

SPECIAL 25TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

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THE HILL TIMES

TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR, NO. 1258

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FEATURE HILL SHOOTINGS

'I knew it'd buy us 10 or 15 seconds to do what we needed to do': Wilks



Conservative MP David Wilks, a former Mountie, was the one to secure the door at the national caucus on Wednesday, Oct. 22, when lone gunman Michael Zehaf-Bibeau stormed through the Hall of Honour with a hunting rifle. *The Hill Times* photograph by Steve Gerecke

By **CHRISTOPHER GULY**

As gunman Michael Zehaf-Bibeau exchanged gunfire with House of Commons Sergeant-at-Arms Kevin Vickers and uniformed RCMP officers in the Hall of Honour during the morning of

Oct. 22, Tory Member of Parliament Dave Wilks was looking for a fight. The six-foot-four, 255-pound, 55-year-old former RCMP officer was attending the weekly Tory caucus meeting in Room 237-C of Centre Block when at around 10 a.m. he heard a "loud bang," which

he assumed came from a shotgun (and later discovered it was a rifle) followed by a series of small-arms fire he knew from his 20 years of policing originated from one or more 9-mm handguns.

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NEWS HILL SECURITY

Senators unsatisfied with Senate security's in-camera briefings on Hill shooting

By **ABBAS RANA**

The Senate Protective Service provided Senators three separate briefings last week on what happened in the Oct. 22 shooting on Parliament Hill and what

plans are underway to deal with future emergencies. But some Senators weren't satisfied with the briefings, saying they failed to answer the central questions such

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NEWS HILL SHOOTING

Blaney's use of 'terrorism' to describe acts based on RCMP Paulson's statement

By **TIM NAUMETZ**

Justice Minister Steven Blaney last week based his description of Michael Zehaf-Bibeau's Oct. 22 murder of a National War Memorial honour guard and subsequent armed

invasion into Parliament's Centre Block as a terrorist act solely on a news statement RCMP Commissioner Bob Paulson issued last Sunday, Mr. Blaney's spokesman says.

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NEWS COPYRIGHT

Controversial copyright changes absent from budget bill, but may not be shelved for good

By **MARK BURGESS**

Opposition MPs say they are pleasantly surprised that proposed changes to the Copyright Act for political ads were not

included in the budget implementation bill, as many expected. But they, along with Conservative and broadcast industry sources, suspect

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FEATURE SHOOTING

First-person accounts of Oct. 22 shooting



CityNews Hill reporter Cormac MacSweeney

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NEWS LEGISLATION

Don't rush new CSIS bill, needs more oversight, say opposition MPs

By **LAURA RYCKEWAERT**

The government wants to quickly move a new bill amending the Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act through Parliament, signalling it hopes to have the bill up for debate

at committee this week, but opposition MPs say it's important to take time to consider the proposed changes and security experts say Parliament should have more oversight.

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FIRST NATIONS
AFN National Chief Ghislain Picard says First Nations are ready to engage. **PAGE 6**



FINANCIAL SECTOR
This week's policy briefing. **PP. 37-41**

HILL CLIMBERS
Amber Irwin back on Hill as D. Comms to Minister Diane Finley. **PAGE 54**



PARTY CENTRAL
Hope Live gala has something for everyone. **PAGE 48**

FEATURE BUZZ



HEARD ON THE HILL

BY MARK BURGESS

From Parliament Hill to city hall for Jimmy K and others

The transition to municipal politics didn't work out for the highest-profile former MP who stepped down to run for local office, but a couple of ex-MPs and other Hill notables were elected to local governments last week.

Olivia Chow's mayoral run, which began earlier this year when she gave up her Trinity-Spadina seat in the Commons, ended in disappointment when she placed third in the race to be Toronto's mayor, behind winner **John Tory** and former councillor **Doug Ford**.

But a couple of former Liberal MPs fared better. **Jim Karygiannis**, a scrappy campaigner who represented the federal Scarborough-Agincourt riding from 1997 until stepping down this year, won the same local ward convincingly with 58 per cent of the vote.

And **Bonnie Crombie**, the Liberal who represented Mississauga-Streetsville from 2008 to 2011, became the first mayor of Mississauga not named **Hazel McCallion** in more than three decades with 64 per cent of the vote.

In Ottawa, former Liberal staffer and lapsed *Hill Times* columnist **Michael Qaqish** was elected as councillor in Gloucester-South Nepean, where he'll replace his former boss, outgoing councillor **Steve Desroches**.

A couple of current staffers will also be moonlighting as school board trustees. **Marc Roy**, communications director to Liberal Senator **James Cowan**, was elected as a trustee for the French public school board. **Theresa Kavanagh**, who works in NDP Whip **Nycole Turmel's** office, will be a trustee for the English public board.



Former NDP MP Olivia Chow didn't win in her race, but former Liberal MPs Jim Karygiannis and Bonnie Crombie did in theirs, and former Hill staffer Michael Qaqish was elected to Ottawa City Council. *The Hill Times* photographs by Jake Wright

Friends, colleagues mourn death of, pay tribute to Sun News' Mark Dunn

Hill journalists and politicians last week were mourning the loss of **Mark Dunn**, a longtime reporter and occasional political staffer who will be fondly remembered by colleagues and friends.

Mr. Dunn, senior national bureau reporter for Sun News and veteran of the Canadian Press, died of cancer on Oct. 25. He was 54. A tribute was held Nov. 1 at the Shaw Centre in Ottawa.

Mr. Dunn also worked in senior communications roles on the Hill, including for Liberal MP **Stéphane Dion** when he was party leader. He was married to *Globe and Mail* reporter **Gloria Galloway**.

"He was a larger than life man who put up a big fight and was taken far too early," Ms. Galloway wrote in an email to friends, the *Toronto Sun* reported.

Several colleagues and others who had come across Mr. Dunn during his time on the Hill paid tribute to him and his reporting on Twitter and in news stories last week.

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POLLS & POLLSTERS ELECTION 2015

Will a new party in Quebec change the game in 2015?

Forces et Démocratie may play little role in the next election, but it has the potential to be a spoiler.



ÉRIC GRENIER

As if the political scene in Quebec wasn't complicated enough, a new party in the province will be seeking votes in next year's federal election.

Forces et Démocratie (FeD) was launched two weeks by Jean-François Fortin, the MP for the Eastern Quebec riding of Haute-Gaspésie-La Mitis-Matane-Matapédia. A former Bloc Québécois MP and contestant to replace Gilles Duceppe as party leader in 2011, Fortin left his former party due to what he considered the radicalization of the Bloc under Mario Beaulieu.

Worryingly for the New Democrats, Fortin was able to bring Jean-François Larose, formerly the NDP MP for Repentigny, along with him when his party was launched.

While it would seem natural that the FeD would be targeting disaffected Bloc voters, the New Democrats may find themselves at most risk if the party manages to capture voters' attention.

The fact of the matter is that the Bloc is unlikely to lose many more voters at this point. The Bloc is currently polling at around 15 per cent in the province, down even from the disastrous showing of 2011. The party took 23 per cent then and won just four seats. At 15 per cent, the Bloc appears to be at rock bottom, the last refuge for those sovereigntist Quebecers who will not consider voting for a federalist party under any circumstances. They are unlikely to win any seats if their standing does not improve.

As FeD is side-stepping the issue of sovereignty, much like the Coalition Avenir Québec at the provincial level, Fortin will be unlikely to attract any of those remaining Bloc supporters. But he may be able to lure those Quebecers who voted for the Bloc in 2011 and before but have since drifted to another party.

That is because FeD is setting itself up to be a little bit like what the Bloc used to be under Duceppe, without the sovereignty. The party's MPs are meant to be constituency MPs first and foremost, standing up for Quebec's regions and willing to work with other parties in the House of Commons to get legislation passed if it is beneficial to their constituents. This was the role the Bloc used to play in the House, and Quebecers who felt disconnected from the federal system were pleased to give that job to the Bloc for almost 20 years.

But the Bloc remained a sovereigntist party, and in recent years Quebecers have proven tired of the issue, moving to the NDP in 2011 and away from the Parti Québécois earlier this year.

The New Democrats, who had much in common with the social democratic aspects of the Bloc, were a natural successor to the BQ in the francophone regions of Quebec. Polls suggests that a majority of voters who cast a ballot for the NDP in 2011 are sticking with the party. But the push and pull of a pan-Canadian formation that is also trying to represent the interests of Quebecers has always had the potential to cause problems.

Fortin's FeD could exploit that, grouping together disaffected Bloc voters as well as Quebec nationalists who are more motivated

by defending Quebec's interests than going on about sovereignty. And the idea of having an MP who is responsible to his or her constituents, rather than the party leader, is an attractive one from coast to coast.

But this potential has to be realized, and might never be. Fortin may not prove to be the kind of leader that can tackle the challenges that come with being an entirely new party. In the end, he came in last in the Bloc's 2011 leadership campaign and could find it difficult to compete with more experienced leaders from Quebec like Thomas Mulcair



NDP Leader Tom Mulcair and Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau. Éric Grenier says the new political party in Quebec, Forces et Démocratie, may play a small role in the next election, but could be a spoiler. *The Hill Times* photographs by Jake Wright

and Justin Trudeau. And the party's launch was completely overshadowed by the shootings in Ottawa that occurred just a day later.

Forces et Démocratie may turn out to play a trivial and marginal role in the next election, with both Fortin and Larose struggling to hold on to their own seats, let alone

make gains elsewhere. But the other parties in Quebec would be wise to keep an eye on Fortin, just in case.

Éric Grenier writes about politics and polls at ThreeHundredEight.com.
news@hilltimes.com
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NEW COMMUNICATIONS MUNICIPAL & FEDERAL POLITICS



That's one happy Tory: John Tory, pictured in this file photo, won last week's Toronto mayoralty race. *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*

Toronto mayoralty race a lesson for federal election

The following numbers beg the question: is there a trend?

Toronto Mayorality Election October 2014:

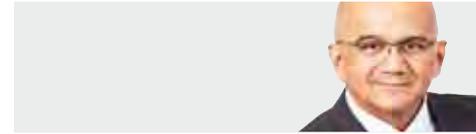
| | |
|-------------|-----|
| John Tory | 40% |
| Rob Ford | 34% |
| Olivia Chow | 23% |

Ontario Election, June 2014:

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Liberal | 39% |
| Conservative | 31% |
| NDP | 24% |

Current Federal Polling According to 308.com:

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Liberal | 36% |
| Conservative | 29% |
| NDP | 22% |



ANDREW CARDOZO

TORONTO—Imagine an election with a strong-minded and controversial conservative incumbent, up against two progressive candidates—a popular liberal with wide appeal and a social democrat who once led the polls, but has been in third place for a while.

That was the lead-up to the Toronto mayor's election and is of course a similar story line for the next federal election. So the question is, was the Toronto race a

foreshadowing of the federal race or is that too facile?

There are just too many parallels to be ignored. There are some differences, of course, but let's look at the similarities.

In the Toronto election, the Ford candidacy (first Rob, and then Doug) was the conservative who focused on people as taxpayers only, not citizens with a broader sense of belonging, their contributions and needs. Taxpayers. A fiscal conservative and, in some pronounced ways, a social conservative too, perpetually ran as the outsider, despite his incumbency; the populist with conservative values who gets conservative, blue collar, new immigrant, and low-income supporters. It's an unusual, but effective coalition.

John Tory was the liberal candidate for all intents and purposes, the centrist progressive with a track record of working with a variety of folks, from business to social and cultural groups. Of course, Tory has been a lifelong and prominent Progressive Conservative and was leader of the Ontario PC Party who has dedicated himself to defeating federal and provincial Liberals. But wonder of wonders, the Ontario Liberals, especially the Toronto-area MPPs, ministers, along with federal Liberals, came to him in droves. Without a prominent Liberal candidate in the race, Liberals tended to split between Tory and Olivia Chow in the earlier going, but largely coalesced around Tory in the end.

For many progressives, Tory and Chow were more or less equally acceptable. They would go with whoever had the better chance of beating Ford come election day.

Some suggest that the rush of Liberals away from Chow was also about their concern that she would establish an important NDP beachhead in Toronto which would come back to bite them in future federal and provincial elections.

So John Tory, former conservative leader, scion of the Tory (as in the political affiliation) Toronto establishment, was notionally but unmistakably crowned a Liberal. And truth be told, John had been drummed out of the provincial PC party by the Tim Hudak hard-core conservatives, and has had no place in the federal Conservative Party ever since Stephen Harper took over the merged federal conservative movement.

Olivia Chow began the campaign trying to stake the left and centre of the spectrum and had trouble with that. The NDP base can be unforgiving of New Democrats who stray into the zone of pronounced fiscal control, as Andrea Horvath, leader of the provincial New Democrats found out. But Chow did need to demonstrate some sense of fiscal prudence if she was going to run the city. As things went south in the campaign, she reverted to a classic New Democrat position.

The early summer was not good to Chow. The NDP campaigns in the Ontario election and in her old federal constituency of Spadina did her brand no favours.

In the end, this election would suggest that the broad centrist, progressive liberal won the day while a hardcore fiscal conservative focus combined with anti-establishment and pocketbook populism was a formidable force, but not enough to win. The social democrat got third place. The curse of strategic voting took a lot of soft Chow supporters to Tory so that Ford would be defeated.

This analysis admittedly is a little simple as a closer look at the areas of Ford support suggests it was strong in Liberal areas, something the progressive parties need to keep in mind.

It is worth noting that the burgeoning cities elected prominent Liberals, including Bonnie Crombie in Mississauga and Linda Jeffrey in Brampton. Seems like it's not a bad time to be a Liberal.



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A high-angle, close-up photograph of an F/A-18E/F Super Hornet fighter jet in flight. The aircraft is white with dark grey accents and is carrying several missiles on its wings. The cockpit canopy is visible, and the aircraft is flying over a vast, snow-covered mountain range under a clear blue sky. The text "Competition guarantees the best for Canada." is overlaid on the image in a white, italicized font, with two horizontal yellow lines crossing through the text.

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RAYTHEON NORTHROP GRUMMAN GENERAL ELECTRIC BOEING

OPINION **FIRST NATIONS**

Two aboriginal women pictured last winter on the Hill. AFN National Chief Ghislain Picard writes: let's set a goal to establish an approach to First Nations control of First Nations education in time for the start of the next school year. Our children can walk through their school doors into a new era of hope and opportunity. First Nations are ready to engage. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright



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Time to transform First Nations education for success

Our children and their education continue to be a critical priority.



AFN NATIONAL CHIEF GHISLAIN PICARD

MONTREAL—In the coming days, First Nations leaders and experts will be taking a message to Parliamentarians to let them know that our children and their education continue to be a critical priority. The messages are simple: ensuring success for our children requires First Nations control of First Nations education; First Nations reject federal legislation Bill C-33 because it is not about First Nations control of education; and First Nations continue to advance their plans to take responsibility for education and we call on the government to work with us.

First Nations have the right and responsibility to educate our children. This right was confirmed in treaties and articulated in national policy statements like Indian Control of Indian Education in 1972 and First Nations Control of First Nations Education in 2010.

We hold firm to this position because it works. Where we see First Nations control we see success. The Mi'kmaw school system in Nova Scotia—Mi'kmaq Kina'matnewey—boasts a secondary school graduation rate near 90 per cent, exceeding provincial and national averages, fostering students fluent in mainstream curriculum and their own language and culture. There are others, like the Cree School Board in James Bay and the Kahnawake Mohawk Nation.

First Nations education is a right, and it is the right approach.

This is why First Nations reject Bill C-33. Its name aside, it does not provide for First Nations control.

First Nations set out five key components essential for genuine First Nations control of First Nations education. We have been very public in sharing these principles, yet Bill C-33 fails to address them.

First Nations control of First Nations education requires an approach that respects and recognizes First Nations rights, treaties, title and jurisdiction. It requires a guarantee of fair, sustainable and predictable funding that reflects real needs. It means supporting First Nations languages and cultures. It means eliminating unilateral federal control in favour of reciprocal accountability, where First Nations and the federal government oversee and evaluate approaches and progress as partners. And it requires a process to address all these conditions through a commitment to working together, fully reflective of First Nations rights and jurisdiction.

Rather than embrace the underlying principles here of partnership, fairness, respect, and recognition, Bill C-33 actually increases federal oversight and control of First Nations education, including the ability to impose standards and arbitrary third party management. It does not recognize regional diversity or existing First Nations systems. The development of the bill ignored the government's legal duty to consult and accommodate First Nations.

The bill does not address under-funding of First Nations education that sees our children receive, on average, \$3,300 less than their provincial counterparts. This underfunding is tacitly acknowledged by the resources attached to the bill, but C-33 does not explicitly provide for the statutory and non-discretionary guarantee that is needed. Further, there is no support for kindergarten or special education. First Nations languages are at best an afterthought. Efforts at reciprocal accountability are undermined by a Joint Council of Education Experts appointed by the minister who, in the end, does not have to take the council's advice.

This is not the way forward. The government insists it had an "agreement" with AFN to endorse Bill C-33. This is categorically false. In the course of a legal challenge by the AFN Quebec-Labrador region, a document came to light, which has signatures from senior government members and former national chief Shawn Atleo. My colleagues on the AFN executive and First Nations leaders had no knowledge of this document. Regardless, under the AFN Charter a national chief has no authority to enter into unilateral agreements. The government should know this. There is no agreement.

In August, I wrote to the Prime Minister calling for us to work together on a new, honourable approach to transform First Nations education for success. The government can demonstrate its commitment to a new approach by withdrawing Bill C-33 and providing the much-needed resources for education already identified in the 2014 budget.

First Nations have not been silent or still since rejecting Bill C-33. There is tremendous activity nationally and regionally to describe and confirm our approaches to First Nations control of First Nations education. This must become our shared goal. First Nations are the youngest, fastest growing segment of the population. Our youth are the workforce of tomorrow, essential to Canada's status as a strong, productive and competitive country. Fostering success and opportunity for our youth is essential for Canada to maintain its reputation as a country that believes in rights, dignity, and fairness for all. We will drastically reduce social expenditures related to poverty and reap dividends in the hundreds of billions in new productivity.

A new approach does not mean starting from the beginning. There is a great deal of good work to build on, many models of success to share. Perhaps the biggest obstacle is displacing the paternalistic pattern of the past in favour of partnership and progress.

Let's set a goal: to establish an approach to First Nations control of First Nations education in time for the start of the next school year. This is eminently achievable through a shared commitment. Our children can walk through their school doors into a new era of hope and opportunity. First Nations are ready to engage.

Ghislain Picard is national chief of the Assembly of First Nations. Chief Picard was acclaimed national chief by Chiefs-in-Assembly at the July AGA and will serve in that role until he steps aside and/or until the election in December should chiefs choose a new national chief. He is Innu from the community of Pessamit, and is currently based in Montreal.

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EDITORIAL TERROR & TERRORISM

There should have one unified Parliament Hill security force

A young Canadian son of a mid-level public servant, struggling with drug addiction, probably also suffering from mental illness and living in a homeless shelter in Ottawa was able to get his hands on an old deer-hunting rifle. The murder of Cpl. Nathan Cirillo, another Canadian soldier, Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent in Quebec, pushed the red button for international news coverage. The deadly act by Michael Zehaf-Bibeau brought forth a deluge of talk about terror, terrorism, and keeping Canada safe.

It also moved some to say that Canada had been living in a [peaceful] bubble and now must get up to speed with the rest of the world in fighting a war on terror and giving police, security and military agencies more freedom in waging that war.

Was the attack a "terrorist one" or was it mostly an act committed by a deranged drug addict. The actual result was the same for the lone victim and those people directly threatened. It was terrorizing.

But, politically, the result will continue to be a source of argument. That argument will continue, despite the fact that we may never know what went on in the mind of a deeply-disturbed young man. The RCMP says it has a video of Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau that contains clear evidence that political and ideological motives were behind the Oct. 22 shooting. It's not clear when this video will be released and it remains to be seen whether it confirms the RCMP's claim.

There are things, however, that we do know that are extremely important for the safety of people who work on and visit the Hill.

We know that the four separate security forces—House security, Senate security, RCMP and Ottawa police—were so poorly coordinated that they were unable to stop one man with a hunting rifle to get from the National War Memorial across Parliament Hill and into the Centre Block. According to media reports, a day before launching his shooting rampage, he travelled from Ottawa to Mont-Tremblant, Que., about a two-hour drive in his car without a valid licence plate.

We know he was able to reach the doors of the Parliamentary Library, metres away from the entrance before being shot to death by House Sergeant-at-Arms Kevin Vickers. Does this require new security regulations or was it simply a failure of existing protocols?

House Speaker Andrew Scheer and Senate Speaker Noël Kinsella both hold final responsibility for the way Hill security is carried out. Although auditors general of Canada have been recommending since 1992 that there should be one unified security force for the Parliamentary Precinct, so far, this recommendation has not been followed.

What Canada and the world saw very clearly two weeks ago was that Hill security was either the victim of some very bad luck, was carried out very poorly or was poorly organized from the start.

There needs to be a thorough investigation of the two Speakers' management of Hill security and an answer to why there's not one unified security force to protect the Parliamentary Precinct.

Was last Wednesday's sad event a product of bad luck or one of incompetence is the real question that needs to be answered urgently.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Harper's decision to get involved in Middle East may put Canada at risk

The two military deaths recently demonstrate how vulnerable all of us are. Canadians support all of our men and women in uniform both to protect as well as to keep the peace. Politics of fear in our past history has created some very unjust events. Politics of fear in 1914-1920 interned more than 6,000 Ukrainians and forced more than 85,000 to register like common criminals. Politics of fear in 1923 gave Canada the Chinese Exclusion Act that all Asians were kept out of Canada for the next 24 years. Politics of fear interned the Japanese Canadians during the Second World War. In our short history, we've made some big mistakes because of politics of fear.

Harper's decision to get involved in the Middle East may put this country at further risk. The commissioner of the RCMP says that the Ottawa shooter had no linkage to

ISIS. This homeless kid from a privileged background was a petty thief and had mental health issues. The Harper government continues to call this a terrorist act. Does that mean from here on in, every criminal act will be deemed a terrorist act?

Harper is using this to further erode our liberty with new legislation. Canadians do not agree that CSIS and RCMP need more power. We have the Security Act already in place to lock up terrorist and throw away the key.

Canadians all support our military and remember the fallen, lives sacrificed for our freedom. With Nov. 11 just around the corner, let us not forget the blood shed to keep us free. Do not succumb to the politics of fear. Let us learn from our history.

**Inky Mark, former MP
Dauphin, Man.**

Canadians tested by despicable attack on our Armed Forces

In the span of a week, the strength and resolve of Canadians was tested by despicable attacks in St.-Jean-Sur-Richelieu, Que., and on Parliament Hill and the National War Memorial in Ottawa.

These brutal and violent attacks sadly took the lives of two members of our Armed Forces, Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent and Corporal Nathan Cirillo.

My thoughts and prayers are with their families, friends and colleagues.

Thanks to the bravery of our security forces in the RCMP, the City of Ottawa Police, and in Parliament, the second attacker was stopped before he could do further harm.

These cowardly acts were an attack against our values, society and our way of life. But where these terrorists sought to tear us apart, we became stronger.

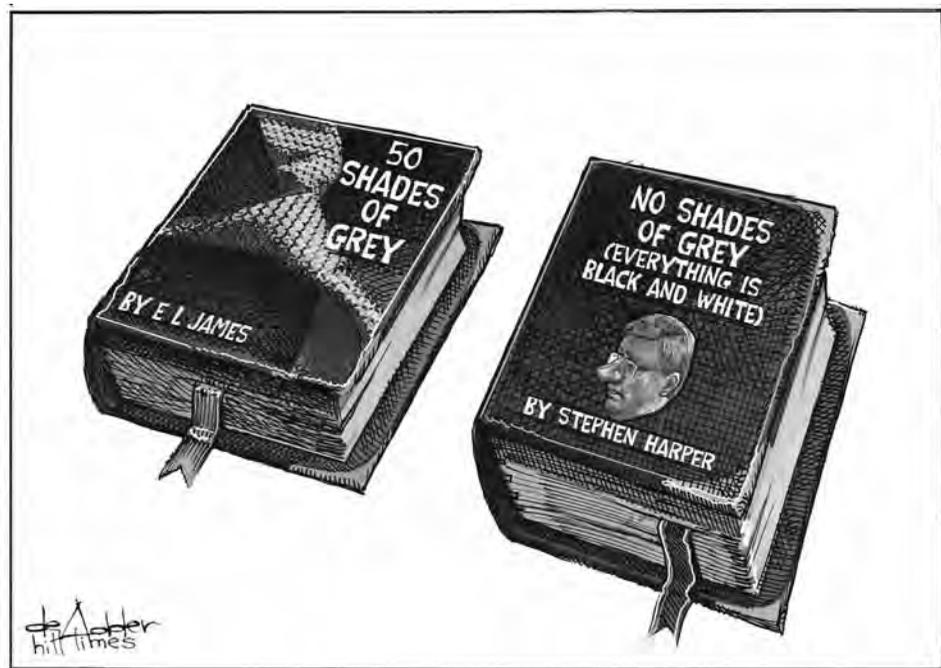
As Prime Minister Stephen Harper said, "Canadians will never be intimidated. We will be vigilant but we will not run scared. We will be prudent, but we will not panic."

I am also proud of constituents, such as Ernest Lang and Farid Rohani, with whom I

worked to create a forum last Saturday night to discuss a strategy for responding to ISIS that goes beyond military engagement. An animated audience exchanged ideas about humanitarian aid and other responses beyond military engagement with panellists Employment Minister Jason Kenney, Majed El Shafie, "Regular Canadian" Ernest Lang, and myself. Canadians can be proud of how we are responding to the complex problems of the world, at home and abroad.

If these acts of terror were designed to fracture our country, they have fortified our resolve. Parliament will stay open. No doubt, things will change as I am sure we will all see heightened security as never before. Sadly, that is the world in which we live. But Canada is a leader in the world and takes its responsibilities seriously. We will not shirk from them. We will be vigilant; we will be engaged. But for now, let us all remember the victims.

**Conservative MP John Weston
West Vancouver-Sunshine Coast-Sea to
Sky Country, B.C.**



AECL pension contributions safe, says AECL's Quinn

A recent letter to the editor, "AECL Chalk River to be forced to walk off job," (*The Hill Times*, Oct. 27, p. 8) contained inaccuracies with respect to employee pensions.

I want to emphasize that contributions to the Public Service Pension Plan (PSPP) will not be lost. On Nov. 3, AECL will launch a wholly-owned subsidiary named Canadian Nuclear Laboratories (CNL). AECL employees who will be reorganized into the new subsidiary will continue to participate in the PSPP until CNL becomes a private-sector-managed organization.

The Government of Canada has introduced legislation to provide existing CNL employees

at the time of share transfer with transitional coverage in the PSPP for three years, after CNL becomes a private-sector employer. Transitional pension coverage under the PSPP will provide sufficient time for the future private management of CNL to put into place a new pension plan for CNL employees.

Employees, who have accumulated benefits within the PSPP, retain their rights to retire with these benefits.

**Patrick Quinn
Director, Corporate Communications
Atomic Energy of Canada
Chalk River, Ont.**

EDITORIAL

EDITOR Kate Malloy
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POST-PARTISAN POLITICS **DEMOCRACY**

Democracy is messy but wonderful

A day after the tragic and horrendous Ottawa shooting, our federal political parties put aside their partisan cudgels and gathered in the House of Commons to express their unanimous support for the values that bring us together as a nation.



GERRY NICHOLLS

OKVILLE, ONT.—The most stunning incident in Canadian history generated the most unusual moment in Canadian democracy.

I'm talking about how, a day after the tragic and horrendous Ottawa shooting, our federal political parties, which normally are clawing at each other's throats, put aside their partisan cudgels and gathered in the House of Commons to express their unanimous support for the values that bring us together as a nation.

Needless to say, such camaraderie among our rival political parties doesn't happen very often. What was even more unusual, however, was how the party leaders—Prime Minister Stephen Harper, Liberal leader Justin Trudeau and NDP leader Thomas Mulcair—all exchanged warm hugs.

It was a dramatic scene that sent a powerful message to Canadians, and more importantly to our enemies, that in the face of terror, Canada would remain steadfastly united.

All in all, it was a magical moment of political harmony—a moment we all knew wouldn't last.

In fact, just a few days later our politicians were once again engaging in their usual bickering and battling.

And I suppose some people might think that's a bad thing. They might be asking, why can't our politicians always act with decorum, why can't they always put aside their grievances and cooperate more, why can't they always act in a non-partisan manner?

All good questions, which all happen to have the same answer: democracy.

Yes, democracy is wonderful, but it always has been and always will be a rough and tumble way to govern a country.

In other words, by its very nature, democracy fosters partisan brass-knuckle brawling.

It's a system, after all, that pits values and ideas, ideologies and visions, platforms and agendas, against each other in the open political arena.

And the gladiators who wage political war in that arena—partisans and ideologues—not only hold their views passionately, but they expect the party they support to also hold those views passionately.

They don't like compromise, they don't like give and take, they don't like anything that smacks of surrender, and if you truly believe in a principle, that's how it should be.

In short, what drives democracy is an often-emotional attachment to a particular point of view, which often leads to intransigence,



Conservative MP Guy Lauson, chair of the Conservative caucus, and NDP MP Glenn Thibeault, pictured on Wednesday, Oct. 29, a week after gunman Michael Zehaf-Bibeau shot and killed Cpl. Nathan Cirillo at the National War Memorial. House, RCMP officers and House Sgt.-at-Arms Kevin Vickers later killed Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau after he stormed the Centre Block. *The Hill Times photograph by Steve Gerecke*

to bellicose rhetoric, and to "negative" 30-second TV attack ads.

Such attitudes, of course, don't exactly encourage the spirit of political compromise.

And by the way, this is nothing new; democracies have always been rugged battlegrounds.

In fact, if anything the democratic politics of today are more civilized than in ages past.

For instance, back in the days when ancient Rome was still a republic, an unfortunate Senator named Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, once had a bucket of cow manure dumped on his head.

Talk about dirty tactics!

And here's something else about democracy that works against the spirit of political togetherness: if parties want to be successful in winning votes, they must adopt a combative stance, one that aggressively contrasts their positions from the positions of their opponents.

It's hard to imagine, for instance, a politician on a campaign trail saying something like, "To be honest, my rival has also has lots of really good ideas, so I can certainly understand why you might vote for him."

Anyway, my point is, the only way democracy could be truly harmonious and non-partisan and filled with lots of hugging politicians, is if everyone agreed on every issue.

Then we'd have one big happy political family, with no fighting, no attack ads, and no debates.

Sounds pretty boring, doesn't it? Indeed, it sounds a lot like North Korea.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.

www.gerrynicholls.com

news@hilltimes.com

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PARLIAMENTARY PRECINCT SHOOTINGS

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Mulcair's right: Zehaf-Bibeau not a terrorist

Michael Zehaf-Bibeau appears to have been a deeply disturbed individual whose own request for help was somehow lost in the system.



SHEILA COPPS

OTTAWA—Thomas Mulcair is right. The killer who struck down a young soldier in the prime of his life was not a terrorist.

Michael Zehaf-Bibeau appears to have been a deeply disturbed individual whose

own request for help was somehow lost in the system.

That doesn't make the murder of Cpl. Nathan Cirillo any less heart wrenching. It should mean that, moving forward, we need to refrain from joining the "security" stampede to trample democracy.

As a country, we have embraced the cause of mental health. We have Olympians of the calibre of Clara Hughes who work with major corporate sponsors to fight the stereotyping of mental illness.

But when that disease collides with a desired political narrative, we back off.

The opposition leader is right in reminding us that the tragic events in Ottawa were carried out by an intelligent, but seriously deranged individual. It appears his plan was the work of one person. Alone. Without accomplices. Without a network.

Zehaf-Bibeau was not a sleeper cell. He was not getting direction from al-Qaeda. He was not working for the Islamic State.

His twisted motivation was very similar to that of convicted killer Justin Bourque, who apologized last week for the rampage that led to five police shootings and two deaths in New Brunswick last year. Bourque was

certainly delusional, and he was specifically targeting the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Yet, he was not characterized as a terrorist even though his actions also snuffed out police officers in the prime of their lives.

Mulcair may be making all the right points. But in the heightened climate of fear following the parliamentary standoff that gripped the world, the points may fall on deaf ears.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper wasted no time in labelling the assault as a terrorist act. His assertion was in keeping with an agenda to establish safety and security as the key issue in the upcoming election. Skillfully, and with sincerity, the prime minister saturated post mortem air wars in the crucial early days following the murder.

From Ottawa to Hamilton, along the Highway of Heroes, Canadians came out by the thousands to pay their respects to a soldier who fell in the line of duty, this time scarily close to home.

Voters care little for labels. They felt terrorized and when their national leaders came together in the aftermath, it helped restore a sense of calm.

As Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau commented, the RCMP itself labeled the act as one of terrorism.

The police have a reason to underscore their position. It opens the door to an effective lobby for more resources at a time when even our national police force has been subjected to cost-cutting measures.

The RCMP does need new tools to fight a new kind of crime characterized by homegrown, cyber recruitment.

Police face multiple challenges in trying to track cyber-hate and Internet recruiting of vulnerable jihadist wannabees. And marginalized, even mentally ill Canadians are prime prospects.

The cold-blooded murder of a young man in the prime of his life trumps defies explanation.

It doesn't matter that the killer sought help for his mental problems but no one responded.

His bizarre behaviour has been so threatening, that he was even evicted from a mosque. He certainly was a potential criminal. But he was not a terrorist.

He did not work with any organization, he was not coached, and he was certainly not working on behalf of a jihadist. He was a disturbed individual who decided to lash out at authority with the only weapon that he could master, a Winchester rifle.

To date, few questions have been asked about the fact that the parliamentary weapon of choice is now more readily available because of the gun registry revocation.

Similarities between Bourque and Zehaf-Bibeau were eerie. Both appeared to be lone wolves who had issues with authority figures.

Bourque's own lawyer claimed his client's thought process was "extremely defective." He even claimed Bourque's home schooling was a cause of some of his social difficulties.

Like Zehaf-Bibeau, Bourque seemed influenced by online ranting designed to stoke his hatred of authority. The main differentiating feature appears to be religion.

It was great to see the Hamilton social media experiment when local citizens banded together to protect a Muslim who appeared to be under attack.

But a peek at Twitter exposes the deep underbelly of hate based strictly on religion. Terrorist act or not, these are trying times for those who simply want to honour their faith.

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

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PARLIAMENTARY PRECINCT SHOOTINGS

OPINION FOREIGN POLICY

We choose not to know what we know

The conventional approach to making intelligent foreign policy is cast aside on the basis of reacting to a handful of Westerners being beheaded, as happens on a regular basis already to citizens of Saudi Arabia.

