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THE HILL TIMES

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CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

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News Marijuana legalization



Got a light? Flanked by the PMO, an estimated 6,000 people flocked to the Hill on April 20 to publicly smoke pot to celebrate 4/20. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

Marijuana legalization presents potential political risks and gains for Liberals, say insiders

BY RACHEL AIELLO AND LAURA RYCKEWAERT

There's both "a lot of risk" and "a lot of reward" at stake for the Liberals in their plan to legalize recreational marijuana in Canada by the summer of 2018, say Hill insiders and political players.

On the upside, the successful execution of a legalized regime in time for the next federal election will be seen as a win for the Liberals. But between now and then, a lot has to be worked out; from regulations with the provinces, to how the Senate will take to the bill, not to mention how public opinion evolves on the issue.

Will Stewart, a former Conservative Queen's Park staffer and managing partner at Navigator Ltd., who represents a number of clients in the cannabis industry, said there is both "a lot of risk" and "a lot of reward" at stake for the Liberal government in legalizing recreational cannabis.

If and when the legalization package passes, further hurdles could come for the government in the form of potential court challenges, said Mr. Stewart, pointing to early questions raised over the constitutionality of changes

Continued on page 26

News Lobbying

Lobbyists registry shows Irving companies keeping close contact with federal officials

BY DEREK ABMA

The Irving family and their controlled companies, so central to the economy of Atlantic Canada, are also major players in Ottawa, judging by the federal lobbyists registry. Irving companies have been among the most prolific federal

lobbyists so far this year, according to documents on the registry. Filing 23 reports in March, Irving Shipbuilding Inc. was tied with the Canadian Cattlemen's Association as being the sixth most common lobbyist of the federal government that month. It had 17 in February, tying it with

several other groups for having filed the 10th most communication reports that month. It also had 17 in January, in what is typically a slow month for lobbying, making it the third busiest lobbyist for that period. Most of Irving of Shipbuilding's communication reports identify de-

fence or government procurement as the topics of discussion. Asked for elaboration on the nature of its recent lobbying activity, Irving Shipbuilding spokesman Sean Lewis said in an email: "As Canada's shipbuilder,

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News Liberal caucus

Lawyers in Liberal caucus push back against eliminating deferred-tax provision, say Morneau open to change

BY ABBAS RANA

The elimination of work-in-progress tax deferrals in the last federal budget will not only be a detriment to lawyers but will also impede Canadians' access to justice, say some Liberal MPs and the Canadian Bar Association who are pushing back against the policy.

Yet members of the Liberal caucus say Finance Minister Bill Morneau (Toronto Centre, Ont.) is willing to listen to them.

"I'm very much concerned," Liberal MP Ali Ehsassi (Willowdale, Ont.), who practised law before getting elected in the 2015 election, said in an interview with *The Hill Times*. "I think that there might be some room for the Ministry of Finance to examine this issue and consider whether there are means to taper it to ensure it does not impede access to justice."

Up until the last federal budget, under Sec. 34 of the Income Tax Act, taxpayers in some designated professions were allowed not to include work in progress, or work that's done but not billed, in their taxable income. This is also called billed-basis accounting. The designated professions in this provision included lawyers, accountants, dentists, chiropractors, veterinarians, and doctors. Even though they did not claim income for this work in progress for certain years, these professionals were also allowed to deduct the expenses related to the work

Continued on page 4



HEARD ON THE HILL

by Derek Abma

Trump's dairy offensive triggers barbs in Conservative leadership race



Conservative leadership candidate Maxime Bernier, seen here during this year's Manning Centre Conference in Ottawa, agreed with much of what U.S. Donald Trump said last week about Canada's supply-managed dairy sector. *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*

U.S. President **Donald Trump's** shot at Canada's dairy industry provided some fodder for Conservative leadership candidates to fight about last week.

After Mr. Trump promised something would be done in reaction to what he called "very unfair" practices in Canada's supply-managed dairy sector, Conservative leadership candidate **Maxime Bernier** wrote an open letter to the U.S. president, which was published in *The Globe and Mail*.

In it, Mr. Bernier said he "was very pleased when I saw that you stole one of my best lines by denouncing supply management as an 'unfair thing.' I have been making this same point since the beginning of my campaign a year ago."

Mr. Bernier said he agreed with Mr. Trump that Canada's supply-managed dairy sector is unfair to U.S. farmers, but added that he is "mostly sorry for a much larger group: the 35 million Canadians who are paying on average twice as much as they should for their eggs, chicken and dairy products."

But he added that if, as prime minister, he was discussing this issue with Mr. Trump, he would also bring up the softwood lumber industry, which he said is regularly hit with illegal tariffs and quota limits.

Conservative leadership opponent **Erin O'Toole**, in response, tweeted at Mr. Bernier, "Someone should tell @MaximeBernier that you don't negotiate with the U.S. by sitting on their side of the table."

Another leadership candidate, **Andrew Scheer**, had a message posted on the Facebook page of pro-supply-management group, Les amis de la Gestion de L'offre et des Régions, that said, unlike Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** and Mr. Bernier, he will "stand up for our producers and our rural areas."

Another Conservative leadership candidate, **Steven Blaney**, initially saw only a French version of this post and tweeted at Mr. Scheer, "I really liked your French message on milk. Now, is it available in English?"

Mr. Scheer responded with a link to the message in both official languages.

When asked about the tweet, **Pierre-Luc Jean**, from Mr. Blaney's campaign, said in an email that Mr. Scheer has had a habit of sending emails to Conservative members about supply management in French only.

Nancy Bishay, a spokeswoman for Mr. Scheer, responded to that charge as follows in an email to *The Hill Times*: "At times, when responding to a timely issue, sometimes one language goes out before another ... but the message remains the same in both languages. And as one of the few campaigns with a candidate that is bilingual, that is important."

Angus campaign goes off the beaten path



Charlie Angus, left, greets staff at Shacklands Brewing in Toronto. *Photograph courtesy of Charlie Angus's Facebook*

Charlie Angus's campaign to become NDP leader is taking him to some locations not called Tim Hortons, which are not always obvious stops for other politicians.

For example, last week he made a stop at a brewpub in an industrial section of Toronto called Shacklands Brewing.

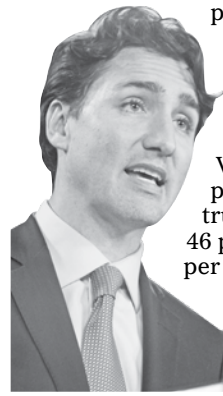
He described his visit in a Facebook post: "When my team was approached by an anarchist brewing group (Shacklands Brewery) to host a meet and greet at their place on a dead-end industrial road in the slaughterhouse district, I said we have to make this happen. **Justin [Trudeau]** and **Stephen Harper** do their meet and greets at the Timmies (to show they are in touch with 'ordinary' Canadians). But we are having a blast going out to places like Shacklands."

The company took note of Mr. Angus's description of it as "an anarchist" and replied on its Facebook page, "to be honest we are more anarcho-syndicalist, but we will take a compliment when an honest politician gives one."

Trudeau's trust level down slightly in Environics poll

The level of trust survey respondents have in Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** was down slightly this year in Environics Communications' annual CanTrust Index survey.

The poll, taken online of 1,500 Canadians in January, found that 44 per cent trusted the prime minister, down from 46



Do you trust this guy? For the most people polled by Environics, the answer was no. *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*

per cent a year earlier. On a regional basis, that level of trust ranged from 56 per cent in the Atlantic to 37 per cent in the West—and as low as 27 per cent in Calgary. His trust among females was 46 per cent compared to 40 per cent among males. The poll also included some interesting results related to marijuana, the recreational use for which is slated to become legal next year. Fifty-one per cent said they trust pharmacies to sell and distribute pot, 39 per cent said they trust the government

Munk academic to tell Canada to toughen up on world stage

The director of the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs will be in Ottawa on the morning of May 2 to tell Canada that its "nice guy" approach to international affairs isn't going to cut it anymore.

Stephen Toope will be appearing at the Parliamentary Restaurant that day for an event that goes from 7:30 to 8:45 a.m., as part of the Big Thinking lecture series put on by the Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences.

Promotional material for the event said that, given the changes underway with so many countries key to the global order of things, like the United States, China, Great Britain, and Russia, Canada needs a "tough-minded focus" and "more diverse relationships."

"Being a nice guy, a toque on the head of America, won't be nearly enough," an email from the Federation said.

Indian Act workshop planned this week

With renewing and improving Canada's relationship with its indigenous population being a common theme

with the current federal government, it could help journalists to understand the 141-year-old law that has provided a basis for much of that relationship during the last century and more.



Policy Options editor-in-chief Jennifer Ditchburn will moderate a discussion about the Indian Act. *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*

The Institute for Research on Public Policy is hosting a workshop for journalists about the Indian Act on Friday, April 28 in Ottawa. It will be moderated by **Jennifer Ditchburn**, editor-in-chief of the organization's *Policy Options* publication. The expert panelists there will be Carleton University public policy professor **Frances Abele**, University of Toronto law professor and Opaskwayak Cree Nation member **Douglas Sanderson**, and **Roger D. Jones**, founding president of the Indigenous Bar Association.

It will be held between 1 and 3 p.m. at the International Development Research Centre at 150 Kent St., on the eighth floor. Those interested in attending are asked to register through the events section at irpp.org. The cost is \$25, or free for students.

Champion bell ringers announced

House Speaker **Geoff Regan** last week announced the winners of the national Carillon Composition Competition, which is based on the art of playing music with the kinds of bells and chimes that make noise in the Peace Tower.

The winner in the open category was **Scott Allan Orr**, a Toronto native who's currently a doctoral student of heritage science at Britain's Oxford University. His piece is called *Festive rondo*, and it will be played for the public for the first time this Canada Day by the country's dominion carillonneur, **Andrea McCrady**, at the Peace Tower.

