



Davos selfies no more: what a difference a year makes Les Whittington, p. 12

No progress in sight for promised parliamentary reform Rachel Aiello, p. 5

Canada, EU pitch controversial trade investment court

Peter Mazereeuw, p. 3

NEWS CABINET SHUFFLE

Freeland moves up, **Dion leaves politics**

Three rookies are promoted to cabinet, McCallum is named ambassador to China.



RIDEAU HALL—Prime Minister Justin Trudeau unveiled his new cabinet in Ottawa on Tuesday

new faces in a shuffle with major implications for foreign affairsrelated files Mr. Trudeau said the changes

allow Canada to put the best foot forward as the country is facing new challenges internationally,

Continued on page 7

NEWS PARTY FUNDRAISING Liberals look to edge out Conservatives in fundraising after failing for most of 2016

By MARCO VIGLIOTTI

The Liberals and NDP start 2017 looking to gain ground on the Conservatives in the race for donations, as the Tories' well-oiled fundraising machine continues to outpace its rivals despite being relegated to the opposition ranks and lacking a permanent leader.

In a year dominated by stories of high-priced, exclusive Liberal fundraisers, and allegations of selling access to senior government figures for hefty donations, it was the Conservatives who managed to raise the most money over the first three quarters of

2016, with fourth quarter statistics not yet publicly available. The Tories took in more than \$13.95-million over that span, while the Liberals sat in second at \$12.25-million, and the NDP finished a distant third with \$3.42-million, according to data from Elections Canada.

All three parties saw noticeable dives in donations in the third guarter, with the Conservatives dropping from just shy of \$5.5-million in the first three months of the year to only \$3.3-million in their September release.

Continued on page 4

NEWS IMMIGRATION Last-minute wave of Syrian refugees lets Liberals keep their promise

By Peter Mazereeuw

A trickle of incoming Syrian refugees turned to a stream late last year, helping the federal government to check off one of the

key targets from its 2015 election campaign. Nearly 2,000 government-sup-

ported Syrian refugees arrived in

Continued on page 15

NEWS NDP LEADERSHIP RACE

Fiscal steward, or Canada's Bernie Sanders? What the NDP wants in next leader remains to be seen

BY CHELSEA NASH

A sort of unofficial leadership race is appearing within the NDP, with candidates taking time to weigh their options, and size up their potential opponents.

Candidates who are rumoured to want to run, or have publicly said they are considering it, include MPs Charlie Angus (Timmins-James Bay, Ont.), Niki Ashton (Churchill-Keewatinook Aski, Man.), Guy Caron (Rimouski-Neigette-Témiscouata-Les Basques, Que.), and from the Ontario NDP

MPP Jagmeet Singh. Peter Julian (New Westminster-Burnaby, B.C.) is the only candidate officially registered, though the National Post reported that doesn't mean he's quite made his final decision. though he is accepting donations.

On the party's left wing are Mr. Angus and Ms. Ashton. NDP pundit and owner of MediaStyle Ian Capstick said despite the fact that he himself is on the far right of the party, it's time for the NDP to "dig to the left."



BY MARCO VIGLIOTTI

As former Senate leader James Cowan prepares to leave the Upper Chamber, he's warning that major reforms introduced by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau

to lessen partisanship threaten to transform the legislative body into a passive advisory panel. Sen. Cowan (Nova Scotia), who

will step down on Jan. 22 upon reaching the mandatory retirement age for Senators, cautions that the disbanding of the gov-ernment Senate caucus by Mr. Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) and the absence of partisan affiliations of new appointees could conspire to

Continued on page 16

FEATURE BUZZ



Hill journalist Clark joins lobbying outfit

Ex-LRB comms chief John Delacourt joins Ensight, Kathleen Monk joins Earnscliffe.

Veteran Hill journalist **Tom Clark** has landed a new gig with Ottawa-based Global Public Affairs

Mr. Clark, former host of the Sunday political show The West Block and chief political correspondent for Global Television, joined the firm as chair of public affairs and communications on Monday. In the role, he will provide "executivelevel" government relations and strategic communications advice to the company's clients, media training, facilitation and strategic counsel, according to a company press release.



joined Ottawa lobbying firm Global Public Affairs, The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright

"Joining Global was an easy decision. This is an incredible opportunity for me to channel my journalism experience and understanding of complex issues to the practice of public affairs and communications," Mr. Clark was quoted in the release. "I'm looking forward to contributing in a different, but still meaningful way to the national debate."

Mr. Clark announced his retirement from journalism late last year after 45 years in the business. He largely worked for CTV and was stationed in places including China and the United States.

CORRECTIONS

Re: "New report details millennials' struggles to find stable employment in federal public service," (*The Hill Times*, Dec. 19, p. 1). The article incorrectly said people aged 20 to 34 accounted for 37.4 per cent of the labour force in 2015. The correct figure is 31 per cent.

Re: "Angus to announce leadership intentions early in new year," (*The Hill Times*, Dec. 19, p.2). Spark Advocacy does not directly provide governmentrelations services but does partner with GR providers to assist clients with their advocacy strategies.

Re: "Scheer's Conservative caucus support gives him the advantage, but leadership win not in the bag," (The Hill Times, Jan. 9, p. 1). This story incorrectly reported that Erin O'Toole held endorsements from 13 current MPs. In fact, the number is 14.

In a statement, Global Public Affairs president and CEO Randy Pettipas lauded Mr. Clark as a rare talent with a keen understanding of the issues facing Canada, saying the company "immediately recognized the powerful value this would bring to our clients and our staff.'

Ensight adds Delacourt; Monk joins Earnscliffe

John Delacourt, former communications director of the Liberal Research Bureau, is joining lobbying and communications shop Ensight. He will help the company's

Former longclients steer serving Hill through government relations Tom Clark has and communications challenges from the firm's Ottawa office.



John Delacourt recently left his post with the Liberal Research Bureau. Photograph courtesy of John Delacourt

according to a Jan. 9 company press release.

Mr. Delacourt, a brother of political columnist Susan Delacourt, left his post with the Liberal Research Bureau in December. In that role, he was responsible for the planning and execution of the digital communications strategy for both the Liberal caucus and cabinet.

He also worked with the Prime Minister's Office to give issues management and strategic support, and has also served the Liberal leadership in opposition, in stakeholder relations and communications jobs.

In terms of the private sector, he worked as a principal with Gibbon Communications and a senior consultant with Thornley Fallis Communications, according to his LinkedIn account.

In addition to his work in politics and communications, Mr. Delacourt is a published author of two books. His latest, Black Irises, was launched this year

and is a political crime thriller.

He began his career writing for broadcast news after finishing his master of arts at the University of Toronto.

Meanwhile, former NDP insider Kathleen

Monk, a fre-

quent panelist

on CBC's Power

and Politics pro-

gram, is joining

Ottawa lobbyist

Kathleen Monk, formerly of the NDP and Broadbent Institute, has joined Earnscliffe. The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright

firm Earnscliffe. Ms. Monk had previously served as an executive director and later senior adviser for the left-leaning Broadbent Institute. She served as director of strategic communications for the late NDP Leader Jack



Layton from 2010 to 2011. She also has experience as a CTV field producer.

New book blasts Harper for transforming **Conservative Party**

In his new book, Mulroney-era cabinet minister Tom McMillan accuses Stephen Harper of dismantling the progressive heritage of the country's major conservative party and transforming it into an American-style vehicle for right-wing ideologues.

In Not My Party: The Rise and Fall of Canadian Tories, from Robert Stanfield to Stephen Harper, Mr. McMillan urges progressive-minded conservatives to wrestle the reins away of the party from more ideological elements. The book was published late last year by Halifax-based Nimbus Publishing.

Mr. McMillan, a former environment minister, contrasts what he views as Mr. Harper's brand of forceful conservatism with the more moderate and measured tone of Robert Stanfield, the ex-Nova Scotia premier who led the federal Progressive Conservatives from 1967 to 1976.

"In the post-Harper era, I believe the Conservative Party needs to embrace the kind of progressive politics-and the values that underpinned them-for which Robert Stanfield stood," writes Mr. McMillan.

The book, at its core a political memoir, also traces Mr. McMillan's career, and provides insight into the Mulroney government and the evolution of the Conservative Party.

In one section about his tenure as minister from 1985 to 1988, Mr. McMillan criticizes his then-senior policy adviser, an outspoken employee by the name of Elizabeth May (Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.), for giving information about internal government deliberations to politicians and NGOs she sympathized with, as well as members of the media, saying the "nature and reach [Ms. May's] betrayal staggered me.'

Ms. May would later resign and go on to lead the federal Green Party.

A 2007 Maclean's piece stated that Ms. May stayed on the board of the group Pollution Probe for months after taking the government position, and that Mr. McMillan had given her permission to keep ties to the movement. As for her speaking out of turn on South Moresby, an area in Brit ish Columbia she's credited with helping to turn into a national park reserve, "It seemed unorthodox but it worked," she was quoted as saying.

U.S. ambassador to step down after Trump swearing-in

Bruce Heyman, the U.S. ambassador

U.S. Ambassador Bruce Heyman and his wife Vicki will leave Ottawa 'on or around' Donald Trump's swearing-in on Jan. 20. The Hill Times photograph by Sam Garcia

to Canada, has announced he will resign on Jan. 20, the date president-elect Donald Trump is sworn into office.

Mr. Heyman made the announcement Friday on his Twitter account, saying that he and his wife Vicki will leave Ottawa"on or around that date."

"As requested, I have resigned as US Am-bassador to Canada effective 1/20,"he posted.

It was long expected that Mr. Heyman would leave office once President Barack Obama departed from the White House, however it appears his announcement was prompted by a decree from the incoming Trump administration saying ambassadors who are political appointees of Mr. Obama would be required to leave office by Inauguration Day.

Reuters first reported the declaration, citing Mark Gilbert, the current U.S. ambassador to New Zealand.

The move by the Trump administration is a break in the tradition in which ambassadors appointed by outgoing presidents are granted extensions to attend to personal matters, such as allowing their children to finish the current school year, reports The New York Times

Mr. Heyman became ambassador to Canada in 2014, appointed by Mr. Obama. A former investment banker for finance giant Goldman Sachs, Mr. Heyman and his wife Vicki were top fundraisers for Mr. Obama.

Whoever is appointed by Mr. Trump to serve as ambassador must be confirmed by the Senate.

The deputy chief of mission, currently Elizabeth Moore Aubin, typically serves as the chargé d'affaires on an interim basis until a new ambassador arrives, according to the U.S. Embassy in Canada.

David Jacobson, Mr. Heyman's immediate predecessor, was the first ambassador to Canada appointed by Mr. Obama. He was confirmed by the Senate in September 2009, eight months after Mr. Obama was inaugurated as president. Mr. Jacobson

formally began his tenure in early October. Members of the Hill community quickly took to Twitter to wish the Heymans the best and to express disappointment about the departure of the popular couple.

Environment Minister Catherine McKenna (Ottawa Centre, Ont.) thanked both for their work in improving the relationship between the two countries, while former Progressive Conservative prime minister Kim Campbell tweeted "Thanks for your service best wishes for your next adventure!'

Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson said the Heymans have been "great friends" to Canada and Ottawa, and thanked them for their "warmth, class, [and] skill."

Finally, Gerald Butts, principal secretary to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) wrote "we'll miss you guys. You served your country with honour (and honor)!"

Mr. Heyman responded on Twitter that he and his wife love Canada and Canadians, and "guaranteed" that the couple would return "frequently."

"Making our plans now for 2017 return trips! Stay tuned," he posted.

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NEWS TRADE

Liberals pitch 'progressive' model for controversial trade court worldwide

Top trading partners met to kick the tires of the proposed legal system during a meeting in December.

By Peter Mazereeuw

anada's government is trying to sell other countries on a new international investor-versus-state court system that helped to save its trade deal with Europe. as it aims to become a champion of "progressive" free trade in the world.

The federal government co-hosted a meeting in Geneva in mid-December on "progressive dispute-resolution mechanisms for international trade," along with the European Union, attended by more than 60 countries. The goal was to get more countries to buy into the idea, first pushed by the EU's executive body, the European Commission, of a unified multi-country system for settling grievances between businesses and governments linked through trade agreements.

Canada's top trading partners attended the meeting, including the United States,

United Kingdom, China, Mexico, and Japan, as did representatives of the OECD, World Trade Organization, and other international organizations, according to Canada's foreign ministry.

The federal government was represented at the event by staff from Global Affairs Canada, according to the department, which would not identify who led the team in Geneva.

Under former trade minister Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.), who was shuffled to the foreign affairs portfolio yesterday, the Trudeau government positioned itself as a champion of international free trade-the Trans-Pacific Partnership being an exceptionwhile politicians in the U.S., U.K., mainland Europe and elsewhere have veered in the opposite direction in response to nationalist and anti-globalization sentiment.

Ms. Freeland was only just able to help scratch together enough support for the CETA in Europe to allow the deal to be signed, after protests across the continent and opposition from political leaders in Belgium's sub-national regions. She did that in part by agreeing to scrap a traditional investor-state arbitration system in the deal for one close to what was shopped around in Geneva last month, though that change wasn't enough to win over many critics of investor-state arbitration in Europe

Investor-state dispute settlement systems, built into most modern free trade agreements in the past few decades, have become one of the chief targets of anti-globalization advocates on both the political left and right, particularly following a series of multi-million dollar lawsuits by businesses claiming governments have made decisions that unfairly hurt their bottom line, many of which targeted Canada.

The federal government is currently defending against a \$500-million suit filed by U.S. drug maker Eli Lilly, which claims Canada isn't treating some of its drug patents fairly, and was slapped with a \$101-million suit by U.S.-owned company Bilcon, which had its plans to establish a quarry in Nova Scotia dashed by an environmental assessment the company alleges was unfair.

Opposition to the investor-state dispute settlement mechanisms, commonly abbreviated to ISDS, nearly sunk the Canada-EU trade deal, likely set back trade and investment talks with India, and has been a central complaint for critics of the Trans-Pacific Partnership.

Ms. Freeland led the Trudeau government's pushback, pledging to pursue"progressive' international trade agreements and warning of the dangers of economic protectionism.

It's not yet clear how much new Trade Minister François-Philippe Champagne (Saint Maurice-Champlain, Que.), a former international corporate lawyer, will push that same message as he takes on the portfolio. He was previously the parliamentary secretary to the finance minister.

More 'workable' model needed

A working multi-state ISDS system would be a needed response to public criticism of the status quo when it comes to investor-state lawsuits, said Lawrence Herman, a Toronto-based lawyer specializing in trade law.

"I think there is growing public concern, if not downright opposition to the current model. And anything that can be done to make the model more workable, more transparent, more judicial...the better," he said.

However, bringing other countries into a multilateral ISDS system would be easier said than done, said Mr. Herman. There are thousands of international treaties covering investment between different countries, and changing a meaningful portion of them to allow a new ISDS system to be used would be difficult, he said.

The multi-state ISDS system proposed at the Geneva conference fits a model proposed in 2015 by the EU's executive body, the European Commission, for all future EU trade deals.

NDP MPTracey Ramsey, (Essex, Ont.) her party's trade critic, said she needed more detail about how the proposed system would work before casting judgment, but questioned whether any system that allowed investors to sue governments outside of Canada's domestic court system was necessary.

Scott Sinclair, who leads the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives' Trade and Investment Research Project, said a multi-state ISDS system could, in theory,"could clean up some of the worst abuses of the process, like conflicts of interest and third-party financing."