BY MURRAY DOBBIN

POWELL RIVER, B.C.—In the aftermath of the shooting in Ottawa and the ongoing debate about what it actually means, it seems appropriate to contemplate the last time the Canadian Parliament actually tried to make principled decisions regarding foreign policy and our place in the community of nations. After all, Prime Minister Stephen Harper insists it was a terrorist act. If so (and I tend to agree with NDP leader Thomas Mulcair that it was a criminal act) then he cannot confront it just with new anti-terror measures. He has to account for Canada's new and aggressive foreign policy as a key factor that could indeed invite real terror attacks.

Harper's political calculations about who and when to bomb people has little to do with any consideration of the geo-political situation or what role Canada might usefully play—or even in what Canada's "interests" are. So long as he is Prime Minister, it will be the same: every calculation will be made with the single-minded goal of staying in power long enough to dismantle the post war activist state. The nurturing of his core constituency includes appeals to a thinly disguised pseudo-crusade against Islamic infidels, a phony appeal to national security (preceded by fear-mongering) and, in the case of Ukraine, a crude appeal to ethnic votes.

Reinforcing this legacy is a mainstream media that lets him get away with it and, in particular, refuses to do its homework while the bombing—or posturing—is taking place and then refuses to expose the negative consequences of the reckless adventures. The result is what Henry Giroux calls "the fog of historical and social amnesia." The three most obvious examples are Harper's extremist policy in support of Israel, his joining with France and the US in the catastrophic destruction of the Libyan state and his infantile posturing on the Ukrainian Russian conflict. And now we have Harper's mini-crusade (six fighter-bombers for six months) against ISIS or the Islamic State. With rare exceptions the media has gone along with him at every turn, treating Canadians as children incapable of navigating the nuances of foreign policy.

Regarding Israel, Harper, with widespread support in the media, has gone so far as to try to establish criticism of Israel as a kind of Orwellian "thought crime." By



Justice Minister Peter MacKay, pictured last week on Parliament Hill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Steve Gerecke

declaring repeatedly that criticism of Israel was anti-Semitic Harper hoped to establish what Orwell referred to as "protective stupidity"—a kind of mass denial of the obvious. Freud referred to it as "knowing with not knowing" and when it comes to most of Canada's military adventures it is epidemic.

In Afghanistan, the war went for so long that the facts eventually broke through the protective stupidity but only partially. Even with the total failure of the mission to accomplish a single worthwhile goal it is likely that most Canadians still see it as having been a "good war."

Everyone who reads the news or watches it on television "knows" that Libya is now a failed state, swarming with literally scores of heavily-armed and murderous Islamist militias, and facing an almost total collapse of central government authority and public services. Life in Libya is 10 times more insecure and dangerous now than it ever was under the "madman" Gadhafi. Yet we choose not to know what we know.

This was supposed to be a humanitarian mission—the much-touted "duty to protect" principle in action. The catastrophe of the failure soon spread of course to Mali and elsewhere as Gadhafi's carefully constructed balancing of competing tribal interests collapsed. In the ensuing chaos massive supplies of weapons seized by the "democrat-

ic forces" were distributed to lunatic militias (including ISIS) across the Middle East. But still there are no *mea culpas*, no accountability, and no price to pay for the misery created. The cheerleading pundits have gone silent as if they had never written a word in support of the war. Planned amnesia.

As Giroux puts it: "Neoliberal authoritarianism has changed the language of politics and everyday life through a poisonous public pedagogy that turns reason on its head and normalizes a culture of fear, war and exploitation."

Harper's response to the Russia-Ukraine conflict has been similar: a maximum of infantile, simplistic sabre rattling rhetoric with an absolute minimum of reflection on the historical context or even the immediate facts of the situation. This is foreign policy for the willingly—if not willfully—ignorant. We are encouraged—or perhaps enlisted is a better word—to treat facts and history with a disdain bordering on contempt. Facts, context, history and thoughtful anticipation of the consequences of our actions—all of this is for sissies and Putin apologists. The nay-sayers are all Neville Chamberlain clones.

The fact that the boys with their military toys in NATO have been provoking Russia for twenty years, encircling it with hostile regimes aligned with or members of this military alliance, promising to put missiles on its border, breaking promise after promise made

in agreements with Russia—it's all irrelevant. So is the fact that the "revolution" in Kiev—don't dare call it a coup, the thought police will knock on your door—was promoted with millions of American "democracy" dollars.

And the fact that the movement was hijacked by neo-Nazis? Just an inconvenient detail to be assigned to the amnesia machine. And the consequences? Just how is driving Russia away from integration with Europe (which it had been seeking throughout Putin's rein) and into the arms of the imperial Chinese in Canada's interests? The \$400-billion natural gas deal Putin signed with China—accelerated and made a certainty by NATO's aggression—will likely kill B.C.'s dream of billions in LNG investment (a silver lining in my view but hardly a smart move for an "energy super-power").

All of this is swept aside when foreign policy is decided in a kindergarten class instead of a graduate class. But there will be no lasting consequences for governments—Harper's or anyone else's. The structure of protective stupidity is in place and without a radical change in consciousness the current political consensus will prevail. All will be forgotten.

And now there is Canada's war against ISIS. Here, too, the conventional approach to making intelligent foreign policy is cast aside on the basis of reacting to a handful of Westerners being beheaded (as happens on a regular basis already to citizens of Saudi Arabia). Can it be possible that our policy-making has been reduced to this level of drunken barroom reaction? We know that ISIS did this precisely to provoke a Western military response. But "we don't know." We prefer denial and the simplistic—the notion that we can correct 25 years of imperial hubris, ignorance and gross incompetence by Western powers by bombing our own creation.

The West created these murderous madmen decades ago when the U.S. funded, armed and advised the nascent Mujahedeen to drive the Russians out of Afghanistan. They are now a permanent feature of the Middle East and beyond, an evolving monster the U.S. Defense Department and CIA lost control of a long time ago. Yet politicians like Obama and Harper think we can correct it with bombs. Ironically after decades of treating their citizens like children, our governments are reduced to behaving like them.

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PARLIAMENTARY PRECINCT SHOOTINGS

FEATURE HILL SHOOTINGS

‘I heard a thunderous boom through the Rotunda and saw people running towards me’

Through their eyes, in their words: first-hand accounts from Oct. 22

BY ABBAS RANA AND LAURA RYCKEWAERT

When lone gunman Michael Zehaf-Bibeau stormed through the front doors of Centre Block on Oct. 22 with a hunting rifle, the reporters, cameramen, camerawomen, and sound technicians who happened to be in the Hall of Honour and the Commons Foyer either ran, hid, or some kept recording, including *The Globe and Mail* reporter Josh Wingrove, CBC Radio Canada cameraman Jean Brousseau and CBCNN cameraman Mike De Paul. Conservative MPs, Senators and Prime Minister Stephen Harper, meanwhile, were in Room 237-C, the Reading Room, and the NDP MPs were across the hallway in the Railway Committee Room for their regular Wednesday morning caucus meetings. House security officers, the RCMP, and House Sgt.-At-Arms Kevin Vickers shot and killed Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau in a spectacular gunfight in the Hall of Honour. These people won't soon forget what they saw and heard.



Cormac MacSweeney, Parliament Hill bureau chief for CityNews and Rogers Radio

Where he was: Sitting in the Centre Block's Rotunda. The next day, Mr. MacSweeney found a bullet hole in the chair he had been sitting in, and later found three bullet-sized holes in his jacket, which had been bunched-up behind him.

“It was caucus day and I was part of a scrum with Justice Minister Peter MacKay. He sort of talked about how he had ordered his department to try and make some changes to some of the laws or examine some possible changes to the laws to deal with a terrorist attack that happened on Monday [Oct. 20], or the possible terrorist attack. So we finished the scrum with MacKay, [and] I walked into the Rotunda.

“I sat in the chair and I called my editor. We were having a quick conversation about the story of the day and I was telling her about the tape I gathered, and that's when I heard somebody yell, ‘Gun!’ I heard a scream...just as the gunshot, this thunderous boom, happened right through the Rotunda and just echoed.

“I saw people running towards me and a couple of Global technicians were there—a cameraman and an audio technician were there at the top of the stairs when it happened. They started—well at least one of them—started running towards me and I realized right away what was going on. I didn't actually see the gunman but I knew that something was happening.

“I got up and I turned to my right, because it's the hallway that leads to the House of Commons, and I knew I could run down here and get out of the way, because, at that moment in my mind, the gunman was running right towards us.... I came forward and I saw security there and at least one of them had their guns drawn and I realized at that point, in a split second, I'm in between [security and] a possible gunman behind me.

“I did not want to be caught in the crossfire so I took a left and I ran down the stairs across from the Conservative caucus doors. The Global audio technician dove down, chest sliding on the stairs just to get out of the way, and it was frightening.

“I got to the bottom of the stairs and I could see the public entrance and there were groups, members of the public, waiting to go on tours and security guards trying to get them out. I screamed at some of the security guard: ‘Where do we go? Where do we go?’ and you could hear in the tape that I recorded the shots ringing out again. I'm surprised I had the presence of mind to hit record.

“The officers there didn't really know where to send us. The echoes, the hallways here—it's hard to tell where anything is exactly coming from and they probably had no idea what the situation was at the time. They just knew that there were gunshots, so they threw me and a Global audio technician in a security office and they shut the door and they said, ‘Stay here and get away from the door.’ So we did. I started going live with my station right away.”



Rob Kazemzadeh, cameraman for Global TV

Where he was: In the Centre Block Rotunda, where he had just tucked away his equipment and was headed outside for a break with Frank Antonsen.

“We get to the steps of the front entrance, we're about to go down, and I think we might have even stepped down one or two steps. As we're going, I notice looking ahead, on the right side, the doors on the right side open somewhat abruptly—not kicked in or anything, but somewhat abruptly—and I just see a gun. The gunman is holding the gun, he's just moving around a little bit, [and] he seemed a little disoriented. I thought it was a joke for about a second: ‘What was there some sort of theatre going on on Parliament?’... Because it was an old gun, right. But that was for about a second until I saw his face. I saw he had a big scarf, but the scarf I think had fallen down at this point so you could see a bit of a scruffy beard.

“I saw the gun, him pointing it toward the guard. This is all in a matter of seconds, literally—this is very quick. He said something along the lines of, ‘Hey!’ to the guards and then I think somebody else, according to what my colleagues said, said, ‘Gun! Gun!’ It could have been one of the guards. As soon as I saw that I just ran towards—because I knew something bad was about to happen here, it's just an instinct—I ran towards...the hallway that's leading to the [House of Commons] Foyer. As I'm running, one of the plainclothes guards up there had already drawn his gun out and I said to him, ‘This guy's got a gun.’ He said, ‘Get down! Get down!’ I didn't know whether he meant to get down on the floor or take the stairs. I took the stairs.

“I've been there [on the Hill] for 25 years so I knew how to get around the building. I made my way down, and right as I was making my way down I heard the first shot, which was a loud, loud shot.”

PARLIAMENTARY SHOOTINGS

FEATURE HILL SHOOTINGS



The Hill Times photograph by Steve Gerecke

Julie Van Dusen, CBCNN Hill reporter

Where she was: In the House of Commons Foyer after interviewing Conservative MPs before the start of their weekly caucus meeting.

"I was standing just outside the House of Commons in the Foyer and I'd been scrumming Conservative Members of Parliament. Previous to that, I'd just been down the hall scrumming the NDP. So, I just left the area [where the shooting took place], but now I'd come up here to interview MPs about the new security measures that we were expecting in Steven Blaney's bill and I was looking for him.

"So I was right here, about five to 10:00. Most people were in caucuses by then; they'd all pretty well gone in. I was standing with my crew, Mike De Paul and Danny Leduc, and we were just trying to sort out if they [Conservative MPs] were all in there or not. I heard a loud bang and we wondered, kind of, what that was, and then very rapidly after we started hearing shots and then smelling gun powder.

"It all kind of happened very quickly. And then people were running this way, yelling 'Shooter! Gun! Hide!' and like your brain doesn't really function very well because you're trying to figure out the logic of it all because this is the place you know so well.

"I'm up here every day so there's just a lot of things going through your head very quickly like, 'Is this for real? How could that be?' I started running but I didn't know where to run. I ran into the washroom. It was quiet for a second, and all the shooting started again.

"In retrospect, I guess they [House security] were actually shooting the gunman but, of course, I didn't know that. I thought, 'This isn't good because wherever he is, he's running around shooting people.' So I ran out and I just ran across the Foyer because I didn't know where I was supposed to go.

"Meanwhile, I grabbed Danny. I said 'Is this for real?' He said 'Yes!' and then Mike De Paul was amazing. He kept rolling [the camera] but they got moved away quite quickly. I ran that way [towards Peter Van Loan's office] and I just started banging on the door, saying, 'Let me in.' But they were all locked.

Then Darlene [Stone, Mr. Van Loan's executive assistant] who knows me, let me in. So then we hid in the minister's office for I guess it was six hours, trying to figure out what to do.

"We barricaded the office. We grabbed every projectile we could think of, from apples to fireplace implements like [fireplace] pokers and things. We just basically kind of listened for sounds, trying to figure out what to do for the next six hours, and then the SWAT team arrived and took us to another location, which was actually the [House] government lobby.

"But it was weird because I'll never forget coming out of [Mr. Van Loan's] office with the SWAT team, armed to their teeth, and the Foyer here was getting pretty dark. It was about 6 p.m. and there was SWAT team everywhere with their guns at the ready. So yeah, it's not your typical workplace. Then they kept us here for another two-to-three hours. So I was with Darlene and Adam [Church], Mr. Van Loan's staffers, for six hours on our own.

"It's funny because there was no washroom there or anything and we were trying to figure out what to eat. The worst thing is that my tuna casserole was in my bag right over there and I couldn't get at it because there was no way we're coming out here and there was no way we're using any washroom because we were barricaded in that office. It was hot in there but we didn't open the windows so we had a couple of Pepsis. We cracked into those but we didn't want to drink too much because then we'd have to go to the bathroom. And then we cracked into his [Mr. Van Loan's] Halloween gummy witches. He had a bowl of those, we ate those. But it's funny: we didn't really get hungry, thirsty or have to go to the bathroom too much for six hours because you just were in the survival mode. Because every sound you hear out here, you don't know what it is. You have no idea.

"Then when we moved in there [the House government lobby], there were a lot more people. All of a sudden there were like 50 people. There were tourists who happened to be in the area that got shoved in there. There was one MP who had a tour—that's what happened. It was Bev Shipley. He had a tour of his constituents so they got shoved into that room. They'd been there for hours already. As you know, the government lobby, we're not supposed to be there as reporters. So Steven Blaney was pretty surprised when he saw me there. [He said] 'What are you doing here?'"

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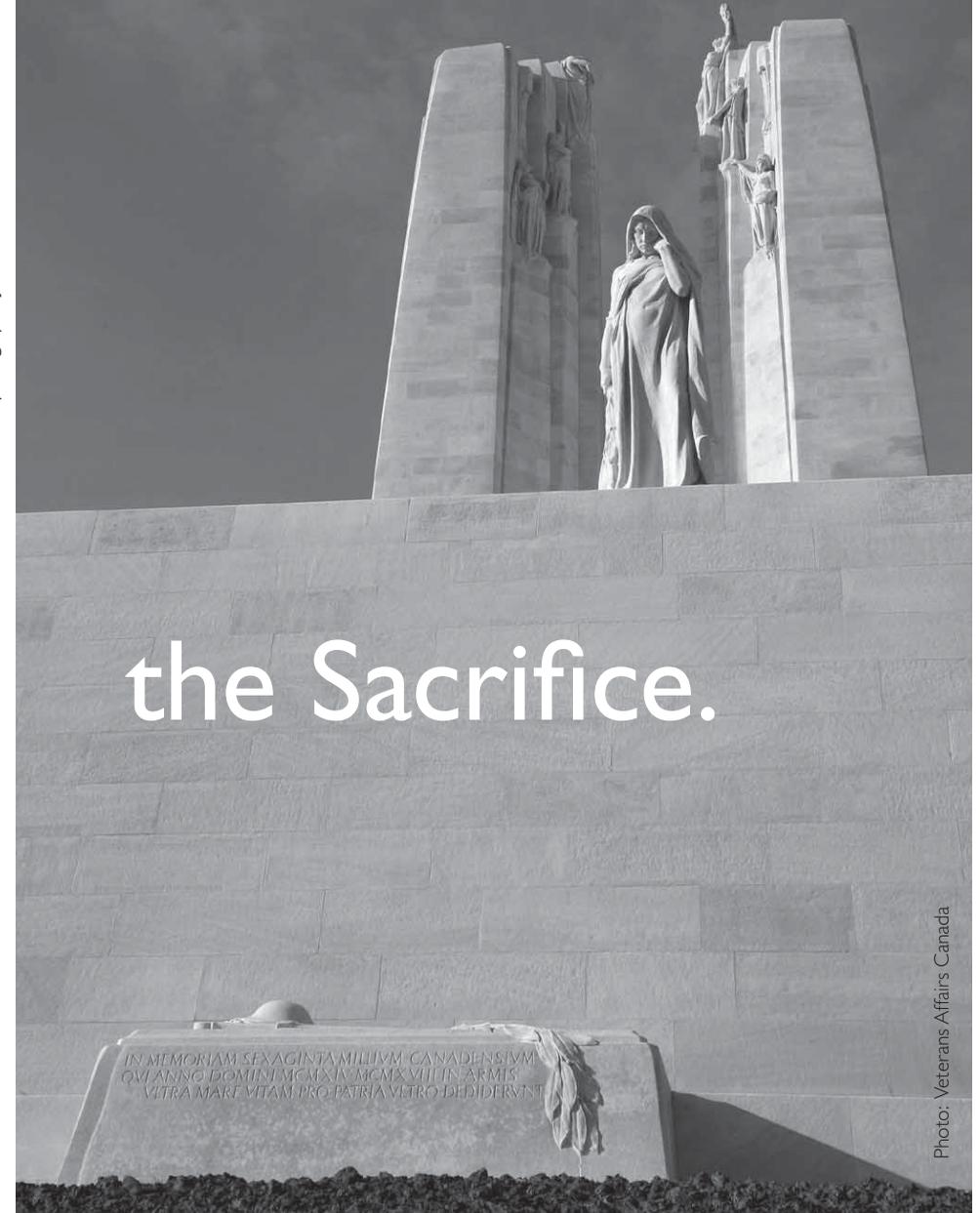


Photo: Veterans Affairs Canada

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PARLIAMENTARY PRECINCT SHOOTINGS

FEATURE HILL SHOOTINGS



Mike De Paul,
CBCNN cameraman

Where he was: The House Foyer with Julie Van Dusen and had just finished recording interviews with Conservative MPs before their caucus meeting. When he heard the sound of gun shots in the Hall of Honour, Mr. De Paul picked up his camera and continued to record, captured the now-iconic shot of House Sergeant-at-Arms Kevin Vickers walking from the scene, gun in hand.

“Caucus [ins] normally ends right at 10:00, or when we shoot the ins it ends right at 10:00. For some inexplicable reason it was dead at 10 to 10:00, so we all sort of moved on. I came down here [House Foyer] to shoot in the Foyer. We regularly shoot with Julie Van Dusen in the Foyer so I was just down here, sort of whining to Julie like I always do about, ‘You got to let me go for a coffee or breakfast.’ We always have this little fun argument about when am I going to go to breakfast because she wants to scrum everybody all the time.

“Just as we were having our conversation we heard the gunfire and I knew immediately. The first one, I think, was the bad guy’s rifle because it was so loud. You knew right away something was up. Then you heard all the yelling and just all the gunfire and the guards were ushering any of the crews—there were a handful of crews still in the Foyer, but the scrums had stopped. If he’d come in 10 minutes earlier, all the crews were there scrumming right at the Rotunda. In some of my shots, I could see the other crews coming towards me. The guards were kind enough to let us continue to shoot as much as they were rounding up people and looking after them. I continued to shoot for what felt like 20 minutes but I’m sure it was half that.

“At one point, as I was shooting down the hall, I saw Kevin Vickers, Sergeant-at-Arms, come around the corner walking towards me [From rotunda to the House foyer], looking a little disheveled, with a sidearm, with a gun in his hand. I’ve worked here a long time and I knew who it was and I knew right away that this was golden, this was something that doesn’t happen here every day. And he had a swagger to him and he kind of looked in shock. I really did get a sense that this was something.

“We continued to shoot for a while with the SWAT team guys arriving and sort of pointing guns at us and running around screaming. And we did hear all the battering rams at the doors because they checked the entire building—any door I guess that they didn’t have a key for or had no response from inside, just knocked it down. So we heard all of that crashing and banging and yelling, and again we could see the odd shots.

“At one point, they took us from the Foyer in to the actual House of Commons foyer, just on the other side of this wall here [House Chamber], and it was at that point that they escorted the Prime Minister out. I managed to look out the little glass windows and I could see they took him this way and then from then on, they took us to various locations for a lockdown, but it was very frustrating. When we finally got to one of the rooms where they had locked us down, there was television access.

“I was watching CBC News Network in 160-S, one of the committee rooms on the Senate side, with about 300 other people. But there was a television there and all day, as I am locked down, I’m hearing the story starting to develop that Kevin Vickers was possibly the hero. It was really frustrating because I knew I had a shot of him, but I couldn’t get that shot out. I couldn’t give that material to the [CBC] office because I was locked down. And we have a facility here to feed it and it was just a matter of trying to convince somebody to let people move, which they weren’t. I understood but at the same time, it was tearing me up because I wanted to get these pictures out.

“We finally managed to get access to where we feed from at about 8:00 at night and we got some pictures out.”



Steve Alexander,
GlobalTV cameraman

Where he was: He had just arrived at his Queen Street office when he heard about the shooting at the National War Memorial. He parked his car and went straight over with his camera to shoot the aftermath of the shooting.

“I pulled up right off Queen Street where our office overlooks the War Memorial. So I pulled up and parked my car on the sidewalk right by the National War Memorial and jumped out with my camera and just started shooting. I could see the soldier down and a whole bunch of people attending to him, giving him CPR, and then there’s a stretcher from the ambulance came up and they were dealing with him, loading up there. The police were running around with long weapons as well as handguns, trying to just sort out what was going on. Nobody really knew.

“Then we heard there were shots here at the Peace Tower on the Hill and there was complete chaos, confusion. Nobody knew: the police didn’t know what was going on, nobody knew how many shooters there were. Just panic. I got the shots of the soldier [at the War Memorial] being loaded on the stretcher into the ambulance. Then, next thing there were police running. Some bystanders were taking pictures and they had their cameras and they were running over to some of the investigative officers going, ‘We’ve got pictures, we’ve got pictures.’

“So we were shooting the guys doing that and then next thing you know, the whole police started clearing us right out of the whole of Elgin Street down back towards the Chateau Laurier. As a result, myself and Luigi Della Penta—the camera guy from Global [who had also] parked right on the sidewalk—we had to leave our vehicles behind, which had half our gear in them. And the rest of the day, it was a 12-hour day with never getting back to our vehicle. We didn’t pick the vehicle up till the next morning.

“There was all this chaos, the police running down towards the Rideau Centre not knowing what’s going on. There were SWAT guys with their machine guns and pistols drawn and they were panicking that there was a shooter at the Rideau Centre and they were running in that direction. Later on, when our satellite truck pulled up at about 3:00-3:30, it was parking and we were moving one of the road standards because of the construction right there and out rolled an unused round from one of their machine guns or automatic weapons. It must have been a good five to six inches long. First, I thought it was a nice Stylus pen and I leaned down to pick it up. I was like, ‘Oh no, this is an unused shell’ and put it back, called one of the Ottawa cops over and sure enough, it was one of the guys from the SWAT team. Some of their stuff had fallen out and it was the chaos and the commotion, that was it.

“I personally never felt any fear. I’ve been in situations where, honestly, it felt more dangerous than that, but one of the things that I’m most astounded by is that the bystanders and pedestrians just don’t seem to understand where the police line is. The people who keep wanting to cross the police line because they’ve got a meeting somewhere on Sparks Street or something and they want to go by, and the police are trying to tell them there’s nothing going on. For some reason, these people seem to think that they’ve got a special dispensation. The police line doesn’t apply to them and it’s amazing. You’ve got all these people running after, following the police with their iPhones and Samsungs and stuff trying to record it and I’m thinking, ‘Are these people crazy?’ Like there’s a potential live shooter around and they’re running around.”



The Hill Times photographs by Steve Gerecke

Jean Brosseau,
Radio-Canada TV Cameraman

Where he was: In the Centre Block Rotunda.

“When we heard the first yelling, ‘Gun! Gun! Gun!’ we were in the Hall of Honour, so we took cover in one of the widows that are on each side of the Hall of Honour, the first one on the left. We tried to hide there. We didn’t know what was going on. We knew that shots were fired; we didn’t know how many people were shooting, what kind of ammunition they had. The shots were coming from everywhere.

“We just hid and once we were there, I started rolling my camera to make sure that the lights will not go on: the person or the persons will not see where we were and everything is history now. The guy [the shooter] passed by, we saw him passing by but honestly I could not tell that that was the shooter because there was so much chaos in the place, all those bullets that were raining, like the sound was so loud. First of all we wanted to take cover. The guy passed by [and] at that time I was checking for my lights. We saw somebody walking by but I cannot tell you that he was wearing this or that.”

PARLIAMENTARY PRECINCT SHOOTINGS

FEATURE HILL SHOOTINGS



The Hill Times photograph by Steve Gerecke

Marjory LeBreton, Conservative Senator

Where she was: In the Conservative caucus meeting in Centre Block's Reading Room, 237-C, where Prime Minister Stephen Harper was speaking.

"The first noise I heard, my first reaction was that a stack of chairs were knocked over. That took me about a nanosecond to realize that it was gun fire. So, like most people that have been around politics for a long time and travelling around with leaders, I did what the RCMP have always told us to do and that's if we hear shots, get down, don't be running anywhere and making a target out of yourself. So I just hit the floor. A lot of people did. There were a lot of shots, of course, as you know.

"Very, very quickly, the ex-police and ex-military in our caucus, who knew what they were doing, kind of got order restored very quickly. It was not a long period of confusion. It was almost immediately—very impressed by the way they behaved themselves.

"The only thing is none of us knew what was on the other side of the door. So we all moved back, as we were instructed to do, into the corners and back against the back wall to get away from the doors, and everyone sat there and waited it out. And then Kevin Vickers came in and he told us what had happened and the Prime Minister left and the rest of us were in there, all of us, until 5:00."



The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright

David Smith, Liberal Senator

Where he was: In his Centre Block Senate office, 176-F.

"I was in my office. I could hear it—I heard all the bullets and I went out into the corridor. Some guy came running down from the front desk and said, 'Get back in your office. Those are bullets. Lock your doors and don't open them.' About five minutes later, they had three Mounties come with machine guns to sort of guard me. They didn't know how many [shooters were there]. They thought somebody might be hiding behind the monument that you can see from my office and they were sizing that up. Well, they have to do all those things, you know.

"I had quite an experience as I had to get off the Hill when it was locked up because I had to fly to San Francisco for my sister's funeral. I finally made it. They had this vehicle that went over to 24 Sussex with five [Cabinet] ministers and they took me with them and that's the only way I could've gotten out of the Hill. I have to say, I really appreciate the fact that they let me go in that vehicle. The funeral was on Thursday but I had to be at [Toronto's] Pearson Airport at 6:30 Thursday morning. I found a young woman from DFAIT that drove me from 24 Sussex out there in her car because there were no taxis. Sussex [Drive] was closed. ... Once they were organizing the vehicle over to 24 Sussex, they took me in and I really appreciate it. I wouldn't have made it to the funeral otherwise."



The Hill Times photograph by Steve Gerecke

Lysane Blanchette-Lamothe, NDP MP

Where she was: In the opposition lobby inside the House Chamber, feeding her two-month-old son, Evan Rogas-Blanchette.

"I was sitting on a couch in the lobby, breastfeeding my baby, when it happened. So I quickly hid in a phone booth—a very little area where I could sit and take care of my baby to make sure he wouldn't cry, so we could keep hiding from anything that was happening outside. I was scared that he [my son] would get stressed and cry, but after a few minutes security agents took great care of us and brought us to a safer place."



The Hill Times photograph by Steve Gerecke

Martin Blais, Radio-Canada TV editor and soundman

Where he was: In the Centre Block rotunda with Jean Brosseau.

"I was going back to the office and I was around this [Centre Block Rotunda], I think, and I heard some gunshots and I just ran in that little [window] that we decided to go to, to protect ourselves. That's the only thing I saw, and I heard everything—all the shooting and all that. Today [Wednesday, Oct. 30] is the first time that I'm coming back to the Hill. It seems to be fine for me. I didn't see the shooter. It's a big blank from around here [from the Rotunda to the window in the Hall of Honour].

"Afterwards, we saw all the policemen going forward and at that moment I told my colleague Jean Brosseau, 'I think we're okay.' For my case, I was feeling okay because I saw all the policemen going forward to the library but I didn't see him [the shooter].

"As soon as I heard the gunshot and I saw all the people going, running, I said something is wrong. I heard two gunshots and afterwards, from here to there, it's a big blank. We didn't know where he [the shooter] was just before we saw all the policemen going forward to the library. We were probably in the line of shooting."



The Hill Times photograph by Laura Ryckewaert

Frank Antonsen, former Global TV audio technician, now a freelancer

Where he was: In Centre Block covering pre-caucus scrums with Global cameraman Rob Kazemzadeh, and about to take a break.

"We were about to head down the steps to the main entrance, the Peace Tower entrance, when we saw a man come in the door with—there was a long barrel and we were surprised: what is this, is this a gun? And then the gun went off and at that point we knew that this was a serious situation going down and basically self-preservation. Adrenaline started flowing.

"Our gear was on the ground, turned off, so there was no chance we were going to capture any footage of what was going down, so basically we got out of there.

"All I know is that he had long dark hair. I did not see his face clearly, no, because it's just too far away. It was just seconds. He was in the door, there was a confrontation with a security guard and the shot went off and we ran. We didn't stick around to get a close-up view of his face.

"I ran down the corridor towards the [House of Commons] Foyer and then I took the first steps down to the left that go towards the Charles Lynch press area. I heard the guards shouting: 'Everyone get down, get down!' So I took it literally, and I slide down the steps on my chest and stomach and legs. Because they had those little abrasion strips on the step for safety, my sweatshirt got a little bit ripped and has a few little holes in it, but it's my lucky sweatshirt so I don't think I'm going to get rid of it."



The Hill Times photograph by Steve Gerecke

Danny Leduc, CBCNN soundman

Where he was: In the House foyer assisting Julie Van Dusen as she interviewed Conservative MPs.

"I heard it all but I didn't see anything. The shots were fired and I heard, 'Gun! Gun! Gun!' Then a blast and several small arms, and then multiple small guns with a few big blasts."

PARLIAMENTARY PRECINCT SHOOTINGS

OPINION TERRORISM

Response to acts of terrorism must be measured with independent supervision

It would be helpful if there were prior consultation by the Prime Minister with opposition leaders.



BRUCE CARSON

OTTAWA—Two weeks ago, two members of Canada's Armed Forces were murdered and last week Canadians came together to grieve with the families of these two men as their funerals took place. One case involved a cowardly hit and run and the other the equally cowardly shooting of an unarmed ceremonial guard standing watch over the Tomb of Canada's Unknown Soldier and then an assault on the Centre Block in the Parliament Buildings.

As frightening as gunshots and the ending of the perpetrator's life by the Sergeant-at-Arms Kevin Vickers was, it brought out the best in Canadians and the best in our federal political leaders. There was an outpouring of grief and support from Canadians across the country for the families of the fallen. Our leaders spoke of the indomitable spirit of Canadians, which will never allow purveyors of terror to succeed. They held up Canadian values of freedom, fairness, democracy, justice and the rule of law, which will prevail in the face of these despicable acts.

The question for Canadians is whether these leaders can work together to deal with what has occurred and fashion a measured response that will address these events, but respect the values they expressed the day after the events on Parliament Hill. What we don't need is a knee-jerk response that increases the powers of various agencies before deficiencies, if any, in the system we have are identified and Canadians learn through an independent source, what exactly took place, what triggered the events, was there a failure of intelligence gathering and policing, and whether the legislation now in place, should it be fully utilized, actually could be effective. One theory that is advanced by professor Wesley Wark of the University of Ottawa is that the power and authority to act is contained in existing legislation, but the agencies involved are risk averse to using them.

There are also at least two different situations that need to be investigated. One deals with the access to the Parliamentary Precinct by a man armed with a gun and then his ability to enter the Centre Block itself, obviously determined to continue his murderous rampage. The second addresses both events and relates to the effectiveness of intelligence gathering and the possibility of arrest prior to these acts

being carried out. There needs to be a determination as to whether these were acts of terror and if so what precipitated them. Then what should have been the response by agencies that are mandated to deal with such an event. These are matters, which should be investigated by an independent authority as those involved have too much at stake in such an inquiry to approach it on a neutral basis.

The Prime Minister stated that his government would move to strengthen policing powers over surveillance, arrest, and detention. The question that must be asked is whether the remedies proposed adequately address the new phenomenon with which officials are faced, the development or radicalization of the homegrown terrorist. These are Canadians who have become estranged from this country who wish to attack its values and institutions either here or by joining terrorist groups abroad, fighting there and then returning to Canada bent on acts of terror. No longer can be terrorists be subjected to the usual profiling that at one time would have led to their identification.

Prior to the events of two weeks ago the government planned to introduce legislation to increase the powers of CSIS in relation to information sharing with its partners in the Five Eyes intelligence network (United States, Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand) regarding Canadians traveling abroad suspected of being terrorist sympathizers and to protect the identity of confidential informants. It was tabled as Bill C-44 in the House of Commons on Monday, Oct. 27, and the content was pretty much as anticipated. It gives CSIS surveillance powers to investigate threats to security within and outside of Canada and share information as noted above. The protection afforded to confidential witnesses was increased subject to limited exceptions. The minister of Citizenship and Immigration will be able to move expeditiously to revoke Canadian citizenship from dual citizens who are convicted of acts of terrorism either at home or abroad.

One can envision a Charter challenge to the protection of anonymity of confidential informants clause, but it does contain an exception so it could be argued that this is a "reasonable limit prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society" as set out in Sec. 1 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Also on Oct. 27, RCMP Commissioner Bob Paulson appeared before the Senate Committee on National Security and outlined in broad terms how the RCMP is dealing with this relatively new challenge of tracking the activities of "lone wolves" as well



RCMP Commissioner Bob Paulson, pictured last week before he testified before the Senate Committee on National Security, outlined in broad terms how the RCMP is dealing with this relatively new challenge of tracking the activities of 'lone wolves' as well as terrorist networks. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

as terrorist networks. Inherent in his testimony was the plea for additional resources to address this change in focus. He spoke of the need to lower the threshold for preventive arrest and more power to track and restrict movement of radicalized youth. The commissioner did not address the failures that occurred in policing on the day Cirillo was murdered; instead he spoke of the motives of the killer. As argued above this matter should be investigated independently.

