



EXCLUSIVE POLITICAL COVERAGE: NEWS, FEATURES, AND ANALYSIS INSIDE

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NEWS LOBBYING

Telecom giant Shaw lobbies most in April, 41 communications in one month

Telecom, broadcasting lobbying were up last month.

By DEREK ABMA

Shaw Communications Inc., the provider of internet and TV services, primarily in Western Canada, was the busiest lobbyist of federal officials in April.

The Calgary-based company had 41 communication reports registered for last month, compared to just one in March. The reports showed the company met with several MPs as well as officials from departments such as Innovation, Finance, Canadian Heritage, and the Prime Minister's Office.

Some of the other groups that were among the most regular federal lobbyists last month included the Canadian Foodgrains Banks, which had 34 communication reports filed, and the Canadian Life and Health Insurance Association, with 31 reports.

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FEATURE HILL MEDIA

Columnist Tim Harper leaving *Star* after three decades, 'it's a hell of a job'

By LAURA RYCKEWAERT

He's one of the best national affairs columnists in the country and for the first time in more than 30 years, on May 30, *Toronto Star* columnist Tim Harper will wake up without the pressure of a deadline. He's set to leave the paper and the Parliamentary Press Gallery at the end of the month.

"I may enjoy it, I don't know," Mr. Harper told *The Hill Times* last week. "It's completely uncharted territory. I'm kind of Type A and I don't know how long I'll be able to do that."

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'Most dysfunctional week' in the House, and despite pulling Motion 6, Liberals still want extended sittings



Elbowgate: Prime Minister Justin Trudeau lost his temper last Wednesday evening, grabbed Conservative Whip Gordon Brown and accidentally elbowed NDP MP Ruth Ellen Brosseau in the chest. The House Affairs Committee will now investigate the incident. *Screen capture: CPAC*

By RACHEL AIELLO

After last week's high-profile dustup in the House and all the procedural wrangling eating up Commons time, there is still a lot left on the government's legislative agenda

and with U.S. President Barak Obama scheduled to address a joint Parliament June 29, the government is not ruling out extending sitting times.

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FEATURE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS

'Nobody has seen anything bigger,' West Block masonry project largest of its kind in North America



A worker in the West Block. Photograph courtesy of PSPC

By LAURA RYCKEWAERT

The extensive work to restore the heritage stone masonry of the West Block building is almost complete, set to "wind

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NEWS LIBERAL CONVENTION

Grassroots Liberals demand withdrawal of proposed constitution to avoid 'most divisive convention in years': Grit riding

By ABBAS RANA

The Liberal Party's leadership should withdraw the proposed new party constitution because it was put together without adequate "member consultation and engagement," and a significant number of delegates will oppose it on the convention floor which could make this week's biennial policy convention in Winnipeg "the most divisive in many years," warns one Ontario riding association president.

Tom Addison, president of the federal Ontario electoral district association of Kingston and the Islands, who is coordinating a "large" group of concerned Liberals,

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NEWS LIBERAL NOMINATIONS

Proposed free-memberships make some Liberal MPs nervous: Grits

By ABBAS RANA

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's idea of free memberships for any Canadian who wants to register with the Liberal Party is making some incumbent Liberal MPs nervous because it could mean more challengers than usual and tougher fights in the nomination campaigns prior to the next election.

"It's open season for anybody to go," said a Liberal MP, who spoke to *The Hill Times* on condition of anonymity because he does not want to be seen opposing the party leadership. "It's not going to involve individuals buying memberships, and that means more challengers."

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FEATURE BUZZ



HEARD ON THE HILL

BY DEREK ABMA

Two minutes in the box for elbowing, Prime Minister Trudeau



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau caused controversy in the House last week when he inadvertently elbowed NDP MP Ruth Ellen Brosseau while grabbing Conservative Whip Gord Brown to move a little faster for a Commons vote. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

What are we going to do about this Trudeau kid and his behaviour in the House of Commons?

As a third-party MP in 2011, Liberal MP **Justin Trudeau** called then environment minister **Peter Kent** “a piece of shit” during a House session, and now as prime minister last week, he was involved in this “manhandling” of Conservative Whip **Gord Brown** and the accidental elbowing of NDP MP **Ruth Ellen Brosseau**. Mr. Trudeau also apparently told people to “get the fuck out of the way.”

Suffice it to say, this is no way for an MP, never mind the prime minister, to behave in Parliament. But let’s not get too carried away over the scale of atrocity that has occurred. Mr. Brown wasn’t any worse for wear. I’ve personally seen him coming off the ice from a 7 a.m. hockey game on a weekday in the middle of an election campaign; he’s tough enough to handle these kinds of things.

Opposition MPs are talking about a formal censure of the prime minister, but two minutes in the penalty box would probably do the trick.

As for Ms. Brosseau, she seemed genuinely sore after this episode. The prime minister has to be careful. Anyone who can do one-armed pushups is capable of doing some damage when they’re angry and swinging elbows in a crowd.

Political figures talk about their suicide attempts



Sen. Patrick Brazeau was featured in an *Ottawa Citizen* article recently that detailed his recent suicide attempt. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

If you screw up, we will call you on it, despite the fact us news-types understand that everyone is human and vulnerable to making mistakes.

But please don’t kill yourself over it, and I mean that literally. In recent days, no less than two prominent figures in federal politics have gone public about their suicide attempts.

First, just more than a week ago, *The Ottawa Citizen*’s **Gary Dimmock** featured an interview with Sen. **Patrick Brazeau** that went into graphic detail about how he slit his throat in January in an attempt to take his own life.

“Everything just came to a tipping point. ... I’m not proud of that moment, because I let a lot of people down,” Sen. Brazeau said.

Sen. Brazeau, of course, had been dealing with scandals related to charges he faces over alleged fraud with Senate expense claims and a sexual assault charge. Those former charges are still to be heard in trial while the latter charge was dismissed in a case in which Sen. Brazeau pleaded guilty to simple assault and cocaine possession.

A few days later, **Michael Harris** wrote an account in *iPolitics* about how **Michael Sona**—the former Conservative staffer and only person ever convicted in the 2011 robocalls scandal—tried to kill himself too. The article explains how Mr. Sona, in the spring of 2012, sat in a bathtub, put a .45-calibre pistol to his head, and pulled the trigger. Thankfully, the gun didn’t work properly and Mr. Sona remains on this Earth.

“This wasn’t a cry-for-help moment. This was an ‘I want it to be over’ moment,” the article quoted Mr. Sona as saying.

Dental service for poor launched in honour of Bélanger

The Canadian Dental Charity Foundation did ailing Liberal MP **Mauril Bélanger** a solid recently by starting dental service for low-income and vulnerable citizens in his honour in his riding of Ottawa-Vanier.

The service was officially launched April 29 at the Vanier Community Service Centre. The centre said in a press release

that those involved in bringing this initiative to fruition “are inspired by Mauril Bélanger’s commitment towards this Ottawa neighbourhood and are choosing to invest in the well-being of its residents.”

The centre will start providing this service once a month in June. **Karen Ergus**, vice-president of the Ottawa-Vanier Women’s Liberal Association, who happens to be a registered dental hygienist, will be among those helping out.

Mr. Bélanger went public late last year with his diagnosis of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), also known as Lou Gehrig’s disease. His condition has progressed to the point where he has lost the ability to speak. He now uses an iPad with text-to-voice software to communicate.

Poll shows support for O Canada change

Most Canadians are in favour of the change being contemplated to make the lyrics to *O Canada* gender-neutral.

Bill C-210, the private member’s bill sponsored by Liberal MP **Mauril Bélanger**, proposes changing the phrase “in all thy sons command” to “in all of us command.”

A survey conducted by Mainstreet Research, on behalf of Sing All of Us, a group that advocates for such change, found 62 per cent of those polled favoured this alteration in the national anthem, while 19 per cent were opposed. The support level was up five percentage points from a similar survey taken last year.

The survey also found that 54 per cent were unaware that the anthem had previously been changed to create the lyrics that are in question today. The original English version of *O Canada*, written in 1908, included the lyrics “thou dost in us command,” before being changed to the current version in 1913, just before the First World War.

“We can take our English national anthem out of the historical, World War I ice box some have put it in,” Conservative Sen. **Nancy Ruth**, co-founder of Sing All of Us, said in a news release. “We can let it thaw a little, grow a little, in this new century.”

The Mainstreet survey was taken by phone on May 11 and included 2,027 respondents. The company said it has a margin of error of 2.18 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

The bill is expected to be back up for debate next week.

Delacourt book updated with Trudeau material

Votes: How Politicians Choose Us and We Choose Them, an account about how politicians market themselves, has been re-released with two new chapters of material about **Justin Trudeau**’s 2015 election victory, including an interview with the man himself.

A press release from publisher Douglas & McIntyre talks about how the book’s additions include information about how Mr. Trudeau personally demanded during the last campaign, from local organizers if he was going to visit a riding, that the contact information of every person who attended his events was recorded.

“That was what I demanded,” he told Ms. Delacourt, a columnist for *The Toronto Star*. “If they wanted a visit from the leader, they had to arrange that or else I’d be really upset.”

The book also includes some comments from **Gerald Butts**, now principal secretary to the prime minister and a chief adviser during the campaign, about using the same kind of “micro-targeting” tools that the Conservatives had used to beat the Liberals in previous elections.

“The Tories’ methodology wasn’t the problem,” Mr. Butts is quoted as saying in

the book. “It was what they were putting it in service of. They used it to pull people apart, but it could be used to bring people together.”

Ms. Delacourt is scheduled to hold a book signing in at Hy’s Steakhouse in Winnipeg this Friday evening between 5 and 7 p.m., coinciding with the Liberal Party convention being held in that city over the weekend.

Mulroney-era cabinet minister blasts Harper in upcoming book

Tom McMillan, who was a cabinet minister in **Brian Mulroney**’s Progressive Conservative government in the 1980s, has written a book being released this fall that promises to take chunk out of the last prime minister who served under the Conservative banner.

The book is called *Not My Party: The Rise and Fall of Canadian Tories*, from *Robert Stanfield to Stephen Harper*, and is slated for release in October. A press release from publisher Nimbus Publishing said Mr. McMillan “indicts **Stephen Harper** for destroying the historic Canadian Conservative Party while prime minister and party leader, accusing him of turning a force for progressive Canadian values into an American Republican-style vehicle for right-wing ideologies.”

Ouch.

Mr. McMillan uses this book as a call for “Conservative progressives to reclaim their party from right-wing extremists and revive its commitment to nation-building and national unity; to re-brand itself, once again, as Progressive Conservative.”

Grace-Pépin Access to Information Award to be given Wednesday

The Grace-Pépin Access to Information Award will be given this Wednesday to recognize a individual and group found to have furthered that cause of transparency, accountability, and the public’s right to know what the government is doing.

The award is presented annually by the Office of the Information Commissioner, in collaboration with its provincial and territorial counterparts. It’s named in memory of former information commissioner **John Grace**, who died in 2009, and **Marcel Pépin**, founding president of Quebec’s information-access commission. Mr. Pépin died in 1999.

This year’s winners of the Grace-Pépin award were **Ken Rubin** and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, as announced in January.

The event takes place at 10:30 a.m. in the lobby of 30 Victoria St., in Gatineau, Que., where Information Commissioner **Suzanne Legault**’s office is.

Famous 5 event in Byward Market raises almost \$3,000 for Fort Mac

Famous 5 Ottawa, an organization that celebrates the achievements of women, threw a fundraiser last week for its sister organization in Fort McMurray, Alta., to raise money for those forced to flee their homes due to the raging wildfire that devastated Fort McMurray two weeks ago.

It was held at the Red Lion Public House, a new pub in Ottawa’s Byward Market, last Wednesday and raised \$2,785, which turned into a contribution of \$8,355 when matching donations from the federal and Alberta governments were factored in.

About 80 people attended the event, including interim Conservative Leader **Rona Ambrose**, her partner **J.P. Veitch**, NDP MP **Linda Duncan**, and *Globe and Mail* journalists **Gloria Galloway**, **Shawn McCarthy**, and **Chris Hannay**.

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NEWS SENATE

Senate rejects Sen. Harder's request for \$850,000 budget, allocates new government representative \$400,000

Sen. Peter Harder requested \$850,000 but received less than half of the requested amount.

BY ABBAS RANA

Government Senate Representative Peter Harder made a request for an \$850,000 budget to the Senate's Internal Economy Budgets and Administration Committee last month, but last week was told that he would get only \$400,000 chiefly because he does not have a Senate caucus to manage.

In an emailed response to *The Hill Times*, Alberta Conservative Sen. Scott Tannas, a member of the Senate's Internal Economy Committee, said the committee decided to approve only \$400,000 because in addition to this budget, the Deputy Government Representative Diane Bellemare (Alma, Que.) and the Government Whip Grant Mitchell are also getting \$75,000 and \$100,000 respectively. Also, Sen. Tannas said Sen. Harder does not have any caucus to manage so he does not need any resources for that—a responsibility that his predecessor,

Quebec Conservative Sen. Claude Carignan, had. Sen. Carignan had a budget of \$850,000 as the government Senate leader. He now is the opposition leader in the Senate.

These budget amounts are in addition to the \$185,000 that each Senator's office receives for their basic responsibilities.

Senators receive a base salary of \$145,400. The Government Senate Leaders get a top-up of \$81,500, Deputy Leaders receive an additional \$38,700, and the Government Whip sees a bonus of \$11,800. Salaries for Senators are separate from office budgets.

Looking to hire nine staffers

Sen. Harder first made his budget request to the Internal Economy Committee in mid-April and argued that he wants to get the same budget that his predecessor, Sen. Carignan received. In his pitch to the committee, he said that with his budget, he wants to hire nine staffers in his office including a chief of staff, a senior policy adviser, a director of communications, three legislative assistants, a director of parliamentary affairs, an executive assistant, and an assistant.

Last week, Sen. Harder was not available for an interview, but he told *The Hill Times* last month that as the Government's Representative, he's responsible



Government Senate Representative Sen. Peter Harder told the Senate Internal Economy Committee last month that he wants to hire nine staffers with his office budget to assist him in his parliamentary responsibilities. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

for shepherding the government legislation in the Upper Chamber, answering questions on behalf of the government in the Senate's Question Period, and representing the interests of the Senate to the executive.

Since Sen. Harder is not a cabinet minister, he's not getting any budget top-up from the Privy Council Office. He has been sworn in as a privy counselor and can attend cabinet committee meetings.

For the current fiscal year, the Conservative Senate caucus has a budget of \$1.2-million and the Liberals have a budget of a little more than a million dollars.

The Senate Internal Economy Committee uses a standard formula of calculating budgets for different Senate caucuses. Based on this formula, if a caucus has between five and 10 members, it receives an annual budget of \$100,000; if the number of caucus members is between 11 and 20, it receives \$300,000; and if there are more than 20, the caucus is eligible for \$500,000. This budget is now in addition to \$400,000 in

this particular case for the Office of Government Representative (it was previously \$250,000); \$75,000 for the deputy government representative; \$100,000 for the government whip; \$600,000 for the leader of the opposition; \$75,000 for the deputy leader of the opposition; and \$100,000 for the opposition whip.

These budgets do not include the salaries of Senators who hold leadership positions.

Sen. Harder's budget request was reviewed by the Internal Economy's subcommittee on Estimates. Members of this subcommittee include: the chairman, Newfoundland and Labrador Conservative Sen. David Wells; deputy chair, British Columbia Liberal Sen. Mobina Jaffer; Ind. British Columbia Sen. Larry Campbell; Prince Edward Island Liberal Sen. Percy Downe; Saskatchewan Conservative Sen. David Tkachuk and Sen. Tannas.

In the 105-member Upper Chamber, there are 42 Conservative Senators, 23 Independents, 21 Liberals, and 19 seats are vacant—all of which are expected

to be filled before the end of the year. In August, Conservative-turned-Independent Sen. Michel Rivard (The Laurentides, Que.) is retiring.

Next year, three Conservatives—Bob Runciman (Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes, Ont.), Kelvin Ogilvie (Annapolis Valley-Hants, N.S.), and Nancy Ruth (Cluny, Ont.)—and four Liberals—Wilfred Moore (Stanhope St./South Shore, N.S.), James Cowan (Nova Scotia), George Baker (Newfoundland and Labrador), and Elizabeth Hubley (Prince Edward Island)—will reach the mandatory retirement age of 75.

A former deputy minister, Sen. Harder was appointed to the Red Chamber in March along with six other Senators. All seven are Independent Senators, and all were made on the non-binding advice of the Independent Advisory Board for Senate Appointments. Prior to his appointment to the Red Chamber, Sen. Harder headed Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's (Papineau, Que.) transition team after the last federal election. araana@hilltimes.com

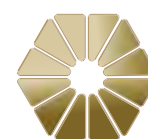
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NEWS LEGISLATION

‘Most dysfunctional week’ in the House, despite pulling Motion 6, Liberals still want extending sittings

After procedural wrangling took up most of the Commons time last week, there’s a lot left on the government’s agenda. And there’s also the matter of Barack Obama’s address to Parliament, scheduled for six days after the House is slated to have its final sitting before summer.

Continued from page 1

The House is scheduled to adjourn for the summer on June 23, but Parliament will sit on June 29 to hear President Obama.

Liberal MP Kevin Lamoureux (Winnipeg North, Man.), parliamentary secretary to Government House Leader Dominic LeBlanc (Beauséjour, N.B.), didn’t deny extending sitting days another week was still on the table, but also said he wants to negotiate “in good faith” with the opposition parties.

“I would suggest to you that if the opposition collectively says that we want to be able to have more debate time on a number of government initiatives, then we are going to have to have more sitting time,” he said.

The House is also scheduled to extend its sitting hours between June 13 and 23.

A spokesperson in the Prime Minister’s Office confirmed last week that logistics are finalized and MPs will either all still be here or will come back for President Obama’s address on June 29, the same day as the so-called “Three Amigos” summit is happening in Ottawa along with Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto.

Last week, the government was intending to use Motion 6, which would have unilaterally

changed the House of Commons Standings Orders to give cabinet unprecedented power over House procedure and vote timing. Generally, the schedule is agreed upon by the House leaders. After an acrimonious two days in the Commons, Mr. LeBlanc withdrew the motion, saying his objective is to try “to find a proper mechanism to extend the sitting hours and allow for a more respectful debate on government legislation.”

When MPs return next week, they still have to pass **Bill C-14**, the controversial assisted suicide bill, **Bill C-15**, their budget implementation bill, and as many of the other dozen or so government bills still on the order paper.

Mr. Lamoureux said by pulling Motion 6, the Liberals are saying they want to try again to work with the opposition to get government initiatives through, something he says they have a responsibility to do.

In their efforts to pass government legislation, the Liberals have become frequent users of time allocation and out of frustration over this, Mr. Lamoureux said the opposition gave them no confidence procedurally and in talks that they would not continue to try procedural tricks to get in the way of moving government legislation. He said the motion was a joint House-leadership team idea that did not come from the PMO.

“There’s an element of trust and fair play in the negotiating process. ... One of the most important things is that you have to establish a solid relationship of respect and trust,” said Mr. Lamoureux.

Coming to agreement on more debate time has been central to the growing acrimony between the government and opposition House leaders, which came to a head last week.

Conservative House Leader Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu’Appelle, Sask.) said he isn’t supportive of extending the sitting days, and as for sitting hours, said he has yet to hear a reasonable proposal. He told *The Hill Times* last Friday that it’s not up to the opposition to help the Liberals with time-management and caucus-management problems.

He said communication between House leaders was still not happening by the end of what he called the “most dysfunctional week” he’d ever seen in Parliament,

largely because of the unprecedented procedural move the Liberals were about ready to make.

Put on the Notice Paper by Mr. LeBlanc on Wednesday morning, Motion 6 sought to put the prime minister and his cabinet or parliamentary secretaries in charge of what happens in the House, taking away any procedural powers of both opposition and backbench Liberal MPs. The Liberals said the 17-clause document provided time for more debate and the “certainty and predictability” of the House schedule.

As soon as it was put on notice, the opposition parties revolted against it, taking any media time they had to call out the government for what they classified as a “draconian” power grab.

Then, with emotions high and patience thin as MPs headed into the Chamber for another time-allocation vote on the controversial **Bill C-14**, the government’s physician-assisted dying bill, chaos broke out on the floor as the altercation involving Mr. Trudeau (Papineau, Que.), Conservative Whip Gord Brown (Leeds-Grenville-Thousand Islands, Ont.), and NDP MP Ruth Ellen Brosseau (Berthier-Maskinongé, Que.) ensued.

This resulted in opposition outrage and Mr. Trudeau providing a series of apologies for his actions. The matter of privilege has now been sent to the Procedure and House Affairs Committee.

The altercation quickly became leverage for the opposition in calling for the government to eliminate Motion 6.

Mr. Scheer said the government’s pulling of what he considered a “massive cannon barrel staring down our faces” was a good start, but it’ll still be difficult to proceed.

“We will never forget these are the types of things they were willing to resort to the second they don’t get their own way,” he said Thursday afternoon.

Allegedly, over the last two weeks, House leaders meetings have deteriorated to the point where the government was not providing the opposition with a calendar of debates for the week and was changing what was being called forward and pulling opposition days with just a few hours notice.

Mr. Julian and the NDP are calling on the government to go a step further now that Motion 6 is off the table and end the use of time allocation to force bills through. They are asking the Liberals to stop rejecting “constructive amendments to legislation,” and redistribute the party make-up on the forthcoming democratic reform committee.

“Not being in a recognized party, not being part of the negotiations between party House leaders, I’m probably not as prone to say that they’ve never done anything that it was less than cooperative. I think it’s likely there may have been a bit of blame ... on all sides,” Green Party Leader Elizabeth May (Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.) said during a joint press conference with the other opposition parties calling on the government to remove the motion.

Ms. May equated the House to a “pressure cooker” right now.

Throughout the week, both Mr. Scheer and Mr. Julian continued to deny they ever attempted to unduly delay any legislation or moved dilatory motions.

“We have bent over backwards, twisted into pretzel, trying



Government House Leader Dominic LeBlanc withdrew the controversial and extreme procedural measures in Motion 6, saying his objective is to try ‘to find a proper mechanism to extend the sitting hours and allow for a more respectful debate on government legislation.’ *The Hill Times* photo by Jake Wright

to say, ‘Look, we want all members to have the opportunity to be able to speak,’” Mr. Lamoureux said of the government’s efforts.

Despite the opposition House leaders pointing to the Liberals’ continued cut off of debate leading up to such an explosive week, a procedural stunt pulled on Monday morning is being seen as the real spark for the series of unfortunate events in the House last week.

On Monday, the government nearly lost a vote on one of their pieces of legislation, **Bill C-10**, An Act to amend the Air Canada Public Participation Act that broadens the requirement of Air Canada’s maintenance operations to be anywhere in Manitoba, Quebec, and Ontario, beyond the of the previous requirements of specifically Winnipeg, Montreal, and Mississauga, Ont.

The vote was called around noon, much earlier than votes traditionally happen, thanks to a procedural move by the NDP, who instead of tabling the planned amendments they proposed, had the MP who was supposed to introduce them, NDP MP Alexandre Boulerice (Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie, Que.), sit in the lobby. This sped up the planned time for the vote and MPs were scrambling to get into the Chamber on time, including several ministers that were at an economic meeting in Chelsea, Que., about 30 minutes north of Parliament Hill. The vote ended up being a tie with 139 votes on either side. House Speaker Geoff Regan (Halifax West, N.S.) had to break the tie in favour of continuing debate, so it passed to third reading.

Conservative MP Matt Jeneroux (Edmonton Riverband, Alta.) said from his seat he saw Liberal MPs running in, including one still in his coat, coffee in hand, while Chief Government Whip Andrew Leslie (Orléans, Ont.) took longer than normal to take his seat, saving some of his MPs, giving them time to quickly take their seats before the count began. Mr. Jeneroux said as MPs on both sides were doing the math in their heads counting the vote, Mr. Leslie was “sweating it out.”

Mr. Jeneroux said he didn’t think the tie itself was orchestrated, because if that’s the case, the opposition likely could have gotten one or two more MPs in the House in time to defeat the bill. He said since Monday’s close call, he’s noticed staffers inside the front door of the lobby counting MPs prior to votes.

Bill C-10 was not a confidence motion, so the government was not at risk of falling if it was defeated.

When asked by *The Hill Times* last week what he’s doing to insure what happened with **Bill C-10** does not happen again, Mr. Leslie said he had “a good round of discussions while debate was ongoing

or the Question Period with all the House Whips, and I think a great spirit of cooperation will emerge over the coming weeks.”

“We have a certain respect that holds the place together. When the respect falls apart, the place falls apart,” Ms. May said.

The Liberal bill was saved, in part by one of their backbench MPs who opposes the bill and voted against it at second reading, Doug Eyolfson (Charleswood-St. James-Assiniboia, Man.). He told *The Hill Times* he first voted against it because it disadvantaged his constituents, and only changed his vote at the report stage because he wanted “no part in the childish stunt.”

“When the vote was called for a time when normally all parties have lower Members’ attendance, and then large numbers of opposition members suddenly flood the House, it became very apparent very quickly that the opposition had staged a procedural stunt designed to disenfranchise the government caucus. ... It was frustrating to watch the opposition take pleasure in their premeditated plan to prevent our MPs from doing their job,” he said, adding he plans to vote against the bill and in favour of his constituents at third reading.

“If I had voted against it, the bill would have failed, but ultimately it would have demonstrated that opposition procedural tricks work, and that is not in anyone’s best interests, including my constituents,” he said.

Liberal MPs balancing the responsibility of governing with representing their ridings is something playing out further with **Bill C-14**, which is a free vote for backbench Liberals and all other parties.

After the delays last week, the legislation remains at report stage in the House, leaving the Senate less than a week to pass the bill when they return May 30 before the June 6 Supreme Court deadline. It’s unlikely going to be a deadline the Senate can meet given that the committee that had been pre-studying it released a report and recommendations to amend the bill, saying it “needs stronger safeguards before the Senate can even think about passing it.”

When asked about passing the bill within the timeline, Liberal government representative in the Senate, Peter Harder, told reporters last week “it can be done in whatever time frame the Senate collectively views appropriate for its consideration and due process.”

When Parliament resumes, House leaders on all sides are scheduled to meet again Tuesday afternoon for their regular meeting. But in the meantime, talks continue to determine what bills will be debated.

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The Hill Times

NEWS LIBERAL CONVENTION

Grassroots Liberals demand withdrawal of proposed constitution to avoid 'most divisive convention in years'

The proposed new constitution is meant to 'modernize' the Liberal Party, says Liberal Party director of communications Braeden Caley.

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told *The Hill Times* that the proposed new constitution is an attempt to centralize power "within a small circle around the leader."

The proposed constitution makes the membership free for any Canadian who wants to register, overhauls the party structure, and makes significant changes to the financial management and governance mechanisms of riding associations and commissions. If the proposed party constitution is passed this week, the party will have only one constitution, down from almost 20 now, and the party's board of directors will draft bylaws to run the operations of the party, its federal wings in provinces and territories, and electoral district associations and commissions.

For the convention happening Thursday through Saturday, Mr. Addison said that he has booked a "campaign room" at a Winnipeg hotel to undertake efforts to vote down the new constitution. Mr. Addison has also set up an online discussion group website called "liberal-members-matter.ca" for party members who want to offer their opinion on the proposed constitution. He said that he has also designed posters and campaign buttons that delegates will be able to pick up from the campaign room at the convention.

"It has been said in recent weeks that this proposed constitution must pass because 'we can't allow Justin to lose in front of the national media,'" Mr. Addison wrote on his discussion group website. "This is perhaps where the cult of personality has taken its strongest hold, when dedicated Liberals feel that it is more acceptable to allow for the entire loss of the Liberal Party

than to tolerate one embarrassing episode for our leader."

Mr. Addison said that a "large" number of riding association executives and other longtime Liberals are unhappy with the "proposed" new constitution, but said that he does not know if he has enough support at this time to defeat it. He said a significant number of riding associations' executives are against some provisions of the new constitution but are concerned "how the party would look if it's defeated."

"People that are openly opposed to it are well over 30 per cent," said Mr. Addison, adding that the majority of the delegates are undecided and want to wait until the convention time.

He said grassroots members were never consulted in the drafting process of this constitution. Mr. Addison said the party sent out a survey to the party membership to gauge their opinion after the drafting process was already completed. Even the survey that was sent out, less than 10 per cent of the party membership received it and some riding association executives did not get it. Two other riding association presidents who spoke to *The Hill Times* on a not-for-attribution basis confirmed that a significant number of members and some riding association executives never received the survey and were not satisfied with the consultation process.

At the Liberal Party's first biennial convention after the last federal election, the delegates will vote on the proposed new constitution that has been trimmed down to 12 pages from the current 77 pages. Currently, the Liberal Party has more than 18 constitutions including the federal party constitution, constitutions of the party's federal wings in all provinces and territories, and commissions such as the Young Liberals Commission, National Women's Commission, Aboriginal Peoples' Commission, and the Seniors' Commission.

The Conservative Party and the New Democratic Party each have just one constitution for their respective parties.

Critics charge that the party drafted this constitution without adequate consultation from members; that it "diminishes" the role



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured at a recent caucus meeting on the Hill. Mr. Trudeau, Liberal MPs, and grassroots members of the Liberal Party will attend the first biennial policy convention since the last federal election in Winnipeg this week. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

of grassroots party organizations like executive boards, riding associations, councils of presidents, commissions, and provincial and territorial associations; and centralizes power in the hands of a few top party officials.

