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ITS ACT P.12**

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# THE HILL TIMES

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR, NO. 1347

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSWEEKLY

MONDAY, JUNE 13, 2016 \$5.00

## Parliamentarians celebrate 150th anniversary of first meeting on the Hill



**Say cheese:** MPs, including Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, interim Conservative Leader Rona Ambrose, NDP Leader Tom Mulcair, Green Party Leader Elizabeth May, and Senators all gathered on the Hill on June 8 to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the first meeting on the Hill. First held on June 8, 1866, the Legislature of the Province of Canada met for the first time in the original Parliament Building in Ottawa. Happy anniversary! *The Hill Times* merged photograph by Jake Wright

### NEWS HUNTER TOOTOO

## Tootoo in same Muskoka rehab centre Ford went to

Fisheries officials say Hunter Tootoo was 'one of the best' ministers in years, while others say a lack of information is allowing rumours to develop.

By **ABBAS RANA**

Former fisheries minister Hunter Tootoo, who resigned abruptly from cabinet two weeks ago "to seek treatment for addiction issues," is undergoing treatment at the same treatment centre near Muskoka, Ont., where former Toronto mayor Rob Ford, who died in March, received his alcohol and drug treatment two years ago, *The Hill Times* has learned.

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### NEWS DEMOCRATIC REFORM

## 'They're very solid,' award-winning academics Jarvis, Turnbull recruited by PCO to support Democratic Institutions

By **DEREK ABMA**

Two Donner Prize-winning co-authors are working in the Privy Council Office to support the minister mandated to deal with the politically explosive issue of electoral reform.

Mark D. Jarvis and Lori Turnbull are both working in the Privy Council Office. Mr. Jarvis is "on secondment" with the Privy Council Office as a policy adviser on democratic reform, according to his LinkedIn profile. His duties include supporting Democratic Institutions Minister Maryam Monsef (Peterborough-Kawartha, Ont.) on issues such as electoral reform, according to his profile, which also says he started the job in March.

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### NEWS ELECTORAL REFORM

## MPs to hunker down on electoral reform's 'very robust' schedule

By **LAURA RYCKEWAERT**

MPs on the upcoming and historic special electoral reform committee will hold town hall meetings in all 338 ridings across the country this summer as they look at ways to reform Canada's first-past-the-post electoral system.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) promised to enact electoral reform legislation 18 months after forming government and wants the committee to look at a variety of reforms including ranked ballots, proportional represen-

tation, mandatory voting, and online voting. Electoral reform is a politically explosive issue.

Membership announcements and a first meeting of the reconstituted all-party electoral reform committee are expected this week, and related activity is anticipated throughout the summer—including with town hall meetings in all 338 federal ridings—meaning the upcoming parliamentary "break" for MPs is shaping up to be a busy one.

Continued on page 25

### NEWS SYRIAN REFUGEES

## Rookie Liberal MP Ouellette wants McCallum to help get 120 South Sudanese out of Syria

By **ABBAS RANA**

A rookie Liberal MP is pushing the federal government to bring 120 South Sudanese refugees into Canada who fled their homeland but are now stuck in war-torn Syria.

Liberal MP Robert-Falcon Ouellette (Winnipeg Centre, Man.) told *The Hill Times* last week that he has written a letter to Immigration Minister John McCallum

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## FEATURE BUZZ



# HEARD ON THE HILL

BY DEREK ABMA

## Bernier proposes doing away with CRTC as telecom regulator



Conservative leadership candidate Maxime Bernier last week said the CRTC should be phased out as the country's regulator of the telecom industry. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

There's probably been some water-cooler chatter about politics lately in the corridors of 1 Promenade du Portage

in Gatineau, which is where the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) is based.

Last week, at the Canadian Telecom Summit in Toronto, Conservative leadership candidate **Maxime Bernier** said Canada's telecom market could get along just fine without the CRTC. He said Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada could handle much of the agency's role in telecommunications regulation, and the Competition Bureau is sufficient for ensuring a competitive marketplace in the sector.

Mr. Bernier was particularly critical of the CRTC's decision, recently upheld by federal cabinet, that forces major Internet service providers to provide wholesale space to smaller service providers on next-generation fibre networks.

"As the industry evolves, the CRTC finds new reasons to continue to regulate it in order to justify its existence. In doing so, the CRTC is not protecting consumers, it is only protecting its own power," Bernier said, according to *The Wire Report*.

"The telecom industry is a mature and competitive industry, and it should be treated as such. For me, it is not a playground for bureaucrats."

He didn't address, specifically, how he feels about the CRTC's role in regulating the TV and radio industries.

Add telecom "bureaucrats," along with egg, dairy, and poultry farmers, to the list of people who might not be first in line to volunteer for Mr. Bernier's campaign.

### Jefferys starts communications job with AFN

**Jenn Jefferys** has taken a job as communications officer with the Assembly of First Nations.

She will report to communications director **Don Kelly**, and is slated to be there

for one year as she takes over for **Jenna Young Castro** while on maternity leave.



Jenn Jefferys is now with the AFN. Photograph courtesy of Jenn Jefferys

Ms. Jefferys said she's a non-status Anishinaabe-kwe. While she was not raised on reserve or with traditional First Nations teachings, she said she's "lifelong advocate for social justice" and is "ecstatic to be joining the AFN comms team at the most exciting time in indigenous history."

She referred to recent investments in First Nations promised by the Liberal government and the ongoing reconciliation process as aspects that will make for "an extremely busy year ahead."

Ms. Jefferys' past work includes freelance writing for a variety of publications, including *The Hill Times*, as well as communications work for the Native Women's Association of Canada and Equal Voice, as well as social media work for the NDP.

Continued on page 29

## Memo to Treasury Board:

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## NEWS LEGISLATION

# Family-friendly Parliament study expected this week, some measures could be implemented this year

The Procedure and House Affairs Committee has finished drafting its report on how to make Parliament more inclusive and it's expected to include recommendations to improve Hill child care.

By RACHEL AIELLO

A study into how to make Parliament more family-friendly is expected to be tabled this week, and members of the committee say some measures, including changes to Hill child care, could be made this year.

"What we have with the report is really a snapshot of the highlights of things that we all feel are very important, things like child care on the Hill," committee member and Liberal MP Ginette Petitpas Taylor (Moncton-Riverview-Dieppe, N.B.) told *The Hill Times* last week.

"We want to make sure they have the tools they need to be able to work effectively here on the Hill and that includes including their families here as well," Ms. Petitpas Taylor said, adding that it's about finding a better work-life balance.

She said the committee has been in touch with the day-care facility on the Hill to see what changes could be made.

"Those are going to be changes that I think we're going to see in a very, very timely future here. ... I would dare say that I'm hoping that we're going to see some movement before year-end with respect to some of those themes that have been discussed," said Ms. Petitpas Taylor.

Conservative MP and committee member Jamie Schmale (Haliburton-Kawartha Lakes-Brock, Ont.) said there are "a number of initiatives" the committee is working on with the day care to help MPs and their families.

"I have a five-year-old son so anything that can help me balance

the work and the family life is a good thing," he told *The Hill Times*.

The Procedure and House Affairs Committee was asked to conduct this study by Government House Leader Dominic LeBlanc (Beauséjour, N.B.) when he appeared before the committee early in the session to discuss his mandate. The study focused on ways to make Parliament more efficient, researching what other Westminster parliaments' sitting schedules are, when votes are held, as well as looking at parental leave and child-care services.

The committee held 10 meetings between February and May before beginning to draft its report. Committee chair and Liberal MP Larry Bagnell (Yukon) said he expects the report will be tabled midway through next week, but it's possible it could be delayed because there are a number of other committee reports waiting to be translated by the Library of Parliament.

It's expected the report will include both procedural recommendations, and things to be studied and discussed further with all Parliamentarians.

"The report gave us a snapshot of everything the committee members agreed on. ... There were some elements or some themes in the report that were discussed that we probably couldn't come to that everyone was in favour, however," said Ms. Petitpas Taylor.

One of these issues was the possibility of opening up a second chamber for debate, and with MPs soon moving into a new House of Commons in the West Block, it's possible when construction is complete that both the Centre Block and West Block spaces could be kept open. In the Australian Parliament, the dual chamber meets about 30 per cent of the time that the other House sits, but already the Canadian Parliament sits more days than politicians do in Australia.

The Liberals say it's an idea that needs more study, but Conservative members on the committee are not fans.

"It's a place where speeches go to die. They have a minimal quorum requirement because nobody wants to be there," Conservative MP Scott Reid (Lanark-Frontenac-Kingston, Ont.) told *The Hill*



Procedure and House Affairs Committee chair Larry Bagnell told *The Hill Times* he expects the report on making Parliament more family-friendly to be tabled this week. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

*Times*. He suggested if more time is needed for MPs to speak, time reserved for Members to speak before Question Period should be extended.

Liberal MP and committee member Ruby Sahota (Brampton North, Ont.) said she's a fan of removing Friday sittings because it would allow her to spend more time with her family. She added that better behaviour among MPs in the House, more certainty in the sitting schedule, and more day-care spots with better hours for the Hill day care would help encourage more people with families to run for office.

"We have a very unpredictable work schedule we don't know what is going to happen minute to minute, whether we'll be sitting until midnight any given day," Ms. Sahota told *The Hill Times*.

## House Affairs Committee continuing to investigate Bill C-14 leak

Now that the committee has completed its work on the family-friendly study, it will continue to investigate a prima facie breach of privilege raised by Conservative House Leader Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask.) following what has been perceived to be a leak of **Bill C-14**, the government's physician-assisted dying bill, reported on by *The Globe and Mail*.

The issue was referred to the committee on Tuesday, April 19, in regards to a story published on Tuesday, April 12—two days prior to the bill being tabled in the House—by reporter Laura Stone that discusses mainly what the bill will not include. Parliamentarians have the right to be the first to see the contents of a bill.

The committee so far has heard twice from Acting Clerk of the House of Commons Marc Bosc, acting clerk of the House, and parliamentary counsel Philippe Dufresne, as well as Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould (Vancouver Granville, B.C.).

Appearing last Thursday, Ms. Wilson-Raybould told the committee she was confident the leak did not occur from her department and to this day does not know what happened, but recognized the "substantive number of people involved" from a number of departments and commended them for looking into the matter.

Conservative members on the committee have stated they'd like to next hear from Health Minister Jane Philpott (Markham-Stouffville, Ont.) and staff within the Prime Minister's Office. The idea of inviting Ms. Stone has also been raised.

Responding to *The Hill Times* questions about whether she has been asked to testify and whether she thinks her story breached parliamentary privilege, Ms. Stone said she does not comment on her stories.

The Liberals on the committee are making that case that no

actual leak of the bill occurred, arguing that more than anything, the story in question discusses what the legislation would not include. As of deadline, no further meetings on this topic had been scheduled.

## House of Commons to begin late-night sittings to deal with Senate amendments

Starting this week, MPs could potentially be sitting until midnight as extended hours come into effect. Last Thursday, the Liberals got unanimous consent of the House to sit late to deal with Senate amendments to **Bill C-14**, the physician-assisted dying legislation, and potentially **Bill C-7**, dealing with RCMP collective bargaining.

Last week, after missing the Supreme Court June 6 deadline, Senators began debating and passing amendments to **Bill C-14**. It's expected there will be more amendments this week.

**Bill C-7** was to be given clause-by-clause consideration at the Senate National Security and Defence Committee last Wednesday, but instead, according to the CBC, Senators plan on conducting more hearings as they're concerned with what the bill excludes.

Now that the government's budget implementation legislation, **Bill C-15** has passed into the Senate, it will be another one to watch.

It's expected the government will also try to pass **Bill C-6**, An Act to amend the Citizenship Act and to make consequential amendments to another Act, and **Bill C-2**, An Act to Amend the Income Tax Act. Both are currently at third reading in the House. **Bill C-6** amendments are scheduled to be debated at third reading on Thursday.

Monday and Tuesday are scheduled supply days, and Wednesday after debating a report from the House Transport, Infrastructure and Communities Committee report on grain transportation, the House will begin second-reading debate on **Bill C-13**, which enables Canada to implement the World Trade Organization's agreement on trade facilitation.

Beginning last week, and expected to continue, will be ministers tabling new bills, getting them on notice, and read a first time so they are in the window over the summer for stakeholders and departments to prepare ahead of consideration in the fall.

The House is currently scheduled to adjourn on June 23, though parliamentarians are expected to be back the following week on June 29 to hear U.S. President Barack Obama jointly address MPs and Senators in the House of Commons. Extending the sitting days to still be in town by the time the visit happens is still on the table.

raiello@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times

## HOUSE AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

### FAMILY-FRIENDLY HOUSE OF COMMONS WITNESS LIST:

#### May 17, 2016

Australia House of Representatives  
• David Elder, clerk  
• James Catchpole, serjeant-at-arms

New Zealand House of Representatives  
• David Wilson, clerk

#### May 17, 2016

United Kingdom House of Commons  
• Anne Foster, head of diversity and inclusion  
• David Natzler, clerk  
• Joanne Mills, diversity and inclusion program manager and nursery liaison officer

#### May 10, 2016

Legislative Assembly of Ontario  
• Deborah Deller, clerk

#### May 5, 2016

• As an individual, David Prest  
• Carleton University's Centre for Women in Politics and Public Leadership executive director Clare Beckton  
• National Assembly of Quebec director of parliamentary proceedings François Arsenault

#### April 21, 2016

Public Service Alliance of Canada  
• Jim McDonald, labour relations officer, Union of National Employees  
• Roger Thompson, president, Local 70390

United Food and Commercial Workers Union Canada  
• Mélisa Ferreira, representative, Local 232  
• Tara Hogeterp, representative, Local 232  
• Thomas Shannon, president, Local 232

#### April 19, 2016

As an individual, Gary Levy  
Equal Voice  
• Grace Lore, senior researcher  
• Nancy Peckford, executive director

Inter-Parliamentary Union  
• Kareen Jabre, director, division of programs

#### April 14, 2016

House of Commons  
• Benoit Giroux, director general, parliamentary precinct operations  
• Marc Bosc, acting clerk  
• Pierre Parent, chief human resources officer

#### April 12, 2016

• Lisa MacLeod, Nepean-Carleton, Legislative Assembly of Ontario  
• Sheila Copps  
• Christine Moore, Member of Parliament

Parliamentary Spouses Association  
• Michelle Warkentin, member  
• Regina Flores, member

Vanier Institute of the Family  
• Nora Spinks, CEO

#### February 2, 2016

• Marc Bosc, acting clerk, House of Commons





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## NEWS LEGALIZATION &amp; MARIJUANA

# Details on marijuana task force coming, to deal with supply, jurisdiction, retail, taxes

A marijuana industry official says existing licensed producers could supply just 10 to 15 per cent of what demand will be once recreational use of marijuana is legalized.

By DEREK ABMA

Insiders say the questions a government task force on marijuana legalization must deal with include how and where consumers will purchase it, how much involvement the provinces will have in its regulation, how adequate supply will be created, and what level of taxes should be applied.

Multiple sources have confirmed a report that former Liberal cabinet minister Anne McLellan has been appointed to lead the task force, though this has not been publicly announced yet, and that the whole task force and its mandate will be revealed before MPs break for the summer on June 23.

Don Gracey, a partner with the CG Group, which is lobbying the federal government on behalf of a prospective producer of marijuana, was among the people who said this is true, as did another person who has been in discussions with the government on this matter but asked not to be identified.

"Anne McLellan has been appointed the chair of this task force," said Mr. Gracey, whose client Georgian Bay Biomed is in the process of building a production facility in Collingwood, Ont., initially planned for medicinal marijuana but which will now also be used for recreational pot. "We understand that the provinces have been asked for and have submitted, I guess what could be categorized as, nominees for provincial representation on the task force."

He added that he's heard through federal sources, and officials from the Ontario government, that the task force's "mandate and membership" will be announced before the House rises at the end of the month.

An assistant to Ms. McLellan at the Edmonton law office of Bennett Jones, where she works, said Ms. McLellan is not able to comment on this just yet, but "I'm told the announcement will be soon; soon hasn't been defined just yet."

Michael Davis, a spokesman for Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould (Vancouver Granville, B.C.), said details of the task force would be announced "in the coming weeks."

"It will give us expert advice on how the legalization process

should take place," he added. "It will include perspectives from many different sectors, including health, justice, law enforcement, and public safety."

Mr. Gracey said he assumes that task force will travel across the country to hear views of various stakeholders and advocates. He said it's his understanding that it will have eight months to do its work before making recommendations to the government, and the bill would be before the House next spring.

The unidentified source said the task force will be given until November to submit a report to Liberal MP Bill Blair (Scarborough Southwest, Ont.), the former Toronto police chief who's been appointed as the government's point person on this issue.

"The whole goal is to have legislation tabled by this time next year ... and that it become law, get royal assent, by the following Christmas," this person said.

Tim Boosarma, CEO of Georgina Bay Biomed, said having enough supply to meet demand when recreational marijuana becomes legal will be a major challenge.

"Without adequate supply on the shelf, the consumer will become disenchanted and may resort to purchasing their product back on the illicit black market," Mr. Boosarma said.

He said that those currently licensed to produce medicinal marijuana produce enough to supply just 10 to 15 per cent of what the demand will be when recreational use is legalized.

Mr. Boosarma added that there is a backlog of would-be producers waiting to be licensed for medicinal production. With anticipation of the eventual recreational legalization, he said priority should be given to approving large-scale producers.

"Producers with high volumes should be favoured when the continued licensing process goes forward," he said. "The producers of the future recreational consumer market will have to be built to achieve volumes that can satisfy the inventory requirements of large retailers."

He said anywhere between three million to eight million Canadians are expected to be consumers of recreational marijuana once legal.

Mr. Gracey said that provinces expect to have most of the responsibility in terms of regulating the retail market. While provinces are reluctant to act on this issue before the federal government is close to finalizing its legislation, he said coordination is needed among all levels of government throughout the process to ensure that the supply is there when marijuana becomes legal.

The unnamed source also said one of the biggest obstacles in this process will be ensuring there is enough legal supply to meet the demand since "the overall goal of this is to eliminate the black market."



Anne McLellan is expected to be announced as chair of a task force that will consult with Canadians on how to go about legalizing recreational use of marijuana.  
*The Hill Times*  
photograph by Jake Wright

He said: "In order to have significant and suitable supply to meet the demand, producers are going to need a minimum of six months to expand their facilities and ramp up production," he said.

Those close to the situation say taxation levels are going to have to be set that are beneficial to both federal and provincials governments but do not create prices so high as to keep the illicit market in demand.

"They have to achieve a price point low enough to be competitive with the average cost of illegal marijuana—approximately, let's say, \$10 a gram—in order to extinguish the black market," Mr. Boosarma said. "Producers that can leverage large economies of scale will be in the best position to achieve such price points."

The unnamed source said: "The average price of a gram of marijuana on the street and in these weird dispensaries is about \$10. The starting price of medical marijuana as it exists right now is \$5 a gram, plus HST. ... So then the government will have to ask how much money it wants out of it but also what is a price that makes it so whoever they determine the licensed producer of the product will be can still make money and grow the industry, while also getting rid of the black market."

This unnamed source said the federally appointed task force will assess to what degree the federal government should set the rules regarding distribution, retail, and legal purchasing ages, and to what degree it leaves this up to provinces, as is done with alcohol.

"If the feds wanted, they could have some big inter-gov working group on it, where everyone one agrees, or they could leave it to the provinces," he said.

This person said there remains questions about how recreational marijuana will get to end users. He noted that, currently, most medicinal marijuana is distributed by mail, and this system has proven to be effective.

"If you're the federal government and you want to be selfish about it, then you would just keep it that way and then you make it so Canada Post isn't losing any money anymore," he said.

Mr. Boosarma said an "ideal scenario" would be to have provincially run liquor retail outlets sell recreational marijuana "because they provide a recognizable, reliable face and trusted environment. ... They have direct government oversight."

Mr. Gracey said, based on talks with provincial government officials, provinces expect to have most of the responsibility in terms of regulating the retail market for recreational marijuana, which makes it likely provincial liquor stores will handle sales. He said consideration has also been given to selling it in pharmacies.

The unnamed source said it could make sense for major marijuana producers to cooperate on operating retail outlets, such as major breweries do with The Beer Store in Ontario.

He said provincial liquor retail operations, such as the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO), might not be in a great position to quickly assume responsibility for recreational marijuana.

"The LCBO is not going to want to renovate every single LCBO to be able to sell marijuana and then put in massive safes and whatever the mechanisms that are forced upon it to keep it stored safely," he said. "And also, the LCBO doesn't service everywhere, like if you're in the north or wherever."

"So maybe you determine for the first six months or 12 months you'll just do it as a through-the-mail thing, the way it's done now, and then you take the data of where it's going to and you say, 'Okay LCBO, here's a place to go, here's a place to go, here's a place to go.'"

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) said during last year's election campaign that he did not want marijuana sold at convenience stores because of doubts such outlets could effectively keep it out of the hands of minors.

Mr. Boosarma said he'll be pressing upon government the need for strict labelling and quality regulations on recreational marijuana, with "stringent inspection processes that help ensure public safety and trust in the consumption of recreational marijuana."

He said a fewer number of large production facilities, versus many smaller operations, would be easier for the government to monitor for quality control.

Mr. Boosarma and Mr. Gracey said they are slated to meet with several federal officials—both politicians and department officials—this week on the issue of marijuana legalization. They would not specify who they are expecting to meet.

dabma@hilltimes.com  
*The Hill Times*



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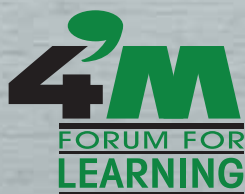
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## EDITORIAL MAURIL BÉLANGER

# House right to support B  langer's gender neutral national anthem

Liberal MP Mauril B  langer, whose health is rapidly deteriorating and is dying of ALS, was forced to attend a vote in the House of Commons last Friday so that his private member's bill to create a gender-neutral national anthem could pass the report stage and go to a final House vote on Wednesday. He was determined to be in the House.

People watching the proceedings on television Friday might have been inspired by the will and determination of Mr. B  langer, while also disturbed by the fact that he clearly did not look like someone who was in any shape to be in the parliamentary Chamber.

However, to get the bill past the report stage with no amendments and to prevent it from falling to the bottom of the priority list—which would have made it less likely that Mr. B  langer will be around to see it pass—he had to be present in the House on Friday.

It did not have to be that way. The Conservatives had the chance to help the House achieve the unanimous consent that would have allowed fellow Chief Government Whip Andrew Leslie to become the bill's sponsor, which would have made it possible for Mr. B  langer to preserve his strength that is obviously becoming more of a scarcity for him with each passing day. But Mr. B  langer's office also said he was determined to get this bill passed.

The Conservatives, who are opposed to the suggested change in Bill C-210—rewording the part in O Canada that says “in all thy sons command” to “in all of us command”—claim that not enough con-

sultation with Canadians has taken place. Actually, it's a discussion that started years ago under the Conservative government, who ultimately backtracked on the initiative.

Surveys over the years have shown conflicting results on where Canadians stand on this issue, though a recent survey by Mainstream Research indicated a growing majority of people support the change proposed by Mr. B  langer.

But much of this is beside the point. The Liberals have the majority in the House and are within their mandate to pass this bill, and ultimately will. They even have backing from NDP members on it. The Conservatives are within their rights to oppose the bill, but they must surely see that the numbers are not on their side. They must recognize that's it's getting passed, one way or another.