The focus now turns to the next stage, which will be the introduction of legislation, which as will be argued by the government, results from the events of two weeks ago. Will it contain provisions to address the points raised by Paulson? Will it make it an offence to condone or glorify an act of terror? Will detention without arrest be extended to 14 or 28 days? Will it deal with online hate speech as that speech relates to, condones or encourages terrorism? Will it deal with fund raising directed at financing terrorist groups? All of these measures

would be more contentious as some would argue they may not achieve the appropriate balance between criminalizing certain acts and protecting civil rights. A contrary view would be that in these extraordinary times which have seen terrorist attacks at home as well as abroad these measures pass the Charter test as they present a reasonable limitation of protected Charter rights in order to preserve our free and democratic society. As Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird has said one has to combat 21st century crimes by 21st century methods.

It would be helpful if there was prior consultation by the Prime Minister with opposition leaders. It would provide an informal opportunity for an exchange of views and perhaps a better understanding of positions. The Prime Minister could explain why these amendments are necessary, what evils they address, and why the statutory provisions now in place are inadequate to deal with present circumstances. While consulta-

tion may not result in agreement it could at least answer the two part question of why these provisions and why now. It won't make up for the lack of consultation prior to committing to a combat role in Iraq, but it would be in keeping with the words celebrating our freedoms and democracy uttered by all three leaders in the House on Oct. 23 the day after the murder of Cirillo.

While Parliamentarians are considering giving additional powers to CSIS and the RCMP, it is imperative if their work is to have credibility they address the need for independent civilian oversight of agencies involved in security and intelligence gathering. Bill S-220 introduced by retired Senator Hugh Segal being an Act to Establish the Intelligence and Security Committee of Parliament could serve as a template. The bill envisages a committee of nine members, three from the Senate, six from the House who are not members of Cabinet or Parliamentary Secretaries appointed by Governor in Council, confirmed by resolution of the relevant Chamber.

Its mandate would be to "review the legislative, regulatory, policy and administrative framework for intelligence and national security in Canada, and activities of federal departments and agencies in relation to intelligence and national security." Under Segal's bill the annual reports of this committee would go directly to the Prime Minister and then tabled in the House of Commons. Provision is made in the bill for parts of the report to be excised should they be in the Prime Minister's opinion injurious to national security or national defence.

The establishment of such a group with broad powers to access information relevant to its mandate and report annually to Parliament would go a long way to assuring Canadians that these agencies are operating within the law and within their mandates.

At Cirillo's funeral, the Prime Minister spoke of freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law as being at the foundation of our country. For the deaths of Cirillo and Vincent to have the meaning they should, the values stated by the Prime Minister should be respected as Parliamentarians search in the coming days for answers to combat terrorism at home and abroad.

Bruce Carson was a senior adviser to Prime Minister Stephen Harper from 2006-2009 and director of the Canada School of Energy and Environment from 2009-2011. He is author of *14 Days: Making the Conservative Movement in Canada*, published this summer by McGill-Queen's University Press. He currently publishes a daily political newsletter, *The Morning Brief*.

Bcarson11@gmail.com
news@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

PARLIAMENTARY PRECINCT SHOOTINGS

INSIDE POLITICS **OTTAWA SHOOTING**

Terrorist or murderer? Distinction is important

How this craven killer is ultimately labelled will have an impact on Canadians far beyond the twin killings of soldiers.



TIM HARPER

OTTAWA—On the day the nation mourned Nathan Cirillo in Hamilton—my hometown, a rock of dignity and duty, where the collar is proudly worn blue and no one messes with our national symbols—it's understandable that we wouldn't spend a lot of time trying to characterize his killer.

It somehow felt disrespectful to analyze the shooter's actions as we watched five-year-old Marcus Cirillo trail his father's casket down York Boulevard.

But how this craven killer is ultimately labelled will have an impact on Canadians far beyond the twin killings of soldiers.

The man who killed the corporal appears to have been many things—a loser, a coward, mentally unstable, a man whose own mother disowned him, but to call him a terrorist somehow confers on him an outsized stature.

Why is this man—I'll not sully Cirillo's memory by naming him on the day of the corporal's funeral—a terrorist, but not the man who killed three Moncton RCMP officers?

The Ottawa assailant, we are told, had travelled the path of religious extremism and in a video had reportedly espoused religious beliefs, blamed his actions on Canadian foreign policy, and had made a specific threat to the military.

Under our Criminal Code, which defines terrorism as an act committed "in whole or in part for a political, religious or ideological purpose, objective or cause" with the intention of intimidating the public "... with regard to its security," he would appear to slot in nicely.

The Moncton shooter, who clearly terrorized that city, gunned down cops because they were cops, is a paranoid who said he wanted to foment rebellion against an oppressive, corrupt government. But he made no specific threat against that government and didn't praise Allah. He was, as RCMP Commissioner Bob Paulson said this week, radicalized to a different political ideology.

It appears in this national outpouring of grief and patriotism we don't want to deal with the question of mental illness, and it is instructive how quickly and repeatedly Prime Minister Stephen Harper, Public Safety Minister Steven Blaney and Paulson have labelled this terror.

But if we were to characterize him and the man who killed Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent as mentally ill murderers, a government would not have licence to sharpen its rhetoric and move intrusively into the realm of civil liberties.

This is not to suggest the government wants to purposely exploit Canadian anger, but Harper set the tone the night of the shooting.

"In the days to come, we will learn more about the terrorist and any accomplices he may have had," he said. "Canada is not immune to the types of terrorist attacks we have seen elsewhere around the world."

In contrast, NDP Leader Tom Mulcair spoke of an act of "hatred and brutality, a cowardly act designed to strike at the heart of our democracy."

Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau referred to "brutal and heartless acts of violence" and called the shooter a "criminal."

But when it comes to crafting legislation

going forward, terror and criminality are a world apart.

Paulson said the more elaborate the plot the easier it is to disrupt and he spoke of the challenge in ferreting out the lone wolves. He spoke of building community trust to help citizens alert police to those who have undergone suspicious character changes.

But he wasn't putting much stock in the mental illness argument.

"I'm not a psychiatrist and I understand mental illness and I understand the ravages it can have on families and people. But when it comes to some of the purposeful, deliberate, considered,

premeditated actions that flow into some of the things we've seen recently ... I am not persuaded at all that mental illness is driving these things."

Instead, said Paulson, it is "a distorted world view of what's happening around these individuals."

Tuesday, Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird said he had no doubt Oct. 22 attack was terrorism. Blaney has spoken about our "under-reaction" to terror.

But resolve means forging ahead without radical change. Better security on the Hill, yes. Laws that crack down on freedom of speech, well, jihadists would love that.

In the dignity it afforded Cirillo, Hamilton did itself proud. The nation's response has made us all proud.

But there is anger out there and anger cannot forge a response.

We must remember Nathan Cirillo stood on guard for the memory of those who fought for our freedoms and those freedoms must be protected as we respond to this indignity.

Tim Harper is a national affairs writer for The Toronto Star. This column was released on Oct. 29.

news@hilltimes.com
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Mental Health
Commission
of Canada

Commission de
la santé mentale
du Canada

MENTAL HEALTH CHECK-IN

*Stress or anxiety are normal reactions to a traumatic event.
Reactions can range from moderate to overwhelming
for individuals directly impacted.*

Possible reactions one might experience include:

- Re-experiencing the trauma
- Avoidance behaviour
- Emotional numbing
- Persistent increased arousal
- Reduced interest in others and the outside world
- Feelings of uneasiness in situations that bring back memories of the trauma or event



You will find helpful Mental Health First Aid self-care techniques and resources at mentalhealthcommission.ca/checkin.

Let's keep #ottawastrong.

Information disponible en français à
commissionsantementale.ca/surveillance.



**Mental Health
First Aid CANADA**

OPINION WILDLIFE



IFAW's Sheryl Fink says like Canada, Norway is one of the last holdouts of commercial seal hunting on the planet. Photograph courtesy of IFAW

Norway shifts seal hunt subsidies: Can Canada do the same?

This may come as a shock, but investing in the manufacture of seal fur iPad covers is not going to secure a future for anyone, and that includes the Harper government.



SHERYL FINK

Like Canada, Norway is one of the last holdouts of commercial seal hunting on the planet. For over a decade, the Norwegian government has subsidized the hunting of seals, the processing of seals, seal product and market development and, in at least one year, the burning of unmarketable pelts. These subsidies have

made up 75 per cent to 80 per cent of the total income of the Norwegian commercial seal hunt. But last week it was announced that Norway plans to cut the 12 million kroner (\$2-million CAD) subsidy for seal hunting from next year's budget. The Norwegian Ministry of Trade, Industry and Fisheries stated that the move is dictated by "economic priorities." Given the recent WTO ruling upholding the EU ban on seal products, and the future outlook of commercial seal hunting, such a decision would seem to be based on sound economic sense.

Meanwhile in Canada, one Newfoundland businessman is trying to get INTO the sealing industry, and is fishing for government funds to do it. As reported in the St. John's *Telegram*, Bernie Halloran, owner of the St. John's furrier "Always in Vogue" is looking to set up a new seal processing plant, claiming—despite all evidence to the contrary—that the seal hunt is "a booming industry." His plans are apparently to make seal fur iPad covers for the Chinese market.

Halloran is not shy about his desire for federal cash. When asked on CBC's *Fisheries Broadcast* if he planned to avail himself of government funds, Halloran replied, "Well we will have to... there's a big number on it," noting that to process just 50,000 skins requires between \$1.5-million and \$2-million. And while the project could eventually create 20 jobs in one (as yet undecided) community, Halloran is clear that "the bottom line is what each community can do for the company"—and not vice versa.

Halloran undoubtedly sees a big opportunity—but not in a viable commercial market for seal products. Rather, he's counting on federal funds and a government willing to hand it out to anyone who can play the victim. Casting the seal hunt, as "the most bullied industry on the planet" is sure to be a golden ticket, especially with the mention of those dreaded "animal rights activists."

It's time to get real. Far from being bullied, the commercial sealing industry has been beneficiary of tens of millions of dollars in government support over the past two decades. Incredibly, our Conservative government continues to implement the strategy laid out by the Liberals before them, perhaps because the status quo is easy, or perhaps because they think failure to support the seal hunt could cost them seats in Newfoundland and Labrador ... oh, wait.

This may come as a shock, but investing in the manufacture of seal fur iPad covers is not going to secure a future for anyone, and that includes the Harper government. In reality, it doesn't matter how many millions the Conservative government throws at the seal hunt, it will not help them win a seat in Newfoundland and Labrador. Nor will it set them apart from the other political parties, who also profess their undying support for killing seals. The one exception is the Green Party, which has the only reasonable position on the commercial seal hunt: compensation and funding to transition sealers to viable industries.

Halloran's enthusiasm and love for his province is admirable, and funding innovation and job creation should be encouraged. But federal funding of fuzzy seal fur fantasies—when two decades of such support has failed to create a sustainable industry—is utter foolishness. Cutting subsidies, as Norway plans to do, makes obvious sense.

There are far better ways for government to serve Atlantic Canadian communities. Why not invest in industries that actually have a future? Surely, Newfoundland and Labrador has more to offer the world than selling furry iPad covers to China.

Sheryl Fink is the Director of Wildlife Campaigns in Canada for the International Fund for Animal Welfare, Canada.

news@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

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The World Economic Forum ranked Canada's banks the most sound in the world, seven years in a row.

OPINION HOUSING CO-OPS

When politicians actually do work together, positive policy

In an era of politician bashing, it's worth crediting Parliamentarians from all parties for supporting housing co-operatives and recognizing their value to Canadian communities from coast to coast.



NICHOLAS GAZZARD

It's rare when the federal parties agree on a new policy direction, and it's rarer still when a small change in government policy translates into better public infrastructure, jobs, and economic growth.

But sometimes it does happen. In early 2013, a small policy change supported by all three federal parties made possible nearly \$30-million (with much more to come) in new investments in housing—every nickel from the private sector.

In 2012, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) was insisting on very high prepayment penalties for housing cooperatives seeking new first mortgages to repair and modernize their aging homes. But in a show of non-partisan support, Canada's special Parliamentary Committee on Co-operatives recommended to the government that a reasonable prepayment formula be found—and in January 2013 the government and CMHC announced just that. With a fair prepayment penalty, new mortgages for housing co-ops built under the federal Sec. 95 program (representing some 39,000 homes) became affordable, and these co-ops could now move forward to renew their properties.

The result? In less than a year, with assistance from the Co-operative Housing Federation of Canada (CHF Canada), 10 new housing co-op mortgages have been approved, representing nearly \$30-million in new financing to renovate the exteriors and interiors of these aging homes. Fourteen more housing co-ops are in the process of approaching their credit unions, and many others are working on preliminary analysis of their capital needs. And the Quebec housing co-op movement has replicated the initiative in partnership with the Desjardins network of caisses populaires.

This small, but prudent policy change has allowed housing co-ops to access new investment to maintain the quality of their homes, and make it sustainable and available for Canadians for the coming decades. Many are using the new mortgages to add energy saving features, reducing utility costs. For the member-residents, typically people of modest means, satisfaction and pride in homes and communities is increased.

These new investments come with no cost to taxpayers. Unlike other forms of social housing, housing co-ops are mixed-income communities, so the new mortgages can be repaid from normal operating income, without any reliance on government grants for capital repairs and renewal. And local businesses benefit from the construction and renovation jobs that come with the new mortgages. These new loans will pump millions of dollars into the local economies where these co-ops are found across Canada.

The only thing that could be better would be if the housing co-ops created by other federal programs could also benefit. With the proven success and rapid growth of the Section 95 refinancing program,

co-operatives in other federal programs want to jump aboard, and so too do Canada's credit unions.

Current CMHC mortgages remain an obstacle for the so-called "Section 61" co-ops. These housing co-ops, with some 7,700 homes, have fixed 40 and 50-year term mortgages, typically at eight per cent. Although that was a good interest rate when they were built, that high rate now makes it unaffordable to prepay under the current formula. In its 2014 budget submission to the Finance Committee, CHF Canada has

asked the government and CMHC to develop a fair prepayment penalty so that new private sector investments can be arranged for Sec. 61 co-ops—a few dollars in foregone CMHC revenue—can yield big new investments and dramatic results preserving Canada's affordable housing stock.

Few policy initiatives can claim instant success. Fewer still can claim to do so without a cent of government spending. The success in attracting new investment is a testament to the strength and viability of the co-operative business model.



Industry Minister James Moore is responsible for Canadian co-operatives. *The Hill Times* photograph by Steve Gerecke

And in an era of politician bashing, it's worth crediting Parliamentarians from all parties for supporting housing co-operatives and recognizing their value to Canadian communities from coast to coast.

Nicholas Gazzard is executive director of the Co-operative Housing Federation of Canada.

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OPINION ARTS & CULTURE



Play it again, NAC: The NAC Orchestra, pictured playing at the Salisbury Cathedral recently. *The Hill Times* photograph by Rosemary Thompson

NAC Orchestra plays Salisbury Cathedral

The musicians were following in the footsteps of the young Canadian soldiers who came to the United Kingdom 100 years ago believing they would be home for Christmas, that the war would only last a few months.



ROSEMARY THOMPSON

Canada's National Arts Centre Orchestra recently performed in the magnificent Salisbury Cathedral, just a few kilometres away from the muddy terrain where 30,000 Canadians came to train 100 years ago to fight in the First World War.

The musicians were following in the footsteps of the young Canadian soldiers

who came to the United Kingdom 100 years ago believing they would be home for Christmas, that the War would only last a few months.

"It's a moment that that we grew up as Canadians," said Margaret MacMillan, a historian and author of the best-selling book, *The War That Ended Peace*. She explained that Canada did not declare war itself, as a member of the British Empire it followed Great Britain's lead.

"The Empire made a huge contribution to the war in manpower, money, and raw materials. Canadians understood that for the first time, and wanted to be recognized as an independent country making a tremendous sacrifice," she said.

MacMillan's talk at the St. Thomas Beckett Church was part of the National Arts Centre Orchestra's five-city, 50 educational event tour of the United Kingdom to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the outbreak of the First World War.

But the tour of the National Arts Centre's musicians took on added poignancy with the killing of two Canadian soldiers Cpl. Nathan Cirillo and Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent. As the musicians were flying to the Edinburgh for their first concert, the news from Ottawa flashed onto their smart phones and television screens at the Heathrow Airport.

Cirillo was shot standing guard at the National War Memorial, just steps away from the Elgin Street entrance of the National Arts Centre. The NAC, like many other buildings in downtown Ottawa, was under lockdown for most of that day, as police teams scoured the core of the city for evidence and potential suspects.

From that moment on, concerts and outreach events across the United Kingdom were dedicated to the two soldiers who lost their lives.

"Music has the amazing ability to heal," said the President and CEO of the National Arts Centre Orchestra Peter Herrndorf.

At her talk about Canada's role in the First World War, Margaret MacMillan remarked that we can learn from history. "War is part of the Canadian story, but for most of our history we have been peaceful, and I think that is something to be proud of," she said.

More than 600,000 Canadians enlisted during World War 1, which represented nearly 10 per cent of the Canadian population at that time. More than 60,000 young soldiers were killed, which meant that nearly every Canadian family was affected.

"It took only five weeks for Europe to go to War in 1914," said MacMillan.

"We cannot be complacent, we have to think of ways of strengthening peace."

In a spirit of remembrance and healing, concerts at the historic Usher Hall in Edinburgh, at Royal Festival Hall in London and at the magnificent 750-year-old Salisbury Cathedral were dedicated to the soldiers who fought during the First World War, but also to present day victims Cpl. Nathan Cirillo and Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent.

It was a message that resonated with audiences across the United Kingdom. In London, at a glittering concert that Prince Charles attended, the ovation from the audience was sustained after the National Arts Centre Orchestra performed *Beethoven's 9th Symphony* and *Ode to Joy*. The National Arts Centre Orchestra was joined by the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra on stage, with the combined sound of 140 musicians and more than 200 singers from the London Symphony Orchestra Choir.

"Ode to Joy is a hymn for humanity," said Maestro Pinchas Zukerman. "When faced with suffering or human tragedy I respond through music, and that is what we have done throughout the United Kingdom over the past two weeks."

Rosemary Thompson is the director of communications for Canada's National Arts Centre in Ottawa and is the former deputy bureau chief of the Parliamentary bureau for CTV News.

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OPINION ANIMAL WELFARE & GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS

‘Catastrophic’ treatment of animals on Ritz’s watch

According to the government’s own records, more than three million animals per year don’t even survive the journey, with millions more arriving so sick or injured that they must be euthanized upon arrival.



SAYARA THURSTON

Millions of animals are suffering and dying on Agriculture Minister Gerry Ritz’s watch. This is a serious allegation, but the events of Ritz’s seven-year term as Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food bear it out.

The federal government has long taken a hands-off approach to animal agriculture, with farm animal transportation being one of the only two areas of animal agriculture that it regulates.

Almost all farm animals will be transported at least once in their lives; if that journey takes them to a federally registered slaughter facility, the animals are under federal jurisdiction from the moment they first interact with the handler who loads them on to a transport truck. Unfortunately for the animals, the federal regulations concerning animal transportation are embarrassingly outdated and disturbingly unenforced.

A recent undercover investigation conducted by Mercy for Animals Canada and reported by CTV’s W5 alleged shocking abuse of pigs at a facility in Red Deer, Alta. According to W5 and Mercy for Animals Canada, handlers were violating what weak regulations do exist. Moreover, Canadian Food Inspection Agency staff are alleged to have turned a blind eye to, and even participated in, the cruelty.

Despite this extremely concerning new report, the fact that animals are suffering in Canadian transport trucks every day is not news to Ritz. For years now, well before then-MP Ritz was appointed minister of Agriculture, animal protection groups have publicly called for urgent updates to Canada’s decades-old regulations. CFIA transportation experts themselves have been imploring their own ministry to move on this issue since day one of Ritz’s tenure as minister. Last year, even the Executive Director of the Chicken Farmers of Canada—an industry body—called for updates to the transportation regulations while testifying before the Standing Committee on Agriculture and Agri-Food. Ritz has the power to update regulations under the *Health of Animals Act* to improve standards for animals in transport, indeed, why he has not yet done so is baffling.

Around 700 million farm animals are transported to slaughter each year in this country. According to the government’s own records, more than three million animals per year don’t even survive the journey, with millions more arriving so sick or injured that they must be euthanized upon arrival. Compared to other developed nations, Canada’s regulations can only be described as archaic. To date, for example, the regulations contain language permitting animals to be beaten during loading or unloading under certain circumstances. What does it say about our Agriculture Department when the combined pleas of scientists, industry bodies, animal welfare advo-

cates and the department’s own experts cannot bring about updates to regulations that don’t even prevent animals from being beaten on the federal government’s watch?

And of those 700 million animals we raise, transport and slaughter, more than 640 million are chickens. All farm animals are sensitive to sudden changes in temperature, loud noises, unfamiliar environments and stressed and crowded conditions. Chickens, however, are

particularly vulnerable to the rigours of transport: catchers work at breakneck speed, with birds often sustaining injuries to their legs and wings as they’re tossed, several at a time, into cramped transport crates. For countless birds each year, the transition from a temperature-controlled barn to freezing outdoor conditions—with only a sheet of tarpaulin for protection—proves deadly; this is not only legal, it’s industry standard.

In a recent ruling on a transportation infractions case, Justice N.S. Kastner noted that, “catastrophic is not an overstatement,” when describing the plight of the hundreds of birds who had frozen to death in a single truck as they were transported through -23 degree temperatures on one bleak February day. According to CFIA records, the company found guilty in that case continues to be one of the worst violators of federal transport regulations which suggests the meagre fines imposed merely serving as the cost of doing business.

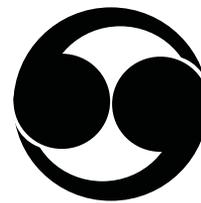
Few of the facts in this file line up. Most baffling, perhaps, is that CFIA staff have indicated numerous times that draft regulations are written and ready to be published for public consultation. The only missing piece is a nod from Minister Ritz. With farm animals suffering and dying in transport every day since his appointment, it is impossible that the Minister is ignorant to the facts of the situation. The way forward is clear, the only thing that isn’t is when Ritz will act.

Sayara Thurston is a campaign manager with Humane Society International/Canada.

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Warrantless access to subscriber information: has the tide turned on Canada's privacy embarrassment?



MICHAEL GEIST

expectation of privacy in subscriber information, longstanding law enforcement and telecom company practices have been placed under the microscope for the first time.

Last week, the privacy commissioner of Canada released a report that shed further light on the law enforcement side of warrantless disclosure requests, raising disturbing questions about the lack of record keeping and politically motivated efforts to drum up data on the issue.

The Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada notified the Royal Canadian Mountain Police last October that it was planning to conduct preliminary investigative work on the collection of warrantless subscriber information from telecom

companies. The plan was to assess RCMP policies and to determine the frequency and justification for warrantless requests.

Despite interviewing dozens of personnel, investigators were unable to obtain specific numbers as the RCMP simply did not compile the requested information. When asked why the information was not collected, law enforcement officials noted that its information management system was never designed to capture access requests.

While that may help explain the absence of data, investigators also found that the RCMP issued an internal memorandum in 2010 instructing officers to begin collecting such information. Why the change in approach?

It would appear that the new policy was directly linked to lawful access legislation that was facing public criticism over provisions that would have required telecom and Internet companies to disclose subscriber information without a warrant (the law at the time permitted voluntary disclosure but left discretion over whether to disclose to the telecom or Internet provider). Critics of the lawful access bill noted that there was little evidence that mandated disclosure was needed. In response, the RCMP attempted to pull together the missing data, but later abandoned the effort when the lawful access bill died on the order paper.

When combined with non-transparent telecom provider policies and government legislative initiatives seeking to expand disclosure, the RCMP revelations should give all Canadians concerned with their informational privacy pause. We now know that entering this year, law enforcement and government departments were requesting access to subscriber information without a warrant over a hundred thousand times every month. We also know that telecom companies were keeping their responses to the requests secret, that law enforcement was not tracking its access requests, and that the government was determined to expand the system by encouraging voluntary disclosure of personal information through a pair of bills that are still before Parliament.

Despite the sorry state of subscriber privacy at the start of 2014, the situation has improved in recent months. Pressure on the telecom companies to offer greater

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“When combined with non-transparent telecom provider policies and government legislative initiatives seeking to expand disclosure, the RCMP revelations should give all Canadians concerned with their informational privacy pause.”

transparency on their practices has led both Rogers and Telus to regularly disclose aggregated data on subscriber requests. Moreover, the Supreme Court of Canada's Spencer decision confirmed that there is a reasonable expectation of privacy in telecom and Internet subscriber information.

Those are positive steps, yet at least three major issues remain unresolved. First, there are still some telecom companies that have not issued transparency reports, most notably Bell Canada, the country's largest telecom provider.

Second, the RCMP remains somewhat coy about how it plans to address warrantless disclosure requests in the future. As part of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada investigation, it undertook only to study mechanisms for reporting requests. Potential recommendations are not due until April 2015.

Third, the government remains committed to encouraging voluntary warrantless disclosure of subscriber information. Justice Minister Peter MacKay's Bill C-13, which is now at the Senate, grants full civil and criminal immunity for organizations that voluntarily disclose personal information to law enforcement, while Industry Minister James Moore's Bill S-4, which will be studied later this month by the House of Commons Industry Committee, expands voluntary warrantless disclosure between private sector organizations.

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@uot-tawa.ca or online at www.michaelgeist.ca.

news@hilltimes.com
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Mix of knowledge, incentives needed in more focused auto strategy

By DAVID CRANE

TORONTO—There's a vital question about where Canada will fit in the future global economy. This directly affects jobs, investment and living standards. And how well we are able to do in the fast-changing and increasingly high-tech automotive industry may be a good test case of our ability to succeed in a major global industry. If recent developments are a sign of things to come, the future is not bright.

Our MPs don't talk much about it, yet this is Canada's key manufacturing industry with close to 120,000 employees and, after oil, is our leading exporter. It employs many more people than the oil industry. But Canada is falling behind in retaining and attracting new investment, losing ground to Mexico and the U.S., and is lagging even further in the new technologies that will dominate the future automobile. According to the Centre for Automotive Research, of US\$43-billion invested in the North American auto industry in 2010-2012, only five per cent was invested in Canada, and there are no signs of improvement.

But why are we not attracting more investment? After all, Canada has shown it can be highly productive in the industry and its assembly plants have won many international awards. Are our wages and benefits too high? Is it the dollar? What about taxes? Based on conventional economic theories there shouldn't be a problem. For example: Canadians were told during the NAFTA debates that they had nothing to fear from downward pressure on wages from the U.S. South or Mexico. Our higher productivity would offset any lower-cost labour advantage. Yet it is Mexican workers, or lower-paid workers in southern U.S. states who are attracting investment and new jobs—despite the fact that Canadian autoworkers have made concessions. The truth is that free trade does put downward pressure on wages. Mexican workers are just as capable of being trained to work in automated auto plants as Canadian workers, and for a lot less money.

Canadians were also told that they did not have to worry about loss of competitiveness for investment and jobs because our exchange rate would automatically adjust, restoring competitiveness. If lack of competitiveness was costing us investment and jobs, our dollar would decline, making us competitive again, or so we were told.

But that hasn't happened. Our dollar has soared even though Canada was losing significant manufacturing investment and jobs.

Canadians were told that if we had low corporate taxes that this would attract investment because tax rates were a key factor in investment decisions. Today, our government likes to boast that Canada has one of the lowest corporate tax rates. Yet this has not led to a surge in investment and job creation. Auto companies haven't rushed across the border from Michigan or Ohio to Ontario because of a lower tax rate here. They are attracting more auto industry investment and jobs than Ontario.

There's another factor as well. As the Canadian Automotive Partnership Council has pointed out, U.S. companies earning income in Canada are subject to U.S. taxes. What this means is that "Canadian taxes paid are credited against U.S. corporate taxes owing, effectively eliminating the effect of Canada's low corporate tax rates for those companies." Lower taxes in Canada may simply mean more tax revenues for the U.S. Treasury.

The Bank of Canada and Finance Canada told Canadians not to worry about the high exchange rate—this, they said, would significantly lower the price of imported high-tech machinery and equipment, enabling Canadian companies to modernize,

increase productivity and become much more innovative and competitive. It didn't happen on any scale. In the auto sector, investment largely dried up.

What has really been happening is that the U.S. and Mexico have made it a priority to attract major auto plant investments. There's a reason for this: The presence of a major assembly plant means there will also be a large number of auto parts plants which, in total, may employ many more people than the assembly plant. That's why the assembly plants are seen as anchors—each one attracts a plethora of supplier plants.

In fact, General Motors is working hard to persuade key suppliers to locate much closer to its assembly plants. It's why Magna International is opening a factory in Tennessee, less than a mile away from a GM plant, and is reported to be looking at a possible new plant near a GM plant in

Lansing, Michigan. It's why another Canadian supplier, Martinrea International, is building a new plant in Missouri to supply another GM plant.

This is why countries dangle incentives to attract such plants. Canada does it as well, but compared to other countries our incentives may be quite modest and more tentative. The federal government offers repayable loans to auto companies through its Automotive Investment Fund and the Ontario government often uses direct grants. Although critics dismiss such schemes as "corporate welfare" their purpose is to level the playing field when automotive multinationals are looking to locate new plants—or upgrade existing ones.

Like it or not, Canada has to be in the game to attract major assembly investments. But this is only part of the story. The technology in an automobile is changing

rapidly and what used to be a mechanical vehicle is now an electronic vehicle, a "connected car" and perhaps soon a "driverless car," and loaded with software. Vehicles are also using new materials, from aluminum to composites and carbon fibre, shifting to electric batteries and fuel cells, and embracing radical new manufacturing technologies. We need to help build competitive companies in many of these fields.

So to attract investment and create new jobs in a much more competitive global economy, Canada will need to be at the frontiers of knowledge and skills. But we also cannot avoid the incentives game, like it or not. What this means is that we need a much more focussed automotive strategy in Canada.

David Crane can be reached at crane@interlog.com.

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NEWS COPYRIGHT

Controversial copyright changes absent from budget bill, but may not be shelved for good

MPs, Conservatives and broadcast industry sources suspect the Copyright Act change revealed earlier this month in a leaked document to Cabinet is likely to resurface in different legislation when the timing is better.

Continued from page 1

the planned and controversial amendment revealed earlier this month in a leaked document to Cabinet is likely to resurface in different legislation when the timing is better.

The leaked document reported on by CTV on Oct. 8 revealed a presentation from Heritage Minister Shelly Glover (Saint Boniface, Man.) proposing an exception in the Copyright Act to allow free use of news content in political advertisements without the broadcasters' permission. The exception would mean "greater certainty for 'political actors' who want to use copyright content in their advertisements," it said.

The document said that, if supported by Cabinet, the change would be included in the next budget implementation bill. That legislation, the 458-page Bill C-43, was tabled Oct. 23 and contained a huge range of measures but nothing on copyright for political ads.

Broadcasters have often fought with political parties over using unauthorized footage on the grounds that it compromises their journalistic neutrality. Earlier this year, representatives from CBC, CTV, Rogers and Shaw said in a letter to political parties that they would only air ads using their material if the party responsible for the ad had the broadcaster's permission. Sun TV and TVA owner Quebecor did not sign the letter.

A spokesperson for Ms. Glover last week said the minister wouldn't speculate on the matter but repeated her comments from Question Period Oct. 9 that networks "should not have the ability to censor what can and cannot be broadcast to Canadians" and that this is already protected under the law's fair dealing provisions.

Conservative and industry sources raised a few possibilities for why the changes were put on hold.

The first is that the measures were merely delayed because of the timing. The omnibus bill was tabled the day after Michael Zehaf-Bibeau killed Cpl. Nathan Cirillo at the National War Memorial before being gunned down after firing shots inside Parliament's Centre Block.

Conservative strategist and Summa Strategies vice-chairman Tim Powers said he doesn't have inside information on what happened to the proposal but that the government may have decided it was politically unwise



Officials from Heritage Minister Shelly Glover's office were asking on Oct. 7 to arrange meetings with broadcast industry CEOs, an industry source said, but those meetings were first postponed until the following week and then never took place. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

to antagonize the opposition with such a measure in the budget bill following the shootings in the Parliamentary Precinct.

Those events mean the Canadian public isn't in the mood for the "partisan dogfight" that the copyright changes would have created, Mr. Powers told *The Hill Times*.

The changes could still be included in a third omnibus bill before Christmas to implement more budget measures as well as any tax changes introduced in the fall fiscal update, he said.

He also maintains the leak could have simply been a trial balloon to gauge reaction to the proposal.

Others maintain that is unlikely since the government commented the day after the leak.

Asked about the proposed copyright law changes while in Whitby, Ont., on Oct. 9 to announce the expansion of the Children's Fitness Tax Credit, Mr. Harper said he wouldn't "speculate on future decisions," but he also told reporters, "I will simply say this: that as political people who conduct much of our business in public, we fully expect that we will be held publicly accountable for the statements we make in public. That's what I think we all expect. That's certainly the standard that I'm held to."

A broadcast industry source without permission to speak on the

record also thinks the copyright changes will resurface in another omnibus bill this fall, one that could contain attention-grabbing taxation measures such as income splitting and the overall message of a return to balanced budgets.

"The copyright might have been the biggest news in [C-43] whereas it's barely going to get noticed against a big fiscal surplus and debates over tax cuts. It's just going to get buried completely," the source said.

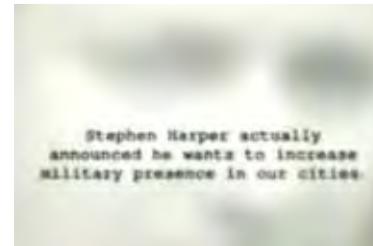
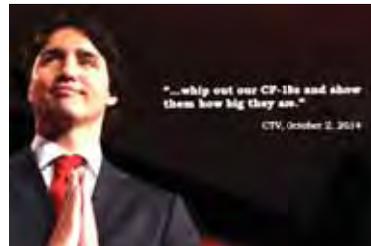
Another theory holds that the government has secured quiet assurances from the broadcasters that they'll accept political ads using their footage even if consent wasn't given. Because the desired footage can already be used under fair dealing provisions, as Mr. Harper and several copyright experts have maintained, no legislation would be required if the government knew the broadcasters wouldn't challenge them and delay the ads airing during the crucial campaign period.