Mr. Addison said that if the proposed constitution is passed this week, the party's board of directors will draft bylaws to run the party operations, and if party members disagreed with these bylaws, they will have to wait for another two years for their next convention to express their opinions.

"So now this small group surrounding our party Leader and Prime Minister, have decided the time is right to consolidate control of the party at the very top," wrote Mr. Addison on his website. In the interview with *The Hill Times*, he declined to share any names of party officials who are trying to gain more power.

Braeden Caley, Liberal Party's director of communications, said in an interview with *The Hill Times* that the proposed constitution aims "to modernize, strengthen, and open up" the party. He disagreed with the suggestion that the party membership was not consulted adequately for the proposed constitution. Mr. Caley said that more than 2,000 Liberals participated in the survey. He said that 98 per cent of survey participants said that they support modernizing the party, 91 per cent

said the party should have one constitution like other parties, 96 per cent said they want to make the party more open, and 99 per cent said that they want to make the policy development process more innovative and open.

"Delegates will have the opportunity at convention, as they've had over the last number of months, to express their views and that's an important purpose of the convention," said Mr. Caley. "And that's the value of the democratic process within the Liberal Party is to have those discussions, and to constantly be looking how the party can improve its engagement with Canadians, be more open to their ideas, and their involvement, and I know that's going to be a significant focus for this convention."

Rookie Liberal MP Mark Gerretsen (Kingston and the Islands, Ont.), in an interview with *The Hill Times*, said he disagreed with his riding association president's concerns about the new constitution and that the party is trying to centralize the power in the hands of a few senior officials. He said that the only point that he partly agrees with Mr. Addison is that the party could have done more in the consultation process but added that this process is ongoing and will continue until convention time.

"Could we as the Liberal Party have done more in terms of consultation?" said Mr. Gerretsen. "I think there's an argument to

be made there. There's always the opportunity to do more. A lot of consultation has happened and we'll continue to do that right until the convention."

Mr. Gerretsen said he's not upset that Mr. Addison is making his objections known publicly or is actively urging delegates to vote against the party's proposed constitution.

"One of the best things about being a Liberal is our ability to have conversations, our ability to agree to disagree with each other, our ability to have conversations, our ability to talk to other people ... so that we can formulate the best responses and the best positions for things," said Mr. Gerretsen.

Joe Horneck, riding association president for the Toronto-area riding of Mississauga Centre, Ont., said he's satisfied with the party's consultation process and has no disagreement with the new constitution.

Two other riding association presidents told *The Hill Times* that based on their informal conversations with fellow riding executives across the country, Mr. Addison does not have enough support to defeat the proposed new constitution. They said that the party office is calling riding association presidents to find out how they're going to vote on the proposed new constitution.

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NEWS LIBERAL NOMINATIONS



While some of his colleagues are worried, Liberal MP Rob Oliphant said he welcomes free party memberships, and the increased likelihood of nomination challenges will force him to work harder in his riding. Liberal MP Robert-Falcon Ouellette, left, also supports the idea of free party memberships. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

Proposed free-memberships make some Liberal MPs nervous

The change, some party insiders believe, would make incumbent MPs more vulnerable to nomination challenges, sometimes from single-issue or 'phoney' candidates.

Continued from page 1

Currently, the federal Liberal Party charges an annual party membership fee of \$10. However, in a speech last month in Halifax, Mr. Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) said that he wants to open up the party to any Canadian who wants to join, free of charge.

Federal Liberals are meeting in Winnipeg this Thursday through Saturday for their biennial policy convention, and no-fee membership is one of the proposed policies Liberals will vote on. According to the pro-

posal, registered members will be able to offer their input in the party's policy development, participate in the nomination of riding candidates, attend electoral district association meetings, and take part in the selection of party leaders, at no cost.

Party membership fees for political parties have been making headlines since the last federal election. First, the Conservative Party raised the membership fee to \$25 a year from \$15. After the push back from caucus members, the Conservatives' national council reversed its decision and the

annual membership is again \$15. But at least one Conservative MP, Peter Kent (Thornhill, Ont.), is pushing his party not to charge any fee for membership to make the Conservatives a "big tent, no-fee party." The New Democratic Party's membership fee varies from province to province, ranging from free to \$25.

Like any political contest, money plays a critical role in the outcome of most nomination fights of all parties. Theoretically, all party members are required to pay their own membership fees, but based on anecdotal evidence, it does not happen in most cases and fees are paid by supporters of individual nomination campaigns. Both Liberals and Conservatives have had numerous contests going back to early 1990s when candidates or their campaigns accused each other of paying their new members' fees.

In interviews last week, some Liberal MPs and long-time Liberal political insiders who spoke to *The Hill Times* on a not-for-attribution basis said that free memberships will make incumbent Liberal MPs vulnerable to more challengers than usual from their own party, single-issue candidates, and from other federal parties who may put up a phoney candidate against a Liberal. They explained, under the current rules, a serious challenger to an incumbent MP of any party needs to have tens of thousands of dollars, especially in urban centres where riding association membership is usually higher than rural ridings. The no-membership fee rule will open the door for any challenger to contest a nomination.

"The wishes of the riding could be circumvented," said one senior Liberal insider who has been actively taking part in nomination campaigns for about two decades. "Conservatives or the NDP could now register online as a Liberal and out-hustle an existing [Liberal] riding association. So the Tories or the NDP or single interest groups could hijack a [Liberal] riding association and vote for a weak Liberal candidate or put up a phoney Liberal candidate."

The source said the paid membership requirement to participate in nomination contests is a major barrier for single-issue groups or others who may want to challenge an incumbent MP.

"When you are paying money, it's a different story," said the source. "Now, all they have to do is to show up at a meeting with a 50 or 100 people and make them pick up the weakest candidate."

In the 2013 Liberal leadership campaign in which Mr. Trudeau became party leader, the party allowed "supporters" who were not paid members to vote. In total, 300,000 paid members and supporters were signed up for this leadership campaign by all candidates.

Rookie Liberal MP Robert-Falcon Ouellette (Winnipeg Centre, Man.) said that he supports the idea of free memberships but acknowledged that Liberal MPs may face more challengers than normal in the next nomination cycle. He said he's not concerned about his own nomination contest, but it could mean political headaches for other Liberal MPs.

"It could very well mean a lot more challenges, yes. It might be [a problem] for other MPs," said Mr. Ouellette.

He said that this policy would help his party in connecting with more Canadians and recruiting more volunteers. Mr. Ouellette said that if the party makes membership free of charge, other federal parties would also come under pressure to make their memberships free, as well.

Liberal MP Rob Oliphant (Don Valley West, Ont.) said he's in favour of free memberships but does not know what this will mean for incumbent MPs in nomination contests. He said the threat of more nomination challengers is a "positive thing," as it would make MPs spend more time in their ridings.

"It probably is a positive thing that I will never take anybody for granted and make sure that I'm their candidate of choice when it comes to re-election," said Mr. Oliphant.

Traditionally, incumbent MPs have an advantage over challengers because of their political experience, name recognition, and ability to raise more funds.

Braeden Caley, director of communications for the Liberal Party, dismissed concerns that Liberal MPs may face challengers from single-issue groups or phoney candidates. He said the Liberal Party tried the idea of allowing non-paid party supporters to vote in the last Liberal leadership convention and it turned out successful. He said that because of this policy, more Canadians voted for Liberal candidates and volunteered for the party in the last election.

"As a result, Justin Trudeau was elected as leader and many of those 300,000 people who got involved as supporters became active volunteers, donors, and activists for the party," Mr. Caley said in an interview.

Joe Horneck, Liberal riding association president for the Toronto-area riding of Mississauga Centre, Ont., said getting people engaged in the political process is becoming more challenging in most democracies around the world. He said that offering free memberships would help the Liberal Party in getting more Canadians involved in the political process.

"It's becoming harder and harder to get people involved in political processes," he said, adding that removing any barrier that hinders people from becoming active in politics is a positive step.

Meanwhile, the Conservative Party recently announced rules that could help many of their 98 incumbent MPs avoid nomination challenges ahead of the next election. According to the rule, if an incumbent MP's riding has \$150,000 in its bank account and at least one per cent of eligible voters as riding association members, that MP will not face a nomination contest unless more than one-third of riding association members vote in favour of having a nomination contest.

It remains to be seen if the Liberals introduce similar rules, protect their MPs outrightly from nomination challenges, or make them face nomination challenges. Usually, most incumbent MPs in all major parties easily win nomination challenges unless their respective parties want to get rid of them.

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EDITORIAL ELBOWGATE

PM Trudeau wrong, but opposition parties shouldn't overplay their hand

You'd be hard-pressed to find many people who condone what Prime Minister Justin Trudeau did in the House of Commons last Wednesday night.

No Conservative, New Democrat, or Liberal—not even Mr. Trudeau himself—can justify walking to the floor of the Chamber and physically forcing someone—in this case Conservative Whip Gord Brown—to adhere to the prime minister's will.

During this angry episode, Mr. Trudeau, in his haste during a tense evening in the House, accidentally elbowed NDP MP Ruth Ellen Brosseau in the chest, causing her to leave the Chamber and miss the subsequent vote.

Credit should be given to the prime minister for apologizing unreservedly the following day.

He and the Liberal caucus supported the move to refer the matter to the Procedure and House Affairs Committee, and Mr. Trudeau agreed to accept whatever conclusion might come of this review.

Many were offended and disturbed by what they saw Wednesday night. Mr. Trudeau showed a certain amount disregard for this institution of democracy by using physical force in an attempt to influence procedure.

The Conservatives and NDP, however, appeared in the immediate aftermath to soak this incident for more than it was worth. The words "criminal" and "assault" were thrown around by few MPs from these parties. His behaviour was entirely inappropriate, but calling it a criminal assault is stretching it.

When you look at the overall picture of

what's happening in federal politics right now, opposition parties have bigger fish to fry than this so-called "elbowgate" in terms of demanding better from this government.

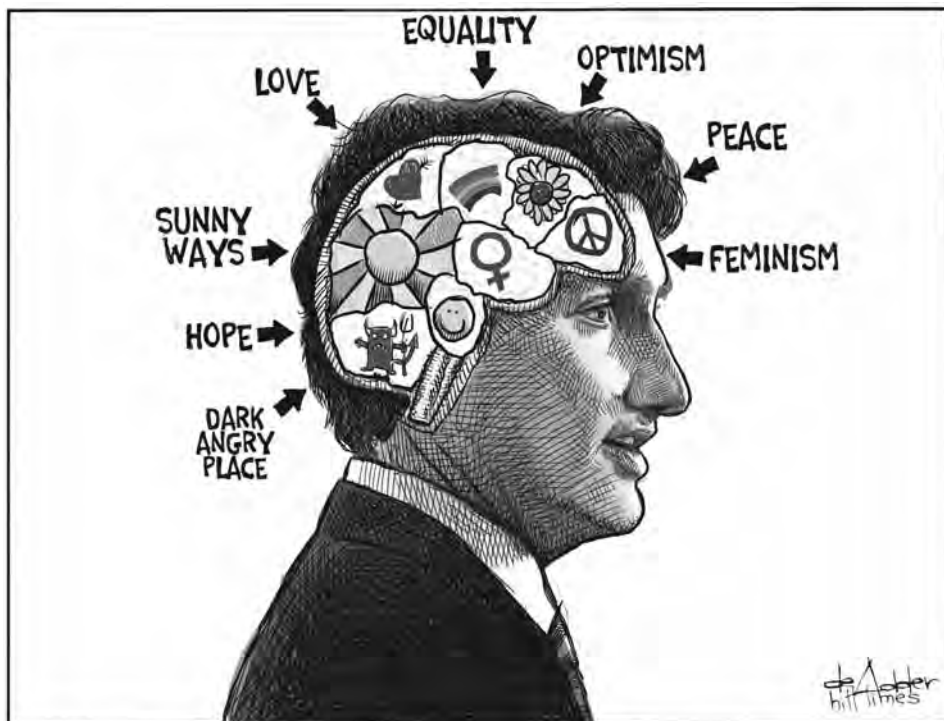
For example, it is trying to force through legislation on physician-assisted dying that even some members of the governing party aren't comfortable with. Some feel it doesn't go far enough in meeting the spirit of the Supreme Court decision that forced it, while others feel it goes too far.

There's also the electoral reform effort that involves a Liberal-stacked committee and a refusal, so far, to put such a fundamental decision to the judgment of the people through a referendum.

These issues and others, such as marijuana legalization and defence spending, can potentially attract the attention and passion of ordinary Canadians on various sides of the arguments.

The incident that happened Wednesday is, at most, a titillating sideshow for most Canadians that doesn't make them like or dislike the prime minister any more than they already did. It certainly won't be top of mind when they go to the polls again in 2019.

For this reason, the opposition parties should not to overplay their hands on this matter. The Liberals have withdrawn their intention to invoke Motion 6 to allow cabinet to take effectively over House procedure in order to get their assisted-dying legislation through. This elbowgate scandal might have given the opposition some leverage to get this concession out of the government. It also did some damage to the prime minister's "sunny ways."



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Copps is off the mark on proportional representation, electoral reforms, says reader

Re: "Hogwash to proportional representation, two-stage balloting the way to go," (*The Hill Times*, May 16, p. 9). The "party list" is this week's hot PR (proportional representation) myth. However, the two-ballot runoff is somewhat unique. Ms. Copps' dismissal of electoral reform as irrelevant to voters explains the irrelevance of much of the content.

Ms. Copps prefers real majorities—which we rarely see in Canada under FPTP. She would conjure some up with another winner-take-all voting system—two ballot run-offs—requiring two elections instead of one.

Winner-take-all voting systems are pretty much all their same—very poor in converting voters' intentions into seats, as the number of seats gained by any party is disproportionate to its popular vote share. Wide regional disparities result in Canada.

Notwithstanding that a party list proportional voting system has never been recommended for Canada, and that, the proposed PR systems are all open list,

(meaning that all candidates face the voters), Copps assumes that all proportional voting systems are more party-centric than winner-take-all systems.

Most Canadians would find it hard to imagine any system where political parties exert more control over their MPs than under the present winner-take-all FPTP system. Rightly so. Parliament has become largely irrelevant as decision-making is done behind closed doors, except as a bit of theatre where the government rolls out its plans.

Majority governments under proportional voting systems are usually a coalition of two or more parties. PR candidates are nominated by ridings associations or party conventions, just as they are now. Kindly explain how parties operating within a coalition, in full public view, could possibly exert more control over their MPs than a winner-take-all government with 100 per cent control. Sounds like hogwash to me.

P.E. McGrail
 Brampton, Ont.

Two-stage balloting not the way to go, writes letter-writer

Re: "Hogwash to proportional representation, two-stage balloting the way to go," (*The Hill Times*, May 16, p. 9). I have had great respect for Sheila Copps, but can she not promote her favourite electoral reform without spreading myths?

Sheila Copps was still a member of the House of Commons when Irwin Cotler tabled the 2004 report of the Law Commission of Canada recommending a mixed-member proportional system where voters can vote for both a local MP and personally for a regional MP. If she is following the discussion, she knows that the House of Commons debated again the Law Commission's model on Dec. 3, 2014, when half the Liberal caucus noted it had no closed lists and supported it.

If Ottawa Liberal Party members can democratically nominate eight candidates

for eight Ottawa ridings, can they not democratically nominate five candidates for local MP and city-wide candidates for three regional MPs? As the Law Commission recommended, voters underrepresented by the local results would elect regional MPs to top-up the local results. Even 10 MP regions, with four regional MPs elected personally, would have accountable MPs.

But Ms. Copps, to my great surprise, says PR means voters do not elect MPs, and a candidate can only win by getting as high up as possible on the party list. A terrible system, to be sure. The Law Commission rightly rejected it. No one proposes it. It is a myth unworthy of repetition by honourable political leaders.

Wilfred Day
 National Secretary, Fair Vote Canada
 Port Hope, Ont.

Haven't yet received a census in my retirement home, wondering why

I live in a retirement home. None of us has received a census form. Why? Do our opinions or situations not count? I've tried to contact our MP, Liberal Kim Rudd who repre-

sents Northumberland-Peterborough South, Ont., and Statistics Canada without any luck.

Jean Finlayson
 Brighton, Ont.

COPPS' CORNER ASSISTED SUICIDE LEGISLATION

Trudeau wishes he could turn back the clock

Trudeau has underscored the importance of a Senate, which is free from the shackles of party politics. But now his government faces the real possibility that this independent Senate could kill the bill.



SHEILA COPPS

OTTAWA—Silly season came early to Parliament this year. That particular pre-summer condition usually emerges in mid-June, when ambitious governments are anxious to tidy up their legislative agenda and cranky MPs just want to get out of Ottawa. Late-night sittings abound, MPs' tempers flare and crazy things happen. Add to the mix a Parliament that jumped into an aggressive work mode after an exhausting 11-week election marathon and you have the possibility of a toxic atmosphere. Just such an atmosphere encourages clouds to gather quickly over the sunny ways shining down on the new Liberal government.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau certainly wishes he could turn back the clock.

Even though a New Democratic Party stalling phalanx deliberately blocked his path, Conservative whip Gordon Brown didn't want Liberal help to get to his seat.

To his credit, the prime minister quickly realized his mistake and stood, not once but twice, to apologize. He reinforced that with multiple apologies the following day.

That wasn't enough for the opposition, which bombarded the Twittersphere to pump up the gravity of the incident.

With #elbowgate trending, Trudeau was accused of everything from disrespecting women to bullying a colleague.

Columnist Andrew Coyne tweeted a poem "gladly" reviling the prime minister because of his behaviour.

Glad revilers will be happy to focus on this first misstep for a popular new government.

Opposition parties dropped everything, including substantive discussion of assisted dying legislation, to focus on #elbowgate. They wouldn't take sorry for an answer.

Precious House time was devoted to procedural manoeuvres designed to bring the prime minister before a parliamentary committee for another scolding.

The real story was lost in all the political drama.

Senate concerns about the current assisted dying legislation threaten to dwarf any hyperbolic Commons storm.

The Red Chamber pre-study of proposed legislation, released last week, highlighted multiple requests for necessary amendments.

The government faces its first real test on whether a non-partisan Senate can function in practice as well as in theory.

Independent Liberal Senate leader Jim Cowan, and Conservative Senator Denise Batters took to the airwaves to offer articulate arguments for their recommended changes to the legislation.

Batters, whose firsthand knowledge of the subject involved the death of her husband and former Member of Parliament Dave Batters, is a nationally recognized mental illness advocate.

Some parliamentary objections focus on the exclusion of mentally ill persons and minors from eligibility for suicide assistance. Others deal with the restrictions related to terminal illness.

Trudeau has underscored the importance of a Senate, which is free from the shackles of party politics. But now his government faces the real possibility that this independent Senate could kill the bill.

The Liberals insist that the law must be enacted within the next two weeks, to meet a June 6 deadline set by the Supreme Court for replacement legislation.

That judicial deadline has caused much of the stress and prompted the government to try to impose controversial procedural limitations on Parliament.

The House of Commons has become a powder keg. The place really needs a cooling off period.

Pushing legislation through will not improve the atmosphere in Parliament. Given Senate and opposition reticence, speed may not even be possible. The government's decision to withdraw its debate-limiting motion was a great start.



Elbowgate: Prime Minister Justin Trudeau lost his temper on May 18 when he marched across the House Chamber, grabbed Conservative Whip Gordon Brown by the arm, and unintentionally elbowed NDP MP Ruth Ellen Brosseau in the chest. Screen capture image from CPAC

Trudeau should take advantage of an opening provided last week by a unanimous Alberta court judgment authorizing a mentally ill person, not confronting a terminal illness, to receive assistance in dying.

The Liberals could take the time to review this contrary-minded ruling and reconsider opposition and Senate amendments.

The Alberta ruling could be appealed, while the government concurrently sends proposed legislative changes to the Supreme Court for review.

This tactic would permit time to elapse during which the government could build a stronger consensus.

Trudeau needs some well-deserved downtime before implementing a bill so fraught with controversy.

To reinforce his mantra of doing government differently, the prime minister needs to engage

the Opposition and the Senate on the substance of this issue.

He also needs to get all Liberal members on board.

Rob Oliphant, the respected co-chair of the parliamentary committee studying assisted suicide, has already announced he cannot support the legislation. He sent an early signal that the proposed law would face a rough Parliamentary ride.

The summer solstice is three weeks away. An expedited judicial review could carry the matter into the fall session.

Parliament could incorporate judicial advice into drafting of a new charter-compliant bill.

That might help keep all elbows tucked in.

Sheila Copps is a former Jean Chrétien-era Cabinet minister and a former deputy prime minister. She's a registered lobbyist.

The Hill Times

POST-PARTISAN PUNDIT CONSERVATIVES & MEDIA

Conservatives need a media truce

Anyway, what I'm trying to say here is the Conservatives need to come up with a communications plan that's better than the one they've been relying on for the past 10 years or so, which is to blindly wage war against the media. That's just bad tactics.



GERRY NICHOLLS

OKAVILLE, ONT.—When the federal Conservatives congregate in Vancouver this week for their biannual convention, lots of topics are sure to be debated and discussed.

They'll debate and discuss economic platforms and social issues; leadership questions and environmental policy; internal polling results and fundraising tactics, all of which leads me to wonder if they'll have time for another topic that needs discussing, i.e. the Conservative Party's rocky relationship with the news media.

Wait, "rocky" is the wrong adjective.

Hang on while I consult my thesaurus so I can rephrase my point with more accurate modifiers.

Okay, let's try this: the Conservative Party's relationship with the media can be deemed as poisonous, toxic, hostile, and venomous.

Yeah, that's more like it.

Anyway, what I'm trying to say here is the Conservatives need to come up with a communications plan that's better than the

one they've been relying on for the past 10 years or so, which is to blindly wage war against the media.

That's just bad tactics.

As the old adage goes, "Never argue with someone who buys ink by the barrel."

Ideally, rather than battling the media, a political party should seek to create something akin to a symbiotic relationship with journalists.

In other words, the media and politicians should each gain from their interactions.

The media should gain—free of charge interesting news content, while a political party should gain—free of charge—publicity for their messaging.

And yes, I know that's probably a naïve assessment.

After all, the media and politicians tend to mistrust each other. Journalists fear politicians are either manipulative or too secretive; while politicians suspect journalists will purposely distort their message or ignore it altogether.

This is especially true for conservative politicians who tend

to assume that the majority of the media harbor a left-wing, anti-Conservative Party bias.

And while this skepticism about the media has always been prevalent among conservatives, it came to dominate the Conservative Party's mindset under the leadership of Stephen Harper.

Indeed, it's probably safe to say, Harper treated the media with something approaching contemptuous disdain.

And while this may have been emotionally satisfying for many Conservatives, it didn't result in positive news coverage.

Quite the opposite, in fact.

That's why Conservatives need to change this dynamic.

By the way, I'm not saying Conservatives need to ingratiate themselves with journalists; I'm simply saying they need to cultivate a professional relationship with the media so they can have an outlet for amplifying their message.

But what if the media really is biased against Conservatives?

Doesn't matter.

If you give the media quality content—colourful and quotable

sound bites, an intriguing narrative, a dramatic policy position—you'll get coverage because even biased journalists can't resist a good news story.

And getting coverage should always be the goal, because that translates into getting your message out to as many people as possible.

That's not to say, Conservatives should refrain from openly taking on the media if they are being treated unfairly.

But it should be done in a way that doesn't harm the party's image.

Former U.S. president Ronald Reagan, for instance, once took a jab at the press when he said to a reporter, "It's my job to solve all the country's problems, and it's your job to make sure no one finds out about it."

In this case, Reagan got his point across about media bias using humor instead of venom.

That's good messaging.

At any rate, I'm just saying maybe media relations should be something the Conservatives kick around at their convention.

It might produce better results than simply kicking the media.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant. www.gernicholls.com

The Hill Times

GLOBAL AFFAIRS SYRIA

Syria: the Russians were right

Great states never admit mistakes, so there will be no apology from Washington for all the anti-Russian propaganda of the past year. But it is enough that the U.S. government has actually changed its tune, and that there is a little bit of hope for Syria.



GWYNNE DYER

LONDON, ENGLAND—"The Russians had a more realistic analysis of the situation than practically anybody else," said Lakhdar Brahimi, the former United Nations Special Envoy to Syria. "Everyone should have listened to the Russians a little bit more than they did."

Brahimi was referring to the Russian offer in 2012 to end the growing civil war in Syria by forcing the country's dictator, Bashar al-Assad, to leave power. The Russian proposal went before the UN Security Council, but the United States, Britain, and France were so convinced that Assad was about to fall anyway that they turned it



U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry and Polish Foreign Minister Waszczykowski, pictured Feb. 17, 2016, before their bilateral meeting in Washington, D.C. Gwynne Dyer writes that Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov has wisely given Mr. Kerry equal billing in the ceasefire initiative, and there has been no crowing in Moscow about the Americans finally seeing the light. *U.S. State Department Photograph*

down. Why let the Russians take the credit?

So Assad is still in power, several hundred thousand more Syrians have died, and millions more have fled. But Brahimi's comments are still relevant, because the Russians are still right.

Finally, very reluctantly, the United States is coming around to the long-standing Russian position that the secular Baathist regime in Syria must survive, as part of some compromise peace deal that everybody except the Islamist extremists will accept (although nobody will love it).

Such a deal back in 2012 would have involved the departure from power of Bashar al-Assad himself, and it could still do so today. He's mostly just a figurehead anyway. He was living in England, studying to be an optometrist, until the death of his elder brother made him the inevitable heir to the presidency that his father, Hafez al-Assad, had held for 30 years.

It's the Baathist regime's secular character that makes it so important. Its leadership is

certainly dominated by the Alawite (Shia) minority, but it has much broader popular support because all Syria's non-Muslim minorities, Christian and Druze, see it as their only protection from Islamist extremists. Many Sunni Muslims, especially in the cities, see it the same way. They also see it as the one Arab government in the region that has always defied Israel.

The deal that the Russians could have delivered in 2012 would have ditched Bashar al-Assad but left the Baathist regime in place, while compelling it to broaden its base, dilute Alawite influence, and stop torturing and murdering its opponents. An overconfident West rejected that deal, while its local "allies," Turkey and Saudi Arabia, gave weapons and money to the Islamist rebels who aimed to replace the Baathists with a Sunni Muslim theocracy.

Fast forward to 2015, and by mid-summer the Islamist forces, mainly Islamic State and al-Qaeda, control more than a third of Syria's territory. The exhausted Syrian army is retreating every time it is attacked

(Palmyra, Idlib, etc.), and it's clear to Moscow that all of Syria will fall to the Islamists unless Russia intervenes militarily. So it does.

When the Russian air force started attacking the Syrian rebels on Sept. 30 last year, Western propaganda went into high gear to condemn it. Russian President Vladimir Putin "doesn't distinguish between ISIL [Islamic State] and a moderate Sunni opposition that wants to see Mr. Assad go," said U.S. president Barack Obama. "From [the Russian perspective] they're all terrorists—and that's a recipe for disaster."

All America's sidekicks said the same thing. "These [Russian] military actions constitute a further escalation and will only fuel more radicalization and extremism," said France, Germany, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, the U.S., and Britain in a joint statement on Oct. 2.

The Russians simply ignored the Western propaganda and went on bombing until they had stopped the Islamist advances and stabilized the front. Then they proposed a ceasefire.

The brutal truth is that there is no "moderate Sunni opposition" in Syria anymore. Almost all of the remaining "moderate" groups have been forced into alliances with al-Qaeda's local franchise, the Nusra Front, and the deal that the Russians might have brokered in 2012 is no longer available. The ceasefire they proposed in late 2015 deliberately left the Islamist groups out—and the United States (better late than never) went along with it.

That ceasefire has now been in effect for more than three months, and although there are many violations it has significantly lowered the level of violence in Syria. In the longer term, the Russians might be able to produce sufficient changes in the Baathist regime (including Assad's departure) that some of the non-Islamist fighting groups might break their alliances with al-Qaeda and accept an amnesty from Damascus.

Maybe even the Islamist-controlled areas can be re-conquered eventually. Or maybe not: it's a bit late for a peace settlement that preserves Syria's territorial integrity. But at least the U.S. State Department has finally abandoned the fantasy of a "moderate" rebel force that could defeat both the regime and the Islamist rebels in Syria, and instead is going along with the Russian strategy.

Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov has wisely given U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry equal billing in the ceasefire initiative, and there has been no crowing in Moscow about the Americans finally seeing the light.

Great states never admit mistakes, so there will be no apology from Washington for all the anti-Russian propaganda of the past year. But it is enough that the U.S. government has actually changed its tune, and that there is a little bit of hope for Syria.

Gwynne Dyer is an independent journalist whose articles are published in 45 countries.

The Hill Times

INSIDE POLITICS LEADERSHIP

Don't discount Chong, Lisée bids for leadership

The GTA MP is calling on his party to not only join the climate change parade but to also embrace carbon pricing.



CHANTAL HÉBERT

MONTREAL—As Stéphane Dion demonstrated by snatching the Liberal crown from under the noses of Michael Ignatieff and Bob Rae a decade ago, it is poor form as well as potentially short-sighted to dismiss the possibility of an 11th-hour leadership upset out of hand.