The question is why they would force a situation in which someone in as dire shape as Mr. B  langer has to come to the House, potentially even worsening his already fragile health, or deliberately obstruct passage of the bill so that its creator does not even get to see it come to fruition.

When the Conservatives lost the last election, many commentators cited a degree of meanness and ruthlessness that had become part of the party's culture and that this turned many voters off. The party's behaviour on Bill C-210 does his not help combat this perception. Conservative MP Tony Clement said last week that his party needs a new vision. They might want to include compassion in there.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

# Preferential ballots would be ‘aberration’ of true democracy: Mullin

Re: “Preferential ballots would make R wedge politics less effective,” (*The Hill Times*, May 23, p. 14). One of the sad things about Derek Abma's support about preferential balloting is his outright error about proportional representation, i.e., MPs not representing a typical geographic riding: how uneducated. One would have thought that misrepresentation had been buried long ago. I also find it sad that there is nothing said about the democratic deficit with the preferential system.

First, nothing is said about the equality of voters. One voter gets their first choice, another their second, and another their third, and so forth. How someone can reasonably argue that this is democratically balanced and fair is beyond me. I think it was Winston Churchill who called this an “aberration” of true democracy.

Second, I hope that Canadians understand that a majority government could truly be elected through second and third

choices. This would mean that the votes for a first choice candidate who garnered let's say 45 per cent—and could get no more through the next counts—would be essentially meaningless. Quite proportional isn't it?

Third, having been involved in door-to-door campaigning, I am sad to suggest that expecting voters to be educated enough about all candidates to legitimately and purposefully rank them in any meaningful way is but a beautiful democratic fantasy. To me, preferential is but a “lotto” ballot: yes, Canadians would find it simple and “buy” into it. But surely voting should be a serious reflection of every Canadian's civic duty and responsibility.

If at the end of day, the government chooses to enhance, rather than diminish, the democratic deficit of our voting system. I will have none of it. It will not be a “great day” for our democracy.

**Patrick J. Mullin**  
 Windsor, Ont.

# Copps now seems to want to double-down on skewed results, says reader

Re: “Hogwash to proportional representation, two-stage balloting the way to go,” (*The Hill Times*, May 16, p. 9). Sheila Copps weighed into the electoral reform debate with myths and fear-mongering to reinforce the new elite framing “it's all too complicated.”

Canadians are not only generous, as she points out, they also smart and know that the current system is unfair and treats citizens unequally.

In the 2007 Ontario referendum, Ms. Copps was a defender of FPTP. Now, instead of embracing voter equality, she seems to want to double-down on skewed results.

Let's start with the basics. There are two families of voting systems: majoritarian or proportional. One family distorts results, provides false majorities and leaves one-half the electorate unrepresented. The other family corrects distortions, has the capacity to create stable government by a true majority, and provides effective representation for most. Your suggested system falls under the winner-take-all-majoritarian category and re-establishes the problems we are trying to fix. No thanks.

Granted we need a made-in-Canada solution for electoral reform but let's not make things up and entrench myths that claim voters won't be able to elect their representatives under a proportional system. Hogwash indeed.

Fair Vote Canada insists that we need a proportional system where all local candidates face the voters. To suggest this is not possible is either naive or disingenuous. In the last election, over nine million voters were unable to elect a representative. That was over half the electorate, and 4.6

million voters elected the MPs who now hold 100 per cent of the power.

Proportional systems not only allow the electorate to vote with their hearts for their favourite, local candidate, it provides most voters the ability to elect a local candidate aligned with their values.

The Liberals would have still won the election under a proportional system and Justin Trudeau would have been the prime minister, unless the party held a leadership convention. As you know, under the Westminster system, Canadians don't choose the prime minister, that's left to the parties.

Proportional systems honestly reflect the intention of voters. That is why 85 per cent of OECD countries use them. In fact, proportional systems are so highly regarded around the world, the European Parliament requires that all members must be elected through a proportional system to entrench fairness and voter equality.

In February, citizens launched the Every Voter Counts Alliance that now represents millions of voters. These voters have power that should not be ignored. As we know, in our first-past-the-post system, it takes as little as a two per cent change in voter appetite to provide wholesale change of government.

Perhaps it's time for Ms. Copps to venture out of the Ottawa bubble and listen to what citizens are really saying. Prime Minister Trudeau made us a promise. He said he would Make All Our Votes Count. We can hardly wait.

**Kelly Carmichael**  
 Executive Director  
 Fair Vote Canada  
 Peterborough, Ont.



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## COPPS' CORNER SENATE

# Senate in action is a sight to behold

When Senate decisions are popular, there is no collision course with democracy. But when they are not so popular, all hell will break loose.



SHEILA COPPS

OTTAWA—The Senate in action is a sight to behold.

For the first time in years, the public has had a glimpse into the good work that goes on in the Red Chamber on a regular basis.

It is hard to remember any recent Senate discussion that did not involve spending irregularities and potential embarrassment.

So the fine work done on the

assisted dying legislation has exposed a side of the Senate that the public needs to see more of.

Fine tuning legislation, asking the right questions and striking a good balance means the potential for better legal outcomes has been enhanced.

But it has also opened a Pandora's box that may not be so easy to seal up again.

The theory behind an independent Senate is an easy sell.

After all, no one in his or her right mind, especially a politician, would want to defend the kind of cronyism that has historically personified membership in the Red Chamber.

But, at the end of the day, parties manage and govern our political system. The notion that individuals can come together and create a consensus without the parameters of party discipline is a Utopia that has seldom been replicated.

Some may point to our territorial political systems. They run on consensus, with members being encouraged to change allegiances and sides, depending on the issue.

Similar political liberties exist in municipalities across the

country. But by and large, even in provinces where there are no civic party labels, people tend to group around ideology.

Left-leaning city council members find common cause with other politicians who share their view. Small-c conservative officer-holders tend to organize votes to support their ideology.

So the notion that a Senate can operate outside the confines of organized political parties is ephemeral at best.

Even in the Senate itself, long-serving members are struggling with how to align themselves in the new universe of totally free votes and no party discipline.

George Baker, a long serving Liberal Member of Parliament and Senator, is revelling in his newfound freedom.

Even when he sat in the House of Commons, Baker always danced to his own drummer, so the about-face in Senate structure fits his personality to a t.

However, other loyal party members are having difficulty navigating this new universe.

And that does not include a whole new set of Senators who believe their own capacities are all that is needed to reshape any

legislation to their liking.

In the short term, they have been absolutely right. The amendments proposed by the Senate are logical, defensible and designed to improve the assisted-dying legislation. They are also eerily similar to amendments proposed by opposition members and defeated in the House of Commons.

The Senate has done such a good job that even New Democrats are saying good things about the institution their party vows to abolish.

In the assisted dying debate, the Senate's perspective is aligned with that of the Supreme Court ruling and significant numbers in the opposition.

That offers the government an opening to remedy legislative gaps and bring in a bill closer in line with the spirit of what was recommended by the courts.

In the end, everyone will put a little water in his or her wine. The Senate and the opposition will not get all their amendments but they will be able to claim credit for positive changes.

The government will dispose of this highly-charged, personalized issue relatively early in the term. That is not the kind of

controversy you want lingering on the government agenda in the final days before an election.

The fact that multiple provincial governments have filled in the gap created by an absence of federal law proves that the date set by the courts was not inviolate.

At the end of this session, the issue will be part of the history books. And history will reflect well upon the Senate.

But the next time, the perspective of the unelected Senate may not reflect so closely the views of the Commoners. And when that happens, the government dream of an independent, effective, unelected Senate will go down in flames.

Any parliamentary body charged with changing legislation needs the discipline of alignment with its elected counterpart.

Otherwise, notwithstanding the wisdom and thoughtfulness of multiple Senators, it becomes an unelected body supplanting the decisions of elected representatives.

When Senate decisions are popular, there is no collision course with democracy.

But when they are not so popular, all hell will break loose.

*Sheila Copps is a former Jean Chrétien-era cabinet minister and a former deputy prime minister.*

*The Hill Times*

## POST-PARTISAN PUNDIT JUSTIN TRUDEAU

# Good vibrations and the summer of Justin Trudeau

The lazy, hazy, crazy days of summer will create a political environment in Canada that plays to the Liberal Party's strengths and exposes the opposition parties' weaknesses.



GERRY NICHOLLS

OKAVILLE, ONT.—The upcoming summer season will be the best of times; it will be the worst of times.

That is, it'll be the best of times for Liberals and the worst of times for Conservatives and New Democrats.

And I'm not just saying that for the purpose of employing a pretentious literary allusion.

The fact is the lazy, hazy, crazy days of summer will create a political environment in Canada

that plays to the Liberal Party's strengths and exposes the opposition parties' weaknesses.

To see what I mean by all this, let's first consider the summer situation for the Liberals.

To begin with, it should go without saying that the main strength for the Liberal Party is its leader, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, whose widely adulated boyish charm has seemingly enthralled the entire nation, if not the whole world.

And, of course, Trudeau is at his delightful best when he's away from the stifling and stuffy confines of Parliament, with all its stodgy rules and antiquated traditions and outdated protocols.

Sure the prime minister can make the odd news headlines in Parliament by sticking his tongue out at the opposition or by elbowing an MP in the chest, but for the most part, the House of Commons just doesn't suit his hip and trendy style.

This is why the summer will be so good for the Liberals; the House of Commons will be in recess, meaning Trudeau will be totally free to be Trudeau.

In other words, he won't have to worry about mundane Parliamentary tasks, such as you know governing the country, and will be able to fully focus all his talents on doing what he does best: posing for photo-ops.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured in February at an event on Parliament Hill with a fan, can make the odd news headlines in Parliament by sticking his tongue out at the opposition or by elbowing an MP in the chest, but for the most part, the House of Commons just doesn't suit his hip and trendy style. *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*

Indeed, I suspect over the next few months we'll be bombarded with a never-ending stream of eye-catching Trudeau images; maybe he'll be juggling babies at a British Columbia barbecue or gliding along Toronto's Yonge Street on a skateboard or practicing yoga at Peggy's Cove.

His options are as unlimited as a child's (or as a PR flack's) imagination.

And keep in mind, the summer is jam-packed with events overflowing with visual possibilities.

Canada Day, Gay Pride parades, beach volleyball tournaments—all of them offer a rich backdrop for prime ministerial photo-op extravaganzas.

What I'm trying to say here is that summer time equals Trudeau time.

His presence will likely dominate the media, garnering him all sorts of

positive, "feel good" coverage.

Yes certainly, the other parties will try to grab their share of media attention but this is where the weaknesses of the Conservatives and NDP come into play.

For instance, the Conservative Party's interim leader, Rona Ambrose, is a well-respected, thoughtful and experienced parliamentarian.

Or to put it another way, she's boring.

Then there's NDP interim (a.k.a. "lame duck") leader Thomas Mulcair, who even at the best of times was known as "Angry Tom."

Now, after having been unceremoniously and publically rejected by his own party at the last NDP convention, a better nickname for Mulcair might be "Bitter and Angry Tom."

My point is neither Ambrose nor Mulcair is exactly a photo op magnet.

What's more, I don't expect the NDP and Conservatives will make publicizing their "stop-gap" leaders much of a priority this summer.

In fact, both parties will likely spend more time looking inward, mobilizing and energizing their own supporters for impending leadership campaigns.

So Trudeau, almost by default, will basically have the summer field all to himself.

The best Conservatives and New Democrats can hope for is that their political situation will start getting sunnier when our weather starts getting gloomier.

*Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.*

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The Hill Times*



## EQUAL VOICE U.S. POLITICS

# It's a milestone, but Hillary Clinton's victory is far from secure

After clinching the nomination this week, Clinton has the potential to change the face of politics in the United States and around the world. But the road to the presidency is still long.



NANCY PECKFORD AND GRACE LORE

This past week, Hillary Clinton made history when she became the first woman to secure the nomination of a major party for president of the United States. While the competition with Senator Bernie Sanders was more challenging than most expected, Clinton's victory is decisive—she received more than three million more votes, the majority of pledged delegates, and

more than 10 times the number of super delegates.

In a powerful speech following the elections on Tuesday, Clinton called her victory a milestone that belonged to generations and, indeed, it is hard to overstate the significance of this “first.” Not only is Hillary Clinton the only woman to become a major party nominee, but she is also, remarkably, the only woman ever to win a single primary race at the state level. Further, only two women have ever been nominated as vice-president of the United States, neither of whom won.

The United States ranks 97th internationally for women's political representation, and women comprise just 20 per cent of legislators at the federal level. Change has been slow, increasing by less than four percentage points per election since Clinton's first ran for nomination eight years ago.

The U.S. falls far behind many other countries—both friend and foe. Margaret Thatcher led the United Kingdom as prime minister nearly 40 years ago, and India and Israel both had women prime ministers 50 years ago. Benazir Bhutto first served as Pakistan's prime minister in 1988, and Angela Merkel has been leading Germany for more than 10 years. But the under-representation

of women in politics is a global phenomenon. According to the United Nations, in 2015, women held the post of head of government in just 10 countries and head of state in another 11.

Even here at home, gender parity in cabinet and a record number of female premiers in recent years can't overshadow the slow progress we've made. Following last fall's federal election, just 26 per cent of our MPs are women and Canada currently ranks 62nd in the world. At this rate, it will or could be another 90 years before we reach parity among our federally elected legislators. Yes, we've had a female leader. In 1993, Kim Campbell became our first and only woman prime minister, but we should not forget that she was not elected to the post and served just four months. We, like our counterparts to the south, have a long way to go.

After clinching the nomination this week, Clinton has the potential to change the face of politics in the United States and around the world. But the road to the presidency is still long. Clinton's favourability ratings have plummeted in the last year and are the lowest of any presidential nominee in history—except for her Republican competitor, Donald Trump. Still, Clinton



This past week, Hillary Clinton made history when she became the first woman to secure the nomination of a major party for president of the United States. Photograph courtesy of Flickr

will have to beat the unpredictably outrageous and potentially formidable Trump before she breaks what she has called “that highest, hardest glass ceiling.” Whether she can, in fact, capture the support of Bernie Sanders supporters, independents, and Republicans who have rejected Trump remains to be seen.

To win the race, Clinton will have to manage concerns about her use of private emails, battle her image as part of the “establishment,” and counter the fears that she can't be trusted. But she also has and will continue to face heightened sexism and gendered double standards on the journey. Trump has criticized her for playing a “woman card”—a critique Clinton turned on its head by, in fact, raising money through the sale of a literal “woman card in support of Hillary.”

Even among Democrats, Clinton faces unfortunate and pernicious sexism. A group referred to as “BernieBros” have engaged in vicious online misogynist attacks against Clinton and other women. Many have complained about Clinton's voice as nagging, shrill-

ing, or criticized her for “yelling.” Many more continue to refer to the presumptive Democratic nominee by her first name only. Buttons, t-shirts, and signs by supporters of Trump and Sanders read ‘Bern the Witch’ or “Trump the Bitch.”

While more than 90 per cent of Americans say they are ready for a woman president, many men do not like and will not vote for Hillary Clinton. A poll in March found that Clinton's favourability is 15 per cent lower among men than it is among women. In particular, men who identify as Caucasian and/or have less education, are far more likely to support Trump than Clinton, something many are now calling Clinton's “man problem.”

Without a doubt, this week marks a milestone—but Clinton's victory is far from secure, and the journey far from complete, as is the case for women's equal representation in politics the world over.

*This article was co-authored by Grace Lore, UBC political scientist & EV senior researcher & Nancy Peckford, Equal Voice's executive director.*

*The Hill Times*

## IN PROGRESS CPP EXPANSION

## It's time to fish or cut bait on CPP expansion

The least the federal government can do now is not get in the way of meaningful enhancement of CPP. Or Canada's largest province may actually go it alone.



SARAH SCHMIDT

OTTAWA—So we've finally arrived at the moment of reckoning for the Canada Pension Plan.

Next week, federal and provincial finance ministers are meeting in Vancouver to see if they can hammer out an agreement to expand Canada's public pension plan. Pushing it off, as has been the case for the last decade, just won't cut it this time.

Bill Morneau's first musings as the newly appointed federal finance minister appeared to indicate the new government would be following this well-travelled path of doing nothing, despite a campaign promise to expand CPP.

Following Morneau's first meeting with his provincial counterparts in December, *The Toronto Star* told us the “Trudeau government wimps out on CPP reform.” CBC was a bit more diplomatic, but communicated the same underlying message: “Finance ministers go slow on CPP reform as economic concerns bite.”

What a difference six months make. Morneau is adamant that he wants a deal by the end of the year.

With Ontario proceeding at a quick pace with its own Ontario Retirement Pension Plan (ORPP), and a phased-in participation beginning next January, the Wynne government has sent signals to its friends in Ottawa that it's open to abandoning the Ontario plan—if, in the words of Ontario Finance Minister Charles Sousa, the federal enhancement is “in a form that is close to what ORPP is.”

The Ontario plan isn't perfect. Dubbed “CPP-lite” by economist Hugh Mackenzie, the Ontario plan excludes employees with a “comparable” plan offered by their employer. This includes wholly inadequate defined-contribution plans.

Ontario's decision to abandon universal coverage makes meaningful expansion of the CPP as the best option to solve Canada's retirement savings crisis. But what if meaningful expansion can't be achieved at the national level? As a fallback position, the Ontario plan would translate into a significant enhancement in Canada's largest province and represent an important development.

There are enough hints to help explain why the Ontario government may be feeling a little weary about what may come out of next week's meeting of finance ministers—and why its indicated a willingness to proceed with the ORPP in the absence of real progress at the national level.

Ontario has probably read between the lines of a recent joint

proposal presented by former federal cabinet ministers John Manley and Perrin Beatty. Manley, a former Liberal finance minister in the Chrétien government, is now president of the Business Council of Canada, a lobby group representing Canada's chief executive officers. Beatty, who held multiples cabinet posts in the Progressive Conservative governments of Joe Clark and Brian Mulroney, is head of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

Pleading with the country's finance ministers to avoid a “patchwork” of pension plans, they've recently come out in favour of strengthening the CPP. But as Mackenzie, a research associate at the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, wrote recently, the real point of this intervention on the eve of the ministers' meeting in Vancouver “is not to expand the Canada Pension Plan but, rather, to retail Ontario's plans to implement an Ontario Registered Pension Plan.”

And here's the kicker: the type of CPP expansion being promoted by Manley and Beatty “is anything but meaningful,” explained Mackenzie. They envision confining any expansion to undefined “middle income” earners, leaving a larger role for high-cost RRSPs for this undefined cohort of “higher income” Canadians.

But we know RRSPs provide an uncertain retirement income. We also know Canadians aren't saving nearly enough across all income brackets.

Among those aged 55 to 64 with no employer pension plan, the median retirement savings is just \$3,000, according to a recent Broadbent Institute study authored by statistician Richard Shillington. This includes a median retirement savings of \$250 among those earning \$25,000 and \$50,000; \$21,000 among those earning \$50,000 and \$100,000; and \$161,000 among those earning over \$100,000.

We also know when the CPP was created in 1966, it was conceived as a modest plan with the expectation that employers would continue to provide—and indeed expand—company pension plans. That hasn't happened.

Today, just one in eight private sector workers contributes to a traditional defined pension plan. Meanwhile, with no expansion since 1997, the maximum CPP benefit is now about \$1,100 per month; the average benefit of less than one half of that.

Employers could always reverse course and bring back defined pension plans. But that's not going to happen.

The least they can do now is not get in the way of meaningful enhancement of CPP.

Or Canada's largest province may actually go it alone.

*Sarah Schmidt is director of communications at the Broadbent Institute.*

*The Hill Times*



## IMPOLITIC NDP LEADERSHIP

# Advice for the NDP: go green, or go home

No individual, even one as talented as Avi Lewis, can save a political party. And no leader, however gifted, can lead people where they don't want to go.



SUSAN RILEY

GATINEAU, QUE.—The federal New Democrats have more than a year to find a leader, but they should start courting Avi Lewis right away. And urging him to learn French.

If they want to become relevant again, they need to be bold—and Lewis, a charming and articulate documentary filmmaker, with impeccable NDP lineage, could pull it off. He could be friendly-bold, which is even better.

As the most public defender of the controversial LEAP document at April's restive NDP convention, Lewis fended off outraged criticism with smiles and soothing assurances. Of course, he didn't convince everyone—Alberta Premier Rachel Notley and most of the national media, for example—but he convinced delegates. They

overwhelmingly rejected Thomas Mulcair's cautious leadership and sent him packing.

To date, no one seems eager to pick up the pieces. The only declared leadership candidate is Toronto MPP Cheri DiNovo, a United Church minister, LEAP supporter and critic of Mulcair's Liberal-lite approach.

But DiNovo is refusing to pay the \$30,000 Elections Canada requires of serious candidates and promises to step aside if a bilingual, socialist woman of colour decides to run. That is still possible and could be even better than a Lewis candidacy—although, of course, much depends on the political skills and personal integrity of whomever steps forward.

In the meantime, New Democrats could do worse than the 48-year-old scion of two former NDP luminaries and the son of feminist journalist Michele Landsberg. It wouldn't be the first time a party opted for a famous son. And fluency in television, which Lewis has in spades, is a pre-requisite for political success today. (Lewis's wife, Naomi Klein, is also a formidable thinker and performer, but has so far shown no appetite, or aptitude, for mainstream politics.)

There is one problem with Lewis (aside from unilingualism). He has repeatedly said he doesn't want the job. But that, too, is part of the ritual of political courtship, in a metier with an unusually high number of reluctant maidens.

If Lewis cannot be wooed, the party needs to find someone who shares his conviction that climate change is today's most pressing

issue—and, that addressing it intelligently can also alleviate income inequality, prod innovation and stimulate prosperity.

For now, there is no unflinching champion of climate action among federal parties, with the noble exception of Elizabeth May's Green Party. And the Greens are still too new, too marginal, to steer federal policy.

Under Mulcair—a former Quebec Liberal environment minister—the NDP endorsed cap-and-trade, and then forgot about it. It was so worried about offending its labour base, and western supporters, that it equivocated on pipelines, offered no memorable, retail-friendly green policy and focussed instead on lambasting Stephen Harper's dismal environmental performance.

Justin Trudeau—although he has outflanked the NDP on every social, legal and political metric—is bound to disappoint green voters. The prime minister seems more intent on engineering consent for a pipeline to the Pacific, than in hastening our inevitable transition from fossil fuels.

This creates an opening for a federal party willing to apply a green lens to every issue, a party with a persuasive leader ready to confront the irrefutable evidence of climate change and act urgently. Such a party would have immense appeal for younger Canadians (in every province) and for an older generation watching with mounting dismay as their basements flood, their forests burn and the Arctic melts.

Beyond rhetoric, such a party would have to propose tangible,



The federal New Democrats have more than a year to find a leader, but they should start courting Avi Lewis right away. And urging him to learn French.

Photograph courtesy of Avi Lewis' Twitter handle

sometimes inconvenient, remedies. That means, for the federal NDP, fewer lofty, LEAP-like generalities and more specifics.

Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne (and, more modestly, Alberta Premier Rachel Notley) are leading the way. Wynne last week introduced a number of attractive measures—including more plug-in points for electric cars, home retrofitting money, a "cash for clunkers" program—aimed at moving Ontario away from natural gas and oil. The new measures will mean an average \$13 more a month for most households (more like \$31 a month, say critics) and 4.3 cents more per litre of gas. As the price for slowing the worse ravages of climate change, it is a bargain.