Conservative sources said the broadcasters have bigger priorities in their dealings with government—from cable unbundling to wireless services where Bell and Rogers are concerned—and aren't interested in another fight on a matter of less commercial consequence. The networks and government could have come to an agreement that provides assurances that ads will only be rejected on clear grounds and with a timely appeal mechanism, sources said.

But at least one of the major broadcast companies hasn't met with government since the leak, the broadcast source said, and the CBC maintains its position is unchanged.

Officials from Ms. Glover's office were asking on Oct. 7 to arrange meetings with broadcast industry CEOs, the source said, but those meetings were first postponed until the following week and then never took place. CBC spokesperson Chuck Thompson said the public broadcaster's position is the same as when it signed the letter with other broadcasters in April.

"We believe that the use of our content in political advertisements without our express consent may compromise our journalistic independence and call into question our journalistic ethics, standards and objectivity. Beyond that, we have no further comment," he said in an email last week to *The Hill Times*.



The Conservatives have used attack ads against successive Liberal leaders, including Justin Trudeau. Some have suggested they want to ensure they're able to use footage of Mr. Trudeau, including the now notorious "whip out our CF-18s" line, in future ads.

Ms. Glover's spokesperson didn't comment on whether the government had met with broadcasters since the leak.

Opposition MPs were surprised and relieved that the changes weren't included in C-43. Both New Democrats and Liberals had accused the government of serving its own political ends when the proposed changes were leaked Oct. 8.

NDP MP Craig Scott (Toronto-Danforth, Ont.) said last week that either the early response from opposition parties and the media "beat the government back and they decided, one way or the other, that this was an item they'd already been burned on," or the Conservatives decided the existing law was good enough and the amendments weren't needed.

He also didn't rule out the possibility that it could resurface before the 2015 election. "But the fact is, they threw everything else, as usual, into this omnibus budget bill, so it has to strike me that they backed off for a particular reason. There was no indication they weren't ready to go," he said in an interview.

Independent MP Brent Rathgeber (Edmonton-St. Albert, Alta.) said that just because the changes weren't in the budget bill doesn't mean they aren't coming.

"I'm sure we'll see it tabled some time," he said in an interview. Mr. Rathgeber said he hopes that the measure will be in its own bill, though, so it can be studied and voted on independently of other measures.

Liberal MP Stéphane Dion (St.-Laurent-Cartierville, Que.), his party's heritage critic, also said in an emailed statement that while the bill's absence from C-43 is a good thing, he's convinced it will eventually be tabled "through back-door channels."

Jonathan Rose, associate professor of political studies at Queen's University, said the

The Liberals' now-infamous "soldiers with guns, in our cities" ad from the 2006 federal election.

debate about changes to copyright law is too narrow and that Parliamentarians should be talking about broader regulations on political advertising.

"I think it's a bit of a tempest in a teapot in the sense that, while it's important, it's a bit of insider baseball and ignores the bigger questions about how should political parties behave during election campaigns," he said in an interview. "That's the kind of conversation that I would love to have and that I think is important to have."

The Conservatives defended the provision on censorship grounds, but Prof. Rose pointed to a number of liberal democracies—including the U.K., Germany, Finland, and Israel—with restrictions on political advertising from limiting ads to showing party platforms, to prohibiting targeting other party leaders, to banning violent images. He said Canadians limit their comparisons to the United States, where attack ads are routine.

"We seem to think that we cannot control what the parties do in their ads and I think that's a mistake. If there was a will in Parliament, there's a way to limit the content of ads," he said in an interview.

Some copyright experts have also raised the prospect that the broadcasters ran afoul of the federal Competition Act by agreeing not to air the ads. Access to information documents obtained from the CBC by Sun Media show the public broadcaster led the move to deny the use of broadcasters' material and that CBC executives recognized they couldn't reject the ads for copyright reasons.

"Instead, the broadcasters conspired to adopt a policy to reject the ads anyway, an approach that smacks of copyright misuse and a potential Competition Act violation," University of Ottawa Law professor Michael Geist wrote in his Oct. 14 blog post.

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The Hill Times

2014



2013



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25TH ANNIVERSARY

2012



2011



2010



2009



2008



2007



2006



2005



2004



2003



2002



2001



2000



1999



1998



1997



1996



1995



1994



1993



1992



1991



1990



1989



THE HILL TIMES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

FEATURE **MPs**

Late 1980s were 'very exciting times' on the Hill, say former, current MPs

A pool table in the Confederation Building, a beer machine in the Hot Room: a look back at the good old days of 1989.

By **LAURA RYCKEWAERT**

Partisanship had a different tone and there was more camaraderie and trust among both MPs from different parties and the Hill reporters who covered them in the 1980s, say MPs who were on the Hill in 1989 when *The Hill Times* launched.

"At the press gallery dinner at the time, [then prime minister Brian] Mulroney would be sitting at the piano until four or five in the morning and everybody from all the political parties and all the media would be singing around the piano. I don't think you see that now," said Sheila Copps, a former Jean Chrétien-era Liberal Cabinet minister and MP, who was first elected in 1984 and sat in the House until 2004.

Emerging from a contentious election in 1988, largely fought over the issue of the recently signed Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement that saw Mulroney re-elected with the largest majority government in Canadian history, the 34th Parliament featured constitutional strife of the Meech Lake accord as well as fierce debate over a proposed new goods and services tax. It was during this period, on Oct. 5, 1989, that *The Hill Times* published its first—considerably shorter—newsweekly edition.

The Hill Times caught up with a number of former, and some current, MPs who were in the House in 1989 to ask about the Hill in those days.

For starters, there were some extra social goodies: the Confederation Building housed a pool table and bar in what has now been traded in for gym space. There was a liquor store in the West Block, a grand old reading room in Centre Block filled with newspapers and magazines from around the world, and barbershops in Centre Block and the Confederation Building. The Hot Room on the third floor of Centre Block, home to many press gallery



Last two standing: Bloc Québécois MP Louis Plamondon was first elected in 1984 and Liberal MP Lawrence MacAulay was first elected in 1988. Mr. Plamondon, the dean of the House, says technology has had a negative impact on politics and the Hill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

reporters and largely still an old boys' club in 1989, included a smoking room and a beer machine. The National Press Building at 150 Wellington St. also had its own bar and pool table, as well as a restaurant and dining area.

Former and current MPs who spoke with *The Hill Times* all said all these things made a huge difference to the atmosphere and level of camaraderie on the Hill, as did Parliamentary travel across Canada, whether for committees or inter-Parliamentary associations.

"When I came here first we went to the Parliamentary Restaurant a lot of the

evenings. A lot of MPs went up there and if you were alone, there was a table you would sit at, like Liberals and Conservatives, and it was a good rapport at that time," said Liberal MP Lawrence MacAulay (Cardigan, P.E.I.), who was first elected in 1988 and has been re-elected ever since.

"That has changed a lot," he said, adding he now rarely goes to the Parliamentary Restaurant on the sixth floor of Centre Block.

Mr. MacAulay, who has already announced he's running for re-election in 2015, said today, MPs within the same party still get together in social settings,

"but not in a mixed group."

"People were fair and they would help you. I don't see that kind of feeling in the House today at all," said Mr. MacAulay, a former Liberal Cabinet minister in Jean Chrétien's government.

Ms. Copps said MPs used to regularly "hang out" on the second floor of the National Press Building at the Press Club.

"People would just go over there and have a bite to eat and hang out and maybe meet with a journalist. It was a great way for people to kind of find stories, too, because you know what they say, in vino veritas," said Ms. Copps.

Hanging out in this way created more "humanize[d]" relationships, particularly between journalists and politicians, said Ms. Copps.

The presence of more reporters from local papers across Canada also contributed to stronger relationships among MPs who were familiar with their hometown reporters, said Ms. Copps. There was less "gotcha" politics and journalism at the time.

Ms. Copps, who was known as one of four feisty members of the Liberal "Rat Pack" and was once called a "slut" by a Progressive Conservative MP during a debate in the House, said political discourse could get "nasty then, too."

"It wasn't a tea party, but there were still other moments where people felt connected between, amongst parties," she said.

Fellow "Rat Pack" member and former Liberal MP Don Boudria, who was first elected as the MP for Glengarry-Prescott-Russell, Ont., in 1984 and sat until 2005, said he doesn't believe there's ever been a "golden age of Parliament," and said MPs work "just as hard today as they did" in the late 1980s.

"Relations between Parliamentarians, they've always been tense somewhat, but outside of working hours they usually improve markedly and I think that there still

From one political veteran to another,
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 of making sense of it all.



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THE HILL TIMES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

FEATURE PUBLISHER'S STORY

Why Ross Dickson and I started *The Hill Times*

After a few years of sharing rides, we came to the unstated conclusion that we also shared a vision of newspapering.

By JIM CRESKEY

OTTAWA—The old cafeteria in the basement of the National Research Council's Beaux-Arts building on Sussex Drive in Ottawa holds a special place in my memory. For me, it was the birthplace, in the spring of 1989, of *The Hill Times*.

I haven't been back to that spot, but it was as quiet as a library when Ross Dickson and I would meet there and try to put together our plan for getting a new political newspaper off the ground in Canada's capital.

Ross is a Cambridge University PhD chemist who grew up in a small town print shop and family-owned community newspaper. He went on to become a research scientist for the NRC, working on problems like acid rain and the effects of second-hand cigarette smoke, but printers' ink was in his blood. He is probably one of the few people alive in Canada today who is capable of proof-reading a page of mirror-image typeset in cold lead.

In the early 1980s, he gave up research and took over the old family print shop and newspaper, *The Shawville Equity*, in Shawville, Que. He and I first met when I was editor of *The West Quebec Post* and we began to share the driving back and forth to Montreal for the Quebec Community Newspaper Association board meetings. After a few years of sharing rides, we came to the unstated conclusion that we also shared a vision of newspapering.

We chose the NRC cafeteria to plot out *The Hill Times* because it was quiet, handy for both of us, and it had a great big parking lot. We would meet in the morning before I went to work on the foreign desk at the *Ottawa Sun*. How I got to the *Sun*, which was in those days still under the happy influence of its colourful founder Doug Creighton, is another story. Suffice it to say, I wanted to move on to a newspaper of my own.

Ross and I had a pretty good idea what our new paper would cover at first: the politics, the process and the people, especially the people. Later it would grow into policy. Would we call it *The Parliamentary Post*? No, that seemed to roll uncomfortably off the tongue. I think we settled on *The Hill Times* only a few weeks before the first issue rolled off the press.

The business plan, the spreadsheets that supported it, were, as they often are, exercises in hope. But hope, idealism, and madness, we knew from experience, were the key ingredients in the risky business of newspaper publishing. And the greatest of these is hope.

By the summer of 1989, we opened *The Hill Times*' first office in Centretown.

Family members pitched in: Ross's mom and dad, Rosaleen and David Dickson, my wife, Anne and our sons Jamie and Andrew.

Our daughter, Anne Marie, still in high school, would come over in the evening and cut the PMTs ("photo mechanical transfers"), waxing them down on the camera-ready pages. Today, Anne Marie, after spending several years working at a magazine in New York City and then returning to Ottawa 11 years ago, is publisher of *The Hill Times*, its international sister paper *Embassy*, and the news services, *Parliament Now*, *The Wire Report* and *The Lobby Monitor*.

If the Dicksons and the Creskeys pitched in personally to get the new paper off the ground, they also did so financially. Family savings on both sides were drained to the bottom of the barrel to provide the cash to keep the new paper going, while Canada slipped with the rest of the world into a recession during the Mulroney years.

Our Gilmour Street office soon grew very crowded. The display and classified advertising departments took shape. Anne Creskey remembers that the first paid subscriber to phone in his order was columnist and later lobbyist Sean Moore who was one of the co-founders of the *Lobby Monitor*.

Every newsroom has its own pulse. How bland, usually messy, office spaces full of desks and computers, typewriters in the old days, can be so endowed with tempered passion might be a mystery to anyone who hasn't worked in one. If you have worked in a newsroom in any decent paper you will know what I'm trying to say.

The new *Hill Times* newsroom opened in August of 1989 to the paper's first full-time journalist, Kate Malloy.

Former *Globe and Mail* national editor and Carleton University journalism school prof, Murray Goldblatt, recommended Kate for the job. Never in my life was I ever given better hiring advice.

Today, if you know anything about the Government of Canada, you know *The Hill Times* and you know Kate Malloy. You might also know that she is now one of the most experienced journalists in the Parliamentary Press Gallery. But maybe you don't know that because Kate is also one of the most humble members of the gallery.

She doesn't rub it in anyone's face that she knows more about politics and the ever-changing parade of political actors than the Centre Block gargoyles. It's not her style.

Thanks to Kate, the paper rapidly grew larger, smarter, and deeper in every respect. She took over as editor in 1999, and is still growing the paper.



Ross Dickson, Anne Marie Creskey, and Jim Creskey: 'The old cafeteria in the basement of the National Research Council's Beaux-Arts building on Sussex Drive holds a special place in my memory. For me, it was the birthplace, in the spring of 1989, of *The Hill Times*.' *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

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THE HILL TIMES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

FEATURE PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Newspapers have never been about the paper they were printed on

People working in and around Parliament, government, and federal politics make up one big community, and *The Hill Times* helps bring them together.

By ANNE MARIE CRESKEY

These days, everywhere you look there are doom-and-gloom stories about the news media: declining ad revenue, century-old dailies closing, independents being bought

up by the chains only to see them squeezed and flipped. Just weeks ago, Postmedia announced its plans to buy up the Sun's English newspapers.

So amid all the confusion and two global recessions, how did Hill Times Publishing

Inc. grow from a single newspaper into a multi-media company with two influential weekly newspapers, a quarterly magazine and five daily news websites?

The Hill Times, which began publication in 1989, tends to define its history by governments: Mulroney, Campbell, Chrétien, Martin, and Harper. By the time the Mulroney government was replaced by the Chrétien government, the paper was already well-established.

But winning some political savvy didn't come about overnight. The in-depth political and policy stories that are so important to us now hadn't begun to emerge—but the Parliament-as-small-town stories like this one in our very first issue were off and running.

'Fast food on The Hill: Is it fast enough'



Not a story that would rock political foundations. The reporter quotes staffers who can make it down to the cafeteria and back with a cup of coffee in under a minute and quotes Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson, who was director of communications to then House Speaker John Fraser, and who said his favorite meal was the smoked meat sandwich.

I heard that some Hill journalists were amused at this type of coverage at the time, thinking the cafeteria was as far from being a political hot spot as Parliament Hill's steam plant.

But just a few years later, food served on the Hill did take centre stage. When some notoriety arose about the price of subsidized dining on the Hill, all of a sudden covering what politicians ate became a hot news item for the Parliamentary Press Gallery. As it turned out, the steam plant would also become a story of tragic interest when a boiler exploded killing a Public Works employee and the department was charged with labour code violations.

Gotcha...or not



In this *Hill Times* cartoon by Pete Zazaluk, you can see a ravenous journalist hoping an MP will choose the lobster, hungry for another story about the supposed fat-cat lifestyle of Canadian politicians.

By getting to know the people in our community—everyone—from the politicians to the cafeteria staff—*Hill Times* reporters over the years have built relationships and trust. Gotcha wasn't part of the equation. And relationships of mutual trust

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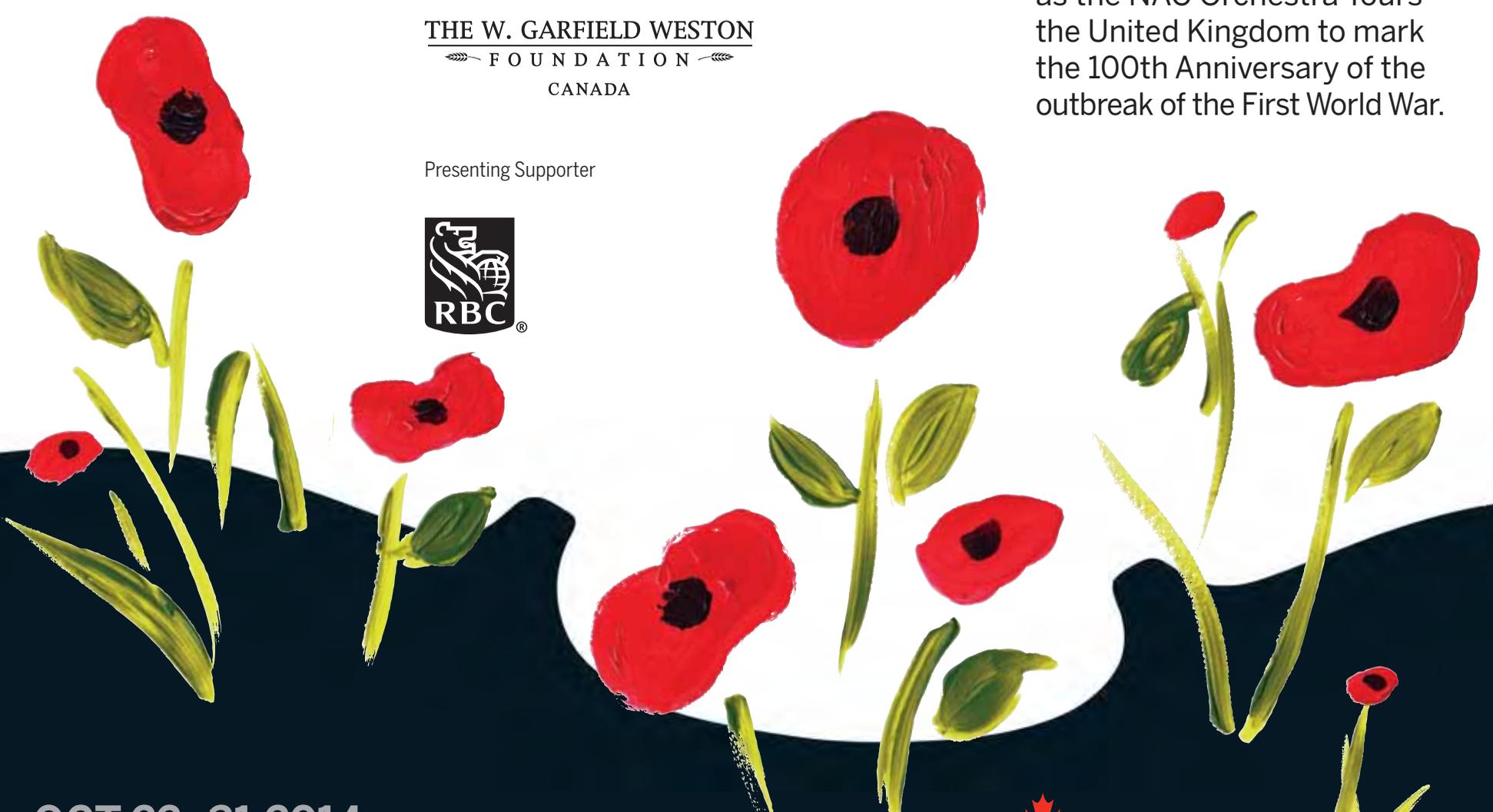
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THE HILL TIMES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

FEATURE EDITOR'S NOTE

We've still got soul, 25 years later

It's a 24-hour news environment now on the Hill, and we've adapted by adding daily reporting to our mix, but our focus remains on our beats and on respecting our sophisticated readers.



KATE MALLOY

The first issue of *The Hill Times* was published on Oct. 5, 1989. It was 12 pages and it wasn't pretty. On the front page, we ran a big picture of King Hussein and his wife Queen Noor of Jordan, who would be visiting Ottawa the following week. King Hussein would address a joint session of Parliament in the House of Commons. The other option was a deadly boring picture of

the new lobbyists registrar, John Armstrong, in his office. But it was out of focus, mostly wall and hardly any Armstrong at all.

We also ran a front-page story about the new Lobbyists Registry as well as a story on all the cafeterias on the Hill, headlined, "Fast food on the Hill: Is it fast enough?" Jim Watson, Ian Perkins, and Lisa Stilborn were interviewed for the story.

Inside, we ran an editorial, an editorial cartoon, a streeter with MPs, a story about finance minister Michael Wilson hosting the CBC Radio Ottawa Morning show, a column, a story about Parliament Hill recycling, a story about how VIA Rail cuts affected MPs, a story about an elected Senate, a story about how some 2,000 RCMP officers had signed up through the Department of Foreign Affairs to monitor the historical transition of Namibia's independence from South Africa. Not bad.

Hill Times owners Jim Creskey and Ross Dickson, both Quebec community newspaper veterans, had a strong vision for their new paper. They wanted to cover Parliament Hill like a community, like *Roll Call* covers Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C., and they were passionate about it. They still are today.

We ran the paper out of two rooms, a living room and a dining room, in a charming old house in Centretown. In those days, the paper came out on Thursdays, not Mondays, and we worked into the wee hours of the morning to get it out. We had a light table and used exacto knives to splice in pictures, stories, headlines,

and line tape and waxing machines to glue it all together before we shipped the whole thing off to the printing press. Jim would come in from his job at the *Ottawa Sun* to help edit and lay out the paper. Ross, who was also running his family-owned *Shawville Equity* newspaper in Shawville, Que., was always there to help. Jim's wife, Anne, sold classified ads and did all the other administrative work. We had one sales representative.

But we quickly outgrew our small office and moved to the current one on Sparks Street, a former dance studio and a gym. We have two walls of mirrors in our newsroom. Not everyone can say that.

As we got closer to the action, we also got better at what we did. Jim left his job to commit full-time to *The Hill Times* and as the paper grew, so did our beats and our newsroom. We expanded our beat to cover the federal government and federal politics and broke even more stories every week. And over the years, we've broken a great number of exclusive and important stories. We also try to run as many exclusive articles every week as possible.

Today, there's more competition, and everyone's covering politics with more depth. But we keep digging deeper. Technology has hastened the almost inhumane pace of the news cycle, but we try to keep a long view in order to offer exclusive and smart angles that will stand up for a week or more.

We have a friendly, talented newsroom with hard-working reporters and photographers who work a lot of late nights.

We also have a lot of people behind the scenes who are a big part of *The Hill Times*: a crack production team, a receptionist who helps proof pages, a savvy display sales team, headed by Don Turner, a great subscription team, and so many others. Jim and Ross have also grown their company. Jim's daughter, Anne Marie, who started helping out at *The Hill Times* when she was 14 years old, is now one of the publishers. And today, Hill Times Publishing Inc. includes *Embassy* newsweekly as well as online services *The Lobby Monitor*, *The Wire Report* and *Parliament Now*. We share our newsroom with *Embassy* reporters and editors and often have some wild and woolly conversations.

It's a 24-hour news environment now on the Hill, and we've adapted by adding daily reporting to our mix, but our focus remains on our beats and on respecting our sophisticated readers. We push for more transparency in government, Parliament, and politics, a stronger democratic process, clearer campaign and elections laws, and a stronger Parliament. But we don't overlook some of the lighter moments on the Hill, and we make sure to have fun putting our paper out every week. We have soul and we care deeply about our beats. We want to do even better over the next 25 years. We hope that, after 25 years, you still feel the same way about reading it.

Kate Malloy is editor of *The Hill Times*.
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THE HILL TIMES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

FEATURE PUBLISHER'S STORY

Relationships inside our newspaper mean something, same goes for our reporting

Continued from page 27

She ardently believes that a newsroom has to get more in-depth and better resourced from year to year. It's a point she is only too happy to argue with the publishers and there's little flexibility in that position. I'm usually glad there's not.

Even as *The Hill Times* grew larger with an expanding base of digital subscribers in Ottawa and across the country, it worked to hold onto its respect for the people it covered. Relationships inside our paper mean something and the same goes for our reporting on the federal government community. We watched and thought it important to note the way that MPs treated each other in and out of their caucuses, how MPs treated staffers, and how staffers and public servants got on with each other.

I am not talking about theatrical partisan posturing or superficial politeness.

Does this sound like an oxymoron today—personal respect in the federal government? But a touch of gratitude for the fact that this often-stumbling democracy does frequently achieve great things saves the day.

Two of those great things from the pages of *The Hill Times* were the appearance of Nelson Mandela before a joint session of the Commons and Senate and Jean Chrétien's refusal to send Canadian troops to the invasion of Iraq.

Mandela's visit to Canada was the first he made after his release from prison. It was a well-deserved thank you to Brian Mulroney and his foreign minister Joe Clark for their leading role in marginalizing South African apartheid.

Jean Chrétien's simple "no" to George W. Bush was perhaps along the lines of the Obama dictum, "Don't do stupid things." But the Iraq war, we now know, was worse than stupid. It was tragic and the tragedy still plays out every day.

I'm also lucky enough—and old enough—to have been working as a journalist at what was probably the most important Canadian political event of my lifetime. It took place seven years before the first issue of *The Hill Times*. I didn't get to put that on the record in this paper. I'll do it now.

It was April 17, 1982. The week before I had taken out a Parliamentary Press Gallery temporary pass, and covered Queen Elizabeth's signing of Canada's repatriated Constitution and Charter of Rights.

Holding a plastic bag over my camera to keep it dry, I stood in the rain watching prime minister Pierre Trudeau, justice minister Jean Chrétien, and the Queen as they sat around a table on a raised, open-fronted pavilion that was set up on Parliament Hill.

Chrétien appeared expectant. Trudeau looked gleeful. And the Queen was stoic. Actually, she seemed miserable at times and understandably because it was an uncomfortable rainy day. We later heard that the actual document she signed got smudged by the rain.

I imagine if today's *Hill Times* covered that story there would be a wealth of information about the testy federal-provincial negotiations that led to the repatriation, the opposition party positions as well as the role of key staffers and public servants in bringing the thing together. Columnists would pick it apart trying to find out what Margaret Thatcher thought about it and see if they could figure out how a bold new Charter of Rights would work in Canada's

old colonial common law arrangement. And, of course, partisan spin-doctors would give their party lines; some of them complaining that it would never work at all.

Mostly, I think that *The Hill Times* would try to give to the people inside government a sense of how this momentous Canadian event played out in their own community.

Maybe another event like that will roll around for me, say Canada hosting a signing of documents that would bring about nuclear disarmament. I'm sure you can think of other possibilities.

And when great things—and not so great things—happen, the job of *The Hill Times*

will be to follow it carefully from the inside of the government community just as Kate Malloy's newsroom has done for 25 years.

To this day I take it as the highest compliment when a politician or public servant tells me that he or she has learned something about the federal government they really needed to know because they read it inside *The Hill Times*.

Sometimes this isn't exactly a happy discovery, as when then prime minister Jean Chrétien learned by reading *The Hill Times* the list of who supported Paul Martin for leader. There are the times when a Canadian diplomat who was posted abroad tells me she has learned the key points of the internal

shuffles and upheavals in her own department from the news pages of *Embassy*.

And if I had a dime for every time I was told that without the unassuming but authoritative Hill Climbers column, Parliament Hill would be far less of an open community, well, it would cover my tab at the Bridgehead coffee shop for years to come.

In the end, all good newspapers, even the great international ones, are about community, probing it, calling it out of the shadows, and, I am certain, respecting it.

Jim Creskey is The Hill Times co-founder, he also writes a regular column for Embassy.

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THE HILL TIMES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

PHOTOGRAPHS

In the end, it's all about the people

The Hill Times has been covering the Hill since 1989 and has captured thousands of memorable moments in Canadian federal political history. In the end, it's the people who lead politics and influence our world. We try to capture those moments and report on the people and events that shape federal politics, government, and Parliament Hill. The Hill Times photographs by Jake Wright, Cynthia Munster, Jim Creskey, and Kate Malloy



Harper, Duceppe, Martin, and Layton.



Nelson Mandela, Brian Mulroney.



Jean Boudrias.



Jean Chrétien.



Eddie Goldenberg, centre.



Allan MacEachen.



Kim Campbell.



Pamela Wallin.



House security.



Then Quebec premier Jean Charest.



Pierre Trudeau.



Martin, Bush.



John Gomery and Stephen Harper.



Stockwell Day and actor Scott Thompson.



Rick Mercer and Deb Grey.



Olivia Chow and Jack Layton.



Peter Milliken and Andrew Scheer.



Don Boudria.



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Alfonso Gagliano, John Fraser.



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Duceppe, Harper, and Layton.



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Jim Flaherty.



Gary Lunn.



Rona Ambrose.



Abbas Rana and Keith Martin.



Reg Alcock.



Gary Lunn and John Baird.



Bob Rae.



Alfonso Gagliano.



Rick Hillier.



Arnold Schwarzenegger.



Louise Arbour.



Peter Stoffer.



Stephen Harper and Barack Obama.



Peter MacKay and Stephen Harper.



John Turner.



Michael Ignatieff.



Don Oliver and George Baker.



Michael Ignatieff.



Bob Fife and Richard Brennan.



Gerry Ritz.



Denis Coderre, Emmanuelle Latraverse.



Clement, Stronach, and Lunn.



Julie Couillard, Maxime Bernier.



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John Baird.



Brian Mulroney at the 1993 leadership.

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THE HILL TIMES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

FEATURE MPs

Politics was friendlier, more exciting back in 1980s, say former and current MPs

Bloc MP Louis Plamondon says he regrets that the position of MP has lost its 'prestige.'

Continued from page 26

is a good element of that today. Maybe not quite as much," said Mr. Boudria.

MP offices at the time were stocked with IBM typewriters and large, loud and slow printing machines, said Mr. Boudria, and MPs were still supplied with dictating machines to write letters.

Mr. Boudria, who first arrived on the Hill as a busboy in 1966, said even in the 1980s MPs were lamenting the practice of reading responses or statements in the House. "It may be worse now," he said, "but not by much."

Ms. Copps said individual ministers would announce major initiatives on behalf of their departments meaning that policies became associated with them, whereas today she said the Prime Minister makes most announcements.

Former NDP MP Lorne Nystrom, who was first elected as a Saskatchewan MP in 1968 and sat in the House for 32 years—though not continuously, having spent about four years away after being defeated in the 1993 election—said the late 1980s were "very exciting times."

"It wasn't as partisan in the petty sense of the word. You have some of that, obviously, but not as much as I see today and not as personal as I see today," said Mr. Nystrom.

For example, prime minister Mulroney swore two members of the opposition into the Privy Council, Mr. Nystrom included, and he was even invited to a meeting of about five or six Cabinet ministers in the late 1980s to weigh in on the Meech Lake Accord.



Pictured top left, Liberal MP Jean-Robert Gauthier and PC MP Stan Darling; NDP MP Phil Edmonston and NDP MP Jim Fulton; foreign affairs minister Barbara McDougall and Ellen Fairclough; former Liberal MP Bob Kaplan, lower left; NDP MPs Svend Robinson, Nelson Riis, Mr. Gauthier and PC Gilbert Bernier (Maxime's father); and then government House leader Harvie Andre. The pace was slower and political parties mixed more. *The Hill Times* photographs by Kate Malloy

"They wanted advice on what could be done to make the measure more acceptable [to Manitoba]," he said.

"I think in those days it was more trusting. Probably more friendships developed in those days. I don't think any of us were worried about little slip-ups and gotcha-type things, and I don't think the press would have reported as much of that," he said.

Mr. Nystrom said he noticed a "big change" in the atmosphere of the Hill when he was re-elected in 1997, after about four years away, with the introduction of the regionally based Bloc Québécois and Reform parties.

"There seemed to be a really big change, there was less friendship," he said.

Ms. Copps said the introduction of these parties to the House Chamber created more potential for "wedge politics."

The Bloc Québécois was founded in 1990. The Reform Party, with its roots in Alberta, first arrived on the Hill in 1989 with the election of Deborah Grey. When it won more seats, led by Preston Manning in 1993, the party focused on reforming Hill perks like the Parliamentary Restaurant and other things deemed superfluous entitlements.

Former Progressive Conservative Cabinet minister Perrin Beatty, who was first elected as the MP for the old riding of Wellington-Grey-Dufferin-Waterloo, Ont., in 1972 and sat until 1993, said in the late 1980s there was a feeling of being a member of a "private club that was very exclusive," which he said created a sense of obligation to respect and protect the rules and Parliament itself as an institution.

"The first telephone call that I would return [as a minister] would be a call from a member of the opposition," said Mr. Beatty,

who is now president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Beatty said there was less party control over individual MPs when he was on the Hill. Mr. Mulroney put a "very high priority" on listening to and meeting with caucus, especially the backbenchers, and there was a feeling that debate in the House "genuinely meant something," he said.

Louis Plamondon, the Bloc Québécois MP for Bas-Richelieu-Nicolet-Bécancour, Que., who at 31 years and running, is the longest serving MP currently in the House, making him dean of the House of Commons, said life on the Hill in the 1980s was just as busy as it is now because there were fewer technological tools. Mr. Plamondon was first elected as a Progressive Conservative in 1984, but left the party and later crossed the floor when Lucien Bouchard formed the Bloc Québécois in May 1990, along with Nic Leblanc, Benoît Tremblay, Gilbert Chartrand, and Gilles Duceppe.

"Now we are busy because we have too much technology. You have your Facebook, Twitter—communication is more easy," said Mr. Plamondon, who recalled stopping to use payphones to check in with his office while he was travelling on the road and the slow 'tuk, tuk, tuk' of the old printing machines.

Mr. Plamondon said everything used to go through an MP's office before associations like the regional Economic Development Agencies were created in the late 1980s, and MPs had more "liberty" to speak in the House.

Mr. Plamondon said when he left the government caucus in 1990 over the government's suggested changes to the Meech Lake Accord, his relationships with many former caucus members turned "cold," and were reduced to hallway greetings, but he said generally relationships between and MPs, and even with the press, were very "friendly," "trusting" and "respectful."

"There was a big, friendly relation because they had the press house with the big bar, a pool table, a beautiful dining room," said Mr. Plamondon.

Now, he said each party caucus is "alone." For his part, he said he regrets that the position of MP has lost "prestige" and "respect" among the general population.

lryckewaert@hilltimes.com
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THE HILL TIMES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

FEATURE PUBLISHER'S NOTE

We're using new tools in a changing business model

Continued from page 28

and respect help to break the important stories that shape our political landscape.

While Ottawa is not the dangerous and sinister world of the Washington, D.C., portrayed in Netflix's blockbuster hit, *House of Cards*, tough decisions are made that affect the everyday lives of all Canadians and, on the inside, careers are ended and enemies made. Chronicling the careers of our readers can be illuminating.

The Whistleblowers

This year, *The Hill Times* published a series called, The Whistleblowers. The series, which ran over several weeks and is now available as an e-download, tells the stories of not only the corruption that they were compelled to expose, but also explores the consequences on their personal lives, their families and their health. It also examines what, if any, changes have been put into place to protect those who speak out and explores



THE WHISTLEBLOWERS

Get the complete whistleblower series from our website

if these changes will really help the next generation of public servants who blow the whistle.

A lot of the cynicism directed toward politicians and the news media covering politics is that we seldom rise above reporting on sensational news and vicious, partisan fighting.