The winner of the youth category—for people who were 26 or younger as of Jan. 1 this year—was **Lucus Oickle**, who is originally from Nova Scotia and is now living in Japan with his wife. His composition, *Fifteen Decades*, will also debut on Canada Day, but at the Soldiers' Tower in Toronto.

Search underway for parliamentary poet laureate



Officials are looking for a successor to current parliamentary poet laureate **George Elliott Clarke**. *Parliament of Canada photograph by Jonathon Harrington*

Nominations are being sought for someone to serve as Parliament's eighth-ever poet laureate.

The position, currently held by **George Elliott Clarke** since Jan. 1, 2016, was established in 2001 to "promote the importance and value of poetry among all Canadians," according to a press release last week from the Library of Parliament.

As set out in the Parliament of Canada Act, the person in this position can be involved in roles such as composing poetry, sponsoring poetry readings, and advising the parliamentary librarian on the library's poetry collection, among other things.

The poet laureate is to hold their role for up to two years. Because the current one is an anglophone, the next one will be chosen from the francophone community.

The deadline for nominations is July 3. A selection committee chaired by parliamentary librarian **Sonia L'Heureux** is to submit three candidates to House Speaker **Geoff Regan** and Senate Speaker **George Furey**, who will then make a final selection.

People can make nominations online at www.parl.gc.ca/poet.

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News

Lawyers in Liberal caucus push back against eliminating deferred-tax provision, say Morneau open to change

Critics say the proposed budget measure would prevent lawyers from serving clients who can't pay upfront.

Continued from page 1

from their income tax bills for that period.

In the March 22 budget, Mr. Morneau proposed to eliminate this tax deferral, and announced that this provision will be phased out in the next two years. This means that even if the work is not billed, work in progress has to be included in the taxable income and taxes have to be paid even if the bills have not been collected. The government estimates this measure will generate \$425-million over the next three fiscal years.

In interviews last week, Liberal MPs said that of all the professionals, lawyers will be the most affected by this change, especially the ones practising the employment law, family law, medical malpractice, consumer protection, wills and estates, and class action law suits. Lawyers who practise this kind of work often do it on a contingency basis for many clients who cannot pay upfront legal fees. These lawyers only get paid if they win the case, and these cases can go on for years.

The Canadian Bar Association told *The Hill Times* that the proposed change in the budget will "make it virtually impossible" for lawyers to provide their services to clients who cannot pay their fees up front.

"Lawyers presently accommodate many

clients who don't have the means to pay up front by using contingency fees and other types of deferred-payment arrangements," wrote René Basque, president of the Canadian Bar Association in an email to *The Hill Times*. "These arrangements increase access to justice by allowing people who have been wronged—and would otherwise not be able to afford it—to seek justice."

He added: "Virtually every lawyer who provides service to clients of modest means who cannot afford to pay until something else happens—like a settlement comes through, or a matrimonial home sells—will be affected unless they can afford to finance their client's case over multiple years, i.e. not be paid and pay tax on the fees that they have not yet earned."

"Very few lawyers who practice in these 'personal plight' areas can afford this. And if they can't afford to practice—and pay—in this way, they will have to say no to clients who need their assistance. That's how this proposal impacts access to justice."

Mr. Basque said his organization's representatives have met with the Finance Department to explain their point of view and to understand the scope and application of this proposed change, and discussions are ongoing.

Mr. Ehsassi said that of all the professionals, this proposed change would hit the lawyers the hardest. He said he did not get any calls from his constituents on this issue, but about 10 lawyers had called him and raised concerns.

He said this change means lawyers might have to stop providing services to clients who cannot pay their fees. Mr. Ehsassi said he and at least four or five other Liberal MPs with legal backgrounds have contacted Mr. Morneau on this issue and he has agreed to reconsider.

"It was something he [Mr. Morneau] would consider," said Mr. Ehsassi.

Liberal MP Chris Bittle (St. Catharines, Ont.), also a lawyer, told *The Hill Times* he has also heard concerns about this change from the legal community. He said that he's awaiting the details from the Finance Department as to how this change will affect all professionals, including lawyers. Mr. Bittle said the reason why he hasn't heard from constituents of affected professional backgrounds could be that the budget was tabled only last month and most still don't know about it. He said he has conveyed the feedback from the legal community to Mr. Morneau.

"My hope is that there'll be an analysis and that access to justice won't be impacted by any of these changes. But I know that the minister is concerned and won't take any actions that would negatively impact Canadians' access to the justice system," Mr. Bittle said.

Another lawyer Liberal MP, Nicola Di Iorio (Saint-Léonard-Saint-Michel, Que.), said dozens of his constituents from a variety of professional backgrounds phoned or emailed his office on this issue. He said he met with Mr. Morneau and found him to be open to hearing arguments against the change.

"I've received comments from the professionals in a variety of sectors—accountants, lawyers, physicians, dentists, engineers," said Mr. Di Iorio.

"They're obviously displeased with the fact that they could be faced with a scenario where they would be paying taxes on money they have not collected. It is our role, when we receive reactions from the Canadian people, that we go and address them and raise them with the proper minister. I've raised it with the minister of Finance."

Liberal MP Julie Dzerowicz (Davenport, Ont.), who is not a lawyer, said she has not discussed this issue with Mr. Morneau, but knows that many of her colleagues have. She said the Department of Finance is taking this issue "seriously" and looking into the concerns of MPs and other stakeholders.

"The minister of Finance recognizes that this is a concern on behalf of a number of MPs," said Ms. Dzerowicz. "It's something that the Finance officials are seriously looking into."

Liberal MP Mark Gerretsen (Kingston and the Islands, Ont.), also not a lawyer, said he supports Mr. Morneau's budget proposal to eliminate the work-in-progress deferral. He disagreed with the concerns of his colleagues who think it could impede the Canadians' access to justice. Mr. Ger-



Finance Minister Bill Morneau, left, pictured with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, tabled the federal budget on March 22 in which he proposed to eliminate billed-basis accounting for certain professions. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

retsen said that if his colleagues are correct in their claim, then it's a "different social issue" and must be addressed separately.

"If we have a problem with people accessing the justice system, then that's a different social issue that we need to deal with separately," said Mr. Gerretsen. "We need to make sure that the proper measures are in place to make sure that people have the ability to access the justice system."

He said that the law should be the same for all Canadians and all should pay the tax in the year they undertake their work.

"It's the right thing to do. You should be paying tax on work that you do based on the year you do the work in," he said.

A Finance Department official told *The Hill Times* that the government proposed the change in the budget to make tax laws equal to all Canadians.

"The government's decision was announced in Budget 2017 as part of measures designed to bring tax fairness to the middle class, and eliminate tax advantages available to some at the expense of others," the official said.

"Legislation to implement a number of budget measures, including tax measures, has already been introduced in Parliament. It is the government's intention to introduce a second budget implementation bill later this year, and to include in that bill amendments to the Income Tax Act to enact this and other budget measures not included in the bill already before Parliament."

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News

Lobbyists registry shows Irving companies keeping close contact with federal officials

It's unclear how much Irving lobbying is related to the controversial review of a supply-ship contract to a competitor.

Continued from page 1

Irving Shipbuilding regularly meets with government officials on current and future needs of the Royal Canadian Navy. This is not uncommon or unusual. We file monthly communication reports as required by the Lobbying Act that detail reportable interactions with government officials. We certainly understand the need for transparency in our interactions with government and fully support the purpose and intent of the lobbyist registry."

It's unclear how much of these discussions with government have been related to the leak about the government's review of a \$660-million supply-ship contract for Chantier Davie Canada Inc., just outside of Québec City, awarded by the previous Conservative government.

The leak occurred shortly after the Liberal government took power in November 2015, and reports have indicated this was behind a suspension for Vice-Admiral Mark Norman and an RCMP investigation.



Irving Shipbuilding president Kevin McCoy. Photograph courtesy of Irving Shipbuilding

It's become known that, around the time of that leak, Irving Shipbuilding sent a letter to Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan (Vancouver South, B.C.) and Public Services Minister Judy Foote (Bonaville-Burin-Trinity, N.L.), asking for a review of this contract. Irving Shipbuilding president Kevin McCoy has said the timing of that letter was merely a coincidence. An email from Vice-Admiral Norman to a friend in November 2015 that was leaked to the press indicated that he thought Irving was going to have "significantly more political clout" with the new Liberal government and was "prepared to use it," according to a report by the CBC.

The lobbying registration for Irving Shipbuilding indicates it wants to have input into the government's National Shipbuilding Strategy, noting that it was selected in 2011 to build combat vessels as part of this program. Discussions about in-service support for Halifax-class frigates are also listed as a reason for its federal lobbying.

Irving Shipbuilding falls under the umbrella of J.D. Irving Ltd., which was fourth biggest lobbyist in January with 15 reports. In February it had 10, and in March had seven, which was still more than vast majority of organizations registered to lobby the government.

Besides the spokesman from Irving Shipbuilding, no one from J.D. Irving responded to a request for comment on the company's lobbying activity.

The registrations on the federal lobbying database for both J.D. Irving and Irving Shipbuilding list James Irving as their co-chief executive officer and the person responsible for their registrations.

Fisheries, Oceans and Canadian Coast Guard Minister Dominic LeBlanc (Beauséjour, N.B.) has declared to the ethics commissioner his friendship with Mr. Irving and has promised not to involve himself in decisions that affect Mr. Irving's business interests.

Treasury Board President Scott Brison (Kings-Hants, N.S.) is among the senior government officials listed most often in the Irving companies' lobbying filings. He is named in separate communication reports from both J.D. Irving and Irving Shipbuilding for March 16. International trade is listed as the topic of discussion in the filing from J.D. Irving, while the Irving Shipbuilding filing lists defence as the topic.

Mr. Brison is named in three other communication reports from Irving Shipbuilding for 2017. One for Feb. 27 notes government procurement as the topic discussed, the one for Jan. 26 says industry was the subject, and the report for Jan. 9 also lists government procurement.