But, he added, "A global investment court, if it's going to have legitimacy, would have to include not just rights for foreign investors, but also obligations

There's no sign something like that would be a part of the system proposed by Canada and the EU. However, it could include an appeals court and more public, institutionalized approach to settling business-state disputes than the semi-private arbitration system set up through many modern free trade agreements, if indeed the multi-state system is modelled after the revised ISDS system in the Canada-EU trade deal.

Canada's government also ratified an international treaty, known as the Mauritius Convention, last month that commits it to holding open hearings for ISDS cases, and making public certain documents filed in the country's disputes.

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Liberals look to edge out Conservatives in fundraising after failing to overtake Tories for most of 2016

Liberal Party's senior director of fundraising **Christina** Topp credits the Tories' persistent, though sliding, lead to that party's smaller base of wealthier donors.

Continued from page 1

Christina Topp, the Liberal Party's senior director of fundraising, attributes the continuing Tory lead to that party's contingent of well-heeled donors that can be counted upon to give generously.

Despite the second-place finish, the Liberals draw up a broader range of support, she said, with the party receiving donations from more people than any of their rivals.

Elections Canada statistics show that the Liberals received donations from an average of 35,720 donors each quarter this year, compared to 32,932 for the Conservatives—a difference of about eight per cent-and 15,707 for the NDP.

That continues to be a clear contrast, for example, to the Conservative Party, where they're collecting larger donations from a smaller number of Canadians," she told The Hill Times.

Over the first three quarters of 2016, the average donation, as measured by total donations divided by the number of donors, to the Liberal Party was \$113, compared to \$138 for the Conservatives and \$72 for the NDP, according to statistics from Flee tions Canada.

The maximum annual individual donation to a political party is currently \$1,550, and rising by \$25 each year. Corporations and unions are barred from donating.

Under Mr. Trudeau's direction. Ms. Topp said the Liberal Party has sought to broaden its base and draw in more Canadians, citing as an example the recent decision to eliminate party membership fees.

"We've been working very hard to open up the Liberal Party, and build a broad base of support. That means providing opportu-nities that are meaningful for people to engage, and hopefully setting politics as something positive for Canadians to participate in,"she said. "We've seen the results of that

approach, and we now have tens of thousands of grassroots donors giving every quarter."

Ms. Topp argued that the party is beginning to close the gap on the Conservatives' fundraising machine that she noted has been honed over the past decade in power. She also credited Mr. Trudeau and the Liberal Party's focus on pushing their brand of positive politics for attracting more grassroots donors.

"It's that base of grassroots donors, that we built over the last number of years, that really has been fuelling our movement,"she said.

According to Elections Canada, 35,180 individuals collectively donated \$3.2 million to the Liberals in the third quarter of 2016, narrowly edging out the Conservatives, who relied upon 29,073 donors that gave \$3.1 million.

The Tories were able to narrowly edge out the Liberals in fundraising last quarter thanks to \$146,000 given by the party's registered associations and roughly \$104,000 transferred from the campaigns of party leadership candidates.

Under the rules, a share of the funds raised by leadership candidates is returned to the party coffers

NDP touts "loyal" monthly donors as Liberals attract controversy with Bay Street connections As donations have grown,

though, so too has the controversy.

erning Liberals have been besieged by accusations of selling off access to senior government figures, including Mr. Trudeau, for hefty party donations. Most notably, it was revealed that Mr. Trudeau attended a a \$1,500-a-head Liberal Party fundraising dinner that brought out Shenglin Xian, a wealthy financier seeking federal approval to set up a new bank.

In addition, The Globe and Mail revealed that Finance Minis-

ter Bill Morneau (Toronto Centre) attended a high-priced fundraising event hosted in Halifax, and the CBC reported that Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould (Vancouver Granville, B.C.) was set to attend a \$500-a-head Liberal Party event at a law firm.

But despite howls of protest from the opposition Conservatives, high-priced fundraising events featuring senior cabinet figures also took place under the former Harper government.

Ethics commissioner Mary Dawson in 2009 launched a probe into then-labour minister Lisa Raitt (Milton, Ont.) in connection to a \$250-a-plate fundraising dinner. It was alleged that Ms. Raitt violated conflict-of-interest rules because tickets were sold by a cement industry lobbyist who had lobbied her when she was the natural resources minister, but Ms. Dawson determined in 2010 that Ms. Raitt did not break ethics rules in connection with the fundraiser.

Amid the controversy, prime minister Stephen Harper issued a secret decree tightening fundraising rules for cabinet ministers that ordered no lobbying at political fundraising events, and prohibited cabinet ministers from selling fundraising tickets to lobbyists with an interest in their department, reported The Toronto Star.

A request for an interview with former senator Irving Gerstein, head of the Conservative Fund, the party's chief fundraising arm, were not returned prior to deadline.

After assuming power, Mr. Trudeau issued non-binding ethics guidelines that declared that there should be "no preferential access to government, or appearance of preferential access, accorded to individuals or organizations because they have made financial contributions to politicians and political parties.

Robert Fox, national director of the federal NDP, said the party has done "very few" fundraising events over the past year, as none of its MPs are in the position to make government decisions.

We haven't really done eventbased fundraising at the federal level in a big way in a long-time," he said, noting that the NDP did hold an event in Edmonton in relation to the party's convention there last spring.

We don't have ministers, so there aren't corporations lining up to spend \$1,500 to share a cocktail with us. That's not the focus of our efforts."

Rather, most NDP donations come from "loyal, committed" donors who give more modest allocations on a monthly basis, he said, with the party largely reaching out through phone banks and online.

Mr. Fox, however, noted that in the quarter preceding the 2015 election, the NDP received the largest amount of individual gifts of any party in the country's h tory, largely owing to its digital fundraising prowess.

"We didn't raise the largest amount of money, but we did have the largest number of donors," he said, noting that a significant share of the party's fundraising in 2016 came from the digital side.

According to Elections Canada, the NDP raised \$9.1-million from 78,277 donors in the third quarter of 2015, though the party was only able to attract 14,553



donors who gave less than a mil-"They are not people cozylion dollars over that same span ing up to us because it'll have

a big impact on their financial fortunes-we're not controlling budgets, we're not controlling contracts." The people donating to the

Honeymoon

period or no, the

party of Prime

Minister Justin

Trudeau fell about

\$1.7-million short

official opposition Conservatives in the first three

quarters of last

Times photograph

year. The Hill

by Jake Wright

of the donations raised by the

party, he said, are motivated and mobilized by the issues being taken on by the NDP.

Despite the furor over the fun-draisers, Ms. Topp with the Liber-als said the party has seen the most growth in digital fundraising in recent years, largely owing to the ability to "go to where people are," which is increasingly online.

It also allows the party to measure, in real-time, the reaction to advertising materials, she added. mvigliotti@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

STOCKING THE COFFERS

Mr. Fox pointed to the NDP's

policies on healthcare, what with

the party being led at one-time by

Medicare father Tommy Doug-

las, and reconciliation with, and

rights of indigenous peoples, as

well as broader considerations

of social justice, as being among the biggest factors motivating

more corporate and institutional

support received by the Liberals,

"There are no law firms that I know of [where] each of the part-

ners is expected to cut a \$1,000

cheque to the New Democratic

Party," Mr. Fox quipped.

and the Conservatives, he said.

This contrasts sharply with the

donors to give to the party.

in 2016.

PARTY FUNDRAISING IN 2016

------LIBERALS:

\$4,031,042.61 from 35,902 donors (first quarter), \$4,901,024.25 from 36,080 donors (second quarter), and \$3,223,064.85 from 35,180 donors (third quarter)

CONSERVATIVES:

\$5,469,855.58 from 32,502 donors (first quarter), \$5,069,749.45 from 37,223 donors (second quarter), and \$3,131,308.24 from 29,073 donors (third quarter)

NDP:

\$1,351,178.50 from 16,663 donors (first quarter), \$1,083,314.29 from 15,906 donors (second quarter), and **\$972,607.03** from 14,553 donors (third quarter)

FUNDRAISING TOTALS INCLUDING TRANSFERS FROM LEADERSHIP AND NOMINATION CANDIDATES, AND RIDING ASSOCIATIONS.

LIBERALS:

\$4,057,033.98 (first quarter), \$4,970,039.25 (second quarter), \$3,231,424.85 (third quarter)

CONSERVATIVES:

\$5,471,475.73 (first quarter), \$5,097,828.07 (second quarter), \$3,385,865.86 (third quarter)

NDP:

\$1,365,631.41 (first quarter), \$1,083,314.29 (second quarter), \$973,007.03 (third quarter)



No progress in sight for promised parliamentary reforms

Skepticism is mounting over whether the governing Liberals can make Parliament more 'family friendly' before the end of 2017.

By RACHEL AIELLO

Government House Leader Bardish Chagger says she's going to let the House Affairs Committee studying possible changes to the Standing Orders complete its work before moving on her mandate commitments to modernize Parliament, but the outcome of the committee work won't stop her from pursuing the file on her own.

Ms. Chagger (Waterloo, Ont.) said in an interview just before the House adjourned last month, and reinforced this week, that "of course we're going to let the committee do the work they're doing,"but waiting for the committee's work means the promised changes could still be months, if not a year away at a minimum, given the committee's current workload.

Skepticism has been mounting over whether the Liberals will be able to deliver in this mandate on their commitments to reform the Standing Orders—the rules that govern the House—to do things like end the use of omnibus bills, explore the end of Friday sittings, make the Commons more family friendly, or reform Question Period.

The government has said the best time to make such changes is in the first two years of a mandate, before tensions in the House get too strained, and it's been a convention to have all-party unanimous consent before moving on any House-wide rule changes. If the committee is unable to look at this for some time, it could be into year three before Parliament has the conversation.

"I look forward to seeing what the committee reports back... I will continue to ensure that we can work together and I will always try to work together, but that will not stop me from getting the work done that we need to get done,"said Ms. Chagger.

The Procedure and House Affairs Committee of MPs tasked with studying the nine pages of recommendations of reforms to the House rules, brought up during a take-note debate in the House Oct. 6, 2016, had just one meeting in December on this, and is uncertain if it can complete its work by the end of next year.

With two other major studies before the committee—its report on recommendations from the chief electoral officer on the 42nd election, and studying Bill C-33, amending the Canada Elections Act—it's unlikely the committee will get back to the Standing Orders for some time well into the new year, Liberal MP Larry Bagnell (Yukon), chair of the committee told *The Hill Times* following the first meeting on the Standing Orders, on Dec. 8.

When asked the timeline for the study, Mr. Bagnell said he doesn't expect to get back to the House rules study for "quite a while."

"It's not the first thing on the agenda,"said Mr. Bagnell, and when he was asked if it's something that could be done by the end of 2017 he said, "You'd have to ask me in June."

Mr. Bagnell said the government could bring its proposals on Standing Orders to the committee at any time and they could be covered all at once as part of its study. However,

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some of the more radical of the dozens of suggestions could take weeks on their own for the committee to hear enough witnesses and to have all sides ready to move on, he said.

In a follow-up email earlier this week, responding to what the government's plans are for moving on these changes, and if they're concerned about the timeline, spokesperson for Ms. Chagger, Sabrina Atwal told *The Hill Times*"modernizing Parliament to make it more relevant to Canadians is a part of the GHL's [government House leader] mandate and she looks forward to making progress on this mandate commitment in the year ahead with the help of the committee."

Parliamentary secretary to Ms. Chagger, Liberal MP Kevin Lamoureux (Winnipeg North, Man.) has previously told *The Hill Times* he sees the work of the committee running parallel to the government's election promises, and that government could do its own "internal lobbying" to get these promises done. He has previously told *The Hill Times* he believes the buy-in from the opposition parties isn't enough to rule out pushing things through without opposition consent.

Suggested changes, in addition to the government's promises, that the committee is looking at cover more than 20 different themes, including: changing how MPs vote, introducing electronic voting; when and how long MPs sit, removing Friday sittings; and how opposition days and private members' bills are handled, including adding a second Chamber for debate.

"By recognizing that Standing Orders belong to every single Member of this place I believe that we can have a substantial conversation and modernize the Standing Orders," said Ms. Chagger.

Once the committee completes its list of recommended changes it proposes the House adopt, it reports to the House, and that report is concurred in, the changes to the Standing Orders come into force immediately, making the reforms instant the moment the House approves the committee's recommendations. *The Hill Times*



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NEWS NDP LEADERSHIP RACE

Fiscal steward, or Canada's **Bernie Sanders?** What the NDP wants in next leader remains to be seen

Clockwise from top left: NDP MPs Peter Julian and Charlie Angus, Ontario NDP MPP Jagmeet Singh, and NDP MPs Niki Ashton and Guy Caron are all rumoured to be considering a run at the leadership, though only Mr. Julian has officially registered as a candidate. The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright, Chelsea Nash, and Wikimedia Commons

The party is still 'quite fractured' after election loss, says pundit Kathleen Monk.

Continued from page 1

"It needs to go socialist, and needs to pick up on the same positive populist tones" that Bernie Sanders picked up on in his run to be the Democratic nominee for the U.S. presidential election last year, Mr. Capstick said.

Mr. Angus is "the Bernie Sanders of this race," and "probably the most interesting of all the candidates," Mr. Capstick said. Mr. Angus will attract the left wing of the caucus, and be a definite contender, he said.

Former NDP MP Peter Stoffer said Mr. Angus would make a "good leader."

"What Charlie has is the passion. Charlie wears his heart on his sleeve. He's a very progressive, smart, caring individual. He delves into issues most Members of Parliament wouldn't even think about doing," and is a "tremendous fighter for the underdog.

The 54-year-old MP is known for his advocacy on indigenous issues, a prominent concern in his sprawling northern Ontario riding. He's authored several books, sang in a punk rock band, and worked as a roofer and dishwasher. He was first elected to the House of Commons in 2004 and has been re-elected four times since.

He said in a Facebook post in December that he'll indicate early in 2017 whether he'll run for the party leadership, but he first wants to see if there's enough financial support for him to do it. He bowed out as the NDP's caucus chair and indigenous affairs critic in November.

But Mr. Capstick said Mr. Julian was more of the "establishment" candidate. "I view him almost like the Andrew Scheer of the [Conservative Party] leadership,"he said, meaning Mr. Julian will likely find a lot of support

higher ranks of the party, but he doesn't have the broad appeal the party needs in order to tap into more Canadians. "It seems like a good idea at the time, but once you go through with it, you're kind of stuck with him," he said. Mr. Julian, 54, stepped down

from within caucus and the

from his role as the party's House leader in October to explore a leadership bid. Like Mr. Angus, he was first elected in 2004 and has been re-elected ever since in his British Columbia riding. He's a fixture of the NDP front bench, having worked in more than a dozen critic roles. Bilingual and hard working, he's a former executive director of the Council of Canadians and the Western Institute for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing.

From Quebec, Mr. Caron has been making a stir. Mr. Capstick said he "has probably established himself as one of the most economically sound New Democrats." He's the party's finance critic. Mr. Capstick said he "seems to be pushing towards a new idea that we might be heading towards a new kind of economy," in a postcapitalist context.

The 48-year-old tried and lost three times before finally being elected to the House in 2011, and won re-election last year. He previously worked as a researcher and economist with the Communications, Energy, and Paperworks Union, where he covered forestry issues. In the 1990s. he was president of the University of Ottawa Student Federation and national president of the Canadian Federation of Students. He's also worked for the Canadian Race Relations Foundation and the Council of Canadians.