Power and Influence

If we were expecting partisan rhetoric from Transport Minister Lisa Raitt when we interviewed her for our cover story of that *Power & Influence* magazine in December of 2013, we were wrong.

When our reporter and photographer arrived at her office early on a Monday morning, Raitt said she had her copy of *The Hill Times* in her briefing binder and was quizzing her director of communications and our reporter, not about an article in the paper, but about the content of an ad running in that week's issue discussing the governments rail safety legislation. She had taken over the Transport file not long after the Lac-Mégantic disaster.

At the time we did the interview, the Senate expense scandal was continuing to grow, police were investigating Senators Mike Duffy and Pamela Wallin, and the Conservative talking points on the Senate were even more critical than usual.

But Raitt, who has more than once been voted the most approachable Cabinet minister in *The Hill Times*' All Politics poll, chose not to use the Conservative Party spin on the controversy by demonizing the Senate. She talked about the importance of Senate work, how she found appearing before Senate committees intellectually stimulating, and how she got serious questions from both political parties coming at an issue from many different angles. The Senate committee, she said, was really trying to figure out if the bill made sense and was good for Canada.

Covering federal politics in this age means using new tools in a changing business model. The stress that the news industry is under is a very real thing. Like any industry in a state of change, we have to be evaluating how we're working, experimenting with new ways of doing things, and communicating to our subscribers and advertisers in new ways.

But the heart of our journalism remains very similar to when we timed a smoked meat sandwich on the Hill. People working in and around Parliament, government, and federal politics make up one big



Power & Influence magazine is now a quarterly and sold across Canada.

community, and *The Hill Times* helps bring them together.

The Hill Times covers news that impacts their careers, stories of their own daily struggles, and how they arrive at their decisions. This is the heart of our business. And no matter how many new apps are created, it doesn't change the fact that newspapers have never been about the paper they were printed on, but about news and community.

Anne Marie Creskey is one of the publishers at *Hill Times Publishing Inc.*
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The Hill Times

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THE HILL TIMES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

HILL LIFE & PEOPLE PARTIES



Party like it's 1990: Newfoundland Tory MP Ross Reid and deputy prime minister Don Mazankowski, pictured at a Wonderful Wednesday party, some time between 1988 and 1993 on the Hill. *The Hill Times* file photograph

MPs, staffers reflect on 'off the record' party days

Party Central explores how political events on and off the Hill have changed over the last 25 years.

RACHEL AIELLO

In 1989 on Parliament Hill, people worked hard and partied harder. Although that may be a classification that may not have changed over the last 25 years, much has, from the closing of the popular political watering hole, the National Press Club, as the destination for all stripes, to the decline in off-the-record conversations that came with the introduction of BlackBerries to the Hill.

"It was constant, there was always something going on... it's a bit of a blur. Somebody was always hosting something," said **Tom Van Dusen**, who worked for **Don Mazankowski**, prime minister **Brian Mulroney's** deputy prime minister after Mr. Mulroney won his massive majority government in 1984. At that time, he said a lot of the socializing, often between political opponents, took place within the Parliamentary Precinct, in committee rooms, at the Press Club and at the now closed bar Yesterday's on Sparks Street.

"It was an enjoyable period of life for me and I'm sure for others who worked either on the political

side or in journalism back at that time," said **Justin de Beaucamp**, who worked as a press secretary and senior communications adviser throughout the Progressive Conservative ministerial caucus, between 1984 and 1993, including in Mr. Mulroney's PMO.

"The free flow on both sides was more open at that point... those hosts of parties and the National Press Club back in the day were part and parcel of this informal exchange that went on at that time, and its greater understanding, and perhaps even appreciation for the work of both sides of the political journalistic coin in this town," he said in an interview with *The Hill Times*.

The Best Parties:

Some of the big parties at the time were "Wonderful Wednesdays" on the Hill. The Liberals started the weekly parties back when Pierre Trudeau was prime minister, but the federal Progressive Conservatives carried on the weekly tradition.

The Conservative regional caucuses also threw monthly parties on the Hill, recalled Mr. Beaucamp. The Atlantic caucus would serve some lobster or Arctic char to compete with whatever the Western or Quebec caucuses had on their last menu. It was a time and a place for Tories to let their hair down.

"At that point, if you were a political aide on the Hill, and a hanger-on of one sort or another, you tended to travel between these particular parties over the course of the month," Mr. Beaucamp said.

Also a regular occurrence at these regional shindigs were bands playing live music, including then deputy prime minister Mr. Mazankowski who would get up and sing his favourite country music hits, including the occasional **Johnny Cash**, recalled Mr. Van Dusen.

The National Press Club:

Even today, everyone is still talking about how fun the National Press Club was back in the day. Located in the National Press Building at 150 Wellington St., the press club had a bar upstairs and a restaurant and smaller bar downstairs as well as other meeting rooms. Mr. Van Dusen said he recalls the bar as a great magnet for politicians of every stripe, as well as reporters and lobbyists. He said the press club bar was also regarded as a place where you could talk to reporters with confidence and not worry about it winding up in print or on the air the next day. But cited the beginning of "reporting off the bar" as the catalyst to the club's eventual demise.

"Because what was the point? This was supposed to be the half-way house where everyone could speak freely and frankly about a host of things and there were reporters there taking notes," he said.

As the relationships between reporters and their subjects have evolved, so too has the annual Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner. It originally started as an entirely off-the-record, boozy night, followed by a theatrical show put on by members of the press gallery in the West Block's Room 200, which was then followed by a party at the National Press Club and then followed by a bleary-eyed breakfast at the club. When then-Southam News columnist Don McGillivray, who didn't attend it, but started reporting on it over the years, by interviewing people who had, it was eventually turned into an on-the-record event and televised.

Preferred Pubs:

Alice Funke, who used to work on the Hill for the NDP, including for NDP MP **Bob Skelly**, and currently runs the website *Pundit's Guide*, said the progression of the NDP's pub crawl to find the best place to fit their changing caucus started with the Windsor Tavern, more than 25 years ago, which was torn down to build the World Exchange Plaza in the early 1990s

and featured their regular waiter "Lorne." After being uprooted from there, the hunt for their new hangout began. **Rob Sutherland**, now chief of staff to NDP Whip **Nycole Turmel**, said the GluePot was settled on as the next place to go by the time he came to the Hill in 1982. It was a favourite spot because of the pool tables, the political chatter and the bad pub food.

"The character of the groups that goes out together changes with each electoral configuration after each election," he said, adding that he doesn't go out much now saying for the "old folks" it's the way to survive.

Warren McCall, a staffer in NDP MP **Lorne Nystrom's** office from 1997-99, remembers hanging out at the Mayflower Pub on Elgin Street at that time, but when the party boosted its seat count, the small Mayflower Pub no longer fit the bill.

Today, NDP staffers and MPs hang out at Brixton's on Sparks Street, which opened about 14 years ago. It was Brixton's server **Julie McCarthy** who sealed the deal for NDPers.

"By the second week, she knew what each of us drank and half of our names and we just felt at home, and that was it," said **Jerry Toews**, the person credited with making Brixton's an NDP hangout back in 2004 when he worked for NDP MP **Nathan Cullen**. Mr. Toews now works for the Union of Healthcare Professionals in Alberta.

As for the Liberals, they have remained faithful to D'Arcy McGee's since it opened in 1996. Liberal MP **Rodger Cuzner**, who was first elected 15 years ago, recalls it being the place they'd all file into after an event on the Hill, but said it wasn't uncommon to also see a crew of Tories there as well, including **Monte Solberg** and **James Rajotte**.

For some reason, there was a mass exodus of Conservatives from the mixed-party mainstays like D'Arcy's. By all accounts, the former federal Progressive Conservative government didn't have restrictions on who MPs' drinking buddies were, but it seems the current Conservatives have tightened up the number of safe spaces for their MPs to socialize after hours. Looking to find them now? Head down to Hy's, which opened in 1985, or the Métropolitain Brasserie, which opened in 2005.

Hall Parties, Drinking Games and Burns Nights:

Conservative MP **Peter Goldring's** recalled when he first came to the Hill in 1997, there was a group of "younger fellers" in the Reform Party who hosted lots of parties **Rob Anders**, **Rahim Jaffer** and **Ezra Levant**.

Ms. Funke also recalled a drinking game that the Canadian Press staff used to play at the horseshoe-shaped bar in Yesterday's on Sparks Street, called "bird" or "birding" and had to do with the serial numbers on bills.

Other former staffers remember some parties on the Hill in various meeting rooms going late into the night, until security suggested things be moved elsewhere, including NDP keg hall parties ahead of a long weekend in the Confederation Building and the "Burns Nights" hosted by NDP MP **Bill Blaikie**, which was a nod to **Robbie Burns**, including scotch drinking and haggis stabbing. "Anytime you get somebody the size of Bill Blaikie in a kilt and playing the bagpipes that's a good time in and of itself," said Mr. McCall.

The Partisan Divide:

Nearly everyone *The Hill Times* talked to agreed that the level of partisanship on the Hill has also been amplified over the last quarter-century.

Mr. Van Dusen said hostility was rare both off and on the Hill, among various party members back when Mr. Mulroney was in power, 1984-1993. "It's not what it used to be, it was not unusual for me to walk into Maz's [Mazankowski] office and **Jean Chretien** would be slumped over in one of Maz's chairs, his leg draped over the arm of the chair sort of lounging around."

Leonard Kuchar, chief of staff of the Senate Liberal Leader **James Cowan**, said socializing in the Senate has been less prominent overall and, in 1989, he said some Senators still shared offices and staff, but he's still noticed that things are definitely more partisan than they were 25 years ago.

"Twenty-five years ago, people were your opponent, they weren't your enemy. You were out to beat them; you weren't out to destroy them. And that is the fundamental difference," said Mr. Kuchar.

There was lots of talk about the decline in camaraderie, especially so in the latter half of the last 25 years, but even still all sides are able to come together in times of crises or great loss, as seen recently with the shooting on the Hill, and when **Jim Flaherty** died, because as Mr. Toews put it, "even though you come from different points of view, you're doing the same work so there is a level of understanding of each other no matter what party you're with."

Now, each party generally keeps their socializing among party friendlies, with each political affiliation only regularly hanging out with people of the same view, which NDP MP Peter Stoffer, the founder of the All-Party Party calls "unfortunate."

"I understand that we have political differences. We shouldn't have social differences. But we do," he said in an interview with *The Hill Times*.

Both Mr. Cuzner and Mr. Stoffer feel that the introduction of BlackBerries and iPhones, with their photo-taking, recording and social media connections, has led to many politicians feeling more guarded at social events.

"I think it's so disruptive because everything you say and do can and will be used against you in the court of public opinion," said Mr. Stoffer.

raielo@hilltimes.com



Financial Sector

THE HILL TIMES POLICY BRIEFING

NOVEMBER 3, 2014

CETA

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FINANCIAL SECTOR POLICY BRIEFING

CETA

Canada-EU trade deal's impact won't stretch to financial sector

The Canada-European Union trade deal, considered one of the most comprehensive international agreements ever, will have little effect on the financial sectors on either side of the Atlantic, experts say.

By DENIS CALNAN

The Canada-European Union trade deal, considered one of the most comprehensive international agreements ever, will have little effect on the financial sectors on either side of the Atlantic, experts say.

The final text of the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) was released at the end of September, after about five years of negotiations. It is considered Canada's most significant economic arrangement since the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and addresses sectors and industries not normally included in trade agreements.

Curiously, though, as Canadians in many industries analyze how CETA will affect them, the financial sector will experience little to no change, according to experts picking through the deal.

"I don't think the CETA is going to change the way that Canada regulates the financial services industry," said Debra Steger, a professor of law at the University of Ottawa who worked at the World Trade Organization (WTO) for 20 years and is a senior fellow with the Centre for International Governance Innovation.

CETA has a distinct chapter on the financial services sector, which seems to safeguard the industry for both sides, she said, "because it is recognized as a special industry."

"I think generally it probably won't affect it much," agreed Patrick Leblond, associate professor at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa.

"As a result of the financial crisis, of course, regulation is being tightened," said Prof. Leblond, "both in Canada and in Europe."

What the agreement does, according to Tony VanDuzer, a professor in the common law section at the University of Ottawa and a past chair of the Centre for Trade Policy and Law's advisory board, is guarantee no new restrictions will be put in place.

"Any sort of impediments for foreign institutions to set up shop here are, I think, going to be largely maintained," said Prof. VanDuzer.

In terms of financial institutions expanding, Prof. Leblond said a lot of banks have reduced international ambitions because governments tightened regulations after the 2008 financial crisis. CETA will not play any part in determining whether Canadian or European institutions want to expand to other countries or not, he said.

"Those [European institutions] that have wanted to develop the Canadian market, they have already done so," said Prof. Leblond.

Canada's system of big and strong financial institutions means it would be difficult for European institutions to gain ground here.

"The Canadian system is not an easy system to penetrate, that's for sure," he said.

Prof. VanDuzer said CETA's financial services chapter provides a degree of cer-

ainty and predictability about the financial sector's regulatory scheme.

"It won't be made more restrictive and there won't be additional limitations put on market access or financial institutions from Europe. So in that respect, that may encourage a certain amount of investment from the financial sector," said Prof. VanDuzer.

One reason CETA doesn't interfere with the sector is its central importance to the economy; governments want to maintain the means to influence the sector enough in case of economic challenges, he said.

"Financial sector institutions have to be regulated fairly carefully, in terms of things like capital adequacy, to ensure that they continue to be solvent and that the interests of depositors and other stakeholders in the financial sector are protected. So it's not a scheme of regulation that one wants to jeopardize by particular kinds of commitments, as compared to some other sectors in the industrial economy, where the maintenance of particular standards in the businesses is not as important as it is in the financial services sector," said Prof. VanDuzer.

While Canada weathered the 2008 meltdown relatively well compared to other economies, the European economy has had a much rougher ride and was plagued by bailouts of the Greek and Irish economies.

Prof. VanDuzer said one of the main criticisms is that CETA opens the sector up to "potential investor-state claims, in a way that's broader than NAFTA," potentially limiting government intervention. The worry is that the government could be subject to these claims if it interferes in the sector during a possible financial crisis.

"I'm not sure it's a serious concern," said Prof. VanDuzer, pointing to the "prudential measures" in the financial sector chapter.

Prof. Steger agreed.

"It's important to understand, for example, that investor-state dispute settlement is not available for all of the types of investment obligations that you would typically find investor-state arbitration available for in bilateral investment treaties, or indeed, in the investment chapter of the CETA. So that's important," said Prof. Steger.

This demonstrates that financial services is a special sector being treated differently in the deal from others, she said, pointing to a broad exception for the sector.

Prof. Steger said that if the government feels it needs to be involved with something in the economy, during a crisis or not, the ability to do so is still there.

"The only type of dispute settlement there could be [...] is state-to-state, i.e. the other party would have to sue. And what are the chances of that happening. I think it would be pretty remote," said Prof. Steger.

Even if a state does claim damage, the process to do so is so politicized, she said, that it is likely to be thrown out, highlighting the great importance regulation has been given in the agreement.

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FIPA



International Trade Minister Ed Fast, pictured in this file photo. Critics say the FIPA gives state-owned Chinese companies too much access to Canadian mining and energy resources. The Canadian government highlights the booming Chinese economy as an enormous opportunity for Canadian businesses. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

Analysts say FIPA is an 'incremental step' in protecting foreign investment

By DENIS CALNAN

Some analysts of the Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (FIPA), which Canada signed with China and came into force Oct. 1, say the deal is an incremental step in protecting foreign investment in the financial institution sector in each of the countries.

Canada has 27 FIPAs currently in law and "is in active negotiations with 13 others," according to the government, which describes the agreements as "part of the expanding global network of bilateral investment treaties" that protect Canadian investment elsewhere and foreign investment here.

"The FIPA doesn't have provisions specifically addressing financial sector investment," said Tony VanDuzer, a professor in the common law section at the University of Ottawa and a past chair of the Centre for Trade Policy and Law's advisory board.

"[It] deals in a fairly narrow way with investment. And what it does is it provides commitments, both by China and by Canada, to provide certain protections to investors," said Prof. VanDuzer.

He said there is not much in the agreement on the financial services sector in particular and therefore it is "a little harder to predict" how details of the agreement will play out over the coming years.

Much of the criticism of the deal is about resources. Critics say the FIPA gives state-owned Chinese companies too much access to Canadian mining and energy resources. The Canadian government highlights the booming Chinese economy as an enormous opportunity for Canadian businesses.

"The basic goal of the treaty is to provide some governance standards for the treatment of foreign investors and to provide the conditions in which investment will be encouraged. It's not intended to change the regulatory scheme, it's not intended to in any way radically alter the existing conditions under which investment takes place, but rather to provide, in a sort of prospective, forward-looking way, for the protection of investors' interest," said Prof. VanDuzer.

Debra Steger, a law professor at the University of Ottawa who worked at the WTO for 20 years and is a senior fellow with the Centre for International Governance Innovation, agrees with Prof. VanDuzer in that regard.

"There is no right of establishment in the FIPA," said Prof. Steger, noting that it is a very bare-bones agreement without the wide-ranging inclusion of several industries, and does not have a specific chapter on the financial services sector.

"There's no right on either side to invest in companies of the other country; there's no market access [guarantee]," said Prof. Steger.

"One of the things about this agreement is it doesn't create commitments to allow foreign investors into the country," said Prof. VanDuzer, emphasizing that the benefits of the agreement will be seen only after companies are established in the other market.

"Both Canada and China have retained their domestic policy with respect to entry, and the obligations only kick in once an investor is actually in the country," he said.

"The incentive that that creates is if you're a Canadian bank and you're looking at China, if you manage to get a banking license to operate and you set up there, you would benefit from these protections, but there's nothing in the agreement that commits China to open up its market to Canadian banks and insurance companies, securities dealers or anybody else," said Prof. VanDuzer.

Financial institutions that have a foreign strategy may look closer at China now, but those that are focused on domestic business will likely not be enticed enough by the FIPA to take that step.

"The protections are encouraging," he said, "but I'd be very surprised if there was a very significant change in investment behavior."

"These agreements, in general, only have an incremental affect on investment flows," said Prof. VanDuzer.

"It's still an important agreement in some respects, in that it prevents a rolling back or policies from being arbitrarily changed for the worse," said Prof. Steger.

The language surrounding the protection of financial services institutions is similar to that of the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) Canada signed with the European Union, she said.

"The language is really very similar. It kind of looks like Canada might have held the pen in both of these agreements," said Prof. Steger.

She said the agreement specifically exempts both countries' investment review processes from being the subject of an investor-state arbitration.

"Clearly both countries in the Canada-China FIPA can intend to continue with their investment review processes and don't intend to change anything in the way we do anything in that respect," said Prof. Steger.

"The treaty itself will only have a very modest, incremental impact on business decision making. In some ways the impact of one of these things, especially a treaty like this, that has a lot of press, may be more symbolic than anything," said Prof. VanDuzer.

The Hill Times

FINANCIAL SECTOR POLICY BRIEFING

SMALL BUSINESS JOB CREDIT

Finance Minister Joe Oliver, pictured last week on Parliament Hill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Steve Gerecke

Small Business Job Credit a sticking point for opposition parties in budget implementation bill

The government's inclusion of a Small Business Job Credit in Bill C-43, the federal government's latest omnibus budget implementation bill, is dominating the conversation when it comes to the explicitly fiscal matters in the expansive legislation.

RACHEL AIELLO

The government's inclusion of a Small Business Job Credit in Bill C-43, the federal government's latest omnibus budget implementation bill, is dominating the conversation when it comes to the explicitly fiscal matters in the expansive legislation.

The Economic Action Plan 2014 Act, No. 2 is the second bill to implement provisions of the 2014 budget that was tabled Feb. 11. The job credit would amend the Employment Insurance Act to lower employment insurance (EI) premiums for small businesses by

cutting payroll costs by 15 per cent for businesses that currently pay less than \$15,000 in EI premiums.

The government has referred to it as "hiring credit" that would help businesses save more than \$550-million, and is being celebrated by the Conservatives as a commitment to their support for "job creation and growing Canada's economy." However, critics are questioning the government's math and the measure is expected to be a point of contention in the House of Commons, as the bill is currently at second reading and is anticipated to move swiftly to committee. Senate pre-study on the bill is set to begin on Tuesday.

Opposition parties are using a report from Parliamentary Budget Officer (PBO) Denis Fréchette and his staff released on Oct. 9, called Response on the Financing of Employment Insurance and Recent Measures, that says the credit would only create 800 jobs over the two years and would cost over \$550-million to implement, or \$700,000 per job created.

"Bill C-43 offers a small EI tax cut to employers, but only if they agree to stay small. Instead of creating real jobs and growth, Bill C-43, would actually encourage

Continued on page 42

2015 BUDGET CONSULTATION

House Finance Committee Pre-Budget Hearings, Witnesses:

SEPT. 29:

- Canadian Taxpayers Federation
- Fraser Institute; Macdonald-Laurier Institute
- National Association of Federal Retirees
- University of Ottawa
- Canadian Council of Chief Executives
- Canadian Union of Public Employees
- Conference Board of Canada
- Frontier Centre for Public Policy
- Office of the Veterans Ombudsman

SEPT. 30:

- Alzheimer Society of Canada
- Indspire
- Mitacs
- Neurological Health Charities Canada
- YWCA Canada
- Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada
- Canadian Alliance of Student Associations
- Canadian Medical Association
- Canadian National Institute for the Blind
- Childcare Resource and Research Unit

OCT. 1:

- Clean Energy Canada
- Canadian Water Network
- Forest Products Association of Canada
- National Angel Capital Organization
- Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada
- Canadian Vehicle Manufacturers' Association
- Confédération des syndicats nationaux
- Downsview Aerospace Innovation and Research
- U15 - Group of Canadian Research Universities

OCT. 6:

- Canadian Doctors for Medicare
- Canadian Foundation for Healthcare Improvement
- Heart and Stroke Foundation of Canada
- Hope Air
- Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre
- Assembly of First Nations
- Canadian Federation of Students
- Centre for Drug Research and Development
- National Initiative for Eating Disorders
- Partners for Mental Health

OCT. 7:

- Canada's Research-Based Pharmaceutical Companies (Rx&D)
- Canadian Rare Earth Element Network
- Mental Health Commission of Canada
- Polytechnics Canada
- TRIUMF
- Canada Green Building Council
- Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters
- Co-operatives and Mutuals Canada
- Information Technology Association of Canada
- Société de promotion économique de Rimouski

OCT. 8:

- Canadian Airports Council
- Canadian Electricity Association
- Canadian Home Builders' Association
- Federation of Canadian Municipalities
- Large Urban Mayors' Caucus of Ontario
- Canadian Council for Public-Private Partnerships
- Canadian Life and Health Insurance Association Inc.
- KPMG
- Union of Quebec Municipalities
- Wellesley Institute

OCT. 20:

- Amalgamated Transit Union
- Canadian Parks and Recreation Association
- Canadian Urban Transit Association
- Merit Canada
- Mowat Centre
- Marcelin Joanis, department of mathematical and industrial engineering, Polytechnique Montréal
- Canadian Climate Forum
- Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities
- Tourism Industry Association of Canada

OCT. 21:

- Arthur Cockfield, professor, faculty of law, Queen's University
- Mike Moffat, assistant professor, Ivey Business School
- Brigitte Alepin, Tax Expert, Agora Fiscalité
- Jennifer Robson, assistant professor, Kroeger College, Carleton University
- Frances Woolley, professor, Associate Dean, Carleton University
- Credit Union Central of Canada
- Imagine Canada
- Investment Funds Institute of Canada
- Conference for Advanced Life Underwriting
- Institute of Marriage and Family Canada

OCT. 27:

- Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives
- Canadians for Tax Fairness
- Restaurants Canada
- Portfolio Management Association of Canada
- Tax Executives Institute, Inc.
- Gareth Kirkby
- Canadian Bankers Association
- Chartered Professional Accountants of Canada
- Deloitte
- Investment Industry Association of Canada

OCT. 28:

- Canadian Chamber of Commerce
- Canadian Federation of Independent Business
- Canadian Labour Congress
- Green Budget Coalition
- Retail Council of Canada
- cott Clark, President C.S. Clark Consulting
- Chemistry Industry Association of Canada
- Metcalf Foundation
- Quebec Employers' Council
- Startup Canada

OCT. 29:

- Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers
- Canadian Gas Association
- Canadian Intern Association
- Institut de recherche et d'informations socio-économiques
- Toronto Region Board of Trade
- Canada's Building Trades Unions
- Canadian Arts Coalition
- Futurpreneur Canada
- Monster Canada
- Solidarité rurale du Québec

FINANCIAL SECTOR POLICY BRIEFING

GLOBAL MARKETS

'Things are not bad, but they're not great'

BY DENIS CALNAN

Canadian resources and the domestic market as a whole will continue to drive Canada's financial sector as the economy slowly straightens itself out after the economic struggles of the 2000s.

Late last week, Canadian business headlines were filled with news that the Canadian Gross Domestic Product (GDP) shrank in August for the first time in several months, although, according to Statistics Canada, the "finance and insurance sector was up 0.3 per cent in August, after edging up 0.1 per cent in July." The agency notes that, "banking and financial investment services increased while insurance services declined."

"Things are not bad, but they're not great," said Patrick Leblond, associate professor at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa, a chartered accountant with expertise in business, economics and international relations.

"The Europeans are having a hard time in their recovery, the Americans too," said Prof. Leblond.

Paul Taylor, chief investment officer for asset allocation at BMO Global Asset Management, said Canada is dealing with many major world economies, including the Eurozone, Japan and China, that are all facing challenging market conditions.

"The Eurozone," said Mr. Taylor, is "flirting with a dip back into a recession. Very weak growth in the core and the periphery," he said.

"They're kind of teetering on the brink and we're waiting for more substantive action on the part of policy makers there," said Mr. Taylor.

He said "the jury is still out" on Japanese growth and China is "flirting" with dipping to its lowest growth in a long time.

"You've got three of the world's largest, most important economies—they're not terrible, they're not in recession, but they're not strong," said Mr. Taylor.

He said that of the major world economies—the U.S., the Eurozone, Japan and China—the American economy is showing the most promise right now and that is where Canadian financial institutions will focus most of their energies outside of Canada.

The relative good shape of the American economy, then, is why any significant international growth for Canadian companies in the financial services sector will happen there.

"The U.S. recovery is fairly firmly routed, the U.S. consumer is in much better shape, business is starting to spend more," said Mr. Taylor.

"[In] the U.S., all levels—consumer, business and govern-

ment—maybe not firing on all cylinders, but certainly a lot stronger," he said.

Mr. Taylor said that even though the economies of China, Japan and the Eurozone are slowing down, they may offer more than is available domestically.

"Even though their growth rates are coming down, they're still well ahead of the growth rates that we have here in Canada," said Mr. Taylor.

He said Canadian firms will "look abroad in terms of investing in their capital programs and their acquisition targets. They'll certainly look beyond our Canadian borders for opportunities in the environment that we envision, over the next 12 to 24 months anyway," said Mr. Taylor.

Prof. Leblond said that the financial companies that already have a foot in the international marketplace will continue to look internationally for growth, but the lack of robust growth in any international markets probably means corporations with no international foothold will not try to gain that any time soon.

"Probably the Canadian market will remain the dominant focus of Canadian financial institutions," said Prof. Leblond. "Except those that already have an international strategy, they will continue to be on the lookout for opportunities, but certainly I don't expect international expansion like we saw [...] in the late 1990s, 2000s up to the crisis, I don't see that."

Prof. Leblond said Canadian resources are what continue to drive growth in the financial sector here, but that sector is facing challenges of its own.

"We see now that the oil price is coming down, which could certainly affect Canada. We are already selling our oil at a discount," said Prof. Leblond, highlighting that the oilsands may not be as profitable anymore and we could see closures there.

Statistics Canada states on its website that "activities for mining and oil and gas extraction (-4.3%) also decreased in August, as a result of declines in both rigging and drilling services."

Prof. Leblond said that may drive down the Canadian dollar, which could, eventually, help exports.

"The commodities are mission-critical for us here in Canada," said Mr. Taylor.

He said BMO predicts that commodity prices will "continue to be under a bit of pressure, a bit weak-ish."

"This is just not an environment where we would envision an across-board, broad up-trend in base precious metals and energy commodity prices," said Mr. Taylor.

"The global economic backdrop is just not strong enough," he said.

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CMHC



Employment Development Minister Jason Kenney, pictured in this file photo, is the federal minister responsible for the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright

CMHC eyeing changes to finance system, mum on details

The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation is re-examining its 'role in the Canadian housing and financial markets and looking to be part of an even more resilient system,' according to the Crown corporation.

BY DENIS CALNAN

The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) is re-examining its "role in the Canadian housing and financial markets and looking to be part of an even more resilient system," according to the Crown corporation.

The CMHC advises the Canadian government on "potential improvements to our housing system" and monitors the housing finance system along with other government institutions.

In a Sept. 19 speech to the Saint James Club in Montreal, Evan Siddall, the CMHC's president and CEO, said: "In our role as an adviser to government, we are evaluating a range of ideas on future improvements to our housing finance system, including risk-sharing with lenders to further confront moral

hazard, future sandbox changes if housing markets are to become less stable, and increased capital requirements."

The *Financial Post* reported in September that the corporation was "looking at changes to mortgage default insurance that would include sharing risk with banks" and that it was "looking at a new formula to push some of its losses on to financial institutions, essentially forcing them to pay a deductible on mortgages insured with the Crown corporation before claims are paid."

Contacted about this, a spokesperson for the CMHC said it is not considering charging deductibles on financial institution mortgages insured with the Crown corporation.

A spokesperson at the corporation said in an email that it did

make changes to its mortgage insurance product offerings, including discontinuing the financing of multi-unit condominiums, which "reinforce Canada's housing finance framework."

But no one from the CMHC was available for an interview about this or any issue regarding potential changes at the corporation.

Some longtime critics of the organization, including Larry Smith, professor emeritus at the University of Toronto's department of economics, would like to see sweeping changes at the CMHC, including making it much less interventionist.

Prof. Smith, a real estate specialist, was behind a 1979 federal task force report that suggested massive changes to how the CMHC operates. The report was shelved when the government of the day fell. It was never revived and its recommendations died, according to Prof. Smith.

"It had many recommendations of how CMHC should actually cut back a lot of its activities but not be privatized. And CMHC has gone in the opposite direction and they've expanded a lot of the things that we've said they should cut back," said Prof. Smith in a phone interview from Toronto.

"Overall CMHC is in a lot of areas that it shouldn't be in, and its doing things it shouldn't be doing," said Prof. Smith.

"By and large, unless you can show that there are market imperfections that are impeding the allocation of funds to go where they normally or should go, then the question is why is the government there," he said.

The sector could need intervention if there were "excessive fluctuations," but he said it has been "pretty stable."

"Government intervention has exacerbated some of the cycles, not dampened them," he said.

Mr. Smith said a government-owned mortgage and housing corporation makes sense in desperate situations, like in developing countries, but in a wealthy country like Canada, outside of some situations on First Nations reserves, it doesn't make sense.

He said CMHC policy, in general, "stimulates demand for people to go into home ownership who maybe can't afford it. You create false expectations that they can, and then when things happen and interest rates go up, they lose their home, they lose their savings, they lose their dreams that shouldn't have been generated in the first place."

He said money spent at the CMHC on perceived social benefits could probably be better spent elsewhere in government and it should be "de-leveraging their risks." He stresses that a larger private investment insurance program would be beneficial for the market and for society in general.

As for further details about what was meant by Mr. Siddall's speech in September where he said, "we are re-examining our role in the Canadian housing and financial markets," time will tell.

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FINANCIAL SECTOR POLICY BRIEFING

ECONOMY

Canada remains an island of stability in an uncertain world

But as we have made clear, we won't be satisfied with this success.



TORY MP ANDREW SAXTON

Once we return to balanced budgets, our top priority will be to build an even stronger economy, including lowering taxes for Canadians. Canada's Economic Action Plan will continue to deliver results to Canadians, and to keep Canada prosperous.

For this financial sector policy briefing, it would only seem fitting that I talk about the financial state of Canada. With the Harper government's Economic Action Plan and its proven record of success, Canada

remains an island of stability in an uncertain world.

Our resilient economy has emerged from the depths of the recession in better shape than most. We have created nearly 1.2 million net new jobs since the depths of the downturn—overwhelmingly full-time, private sector, well-paying jobs. Canada has not only recovered all of the jobs lost in the recession, we have more people working today than at any time in our history. Those are facts to be proud of.

Real GDP in Canada is now above pre-recession levels—the best performance in the G7.

And both the IMF and the OECD expect Canada to be among the strongest growing economies in the G7 both this year and next.

Despite these remarkable achievements, we cannot afford to

be complacent. We are not immune to trouble beyond our shores.

This is why our government is advancing its Economic Action Plan, with an unwavering focus on job creation and long-term growth.

The foundation for our plan is the return to balanced budgets in 2015. This will instill confidence in our economy, helping to lower borrowing costs and attract investment at a time when many countries around the world are struggling with deficits.

We have reduced direct program spending for the fourth year in a row, the first time in at least 50 years, shrinking the size of government.

In uncertain times, we cannot—and we will not—engage in reckless new spending schemes that could lead to higher taxes, higher debt—or both.

Instead, we intend to keep taxes low, and create an even stronger business climate. According to KPMG, total business tax costs in Canada are the lowest in the G7—46 per cent lower than those in the United States.

We have delivered tax reductions to job-creating businesses—large and small—totaling more than \$60-billion from 2008–09 through 2013–14.

Furthermore, Canada has leapt from sixth to second place in Bloomberg's ranking of the most attractive destinations for business.

Minister Oliver recently announced the Small Business Job Credit, which will only strengthen this economic advantage by saving small employers more than \$550-million over 2015 and 2016. This is real money that a small business can use to help defray the cost of hiring new workers and to take advantage of emerging economic opportunities, supporting growth and job creation.

The Canadian Federation of Independent Business estimates that the Small Business Job Credit will create 25,000 person years of employment over the next few years. Dan Kelly, president of the CFIB, has concluded, "it couldn't come at a better time. CFIB's most recent business barometer found that the economy is trending up, and more small businesses are looking to expand than shrink. Measures like this reassure job creators, which can make the difference when deciding whether to hire."

This support is critical, be-

cause small businesses employ about half of the workingmen and women in Canada's private sector. They account for a third of our country's GDP. Small businesses drive our prosperity and give back to the community.

If Canada today is an economic success, it is largely because of small businesses. It's precisely why we introduced this initiative as the latest in our government's effective actions to support their efforts to create jobs and grow our economy, instead of attacking job-creators with massive tax hikes.

The success of our efforts, and our Economic Action Plan, speaks for itself.