That said, no individual—even one as talented as Avi Lewis—can

save a political party. And no leader, however gifted, can lead people where they don't want to go.

Stéphane Dion learned that painful lesson with his far-sighted 2008 Green Shift. Wynne's appealing climate plan may not be enough to save her unpopular government, with its legacy of managerial incompetence, in pending elections. And Notley's plan won support, partly because it is so timid.

It is folly to predict what issue will dominate when New Democrats chose a leader in the fall of 2017. But here is one safe bet: the climate will keep changing and, eventually, we will all be hurt. We may soon be ready to take a leap.

Susan Riley is a veteran political columnist who writes regularly for *The Hill Times*.

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## OPINION TRANSPARENCY

# Team Trudeau not so transparent after all

For a government that has chosen to prominently fly the bright red 'open and transparent' banner, Trudeau and Jordan and company are doing a darned poor job of keeping that promise to Canadians.



TIMOTHY GILLESPIE

SHELBOURNE, N.S.—During the run-up to the federal election in 2015—and in the months following the election—Liberal Party Leader and now Prime Minister Justin Trudeau stressed

countless times how his government would herald change from the Harper regime. The change, or changes, were multiple and across the spectrum of political behaviour, but none shone so brightly as his promise for a transparent government.

As a citizen, voter, and journalist, I could not have been more encouraged.

In the published platform promises and in almost every speech by Trudeau and those running alongside him in what would become a "red tide," the issue of government transparency was touted as a fundamental right of Canadians. Complaining that the Harper government had broken Canadians' trust and "grown secretive and closed-off from Canadians," he promised to "raise the bar" on transparency, to "restore a sense of trust in our democracy," and to have openness as the "default" position of his Liberal government.

In my Nova Scotia riding of South Shore-St. Margarets, the winning Liberal candidate was Bernadette Jordan. In numerous speeches and interviews during

the campaign, Jordan reiterated the promises of Justin Trudeau and none more vociferously than those of openness and transparency.

Politicians make scads of promises on the campaign trail and some of us still believe that at least some of the promises will be kept, especially by a party so clearly pledging to "restore a sense of trust" by Canadians.

So it's disappointing when that trust gets broken and when we find that we've been fed another helping of political malarky. More so when it's dished out closer to home, rather than from Ottawa.

Since this South Shore region has been plagued by derelict ships left rotting in our harbours, it has been no surprise that MP Jordan's first kick at the legislative can would be a private member's motion to revise the legislation surrounding these abandonments, hopefully making it easier for towns and municipalities to rid themselves of the marine derelicts.

What has been a surprise though is the promotional campaign waged by Jordan which has included a series of public meet-

ings and the production of a slick, five-minute promotional video asking viewers to call their MPs to support M-40, her motion introduced on the floor of the House of Commons on June 6.

After calling around to Parliament "watchers" and finding that a promotional video for a private member's motion was quite unusual, if not unheard of, I became even more interested.

Trained as a reporter to "follow the money" in any story, and buoyed by what I understood was Jordan's adoption of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's promise of "openness and transparency" and his "openness as a default" for the Liberal government, I contacted MP Jordan's office and inquired about the cost of producing the video.

The first response I got from staff was bafflegab about working with local filmmakers and helping the local economy and everything being "win-win." When I reminded them that the response had nothing to do with my request regarding costs, I was told that those would be "processed through the House of Commons Financial Management Opera-

tions Office," after which I could view them online.

Of course, after waiting for weeks or months, I may get to see an accounting of the expenses. But that would have been true even under the tight-fisted reign of prime minister Stephen Harper's regime.

Not much seems to have changed. So much for this government's default of openness and transparency.

Perhaps I should have been tipped off by former parliamentary budget officer Kevin Page when he said in February that the Liberal government is even less transparent in its first budget than the Conservative government it succeeded.

For a government that has chosen to prominently fly the bright red "open and transparent" banner, Trudeau and Jordan and company are doing a darned poor job of keeping that promise to Canadians.

Timothy Gillespie is a resident in the riding of South Shore-St. Margarets and editor/publisher of online news portal, *South Coast Today*.

The Hill Times



OPINION **SENATE'S FUTURE**

# Talk is cheap, time to fix Senate's rules

There is urgency now to strengthen the accountability, transparency, and governance of the Senate's expense management system.



JEAN T. FOURNIER

OTTAWA—With the recent appointment of seven distinguished and non-partisan Senators, chosen from a short list of 25 people recommended to the prime minister by the newly-established independent advisory board on the appointment of Senators, a new selection process is now in place, as promised by Justin Trudeau. And we will shortly be able to recommend ourselves, friends, and others for appointment to the Senate, similar to how Canadians have been nominated to the Order of Canada since 1967. In a matter of months, 20 or so vacancies will be filled in this manner.

Senate reform is off to an auspicious start which will, over time, make the Upper House less partisan and more independent as envisaged by the Fathers of Confederation, thereby increasing the Senate's credibility with Canadians and ultimately its effectiveness. It's a practical alternative to the calls for Senate abolition or election which does not require reopening the Constitution. It's a bold and positive step forward for those of us who value the Senate and the excellent work it does when it reviews legislation and conducts in-depth studies of often contentious issues in a low-key and informed way quite different from the House.

And I might add, it's an outcome that is both surprising and gratifying for those of us who believed in and wrote about the merits of a "People's Senate," as I did in these pages in October 2013. And yes, inevitably, there will be bumps and potholes on the road to implementing the new appointment process. Transforming institutional change is seldom easy. As the old adage goes: "Nothing worth having comes easily."

It is also said that "change is hard at the beginning, messy in the middle, and gorgeous at the end." In any event, let's move forward and stay positive. Liberal Senators, in particular, are still smarting because 26 of them were unceremoniously dumped from the party caucus in 2014. Meanwhile, some Conservative Senators are reportedly upset over the new appointment process because they believe that they might somehow be considered "less meritorious," less deserving or honourable, than the seven newly-appointed

Senators who are sitting as Independents. This is pure nonsense. During my seven years as the Senate's first independent Senate ethics officer, I dealt on a daily basis with individual Senators and observed first-hand that they worked hard, together and individually, brought particular experience and perspective to their job and were "all" meritorious in their own very different ways. Merit is not the issue here. It's the Senate's appointments process, long tolerated by Canadians, but no longer acceptable in today's world. Clearly, there is no going back to the prime ministerial patronage system of the last 150 years. Canadians expect better and deserve more.

The government has delivered on its promise to introduce a new appointment process and done its job. Now it's for Senators to do theirs and to further improve the institution's rules, procedures, codes, and corporate governance. There is much more that the Senate can and should do, on its own initiative, to repair the damage it has done to itself in the last three years and to restore the public's trust, and confidence. There is no need here for constitutional amendment. Administrative changes and best practices and standards in other jurisdictions should be considered, along with changes to the rules of the Senate, the ethics and conflict of interest code for Senators and the Parliament of Canada Act.

I am not trivializing the Senate's hard work and good intentions. A number of significant improvements were announced in May 2013. But, too often the leadership has been opaque, ambiguous, reactive, and slow to respond, and there has been much tinkering with the present system. No big thinking. The major problems are structural. They remain unaddressed.

We hear time and again that "much has been done to clarify and tighten the rules" and that the Senate's existing standards of conduct and administrative practices are "the best," or will some day soon be "the best in Canada or perhaps in the Commonwealth." If I may say respectfully, this is not good enough for most Canadians. Talk is cheap.

Where is the proof or the supporting evidence? So far there is no third-party verification and validation of those assertions. Without hard-copy evidence and corroboration, we must reserve final judgment until the matter is proven. Moreover, in the age of social media, there has been no visible effort to proactively engage Canadians in a dialogue about Senate change, an approach commonly referred to as "mushroom management," otherwise known as keeping people in the dark. This is 2016 after all! Without the confidence of the public, rightly or wrongly, Canadians will not follow and the Senate will continue to be on the defensive, under siege, and even more bogged down by suspicion.

Of course, I support without hesitation, the Upper House's aspirations to become a model legislature. Having good intentions is admirable. As I have written before



The responsibility for overseeing Senators' expenses should be separated from those of the Standing Senate Committee on Internal Economy, headed by Conservative Sen. Leo Housakos, and assumed by a committee chaired by the Speaker of the Senate with outside members who have relevant experience. The standing committee is currently in a potential conflict of interest when it advises on, and approves, or otherwise, the expense claims of its own members or of other Senators, writes Jean T. Fournier. *The Hill Times* photographs by Jake Wright

in these pages, the Senate should be, and be seen to be, a leader, not a laggard, when it comes to expenses management, ethics, and conflict of interest rules, and disclosure and transparency. But to be the best, you must learn with, work with, and measure yourself against the finest in the world. You must benchmark yourself against the gold standard rather than some other measure, and track the public's perception of your reputation. Too much to ask? Not when the Senate is spending about \$100-million each year in public money. Stringing along a broken system will not do, like rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic.

On a more positive note, at the urgings of Senators Paul Massicotte, John Wallace, and others, the Senate established last spring a Special Committee on Senate Modernization that is scheduled to report shortly. Hopefully, the committee will come up with a report that will be constructive and will address real issues with real solutions. The challenges are not unsurmountable.

There are ways of making order out of chaos. In my view, there are four critical issues that must be addressed: first, Senators must innovate and find new and better ways of working together and getting things done. The Senate's 86 seats are currently occupied by a unique mix of Senators: 42 Conservatives, 23 Independents, and 21 Liberals. With the end or loosening of strict party discipline enforced by successive prime ministers, close, continuing, and successful collaboration is now an absolute necessity and reality for Senators. It will be nothing short of a cultural revolution in how the Senate operates.

Breaking down barriers and building bridges will be easy for some and difficult for others who are motivated by partisanship. Old habits die hard. It's all about creating a new spirit of coopera-

tion in the Senate. The transition to a new, more independent, less partisan Senate will take time and almost inevitably there will be stresses and strains during the period of transition and institutional adjustment. In any event, all existing and newly-appointed Senators will be expected to put aside their differences in the public interest and will need to get down to business and apply themselves vigorously. This will require flexibility and goodwill on everyone's part.

Second, the Senate should review and amend its archaic party-based rules and procedures and reform the policies and practices that reflect, support, and perpetuate the institution's deeply-entrenched partisan divisions in order to accommodate the increasing number of existing Senators who consider themselves to be independent and non-partisan, and don't want to be associated with a particular party caucus, as well as the new Senators who have been or will be appointed under the new process in the coming months and years to fill Senate vacancies. The new rules may require amendments to the Parliament of Canada Act.

Third, the government should consider adopting more formal rules to resolve disputes over legislation between the two Chambers and to ensure that the government is able to get its legislative program through the Senate in an orderly and timely fashion. The dynamics between the Senate and the House are most certain to change with the appointment of an increasing number of independent and non-partisan Senators.

There will likely be more frequent disputes between the Houses over legislation. Under the old Senate appointment process, the government of the day could rely on partisan discipline to pass its legislative program. There are no more "whipped" votes in the Senate directed by party leaders

in the House of Commons or from the Prime Minister's Office.

That said, the central role of the Senate is to consider the merits and details of bills already adopted by the House of Commons, a Chamber of "sober second thought" as it was called by John A. Macdonald, on the model of the British House of Lords, not as a legislative rival "à l'américaine" since the Canadian Senate is unelected. Or, as the Supreme Court put it in its 2014 decision on Senate Reform, "a complementary legislative body rather than a perennial rival of the House of Commons."

The Fathers of Confederation were very clear on this point. Said Macdonald: "Having no mission from the people, the Senate will never set itself in opposition against the deliberate and understood wishes of the people." In other words, the Senate may delay, but must ultimately yield to the will of the elected House of Commons. To resolve disputes over legislation that inevitably arise from time to time in bicameral legislatures in the absence of strict party discipline, a number of countries have adopted time limits or other measures that we should consider depending on how the situation evolves between the two Houses of Parliament during the coming months.

For example, the system in the United Kingdom for resolving disputes has been the use of a suspensive veto for more than 100 years. An ordinary bill which originates in the House of Commons may receive royal assent without the House of Lords' consent if it is passed in two consecutive sessions in the House of Commons with an interval of at least a year between.

Money bills are subjected to only one month's delay. In other countries with bicameral Parliaments, a more consensual process is followed whereby changes are

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## OPINION SENATE'S FUTURE

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negotiated between the two Chambers. For example, "joint committees" are used in France, Japan, Russia, South Africa and the United States. Such committees allow members to engage directly in a discussion with each other over a particular bill, and potentially iron out difficulties, resolve deadlocks, and end or limit then ping pong between the two Houses over Senate amendments. In Australia recently, Independents in the Senate attempted to stall Senate proceedings and block controversial Senate voting reforms, leading the government to call a full election.

A double dissolution election is a procedure permitted under the Australian Constitution to resolve deadlocks between the two Houses, a somewhat extreme mechanism for those of us who would prefer a more consensual approach.

Fourth, the Senate should adopt and implement without further delay the recommendations of the auditor general from his 2016 report on Senate expenses calling for "a transformational change in the way expenses are claimed, managed, controlled and reviewed" in the Senate. The report is scathing and his recommendations appear to have been disregarded at this time. The current Senate expense management model is irreparably broken and a radical change, stem to stern and top to bottom, is required.

In the auditor general's words, "simply changing or adding existing rules will not be enough." The message is clear, timely, and urgent. "We urge the Senate to act on our recommendations and effect transformational change to the management and oversight of Senators' expenses," said the auditor general.

In my 25 years as a deputy minister and an assistant deputy minister, I have never seen such a damaging report about the expense management practices of an organization. Some Senators feel they have been wronged and are angry. The Senate has to move on and take action.

Auditors general are the gold standard of auditing and simply ignoring their recommendations is not an option. It's taxpayers' money and auditors general the world over are seen as the taxpayers' watchdogs. Writing in these pages in March 2013, I recommended that the Senate agree to comprehensive expenses audits every five years, starting in 2013.

There was urgency then. There is urgency now. At a time when trust in the Senate is at a very low ebb, it is important that all necessary measures be taken to strengthen the accountability, transparency and governance of the Senate's expense management system. Not only do Canadians fail to understand the delays in responding to the auditor general's report, but they are mystified by the way the Senate and the Standing Committee on Internal Economy have handled the abuses, fraud and deficiencies that have come to light.

Consider the following: the Standing Committee suspended Senators Duffy, Wallin, and Brazeau for two years without pay in 2013. Senator Mike Duffy was recently cleared of all charges after a lengthy and costly criminal trial. The charges against Senators Pamela Wallin and Mac

Harb were dropped last month. And six former Senators still owe over \$600,000 for ineligible expense claims, raising fresh concerns about the Senate's ability and resolve to manage itself as well as the willingness and capacity of the Standing Committee to undertake the necessary overhaul of the Senate's expense system.

To manage Senator's expenses, the Senate relied for a long time on the archaic "honour system" which allowed Senators to claim that they were "acting on their personal honour" and that all that was needed was a Senator's signature to vouch for the authenticity of a reimbursement claim. No other legislature operates on the honour system. In today's world you are asking for trouble. Thankfully, the Senate got rid of the honour system in 2013.

A new, elaborate, and costly expense system was introduced at the time, an "enforcement system" I call it, under the authority of the Standing Committee and relying on external auditors, police investigations, lawyers, prosecutors, judges, special arbitrators, and others to review and recover questionable or ineligible expense claims. The results of this "gotcha" approach speak for themselves. The system in place is an expensive disaster and should be scrapped. It is also messy and chaotic, has caused repetitional damage to the Senate, and a range of adverse health effects on certain individuals.

What the Senate badly needs is a new way of managing expenses that is easy to install, economical to operate, and highly reliable to process, pay and audit the claims of 105 Senators. Any new system, in my view, should focus on advice, prevention, protection, collaboration, and compliance.

My starting point is that the Senate expense problems are structural, institutional, and systemic. The problems are largely inherent in the overall system rather than the fault of a few "bad apples" who are severely punished or fired, over an incident that has been identified, too often by the media. It is easy to name, shame, blame, or punish individuals for questionable expense claims.

But when you have 30 Senators making the same or similar errors regarding housing, hospitality, travel, or the definition of parliamentary business, you know that the fault is not simply with three or four Senators and there is a structural problem that should be recognized and approached as such. Instead of addressing institutional problems, the Senate focus is on punishing a few individual. Human error is inevitable.

With some effort and creativity, we can eliminate problems in the system that make human error more likely to happen. The fact that a good number of Senators are able to manage doesn't mean that there is not a structural problem in the way Senate expenses are handled. And structural problems require structural solutions of the kind recommended by the auditor general. Big thinking, not tinkering. Moreover, referring such cases to the police should be a last resort and only for the most egregious crimes.

What might a new expense management system look like? First, it should be the responsibility of Senators to know the expense rules and to ensure that their claims are

complete, correct, and timely. Sometimes the interpretation and application of the rules to particular situations can be difficult. Senators should consult the responsible finance officials and ask for written opinions.

Senators should receive mandatory refresher education and training at least annually. Under no circumstances are Senators permitted to approve their own or each others expenses. I know of no well-run public, private or non-profit organization where this is allowed. Why should it be in the Senate?

Second, it should be the ultimate responsibility of the approver (or the finance official) to determine whether the expenses being claimed are valid and eligible, and that only legitimate and reasonable expenses are paid; whether the expenses have been incurred in compliance with Senate policies and guidelines; and have been adequately documented.

Moreover, the approver is accountable for his actions and should be held personally responsible if something goes wrong and he/she gives wrong advice to a Senator. An opinion given in writing by the approver is binding on the approver in relation to any subsequent consideration of the subject matter of the opinion. Approvers should consider whether their decisions are able to stand up to scrutiny by auditors and the public, and can be properly explained.

Simply put, Senate finance official (approvers) should not rubber stamp or robot-approve Senators' expense claims. An important part of the duties of finance officials in any public or private institution is to ask questions, challenge, and demand further information. I certainly did that when I met Senators face to face as Senate ethics officer. This protects Senators and the reputation of the Senate as an institution. If an effective expense system keeps only a handful of Senators out of trouble, surely it is worth the time and expense.

Third, the responsibility for overseeing Senators' expenses should be separated from those of the Standing Senate Committee on Internal Economy and assumed by a committee chaired by the Speaker of the Senate with outside members with relevant experience. The standing committee is currently in a potential conflict of interest when it advises on, and approves or otherwise, the expense claims of its own members or of other Senators. The committee would also be responsible for reviewing and updating the Senate expense rules from time to time to ensure they meet the highest standards. There are other oversight models that could be looked at including the Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority established in the U.K. in 2009 following the House of Commons expenses scandal.

Finally, there is much the Senate can and should do to bring order to chaos, to take action, and to restore the Senate's reputation in the process. The Senate should build on the positive and proactively manage the negative. Complacency is the Senate's worse enemy.

Jean T. Fournier was appointed the first-ever Senate ethics officer in 2005.

The Hill Times



Sen. Mike Duffy was cleared in April of all 31 charges of fraud, breach of trust and bribery against him. Ontario Court Justice Charles Vaillancourt said the Senate spending rules were too ambiguous. *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*



Sen. Mac Harb, pictured. Crown prosecutors withdrew charges of fraud and breach of trust against him in May, following Sen. Duffy's acquittal, saying they did not see a reasonable prospect of conviction. *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*



Sen. Pam Wallin, left. The Mounties announced in May that they won't lay criminal charges against the Senator after a review of her travel expenses, despite having spent three years investigating her disputed travel expenses. *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*



Sen. Patrick Brazeau is the only Senator with a scheduled criminal trial related to expense claims. *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*



## OPINION FIGHTER JETS

# Liberals' fighter plan will compromise national security

There is no urgency to replace the CF-18 and the commander of the RCAF has confirmed that the aircraft will be viable until 2025.



LAURIE HAWN

The Liberals' fighter plan will compromise national security, seriously hurt our aerospace industry, and betray our allies.

If confirmed, which seems increasingly the case, the government is intentionally creating a false narrative to justify sole-sourcing the Super Hornet, so that the prime minister's ill-informed election

promise to deny the F-35 does not get overtaken by the truth.

There is no urgency to replace the CF-18 and the commander of the RCAF has confirmed that the aircraft will be viable until 2025. That means that we have lots of time to conduct a fair and open competition, which the Liberals howled for in opposition. The capability gap that they are talking about simply does not exist and they are falsely trying to justify a very bad decision.

The Liberals say that this would be an interim solution. They know that's nonsense. A mixed fleet would bring prohibitive costs for duplicating training, maintenance, infrastructure and other support. After close examination when we bought the CF-18, that was not an option and a smaller fleet would exacerbate that.

To say that the Aussies chose Super Hornet as an interim for F-35 is misleading. The Aussies bought the Super Hornet to replace their aging F-111 aircraft (not their current F-18s), and they maintained their firm commitment to buy F-35. The Aussies will continue to use their Super Hornets in an electronic warfare role, but have admitted that they will not be competitive by the 2030s. We would be

stuck with Super Hornet for at least 40 years and for at least the last 20 of those years, we will not be competitive.

The U.S., U.K., Australia, Norway, Denmark, Netherlands, Italy, Turkey, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, and Israel have all chosen the F-35 after weighing all the alternatives; and Finland is poised to join that group. That is not a coincidence and the Next Generation Fighter Secretariat report clearly points to the F-35 as the preferable option. Why won't the Liberals release that report? Well, because it will put the question to what they are saying and doing now. And, by the way, the Danes confirmed in their evaluation that the F-35 is, in fact, cheaper than Super Hornet, once all costs are considered.

The Canadian aerospace industry will also be big losers, and that means lost jobs and a weaker economy, not to mention possible costs of legal action. Canadian companies have done every well in winning F-35 contracts because they are very good. So far, more than 200 Canadian companies have landed over \$700-million in contracts, a lot of that in Quebec. That will all end if we buy the Super Hornet. Why would Lockheed sign long-term contracts with Canadian companies when we're not in the game? If we miss the F-35 level of technology, we will surely not be in a position to participate in the next level of technology. We went through this with the cancellation of the Avro Arrow and essentially lost that industry overnight. The Super Hornet is near the tail-end of its lifespan and further development; the F-35 is just starting. And, the more that people operate the hundreds of F-35s already flying, the more it is clear that the airplane is performing as advertised, acknowledging that there have been issues that needed resolving (as there are with every new aircraft, including the CF-18); and they are being resolved.

The statement of requirements (SOR) for the Next Generation Fighter was written in relation to the threat scenarios



Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan, pictured recently in Ottawa. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

that are predictable over the next several decades. It appears that the SOR is being re-written to simply exclude the F-35, regardless of the threats that Canada will face at home and abroad. That would raise serious questions of ethics and would certainly compromise our ability to meet our commitments in a dangerous world and give our pilots the best chance for survival. And that would be shameful.

*Laurie Hawn is a former Conservative MP, retired lieutenant-col. in the Royal Canadian Air Force, who served as parliamentary secretary to the minister of defence under prime minister Stephen Harper.*

*The Hill Times*

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## THE WAR ROOM ASSISTED SUICIDE LEGISLATION

# Bill C-14 a payback for assorted Senators

The Conservative ones, who have been waiting for an opportunity to rain all over Trudeau's honeymoon. And the Liberal ones—the ones that Trudeau kicked out of his caucus without warning—to teach him a lesson, and to exact sweet revenge.