Mr. Singh has said he's considering a run. The only candidate mentioned here who would be coming from outside federal politics, he's been touted as a stylish young star of the party who is active and well-followed on social media and who could go toe to toe with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.). In his late 30s, the deputy leader of the Ontario NDP has been in the provincial legislature since 2011, representing Bramalea-Gore-Malton in the Greater Toronto Area. He speaks English, Punjabi, and quite a bit of French, according to media reports.

Ms. Ashton, 35, ran for the party's leadership against Mr. Mulcair in 2012, finishing seventh. She's got support in the party's socialist wing and was first elected in 2008 after losing in 2006, and was re-elected in 2011 and 2015. A fierce advocate for her northern Manitoba riding, she's been active on labour, women's rights, and indigenous issues. The daughter of former Manitoba NDP cabinet minister Steve Ashton, she speaks Greek, French and Spanish and is of Greek descent. Prior to politics, she worked as a college instructor.

Mr. Stoffer said whoever becomes leader, they'll need to differentiate themselves from Tom Mulcair (Outremont, Que.), and "let everybody know that, not necessarily there's a new Sheriff in town, but there's a new direction in town. We're here to form government. We will put all our efforts into doing that. That means talking to a bunch of Canadians we never really talked to that way," he said.

After voting to oust Mr. Mulcair as leader of the NDP at a convention in April, party members are set to choose a new leader in the fall. Until then, Mr. Mulcair is staying at the helm.

What's taking so long?

rumoured to be jumping into the leadership race in the fall. As fall turned into winter, the new year became the anticipated start. Now, former NDP communications adviser Kathleen Monk says she expects candidates to announce their intention to be the next leader of the NDP "before the winter thaw."

When asked why she thinks those rumoured to be mulling a run are taking so long to make

things official, she said it makes sense for prospective candidates to start a new year, and to wait to get a "lay of the land" before making their final decisions. Plus, there's a lot of other leadership races across the country going on before the NDP will choose their leader, no later than Oct. 29 of this year.

The Conservative Party of Canada's leadership race is in full swing, and the run for the leadership of the Alberta Progressive Conservatives is slated to take place in March of this year, well before the NDP will hold their election

"If I was doing it, you have to make sure, number one, that your family is fully behind you, and personal friends. Then your constituents. Also you have to have it in yourself to be under the microscope 24/7," Mr. Stoffer said. "You have to have it in yourself to say I want to be the next prime minister of Canada, not just the leader of the New Democratic Party.

He added: "I think a lot of them waited until after the holidays to make the phone calls and assess their chances. It's an incredible amount of time but you also need an incredible amount of money. There's no big rush to announce."

Mr. Stoffer said that especially cause the lead on for such a long window, the candidates will also likely be taking their time to brush up on the issues and prepare policy platforms. When people start asking questions,"if they don't have an answer for them in both official languages, people like you will be wondering if they're not quite ready."

"I'm confident that there will be an NDP leadership race," Ms. Monk said with a laugh.

'Leap is dead'

According to Mr. Capstick, the controversial Leap Manifesto put forth by author Naomi Klein and her husband Avi Lewis (who is also the son of former Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis, and grandson of former federal NDP leader David Lewis) and debated at the party's April convention, is a non-issue for the NDP.

The manifesto proposes moving away from fossil fuels and, among other elements, suggests ending all trade deals "that interfere with our attempts to rebuild local economies, regulate corporations and stop damaging extractive projects."

"I don't think anybody's really seriously debating it," he said. "Leap is dead."

Mr. Stoffer agreed: if it hasn't already, Leap needs to go."You cannot run on that platform,"he said. Mr. Lewis ruled out running

for the party's leadership in September, the CBC reported.

Mr. Stoffer said the NDP needs to put forward fiscally responsible policies."If you want progressive policies, environment, education, small business, to build this country, you can only do that with a sound fiscal policy. You can't keep going into debt and deficit," he said.

Ms. Monk said the party is "quite fractured" right now, after the "devastating loss" in the last election.

"The question of maintaining Jack Layton's legacy is certainly on the line moving forward," she said. There's going to need to be a lot of "church basements, union halls, veteran halls," in order to build the coalition and unity needed to have a shot at forming government.

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NEWS CABINET SHUFFLE

Freeland moves up, Dion leaves politics

Three rookies are promoted to cabinet, McCallum is named ambassador to China.

Continued from page 1

and to deliver on the Liberal government's commitments.

"2017 is going to be an important year on delivering on our mandate to grow the middle class and help those working hard to join it. A big part of it will be working with large economies around the world, like China and the U.S. The team with me, along with our other cabinet colleagues, will lead that work delivering for Canadians,"he told reporters in a press conference in the House of Commons foyer Tuesday evening.

Former trade minister Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.) is now the minister of foreign affairs, replacing Stéphane Dion, 61, (Saint-Laurent, Que.) who, after more than a decade in federal politics, is stepping down and out of politics entirely, although his new role is not yet known. Ms. Freeland will be retaining the Canada-U.S. relations file, including trade relations, according to a government press release.

Mr. Dion's seat in the House of Commons as an MP will also be vacated, adding to the roster of forthcoming federal byelections. Insiders have said Mr. Dion is an ineffective communicator because of language barriers, and that his lack of presence and people skills made him a liability.

Mr. Trudeau said Ms. Freeland is an "extremely strong" minister and thanked Mr. Dion for his work, adding that he has been a friend, and trusted confidant, and has been offered a senior position that will be "key" to the government, and for now Mr. Dion is taking time to consider his options.

Ms. Freeland has been seen as a strong performer in cabinet, and Liberal insiders say her switch to is well timed with the forthcoming U.S. administration. Ms. Freeland, 48, is likely to see her profile expand in this new role. The top issue on the mandate letter for this portfolio is to improve relationships with the U.S. and Mexico.

Taking over her portfolio as trade minister is François-Philippe Champagne (St. Maurice-Champlain, Que.) who was previously working as parliamentary secretary to Finance Minister Bill Morneau (Toronto Centre, Ont.).

Mr. Champagne, who prior to politics was a lawyer, businessman, and an international trade specialist, is 46 years old.

His priorities will include implementing the Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) and working towards new or increased trade partnerships, notably with China.

Also leaving politics is John McCallum, 66, (Markham-Thornhill, Ont.) who is no longer the minister of immigration. Mr. McCallum is



set to become Canada's new ambassador to China.

Replacing him is rookie Ahmed Hussen (York South-Weston, Ont.). He was elected in 2015 with 46 per cent of the vote, and during the course of this parliament has been focusing on his private member's bill, Bill C-227, An Act to amend the Department of Public Works and Government Services Act (community benefit), which he will have to drop now, as well as his post as a member of the House Justice and Human Rights Committee.

An immigrant himself, and the first-ever Somali-Canadian MP, Mr. Hussen arrived in Canada in 1993 and became a lawyer, focusing on criminal defence, immigration, and refugee law.

Mr. McCallum was chair of the Cabinet Committee on Diversity and Inclusion. The new chair will be Infrastructure Minister Amarjeet Sohi. Another notable change in cabinet committees is that Transport Minister Marc Garneau is now chair of the Canada-U.S. relations group, replacing Ms. Freeland, who is now an ordinary member of the committee.

Maryam Monsef, 31, (Peterborough-Kawartha, Ont.) has been moved out of the democratic institutions post, and is now the minister of status of women. She was perceived to have been weak in her role regarding potential changes to the way Canadians elect MPs to the House.

Replacing Ms. Monsef as the minister of democratic institutions is Karina Gould (Burlington, Ont.), a 29-year-old rookie who had been working as the parliamentary secretary to the minister of international development.

Mr. Trudeau said Ms. Gould will build on the "extraordinary work" Ms. Monsef did on the file.

Ms. Gould is now the front-person for the government's much-beleaguered promise of electoral reform; will take on Bill C-33, which amends the Canada Elections Act to make voting more accessible and repeal Conservative changes; and will be working on the ongoing reform of the Senate. She won her riding in 2015 with 46 per cent of the vote. She is now the youngest cabinet minister.

Patty Hajdu (Thunder Bay-Superior North, Ont.) is now the minister of labour, replacing MaryAnn Mihychuk (Kildonan-St. Paul, Man.), who was shuffled out of cabinet but will continue to sit as an MP. Insiders say that she had a reputation for being hard to work with, and in August had lost some of her portfolio responsibilities to Social Development Minister Jean-Yves Duclos (Québec, Que.).

Ms. Hajdu, 51, will be the new steward of Bill C-4, the bill repealing Conservative union legislation, that is stalled in the Senate.

The rest of the cabinet positions remained untouched, but a parliamentary secretary shuffle is now expected to coincide with these changes.

The new cabinet is headed to Calgary from Jan. 23-24 to discuss priorities for the year ahead, before Parliament resumes on Jan. 30. The choice of location is being seen as part of the Liberal Party's target of former prime minister Stephen Harper's Calgary Heritage riding, for which the byelection is expected to be called in the next few weeks. —With files from Kristen Shane and Peter

—With files from Kristen Shane and Peter Mazereeuw

news@hilltimes.com The Hill Times



Top, from left: new Foreign

Minister Chrystia Freeland, Labour Minister Patty Hajdu, Status









CABINET SHUFFLE

WHO'S IN

Ahmed Hussen (York South-Weston, Ont.)—minister of immigration, refugees, and citizenship Karina Gould (Burlington, Ont.)—minister of democratic institutions

François-Philippe Champagne (Saint Maurice-Champlain, Que.)—minister of international trade

WHO'S OUT

Former immigration minister **John McCallum** (Markham-Thornhill, Ont.) —leaving elected politics to become ambassador to China

Former foreign affairs minister **Stéphane Dion** (Saint-Laurent, Que.)—leaving politics Former employment minister **MaryAnn Mihychuk** (Kildonan-St. Paul, Man.)—will remain in caucus

WHO'S MOVING

Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.)—from international trade to foreign affairs, including U.S. trade files

Patty Hadju (Thunder Bay-Superior North, Ont.)—from status of women to employment Maryam Monsef (Peterborough-Kawartha, Ont.)—from democratic institutions to status of women Editor Kate Malloy Deputy Editor Derek Abma Managing Editor Kristen Shane Deputy Editor Peter Mazereeuw Assistant Deputy Editor Abbas Rana Online Editor, Power & Influence Editor Ally Foster

HILTIMES

EDITORIAL CABINET SHUFFLE

McCallum a good choice for China post

A Trump-induced shake-up. Stéphane Dion's downfall. Chrystia Freeland's rise. The first Somali-Canadian minister. Those were a few of the narratives

coming out of this week's cabinet shuffle, a year into Justin Trudeau's mandate as prime minister.

But one that should be highlighted is the strength of John McCallum.

Mr. McCallum, who turns 67 in April, has decided that after 16 years in the House and several turns as minister, he's bowing out of the day-to-day grind on the Hill. He's leaving elected politics to become Mr. Trudeau's next ambassador to China. He told reporters after the shuffle that Mr. Trudeau approached him with the idea last week, and after being initially surprised, he "was very enthusiastic to accept."

Mr. McCallum's wife, Nancy Lim, is of Chinese descent. He was in China last summer in his role as immigration minister.

He'll jump into a tough job with a lot of moving parts at a time when Canada is looking to build stronger ties with China. On his plate will be exploratory trade talks, and sometimes thorny issues such as extradition, human rights, energy, security, and investment. He'll have to contend with currents of suspicion among parts of the Canadian population towards a warm-up to communist China, and balance the oft-cited human rights/economic growth dilemma.

But if his time as immigration minister is any indication, he can handle this. The MP for the Toronto-area riding of Markham-Thornhill had his work cut out for him when he was named to the immigration job last November. He was given what looked to be a near-impossible task: bring 25,000 Syrian refugees to Canada, safely and securely, and do it fast.

There were hiccups along the way. Sponsors complained of paying rent for houses sitting empty as they waited on arrivals. Language courses were swamped with demand. And the initial goal was revised and massaged multiple times. But, as is reported elsewhere in today's edition, the government under Mr. McCallum's leadership succeeded in meeting the goals, without much of a drop, it seemed, in public support for the welcoming project.

Throughout the process, Mr. McCallum struck the right tone, in his gruff voice. When confronted with frustrations about delays, he emphasized how he was probably the only immigration minister in this era of xenophobia and nationalism to have citizens speaking out against the government for not welcoming refugees fast enough.

He was always a straight shooter, speaking frankly to reporters when goals couldn't be met about why.

The former bank economist's dry sense of humour and old-school remarks may irk some. His behaviour certainly caused friction in the House a few times in dialogue with his Conservative critic, Michelle Rempel. He once had to apologize for telling her to "look a little more cheerful" in Question Period.

Let's hope he's able to sand down some of those rough edges before he leaves for Beijing.

But all in all, Mr. McCallum is a smart choice to appoint as ambassador to China.



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Through CETA, European seal ban should be scrapped

Lunderstand that many Canadians approve of the CETA free trade agreement, as the reduction in tariffs has the potential to increase Canadian exports to Europe and thus improve both our GDP and balance of trade figures, and this would be a good thing.

I also understand that many Canadians are against the CETA because of the fact that should an international corporation deem that internal Canadian laws inhibit their profits, it can appeal to an unelected tribunal to have those Canadian laws changed or demand a financial penalty from Canada.

What I do not understand is why the Canadian bureaucrats who negotiated the CETA on behalf of both the Harper and Trudeau governments left off the table the ultimate tariff: a ban on Canadian seal products. This is a ban based—as stated in the EU Parliament and many of the member states' parliaments—on protecting the morals of European Union citizens from those immoral Canadians.

These laws are not based on protecting endangered species (we have about 7.5 million harp seals), as none of the seals Canadians kill are, nor have ever been, on any reputable list of endangered or even threatened species. Canadian laws and quotas ensure a humane, sustainable hunt that provides income to families in many parts of our country. The World Trade Organization (an unelected tribunal) confirmed to the Canadian government that these European laws were in violation of WTO rules but would stand to protect the morals of European citizens.

It would appear that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau accepts the immorality of Canadians as legislated by EU politicians and confirmed by the WTO, as he has signed off on the CETA as it stands.

However, it is up to the ladies and gentlemen of both houses of our Parliament to ratify CETA through their votes before it can be law. Their votes will tell Canadian citizens if they accept or do not accept the condemnation by EU politicians of Canadians as an immoral people.

I suggest to the members of both houses of Parliament that they vote to send the CETA back to the Europeans, like Wallonia did, and demand the removal of the seal ban. And then consider CETA on its merits as a financial agreement that could benefit Canadian business and taxpayers, or not. Jim Winter

St. John's, N.L.

After shootings, more questions than answers about care for veterans

A s the daughter of a Second World War veteran, I listen to the horrifying reports of mass shootings perpetrated by current veterans and wonder why, when I was growing up, I didn't hear of these kinds of events. Sure, there were those who turned to alcohol, but to murder?

Luckily, my dad, who was nearly mortally wounded, did not suffer from what was then called shell shock, now post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). However, we knew that we were not to bring up the subject of the war. Period. So, what has happened? Is modernday war more traumatic than the Second World War? Surely not. Were soldiers more prepared back then? Is there a way to better prepare them so that they do not bring the atrocities of war back home?

One more question: what is it going to take to look after our soldiers, and the innocent victims of their actions?

Anita Mark Saanichton, B.C.