An average family of four now pays \$3,400 less in taxes in 2014 as a result of actions taken since our government took office. With that the overall tax burden is at its lowest level in 50 years, meaning more money in the pockets of hard working Canadians.

But as we have made clear, we won't be satisfied with this success.

Once we return to balanced budgets, our top priority will be to build an even stronger economy, including lowering taxes for Canadians. Canada's Economic Action Plan will continue to deliver results to Canadians, and to keep Canada prosperous.

Conservative MP Andrew Saxton, who represents North Vancouver, B.C., is Parliamentary secretary to Finance Minister Joe Oliver.

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SLOW GROWTH ECONOMY

Feds need to take action to move Canadians out of slow-growth rut

We need creative solutions to help jumpstart Canada's economic growth in the medium and the long-term.



NDP MP NATHAN CULLEN

It has been both an insightful and enjoyable experience this fall session sitting as vice-chair of the House Standing Committee on Finance. A depth of experience has been brought forth by witnesses to the committee for pre-budget consultations. They have made it very clear what many Canadians want to see in the 2015 budget.

Perhaps the single unifying message, from experts across the political spectrum, is that the government needs to take action to help Canada move out of the slow-growth rut that we are currently trapped in. Canada's labour market has been stuck at a near stand-still over the last year and a half and our GDP growth remains modest at best. This

modest growth has not been evenly distributed across our country, by region or by groups of Canadians, and much of our manufacturing base continues to suffer through their own localized recessions.

We need creative solutions to help jumpstart Canada's economic growth in the medium and the long-term. It isn't simply enough to talk about recovery and write larger and larger omnibus bills that have less and less to do with the economy. The Conservatives' CFIB inspired small business tax credit scheme won't help. In fact, the vast majority of witnesses at the Standing Committee on Finance noted that this credit was dangerous for job growth and amateurish in its design. With the PBO analysis going on to explain that the plan would at best create 800 jobs, it is apparent that the government did not take the advice of its own economists in the civil service. The Conservatives failed to notice that for firms nearing the \$15,000 EI premium

eligibility threshold, this credit will actually encourage the laying off of Canadians—rather than hiring. At a price tag of \$550-million for 800 jobs this is the opposite of effective public policy. At over \$550,000 per job, it is completely unacceptable that the focus of this government is to dish out \$550-million out of the EI fund without getting an effective return.

And the Liberals' proposed EI hiring credit is no better. It is an example of exactly the wrong way to propose public policy in that it vastly overstates the number of jobs that would be created while also providing a haphazard costing that dramatically understates the cost of their program by hundreds of millions of dollars.

It is our practice that we have a responsibility to present accurate costing and potential impacts of their proposals to the Canadian public. The worst thing about this case is that these massively expensive Conservative and Liberal proposals come not from the

public purse, but rather straight out of the Employment Insurance fund. The EI fund belongs to Canadians who pay into it, and New Democrats believe that Canadians should have better access to what they are entitled to.

Unlike the Conservatives and Liberals, New Democrats are proposing the kind of transformational policies that will help Canada escape from our current slow-growth trap. In particular, our proposal for a universal childcare program, with a maximum daily fee of \$15, will have a substantial impact on economic growth.

From Quebec's experience in the implementation of their universal childcare program, we can expect a nation-wide program to significantly boost the number of women who are able to enter the labour force.

This is exactly the kind of change Canada needs to help cope with an aging population that is driving a decline in labour force participation. And GDP estimates from the Centre for Spatial Eco-

nomics suggests that, once fully implemented, the NDP plan could boost GDP by somewhere in the range of \$20-billion. The TD Bank has argued that major government investments in childcare are good social and economic policy. This is exactly the kind of creative proposal that we need to escape a slow-growth future. And this same message was echoed by many of the witnesses at the pre-budget consultations who called for implementation of universal, accessible, and affordable childcare.

If we want to settle for a slow-growth economy we can continue to settle for same cynical, small stakes politics and policies of recent years. But if we want to escape that trap, we will need a government that will take meaningful, evidence-based action to address our nation's challenges.

NDP MP Nathan Cullen, who represents Skeena-Bulkley Valley, B.C., is his party's finance critic.

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FINANCIAL SECTOR POLICY BRIEFING

MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILIES

Liberal approach is decidedly different

We believe in evidence-based decision-making that focuses on how to create jobs and growth that will strengthen the middle class.



LIBERAL MP SCOTT BRISON

Liberals believe that government must not only create the right conditions for economic growth, but also ensure that growth is sustainable and will finally help struggling middle-class families.

Instead, the Canadian economy continues to lag. Job growth over the last two years has been weak, consumer debt is high, infrastructure is in disrepair, and housing prices in our major cities are inflated.

Last year, the Canadian economy created a paltry 5,300 net new full-time jobs.

The number of long-term unemployed Canadians remains disturbingly high. There are more than 150,000 Canadians who are unemployed and have been searching for work for a year or longer. That's more than twice as many who were in that situation before the 2008 downturn.

We still have too many young Canadians who can't get their foot in the door. Today, there are 200,000 fewer jobs for young Canadians compared to before the downturn.

Persistently high youth unemployment and underemployment are robbing a generation of the opportunities they need. Too many Canadians in their 20s are carrying large student loans and are unable to make ends meet. All too often, it's their middle-class parents and grandparents who are stepping in to help their adult children pay the bills.

It is this middle class that the Conservative government is abandoning. Their tax policies do little to help either the middle class or Canada's most vulnerable populations.

According to the Parliamentary Budget Office, the Conservatives' much-hyped small business "job" credit will only create 800 jobs over the next two years at a cost of almost \$700,000 per job. Because of a design flaw in the policy, it actually creates an incentive for some businesses to lay off workers or reduce their hours.

In response, the Liberals proposed a two-year tax holiday for new hires, a plan that only rewards businesses that create new jobs. This plan has been endorsed by Restaurants Canada and the Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters, and is a plan the CFIB says they "love."

The PBO also reported that the Conservatives are set to charge Canadian taxpayers billions of dollars in EI taxes more than what is needed to pay for EI benefits, costing the Canadian economy 10,000 jobs over the next two years.

Why are the Conservatives doing this? They are using excessively high EI taxes to create a federal surplus on the eve of an election. They're putting Conservative politics ahead of Canadian jobs and risking the livelihoods of Canadian workers in the process.

Speaking of putting politics first, the Conservatives are also going ahead with their



Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau. Liberal MP Scott Brison says Liberal policies, following the election of October 2015, will help create the conditions for its revival. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

flawed income-splitting scheme. Studies have shown this measure will only benefit 15 per cent of Canadian households—most of them high-income households—at a cost of \$3-billion per year to the federal government, and almost \$2-billion per year to the provinces.

This scheme has been panned by everyone from the CD Howe Institute and the Canadian Taxpayers Federation, to the Mowat Centre and the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, and even by the late Jim Flaherty himself.

The government's continued preference for politics over sound public policy has left Canada in a precarious situation.

Economists from the Bank of Canada to the IMF and OECD have all identified Canada's high household debt and elevated housing prices as a significant threat to the Canadian economy.

It was this Conservative government that helped fuel record high housing prices when, in 2006, it ushered in 40-year mortgages with no down-payment required in order to "increase competition" in the marketplace. By the first half of 2008, more than half of all new mortgages in Canada were 40-year mortgages, and 10 per cent had zero down payment. This shifted Canada's borrowing culture and distorted the housing market. The Conservatives have since flip-flopped and returned to the norm of 25-year mortgages with at least five per cent down. But by the time the Conservatives reversed themselves the damage was already done.

The Liberal approach is decidedly different. We believe in evidence-based decision-making that focuses on how to create jobs and growth that will strengthen the middle class.

We will help create the right conditions for jobs and growth, such as significant investments in infrastructure, skills training and trade.

A flourishing middle class is not an artifact of a bygone Canada; it is the key to future Canadian prosperity. Liberal policies, following the election of October 2015, will help create the conditions for its revival.

Liberal MP Scott Brison, who represents Kings-Hants, N.S., his party's finance critic.

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SMALL BUSINESS JOB CREDIT

Employment Insurance tax break's impact questioned by critics

Continued from page 39

businesses to stay small and would punish them if they grow and become more successful," said Liberal Finance critic Scott Brison (Kings-Hants, N.S.) in the House on Oct. 29.

"Due to a design flaw in Bill C-43, the so-called small business job credit creates an incentive for some businesses to fire workers. That is why economist Jack Mintz has called it 'a disincentive to growth' and why economist Mike Moffatt said '...the proposed Small Business Job Credit has major structural flaws that, in many cases, give firms an incentive to fire workers and cut salaries.'"

In an interview with *The Hill Times*, Mr. Brison criticized the government for implementing the tax break under "artificially high" EI rates and questioned its ability to provide internal analysis that contained credible job creation numbers in association with this measure.

"There's in fact an incentive for some employers to fire an employee and gain a potential credit of more than \$2,000 and a credit to hire a new employee may be less than \$200. Certainly spending more than a half a billion dollars to create what the PBO suggests is 800 jobs is a complete waste of taxpayer money and the Conservatives continue to defend this," said NDP Finance critic Nathan Cullen (Skeena-Bulkley Valley, B.C.) in the House, during the first day of debate on Bill C-43 on Oct. 29.

In an interview with *The Hill Times*, Mr. Cullen said that during the briefing on the bill that took place on the evening of Oct. 28, the government relied on analysis from lobby group the Canadian Federation of Independent Business (CFIB) to respond to any questions on the Small Business Job Credit. The CFIB stated publicly, following Finance Minister Joe Oliver's (Eglington-Lawrence, Ont.) announcement of the introduction of this measure in September, that the credit will create 25,000 person-years of employment over the next few years. Mr. Cullen voiced his disapproval for not being granted access to the CFIB's analysis, as it was claimed to be advice to the Minister, despite the CFIB being an external interest group that has lobbied for the changes.

The government continues to defend its decision to go ahead with the measure, saying that it will reduce payroll costs for 90 per cent of businesses. In an interview with *The Hill Times* Finance Committee chair James Rajotte (Edmonton-Leduc, Alta.) said the measure has clearly been communicated to be a short-term move until balance occurs and that it's anticipated there will be a "pretty fulsome debate" on the credit as the legislation makes its way through the house.

He also said that on Monday, Nov. 3 the committee plans to determine the time it will devote to studying the budget implementation bill. The PBO will also appear and it's likely there will be considerable follow-up with Mr. Fréchette on the impact of the job credit.

In the House, Mr. Oliver's Parliamentary Secretary, Conservative MP Andrew Saxton (North Vancouver, B.C.), reiterated that the Small Business Job Credit was "real money that small businesses could use to help defray the cost of hiring new workers and to take advantage of emerging economic opportunities supporting growth and job creation."

He also quoted the CFIB's Monique Moreau who has said, "small businesses in Canada should be thrilled with this announcement... because they told us time and time again that payroll taxes like EI are the biggest disincentive to hiring."

The budget implementation bill also looks at various other tax measures, in addition to what critics say are completely un-fiscally related measures.

Of the tax measures proposed in the 458-page bill, the most notable include increasing the maximum amount that can be claimed under the Children's Fitness Tax Credit to \$1,000 and makes it refundable; it also extends the definition of split income and allows the interest paid on student loans to include interest paid on a Canada Apprentice Loan. The bill also includes property tax exemptions for Canadians who do business in both the farming and fishing industries; extensions to the tax deferral provision for bee and horse breeders; permits income contributed to amateur athletes to qualify as earned income for Registered Retirement Savings Plan contributions; and expands eligibility for the accelerated capital cost allowance for clean energy equipment.

C-43 also includes a number of foreign tax measures involving Canadian banks and foreign investment, changes to the Investment Canada Act, various GST and HST modifications, including those for non-profit health care facilities, as well as measures clarifying the Canadian Film or Video Production Tax Credit. It also amends the Excise Act to provide a refund on the inventory tax on destroyed or re-worked tobacco products.

In response to the criticism of the omnibus legislation's inclusion of additional measures, Mr. Rajotte said he doesn't think the argument of those against it is consistent, because part of the pre-budget process is hearing from all types of groups, which is supported by the other parties. Not including measures reflective of the various topics in the subsequent bill doesn't make sense to him.

"I just find it a bit interesting that pre-budget hearings we discuss everything under the sun and then if that topic is later in a budget bill then they say that that's not appropriate. Either if it is appropriate in pre-budget consultations, it's appropriate in a budget bill," he said.

"I've said to members in the past, 'If you don't like budget implementation bills that include things like temporary foreign workers, well then we should probably limit ourselves in pre-budget hearings to simple tax and fiscal policy matters,' but nobody wants to do that."

The bill implementing the remaining provisions of the 2014 budget is currently at second reading but Government House Leader Peter Van Loan (York-Simcoe, Ont.) placed time allocation on it, allocating three remaining days of debate at second reading before the bill is voted on and sent to the House Finance Committee.

The Finance Committee wrapped up the witness testimony portion of its pre-budget hearings for the 2015 budget on Oct. 29 and has asked for an extension to Dec. 12 to finalize its report. This would allow time for the members to discuss their recommendations with the intent of tabling the report before the House rises for Christmas break.

The Hill Times

PARLIAMENTARY PRECINCT SHOOTINGS

NEWS HILL SECURITY

Senators unsatisfied with Senate security's in-camera briefings on Hill shooting

Since 1992, auditors general have recommended one Parliament Hill security service, 'one clear single command structure for emergency response.'

Continued from page 1

as how the gunman entered the Centre Block without an alarm going off and whether security will move to a single command and control post.

"I have to say, I'm not entirely satisfied," said former government Senate Leader Marjory LeBreton (Ontario) in an interview with *The Hill Times*.

The Senate Protective Service conducted separate briefings for the Conservative and Liberal Senate caucuses last week, each about 30 minutes long. A third one, about an hour long, was given to the Senate Internal Economy, Budgets and Administration Committee. All three briefings were in-camera and were conducted by Gilles Duguay, director general of the Senate Protective Service.

Senate communications staff declined to provide any details about the briefings.

Senators interviewed for this article from both sides of the aisle declined to discuss the specifics of the briefings, but confirmed that they were held and offered their feedback to *The Hill Times* only in broad terms. Senators and MPs said in interviews last week that they want to be cautious in their comments because they don't want to be seen criticizing security staff after the terrible shooting incident and want to give some time to the relevant security services to analyze the incident and come up with new plans on how to handle a future incident.

But some said the high level of co-operation and teamwork among all the Parliamentary Precinct security partners on the day after the shooting incident is dissipating slowly and all security services now appear to be protecting their own turf.

Security personnel from four different security agencies share the responsibility to protect the Parliamentary precinct. The RCMP is responsible for security outdoors on Parliament Hill; the House of Commons Security Services is charged with security responsibilities inside Parliament on the House of Commons side, including the central and western sections of the Centre Block; the Senate Protec-



The National War Memorial pictured last Wednesday, where Cpl. Nathan Cirillo was shot and killed on Oct. 22 while standing guard. The gunman, Michael Zehaf-Bibeau later stormed Parliament Hill with a hunting rifle and was shot and killed in the Hall of Honour. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

tive Service looks after security on the east portion of the Centre Block where the Upper Chamber is located and the East Block; and the Ottawa Police is responsible for security on the streets outside the Parliamentary precinct, including Wellington Street.

Since the shooting incident, the Mounties now have the responsibility to protect Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Calgary Southwest, Alta.) at all times whether he's inside Parliament or outside.

Sen. LeBreton declined to discuss specifics of the two briefings she received as a Conservative Senator and a member of the Senate Internal Economy Committee, but she said that so far no one has clearly answered the question about whether there would be just one command and control post in a future emergency.

Saskatchewan Conservative Sen. David Tkachuk told *The Hill Times* that he's satisfied with the security briefings in the sense that they explained what happened on Oct. 22. But he's awaiting more detailed information on what to do next and said that all these reviews are "urgent" and will be completed soon.

"We know changes have to be made and we're going to wait for the information to come forward and then we'll make a decision based on as much material information as we have before us,"

said Sen. Tkachuk, also a member of the Senate Internal Economy Committee.

Quebec Liberal Sen. Paul Massicotte (Lanaudière, Que.) said he's "pleased" with the Senate security briefing but would like to see an outside expert review of the Oct. 22 incident and any recommendations on how to improve Parliamentary security. An outside review is critical because in the aftermath of any incident, organizations and individuals tend to "protect" themselves rather than coming to any meaningful and unbiased conclusions, he said.

"It's natural for organizations and human beings to sort of rationalize and protect themselves and I would like somebody independent to make [that assessment]," Sen. Massicotte said in an interview.

Quebec Liberal Senator Céline Hervieux-Payette (Bedford, Que.) said she's satisfied with briefings but would like to see concrete plans on the way forward.

"It was more or less kind of a flashback of what happened and how people reacted—those who were in charge and those who were supposedly secure, that sort of thing. There was no conclusion to that, just facts," said Sen. Hervieux-Payette.

"They need coordination, some mechanism, how it should be organized. I don't think we're

there yet. Who is going to really draft the future policy, how things are going to be handled, who will play what role. I think we're far from that," said Sen. Hervieux-Payette.

Since Michael Zehaf-Bibeau's shooting in Parliament on Oct. 22, a number of reviews and meetings are being held on both the House and Senate side to get a better understanding of how the incident took place and what changes should be made. A joint committee of both Chambers is also said to be holding meetings to study how co-operation and communication on security issues on both sides can be integrated. In addition, the RCMP has asked the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) to conduct an independent investigation of the Oct. 22 shooting incident.

Historically, both Parliamentary Chambers have functioned and operated independently but now there's a significant push both from inside and outside of Parliament to come up with ways to improve co-operation on security issues. In 2012, Auditor General Michael Ferguson recommended "the possibility of moving toward a unified security force for the Parliamentary Precinct."

In 1992, then-auditor general Denis Desautels also recommended in a report a "clear single command structure for emergency response" for Parliament Hill security.

Last week, House Speaker Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask.) issued a statement saying that the Board of Internal Economy has received a briefing on the updated security measures implemented after the shooting incident and has also requested a comprehensive review of the events of Oct. 22, including new measures to improve security.

MPs from all parties told *The Hill Times* that their caucuses did not get the briefings from the House Security Services the way Senators did. However, they said that at the House leadership levels, briefings and meetings are taking place on an ongoing basis.

"There's a lot of discussion taking place. We're part of a conversation with the Speaker's office, we're part of a conversation with the Sergeant-at-Arms' office, we're part of a conversation with the Board of Internal Economy. So there're a lot of discussion points," NDP House leader Peter Julian (Burnaby-New Westminster, Ont.) told *The Hill Times*.

In these meetings, Parliamentarians told *The Hill Times*, several wide-ranging changes are under discussion including, providing MPs' constituency offices with security in some cases.

"There's a lot of concern especially for high profile MPs. ... Say you're a high profile MP of any party and you've got a constituency office in a strip mall. You'd want

to be assured that some person, some lone wolf, couldn't storm in and cause some serious harm to your staff. That's a legitimate concern frankly," said one Parliamentarian who spoke to *The Hill Times* on a not-for-attribution basis.

According to another proposal, there could be tighter rules of entry for visitors to Parliament Hill who may have to undergo security checks even before they enter the Parliamentary precinct. But Mr. Julian said that his party wants a balance between security and openness.

"We're asking for a broader framework of analyzing security on Parliament Hill and in the Parliamentary precinct and establishing a system that protects public security, of course, but also, very importantly, continuous public accessibility. Canadians want an accessible Parliament. They want accessible representatives, their right in a free and a democratic society. So what we need to do is ensure that those civil liberties are maintained," said Mr. Julian.

The CBC reported last week that the RCMP officers tasked with security on the grounds of Parliament Hill and House of Commons security use different radio frequencies, which could cause communication delays in emergencies.

Senate sources said that during the briefings they were told by the Senate Security that the issue has been addressed and now both security services use the same frequency. Some Senators, however, complained that there were no details offered as to the exact nature of the issue and how has it been resolved, the source said.

The source said Senators are also awaiting responses on questions such as how an individual carrying a gun entered the Centre Block. The source said that there are several "stories circulating that people in charge were distracted" but Senators would like to know concrete facts on how it happened. They're also wondering why the Senate entrance door is always locked while the main Centre Block entrance and the west entrance door that is reserved for MPs on the House side are never locked, the source said.

"If there's any kind of positive outcome from this incident, it exposed a lot of unanswered questions," the source said.

One of the other reasons for frustration in last week's briefings was that Senators "got the sense that" they don't know "the whole story" but even after the briefings, they never got "the whole story."

"They spent too much time over what happened. We know what happened. I almost got the sense they were saying, 'You don't know the whole story.' Then tell us the whole story," the source said.

arana@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

LEGISLATION CSIS

Don't rush new CSIS bill, say opposition MPs

Experts say a big missing piece of the puzzle is Parliamentary oversight of CSIS, CSEC and say a Parliamentary committee should be formed.

Continued from page 1

Public Safety Minister Steven Blaney (Lévis-Bellechasse, Que.) tabled Bill C-44, the Protecting Canada from Terrorism Act, in the House on Oct. 27, and said the government "will be seeking support from all parties" to move the legislation through Parliament "as quickly as possible." He indicated further reforms related to protecting Canadians from terrorism would be proposed "in a second forthcoming piece of legislation."

"The crucial role that our security and intelligence service plays in keeping Canadians safe cannot be overstated and the environment in which they operate has become increasingly complex. We will continue to take the necessary steps to enable the brave men and women of CSIS to keep Canadians safe in the face of ever evolving threats," said Jason Tamming, press secretary to Mr. Blaney, in an email response to *The Hill Times* to a question on why the government think it's important to quickly pass Bill C-44 through Parliament.

Bill C-44 is a relatively small package of legislative amendments to the Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act, which establishes and sets out the powers of Canada's spy agency, CSIS, as well as amendments to the Strengthening Canadian Citizenship Act and a change related to the Access to Information Act.

Bill C-44 proposes two main changes: the first is to provide anonymity to CSIS informants unless the source consents to disclosure of information or an application is made and granted by a judge; and the second is a proposal to set out that CSIS can spy on Canadians or threats to Canada "within or outside" Canada.

The bill was reportedly set to be tabled on Oct. 22, but plans were disrupted when a gunman shot and killed Cpl. Nathan Cirillo at the National War Memorial before being shot dead just metres from the rooms where the Conservative and NDP caucuses were meeting.

There's been much debate about the nature of the attack: NDP Leader Thomas Mulcair (Outremont, Que.) has argued it was not an act of terrorism, siding with critics who say the government was too eager to draw a connection between the attack and ISIS.

"In recent weeks, I've been saying that our laws and police powers need to be strengthened in the area of surveillance, attention and arrest. They need to be much strengthened and I assure members that work which is already under way will be expedited," said Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Calgary Southwest, Alta.) in the House on Oct. 23, the day after the shooting.

Bill C-44 was not amended after Oct. 22, and since then the government has signalled a second bill will be introduced. It's anticipated this bill will include

changes to lower the threshold for making preventative arrests of Canadians or individuals in Canada contemplating attacks who could be linked to terrorism and will be aimed at preventing so-called "lone wolf" attacks.

Government House Leader Peter Van Loan (York-Simcoe, Ont.) said the House would debate Bill C-44 this week, on Nov. 4 and Nov. 5, with debate "ideally" concluding that day so the bill can move to committee.

Liberal public safety critic Wayne Easter (Malpeque, P.E.I.) said clarification is needed as to how CSIS would protect informants if they're abroad and said Parliament needs a "good selection of witnesses" when the bill is studied at committee.

"You shouldn't ram this kind of stuff through the House," said Mr. Easter.

Mr. Easter said the Liberal Party also has questions around amendments proposed to the Citizenship Act under Bill C-44, which relate to the renunciation, surrendering or retention of citizenship certificates but which Mr. Easter said appear the same as changes already made under Bill C-24, the Strengthening Canadian Citizenship Act, which received royal assent in June.

"Did the government make an error in a previous bill and they're trying to tidy it up in this one? Why is this in the bill? That question has to be raised," he said.

Speaking to further legislative changes, Mr. Easter said authorities don't seem to be fully using laws and powers that already exist when it comes to dealing with the issue of home-grown terrorism or Canadians engaging in terrorist activities abroad under the Combatting Terrorism Act—for example under section 83.181, which sets out penalties for leaving or attempting to leave Canada for the purpose of committing an offence under the act.

"We really believe the tools and authorities are there but for some reason they're not utilizing the current laws that are in place to do the job and the minister fails to explain why," said Mr. Easter.

Former PMO legal adviser Benjamin Perrin, now a University of British Columbia law professor, made a similar point in a *Globe and Mail* column last month, writing that: "our laws are up to the task—we must resist the urge to overreact in the coming days."

In a joint statement Oct. 29, Canada's information and privacy commissioners called on the government to make sure legislative changes in response to the attacks are "evidence-based... as to the need for any new legislative proposal granting additional powers for intelligence and law enforcement agencies" and contain effective oversight.

Mr. Garrison said the NDP's biggest concern is that Bill C-44 includes no increased accountability for CSIS, which he said should be set out if the agency is to be given additional powers. Mr. Garrison said greater

oversight has been called for since the 2006 recommendations that flowed from the Maher Arar Commission. He said the NDP is also concerned about the bill's proposed "blanket" protection for CSIS sources.

"We really have some questions about whether that'll affect the ability to proceed with prosecutions of those who've threatened to use violence or have used violence," said Mr. Garrison.

"This bill was prepared before the incidents of last Wednesday.... to imply that the urgency is connect to those events, I'm not sure I would buy that argument," he said.

Wesley Wark, currently a visiting research professor in Public and International Affairs at the University of Ottawa, said the bill is essentially a codification of recent Supreme Court and federal court decisions to permit the protection of identities of CSIS informants and to permit CSIS to spy on Canadians abroad under certain circumstances.

"I don't think they are major amendments. They are clarifications to be sure about the kind of legal authority that CSIS has to engage in foreign intelligence, which it's been doing increasingly since around 2005," said Prof. Wark.

He said he's "not terribly concerned" if Parliament rushes the current bill through the House, because the changes aren't that "significant." But Prof. Wark said he'd be "very concerned" if the government limited debate when it introduces the second, anticipated piece of terrorism-related legislative reform.

"I think this is minor legislation and I think what we're going to see in the future is going to be major legislation in terms of its significance," said Prof. Wark.

Prof. Wark said he doesn't think the government necessarily needs to be introducing any sort of new anti-terrorism powers or legislation.

"The existing powers that were created with the anti-terrorism act in 2001 originally and have been modified to some degree since that time are strong and have proven workable both in an operational sense, in that they give law enforcement the intelligence tools they need, and have passed the test of courtroom proceedings," said Prof. Wark.

He also said while "there are some problems" with the Security Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC), "not least the astonishing fact" that the government hasn't appointed a new chair of SIRC since former Conservative MP Chuck Strahl resigned from the role in January, there's a bigger missing piece.

"The biggest missing piece is any kind of dedicated security-cleared Parliamentary committee to allow Parliament to really get to grips with the broad range of national security issues. I don't think attention should be put on SIRC and its inadequacies—there's some relevant criticisms there—the problem is that Parliament is not structured at the moment to be engaged in these issues and can't

deliver proper Parliamentary scrutiny," said Prof. Wark.

In an email to *The Hill Times*, University of Toronto professor Kent Roach said he's concerned about the lack of accountability for CSIS both at the SIRC level and at the Parliamentary level.

"Almost everything foreign will be classified and thus Parliamentarians will be left in the dark," said Prof. Roach, referring to CSIS foreign activities. CSIS would be explicitly permitted to spy on Canadians abroad under Bill C-44. Already, intelligence is

gathered by CSIS on Canadians abroad using the "Five Eyes" intelligence network that also includes Australia, New Zealand, the U.S. and the U.K.

Prof. Roach said Bill C-44 needs to be "carefully examined" and suggested it "perhaps" be linked with Liberal MP Joyce Murray's (Vancouver Quadra, B.C.) private member's bill, which would make amendments to increase the accountability and transparency of the Communications Security Establishment Canada (CSEC). Ms. Murray's bill was debated in the House last week and will be voted on this week.

lryckewaert@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

SCHEDULE

The Week Ahead in Parliament

Monday, November 3

French President François Hollande will address the House of Commons at 11:15 a.m.

The House will begin debate at second reading of a private member's bill C-597, An Act to amend the Holidays Act (Remembrance Day) from NDP MP Jack Harris.

The House Environment and Sustainable Development Committee will meet to study Bill C-40, An Act respecting the Rouge National Urban Park and will hear witness testimony from the Rouge Park Alliance, the Regional Municipality of York, Altona Forest Stewardship Committee, Reesor Farm, Friends of the Rouge Watershed and the David Suzuki Foundation.

The House Finance Committee will meet to discuss committee business and to discuss the economic and fiscal outlook, hearing witness testimony from Jean-Denis Fréchette, Parliamentary budget officer; Mostafa Askari, assistant Parliamentary budget officer; Scott Cameron, economic adviser with the Library of Parliament; and Helen Lao, economic analyst with the Library of Parliament.

The House Public Safety and National Security Committee will meet to study Bill C-2, An Act to amend the Controlled Drugs and Substances Act and will hear testimony from "prior plaintiff" Dean Wilson, the Drug Prevention Network of Canada, the Vancouver City Policy Department, the Pivot Legal Society, the Society of Accredited Senior Agents, the Canadian Drug Policy Coalition, and the Canadian Police Association.

Tuesday, November 4

The House will begin debate at second reading of private member's bill C-627, An Act to amend the Railway Safety Act (safety of persons and property), introduced by Conservative MP Joyce Bateman.

The House Foreign Affairs and International Development Committee will meet in-camera to discuss committee business.

The House Finance Committee will meet to study the report of the Bank of Canada on monetary policy and will hear testimony from Bank of Canada governor Stephen Poloz and senior deputy governor Carolyn Wilkins.

The House Agriculture and Agri-Food Committee will meet twice today to study Bill C-18, An Act to amend certain Acts relating to agriculture and agri-food and will hear witness testimony from the Canadian Food Inspection Agency, the Department of Agriculture and Agri-Food, and the Department of Justice. The committee will then begin clause-by-clause consideration of the bill.

The House Procedure and House Affairs Committee will meet to begin clause-by-clause consideration of Bill C-518, An Act to amend the Members of Parliament Retiring Allowances Act (withdrawal allowance) and then will move in camera to review the Standing Orders.

The House Transport, Infrastructure and Communities Committee will meet to review the Canadian Transportation Safety Regime: Transportation of Dangerous Goods and Safety Management Systems and will hear witness testimony from RTL-Westcan Group of Companies and the Alberta Motor Transport Association.

The House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Human Rights is meeting to discuss the aftermath of the Rwandan Crisis and will hear from department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development director general for the West and Central Africa bureau, Kenneth Neufeld; and director general for the international humanitarian assistance directorate Leslie Norton.

The House Justice and Human Rights Committee will meet to study Bill C-32, An Act to enact the Canadian Victims Bill of Rights and to amend certain Acts and will hear testimony from Fondation Katherine Beaulieu, the office of the Federal Ombudsman for Victims of Crime, the Sheldon Kennedy Child Advocacy Centre, Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada and Alberta Justice Minister Jonathan Denis will testify via videoconference.

The House National Defence Committee will meet to discuss Canada's response to ISIL and will hear from senior officials with the department of National Defence.

Wednesday, November 5

The House will vote at second reading on private member's bill C-622, CSEC Accountability and Transparency Act, introduced by Liberal MP Joyce Murray.

The House will begin debate M-534, on Child Poverty, introduced by NDP MP Rathika Sitsabaiesan.

Thursday, November 6

The House will begin debate at second reading of private member's bill C-626, An Act to amend the Statistics Act (appointment of Chief Statistician and long-form census), introduced by Liberal MP Ted Hsu.

The House Justice and Human Rights Committee will meet to study Bill C-32, An Act to enact the Canadian Victims Bill of Rights and to amend certain Acts and will hear testimony from the Canadian Bar Association, Canadian Parents of Murdered Children and Survivors of Homicide Victims Inc., the Canadian Resource Centre for Victims of Crime, the Canadian Centre for Child Protection, the Canadian Crime Victim Foundation, and the Canadian Association of Crown Counsel.

Friday, November 7

The House will resume debate at second reading of private member's bill C-579, Reducing the effects of urban heat islands Act, introduced by NDP MP Pauline Ayala.

NEWS **TERRORISM**

Blaney's use of 'terrorism' to describe acts based on RCMP statement

Justice Minister Steven Blaney last week based his description of Michael Zehaf-Bibeau's Oct. 22 murder of a National War Memorial honour guard and subsequent armed invasion into Parliament's Centre Block as a terrorist act solely on a news statement RCMP Commissioner Bob Paulson issued last Sunday.

Continued from page 1

The government's description of the shooting death of Cpl. Nathan Cirillo and Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau's attack on the Centre Block as terrorist acts came under scrutiny last week after NDP Leader Tom Mulcair (Outremont, Que.) told reporters he believed it was too soon, and possibly unhelpful, to label the acts, violent as they were, as terrorist acts under the Criminal Code without further evidence.

Until Mr. Paulson issued a news statement about the attack on Sunday, Oct. 26, the head of the national police force had been careful to directly refer to the actions of Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau, shot dead in the Centre Block by RCMP and Commons security officers, as terrorist acts, primarily because of the evidence that would be required to show terrorist intent under Sec. 85 of Canada's Criminal Code.

Mr. Mulcair drew fire from the government when he became the only leader in the Commons to question the government's use of the term on Wednesday.

"I don't think we have enough evidence to use that word," Mr. Mulcair said.

"I think we're not in the presence of a terrorist act in the sense that we would understand it. I think we have to be very careful with the use of the word terrorism, make sure that's actually what we're dealing with," he said.

On Oct. 30, Mr. Blaney chided Mr. Mulcair in Question Period over the difference of opinion when the NDP leader cautioned the government about rushing through new national security legislation in response to the murder of Cpl. Cirillo and Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau's armed incursion into the Centre Block.

An unarmed Commons guard received a bullet wound to his foot when Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau's high-powered hunting rifle went off as the guard attempted to wrest it out of his hands by pulling it downward. Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau also shot at, but missed, another guard who shot Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau in the shoulder as he was being pursued by RCMP and Commons security officers down the long main hallway in the Centre Block.



RCMP Commissioner Bob Paulson, pictured last week testifying before the Senate's National Security Committee, in the Victoria Building. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

It is not known whether Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau fired his rifle in the building again after his first two shots. A Winchester 30-30 lever-action repeater, the rifle, has a tubular magazine holding only six bullets. Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau had fired two shots to kill Cpl. Cirillo, and another shot at a second honour sentry at the National War Memorial that did not hit the soldier.

