patrick's Basilica on April 6 in memory of the late pope John Paul II on the $5^{\rm th}$ anniversary of his death.

- 4. Lisette Canton conducting the Ottawa Bach Choir.
- 5. Artur Antoni Michalski, minister counsellor, Embassy of Poland; Vesela Mrden Korac, ambassador of Croatia.

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On April 9, the Polish Embassy hosted a reading from the book $\it The Mermaid \ and \ the Messerschmit$, which talks about war as seen through women's eyes.

- 6. Terry Tegnanzian, the book's publisher, and actress Yaell Wittes, who did the dramatic reading.
 7. Zenon Henryk Kosiniak-Kamysz, ambassador of Poland; Ms. Wittes; Ms. Tegnanzian; Johann Georg Witschel,
- ambassador of Germany.



Envoys & Events

Promoting Mexico to Canadian businesses



his is **Milko Rivera Hope**'s first diplomatic posting—but he says that is not a challenge, since his focus is clear.

"To be because there is a leak of

"To be honest, there is a lack of knowledge about Mexican business opportunities...and part of my job is to show Canadian businesses what we have," says the new economic, trade and tourism counsellor at the Mexican Embassy in Ottawa. "We want to get Mexico in the top of mind of Canadian businesses, and send the message across that Mexico is a good business opportunity."

Mr. Rivera, who took up his post on March 23, emphasizes that "more business, more tourism, more trade, more investment from Mexico to Canada and from Canada to Mexico" is a win-win situation for both countries—especially when dealing with the United States.

"The stronger our commercial relationship, the more of an important bargaining position we will have against our largest customer," Mr. Rivera explains.

He says Canada was the third-largest foreign investor in Mexico in 2008, and by the end of 2009, there were more than 2,200 companies with Canadian interests operating in the country. But there are many more areas, such as mining, information technology, aerospace and alternative energies, lined up on Mr. Rivera's business promotion list.

Manufacturing is a good example that could apply in some of these areas, he explains.

"Mexico is in many respects much more competitive in manufacturing in this moment than Canada in regards to cost-structure, but Canada has incredible know-how and Mexico needs that know-how," Mr. Rivera says.

Through joint ventures or partner-ships, Mexican companies can get jobs and Canadian companies can become more competitive, "and the manufacturing ecosystem is not moving to somewhere in Asia, because once you move it there, it's gone," the counsellor says. "But if you keep it in Mexico, you can actually make it grow and give more options to your client. Who is the client? He is basically in the middle."

Promotional work is no secret to Mr. Rivera. In fact his experience in this field is what led him to pack his bags and head north just a few weeks ago.

Born and raised in Mexico City, Mr. Rivera got his Bachelor's degree in economics and then obtained a post-graduate degree in international political economy from the London School of Economics. His professional path started while working in a private family-owned Mexican company, a large exporter of raw apple and grape juice.

He later joined the federal ministry of tourism and moved on to become the director of promotion for all sports-related tourism. His career continued to diversify in the last few years. After working for the Mexican tourism promotion agency, Mr. Rivera applied his newly acquired skills at the Mexican business promotion board, where he focused on investments, commerce and exports.

"I've been in the promotion business a lot," he says. "I was in charge of all operations for North America in Mexico and that's how I got to work very closely with all North American offices—and that's basically how I got here."

Mr. Rivera's background and his new posting are reflecting the Mexican government's strategy to strengthen the country's relationship with Canada. So does the relocation of the Pro Mexico North American director to Canada, he says. Pro Mexico is a 2007 initiative of the Mexican government mandated to strengthen the country's participation in the international economy.



The Mexican Embassy's new trade counsellor, Milko Rivera Hope, says last summer's imposition of visas for Mexican citizens wanting to enter Canada did not affect or deter Mexican business people from travelling here.

"We basically want to do everything possible to get that relationship moving [between Canada and Mexico]," Mr. Rivera says. "We are not on the top of mind [of Canadian business] and part of our job is to get us there."

He says last summer's imposition of visas for Mexican citizens wanting to enter Canada did not affect or deter Mexican business people from travelling here.

"It hasn't been an issue, it just takes a couple more days to plan ahead."