When asked for some additional context and details about these discussions, Jean-Luc Ferland, spokesman for Mr. Brison, replied in an email that he "meets regularly with Canadians, stakeholders, and organizations across the country. Lobbyists are required to report these meetings according to the rules set out in the Lobbying Act. This enhances integrity and transparency and helps to maintain Canadians' trust in the public institutions that serve them."

Among the other cabinet ministers Irving Shipbuilding has filed communication reports for are Ms. Foote, Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.), and Finance Minister Bill Morneau (Toronto Centre, Ont.) all for Feb. 23, Agriculture Minister Lawrence MacAulay (Cardigan, P.E.I.)



Treasury Board President Scott Brison, top left, is among the members of the Trudeau cabinet most often lobbied by Irving companies along with Public Services Minister Judy Foote, Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland, and Finance Minister Bill Morneau, above left, Agriculture Minister Lawrence MacAulay, and Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains, according to the federal lobbyists registry. *The Hill Times* photographs by Jake Wright

for Feb. 16, Jan. 17, and Jan. 5, and Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains (Mississauga-Malton, Ont.) for Jan. 26.

Justin To, deputy policy director for Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.), shows up in four communications reports from Irving Shipbuilding this year—for March 31, March 8, Feb. 23, and Jan. 22. For the three most recent occasions, defence is listed as the subject matter, and government procurement is indicated on the earlier one.

Former PMO senior adviser Cyrus Reporter is named in an Irving Shipbuilding communication report for Jan. 18. Others in Mr. Trudeau's office had contact with the company in late 2016, including chief of staff Katie Telford and principal secretary Gerald Butts on Nov. 23, according to the registry.

Asked if he could provide any more details about discussions with Irving companies' officials, PMO spokesman Cameron Ahmad said in an email: "Staff in the office of the prime minister meet regularly with stakeholders and organizations from across the country. Meetings with stakeholders are regularly reported by lobbyists as per the rules set out in the Lobbying Act. As such, you may refer to the registry of the Office of the Commissioner of Lobbying."

Beyond its shipbuilding division, J.D. Irving has operations in retail, transportation, food, electricity, agriculture, construction materials, and forestry products.

J.D. Irving's registration indicates it's interested in talking to the government about a wide range of issues, including

financial support for an Atlantic salmon restoration project that it's involved in, pending marijuana legalization, the Softwood Lumber Agreement with the United States, government housing projects for the North, the National Shipbuilding Strategy, exports of Canadian paper to the U.S., and climate-change policy.

Besides Mr. Brison, cabinet ministers showing up on J.D. Irving's lobbying reports this year include Mr. MacAulay for March 23, and Ms. Freeland for Feb. 23 and Jan. 31.

There's also Irving Oil Ltd., which is controlled by other members of the family, such as Kenneth Irving and Sarah Irving. Irving Oil filed no lobbying communication reports for March but had nine in February and four in January.

Irving Oil's registration indicates it wants to consult with the government on things such as the North American Free Trade Agreement's treatment of oil and gas, Canada's energy strategy, and environmental regulations. The proposed Energy East pipeline, which would stretch from Alberta to Irving Oil's refinery in Saint John, N.B., is not explicitly identified in its lobbying filings. However, the registration does refer to "oil and gas infrastructure projects subject to National Energy Board review."

Among the federal officials that have been lobbied by Irving Oil this year, according to the registry, are Liberal MP Seamus O'Regan (St. John's South-Mount Pearl, N.L.) on Feb. 1, and Cyndi Jenkins, who works on the PMO's Atlantic desk, on Feb. 27, Feb. 1, and Jan. 26.

The Irving family was seventh in *Canadian Business's* 2017 rankings of Canada's richest people, with an estimated net worth of \$7.65-billion and companies under their control thought to be worth about \$10-billion.

The federal lobbying registrations for both J.D. Irving and Irving Shipbuilding indicate their main addresses as 300 Union St. in Saint John. Irving Oil lists a main address of 10 Sydney St. in Saint John, which Google Maps shows is a block away and a three-minute walk from 300 Union St. The websites for J.D. Irving and Irving Oil also indicate their headquarters are in Saint John, though the website for the Irving Shipbuilding indicates its headquarters are in Halifax, where its shipyard is.

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The Hill Times

10 busiest federal lobbyists in March by communication reports:

Canadian Home Builders' Association	50
Engineers Canada	41
Discovery Air Defence	31
Council of Canadian Innovators	29
Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs	29
Canadian Cattlemen's Association	23
Irving Shipbuilding	23
Federation of Canadian Municipalities	22
Canadian National Railway	22
Environmental Defence Canada	16

Source: Federal lobbyists registry

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Editorial

Liberals should be congratulated for keeping this particular promise

Good for the Liberals for following through on their 2015 election campaign promise to legalize recreational marijuana.

The Liberals promised to legalize, regulate, and restrict access to marijuana, and according to legislation tabled earlier this month, that's exactly what's going to happen.

Considering what's going on with deficits that are way beyond \$10-billion a year with no end in sight, and Canada's electoral system that will remain first-past-the-post for at least the next election and probably beyond, kept election promises are no given.

As former Liberal prime minister Jean Chr tien told CBC and CTV last week, it's about time marijuana was legalized in Canada. He and his government tried unsuccessfully back in 2003 to decriminalize possession of small amounts of cannabis, but the bill died when Parliament was prorogued.

"What was bothering me very much was some kids will do the mistake of using it, and they will have a criminal record, and they could not cross the border anymore to the United States. That was something that I could not accept, and I wanted to change it," Mr. Chr tien told CTV's *Power Play*.

But this is also politically risky. An Angus Reid Institute poll released last week found that 63 per cent of respondents were strongly or moderately in favour of the Liberals' marijuana legislation, while 37 per cent were opposed to it.

Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale made the Liberal strategy clear: legalization will be more effective in keeping the kids safe and they can cut off the cash to organized crime.

Mind you, the government may be overdoing it somewhat just to prove they are thinking

about the children. The proposed legislation includes a maximum sentence of 14 years in prison for providing marijuana to someone under the age of 18. That's the same maximum sentence for making child pornography or sexually assaulting someone under 16. Selling alcohol to a minor in Ontario carries a maximum penalty of one year. You decide: which of these things is more like the other?

Health Minister Jane Philpott is focused on health and public education to make sure Canadians are aware of the potential health risks of marijuana, just as there is public information produced about tobacco and alcohol.

The Liberals hope to get this law passed and in place by July 2018. That's an ambitious timeline and it is hard right now to see how this will all play out politically.

As Liberal pundit Greg MacEachern said in this week's issue of *The Hill Times*, "The challenge may be for the [next] election, where this is in terms of implementation and rollout, and sometimes in the early days—whether it's the Affordable Care Act in the United States, or the Phoenix pay system—sometimes new systems do not roll out perfectly."

The Senate is a crapshoot because the independent Liberals, the Conservatives, and even the Trudeau-appointed Liberals, none of whom are officially part of the government caucus. "That's where a huge amount of the uncertainty will be for this piece of legislation," noted Navigator's Will Stewart.

But as the government's point man on this file, Liberal MP Bill Blair, told us last week, "a certain amount of political risk is acceptable. I think that's what Canadians expect of us in order to do what's right."

The Hill Times

Letters to the Editor

Policy failure in Conservative Party leadership race, says Ottawa reader

Re: "Conservative MPs criticize Gilmore for floating Conservative Party shakeup, take aim at his marriage to Liberal minister," (*The Hill Times*, April 12, p. 1). On May 27, the Conservatives will elect their new leader. As a non-partisan Canadian, I am very disappointed with the far-right social policies proposed by the candidates and agree with Scott Gilmore's criticism. The recent contest represents a policy failure.

I was hoping for policies addressing Canada's future in a world with evermore severe climate disruption. What is needed are bold proposals to replace the inadequate environmental policies that the Liberal government has implemented and actually move the country toward meeting the commitments of the Paris accord.

With the exception of Conservative leadership candidate Michael Chong,

there has been little talk about how Canada will position itself as the world transitions to a lower-carbon economy.

Will the new Conservative leader take opportunities to recapture Canada's share of the clean energy business globally? Will he/she support a fair and meaningful carbon fee? What kind of a future do they aspire to pass on to our grandchildren?

The writing is on the wall: the trend to clean energy is irreversible. There is no future in investing in pipelines and oilsands expansion. Instead, our government should begin serious efforts now to diversify the economy and support a just transition for workers and communities. The need for strong leadership in steering Canada toward the new reality has never been more urgent.

Penny Henderson
Ottawa, Ont.

Foreign aid biggest source of international funding for poorest countries

It is disingenuous of the Trudeau government to tout the implementation of a new Development Finance Institution (DFI) while at the same time announce that there is no plan to increase international assistance. Foreign aid is the biggest source of international funding for the poorest countries in the world, including those in the grip of conflict or natural disaster. Loans

from DFIs, on the other hand, mainly benefit middle-income countries—not surprising, since they have the capacity to take on debt. Depriving the poorest in order to help the less poor is hardly a matter of pride for a country that proclaims its humanism and aspires to be a world leader.

Chitra Ramaswami
Calgary, Alta.

We need to do what's best for the people of Canada in our trade agreements

Now that Donald Trump has singled out dairy supply management as unfair for trade, all of the laissez-faire folks are coming out of the woodwork to argue that we need to do away with supply management. It would do us well to keep their argument clear in our head. Because supply management is more efficient

than the free market, and better for farmers, they think we should get rid of it. What we need to get rid of is the clauses in our free trade agreements that don't allow us to do what's best for the people of Canada.

Brett Hodnett
Gatineau, Que.

Canada reduces aid to developing countries, just like Trump

Malala Yousafzai, the young woman from Pakistani activist who won the Nobel Peace Prize and is now a proud new Canadian, might be having second thoughts. She said where Canada goes, others will follow. She must not have

heard the news that we reduced our aid to developing countries as a fraction of our GDP, and in fact are following Donald Trump.