On that basis, let's postulate at the outset that former Conserva-

tive and Parti Québécois ministers Michael Chong and Jean-François Lisée are no less qualified to lead their respective parties than the men they—as of Monday—officially seek to succeed.

But it is neither their credentials nor their momentum that make the latest entries in the Conservative and PQ contests must-watch additions to the leadership lineup of their parties.

Neither is currently riding anything resembling even the beginning of a wave of support.

Chong is a progressive in a Conservative party that has eliminated the word from its label. He is the only leadership aspirant (declared or undeclared) to have voted for the Liberals' assisted-death bill earlier this month. He supports same-sex marriage.

At his news conference, he had nothing but good words for former prime minister Brian Mulroney. Chong resigned from Stephen Harper's first cabinet in protest over the Quebec nation resolution. None of this will stand him in good stead with some sizable constituencies within his party.

Perhaps because Lisée served as a senior adviser to Quebec premiers Jacques Parizeau and Lucien Bouchard, or because he was a journalist for too long, he has the pesky habit of speaking truth to power.

At the time of the last year's PQ leadership campaign, he broke a party omerta of sorts by pointing out that Pierre Karl Péladeau's dual status as a media tycoon and a party leader was a recipe for trouble. That rubbed so many PQ members the wrong way that he had to abandon his own leadership bid.

If Lisée's caucus colleagues were choosing a leader among themselves, he would not stand a chance.

And yet, Lisée and Chong may be the candidates most likely to bring a chilly breath of mainstream air inside the stifling PQ and Conservative tents.

Lisée thinks his party is unlikely to win the next election let alone a majority government unless it commits to a referendum-free mandate. As leader he would bolt the door to a third plebiscite on Quebec's political future for the PQ's first four years in power.

He believes it will take years to recreate optimal conditions for a winning vote on sovereignty. With this stance, Lisée will not make many friends among the most fervent sovereigntist crowd but he may force his leadership rivals to have a more adult conversation about the two-decade old disconnect between the PQ's central tenet and the consistent will of a majority of Quebecers to avoid another showdown over their political future.

Ditto in the case of Chong and the Conservatives. The GTA MP is calling on his party to not only join the climate change parade but to also embrace carbon pricing. That only sounds like a no-brainer—given that most provinces are already on side—until you consider that Harper's last caucus spent the past few years talking down carbon pricing as a job-killing tax at every opportunity.

The Conservative leadership vote will be held next spring. It is hard to handicap the race until two of Harper's former senior ministers declare their intentions.

Peter MacKay has consistently held in first place in every

leadership-related poll. Jason Kenney has a political organization second to none. With both of them in, the Conservative contest would at least initially be a two-tier battle; without them the playing field would be more level.

By comparison and by the current federal standard of marathon leadership campaigns, the PQ contest will be over in a blink of the eye.

PKP's successor will be chosen before Thanksgiving. The PQ campaign will mostly be a summer event.

That is somewhat appropriate given that it was only a year ago that the party held a leadership vote that featured many of the same players. In a season traditionally devoted to reruns, Lisée's entry should help make this one worth a look.

In Quebec and on Parliament Hill, last Monday was a good day for leadership watchers.

Chantal Hébert is a national affairs writer for *The Toronto Star*. This column was released on May 17.

The Hill Times

THE WAR ROOM ELBOWGATE

Trudeau should never have gotten out of his seat, he comes undone

What was once youthful and fresh now looks too young and arrogant. In a matter of minutes, Justin Trudeau undid his good reputation with all but the most rabid Liberal partisan.



WARREN KINSELLA

TORONTO—On the night in question, I was at an event in Toronto honouring Sen. Murray Sinclair. As it was getting underway, I received a text message from one of the Members of Parliament who had been at the very centre of it all.

“He should not have been out of his seat,” the text said. “This was a big error on his part.”

The “error” was an actual physical confrontation on the floor of the House of Commons, just like the ones they have in the Taiwanese Parliament. The “he” was the Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau.

Until former justice Sinclair spoke, everyone in the room stared at their devices, periodically shaking their heads in wonder. Ten observations, from afar:

1. The law: When the prime minister intentionally grabbed and yanked the Conservative whip—much like Donald Trump’s campaign manager recently did to a reporter—it met the Criminal Code definition of assault. When he elbowed an NDP MP Ruth Ellen Brosseau, it didn’t. The elbow in Brosseau’s chest likely met the civil definition of assault, however. If she had later experienced bruising, things could have gotten quite complicated for the Liberal leader. Either way, if the physical stuff had happened off the Hill—in someone else’s workplace, for instance—charges, lawsuits, and firings would have been the almost inevitable result.

2. The internet: Live by social media, die by it. The prime minister has assiduously cultivated attention online, and especially internationally. When he took leave of his senses last Wednesday night, his actions became front-

page news around the world. You cannot seek attention and then, having gotten it, complain that it is too critical. Many Liberal partisans are still doing just that, and they sound like the Conservative partisans they replaced. They sound pathetic.

3. The optics: The boxing photos are over. So, too, the earnest claims to being a feminist. The moment a man applies force in a way that it hurts a woman—inadvertent or not—it changes both, and the man is a feminist no more. If the country learned anything from the Ghomeshi trial, it is that.

4. The Liberals: This appalling episode has revealed the Liberal House leader to possess a genial authoritarian streak. It has shown that the Liberal whip is in fully over his head, and wholly incapable of controlling his troops. It does not reflect well on the Speaker, either, because it is now apparent he does not oversee the Commons very well. And the prime minister? Well, what was once youthful and fresh now looks too young and arrogant. In a matter of minutes, he undid his good reputation with all but the most rabid Liberal partisan.

5. The NDP: As is their wont, they overplayed their hand, calling the elbow to Brosseau a deliberate criminal assault when

any of the lawyers in their caucus could have told them it was not. Mulcair looked like the enraged father who was defending a daughter who had been manhandled, however, and it was an understandable response. Trudeau’s return to the scene of the alleged crime—to confront Mulcair, apparently, and toss around a few “F” bombs—wasn’t understandable at all. It was another huge lapse in judgment.

6. The Conservatives: If they’re smart, they will keep their cool, and stay above the (literal) fray. Referring the matter to committee was a shrewd move—it will ensure the controversy will be kept alive for weeks. Stephen Harper being in the House when it all happened? It’s a safe bet that he was smiling, somewhere, on Wednesday night.

7. The cause: Some Liberals will claim there was a need to invoke closure, and radically change the rules of the House, to ensure the right-to-die legislation met the Supreme Court’s deadline. That is spurious and false. One, a matter of conscience should never, ever be rushed. Two, Canadian physicians were given sufficient guidelines in the high court’s ruling, and are applying them. Three, the bill was always going to be amended and delayed

in the Senate. What, therefore, was the damn rush?

8. The footage: It is going to be replayed over and over. It is going to figure in the next election campaign. It is going to be as ubiquitous as the Zapruder footage. When you watch it, you cannot help but lose respect for any number of participants. It is bad.

9. The precedent: I worked for Jean Chrétien back in February 1996, on the frosty day of the now-famous Shawinigan Handshake. That incident, and this one, are not analogous. Chrétien faced a threat, Trudeau did not. Chrétien was not the instigator of the confrontation, Trudeau was. Chrétien used force with a man, Trudeau used force in a way that hurt a woman. The Shawinigan Handshake became a positive for Chrétien. For Trudeau, this never will.

10. The contrast: Sitting there, listening to the extraordinarily thoughtful, kind, mature and reserved words of Senator Sinclair, I was struck by something else. I turned to my wife, a Liberal and a feminist, and said: “Senator Sinclair sounds like a prime minister. Tonight, the prime minister doesn’t look like a prime minister.”

Something changed rather dramatically, last Wednesday night. Per Buffalo Springfield, something happened, here. What it is ain’t exactly clear.

This much is true, however: for Justin Trudeau, none of it was good.

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The Hill Times

DIGITAL WORLD TPP

In search of a ‘Plan B’ to the TPP

Canada already has an alternate blueprint for a trade strategy to open up key markets throughout Asia.



MICHAEL GEIST

The government’s public consultation on the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) has stopped in Vancouver, Calgary, and Montreal in recent weeks as a growing number of people speak out on the agreement. Tens of thousands have also written to the government on the issue with some beginning to consider trade strategy alternatives.

The interest in other trade options stems from three developments. First, the TPP may not have sufficient support to take effect since under the terms of agreement both Japan and the United States must be among the ratifying countries. Implementation has been delayed in Japan

where politicians fear a political backlash and seems increasingly unlikely in the U.S., where the remaining presidential candidates have tried to outdo one another in their opposition to the deal.

Both Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders have been outspoken critics of the TPP from start of their campaigns. Meanwhile, Hillary Clinton has shifted her position from supporter to critic, recently unequivocally stating that, “I oppose the TPP agreement and that means before and after the election.” Some TPP supporters have held out hope that the TPP could be passed during the “lame duck” session in Congress that occurs immediately after the U.S. election, but with all presidential candidates campaigning against it, finding the necessary political support will be exceptionally difficult.

Second, economic analysis of the TPP suggests that there are few benefits for Canada. For example, a recent C.D. Howe study found that the Canadian gains may be very modest, with some gains offset by losses on issues such as copyright and an outflow of royalties. Given the limited effect of staying out (the study describes the initial impact as “negligible,”) some have suggested that killing the agreement might be a good thing for the country.

The C.D. Howe study, which



Canada’s International Trade Minister Chrystia Freeland has been placed in a tough position, inheriting an increasingly unpopular agreement her government did not negotiate. The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright

is consistent with several other reports that found that TPP benefits to Canada are among the lowest of the 12 countries, should not come as a surprise. Canada already has free trade deals with several key agreement partners, including the U.S., Mexico, Chile, and Peru. Moreover, some Canadian business sectors have told the government they would be better off removing inter-provincial trade barriers before working to open markets like Vietnam and Malaysia.

Third, at hearings across Canada, there has been consistent concern with the TPP’s potential impact on many other issues,

including health-care costs, copyright, digital rights, labour rights, and environmental protections (I was invited as a witness earlier this month at a hearing in Ottawa). Some of these issues may be more difficult to quantify, but the growing chorus of criticism points to risks popping up throughout the fine print of the agreement.

If the TPP dies—or Canada decides not to ratify—what might a “Plan B” look like?

Canada already has an alternate blueprint for a trade strategy to open up key markets throughout Asia. By the government’s own admission, the Canada-EU

Trade Agreement offers a better investor-state dispute settlement system than the TPP, while the Canada-South Korea free trade agreement, which was concluded in 2014, eliminates tariffs without requiring an overhaul of Canadian or South Korean laws. There are criticisms of both of those deals, but they offer better models than the TPP.

The target markets are easy to identify. The Canadian government has begun to rethink its engagement with China and has already made some progress on trade negotiations with Japan and India, two of the most important Asian markets. Concluding those deals will not be easy, but they do point to the potential for expanding Canada’s trade presence in Asia without the need for the TPP.

Canada’s International Trade Minister Chrystia Freeland has been placed in a tough position, inheriting an increasingly unpopular agreement her government did not negotiate. As the TPP consultation continues—a public town hall is planned for Toronto later this week—a Plan B focused on opening markets through bilateral trade deals that better represent Canadian interests may emerge as the preferred alternative trade strategy.

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The Hill Times

EQUAL VOICE GENDER POLITICS



While Sophie Grégoire Trudeau is not the first spouse of a prime minister to have a particularly public role and NDP MP Christine Moore is not the first MP to give birth while in office, little has changed since the early days of Parliament to address the realities for women who find themselves in these positions.
The Hill Times
 photographs by
 Jake Wright

long-entrenched structural and gendered norms regarding public expectations of how they—as women—fulfill their responsibilities, whether elected or otherwise. While Grégoire Trudeau is not the first spouse of a prime minister to have a particularly public role (intended or otherwise) and Moore is not the first MP to give birth while in office, little has changed since the early days of Parliament to address the realities for women who find themselves in these positions.

In fact, many parliamentary tenants have not changed at all since Parliament's inception in 1867. As a consequence, women are asked or assumed to "just make do" without any particular modifications or adjustments, whatever their life circumstances and regardless of the personal or professional costs. It is the epitome of a gender-blind approach which assumes that women's experiences as elected women and/or spouses to those elected should have no bearing on the day-to-day functioning of Parliament. Individual women must simply adapt because anything else, such as addressing the challenges or seeking structural change, risks asking too much of the institution itself, let alone the public who sanction its operations. Too many have remained silent as a consequence.

The degree of gender blindness demonstrated towards, and by, many Parliamentarians themselves may explain why there is a fully functioning daycare on Parliament Hill to which MPs have had virtually no access. Even at present, there is no specific accommodation for the very real and urgent needs of elected representatives who have infants. It may also explain why, until this moment, the prime minister's spouse, whomever she (or he) might be, has had few tangible mechanisms to access additional support in response to the unsolicited public engagement Canadians seek from the person in this position. Such a gender-blind approach is also woven into Canada's political system writ large and could help to explain why Canada is stalled at 26 per cent elected women in the House, ranking 60th in the world.

In the coming weeks, the House Affairs Committee will be making key recommendations on creating the conditions for a more inclusive Parliament. They have heard from many groups, including both spouses' associations on the Hill, the Vanier Institute on the Family, Ontario MPP Lisa MacLeod who championed changes at Ontario's Queen's Park, as well as Equal Voice. The recommendations from this committee could go a long way to changing the environment.

But to do so, the committee and party leaders in the House will need to be unwavering, and non-partisan in their commitment to changing the structure of parliamentary life so that the very real and vital role women do play on and off the Hill, elected and otherwise, is not just recognized, but leveraged. Otherwise, gender-blind policies, and outcomes, will continue to prevail not just for Parliamentarians, but for the vast majority of women in Canada.

Nancy Peckford is with Equal Voice Canada.
The Hill Times

Equal Voice's five-point plan for an inclusive Parliament

Christine Moore and Sophie Grégoire-Trudeau are up against long-entrenched structural and gendered norms regarding public expectations of how they—as women—fulfill their responsibilities, whether elected or otherwise.



NANCY PECKFORD

OTTAWA—It would be no exaggeration to say that most MPs are relieved to be en route to their ridings to undertake, for a whole week, the arguably more rewarding work of connecting with their constituents.

This past week, the temperature in the House rose to its highest in this relatively new session—largely as a result of the gravity of the work at hand. Apart from the prime minister's unusual conduct in the House on Wednesday

evening for which he quickly and unreservedly apologized, developments in the lead-up, including a nearly lost vote on a government bill (as a consequence of some opposition manoeuvring) and proposals to time limit debate, clearly upped the ante.

The moral of this story? Parliament is a challenging environment at the best of times and the massive pressures MPs and parties are under, even with a new "sunnier" government, are not to be underestimated. With nearly two-thirds of Canada's MPs being newly-elected, the learning curve has been steep and the legislative agenda intense. The significant toll of serving in office is just now being fully felt among MPs and their families after a long six months. MPs have embarked upon the commute to Ottawa and back at least 20 times since late January alone, and have spent far more weekdays in Ottawa than they have in their communities. The irregular schedule in Ottawa often means 12- to 14-hour days for MPs on the Hill, with equally long days in the riding as they play catch up with constituents and family.

Between their riding and parliamentary duties, as well as any family commitments, there are, quite simply, no hours to spare. On average, MPs are representing approximately 103,000 constituents per riding and sit a full third of the year in Ottawa. MPs are expected to fulfill many roles: community ambassador, ombudsman, champion, liaison, trouble shooter, legislator, event convener, spokesperson, party activist, fundraiser—and increasingly, parent/caregiver.

Further, MPs are reporting doing more casework than ever before to ensure Canadians' proper access to programs (health care, pensions, family and tax benefits, immigration) in the face of streamlining in the public service.

It is with this in mind that Equal Voice has proposed a five-point plan to create an inclusive Parliament for all. It includes: 1. Restructuring the parliamentary calendar to reduce the weekly commute for MPs; 2. Increased staffing for the average MP to support their riding and parliamentary activities; 3. Ensuring access to infant care for MPs with young children, as well as short term caregiver leave for critical moments at the beginning and end stages of life; 4. Better leveraging technology to enable MPs to undertake some parliamentary business from the riding; as well as 5. Tangible measures to improve the tone in the House, the prove the one that remains acutely apparent. Enough said.

These proposed innovations are fairly standard when compared to the progress being made in the broader public and private sectors. They would allow for the possibility of somewhat saner lives for MPs and their families. They could also go some distance to reducing the extremely high rates of separation and divorce among MPs, and would ensure the children of elected Members of the House actually get the benefit of both parents. In the absence of their implementation, there are ongoing and poignant reminders of the fallout.

Exhibit A: NDP MP Christine Moore. As I've noted previously in this column, she has been serving in this parliamentary session with her infant daughter in tow, who was born during the last election campaign. Often alone, as her spouse is based in the riding, Moore has relied heavily on friends and family while in Ottawa to get through this period for which there is no parental leave and little flexibility. Votes, debates, committee appearances, and other engagements have often involved her daughter on her lap or in the arms of supportive staffers. Every Friday when the House sits, Moore makes the long drive back to her riding, mostly alone, with her child. Her fortitude as an MP—and new mother—is admirable.

At the same time, wife of the prime minister, Sophie Grégoire Trudeau, has been under extreme scrutiny after inadvertent comments that revealed how much is on her plate, both publicly and privately. It's not surprising, given her husband's amplified responsibilities and, by extension, her own as a mother, partner, and advocate. Many have lashed out at her perceived privilege, even as she endeavours to raise a family of three young children, support her husband (who happens to lead the country), and carve out an independent role for herself as an advocate. Notably, Grégoire Trudeau is regarded by many as an inspiring role model given her public admission of her own life challenges, including an eating disorder and post-partum anxiety.

In both cases, Moore and Grégoire-Trudeau are up against

Race to win top Conservative spot gathering momentum

But if the Conservative Party is to be relevant to Canadians it needs a leader who understands the nature of the challenges we face, not a leader who clings to an irrelevant mantra of small government and low taxes.



DAVID CRANE

TORONTO—While it will be another year before the

Conservatives choose their next leader, the race to win the top Conservative spot is starting to gather momentum, with Maxime Bernier and Michael Chong both announcing this month, following Kellie Leitch, who announced last month. There will be other contestants, though some may wait to throw their hats in the ring until after Labour Day. The real test for the Conservatives will be whether they can find a leader who understands the reality of a diverse, urban Canada and can relate to the challenges that are most significant for Canada going forward into the next decade of the 21st century. So far, the signs are disappointing. Canada functions best when there is a strong opposition in Parliament, but a strong opposition that is relevant. Yet the Conservatives still seem wedded to small government and low taxes as their priorities, ignoring that we live in a mixed economy where economic prosperity depends on the combination of what Adam Smith called public goods and private initiative.

Canada's biggest challenges include: improving our productivity performance through innovation so that we have good jobs and the resources to meeting the health costs and other challenges of an aging society; transitioning smoothly to a sustainable low-carbon world; reducing income inequality by ensuring Canadians have the skills and opportunities to thrive in a much different kind of economy; enabling the transformation of aboriginal life for participation in modern society; meeting the housing and other needs of urban Canada; and maintaining and strengthening national unity. The foreseeable future is one of transformative and disruptive technological change and even more intense globalization, with much greater competition for investment and jobs. We are not well-prepared to deal with these challenges. But unless we can, our ability to sustain our way of life will be at risk and our future will be one of diminished expectations. It doesn't have to be that way. But meeting these challenges requires an active and engaged government. Yet the Conservatives still seem to believe that balancing the budget and cutting taxes are the magic panacea that will solve our problems. They are fixated by ideology rather than evidence. The most extreme view comes from Bernier. In a recent speech in the House of Commons budget debate, Bernier somewhat strangely argued that taxes and government borrowing reduce the amount of money available to entrepreneurs to invest and that economic growth is reduced as a result. In his view, it seems government spending and taxes can only be a drag on growth. Reminiscent of Karl Marx who believed there was a fixed

amount of work available, Bernier believes there is a fixed amount of money available and that if it is used by government, either from taxation or deficit financing, wealth creation will be lower because this money won't be available for investment. When government "spends or borrows, it prevents the private sector from spending, and we know that the private sector is better at creating wealth," he said. Government should reduce taxes for all entrepreneurs, reduce the regulatory burden and promote free trade, and the economy will take off in his laissez-faire world. Bernier doesn't get it. Business depends on many government programmes for its success, from education and training, infrastructure and investment in research and development to effective regulation that can create new markets, security, support for trade, and risk-sharing on new technologies, as well as the responsibility of demand management. Government is not a burden; it is an enabler. Many entrepreneurs depend on programmes such as the foreign trade commissioner service, the Export Development Bank, the Business Development Bank, the Industrial Research and Assistance Program grants and many other such programmes. Canada's venture capital market, and the availability of funding for tech start-ups, would be much smaller if not for federal and provincial leadership on venture capital. What we need are ways to make these types of programmes more effective, not ideological claims for small government. Yet Chong seems not much better. In announcing his candidacy, his focus as well was on tax cuts and

smaller government as Canada's big needs, along with balanced budgets. Deficits are bad in his view, short of an economic crisis, so he would restore misguided balanced budget legislation. Yet deficit government spending on research and infrastructure at a time of low economic growth and nearly free money will do more good than harm. He opposes the use of money from carbon pricing to help create a competitive Canadian green technology industry and the jobs that would result, saying that the money should go to tax cuts. Both, it seems, would have little use for an innovation strategy, leaving it to markets alone. What both ignore is that businesses have enjoyed a succession of tax cuts going all the way back to the Chrétien years, along with investment incentives and near-zero interest rates, yet Canadian companies have slashed spending on research and development and in manufacturing are still spending reduced amounts on innovation-generating machinery and equipment. If the Conservative Party is to be relevant to Canadians it needs a leader who understands the nature of the challenges we face, not a leader who clings to an irrelevant mantra of small government and low taxes. We are living in a world where an effective government and an innovative business sector need each other. So far, the Conservatives disappoint. Both Bernier and Chong seem hopelessly out of date when it comes to addressing Canada's productivity and innovation challenges—the essential sources of future jobs and prosperity. David Crane can be reached at crane@interlog.com. The Hill Times

BACKROOMS SOPHIE GRÉGOIRE TRUDEAU

Criticisms against Trudeau's nannies, wife's extra help wrongheaded

This debate reminds me of the one about the spending habits of our Senators. The debate is about rules that don't exist.



ANGELO PERSICILLI

TORONTO—The dispute over the two nannies for Justin Trudeau's children and now more staff for his wife, Sophie Grégoire Trudeau, is wrong in form and futile in substance. This is not about money; one or two salaries will not have

a major impact on the huge fiscal deficit and the increasing national debt we have. It amounts to nothing if compared to the real waste of taxpayers' money in government's spending, and we choose not to talk about it because it requires a lot of work and investigative journalism. This is about the role that the wife (or husband, whenever it will be) of a Canadian prime minister has to play. Contrary to the United States' first lady, Canada has no specific role for the wife of the prime minister and this debate reminds me of the one about the spending habits of our Senators. The context and the nature of the expenses are different, but the debate is about rules that don't exist. Common sense is not a precise set of rules and common sense allows some flexibility in its interpretation. I don't believe that the Trudeau family has gone beyond that flexibility. First, let me deal with the two nannies that, according to some,

the prime minister should be paying out of his "huge" salary. The prime minister of Canada makes \$327,000 a year, plus other perks. It is good money if compared to my salary or those of most Canadians. But many CEOs of medium-sized companies make easily more than \$1-million a year. There are journalists at private companies making more money than the prime minister. There are people working at Crown corporations like Canada Post, EDC, and the Bank of Canada who make more. Even the salary of the CBC's president, at between \$358,400 and \$421,600, is higher than that of the prime minister. Is it fair that the person in charge of the affairs of an entire country makes less than the people he is supposed to lead? It's nonsense. Still, nobody says anything about it because, we say, serving the people should be an honour and privilege, not a business.

For that honour and privilege, we want people leading governments to be more competent than the most successful businessman, more intelligent than a rocket scientist, as popular as a rock star, to have the body of Brad Pitt or Angelina Jolie, be as honest as Mother Teresa, and earn a lower salary than the owner of a corner store in Oakville. We might be lucky to find someone with the good looks of a movie star and the honesty of Mother Teresa, but smart too? Probably. But are we sure that a successful and intelligent person would give up success and millions of dollars to deal with media checking what kind of tie he buys, the suit he wears, the plane he rides, the hotel he sleeps in, if he kisses his children going to school, or how many times he goes to the washroom in a day? We might be lucky that these kinds of supermen or superwomen still exist, but I am sure that with this petty approach, we scare many away from politics. Justin Trudeau was wrong to use the previous child-benefit program to attack former prime minister Stephen Harper, but two wrongs don't make a right. Even more futile is the debate over the role of our "first lady." If Grégoire Trudeau wants to help promote Canada and Canadian values, she is welcome

to and the help should be appreciated. Of course, she might need more staff, but if done properly, the involvement of the prime ministers' partners in the official functions of government is positive for the image of the country. If she wants to play a more prominent public role, she must be praised. But at the same time, she must understand her rights to a private life are going to change and she should be prepared to be judged according to her job performance. Beyond that, any debate on this issue is a waste of time. I don't agree with some media reports letting us believe that Trudeau and his wife could walk on water. The jury on the quality and the effectiveness of his government is still out. However, I refuse to consider the new prime minister a hypocrite because of an issue based on some contradictions between statements made during the campaign and his behaviour in government (imagine that!) and because the wife wants a bigger public profile. Angelo Persichilli is a freelance journalist and a former citizenship judge for the Greater Toronto Area. He was also a director of communications to former prime minister Stephen Harper and is the former political editor of *Canadese*, Canada's Italian-language newspaper in Toronto. The Hill Times

INSIDE POLITICS ELECTORAL REFORM

Monsef is burning bridges with the electoral reform file

There is not yet a match for Paul Calandra on the Liberal side in the House of Commons but these days Democratic Institutions Minister Maryam Monsef is auditioning aggressively for the role.



CHANTAL HÉBERT

In parliamentary politics, little is more self-defeating than a minister who consistently

insults the intelligence of his or her critics. Sooner or later the approach inevitably backfires.

For a case in point one only needs to look at the last Parliament.

Former GTA MP Paul Calandra rose to fame in the House of Commons as Stephen Harper's last parliamentary secretary at a time when the Senate scandal was in full swing. In that capacity, it was he who would usually take questions from the opposition leaders when the prime minister was away. Obfuscation was Calandra's specialty. He seemed to take pride in turning question period into a gong show. In no time his desk became the place where issues of substance came to die.

For those with short memories, here is the answer he offered in response to a Liberal query about the Senate in December 2013: "I ask the Liberal party to join with us in protecting the citizenship of Santa Claus, join with us in making sure the North Pole remains part of Canada. For all of those kids around the world who are depending on Santa Claus, I ask them to abandon

their ideas and stick with us, and keep Santa Claus Canadian."

This is just one of a tiresome number of examples. At one point a website devoted to Calandra quotes was created. There was never a shortage of new material to refresh it. By the time he lost his seat last October, he had become the poster boy for the Conservative government's disdain for the contribution of the opposition parties to the parliamentary debate.

There is not yet a match for Calandra on the Liberal side in the House of Commons but these days Democratic Institutions Minister Maryam Monsef is auditioning aggressively for the role.

For the better part of a week, the minister in charge of fulfilling Justin Trudeau's promise of a new voting system in time for the 2019 election has failed to offer any concrete evidence that her government has an agenda other than having its own way with the electoral process.

Pressed by the opposition parties, she has defaulted to bromides. Like Calandra, she is prone to explanations that defy logic. The main difference is Monsef does it with a smile.

Her proposed electoral reform committee is to be dominated by the Liberals. It will report to a House where a Liberal majority calls the shot. On the notion that the government is stacking the decks in its partisan favour, most independent outsiders concur with the opposition. But Monsef maintains that the fate of the reform is in the hands of all MPs. It's clear the opposition is free to propose as long as it is the Liberals who dispose.

In response to Conservative calls for a referendum to be



By offering asinine answers to questions that resonate well beyond the opposition benches of the Commons, Democratic Institutions Minister Maryam Monsef, centre, has so far succeeded in burning bridges where she should have been building some. *The Hill Times* photograph by Cynthia Münster

held prior to the introduction of a different voting system the minister initially offered a tally of tweets on the issue of electoral reform. Had she read them Monsef might have found a groundswell of opposition to her chosen process.

Alternatively, the minister argues that a plebiscite is not an effective option to sound out Canadians on the way forward because some voters would decline to participate. The underlying contention is that summer-long government-controlled parliamentary hearings and town halls are more inclusive. It is an unsustainable proposition.

By offering asinine answers to questions that resonate well beyond the opposition benches of the Commons, Monsef has so far succeeded in burning bridges where she should have been building some. Even before it

has gotten underway the Liberal electoral reform process is largely discredited.

It would be tempting to put this train wreck to the inexperience of a rookie minister but a government can count on the benefit of the doubt for only so long.

In the case of Calandra, for instance, observers did initially wonder whether he might not simply be out of his depth. But at some point the answer ceased to matter, for no government minimally respectful of Parliament would have allowed its affairs to be conducted in such a farcical manner. The same will soon be true of Monsef's disingenuous handling of the electoral reform file.

Chantal Hébert is a national affairs writer for The Toronto Star. This column was released on May 19.

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The Hill Times*

OPINION ELECTORAL REFORM

Preferential ballots would make wedge politics less effective

Under the current system, once you have 40 per cent of voters, it doesn't matter what the rest think of you.