Celebrating Sir John A. on Canada's 150th birthday

As Canada begins its 150th anniversary year it is so very fitting 2017 begins with the annual pan-Canadian observances of Sir John A. Macdonald Day. These commemorations remind all Canadians of the pivotal role a Kingstonian and his community played in the creation of what is widely considered one of the world's greatest nations.

An immigrant to our shores like so many millions in our society today, John Alexander Macdonald followed what seemed at first an impossible dream and took Canada all the way to the coast of the Pacific Ocean. What began as four small British colonies hugging the Ameri-

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can border is now a country that stretches

John A.'s Canada stands as a remarkable achievement.

As mayor of the community he called home, I encourage all Kingstonians and Canadians to mark Sir John A. Macdonald Day this year and in all future years as Canada continues to grow and prosper as Macdonald of Kingston knew it would. Bryan Paterson Kingston mayor

Kingston mayor Kingston, Ont.

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INSIDE DEFENCE NAZZARENO TASSONE

Canadian volunteer fighter killed in Syria a reckless adventure-seeker

With no prior military experience, he accepted risks he was not qualified to undertake.



SCOTT TAYLOR

OTTAWA—Last week it was reported that 24-year-old Nazzareno Tassone of Edmonton was killed by Daesh fighters in or near the Syrian city of Raqqa.

Tassone was a Canadian volunteer fighting with the Kurdish People's Protection Unit (YPG) when he was killed on Dec. 21. News of Tassone's death only broke after Daesh (also known as ISIS, ISIL, and Islamic State) posted photos of his body on the internet.

Members of the Kurdish community in Canada have praised Tassone as a hero and a martyr for their cause, and even Tassone's distraught mother told the media, "He's our hero, he really is. As much as it hurts, the pain. This is him; this is what he wanted." Tassone was also hailed as a hero by the usual military cheerleaders who deemed his actions to be akin to that of men bent on saving the Western world from Daesh evildoers.

The truth is that Tassone was a reckless adventure-seeker who was duped by the Kurds into accepting risks he was not qualified to undertake.

Although one family member admitted that Tassone had a lifetime obsession with all things military, the truth is that he never joined the Canadian Army. He had zero military training when he left Canada last June. Furthermore, Tassone had no experience in the Middle East; even at the time of his death, one colleague admitted that Tassone had only learned a handful of words in Kurdish.

The night he was killed, Tassone was with a British volunteer, Ryan Lock, who also had zero previous military experience, spoke no Kurdish, and had only arrived in Syria in late summer. He was also killed in the Daesh attack.

Let's put this in perspective: a recruit joining the Canadian military does a three-month basic training course, then spends four to six months at an intensive battle school learning a particular combat trade. Recruits are then posted to a battalion as rookies to augment the more seasoned soldiers. Prior to sending a battle group to Afghanistan, the Canadian Army conducted a full 12 months of mission-specific training before these extremely professional soldiers were considered ready for front-line operations.

Tassone and Lock had but a few days of rudimentary training before they were sent into battle, and only months of experience before they were killed in an exposed forward position. Oh, did I mention that neither one of them spoke Kurdish?

There is no way in the world that if a foreign volunteer—let's say a Korean—showed up in Afghanistan to fight the Taliban, with zero previous military experience and unable to speak English or French, that Canadian soldiers would let them join their patrol. It would be an irresponsible endangerment of the Korean's life, and it would also put the Canadian soldiers at risk.

Just because someone has a burning desire to become a firefighter, they would not be allowed to simply start climbing up a ladder at a three-alarm blaze.

Tassone and Lock were not bringing any martial expertise to the conflict, and they were not in a position to instruct or advise their Kurdish comrades. They were novices.

Their quest for instant adventure was their downfall, and the



Kurds selfishly took advantage of that weakness. Better that two foreign volunteers get killed by Daesh than two of their own Kurdish countrymen.

The Tassone family has been urging the Canadian government to do all it can be to recover his body. This would of course mean somehow negotiating a deal with Daesh with whom Canadian authorities have no direct contact. Instead, the best bet is that the Kurdish fighters on the ground will negotiate a deal with the local Daesh commander. The recovery of bodies could involve the payment of money or the exchange of Daesh prisoners.

Either way, that would only serve to further illustrate Tassone's misguided naivety. By getting himself killed he would have actually benefited the Daesh evildoers he set out to eliminate.

My advice to any other wouldbe noble adventurer who wishes to fight for a gallant cause is to join the Canadian Armed Forces. They are the best in the world, bar none.

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

GLOBAL AFFAIRS DR CONGO

African elections: glass half full or empty?

It's easy to be cynical about democracy in Africa, but there is as much good news as bad.



LONDON, U.K.—There are a number of ways to win an African election. The simplest, obviously, is to win the most votes, but this is sometimes hard to achieve, especially if you have been the president for a long time and people are getting fed up with your rule.

If your country's constitution only allows two terms as president, then your first task is to change it, as half a dozen African leaders have already done (Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda, etc.). Now you can run again, but you still have to win the election.

You might just stuff the ballot boxes and have the army shoot anybody who objects, but this approach has high potential costs. Killing protesters will damage your international reputation, and may even lead to sanctions and freezes on your secret assets abroad. The African Union or ECOWAS (the Economic Community of West African States) may also take you to task, or even send troops if you kill too many people.

It's better to make it look like you really won the election. Fiddling with voter registration can exclude lots of opposition voters, and turning off the internet on election day makes it hard for the opposition's election monitors to keep track of the count.

But if the votes are being counted in public and the numbers are going against you, then you have to stop the count until you can fix it. Standard practice in this case is to claim technical difficulties until you have time to massage the vote.

This was President Ali Bongo's solution in Gabon's election last

August. He was clearly losing the count, but the results from the distant province of Haut-Ogooue (Bongo's home province) were mysteriously delayed.

The opposition leaders weren't worried, because to change the outcome almost every living person in Haut-Ogooue (and a few of the recently dead) would have had to vote for Bongo. But then the results arrived: 99.93 per cent of the province's population had allegedly turned out to vote, and 95 per cent of the of them had allegedly voted for Bongo. So he "won" another term as president by 5,594 votes.

People in Haut-Ogooue may be remarkably healthy and civicminded, but you never get a 99 per cent turnout in an election. (The turnout in Gabon's other provinces was between 45 per cent and 71 per cent.)

It was a transparent and shameless fraud, but fewer than a dozen people were killed in the subsequent protests, so Ali Bongo is starting another seven-year term as president. Not bad for a kid who started out as the humble son of Omar Bongo, president of Gabon from 1967 until his death in 2009. President Joseph Kabila of the Democratic Republic of Congo should have used the same tactics to get re-elected. DR Congo's constitution imposes a two-term limit, and he had already served two terms since his father, president Laurent Kabila, was assassinated in 2001, but for whatever reason, he didn't change the constitution in time.

Instead, Kabila ended up facing an election in November 2016 in which he was not legally allowed to run. To win more time, it was announced that the election could not be held on time for "logistical and financial reasons," and that he would therefore stay on as "transitional president" until 2018.

It's ridiculous. In the years since the last election, Kabila couldn't find the time and money to organise the next one? The only possible conclusion is that he is either completely incompetent or a barefaced liar. (In fact, he's both.)

And since DR Congo is big enough (about 70 million people compared to Gabon's about 1.6 million) to contain lots of tough, clever politicians with their own strong regional bases, Kabila is not getting away with it.

The powerful Catholic church has stepped in to act as mediator, and Archbishop Marcel Utembi has just persuaded government ministers and opposition leaders to sign a document promising to hold the election this year. In the meantime, an opposition politician will serve as Kabila's prime minister.

Kabila has not yet signed the document himself, but the agreement also says that he must not try to end term limits. It looks like he will have to retire, in which case DR Congo will see its first peaceful transfer of power since independence in 1960.

It's easy to be cynical about democracy in Africa, but there is as much good news as bad. Last month Ghana's sitting president lost an election and tamely handed power over to the winner. In 2015 the same thing happened in Nigeria, Africa's biggest country. The glass is not empty. It is half full.

Gwynne Dyer is a United Kingdom-based independent journalist.

The Hill Times

OPINION U.S. PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION

How to start off start of the s

U.S. presidentelect Donald Trump, pictured, has shown he is not a hostage to ideology, writes Paul Frazer. His transactional nature and his results-oriented approach offer opportunities for Canada. *Photograph courtesy* of Gage Skidmore

Jobs and the middle class are top of mind for both Trump and Trudeau. Those are the best entry points to build solid ties.



PAUL FRAZER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—We don't know what Donald Trump's victory will mean for Canada-United States relations.

We can't even be sure what it means for the U.S. Trump's supporters voted for disruption; they chose someone they think is independent of the Republican Party "establishment" and they expect him to deliver.

Voters, tired of Washington, wanted a straight-talker to act deliberately despite breaking some dishes along the way.

Canada faces a "ringmaster" 45th president who acts and speaks on his own terms and in his own time. He has provided scant detail about policies or specific action he will take as president. Random tweets on a wide variety of matters are the few clues about his post-election thinking.

Will the many issues in Canada-U.S. relations be dealt with primarily in 140-character bursts? Will the late-night tweet be the president's public approach to deciding/announcing how an issue will be resolved? Is this a new and serious dimension in bilateral relations? Possibly.

The period between Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's election and the November presidential vote allowed Ottawa to take stock of the Canada-U.S. relationship and examine strategic options on the Trans-Pacific Partnership, NAFTA, softwood lumber, pipelines, climate change, agriculture, border security, and other borderrelated issues.

Regardless of who is president, the Canadian game plan in Washington must also recognize the need to work effectively with both Congress and the White House. The president and Congress are not always on the same wavelength even if the president and the congressional majority are (ostensibly) of the same party.

Barack Obama had a majority in his first two years and discovered how quickly that power dissipated. But at least he and the Democratic Party were reasonably united.

Trump's victory has improved his relations with the Republican Party and together they've enjoyed the post-victory moment. But given fundamental discord within the party, doubts about his conservative credentials, and the Trump personality, expect the road ahead to be rocky. The natural tensions between the House and the Senate as well as between the president and Congress could become more significant.

Trump is enjoying the po-

litical epicentre. All supplicants file directly to him—some more than once. His manner is less bombastic but he continues to be unpredictable. He will not automatically be in line on party orthodoxy and this will set the stage for political struggles on a range of economic and public policy issues. For now, the party establishment and the party's rebel factions seem prepared to give him some leeway. ficial Washington is notoriously complex and fraught with political landmines.

Canada's bilateral strengths with the U.S. are embedded in the facts of the relationship and a history of sound bilateral co-operation and collaboration.

But another strength can be a good understanding of the incoming president. Trump has shown he is not a hostage to ideology. His transactional nature and his



Promoting and protecting bilateral trade, economic, and defence issues requires that Canada have a clear idea of national interests, goals, and objectives. This is a stiff challenge. It is important not to overreact; Canada must be vigilant, agile, cool, and ready to act to support its interests.

In Washington, a talent for multitasking is invaluable. Of-

results-oriented approach offer opportunities for Canada. By examining Trump's stated interest in (and commitment to) "jobs, jobs, jobs" and support for the middle class and growing prosperity, Ottawa may identify excellent entry points for a bilateral conversation about areas also close to the political/policy heart of the present Canadian government. Ottawa should consider approaching the bilateral relationship on an issue-by-issue basis rooted in economics and smart political strategy. Look closely at potential areas of common cause and devise an approach to appeal to the new administration, especially to the president's self-image and to his circle, to satisfy U.S. needs and meet Canadian interests.

Initially, there may be few natural matches, but if Ottawa can get beyond the Trump political theatre there is potential to make progress in promoting and protecting Canadian interests. Ottawa's readiness to dis-

Ottawa's readiness to discuss NAFTA with the incoming administration is a very good example of keeping the door open to dialogue rather than mounting a knee-jerk negative response to what appeared to be a serious campaign promise. Trump's statements on trade and tariffs are already generating some pushback among Republicans in Congress.

Canadian ministers, ambassadors, and Parliamentarians easily cite the numbers on cross-border trade, investment, and U.S. jobs rooted in the bilateral relationship. This is the Canadian mantra in Washington.

However, today's political circumstances require that Canada actively take this key message beyond Washington as well, to those who voted Republican because of their serious malaise, even anger, over the impact of globalization and the long, deep recession on their personal lives and communities.

Anxiety knows no political boundary.

Many Canadians are also concerned about their own growing income inequality, job loss, and employment uncertainty. One would be misguided to develop a strategy based on a simplistic assessment of U.S. voters this year.

Ottawa can argue that what it wants for Canadians on these issues is what the president-elect wants for Americans. Methods and approaches will be different but that does not preclude successful efforts to reach common ground on specific issues and set a positive tone for managing relations.

The Trump administration will not be the first one to be inadequately prepared for the U.S.-Canada relationship.

The sooner it learns the core facts and sees the collaborative opportunities, the better.

Canada must move quickly beyond impressions and uncertainty and work to define the relationship in constructive and imaginative ways.

Show the administration how working with Canada can pay dividends; how building on what exists will enhance U.S. and Canadian economic, job creation, and middle-class interests.

I suspect Mr. Trump will understand before most that there are excellent opportunities on the bilateral horizon in keeping with his own views; but he needs a straightforward brief that speaks his language.

"Canada" was not an issue in the presidential campaign nor is it a source of present anxiety. Few Americans recognize Canada as a NAFTA partner. They don't know the real relationship or the value that accrues to them from it. Canada should use this to engage the new administration and the Congress. There are

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members of the House and Senate in both parties who are Canada's allies on many issues. But this can't be taken for granted and must be enhanced and broadened.

Americans, generally, are open to information, they will listen, and they can be practical when challenged to address a matter relevant to their (political) interests. They will not "roll over" on an issue to favour Canada and it is therefore incumbent on Ottawa to devise the strategic case to meet U.S. needs while serving Canadian interests.

The incoming vice president is another critical entry point. He is emerging as a sound, stable, and trusted voice in the new administration. As governor of Indiana, he was very active on trade and investment and will appreciate Indiana's role within the Canada-U.S. economic/trade context, with its almost 190,000 Canada-dependent jobs and nearly \$12-billion in high-value exports to Canada.

International events and U.S. domestic developments will impact the administration's ability to focus on a consistent, constructive bilateral role with Canada, let alone on international issues of mutual interest. But the bilateral aspect is a long game and Canada must do the bigger job of keeping both players on track.

This requires Ottawa's diligence, patience, and a clear-headed strategy.

There will be early setbacks. Interminable softwood discussions have clearly demonstrated that some issues have no easy resolution. Canadian frustrations will increase on some subjects until Canadian and U.S. decision-makers get a sense of each other. Expect issues such as Buy America to emerge in protectionist legislation on trade and domestic infrastructure initiatives; U.S. actions taken against others could readily sideswipe Canada.

The prime minister and the new president differ from each other in many ways. These differences must not be allowed to impede their ability to manage the relationship. This "newness" is an important opportunity for both to meet, to get to know each other, to test each other's mettle and to explore opportunities together.

In this period, Ottawa should continue to consider the potential impact of any proposed Canadian policy—foreign or domestic—that can be ill-perceived or misunderstood south of the 49th parallel. I am not suggesting that Ottawa be silent so much as strategic in the manner that it rolls out certain measures.

Ottawa did an excellent job positioning the Canadian program for Syrian refugees. Confidence building measures can be critically important.

As other prime ministers have discovered, there are many "Pentagon pipsqueaks" who claim to speak for a party, for Congress, or for the White

House. This can be avoided and need not derail or taint bilateral efforts.