Randy Rudolph
Calgary, Alta.



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Comment

Canadian babies cry because they can

My take on Canadian baby whiners is that, in a single generation, we have turned children into the centre of our universe, instead of encouraging them to become a part of ours.



Sheila Copps

Copps' Corner

OTTAWA—"Boo hoo: Canadian babies cry more." That intriguing headline in *The Globe and Mail* caught my

eye the other day, and necessitated a more in-depth review.

The article by Wency Leung published recently in the *Journal of Pediatrics*, examined a British study of world meta-data comparing 8,700 babies in the first month of life.

It claimed that 34 per cent of Canadian babies cried more than three hours a day at least three days a week.

That level of discomfort, medically characterized as colic, puts Canada on the top of the heap when it comes to baby whiners.

Even other northern countries were not close, with only 5.5 per cent of Danish babies and 6.7 per cent of German newborns suffering the same discomfort.

What followed was a compelling analysis of some potential, and inconclusive scientific reasons behind the high level of colic amongst Canuck babies.

I am no scientist, but after a quarter century in active politics, I consider myself a student of the social sciences. So what follows, is a political take on why Canadian babies cry.

Because they can.

From the moment they are born, modern Canadian babies

become the centre of their parents' universe.

In many instances, that means the condition for getting kids to sleep involves the selfless rocking of upset babies until they finally collapse exhausted into their parents' arms.

Sleep issues continue for many Canadian children well into adolescence. The self-help sections of most bookstores are replete with tomes on how to conquer the sleep problem when children simply won't.

My take on Canadian baby whiners is that, in a single generation, we have turned children into the centre of our universe, instead of encouraging them to become a part of ours.

How many times have you visited the home of a frazzled new parent, hoping to congratulate them on this wonderful time in their lives, only to be told you must speak in a whisper because the baby is sleeping.

So well-meaning adults put the whole socializing aspect of family life on hold in an effort to create the perfect peaceful environment for their offspring.

I say, bring on a little chaos. I believe it is good for children to

have to adapt to the world and not the other way around.

Anyone who has spent a lifetime in politics, will understand exactly what I mean. My daughter, Danelle, was the first child born to a sitting Canadian parliamentarian thirty years ago last month.

Some of her earliest photos involve sleeping in a box in the corner of a political campaign office. She was born in March of 1987 and three months later, we were in the throes of an important byelection in the neighbouring riding of Hamilton Mountain. She was still breast-feeding, so wherever I went, she followed along.

But we decided not put her in a quiet room.

Danelle is 30 now and she can easily sleep through a hurricane or thunderstorm.

Some of the qualities that make Canadians popular on the international stage, including our concern for the collective, and our obsession with peace, order, and good government, tend to make us hypersensitive to noise.

Just last week, I was travelling to Ottawa by train, chatting with a friend on Facetime, which meant the discussion on both ends was audible to fellow travellers.

A woman across the aisle snapped at me, angrily observing that she could hear the whole conversation, and it was distracting her from the book she was trying to read.

I apologized profusely, the Canadian way, and muted the sound while I tried to whisper my way through ensuing phone calls.

The rail car was like a tomb, with people happily buried in their business, and certainly not talking to each other.

Compare that to an early morning bus trip I took in Mexico last January. It was 6 a.m. and I stumbled aboard in the dark, only to be rudely awakened by a blast of populist mariachi music coming from the boom box perched behind the seat of the driver.

It was his box, and his collection of music, designed to shake any early morning commuter out of a sleepy stupor in a single decibel.

No other passenger on the bus took any notice of the noise. In fact, some were singing along and tapping their feet to the rhythm of the music.

Mexicans do not require their children to be raised in a cone of silence. Nor do they suffer much from colic.

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

The Hill Times

Don't let the media dictate strategy

A strategist has to accept the fact that media pundits will most likely detest and publicly berate his or her tactics, especially if those tactics involve the use of so-called 'negative ads.'



Gerry Nicholls

Post-Partisan Pundit

OKAVILLE, ONT.—A political strategist has to learn how to deal with hate.

Or more specifically, a strategist has to accept the fact that media pundits will most likely detest and publicly berate his or her tactics, especially if those tactics involve the use of so-called "negative ads."

Indeed, whenever such negative ads hit the airwaves, the media's initial reaction to them will almost always be subtle variations of "Oh God, how I hate them!"

And the script is pretty much predictable

Sometimes media pundits will blast a negative ad as an attack on "civil discourse"; sometimes they'll say it's laughably "simplistic"; sometimes they will call it "bullying" or "wedge politics" or "dumbing down" debate to the lowest common denominator.

And, of course, here in Canada, the most commonly employed insult is to label a negative ad an "American-style attack."

Also predictable is that pundits, columnists, and editorial writers will typically follow up their vehement denunciations with a heartfelt plea for all politicians to shelve their attack ads and to commit themselves to being positive and to talking more about the issues and to staying on the moral high Zzzzzzz.

Oops sorry, I dozed off there for a second.

Where was I?

Oh yes, my point is, if you're a political strategist you need to understand all this, meaning if you go negative against an opponent, you must expect and you must be ready for any media blowback.

For one thing, the media will probably call you all sorts of names, i.e. "Lord of Darkness," "Merchant of Venom," "Attack dog," (I was



The B.C. Liberals, led by Christy Clark, didn't seem to care much about the media's opinion in the 2013 provincial election and basically sunk the NDP with relentless and highly effective attacks, writes Gerry Nicholls. Ms. Clark was defeated in her riding, but was re-elected in a subsequent byelection. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

once likened to a street gang member!) but that hardly matters.

More worrisome is your candidate or your donors might panic at the media's negative reaction to your ads and thus might call upon you to discard your aggressive approach and get positive.

In short, they'll want the media to say nice things about the campaign.

And that's just normal. After

all, nobody wants to be assailed in the press for destroying democratic decency.

This is why if a campaign has decided to go on the attack, the strategist in charge must prepare the candidate for the inevitable negative media reaction.

That means plainly laying out the strategic purpose behind any attack (it helps if you have polling data to back you up), i.e. maybe

going negative makes sense in the context of the campaign you're running either because you're coming under attack from the other side or because the other side's "unfavourables" offer too good a target to resist.

More importantly, you have to explain to the candidate why any negative reaction to your ad campaign from the media is actually irrelevant, since the ads are designed to sway voters not columnists.

It might also help to bring up the British Columbia provincial election of 2013.

If you recall, that's the election the B.C. NDP, under the then leadership of Adrian Dix, ran a campaign that was brimming with positivity; Dix denounced negative politics and promised to stay on the high road.

As Dix's campaign manager, Brian Topp, would later write, "This waswidely praised in the media."

Yet unfortunately for the NDP, such media praise didn't insulate Dix from the real world.

In fact, the B.C. Liberals, who didn't seem to care much about the media's opinion, basically sunk the NDP with relentless and highly effective attacks, attacks which Dix failed to respond to in kind, because he wanted to remain positive.

So in the end, although Dix's positive strategy may have won him the hearts of pundits, it also likely ended up losing him the support of voters.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.

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The Hill Times

Comment

That day the bearded Republican in New Hampshire warned us about Trump

Racism divides the United States. But fear of wartime was what united it.



Warren Kinsella

The War Room

TORONTO—The bearded Republican regarded us suspiciously.

He had been washing his pickup truck (naturally) and listening to country music on the radio (ditto). It was blindingly bright Saturday morning in August in New Hampshire, and we were out knocking on doors for our candidate, Hillary Clinton.

The beard squinted. He grunted.

My wife and I worked on Clinton's presidential campaign in Maine and at her Brooklyn headquarters. But this was the first time

we had gone door-knocking for her in a heavily Republican district. "If we don't get shot by a right-wing lunatic carrying an assault rifle, we will have had a good day," I told my wife, as we approached the beard and his truck.

Lisa asked him if he planned to vote Democrat, up and down the ticket. He grunted.

"Can we count on your support for Hillary?" she said, sweet as pie. My wife isn't just beautiful and smart, she's sweet, too.

The beard looked like he wanted to spit. "Clinton's a crook," he said, as the Interstate hummed nearby. "She should be locked up."

We had already heard this many times that morning, and not just from bearded Republicans. A few registered Democrats had said it to us, too.

Lisa was undeterred. "But Trump has got a few ethics problems, sir," she said, still smiling at the beard. "He's under all sorts of investigations."

The beard shrugged, looking like he wanted to return to his pickup truck, or shoot us with an assault rifle. "She's a crook," he insisted. "But Trump is going to start a war."

Afterwards, Lisa swore that she did not recall the heavens parting at that moment, or a host of angels heralding the arrival of a political epiphany. She insisted

we walked away and went to the next door in search of votes. But I swear—I swear!—an epiphany is what I experienced, in spades. I was practically thrown to the ground, Damascus-like.

For months, Hillary Clinton's campaign had been dutifully reminding everyone that Donald Trump was a vile, venal, racist, groper. Every day, Clinton and the mainstream media said: "Donald Trump is a racist jerk."

Except there was a problem. Having lived in the Deep South as a kid, I knew what it was. It was this: Donald Trump may have been a racist jerk, sure. But millions upon millions of Americans were racist jerks, too. Racism—from slavery to Jim Crow to segregation to the assassinations of Dr. King and Malcolm X and beyond—was woven through their history of the United States, like a foul, feral snake.

By calling Donald Trump a racist jerk, Hillary Clinton was merely reminding millions of other racist jerks why they needed to vote for him. It wasn't an attack, you see. It was a Get Out The Vote strategy in reverse.

But war? The war that the Trump-loving New Hampshire beard had mentioned? War—having lived in Texas during Vietnam, and having been taught to take

shelter under my school desk in the event a North Vietnamese fighter jet figured out how to travel 8,584 miles without refuelling or being spotted—was what every American, of every political stripe, feared most. Racism was what divided the states. But fear of wartime was what United the States.