Mr. Blaney responded to Mr. Mulcair's question on possible new measures for surveillance and investigations of suspected terrorists by urging the NDP to support legislation Mr. Blaney introduced Oct. 27 to strengthen the powers of the Canadian Security Intelligence Agency for spying and surveillance abroad.

"Let me be clear, on this side of the House, a terrorist is a terrorist, as (U.S.) Secretary of State John Kerry said, as the RCMP said, and as the Criminal Code of Canada says," Mr. Blaney said.

Mr. Mulcair then asked Mr. Blaney if he would agree to strike an all-party committee to develop any new or expanded police powers in the wake of the shootings.

"Or, as he just demonstrated, will he be partisan at all costs?" Mr. Mulcair said.

"Let me be clear, it is not partisanship to call an incident a terrorist act based on the definitions found in the Criminal Code," Mr. Blaney said. "That view is shared by the RCMP and the U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry."

Mr. Kerry, on an official visit to Ottawa after the shootings, expressed condolences to the family of the slain soldier and sympathy with Canadians while he referred to the shootings as terrorism.

Asked to point out a RCMP statement that described the shootings as terrorist acts, Mr. Blaney's press secretary, Jason Tamming, referred to Mr. Paulson's statement, including the headline of the statement: "RCMP update on the October 22, 2014, Terrorist Attack in Ottawa."

Mr. Tamming said the headline, as well as two references to Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau in the text of the statement, could be attributable to Mr. Paulson, apparently the source of Mr. Blaney's statement of the RCMP position.

Asked whether the references he gave to Mr. Paulson's statement meant that the video on Zehaf-Bibeau's cell phone has provided evidence that allowed Mr. Paulson to conclude Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau's actions were acts of terrorism under Criminal Code definitions, Mr. Tamming referred the question to the RCMP.

The Mounties had not responded by press time on Friday.

The Oct. 26 statement from Mr. Paulson said RCMP investigators had "identified persuasive evidence" that Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau's attack was driven by "ideological and political motives"—two of the key words included in the Criminal Code definition of terrorist acts.

Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau's disturbing life history, including at one point an incident where he threatened a McDonald's server with violence and threatened robbery in order to be arrested to obtain medical and psychiatric help, was reported in dozens of news stories after he killed Cpl. Cirillo and mentioned also by Mr. Paulson at his first news conference.

Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau had begun associating with radical Islamic views through social media, though he had not come to the attention of the RCMP before his attack, other than security checks after he had applied for a Canadian passport.

"It's not totally clear in regards to his motivation for the attack," Mr. Paulson told the news conference, during which he never directly referred to Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau as a terrorist.

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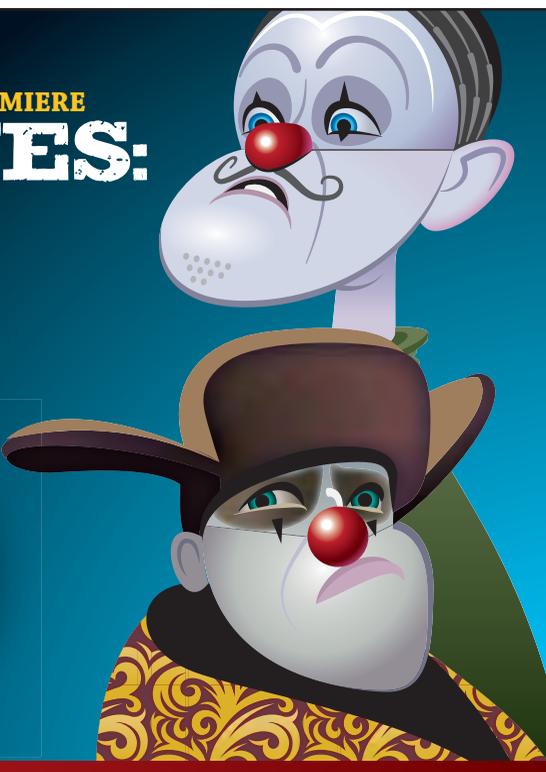
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PARLIAMENTARY PRECINCT SHOOTINGS

FEATURE **CONSERVATIVE MPs**

‘I knew it would buy us 10 or 15 seconds to do what we needed to do’: Tory MP Wilks

Former Mounties ready to fight, help Conservative colleagues during, after Hill gun battle.

Continued from page 1

“My first instinct as a police officer was that you hit the ground and make yourself small,” said Mr. Wilks (Kootenay-Columbia, B.C.), one of the three former Mounties among the Conservatives’ 161 MPs.

He explained that he was sitting in the centre of the grand old Reading Room where the Conservatives hold their weekly caucuses, three rows back from where Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Calgary Southwest, Alta.) was addressing caucus, when he “hit the deck” and scanned the room for 15 or 20 seconds and realized the east entrance leading onto the Hall of Honour needed to be secured.

“I got up and immediately went to the east door, locked it and then myself and a few colleagues put chairs up against it. The reason was not to stop anyone from coming in, because I knew the doors pulled out as opposed to pushed in. But I knew it would buy us 10 or 15 seconds to do what we needed to do,” said Mr. Wilks, who retired from the RCMP in 2000 and arrived in Parliament 11 years later.

“For me, I would have wanted for somebody to open that door and I would have been on him like butter on bread,” he said.

“The way I saw it, until someone tells me differently, there were bad guys on the other side of the door,” said Mr. Wilks.

He held that attitude when someone, self-identified as RCMP, knocked on the door to gain access. Mr. Wilks, other MPs, and House security guards inside the room resisted the request. It was, as Mr. Wilks explained, a matter of “until you can show me you can unlock the door from the other side, no one was getting in there without a key.”

As it turned out, it was members of the Prime Minister’s RCMP protective detail who tried to extricate him from the deadly scene unfolding on the other side of that east door. Since Mr. Wilks was focused on that entrance, he told *The Hill Times* he “wasn’t thinking of anyone else at the time,” including Mr. Harper whom he figured “would be taken care of.”

It took about 15 minutes to get the Prime Minister into a safe anteroom in the northeast corner of the Reading Room. A while later, four senior Cabinet ministers—Defence Minister Rob Nicholson (Niagara Falls, Ont.), Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird (Ottawa West-Nepean, Ont.), Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Minister Steven Blaney (Lévis-Bellechasse, Que.) and Justice Minister Peter MacKay (Central Nova, N.S.)—were taken



Conservative MP David Wilks, top left, a former Mountie, was the one to secure the door at the national caucus on Wednesday, Oct. 22, when lone gunman Michael Zehaf-Bibeau stormed through the Hall of Honour with a hunting rifle. Conservative MP Rob Clarke, above left, another former Mountie who suffers from PTSD, says MPs should seek help if they need it. The Conservative caucus on Oct. 22. *The Hill Times* photographs by Steve Gerecke and Nina Grewal

to an undisclosed location with the Prime Minister where they convened an emergency Cabinet.

Conservative MP and a former Minister of State Steven Fletcher (Charleswood-St. James-Assiniboia, Man.), a quadriplegic, was also moved out of the caucus room during the nine-hour lockdown, according to Mr. Wilks.

The major break in the tension occurred somewhere between 10:30 a.m. and 10:45 a.m., as Mr. Wilks recalled, when Mr. Vickers, another former RCMP officer, entered the room, took to the microphone at the front and told the Conservative MPs and Senators that “he had engaged the suspect and the suspect was deceased.”

Some of Mr. Wilks’ colleagues applauded. He did not.

“Kevin and I have the same background. He did his job admirably in an extremely difficult situation. But he had just killed someone,” Mr. Wilks said.

Conservative MP Rob Clarke (Desnethé-Missinippi-Churchill River, Sask.), a 47-year-old, 18-year veteran of the RCMP, said he believes that as a man who fatally shot the gunman, 58-year-old Mr. Vickers—the ninth full-time Sergeant-at-Arms since Confederation—will need to undergo a debriefing and will require support from both family and his colleagues in the House security detail he heads.

“There’s no better counselling than talking about what emotions he went through,” explained Mr. Clarke, who has represented his riding since winning a byelection in March 2008.

Mr. Clarke has struggled with post-traumatic stress disorder and depression for the past eight years. In fact, he said he can precisely trace back the origin of his PTSD to 9:24 p.m. on July 7, 2006, when three colleagues from his RCMP detachment in Saskatchewan—Constables Robin Cameron, Marc Bourdages and Michelle Knopp—were shot while chasing a suspect involved in a domestic dispute. Constables Cameron and Bourdages later died in hospital of their injuries while Constable Knopp survived. Curtis Dagenais, who shot them, was convicted of two counts of first-degree murder and one count of attempted murder.

“I still have flashbacks,” said Mr. Clarke. “There isn’t a day I don’t think about it.”

What triggers his PTSD now is the sound of a siren from a police vehicle. When he hears it, he needs to take a deep breath and, if necessary, talk it out with a mental-health professional from Veterans Affairs Canada, which provides counselling services to current and former RCMP officers.

Mr. Clarke has also sought additional support from a psychologist and has talked with friends about

the trauma he experienced in 2006 and more recently on Oct. 22 on the Hill, which he said, has helped him “immensely” in coping with the aftermath of both tragic events.

He said he hopes other colleagues will seek help post-Oct. 22 or 10/22, as it may come to be known, and said he has talked with one MP so far about that awful day.

“Some of the MPs are still agitated and excitable when they hear a sharp noise from hydraulics or a loud bang from tables dropping,” offered Mr. Clarke. “Over time, that can be diminished or can be heightened—anything can trigger it. But it’s okay to have those fears.”

Initially reluctant to talk about it, he now openly discusses his PTSD.

“From a first-responder standpoint, when you experience a traumatic situation you have to go to work the next day, but there’s no harm in telling people you need help in order to get functional. That stigma of shame has to be broken,” Mr. Clarke explained.

“I tell everyone that I may be laughing and joking, but sometimes that is a coping mechanism where I’m just having a hard time getting out of bed and have to force myself to get to work,” Mr. Clarke said.

But Oct. 22 was a long day for the Conservative caucus whose members had water but no food—save some snacks served at the beginning of the morning meeting—

and could only access a nearby women’s washroom, two at a time.

Following Mr. Vickers’ announcement, all they could do was wait, Mr. Wilks explained.

“Some people may have gotten a little antsy and frustrated that we were locked up for so long. But I felt that once the initial threat had been taken care of, we were in good hands with the Hill and Senate security staff and the RCMP,” he said.

“My concern is always the unknowns. Having a police background, I knew it was going to take time for police and investigators to do their job and secure Centre Block—a big building with a lot of nooks and crannies.”

Mr. Wilks spent most of the day near the east door, making small talk with colleagues and maintaining guard duty.

Once they retrieved their smartphones taken away at the start of the caucus meeting, some MPs—such as Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird (Ottawa West-Nepean, Ont.), Treasury Board President Tony Clement (Parry Sound-Muskoka, Ont.) and Minister of State for Western Economic Diversification Michelle Rempel (Calgary Centre-North, Alta.) tweeted that they were safe, shortly after 10 a.m.

“Everyone began to call family, letting them know they were okay,” said Mr. Clarke.

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THE SPIN DOCTORS

By Laura Ryckewaert

“Ottawa was recently rocked by the shooting death of Cpl. Nathan Cirillo who was standing guard at the National War Memorial, and the subsequent death of the shooter Michael Zihaf-Bibeau in a gunfight in the Centre Block. What are your thoughts?”



CORY HANN
Conservative strategist

“As frightening as the situation was for many of us, including our caucus members and staff, I don’t want to lose sight of the victims of both despicable terrorist attacks in Quebec and here in Ottawa—Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent and Corporal Nathan Cirillo.

“Their family, their friends, and those they loved, lived out a nightmare Monday and Wednesday two weeks ago. They lost Cpl. Cirillo and Warrant Officer Vincent for no other

reason than because they were proudly wearing Canadian Armed Forces uniforms. One attacked not far from his base, the other while standing guard over a national monument, yet both became victims of individuals hell bent on bringing terror to the streets of Canada.

“I know my thoughts and prayers, along with those of countless others, are with the family and friends of both men. And I know Canada’s resolve will strengthen because Canada will not be intimidated—we will never be intimidated.

“There are numerous trusts and charities now set up for both families of Corporal Nathan Cirillo and Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent, and I’d encourage anyone that can to donate. While it won’t replace either of these brave men, it will help to ensure their memory lives on and their bravery is not forgotten.”



IAN WAYNE
NDP strategist

“As we walked out the door to go down to caucus, we heard a loud noise echoing through the hallway.

“We are used to the ever-present construction noise, so took little notice and kept walking—until the yelling reached us: ‘Get back in your offices and lock your door!’

“This was not construction. We did as directed.

“Outside our window, we saw armoured vehicles arriving—leaving no doubt something very serious was underway. And so we waited, compared notes, exchanged theories...and waited some more. We had discus-

sions I never expected to have—like what to do if someone tried to shoot their way into the leader’s office.

“Some hours later, well-armed security forces burst through the door and, after securing the area, moved us single file to our next waiting area—where we spent another eight hours waiting with more than 75 others in Conservative MP Guy Lauzon’s office [in Centre Block].

“What really stood out to me were the small acts of kindness and compassion I saw for one another. After all, when you find NDP staffers reaching out to help Senators and their staff, you have proof that while we may be opponents, we are not enemies. And the common thought we all shared—thankfulness to the security personnel who were keeping us safe.

“But what struck me to my core was my sense of relief when, after finally walking home, I climbed my steps and was met by the relieved embrace of those most dear to me—my wife and two daughters.”



TISHA ASHTON
Liberal strategist

“Our thoughts and prayers are with the families and friends of Corporal Nathan Cirillo and Warrant Officer Patrice Vincent. We also extend our sincere gratitude to the brave women and men who selflessly and courageously came to the aid of others last week.

“These events were a shared, national tragedy. It is fitting that all parties came together in the House of Commons, immediate-

ly, to let the world know that Canada’s values are strong, our institutions are resilient, and our people are united together.

“Last week’s cowardly acts were meant to intimidate us and to encourage Canadians to forget who we are. It is imperative that we remember that we are a proud democracy, a welcoming and peaceful nation, and a country of open arms and open hearts. We are a nation of fairness, of justice, and of the rule of law.

“These are the values and principles we must hold on to. Our dedication to democracy and to the institutions we have built is the foundation of our society, and a continued belief in both will guide us correctly into the future.

“Finally, we need to have answers for how and why this happened. This information will be vital in helping to prevent any future attack.”



NICHOLAS GALL
Green strategist

“October 22 was a day of heartbreak and heroism, when fear gripped our capital and time seemed to stand still. We will always remember the courage of Sergeant-at-Arms Kevin Vickers, and our nation is united in mourning the tragic death of Cpl. Nathan Cirillo. Our thoughts and prayers are with his family and loved ones.

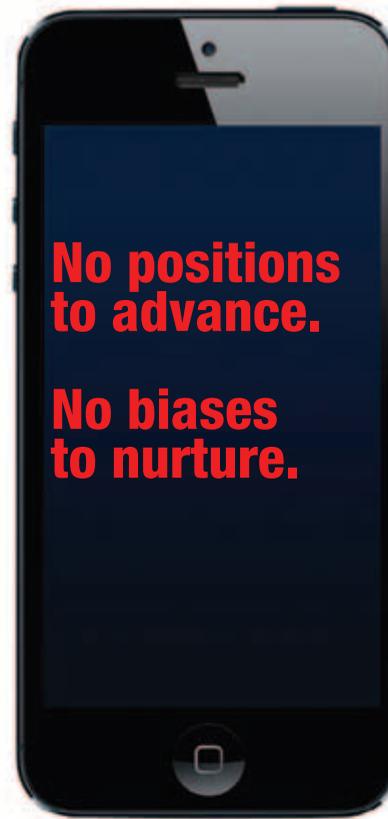
“In the wake of traumatic events like the Ottawa shootings, questions inevitably arise as to what could have been done differently. In seeking to answer these questions, we must avoid jumping to conclusions, and we must

ensure that our response to these devastating events is proportionate to whatever threat remains. There is no reason for this to be, as some have said, a day that changed everything.

“While the assailant in these attacks may have been inspired by the appalling ideology of the so-called Islamic State, at this point it seems premature to label him a terrorist. We know that he suffered from mental illness and drug addiction, and that he acted alone—ultimately, there is very little that heavy-handed anti-terrorism legislation could have done, or could do in future, to prevent an attack from a similarly disturbed individual.

“Our country’s open and welcoming Parliament is emblematic of our shared democratic values. These recent attacks clearly showed that there are gaps in Parliamentary security, and we are confident that in the coming months these problems can be solved without unduly restricting Canadians’ access to their Parliament.”

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FEATURE PARTIES



PARTY CENTRAL

BY RACHEL AIELLO

Hope Live gala has something for everyone: food, tunes, political chatter, Olympians

What's the recipe for a winning event that will leave attendees chatting about it for days to come? Ask **Heidi Bonnell**. Having just celebrated Hope Live's sixth annual celebration of good food, good music and good friends, the event chair and founder even pulled off what some would think impossible—finding a replacement prominent Canadian performer in two days that outdid what was intended. Insert one rock icon, one good cause, a dozen delicious menu items and over 300 of Ottawa's most influential players into the Great Canadian Theatre Company, and now you're cooking.

As attendees arrived along the red carpet, a glass of champagne was placed in their hands and immediately the mingling began as the GCTC filled quickly. The much-celebrated cuisine of chef **Michael Moffatt** and restaurateur behind Beckta, Play and Gezellig restaurants, **Stephen Beckta**, was a highlight of the evening once again. Starting the event off with a rotating tasting menu of uniquely-presented eats, including chicken liver pate crisps, lobster rolls with avocado purée, grape focaccia with feta and balsamic, cucumber gazpacho, oysters with curry vichyssoise and a mushroom and onion truffle tart. Stations on each level also served up a unique dish, one a fresh Artic char with caviar crème fraîche, and the other, **Party Central's** personal favourite of the evening—a warm and hearty fig, oxtail and crispy sage risotto.

The little event that could, and did, kicked off the musical portion of the night with a monologue from Canadian funnyman and political satirist **Rick Mercer**. Honoured to be in Ottawa to help Hillites laugh again, Mercer took aim at the federal scene's biggest players, including some Cabinet ministers in the room, **Rona Ambrose** and **Tony Clement**, who was in his element, selfie-taking and music-talking; **Kellie Leitch**; **James Moore** and **Lisa Raitt**. Mr. Mercer said if the politicians, the media elite, and lobbyists can't get together and eat and drink, then the terrorists have won. "If that means you listening to me shit on **Tony Clement** then so be it," he said to much laughter.

He then welcomed Ms. Bonnell, a government affairs executive with Rogers Communications, on stage to share the latest numbers on the Power of Hope program, and charity Fertile Future. A cancer survivor, Ms. Bonnell said that as of the event on Monday, Oct. 27, the money raised from Hope Live contributions has helped 300 cancer survivors with information and treatment so they can have children after beating their cancer.

It was then time for Canadian rock legend **Burton Cummings** to take the stage at the GCTC, dazzling the audience with his "omnibus of hits," as Mr. Mercer put it, from throughout the years. He put on a great

show and was a great fill-in for **Alanis Morissette** who couldn't come because she was sick, but then got into trouble because she tweeted that she was having a great time with her friends on a beach. Her publicist later said the *Ironic* singer's tweeted photo was taken on Oct. 10, not Oct. 27.

Those in attendance, not pointed out by Mr. Mercer included a clutch-wielding **Justin Trudeau**, who alongside his wife **Sophie Grégoire**, were seen smiling for photos throughout the evening; Liberal MPs **Rodger Cuzner**, **Judy Foote**, **Judy Sgro** and **Scott Andrews**; Conservative MPs **Ed Holder**, **John Williamson**, **Scott Armstrong**, **Blaine Calkins**, **Deepak Obrhai** and **Wai Young**; NDP MP **Pierre Nantel** was also making his way around the room.

Many big names and familiar faces in GR, staffers and socialites also came in their best evening wear, including **Phil Upshall**, Mood Disorders Society of Canada; **Louise Bradley**, Mental Health Commission of Canada; **Greg MacEachern** of Enviro-nics Communications; design consultant **Kelly Mounce**; Natural Resources Minister Rickford's Director of Communications **Chris McCluskey**; **Virginia Alexander**, executive assistant to the Vice President of Canada at Rio Tinto; Summa Strategies **Michelle Austin** and **Robin McLachlan**; Bluesky Strategy Group's **Susan Smith**; Ensign's **Jacquie LaRocque**; Navigator PR's **Jaimie Watt**; CIBC's **Michel Libiron**; and Crestview Strategies **Rob Silver**, who was let out of Toronto for the evening remarkably, but was still overheard talking about Toronto mayoral election. CPAC's **Glen McInnis** and **Catherine Clark**; CTV's **Don Martin**; The Canadian Press' **Heather Scoffield**; Global News' **Laura Stone** and *Huffington Post Canada's* **Althia Raj** were also there.

Also seen mingling were members of the 2014 Hope Live Committee: **Angela Christiano**, **Karine Cousineau**, **Joanne Dobson**, **Joseph Galimberti**, **Debbie Healy**, **Tracey Hubley**, **Linda Kristal**, **Jacqueline LaRocque**, **Josh McJannett**, **Farah Mohamed**, **Hilary Moylan**, **Shawna Newbery**, and **Seamus O'Regan** and his husband **Steve Doss**.

Following the impressive set, guests were welcomed back into the reception area with elevated chocolate mint brownies and an adaptation of the traditional Eton Mess dessert with poached cranberries and meringues and a sampling of wine pairings. Also waiting were Canada Women's Olympic gold medal-winning hockey team, and The Amazing Race Canada stars **Natalie Spooner** and **Meaghan Mikkelsen** smiling and eager to sign the Team Canada jerseys as part of the Canadian Tire and Sportchek swag bags. It was a nice touch, for sure, topping off an evening that already cemented Hope Live as one of the best nights of the year.

raiello@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times



CBC funnyman Rick Mercer and President of the Treasury Board Tony Clement draw for the Air Canada raffle prize.



Canadian rock icon Burton Cummings performed an intimate set of hits.



Burton Cummings, Justin Trudeau, Sophie Grégoire, Rick Mercer, and Heidi Bonnell backstage.



CTV's Don Martin and Global's Laura Stone.



Burton Cummings and Liberal staffer Kevin Bosch.



Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau goofing around with Rick Mercer before the show.



Conservative MP Blaine Calkins.



HuffPo's Althia Raj.



Tracey Hubley and Lisa Raitt.



Curry vichyssoise-topped oysters were among the dozen delicious dishes served.



A full house of Hope Live attendees were dazzled by the evening's entertainment at the GCTC.



Burton Cummings and Kelly Mounce.



Brian Tobin and his wife Jodean.



John Baird's chef of saff, Garry Keller.



Stephen Hogue.



Kelly Williamson and her husband Conservative MP John Williamson.



Bruce Wood and Transport Minister Lisa Raitt, with her sister, Cora Lee Starzomski and her husband, Jonathan Howes.



Jacquie LaRocque and Cora Lee Starzomski.

Photographs by
Jake Wright

WOUNDED LEADERS

What it takes to be a leader

The author has analyzed in depth the major elements of leadership, the failings of many managers and leaders, and how these can be remedied. His text is to the point, concise, informative, sometimes amusing.

By **RODNEY MOORE**

TORONTO—Allan Bonner has secured an acknowledged track record over the years coaching thousands of clients in government, including diplomats, and in business and commerce. In his years as a journalist he was struck by just how few senior people, in either the private or public sector, “had a clear message or command of relevant issues and facts pertaining to their own organizations,” and how “many arrived for training sessions in crisis management and communications unprepared and unwilling to learn.”

In this book, he zeroes in on the key issues of his coaching, of leadership and its component aspects of communication, teamwork and productivity—all central to success in every field involving both more than one person, and also business interaction, if goals are to be realized, achievements maximized. The point is that leaders and managers ought to get the best out of the workforce and, in fact, of themselves, to be in a position to exercise the elusive quality of leadership.

The author has analyzed in depth the major elements of leadership, the failings of many managers and leaders, and how these can be remedied. His text is to the point, concise, informative, sometimes amusing. Nor is this a book just for specialists. There is much useful information in it beyond its examples of great ideas gone wrong (pretty often, it appears, foreseeably), such as leaders’ too frequently trend-following habit of launching mergers or enlarging their workforce—phantom steps taken to impress, although “the stark truth is that three-quarters

of all such moves fail to reach their hoped-for goals.” Factors are clarified that you will recognize but have not until now seen spelled out, or that you may never have formulated so clearly as in this book.

What in fact is leadership? It is not easy to pin down, nor its companion, teamwork. Is leadership being practised when people are kept employed in tough times; or when jobs are cut along with costs and assets to show more profit in the current quarter? The term must mean more than profits. Bonner wisely suggests that it may well involve the ability “to foster and exhibit Followership,” the ability to follow instructions from others.

Many in a position of leadership may like change *per se* for a number of reasons, some not always of much value. An obvious one is that it puts their stamp on the organization. Ideas flow throughout the book: is morality a necessary part of leadership? Is self-sacrifice a necessary asset of a leader? Should a leader be hard-driving, should s/he have a take-no-prisoner attitude? In the book one can read of the ersatz leader, the type who busily pursues ersatz work (there

is “the unproductive executive pacing the halls with a superfluous file!”). Who hasn’t come across or worse had to work under this type of boss? (Bonner also suggests “It could even be argued that the term ‘meeting’ may have the connotation of ersatz work about it.” (I have often at work heard this suggestion posed somewhat less politely.) There are also executives “found on unnecessary business trips, making lengthy bullet-point presentations, commissioning irrelevant studies.”

One point that Bonner stresses is surely unarguable: “for knowledge to become a valuable commodity, it must be imparted through excellent communication skills. In fact there may be few skills more necessary for the modern leader than clear, effective communication.” But how many such leaders have them?

The author makes an encouraging point: “The good news is that good communicators are not born. They learn to communicate.” He provides a very serviceable mnemonic device, the “SOCKO: Strategic Overriding Communications and Knowledge Objective”—“you need to construct a message with impact.” This is typical of the guidance that Bonner has planted in his book (and encouraging for one like myself who may have spent too many years trying, (a) to help my employers, while (b), at the same time, helping to provide the media with

credible answers to their questions, *not* always easy tasks to balance).

One area covered by this wide-ranging study, though perhaps not expected, is very apt: leadership and communication in the

dojo. Bonner has cleverly introduced into his analysis of leadership relevant lessons learned from his experiences with the dojo, the karate training centre. From participation in this activity he has found serious lessons in topics at the very heart of his years of coaching. Part of the task of a trainee in karate is developing the qualifications to teach the martial arts, involving helping and encouraging others—teaching being an aspect of leadership, motivation and organizational change. Moulding a diverse group into the *team* that dojo members must become regardless of background, involves skills more and more required in today’s business world, where, to succeed, leaders must deal with diverse employees, women and men of different cultures, races, language groups and ages. A key lesson of a dojo class lies in its inculcation of the responsibilities of *followers*, a different emphasis from that which the business world usually attaches to the qualities that a *leader* needs to possess. Bonner points out that “Followership seems to be as much a cause of productivity as leadership, or any other factor.” As

he writes: “In the end, the karate metaphor may best illustrate the need for continuous and vigorous pursuit of tasks, skills, and the regular setting of new goals.”

The book ends with a look ahead. Though much in life has changed in the last 50 years, very little has in the leadership ranks of the world’s biggest business entities—the vast majority of Fortune 500 company CEOs are still white males from North America and Europe. There also remains the assumption that “growth is always possible and should always be the goal,” but a goal that Bonner rejects out of hand: “This strategy of unending growth in the face of impediments may be crucial to understanding modern managers’ and leaders’ failures in business. Attempts to buy growth and success through mergers and acquisitions continue unabated in spite of volumes of evidence that this is a flawed approach...”

Our business leaders are products of our Western culture. Business and commerce have operated primarily according to our rules. However, as the author concludes, with more and more regions and countries joining the still-evolving global



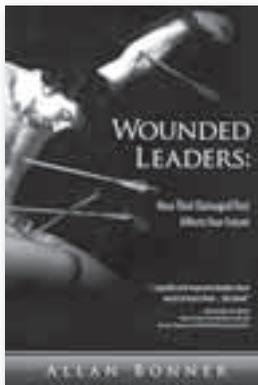
What is leadership? It is not easy to pin down, nor its companion, teamwork. Allan Bonner’s book *Wounded Leaders*, looks into leadership. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

market place, “the rules will change. The time to consider a new approach is now.”

Rodney Moore is a former political counsellor at the Canadian Embassy in Saudi Arabia, who also spent seven years in the Arabian American Oil Company’s government affairs department in Jeddah and Dhahran, before rejoining External/Foreign Affairs as a departmental spokesperson, and spent two years editing and writing documents in connection with the 2010 G8 and G20 Summits in Huntsville and Toronto.

Wounded Leaders: How Their Damaged Past Affects Your Future, by Allan Bonner, Sextant Publishing, pp. 172, \$29.95.

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FEATURE BUZZ

Friends, colleagues pay tribute to Sun News' Mark Dunn

Continued from page 2

Sun colleague **David Akin** wrote that Mr. Dunn's byline had appeared more than 13,000 times during his 30-year reporting career.

"Pick any one of those 13,000-plus stories and you will find Mark filling them with verbs that jump, punch, pounce, surprise, and sizzle and nouns of substance, size, smell and colour. The obfuscating jargon of politicians and bureaucrats was tossed in favour of the rich everyday language that connected Mark to his readers," Mr. Akin wrote in a Sun article honouring his late colleague.

Others who paid tribute to Mr. Dunn on Twitter included Montreal Mayor **Denis Coderre**, a former Liberal MP; Liberal MP **Judy Sgro**; CTV bureau chief **Robert Fife**; former press gallery president **Gord McIntosh**; and former PMO communications director **Andrew MacDougall**.

Bruce Cheadle, CP reporter, tweeted: "My old pal and CP partner in crime Mark Dunn shed this mortal coil just before 1 p.m. today, his beloved Gloria at his side. God speed, buddy."

Journalism, public affairs, social media nexus

Social media "is the confirmed water cooler of the modern era," a new report on how Canadian journalists and public affairs professionals use the tools says, and some are better than others at getting their banter heard.

Digital public affairs consultant **Mark Blevis** of Full Duplex and Abacus Data CEO **David Coletto** collaborated on the second Matters of Opinion survey, released last week, which looked at how Canadians use the internet to process current events.

Traditional media is still the "credible starting point" for news and information and for driving discussion, the survey found, but a small group of "engaged Canadians" is starting to shape news and discussions by reaching journalists, public affairs professionals and politicians online.

Nearly three-quarters of the survey's respondents ranked their



Former Sun reporter Mark Dunn recently died after a battle with cancer.

trust in mainstream media as either four or five out of five, compared to 65 per cent for government websites and 41 per cent for alternative and independent media.

This was true even for the cohort labelled "engaged Canadians": the higher-educated, higher-earning demographic that's more likely to work in media, politics and public affairs and to participate in online campaigns.

Online public affairs campaigns won't influence public opinion directly but because journalists covering federal politics follow pundits, lobbyists and others, effective campaigns can reach the journalists and influence coverage.

"Online engagement, content sharing, and dialogue may be noticed by journalists and provide insight and information to their stories," the report said. "Increasingly, Twitter mentions are being used as primary sources in news stories, and content shared on social media can help inform those who make decisions about what is included in the news content produced each day."

The survey looked at the Twitter accounts of 50 prominent journalists to see whom they most commonly follow. The list of most-followed public affairs professionals is below.

Industry Minister **James Moore** and Employment and Social Development Minister **Jason Kenney** are the most-followed politicians, followed by 92 per cent of the of the journalists; Liberal Leader **Justin Trudeau** (90 per cent) is next and Prime Minister **Stephen Harper** and Treasury Board President **Tony Clement** follow at 86 per cent.

Social media did not fare nearly as well as traditional media when it came to trust: half of respondents gave Facebook a trust ranking of

one or two out of five, as did 48 per cent for Twitter and 41 per cent for LinkedIn, although younger Canadians were more trusting.

Twitter emerged as the key tool for public affairs engagement: while 84 per cent of respondents said they connect primarily with family and friends on Facebook, that number was only 30 per cent on Twitter, with 28 per cent saying they connect with interest groups most and 27 per cent with acquaintances. Facebook's audience is large but closed, the report says, while Twitter users are more open to engaging outside their networks and the platform is used more for endorsing content and voicing opinions.

The data was gathered by surveying a group of regular Canadians and "engaged" Canadians separately. A random sample of 1,000 everyday Canadians from a representative sample of 400,000 were surveyed online in June. A margin of error could not be calculated because the survey was not from a random, probability-based sample.

The 264 "engaged" Canadians were recruited online through email, social media and ads on Twitter and Facebook.

Here's the list of the top 40 most-followed public affairs professionals from the analysis of 50 journalists' Twitter accounts:

Brad Lavigne
Andrew MacDougall
Jason Lietaer
Tim Powers
Guy W. Giorno
Jim Armour
Ian Capstick
Rick Anderson
Rob Silver
Scott Reid
Jaime Watt
Brian Topp
Goldy Hyder
Yaroslav Baran
Scott Feschuk
Kathleen Monk
Warren Kinsella
Greg MacEachern
Katie Telford
Keith Beardsley
Elly Alboim
Gerry Nicholls
Jacquie LaRocque
Gregory Thomas
Rosemary Thompson
Alise Mills
Derek Vanstone
Jamie Carroll
Kevin Gaudet
Steven MacKinnon
Leslie Swartman
Leslie Church
Phil von Finckenstein
Robin Sears

Chris Froggatt
Michele Austin
Geoff Norquay
Dan Robertson
David McLaughlin
Marcella Munro

AFN coming to Hill to lobby on education

The Assembly of First Nations will have a lobby day on the Hill on Nov. 5.

Leaders from the organization, including interim National Chief **Ghislain Picard**, are visiting Parliament to discuss issues important to aboriginal Canadians, including First Nations education.

Chief Picard, the regional chief for Québec and Labrador, assumed the role of interim national chief after **Shawn Atleo** resigned on May 2 in the midst of a public battle within First Nations ranks over Bill C-33, the First Nations Control of First Nations Education Act.

The federal government proposed major increases in federal funding for First Nations education in the 2014 budget, but the funding is conditional on Bill C-33's acceptance by First Nations leaders. On May 27, an AFN Special Chiefs Assembly voted unanimously in support of a resolution calling on the government to withdraw C-33 and "engage in an honourable process" with First Nations that recognizes their Treaty rights.

Education was the top concern in the AFN's submission to the House Finance Committee examining next year's surplus budget.

"Two investments are needed: First, the immediate release of the \$1.9B to support First Nations schools and address the urgent shortfall; second, a new First Nation education fiscal framework that reflects actual costs for First Nation education systems," the submission says.

The national organization is also calling for action to end violence against indigenous women and girls and support for skills training, the submission says.