Given the disparity between the character of the government of the day in Ottawa and that which is forming the new U.S. administration, Canada needs to devise the best calculus to work with Washington while promoting and protecting Canadian interests.

Trump trampled long-standing norms in his presidential campaign. Canada must identify the new points of contact with a larger-than-life president-elect and use them effectively to secure a relationship larger than both national leaders.

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paul.frazer@pdfrazer.com The Hill Times Cold War redux in cyberspace



The government of Russian President Vladimir Putin, pictured here at the UN in 2015, has been accused on more than one occasion of launching cyber attacks on other countries, most recently leading to the expulsion of 35 Russian diplomats from the United States. Cia Pak photograph courtesy of the United Nations

The militarization of cyberspace in the absence of agreed norms for responsible state conduct is a serious danger that should not be ignored.



PAUL MEYER

Some readers will fondly recall *Mad* magazine and the regular Spy vs. Spy cartoons that pitted black hat and white hat agents in a perpetual struggle for supremacy.

Throughout the Cold War, publics became familiar with periodic bouts of spy-versus-spy scandals and associated expulsions. It was therefore with a real sense of déja vu that we received news of the end-of-year White House actions in "response to Russian malicious cyber activity and harassment."There was also, however, an unfortunate confusion generated by the effort of the Obama administration to counter new threats (cyber espionage) with old tools (expulsion of intelligence operatives employing diplomatic cover).

The reality is that the complexities of state-sponsored cyber intrusions do not readily lend themselves to effective rejoinders. When does a cyber "information dump" go beyond personal embarrassment to become an attack on a state's political integrity? It would have been difficult for any government to fashion a set of responses that would retaliate in a similar manner and with similar effect for the cyber intrusion itself.

In this instance, the Obama administration incorporated in its sanctions a traditional response to a totally unrelated complaint—the intensified harassment U.S. diplomatic personnel stationed in Russia had experienced over the last couple of years. This enabled the administration to offer up an action (expelling 35 Russian diplomats and closing down two off-site Embassy facilities) that had suitable impact and visibility, and would provide the public with a readily understandable rebuke for Russian espionage against the U.S.. Although both sanctions targeted the Russian intelligence services, there was no evident connection between the cyber penetration during the election campaign and the alleged espionage activities of the diplomats declared persona non grata.

The dilemma posed by the issue of what constitutes an appropriate response to acts of state-sponsored cyber espionage remains acute for governments. In the case of the hack of the Democratic National Committee, the Obama administration had to amend its previous executive order providing for sanctions to punish cyber intrusions that "harmed or seriously compromised the provision of services by entities in a critical infrastructure sector."

In retrospect, it is surprising that electoral systems had not been included in U.S. cyber security-related definitions of critical infrastructure. This lacuna required the administration to generate an amendment to the existing executive order covering cyber attacks.

The administration reportedly is also considering further covert action of an offensive cyber nature, although it would be difficult for any such step to replicate the impact on the Russian political scene as that experienced in the American electoral context. The issue of what constitutes a "proportional" response as understood in international law has not been adequately addressed by states in this new realm of cyberspace. There is also the risk of escalation in offensive cyber acts in a Russian-U.S. strategic relationship that has deteriorated markedly, and has not developed the mutual norms of behaviour in cyberspace similar to the cooperation established in the nuclear weapon field over decades. This emerging militarization of cyberspace in the absence of agreed norms for responsible state conduct is a serious danger that should not be ignored by the international community.

Ideally, Russia and the U.S. would take the lead in devising such a normative framework for disruptive or destructive cyber operations. Regrettably, this type of forward-looking cooperation was not possible under an Obama administration that shut down cyber-related dialogues with the Russian national security establishment, intent as it was on punishing Moscow for its aggression in Crimea. Perhaps new possibilities for renewing this needed interaction between the two states will open up with the next administration. With the announcement of the U.S. expulsions of the Russian diplomats, many assumed that the other shoe would soon drop in the classic Cold War manner, with Moscow's expulsion of an equal number of U.S. diplomats resident in Russia.

Russian President Vladimir Putin decided to play an entirely different gambit in this high-level chess game. He sacrificed the immediate "gain" of reciprocal retaliation for the longer-term advantage of a goodwill gesture toward the incoming Trump administration. Carrying on with what must be one of the strangest mutual admiration societies in contemporary global affairs, president-elect Donald Trump quickly tweeted his approval of Putin's action and affirmation of what a smart fellow he is.

President Putin may privately not hold quite the same opinion of Trump, but he certainly will appreciate having such an accommodating partner in the Oval Office come Jan. 20. The implications for future cyber security inter-action amongst other aspects of U.S.-Russian strategic relations could be enormous.

Canada cannot afford to be a mere bystander in this new round of East-West conflict. Precedents are being set that could have a major impact on the future of cyberspace as either a "free-fire" zone for competing cyber powers, or a recognized global commons with agreed arrangements of restraint. The Canadian government needs to develop its own policies regarding how best to respond to incidents of state-sponsored cyber espionage. These will need to differentiate between intrusions that merely extract data, and those that are disruptive or damaging of crucial systems or institutions.

A clearer understanding of what constitutes critical infrastructure in the Canadian context is required as well. Besides improving general levels of cyber defence, and thus reducing vulnerability to attack, the government should formulate a calibrated set of responses to state-sponsored cyber assaults.

Finally, Canada can engage more actively in international cyber security diplomacy, to promote global norms for state conduct and cooperative security alternatives to a reversion to Cold War hostility in cyberspace.

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The Hill Times

What a difference a year makes

The Trudeau government heads into a year that will, by any measure, be much more daunting than its first.



ITAWA—A year ago, Canadi-Oans were enthused and relieved to have joined forces to elect a new government and turn the page on a decade of Stephen Harper.

In Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, the country had chosen a young, charismatic leader determined, unlike Harper, to focus on bringing out the best in Canada by appealing to its positive, generous impulses and values.

Among other things, Trudeau vowed to address the growing income gap, stop ignoring longfestering indigenous problems, appoint more women to cabinet, and renew Canada's constructive role at the UN and other multilateral bodies.

All of this catapulted Trudeau onto the world stage in a way unmatched by a Canadian leader in decades. He was mobbed by excited crowds, featured in global media, and invited by Barack Obama to a state dinner at the White House, the first Canadian prime minister afforded that honour since 1997.

Politically, the intervening year has been a long one. A very long one. In the widest sense, events of

the past 12 months have wiped away any doubts about the potential for social media to redefine the relationship between the public and would-be leaders. The outpouring of populist, anti-establishment sentiment fed by Facebook, Twitter, and other platforms is shattering political assumptions across the Western world.

Underestimating the appeal of the anti-immigrant message behind the pro-Brexit movement, few expected Britons to vote to leave the European Union, a step that is still shrouded in confusion and unlikely to do much, if anything, to help those who voted to leave because they feel left behind in the modern, globalized economy

And, setting aside the racist undercurrents in Donald Trump's ascendancy, the world of course witnessed much the same thing in the U.S. election. In what will almost certainly be seen as one of the all-time great political con

jobs, Trump built a messianic election juggernaut by playing on the fears of American voters traumatized by the transition to a more cosmopolitan country, and the economic insecurity arising from automation and, to a lesser extent, trends in global trade.

The enormity of the political fraud thus perpetuated defies words. Judging by Trump's early decisions, he'll be devoted to making America great again, all right, but mainly just for those at the very top—not those in the middle and lower rungs of his country's economic strata. His cabinet appointees-billionaires and Wall Street investors-include people whose most obvious qualifications are their stated determination to slash what meagre help Americans still get in the form of public education, old-age security, and governmentsupported medical programs.

Anti-establishment movements don't have to be absurdly self-destructive, of course. And it remains to be seen how much traction overtly populist messaging is likely to have in this country, with the Conservative leadership race certain to provide some indication.

But Trudeau appears to have (belatedly) begun to appreciate the risks. The thinking behind his decision to cancel his trip to the ultimate elitist event anywherethe annual gathering of billionaires and political heavyweights in Davos, Switzerland—so he can spend more time meeting with Canadians in church basements in coming weeks doesn't require much in the way of analysis.

While still strong, Trudeau's popularity has been damaged by issues around elitism and entitlement, particularly accusations of access-buying by well-heeled Liberal donors and, most recently, his family holiday at the Aga Khan's private Caribbean island.

And, not surprisingly, a year in government takes a toll. Reforming the way Canadians elect Parliamentarians has proven troublesome. Trudeau's attempt to balance pipeline approvals with progress on carbon taxes may end up alienating voters on both sides of the energy-environment issue. Working with the provinces in an effort to link health-care spending with achievable goals— something Harper avoided—looks to be an ongoing bitter battle for the federal Liberals.

But most importantly, the Liberals' upbeat election rhetoric about the ability of an activist federal government to boost economic growth through stimulative spending has come smack up against the reality of the post-

recession economy. While economic conditions have improved since the nasty shock of the oil price slump, Canada is still mired in a period of less-than-stellar growth. The boom in exports forecast as a result of the decline in the value of the loonie has not materialized, and business investment, another key component of economic expansion, remains anemic.

The Liberals' increased family support payments have helped somewhat economically, but the expected boost from Finance Minister Bill Morneau's augmented infrastructure spending on transit and other urban improvements has yet to show up. On top of this, Canada's economy is now hostage to the brainless protectionist sentiments championed by the Trump gang.

Morneau and the Liberals continue to suffer from the inertia that plagues government. Given the circumstances and their majority mandate, it might make sense for the Liberals to think a little bigger and consider more radical approaches. For example, why not throw Ottawa's weight behind building a high-speed train corridor from Quebec City to Windsor? Why not consider linking corporate tax breaks to job creation or job training? Why not look at a large-scale program to help the working poor, probably the country's most disadvantaged group?

Morneau's budget, likely in March, will be the first major test for the Trudeau government as it heads into a year that will by any measure be much more daunting than its first 12 months.

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OPINION NATURAL RESOURCES

Canada must help Colombia crack down on illicit gold trade

Canada should pass legislation requiring that all companies do due diligence when importing minerals from conflict-ridden areas.



BENJAMIN MUSAMPA

In the last decade, there has been a strong push by non-governmental organizations and civil society groups in Canada and abroad asking Canadian policy-makers to make Canadian businesses, particularly

mining companies, accountable at the national and international level for human rights and environmental violations committed abroad.

Canadian mining practices in Latin America have sparked a debate over alleged adverse consequences and their implications for sustainable economic development.

Last year, the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organized Crime released a report investigating the nexus between organized crime and illegal gold mining in Latin America. The report demonstrated that several countries in the region are confronted with a high percentage of illegal gold mining, particularly in Colombia (80 per cent). Nonetheless, the report also acknowledges that artisanal miners remain highly vulnerable to various forms of labour exploitation and human trafficking by organized crime such as the Marxist guerrilla group known as the

Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia or by the Spanish acronym FARC, and criminal bands (bandas criminals) or BACRIM.

Considering Canada is an important importer of Latin American gold and Canadian companies are involved in about 50 to 70 per cent of the region's mining activity, addressing illicit gold mining in concerned countries across South America through the creation of legislation similar to the European Union's conflict minerals regulations could be a step forward. Currently under review, the EU conflict minerals legislation is a major development that will require European companies to do due diligence checks on minerals (particularly gold, tantalum, tin, and tungsten) sourced from any conflict-ridden or high-risk areas like Colombia, Venezuela, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The aim is to ensure money through the mineral trade is not funnelled to armed groups and doesn't contribute to human rights abuses.

Gold is a scarce resource commanding an increasing demand by the jewellery, electronics (smartphones, laptops), and banking industries. In the last few years, we have witnessed an increased awareness of conflict-free gold and of human rights violations derived from gold production.

The gold industry has developed a myriad of initiatives aimed at tackling these concerns. Among the involved institutions are the London Bullion Market Association and the



World Gold Council, which have introduced codes of conduct. Also, several certification schemes have been established to ensure that gold is sourced ethically. In Latin America, for example, the main certification initiatives are through Fairmined and Fairtrade International.

The Canadian government has a unique opportunity to play a prominent role in the conflict mineral debate by addressing illicit gold mining practices in Colombia and Latin America. Being proactive on this matter would imply enacting binding Canadian legislation requiring all companies bringing conflict minerals like gold into Canada to undertake due diligence, in order to mitigate risks and ensure these risks are compliant with existing international norms. Such legislation should include provisions addressing development challenges such as those faced by artisanal miners and underrepresented groups like

A man pans for gold in Chiquitania, Bolivia. Mining activity spans everything from artisanal to large-scale industrial operations. Canadian companies are involved in about 50 to 70 per cent of mining activity in Latin America. Jean-François Gornet photograph courtesy of Flickr

women and children.

These artisanal and small-scale miners, accounting for the majority of the informal workforce, should be perceived as a mechanism of poverty reduction in Colombia and other resource-rich developing countries.

Furthermore, extending the scope of Canadian legislation to other natural resources subject to conflict and human rights abuses, such as diamonds and coal, may only help improve Canadian mining businesses' reputation, while increasing the viability of their mining investments in Latin America.

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PLAIN SPEAK CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP RACE

Raitt risks blood in her quest to sink the big fish

By setting herself against O'Leary, she risks inflating his would-be candidacy. But she's also conscious that if she doesn't take some risks she has zero chance of winning.



TIM POWERS

OTTAWA—Lisa Raitt has gone shark fishing! As someone who grew up in the era of the epic *Jaws* films, she knows it can be a pretty bloody endeavour to catch the big fish, but well worth the glory if you do.

Last week, Raitt, who to date has had generally a quite uneventful Conservative leadership campaign, decided to go after Kevin O'Leary and to a lesser degree Kellie Leitch. Raitt had a news conference at the national press theatre in Ottawa during what is normally a sleepy post-Christmas/early new year time to announce the launch of the website StopKevinOLeary.com.

She said she was taking a stand against the "cheap talk" and "irresponsible populism" of would-be candidate O'Leary and current contender Leitch. She sees O'Leary and to a lesser degree Leitch as dangerous proponents of passing fads of pissed-off populism that over time could sink the Conservative Party.

Raitt clearly believes O'Leary is going to enter the race. She also sees a potential benefit in setting herself up as his main opponent. While other candidates like Andrew Scheer, Erin O'Toole, Michael Chong, and Maxime Bernier have criticized or challenged O'Leary on different matters, none have gone so far as Raitt to call for his defeat or perhaps ceare him guyar from entoring

scare him away from entering. Raitt is no dummy. She knows by trying to harpoon O'Leary she can also inflate his candidacy and reinforce his disruptor image, which many Conservative voters might find appealing. But she also is conscious of the fact if she doesn't take some risks she has zero chance of winning the Conservative race.

Given that 13 candidates still remain in the race (another fail for us pundits who thought more than one would drop out by Dec. 31), now is the time if you are still competing to do a serious review of what constitutes your winning conditions. While many of the 13 are still lining themselves up to be everyone's second choice, Raitt seems to have stepped away from that configuration.

If Raitt can keep driving the narrative that O'Leary is a threat and she is best placed to deal with him then she might have a path to victory. But it is a big"if."

Raitt knows her life story makes a good contrast to O'Leary's. There aren't, to the best of my knowledge, videos of Lisa Raitt referring to herself as Ms. Wonderful while opening a champagne bottle with a sabre. Raitt's life with its ups and downs is more relatable to Canadians than O'Leary's. Like O'Leary, she is a good communicator who is affable. She is also not a carbon copy of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, which matters. And ironically, like O'Leary, her French is a work in progress. If they were to engage in verbal fisticuffs both would likely downplay that commonality.