And, here was Donald Trump, saying on the campaign trail that NATO was useless, or sort-of calling for someone to shoot Hillary Clinton, or repeatedly praising violence at his rallies, or wondering why the U.S. had nukes if it didn't use them, or threatening wars and walls against all and sundry. War was Donald Trump's thing. He liked it.

The United States had been here before, of course. In 1964, the Republicans had anointed Barry Goldwater as their presidential candidate. Goldwater was Trump before Trump was Trump. He was a racist, too, and he praised extremism and the John Birch Society and guns and promised to use nukes against the Commies.

So what did the LBJ-led Democrats do about Goldwater? They didn't go after him about racism, so much. They went after his fetish for war.

They put together an ad called "Daisy"—I know this, because I named my consulting firm after that ad—and warned everyone Goldwa-



U.S. President Donald Trump, pictured during the U.S. presidential election. Photograph courtesy of Gage Skidmore

ter wanted to start wars. The people listened. The ad only ran once, but it destroyed Barry Goldwater. LBJ was re-elected in a landslide.

As I watch Donald Trump giddily dropping the "mother of all bombs" on Afghanistan, or bombing Syria, or sending a U.S. soldier to his death in Yemen, or threatening war with North Korea—as I watch all those things—I think of that bearded guy in New Hampshire, washing his pickup truck one sunny Saturday morning in August. He warned us. He warned Hillary Clinton.

We didn't listen.
Warren Kinsella is a Liberal pundit.

Canada wears velvet glove to shake hands with U.S.

There are trade issues on which it will be difficult to continue to present a united front as the war of words turns into a full-fledged negotiation. Canada's dairy and poultry supply management system is not far from the top of the divisive list.



Chantal Hébert

Inside Politics

Ever since last fall's American presidential election campaign,

Justin Trudeau has played nice with Donald Trump, routinely bending over backward to avoid taking the new administration head-on.

Parsing the prime minister's comments on Trump's eventful first three months, one would be hard-pressed to find anything but kind words about the new occupant of the White House.

When the president moved to suspend the American refugee program and to ban citizens from six Muslim-majority countries from travelling to the U.S., Trudeau issued a tweet to restate Canada's pro-refu-

gee policy but refrained from openly criticizing the U.S. move.

When Trump cut foreign-aid funding for contraception and family-planning programs, the Canadian government raised its own contribution but otherwise kept its peace.

Ditto as the American administration confirmed its determination to walk away from the Paris treaty on climate change.

Earlier this month, the prime minister offered Canada's full support for Trump's unilateral decision to launch airstrikes on a Syrian military facility in retaliation for the regime's chemical gas attack on civilians.

In the process, Trudeau soft-pedalled his party's long-standing commitment to multilateral international action.

A few days later, the prime minister called for the removal of the Bashar Assad regime.

Somewhat predictably, no amount of prime ministerial appeasement is turning out to be enough to keep Canada on the good side of the Trump White House and off the president's ever-changing hit list.

On April 18, he lashed out at the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in general and Canadian dairy policy in particular.

"In Canada, some very unfair things have happened to our dairy farmers, and others, and we're going to start working on that," Trump told a Wisconsin audience.

"NAFTA has been very, very bad. We're going to make some very big changes, or we're going to get rid of NAFTA once and for all," he added.

Contrast that with what the president had to say on the heels of his first face-to-face meeting with Trudeau less than two months ago and consider that there were no major public disagreements between the two governments over the interval.

"We have a very outstanding trade relationship with Canada. We'll be tweaking it," Trump opined in mid-February.

"We'll be doing certain things that are going to benefit both of our countries."

At the time, that statement was greeted with jubilant relief in some Canadian quarters.

That jubilation was somewhat premature.

Anyone professing surprise at the sight of the U.S. president blowing hot and cold on the same issue over a matter of weeks has not been keeping track of Trump's first three months in the White House.

There is plenty of evidence that he is, to put it politely, a chameleon type of politician.

Trump tends to blend his rhetoric to his environment, as often as not to the detriment of consistency.

But if anyone still harboured the delusion that a nascent bond between Trudeau and Trump would shelter Canada from this president's volatile approach to policy-making, this week's developments should have settled the issue.

Crafting alliances on Capitol Hill and in the states' legislatures—as Canada has been attempting to do as part of an all-hands-on deck political lobbying operation—may not be as glamor-

ous as spending a night at the theatre with Ivanka Trump, but it may yield more reliable results.

So far, Trudeau's velvet-glove approach to the Trump administration enjoys widespread support in this country.

But that comes with the underlying assumption that the glove is not an empty one and that an iron hand will manifest itself in defence of Canada's interests.

That did happen on Tuesday. In a strongly worded letter, Trudeau's envoy to Washington, David MacNaughton, refuted Trump's contention that Canada's dairy policy was wreaking havoc on American dairy farmers.

Still, up to now, Canada's efforts on the U.S. front have unfolded on a rare bipartisan basis.

Former prime minister Brian Mulroney has been providing Trudeau with insider advice on American trade dynamics.

Conservative interim leader Rona Ambrose has struck a supportive role in her own visits to the U.S., as has Saskatchewan Premier Brad Wall, a premier otherwise known as the prime minister's chief provincial critic.

But there are trade issues on which it will be difficult to continue to present a united front as the war of words turns into a full-fledged negotiation. Canada's dairy and poultry supply management system is not far from the top of the divisive list.

Chantal Hébert is a national affairs columnist for The Toronto Star. This column was released on April 20. The Hill Times

Canada will not significantly improve its poor productivity performance

While the economy looks better than a year ago, the improvements are marginal and the danger we face is that by focusing on short-term results we are missing the much more important, bigger picture.



David Crane

Canada & the 21st Century

TORONTO—As the International Monetary Fund tells us in its latest *World Economic Outlook*, the prospects for the global economy, and with it the Canadian economy, are looking better. But the risks are on the downside, and looking better doesn't mean the future is looking great.

Canada's economy is forecast to grow just 1.9 per cent this year, after growing a modest 1.4 per cent last year and a weak 0.9 per cent in 2015. Next year, the IMF says, Canada could grow 2.0 per cent, but just 1.8 per cent, further into the future, in 2022. This is a far cry from the growth rates we were used to well before the financial crisis of 2008-09. In 1999-2008, the Canadian economy grew at an annual average rate of 2.9 per cent.

Worse still, business is not investing for the future. Non-residential business investment fell 8.4 per cent last year, according to Statistics Canada, following an 11.5 per cent decline in 2015. Likewise, business spending on machinery and equipment continues to be weak, in 2016 at just 90 per cent of the level in early 2007. Capital spending in manufacturing is projected to be 4.4 per cent lower in 2017, following a 14.9 per cent decline in 2016.

Business investment in in-house research and development, another form of investment in the future, is projected to have fallen to \$17.7-billion last year, compared to \$17.9-billion in 2015 and \$18.5-billion in 2014, based on the annual survey of R&D in Canadian industry by Statistics Canada. According to the OECD, Canadian business ranks 23rd among 30 nations in spending on R&D as a share of GDP.

Our lack of competitiveness in the global economy can be seen in our current account position—the difference between what we sell and earn in the rest of the world and what we buy and must send (as interest and dividends) to the rest of the world. From 1999 to 2008, Canada had a current account surplus equivalent to 1.4 per cent of GDP. But, the IMF says, we will run deficits from 2011 through to 2022 (as far as its projections run) and those deficits have to be financed by increasing our level of foreign debt or selling more Canadian assets to foreigners.

Canada will not significantly improve its poor productivity performance with



While Finance Minister Bill Morneau, pictured on March 22 with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau on the Hill, did some of the things that the IMF urges on innovation and infrastructure, his speech failed to provide a serious analytical framework for the challenges facing Canada, no clear set of policy priorities, and no indication of how individual policy actions connected to an overall game plan. *The Hill Times* photographs by Jake Wright

these kinds of numbers, nor will it create the promised middle-class jobs.

The IMF points to a fundamental issue critically relevant for Canada's future well-being. This is the serious slowdown in advanced economies in the growth of what economists call multi-factor or total-factor productivity, which is a proxy for innovation. When productivity is growing, IMF managing director Christine Lagarde said in a recent speech, "it allows us to substantially grow the economic pie, creating larger pieces for everyone." But when productivity growth is absent or negligible, then there are negative consequences for growth and incomes—and middle class jobs.

Population aging, the slowdown in global trade and the ongoing legacy of the global financial crisis are all factors influencing the productivity slowdown, according to IMF research.

"One thing is clear," Lagarde said, "we need more innovation, not less. Market forces alone will be able to deliver that boost because innovation and invention are to some degree public goods.

Smartphone technologies, for example, have hugely benefited from state funding—from the internet to GPS to touch screens."

But governments also need to remove barriers to competition, cut red tape, encourage entrepreneurship, invest more in education and training, improve tax incentives for R&D along with other supports, and overall encourage private investment.

In a separate staff paper—*Gone with the Headwinds: Global Productivity*—IMF economists warn that "if sustained, low productivity growth would have profound adverse implications for progress in global living standards, the sustainability of private and public debts, social protection systems, and the ability of macroeconomic policies to respond to future shocks." In Canada's case, our publicly funded universal healthcare system, with an aging population, would be at risk, while younger Canadians would face the burden of higher debt and the possibility of declining living standards compared to their parents. Overall, the economists suggest that the deceleration the growth of productivity contributed on average about 40 per cent of the output loss in advanced economies. That is a big number.

In the longer run, which is where government can have the biggest influence, the IMF economists point to the need for smarter innovation policies to boost technological progress, measures to offset the effects of aging, open migration policies, resisting protectionism and advancing an open global trade system and a variety of structural reforms to boost skills and competition? In R&D, for example, the IMF suggests that advanced economies such as Canada need to boost R&D spending

by some 40 per cent from current levels which, they say, could have "a large positive effect on the long-term level of GDP in those countries."