WARREN KINSELLA

TORONTO—Some of us aren't enthusiastic about assisted dying. Although, in the case of the Senate, we will happily make an exception, and assist.

The Senate—that undemocratic, unaccountable, unwanted monstrosity that has affixed itself to the side of Parliament like an ermine-garbed parasite—is in the news again. And, yet again, it is for all the wrong reasons.

Late last week, Senators took it upon themselves to gut the Trudeau government's Bill C-14. They had no mandate to do so, they had no authority to do so. But they did so, just the same.

The Senators' concerns are irrelevant, just like they are. To debate the merits of their changes is to accord them a modicum of legitimacy. We shouldn't do it.

C-14 has had a troubled history, true. For the comparatively new Liberal government, it has been the Flying Dutchman of legislation—never yet making it to shore, and a portent of bad luck for all who come near it.

C-14 was the cause of Justin Trudeau's terrible night, when he manhandled a Conservative and elbowed a New Democrat. C-14 was the reason the Liberals initially sought to give themselves extraordinary powers in the Commons, with the innocuous-sounding Motion 6—and then the reason they thereafter beat a hasty retreat, and frantically withdrawing the aforementioned

Motion 6; looking autocratic and weak, all in the same session. Hard to do.

C-14 was the cause of acrimonious splits in caucus, and deep division within the broader Grit family. C-14 was definitive proof, too, that the government could not seem to manage its legislative affairs—or meet a Supreme Court deadline.

And, now, C-14 has become the payback platform for assorted Senators: the Conservative ones, who have been waiting for an opportunity to rain all over Trudeau's honeymoon. And the Liberal ones—the ones that Trudeau kicked out of his caucus without warning—to teach him a lesson, and to exact sweet revenge.

Like we say: C-14 has been the cause of more trouble than it probably is worth.

There is a theory, of course, that Machiavellian Grits foresaw all of this difficulty, and wanted C-14 to run ashore. It was the plan all along, say some. As with the abortion legislative void, nothing was better than something.

Don't believe it, not for a moment. Trudeau would not do what he did—and his government would not risk all that it risked—for mere show. It was no parliamentary pantomime. The government wanted to meet the

high court's absurdly-short deadline, and it did all that it could to hasten the bill's passage. It was authentic.

The Senate, lacking both authenticity and wisdom, ended any hope of that. So now what?

The C-14 rush was probably as unseemly as it was unnecessary. Doctors have been quietly practising euthanasia in Canada for many, many years. I say that as the son of a doctor—one who was sometimes asked to do it, and one who was awarded the Order of Canada for his writings about it.

The government's haste was also a waste—of energy. The Senators (Conservatives, former Liberals, and Liberals who refuse to acknowledge that they are Liberals) were always going to scupper C-14. Any fool could see that. They weren't interested in sober second thought. Their objective was to cause trouble, and cause trouble they did.

The objections some of us had to this bill remain. Who decides, exactly, who should die? What is terminal? If we've yet to define life, how can we say for certain when life lacks value? Isn't euthanizing the mentally ill what that moustachioed Bavarian fellow did? Is there any better oxymoron than a "mature minor?"



**Bill C-14 drama:** Senate Liberal James Cowan and Conservative Senate Leader James Cowan, pictured on the Hill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

And so on.

Justin Trudeau's C-14 was a sincere, well-meaning, and carefully-crafted compromise. It was also profoundly unlucky.

It's time to try again—this time, one hopes, without the bad luck, the divisions, the Parliamentary brinkmanship, and the flying elbows.

Oh, and the Senate. We could do without that, too. But, like death—assisted or otherwise—we are unlikely to be rid of its foul presence anytime soon.

Warren Kinsella is a Toronto-based lawyer, author, and commentator. He has been a special assistant to prime minister Jean Chrétien.

*The Hill Times*

## OPINION TORONTO 18

## Toronto 18 may have been shock for Canada, but it was not harbinger of a path to ruin

We are still a relatively safe country and while we must remain vigilant and ensure that our security and law enforcement agencies enjoy the necessary resourcing and public trust, we will likely remain so.



PHIL GURSKI

OTTAWA—June 2 marks the 10th anniversary of the arrest of 17 men in the Greater Toronto Area in the culmination of a massive terrorism investigation by Canadian authorities. In what came to be known as the "Toronto 18" (the last subject was arrested in August 2006) Canadians were rudely introduced to homegrown terrorism five years after 9/11.

For those who have forgotten the details, here is a short synopsis. A group of men in the Toronto area,

led by an Afghan immigrant (Fahim Ahmad), attended a "training camp" near Orillia, Ont., in December 2005, chose three targets (the CSIS office in Toronto, the financial district and a military base), built a detonator, and bought fertilizer, all without knowing that their every move was being followed by CSIS and the RCMP. Their arrests saved the lives of thousands.

The event was a seminal one for me as a CSIS analyst and I'd like to reflect on what this meant then as well as what it means now. Much has happened in the intervening decade and much of that has been good in Canada.

Firstly, the Toronto 18 investigation proved—or rather should have proven—to skeptical Canadians that terrorism was real and not just something that happened "over there." Truth be told, there were significant doubts about the real nature of the threat in June 2006 and whether this cell was that dangerous: many believed that CSIS and the RCMP had exaggerated the plot. I am happy to say that 10 years later most Canadians accept the fact that we have terrorists in our midst. This turnaround in public opinion may have had a lot to do with the attack on the National War Memorial and Parliament on Oct. 22, 2014, but in any event it is a step forward in our collective understanding and acceptance of the issue.

Secondly, the RCMP advised Muslim leaders of the impending takedown just before it took place to allow them to prepare their communities for the news. This was an outstanding decision at the time and the relationship between Canadian government officials

and these communities has only gotten better since then (albeit with an unfortunate downturn at the end of the Harper years). All this shows that we do things differently in Canada and I know that many countries have sought our input as they seek to learn from our model. Are we perfect? No, but we are in a much better position than most Western countries on this issue.

Thirdly, the case demonstrated clearly that a group of Canadian Muslims can radicalize to violence entirely at home with no significant foreign input. This was not an al-Qaeda-led or—directed plot (Islamic State did not exist back then) but rather a terrorist act planned based on what is known as the al-Qaeda (or single) narrative—the notion that the West was at war with Islam and that "true" Muslims (self-defined) had to fight to defend the faith. The Toronto 18 sought to punish Canada and Canadians for their decision to send soldiers to Afghanistan back in 2001. In an era where we obsess about IS and their involvement in organizing attacks abroad, it is important to remember that most plots in the West are homegrown.

Fourthly, the case showed that CSIS and the RCMP could work hand in glove to successfully stop a terrorist act from occurring. The investigation started with CSIS and was handed over to the Mounties when it was clear a criminal act was being planned. CSIS sources became RCMP agents (not always an easy thing to do) more or less seamlessly and a serious terrorist attack was averted. There is little doubt that the CSIS-RCMP relationship has

had its ups and downs but the two do work together well and Canadians are safer as a result.

Lastly, despite more foiled plots and two successful ones in the interim, Canada remains in a good position when it comes to homegrown terrorism. We are not in the same league as France or Belgium or the U.K., or even the U.S. Our government has done a much better job at understanding the threat and putting measures into place, both soft and hard, to deal with it. We had the five-year \$10-million Kanishka research project which, although many thought it under-delivered (I am among that group), set the stage for a more robust and more mature academic environment to look at terrorism where none existed before. Public Safety Canada's Citizen Engagement branch developed a community outreach program that was the envy of all our allies and the creation of the new Office of the Coordinator for Counter Radicalization and Community Outreach will hopefully enhance this effort. There is more work to be done but these are all enviable achievements.

The Toronto 18 may have been a shock to the system for Canada, but it was not the harbinger of a path to ruin. We are still a relatively safe country and while we must remain vigilant and ensure that our security and law enforcement agencies enjoy the necessary resourcing and public trust, we will likely remain so.

Phil Gurski is president/CEO of Borealis Threat and Risk Consulting.

www.borealisthreatandrisk.com  
*The Hill Times*



# Universal basic income

The Dutch city of Utrecht is developing a pilot project for a universal basic income that will launch in January 2017.

The Finnish government is designing a trial to see whether giving low-income people a guaranteed basic income destroys their motivation to do any work at all, as critics allege. The idea is not going away because most 'real' jobs are on the way out.



GWYNNE DYER

**L**ONDON, ENGLAND—In a referendum last Sunday, Swiss voters rejected a proposal for a guaranteed annual income for everybody by an overwhelming 78 per cent to 22 per cent majority. But the idea was not crazy, and it is not going to go away.

The Dutch city of Utrecht is developing a pilot project for a universal basic income that will launch in January 2017. The Finnish government is designing a trial to see whether giving low-income people a guaranteed basic income destroys their motivation to do any work at all, as critics allege. The idea is not going away because most "real" jobs are on the way out.

The old argument in defence of technological change—that it creates more

new jobs than it destroys—no longer holds water. In the 1980s, eight per cent of new jobs created in the developed economies were in entirely new occupations, from call-centres to computer programmers. In the 1990s, only 4.4 per cent of the new jobs involved newly-invented occupations. In the 2000s, only half a percent did.

So full-time jobs with benefits have declined—only one-quarter of working-age Americans now have one—and the so-called "gigging economy" has not filled the gap. You may be able to stay afloat financially by doing a variety of "gigs"—low-paid, short-term, often part-time jobs—but you will never make ends meet, let alone get a mortgage.

Industrial jobs were the first to be destroyed by automation, but it soon moved on to the less demanding clerical jobs as well. As somebody said: "Every ATM contains the ghosts of three bank tellers." And now it's moving on to the kinds of jobs that it once seemed impossible to automate. Driving, for example.

The driverless vehicles that are now to be found meticulously observing the speed limit (and causing angry traffic jams behind them) on the roads of various major cities will soon be out of the experimental stage. At that point, the jobs of many



In a referendum last Sunday, Swiss voters rejected a proposal for a guaranteed annual income for everybody by an overwhelming 78 per cent to 22 per cent majority. But the idea was not crazy and it is not going to go away.

millions of truck-drivers, bus-drivers and van-drivers will be in jeopardy.

Another huge chunk of the economy will start shedding jobs rapidly as online health monitoring and diagnosis take over the routine work of non-specialized health professionals. A similar fate awaits most mid-level jobs in the financial services sector, the retail sector and "management" in general.

The standard political response to this trend is to try desperately to create other jobs, even if they are poorly paid, almost pointless jobs, in order to keep people "in work" and off welfare. Unemployment is seen as a failure by both the government and the victim.

Yet this "problem" is actually a success story. Why would you see an economy that delivers excellent goods and services without requiring people to devote half their waking hours to work as a problem? The real problem is figuring out how to distribute the benefits of automation when people's work is no longer needed.

And so to this relatively new idea: universal basic income. The core principle is that everybody gets a guaranteed income that is enough to live on, whether they are poor or rich, employed or not. They can earn as much more as they want, if they can find the work, but their basic needs are covered.

The actual amounts did not get mentioned in the Swiss referendum, but the people who proposed it were thinking in terms of a monthly income of \$2,500 for every adult, and an additional sum of \$625 a month for every child. It would replace the usual humiliating jumble of welfare payments with a single fixed sum for everybody, so it has appeal for the right wing as well as the left.

In the Swiss model (and in many others) the cost of a universal basic income is about 50 per cent higher than current expenditure on welfare payments, so taxes would be higher. But so would incomes, including those of high earners, since even they are getting the same flat annual payment of \$30,000 per adult.

As for the inevitable rise of the "gigging economy," that then becomes just the way people top up their incomes in order to afford luxuries. If there is work available, then people would still want to do it—but if there is not, they would still have decent lives.

About half the remaining traditional full-time jobs in advanced economies will be eliminated by automation in the next 10-20 years, so this is an idea whose time has come. Then why did the Swiss reject it by a four-to-one majority? Mainly because their deal with the European Union means that they have relatively open borders.

Luzi Stamm, a Member of Parliament for the right-wing Swiss People's Party, liked the idea in principle but opposed it in practice: "Theoretically, if Switzerland were an island, the answer is yes," he told the BBC. "But with open borders, it's a total impossibility...If you offered every individual [living here] a Swiss amount of money, you would have billions of people who would try to move into Switzerland."

Well, tens of millions anyway. But the solution to that is to control the borders, not to abandon the whole idea. And it will be back.

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

The Hill Times

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INSIDE POLITICS **JUSTIN TRUDEAU & ASSISTED SUICIDE**

# 'A big first step': prime minister rejects critics who say assisted dying bill doesn't go far enough, but suggests rules may evolve

Justin Trudeau also seemed to argue the new law could evolve through real-world application and court rulings.



PAUL WELLS

OTTAWA—As the Supreme Court's deadline for assisted-dying legislation passed with no new law in place, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has rejected claims his proposed law doesn't go nearly far enough.

"Around the cabinet table, some of the most compelling conversations we had were around the disability community and the concerns around protecting vulnerable

Canadians," Trudeau told the *Star* during a lengthy interview in his Centre Block office. "Because, yes, defending people's choices and rights is part of being a Liberal—but protecting the vulnerable is, too."

Last year, the Supreme Court of Canada struck down Criminal Code provisions forbidding physician-assisted suicide and gave Parliament a year to rewrite the law. The government of former prime minister Stephen Harper did not draft a new law before its defeat in last October's election. With the court's original February deadline looming, Trudeau's government asked for a six-month extension. The court consented to only four more months.

That deadline passed on June 6. Physician-assisted suicide can now be performed legally starting Tuesday, with no restrictions under the Criminal Code. The House of Commons passed the new Liberal law, C-14, last week. The Senate has only begun deliberating.

Bill C-14 permits physician-assisted suicide only in cases where the patient's death is "reasonably foreseeable." That's different from the court's phrasing: it held unanimously that a patient suffering a "grievous and irremediable

medical condition" could seek a physician's help to end "suffering that is intolerable."

The distance between the court's language and the Liberals' has led some critics to suggest C-14 is too timid to withstand legal challenge. Constitutional scholar Peter Hogg on Monday joined the ranks of those critics. He told a Senate committee examining C-14 that the new bill fails the test set by the top court.

Trudeau remains unconvinced. "This is a big step in Canadian society and Canadian justice," he told the *Star*. "Getting that balance right means defending Canadians' rights and freedoms and ability to make choices about themselves—but also protecting the most vulnerable."

Bill C-14 "respects the challenge the Supreme Court asked us to respond to," he said.

But he also seemed to argue the new law could evolve through real-world application and court rulings. He called C-14 "a big first step that is going to be followed by a lot of discussions and evolution over the coming decade as we begin to develop practices and case law."

Trudeau's comments came during a wide-ranging interview on several topics.

One of the leading organizations criticizing physician-assisted dying has been the Council of Canadians with Disabilities. The group has argued that severely disabled Canadians, especially those whose condition is new to them, could be so depressed they give up or could feel pressured by "social and economic circumstances."

Does Trudeau share the fear that patients could be coerced into physician-assisted dying? "That's been the slippery-slope argument that's always brought up when medical assistance in dying is talked about from certain quarters," he said. "But we've seen very clear studies from around the world, from jurisdictions that have that, that have said no, that simply isn't something that ends up happening."

"But of course you need to make sure that it's there in the framework," he said. "Which is why we're demanding [approval from] two physicians," as well as a mandatory 15-day "reflection period" so patients have a chance to reconsider their choice.

Trudeau's lead ministers on this file, Health Minister Jane Philpott and Justice



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau called C-14 'a big first step that is going to be followed by a lot of discussions and evolution over the coming decade as we begin to develop practices and case law.' *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould, urged legislators to move fast to pass C-14 before the June 6 deadline. But now that the legal vacuum they warned against is upon us, Trudeau downplayed its seriousness.

Will patients and doctors create facts on the ground by ending patients' lives before the new law passes? "I'm certainly hopeful that in the coming days, not too much is going to happen," Trudeau said. "I don't think Canada is well served by having a void on this issue. And I'm certainly encouraging the Senate to get this done responsibly."

Earlier prime ministers could have called their government leader in the Senate and urged that senators on the government side of the upper chamber follow the government line. Trudeau gave away that power when, as leader of an opposition party, he kicked Liberal senators out of his party's caucus. Does he regret that move?

"Oh, I knew that when I made this decision ... there were going to be days that I grumbled at myself for having done this," he said. "But I also deeply believe that Canadian politics - and, mostly, Canadians themselves—will be better served by having a thoughtful, serious group of people look in on what's best for Canadians in the Senate and express that."

Paul Wells is a national affairs columnist for *The Toronto Star*. This column was released on June 7.

*The Hill Times*

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# Finding Fault

**While Fort McMurray has put the fear of fire front and centre in the minds of Canadians,** the fact is that fire, both natural and man-made, wreaks havoc all the time across the country. A couple of months ago, a house fire in Calgary killed five people. A White Rock, B.C. blaze flattened an apartment building under construction — thankfully, no one was hurt, though 70 units were destroyed. In February, a fire in a Toronto Community Housing complex killed four people.

The Toronto fire, however, has been different in that it has prompted Toronto Fire Services to lay charges against Toronto Community Housing (TCH). The fire department learned there was combustible material — two synthetic, highly flammable chairs — in the fifth-floor hallway where the blaze started. The chairs were not supposed to be there. Many residents also smoked in common areas.

Further, the building is home to a large number of seniors, but wasn't legally designated a seniors' residence. The fire department has charged that staff there were not properly trained in fire safety.

TCH is contesting the charges, which carry a potential fine of \$100,000.

While it's not unheard of, it is unusual for fire services to point a legislative finger in this way. It raises questions — once again — about who's at fault when a building catches fire.

And we're not talking about an act of God, as in Fort McMurray. (We won't get into climate change and El Niño — that's a conversation for another day.)

We're talking about where the onus lies when a seemingly controllable fire burns out of control.

For example... Last year, in Edgewater, New Jersey, a luxury condo residence caught fire. A couple of workers had been doing some plumbing and their blowtorch got out of hand. Unfortunately, they called their supervisor when they probably should have called 9-1-1.

That delay in calling fire services is cited as a key cause of the fire. But how did it end up a five-alarm inferno? One that destroyed the building, forced the evacuation of thousands of people in the area, and left 1,000 residents homeless? It's a miracle no one was killed.

Media footage of the blaze showed blackened walls caving in under fire hoses like charred paper. The images bring to mind one word: *combustible*.

It's common knowledge that the combustibility of modern, lightweight building materials contributes to the intensity and speed of fires today. And as experiences like Edgewater show, sprinklers alone often

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# ult after Fire

are not enough to stop fires from ripping through these new buildings. These structures meet all the latest building codes, yet can be razed to the ground.

In the same vein, the TCH facility also was built to code — the Ontario Building Code; however, it pre-dated 2007 legislative changes mandating sprinklers. While more sprinklers in the building might possibly have saved lives and reduced the damage, the fire's tragic outcome makes one wonder about the flammability of the structure.

We live in an age when there is a growing emphasis on transparency and accountability. When a tragedy like fire strikes, those affected are much less willing to quietly grin and bear it. Often, they take action. They post on social media. They circulate petitions. They lobby for legislative change. They launch lawsuits.

This cultural shift is one reason why those of us in the construction industry — including those who draft building codes — need to take safety-related factors like fire into greater account.

Another reason is the impact of fire on hard costs like insurance.

Comparing concrete with wood, for instance, a recent study from the Concrete Council of Canada shows that in addition to fire insurance being 7 to 11 times higher for wood structures, builders' risk insurance is also higher.

And that's aside from factors such as moisture damage and the effects of climate change; the study points out that payouts from extreme weather have more than doubled every 5 to 10 years since the 1980s, and "are now a leading cause of property insurance claims."

Combustible materials. Higher insurance costs. And a population that is empowered and less willing to take perceived negligence sitting down.

These are the dynamics impacting today's construction market.

As a result, those of us in this market need to be ready to meet higher standards of quality, safety, and accountability. If, for example, we knowingly build structures that cost more in insurance, isn't it logical to think that we might be aware those buildings pose a greater safety risk — and that we could be held responsible for consequent damage or injury?

More and more, whether it's fire services taking a property manager to task over a regulatory breach, as in the case of TCH, or residents banding together to launch a class-action lawsuit against a developer, as in the case of Edgewater, New Jersey, those ultimately responsible for building safety — the owners and builders — will indeed be held responsible.

**Contact the Canadian Concrete  
Masonry Producers Association.**

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Columnist Angelo Persichilli wonders about the value of having auditors general, such as Michael Ferguson, shown here, if they are just going to be ignored. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

# Ontario just got hosed for \$342-million, this is not a movie

AG reports remind me of the movie *King Kong*. We see that something monstrous is taking place, and New York is about to be destroyed. But don't panic, with a click of a button, it all disappears. The TV is off.



ANGELO PERSICHILLI

TORONTO—News about the cost of Toronto Pan Am Games in 2015 shows how useless and costly the position of the auditor general is in Canadian governments.

It doesn't mean that the position of the auditor general isn't needed or the people performing the job are inept. Even if at times their findings only support with evidence what people already know or suspect, their documented findings are useful and needed ... if acted upon.

Unfortunately, the AG reports remind me of the movie *King Kong*: something monstrous is taking place, and New York is about to be destroyed. But don't panic, with a click of a button, puff, it all disappears. The TV is off, the page is turned, and the smartphones back on Facebook enjoying the last posting from a friend, posting a picture from our cottage in Muskoka, or writing drops of stolen wisdom like, "If you

find a friend, you find a treasure," from an old sage, trying to make us feel intelligent.

Unfortunately, while *King Kong* doesn't exist, the findings of the auditors general are real. Still, they are ignored just like *King Kong* on the Empire State Building.

Just to be clear, this is a movie starring all three levels of governments, and of all political stripes.

Lately, I've read about reports from two auditors general's reports. One was criticizing the federal Immigration Department for not properly preventing and detecting citizenship fraud. The second, last week, claimed that Ontario is on the hook for \$342-million to clean up the financial mess left behind by the "successful" Toronto Pan Am Games.

I already had the opportunity to comment on the Immigration and Citizenship findings from the AG and, while sharing and supporting the concerns of the Minister John McCallum that the findings must not be used to penalize the entire sector of Immigration and old and new immigrants, I am eager to see how, when, and if the findings of fraud will be seriously addressed.

More troubling is the report from Ontario Auditor General Bonnie Lysyk telling us that the taxpayers have to pay \$342-million more than expected.

The AG report also tells us that, again, not all the information requested was forwarded to her office. For example, of the 10 computer hard drives requested, only three were available, all others deleted. The government says that all information pertinent to the games were uploaded to the "cloud" and the AG got complete access to that information. At the same time, they say it was up to the individuals in the organization to decide what to upload.

The bottom line is that they spent more than \$300-million more than they budgeted and they have not complied with the requests from the auditor general to provide the necessary information. The answer is, "We're are clean. Trust us."

I am wondering if an audit from Revenue Canada would allow the same courtesy to the private sector. This, by any stretch of imagination, doesn't make anyone a fraudster. Still, someone was not up to the job in preparing the plan or implementing it. In any private company, the executives responsible would suffer consequences, but not if the company is the Government of Ontario. *The Toronto Star* wrote last week that "the report found 53 senior staff were paid \$5.3-million in bonuses at the end of games for finishing out the entire length of their contracts and meeting budget targets. Those payments come in addition to annual performance bonuses of \$10.5 million."

If I understand correctly, they were given a bonus for finishing out "the entire length of their contracts" and "meeting budget targets." Giving a bonus for respecting a contract they had signed and paid for?! And meeting the budget targets? What about the \$342-million in cost overruns? Who was in charge?