DEREK ABMA

Criticisms that the Liberal government is compromising the democratic principles it says it's defending by stacking the committee tasked with dealing with electoral reform with its own party members are justified, as are calls to subject changes in the way we elect governments to a referendum.

Yet beyond the political missteps in this process, it should be said that

the voting system the Liberals seem to favour—preferential ballots—is the best option.

The way this system usually works is that if one candidate doesn't get a majority of first-choice votes, the last-place candidate is dropped and the second-choice votes are distributed. If a majority is still not reached, the candidate with the next-fewest number of votes is dropped and their second choices and even the third choices of the ballots they gained in the first transfer are distributed. This keeps going until one candidate ends up with 50 per-cent-plus-one vote.

Some argue this system would favour the Liberals, since they are the middle-of-the road party poised to attract most of the second-choice votes from supporters of both the Conservatives and New Democrats.

But political realities are fluid and this advantage might not continue because moving to a preferential-ballot system could push all parties toward changes in the way they approach the electorate.

Currently, gaining support of something approaching 40 per cent of voters—amounting to about 25 to 30 per cent of the voting-age population when you factor in those who don't vote—is usually enough to get you a majority government. So it ends up being a sound political strategy to focus on a handful of priorities that are going to resonate strongly with 35 to 40 per cent of the population. Once you have this winning voter bloc, it doesn't matter what the rest think of you.

Not exactly nation building, is it? It is, however, a tried and tested method known as wedge politics.

But under the preferential voting system, it becomes less wise to champion highly divisive issues because even if you aren't someone's first choice, you definitely don't want to be their last.

Under this voting system, maybe the Harper Conservatives' wouldn't have been so narrowly focused on suburbanites with children and forgotten about urban singles, or maybe the

Trudeau Liberals' in last year's campaign would have included people making less than \$45,000 a year in their definition of "middle class" for the purpose of tax cuts.

It would push parties toward the mushy middle. It could make for boring politics as parties simply offer slightly different shades of vanilla. Even if it did, it would be the type of boring pollsters are telling politicians that Canadians want.

It might also force parties to be more creative because it would no longer be feasible to get a bunch of people to like you just by painting another party—and by extension, their supporters—in a negative light. Instead, the trick would be articulating ideas that have broad support.

Another option is proportional representation, in which the number of seats occupied by a party reflects their proportion of votes. The idea has merits, but it also takes away the element of every MP having a geographic constituency they are responsible to. Yes, in reality this idea of representing your riding as a

priority over your party is more theory than practice. But maybe the political culture of MPs can also evolve as the electoral system does.

Or you could leave things the way they are with the first-past-the-post (FPTP) system. It would break a Liberal election promise if this happened. Yet, if government does the right thing and puts this issue to a referendum, we must accept that people could reject electoral reform. Voters in both Ontario and British Columbia, within the last decade, have voted down proposals for changes in the way provincial governments are elected, preferring instead to stick with the FPTP devil they know.

While not perfect, FPTP has served Canada reasonably well over the last 150 years. While government power tends to exceed its degree of voter support, no true dictatorships have ever formed and FPTP has been an effective vehicle for sending governments packing when the time came.

But make no mistake, the country's voting system can be better, and when—and only when—Canadians are ready, preferential ballots should be their preference.

Derek Abma is deputy editor of The Hill Times.

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Telecom giant Shaw lobbies most in April

The Western Canadian cable company, which recently bought Wind Mobile and sold Global TV, was the most prolific lobbyist of federal officials last month.

Continued from page 1

There were two reports each that Shaw filed for contact with Justin To, a PMO policy adviser on the economy and innovation—April 28 and May 4—as well as David McFarlane, a policy director for Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains—April 28 and May 5.

A request for comment from Mr. Bains’ office was forwarded to Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada. Department spokeswoman Stéfanie Power said in an email that, “the government routinely meets with stakeholders in the telecommunications sector to discuss issues related to our objective to support competition, choice, and availability of services, as well as to foster a strong investment climate.”

Shaw has been involved in a couple of major transactions that had already received federal approval before any of this most recent lobbying took place. A \$2.65-billion transaction that transferred Shaw’s media division—including Global TV and several specialty channels—to Corus Entertainment Inc. was approved by the Canadian Radio-television and Communications Commission (CRTC) in late March and closed days later. However, both Shaw and Corus are controlled by Calgary’s Shaw family.

As well, Shaw Communications’ \$1.6-billion purchase of wireless service provider Wind Mobile closed in March following approvals from the Competition Bureau and the Innovation Department.

Separately, Wind Mobile registered a communication report for contact with several senior officials from Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada, including deputy minister John Knubley, on April 15, as well as Michael McNair, policy director at the PMO, and Liberal MP Greg Fergus (Hull-Aylmer, Que.).

Officials at Shaw declined to comment on the nature of the lobbying it did of the federal government last month.

Conservative MP Dan Albas (Central Okanagan-Silkmeleen-Nicola, B.C.) was among 34 MPs that Shaw registered having contact with last month, and most others were also Conservatives from the West. Mr. Albas said he had a “sit-down, introductory meeting” with Alayne Crawford, Shaw’s director of corporate affairs.

“Sounds like they’re doing this with a number of Members of Parliament, just to make sure we’re familiar with their compa-

ny,” Mr. Albas told *The Hill Times*. “[It was] a very basic discussion. I don’t think it took more than 15, 20 minutes, tops, and it was a pretty generic presentation. ... There was no direct ask. It was all just information.”

Telecommunication and broadcasting were listed as topics of discussion in most communication reports from Shaw.

Overall, telecommunications was listed in 125 communication reports in April, up from 50 the month before. Broadcasting turned up in 65 communication reports in April, up from 21 in March.

Among some of other lobbying from the telecom sector taking place last month, Telus Corp. had 12 communication reports in April, up from four in March. BCE Inc. (Bell) had 11, the same as the previous month. Rogers Communications Inc. had just one report in April after having none in March.

A recent initiative happening at the federal level that could have been of interest to Shaw and other telecommunications companies is the nearly three-week hearing the CRTC held last month on the question of whether broadband internet should be considered a basic service with guaranteed access anywhere in the country.

Also, Heritage Minister Mélanie Joly recently announced the launch of a wide-ranging consultation on Canadian content that some have speculated could result a reconsideration of some recent regulatory changes the CRTC has implemented, such as requiring TV-service providers to offer smaller packages of channels with more choice for consumers and lowering Canadian-content requirements for TV.

Len Katz, a former commissioner and interim chair of the CRTC, said the lobbying from Shaw and other telecommunications companies in April was likely related to the appeal from Bell against a CRTC decision last year that required bigger network operators to provide wholesale access to smaller service providers on fibre-to-the-home networks, which is next-generation technology offering super-fast internet speeds. Earlier this month, Innovation Minister Bains upheld the initial CRTC decision. The government had until July—a year after the decision was taken—to issue a ruling.

“To the extent it was already April ... and nothing was happening, I’m sure a lot of people were lobbying to find out what the timing was and which way the wind was blowing,” Mr. Katz said.

In general, he said the bigger telecom companies were been hoping the government would support Bell’s appeal, while smaller providers of internet service would have been pleased with its denial.

“The big companies were saying that if they’re going to invest in fibre-to-the-home, it’s very expensive and they were weren’t going to invest in order to give a competitor—a small ISP (internet-service provider)—the opportunity to undercut them in

the marketplace,” he said.

However, Mr. Katz said this argument is a “red herring” and bigger telecom companies will invest in fibre-to-the home, nonetheless.

“Bell competes with Rogers and Shaw competes with Telus, and that’s where the real competitive forces are,” he said. “And for one company to sort of cut back their investment leaves the other carrier the opportunity to leapfrog them and to promote the fact they have better infrastructure and more fibre and faster services.”

Mr. Katz added that Shaw’s concerns might also be related to the attempt by Bell to purchase Manitoba Telecom Services Inc. for \$3.9-billion, which needs approval from the Innovation Department, the Competition Bureau, and the CRTC. He noted that Bell has offered to sell about one-third of MTS’ wireless subscriber base, or 140,000 accounts, to Telus as a way of easing concerns the government might have over Bell acquiring too big a share of the Manitoba’s wireless market.

Mr. Katz said Shaw might also be hoping to get something out of this proposed Bell-MTS deal for its Wind wireless division.

“I’m sure if you can acquire customers by just writing a cheque, it’s a lot easier than having to acquire them one at a time in the open market, and I’m sure Shaw, to the extent they have their Wind business, was looking for some opportunity get some customers there as well,” he said.

Mr. Katz noted that Wind does not currently operate in Manitoba, “but if they were given 100,000 customers or something, they may find a way of opening up a network there and building it out.”

Bell announced its proposed acquisition of MTS on May 2. When asked if April lobbying from Shaw might still have had something to do with this deal, Mr. Katz said: “Yes. These deals don’t happen overnight. [Bell and MTS have] likely been in discussions for several weeks.”

Mr. To, the PMO adviser who met with Shaw twice last month, was a registered federal lobbyist working for MTS up until November, according to documents in the federal lobbyists’ registry.

A consultant lobbyist based in Ottawa, who handles telecom matters and declined to be identified, said he doubts that Bell’s appeal of the CRTC fibre decision was a major factor in Shaw’s lobbying, otherwise it would not have been so focused on opposition MPs.

“If you want to lobby on that, then you want to lobby the government, not the opposition,” he said.

This person said, based on the fact that so many rural MPs were contacted by Shaw, it could be interested in participating in the government’s \$500-million program to increase broadband internet coverage in rural and remote areas over the next five years.

“They’re trying to till the ground for something that’s coming up,” he said.

Bram Abramson, chief regulatory officer with independent ISP TekSavvy Solutions Inc., also



Shaw’s Alayne Crawford met with Conservative MP Dan Albas last month. Shaw Communications was the busiest lobbyist of federal officials last month. Telecommunication and broadcasting were listed as topics of discussion in most communication reports from Shaw. *The Hill Times* photographs by Jake Wright

cited the government program to extend broadband internet rurally as a possible reason why Shaw and other telecom providers would be lobbying federal officials right now.

TekSavvy has four communication reports filed for this year. It reported contact with Stevie O’Brien and Leslie Sherban, both from the office of Public Services Minister Judy Foote, and separately with Liberal MP Fergus (Hull-Aylmer, Que.), all on May 10. As well, TekSavvy had contact on March 23 with Liberal MP Steven MacKinnon (Gatineau, Que.) and Mr. McFarlane from the innovation minister’s office.

Mr. Abramson said: “Part of this is certainly driven by the fact we can see the large communications service providers are active, so we’ve been interested in making sure we get to see some of the folks in Ottawa who weigh in on some of these key issues, especially wholesale telecommunications markets, which are so core to our business.”

Abramson said TekSavvy also has an interest in the government’s plans to support broadband expansion to rural areas. He noted that TekSavvy, in partnership with another company called Execulink Telecom, was awarded a \$3.15-million contract last year from the former Conservative government to provide broadband connections to more than 11,000 homes in southwestern Ontario.

That was part of a \$305-million program the Harper government announced in 2014. The Liberal government said in March that about one-fifth of that allocation was left unspent.

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BY THE NUMBERS

APRIL LOBBYING

30 busiest lobbying groups in April

Number of communication reports

Shaw Communications	41
Canadian Foodgrains Bank	34
Canadian Life and Health Insurance Association	31
Results Canada	29
Canadian Franchise Association	28
Canadian Cattlemen’s Association	26
Canadian National Railway	23
Mining Association of Canada	18
Heart and Stroke Foundation of Canada	16
Forest Products Association of Canada	15
National Airlines Council of Canada	15
Bombardier	14
Canadian Bankers Association	12
Canadian Media Producers Association	12
Federation of Canadian Municipalities	12
Janssen	12
Polytechnics	12
Queen’s University	12
Telus	12
Bell	11
Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers	11
Christian Medical and Dental Society of Canada	11
Imperial Tobacco	11
Juvenile Diabetes Research Foundation	11
Lone Pine Resources	11
Shell Canada	11
Archdiocese of Toronto	11
Universities Canada	11
University of Alberta	11
University of Waterloo	11

Source: Federal lobbyists’ registry

SPARKING INNOVATION

Collaboration is necessary for change

On May 18, Hill Times Events presented a sold-out panel discussion on Sparking Innovation. Denise Amyot, president and CEO of Colleges & Institutes Canada presented the findings of a recently released survey on applied research, which finds that Canada is falling behind its international competitors on key measures of innovation. Following Ms. Amyot's remarks, Catherine Clark moderated an expert panel on what can and must be done to position Canada as an innovation leader.

Growing the R&D potential of colleges and institutes is crucial



Denise Amyot, *president and CEO, Colleges and Institutes Canada*

It's an exciting time for innovation in Canada. With a new government busy reflecting on our innovation opportunities and challenges, CICan is thrilled to showcase how colleges and institutes serve as innovation catalysts in their communities across the country. In 2014-15 alone, more than 5,500 private sector firms turned to college/institute R&D services, ranging from conception to commercialization. Satisfaction with these partnerships is evidenced by the investments businesses themselves made, matching federal funding dollar for dollar. Growing this potential is critical to Canada's future innovation success. Right now, colleges and institutes have access to only 2.4% of federal research funding and just 5% of faculty and 3% of students are currently involved in research projects. Just imagine what we can accomplish with more support.

Engaging the next generation is key



Kenneth Knox, *chair of the Science, Technology & Innovation Council*

With a federal government committed to positioning Canada as a global innovation leader, "the stars are aligned" to improve Canada's innovation performance. Three ideas to consider: 1) Applied research done in colleges must serve as a catalyst for business R&D, not a replacement for it. 2) Canada's science, technology and innovation ecosystem is a system, and we must treat it that way by working more collaboratively, inclusively and strategically. 3) With the full understanding that education is a provincial/territorial responsibility, we need to look at our education system in a more national, integrated way. We must ensure it prepares our youth for tomorrow's reality, and improve the way we teach science, technology and innovation. This includes engaging more students and faculty in applied research activities.



Bettina Hamelin, *vice-president, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada*

The Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada invests in both, discovery driven research and in collaborative research between industry, universities and colleges. This is to develop world-leading discoveries and to de-risk R&D for companies by providing access to knowledge, expertise and infrastructure. By responding to the needs of over 5500 companies, Colleges and Institutes are a major part of the collaborative innovation system. The College and Community Innovation program, NSERC's greater than \$50M Flagship College program, has enabled capacity-building across Canada. For example, a network of more than 25 active Technology Access Centers offer R&D services to local companies and has made Canada attractive to international partners, who establish operations here and create jobs. College/industry research partnerships spark innovations with measurable impacts in communities and nurture the entrepreneurial young talent of the present and future.



Guy Levesque, *vice president, programs and performance, Canada Foundation for Innovation*

Our two biggest opportunities for Canada's future prosperity are generational change and attitude change: students in our colleges and universities embody these shifts and are ready to seize the innovation challenge before us. They have grown up in a hyper-connected, hyper-accessible environment; collectively they understand the world they live in like no other generation. The reality they know is open, shared, collaborative. We have a responsibility to this generation, to meet their needs and expectations in a way that "sparks the innovation flame." And we can do this by offering meaningful learning experiences, providing entrepreneurial mentoring and creating open, collaborative innovation accelerators where they can succeed — and fail. The Canada Foundation for Innovation contributes to the promise this generation holds by supporting state-of-the-art equipment and facilities where students get cutting-edge skills and work with private-sector partners.



Marc Fares, *vice president, digital technologies and innovation, Algonquin College*

As one of Canada's largest colleges, Algonquin is recognized as a centre of excellence in education and applied research. With the generous support of the government of Canada and its agencies, Algonquin's Office of Applied Research and Innovation has brought our students, faculty and staff together with hundreds of industry and community organizations to help them develop products, processes, and services for implementation and commercialization. Our research partnerships have generated tens of millions of dollars in economic benefit to the Ottawa region and beyond, and we are proud to be fostering social innovation, sustainable development and job creation. We help find innovative solutions to real world problems in a wide range of sectors. Please visit www.algonquincollege.com/appliedresearch to learn how Algonquin College can help your organization.

THE HILL TIMES POLICY BRIEFING MAY 23, 2016

DEFENCE



Photograph courtesy of Department of National Defence

Defence policy review to be finished by end of the year

Says Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan

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Reprise: homecoming for our CF veterans is long overdue

By Sean Bruyea

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Liberals have plunged Canadian Forces into uncertainty

Says Conservative MP James Bezan

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Should Canada fight ISIS in Libya

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Replacing F-18s is still the elephant in the room

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We're losing the long war on ISIS

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Defence policy review: will it confirm old assumption and existing resourcing, and evaporate, or not

By Ferry de Kerckhove

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DEFENCE POLICY BRIEFING

FEATURE MINISTER Q&A

Defence policy review to be completed by end of year: Sajjan

Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan says the government's massive defence policy review is his top priority.

By Rachel Aiello

Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan says he wants the federal government's massive defence policy review finished by the end of the year, and it will include evaluating Canada's peacekeeping role, the use of drones, and the possibility of entering the United States ballistic missile-defence shield.

In a phone interview with *The Hill Times*, Mr. Sajjan (Vancouver South, B.C.) said he's confident the review will pave a successful path forward for Canadian defence because it is "well-nested" within the Liberal government's priorities.

"So when you look at all these challenges, we need to make sure that the Canadian Armed Forces is structured in a manner that suits the needs of today but also be agile enough to be able to respond to the threats of tomorrow, whether it's from the counterterrorism side to the humanitarian side," he said.

The government plans to release the new policy in early 2017.

On April 6, Mr. Sajjan launched the public consultation, roundtables, and the ministerial advisory panel as part of the government's defence policy review. It is focusing on challenges to Canada's security, the role of troops in addressing current threats, and the resources and capabilities needed to carry out the Canadian Armed Forces mandate. The government is accepting submissions until July 31.

The following interview has been edited for length and style.

What is your top priority as the minister of national defence?

"My top priority is always making sure that our men and women are looked after and they have all the necessary capabilities for the missions that we send them out on. The defence review that we've launched is a big part of this, making sure that we do a thorough assessment and that Canadians have an input in this as well.

"So the defence review, in a way, is my top priority; making sure that it meets the main issues that I just had mentioned."

What has been the hardest day on the job so far?

"Unfortunately, the hardest day I can't discuss because of the classified nature that we work in. Our troops are in harm's way in many aspects of the world. You know, people think the difficulties of budget or procedure might be the thing, but it's really the aspect of making sure that our soldiers are looked after. And whether it's the extreme circumstances that they deal with, then having to face the challenges when you return—whether its from PTSD, some of the mental health challenges—just trying to make sure that our troops have all the necessary resources at their disposal that can support them and their families."

I understand the classified nature, but any more details you can provide on when or where this was?

"It was very early on in the first month when I became the minister of national defence."

You and your department are currently amid a review of Canada's defence policy to replace the Canada First Defence Strategy. Why are you confident this review will be able to set the Forces on a solid path going forward?

"My goal is to have it completed by the end of this year. The reason I'm confident with that is because in making sure that the defence review and the discussion that happens is well-nested within our government priorities—especially our foreign affairs priorities—what it allows us to do is look at the current threats, look at future threats, look at the other nature of what the Armed Forces provides, for example on domestic operations, and the response for the Fort McMurray fire tragedy was just one example of that.

"So when you look at all these challenges, we need to make sure that the Canadian Armed Forces is structured in a manner that suits the needs of today, but also be agile enough to be able to respond to the threats of tomorrow, whether its from the counterterrorism side to the humanitarian side. Because at the end of the day, security of Canadians is my number one priority."

But what about the review is going to ensure that's all followed through on, and you'll have the resources and money to back up what you're hearing?

"I don't want to prematurely judge the review. I'm actually

right now looking forward to all the conversations that we're having, and there's been some great thorough dialogue, whether its from the direct consultation that I've been personally part of, or Members of Parliament are conducting their own, we have an online portion. It's to be determined. We are going to be going through the analytical phase as well, making sure we review the input that we've received, whether its from papers, dialogue, and then go through drafting of looking at the policy priorities. Then we'll have to discuss it as a government and get it approved, and then ensuring that it's properly funded as well."

As part of the defence review, you're looking at ballistic missile defence. Are you considering joining the U.S. missile shield?

"Whether it's ballistic missile defence or looking at NORAD modernization with our radar systems, this is part of the discussion. We knew that this discussion was going to come up and we wanted to make sure that the discussion goes in a factual manner rather than some of the misinformation that we heard in the past. ... It's important for Canadians to have a thoughtful discussion on all options that are at our disposal."

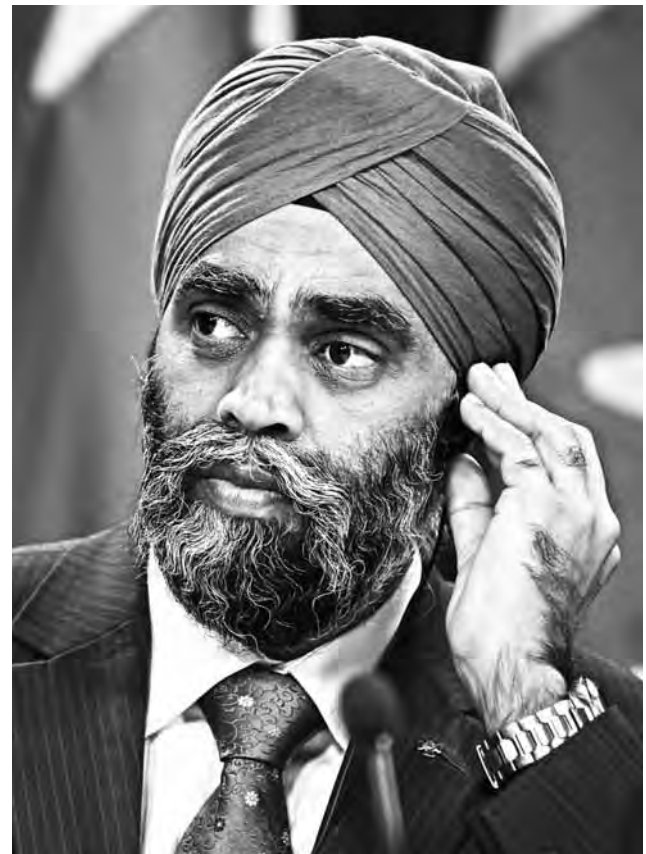
Will the review include a yes or no decision on this?

"Right now, I'm saying the decision has not been made at the time, but the defence review will look at that and if the discussion goes in a certain direction, a decision will be made on it. What this allows us to do is making sure that we maintain our commitment for open and broad dialogue and this one of the topics that are on the table.

"When it comes to this missile front, it's a certain component that we have to look at. Right now we have North Korea with some of the atrocious sabre rattling that they're doing. So we need to be able to look at all the tools that are out there. But when it comes to the wider picture, its much more broader than that. We have to look at our timeline for our modernization of the radar system that is connected to NORAD's modernization, so there's many aspects to how it connects into procurement, what systems do we have in place, what's the network? It's a very complex topic and that's why it's so important to have a thorough dialogue with the right experts and make sure that we have a Canadian viewpoint in it, and once we have that we'll be making a range of decisions across the board making sure that the Canadian Armed Forces is well-suited for the future."

Chief of the Defence Staff, Gen. Jonathan Vance has said the Canadian Forces need new drones and they need to be armed. In response, you said it's too early to know if it's something the Forces should have. What have you been hearing on this during the review so far?

"Part of the discussions on the UAVs has been regarding the policy behind how it's used. We



In conversation with *The Hill Times*, Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan talks about his hardest day on the job, next steps in the fight against ISIS, defence procurement, and North Korea's sabre-rattling. *The Hill Times* photo by Jake Wright

know that the UAVs play a very important role for the safety of our personnel. Even when I was deployed overseas in Afghanistan, we utilized UAVs. But with technology changing and we're looking at Arctic sovereignty, we need to look at all the systems at our disposal and we also need to take a look from a discussion whether it is armed or not armed. But it's also important to know how we as a nation use our capabilities. That's the real discussion that we need to have. Any capability we will get will always be within our Canadian laws and the law of armed conflict and many of the treaties we are a part of."

You were recently visiting with your American counterparts where you commented on the current situation of fighting ISIS and said Canada's counterparts have noticed gaps in what's needed as part of the mission. Is Canada considering upping its contributions and how?

"We discussed [the gaps] as the ongoing operation moves to the future. We're in a position where not only we announced our modification of the mission and what we have announced has been profoundly accepted and welcomed. But as our forces are rolling in, what that's trying to get done is looking to other nations to fill those gaps because Canada filled a lot of those significant gaps when we made our announcement just before the NATO ministerial meeting. At our meetings we essentially have early on provided significant contributions to the other significant gaps that they had which was on trainers and the intelligence and the capacity building as well."

And what do you think about sending Forces to Libya as part of the fight against ISIS?

"We have to look at threats from a transnational perspective

and Libya is one threat. Once the discussion gets to a point where other resources are needed, it has to be done in a very thoughtful manner. I work very closely with [Foreign Affairs] Minister [Stéphane] Dion on conflict zones, and once there is a credible government to be able to work with, we need to be able to make sure that we work in a multilateral environment and that we have a solid plan. Once we see that and we're able to review it as a government, then we'll be able to decide accordingly.

"We need to look at all threats around the world and work as a team, and so essentially what I'm trying to say is we need to understand conflict in many parts of the world and look at it directly from a holistic sense rather than just looking at once particular area. And I'm happy to say that's exactly where we've been able to elevate the conversation. [U.S.] Secretary [Ash] Carter and myself, and actually all 11 of the major contributing nations, that's what we talked about at the counter-ISIS meeting just recently."

Part of your mandate is to make sure that the Canadian Armed Forces have the equipment they need, but a recent AG report revealed that army reserves are lacking training and equipment, and the 2016-17 budget has no new funding and some large project spending was kicked down the road. What is being done to address this?

"The military reserves, the funding is there so it's more of an internal problem. It's not that more resources are needed. There are procurement projects that are at the early stages that will satisfy some of their needs. Me as a former commanding officer from the reserves, I am particularly aware of the challenges. The nice thing and I was very happy to see that

Continued on page 24

DEFENCE POLICY BRIEFING

NEWS LIBYA

Should Canada fight ISIS in Libya?

Canada’s Chief of Defence Staff Jonathan Vance said earlier this year that Canada could take on a militry role in fighting ISIS in Libya.

By DENIS CALNAN

Canada seems to be holding to its position of not intervening in the chaos in Libya, and while many say the country is right to not fight ISIS in that country until a stable national government is formed, others say it is a risk to allow ISIS to grow further in that country unabated. Earlier this month, *The Washington Post* said there is leaked information indicating that the United States have set up outposts in its fight against the terrorist organization in Libya, but no western countries have made significant moves there.

Canadian Armed Forces Chief of Defence Staff, Gen. Jonathan Vance, said earlier this year that Canada could take on a military role in fighting ISIS in Libya. “I think what he was kinda getting at was essentially that a lot of our close allies have identified that that country is problematic and we’re exploring different options to try and help regain and retain some improvement in the security situation there, and that if something happens that Canada would [get involved],” said David Perry, senior analyst with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute. “The threat is real. The Islamic State’s presence in Libya has been growing steadily in the last few months,” said Thomas Juneau, assistant professor at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa. “There appears to be a migration of Islamic State fighters from Iraq and Syria to Libya,” he noted. Prof. Juneau said that while the governance problems

in Libya, along with its ISIS challenges, may not be a direct threat to Canada, it is a very real problem for important allies in Europe. “When the Liberals came to power last fall, they mentioned a few times that they were interested in becoming involved in Libya. At first it wasn’t really clear what they meant by that. But there were a couple of instances when officials from the then-new government that said, ‘We are interested, but we’ll only do it if and when there is a government of national unity that is recognized by the UN in Libya. We won’t do it before then.’” Prof. Juneau said this is the right approach for the government to have because otherwise Canada would be taking part in a civil war. “You want to create an incentive for the various factions to unite to create a government of reconciliation or national unity,” he said, adding that the incentive for these factions is that the international community can then move in and help fight ISIS.

Others say that Canada should not be looking to get involved in the challenges in Libya right now. “It is a bad idea,” Jean-Christophe Boucher, an assistant professor in political science at MacEwan University in Edmonton, said in an email. Mr. Vance is “looking for ways to use its troops irrespective of Canada’s interests. Here, Vance puts the interests of the CAF [Canadian Armed Forces] before those of Canada,” he wrote. “There are some talks about doing something about Libya, but Canada should in no way be at the forefront of this mission. Canada’s contribution, if ever there would be an international intervention in Libya (which would be limited), should remain limited and stay away from combat,” wrote Prof. Boucher. “It seems to me that [Mr. Vance] is really trying to find new missions before Canada (and our allies) have a policy objective. Clear case of generals trying to dictate foreign policy,” he wrote. But the answer as to what to do in Libya may be complicated if

refraining from getting involved means an unabated growth of ISIS in the country. “Waiting for a government to get its act together could take years,” said Stephanie Carvin, an assistant professor at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. “It could take a very long time and that could give ISIL the opportunity to spread, use it as a base,” which could be useful for the terrorist organization because of the country’s proximity to Europe. “I think we could actually make a useful contribution,” she said. “Containing ISIS does work, in terms of stopping their spread in a particular territory,” said Prof. Carvin, pointing to the similar work that was done in Syria and Iraq. “Some kind of balance needs to be had, some kind of agreement,” said Prof. Carvin, noting that the fighting of ISIS and process of creating a stable government in Libya could happen at the same time. She noted that because ISIS is adept at finding ungoverned spaces and taking them over, it is essential for political goals to be met. news@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

NEWS ARMED DRONES

Drones that can be armed make sense, say experts

Drones have a negative connotation because of the image of strikes U.S. forces have carried out with them, but the positives of drones are numerous: they don’t have humans in them so they can fly for longer, and they weigh less, says defence analyst David Perry.