I recently re-read Finance Minister Bill Morneau's budget speech. Surprisingly, the word "productivity" seems nowhere to be found. And while Morneau did some of the things that the IMF urges on innovation and infrastructure, his speech failed to provide a serious analytical framework for the challenges facing Canada, no clear set of policy priorities, and no indication of how individual policy actions connected to an overall game plan.

Rather, in a speech that was both partisan and self-congratulatory, the focus seemed

to be on building constituencies of support for the next election. It was more a political game plan than an economic game plan.

It is time for the government to put aside its eagerness for selfies and other forms of self-admiration and start talking frankly and credibly to Canadians about the real challenges, starting with productivity, that we face and the choices that must be made. While the economy looks better than a year ago, the improvements are marginal and the danger we face is that by focusing on short-term results we are missing the much more important, bigger picture.

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

The Hill Times

MELANOMA MONDAY
MAY 1, 2017



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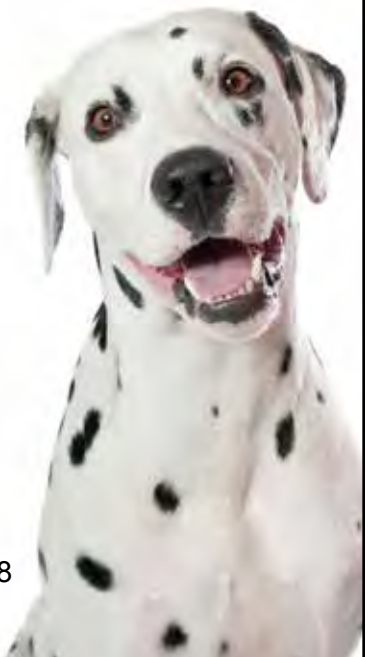
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Comment

Burma's (not) Mother Teresa

Aung San Suu Kyi is undoubtedly doing what she can to limit the army's cruelty in Rakhine state, but she is not going to throw away Burma's first chance of a real democracy after almost 60 years of military rule by going public about it. It's not sainthood, but it does qualify as wise political leadership.



Gwynne Dyer

Global Affairs

LONDON, ENGLAND—"I'm just a politician," said Burma's leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, in a BBC interview last week; "I'm no Mother Teresa." Fair enough: she has a country to run, and an army to hold at bay. But she's no Nelson Mandela either, and that has deeply disappointed some people (including fellow holders of the Nobel Peace Prize) who expected better of her.

The issue that most upsets them is her refusal to take a firm stand on the mistreatment of the

Rohingya minority, Muslims of Bengali descent who live in Rakhine state in south-western Burma. Since an outbreak of communal violence between Buddhists and Muslims in the state in 2013, the army has treated the Rohingyas with great brutality, and at least 100,000 have fled into neighbouring Bangladesh for safety.

The repression has been particularly bad in the past year, with many Rohingyas in the northern part of the state raped or murdered by the army, and foreign critics have begun to describe the events in Rakhine state as "ethnic cleansing."

"I think ethnic cleansing is too strong an expression to use for what is happening," she said in the BBC interview, and a new wave of (foreign) outrage swept over her.

It is not too strong an expression at all. There is great prejudice among Burmese Buddhists against the country's four per cent Muslim minority, and espe-

cially against the Rohingyas. It is the one issue on which the majority of the population agrees with the generals, not with Aung San Suu Kyi—and she has no control over how the army behaves.

After decades of house arrest and years of campaigning, "the lady" (as she is known in Burma) finally took power from the army last year. But the army-written constitution gives the soldiers complete control of all "security matters," and indeed does not even permit her to be the president. (They wrote it specifically to ban Burmese citizens with foreign relatives, like her British-born sons, from becoming president.)

So the "state counsellor," as she is officially known, is in power, but not very securely. The army could decide to take power back at any moment, although it would probably face massive popular resistance if it did. For that reason, she doesn't go out of her way to pick fights with the generals.

Even when she was asked by the BBC whether the Burmese army's actions in Rakhine were aggressive, she refused to agree. Instead she produced the kind of diversionary talk that the Sean Spicers of the world spout under pressure: "I think there's a lot of hostility [in Rakhine]. It's Muslims killing Muslims as well, if they think that they are collaborating with authorities ... It's people on different sides of a divide."

No it's not. It's the army torturing and murdering Muslims almost at random in northern Rakhine in retaliation for a terrorist attack on police outposts that happened months ago, and that the victims had nothing to do with. Most of the local Buddhists support the attacks on Muslims, but it's men in uniform who carry them out.

Aung San Suu Kyi didn't order the soldiers to commit these crimes, and she can't order them to stop. She can't even publicly condemn them, because the army might turn against her—and because most Buddhists in Burma probably approve of the army's actions too.

Burmese Buddhists are paranoid about the perils of a Muslim take-over. It's ridiculous, given the tiny size of the Muslim minority, but there is real fear about

what happened centuries ago to other once-Buddhist, now-Muslim countries from Afghanistan to Indonesia. If Suu Kyi ignores that ugly fact, she risks handing the country back to the army.

Nelson Mandela had it easy by comparison. Like her, he gained his status as a secular saint by steadfastly demanding democracy through decades of imprisonment, but when he became South Africa's first freely elected president in 1994 he really had the power. There was no fear that the apartheid regime might come back and evict him. He made wise decisions, gave up the presidency after one term, and died still a saint.

Aung San Suu Kyi has no such luck. She has, miraculously, persuaded a clique of greedy, autocratic, hyper-nationalist generals to surrender most of their political power voluntarily. But it was a deal in which she had to guarantee them freedom of action in their own domain, although she intends to re-write that constitution when she can.

In the meantime, she is undoubtedly doing what she can to limit the army's cruelty in Rakhine state, but she is not going to throw away Burma's first chance of a real democracy after almost 60 years of military rule by going public about it. It's not sainthood, but it does qualify as wise political leadership.

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

The Hill Times

Can we please stop lionizing terrorists and extremists?

The bottom line is that CSIS and the RCMP have reasonable grounds to suspect or believe that a threat to national security exists and that is why they have the mandate to carry out investigations.



Phil Gurski

Security & anti-terrorism

OTTAWA—Now that the recommendations of the Iacobucci Commission in Canada have finally been implemented and three

Canadians who claim to have been tortured in Syria with the alleged complicity of the Canadian government and CSIS have settled their case, it is time for a comment. A few weeks have passed and I for one can now make a few observations in a little less emotional way.

Before I do so I need to make it clear that I have no intention of looking at the specifics of that case or of any other for reasons both personal and legal. I happened to work at CSIS when a lot of this was going on and I am still bound to restrictions placed on me then and now. So please take my words as a general commentary.

I would like to frame these remarks by recalling something that former CSIS director Jim Judd once said (I think he said it publicly but I couldn't find it): we in Canada really have to stop "lionizing" terrorists and people who mean to do us harm. I could not agree with Judd more.

What he was referring to was our bizarre practice in this country as seeing anyone who goes public about being of interest to CSIS or the RCMP as an innocent citizen caught up in a Kafkaesque state character assassination.

The media often portray these people as average Canadians who never did anything—ever—worthy of the attention of our spies and cops. It is as if CSIS and the RCMP practise what I have called 'telephone book profiling'—the random opening of a phone book every morning and deciding to harass (i.e. investigate) the first name your finger lands on (eyes closed of course). Sound ridiculous? I hope so for it is. Our protectors don't have the luxury of time or resources to waste on non-threats.

Watch any documentary—*The Fifth Estate*, *W5*, etc.—and you will see that the alleged 'terrorists' get all kinds of time to complain about being followed/interrogated/tortured and are never called to answer why they think that they may have appeared on the government radar. You will also notice very little time allotted to the government side. This is, of course, largely due to the fact that no government will talk on the record about ongoing investigations or court cases. All understand-



Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale, pictured in a Hill scrum. CSIS and the RCMP don't have the luxury of time or resources to waste on non-threats, writes Phil Gurski. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

able, but the state does itself no favours by not providing context to help comprehend why they do the investigations they do.

Even when someone does present a defence for state agencies (I have done so on several occasions), this gets short shrift and is almost always edited in a way to undermine the argument being made. It is as if the broadcasters have decided that the public is much more interested in listening to uncorroborated claims made by the victims rather than present a balanced report. Whatever the motivation, Canadians are not getting the whole picture.

The bottom line is that CSIS and the RCMP have reasonable grounds to suspect/believe that a threat to national security exists and that is why they have the mandate to carry out investigations. And those investigations are justified on those grounds and have both stopped terrorist acts and saved lives. For that they deserve our gratitude.

So can we for once not join the 'woe-is-us' brigade of Canadians who have tried to convince the nation that they were of interest to state security agencies unnecessarily and irresponsibly? Yes, where there were mistakes made and people suffered we can look at compensation—we do that pretty well in this land. But to take someone's story at face value and treat them as some kind of hero for coming forward is not commendable. As an aside, we call this kind of information 'single-source uncorroborated' and that is rarely a good way to gather intelligence.

Sorry, the true heroes of this tale are the men and women of CSIS and the RCMP, not those whom they have investigated.

Phil Gurski's latest book is *Western Foreign Fighters: The Threat to Homeland and International Security* (Rowman and Littlefield).

The Hill Times

Wynne's housing plan a potpourri of politics

The greatest failing in Kathleen Wynne's 16-point plan is not her fault. It is that the real cause of skyrocketing home prices—low, low interest rates—is outside the provincial government's control.



Thomas Walkom

Inside Politics

TORONTO—Ontario's new Fair Housing Plan is a potpourri of politics with a few good ideas mixed in.