To land a shark, though, you have to get him to take the bait; so far, O'Leary hasn't bitten. He and his team have made general comments in response to Raitt's pronouncements, but they have



If Lisa Raitt, pictured, can keep driving the narrative that Kevin O'Leary is a threat and she is best placed to deal with him then she might have a path to victory, writes Tim Powers. But it is a big 'if.' *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*

not focused on sinking Raitt. They rightly commented that the one thing Lisa Raitt's news conference has done is generate some energy into what has mostly been a lacklustre affair.

We are still nearly five months away from the Conservatives selecting a new leader. More blood is likely to be left on the floor as candidates try to assert themselves in the run-up to the May 27 vote. The pack of candidates trying to be everyone's second choice is going to have to fragment a bit, as you can't have 12 or 13 number 2s. Voters can only pick one. Campaign strategists will have their work cut out for them trying to differentiate themselves from their opponents and to do that in a well-timed manner that coincides with members' voting periods.

13

There is also a psychological challenge both for the candidate and elector in the number 2 positioning strategy. If you are everybody's consensus second choice, how then can you beat the Liberals' and the NDP's firstchoice person? The mind games never end.

Tim Powers is vice-chairman of Summa Strategies and managing director of Abacus Data. He is a former adviser to Conservative political leaders. The Hill Times

OPINION INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE REVIEW

What to think about when changing Canada's approach to foreign aid

This is the year to leverage the country's moral authority, put new commitments into action, and inspire others.



OTTAWA—As the Canadian government prepares to unveil its new approach to international assistance, the challenges confronting global poverty, stability, and human rights are as great as they've been in more than a generation. Worldwide, more than 65 million people have been forced from their homes, including in places like Burundi, Mali, South Sudan, and Myanmar.

In Åleppo, Iraq, and Yemen, people are suffering untold misery at the hands of those whose disregard for humanitarian law could not be more profound.

Drought in the Horn of Africa has left more than 15 million people facing food and water shortages and in need of urgent humanitarian assistance.

Severe weather in Haiti, Cuba, Fiji, Tonga, and the Philippines has left thousands rebuilding their lives.

Countries once considered champions of universal human rights and co-operation are today caught up in deep social rifts within their own societies, while wringing their hands on the international stage.

Amid these challenges, it is easy to forget the cautious optimism with which, little more than a year ago, many of us greeted the dawn of the post-2015 era.

The adoption of United Nations' Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals appeared to have set the world on a new course to tackle global challenges and "leave no one behind."

The ratification of the Paris Agreement established a legallybinding accord to reduce greenhouse gases and help millions of people confronting the worst effects of climate change.

Here in Canada, a commitment to assist thousands of Syrian refugees, to fight gender inequality, and to improve our assistance to the world's most vulnerable people inspired an outpouring of civic engagement.

Hundreds of communities came together to help strangers from Syria rebuild their lives in safety and security.

No wonder so many people around the world are now looking to Canada to help keep efforts towards a more equal, prosperous, and peaceful world on track. Of course, Canada cannot tackle the world's great chal-

tackle the world's great challenges alone. But it can do much to encourage others to share in its vision

age others to share in its vision for a world of hopeful, inclusive, and resilient societies.

It can do so by ensuring our own policies uphold and reinforce the global frameworks to which we have agreed, and by continuing to work with Canadian civil society organizations to ensure the achievement of those objectives.

A new international assistance policy statement to be released in the coming weeks will be critical toward that end.

This long-awaited refresh to Canada's development and humanitarian work must reflect the latest evidence and best practice around the ways international co-operation policies can promote transformative, systemic change.

It must be rooted in an understanding that the full potential of humankind can be realized only if every woman, girl, boy, and man is empowered to enjoy their political, economic, and social rights.

This must include the rights of all people to exercise control over their own bodies and health, to be full and unhindered participants in their economies, and have ac-

cess to safe and dignified work. All communities must share in the benefits of trade and international finance mechanisms, and be strengthened to withstand and recover faster from shocks caused by climate change and conflict.

Canada must build on current momentum in international efforts to combat climate change, including by following through on its own commitments to help people in developing countries adapt to its effects.

An emboldened approach to international diplomacy, including recent efforts to overcome UN Security Council inaction in Syria, and bar-raising investments in refugee resettlement, must continue to underpin Canada's role in the world.

Finally, Canada's actions must not only be smarter and more efficient, but backed by predictable financial resources to both deliver impact and defend those gains over time.

There is no shortage of reasons to feel overwhelmed by challenges facing the world today, and there are no quick solutions in sight. But as David Bowie once put it, "tomorrow comes to those who can hear it coming."

Canada can yet seize 2017 as the year to leverage its moral authority, put new policies and commitments into action, and inspire others through its unwavering commitment to international co-operation, creative solutions,

and leaving no one behind. Gillian Barth is president and CEO of CARE Canada. The Hill Times

Private island getaway could be Trudeau's tipping point

There is sometimes the odour of a plutocracy around the Trudeau clique, and as his cabinet colleague Chrystia Freeland wrote in her book Plutocrats, that can be a problem.



OTTAWA—Somewhere in the sullen sandstone bun-

ker of Ottawa's Langevin Block, somebody has finally pulled the populism alarm.

You know the one. It says IN CASE OF ENTITLEMENT, BREAK GLASS.

Beneath that inscription, in a smaller font, it says I MEAN, FEEL FREE TO WAIT A WHILE, BECAUSE ENTITLEMENT IS FUN. BUT IF IT GETS REALLY BAD, GO AHEAD AND BREAK THAT GLASS.

The glass remained unbroken when Justin Trudeau partied with Bono and Kevin Spacey at Davos a year ago. Nobody reached for the little hammer when his top staffers, Gerald Butts and Katie Telford, posted moving expenses that could have paid to bury Trajan's legions in Styrofoam peanuts. Everyone kept their cool when Health Minister Jane Philpott hired a Liberal donor for bespoke limo service around Ontario's Golden Horseshoe region. Even after Trudeau's social appointments turned out to form an arrow on Google Maps pointing to the one billionaire in China who stays up at night wondering whether the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation has enough money to get by, nobody pulled the red lever.

But there comes a point. Perhaps Trudeau realized he had reached it as he was flying back from his New Year's family vacation at the Aga Khan's private island in the Bahamas.

That last bit took a while to tease out of the PMO, didn't it? At first, his public agenda said only"Personal." Then, reporters were told he was not in Canada. Then that he had been in the Bahamas. And finally, the travel arrangements.

Government spokesmen were quick Friday to note Trudeau's conspicuous frugality on the way to, uh, the private island with the yacht in what the *Hollywood Reporter* calls the "Hamptons of the Bahamas."

Trudeau paid the market cost of airfare to the, uh, private island with the yacht in the Hamptons of the Bahamas.

Note that the Aga Khan makes friends easily, and that Stephen Harper liked him too. But for that very reason, the Canadian government and the Aga Khan Foundation have done business together over the years, including \$75-million for foundation development projects in Africa and Asia.

Reporters were left arguing whether it's the secrecy or the

luxury that looked worse. My own rule of thumb is that there is no good sentence in politics that contains the phrase "private island with the yacht."

But there are all kinds of good sentences that contain the phrase "ordinary Canadians," and at last Trudeau's office decided it was time to write a few.

So on Friday Trudeau's office announced he is leaving on an extended tour of "coffee shops, church basements, etc." in smalltown Ontario, the Prairies, and British Columbia. Conspicuously absent from that list: the four Atlantic provinces, which returned a Liberal in every riding at the last election. Clearly the goal is not to bask in adulation, but to nip small problems before they get big.

Somewhere between the first reports of the tour and the end of the day, the PMO also announced Trudeau won't be attending the World Economic Forum in Davos, where he made such a splash a year ago. He simply has so many coffee shops to hit that he can no longer squeeze the Alps into his itinerary, reporters were told.

This is, it seems to me, the more poignant news. Davos is not actually a disco lounge where billionaires go to douse one another with champagne. Or at least not only that. It's a handy place to meet CEOs and world leaders at the level of minister or higher, and to pitch Canada as an investment destination. Last year Trudeau met General Motors CEO Mary Barra, Thomson Reuters CEO Jim Smith and Microsoft CEO Satya Nadella there. Later, all three companies announced large investments in Canada.

We are told some number of Liberal cabinet ministers will make their way to Davos without the boss, and it's safe to assume he'll go back one day. Even Stephen Harper sometimes went to Davos.

But there is sometimes the odour of a plutocracy around the Trudeau clique, and as his trade minister Chrystia Freeland wrote in her book *Plutocrats*, that can be a problem.

The prime minister, who lived at 24 Sussex Dr. until his teens, then moved to his father's astonishing art deco mansion on Pine Avenue in Montreal, will never have an easy time shaking that image.

He certainly won't if he makes no effort.

In the meantime, he will meet some real Canadians, and hear what they have to say. Perhaps some of it will be sharp-tongued. He'll listen, and adjust. At the next election, the Conservatives and NDP will certainly say he has done nothing for working Canadians. Trudeau's test will be whether working Canadians say, "Well, that's baloney." If that reaction isn't automatic, he'll have trouble.

Paul Wells is a national affairs writer for The Toronto Star. This column was first released on Jan. 7 The Hill Times

OPINION AGRICULTURE

Canada can pick up where UN climate talks left off, help small-scale farmers

COP22 missed lowhanging fruit in the agricultural sector.



FARIS AHMED AND GENEVIÈVE TALBOT

The Paris Agreement set the stage in 2015: agriculture and food matter to climate change. The Committee for World Food Security sent the same message to the world during its October meetings, that the climate is changing, so should our food. Agriculture was one of the important issues to be discussed at the UN climate change conference in Marrakech late last year, COP22, the "COP of action." What happened?

Agriculture is strongly linked to climate change. Agricultural production is responsible for 11 to 13 per cent of greenhouse gas emissions worldwide. This is the second major emitter globally, after the energy sector. The agricultural production impact on global warming varies depending on the agricultural model applied. Industrial agriculture and smallscale family farming are not on an equal footing when it comes to GHG emissions. The effects of global warming are not comparable either, since small-scale family farming is mainly practised in countries most affected by climate change. Those differences must be reflected within climate negotiations. Unfortunately, at COP22 they were not.

In fact the negotiation on agriculture collapsed at COP22 with parties being unable to reach a common agreement. The Group of 77 developing countries asked for investment in adaptation measures while developed countries, through a European Union proposal, talked about mitigation (and not adaptation) measures. It was a deaf dialogue. The future of agriculture negotiations within the formal set-up of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change remains uncertain.

This void leaves an interesting space for Canada to be a leader in the next agricultural negotiations, to be held in May 2017.

While the negotiation collapsed, other private initiatives in the agricultural sector flourished during the second week in Marrakech. The 4 per 1000 initiative, as well as Adaptation of African Agriculture (AAA), and the Global Alliance for Climate-Smart Agriculture, which is headed by Canada, are some examples of solutions in the agricultural sector that are proposed by states and corporations from the agri-business sector in order to fight climate change.

We welcome new initiatives, but it is important to remind political leaders that in the fight against climate change, the agricultural model and agricultural practices that are promoted matter. World Bank figures show that small-scale family farm ers-almost 1.5 billion people, including 500 million landless peasants-represent more than half of the world's labour force. In the Global South, small family operations make up about 85 per cent of all farms and produce 60 per cent of the food consumed worldwide, while occupying only 20 to 30 per cent of arable land

Development and Peace-Caritas Canada and USC Canada are asking the Canadian government to be a true leader in the fight against climate change and to financially support small-scale ecological agriculture practised by hundreds of millions of small-holders farmers. This kind of farming is based on agricultural biodiversity and time-tested knowledge of that biodiversity. It strengthens communities' resilience and ability to cope with climate shocks, giving them more options to respond, as well as enhancing their capacity to maintain a diverse food supply and build rural economies, stay on the land, and feed their families.

So far, Canadian investments in climate finance schemes are not enough. Canada has not reached a balance between adaptation and mitigation funding, which is strange for a country that has proclaimed itself as a climate leader.

There is no better investment in development than through agriculture, as it yields benefits across many other aspects of development: food security, health and nutrition, economic growth, environmental sustainability, and gender equality (as the majority of the world's small-scale farmers are women), in addition to climate adaptation and GHG reduction.

The World Bank estimates, for example, that investing in agriculture is highly cost-effective, and at least twice as effective in reducing poverty as other strategies. That's why we are asking the Canadian government to increase its financial support for smallscale ecological farming through its climate finance.

If Canada takes seriously its international engagement on



Environment Minister Catherine McKenna speaks at the COP22 UN climate change conference in Marrakech, Morocco, last November. *Photograph courtesy of the Rwandan Ministry of Natural Resources*

climate change, this means that we should be active in the agricultural scene and work with the more than 500 million small-holder farmers in Africa and around the world. Their direct role in adapting to and mitigating climate change cannot be overlooked, and in fact is essential to finishing the race.

Faris Ahmed is a director of policy and campaigns for USC Canada. Geneviève Talbot is a research and advocacy officer for Development and Peace-Caritas Canada. The Hill Times **NEWS IMMIGRATION**

Last-minute wave of Syrian refugees lets Liberals keep their promise

Extended security, health checks delayed the acceptance of some refugees who arrived late in 2016.

Continued from page 1

Canada in mid-December, bringing the total to more than 25,000 since the Liberal government took power in 2015 and began to admit thousands of people displaced and endangered by the turmoil in and around the Middle Eastern country.

The surge of new arrivals in late 2016 came thanks in part to the government taking a longer look at "a number of" refugee applications from earlier in the year for security or medical reasons, delaying travel to Canada that may otherwise have occurred earlier, according to departmental officials.

People in the refugee resettlement sector were preparing for the December arrivals, said one sector executive. The executive and another said the government tipped them off ahead of time about the expected late-year surge. They said the few thousand government-supported refugees who arrived in the last couple of months of 2016 was nothing compared to the influx in the first two months of the year, when the government pressed to meet its target of bringing in 25,000 refugees through both private and government streams.

'Complex' security cases wrapped up mid-year Immigration, Refugees, and

Citizenship Canada could not provide statistics by press time on how many refugee applications required more time for security or medical screening, or how many of those cases were rejected. Spokesperson Nancy Chan wrote that those individuals had "more complex" cases that required more time to evaluate, but added the government used the same security and health screens for all Syrian refugees.

The government had promised to bring in 25,000 Syrian refugees through its government-assisted and blended refugee programs by the end of the year—not be confused with an earlier target of 25,000 Syrians from private and government streams by the end of February.

Unlike privately-sponsored refugees, who are supported by individual Canadians, governmentassisted refugees are supported by the federal government for their first year in the country, including aspects such as their accommodation, clothing, food, and help finding jobs. The blended program has the government splitting the tab for housing and other costs with Canadian sponsors. It appeared through much

It appeared through much of last year that the government would miss its end-of-year 25,000-person goal, perhaps badly. About 11 new Syrian refugees were entering Canada each day on average between March and the beginning of August, far off the pace needed for the government to hit the target it was then several thousand people shy of, according to data published by the department roughly every week.

However, the number of refugees arriving in Canada rose steadily in the finals months of 2016. About 56 Syrians arrived per day on average in mid-November; that jumped to an average of 77 per day by Dec. 4, then 136 per day between Dec. 11 and Dec. 19, when the government surpassed its target.