The AFN will elect a new national chief on Dec. 10. Nominations for candidates close at midnight on Nov. 4.

Cotler receives Raoul Wallenberg medal

Liberal MP **Irwin Cotler** last week received the Raoul Wallenberg Centennial Medal, an

international award recognizing his promotion of human rights.

The long-time Liberal MP and former Justice minister received the award Oct. 28 on Parliament Hill from the International Raoul Wallenberg Foundation. The organization preserves the legacy of Mr. Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat who saved tens of thousands of European Jews in World War Two and who became Canada's first honorary citizen.

It's recognizing Mr. Cotler, a former McGill University law professor, for his "efforts in Holocaust education, in the combating and prevention of mass atrocity, and in the defence of political prisoners worldwide, including **Natan Sharansky** and **Nelson Mandela**," a release said.

Mr. Cotler has played a significant role in preserving Mr. Wallenberg's legacy. He was the family's counsel in the 1984 U.S. case that found Mr. Wallenberg hadn't died in 1947, as the Soviets had claimed, and he chaired an international commission to help determine the late diplomat's fate and whereabouts after being arrested by Soviet authorities in 1945. He also helped establish Jan. 17 as Raoul Wallenberg Day in Canada.

Former UK prime minister **Gordon Brown** and European Commission President **Jose Manuel Barroso** are past recipients of the award.

Mr. Cotler received the honour in a reception co-hosted by Speaker **Andrew Scheer**, Foreign Affairs Minister **John Baird**, NDP Leader **Thomas Mulcair** and Liberal Leader **Justin Trudeau**.

D'Arcy's Taylor pours a mean Guinness

A Sparks Street bartender pours a better pint of Guinness than his Irish pub peers, and he's won a four-day trip to the old country for his troubles.

D'Arcy McGee's **Jeff Taylor** won the Draught Master Competition in Toronto last week that involved pouring the perfect pint and engaging the crowd with a story about his first pint of Guinness after growing up in a small town without a pub. The competition, put on by Prime Pubs, pitted 15 bartenders from the company's Fionn MacCool's, D'Arcy McGee's, Paddy Flaherty's and Tir nan Óg chains of pubs.

Mr. Taylor won a four-day trip to Ireland with \$2,000 of spending money.

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HILL CLIMBERS

POLITICAL STAFFERS

Irwin back on Hill as D. Comms to Minister Finley

Public Works Minister Diane Finley bid farewell to her communications director of three years, Alyson Queen, at the beginning of October, but Hill Climbers has learned she wasn't without a D. Comms for long thanks to the recent return of communications aide Amber Irwin from maternity leave.



LAURA RYCKEWEART

Public Works Minister Diane Finley bid farewell to her communications director of three years, Alyson Queen, at the beginning of October, but Hill Climbers has learned she wasn't without a D. Comms for long thanks to the recent return of communications aide Amber Irwin from maternity leave.

Ms. Queen left the Hill just ahead of the Thanksgiving long weekend, departing Ms. Finley's office after more than three years. Originally from Saint John, N.B., Ms. Queen arrived in Ottawa to work as Ms. Finley's press secretary in July 2011, at the time Ms. Finley was the minister for Human Resources and Skills Development, and was promoted to serve as the minister's director of communications at the beginning of 2012.

But Hill Climbers has learned that Ms. Irwin returned to work in Ms. Finley's ministerial office the week of Oct. 1, and Ms. Irwin quickly stepped in to take over as director of communications to the minister.

Ms. Irwin left Ms. Finley's office on maternity leave in October 2013. Marcel Poulin joined the office shortly after to take over as press secretary to Ms. Finley, and later Kayla Iafelice was also hired to work as deputy press secretary to Ms. Finley, under the direction of Ms. Queen.

Now back from maternity leave, Ms. Irwin is leading Ms. Finley's communications team, which continues to include Mr. Poulin and Ms. Iafelice in the same roles.

Ms. Irwin has worked on the Hill for a number of years, previously serving as press secretary to Rona Ambrose during her time as Public Works minister. Ms. Irwin stuck with the Public Works portfolio when Ms. Ambrose was shuffled into her current role as Health Minister in July 2013.

In other staffing news, Jess Weiser recently bid farewell to Ms. Ambrose's ministerial office, where he was working as director of policy, and has joined Ms. Finley's office as her director of issues management, as indicated by the government's electronic directory service (GEDS).

Mr. Weiser has been working on the Hill since around 2011. Before being hired to work as an executive assistant to Ms. Ambrose, Mr. Weiser worked in then Heritage

minister James Moore's office as a student. In December 2012, Mr. Weiser became a policy adviser for acquisitions to Ms. Ambrose in her capacity as Public Works minister. When Ms. Ambrose was shuffled into the Health portfolio in July 2013, Mr. Weiser followed the minister and was appointed director of policy.

Ms. Ambrose's ministerial staff roster on GEDS has been updated to reflect Mr. Weiser's departure, but no new director of policy has yet been listed. Keep reading Hill Climbers for an update.

Currently, Shannon Hale is a senior policy adviser, Nik Zylstra is a policy adviser and Scott Myres is a special assistant for policy, as indicated by Ms. Ambrose's staff list on GEDS.

Danica McLellan also recently joined Ms. Finley's office to work as the minister's new executive assistant, replacing Alexandra Valcov, who is no longer working on the Hill.

Ms. McLellan's LinkedIn account indicates she joined Ms. Finley's office some time in September and is currently finishing up a bachelor of social sciences in political science and public administration, with a minor in business administration, at the University of Ottawa and is expected to graduate in 2015.

In 2011, during her first year at the university, Ms. McLellan worked as a page in the House of Commons, and she's previously done correspondence work for Conservative MP John Weston, the MP for West Vancouver-Sunshine Coast-Sea to Sky Country, B.C., according to her online profile.

Chief of Staff Lynette Corbett is in charge of Ms. Finley's ministerial office, aided by Ms. Irwin, Mr. Weiser, Parliamentary affairs director John Nieuwenhuis, director of Parliamentary affairs, and policy director Tim Oracheski.

Minister of State for Sport Bal Gosal has hired staffer David von Meyenfeldt to take up the reins as director of policy in his ministerial office.

Mr. von Meyenfeldt arrives straight from the office of Agriculture Minister Gerry Ritz, where he had been working as assistant to the Parliamentary secretary for Agriculture, currently Conservative MP Pierre Lemieux.

Before joining Mr. Ritz's office, Mr. von Meyenfeldt worked for Intergovernmental Affairs and Infrastructure Minister Denis Lebel, first being hired as a special assistant for communications to Mr. Lebel in October 2011, during his time as the minister for Transport. Mr. von Meyenfeldt went on to work as a senior special assistant and caucus liaison to Mr. Lebel.



Amber Irwin is back on the Hill as director of communications to Public Works Minister Diane Finley. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

Mr. von Meyenfeldt replaces Robin Guy as policy director to Mr. Gosal. Mr. Guy took over as Mr. Gosal's new chief of staff on Sept. 8. The role of chief of staff opened up during the summer with the departure of Dustin Van Vugt, who left to work as deputy executive director of the Conservative Party and was confirmed as the party's new executive director by its national council in September.

Meanwhile, Minister of State for the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agencies (ACOA) Rob Moore has hired Mathieu Valcour to work as his new special assistant and driver.

Chief of Staff Shane Bourke is overall in charge of Mr. Moore's ministerial office.

In more belated news, Hill Climbers has learned that Dennis Laurie is once again working on the Hill and has returned to his old gig as a legislative assistant to Conservative MP Scott Reid, the MP for Lanark-Frontenac-Lennox and Addington.

According to Mr. Laurie's LinkedIn account, he returned to the Hill to work for Mr. Reid last February, after having bid farewell to Parliament and his job as director of policy and Parliamentary affairs to the minister of state for Democratic Reform in July 2013 when Tim Uppal was shuffled out of the role and replaced by Pierre Poilievre. Mr. Uppal is now the Minister of State for Multiculturalism.

Before returning to the Hill in February, Mr. Laurie spent around half a year working as project communications director at the National Association of Career Colleges, according to his online profile.

A longtime Hill staffer, Mr. Laurie first worked as a legislative and research assistant to Mr. Reid

in the summer of 2006. After about a year with Mr. Reid, Mr. Laurie went on to work in various roles for then Citizenship and Immigration minister Ms. Finley and followed Ms. Finley over to the Human Resources and Skills Development portfolio when Cabinet was shuffled in the fall of 2008.

Mr. Laurie began working for Mr. Uppal in June 2011, just after the minister was shuffled into Cabinet after being elected an MP for the first time the month before.

Staff experiences from Ottawa shooting

It started as a regular, damp, autumnal morning—and ended as a day Canada will never forget.

On Oct. 22, Corporal Nathan Cirillo, 24, was standing guard at the National War Memorial in downtown Ottawa when he was approached from behind and shot at point blank range.

The gunman, since identified as Michael Zehaf-Bibeau, 32, quickly made his way up to the Parliamentary Precinct and hijacked a minister's car waiting outside the East Block, before driving up to Centre Block and storming through the front doors.

Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau fired his weapon while in Centre Block, including a shot that struck House of Commons security guard

Constable Samearn Son in the leg. He was quickly pursued down the Hall of Honour by security guards, thanks to Globe and Mail reporter Josh Wingrove's phone video recording of it—passing close by Conservative and NDP caucuses which were holding meetings—and was shot dead in front of the doors to the Library of Parliament. House of Commons Sergeant-at-Arms Kevin Vickers has since been credited with firing the shot that killed Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau, but House security and RCMP officers were also part of the gunfight.

Cpl. Cirillo was killed and three people sustained minor injuries, including Const. Son, who was unarmed when he approached Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau and made a grab for Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau's rifle after he burst through the front doors of the Centre Block. The shooting sent most of downtown Ottawa into lockdown for the majority of the day, with some not being permitted to leave the Parliamentary Precinct until as late as 11 p.m. that night.

But as the shooting unfolded, much was unknown about the nature of the attack, including how many people were taking part with a rumour at one point suggesting two or three gunmen could be involved and on the loose.

As bullets flew in Centre Block's Hall of Honour, and as MPs in caucus meetings became aware of the threat, elsewhere in Centre Block, staffers were also reacting, but as *The Winnipeg Free Press's* Mia Rabson recently reported, many staff hiding in their offices were for hours left in the dark.

A Conservative staffer said he heard blasts and yelling from floors below in the Centre Block, but said the only safety drill that staff do is an annual fire drill, meaning staff were left both unsure of what to do and unsure of what was happening, reported Ms. Rabson.

An emailed bulletin to staff that arrived in inboxes minutes before 11 a.m. indicated the Parliamentary Precinct was under lockdown and instructed staff to stay in offices, lock doors and stay away from windows—but did not say what had taken place.

"I think this is a good wake-up call for the future," said the Conservative staffer, referring to safety plans, as reported by Ms. Rabson.

A range of stories emerged from across the Hill.

Perhaps the one of the most harrowing experiences was Nicolas Mamo's, driver and special assistant to Minister of State for Western Economic Diversification Michelle Rempel, who was sitting in the minister's car outside the East Block when the shooter, Mr. Zehaf-Bibeau approached and forced him out of the car at gunpoint to continue his journey up to Centre Block. In security camera footage, Mr. Mamo can be seen running for his life from the gunman towards Wellington Street.

A construction worker who witnessed the gunman run into the Parliamentary Precinct and highjack the car, Barry Willis saw the gunman order the driver out at gunpoint.

"I thought it was all over for him. Then [the shooter] got in the car and drove to Centre Block," Mr. Willis told reporters on Oct. 22.

There are also stories of cooperation amongst the chaos.

Veteran NDP staffer Karl Bélanger, currently principal secretary to NDP leader Tom Mulcair, for example, told *The Hill Times* he ended up in a mixed group of MPs and staffers when he was evacuated by RCMP officers from the fourth-floor Opposition Leader's Office to Conservative MP Guy Lauzon's office nearby, including Conservative Ontario Senator Marjory LeBretton, NDP MP Francine Raynault, and Liberal Quebec Senator Céline Hervieux-Payette.

Altogether roughly 80 people, mostly staffers, took refuge in Mr. Lauzon's office for hours, with a few cases of Pepsi to share between them. While low batteries became a concern for many, the unflappable Mr. Bélanger was hard at work fielding interview requests from news outlets around the world, desperate to get insight into the still-unfolding drama.

Mr. Bélanger told *The Hill Times* he got some unexpected help during lockdown.

"From time to time, the phone would ring and the Conservative staff would pick up the phone and take messages for me," he said.

lryckewaert@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

FEATURE EVENTS

Harper to attend Economic Club lunch in Ottawa for French President Hollande Nov. 3



Business Luncheon in Honour of French President Francois Hollande—The Economic Club of Canada presents a talk with French President Francois Hollande. Prime Minister Stephen Harper will be in attendance. Nov. 3, 12:15-2:20 p.m., \$150. Delta Ottawa City Centre, 101 Lyon St. N., Ottawa, Ont. www.economicclub.ca. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright and courtesy of Wikipedia: Jack Rabbit Slim's



Parliamentary Calendar

MONDAY, NOV. 3

House Sitting—The House of Commons is sitting this week and will continue to sit until Nov. 3, when it will break for a week and resume on Nov. 17.

Business Luncheon in Honour of French President Francois Hollande—The Economic Club of Canada presents a talk with French President Francois Hollande. Prime Minister Stephen Harper will be in attendance. Nov. 3, 12:15-2:20 p.m., \$150. Delta Ottawa City Centre, 101 Lyon St. N., Ottawa, Ont. www.economicclub.ca

SecureTech—Securetech is Canada's leading public safety, emergency management and security showcase. Nov. 3-5. Ottawa Convention Centre, 55 Colonel By Dr., Ottawa, Ont. www.securetechcanada.ca

Parliamentary Associations/Exchanges—The Canadian Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association hosts a reception celebrating commonwealth women parliamentarians in Ottawa. www.parl.gc.ca/IIA

Parliamentary Associations/Exchanges—The Canada-France Inter-Parliamentary Association will attend the 42nd Annual Meeting in Toronto and Niagara, Ont. www.parl.gc.ca/IIA

TUESDAY, NOV. 4

Youth in Office—Job Shadowing Day on Parliament Hill—The Boys and Girls Club of Canada presents Youth in Office: Job Shadowing Day on Parliament Hill Breakfast Reception. Nov. 4, 7:30-8:30 a.m. Speaker's Lounge, Parliament Hill, Ottawa, Ont. www.bgcottawa.org

A Changing Energy Landscape: Canada's Place in the New Energy Abundance—The Economic Club of Canada presents a talk on "A Changing Energy Landscape..." with Rich Kruger, CEO and president, Imperial Oil. Nov. 4, 11:45 a.m.-1:30 p.m., \$89. The Fairmont Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. www.economicclub.ca

Canadian Foreign Policy: Hits and Misses—CIC Montreal presents a talk on "Canadian Foreign Policy: Hits and Misses" with Ferry de Kerckhove, Executive VP, CDA Institute. Nov. 4, 11:45 a.m.-2 p.m. University Club of Montreal, 2047 Mansfield St., Montreal, Que. opencanada.org

An Evening with Paul Martin—The Markham-Stouffville FLA presents an evening with former prime minister Paul Martin. Nov. 4, 5 p.m., \$100 (cocktail only); \$500 (cocktail and formal dinner). Angus Glen Golf Club, 10080 Kennedy Rd., Markham, Ont. www.liberal.ca

CHFA Natural Health Products Awareness Day—The CHFA holds its annual natural health products awareness day. Members will meet with Parliamentarians and host an evening reception. Nov. 4, 5:30-7:30 p.m. Rooms 601 and 602, Parliamentary Dining Room, Parliament Hill, Ottawa, Ont. www.impactcanada.com

Book Launch: The Future and Why We Should Avoid It with Scott Feschuk—Presented by the Ottawa International Writers Festival. Nov. 4, 6 p.m. Free. Métropolitain Brasserie, 700 Sussex Dr., Ottawa, Ont. Register at www.writersfestival.org

World Economic Forum on India—Under the theme *Re-defining Public-Private Cooperation for a New Beginning*, this meeting will bring together high-level leaders from government, civil society and business for an issue-based interaction that takes stock of promises made in the Indian election manifesto and explores how to collectively shape policies for inclusive growth. Nov. 4-6. New Delhi, India. india@weforum.org

Fraser Tribute Dinner—Alain Bouchard, President and CEO, Alimentation Couche-Tard, will receive the T. Patrick Boyle Founder's Award at the Fraser Institute Tribute Dinner. Nov. 6, 5:30 p.m. Hyatt Regency Montreal, 1255 Jeanne-Mance Ave., Montreal, Que. www.fraserinstitute.org

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 5

Conservative Weekly Caucus Meeting—The Conservatives are scheduled to meet at 9:30 a.m. in Room 237-C, Centre Block. For more information, call the PMO Press Office at 613-957-5555.

NDP Weekly Caucus—The federal New Democrats are scheduled to meet for their weekly caucus meeting, Railway Room, 253-D, Centre Block, 9-11 a.m. noon. For more information, please contact senior press secretary Marc-André Viau at 613-295-9228 or marc-andre.viau@parl.gc.ca

Liberal Weekly Caucus Meeting—The federal Liberals are scheduled to meet for their weekly caucus meeting in Room 112-N, Centre Block, 10 a.m.-12 p.m. For more information, contact the Liberal spokeswoman Kate Purchase at 613-947-5100.

The Evolving Role of Charities in the Canadian Economy—The Economic Club of Canada presents a talk with Brian Emmett, Chief Economist for Canada's Charitable and Non-Profit Sector, Imagine Canada, on "The Evolving Role of Charities in the Canadian Economy." Nov. 5, 11:45 a.m.-1:30 p.m. The Fairmont Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. www.economicclub.ca

The Battlefield of Ontario Politics—The Empire Club of Canada presents a talk on "The Battlefield of Ontario Politics" with Greg Sorbara. Nov. 5, 12 p.m., \$80. Royal York Hotel, Concert Hall, 100 York St., Toronto, Ont. www.empireclub.org

CIC Vancouver: Brave New Canada—CIC Vancouver presents a talk "Brave New Canada" with authors Derek Burney and Fen Hampson. Nov. 4, 11:30 a.m.-2 p.m., \$30 members; \$40 non-members. Law Courts Inn, 800 Smithe St., Vancouver, B.C. opencanada.org

CIC Montreal: Canadian Foreign Policy - Hits and Misses—CIC Montreal presents a talk on "Canadian Foreign Policy: Hits and Misses" with Ferry de Kerckhove, Executive Vice-President, CDA Institute. Nov. 4, 11:45 a.m.-2 p.m., \$45-\$70. University Club of Montreal, 2047 Mansfield St., Montreal, Que. Register at opencanada.org

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The Canola Council of Canada (CCC), based in Winnipeg, is a national trade association representing producers, input suppliers, processors and marketers of canola and its products. Our mission is to advance the growth and profitability of the canola industry based on innovation, sustainability, resilience and the creation of superior value for a healthier world. Currently we are seeking a:

MARKET ACCESS MANAGER

Based in Ottawa, Ontario, this challenging opportunity is for a dedicated professional with a strong interest in advancing the canola industry through the development of strategies and plans to influence policies, legislation, and regulations to enhance market access for Canadian canola. A significant part of this role is related to communication with public office holders around government policy and regulations. Reporting to the Vice President, Government Relations, CCC, the Market Access Manager's primary responsibilities include:

- contributing to the development and implementation of a global canola market access plan;
- providing significant support to the VP, Government Relations on all market access files;
- supporting the VP, Government Relations in representing the Canadian canola sector's best interests with governments, industry and stakeholders domestically and internationally;
- working closely with the VP, Government Relations to develop and maintain significant relationships with government;
- monitoring federal and provincial government agriculture, trade and market access activities, legislation, policies and announcements;
- participating in government and industry consultations on key market access issues, opportunities and strategies;
- providing input into communications strategies focused on ensuring growers understand market access issues and opportunities; and,
- assisting in coordinating special events, meetings and consultations primarily focused on government outreach activities on behalf of the Canadian canola industry.

Qualifications include:

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FEATURE EVENTS

Former PM Martin to host fundraiser in for Liberal Markham-Stouffville riding association Nov. 4



Calendar

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 5

CIC Victoria: Dinner Meeting—Authors Derek Burney and Fen Hampson will speak about their newly released book *Brave New Canada* at a dinner meeting this evening. Nov. 4, 5:30-7 p.m., \$35 members; \$45 non-members. The Union Club of B.C., 805 Gordon St., Victoria, B.C. Register to Robert Horn at 250-383-3550 or horn.robert6@gmail.com

Canadian Electricity Association's 2014 Occupational Health and Safety Awards Reception—Keynote speaker Employment and Social Development Minister Jason Kenney and other guests will honour employees and organizations that have excelled in safety performance. Nov. 5, 4:30-7:30 p.m. Fairmont Chateau Laurier, Quebec Suite, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, RSVP to 613-230-9263, ext. 230 or rsvp@electricity.ca

Fertilizer Industry Reception—The Canadian Fertilizer Institute and its members host a reception for Parliamentarians, staff and stakeholders. Nov. 5, 5-7:30 p.m. Fairmont Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. RSVP to shorton@cfi.ca

Provincial Byelection—A byelection will be held today in the Newfoundland riding of Conception Bay, following the resignation of former justice minister Terry French. The riding of Trinity-Bay de Verde is also vacant after former finance minister Charlene Johnson quit politics. No date has been announced for that.



An Evening with Paul Martin—The Markham-Stouffville FLA presents an evening with former prime minister Paul Martin. Nov. 4, 5 p.m., \$100 (cocktail only); \$500 (cocktail and formal dinner). Angus Glen Golf Club, 10080 Kennedy Rd., Markham, Ont. www.liberal.ca. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 5

NATO-Russia Relations after the Newport Summit—CSDS at Carleton University presents a talk on "NATO-Russia Relations after the Newport Summit," with Markus Kaim, German Institute of International and Security Affairs, Berlin. Nov. 5, 3:30-5 p.m. Senate Room, 608 Robertson Hall, 1125

Colonel By Dr., Ottawa, Ont. Register to labs.carleton.ca/canadaeurope/cu-events/nato-russia-relations-newport-summit/

THURSDAY, NOV. 6

Fighting in Flanders: Gas. Mud. Memory—The Canadian War Museum hosts the official opening night of its new exhibit "Fighting in Flanders: Gas. Mud. Memory."

Nov. 6, 5:30 p.m. Canadian War Museum, 1 Vimy Pl., Ottawa, Ont. RSVP to Avra Gibbs Lamey at 819-776-8607 or avra.gibbs-lamey@warmuseum.ca

Northumberland-Peterborough South Federal Liberal Association Red Leaf Dinner—The Northumberland-Peterborough South FLA hosts the annual Red Leaf Dinner with guest Carolyn Bennett (St. Paul's, Ont.). This year's theme is election readiness 2015. Nov. 6, 6 p.m., \$100. Cobourg Best Western Inn & Convention Centre, Cobourg, Ont. www.liberal.ca

Parliamentary Associations/Exchanges—The Canada-U.K. Interparliamentary Association hosts a luncheon in honour of Thomas Barry, Deputy British High Commissioner to Canada, in Ottawa, Ont. www.parl.gc.ca/IIA

FRIDAY, NOV. 7

Military Suicide: Traumatization, Sanctuary Traumatization, Secondary Traumatization and Helping the Survivors—The Coalition of Veterans Organizations presents a meeting on veterans issues, followed by a luncheon discussion with Dr. Antoon A. Leenars. Nov. 7, 9 a.m., meeting, 1 p.m. talk, \$20. Polish Combatant's Hall, 379 Waverly St., Ottawa, Ont. 613-915-1516

24th Vimy Award Gala Reception and Dinner—Blake Goldring is this year's recipient of the Vimy Award. \$300. Nov. 7. Canadian War Museum, 1 Vimy Pl., Ottawa, Ont. 613-236-9903.

SUNDAY, NOV. 9

Summit on the Global Agenda—The Summit on the Global Agenda is the world's largest global brainstorming event, bringing together the most relevant thought leaders of the World Economic Forum's Network of Global Agenda Councils. Comprised of more than 80 groups of experts from business, academia, government and civil society, the Councils advance knowledge and jointly explore critical issues shaping the global, industry and regional agendas. Nov. 9-11. Dubai, UAE. www.weforum.org

MONDAY, NOV. 10

House Breaks—The House of Commons will break for a week, resuming on Nov. 17.

Eurocrisis: Germany 25 Years After the Fall of the Wall—The Empire Club presents a talk on "Eurocrisis: Germany 25 Years After the Fall of the Wall" with German Ambassador to Canada Werner Wnendt. Nov. 10, 12 p.m., \$95. Royal York Hotel, 100 Front St., Toronto, Ont. www.empireclub.org

A Conversation with Marc Garneau—The Cambridge FLA presents a Conversation with Marc Garneau (Westmount, Ville Marie) about foreign affairs and the next federal election. Nov. 10, 6-8 p.m., \$100. Galt Country Club, 750 Coronation Blvd., Cambridge, Ont. www.liberal.ca

The Comeback with John Ralston Saul—Presented by the Ottawa International Writers Festival. Nov. 10, 7 p.m., \$15. Southminster United Church, 15 Aylmer Ave., Ottawa, Ont. www.writersfestival.org

IPAC New Professionals Workshop 2014—The theme for this year's workshop is "Tackling Complex Problems Through Innovative Solutions." Nov. 10. Ontario Room, MacDonald Block, 900 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. www.ipac.ca

2014 Royal Tour—The Princess Royal (Princess Anne) and Vice Admiral Sir Tim Laurence will tour the National Capital Region and then visit the Crrysler's Farm Battlefield Memorial in Morrisburg, Ont. Nov. 10-11. www.pch.gc.ca/

TUESDAY, NOV. 11

Remembrance Day—On Remembrance Day, November 11, 2014, Canadians honour and remember our veterans, and all who served Canada during war, armed conflict and peace. In Ottawa, veterans will gather at the War Memorial on Elgin Street, for the annual Remembrance Day National Ceremony. www.veterans.gc.ca

CABINET SHUFFLES by Michael Acker

OUR "PROTECTION OF CANADA FROM TERRORISTS ACT" WILL GIVE NEW POWERS TO LAW ENFORCEMENT.

WE SHOULD GET MORE SUPPORT FOR THIS ACT AFTER THE TERRORIST ATTACK FROM LAST WEEK.

LORD HARPER, I TAKE ISSUE WITH CALLING LAST WEEK'S INCIDENT A "TERRORIST" ATTACK.

WE MAY BE ABLE TO GET MORE POWERS FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT BY LABELLING LAST WEEK'S ATTACK A "TERRORIST" ATTACK...

...BUT IT REALLY HAD MORE TO DO WITH MENTAL ILLNESS AND DRUG ABUSE THAN TERRORISM.

YOU CAN CALL IT WHATEVER YOU WANT, COMMANDER.

THANK YOU, MY LORD.

NOW WHERE WERE WE?

WE WERE TALKING ABOUT HOW THE TERRORISTS HATE OUR FREEDOMS.

THEY'RE A BUNCH OF FREEDOM HATERS.

YEAH! YEAH!

FEATURE EVENTS

Feschuk to launch book at Métropolitain Brasserie Nov. 4



Calendar

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 12

Getting Privacy Right—The Empire Club presents a talk on “Getting Privacy Right” with Canada’s Privacy Commissioner Daniel Therrien. Nov. 12, 12 p.m., \$95. One King West Hotel, Grand Banking Hall, Toronto, Ont. www.empireclub.org

Shattering the Glass Ceiling: How the public service can and should provide an environment for individual career ownership—IPAC National Capital Region presents a panel discussion featuring Krista Outhwaite, Associate Deputy Minister, Public Health Agency of Canada, Nancy Chahwan, Associate Deputy Minister, PWGSC and Lisa Sullivan, Chair, Federal Youth Network. Nov. 12, 4:45 p.m., \$15 members; \$20 non-members. HMCS Bytown Officers’ Mess, Crowsnest Room, 78 Lisgar St., Ottawa, Ont. Register to <http://psleadership.eventbrite.com>

An Evening with Warren Kinsella—The Mississauga Lakeshore FLA presents an evening with political insider Warren Kinsella. Nov. 12, 6 p.m., \$150. Holcim Waterfront Estate, 2700 Lakeshore Rd. W., Mississauga, Ont. www.liberal.ca

First Nations Engagement in Canadian Energy—The C.D. Howe Institute presents its Annual Calgary Dinner with former prime minister Paul Martin, Dave Tuccaro, Tuccaro Inc., and others. Nov. 12, 6-9 p.m., \$149 members; \$249 non-members. The Petroleum Club, McMurray Room, 319 5th Ave. SW, Calgary, Alta. www.cdhowe.org

Third Annual Financial Literacy Panel—The Economic Club of Canada presents its Third Annual Financial Literacy Panel. Speakers include Joanne De Laurentiis, President and CEO, The Investment Funds Institute of Canada, and Lucie Tedesco, Commissioner, Financial Consumer Agency of Canada. Nov. 12, \$100.57 members; \$124.30 non-members. Marriott Downtown Eaton Centre, 525 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. www.economicclub.ca

THURSDAY, NOV. 13

Climate Change Panel—The Empire Club of Canada presents a panel discussion on climate change featuring Ron Dembo, founder and CEO, Zero-footprint, and others. Moderated by Catherine Porter, *Toronto Star*. Nov. 13, 12 p.m., \$95.

Perking Up the Coffee Market: The Club Coffee Recipe for Meeting Consumer Needs—The Economic Club of Canada presents a talk with CEO of Club Coffee, John Pigott. Nov. 13, 11:45 a.m.-1:30 p.m., \$89 members; \$110 guests. The Fairmont Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. www.economicclub.ca

Public Discussion: Canada’s Role in International Development—The Banff-Airdrie Liberals present a public discussion on Canada’s Role in International Development with Liberal candidate Mario Reynolds. Nov. 13, 6 p.m. Free. Canmore Public Library, Program Room, 700 Railway Ave., Canmore, Alta. www.liberal.ca

Polytechnics Canada’s 9th Annual Student Applied Research Showcase—Students from Polytechnics Canada member colleges and polytechnics will present their R&D solutions for industry partners. CBC’s Bob McDonald will speak at the gala dinner.

Nov. 13-14. BCIT, Vancouver, B.C. www.polytechnics.ca

FRIDAY, NOV. 14

Literary Luncheon with Anne-Marie MacDonald—Presented by the Ottawa International Writers Festival. Nov. 14, \$85. Métropolitain Brasserie, 700 Sussex Dr., Ottawa, Ont. www.writersfestival.org

MONDAY, NOV. 17

House is Sitting—The House of Commons is sitting and will continue to sit until Dec. 12.

Leadership Today: Staying Ahead of the Curve in Today’s Hyper-Changing World—The Empire Club of Toronto presents a talk with Sherry Broader, President and CEO, Walmart Europe, Middle East, Africa and Canada. Nov. 17, 12 p.m., \$80. Constitution Hall, Metro Toronto Convention Centre, Toronto, Ont. www.empireclub.org

Canadian Economic Challenges for 2015—The Saint-Laurent FLA presents talk on “Canadian Economic Challenges for 2015,” with Stéphane Dion (St-Laurent-Cartierville, Que.) and John McCallum (Markham-Unionville, Ont.). Nov. 17, 7 p.m., \$200. Le Crystal, 5285 Blvd. Henri-Bourassa, St-Laurent, Que. www.liberal.ca

Federal Byelections—Federal byelections will be held in the ridings of Whitby-Oshawa, Ont., and Yellowhead, Alta., www.pm.gc.ca

TUESDAY, NOV. 18

Canadian Life and Health Insurance Advocacy Day—Under the theme “Investing in Canada’s Health and Prosperity,” industry CEOs will meet with Parliamentarians about issues of importance to Canadians, such as long-term care, financial literacy and investing in infrastructure projects. For more information, contact Janice Hilchie at jhilchie@clhia.ca.

Why We Need a National Seniors’ Strategy to Make Our Public Health-Care System—The Canadian Club of Ottawa presents a talk with Dr. Chris Simpson, President, Canadian Medical Association. Nov. 18, 12 p.m., \$47 members, \$75 non-members. Fairmont Chateau Laurier, Ballroom, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. www.canadianclubottawa.ca

The 8th Annual Parliamentarians of the Year Awards—*Maclean’s* Magazine presents the 8th Annual Parliamentarians of the Year Awards. Nov. 18, 6 p.m.-8 p.m. Fairmont Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. www.macleans.ca

WEDNESDAY, NOV. 19

Conservative Weekly Caucus Meeting—The Conservatives are scheduled to meet at 9:30 a.m. in Room 237-C, Centre Block. For more information, call the PMO Press Office at 613-957-5555.

NDP Weekly Caucus—The federal New Democrats are scheduled to meet for their weekly caucus meeting, Railway Room, 253-D, Centre Block, 9-11 a.m. noon. For more information, please contact senior press secretary Marc-André Viau at 613-295-9228 or marc-andre.viau@parl.gc.ca

The Parliamentary Calendar is a free listing edited by listings editor Alia Heward who can be reached at 613-232-5952, ext. 200. Information regarding political, cultural and governmental events should be sent to alia@hilltimes.com with the subject line ‘Parliamentary Calendar’ by Wednesdays at noon. Send in your event in a paragraph with all the relevant details. Our fax number is 613-232-9055. We can’t guarantee inclusion of every event, but we do our best.

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eBay Entrepreneurs of the Year reception, Oct. 28 at Métropolitain



MPs Chris Warkentin, Glenn Thibeault, Farishta Zarify, eBay Canada’s 2013 Entrepreneur of the Year, Darrell Renaud eBay Canada’s 2014 Entrepreneur of the Year, Liberal MP Judy Sgro and Michel Robidoux, eBay Canada’s 2014 Up & Comer.



Tory MP John Williamson and Andrea Stairs, Country Manager for eBay Canada.

NDP MP Glenn Thibeault, Environics’ Alex Bushell, Farishta Zarify, eBay’s Megan Vickell and Meredith Taylor.



Conservative MPs Wai Young and Cathy McLeod.

Photographs by Cynthia Münster



NDP MP Glenn Thibeault, Farishta Zarify, eBay Canada’s 2013 Entrepreneur of the Year, Liberal MP Judy Sgro and Michel Robidoux, eBay Canada’s 2014 Up & Comer.

Equal Voice’s reception at the Chateau Laurier on Oct. 29, celebrates women in politics



Raylene Lang-Dion, Liberal MP Carolyn Bennett, and Lynne Hamilton.



Green Party Leader Elizabeth May.

Liberal MP Carolyn Bennett.



Denise Stete.

Nancy Peckford and Raylene Lang-Dion.

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NOV 9

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- ▶ Information seminars on choosing, applying and paying

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