If Toronto and surrounding areas are indeed caught up in an irrational real estate bubble, the measures announced Thursday may well burst it. As the Dutch discovered during the tulip craze of the 17th century, bubbles based on nothing are easily deflated once the speculators' bluff is called.

But if there is more at play than pure speculation in Toronto's frenzied real estate market, Premier Kathleen Wynne's plan is unlikely to make much difference.

The centrepiece of the plan—a 15-per-cent tax on foreign non-residents who buy homes in the Greater Golden Horseshoe area around Toronto—is fatally flawed.

First, there is no evidence that foreigners are fuelling the surge in housing prices.

Even Ontario Finance Minister Charles Sousa estimates that, at most, non-residents are involved in only eight per cent of housing sales.

Second, any number of foreigners would be either exempted from the tax or eligible for a refund.

These range from foreigners enrolled for two years as a student in Ontario, to those who have legally worked for one year in the province, to those who have become citizens or permanent residents.

A broadly based speculation tax that covers Canadians as well as foreigners would make more sense. But for a government already low in the polls, it would be a political nightmare.

Better to focus on foreign non-residents, even if doing so won't accomplish much. Foreigners can't vote.

Similarly, a proposal to let Toronto and other municipalities levy a tax on vacant homes probably won't make much substantive difference. Even if this is a widespread problem, it is easy to make an empty home look occupied.

But her proposal does allow Wynne to repair relations with Toronto Mayor John Tory, an enthusiastic proponent of the tax.

Tory's last attempt to impose a new municipal levy, through road tolls on two To-

ronto expressways, was summarily rebuffed by Wynne. This is her chance to make up.

There is also more politics than policy in the Liberal government's plan to expand rent controls to all units, including those built since 1991.

Rent controls can work if they are combined with massive public expenditures for housing. But on their own, they usually don't. As Ontario's New Democratic Party government conceded in 1991 when it eliminated rent controls on new units, they can make matters worse.

That is probably what will happen here. Still, there are some good ideas in Wynne's 16-point plan. One is a proposal to let municipalities levy higher property taxes on vacant land approved for new housing.

This could persuade developers sitting on fully serviced land to build.

Another is to leave the much-battered Greenbelt alone. Developers have been urging the government to ease restrictions on growth in the Greenbelt around Toronto in order to let them build more subdivisions.

Wisely, the Wynne government has decided that in this, at least, it will not accommodate them.

The premier has pledged to sell off excess government land in order to "leverage" more housing. That could work out. Or it could be a giant Harbourfront-style barbecue for developers. History favours the barbecue.

The greatest failing in Wynne's 16-point plan is not her fault. It is that the real cause of skyrocketing home prices—low, low interest rates—is outside the provincial government's control.

Housing prices are high in the Toronto area in part because a lot of people want to live here.



If there is more at play than pure speculation in Toronto's frenzied real estate market, Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne's plan is unlikely to make much difference, writes Thomas Walkom.

The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright

But they are high also because the money required to fund such dreams is unusually cheap.

Wynne and Sousa can't do anything about the latter. Bank of Canada Governor Stephen Poloz can, but, for his own good reasons, won't.

If the central bank were to hike short-term interest rates, the Canadian dollar would rise and the country's recovering export industries would suffer. Poloz won't countenance that. So, he keeps rates low, lets the bubble build and leaves it to elected governments to find solutions.

Which is what Wynne's government didn't quite do here.

Thomas Walkom is a national affairs columnist with The Toronto Star.
The Hill Times

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Comment

Canada could be drawn into renewed conflict on the Korean peninsula

Under an alternative scenario, Canada could be drawn into such a protracted conflict not just through its membership of the UNC but also, under certain circumstances, through its Article Five NATO commitment to collective defence.



Robert Karniol

Foreign policy

MONTREAL—Canada could be drawn militarily into a renewed conflict on the Korean peninsula through a little-known agreement it signed in 1953, which remains actively in force.

The conventional phase of the Korean conflict ended with an armistice agreement finalized on July 27, 1953. That same day the 16 nations that contributed combat forces in support of the United States and South Korea war effort through a coalition known as the United Nations Command (UNC) convened in Washington to sign the Joint Policy Declaration Concerning the Korean Armistice.

The joint declaration states that “if there is a renewal of the armed attack ... we should again be united and prompt to resist.” This doesn’t have the legal status of a treaty commitment but, rather, is a political pledge by the signatories to seriously consider another armed intervention.

The UNC was formed as a war-fighting

structure which, through a Cold War quirk, is headed by the U.S. and reports to the American Joint Chiefs of Staff rather than the UN Security Council. Its combat mission dissolved with the 1978 creation of the Combined Forces Command melding U.S. and South Korean troops on the Korean peninsula under Washington’s leadership, but the UNC remains active to this day.

The UNC is now a vehicle to engage the North Korean military on issues relating to the armistice, though its effectiveness has been limited since Pyongyang moved to undermine this beginning in 1991. It also serves the political function of maintaining international engagement on the Korea issue, with 16 nations still signed on together the U.S. and associate member South Korea.

More subtly, the UNC provides the command structure for a new coalition of forces that could quickly assemble in response to the outbreak of war. The UNC-Rear headquartered at Yokota Air Base in Japan, with a Status of Forces Agreement in place since 1954 to provide the legal framework, adds substance to this contingency.

Of central importance, the UNC-Rear has access to seven air and naval bases in Japan, allowing member-states to funnel through troops and equipment destined for the Korean peninsula. Support material, such as bridging equipment and lengths of fuel pipeline, are also stockpiled in Japan.

Tokyo itself has no military intent towards Pyongyang but it is this critical role, together with the parallel presence of substantial American fighting forces, that attracts North Korean concern to Japan.

The Canadian Defence Attache in Seoul is twin-hatted as Ottawa’s representative to the UNC and a Canadian officer currently serves as deputy commander of the four-strong UNC-Rear headquarters. Though the decision on whether to fight in the event of a second Korean War is ultimately a political one, everything is in place to smooth the process for Canada and others.

In such an eventuality Ottawa’s military involvement would certainly centre on the Air Force and probably involve special forces as well, perhaps supplemented by some naval components. An inflow of regular Canadian ground forces is highly unlikely as current strategic thinking has the highly capable South Koreans assuming responsibility for ground operations while the U.S. (and potential allied forces) contribute air and maritime assets.

A further consideration, though, is that a second Korean War is likely to be swift and brutal. Fighting would be truncated by Pyongyang’s limited fuel reserves, severely limiting its conventional operations to (by some estimates) a period of 30-90 days.

Even if Canada decided to lend support, then, it might well be over before Ottawa could act. Or maybe not, as some analysts have suggested that, having learned lessons from the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, North Korea could effectively concede the conventional phase and focus, instead, on a guerrilla campaign involving cached supplies and its substantial special forces contingent.

Under an alternative scenario, Canada could be drawn into such a protracted conflict not just through its membership of the UNC but also, under certain circumstances, through its Article Five NATO commitment to collective defence.

Robert Karniol served for 20 years as Asia-Pacific editor for the British periodical *Jane’s Defence Weekly*, based in Bangkok. He currently lives in Montreal.

The Hill Times

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Building a better world through education

Today, around the world, people look to Canada and admire its values. All this means Canada is well placed to show global leadership on behalf of the hundreds of millions of children around the world who dream of getting a quality school education.



Julia Gillard

Global leadership

AUSTRALIA—A young woman addresses Parliament in Ottawa, and her voice engages a nation and resonates around the world. Through her courage and passion, and her extraordinary work advocating for the transformative power of education, especially for girls, Malala Yousafzai reminds us that education is a human right.

But worldwide, 263 million children and young people are out of school and approximately 130 million more children attending primary school are not learning.

The International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity—a specially created

initiative of the Norwegian government, which brought together global education, business, and technology leaders—documented that under current trends only one out of 10 young people will be on track to gain basic secondary-level skills in 2030.

Yet these skills will be the absolute minimum necessary for the future job market. About 90 per cent of young people in some of the world's most vulnerable communities will not attain these basic skills, meaning they will face very limited, indeed potentially dire options, for the future.

Despite clear evidence education is the key to prosperity, better health care, and more peaceful societies, aid to education went backwards by 14 per cent between 2010 and 2014, even though overall development aid increased by eight per cent.

This lack of international will means we face a looming global crisis that threatens global prosperity and stability, as well as blighting the lives of hundreds of millions of children. The solution is increased investment in education by developing countries, and public and private donors.

It is for these reasons that Malala's call is so compelling. We can build a better world by investing in education, especially by educating girls. Educated girls grow up to be educated women, who can claim their rights, provide for their families, take care of their own health and the health of their families, become leaders in their communities, and invest in their own children's education.

This year is already a pivotal year for global education, including recognition by the G7 of the role of education in addressing the spread of extremism and radicalization among young people, particularly in countries facing internal strife.

Several concurrent critical initiatives are underway globally to advance the goal of quality education for all children, including addressing financing and restoring education for children affected by conflict, famine, and crisis.

In this spirit, the Global Partnership for Education supports Malala's request to make girls' education a central development theme of Canada's G7 presidency next year.



Malala Yousafzai and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured April 12 in Centre Block just after she arrived to Parliament Hill with her parents. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

Canada is already recognized for its commitment to education through being a leading donor to and key partner of GPE since its inception. We are grateful Canada has agreed to host our board meeting in June. I know there is a sense of excitement about having the Board meet in Canada for the first time.

Later in 2017, GPE will be asking the global community to replenish our funding so we can continue our mission of building strong, high quality, and inclusive school systems in almost 90 of the world's poorest countries. Malala has asked the Government of Canada to host the event and we would be delighted to have Canada as replenishment host.

By prioritizing international support for education, Canada

can provide the global leadership the world needs; leadership that is driven by a spirit of compassion, a determination to include not exclude and a commitment to feminist principles.

Today, around the world, people look to Canada and admire its values. All this means Canada is well placed to show global leadership on behalf of the hundreds of millions of children around the world who dream of getting a quality school education.