The federal immigration department says the surge in new arrivals late in the year was not out of the ordinary; immigration officials worked steadily over the months to meet their year-end target, and there is typically a three-to-six-month delay between when applicants are given their first interview and the time they arrive in Canada, according to emailed responses from Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada spokespeople.

The government "made it clear" early on to refugee resettlement organizations that there would be a wave of refugees arriving late in the year, said Louisa Taylor, director of Ottawa's Refugee 613, a coalition of groups that support refugees.

"Compared to the volume and the speed in the first quarter of 2016, this is nothing," she said.

The government brought in more than 15,000 governmentsupported Syrian refugees by the end of February last year, the vast majority arriving after the Liberals took office in November. That crunch strained the resources of refugee agencies that helped to find housing, language training, and other forms of support for the new arrivals.

The number of Syrians entering Canada will likely tail off this month, and then increase towards the end of the year again in 2017, wrote departmental spokesperson Nancy Chan. The government has pledged to resettle another 25,000 refugees this year through all streams, though not only from Syria.

The latest data from the federal Immigration Department shows that drop off began right after the government met its goal.



A family of Syrian refugees arrives in Toronto in December, 2015. One year later, more than 100 Syrians were arriving in Canada each day. *Domnic Santiago photograph courtesy of Flickr*

Between Dec. 19 and Jan. 2, 663 government-supported Syrian refugees arrived, in Canada. That's an average of about 47 per day, or a little more than a third of the rate Syrians were arriving midway through last month.

"A spike in arrivals in December is a familiar thing in the resettlement world—the government is frequently trying to meet its targets for the year," wrote Janet Dench, executive director for the Canadian Council for Refugees, in an email. "[People in the refugee re-

"[People in the refugee resettlement sector] knew that there would be more arrivals at the end of the year, and were preparing for it," she wrote.

Fingerprints, interviews for every refugee

The three-to-six-month delay between when refugees are approved and when they typically arrive is used to issue them visas, give them time to wrap up personal affairs, and receive an orientation on life in Canada from Canadian officials, wrote IRCC spokesperson Nancy Caron.

Some Syrians also arrived later in the year because their medical or security screening took longer than the norm, the department said. Temporary health conditions that could interfere with travel, such as tuberculosis or pregnancy, could further delay arrivals, wrote Ms. Chan.

The government security screening process for Syrian refugees includes collecting biographical information, fingerprints, a digital photo—all of which are checked against immigration, law enforcement, and security databases—and an interview with Canadian officials, according to the immigration department.

The refugees typically take commercial flights to Canada organized by the International Organization for Migration, though when large numbers were arriving last winter, the government did bring over some groups through a military airbus and planes chartered from commercial airlines.

Refugee resettlement agencies will have to lean on the funds already set aside by the government this year to manage the newcomers, according to the immigration department, which includes a \$250-million fund specifically for Syrian refugees, in addition to the money set aside for immigrant and refugee resettlement in general.

So far the government has admitted more than 21,000 Syrians through its government-assisted program and nearly 4,000 through its blended program. It has also brought in around 14,000 Syrian refugees through the private sponsorship program. The majority arrived prior to the end of February 2016.

The government was only able to meet its target of welcoming 25,000 government-supported refugees by the end of the year by changing the goal to include both the blended and governmentassisted categories.

The original target the Liberals had put forward during the 2015 election campaign was to resettle 25,000 governmentsponsored Syrian refugees by the end of 2015. But after the Liberals formed government, they decided to push back that 25,000 target to the end of February 2016—a goal they ultimately achieved—and to count both government-assisted and privately-sponsored refugees toward the goal.

At the time, the government said it would still honour its goal of bringing in 25,000 governmentsponsored refugees, with a new deadline of the end of 2016. It also included refugees brought in through the blended program towards that new goal.

The Canadian $\bar{C}ouncil$ for Refugees criticized the decision to

lump refugees brought in through the blended program with the

government-assisted target. The government has said that the blended program is used for refugees that would otherwise be brought in through the government-assisted program. The CCR argued in a July 2016 press release that the government should only be able to count half of the blended-program refugees towards its 25,000-person target, since it only puts up half the money to support them.

"In that way private sponsors will know they are supporting additional refugees, and not simply substituting and subsidizing the government commitment,"the release said. *peter@hilltimes.com* @PJMazereeuw

TIMELINE

GOVERNMENT-SUPPORTED SYRIAN REFUGEES ARRIVING IN CANADA

.....

Dec. 19-Jan. 2: **47** per day, average (663 total) Dec. 11-19: **136** per day, average (1,090 total) Dec. 4-11: **128** per day, average (900 total) Nov. 27-Dec. 4: **77** per day, average (536 total) Nov. 13-27: **56** per day, average (777 total) July 10-Nov. 13: **25** per day, average (3,097 total) July 3-10: **10** per day, average (68 total)

39,671 Syrian refugees now in Canada, having arrived after Nov. 4, 2015, including:

21,751 government-assisted (totally government supported)
13,997 privately-sponsored (supported by Canadian volunteers)
3,923 blended program (half and half)

Source: Immigration Befugees and Citizenship

Source: Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada, as of Jan. 2

NEWS POLITICS

Ex-Senate Grit leader Cowan says Trudeau's changes could radically transform Upper Chamber into passive advisory panel

The Senate is a legislative body tasked with passing laws, not some sort of 'council of elders,' says retiring Sen. James Cowan.

Continued from page 1

make the Upper Chamber a significantly less effective institution. "We need to organize.You

get more done if you work with other people. For me, that means that Senators will inevitably, and should be encouraged, to work in groups,"he said in favour of the Senate remaining structured as a Westminster-style legislative body like the House.

Sen. Cowan, an accomplished attorney in his native Halifax prior to his tenure in Ottawa, was nominated for the Senate by then-Liberal prime minister Paul Martin in March 2005. Unofficially, he's already entered retirement from the Senate as the Upper Chamber will not resume sitting until after he's required to step down.

Sen. Cowan was appointed leader of the Senate Liberals, and hence, leader of the official opposition in the Senate, in November 2008 by then-party leader Stéphane Dion (Saint-Laurent, Que.).

He was the party's Senate leader when Mr. Trudeau stunned observers in 2014 by announcing that the Liberal Party had disbanded its Senate caucus, and members were now independents.

Sen. Cowan stayed on as Senate opposition leader, and continued to lead the new Senate Liberal caucus, made up of selfstyled Liberal Senators, though with no formal connection to the party's House caucus.

He remained as opposition leader until the Liberals took power in November 2015, though was not appointed as leader of the government in the Senate. Instead, the Liberals created the new post of government representative in the Senate, and appointed Peter Harder (Ontario) to the position. Sen. Cowan, though, remained as leader of the selfdescribed Senate Liberals until this past June.

After assuming office, Mr. Trudeau introduced a new appointment process for Senators that sought to do away with the tradition of awarding longserving party loyalists with seats in the Upper Chamber. The new process was touted as being independent and handled by an arm's-length advisory body. The stated goal was to reduce partisanship by appointing outstanding Canadians to the Senate that would owe no allegiance to any political party.

But Sen. Cowan sees these changes as a threat to the function of the Senate, echoing complaints from critics that the new set-up, marked by surging numbers of non-affiliated, independent Senators, will make the institution less dynamic and effective.

He sees the reforms as potentially undermining the nature of the chamber, which he maintains is defined in the Constitution as a legislative body tasked with passing laws.

Rather than disbanding caucuses in the Senate, the intent should be to ensure that members are "independent from outside direction," he said, emphasizing that the Senate remains a legislative body tasked with passing laws, and shouldn't morph into some sort of "council of elders."

Conservative Claude Carignan (Quebec), who currently serves as leader of the official opposition in the Senate, echoes the views of his soon-to-be retiring colleague.

"We are on the same page that we have a Westminster Parliament system, and we have to make sure that...the government will not abolish the opposition in the Senate,"he told *The Hill Times*.

"The danger is to transform the Senate into a big advisory committee. We have to make sure that in our will to improve the Senate we will not...destroy completely the system."

Sen. Carignan described Sen. Cowan as a "great Senator [and] a great man," saying the two worked closely in their respective leadership roles over the last years to improve the Senate, citing, specifi-



cally, work to bolster transparency and accountability following the headline-grabbing controversy over questionable expenses claimed by Senate members.

Amid the fallout, he said the two men realized that they needed to change the rules and administration of the Senate to restore confidence in the chamber.

Sen. Carignan listed reviewing Senate administrative rules, changes to the Upper Chamber's administration, and strengthened transparency measures, such as listing expenses online, as collaborative efforts undertaken to restore confidence in the legislative body.

"When you have to work in a crisis you have to work together in full confidence. You have to trust a handshake [as] a contract. And it was like that with him,"he said of Sen. Cowan.

"He's a very smart [and] strong man. He imposes respect; he was a leader, and that was no accident."

"I will miss him and the Senate will miss him."

Citing changes to improve accountability and transparency, and the generally more open tone emanating from the Senate, Sen. Cowan said the Upper Chamber is a better place than the one he first set foot in 12 years ago.

"I think it's due to the [work of the] majority of Senators to change the way we do things," he said, noting that in terms of communications, he believes the Senate is being "more proactive" in telling its story.

Sen. Cowan points to genetic non-discrimination bill as major achievement

Reflecting on his nearly 12 years in office, Sen. Cowan lists off his public bill (the Senate version of a private member's bill) prohibiting discrimination based on genetics as one his proudest accomplishments.

The legislation won Senate approval with bipartisan support last year, and was shepherded through the House of Commons by sponsor Liberal MP Rob Oliphant (Don Valley West, Ont.).

Most notably, the bill would protect Canadians from losing out on insurance coverage and employment opportunities from the results of a genetic test, which can help identify dangerous genomic mutations that increase the likelihood of contracting potentially serious diseases.

Insurance industry representatives say the bill would limit their ability to compile useful health information.

While it was going through the House, Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould (Vancouver-Granville, B.C.) unsuccessfully pushed for changes because she worried that the bill would be declared unconstitutional on the grounds of provincial jurisdiction over the insurance industry.

However, Liberal backbenchers and opposition MPs dismissed those concerns and passed the bill, with members of the House Justice and Human Rights Committee only adding one amendment that Sen. Cowan portrayed as minor.

As a result, the bill will return to the Senate.

The amendment was put in place to ensure changes prescribed to the Canadian Human Rights Act would be preserved should the government's Bill C-16, which also reforms the act by adding gender identity and gender expression to the list of prohibited grounds of discrimination, pass into law.

James Cowan is leaving the building: Former Senate Liberal leader James Cowan will take leave of the Upper Chamber on Jan. 22 after reaching the mandatory retirement age of 75. The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright

It was necessary because the bills amend the same part of the act, though *The Hill Times* reported that the possible amendment could have been made to C-16 instead during its Senate study, as it's currently before the Senate at second reading.

It would have similarly sent that government bill back to the House as a result.

Senator Art Eggleton (Ontario), a former Toronto mayor and fellow Martin appointee, will assume the mantle of sponsoring the bill in the Senate when it returns, according to Sen. Cowan.

In addition to the anti-discrimination bill, he listed leading the Liberal opposition to the Harper government's Bill C-377 that introduced controversial finance disclosure rules for unions, and participating in the heated debate about assisted dying legislation as highlights from his time in office.

The Trudeau government has since announced that it plans to repeal Bill C-377.

Now that he's leaving the Senate, Sen. Cowan said he'll look to continue engage in the debate on assisted dying, and remain involved on issues surrounding the intersection of criminal law and mental health, and post-secondary research.

He'll also remain on several advisory boards and maintain an office and association with prominent Halifax law firm Stewart Mckelvey.

"I've still got some things I'm working on, and I'll continue to do that," he said, adding that he'll miss the great people he met in office, including his colleagues and those that have testified at Senate committees.

"I anticipate a busy retirement." mvigliotti@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

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nemployment among Canadians aged 15 to 24 Uaveraged 13.2 per cent in 2015. That's about 2.3 times higher than the rate among those 25 and older, according to Statistics Canada.

Of those who aren't full-time students, fewer Canadian young people now are employed full time than they were four decades ago. And among those with full-time jobs, a lot of them are contract positions, not permanent.

In The Hill Times' Youth Issues Policy Briefing, we'll take a look at how the federal government can respond to the precarious job market for young people. We'll examine the recommendations of an

expert panel on how the federal government should tackle youth unemployment. Meanwhile, 34 per cent of Canadian employers have reported some trouble in filling information technology jobs due to skills mismatch, according to the Information and Communications Technology Council's data from 2014. We'll take a look at what

the federal government can do to help fix the digital skills gap and see more young people join the workforce in these in-demand jobs. And we'll also take a look at the difficulties facing first-time home owners, including red-hot housing

markets and recent federal changes to housing ru

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1030 PERSONAL

FEATURE EVENTS

PARLIAMENTARY CALENDAR



Tip your hat to retiring CP reporter Bruce Cheadle Jan. 11 at the Met

WEDNESDAY, JAN. 11

The Way Forward on Climate Action—The Centre for International Governance Innovation's International Law Research Program presents experts including CIGI fellows Silvia Maciunas, David Runnalls, Céline Bak, Olaf Weber, and director of CIGI's International Law Research Program Oonagh Fitzgerald. They will discuss how to advance global climate action in 2017 and beyond. Register via eventbrite.ca. Wednesday, Jan. 11, Westin Ottawa Hotel, Governor General I ballroom, 11 Colonel By Dr., Ottawa, 5-6 p.m. Followed by a reception, 6-7 p.m.

Bruce Cheadle's Retirement Bash—The Canadian Press will hold a retirement party for veteran CP reporter Bruce Cheadle on Wednesday, Jan. 11, at 6 p.m. at the Métropolitain Brasserie in Ottawa. To confirm attendance, contact: Stephanie Levitz at stephanie. levitz@thecanadianpress.com or 613-231-8610.

MONDAY, JAN. 16

House Not Sitting—The House resumes sitting on Monday, Jan. 30, after a six-week break. It's scheduled to sit from Jan. 30 to Feb. 24. It breaks for one week, Feb. 27 to March 3, and returns March 6 to 10. It breaks for one week, March 13 to 17, and returns for one week, March 20 to 24.

More Than Words: Illustrating Data Webinar Series— The Ontario Council for International Co-operation is hosting data illustration expert Ann K. Emery for a free three-part capacity-building webinar series designed to improve international development groups' ability to demonstrate impact. The series covers simple Excel tools for data analysis, data visualization planning, and design principles for reports, social media, dashboards, and more. Open to all. Of particular interest to monitoring and evaluation practitioners and development professionals. Space is limited and registration is required. Part 1: Data Visualization, Monday, Jan. 16, 12-1:30 m Register via opic on ca/morethanwords.

p.m. Register via ocic.on.ca/morethanwords. **Town Hall on Child Care**—Ontario Associate Minister of Education, Early Years, and Child Care Indira Naidoo-Harris will host a public engagement session on child care. The discussion will focus on how to build a high-quality child-care and early-years system that is more accessible, affordable, and flexible. The government wants to hear from expectant parents, as well as parents and guardians with children under 12 years of age with ideas that will help meet this goal. Monday, Jan. 16. 7-9 p.m. Shaw Centre, 55 Colonel By Dr., Ottawa. Light refreshments will be served and child minding will be available on site. No registration is required. For more information, visit ontario.ca/morechildcare.