By DENIS CALNAN

Buying drones with arming capabilities makes sense to many defence analysts, because it offers more to Canada’s allies in missions. However, the military may need to be more realistic in its expectations of what drones the government will invest in, while the government may want to consider being less overly cautious in procurement.

Canadian Armed Forces Chief of Defence Staff, Gen. Jonathan Vance, has argued that the military needs drones that can be armed. “To me it makes sense,” said Stephanie Carvin, an assistant professor of International Affairs at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. “Nimbleness is perhaps more useful than blunt force” in many of the missions Canada wants to be involved in, argued Prof. Carvin. She said drones with surveillance capabilities that can be armed is useful in situations like that. “It makes perfect sense to me,” said David Perry, senior analyst with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute. “If you’re buying a drone that can be armed, you don’t have to always have a weapon on it, but you are able to if you’d like to in certain circumstances. But if you buy a drone that can’t be armed, you’re never going to be able to engineer that in easily afterwards,” he said. Mr. Perry said that if a drone needs to survey an area over a period of time and then needs to strike, it is easier, and perhaps less risky, to have both capabilities in one aircraft. Handing off responsibilities between aircraft could result in errors.

He said drones have a negative connotation for some because of the image of strikes the American forces have carried out with them, but the positives of drones are numerous: they don’t have humans in them, so they can fly for longer, and they’re less weight. “I don’t think it is a bad option for our military,” Jean-Christophe Boucher, an assistant professor in political science at MacEwan University in Edmonton said in an email. “The Liberals are contemplating deploying a limited number of troops in both training and SOF [Special Operations] missions as well as contributing to peacekeeping. UAV [Unmanned aerial vehicle] that could be armed offers a range of options that could make Canada’s contribution an added-value proposition to our allies or to the UN,” wrote Prof. Boucher. “I think Vance is overstretching when he argues that they need to be armed. We should be able to purchase a UAV model that can be armed. The decision to buy missiles can be made further down the road given the specific operational need,” he wrote. Prof. Carvin said Canada needs to carefully consider the kinds of missions in which it would use the drones. She drew a



Use of drones is among the topics to be addressed in a defence policy review, which Defence Mlnister Harjit Sajjan says should be done by the end of this year.
The Hill Times
photograph by
Jake Wright

comparison to considerations an individual has in buying household items. She suggested when buying a “magical egg blender,” you have to consider if you will be blending eggs or if you’re a vegan. “If you’re a vegan, it makes no sense for you to buy the magical egg blender,” she said. “What kind of missions will Canada be fighting? And therefore, does the tool that we are going to buy make sense?” she said. Prof. Carvin noted that Canada has been looking at buying drones through the JUSTAS [Joint Uninhabited Surveillance and Target Acquisition System] for a long time—over a decade—and has failed to procure them. “We have this very overly cautious approach to a lot of things, and I think that’s part of the reason why we’ve hesitated in the way that we have,” she said. “So far, Canada seems to have a fair amount of procurement problems,” she said, noting that

the government has a long list of requirements that are required for the drones that are not reasonable. She noted that a drone that may be surveying a crowd at a protest should not be weaponized for several reasons. One, because it looks bad on the government and, two, the cost of running a drone that can be weaponized is higher. In any case, Canadians will likely have to wait to see what sort of drones will be purchased for the military. “I would be very surprised if there is an announcement of a procurement of drones prior to the defence review,” said Prof. Carvin. Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan (Vancouver South, B.C.) told *The Hill Times* she wants to have his defence policy review wrapped up by the end of the year. As part of it, the government is evaluating Canada’s peacekeeping role, the use of drones, and entering the United States’ ballistic missile-defence shield. news@hilltimes.com
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IMAGE: CANADIAN COAST GUARD-FISHERIES AND OCEANS CANADA.

DEFENCE POLICY BRIEFING

OPINION CANADIAN FORCES

Liberals have plunged Canadian Forces into uncertainty

As the government embarks on a complete review of Canada's defence policy, it is imperative that it accounts for the threats that we are facing.



CONSERVATIVE MP
JAMES BEZAN

Beginning with the Liberals' Speech From the Throne and

continuing through to their inaugural budget, this government, the minister of national defence, and the prime minister have all demonstrated that the Canadian Armed Forces falls to the bottom of their priority list. Through their words and actions they have plunged the Canadian Armed Forces into uncertainty with a defence review that will focus on a "leaner" military, which will inevitably mean further cuts.

There are many reasons why Canadians should be skeptical of this defence review. The last time a defence review was undertaken, it was done by the Chrétien government in 1994. This exercise triggered the Liberal "Decade of Darkness," when the defence budget was cut by 20 per cent and frozen for 10 years at only \$10-billion.

Our previous Conservative government understood the importance of our Armed Forces and

their role within Canadian society, and the greater international community. When the Conservative government was elected in 2006, we faced a hollowed and diminished Department of National Defence. Former Prime Minister Stephen Harper set out to repair much of the damage done by the Liberals. Thanks to landmark investments and renewed respect for the essential work of our brave men and women in uniform, our Canadian Armed Forces are a stronger, better equipped, and more mission-ready team than ever before.

The Trudeau government's decision to withdraw Canada's CF-18s from the combat mission against ISIS in Iraq sends a clear signal of their unwillingness to be a partner in the global fight against evil. This genocidal death cult is destroying timeless artifacts, performing mass executions, forcing women and girls

into sex slavery, and targeting religious and ethnic minorities. Today's Liberals are content to sit on the sidelines while our allies do the heavy lifting. This is not our history, this is not our role, and this is not Canadian.

One of Canada's finest military commanders, Gen. Arthur Currie once said, "Thorough preparation must lead to success. Neglect nothing." The mantra of this Liberal government towards our Canadian Armed Forces is exactly that, neglect. They are cutting \$3.7-billion in procurement, allowing the equipment our men and women in uniform need, to become outdated and obsolete. This has stalled important procurement projects like the Arctic Offshore Patrol Ships, the CF-18 replacement, Cyclone maritime helicopter, Halifax Class modernization and frigate life extension, and the integrated soldier system.

New threats in the world are emerging in the form of terror-

ists, rogue states, and power seeking nations. After the Liberal pillaging of the defence budget in the 1990s our military was in rough shape, not prepared to face these threats in a true Canadian fashion, head on. It was hard work for our previous Conservative government to rebuild the Canadian Armed forces after years of Liberal mismanagement. There are two roads this government can take now, and it's a time for choosing. On one hand, the Liberals can reverse these cuts, and appreciate the hard work and conviction of our Armed Forces. Or, they can continue down the path of cuts, rust, and neglect.

As the government embarks on a complete review of Canada's defence policy, it is imperative that it accounts for the threats that we are facing. It must ensure that our men and women in uniform are properly equipped and trained to carry out the duties asked of them. And most importantly, Canada's defence policy must be truly reflective of Canadian values, and not a set of pre-determined ideological Liberal platitudes.

Conservative MP James Bezan, who represents Selkirk-Interlake-Eastman, Man., is his party's defence critic.

The Hill Times

OPINION F-18S

Replacing F-18s is still the elephant in the room

The minister has said things are on track to replace the F-18s, but we have not heard a clear commitment to reject the F-35s.



GREEN PARTY LEADER
ELIZABETH MAY

Sitting late on Monday night May 16, the House, assembled as a Committee of the Whole, met to review defence spending. Minister of Defence Harjit Sajjan reviewed the planned expenditures and priority procurement decisions.

The speeches and questions revealed a broader appreciation of the need for a modern military force. Liberal MP Mark Gerretsen, who represents Kingston and the Islands, Ont., spoke of the increasing needs for the military in response to extreme weather events. Gerretsen identified

the clear science that climate change will cause more such severe events—whether floods, extreme storms, fires, and storm surges. The tone of the debate has changed. We have climate threats in debate on defence and much less discussion of ISIS.

Although the previous Harper government engaged in sword rattling and posturing swagger in favour of our military and engagement in conflicts around the world, the reality is that Canada's defence spending has lagged compared to other countries. With NATO asking for defence spending equivalent to one per cent of GDP, Canada has fallen far behind the rest of the world. At the moment our defence spending is no more than one per cent of GDP. Under the previous government, key procurement was deferred—well past the planning horizon.

The 2014 budget granted only a brief paragraph to defence policy. The short reference set out that significant spending had been shifted from the 2013-2014—2016-17 period to 'future years.'

The Fiscal Outlook with Measures chart (p. 266) showed zeroes continuing out to 2018-2019, the last year included. The nature of the future needs was not explained, but the amount of deferred spending was \$3.1-billion. The effect of this was to reduce

spending in the critical, politically-derived target to attempt to deliver a balanced budget by 2015.

Defence spending was falling under the Conservatives. Spending had been stretched on missions, but basic procurement—of ships, key search and rescue planes and replacement of F18s—actually stalled.

The shipbuilding strategy had appeared on track. Former minister of public works Rona Ambrose had managed the file and decisions had been made. Yet even ship-building appeared to be going sideways. On election day, the Harper administration shocked observers, those who understood the concept of a "caretaker government" during an election campaign, when the former Conservative government announced \$40-million to the North Vancouver Seaspan shipyard. The process, led by Ambrose, had resulted in \$36-billion in shipbuilding to be split between the Irving Shipyard in Halifax and Seaspan, with Irving building warships and Seaspan building the "non-combat program." It looked very much as though the Harper Conservatives, fearing an election loss, were shoring up Seaspan's capacity by signing a \$40-million contract the day of the election.

Meanwhile, also under the Conservatives, the terms were set for the purchase of Fixed Wing



Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan. Canada needs to move ahead in the purchase of ice-breakers, fixed-wing search and rescue aircraft and Canadian Coast Guard vessels, writes Elizabeth May. The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright

Search and Rescue planes (SARs) in a way that excluded possible Canadian contenders. All bids were in by Jan. 11, but specifications requiring a sole-source provider sadly eliminated the opportunity for several Canadian aerospace companies to enter a partnership to build the Fixed Wing SARs. The minister reported to the Committee of the Whole that those planes will be in place by 2018.

As we go forward to meet the backlog in procurements, it would be preferable if requests for proposals left open the possibility that Canadian manufacturers had the opportunity to bid.

The elephant in the room remains the replacement of the F-18s. The minister has said things are on track to replace the F-18s, but we have not heard a clear commitment to reject the F-35s. This time, before we put

the cart before the horse, let's agree on some of the basics. What kind of planes are in Canada's interests? Is there any justification for choosing a single-engine plane with capabilities to evade radar detection to bomb sites in other countries? The F-35s are not consistent with any realistic assessment of Canada's needs. Meanwhile, steps are being taken to modernize the F-18s and keep them in use until 2025.

We need to pursue a revised vision for Canadian defence policy with a focus on disaster response, search-and-rescue and peacekeeping. In particular, we need to move ahead on the purchase of ice-breakers, fixed-wing search and rescue aircraft and Canadian Coast Guard vessels.

Green Party Leader Elizabeth May represents Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.

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DEFENCE POLICY BRIEFING

FEATURE MINISTER Q&A

Defence policy review my top priority: Sajjan

Continued from page 19

based on, and we accepted all of the recommendations, but a lot of the work had already started to begin before the auditor general's report had even come out which is good to see but more needs to be done and the defence review again will help define some of those areas as well, so we can go even beyond some of the recommendations the auditor general had provided.

"It's not just simply an issue of buying enough equipment. It's about maintaining certain things. Procurement is a big portion of this, but we also need to be mindful and we need to focus on the retention of the reserves because you invest a lot of money in training somebody. Keeping them there is equally as important. And the reserves and regular forces might be different systems, so you have to be cognizant of how that leadership manages that reserve, and we're working very aggressively to make sure that we address some of those challenges.

Alongside the minister of foreign affairs, you've been asked to renew Canada's commitment to United Nations peace operations. Will Canada take a lead in the multinational force in Haiti next fall? And how does Canada plan to get back into peacekeeping?

"It starts by first understanding the conflict areas and where Canada can contribute. So rather than just jumping into a particular area to fill a checkmark, we as a government are taking a very thoughtful approach. And I work very closely with Minister Dion and [International Development] Minister [Marie-Claude] Bibeau when we do look at conflict areas where Canada can contribute, but also: Do we have the right mission structure within the United Nations? I'm happy to say that our input into some of those discussions is welcomed and we are looking at many aspects of the various opportunities around the world and anything that we do do will be done in a meaningful way that's going to

actually contribute to the peace and stability of the area that we operate in.

Does that include considering Haiti?

"Right now, it's too early to tell. We're at the early stages. We have places like western Africa. There are challenges in eastern Africa as well. I was actually very pleased to hear about some of the peace work that's been happening in Colombia between government and the Farc.

"So Canada can play a significant role around the world, but we want to make sure, where we do select as a government, that we are going to have a meaningful contribution to the peace and stability of not just that country, but also to the region. And it has to be synchronized with our coalition partners so it has a much wider impact. And whether it's in the capacity-building development work or military resources, all this has to be synchronized by understanding the conflict area that we're working in."

In the budget, you've pushed major procurement money back until 2022. How do you plan to address the ongoing procurement issues in the meantime?

"That's the reason why that money was protected and pushed to those years. If there were projects right now that were coming to fruition that we could write a cheque for, we would be writing those cheques immediately. But unfortunately, I have inherited a procurement schedule and challenges which I have to address, and so I wanted to make sure that we protected that money.

"The prime minister and the finance minister were in complete concurrence and supported me on protecting that money, so that's why we moved it into those years for when a lot of those procurement projects will come into fruition. But we also have the opportunity as we build greater efficiencies within our procurement system with [Public Services] Minister [Judy] Foote. We have the ability to be able

to request funding be put back in earlier years in case certain projects were able to move faster."

The military's top female commander Christine Whitecross has said the CAF was working on a new program to recruit more women that would be released later in the spring. Can you tell me more about this?

"This is something; the recruitment of more women and of people from different backgrounds that truly reflect the population of Canada. We need to do more work. The Canadian Armed Forces leadership is fully committed to this. We want to look at not just recruiting, but also the structure within the military. I want to make sure the environment is created so that it allows for a woman to make a choice for the military, as in the simple fact of when a woman decides they want to have a family we need to make it more simple and easier so that it doesn't impact one's career. That's the level of thought we're putting into this and making sure that we truly create an environment for all Canadians and especially women to look at the military as a viable option as a career and also making sure they have full ability to be advancing their careers to the senior ranks."

What are you doing to address the concerns raised by military veterans and

reservists who are worried about losing their intellectual property rights after they've left the Canadian Forces?

"When it comes to property rights, there is a system in place if work has been done on the job. There are property rights that do belong obviously to the organization that you developed it in, but there is an ability for someone to be recognized in that. However, if someone does some work that wasn't done with military resources or not on military time, then that's a separate issue. We do have a good system in place that recognizes someone's work and also recognizes some of the achievements that some members have made.

"I too am a bit of a closet inventor myself, and we need to promote innovation within the military because some of the best ideas don't come from the top. They actually come from the people who are doing the work on the ground."

Lastly, tell me a bit more about these 'closet inventions' of yours?

"I have a patent of my own actually which is for anybody with a beard. I designed a device so it can work with a facial respirator, so somebody with a beard can get a seal [a sealed protective mask]."

*raiello@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times*

BUDGET 2016-17

DEFENCE SPENDING

- Total funding available to National Defence for large-scale capital projects is \$84.3-billion over almost 30 years to 2044-45.
- Reallocated \$3.716-billion for large-scale capital projects from the 2015-16 to 2020-21 period to future years.
- \$1.6-billion over three years, starting in 2016-17, toward security, stabilization, humanitarian, and development assistance for Iraq, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon, including:
- \$306-million in 2016-17 to refocus Canada's ISIS military mission on training and advising local security forces;
- \$840-million over three years for humanitarian aid programs designed to provide life-saving assistance;
- \$270-million over three years in resilience and development programming, including building local capacity to provide basic social services; and
- \$145-million over three years toward counterterrorism, stabilization, and chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear security programming.
- \$200.5-million over two years on a cash basis, starting in 2016-17, to National Defence to undertake infrastructure projects at Canadian Forces Bases and other defence properties across Canada, including:
- \$77.1-million on readiness for Canadian Armed Forces military operations, including repairing and constructing live-fire ranges, airfields and hangars, and naval jetties;

- \$67.4-million on the Reserve Force, including repairs and maintenance to armouries in Alberta, Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia;
 - \$50-million on military personnel and their families, including upgrading and constructing military housing across Canada; and
 - \$6-million to support northern operations, including investments in airfield ramp reconstruction critical to northern search and rescue and upgrades to fire suppression systems that support the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD).
- Source: Budget 2016-17

Department of National Defence main estimates:

- National Defence is estimating budgetary expenditures of \$18.6-billion in 2016-17.
 - Of this, \$17.3-billion requires approval by Parliament. The remaining \$1.3-billion represents statutory forecasts that do not require approval.
 - National Defence's decrease in net authority of \$301.8-million, or approximately 1.6 per cent from the 2015-16 main estimates to the 2016-17 main estimates, is due to an increase in operating costs of \$281.5-million, a decrease in capital costs of \$625-million, a decrease in grants and contributions of \$4.2-million, and an increase in statutory payments of \$45.9-million.
- Source: Main estimates 2016-17

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DEFENCE POLICY BRIEFING

OPINION VETERANS



How can a military member deeply indoctrinated to mistrust civilian forms of working, thinking, and belonging, be expected to have a seamless transition into a new civilian life, writes Sean Bruyea. Photograph courtesy of Canadian Forces

Vets need more than job training to adapt to civilian life

We need a new model of transition that looks at the military experience of every current and prospective veteran and their families.



SEAN BRUYEA

“Seamless transition” is the latest buzzword for helping Canadian Forces members and their families releasing into a new civilian life. Throwing money at

the same programs while focusing principally upon the most severely wounded chips away, but does not directly address the problem. We need a new model of transition that looks at the military experience of every current and prospective CF veteran and their families.

Transition for all veterans has predominantly focused upon employment. If the veteran is employable, then prepare and find him or her a job. If the veteran is not employable or suffers injuries, then offer medical care and compensation. Seamless transition begins this process well before release from the CF.

When leaving CF employment, finding new employment or likewise compensating and caring for the injured, if accomplished in a timely manner, should overcome transition barriers, right?

We have forgotten that the military is not a job but a vocation,

a way of life. Leaving one way of life in uniform for a very different way of life as a civilian requires far more than job training, job placement, or even medical treatment: it requires life retraining.

We conveniently overlook the tools we employ to change civilians into military members. Military indoctrination is the most powerful, legally sanctioned means of manipulating a human being. The goal: to provide the most fail-safe means of ensuring Canadian citizens in uniform do what government wants, including taking the lives of others while potentially losing one’s own life. This is known as unlimited liability.

Yet government has demonstrated a very limited liability in transforming military members back into civilians. The indoctrination process occurs throughout one’s military career. Even the brief periods of basic training can result in individuals being profoundly, comprehensively, and irrevocably changed. Military indoctrination affects key aspects of emotion, perception, and cognition, not just task-oriented, institutional behaviour.

Indoctrination also emphasizes the separateness of military members from civilians. How can a military member deeply indoctrinated to mistrust civilian forms of working, thinking, and belonging be expected to have a seamless transition into a new civilian life? Most would not be aware of how indoctrinated beliefs and skills that are beneficial on the battlefield are detrimental to a

successful civilian life. Likewise, the self-reflection, broad innovation, and creativity that are key to success in the private sector are cognitive features that are soundly suppressed in the military environment.

Military socialization emphasizes a mission-mind where all relationships become judged based upon their contribution to or hindrance of a task. Friendships, family, and work relationships become more about common goals and less about understanding and relating to one another. Mutually encouraged growth needed for deeper intimacy, stronger relationships, and trust are subsequently diminished.

Job-seeking assistance or even job and/or education retraining are unlikely to reverse these effects. How do we create conditions to optimize the well-being of each and every veteran, past, present, and future?

If basic training is necessary to indoctrinate civilians to become military members, perhaps a reverse form of basic training can catalyze the transformation process from being military to becoming civilians once again. Self-reflection, caring relations and broader forms of thinking, are the eventual goals. However, a course that expands awareness of the consequences of the military experience can open many doors for veterans and their families. Families along with civilians can join the transformation process, encouraging veterans to feel like they intimately belong to the soci-

ety for which they were willing to sacrifice everything.

Just as military team-building suppresses important aspects of the individual during indoctrination, a parallel system of individual coaching would enhance the transformation process, optimizing the potential of each individual veteran. Socialization and other life-skills coaching would complement financial, career, and job-performance coaching.

Homelessness, suicides, veterans in the criminal justice system, and disaffected injured veterans are symptoms, the tragic manifestations of poorly understood civilian integration. Similarly, it would be short-sighted to assume that those veterans who remain hidden from the media are all optimizing their well-being, relationship, and employment potential.

Eight years ago, I proposed a “homecoming” course in this newspaper. The need is far more acute today. Let’s stop reinforcing failed or limited approaches. Let us remember the broader sacrifices of military service. Not only would each and every veteran benefit from Canada’s investment in their capacity, but Canadians would benefit from the return on the investment we make in our veterans and their families.

Sean Bruyea just completed a post-graduate degree in public ethics focusing upon the obligation government has to veterans during and after transition. He is also a retired Air Force intelligence officer.

The Hill Times

DEFENCE POLICY BRIEFING

OPINION TERRORISM

We're losing the long war on ISIS

Military success alone doesn't lead to political stability.



ALEX WILNER

OTTAWA—The war on ISIS in Syria and Iraq is being won, slowly but surely. The U.S. and its coalition partners—Canada included—have destroyed ISIS's ability to capture, hold, and govern territory in much of the Middle East. The group's borders are shrinking. Its coffers are running dry. Its ability to attract, train, and retain foreign and local fighters

has diminished. And ISIS's leadership is being decimated. There's certainly more to be done, but we're nearing our short-term goal of militarily defeating ISIS.

Unfortunately, securing the peace—our long-term goal—will be far more difficult to achieve. It seems obvious that military success alone doesn't lead to political stability. Sustainable victory requires a shift in focus from the military domain towards governance, reconstruction, resettlement, and reintegration. In each case, our post-ISIS strategy for Iraq and Syria will face major obstacles.

First, leveraging a sustainable solution to Iraqi and Syrian political dysfunction will be necessary if we hope to defuse the sectarian strife that helped fuel ISIS in the first place. Good governance is a bulwark against political extremism. But in both states pitfalls

abound. In Iraq religious and ethnic cleavages will be nearly impossible to bridge. Iraqis have lost faith in the unity of their state. And in Syria, meaningful negotiation between the dozens of armed groups will only start once the Assad regime is replaced. But ousting President Bashar Assad will require Russian involvement, and up to now, Moscow has banked on his survival.

Second, the war in Syria and Iraq has left a trail of devastation. A massive reconstruction effort, on the scale of the post-1945 Marshall Plan in Western Europe, awaits. If the conflict in Syria were to end today, the World Bank estimates that U.S. \$170-billion would be needed to rebuild the country. By comparison, since 2014, the U.S. has spent roughly U.S. \$7-billion on its war with ISIS. Without major international investment in bricks and mortar,

winning the peace will be difficult. Unfortunately, it's less than clear where this money will come from. Donors aren't exactly lining up with open wallets. Rubble may well be a lasting legacy of this war.

Third, millions of refugees have been displaced, both locally and internationally. A tiny fraction have been invited to permanently resettle in third countries. The vast majority live in camps or as migrants. Eventual repatriation into post-war Iraq and Syria is a must. But that process will involve providing refugees with homes to build, an economy to grow, and communities to join. Without these core ingredients, refugees may find few reasons to return. Hope is in short supply.

Finally, the collapse of ISIS may result in the capture of thousands of local and foreign militants. Enemy combatants

will need to be detained, humanely. And rehabilitation strategies will need to be developed to help reintegrate militants into society. Unfortunately, retributive justice is more likely. And that ISIS has recruited tens of thousands of foreigners suggests that special, international provisions may need to be established for dealing with foreign fighters. Avoiding Guantanamo Bay 2.0 is top of mind.

Military victory alone won't bury ISIS. Destroying the organization may be necessary, but it won't be sufficient for securing the peace. Stabilizing Syria and Iraq in a way that prevents ISIS—or some future iteration of ISIS—from clawing its way back to bloody relevance is our next great challenge. Unfortunately, getting this next step right will make breaking ISIS look easy.

Alex Wilner is an assistant professor at NPSIA, Carleton University, and a fellow at the Macdonald-Laurier Institute, a public policy think tank in Ottawa.

The Hill Times

OPINION DEFENCE POLICY REVIEW

Defence policy review: will it confirm old assumptions and existing resourcing and evaporate, or not?

From a strict defence perspective, there are at least five issues the defence policy review must answer.



FERRY DE KERCKHOVE

The Defence Policy Review (DPR) provides a unique opportunity to question some of the existing assumptions underlying the

thinking about what Canada needs in terms of capabilities. The problem, right from the start, is that, beyond the very general mandate letters, the review is not underpinned by clear indications of what the government intends to do in the world and what these intentions—if any already well-grounded and thought through—will require in terms of defence capabilities. How can one say what Canada needs in terms of force structure without a broader national security perspective? What capabilities are needed for a G-7 power or are the ambitions of the government different—which is its legitimate right but it needs to define them before we embark on a strategic risk matrix. Otherwise, despite the government's specific rejection of the concept, DPR could simply become an update of CFDS (the 2008

Canada First Defence Strategy) which was basically a procurement strategy. Alternatively, it could risk turning into an exercise in a void, financially hampered, with little innovative thinking despite what seems to be a remarkable preparatory process.

Of course, one could argue that defence, in a way, is always the same—defence of Canada, defence of North America and contributing to international security, the latter referring to expeditionary missions, as required by evolving situations in the international arena, where most critical “unknowns” reside. Yet, new or more acute challenges have emerged for the first two as well ... including the possibility of a Trump presidency and his insistence on a greater contribution by allies to defence expenditures.

In a sense, Trump brings home the issue of Canada as a “free-rider” when it comes to defence. Indeed, the famed CFDS was underfunded right from the beginning. Any projection of the defence budget vs. minimal capabilities requirements shows a gaping hole which the yearly three per cent increase for the defence budget recommitted by the Liberal government starting next year will not fill.

From a strict defence perspective, there are at least five issues that the DPR must answer:

Procurement as a fixation: there is no issue with the substance of the requirements—replacing our F-18, building surface combatants, Arctic offshore patrol ships, and supply ships. In fact we should already be looking at the future renewal of our submarine fleet given their essential role in controlling our maritime space (hopefully the propulsion system of the next generation will be air independent to allow Arctic patrol). The issue is the process—in

simple terms, any slippage affects both the funding of capabilities through inflation and the capacity to respond to threats. The decision to postpone to 2022 \$3.7-billion in “large-scale capital projects” spending is a clear case in point. Equally importantly, the more procurement eats up the defence budget, the more other sectors will suffer, such as training, maintenance, infrastructure, information technology.

Personnel: How sacrosanct is the 68,000 regular uniformed personnel and 28,500 reserves level? Hugh Segal maintains that a country of Canada's standing should have 100,000 and 50,000, respectively. Again, what might be desirable hits the wall of realism.

Pre-emption of attacks in the two “new” domains of war: how much does Canada need to invest in cyber defence and defence against space attacks? Joining the U.S. in ballistic missile defence is an issue that needs to be settled once and for all. It is a matter as much of sovereignty as of defence. Thanks for Kim Jong-un's help!

Arctic: Russia in “encouraging” us to implement essential investments in the Arctic such as completing/renovating deep water port facilities, enhancing airport facilities and building the right berth for our *Polar Class* icebreaker (in Churchill, Man.).

Technology: the “art” of warfare is in constant flux inasmuch as it is determined by the unending changes in the nature of conflict, in addition to “conventional” enemies—terrorists, freedom-fighters/separatists, militias, hybrid warfare, semi-states, pirates, criminal networks, all with a range of different capabilities, some calling for sophisticated counter-measures, including drones. The issue is adaptability of our capabilities which mostly translates into investing in technology.

But let's be candid. A DPR, which would cover these issues, would answer at best half of the questions a national security strategy would need answers to. Each has a strong foreign policy underpinning which is unlikely to be covered by the DPR's strategic assessment.

A few examples: What means the renewed emphasis on multi-lateral PKO would require in this day and age? The Middle East and more broadly the Muslim world has fawned conflicts and provoked outside interventions, for good or ill, mostly the latter, which have lasted longer than any previous conventional war. Canada's involvement in Afghanistan was expeditionary, in the dictionary sense of the word but, in fact, it mobilized most of our active forces. General (ret.) Mike Day rightly suggest the distinction no longer holds. What does it imply for our so-called third leg of the triad of our defence obligations and for our Special Operations Forces? Northern Africa is already plagued by an Arc of Instability. What if Canada decides to be involved? We call ourselves a Pacific nation. Do we have the means to underpin this definition and what would be the requirements? Clearly an occasional ship visit will not do the trick. Does our yet-to-be-fully-defined policy towards China require a defence component?