The Canadian government in fact announced at the end of last week a special visa application program for frequent Mexican business travellers, involving less paperwork and priority processing.

Overall, Mr. Rivera seems to have settled in quite easily in his first diplomatic seat.

"Things are a bit different, it's a different country, a different culture, but at the same time it's very much the same. I've always been involved in international promotion and the business culture is the same," he says. "It's actually a joy to do this."

The new counsellor describes himself as someone who loves to do outdoor activities, such as running, biking, or scuba diving. He has already signed up for the Ottawa marathon on May 29.

agurzu@embassymag.ca

OTTAWA Listings

Submit your Ottawa-based event to listings@embassymag.ca or fax to 613-232-9055 by Friday at 5 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14

Lecture: Beyond the Credit Crunch—The School of Political Studies and the Centre on Governance at the University of Ottawa presents Caroline Chapain, University of Birmingham, who will discuss "Beyond the Credit Crunch: Local Authorities' response to recession in the UK." 12-1:30 p.m. Room 3120 Desmarais Bldg., University of Ottawa, 55 Laurier Ave. E. echampagne@uottawa.ca

Lens on Afghanistan—The Museum of Civilization presents a talk with photographer Steve McCurry, who documents the horrors of war in Afghanistan in his new book. Part of the ongoing exhibition Afghanistan: Hidden Treasures. 7 p.m. \$20. Theatre, Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que. www.civilization.ca

Screening: Après l'Ocean—A tale of two men from Cote d'Ivoire who go on a revealing journey from African to Europe. Dir. Eliane de Latour. Ivory Coast. Part of the 8th edition of Festival Divercine, presented by CFI, the Embassy of France, and the Department of Canadian Heritage. All films in original language with French subtitles, unless otherwise noted. 7 p.m. Library and Archives Canada, 395 Wellington St. www.cfi-icf.ca

THURSDAY, APRIL 15



Recasting Development for the 21st Century—CIC National presents a GPS econference on "Recasting Development for the 21st Century." Moderated by Anna Dion of IDRC and featuring development expert lan Smillie (left), Patrick Johnston, senior fellow at the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation, and the University of Ottawa's Stephen Brown. 8-11 a.m. To register, please visit www.canadian-internationlcouncil.org

Spanish Diplomats and the Holocaust—The

Embassy of Spain presents a conference with guest speaker Stanley G. Payne who will discuss "Spanish Diplomats and the Holocaust." 7 p.m. Free. Soloway JCC, 21 Nadolny Sachs Pr. 613-747-2252 ext. 235.

Screening: Home—A family lives in happy isolation on the margins of an unused highway until the road becomes opened to traffic. Dir. Ursula Meier. Switzerland, 2009. Part of the 8th edition of Festival Divercine, presented by CFI, the Embassy of France, and the Department of Canadian Heritage. All films in original language with French subtitles, unless otherwise noted. 7 p.m. Library and Archives Canada, 395 Wellington St. www.cfi-icf.ca

FRIDAY, APRIL 16

Denmark celebrates the birthday of Queen Margrethe II. For information on any celebrations, please call the embassy at 613-562-1811.

Screening: The Army of Crime—News of a small resistance force in the South of France and news of their daring attacks reaches Nazi Berlin. Dir. Robert Guédiguian. France. Part of the 8th edition of Festival Divercine, presented by CFI, the Embassy of France, and the Department of Canadian Heritage. All films in original language with French subtitles, unless otherwise noted. 7 p.m. Library and Archives Canada, 395 Wellington St. www.cfi-icf.ca

SATURDAY, APRIL 17

Syria celebrates its National Day. Also known as Evacuation Day, Syria gained independence from France in 1946. For information on any celebrations, please call the embassy at 613-569-5556.

SUNDAY, APRIL 18

Zimbabwe celebrates its Independence Day. It declared independence from the UK in 1980. For infor-

mation on any celebrations, please call the embassy at 613-237-4388.