We know three things: first, the names of the people that got the bonuses; second, the names of those paying for the overruns; third, that after a few days all issues will be forgotten.

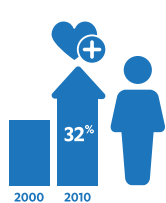
King Kong is dead. Next please.

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*

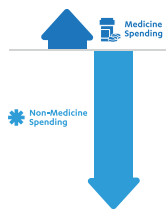
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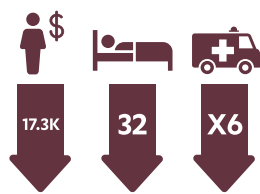
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OPINION **INNOVATION**

# Innovation, big and small, key to economic success

Innovation, big and small, can help Canada's small and mid-sized businesses become the most competitive in the world. They can count on BDC to keep innovating with them along the way.



MICHAEL DENHAM

Most Canadians would agree that innovation is important for all of us. It drives economic growth and prosperity and leads to a smarter, stronger, and more competitive Canada.

But innovation is often misunderstood. Most people associate it with radical invention, with something that didn't exist before. This leaves out a big chunk of what innovative thinking actually is. It can also be small, incremental improvements to existing products or services.

Gov.-Gen. David Johnston said it well in a speech he gave when launching the GG Innovation Awards on June 9: "Innovation is developing new and better ways of doing things and creating value that have a meaningful and positive impact on our quality of life."

In his May 30 article in *The Hill Times*, David Crane states that innovation is central to building a successful society. We couldn't agree more. So, "where's the beef?" as Crane puts it.

At BDC, we're already taking a number of steps to help everyday entrepreneurs innovate. Our venture capital business alone has \$2-billion under management and supports more than 700 of Canada's most innovative and disruptive companies. And many of our 42,000 clients, running businesses at all stages of development in every industry across Canada are champions of innovation too. They seek out new ways to do things, improve processes and products, and solve problems for their customers.

Canada needs more innovators like them. Entrepreneurs with a growth mindset and who are willing to scale up their business. The fact is that we have exceptionally creative minds in this country. We have world-class research. We also have tremendous entrepreneurs who are as smart and creative as it gets when it comes to creating and leading companies that have the potential to change the world.

All entrepreneurs can count on BDC's support and leadership to help them become more innovative and to scale up. We do this by offering financing and advisory services, and also by accompanying them on their business journey.

For example, we created a new unit called BDC Advisory Services to combine our existing consulting and other non-financial services alongside new offerings for high-impact firms. This unit is developing services to help Canada's most impactful and innovative entrepreneurs grow and globalize.

In February, we created a new financing option for exporters and manufacturers looking to buy new equipment and innovate in their production processes. As Crane points out, investments in new machinery and equipment is one of the important ways innovation is introduced into the economy. This new product offers highly flexible and affordable terms that link loan repayments to the entrepreneur's success and ability to pay.

We also believe strongly in innovating in our own organization. To better serve entrepreneurs and make doing business with us even easier, we began to deploy a first-class mobile financing platform that allows our account managers to approve loans



Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains, right, and Liberal MP Mark Holland.  
*The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

instantly via tablet, enabling our clients to get access to capital at record speed.

At BDC, we are committed to being there for entrepreneurs every step of the way. Innovation, big and small, can help Canada's small and mid-sized businesses become the most competitive in the world.

They can count on BDC to keep innovating with them along the way.

*Michael Denham was appointed President and CEO of the Business Development Bank of Canada in August 2015. BDC is the only bank devoted exclusively to entrepreneurs.*

*The Hill Times*



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# Canada needs an innovation strategy

With the automotive industry in the midst of a profound technology revolution, Canada needs to ensure that it is there to share in the emerging opportunities. That will require an innovation strategy.



DAVID CRANE

TORONTO—If the Trudeau government's promised innovation-led growth strategy is to deliver middle-class jobs it should include a sustainable future for the automotive industry. It is Canada's most important manufacturing industry and one of its most technologically advanced. Yet Canada has been losing ground in the global automotive industry.

Turning this around, at a time when the industry worldwide is in the throes of the most disruptive innovation revolution to hit it in decades, is one of the biggest tasks facing Economic Development Minister Navdeep Bains and his Ontario counterpart, Brad Duguid.

While much depends on the industry itself, public policy also matters. As Charlotte Yates, who directs the Automotive Policy Research Centre at McMaster University, argues, "to secure a future in this rapidly-changing landscape of automotive manufacturing, a consensus is beginning to emerge that a more activist role for government is necessary."

Mexico has captured all but two of the last 11 auto assembly plant announcements in North America, the other two going to the U.S. Over the past decade four major automotive assembly plants have been closed in Canada, with another scheduled for closure and two major assembly facilities operated by General Motors and Fiat Chrysler, and a Ford engine plant facing uncertain futures. Canada now produces fewer cars than it did in 2000 and has lost more than 25 per cent of its auto industry jobs. According to Michigan University's Centre for Automotive Research, the big automakers invested US\$69.6-billion in North America between 2010 and 2014, but only US\$4-billion of that was in Canada.

When assembly plants close, there is a swift impact on suppliers. According to Yates, between 2008 and 2014, there was a net loss of 104 parts plants.

To be sure, Toyota, Honda, General Motors-CAMI, Ford and Fiat Chrysler have upgraded some existing plants, usually with



Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains, pictured on the Hill. David Crane says Canada also needs to focus much more on advanced manufacturing, what's known as Industry 4.0, the world of robotics, 3D printing, and machine-to-machine communication. Over the past decade, Canada and Ontario have made various stabs at advanced manufacturing programmes but they have lacked focus. Ontario has announced \$35-million over five years to three universities—Waterloo, McMaster and Western—to pursue advanced manufacturing research. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

government assistance. But it is a smaller industry today.

According to General Motors CEO Maria Barra, the automobile will change more in the next five to 10 years than it has in the past 50. The industry has to effectively re-invent the automobile to meet a tough fuel efficiency standard, which requires that the 2025 model year fleet achieve an average fuel efficiency of 54.5 mpg, compared to 27.5 mpg in 2010. Automakers are racing to develop connected cars to make them safer, more comfortable, and easier to drive, and autonomous vehicles that could someday take over driving itself.

"By the end of the next decade, cars and light-duty trucks will be more fuel efficient, weigh less, emit less air pollutants, have more safety features, and will be more expensive to purchase relative to current vehicles," the U.S. National Research Council said in a report last year. Cars will be equipped with "advanced technologies, materials, electronics and controls, and aerodynamics," the report said.

The consulting firm Strategy& estimates the automotive industry worldwide spent US\$105-billion on R&D in 2014, and this will likely continue to grow. Yet

Canada's auto industry had been cutting back and spent more on R&D in 2000 than it did in 2015. This needs to change. And to some extent it is.

GM Canada's Regional Engineering Centre in Oshawa has mandates from its Detroit parent for the connected car and technologies to help meet 2025 fuel efficiency targets. It has about 300 engineers and technical employees now, and could see hiring of an additional 1,000 engineers and software developers. The centre is working with young tech companies, for whom the auto industry is a new market, companies like QNX Software Systems, CrossChasm and Lixar. CrossChasm is a Waterloo company established in 2004 focused on electric vehicles. Lixar is an Ottawa-based software company established in 2000 that today has more than 140 employees and is focused on the connected car. Canadian talent has recently attracted Apple, which is also working on the connected car, to Ottawa.

The auto industry today requires highly educated and skilled workers, including good engineers and software writers. With good universities and colleges, this is one of Canada's great advantages. It's why GM

has turned its eyes northward.

Mark Reuss, GM's global product chief, told *Automotive Age* that his company was looking to Waterloo. "The school is rapidly becoming a great pipeline for us of young, creative and talented people eager to join the company," Reuss said of Waterloo University.

Young engineers and small start-ups are very much on the industry's radar. Lindsay Farlow, a General Motors engineer, who graduated from Waterloo University and who returned home after a dozen years in high-tech ventures in Silicon Valley, is now running an open lab in Communitech, a Kitchener incubator hub, working with small groups of co-op students from Waterloo, McMaster and other engineering schools, pursuing innovative ideas for GM.

Canada also needs to focus much more on advanced manufacturing, what's known as Industry 4.0, the world of robotics, 3D printing, and machine-to-machine communication. Over the past decade, Canada and Ontario have made various stabs at advanced manufacturing programmes but they have lacked focus. Ontario has announced \$35-million over five years to three universities—

Waterloo, McMaster and Western—to pursue advanced manufacturing research.

These universities already collaborate—Waterloo and McMaster on the Initiative for Automotive Manufacturing Innovation, Western and McMaster on projects with the Fraunhofer Composites Centre, and all three on developing lightweight automotive components using magnesium.

But Canada also needs to attract and retain automotive assembly plants. They are the anchors for the supplier industry, with an assembly plant typically generating more jobs among suppliers than the assembly plant itself. Canada also needs a critical mass of assembly activity to justify the R&D and related spending by supplier companies. This is why governments subsidize assembly plants.

With the automotive industry in the midst of a profound technology revolution, Canada needs to ensure that it is there to share in the emerging opportunities. That will require an innovation strategy.

David Crane can be reached at [crane@interlog.com](mailto:crane@interlog.com).  
*The Hill Times*



**TO THE HONOURABLE MINISTERS:**  
RALPH GOODALE, PUBLIC SAFETY,  
JODY WILSON-RAYBOULD, JUSTICE AND ATTORNEY GENERAL OF CANADA,  
MELANIE JOLY, HERITAGE:

**“There are many good people in politics representing all parties, guided by the betterment of their community and love of country. There are also the occasional very few whose priority for self is incompatible with the interests of those they represent. Something is wrong here and we demand answers.”**  
—Vincent G racitano, President and founder of ADR

1. **Fact:** The RCMP’s support of ADR (Avis de recherche) goes all the way back to the year 2000;
2. **Fact:** In 2007, a high-ranking officer of the RCMP testified at the CRTC hearing of the importance of ADR and called for the channel to be expanded nationwide for the benefit of all Canadians;
3. **Fact:** The testimony of the RCMP contributed to ADR obtaining mandatory distribution in Quebec;
4. **Fact:** In a letter dated September 7, 2007 the former Minister of Public Safety, the Honourable Stockwell Day, recognized the important contribution made by ADR in preventing crime and promoting public safety;
5. **Fact:** In 2013, the RCMP (Montreal) attributed the resolution of 34% of its “unlawfully at large” cases directly to ADR;
6. **Fact:** Information obtained following an access to information request, reveals that in February 2013 the RCMP was given orders NOT to testify at the upcoming CRTC hearings for ADR’s licence renewal, nor to provide a letter of support;
7. **Fact:** Correctional Services of Canada received similar orders NOT to provide a letter supporting ADR;
8. **Fact:** Information obtained following an access to information request, reveals that in September 2013 the coordinator of the Condor Project of the RCMP was denied permission to inform the Public Safety Minister of the success they have with ADR in locating criminals;
9. **Fact:** In March 2015, RCMP (Montreal) was denied by RCMP headquarters in Ottawa a request to attend an informal meeting with the Public Safety Minister at ADR’s office. The meeting which was attended by representatives of several major police services in Quebec, including the S ret  du Qu bec, Montreal, Laval, Longueuil and Blainville, as well as the president of Quebec’s chapter of Crime-Stoppers, was intended to inform the minister of the importance of ADR. The RCMP was the only other service invited to the meeting and could not to attend following orders from HQ;
10. **Fact:** The CRTC is supposed to be an independent body;
11. **Fact:** After the suppression of important testimony from federal agencies prevented from speaking at the hearing, the CRTC said there was no proof that ADR was helpful to police and renders a decision essentially shutting down the service.
12. **Fact:** The CRTC vice-chair says he was simply following “political orders”;
13. **Fact:** Before, during and after the CRTC hearings of 2013, ADR was approached by people with ties to a high-ranking CRTC official urging ADR to sell to them;
14. **Fact:** In October 2014, one of these individuals once again urged the president of ADR to give up the company in exchange for 3-years employment and said they would use their contacts at the CRTC to overturn the decision;
15. **Fact:** In 2014 the CRTC reprimanded another television channel claiming that they were not broadcasting sufficient “made-in-Canada” porn. Meanwhile, the same CRTC is shutting down ADR saying that there is too much talk about “public safety and prevention”;



#### MINISTER GOODALE:

**Question:** Will you call for an investigation as to why important information was withheld from the Public Safety Minister?

**Question:** Will you look into why a service supported by law enforcement authorities across the country is being forced to shut down?

**Question:** The president of the CRTC said that Public Safety should pay for ADR. Will you exercise your powers as Public Safety Minister, under articles 6(1) (a), (c) and (d) of the Powers, Duties and Functions of the Minister given to you under the law and provide the necessary resources to assure the survival of ADR until such time that the above mentioned investigation is concluded?

#### MINISTER WILSON RAYBOULD:

**Question:** Will you launch an enquiry into the true independence of the CRTC?

#### MINISTER JOLY:

**Question:** Despite being made aware of some of these facts, why has your office persistently refused to meet with ADR in the last 7 months?

**Question:** Will you exercise your authority and reinstate the distribution of ADR pending the enquiry?

**Question:** How does closing ADR benefit consumers since consumers will not see a (6 cents) drop in their monthly cable bill from the loss of the service?

**Question:** What is the difference between a public interest television channel versus a commercial channel?

**Question:** All federal parties, including members of your own caucus have urged you to intervene in this matter. Yet, you refuse. Do you represent the interests of Canadians or those of the cable industry?



March 4, 2015 – Minister Steven Blaney attends an informal meeting at ADR’s office. In attendance: S ret  du Qu bec, Montreal, Laval, Longueuil, Blainville police and the president of  chec au crime (Crime Stoppers). Missing from meeting: RCMP ordered not to attend meeting with its own minister.

**ALTHOUGH YOU WERE NOT IN POWER AT THE TIME OF THESE EVENTS, YOU ARE NOW AT THE HELM.  
YOU HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO SEEK THE TRUTH AND CORRECT THE WRONG.**



## OPINION CLIMATE CHANGE

# Is another dust bowl coming?

Humanity is on the cusp of a major transformation as we come to grips with the necessity of feeding nine to 11 billion people on an increasingly hot and crowded planet.



EVAN FRASER AND  
MALCOLM CAMPBELL

GUELPH, ONT.—In the 1930s, a bad drought and an economic malaise upended farming systems around North America causing the Dust Bowl. Could climate change and the persistent post-2008 economic doldrums do the same?

On one hand, the environmental signals are sobering. The drought in California seems to be long-lasting and even this year's record El Niño, which many had hoped would bring rainfall to the southwest, seems to have done little. In Africa and India, hundreds of millions are facing food insecurity due to a combination

of drought and armed conflict. Meanwhile in Canada, the Prairie Climate Centre has recently published an atlas suggesting the wildfires in Fort McMurray are a taste of things to come. This year's hot, dry weather is consistent with climate change models that project the number of days reaching above 30C each year will increase by three to four times in the Prairies over the century.

But it's not all bad news. We also have cases where people were able to adapt to even very severe droughts.

For instance, the 2012 drought in the American Midwest was extraordinary from a meteorological perspective yet didn't have the effect on harvests that the U.S. Department of Agriculture had predicted. It also only had a modest impact on food prices. Partly, this was because in the years prior to the drought many farmers had switched from conventional plowing to "seed drilling" in order to plant their crops. Such practices do not disturb the soil much and allow organic matter, which acts like a sponge, to build up and buffer crops against hot dry conditions.

Or take the 1992 drought in southern Africa that put tens of millions at risk of starvation. One UN official described it as "apocalyptic" when it caused rivers to run dry and slashed harvests by 50 per cent. Amazingly, this crisis too passed without significant hardship. A combination of scientific innovation, which created



Buried machinery in a barn lot in Dallas, South Dakota, May 1936. Photograph courtesy of the United States Department of Agriculture

drought-tolerant crops, forward-thinking policies that kept food prices level, and humanitarian programs helped keep people from fleeing their homes.

The key lesson is that a combination of innovation and policy can improve our ability to adapt to environmental problems. There is more good news. The opportunity to develop both the technologies and the policies to create climate resilient food systems is an area where Canada, and Canada's agri-food sector, can lead the world.

To realize this opportunity we need to foster the same sort of culture of innovation and entrepreneurialism in the agri-food industry as created the internet and is transforming medicine. This means that we must bring academic, private, and not-for-profit players together with government to catalyze a new digital agricultural revolution that will allow us to produce more food, on less land, and with fewer inputs. This sort of collaboration is what the new University of Guelph Food Institute is trying to achieve ([www.foodinstitute.ca](http://www.foodinstitute.ca)).

For instance, we can link satellite navigations systems with soil maps to create "smart tractors" that sense their environment and can automatically plant drought tolerant seeds in drier parts of a field. Big data analytics can ensure irrigation systems only give plants the amount of water they need, when they need it. And we can create incentives for farmers to collect and upload data so that we can develop policies to foster climate resilient innovation.

In short, the emerging digital agricultural revolution will be as significant for future generations as the Green Revolution was in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. If Canada acts now and becomes the global leader in this area, the rewards will be great. Our farm sector will prosper and we will be better able to export our commodities to international markets.

Humanity is on the cusp of a major transformation as we come to grips with the necessity of feeding nine to 11 billion people on an increasingly hot and crowded planet. Thanks to climate change, meeting this challenge requires that we be far more thrifty with our resources and create not only *productive* but also *resilient* systems. The tools of the digital agricultural revolution are only just now emerging, but they will come to define how humanity feeds itself in the future.

Canada, and the Canadian industry, should be at the forefront of this revolution.

*Evan Fraser, is Canada Research Chair, Department of Geography and the Food Institute, University of Guelph, and Malcolm Campbell, is vice-president Research, University of Guelph.*  
The Hill Times

## OPINION MIGRANT WORKERS

# Canada's choice for migrant workers: decent work or entrenched exploitation?

At this crucial moment, what will Canada choose: secure status and decent work, or entrenched exploitation for migrant workers?



FAY FARADAY

Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) is at a crossroads.

After years of escalating concern about employers' growing reliance on, and widespread exploitation of, low-wage migrant workers, the Standing Committee on Human Resources, Skills and Social Develop-

ment and the Status of Persons with Disabilities (HUMA Committee) is reviewing the controversial program and will report to the minister of employment, workforce development and labour.

At this crucial moment, what will Canada choose: secure status and decent work, or entrenched exploitation for migrant workers?

*Canada's Choice*, my new report published by the Metcalf Foundation, maps what is at stake. The findings are troubling. Low-wage migrant workers face deeper insecurity now than before the 2014 "reforms" by the previous government.

The "overhaul" to the TFWP in 2014 retained the key elements that drive low-wage migrant workers into precariousness once they get here, including that:

- Workers remain subject to illegal fees and other predatory recruitment practices that in most provinces remain largely unchecked even though they effectively place workers in debt bondage;

- Workers remain on work permits that tie them to a single employer, leaving them vulnerable to

termination, homelessness, and losing their status if they resist mistreatment;

- Workers remain subject to the four-in/four-out rule that requires them to leave Canada after four years' work or drives them into undocumented status;

- Low-wage migrant workers remain largely shut out of access to immigration with permanent status.

These existing vulnerabilities are exacerbated by 2014 reforms that shortened work permit terms, capped the number of migrant workers in a workplace, and increased employers' fees for Labour Market Impact Assessments that authorize migrant worker hiring.

Workers now face a permanent state of insecurity, needing to repeatedly renew work permits during their four years in Canada. This makes it more difficult to resist mistreatment by employers, enforce their rights, or change jobs, while making it easier for workers to be pushed into undocumented status. It facilitates predatory recruitment practices as each permit renewal creates an opportunity to exert control over

a worker and extract further illegal fees, including forcing workers to pay employers' LMIA fees.

Most glaringly, the promise at the foundation of the Live-in Caregiver Program—labour exchanged for permanent residence—has been eroded. Caregivers' guaranteed route to permanent residence has been placed by an uncertain chance to apply for a limited number of permanent resident spots. It is now a gamble. No caregiver arriving in Canada now knows if she can ultimately attain permanent residence.

Meanwhile, new groups of workers—international students and workers arriving under intra-company transfers and work exchanges—are raising concerns about violations of workplace rights. And a new report by the UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants highlights how international trade agreements may erode migrant worker rights or leave them unprotected.

The HUMA Committee review creates an opportunity to set a new course. If the exploitation that we have seen is not the out-

come we want, we must choose again and choose differently.

But the review has been brief and compressed with only four days of hearings in May and June with the committee set to adopt its report on June 15.

For committee members—and all Canadians—this is an important moment to ask: What kind of community are we choosing to build? Who will be part of that community? Who will benefit from it? Will we entrench a two-tier society in which some have rights and others are excluded, in which some have status and others are treated as disposable?

Or will we choose again and heed the growing call—from both workers and employers—to rebuild an immigration system that provides robust protection for workers of all skill levels to immigrate with permanent status and build secure lives with family unity and decent work.

*Fay Faraday is an innovation fellow at the Metcalf Foundation and a nationally recognized labour and human rights lawyer who has worked with migrant workers since 1990.*

The Hill Times



NEWS **ELECTORAL REFORM**

# MPs to hunker down on electoral reform's 'very robust' schedule

Now, the 12-member electoral reform committee will be made up of five Liberals, three Conservatives, two NDP MPs, and one each for the Bloc and Green Parties, all with full voting rights, and the 338 town hall reports are due by Oct. 14.

Continued from page 1

"I think it's certain that the committee is going to be doing a lot of work over the summer and be travelling and engaging over the summer. I see their schedule being very robust. It'll be up to the committee to decide exactly what that looks like," said Liberal MP Mark Holland (Ajax, Ont.), parliamentary secretary to Democratic Institutions Minister Maryam Monsef (Peterborough, Ont.), who will attend committee meetings but won't be a voting member.

"The level of enthusiasm on this file from all sides is extremely high. I've talked to many colleagues on our side who want to be part of the committee and who are anxious to hear from Canadians on this and [I] think we're getting a tremendous response from Canadians who want to be heard on this issue. ... The level of enthusiasm members have to get working on this file all leads me to believe it's going to be a busy summer for this committee," he said. "For the members that are going to be on the committee, this is going to be heavy lifting."

The Liberals promised during last year's election campaign that it would be the last election under the first-past-the-post system and that it would convene an "all-party parliamentary committee to review a wide variety of reforms" and deliver recommendations to Parliament.

"Within 18 months of forming government, we will introduce legislation to enact electoral reform," reads the 2015 Liberal platform. That deadline for legislation is May 2017, and with a majority government and fixed election date laws now in place, the next federal election will take place in October 2019, and Elec-

tions Canada has already warned the clock is ticking to get changes in place in time.

On May 11, Ms. Monsef, along with Government House Leader Dominic LeBlanc (Beauséjour, N.B.), introduced a motion to create a special all-party parliamentary committee on electoral reform, setting a Dec. 1, 2016, deadline for the committee to table a final report to the House of Commons. The committee would have been made up of 12 members, two ex-officio non-voting seats for the Green Party and Bloc Québécois (one seat each), with the remaining 10 voting members made up of six Liberals, three Conservatives, and one NDP MP. As part of this, Ms. Monsef indicated the committee would ask all 338 MPs to hold town halls in their respective ridings on electoral reform and report back to the committee with those results by Oct. 1, 2016.