Good luck to our political masters!

Ferry de Kerckhove is a former Canadian diplomat with postings in Iran, NATO, Moscow, and as head of mission in Pakistan, Indonesia and Egypt. He is a senior fellow at the University of Ottawa's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs and a fellow at the Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

The Hill Times

FEATURE HILL MEDIA

Sharp Wits & Busy Pens takes a ‘sober-minded look’ at history of press gallery on Parliament Hill

Josh Wingrove talks about co-editing *Sharp Wits & Busy Pens*. ‘It’s about sharing our history, for better and for worse, at the 150th milestone. There’s a lot to be proud of, and a lot to be excited for still.’

By KATE MALLOY

OTTAWA—When Bloomberg Hill reporter Josh Wingrove volunteered to co-edit a coffee table book on the 150-year history of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, he had no idea what he’d signed up for. And he knows hard work.

Probably best known when he was at *The Globe and Mail* as the only print reporter who video-recorded, with his cellphone, the shootout between RCMP and Hill security guards and the gunman who stormed through Centre Block on Oct. 22, 2014, Mr. Wingrove, 30, more recently led a team of current and former reporters who volunteered their time to write, edit, translate, shoot photos, and sift through archives to produce the book. *Le Devoir’s* Hélène Buzzetti co-edited and former Canadian Press photographer Fred Chartrand was the photo editor. Jennifer Ditchburn, a former CP reporter, also played a major role. The result, *Sharp Wits & Busy Pens: 150 Years of Canada’s Parliamentary Gallery*, published by Hill Times Books, is a substantial and colourful look at the history of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, warts and all. The book will be launched on June 1 at the National Archives.

Why did the press gallery want to do this book?

“The gallery has long wanted to do a book, but it’s always been a question of bandwidth and people getting the ball rolling. So the 150th celebrations were a catalyst that we didn’t have before. Jen Ditchburn, a long-time figure on the Hill as a CP reporter who is now with IRPP [the Institute for Research on Public Policy], is quite the gallery history buff and gathered a group of volunteers early in 2015 to start thinking about how to mark the occasion. I volunteered to take on the book—not really knowing fully the scale of work we were signing up for! Such is life. We put a couple of calls out for volunteers, I begged and pleaded for as many as we could get.

Hélène joined, Jen wrote many of the pieces and others volunteered to write, edit, translate, shoot photos, comb through archives and get this thing put together. We’re proud of it.”

A lot of people may be surprised to know that the Parliamentary Press Gallery existed a year before Confederation. Can you tell a bit about that story?

“Yeah, certainly I was surprised. But, of course, the journalists arrived on the Hill when the buildings opened and that was 1866, so here we are. The gallery as it is today evolved over decades, but it operated as an entity from the beginning. We have some documents still, though a lot were lost in the 1916 fire. Journalists tend to be famously disorganized people, but the gallery’s records are pretty good. After the book, our next step is digitizing them.”

You edited the book along with Hill journalist Hélène Buzzetti. How much work was this and how long did it take the two of you to complete it, from start to finish?

“Hélène is a lifesaver, someone who has given so much of her time to the gallery over the years, serving as president. I don’t think she really knew what she was signing up for either, but this project would be still sitting on my hard drive without her. It was important for us to produce this book in both languages, but also to conceive of the book in both languages. We didn’t want to just write an anglo-history and then translate it after the fact. Manon Cornellier is one of our contributors, and is gallery president now and I hope will forgive me for saying she’s been in Ottawa a long time as a journalist! She wrote a fascinating piece on the evolution of the Francophone press in the gallery. We had volunteer translators from across the gallery, both from English to French and vice versa.

“Fred Chartrand, a CP legend about whom someone should really write a book, graciously served as photo editor between freelance assignments. He hasn’t gotten the hang of retirement. We’re all volunteers, clearly. Juggling this with our jobs, amid an election campaign, a new government was a lot of work, of course. But my marriage and job survived. My dogs still resent me a bit but are easily bribed.”

How did you coordinate with all contributors? Did you edit every English story?

“Yeah, Hélène and I assigned everything and fielded pitches, got the balls rolling and then

edited it. In many cases, we had chunks that came in for one story that needed to be moved to another, that kind of thing. Undoubtedly, the logistical side of publishing was the most time consuming, between finding a publisher and deciding what size and format would best serve what we were trying to do, sourcing photos, arranging rights to those photos, and so forth. We include op-eds from a couple of former prime ministers on their gallery dealings. Actual editing of the copy was by no means the only gig. But I did spend a lot of weekends at coffee shops.”

Fred Chartrand provided all the photos, but you also had a lot of archival photos. Where did you get all the photos from?

“Fred’s the best. We drew a lot from the CP archives, with their permission, and from Library and Archives Canada and other sources. One great aspect was photos submitted by former gallery members, through Facebook and otherwise. They’re so great. The book is an iceberg that way—we have WAY more photos than we could possibly include. So we’re figuring out what to do with them all.”

What did you learn about the press gallery after editing this book?

“Oh, gosh, where to begin. I’ve learned we used to be way, way closer to government. It was way more of an old boys’ club not too long ago. That has changed for the better. Women are frankly a fairly new part of the gallery, historically speaking. That shocked me, how long women were frozen out. And how broadcasters were frozen out in part by print folks trying to preserve their freelance income from broadcast outlets. But things have also stayed the same. Gallery sports teams have generally always been awful. That is clear, and not too much of a surprise.”

What was your favourite story?

“I couldn’t pick one. We’ve tried to mix authoritative history and some mirth, to capture what the people were like way back when. One anecdote from one of the stories stands out—the gallery refused entry to a reporter from a Jewish news agency just before World War II, citing a lack of space, and then got a fuming letter from an editor saying only two countries had ever rejected them: Canada and, of course, Nazi Germany. It’s important to remember these things and the exclusion of women, I think. We need more diversity in the gallery today, of course, but it was way worse not that long ago. And the mind boggles when I think of what homogenous coverage that



Bloomberg Hill reporter Josh Wingrove, co-editor of *Sharp Wits & Busy Pens*. ‘You can see the same qualities in gallery journalists a century ago that I admire in colleagues these days. Rabble-rousers all.’
The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright

must have produced.” How has the press gallery changed over the last 150 years?

“The biggest thing is it has grown. In size, in medium. Broadcasters arriving was a big deal, and basically were let in by subtle pressure from the Speaker. TV cameras came to the House, that was a big deal. Technicians were allowed membership. So the gallery used to be a very small group of white men who wrote typically for anglophone newspapers, almost all of them with a stated partisan allegiance; a Tory paper, a Liberal paper. It was more hand-in-glove. The growth and evolution of the gallery ranks is stunning. We capture a bit of this in an ‘oral



Sharp Wits & Busy Pens: 150 Years of Canada’s Parliamentary Gallery, edited by Josh Wingrove and Hélène Buzzetti, Hill Times Books, 150 pp., \$39.50.

history’ section of the book.”

How has it stayed the same?

“In many ways. There have always been clashes with government, and still will be. That’s a good thing. Prime ministers have typically hated the Press Gallery Dinner. We’ll see if PM Trudeau eventually feels the same way. And we’ve always been pushing for more access. The records are clear on this, in case anyone thinks it’s a new thing that prime ministers don’t talk to the press as much as the press would like. More broadly, though, I was struck in older

records that the sort of fire that draws someone into journalism has always been more or less the same. You can see the same qualities in gallery journalists a century ago that I admire in colleagues these days. Rabble-rousers all.”

Why is this book important and who should read it? How many books do you hope to sell?

“We envisioned the book as a sober-minded look at the history of the press on Parliament Hill, its role as a filter, its controversies. We didn’t want to whitewash things. We wanted it to be authoritative and also funny. We wanted great photos. Whether we’ve succeeded is up to the reader (the photos are great, though!). But I think former gallery members, current and former MPs, anyone who is a keen follower of federal politics will all be drawn to it. And my mom. My mom’s super excited for it. That’s something, I guess. To be honest, the expectations and history weigh on us pretty heavily—I’ve already heard from folks asking if this or that is in the book, and in some cases it isn’t. Every time I see the book, I worry about stuff we had to leave out and great people I could have filled a whole book discussing. It’s amazing how quickly 150 years of history, in photos and two languages, can fill 150 pages. So I am thankful for all the help, humbled by all these stories we’ve tried to pull together, and just hope we’ve done it all justice. We hope to sell as many as we can. If we sell the first run, we’ll print a second. This is certainly not about profit at all, as my zero-dollar book salary will attest to. It’s about sharing our history, for better and for worse, at the 150th milestone. There’s a lot to be proud of, and a lot to be excited for still.”

The Hill Times

FEATURE HILL MEDIA

Tim Harper leaving *Star* after three decades

Tim Harper is leaving *The Star*, but he'll keep writing: 'I suspect I'll be writing something for somebody when they come with a box to carry me out.'

Continued from page 1

His last day with the paper will be May 29—his 61st birthday—and he's set to move back to Toronto. Maclean's political editor Paul Wells will replace Mr. Harper as *The Star*'s national affairs columnist in Ottawa.

"Obviously, it's painful for *The Star* to lose a columnist of Tim's stature. But he is admired and respected by everyone in the newsroom, and we're all happy for him as he turns the page," Jane Davenport, managing editor at *The Toronto Star*, said last week in an email.

Over a cup of coffee in downtown Ottawa on May 17, Mr. Harper said he decided to take *The Star* up on a voluntary buyout package offer and he's leaving on his own terms.

"They're moving in a different direction. They want to get younger. I want new challenges. I never like to get too comfortable doing anything for too long because you lose your edge," he said. "I'll be 61 and I'm well aware of the perception that there's an awful lot of old white guys doing what I do. ... I didn't want to become like the old uncle in the corner of the newsroom."

While he said he does not have "any firm plans" he can share, "I have a project looming that I'm enthusiastic about that I'm sort of crafting on my own time."

Though he intends to continue writing, Mr. Harper said he's looking to make a "clean break" from covering politics.

"[I] don't expect I'm going to be sitting on a park bench feeding pigeons and then going to Starbucks," he said. "I don't like the 'R' word. I don't think I'm retiring, I'm just leaving. ... I suspect I'll be writing something for somebody when they come with a box and carry me out."

Originally from Hamilton, Mr. Harper moved to Toronto to study journalism at Ryerson University in 1974 after briefly working at a steel mill in his hometown after high school. He said he was drawn to journalism after realizing "early on" in public school that he had a "knack" for writing. And he was also part of the "post-Watergate era."

"Nixon had been brought down and there was a book, a movie to follow, and everything, so it was a really sexy thing to get into then," he said.

Mr. Harper started working for The Canadian Press in broadcast news while at Ryerson. After graduating in 1977, he wrote for *The Thunder Bay Chronicle* (before it folded), then *The*

Winnipeg Tribune (again, just before the paper died), then at *The Ottawa Citizen* before moving to Latin America to work as a freelancer, which included covering the civil war in El Salvador for *The Star*. He also covered stories in Nicaragua, Panama, Haiti, Jamaica, and "post-Jonestown Guyana," referring to the mass suicide involving now infamous cult leader Jim Jones that brought about the phrase "drinking the Kool-Aid."

Between working for "papers that folded," he freelanced for his hometown paper *The Hamilton Spectator*, and has also done so for *The Globe and Mail*.

In 1982, Mr. Harper was scooped up to work full time for *The Toronto Star*, starting off on the regular city beat. He first joined the press gallery in Ottawa in 1988, but shortly after the October 1993 federal election was transferred out of the bureau and onto the sports desk in Toronto, assigned to cover the Blue Jays. In 1994, players went on strike and "for the first time in history there was no World Series."

"It was an example of the impeccable Harper timing. They gave me the baseball beat and the baseball players stopped playing. So I became a labour reporter," Mr. Harper told *The Hill Times*.

He was back in *The Star*'s Ottawa bureau within the year, and in 2001 was made bureau chief. In 2003, he transferred to the paper's Washington, D.C. office, and while there was also sent down to New Orleans to cover Hurricane Katrina, the 2007 Virginia Tech shooting, and more.

"Katrina had an enduring effect because we had to keep reminding ourselves we were in an American city," Mr. Harper said. "It seemed everyone was armed and police wore no uniforms. ... Each night we would hightail it out of New Orleans back to Baton Rouge at first darkness to file stories and photos to *The Star*, sleeping in a compact car for 10 days because all rooms for miles around had been taken by those who escaped the city after the dikes burst."

In 2009, he was brought back to Toronto, "kicking and screaming into a management position" as national editor.

"I loved Washington and I didn't want to go to management, I thought it would kill me," he said. "In fact, I actually started to like it, but the hours and the responsibility are intense when you're middle management and the operation was starting to shrink even then. I suspect it's even more arduous now."

In 2011, Mr. Harper became a national affairs columnist for the paper, filing columns every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, which are also syndicated in other publications, including *The Hill Times*.

For the last five years, Mr. Harper's been commuting "back and forth" between Ottawa and Toronto—at first making the trek every weekend, but in recent years, has based it on Parliament's sitting schedule. He said he wanted to keep one foot in Toronto because



Toronto Star national affairs columnist is leaving Ottawa and the paper at the end of May, and said he's looking forward to moving back to Toronto full time.

The Hill Times
Photograph by
Jake Wright

he'd recently bought a house in the city, where he wanted to put down roots, and "thought it would keep [him] out of the Ottawa bubble from time to time."

"It's been quite instructive, because when you go back there you realize that some of the issues and players and so on that are all consuming to us here in Ottawa don't really make it down the 401. So I think it allowed me to better keep a perspective," said Mr. Harper. "I mean, I'm a political junkie. I love it. But it felt good to get away."

Over his years covering politics, Mr. Harper has a number of standout memories, including watching former prime minister Jean Chrétien announce Canada would not join the Iraq invasion in 2003 and working on the Hill on "the night the budget was leaked" by then Global News parliamentary bureau chief Doug Small in 1989 (for which he was later charged), forcing then finance minister Michael Wilson to introduce the budget in an impromptu evening press conference.

Another highlight, he said, was witnessing the 1993 federal election unfold.

"It just reshaped the country so much. The [Progressive] Conservatives were reduced to non-party status, the NDP had non-party status, and it was the rise of the Bloc [Québécois] and

Reform parties," he said, adding that he was "stuck on the NDP plane and we kind of knew they weren't getting party status three days into the campaign."

But he said "one of the most intense stories" he's ever covered was the battle for compensation for tainted blood victims in the 1990s. It was also a story he "really enjoyed" writing.

"You're dealing with people who didn't know what kind of life expectancy they had, and the government of the day—Allan Rock was the health minister—tried to do the right thing but didn't go far enough, and that saga went on and on and on. It was very dramatic at the time. It was a question of human rights and psychology," he said.

Mr. Harper said his recent years as a columnist have been "a privilege."

"How many people get paid to wake up in the morning and try to pronounce on something, which is by and large your opinion of what's going on that day?" he said, adding it's a "hell of a job."

Aside from doing his best to be fair, he said he tries to avoid taking "drive-by swipes at people" and strives to write "in a voice that can be clearly understood."

"I get a lot of engagement from readers, as all columnists do, and I love that and I'll miss it," he said. "But I want to be writing for the woman in Kitchener who

responds to me all the time or the guy in Alberta who thinks I'm an idiot, all of them. ... You never write to try to impress other members of the gallery."

Mr. Harper said he comes from the "vintage" of press gallery reporters "where the cabinet stake-out was just a regular part of the week's work." And while that's coming back "a little bit now," which is a good thing after years of not even officially announcing when cabinet met, coverage of Parliament Hill is still not what it used to be.

"There's a lot of journalists in a lot of bureaus who are spread rather thin," he said, as many bureaus, including *The Star*'s, have been "rather hollowed out of late," which "makes it much more difficult" to cover a beat. But while bureaus on the Hill have shrunk, "the talent level is as good as it's ever been."

Asked what advice he'd give to new reporters on the Hill, Mr. Harper said it's important to always keep perspective and not to get "bogged down" in the weeds of parliamentary "theatre."

"I would try to skim the tree tops so that your reporting, whether it's social media, long form, video, whatever it is, always has both eyes fixed on [regular] people," he said, adding that "it's a huge responsibility."

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FEATURE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS

‘Nobody has seen anything bigger,’ West Block masonry restoration project largest of its kind in North America

Rehabilitation of the West Block’s heritage masonry has also been a boon to the industry in Canada and has encouraged the development of new techniques, like large-scale laser cleaning.

Continued from page 1

up” this summer at a cost of roughly \$150-million in all, and PCL construction manager David Jenkins says it’s been “undoubtedly the largest masonry restoration project in North America” to date.

“We had a large group of international masonry union representatives from North America here [three years ago] and they all agreed on that.... nobody has seen anything bigger,” Mr. Jenkins told *The Hill Times* last week.

Roughly 30 per cent of the West Block building’s walls were “fully dismantled” and rebuilt as part of work, on top of completely rebuilding the northeastern Laurier Tower brick by brick.

“Much of the wall was fully dismantled, including the Laurier Tower which was 100 per cent dismantled. If you were around you saw us take the roof off [the tower] by crane [in 2013] and put it on the ground and take the entire stone structure all the way down and rebuild it,” he said.

Work to rehabilitate the West Block building first started in February 2011, with PCL Constructors awarded the main construction contracts for the building and RJW-Gem Campbell Stonemasons Inc. hired as a subcontractor. Overall, work is expected to have cost \$863-million when all is said and done, including \$150-million for masonry restoration and \$115-million for a new glass-domed courtyard infill which will serve as the interim House of Commons Chamber starting in 2018.

It’s an important step in Public Services and Procurement Canada’s larger, multi-billion dollar project to renovate Parliament’s crumbling neo-Gothic buildings, which are architecturally unique in North America. The federal government has spent an estimated \$2.2-billion on Hill renovations in the last 15 years, including the cost of 21 different projects, and is set to spend \$424.8-million in 2016-17, according to PSPC.

Walls were decayed and crumbling

Along with other work, rehabilitation of the West Block building has involved extensive masonry restoration, involving between 75 and 175 people working over four years. Before being cleared out for work, the building’s masonry and walls were “decayed” and crumbling and in desperate need of attention, including a seismic upgrade.

“In the 50s and 60s they repaired a lot of heritage masonry with the wrong kind of mortar, a much stronger, Portland cement mortar rather than the softer mortars that stopped the stone from cracking,” said Mr. Jenkins.

It was used on the Laurier Tower, “that’s why that one was taken down,” he said, and “many of the other walls were simply decayed” on the West Block.

The walls of the building are made up of multiple layers, he said: there’s the cut stone or field stone masonry façade that includes carvings and decorations, a layer of rubble core (made up of mortar and pieces of left over stone from carvings), a “straightforward” inside stone layer, a brick liner wall (the old method of insulation) and then the interior plaster.

In many places, that rubble core “was turning into sand,” said Mr. Jenkins, “water was getting into there and expanding the walls and disintegrating.” As well, “most of the mortar joints were failing in many areas,” of the building, and seismic anchors needed to be put in. In “a lot of places” the liner wall contained asbestos, put in during renovations in the 1960s, which had to be removed, he said.

“They were bulging, sand was pouring out of the joints, they were in bad shape,” said Mr. Jen-



A worker on the West Block building project. The restoration of the building’s heritage masonry is the largest project of its kind in North America to date and has involved extensive work, says PSPC.

Photograph courtesy of PSPC

kins. Supports were put in and in some places “entire wall sections” were then removed, he said.

“If you had seen behind our lovely white tarps there, you would have been able to walk straight through into the building in certain areas.”

Rocque Gameiro, a senior director in the West Block section of PSPC’s parliamentary precinct branch, said on top of bad mortar, “the real state of the masonry” was a result of “time.”

Ten years of surveying, designing

Figuring out what work was required to fix the West Block was “quite a process,” said Mr. Jenkins, and one that began ten years before construction work kicked off.

First, “masonry consultants” did a preliminary survey of the building, “which established that every wall needed to be scaffolded and treated,” said Mr. Jenkins. Next, “all of the walls” were photographed and about 1,500 “sculptural pieces” were numbered and identified. After that, scaffolding was erected and construction managers worked with conservators “to draw every single stone on the wall” using computer-aided design software (CAD), he said.

“We sequenced the way we wanted to do the walls to get at the excavation work [in the courtyard for the infill], but the overall masonry restoration process is a very careful balance between the [conservators] who diagnose every single stone on that wall up close, in detail, and specify or indicate a certain repair method to be used, either on the stone, or the joint, or in putting in seismic anchors,” he said. There were 162 different repair treatments to choose from in all.

Using CAD drawings—“thousands” of which have been produced—conservators mark “out what repair treatments they want done and then the masons start that work and the work is monitored and updated in CAD,” said Mr. Jenkins, adding workers are able to load the electronic CAD drawings onto iPads to move around the site and update work tracking.

“Every stone is numbered,” he said. “As stones get taken down the numbers are actually painted on the top side or the backside of the stone. Everything is photo-documented before it comes apart and these stones, if there are significant quantities, they are taken down and maybe moved away from that area or in fact taken off site in certain cases, or they’re left on the scaffold ... while the rubble core and the inner wythe [stone layer] is rebuilt and they’re put back in.”

A small percentage of the 143,000 stones that make up masonry façade of the West Block building were so “badly cracked or weathered” they had to be completely replaced, as did roughly 1.4-million interior bricks, but he said, “the bulk of stones went back in.” The West Block building includes red Potsdam sandstone, Nepean stone, and Berea sandstone.

Workers used lasers to clean the heritage masonry, said Mr. Jenkins, a technology that’s been around for about a decade, but hasn’t “been used on a large-scale like this” before.

“We investigated and brought on large-scale laser cleaning and if you look at that building you’ll see a very uniform approach to it, as opposed to some of the other buildings that have been cleaned with the old methods,” he said, adding the laser “gently burns off” soiling on stones.

“It’s done with a very skilled team and they’re dedicated to that and there are many mock-ups done before you just go at the wall. There’s a four-inch band of laser, there’s a fine pencil too. ... They’re working it back and forth and as you burn away the soiling on it—there’s copper soiling, there’s atmospheric soiling—as you burn these things away the stone lightens up and the laser becomes self-correcting, it becomes more gentle on the stone and the key is that you don’t burn off the full patina ... it’s a practiced thing.”

The sculptural masonry on the building requires “a much higher and different skill set” to rehabilitate, and conservators work

closely with stone carvers, said Mr. Jenkins.

“In some cases where it’s a highly ornamental sculptural item and it’s severely decayed, they have made a maquette, or a model, of what they believe it looked like and everybody has to agree on that. They make that out of plaster and then they go ahead and re-carve the entire sculptural element if it is to be replaced. In other cases, they’re drilling and pinning on new pieces of stone onto that sculptural item, they’re cleaning it with pencil lasers or mild abrasives,” he said.

The new red and black mortars used to repair the West Block are “lime-based mortars and hydraulic mortars that really self-heal as we get freeze/thaw, these mortars actually help the stone and the walls self-heal, crack and re-seal,” and are the “original colour mortars,” rather than the grey that was there when work started.

A number of industry and educational tours have checked out the West Block site over the years, and the project has “definitely been a boon to the heritage masonry sector of the industry” in Canada, said Mr. Jenkins, adding Algonquin College’s Perth campus “is supplying people.” Roughly 10 per cent of stone carvers working on the West Block are women, according to RJW-Gem Campbell Stonemasons.

“We’re really proud of that work [on the West Block] and we hope that people that are using the Hill in the future, and as they walk by the building, enjoy the building as much as we have during this rehabilitation process,” said Mr. Gameiro. “It’s absolutely beautiful, I cannot wait to have all the windows in place and give the public a good look at the exterior.”

Mr. Gameiro said while planning for Centre Block’s renovation is still in “very early stages,” the department is “assuming a very large masonry package” of work, similar to the East Block, where some masonry restoration work is already underway, bumped up in scheduling as a result of critical need.

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The Hill Times

FEATURE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS

Major projects in the rehabilitation of Parliament Hill: a primer



1 WELLINGTON ST.: COMPLETED

LTPV construction work: Interior renovations to provide space for parliamentary committee meetings.
Construction began: 2007
Construction ended: fall 2010
Cost: \$23.6-million
Permanent use: Right beside the Château Laurier, the Rideau Committee Rooms were renovated to serve as long-term parliamentary committee space, but is also a key interim space that was prepped to accommodate the closure of the West Block.



VALOUR BUILDING (151 SPARKS ST., PREVIOUSLY LA PROMENADE BUILDING): COMPLETED

LTPV construction work: Interior fit-up to accommodate parliamentary functions (offices, committee rooms).
Construction began: 2007
Construction ended: December 2010
Cost: \$77.5-million
Interim purpose: Provides space for 62 Parliamentarians’ offices and three committee rooms during West Block renovations, as well as a cafeteria and printing and postal services.
Permanent use: Will be home to the House of Commons and the Library of Parliament administration staff. This was its previous function; while the Valour Building serves as interim space for the West Block these functions are in interim spaces in leased office buildings downtown.



SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD BUILDING (144 WELLINGTON ST.): COMPLETED
LTPV construction work: Previously a bank, the building was stripped of teller booths and renovated to serve as a new venue for special parliamentary events, replacing the West Block’s old Confederation Room 200. Work included asbestos abatement as well as construction of a new annex addition that’s home to support function, including security screening for visitors, and two multi-purpose rooms, one of which can serve as committee space.
Construction began: April 2012
Construction ended: March 2015
Cost: \$99-million
Contractors: The EllisDon Corporation was awarded the contract for the building’s full rehabilitation. The building is being designed by prime contractor NORR Limited Architects and Engineers, a Toronto firm.



WELLINGTON BUILDING (180 WELLINGTON ST.):

Construction began: April 2010.
Current work: The current focus of work is on final finishes and commissioning work.
Overall work includes: The building requires a full seismic upgrade, large-scale interior demolition, hazardous material abatement (ex: asbestos), and the restoration and renovation of the buildings exterior and interior, respectively.
Construction will end: Handover to the House was scheduled for May 2016 with final finishes and systems commissioning work to follow before occupants to move-in in September.
Cost: Estimated to cost \$425.2-million.
Contractors: PCL Constructors was awarded the contract for phase 1 work (abatement, interior demolition, seismic upgrade); the EllisDon Corporation was awarded the contract for phase 2 work (interior fit-up etc.). NORR Limited, Architects and Engineers was contracted to act as design consultant for the project.
Interim functions: Will provide space for 69 Parliamentarians’ offices and 10 committee rooms for Senate and House of Commons functions when Centre Block goes under construction. It also includes space for a new, permanent Library of Parliament branch.
Permanent use: Will be home to House of Commons administration offices and is one of the spaces being used to consolidate the House administration functions currently spread throughout the downtown core.



WEST BLOCK:
Construction began: February 2011.
Current work: Workers are currently building up the structure of the West Block courtyard’s new infill building, which will be home to a temporary House of Commons Chamber when work begins on Centre Block. Inside, finishings and electrical and mechanical fit-up work are being done.
Overall work includes: A complete restoration of the building’s towers, the abatement of hazardous materials, interior demolition and renovation, repairs to exterior masonry, heritage restoration, splitting the old Confederation Room 200 into two separate floors (as per the original layout), and the construction of a new courtyard infill, including two levels of basement floors.
Construction will end: Set to complete in 2017.
Cost: Estimated to cost \$863-million, including the \$115-million glass-domed infill.
Contractors: The EllisDon Corporation is doing demolition work; PCL Constructors Canada was awarded the subsequent construction contracts for the building; a joint design venture of ARCOP/FGM Architects has also been contracted for work in the building and the construction of the infill.
Interim functions: Once work is complete, the West Block will serve as interim space for House of Commons functions while Centre Block is under construction.
Permanent use: When work on Centre Block is complete, West Block will return to its function of providing both office space and committee rooms. The courtyard infill will be used as additional space for committee rooms.



SECURITY PERIMETER PROJECT: COMPLETED
Construction work: Retractable bollards and security cameras were installed at the Bank Street, South Drive, and Elgin Street entrances. The historic wall lining the precinct was “restored” at the West and East gate vehicle entrances, which flank either side of the Queen’s Gate. Four pedestrian access points with iron gates were put in place. The green House of Commons buses, which previously entered through the East Gate, now enter through the Elgin Street Gate.
Construction began: October 2012
Construction ended: June 2013
Cost: The design service contract, awarded to Dessau Inc., cost approximately \$1.5-million; the construction services contract, awarded to EllisDon Corporation, costs approximately \$8.3-million.



GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE CENTRE (2 RIDEAU ST.):
Construction began: 2014
Overall work includes: Overall rehabilitation of the building, including asbestos abatement, as well as re-fitting the space to accommodate interim Senate functions.
Construction will end: Summer 2018.
Cost: An estimated total cost of \$219-million.
Contractors: PCL Constructors Canada serves as construction manager.
Interim function: The building’s concourse space is being renovated to serve as the interim Senate Chamber. The GCC will also house 21 related offices, three committee rooms, and other support spaces.
Permanent use: When Centre Block is complete the building will return to its regular function as the Government Conference Centre.