Bye Bruce! The Canadian Press will hold a retirement party for veteran CP reporter Bruce Cheadle on Jan. 11, at 6 p.m. at the Métropolitain Brasserie in Ottawa. *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*

TUESDAY, JAN. 17

Building Capacity in the Understanding of Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples—This is a special event focused on the role of public administration in promoting and developing a new relationship with indigenous peoples, organized by the Institute of Public Administration of Canada, National Capital Region chapter. It will feature experts including an assistant deputy minister with the Department of Canadian Heritage and interim senior ADM with Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. Jan. 17, 5:30-7:30 p.m., Canadian Museum of Nature, theatre, 240 McLeod St., Ottawa. For tickets and more information: ipac.ca/ncr/Events.

Third Conservative Leadership Debate—The third party-sanctioned debate will be held on Jan. 17 in Quebec City, and will be a French debate moderated by former journalist and Conservative candidate Pascale Déry. The debate will cover two themes: government and taxes, and national security and defence. Debates will be streamed live online for all party members and all Canadians to see. All debates are open to Conservative Party members to attend. The Conservative Party leadership election will be on May 27, 2017.

WEDNESDAY, JAN. 18

The Populist Pivot and the Economic Outlook for 2017—The Ottawa Economics Association is hosting a luncheon event featuring Peter Hall, vice-president and chief economist, Export Development Canada (EDC). For the global economy, 2016 was yet another post-recession disappointment, with critical upset votes in the U.K. and the U.S.—a populist pivot away from the architecture that is being blamed for secular stagnation. Where does this lead? Hear Peter Hall's views on this, together with EDC's outlook for 2017 and implications for Canada's trade. Members: \$75/\$100; Student members: \$25/\$30. Jan. 18, 11:45 a.m., Chateau Laurier hotel, Canadian Room (lower level), 1 Rideau St., Ottawa. Details and registration via cabe.ca.

New Challenges of Consular Affairs—The Canadian International Council's national capital branch presents this event exploring the increasing dangers for travelling Canadians, and related issues of official services to support and assist distressed Canadians abroad. Featuring Rick Kohler, former chief of protocol of Canada; Alex Neve, Amnesty International Canada; and Gar Pardy, a former director general for consular services. Wednesday, Jan. 18, 5 p.m. (registration and cash bar); 6 p.m. (presentation, discussion); 7:30 p.m. (optional dinner). Tickets vary from \$15 to \$70. Sheraton Hotel, Rideau Room, 150 Albert St., Ottawa. Register: ottawa@thecic.org, 613-903-4011 or via eventbrite.ca. More information: cicncbjan182017.eventbrite.ca.

Continued on page 19







Sweden celebrates St. Lucia's Day



Kenya's national day draws high-profile crowd









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FEATURE ENVOYS



DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES By Chelsea Nash

Latvian envoy says NATO mission a 'new phase' in Latvia-Canada relations

Canadian troops are going to be arriving in Latvia beginning this month, with the mission becoming operational in the summer.

atvia's new ambassador to Canada, Kar-⊿lis Eihenbaums, says Canada's troop deployment to Latvia will strengthen relations between the Baltic state and Canada.

About 450 Canadian troops will be leading the NATO mission in Latvia, in response to perceived Russian aggression in the area. The ambassador said troops will begin arriving this month, with the mission becoming operational sometime over the summer.

"This is only an answer to Russia, who is militarizing, who is moving troops closer to the border, who is exercising invasion in the military exercises, who is doing a lot of aggressive acts, even in Syria,"Mr. Eihenbaums said in an interview at his office on Dec. 19.

Russia has been accused by Western countries, including Canada, of "military aggression and illegal occupation" of the Crimea region of Ukraine. Russian President Vladimir Putin says Russian troops in Crimea are there legally, and are only protecting Russian citizens in the region.

Russia has been involved in Syria since September 2015. It has controversially backed Syrian President Bashar al-Assad in the fighting, contrary to the United States and Canada. Russia's reasoning for joining the fight was to target Daesh, though it has been criticized for more complex motives that include the protection of the Syrian government, which is an important Russian ally in the Middle East.

The diplomat described the Canadian deployment as "logistically challenging." He said it will increase security, but that the impact is mostly symbolic.

"It will be a new phase in our relationship," he said. "It was very friendly before, but it was quiet."

Mr. Eihenbaums, who spent some time working as a journalist before his career in government, has been active in Canadian news media. One such example was when he responded to the Russian ambassador to Canada, Alexander Darchiev, after Mr. Darchiev told the Globe and Mail he thought the NATO deployment to be unwise. Mr. Eihenbaums publicly voiced his disagreement, and once again pointed to Russian aggression as the motivating factor for the mission.

Aside from the upcoming mission, the academic-turned-diplomat said he has three areas of focus for improving relations between Latvia and Canada: political, economic, and people-to-people contact. Politically, topping his wish list is a visit

from Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. "Symbolically, official visits are impor-

tant because it is some kind of proof of relationship, when [the] highest representatives of [a] country are coming,"Mr. Eihenbaums said."It is sort of a quality of relationship. I think in [the] Canadian case, it's time for it."

There have been recent visits to Latvia by both former foreign minister Stéphane Dion, and Minister of Defence Harjit Sajjan. Mr. Eihenbaums said plans to have the prime minister visit his country were being



Latvian Ambassador Karlis Eihenbaums sports a Bombardier pin, while standing in front of a painting in his embassy by a Latvian-Canadian artist. The Hill Times photograph by Chelsea Nash

discussed, and that he expects the visit to happen "sooner than later."

Mr. Eihenbaums, who just arrived in Ottawa at the end of August last year, had more good news to share about his efforts to deepen ties between the two countries.

Sporting a silver lapel pin in the shape of an airplane, the 56-year-old proudly told *The Hill Times* that Latvia's national airline, airBaltic, had purchased 30 CS300 places from Canadian company Bombardier.

"It's absolutely new, leader in its group, and we are first who started to use it," he said. The first flight of the newly acquired fleet went from Riga to Amsterdam. Mr. Eihenbaums said he was excited to see the destination was in the Netherlands, as he was once posted there for six years.

The purchase of Canadian aircraft was just the beginning, the ambassador said, quickly moving onto the prospect of increased trade via the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA), the trade deal between the EU and Canada.

"Latvia will definitely be one of the first, if not the first, who will ratify agree-ment. It will give us opportunity for trade, for more economic ties. With this purchase of planes, it's good with Quebec, but we might also be able to extend to other prov-

inces here," Mr. Eihenbaums said. On his third goal, improving the peopleto-people contact between Latvians and Canadians, Mr. Eihenbaums said he is working to encourage more young Canadians to go to Latvia. He's met with two institutions that are sending students to Latvia since his arrival, both from Quebec.

And, connecting with the Latvian diaspora in Canada is another aspect of his role."To keep them attached to Latvia" is very important, he said.

Mr. Eihenbaums is here with his spouse, Ināra Eihenbauma.

In the '80s and early '90s, Mr. Eihenbaums was a professor in political science and international relations, and taught classes in history as well, before making the transition to diplomacy in 1993. He was foreign policy adviser to the president of Latvia in the late '90s, and took his first posting as head of mission to Israel in 2004. Prior to his posting here, he was ambassador-at-large at the ministry of foreign affairs in Latvia. He and his spouse have two children, who are studying abroad.

cnash@hilltimes.com

FEATURE EVENTS

PARLIAMENTARY **CALENDAR**



Conservative leadership debate in French

Bank of Canada Release—The bank is expected to make its latest interest rate announcement as well as publish its quarterly Monetary Policy Report. 10 a.m.

Diplomatic Hospitality Group: Learn to Curl—The Canadian Federation of University of Women's Diplo matic Hospitality Group in Ottawa invites diplomats, their spouses/partners, and their families to this event. Wednesday, Jan. 18. 10 a.m. to noon. Navy Curling Club, 41 Navy Pvt. Canada in a Trump World—The Mosaic Institute

presents this discussion with moderator Warren Kinsella and panelists: Karen Mock, chair of JSpaceCanada; Ihsaan Gardee, executive director of the National Council of Canadian Muslims: Desmond Cole. activist and freelance journalist; and Bernie Farber, executive director of the Mosaic Institute. Wednesday, Jan. 18, 7:30-9 p.m. Al Green Theatre, Miles Nadal JCC, 750 Spadina Ave. Toronto. Tickets: \$5-\$35. Register online. THURSDAY, JAN. 19

Digital Truths: Societal and Economic Implications-The Economic Club of Canada presents Sir Peter Gluckman. chief science adviser to the prime minister of New Zealand. Thursday, Jan. 19, 7:45-9 a.m. Chateau Laurier hotel, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa. Tickets: \$89-\$110 each. economicclub.ca.

FRIDAY, JAN. 20

Running out the Clock: The Strategic Use of Parliamentary Time—Time is the most precious resource within the parliamentary system. This seminar will bring together current and former Parliamentarians, academics, parliamentary staff, and journalists who will explore the management of parliamentary time and share their thoughts on the strategic use of time by the government and the opposition. This half-day seminar is presented by the Canadian Study of Parliament Group. Breakfast and buffet lunch included. \$150 for members, \$200 non-members. 8:15 a.m.-12:15 p.m. Sir John A. Macdonald Building, Room 100, 144 Wellington St., Ottawa. For more information, visit studyparlia-ment.ca or contact the CSPG Secretariat at 613-995-2937 or info@studyparliament.ca.

WEDNESDAY, JAN. 25

International, Political, and Policy Studies Students Association—Model Parliament, begins on Wednesday, Jan. 25 and runs to Jan. 27, University of Ottawa, Ottawa. en.aeeippssa.ca.

MONDAY, JAN. 30

House Sitting — The House resumes sitting on Mon., Jan. 30. after a six-week break. It's scheduled to sit from Jan. 30 to Feb. 24. It breaks for one week, Feb. 27 to March 3 and returns March 6 to 10. It breaks for one week, March 13 to

17, and returns for one week, March 20 to 24. **Diplomatic Hospitality Group Grand Winter Festival**— The Canadian Federation of University of Women's Diplomatic Hospitality Group in Ottawa invites diplomats, their spouses/partners, and their families to this event. Monday, Jan. 30. 10 a.m.-2 p.m. Smithvale Stables, 3664 Carling Ave., Nepean. A nominal fee will be charged to help cover costs.

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 1

Liberal Caucus Meeting-The Liberals will meet in Room 237-C Centre Block on Parliament Hill. For more information, please call Liberal Party media relations at media@liberal.ca or 613-627-2384.

Conservative Caucus Meeting—The Conservatives will meet for their national caucus meeting. For more information, contact Cory Hann, director of communications, Conservative Party of Canada at coryhann@conservative.ca.

NDP Caucus Meeting—The NDP caucus will meet from 9:15-11 a.m. in Room 112-N Centre Block. on Wednesday. Please call the NDP Media Centre at 613-222-2351 or ndpcom@parl.gc.ca.

Bloc Québécois Caucus Meeting—The Bloc Québécois caucus will meet from 9:30 a.m. in the Francophonie room (263-S) in Centre Bock, on Wednesday. For more information, call press attaché Julie Groleau, 514-792-2529.

SATURDAY, FEB. 4

Bloc Québécois General Council Meeting- The Bloc Québécois will hold its general council meeting on Feb. 4 at Hôtel Mortagne in Boucherville, Que. The party is expected to adopt rules for its next leadership election. MONDAY, FEB. 6

Converge 2017—Universities Canada will convene young Canadian thinkers, visionaries, and innovators in di-alogue with leading thinkers from universities, businesses, and communities to share ideas on building an innovative, prosperous, and inclusive Canada for 2067. Until Feb. 7. Shaw Convention Centre, 55 Colonel By Dr., Ottawa. For more information, visit: univcan.ca/converge or contact cdunlavy@univcan.ca or 613-563-3961, ext. 228.

Genomics on the Hill-Genome Canada invites you to meet some of Canada's most accomplished researchers and experience cutting-edge science leading to economic and social benefits for Canadians. Feb. 6, 4-7 p.m. Refreshments will be served. Room 256-S Centre Block. RSVP to Lucy Sorensen, 613-751-4460, ext. 210, goh@genomecanada.ca. WEDNESDAY, FEB. 8

2016 Census Program Release—The first in a rolling series of releases is today, on population and dwelling counts. Other results of the 2016 census will be

released throughout the year, until Nov. 29. Liberal Caucus Meeting—The Liberals will meet in Room 237-C Centre Block on Parliament Hill. For more information, please call Liberal Party media relations at media@liberal.ca or 613-627-2384.

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Bacon & Eggheads Breakfast—The Partnership Group for Science and Engineering presents a talk, Unnatural tremors: the science of fracking and earthquakes, with Gail Atkinson, Western University. Thursday, Feb. 9, 7:30 a.m. Parliamentary Dining Room, Centre Block. No charge to MPs, Senators, and media. All others, \$25. Pre-registration required by Monday, Feb. 6 by contacting Donna Boag, PAGSE pagse@rsc-src.ca or call 613-991-6369.

More Than Words: Illustrating Data Webinar Series-The Ontario Council for International Co-operation is hosting data illustration expert Ann K. Emery for a free three-part capacity-building webinar series designed to improve international development groups' ability to demonstrate impact. The series covers simple Excel tools for data analysis, data visualization planning, and design principles for reports, social media, dashboards, and more. Open to all. Of particular interest to monitoring and evaluation practitioners and development professionals. Space is limited and registration is required. Part 3: Design Principles, Thursday, Feb. 9, 12-1:30 p.m. Register via ocic.on.ca/morethanwords.

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 15

Canada's Digital Policy Adoption Symposium—Moderated by CPAC's Catherine Clark, Canada's Digital Policy Forum is holding a digital adoption symposium from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. on Feb. 15 at the Sir John A. Macdonald Building, 144 Wel-lington St., Ottawa. A reception will follow from 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. in Room 200 of the Sir John A. Macdonald Building. Registration is complimentary. For more information or to RSVP please visit cdpf.ca or contact Denise Siele at events@ cdpf.ca or phone 613-276-3274.

Canadian Welding Bureau: Parliamentary Reception-The CWB Group invites MPs and staff to show their support for skilled trades at their annual parliamentary reception at the Métropolitain. Interactive elements such as state-of-the-art welding simulators will allow them to try their hand at welding, while industry representatives will be on site to discuss the spark that keeps Canada prosperous. 5:30-7:30 p.m. Métropolitain Brasserie, 700 Sussex Dr., Ottawa.

THURSDAY, FEB. 16

Macdonald-Laurier Institute Confederation Dinner: A Celebration of Canada—Revel in what has made the country great and discover the opportunities Canada has to offer in the next 150 years with a panel including: Ujjal Dosanjh, former B.C. premier and MP; Mark Dockstator, First Nations University of Canada president; and Charlotte Gray (moderator), acclaimed author and historian. MLI's Brian Lee Crowley and entrepreneur Raven Smith will serve as the event's co-chairs. Feb. 16, Canadian Museum of \$150 per ticket. For tickets, call 613-482-8327, ext. 104. or visit macdonaldlaurier.ca.

Ottawa Conference on Security and Defence-The Conference of Defence Associations and CDA Institute present this annual conference. Until Feb. 17.

The Parliamentary Calendar is a free listing. Send in your political, cultural, diplomatic, or governmental event in a paragraph with all the relevant details under the subject line 'Parliamentary Calendar' to news@hilltimes.com by Wednes-

day at noon before the Monday paper or by Friday at noon for the Wednesday paper. We can't guarantee inclusion of every event, but we will definitely do our best. news@hilltimes.com

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Continued from page 18

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