Opposition parties were quick to criticize the Liberal government's proposal, mainly because it would have given the Liberals a voting majority on the committee, and Conservatives have stood firm on insisting that no less than a federal referendum on electoral reform needs to be held.

On June 2, NDP democratic reform critic Nathan Cullen (Skeena-Bulkley Valley, B.C.) introduced a new motion on setting up a special electoral reform committee, and after an agreement was reached between the Liberals and NDP, the motion was ultimately passed on June 7, by 230 to 91.

Now, the 12-member electoral reform committee will be made up of five Liberals, three Conservatives, two NDP MPs, and one each for the Bloc and Green parties, all with full voting rights. The government agreed to the NDP motion after getting serious political blowback. The motion means no one party has a majority of seats on the committee and seats on the committee are allotted proportionally according to the popular vote in last year's federal election. There will also be 338 town hall reports which are due by Oct. 14, 2016.

As per the motion, the committee must hold its first meeting within 10 days of it being passed—meaning the first meeting has to take place by June 17. Ms. Monsef was not available for an interview last week.

Conservative MP Scott Reid (Lanark-Frontenac-Kingston, Ont.), his party's democratic institutions critic, criticized what he calls a "backroom deal" between the two parties—discussions he

said he wasn't truly included in, aside from a "conversation that lasted under five minutes"—which he said he "didn't appreciate."

Mr. Reid said the committee membership changes are "an improvement over what it was before," but that "the real point of the committee in my view is just to burn up time."

"[That view is] based on the fact that it takes time to have a referendum, and it also takes time to implement any electoral reform proposal that involves redistribution, such as either STV [single transferable vote] or MMP [mixed-member proportional]," said Mr. Reid.

"It looks to me like the Liberals are just trying to find a way of saying, 'There's just one option left for us. We can't have a referendum on it but we made a scared promise and that option happens to be the one that guarantees we win the next election,'" he said. "I've never seen such an obvious setup before for an attempt to manipulate the process."

Last week, *The Hill Times* was told Mr. Cullen and NDP deputy democratic reform critic Alexandre Boulterice (Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie, Que.) are the NDP's "presumed" main two members of the committee, though the caucus "will name a number of alternate members as well."

Green Party leader Elizabeth May (Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.) will definitely be on the committee, as the sole Green MP. Last week, Ms. May told *The Hill Times* that she's eager to start as soon as possible.

"I'd like to see us have a few meetings under our belt before the House rises [for the summer on June 23] and begin to plan how much of the summer are we prepared to spend in town hall meetings and hearing witnesses," said Ms. May.

The committee is expected to hold meetings both in Ottawa and across the country as part of its study, with its first meeting set to take place some time this week. The first items of business will be getting a parliamentary-approved budget and planning an agenda.

Ms. Monsef's office indicated the cost of the electoral reform committee would not come out of the \$10.7-million over four years allocated to electoral reform in the 2016 budget, but instead out of the House of Commons' budget, as with regular committees.

A background briefing with officials from the Library of Parliament is being put on in the Sir John A. Macdonald Building on June 15 for all Parliamentarians on "what's happened in different parts of the world, what are some of the different options" and things to consider, said Mr. Holland.

"I think it'll be a very useful session for Members," he said. "We're also going to make sure that they have everything that they need to hold those town halls and to have town hall kits before they leave for the summer."

MPs have also been tasked with holding town halls this summer on the Trans-Pacific Partnership, climate change, and on infrastructure to compile reports to feed to the relevant ministers.

Mr. Holland said the government is considering working with an "independent third party" to help produce digital "content for



Democratic Institutions Minister Maryam Monsef is responsible for overseeing electoral reform. The newly re-constituted electoral reform committee is expected to meet this summer, and along with multiple town halls, will keep MPs busy through the 'break.' *The Hill Times* Photograph by Jean-Marc Carisse

Canadians to get the same background on what the options are and what is being considered" for electoral reform.

"We wanted an independent partner so that people would know the material being created has no spin from us," he said, adding, "We're going to have a very large presence digitally come the beginning of September."

Mr. Cullen said, "It's going to be a good day once we finally bang the gavel on this thing," and that NDP MPs are "keen to get going."

"There's a real sense of urgency because quite a bit of time has gone by, and so getting started and getting started in the right direction will be very important," he said.

With MPs set to hold town halls all 338 ridings this summer, MPs who end up on the electoral reform committee will be extra busy.

Ms. May said as the sole member of her caucus, there's no chance to swap with a colleague to get all her work done and she's "very worried about that, but it's just something I've got to juggle." She said she usually does "nine town halls between Labour Day and when the House returns" in the fall, but for now, all scheduling is "on hold until I know what the schedule is going to be like for this committee."

"I can't miss a single meeting. Votes could go any which way," she said.

Ms. May said she'd like to see the committee start off by establishing a "set of principles of what we're striving to achieve" and that she hopes the committee is able to "operate by consensus and come to a consensus report on the best voting system for Canada."

"My own two principles—for what it's worth—going into this is that we need to make sure that every vote counts, and we want to make sure that whatever system we choose, Canadians still know, 'That is my MP. ... I can go to that person when I've got a problem,'" she said.

The Liberal government's handling of the electoral reform file and Ms. Monsef's performance as minister have been criticized by some, including the media, with *Toronto Star* columnist Chantal Hébert recently writing that Ms. Monsef has been "burning bridges" with the opposition as a result of the tone she's taken on the file.

Asked for thoughts on Ms. Monsef's tone, Conservative MP Tony Clement (Parry Sound-Muskoka, Ont.) said it's "very clear" that the Liberal government has "an agenda that they want to im-

pose their system of electing MPs on the country," and Ms. Monsef is just "trying to do her job." Mr. Clement said the "ultimate red line" for Conservatives is that a referendum should be held and that the idea that cross-country town halls are "a meaningful approach to a root and branch reform of our electoral system is fairytale."

"They're getting more glib, they're getting more arrogant, they're getting more disdainful of anyone who dares have a different point of view than them. They're turning into the people that they said they hated prior to the election," he said.

Mr. Cullen said the Liberal government had recently been sounding "too much like the last guys" in being "unwilling to listen to the opposition." However, he added that it "was good" to see the government change its approach and adopt his motion and "not just say we're going to be different, but show some tangible ways that that was true." He said he thinks the tone shift was "certainly necessary because things were souring quite quick."

Mr. Holland said that, as a fourth-term as an MP, he's "been profoundly impressed by [Ms. Monsef's] abilities," as a first-time MP and minister handling "one of the most complicated files."

Ms. May said the government's attempt to reform Canada's voting process has "become very partisan already with Conservatives arguing the Liberals are somehow trying to rig this so they'll always win," something she said she hasn't gotten "any indication of," but said she thinks it's "remarkable" that the majority Liberals "changed their position," and voted to pass the NDP motion earlier this month.

"I venture to say it's close to never that a party in power with a majority of seats in Parliament has surrendered their majority on a committee," she said, adding she thinks the Liberals could have alternatively not given the NDP an extra member (in turn decreasing their count by one) and instead could have just given the Bloc Québécois and Green members voting powers in order to create a balance in votes at committee.

She said she's been "very impressed by Minister Monsef" so far and has been "surprised by the harshness of" tone of some criticism. Ms. May said describing the NDP's motion as a lifeline for the Liberals is "too partisan an analysis" and "cynical," adding with a majority, the Liberals could have just gone ahead as first planned.

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*The Hill Times*



## NEWS HUNTER TOOTOO

# Former fisheries minister Tootoo in same Muskoka rehab centre Rob Ford went to

Fisheries officials say Hunter Tootoo was 'one of the best' ministers in years, while others say a lack of information is allowing rumours to develop.

Continued from page 1

Mr. Tootoo (Nunavut), who is currently serving his first term as an MP, checked in the Greenstone Clinic, a residential addiction treatment centre, located in Ontario's cottage country near Muskoka the same week he resigned from Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's (Papineau, Que.) cabinet and the Liberal caucus, sources told *The Hill Times*.

Neither Mr. Tootoo nor the Prime Minister's Office ever explained why the former minister of Fisheries, Oceans, and the Canadian Coast Guard minister quit so suddenly on May 31.

Dr. Anita Teslak, vice-president addiction services at the Greene-Stone, declined to confirm or deny if Mr. Tootoo was at the rehab centre.

"I cannot confirm or deny whether a person is with us," she said. "As you can well imagine, confidentiality is utmost important and individual's privacy."

"Effective immediately, the Honourable Hunter Tootoo has resigned from his position as Minister of Fisheries, Oceans and the Canadian Coast Guard," said Mr. Trudeau in a statement on the evening of May 31. "He will also be leaving the Liberal caucus."

Mr. Trudeau said that Mr. Tootoo would be taking "time to seek treatment for addiction issues," and added that Government House Leader Dominic LeBlanc (Beauséjour, N.B.) will now hold the Fisheries and Oceans portfolio.

The following day, Mr. Trudeau told reporters that it was Mr. Tootoo's own decision to resign from cabinet and leave the Liberal caucus. He also said that "we" would not comment on this issue anymore.

"As was announced yesterday, Hunter Tootoo has left the Liberal caucus and resigned from cabinet to seek treatment for addiction issues," Mr. Trudeau said prior to meeting his caucus members that day.

"This was his own choice after a very difficult situation and we'll have nothing further to say on the matter," Mr. Trudeau said, adding no further details.

Since then, Liberal MPs and Hill staffers have been declining to discuss this issue, saying they don't have any information about the circumstances that led to Mr. Tootoo's resignation. Sources told *The Hill Times* that Mr. Trudeau told his caucus on June 1 not to comment on this subject.

Prior to entering federal politics before the last federal election, Mr. Tootoo was a territorial politician



Former fisheries minister Hunter Tootoo, right, resigned abruptly on May 31 to seek professional help to address addiction issues. Liberal MP Seamus O'Regan, meanwhile, checked into a rehab in December and received the full support from Prime Minister Justin Trudeau at the time. Mr. O'Regan successfully completed his rehab in January. *The Hill Times* photographs by Jake Wright

for about 14 years and served as speaker of the Nunavut legislative assembly. He defeated former Stephen Harper (Calgary Heritage, Alta.) cabinet minister Leona Aglukkaq in the Oct. 19 election for the Nunavut riding. In the 1997 federal election, Mr. Tootoo ran unsuccessfully as an NDP candidate.

Last week, some MPs, senior Hill staffers, and well-connected political insiders, who did not want to be identified, told *The Hill Times* that the lack of an explanation about Mr. Tootoo's sudden departure is creating room for wild rumours. They said that Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Tootoo owe an explanation to Canadians and they should provide more information.

"They've really shut down the Tootoo stuff," a veteran Liberal insider told *The Hill Times*. "There's a large rat, somewhere, in this operation that just doesn't hold together, doesn't make sense."

A ministerial staffer said: "They didn't tell us anything about why he resigned."

But Liberal MP Kevin Lamoureux (Winnipeg North, Man.), parliamentary secretary to the government House leader, in an interview said that no one shared any information with Liberal MPs and to him "it's just not an issue."

"I have absolutely no idea, nor have I made any inquiries," said Mr. Lamoureux. "I have absolutely no idea, zero."

He also declined to say if Liberal MPs are not commenting

on this issue because Mr. Trudeau told them not to comment.

Liberal MP Robert-Falcon Ouellette (Winnipeg Centre, Man.) told *The Hill Times* that he has no information either, but wished Mr. Tootoo well.

"I'm really sorry to hear it. It's a really personal situation and, I guess, at the end of the day, we all suffer our own issues," said Mr. Ouellette. "I really wish him well. I hope he comes back and is able to stand tall and be a good representative of himself, his family, and bring honour to his people."

Some Liberal MPs and political insiders also have been making comparisons between Mr. Tootoo's and Liberal MP Seamus O'Regan's (St. John's South-Mount Pearl, N.L.) cases and wondering why the Nunavut MP resigned from cabinet and caucus before checking into rehab and Mr. O'Regan did not before he entered a "wellness program" in December to adopt an "alcohol-free lifestyle." In Mr. O'Regan's case, Prime Minister Trudeau tweeted a message of support for his longtime friend and the former co-host of CTV's *Canada AM*.

"My thoughts are with my friend & colleague @SeamumORegan tonight, and he has my full support," wrote Mr. Trudeau on Jan. 3.

Mr. Lamoureux said that he does not know why the two cases have been handled differently and does not have specific information to compare both cases.

Mr. Ouellette said the same but added that it could be because Mr. Tootoo may have set "a higher standard for himself."

"I have no idea," said Mr. Ouellette. "Maybe he set a higher standard for himself. He's a very honourable gentleman. I'm sure he's trying his very best."

Meanwhile, departmental officials interviewed for this article described Mr. Tootoo as "one of the best" fisheries ministers in recent history. Sources said he earned respect of people in the department because of his hard work and interest in the file.

"He was one of the best ministers in recent history—super engaged, super hard working, almost around the clock," a departmental official told *The Hill Times*. "He pushed for a number of issues, especially the North and aboriginal. Very well liked, very well respected. I don't think you'll find one person who will say anything negative."

Sources said that during his national and international tours, Mr. Tootoo met with as many stakeholders as possible and made the departmental officials work hard.

"Whenever he went on a tour of the provinces or the regions, [an average] minister would meet two or three stakeholder groups," one source said. "But he would meet like eight or nine. He made the bureaucracy work as well, and it was a pleasure. That's a generally shared view by everybody."

Departmental officials said that, as opposed to pursuing Liberal political interests, Mr. Tootoo followed the advice of scientists.

"He was moving the files very, very fast. This is not the kind of department where you come in and start all new. It's managing the resource. The resources are always there, but it's how well you understand it, what kind of policy direction you provide, and how engaged you are. He was definitely engaged on science. He respected advice of scientists. When the bureaucrats would advise him the science is this, he took the side of that as opposed to the political angle."

Meanwhile, Mr. Tootoo is not the only MP who has taken time off, in recent years, to have issues with alcohol. In addition to Mr. O'Regan, two-term NDP MP Romeo Saganash (Abitibi-Baie-James-Nunavik-Eeyou, Que.), received treatment for alcoholism in 2012 after he was barred from taking an Air Canada flight in Quebec. Immigration Minister John McCallum (Markham-Thornhill, Ont.) was stopped from taking an Air Canada flight from Toronto to Ottawa in 2002 after flight staff deemed he had been drinking too much, and he later announced he had given up drinking.

Mr. Saganash declined to be interviewed for this article last week while Mr. O'Regan did not respond to an interview request.

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## NEWS SYRIAN REFUGEES

# Rookie Liberal MP Ouellette wants McCallum to help get 120 South Sudanese out of Syria

They left Sudan to go to Syria to escape the decades-old Sudanese civil war, and now they are in the middle of another civil war.

Continued from page 1

(Markham-Thornhill, Ont.) and Foreign Affairs Minister Stéphane Dion (Saint-Laurent, Que.) on May 30, to help out “120 South Sudanese refugees residing in Syria as a result of having fled from civil war in their homeland” by bringing them to Canada. He said that these people are stuck in Syria and are in urgent need of humanitarian assistance.

“They ended up in a double trouble in a second civil war, but unfortunately for them, they are Christians and also black,” Mr. Ouellette told *The Hill Times*. “Their lives are in grave danger in this country [Syria] with the current situation.”

Mr. Ouellette said that one of his constituents, Franko Jok, a Sudanese Canadian, brought the plight of these people to his attention. He explained that these refugees are in “double trouble” because they left Sudan to go to Syria to escape the decades-old Sudanese civil war, resulting in the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, and now they are in the middle of another civil war. Mr. Ouellette said that the cases of these Sudanese refugees deserve immediate attention as their visas expire this month and the Syrian government has advised them that their refugee status will not be renewed.

“It is important that Canada once again set an example to the international community and commit to taking in these continuously displaced individuals, all of whom have been pre-screened and registered as refugees by the UNHCR,” wrote Mr. Ouellette in his letter to the two ministers.

Mr. Ouellette also wrote that since the start of the civil war in Syria, some of these South Sudanese refugees in Syria have gone missing and the ones that “do go missing are often sold into slavery, fall prey to organ harvesting, or are killed.” He said that many

of these refugees integrated into the Syrian society but still are at risk because they’re a religious minority.

“Many of these refugees have become proficient in Arabic and have demonstrated their abilities to integrate into a society that has provided them with refuge,” wrote Mr. Ouellette to Mr. McCallum and Mr. Dion. “But because they are black Christians, they face persecution in an environment that has fallen to religious-based and sectarian violence.”

Mr. Ouellette told *The Hill Times* that, as of last week, he had not received any response to his letter but is hopeful that the immigration minister will review his request sympathetically.

“Knowing Mr. McCallum, I’m sure his department is looking into it,” Mr. Ouellette said. “He’s a very honourable man.”

Considered as the biggest refugee crisis since the Second World War, the ongoing civil war in Syria has displaced an estimated 12-million people. The Syrian refugee issue was one of the most debated foreign policy issues in the last federal election. Then-third-place party in Parliament, the Liberals pledged during the election campaign that, if they formed government after the Oct. 19 election, they would bring in 25,000 Syrian refugees to Canada by the end of December. The government achieved this goal two months later than planned, on Feb. 27.

According to figures released by the Department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, the government has set aside a total of \$678-million over six years for bringing in and settling 25,000 Syrian refugees. As of February, the departmental figures indicated the government had spent \$319-million.

As of deadline last week, 27,850 Syrian refugees have arrived in Canada, according to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Department website. This figure includes both government-assisted and privately sponsored refugees. According to the website, 2,906 applications of Syrian refugees from Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon have been approved but have not yet travelled to Canada, and 16,902 applications are still going through screening and processing.

Mr. Dion’s office did not respond to an interview request but a spokesman for Mr. McCallum told *The Hill Times* last week that the minister had not had a chance



Syrian refugees pictured arriving in Greece after fleeing their country by a raft, top. Liberal MP Robert-Falcon Ouellette, left, wants Immigration Minister John McCallum to help get 120 South Sudanese out of Syria. *The Hill Times* photographs by Jake Wright and courtesy of Fernando Del Berro

to review Mr. Ouellette’s request and will respond to his letter in the coming days.

Liberal MP Borys Wrzenewskyj (Etobicoke Centre, Ont.), chairman of the Commons’ Citizenship and Immigration Committee, said that he was not aware of this issue until *The Hill Times* contacted him. He said he would like to get more information from Mr. Ouellette before making any decision on whether the committee can take up this issue. Mr. Wrzenewskyj said that as an individual MP, he’s sympathetic to the plight of these refugees but would need the consent of other members to review this subject in the committee.

“Through our refugee program, we always try to find ways to facilitate those who are most vulnerable, and this sounds like a particularly vulnerable group,” said Mr. Wrzenewskyj.

Conservative immigration critic Michelle Rempel (Calgary

Nose Hill, Alta.) did not directly address the issue when asked about these South Sudanese refugees in Syria. However, she did say she has asked the government to provide clarity on what criteria is being used to make decisions on refugee applications. She said she wants to know if the Syrian refugees’ cases have affected refugee applications from other parts of the world.

“It’s incumbent upon the government to be very clear to all Canadians as to how they’re processing refugee claims and what the intake of Syrian refugees has done to other groups so far,” said Ms. Rempel, adding that she’s also concerned about other vulnerable individuals and groups around the world who are having difficulties even to file refugee applications.

When asked about this issue, NDP immigration critic Jenny Kwan (Vancouver East, B.C.) told *The Hill Times* a number of vul-

nerable groups in Syria and other parts of the world need help from Canada. She specified the cases of 400 Yazidi women in Syria, a religious minority, who underwent sexual slavery and extreme sexual violence and have been waiting for months for Canada to consider their applications.

“It’s not good enough to simply say that we have a bureaucratic red tape that we can’t get through,” said Ms. Kwan. “What we do know, and there’s no dispute about it, is that you have 400 girls who have experienced sexual slavery, extreme violence who are in desperate need of humanitarian compassionate aid. If we want to live up to the expectation and the reputation that we want to build for Canada, then we need to do something that we can on the international stage to address this issue.”

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## NEWS DEMOCRATIC REFORM PLAYERS

# ‘They’re very solid,’ award-winning academics Jarvis, Turnbull recruited by PCO to support Democratic Institutions

Mark D. Jarvis and Lori Turnbull were co-writers, along with the late Peter Aucoin, of *Democratizing the Constitution*.

Continued from page 1

PCO spokesman Raymond Rivet confirmed Mr. Jarvis’ employment within the organization, as he did with Ms. Turnbull, who he said is a department assistant in the office of Ms. Monsef and acts as a “liaison” between the minister and the department. Democratic Institutions is a department that operates under the umbrella of the PCO.

The book Mr. Jarvis and Ms. Turnbull wrote together is called *Democratizing the Constitution: Reforming Responsible Government*, published in 2011.

The third co-author, the late Peter Aucoin, a professor emeritus of political science and public administration at Dalhousie University, died in 2011, the same year the book was published.

It won the 2011 Donner Prize for best public policy book by a Canadian, as well as the 2012 Donald Smiley Prize, which goes to the best book relating to the study of politics and government in Canada.

*Democratizing the Constitution* focuses largely on suggestions for constitutional reform to limit the potential for prime ministers to abuse power. Recommendations include requiring two-thirds House of Commons approval for a prorogation of Parliament, and that a specific motion of non-confidence be passed that identifies an opposition party leader capable of becoming prime minister before a sitting government falls due to a lack of confidence in the House.

A key event that seems to have been part inspiration for the book

is former prime minister Stephen Harper’s (Calgary Heritage, Alta.) prorogation of Parliament in 2008 that superseded plans by the Liberals, NDP, and Bloc Québécois to defeat the minority Conservative government and replace it with a coalition led by then-Liberal leader Stéphane Dion (Saint-Laurent, Que.).

The book does not devote much space to discussing different electoral models that could be employed in Canada. It does, however, say that Canada’s first-past-the-post electoral system has “distorting features” that result in majority governments elected by a minority of votes—like the current situation—and party seat breakdowns in the House that do not reflect the popular vote. Pointing to New Zealand’s mixed-member proportional electoral system implemented in 1993, the authors state that such a system in Canada “might help” curtail some of the power of the prime minister, but by itself would not be enough.

Donald J. Savoie, a public administration professor with Université de Moncton and whose book *What Is Government Good At?: A Canadian Answer* won the 2015 Donner Prize, said he has nothing but positive things to say about Mr. Jarvis and Ms. Turnbull, and what they bring to the PCO.

“They’re both excellent,” he said. “I’m quite aware of their work. I’ve read their work. They’re very solid. They will bring a very deep knowledge of Canada’s electoral system, a deep knowledge of the House of Commons, a deep respect for Parliament. ... I applaud the PCO for going out and getting two young, bright, unbiased [individuals].”

Prof. Savoie said he’s seen no signs of political partisanship from either individual, and added that neither have strongly advocated for a particular electoral system.

“It’s not their style,” he said. “Their style is to bring a deep reflection on the system, to point to shortcomings. ... That’s why

I think they’ll bring fresh thinking and an unbiased approach. They’re not out there trying to flog their own agenda.”

“Some academics I know would want to go in there and flog their own approach, their own view, and push it hard. These two individuals are much more detachable to process. They know the shortcomings, but I think they’ll be able to bring to bear some pretty good advice without fear of favour.”

Andrea Migone, research director for the Institute of Public Administration of Canada, agreed that the government made a sound choice in recruiting both Mr. Jarvis and Ms. Turnbull, both of whom he knows personally.