CENTRE BLOCK:
Construction begins: 2018
Current stage: Rehabilitation of Centre Block’s northern ventilation towers is already underway, as is work on the building’s East Pavilion masonry, along with a heritage recording of the building’s interior. Work, including costs and timelines, remains in the planning stage.
Interim space it will use: The House of Commons and Senate Chambers currently in the building will be temporarily relocated to the West Block and Government Conference Centre, respectively. Displaced Centre Block occupants will be moved into new office space in the Wellington Building.
Construction ends: Work is expected to take roughly 10 years to complete.



EAST BLOCK:
Construction work to date: Work on the Northwest Tower began Aug. 2011, and is now complete. Exterior masonry restoration work on the 1867 wing of the building will start in 2017, set to end in 2022, with rehabilitation of the rest of the building slated to follow work on Centre Block, which won’t begin until 2018 and could take ten years.
Overall work includes: The building’s overall rehabilitation remains in the planning stage.
Northwest Tower contract and cost: A \$6.6-million contract for the tower’s rehabilitation was awarded to Lari Construction. A \$167-million contract for the 1867 wing’s exterior restoration has been awarded to Arcop Group/DFS Inc. in a joint venture.
Permanent use: As it does now, when completed the building will continue to house parliamentarians’ offices and committee rooms frequented by the Senate.



VISITOR’S WELCOME CENTRE:
Proposed location: The welcome centre is being built underground in three phases as part of West Block, East Block and Centre Block renovations, respectively. Once complete all three sections will function as one welcome centre for all three buildings.
Proposed function: To provide visitor welcoming and security screening services, and new shipping and receiving facilities.
Current stage: Excavation work is near complete on the West Block portion of the visitor’s welcome centre, with concrete structure now being poured.
Planned timeline: The West Block portion is set to finish in 2017, with the other two phases to follow. —compiled by Laura Ryckewaert, May 2016.

FEATURE ALEX MARLAND

PMO 'central control deepening far more than people know or seem to care about'

Alex Marland talks about his book *Brand Command: Canadian Politics and Democracy in the Age of Message Control*.

By KATE MALLOY

OTTAWA—The pursuit of political power is more strategic than ever and political parties and governments are using the same brand control as the world's largest corporations, which does not bode well for democracy, argues Alex Marland in his thought-provoking new book *Brand Command: Canadian Politics and Democracy in the Age of Message Control*.

Mr. Marland, one of the country's leading experts on marketing and politics and an associate professor of political science and an associate dean at Memorial University of Newfoundland, substantially investigates the branding strategy in government and politics today and looks at how it will create serious problems for parliamentary democracy.

"Part of *Brand Command* builds on Donald Savoie's argument that the centre of government directs everything. My thesis is that political actors and public servants apply a 'branding lens' to policy and communications. If something seems incongruent with the PM's brand, it must be changed to comply. This may have been obvious with Mr. Harper, but I believe it is also true with Mr. Trudeau," said Mr. Marland.

Why did you want to write this book?

"One of my areas of interest is how marketing has been encroaching upon Canadian politics. The Harper Conservatives took this to new levels in Canada. They really paid attention to squeezing political efficiency out of all available communications resources—things like micro-targeting, database marketing, permanent campaigning. It was very much a top-down operation, and communications control was paramount. This can be smart politics, but concentrated power goes against democratic principles. So I wanted to get behind the scenes and explain how marketing is being used in politics and government, and what it means for Canadian democracy."

How long did it take you to write it and how much work was it?

"Writing *Brand Command* was a huge amount of work! I began in earnest in 2012. I filed a series of access to information requests with departments in the Government of Canada that spent the most on advertising. I visited the University of Calgary library to review internal party files deposited by Tom Flanagan from his time with the Reform Party, the Canadian Alliance Party, and the Conservative Party. And then I set about interviewing dozens of party strategists and government

insiders. Plus I picked over media reports (including *The Hill Times* stories), government documents, and academic publications. And then, just as we were going to print, wouldn't you know but the Trudeau Liberals form a majority government. So the long campaign and its momentous outcome prompted some rewriting to keep the content fresh and relevant, no matter who happens to be in power. Thankfully the good people at UBC Press put up with my obsession for detail."

What is your main message?

"I think the prime minister's circle prioritizes a set of core messages that they expect everyone to repeat. Digital communications makes it so easy for key messages to travel. They are repeated by people I refer to as 'brand ambassadors'—essentially, anyone who is a spokesperson. Some are better than others at spinning talking points. Importantly, digital media also allows for the gathering and sharing of intelligence about anyone who is off message. And this is where communications control and party discipline comes in. I have a memorable example in the book about how this changed from the early 1990s to the 2015 campaign. Technology has transformed politicking, particularly in a country the size of Canada."

Can you elaborate?

"Part of *Brand Command* builds on Donald Savoie's argument that the centre of government directs everything. My thesis is that political actors and public servants apply a 'branding lens' to policy and communications. If something seems incongruent with the PM's brand, it must be changed to comply. This may have been obvious with Mr. Harper, but I believe it is also true with Mr. Trudeau. It's much more than political operatives throwing their weight around—there is a lot of automatic brand compliance going on among those on the periphery. Sometimes it's self-censorship. As one public servant told me, if you know what's good for you, you keep your lips zipped. The same is true during election campaigns."

You argue that public-sector branding is an "unstoppable force no matter who is in power" and it creates serious problems for parliamentary democracy. What are these problems and how can this be stopped?

"My biggest concern is what message control means for Parliament, and, in particular, its ability to keep the PMO in check. Look at elections these days—a candidate who said something politically incorrect or worse before entering politics that is archived by Facebook or Twitter gets publicly shamed, and their political career comes to a dramatic end when the party ruthlessly cuts all ties. This screens out some bad apples, and I'm fine with that. However, those closest to the leader manage to hold on in part because jettisoning them would damage the leader's brand. What kind of MPs are we electing as a result of mes-

sage control? They all learn pretty quick on the campaign trail that if you publicly say something inconsistent with the official party line that you'll get a talking to, or much worse. To me, the PMO's power will only be kept in check if members of the governing party feel that they can publicly critique ministers and the prime minister. I understand why MPs don't do this. Electoral reform is little more than shuffling deck chairs, so the Senate is probably our best hope. On that front it is very encouraging that the Trudeau Liberals are trying to reform the Senate, though I do wonder how much is window-dressing. *Brand Command* identifies other issues and recommendations for reform on topics like government spending on advertising and photo-ops, including my view that it is a serious problem that the Government of Canada's brand symbols are so similar to those of the Liberal Party of Canada."

Why is this book important and who should read it?

"All Parliamentarians and political staff, as well as public servants and political journalists, will gain new knowledge about how government and politics works. People new to the Ottawa game will be shocked, while press gallery veterans and experienced politicians will find new nuggets of information. The book is laid out in a methodical way and pulls back the curtain on inside operations. It is perhaps best explained as a twist on Savoie's *Governing from the Centre*, with a dash of Flanagan's book *Harper's Team*, and the wonderful Susan Delacourt's recently re-released book *Shopping for Votes* (2016). Maybe a bit of *Irresponsible Government* (2014) by former MP Brent Rathgeber too. I am cautiously optimistic that it will become an important resource in studies of Canadian political communication, party politics and public administration."

Your book also examines political communications under the Harper Conservatives. Has political communications changed under the Trudeau Liberals?

"The Trudeau brand is refreshing and engaging. Even those who cringe at the selfies and the blatant photo-ops should acknowledge that the change in tone is a welcome relief after the intense negativity that permeated Canadian politics dating to the early 2000s. Hopefully the showmanship will fall away, because a shameless desire for publicity and public adulation can turn many citizens off politics too. For someone like me, the issue is that the more that the media's glare is on the prime minister, the more power that individual has. I believe that central control is deepening far more than people know or seem to care about. The creation of delivery units in the centre of the Liberal government are an excellent example of PMO control. It is not lost on me that if the Harper administration had created those we'd be hearing howls that Canada is becoming an authoritarian state. It is the role of academics to see beyond the



Alex Marland, author of *Brand Control*. Photograph courtesy of Janet Harron

public personas of political leaders, especially when everyone else is distracted by them."

What are the delivery units in the centre of the Liberal government?

"They are the clusters of specialized public servants working on priority files for the PMO/PCO. It is related to the Michael Barber and Matthew Mendelsohn 'deliveryology' stuff."

Is this something new under the Trudeau government?

"Yes, it is new to the federal government. It originated with New Labour in the U.K. (which is why the cabinet has brought in Barber—twice according to media reports), and was used in the McGuinty/Wynne government in Ontario."

Why do you say the pursuit of political power is strategic as never before? What do you mean?

"The competition for power involves a level of strategic manoeuvring and tactical execution in ways that are exceedingly complex. Sure, there's a lot of gut instinct involved—there just isn't enough money in Canadian politics to enable the kind of data analytics found in the U.S.A. In any event, you cannot form government on the basis of marketing alone. It was sometimes said that Harper was playing chess while everyone else was playing checkers. I would suggest that everyone is forced to play chess now. Even the smallest political parties have supporter databases, are using social media, are familiar with market segmentation to bundle coalitions, and so on. Everything is quick, quick, quick—not only do you need to operate in a media cycle that churns multiple times per day. This is where branding comes in: if you have a core set of messages and values the brand mantra acts as a guide for spinning a message no matter what the circumstance."

How has branding influenced democracy?

"Branding's supporters, including in the government, will tell you that it saves money and makes things more efficient. Navigating webpages with a common look and feel is an example; cutting down on the number of

sub-brands and logos throughout government is another. Templates for campaign signs, brochures, and websites have done wonders for local campaigns, while simultaneously imprinting a central command ethos. Branding also simplifies things for electors—the same messages are repeated, we see the same visuals over and over. Only the most rabid politicians read campaign platforms or care about policy discussions at party conventions. Most Canadians are busy with their daily lives and pay surface attention to politics. Branding connects with them. It also limits the potential for a brand ambassador to commit a gaffe or so-called "bozo interruption" that undermines the leadership team. So as a strategy it helps to move an agenda forward. The downside, of course, is that candidates and MPs, and even some ministers, become regional sales reps of a message set by people at the top. It becomes a serious problem when all messages align, bordering on state propaganda."



Where is Canadian politics headed?

"I am a cautious optimist. The proliferation of digital media means that traditional elite power structures are under stress to change and evolve. This is generally good. What is not good is that the online sphere has become a powerful interest group for the hyper-sensitive forces of political correctness. A healthy democracy is strongest when open-minded citizens carefully deliberate a variety of opinions. As a society, we need leaders who encourage thoughtful constructive debate, who are willing to challenge the wisdom of crowds, who question attachments to party labels, and who aren't afraid to sometimes take a public punch from their own brand ambassadors."

The Hill Times

HILL LIFE PARTIES



PARTY CENTRAL

BY RACHEL AIELLO

Heckling is good, legacy media may be doomed: what we learned from this year's Travers Debates

Heckling is one of the oldest ways to get a cheap thrill and has done for public discourse what pantyhose have for backseat romance. But without good heckling the Chamber would be pretty dreary. As well, democracy in Canada is still thriving despite struggles of the legacy, or traditional, news media.

Those were the winning teams' arguments at last Tuesday night's fourth annual Travers Debates.

Debaters once again brought thoughtful and bitingly humorous arguments to a crowd of wonky Hillites who lapped it up. The evening raised \$51,000 for the **R. James Travers** Foreign Corresponding Fellowship, the fundraiser that honours the legacy of the late *Toronto Star* reporter and columnist who died in 2011.

Before the debates got underway, attendees mingled at a reception, drinks in hand, and nibbled on hors d'oeuvres. There was a silent auction table with prizes such as: a Hill tour and lunch in the Parliamentary Restaurant for four with Senator **Jim Munson** (value priceless and minimum bid \$150); lunch for four with Defence Minister **Harjit Sajjan** (value priceless and minimum bid \$150); lunch for two with *The Globe and Mail's* **Bob Fife** (value \$125); a case of fine wine (value \$375 and minimum bid \$250); a subscription to the Sunday *New York Times* (value \$345 and minimum bid \$125); and **Idi Amin** memorabilia (value priceless and minimum bid \$200). There was also an autographed copy of **Dan Gardner's** book *Superforecasting: The Art and Science of Prediction* and lunch with the author (value \$125 and minimum bid \$70). There were two Via Rail 'sleeper plus' class tickets (one way) from Toronto to Vancouver (value \$3,300 and minimum bid \$1,400). There was also RedBlack tickets, a Terrain D'entente and T-shirt signed by the prime minister, an African warthog mask from the Ivory Coast, and a Kenneth Cole men's watch. Adorning the room were larger-than-life mockups of the news pages with stories from past Travers fellows.

The silent auction raised \$4,970. Mr. Sajjan's lunch for four went for \$550. *The Hill Times* own **Jake Wright** was the successful bidder on the **Idi Amin** memorabilia. Donated by Mr. Kent, a former television foreign correspondent who was in Kampala, Uganda with Tanzanian troops as they liberated the country, after the dictator fled, he picked up the medal and shoulder flashes in Amin's command post and bedroom.

Bob Rae, funny as usual, was the debate moderator; CBC's **Rosie Barton** served as the "mistress of ceremony," and former parliamentary budget officer **Kevin Page** served as timekeeper. Debate officials were Business Council of Canada's **John Manley** and Conservative MP **Peter Kent**. Mr. Rae joked about Chief Government Whip **Andrew Leslie** narrowly avoiding losing a key vote last week, saying he would now be called "Count Leslie."

Maclean's **Scott Feschuk** and NDP MP **Ruth Ellen Brosseau** debated in favour of heckling as a parliamentary privilege that should be maintained. They won against CBC's **Katie Simpson** and Liberal MP **Rodger Cuzner** who argued against heckling. All four were pretty good, but Mr. Feschuk easily

stole the show and was the run-away star.

Former Conservative MP **Paul Calandra** was the butt of many of the heckling jokes, with Mr. Feschuk calling him the "human anecdote jukebox." Ms. Brosseau called heckling the Viagra of democracy, there to straighten out flaccid ministerial responses.

James Travers' son, **Patrick Travers**, who now works in the Prime Ministers' Office as a policy adviser, took to the stage after the first show to share a few words about his dad and his memorable mantra: "Screw 'em if they can't take a joke."

Then Public Policy Forum president **Edward Greenspon**, former editor of *The Globe and Mail*, took on Abacus Data chairman **Bruce Anderson** on whether democracy is facing serious risks from the decline of legacy media.

Mr. Greenspon pointed out many of the flaws in the current system, like having to maintain an outsider's perspective while reporting on insider stories. However, he said that the biggest part of a journalist's job is showing up, and legacy media does that. He argued that if new media is to succeed, it'll be on the backs of old media.

"The greater freedom we have as news consumers, the greater freedom we have to challenge monopolies," Mr. Greenspon said.

Mr. Anderson said Canada's democracy is still thriving, but that the public's access to information through the media should be a key interest to government. He suggested finding ways to open up the legacy formats to new voices and younger people, and he argued hard against the idea of newspaper publishers and editorial boards telling its readers how to vote. He said calling the idea "quaint" was putting it in its most polite form.

Overall, Mr. Anderson's point of view won over the crowd.

Once the debate concluded, raffle winners were announced and attendees went on their way. Among those who came out to support the event were: Green Party Leader **Elizabeth May**; Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau's** director of communications **Kate Purchase** and her husband **Perry Tsergas**; Liberal MP **Adam Vaughan**; *Buzzfeed's* **Paul McLeod**; *Environics's* **Greg MacEachern**; CPAC CEO **Catherine Cano**; Angus Reid Institute's **Shachi Kurl**; CBC/Radio-Canada's head of GR **Shaun Poulter**; Canadian Press Ottawa bureau chief **Heather Scofield** and CP reporter **Kristy Kirkup**; *The Huffington Post Canada's* **Althia Raj** and **Catherine Lévesque**; *Maclean's* **John Geddes**; CBC Ottawa's **Joanne Chianello**; *Ottawa Citizen* editor-in-chief **Michelle Richardson** and editorial pages editor **Christina Spencer**; *Toronto Star* Ottawa bureau chief **Bruce Campion-Smith**; *Buzzfeed Canada* politics editor **Paul McLeod**; CTV's **Laura Payton**; Bloomberg's **Stephen Wicary**; *The Hill Times's* **Kate Malloy**, **Ally Foster** and **Les Whittington**; *Parliament Now's* **Christina Leadlay**; the *National Post's* new recruit **Marie-Danielle Smith**; *iPolitics's* **Janice Dickson**; freelancer **Claire Wahlen**; Carleton University's **Susan Harada**; NDP pundit **Jenn Jefferys** and *Media-Style's* **Caitlin Kealey**. As well, **Sean Moore**, **John Chenier**, **Hugh Winsor**, **Phil Kinsman**, **Nancy Jamieson**, and many others came out to show their support for the Travers Debates.



On Tuesday, May 17 media, parliamentarians and other Hillites filled the Panorama Room at the NAC for the fourth annual Travers Debates.



Sen. Jim Munson's staffer Christian Dicks.



PMO's Kate Purchase, Huffington Post's Althia Raj, and Jaimie Anderson Interns Lydia Blois, Larissa Parker, and Jeremy Ryant.



Liberal MP Rodger Cuzner and Bob Rae.



Abacus Data's Bruce Anderson.



Public Policy Forum's Ed Greenspon.



Conservative MP Peter Kent.



CBC Power & Politics host Rosie Barton.



CBC's latest hire Katie Simpson.



iPolitics' Janice Dickson, Canada 2020's Don Newman and Shannon Day-Newman.



Sun Media bureau chief David Akin.



CBC's Rosie Barton.



The Hill Times' Rachel Aiello and Ally Foster, with freelancer Claire Wahlen.



The Hill Times' Kate Malloy, consultant Stephen Hendrie, and University of Ottawa's Kevin Page.



Consultant Kelly Mounce, Nancy Jamieson, and Environics' Greg MacEachern.



Director of Communications to the Defence Minister Renée Filiatrault.



Rodger Cuzner.



Bluesky's Elizabeth Gray-Smith and The Hill Times' Christina Leadlay.



NDP MP Ruth Ellen Brosseau and Maclean's Scott Feschuk.

The Hill Times photographs by Jake Wright

HILL CLIMBERS POLITICAL STAFFERS



HILL CLIMBERS

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

Two more to PMO, while Garneau and McCallum hire aides

Sarah Welch, meanwhile, is director of policy and regional affairs to Aboriginal Affairs Minister Carolyn Bennett.

Two more staffers have been hired in the Prime Minister’s Office, including **Natacha Engel** as a special assistant for appointments and people.

Ms. Engel is a former senior vice-president with the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Montreal and a former lawyer with Norton Rose Fulbright’s Montreal office, focused on intellectual property, commercial litigation, and international arbitration, according to her LinkedIn profile.

She’s previously worked for McCarthy Tétrault, first as an intern and then as an articling student before being hired to practise commercial and medical litigation, technology law, and intellectual property law.

She’s founder and president of the Young Business Scene of l’École supérieure de ballet du Québec, where she previously studied classical and contemporary dance, and was vice-chair of the board of directors for the Fondation de l’École supérieure de ballet du Québec, among other past involvement. The conflict of interest commissioner is currently

reviewing her involvement with the group.

Ms. Engel has also been chair of the board of directors for the Virginia Brunelle Dance Co. and was previously involved with the Intellectual Property Institute of Canada on both its trade and copyright policy committees. She studied law at the Université de Sherbrooke and is also in the midst of a master of business administration at McGill University, set to graduate in 2017.

James McMillan is a writer in the PMO. He was a communications and media relations’ coordinator for the party in Vancouver during the 2015 federal election. Mr. McMillan was a litigation fellow in the office of general counsel at Hearst Corp. in New York.

He’s also been director and recording secretary with the Foundation for Alcoholism Research, starting in 2010, his first year studying a bachelor degree in English and American literature at Middlebury College in Vermont. He spent a year at Oxford University during his undergrad.

While studying, Mr. McMillan interned at a number of companies in the U.S. including Solar One, Focus Advisory Services LLC, Silver Pictures, and Charter House Coalition. He also previously worked as a videographer and editor with the Middlebury College Department of Theatre and Dance. In other past experience, in 2009 he was published in Chicken Soup for the Soul: All in the Family, and wrote a piece for the Gems of British Columbia: Volume One, from Penticton Writers and Publishers.

Katie Telford is PMO chief of staff, while **Gerald Butts** is principal secretary, and **Jeremy Broadhurst** is deputy chief of staff and deputy principal secretary.

Welch director to Indigenous Affairs Minister Bennett

In belated news, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Minister **Carolyn Bennett** has **Sarah Welch** working in her ministerial office as director of policy and regional affairs.

Before joining the minister’s office at the beginning of the year, Ms. Welch was a senior policy adviser to Ontario Aboriginal Affairs Minister **David Zimmer** since the summer of 2013. Prior to that, she worked briefly as a ministerial aide to then B.C. Liberal Multiculturalism Minister **John Yap**.

Ms. Welch worked on the Hill under the previous Martin Liberal government as a special assistant to then-heritage minister **Hélène Scherrer**. After the 2004 federal election, Ms. Welch worked as an MP’s executive assistant until 2009, later joining former Liberal leader **Michael Ignatieff**’s office as director of finance and administration.

She was deputy national tour director for the Liberal Party during the 2011 federal election, after which she spent roughly a year working as a protocol adviser for the City of Ottawa before moving to B.C.

Rick Theis is chief of staff to the minister while **Carolyn Campbell** is director of communications, **Vincent Haraldsen** is director of parliamentary affairs, and **Sabrina Williams** is press secretary.

Meanwhile, **Annalisa Harris** and **Brian Kaufmann** are policy and regional affairs advisers, **Ryan Cotter** is a special assistant for operations, **Bonnie Leask** is a special adviser, **Daniel Lindenas** is a special assistant for parliamentary affairs, and **Alexsa McKenzie** is assistant to the parliamentary secretary.

Minister McCallum promotes policy director

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Minister **John McCallum** recently promoted policy adviser **Kyle Nicholson** to the role of director of policy in his ministerial office on May 13.

Mr. Nicholson has been working in Mr.

McCallum’s ministerial office since he was sworn into cabinet last November, and before that was a parliamentary assistant to Mr. McCallum as a Liberal MP, previously for Markham-Unionville, Ont., now called Markham-Thornhill, Ont.

As well, **Sacha Atherly** is now a special assistant for policy in the minister’s office. She previously was an executive assistant and constituency office manager to International Trade Minister **Chrystia Freeland**, the Liberal MP for University-Rosedale, Ont.

Mathieu Bélanger is chief of staff to Mr. McCallum, while **Bernie Derible** is deputy chief of staff, director of issues management, and director of communications to the minister.

As well, **Jennifer Bond** is director of the Syrian refugee initiative in the minister’s office, **Kerry Cundal** is director of case management, **Camielle Edwards**, **Zubair Patel**, and **Nathalie Guay** are senior special assistants, **Félix Corriveau** is a senior adviser for strategic communications, **Francesco Biondi-Morra** and **Hursh Jaswal** are special assistants, **Stephanie Speroni** is executive assistant and scheduler to the minister, and **Olga Radchenko** is a special assistant for parliamentary affairs.

Brandan Rowe is also working in Mr. McCallum’s office as assistant to the parliamentary secretary, while **Bernard Morin** is a special assistant and driver, and **Denise Jackson** is private secretary and scheduling assistant.

Finally, Transport Minister **Marc Garneau** welcomed a new policy adviser to his ministerial staff team late last month. **Shane McCloskey** marked his official first day as a policy adviser to Mr. Garneau on April 25. Until recently, he was an instructor at Concordia University in Montreal, teaching undergraduate courses on climate change science and policy, natural disasters, and paleoclimatology, as indicated by his LinkedIn profile.

Mr. McCloskey has a bachelor degree in environmental science and a master’s degree in biology from Queen’s University in Kingston, Ont., as well as a PhD in physical geography from the University of British Columbia.

Jean-Philippe Arseneau is chief of staff to Mr. Garneau, while **Allain Berinstein** is director of policy, **Marc Roy** is director of communications, **Delphine Denis** is press secretary, **Adel Boulazreg** and **Gurveen Chadha** are policy advisers, **Alexander Jagric** is a special assistant for issues management, **Heather Chiasson** is a special assistant, and **Carola Haney** is executive assistant.

CABINET COMMUNICATIONS CHART

CABINET CHIEFS, DIRECTORS OF COMMUNICATIONS, PRESS SECRETARIES

Minister	Portfolio	Chief of Staff	D. Comms	Press Secretary	Main Office Telephone
Trudeau, Justin	Prime Minister, Intergovernmental Affairs, Youth	Katie Telford	Kate Purchase	Cameron Ahmad, Andrée-Lyne Hallé	613-957-5555
Bains, Navdeep	Innovation, Science and Economic Development	Elder Marques	-	Philip Proulx	343-291-2500
Bennett, Carolyn	Indigenous and Northern Affairs	Rick Theis	Carolyn Campbell	Sabrina Williams	819-997-0002
Bibeau, Marie-Claude	International Development and La Francophonie	Geoffroi Montpetit	Louis Bélanger	Bernard Boutin	343-203-6238, (PS) 343-203-5977
Brisson, Scott	Treasury Board	Sabina Saini	-	Jean-Luc Ferland	613-369-3170
Carr, Jim	Natural Resources	Janet Annesley	Laurel Munroe	Alexandre Deslongchamps	343-292-6837
Chagger, Bardish	Small Business and Tourism	Rachel Bendayan	James Fitz-Morris	Vahid Vidah	343-291-2700
Dion, Stéphane	Foreign Affairs	Julian Ovens	Joe Pickerill	Chantal Gagnon	343-203-1851, (D.Comm) 343-203-5938
Duclos, Jean-Yves	Families, Children and Social Development	Josée Duplessis	Mathieu Filion	Emilie Gauduchon	819-654-5546
Duncan, Kirsty	Science	Rob Rosenfeld	Michael Bhardwaj	Véronique Perron	343-291-2600
Foote, Judy	Public Services and Procurement	Gianluca Cairo	Annie Trépanier	Jessica Turner	819-997-5421
Freeland, Chrystia	International Trade	Brian Clow	-	Alexander Lawrence	343-203-7332
Garneau, Marc	Transport	Jean-Philippe Arseneau	Marc Roy	Delphine Denis	613-991-0700
Goodale, Ralph	Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness	Marci Surkes	Dan Brien	Hilary Peirce*	613-991-2924
Hajdu, Patty	Status of Women	Monique Lugli	Nadège Adam	-	819-997-2494
Hehr, Kent	Veterans, Associate Defence	Christine Tabbert	Norbert Cyr	Sarah McMaster	(Veterans) 613-996-4649, (Associate Defence) 613-996-3100
Joly, Mélanie	Canadian Heritage	Leslie Church	Christine Michaud	Pierre-Olivier Herbert	819-997-7788
LeBlanc, Dominic	House Leader	Vince MacNeil	-	Sabrina Atwal	613-995-2727
Lebouthillier, Diane	National Revenue	Josée Guilmette	Cédrick Beauregard	Chloe Luciani-Girouard	613-995-2960
MacAulay, Lawrence	Agriculture and Agri-Food	Mary Jean McFall	Guy Gallant	-	613-773-1059
McCallum, John	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship	Mathieu Bélanger	Bernie Derible	-	613-954-1064
McKenna, Catherine	Environment and Climate Change	Marlo Raynolds	Frédérique Tsai-Klassen	Caitlin Workman	819-938-3813
Mihychuk, MaryAnn	Employment, Workforce Development and Labour	Matthew Mitschke	John O’Leary	-	819-654-5611
Monsef, Maryam	Democratic Institutions	Ali Salam	Jennifer Austin	Jean-Bruno Villeneuve	613-943-1838
Morneau, Bill	Finance	Richard Maksymetz	Daniel Lauzon	Annie Donolo	613-369-5696
Philpott, Jane	Health	Geneviève Hinse	David Clements	Andrew MacKendrick	613-957-0200
Qualtrough, Carla	Sport and Persons with Disabilities	Matt Stickney	-	Ashley Michnowski	819-934-1122
Sajjan, Harjit	National Defence	Brian Bohunicky	Renée Filiatrault	Jordan Owens	613-996-3100
Sohi, Amarjeet	Infrastructure and Communities	John Brodhead	Kate Monfette	Brook Simpson	613-949-1759
TooToo, Hunter	Fisheries, Oceans and the Canadian Coast Guard	George Young	Mike Murphy	Patricia Bell	613-992-3474
Wilson-Raybould, Jody	Justice	-	Michael Davis	Joanne Ghiz**	613-992-4621

* communications officer. ** senior communications adviser.

Prime Minister’s Press Office: 613-957-5555
Kate Purchase, director of communications
Olivier Duchesneau, deputy director of communications
Cameron Ahmad, press secretary
Andrée-Lyne Hallé, press secretary

—updated on May 17, 2016.

OPINION CANADA'S BOREAL FOREST

Why protecting Canada's boreal forest is this century's great conservation idea

A hundred years ago, the Migratory Bird Treaty helped shape North America's conservation ethic. Today, new initiatives in Canada offer hope for a sound environmental future.



JEFF WELLS

Historians would not consider 1916 a good year for the planet. The largest war the world had ever seen was raging in Europe, with millions of people killed and maimed and no end in sight.

But during that time of despair, a ray of hope shone through in international relations. Canada and the United States signed a treaty to cooperate in an ambitious effort to restore populations of shared migratory birds, including many species that were being hunted to near extinction.