Screening: Kilometer Zero, The Collapse of the WTO—The Canadian Haiti Action Network (CHAN) presents three nights of resistance and solidarity films. Mexico, 2003. 7 p.m. Exile Infoshop, #200-256 Bank St. http://canadahaitiaction.ca

MONDAY, APRIL 19



On Behalf of Canadians for a Nuclear Weapons Convention—John Polyani, Douglas Roche (above), and Murray Thompson invite you to a reception hosted by Canadians for a Nuclear Convention to honour the 505 members of the Order of Canada who have called on Canada to support negotiations for a global treaty to ban nuclear weapons. 5-6:30 p.m. Room 238S, Centre Block, House of Commons, Parliament Hill, Ottawa, Ont. RSVP by April 16 for security notification to 613-224-8155 or mothom@sympatico.ca

Screening: *Haiti's Tourniquet*—The Canadian Haiti Action Network (CHAN) presents three nights of resistance and solidarity films. *Tonight: Haiti's Tourniquet. 7* p.m. Exile Infoshop, #200-256 Bank St. http://canadahaitiaction.ca

TUESDAY, APRIL 20

CSDS Lecture—The Centre for Defense and Studies at Carleton University presents a talk with Col. Dominic McAlea, deputy judge advocate, Canadian Forces, who will discuss "The Rule of Law and Military Justice in Africa: Partners in Accountability." 12-1:30 p.m. Alumni Board Room, 617 Robertson Hall, Carleton University, 1125 Col. By Dr. RSVP to 613-520-2600 ext. 6671 or csdsevents@carleton.ca

Screening: *Resistencia, Tearing Down Fences*—The Canadian Haiti Action Network (CHAN) presents three nights of resistance and solidarity films. 7 p.m. Exile Infoshop, #200-256 Bank St. http://canadahaitiaction.ca

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21

Bempong Foundation Gala Fundraising Dinner— An evening of food, music and dance and education, with proceeds going to upgrade facilities at the Ntarama Primary School in Rwanda. David Kilgour will give a keynote address. 6 p.m. \$30. Tabaret Hall, University of Ottawa, 550 Cumberland St. 613-219-4659 or www.bempong.org



Dialogue and Friendship Dinner—The Canadian Institute of Intercultural Dialogue the Annual Dialogue Dinner on Parliament Hill. Keynote speaker is Dr. Roseann O'Reilly Runte, Carleton University, who will speak on "Spiritual Democracy for the 21st Century: Nurturing Humane Love, Respect, and Compassion." 7 p.m. Room 200, West Block, Parliament Hill. 613-829-7787.

CJSO Monthly Dinner and AGM—The Canada-Japan Society of Ottawa presents its monthly dinner with guest speaker Dr. Norman Vorano who will discuss "The Influence of Japanese Art on Inuit Printmaking." The AGM will follow. 6 p.m. Genji Japanese Restaurant, 175 Lisgar St. RSVP to cjso@cjso-ottawa.com

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FRIDAY, APRIL 23: IMAGINING TRUTH AND FINDING FACT IN FICTION featuring Tim Wynne Jones, Richard Scarsbrook, Jeffrey Moore, Miguel Syjuco; Andrea Levy, Gale Zoë Garnett, Adam Lewis Schroeder, Joan Thomas and Michael Helm.

SATURDAY, APRIL 24: INVENTION, INVESTIGATION & AUTHENTIC VOICE featuring Harvey Cashore, Andrew Potter, derek beaulieu, Weyman Chan, Frank Davey, George Bowering, Michael Lista, Suzanne Buffam, and Steven Heighton.

SUNDAY, APRIL 25: LOST AND FOUND IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE featuring Paula Butturini, Tom Jokinen, Amir Gutfreund, Susan Juby, Guy Gavriel Kay, Russell Wangersky, Jaspreet Singh, Horacio Castellanos Moya, Terry O'Reilly, Mike Tennant, Jessica Grant, Rabindranath Maharaj, Russell Smith and Jonathan Miles

MONDAY, APRIL 26: WHERE ARE WE AND HOW DID WE GET HERE? featuring Russell Smith, Jessica Grant, John Cassidy, Rachel Zolf, Jesse Patrick Ferguson, Gregory Scofield and Erin Mouré.

TUESDAY, APRIL 27: LIVING HISTORY IN THE PRESENT TENSE featuring Armand Garnet Ruffo, Drew Hayden Taylor, Gregory Scofield, Wade Davis, John Ralston Saul, Adrienne Clarkson, Mark Kingwell and Douglas Coupland

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