“When I think about them, I think about two people who really have absolute intellectual and personal integrity,” Mr. Migone said.

He agreed that they would be unlikely to come in with their minds already made up on what electoral reform should look like. He added that they are not the kind of people who would pretend to support an idea they don’t really believe in.

“In academia, you do that, you’re done,” Mr. Migone said. “If you become a mouthpiece for someone else, how can I trust you?”

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) has in the past expressed support for ranked or preferential ballots, though the government has maintained that it is also considering proportional representation as an alternative to the current first-past-the-post system.

Mr. Migone said that Prof. Aucoin, who was seen as a giant in academic circles, personally

handpicked both Mr. Jarvis and Ms. Turnbull to help him write *Democratizing the Constitution*.

“He picked them, yes, because they’re excellent researchers, yes, because both of them are smart as hell, but ... the way he chose, he looked for that intellectual and personal honesty,” Mr. Migone said.

Mr. Jarvis was, up until February, a researcher at the Mowat Centre think-tank at the University of Toronto, with a focus on government transformation. The founder and former director of that organization is Matthew Mendelsohn, who early this year began working in the PCO as deputy secretary to cabinet in charge of results and delivery.

Mr. Jarvis’ LinkedIn page indicates he has more than a decade of experience in the federal public service, most recently as senior policy and evaluation analyst with Health Canada, and before that doing research and policy work for the Canada School of Public Service and Human Resources Development Canada.

He had written another book with Prof. Aucoin, 2005’s *Modernizing Government Accountability: A Framework for Reform*, and has written several research papers.

Ms. Turnbull was previously an associate professor of political science at Dalhousie University and more recently held the same job title at Carleton University. Her LinkedIn profile says she was at Carleton from 2014 to 2015.

A profile of her that’s still on the Dalhousie website says she first joined the school in 2005 and has had work published in the *Canadian Public Administration* journal, the *Canadian Political Science Review*, the *Journal*

of *Parliamentary and Political Law*, and *How Ottawa Spends*. It added that she was a policy researcher for the federal commission that looked into dealings between former prime minister Brian Mulroney and Karlheinz Schreiber.

The mandate letter from Mr. Trudeau to Mr. Jarvis’ and Ms. Turnbull’s boss, Ms. Monsef, assigned her files such as reform of the electoral process and Senate appointments, amendments to the Canada Elections Act to make the elections commissioner more independent, repealing parts of the Fair Elections Act that make it harder to vote, and creating an independent commissioner’s position for organizing party leaders’ debates during election campaigns.

NDP democratic reform critic Nathan Cullen (Skeena-Bulkley Valley, B.C.) said he has no concerns about Mr. Jarvis and Ms. Turnbull working in the PCO and possibly influencing the process for electoral reform, adding that the government might even deserve some credit for appointing such acclaimed scholars.

“I don’t say these folks walk on water and I don’t say they’re a problem,” Mr. Cullen said.

He said he just hopes that anyone working on the issue of electoral reform is taking an honest approach to studying it and not coming in with a preconceived notion of how the voting system should be reformed.

“What I’ve said to the government from the first meeting is, ‘Don’t talk about good faith, don’t talk about being open, show me,’” Mr. Cullen said.

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The Hill Times



Lori Turnbull and Mark D. Jarvis, who worked together on the prize-winning book, *Democratizing the Constitution*, are now both at the PCO helping Democratic Institutions Minister Maryam Monsef. The Hill Times photograph by Kate Malloy and courtesy of Mark D. Jarvis’ LinkedIn



## FEATURE BUZZ



## HEARD ON THE HILL

BY DEREK ABMA

# Parliamentarians Marchand, Zimmer pass away

Continued from page 2



Former Senator and MP Len Marchand passed away on June 3. *The Hill Times* photograph by Kate Malloy

Two former parliamentarians recently died.

**Len Marchand**, a “trailblazer” for aboriginals in politics, died on June 3 at the age of 82, reportedly after being admitted to hospital with kidney problems.

Mr. Marchand was the first status Indian to become an MP after being elected as a Liberal in the British Columbia riding of Kamloops-Cariboo in 1968. He remained an MP until 1979. He served as Environment Minister to former prime minister **Pierre Elliott Trudeau** during that time, who later appointed him to the Senate in 1984, where he remained until 1998.

Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** described Mr. Marchand as a “distinguished parliamentarian” who was “very much admired by my father.”

“Mr. Marchand was a trailblazer for indigenous involvement in Canadian politics and a champion of their rights,” Mr. Trudeau said in a press release. “His legacy will live on in those he inspired and helped.”

**Rod Zimmer**, a Liberal Senator from 2005 to 2013, died on June 7 at the age of 73 after years of battling throat cancer and pneumonia. Mr. Zimmer made headlines in 2011 when he married 22-year-old **Maygan Sensenberger** in 2011, and a year later when an incident on flight involving the couple resulted in Ms. Sensenberger pleading guilty to causing a disturbance.

Mr. Zimmer is among seven former Senators who decided not to go to arbitration after the auditor general found them to have improperly claimed Senate expenses. Mr. Zimmer’s questionable expenses totalled more than \$176,000.

## Former Liberal staffer Parsons succumbs to ALS

**Brian Parsons**, a former Liberal staffer and employee for media-monitoring company MediaMiser, has succumbed to amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), also known as Lou Gehrig’s disease, a little more than three years after his diagnosis.

CBC reported that he passed away at the age of 50 in his sleep on June 4, leaving behind his wife Susan Robbins Parsons

and two children, an 18-year-old daughter and 20-year-old son.

He was credited with helping push the federal government to increase benefits for those who take time off work to take care of terminally ill loved ones.

Mr. Parsons worked on the Hill in the 1990s for Liberal MPs such as **Beryl Gaffney**, **Karen Kraft Sloan**, and the late **David Iftody**.

Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** last week tweeted his condolences to Mr. Parsons’ family. His passing comes as many on the Hill see longtime Liberal MP **Mauril Bélanger** struggling with the same disease after being diagnosed last year. Mr. Parsons was one of the first to express his regret on Twitter when news about Mr. Bélanger’s illness broke.

“Terribly saddened to learn of Mauril Bélanger’s diagnosis of ALS. Spoke with him in Aug #Hell,” Mr. Parsons wrote on Dec. 1.



Brian Parsons died of ALS on June 4. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

## Six senior public servants shuffled as three others take leave

Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** last week announced some shuffling or changes in duty for six senior public servants, while also noting the retirements of three.

Leaving the public service are **Margaret Biggs**, senior adviser to the Privy Council, **Ward Elcock**, special adviser to the Privy Council, and **Anita Biguzs**, deputy minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship.

**Marta Morgan**, currently associate deputy minister of Finance, is becoming deputy minister of Immigration on June 27. Also on this date, **Manon Brassard** is moving from being deputy minister of compensation and labour relations at the Treasury Board Secretariat to become president of the Economic Development Agency of Canada for the Regions of Quebec.

**Stephen Lucas**, who’s deputy secretary to cabinet for plans, consultations, and intergovernmental affairs in the Privy Council Office, will become senior associate deputy minister of climate change in the

Department of Environment and Climate Change as of June 23. On that date, **Serge Dupont**, deputy clerk of the Privy Council, takes on additional duties as deputy minister of intergovernmental affairs.

Also in the PCO, **Ian McCowan** has already made the move to become deputy secretary to cabinet for governance, moving from his former role specializing in legislation, House planning, and machinery of government. **Chantal Maheu**, assistant secretary to cabinet for priorities and planning, is moving on to being deputy secretary to cabinet for plans and consultation as of Sept. 6.

## IPolitics’ Thompson going to CBC for one year



Elizabeth Thompson will be doing investigative journalism for the CBC for at least the next year. *Photograph courtesy of Elizabeth Thompson’s Twitter*

*IPolitics* reporter **Elizabeth Thompson** will be joining the CBC for a year, she announced last week.

Ms. Thompson said in a Facebook post she is taking a one-year leave-of-absence from *iPolitics* once the House of Commons rises for the summer to take a one-year contract with the CBC as a “dedicated investigative journalist.”

She described the job with the CBC as “a dream opportunity for me to learn, to hone my investigative journalism skills and to work with some of the best journalists in the country. To tackle projects that until now have remained dreams because they require the kind of resources that only organizations like the CBC can provide.”

Ms. Thompson has been with *iPolitics* since 2010 and had previously covered Parliament Hill for Sun Media and the *Montreal Gazette*.

A memo to CBC staff from Ottawa bureau chief **Rob Russo** said Ms. Thompson would be on “all platforms,” and that she is filling in for **Louise Elliott**, who is going on maternity leave.

## Ontario regional councillor takes on FCM leadership

**Clark Somerville**, a regional councillor for Halton Hills, Ont., located about 65 kilometres west of Toronto, is the new president of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM).

He takes over this role from **Raymond Louie**, a city councillor for Vancouver. This and other positions are elected annually at the FCM.

Mr. Somerville had previously been the FCM’s first vice-president and has been on its board of directors since 2008. He has been involved in local politics for about 20 years.

“I look forward to building on that momentum as we continue to reinforce the role of cities and communities in building our nation,” Mr. Somerville said in a press release.

The FCM said Mr. Somerville’s priorities will be working with the federal government on infrastructure investments and climate-change initiatives.

## Ontario cabinet minister steps down in name of gender parity

Being a man and calling yourself a feminist is one thing. Putting the principle of gender parity ahead of your own

career is another.

**Ted McMeekin** announced last week he is stepping down as Ontario’s municipal affairs and housing minister to help Premier **Kathleen Wynne** achieve her goal of an equal-gender cabinet ahead of an anticipated cabinet shuffle.



Ted McMeekin has announced he’ll step down from his Ontario cabinet position so that gender parity can be achieved. *Photograph courtesy of Legislative Assembly of Ontario*

“Like our Prime Minister, I’ve never been afraid to call myself a feminist,” Mr. McMeekin posted on Facebook, in reference to **Justin Trudeau**, who, upon taking office last November, revealed an equal number of men and women in his cabinet, simply because it was 2015.

Now that it’s 2016, the idea seems to be spreading. That said, Ms. Wynne herself has said getting to an even 50/50 ratio at this time is unlikely, even though it’s something to strive for.

By making this decision, Mr. McMeekin is giving up almost \$50,000 in annual salary that is earned by cabinet ministers, along with the power and prestige that comes with being a minister. If karma doesn’t eventually reward this gesture, you would think someone would.

## Ghomeshi book slated for fall release



Jian Ghomeshi, pictured, will be the source of book *Secret Life: The Jian Ghomeshi Investigation*, by *Toronto Star* investigative reporter Kevin Donovan. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

No, we’re not done with **Jian Ghomeshi** just yet.

Goose Lane Editions last week announced it will publish a book about the police investigation into allegations of sexual assault by Mr. Ghomeshi called *Secret Life: The Jian Ghomeshi Investigation*. It is written by **Kevin Donovan**, who covered this saga for *The Toronto Star*. The release date is Oct. 4.

Mr. Donovan said in the press release from Goose Lane that the book “goes beyond the headlines. It includes the delicate conversations with the women who told their stories and the insiders who offered exclusive details, the explosive revelations of the trial, and Ghomeshi’s courtroom apology. *Secret Life* also explores the historic lack of reporting of sexual assault and why victims hesitate to come forward.”

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## THE SPIN DOCTORS By Laura Ryckewaert

**“The Chinese foreign minister recently scolded a Canadian journalist for asking about China’s human rights record at a press conference in Ottawa and while here also demanded a meeting with the PM and got one. Do you think the federal government responded appropriately?”**



**KATE PURCHASE**  
*Liberal strategist*

“The freedom of press is essential to our democracy and country.

“We believe it is the media’s job to ask tough questions—of our government and governments around the world. Canadian journalists should always raise issues of concern to Canadians, including human rights and consular cases. We thank the media for the question that was asked of the Chinese foreign minister, and for demonstrating what press freedom means. Calling for human rights anywhere is everyone’s prerogative.

“The prime minister has expressed our dissatisfaction to China after its foreign minister scolded a Canadian reporter over a question on human rights. Every time we have the opportunity to meet with any representatives of the Chinese government or of China in general, we highlight our concerns around human rights.

“The prime minister has never shied away from raising the issues of human rights with Chinese officials, including the case of Canadian Kevin Garratt. We will continue to bring up human rights concerns every chance we get while at the same time we work to create economic opportunities both for Canadians and for Chinese citizens.”



**CORY HANN**  
*Conservative strategist*

“I suppose it’s not all that surprising the Liberal government responded in the way it did (spoiler alert: it didn’t respond) especially after finding out that it was the Chinese government that demanded a meeting between our prime minister and their foreign minister. The Liberals of course folded to the demand despite it being more than unusual. Normally a meeting at this level would happen between political equals, and the prime minister would not need to step in to pinch hit for his own foreign minister.

“That obviously set the tone for the visit—it would be the Chinese that would control the agenda. In that sense, the fact Foreign Affairs Minister Stéphane Dion had absolutely zero reaction to the Chinese minister’s public scolding of Canada’s press and the freedom they’re afforded should have been expected. China has a record on human rights that deserves to be questioned, and the question being asked was one that was appropriate, not one to be berated.

“Don’t worry, the Liberals assure us that they wagged their finger very hard.”



**RICCARDO FILIPPONE**  
*NDP strategist*

“The initial response from Foreign Affairs Minister Stéphane Dion was very disappointing. Not only did he not come to the defence of the journalist in question, but when asked directly why, he said it wasn’t his job. The prime minister later said he communicated his ‘dissatisfaction’ to the Chinese, but those words ring very hollow considering they aren’t backed up by action.

“While the Trudeau government continues to seek closer political and economic ties with China, it has yet to let us know how issues of human rights and freedom of the press will be treated in that process. Will Canada continue to turn a blind eye to their human rights violations, or will a stronger relationship with Canada be achieved through concrete progress on human rights by China?

“Canadians ask similar questions about the government’s approval of armoured vehicle exports to Saudi Arabia.

“The Liberals have refused repeated NDP requests to establish a parliamentary committee to review arms exports to countries that might use them to violate human rights. Their solution remains to send a repo man to Saudi Arabia once the violations have occurred.”



**MATHIEU R. ST-AMAND**  
*Bloc Québécois strategist*

“The Chinese government’s difficulty with the concept of a free press is nothing new. By expressing its dissatisfaction to the Chinese about an objectionable statement by one of that country’s diplomats, the Trudeau government has done the bare minimum of what would be expected in such a situation.

“However, if this government is serious about promoting freedom of the press, it should call an inquiry into the surveillance of two La Presse reporters by the RCMP. Beyond Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale’s rhetoric, the government should take this direct attack on the freedom of the press seriously. A public inquiry would shed light on several unanswered questions about RCMP practices. By not calling an inquiry, the government is attempting to cover up one of the most serious attacks on freedom of the press in recent years.

“Canada must defend freedom of the press at home in front of countries where this freedom is curtailed. However, the government needs to do more than simply lecture offenders; it must ensure that this freedom is unrestricted here. Justin needs to lead by example instead of talking down to people for once.”



**CAMILLE LABCHUK**  
*Green strategist*

“It’s unacceptable and undiplomatic for foreign officials to attempt to trample on Canadian journalists. The incident is a stark reminder of the importance of a free press in ensuring democratic and human rights outcomes. The Greens are grateful for Canadians’ Charter-enshrined rights to freedom of expression, and we must promote those values both at home and around the world.

“That said, governments are frequently guilty of interfering in press freedom here at home. From limiting media access to events, centralizing communications control within the PMO, and even attacking specific journalists, the dark Harper years were not a proud decade. Although the Trudeau government has addressed some of these problems, there is more that can be done to improve access and transparency, and fight the dangerous temptation to ‘control the message’ at all times.

“Our federal access to information laws needs a complete overhaul, as they continue to be used by government agencies to unfairly keep the public in the dark.”



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HILL CLIMBERS POLITICAL STAFFERS



HILL CLIMBERS

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

Wilson-Raybould promotes new chief of staff

Democratic Institutions Minister Maryam Monsef has two new communications aides.

Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould has finally promoted a new full-time chief of staff in her ministerial office, after months without one and while PMO senior adviser Cyrus Reporter pulled double duty.

Ms. Wilson-Raybould had originally hired Kristen Mercer to the role of chief of staff back in November, but Ms. Mercer left the role in February in the midst of concerns raised over the appointment of her husband, Matthew Mendelsohn, to a key, new Privy Council Office role as deputy secretary for the results and delivery unit, which involves liaising with the Prime Minister's Office and cabinet offices.

Ms. Mercer is a former senior policy adviser for justice to Ontario Liberal Premier Kathleen Wynne and a former associate with Davies Ward Phillips & Vineberg LLP. Since the end of February, Mr. Reporter has been helping out Ms. Wilson-Raybould as acting chief of staff part-time, while continuing to advise Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

But recently, Lea MacKenzie was promoted to take over full-time as the minister's new chief of staff. Ms. MacKenzie had already been working away on Ms. Wilson-Raybould's staff team as director of political operations to the minister since shortly after she was sworn in last fall.

A member of the Maliseet First Nation in New Brunswick, Ms. MacKenzie was working in Ms. Wilson-Raybould's home-province of B.C. as a partner at Tewanee Consulting Group Inc., before moving to Ottawa to work on the Hill.

She's also a former consultant and former chief of protocol and director of aboriginal outreach and participation for Four Host First Nations, which was a coming together of the Lil'wat, Musqueam, Squamish and Tseil-Waututh First Nations to "coordinate their collective efforts to host and support the 2010 Winter Games" in Vancouver, as described on her LinkedIn profile.

Ms. MacKenzie studied French language and linguistics at the University of New Brunswick, as indicated online, and has a master's degree in leadership and training from Royal Roads University in Victoria, B.C.

The minister's office is located at 284 Wellington St., home of the department of justice and right across the street from the Supreme Court of Canada.

Along with Ms. MacKenzie, also working in Ms. Wilson-Raybould's ministerial office are: Keith Smith, director of policy; Jessica Prince, senior policy adviser; Michael Davis, director of communications; Joanne Ghiz, senior communications adviser; Whitney Morrison, regional assistant; Carole Chenevert, executive assistant and scheduler; and Sebastien Cooper, assistant to the minister.

Heritage Minister hires Just For Laughs public affairs manager as aide

Canadian Heritage Minister Mélanie Joly recently hired former Just For Laughs public affairs head Julie Bélanger to work as a special assistant in her ministerial office, located across the Ottawa River on Eddy Street in Gatineau, Que.

Up until last month, Ms. Bélanger had been the manager of public affairs for the Just For Laughs festival in Montreal since March 2013, a role that included some government relations work, along with working with public partners.

Before that, Ms. Bélanger was briefly head of media relations for the Montreal Symphony Orchestra starting in August 2012, according to her LinkedIn account, and previously spent roughly a year-and-a-half as director of marketing and communications for the Orchestre Métropolitain, which is based in Montreal and under the direction of Yannick Nézet-Séguin.

A former legislative assistant to then Liberal MP Brian Murphy for just over a year-and-a-half starting in January 2006, Ms. Bélanger has also previously been communications director for the International Exchange for the Performing Arts and from August 2007 to July 2010 she was a deputy head at the British Consulate General in Montreal, looking after media, and public affairs and political relations, as indicated by her online profile.

Ms. Bélanger previously worked for CBC Television in the late 1990s, and has also since then been director of programming and music for Choix 99.9 FM and is a former president and interim

director general of Radio J CKUM 93.5 FM. She's also been assistant director of communications for the Symposium d'art actuel, a festival that was held alongside the Francophonie Summit in 1999 in Moncton, N.B.; assistant director of communications for the Village de la Francophonie; and was previously director of marketing and communications for Capitol Theatre in Moncton, N.B.

Leslie Church is chief of staff to Ms. Joly.

Minister Monsef hires part-time comms aides

Democratic Institutions Minister Maryam Monsef has recently hired two new special assistants for communications, both of whom are now working for the minister part-time.

Wendy Morgan has been a communications assistant to the minister on a part-time since last May, and continues to also work part-time as part of the faculty at Fleming College, which is located in Ms. Monsef's riding of Peterborough, Ont., where she's been a curriculum consultant since 2012. Previously she was a department coordinator and taught communications courses at the school.

From 2006 to about 2009, Ms. Morgan worked for Trent University, also in Peterborough, as part of its continuing education faculty and teaching a course on creative writing. She also worked on Ms. Monsef's 2015 campaign in Peterborough, Ont. and has a bachelor



Lea MacKenzie is now chief of staff to Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn



Julie Bélanger is a special assistant to Heritage Minister Mélanie Joly. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn



of English from the University of Toronto and a master's in cultural studies from Athabasca University in Alberta.

Jocasta Boone has also joined Ms. Monsef's ministerial office as a second special assistant for communications.

Ms. Boone is similarly working part-time for Ms. Monsef and continues to also serve as vice president of Laridae Communications in Peterborough, which, according to the company's website, is the same firm Ms. Morgan's husband works for as a principal. Her LinkedIn profile indicates she's actually been a special events coordinator to Ms.

Monsef in her constituency office in Peterborough since last fall.

Ms. Boone has for years worked as a speaker, change activator, consultant and coach, according to her LinkedIn account, including as part of Living With Purpose Now. She's also a former events coordinator for the Peterborough Chamber of Commerce and has previously been involved in the Women's Business Network of Peterborough, as well as being a board member for Habitat for Humanity Canada.

Ali Salam is acting chief of staff and director of policy and parliamentary affairs to Ms. Monsef.

lryckewaert@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

CABINET COMMUNICATIONS CHART

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\* communications officer. \*\* senior communications adviser.

Prime Minister's Press Office: 613-957-5555  
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—Updated on June 10, 2016.



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## 0029 PROPERTY RENTALS

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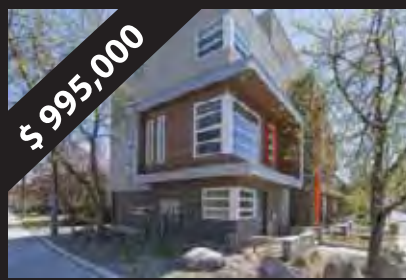
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# Canada’s surveillance crisis now hiding in plain site

Three years after Snowden thrust surveillance on the public agenda, it is time for Canada to reshape how its securities agencies operate. The desperate need for a full airing of Canadian surveillance practices comes not from what was hidden for many years, but what has been happening in plain sight.



MICHAEL GEIST

OTTAWA—Three years ago this month, Edward Snowden shocked the world with a series of disclosures that revealed a myriad of U.S. government-backed surveillance programs. The Snowden revelations sparked a global debate over how to best strike the balance between privacy and security and led to demands for greater telecom transparency.

The initial Canadian response to the surveillance debate was muted at best. Many Canadians assumed that the Snowden disclosures were largely about U.S. activities. That raised concerns about Canadian data being caught within the U.S. surveillance dragnet, but it did not necessarily implicate the Canadian government in the activities.

Within months, it became clear that Canadian securities agencies were enthusiastic participants in numerous surveillance initiatives. Canadians played a lead role in projects focused on tracking travellers using airport wifi networks, monitoring millions of daily uploads and downloads to online storage sites, aggregating millions of emails sent by Canadians to government officials, and targeting mobile phones and app stores to implant spyware.

Moreover, the U.S. collection and mining of “metadata”—the data about data that covers geographic information and details about social links—was also at the heart of Canadian activities with a ministerial authorization granting officials the power to capture the potentially sensitive personal information with minimal oversight.