Because there was little or no regulation in place before 1916, robins, doves, shorebirds, ducks, geese, and other birds were being shot at any time of the year and in unlimited numbers. The number of birds being killed each year took an enormous toll: for example, passenger pigeons, a species estimated to have once numbered in the billions, were driven into extinction. The Eskimo curlew, a small shorebird that nested in the Canadian Arctic, was also lost to extinction—its population decimated by the killing of entire flocks during migration.

With the Migratory Bird Treaty in 1916, Canada and the U.S. agreed to stop the carnage. The treaty set rules on what types of birds could be hunted and when, and created a structure to decide how many of each species could be killed. Within a couple of years, both countries had passed legislation to enact the promises of the treaty.

It worked.

Many species of birds hard-hit by the relentless market hunting soon rebounded and are with us today because of this remarkable 100-year-old treaty.

But this year, as we mark a century of North American cooperation on bird conservation, a new report released by the governments of Canada, the U.S., and Mexico shows the urgent need to add new ideas to achieve the same success in the next 100 years.

The report, "The State of North America's Birds 2016," was released May 18 and identifies a third of the continent's bird species to be at high conservation risk.

And while the report cites the boreal forest of Canada and Alaska as the most ecologically intact forest region of North America, it also estimates that nearly 20 per cent of the bird species there are of high conservation concern. That's because vast areas of the southern boreal forest in Canada are within the footprint of large-scale industrial land use. What's more, changes in climate are creating increased threats to forest habitat in the form of droughts, fires, and floods.

Simply put, the regulation of market hunting is no longer the issue that will decide the future of our shared bird populations and the broader environmental resources they represent. Today, the major factor affecting the fate of our birds is the loss and degradation of the habitats—the forests, wetlands, shrublands, grasslands, and other natural areas—upon

which they, and we, depend.

But there's good news.

Because large parts of the boreal forest region remain intact, there is still an opportunity—in fact, perhaps the last such opportunity in human history—to retain large portions of the landscape free of large-scale industrial disturbance.

Maintaining vast areas of healthy intact landscapes of forests, peatlands, marshes, and other habitats would allow birds to raise their young. It would also increase the resilience of various populations of birds and other animals and plants to the impacts of climate change.

Luckily, leaders from across the geographic, cultural, and political spectrum have begun implementing a new conservation vision for the next century. Its tenets are strikingly simple:

Vastly raise the benchmark for the amount of land under conservation. Experts agree that

at least half of the boreal forest region should be under permanent protection from industrial land uses, with the remainder subject to world-leading sustainable development standards. This goal, articulated in the Canadian Boreal Forest Conservation Framework, is endorsed by more than 1,500 scientists worldwide.

Support the rights of indigenous communities to develop land use plans for, and manage, their ancestral lands through investment in a national indigenous "guardians" program. This would equip local indigenous people to actively monitor and protect the lands and wildlife under conservation, providing the best chance of maintaining ecological integrity over time.

Implementation of a new conservation vision has already begun in Canada, where the governments of Ontario and Quebec have articulated ambitious commitments to protect at least half of their northern landscapes

through the Far North Act and Plan Nord, respectively. "The State of North America's Birds 2016" cites the actions in Ontario and Quebec as particularly encouraging. But it's critical that these policies are fully implemented and place community-based land use planning at their core.

Just as Canadian and U.S. leaders came together 100 years ago to forge a bold new idea—a treaty of mutual promise in the midst of war—the leaders of today from federal, provincial, and indigenous governments, corporations, and nonprofits need to embrace the new ideas of conservation that will ensure a future for our birds and our people.

Jeff Wells, science director at the Boreal Songbird Initiative, is an adviser to The Pew Charitable Trusts' international boreal conservation campaign.

news@hilltimes.com
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CANADA'S AGING SOCIETY

THE HILL TIMES POLICY BRIEFING

Publication Date: June 6, 2016

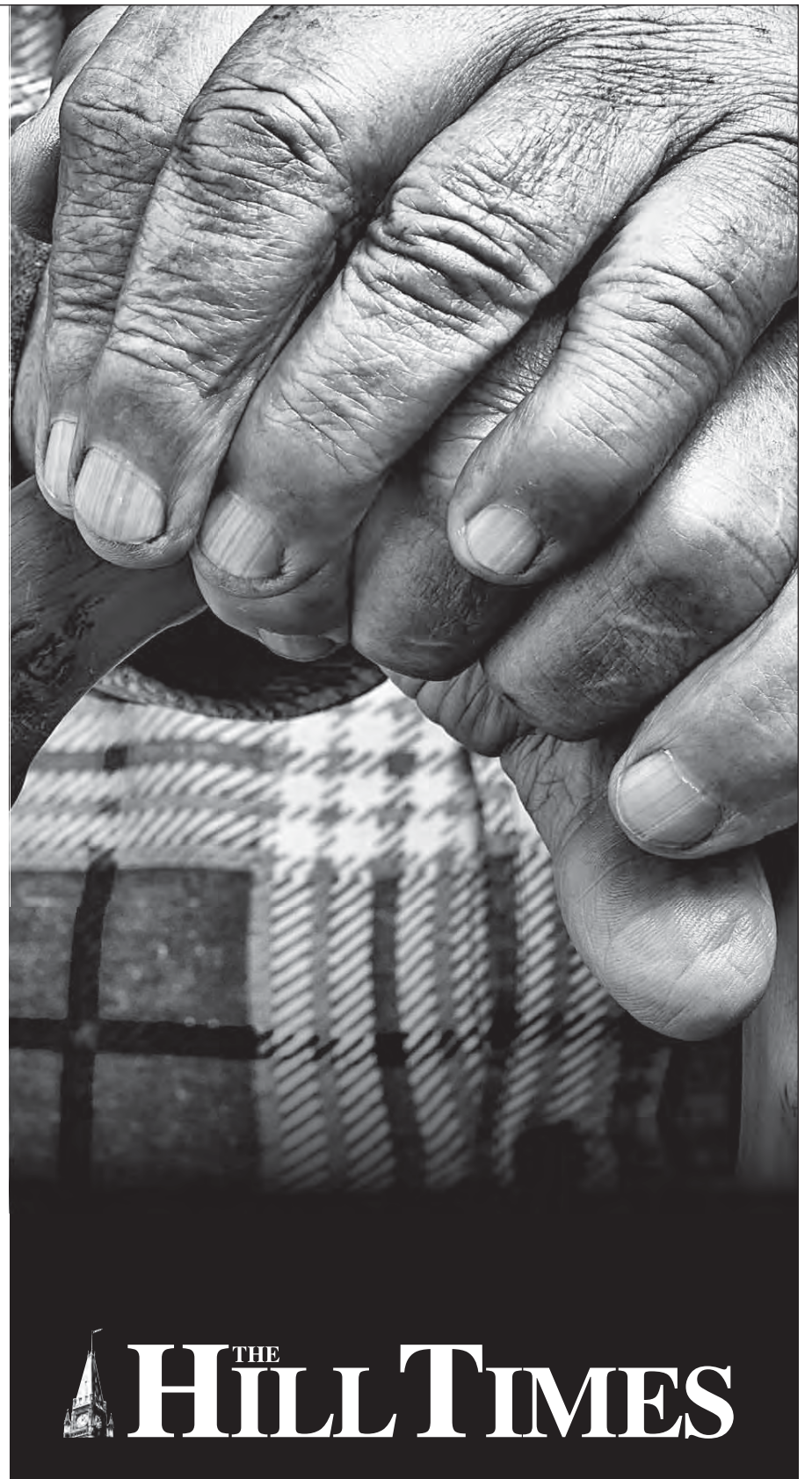
Booking Deadline: May 31, 2016

In this policy briefing, *The Hill Times* looks at home care for seniors and at how the number of Canada's seniors has edged out the number of children under the age of 15 and what that means for shifting demographics and future housing demands. We look at the issue of doctor-assisted suicide and how the Canadian Medical Association is pushing to make sure palliative care reform is a political priority. We look at how the next "golden age" of Canada's public service will be led by millennials and what the federal government must do to attract highly-valued workers under the age of 35. And we look at what more seniors means for financing more drug consumption.

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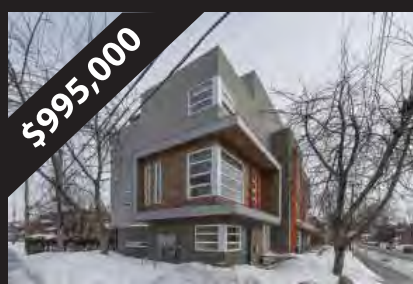
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FEATURE EVENTS

PARLIAMENTARY CALENDAR



Trudeau to attend G7 Leaders' Summit May 26-27 in Japan

MONDAY, MAY 23

House Sitting—The House is not sitting this week, but returns again on May 30. It's scheduled to sit every weekday for four weeks until Thursday, June 23, when it breaks for the summer.

Prime Minister Trudeau to Attend G7 in Japan—Prime Minister Justin Trudeau will travel to Japan to participate in the G7 Leaders' Summit on May 26 and 27 in Ise-Shima. Prior to the Leaders' Summit, and at the invitation of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister Trudeau will participate in an official working visit from May 23-25. For more information, contact the PMO Press Office at (613)-957-5555.

TUESDAY, MAY 24

'Immigration and the Economy for Tomorrow' Keynote: Immigration Minister John McCallum—Co-hosted by the Pearson Centre for Progressive Policy and the Toronto Region Board of Trade. Venue: Toronto Region Board of Trade, First Canadian Place, 77 Adelaide Street W., Toronto; Luncheon, 12 p.m. to 2 p.m. Panel discussion: Moderator: Sandra Papatello, co-chair, Econ4Tmro Series, Pearson Centre; strategic adviser PwC Canada. Panelists: Janet L. Bomza, partner, PwC; Catherine Chandler-Crichlow, Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council; Andy J. Semotiuk, Pace Law. For more info: www.thepearsoncentre.ca.

Canadian Club of Ottawa Hosts Chief of Defence Staff—Gen. Jonathan Vance will speak. May 24. 12 p.m.-2 p.m. Chateau Laurier hotel, ballroom, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa. \$40-\$75. Order tickets: eventbrite.ca/e/general-jh-vance-cmm-msc-cd-tickets-22245139812

WEDNESDAY, MAY 25

The Grace-Pépin Access to Information Ceremony Award—Main lobby, May 25 at 30 Victoria Street, Gatineau, Que., beginning at 10:30 a.m. This year's ceremony will be presented during Indigenous Awareness Week, which runs from May 24 to 27, 2016. The winners of 2015 Grace-Pépin Access to Information Award are: Ken Rubin and The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

CANSEC—Canada's global defence and security trade show, May 25-26, EY Centre, Ottawa, organized by the Canadian Association of Defence and Security Industries. RSVP@defenceandsecurity.ca.

Australia's Defence White Paper—Australian secretary of defence, Dennis Richardson, will speak on Australia's defence review process and strategic context. Event organized by the Canada School of Public Service. Free and open to the public. 3 p.m.-5 p.m. at the Library and Archives Canada, 395 Wellington St. (lecture begins at 3:30 p.m.). Registration required in advance through the Canada School of Public Service website: http://www.cspsefpcc.gc.ca/events/cappi/index-eng.aspx.

Reclaiming the Commons—Join master of ceremonies Sean Wilson at the Library and Archives for an evening of literary conversation. Heather Menzies, 2015 winner of the Ottawa Book Award for Non-Fiction for her book, Reclaiming the Commons for the Common Good, will be interviewed by Peter Schneider. Wednesday, May 25, 5:30 p.m.-7:30 p.m., 395 Wellington St., Ottawa. Please register by email at: bac.marketing.lac@canada.ca Introductory remarks by Guy Berthiaume, Library and Archives Canada, and Simon Brault, Canada Council for the Arts.

Canada China Friendship Society Presentation—Opportunities and Obstacles to a Canada-China Free Trade Agreement with Daniel Ciuriak. He is the co-author, with Laura Dawson of *Chasing China: Why an Economic Agreement with China is Necessary for Canada's Continued Prosperity*. May 25, 7:30 p.m., Christ Church Cathedral, 414 Sparks St. Free for members of the Canada China Friendship Society, \$5 for non-members.

Opportunities and Obstacles to a Canada-China Free Trade Agreement—The Canada China Friendship Society presents this discussion with Daniel Ciuriak. He is the co-author, with Laura Dawson, of *Chasing China: Why an Economic Agreement with China is Necessary for Canada's Continued Prosperity*. Christ Church Cathedral, 414 Sparks St. May 25, 7:30 p.m. Free for members of the Canada China Friendship Society, \$5 for non-members.

Defence Policy Review Considerations: Thoughts on Future Conflict and its Impact on DND/CAF—Join the CDA Institute for a roundtable discussion with retired lieutenant-general Michael Day. Not for attribution and no media reporting. 10:30 a.m.-1 p.m. May 25. Telfer School of Management, World Exchange Plaza, 45 O'Connor Street, suite 350, Ottawa. \$15-\$50. Includes refreshments and lunch. Register via cdainstitute.ca

THURSDAY, MAY 26

Liberal Biennial Convention—The federal Liberals will hold their convention in Winnipeg, Man., May 26 to May 29.

Conservative Convention—The federal Conservatives will hold their convention in Vancouver, B.C., May 26 to May 29.

The Embassy of Romania in Canada will host on Thursday, May 26, 2016, the opening of the art exhibition, " Vasile Mosanu: Vision Beyond the Apparent: Paintings, graphics, stained glass, fusing, icons, murals." The exhibition will be open to the public from May 26 to June 16, 2016 (Embassy of Romania, 655 Rideau St., Ottawa).

FRIDAY, MAY 27

Electoral Reform Conference—The Canadian Study of Parliament Group hosts a full-day conference on electoral reform featuring four panels on: "History of the Canadian Electoral System and Reform," "Electoral Reform: The Different Models," "Lessons and Experiences from Elsewhere," and "Path to Electoral Reform, Referendum, and Constitutional Amendment." Breakfast and lunch will be provided. \$25-\$200. Sir John A. Macdonald Building, 144 Wellington St., Room 100, Ottawa. 8:30 a.m.-4 p.m. Register online. cspg-gcep.ca

SATURDAY, MAY 28

Rideau Chorale Presents Handel's Coronation Anthems—Rideau Chorale, conducted by Roland Graham, along with Matthew Larkin on organ, and the Baroque Orchestra, present George Frederic Handel's Coronation Anthems, together with Handel's Organ Concerto in F major, op.4. Saturday May 28, 7:30 p.m. Southminster United Church, 15 Aylmer Ave., Ottawa. \$10-\$30. Tickets available at Compact Music, the Southminster Church Office, The Leading Note and choir members.

SUNDAY, MAY 29

Taiwan Film Screening: Together—Seventeen should be a carefree age, but Yang gets to see the complexities of love involving his friends and family. Should he just stand aside and watch or should he risk himself to help? Presented by the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Canada in collaboration with Ottawa Asian Heritage Month Society. Sunday, May 29, begins at 2:10 pm with a complimentary reception and film starts at 2:45 pm, Chamber at Ben Franklin Place, 101 Centrepointe Drive, Nepean. In Mandarin Chinese with English subtitles. Free admission.

MONDAY, MAY 30

House Sitting—The House is sitting this week and is scheduled to sit for four weeks until Thursday, June 23, when it breaks for the summer.

TUESDAY, MAY 31

Filling the Prescription: The Case for Pharmacare Now—This parliamentary Breakfast presented by Canada's Nurses will address the need for a national prescription drug program in Canada. In order to expand the range of voices pressing for action, the Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions is pleased to provide a crucial perspective on this discussion by inviting a range of voices to help explain the debate, including leading experts Steve Morgan from UBC and Marc-André Gagnon from Carleton University. Tuesday May 31, Parliamentary Restaurant, Centre Block, 7:30 a.m.-8:45 a.m. Space is limited for this complimentary event. All MPs and Senators are welcome, all others please contact Oxana Genina ogenina@nursesunions.ca or 613-526-4661 to confirm attendance.

Cabinet Meeting—Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is expected to hold a Cabinet meeting today in Ottawa. For more information, call the PMO Press Office at 613-957-5555.

Spring Reports of the Commissioner of Environment and Sustainable Development—Environment and Sustainable Development Julie



Prime Minister Trudeau to Attend G7 in Japan—Prime Minister Justin Trudeau will travel to Japan to participate in the G7 Leaders' Summit on May 26-27 in Ise-Shima. Prior to the Leaders' Summit, and at the invitation of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister Trudeau will participate in an official working visit from May 23-25. For more information, contact the PMO Press Office at (613)-957-5555. *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*

Gelfand will release her spring report on May 31. The reports will deal with federal support for sustainable municipal infrastructure; mitigating the impacts of severe weather; and chemicals in consumer products and cosmetics. There will be a media lockup from 7 a.m.-9:45 a.m. ET at the Office of the Auditor General of Canada at 240 Sparks St., Ottawa, followed by a news conference at 11:30 a.m.-12:15 p.m. at the National Press Theatre, 150 Wellington St. For more information, please contact: media relations at 1-888-761-5953 or email infomedia@oag-bvg.gc.ca.

Great Canadian Debates—Is Canada's Supreme Court intruding on Parliament? Is Canada's activist Supreme Court running roughshod over Parliament? Lord Conrad Black and Irwin Cotler will debate that question on May 31 at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa. Ticket information is available at http://www.macdonalddaurence.ca/events/great-canadian-debates-is-canadas-supreme-court-intruding-on-parliament/

Chicken Farmers of Canada Parliamentary Reception—Chicken Farmers of Canada is hosting its annual parliamentary reception on Tuesday, May 31 from 6 p.m.-9 p.m. in the Drawing Room of the Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa. An excellent selection of hors d'oeuvres prepared with high-quality, fresh Canadian chicken will be served. Please RSVP at lkennedy@chicken.ca.

Diplomatic Hospitality Group—The Canadian Federation of University Women's Ottawa Diplomatic Hospitality Group invites diplomats, their spouses/partners, and families to May 31 a bus trip to Upper Canada Village, Morrisburg. 9 a.m.-5 p.m. A nominal fee will be charged to help cover costs.

Farewell for Tim Harper—*Toronto Star* scribe Tim Harper is leaving the gallery. Or so he says. After past dalliances with the U.S. capital, major league ballparks, and *Star* management, he has always come back. But just in case it's for real this time, he's being thrown a party, says Bruce Campion-Smith. Tuesday, May 31, Métropolitain Brasserie Restaurant, 700 Sussex Dr. 6:30 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1

Business Council of British Columbia 50th Anniversary Reception—Join leaders from B.C. businesses, aboriginal communities, post-secondary institutions and parliamentary guests for a celebration of 50

years of success between CBC members and their partners across country in building a strong and prosperous Canadian economy. Wednesday, June 1, 5:30-7:30 p.m., Room 200 Sir John A. Macdonald Building, 144 Wellington St. To RSVP, please contact Alicia Adams at Alicia@earnsccliffe.ca.

Liberal Caucus Meeting—The Liberals will meet in Room 237-C Centre Block on Parliament Hill. For more information, please call Liberal Party media relations at media@liberal.ca or 613-627-2384.

Conservative Caucus Meeting—The Conservatives will meet for their national caucus meeting. For more information, contact Cory Hann, director of communications, Conservative Party of Canada at coryhann@conservative.ca

NDP Caucus Meeting—The NDP caucus will meet from 9:15 a.m.-11 a.m. in Room 112-N Centre Block, on Wednesday. Please call the NDP Media Centre at 613-222-2351 or ndpcom@parl.gc.ca.

Business Council of British Columbia 50th Anniversary Reception—Join leaders from B.C. businesses, aboriginal communities, post-secondary institutions and Parliamentary guests for a celebration of 50 years of success between CBC members and their partners across country in building a strong and prosperous Canadian economy. Wednesday, June 1, from 5:30-7:30 p.m., Room 200 Sir John A. Macdonald Building, 144 Wellington St. To RSVP, please contact Alicia Adams at Alicia@earnsccliffe.ca.

Oceans Week—Join CPAWS and the Marine Conservation Institute for a reception and learn more about their recent report on North America's progress in protecting our ocean. Remarks by Dr. Lance Morgan, President, Marine Conservation Institute and Sabine Jessen, national director, CPAWS Ocean Program. Wednesday, June 1, 6 p.m.-8 p.m.

Commonwealth Room, 238-S, Centre Block. Event sponsored by the All-Party Ocean Caucus co-chairs, Liberal MP Scott Simms and NDP MP Fin Donnelly.

Sharp Wits and Busy Pens Book Launch—The Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery will launch *Sharp Wits and Busy Pens: 150 Years of Canada's Parliamentary Press Gallery*, edited by Hélène Buzzetti and Josh Wingrove. Wednesday, June 1, 6:30 p.m.-9 p.m., Alfred-Pellan Room, Library and Archives Canada, 395 Wellington St., Ottawa. RSVP to bac.marketing.lac@canada.ca.

THURSDAY, JUNE 2

Hill Times Event: Half-Day Forum: Innovation In Seniors Care—As seniors are expected to increase to more than a quarter of the Canadian population by 2036, provinces and territories are struggling to meet the health care needs of their aging population. In this year's budget speech, Finance Minister Bill Morneau announced his intent to invest in innovative practices to protect the integrity of the health-care system and find ways to work with partners to identify solutions. The forum will explore this important public affairs issue and ways in which practices and government policy can be adapted to result in positive change for seniors in Canada. Join us on June 2 for a half-day forum as we hear from association executives, industry, academia and government to further the dialogue and bring forward suggested solutions. 11:30 a.m.-5 p.m. at the Shaw Centre, 55 Colonel By Dr., Ottawa. Registration prices are \$249 for subscribers and \$299 for non-subscribers. Special group discounted pricing is available.

Capital Glass Collective Fund-raiser—The Capital Glass Collective is having its introductory fund-raising soiree. This new entity in Ottawa's art scene aims to build a new generation of glass artists in our city through classes, residences and collaborations, including a very special one with the Odawa Native Friendship Centre. We need the community's help to get started so we are hosting this fundraiser as an introduction to this project and to raise funds towards the equipment and at-risk youth program. June 2. Tickets are \$55 and can be purchased through Eventbrite. The event will be at 250 City Centre, Bay 228, 7 p.m.-11 p.m.

Murray Sinclair: Reconciliation and Poverty in Canada—Senator Murray Sinclair will deliver the keynote address at Citizens for Public Justice's 2016 Annual Meeting on Thursday, June 2 at 7:30 p.m. at Dominion Chalmers Church (335 Cooper St). He will speak about how reconciliation can reduce poverty among Indigenous Peoples in Canada. All are welcome. Refreshments will be provided. To RSVP or for more info, please contact Brad Wassink at brad@cpj.ca or go to www.cpj.ca/agm-2016.

THE SPIN DOCTORS

By Laura Ryckewaert

“What do you think of the federal government’s response so far to the wildfire in northern Alberta? What’s important going forward?”



KATE PURCHASE

Liberal strategist


“Canada is a country where we look out for our neighbours and lend a hand in difficult times.

“The people of Fort McMurray and the surrounding area can count on the full, continued support of this government. Our relief efforts are government-wide and far-reaching: National Defence continues to provide air support to firefighting and the delivery of essential aid; Canada Post continues to ensure the people of Fort McMurray can get their mail, wherever they prefer; while the RCMP continues to keep affected communities safe, conduct road blocks, and provide search and evacuation efforts.

“To complement these efforts, our government established an ad hoc cabinet committee to coordinate federal recovery and rebuilding measures for the thousands of Canadians affected by the wildfires. We also expanded extended employment insurance benefits to three additional regions—including Edmonton.

“In the days and weeks ahead, we will continue to match every dollar individually donated to the Canadian Red Cross in support of those affected by the wildfires. We are tremendously proud of the outpouring of aid from Canadians across the country, and thank first responders for their heroic work.

“We know that all of us will continue to support the residents of Fort McMurray as they begin their recovery.”



CORY HANN

Conservative strategist

“Well, it was certainly good to see the Prime Minister finally make his way to Fort McMurray to see the devastation firsthand. This is a wildfire that forced a mass evacuation—one of the largest of its scale for a fire in Alberta’s entire history, and residents and evacuees there need to be reassured their government is ready to assist.

“While nothing concrete was delivered, I personally remain hopeful that this disaster stays on the Liberals’ radar as much as it has for our interim leader and our entire caucus. Rona Ambrose and our caucus have been to Alberta helping firsthand, they’ve been visiting Red Cross centres across the country, attending fundraisers that help the people of Fort McMurray, or even helping host our own fundraisers here in Ottawa.

“Going forward, we need to be prepared to move swiftly and ensure as residents start to return to Fort McMurray, they’re given the full support they require—whether that’s moving infrastructure funds into the area to help with the rebuild, working with charitable organizations to help allocate donations and other items, or being prepared to assist in other areas as people’s lives start to come back together.”



RICCARDO FILIPPONE

NDP strategist

“The response to the wildfires in Alberta is one area I think the Liberals haven’t fallen short.

“They did all the right things. They worked swiftly, closely, and cooperatively with the Notley government. The aid and support put forward was generous and without strings attached—including matching Canadians’ donations to the Red Cross.

“Also, although Fort McMurray was already designated in the initial 12 regions that the government targeted to receive extended EI benefits, the fires that raged through it are having economic ripple effects in places like Edmonton as well. Having been left out of the extended benefits plan since the start, on May 13 the government extended EI benefits to a number of areas including Edmonton. This was an important part of helping with the larger economic fallout from the fires.

“The most important thing moving forward will be for the government to honour their long-term commitments to the people of Alberta. The Prime Minister has committed to being a partner for the weeks, months and years ahead. Being there for Albertans a long time from now—when the crisis has faded from memory—will be the true test of their response.”



MATHIEU R. ST-AMAND

Bloc Québécois strategist

“On the whole, we could say that the Trudeau government has responded well to the crisis in Alberta. However, by announcing that the fire-affected areas will be added to the list of regions where EI benefits will be extended, the government is not at all addressing the problem of access to EI.

“Adding five weeks of benefits is all well and good, but workers still need to qualify. To really support workers, Minister Mihychuk should launch an in-depth reform of employment insurance, the primary objective being to improve accessibility. Regional and seasonal workers are still finding it too hard to qualify. The EI fund should also be independent and not serve as the Treasury Board President’s piggy bank. EI must not be a tax on work, but instead real insurance that all workers are entitled to.

“Basically, the Trudeau government is putting a band-aid on a broken arm. It is time for a real solution for our workers.”



CAMILLE LABCHUK

Green strategist

“The northern Alberta wildfire brought unimaginable devastation to communities, but it also brought out the best in people—both in the affected areas as well as from people across the country. The outpouring of donations, kindness, and support has been truly inspiring. We should be proud of our response as Canadians, and applaud federal, provincial, and municipal governments for their cooperation and quick response to this tragedy.

“Thinking long-term, we know that Canada is certain to experience future disasters, like seismic events on the B.C. coast or in the Quebec/Ottawa Valley region, or the floods, wildfires, and droughts that are increasingly likely as our planet heats up. In the aftermath of Fort McMurray, we need a national conversation about adaptation and resilience to all natural threats.

“We need to adapt our emergency response systems to a post-climate change world. Our coordinated responses to natural disasters will help us protect as many lives as possible, and save our communities from devastating losses to the greatest extent that we can.”

Funding to our health care system will increase by over \$1 billion this year.

ontario.ca/bettercare

Paid for by the Government of Ontario

Investing in new and better ways for all Ontarians to get the care they need means:

- 700 new doctors and specialists
- 35 hospitals currently being renewed, modernized or expanded
- \$250 million invested in home and community care
- \$345 million invested to improve wait times and access to care

These investments ensure a strong health care system for both today and tomorrow.



THE HILLTIMES EVENTS

INNOVATION IN SENIORS CARE

JUNE 2, 2016 | 11:30AM - 5PM
SHAW CENTRE

PRESENTED BY:

ASSOCIATION
MÉDICALE
CANADIENNE



CANADIAN
MEDICAL
ASSOCIATION



On June 2, join the discussion on innovative practices and policies for an aging population.

The federal government's commitment to a new Health Accord is considered to be essential to the sustainability of Canada's health care system. As provinces and territories struggle to meet the health care needs of their aging population, the forum addresses opportunities to be able to deliver a health system for all Canadians.

Seniors today account for 14 percent of Canada's population. It is expected to increase to more than a quarter of the population by 2036. The new Liberal government has recognized that something needs to be done. In this year's budget speech, Finance Minister Hon. Bill Morneau announced his intent to invest in innovative practices to protect the integrity of the health care system and find ways to work with partners to identify solutions.

For more information and to register visit hilltimes.com/events

Speakers Include:

Hélène Chartier - vice-president, go-to-market, strategy & enablement, TELUS Health

Shelagh Maloney - vice president, consumer health, communications and evaluation services, Canada Health Infoway

Josephine McMurray - network investigator and project lead, AGE-WELL, and assistant professor, Wilfrid Laurier University

Nadine Henningsen - executive director, Canadian Home Care Association

Francine Lemire - executive director and CEO, College of Family Physicians Canada

Mary Bertone - past president, Canadian Dental Hygienists Association

Kiran Rabheru - past president, Canadian Academy of Geriatric Psychiatry

Chris Power - CEO, Canadian Patient Safety Institute

Lisa Ashley - senior nurse advisor, Canadian Nurses Association

Chris Simpson - past president, Canadian Medical Association

Gabriela Prada - director health policy, Conference Board of Canada

Erin Strumpf - associate professor, McGill University

Brent Mizzen - director policy development, Canadian Life and Health Insurance Association

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