While these programs attracted attention for a day or two, it was the Conservatives’ introduction of Bill C-51, the anti-terrorism legislation that granted the government a host of new powers, that finally succeeded in generating a sustained focus on Canadian surveillance law.

The bill became law with few amendments, but emerged as the public’s shorthand for the need for reforms to surveillance activities. Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale and the new Liberal



Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale and the new Liberal government have promised changes, with expectations that they will focus initially on a new ‘super’ oversight body for security agencies and later open the door to further amendments.  
*The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*

government have promised changes, with expectations that they will focus initially on a new “super” oversight body for security agencies and later open the door to further amendments.

Yet despite assurances that improved oversight will provide adequate safeguards against intrusive surveillance, in recent months it has become apparent that weak oversight represents only a small part of the problem.

Consider this year’s report from the Communications Security Establishment (CSE) Commissioner, who uses legal language to obscure an otherwise clear admission that there are ongoing metadata violations within the CSE. The report notes that metadata activities were “generally conducted in compliance with operational policy” and that the “CSE has halted some metadata analysis activities” that were the subject of previous criticisms.

The use of words like “generally” and “some” are no accident. The CSE Commissioner could have just as easily written that the CSE still does not conduct its metadata activities in full compliance with the law and that it has refused to stop some activities that were the subject of complaints. Yet the soft framing turns what should be a major story and source of concern into something largely ignored by the general public.

The same is true for a series of admissions related to “privacy breaches” at the CSE. In plain language, this suggests that Canadian security intelligence agencies revealed information to foreign agencies in a manner that violates the law. Indeed, reports indicate that this includes identifying information arising from phone calls and Internet usage.

These are not privacy breaches in the conventional sense of an inadvertent loss of information or a malicious hack into government systems. Those are privacy breaches largely beyond the control of the holder of the information. Rather, these are unlawful disclosures that run afoul of the law. In fact, rather than come clean about the violations, the CSE has refused to disclose the number of “privacy breaches” since 2007 and the government has said it cannot identify those affected.

Three years after Snowden thrust surveillance on the public agenda, it is time for Canada to reshape how its securities agencies operate. The desperate need for a full airing of Canadian surveillance practices comes not from what was hidden for many years, but what has been happening in plain sight.

*Michael Geist holds the Canada Research Chair in Internet and E-commerce Law at the University of Ottawa, Faculty of Law. He can be reached at mgeist@uottawa.ca or online at www.michaelgeist.ca.*  
*The Hill Times*

# The G7 and cyberspace: ‘give peace a chance’

Cyberspace certainly represents potent new capabilities; it is time to develop some constraints to counter the base instincts for domination and preserve the peace.



PAUL MEYER

The G7 summit meeting hosted by Japan May 26-27 issued a document entitled ‘G7 Principles and Actions on Cyber.’ This cyber policy statement was the most elaborate one issued by the G7 since 2011. The intervening years have revealed continuity on some prominent themes, such as support for the free flow of information and respect for human rights online. However, the increasing use of cyber operations by authoritarian regimes in suppressing dissent and the infringement of privacy rights via mass state-conducted cyber surveillance, has revealed the stress such rights are under. The removal of Russia from the G8 context may have allowed for stronger commitments in the field of human rights, but it also highlights the challenge of achieving international cooperation on cyber security against a backdrop of deteriorating geopolitical relations between leading cyber powers.

In this crucial realm of international cyber security, the pronouncements from the G7 summit are not all that reassuring. The goal of a peaceful cyberspace is conspicuous by its absence from the statement. The G7 will promote security and stability in cyberspace, but there is no apparent aspiration to keep cyberspace a realm of peace rather than war. The statement speaks of taking “decisive and robust measures in close cooperation against malicious use of cyberspace both by states and non-state actors,” but these measures are not specified and the tone here suggests they will not be of a diplomatic nature.

The G7 appear to be laying the ground for undertaking military responses to cyber operations they deem hostile by affirming that “cyber activities could amount to the use of force or an armed attack within the meaning of the UN Charter.” Suffering “an armed attack” entitles a state under the UN Charter to exercise the right of self-defence, thus this framing of such an eventuality is fraught with serious politico-military consequences. How and by whom such a determination of a cyber attack is made is left unaddressed in the G7 statement and there is clearly wide scope for unilateral (and potentially dangerous) interpretation and action in this regard.

The G7 commit to developing a “strategic framework of international cyber stability.” The terminology here is reminiscent of the “strategic stability” goals of the Cold War nuclear confrontation, with its basis in mutual deterrence. Active cooperation for conflict prevention does not figure in this schema. The framework is to consist



The G7 summit hosted by Japan May 26-27 issued a document entitled, ‘G7 Principles and Actions on Cyber.’ Prime Minister Justin Trudeau took part in a bilateral meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. *PMO Photograph Adam Scotti*

of the applicability of international law to state behaviour in cyberspace, the promotion of voluntary norms of responsible state behaviour during peacetime and the development of practical cyber confidence building measures between states. On the surface these steps seem constructive, but a closer examination reveals some areas of concern.

The 2015 report of the UN Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) on international cyber security that the G7 statement welcomes, recommended some specific restraint measures in order to maintain a benign operating environment in cyberspace. These recommended measures included a prohibition on cyber attacks against critical infrastructure for public use and a similar ban on targeting (or implicating in cyber attacks abroad) the cyber security incident response teams that states have established to help ensure domestic cyber security. The GGE recommendations did not however carry the caveat “during peacetime” that the G7 statement introduces. Shouldn’t states be trying to establish enduring protection for at least a part of the civilian sector? Has the international community resigned itself to a cyber space that will be purely a “target rich environment” once some state decides to go on the warpath? No one has assigned to the G7 the right to make such decisions on behalf of the world. Rather it underlines the necessity for the G7 and others to engage in the hard work of diplomacy to develop a set of rules for responsible state action that is not skewed in favour of worse case scenarios. Working towards a goal of cyber peace instead of cyber war would certainly be the first option of the vast majority of the world’s “netizens” if they were given the chance to vote.

In conclusion, it is worth bearing in mind the remarks that U.S. President Barack Obama made during a brief visit to another Japanese city after the summit ended. In his speech in Hiroshima, U.S. President Barack Obama recalled that the Second World War which ended in such tragedy for the inhabitants of that city “...grew out of the same base instinct for domination or conquest that had caused conflicts among the simplest tribes, an old pattern amplified by new capabilities and without new constraints.” Cyberspace certainly represents potent new capabilities; it is time to develop some constraints to counter the base instincts for domination and preserve the peace.

*Paul Meyer is an adjunct professor of international studies and a fellow in international security at the Simons Foundation in Vancouver.*  
*The Hill Times*



FEATURE EVENTS



**Say cheese:** On June 8, 1866, the Legislature of the Province of Canada met for the first time in the original Parliament Building in Ottawa. This was also the first day of the final session of that legislature, which focused on discussions and debates on the future of Canada, the British North America Act and Confederation. To commemorate this momentous occasion, a photograph of all parliamentarians was taken on June 8, 2016, in front of Centre Block. Created with billions of pixels, the high-resolution photo allows for detailed zooming with remarkable clarity. *Photograph courtesy of Parliament of Canada*

PARLIAMENTARY CALENDAR



Parliamentarians celebrate 150th anniversary of first meeting on Parliament Hill

MONDAY, JUNE 13

**House Sitting**—The House is sitting this week and is scheduled to sit every weekday until Thursday, June 23, when it breaks for the summer. But it's also scheduled to sit on June 29 when U.S. President Barack Obama addresses a joint session of Parliament.

**Public Sector Management Workshop**—The Financial Management Institute of Canada presents its annual Public Sector Management Workshop in St. John's, Nfld., under the theme "Winds of Change." Keynote speakers include: Newfoundland and Labrador Finance Minister Cathy Bennett, Senator Beth Marshall, Bill Matthews, Comptroller General of Canada, Jennifer Heil, Olympic Champion, and Kevin Page, former parliamentary budget officer. June 13-14 Registration is opened to anyone. For more information and registration visit <http://www.fmi.ca/events/psmw/psmw-2016/>

**Conference of Montreal**—The International Economic Forum of the Americas presents its annual Montreal conference. This year's theme is "Shaping a New Era of Prosperity." June 13- June 16. Hotel Bonaventure, Montreal, Que. Featuring speakers including UNESCO director general Irina Bokova, Quebec Energy Minister Pierre Arcand, Canadian Chamber of Commerce CEO Perrin Beatty (June 14 at 9 a.m.), Foreign Minister Stéphane Dion (June 13 at 8:30 a.m.), Trade Minister Chrystia Freeland (June 15 at 9 a.m.), Finance Minister Bill Morneau (June 13 at 3 p.m.) OECD Secretary General Angel Gurría, Transport Minister Marc Garneau (June 14 at 9 a.m.) more. [forum-americas.org/montreal/2016](http://forum-americas.org/montreal/2016)

**TUESDAY, JUNE 14**

**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.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15

**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](mailto: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](mailto: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](mailto:ndpcom@parl.gc.ca)

**Napoleon and Paris**—Special Exhibitions Corridor, Canadian Museum of History, 100 Laurier St., Gatineau, Que., Wednesday, June 15, 10:30 a.m. RSVP and information Stéphanie Verner 819-776-7169 or [Stephanie.verner@historymuseum.ca](mailto:Stephanie.verner@historymuseum.ca)

**United Nations Association of Canada**—The National Capital Region Branch is holding its Annual General Meeting on Wednesday, June 15. Human Rights Research and Education Centre, Room 570, Fauteux Hall, 57 Louis Pasteur, University of Ottawa. 6 p.m.-7 p.m. AGM (for members of the branch), 7-9 p.m. panel discussion (open to the public) on Human Rights, Refugees, and Security: The Role of the UN and Global Citizens. RSVP: [georgina@1mediainc.ca](mailto:georgina@1mediainc.ca).

THURSDAY, JUNE 16

**Hill Times Event: The Value of Medicines in Canada**—Building a national pharmacare program in Canada is a complicated endeavour. There is significant misinformation in the conversation around the cost and affordability of medicines in Canada. In the past few years, politicians and the media have raised many concerns regarding medicines becoming unaffordable for governments, for private insurance, and for individual Canadians. However, missing from these conversations is a discussion on the value that these medicines bring to patients, to health-care providers and to the health system. Recognizing that health-care sustainability is a significant concern to both policy makers and citizens, we need to look at solutions that can bridge these concerns. Hill Times Events explores the issue of the value of medicines and the pricing of pharmaceuticals in Canada on June 16 during our policy panel networking breakfast. 7:30 a.m.-9 a.m. at the Ottawa Marriott Hotel, 100 Kent St., Ottawa. This is a free event. Advance registration is required.

TUESDAY, JUNE 21

**IPAC-NCR Annual General Meeting 2016**—Featuring Dr. Stephen Lucas, the Institute of Public Administration of Canada, National Capital Region, presents its 2016 members' meeting, with reflections from Dr. Stephen Lucas, deputy secretary to the Cabinet for Plans and Consultations and Intergovernmental Affairs, on the role of the public service in 2015-16. Tuesday, June 21, 5 p.m. registration, 5:30 p.m.-7:15 p.m. presentation. Army Officers' Mess, Ottawa. No charge for members, \$20 for non-members. Register at [ipacagm2016.eventbrite.ca](http://ipacagm2016.eventbrite.ca).

*The Parliamentary Calendar is a free listing. Send in your political, cultural, or governmental event in a paragraph with all the relevant details under the subject line 'Parliamentary Calendar' to [news@hilltimes.com](mailto:news@hilltimes.com) by Wednesday at noon before the Monday paper. Or fax it to 613-232-9055. We can't guarantee inclusion of every event, but we will definitely do our best.*

Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner June 4



'Pre-game shot with Sophie Gregoire Trudeau's crack team of yoga mat rollers. #OtherDutiesAsAssigned #gala150' tweeted PMO principal secretary Gerald Butts (whose date was CTV's Craig Oliver), pictured here with communications director Kate Purchase, chief of staff Katie Telford, and deputy chief of staff Jeremy Broadhurst.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his wife Sophie Grégoire Trudeau making their entrance with the PMO entourage.



Health Minister Jane Philpott and Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould.



Former Conservative MP Peter MacKay and *Globe and Mail* reporter Laura Stone.



*Hill Times* reporter Laura Ryckewaert and Conservative MP Garnett Genuis.



*Hill Times* assistant deputy editor Abbas Rana with Conservative MP Deepak Obhrai.



On June 4, 2016, hundreds of Hillites filled the grand hall at the Museum of History in Gatineau, Que., for the Parliamentary Press Dinner.



Indigenous Affairs Minister Carolyn Bennett, CBC Ottawa Bureau Chief Rob Russo, Bank of Canada Governor Stephen Poloz, and CBC Power & Politics host Rosie Barton.



*The Hill Times*, Lobby Monitor, The Wire Report, and Parliament Now reporters with their dates, including Ethics Commissioner Mary Dawson, right, and Lobbying Commissioner Karen Shepherd, left.



PMJT with *Power & Influence* editor and HT online editor Ally Foster.



CBC *Power & Politics* host Rosemary Barton with Senator Peter Harder.



Ms. Philpott's press secretary Andrew MacKendric; Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan's press secretary Jordan Owens; Ms. Philpott's communications director David Clements; and Elanore Catencero.



Conservative Sen. Denise Batters and Canadian Press reporter Jordan Press.



MCs for the evening Cogeco's Philippe Vincent Folsy and CBC's Katie Simpson.



Press Gallery President Manon Cornélius with Gov.-Gen. David Johnston.

The Hill Times photographs and photos courtesy of Twitter



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## FEATURE PARTIES



# PARTY CENTRAL

BY RACHEL AIELLO

## Everyone's an East Coaster for one night at Speaker Regan's Kingsmere kitchen party

**K**INGSMERE, QUE—Spirits were high and the scotch was flowing Wednesday night at House Speaker **Geoff Regan's** "kitchen party" at the Speaker's historic Kingsmere Farm residence tucked into the Gatineau hills.

It's an annual tradition for the House Speaker to host MPs, Senators, and the Hill media at his Kingsmere residence, and this year Mr. Regan, a native Nova Scotian who represents Halifax West, and his wife **Kelly Regan**, Nova Scotia's minister of labour and advanced education, put their East Coast spin on things. Given that practically half the politicians and their staffs in this city are Atlantic Canada transplants, it was a hit.

Around 300 attendees were chauffeured to and from The Farm last Wednesday evening, as it's called, in the little shuttle buses that MPs typically board to carry them between their offices and Centre Block. Upon arrival to the grounds, guests were greeted by the sounds of bagpipes as a kilted piper played on the front porch.

Once inside the tent where the party went down, guests had an extensive variety of signature Maritime dishes to choose from. There was a food truck serving up beef donair and chicken shawarma; My Catering Group had oysters and Atlantic salmon; and Sucré Salé had a scallop ratatouille, lobster rolls, and a spicy-lobster macaroni and cheese. It also took care of the extensive dessert table, with maple mousse, blueberry crumble, and a custard tart lined with chocolate and filled with fresh fruit.

No one went home hungry, or thirsty. Like any b'y's bar should be, it was fully stocked and included everything from the Speaker's signature scotch (a 12-year-old Aberlour Highland single malt) to spiced rum and salt-rimmed margaritas, courtesy of the Speaker's office. **Party Central** has never seen such a wide range of drinks on offer, which was reminiscent of the kind of bar you'd see at a legion.

As more guests flowed in, pockets of MPs mingled with journalists and everyone seemed in a great mood, despite the chilly June night. Conversation flowed about what's going on in the House with just a few weeks left and summer travel plans.

For the nosey or historically curious, guides were on site to offer tours of the Speaker's residence (did you know the Speaker has his own tartan-labelled maple syrup?). Among the pieces of history inside the House were Mackenzie King's orb he used for seances, and the mirror he used to watch himself eat dinner in. Among the books on Speaker Regan's shelves was Stuart Mclean's *Vinyl Cafe Family Pack*.

Once the sun went down, the smell of campfire began filling the lawn and drifted into the tent as the folk duo that had been playing all night was joined by Mr. Regan and Liberal MP **Rodger Cuzner**. The crowd joined around to hear the duo fumble hilariously through The Barra MacNeils' *The Coaltown Road*, and soon a good chunk of the Liberal caucus and some opposition MPs gathered around to join in singing Stan Rogers' *Barrett's Privateers*, and it wouldn't be a kitchen party until Great Big Sea gets played, so the MPs followed it up with *The Night Pat Murphy Died* and

the dance floor turned into one big jig. The band was Trailer For Rent.

Liberal MPs **Matt DeCourcey** and **Karina Gould** were especially into it, as were Hill journalists such as *The Chronicle Herald's* **Andrea Gunn** and *iPolitics's* **Kelsey Johnson**.

Among the other Liberal MPs in attendance were Democratic Institutions Minister **Maryam Monsef**, **Joël Lightbound**, **Doug Eyolfson**, **T.J. Harvey**, **Nick Whalen**, **Eva Nassif**, **Andy Fillmore**, **Gudie Hutchings**, **Sukh Dhaliwal**, **Alexandra Mendès**, **Adam Vaughan**, **Yvonne Jones**, **Don Rusnak**, **John McKay**, **Bill Blair**, **Larry Bagnell**, **Arif Virani**, **Julie Dzerowicz**, **Chris Bittle**, and **Colin Fraser**.

Conservative MPs **Kerry Diotte**, **Sylvie Boucher**, and **Michael Cooper** were there as well, as were NDP MPs **Daniel Blaikie**, **Irene Mathysen**, and **Erin Weir**, Bloc Québécois MPs **Monique Pauzé**, **Louis Plamondon**, and **Gabriel Ste-Marie**, and Green Party Leader **Elizabeth May**.

Among the journalists in the room were CBC's **Terry Milewski**, **Alison Crawford**, **John Paul Tasker**, **Tyler Buist**, and **Melissa Rose**, CTV's **Mercedes Stephenson**, Global News' **Shirlee Engel**, *The Globe and Mail's* **Chris Hannay**, Canadian Press' **Heather Scofield**, **Kristy Kirkup**, and **Stephanie Levitz**, *The National Post's* **Marie-Danielle Smith**, *Huffington Post's* **Althia Raj** and **Catherine Lévesque**, *The Hill Times's* **Abbas Rana**, and freelancer **Claire Whalen**. Parliamentary Press Gallery coordinator **Normand Gagnon** was also there.

It was a busy week for parties overall, doubly so for the Parliamentarians that went to both the parties for media and their own "in-camera" versions of parties that were kept on the down-low to escape those pesky journalists.

Interim Conservative Leader **Rona Ambrose** had the media over for some beer pong and BBQ at Stornoway last Monday, but the following evening MPs gathered there again, this time with a mechanical bull [surely the doing of Ms. Ambrose's partner **J.P. Veitch** who's a former bull rider]. Overheard on the mini-bus on the way to Kingsmere and then backed up with a quick Twitter picture search of Mr. Regan's name, the Commons Speaker gave the bull a good go.

Then on Tuesday, Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** had the media over to 24 Sussex Drive. We assume Gov. Gen. **David Johnston** doesn't let PMJT have friends over at Rideau House, so instead the party happened at an old abandoned building. The tent was full and some of Ottawa's best food was on offer, including Whalesbone oysters, the Gongfu Bao cart, and Suzy Q doughnuts for dessert. On Thursday night another party in the garden was scheduled there for MPs and staff.

Saturday was the Governor General's Performing Arts Awards at the National Arts Centre. It's always a swanky good time, if you like sitting in gala attire through an entire awards show. The night before at Rideau Hall, Deputy Gov. Gen. and Chief Justice of Canada **Beverley McLachlin** recognized the 2016 winners at a pre-party.

raiello@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times



Conservative MP Jamie Schmale with Liberal MPs Chris Bittle and Ruby Sahota.



Press Gallery's Normand Gagnon waiting for a bite at the donair and shawarma truck.



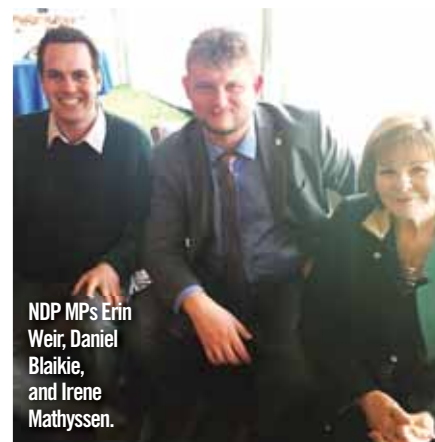
Among the Atlantic-inspired food on the menu, lobster rolls.



Liberal MPs Brenda Shanahan and Arnold Chan.



Huffington Post's Catherine Lévesque and Liberal MP Joël Lightbound.



NDP MPs Erin Weir, Daniel Blaikie, and Irene Mathysen.

The Hill Times photographs by Rachel Aiello, Abbas Rana



Tour guides were on hand to show guests around the historic property.



CTV's Mercedes Stephenson with Chief Government Whip Andrew Leslie.



The donair on offer at the Speaker's 'kitchen' party.



Well into the evening a hoard of MPs began rousing renditions of classic East Coast hits.



Mr. Lightbound and Liberal MP Darren Fisher.



Liberal MPs Alaina Lockhart, Ginette Petitpas Taylor, Pat Finnigan, and Rodger Cuzner.



Liberal MPs Pierre Breton, Eva Nassif, and Jean R. Rioux, right.



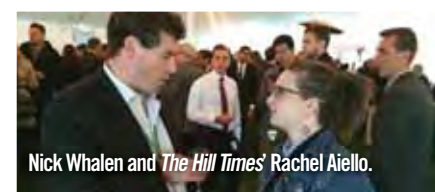
Bloc Québécois MPs Gabriel Ste-Marie, Louis Plamondon, Monique Pauzé.



Liberal MPs Seamus O'Regan, Nick Whalen, and Bernadette Jordan with *iPolitics's* Kelsey Johnson.



Liberal MP Matt DeCourcey, *The Hill Times's* Abbas Rana, Democratic Institutions Minister Maryam Monsef, Sabrina Atwal press secretary to the Government House leader, and Liberal MP Raj Grewal.



Nick Whalen and *The Hill Times's* Rachel Aiello.



The selection of scotch on the bar, including the House Speaker's selection, a 12-year-old Aberlour Highland single malt.



**THE HILL TIMES EVENTS**

# VALUE OF MEDICINES IN CANADA

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The Government of Canada has committed to develop and deliver on an innovation agenda and will work to strengthen Canada's knowledge-based economy. Included in the Minister of Health's mandate letter, is the development of a multi-year Health Accord. Recognizing that healthcare sustainability is a significant concern to both policy makers and citizens, we need to look at solutions that can bridge these concerns.

On June 16, join Hill Times Events at the Ottawa Marriott Hotel as we hear from leaders in the health and medical industry weigh in on The Value of Medicines in Canada. Here we will discuss the value of research as a driver of innovation in pharmaceuticals and how it can impact the future of our medical system.

## Speakers



**Chris Halyk**, President,  
Janssen Inc. Canada



**Brett Skinner**  
Executive Director Health and  
Economic Policy, Innovative  
Medicines Canada and  
Founder and CEO, Canadian  
Health Policy Institute



**Sarah Beech**  
President, Compass



**Jennifer Hamilton**  
Senior director, New Ventures  
(Canada)  
Johnson & Johnson Innovation



**Louise Binder**  
Health Policy Consultant,  
Canadian Cancer Survivor  
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