As Malala said to Parliament recently, "If Canada leads, the world will follow."

Julia Gillard is the board chair of the Global Partnership for Education and the former prime minister of Australia.

The Hill Times

Giving refugees the best chance to succeed

It is time for a change in government policy. This coming October, when the government sets a target for the number of refugees to be welcomed in 2018, it should give first priority to sponsorship groups willing to host refugees recommended by the United Nations as the most vulnerable.



John Sewell

Refugees

TORONTO—One lesson we learned from the influx of Syrians to Canada in late 2015 and early 2016 is that refugees supported by a citizen sponsorship group are far more likely to succeed than those backed by the government.

Of the 25,000 Syrian refugees brought to Canada in that period, 16,000 came as Government Assisted Refugees (or GARs, as the

bureaucracy refers to them) and 9,000 as citizen-sponsored.

Many GAR families suffered for weeks in cramped hotel rooms as overworked settlement agencies (on which the government relies) found they didn't have the resources to provide much help.

GAR families were typically visited just once a week by agency staff in their hotel for an hour or so. Settlement agencies were simply overwhelmed trying to find housing, clothing, and other essentials. Many GARs felt abandoned.

However, refugees assigned to a citizen sponsorship group were treated much better. That's because citizen sponsorship provides refugees with a whole group of individuals who are committed to helping one particular family.

The sponsorship group raises enough funds to pay for the costs

of the family for their first year in Canada and provides a wide range of contacts and skills to help them settle successfully. While a settlement agency offers a single caseworker to assist the refugee family, a sponsorship group has a dozen or more people who are helping not as a job but as a personal commitment. The group finds appropriate housing and helps make the necessary medical, educational, and social connections for the family.

The sponsorship model was invented in Canada in the 1970s and was widely adopted for the 60,000 refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia (often referred to as Boat People) who came here in that era. Most of them were hosted by citizen groups, so there is considerable available evidence about the success of the sponsorship model.

The government's own studies show sponsored refugees do better in the short and long term than government-assisted refugees.

Not only does citizen sponsorship have better results; it is also less costly for the government. That's because most of the living expenses for the refugee families—housing, food, clothing, etc.—are borne by the group, not by the government.

As well, the living expenses provided to sponsored refugees

are usually considerably higher than welfare rates, which are all the government provides. (It should be acknowledged that the government pays for health care, child tax benefits, and language training for all refugees.)

Sponsorship has the additional benefit of enhancing our sense of community as neighbours, friends, professional acquaintances, fellow parishioners and others work closely together and strengthen their relationships, thereby building a stronger notion of Canadian society and citizenship.

No other country has yet adopted this very successful model, although many are looking at it now, with active encouragement by our government.

Given all this, one would assume that government policy would prioritize sponsorship for refugees. But it does not.

Rather, the government's first priority has been GARs. Each year the government sets out the number of GARs it intends to bring to Canada and treats sponsored refugees as extras. This practice has become known as the principle of "additionality."

This might make sense if there were a shortage of sponsorship groups willing to adopt a refugee family. But that has certainly not been the case regarding Syrian

refugees. Indeed, when in March 2016 the government scaled back the staff processing Syrian refugee applications, many sponsorship groups—as many as 3,000—were left in the lurch.

Since then, sponsored Syrian refugee families have been trickling into Canada. But it is acknowledged by the government that thousands of them are still waiting to join their sponsors in Canada.

It is time for a change in government policy. This coming October, when the government sets a target for the number of refugees to be welcomed in 2018, it should give first priority to sponsorship groups willing to host refugees recommended by the United Nations as the most vulnerable.

And the government should ensure that the sponsorship demand is met before adding government-assisted refugees to the target.

That change would be best for the refugees coming to Canada as well as for the many Canadians hoping to play their part in assisting them.

John Sewell, former mayor of Toronto, is a member of Canada4Refugees.org. The full paper proposing the policy change can be found at <https://canada4refugees.org/a-new-policy-for-settling-refugees-in-canada/>

The Hill Times

Opinion

Trump's aggression toward North Korea wrong, but doing nothing hasn't worked either

Diplomacy didn't work for the last 60 years. The Korean problem was already there on Jan. 19, 2017, when Donald Trump was just a really rich real estate mogul.



Angelo Persichilli

Politics

TORONTO—Now that Donald Trump has (probably) sent the U.S. fleet towards North Korea, “pacifists” and some academics are up in arms against the “warmongering” American president.

One recent headline in *The Globe and Mail* said, “Only diplomacy can cool the Korean peninsula.” Agreed, but someone must explain why diplomacy did nothing in the Korean Peninsula for the past 60 years.

Here it is how it works. When we have a problem, we do nothing about it until

someone puts a solution on the table, and the debate moves from the problem to the proposed solution.

The terrorism debate was between the do-nothing approach of Barak Obama or the do-something approach of Trump. Now Obama is out, terrorism is still here, but the problem is Trump. We talk about terrorism only to express “sadness, solidarity, and the strongest condemnation” after beheading videos come out.

But for now, back to North Korea. Granted, Trump's approach is wrong, but this is only one part of the equation. The second is to explain why diplomacy didn't work for the last 60 years. The Korean problem was already there on Jan. 19, 2017, when Donald Trump was just a really rich real estate mogul. In

fact, for the record, the problem started when Trump was only seven years old.

The only diplomatic accomplishment was a ceasefire negotiated after the military intervention in 1950-54 after North Korea invaded South Korea.

For 60 years, diplomats did nothing while several dictators starved their own country, worked on a nuclear arsenal, and threatened the world with fake or real atomic bombs.

The only good news was a headline from another newspaper telling us, “North Korea's missile failure provides brief relief.” I assume the “failure” was negotiated by diplomats. The real concern seems to be the American fleet in the Pacific.

Do we need a military intervention? The best answer to continue the traditional debate would be “yes.” This would help the oral peacemakers bring the discussion into the usual cliché between “warmongers” and “pacifists.” War against peace; how can they lose that debate?

Unfortunately, I am a peacenik, too. I am against the bombings and we must pursue a diplomatic solution.

The question now is: what's next?

George Bush, the 41st and 43rd presidents, and the Clintons, 42nd and the almost 45th, are peaceniks too. They are now criticizing the bombing approach of Trump, but they all adopted it in the past. They bombed and invaded Iraq, Afghanistan, bombed Serbia and Libya, and were in favour of bombing Syria as well. But the warmonger is Trump.

And this takes us into Syria's debate and the Obama Doctrine. As Jeffrey Goldberg wrote in the April 2016 issue of *The Atlantic*, it all started “Friday, August 30, 2013... the day the sagacious Barack Obama peered into the Middle Eastern abyss and stepped back from the consuming void.” It was at the time when Bashar Assad was already gassing children and civilians.

Obama explains in a celebrated interview about why he did not send troops into Syria. His explanations, all valid, are the list of mistakes made by Trump's predecessors, going all the way back to John F. Kennedy. Obama did not want to have another Vietnam. He did not want to have another Iraq or Afghanistan where the Americans, he said, spent over a trillion dollars with less than good results. It did not make political or military sense to send American troops into Syria. And he didn't. Was it a good decision? We will never know because we don't know the consequences of the alternative.

However, we now know that we have two dictators, Assad in Damascus and Kim Jong Un in Pyongyang. The first has gassed civilians and children, again, and the second keeps building nuclear weapons and threatening the world.

What should we do? Wait for Assad to gas more children? Jong Un to finish building his atomic arsenal? Vladimir Putin to become the defender of the “free world?”

In the meantime, beware of Donald Trump! Diplomacy, diplomacy, my friends.

Angelo Persichilli is a freelance journalist and a former citizenship judge for the Greater Toronto Area. He was also a director of communications to former prime minister Stephen Harper and is the former political editor of *Corriere Canadese*, Canada's Italian-language newspaper in Toronto.

The Hill Times

Advertisement

JOINT DECLARATION (24 April 2017, Ottawa)

We, as the Turkish Canadians Peace and Solidarity Platform-TCPSP on behalf of all responsible Canadian Turks, who are sincerely attached to both of their countries, would like to share with the public our stance vis-a-vis an important issue continuing to be a source of intercommunal disagreement and controversy.

The dismantling of the Ottoman Empire was not an option but the outcome of an Allied war strategy. During the Great War not only numerous non-Muslim, but even Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire were instrumentalized to such an extent that 600 years lasted mosaic of the Ottoman society were obliterated.

We, as Turkish Canadians, remember and honour the sufferings and pain of all subjects of the Ottoman Empire of different ethnic and religious backgrounds including some of the Ottoman Armenians during the Great War.

Singling out the sufferings of one group serve nothing, but the distortion of the history. It is disrespect to the memories of all those perished in the war. We want to remember all losses of the Great War in an embracing manner rather than in an exclusionary and divisive way. Millions of Muslim Turkish civilians also perished during the war.

We sadly observe that some communities in our peaceful country, Canada, are still continuing their defamatory activities in 2017 against our community here and abroad.

We still remember unfortunate consequences that occurred in our recent history as a result of

defamatory activities due to hatred inferred from a biased reading of the history.

Thus, we did not and will not forget the attacks of Armenian terrorist organizations against Turks and Turkish officials in Canada including threats to bomb Toronto Metro. We also remember the organizations which tried to find excuses to such terror attacks. We wish that our fellow Canadians see the real intention and bitter consequences of this kind of propaganda and defamatory activities.

As we strive to strengthen the visibility of the Canadian Turkish community in Canada, we do not accept that another community blatantly announces its future defamatory activities against our homeland in this year of 2017.

No one in this country should play diaspora politics. It is the duty of every citizen of this country to defend peaceful co-existence of multicultural nature of Canada.

Every citizen of this country should defend peaceful co-existence of multicultural nature of Canada. We act in this way and expect the same from others. However, we regrettably see that some of the Canadian citizens are not ready for it and thus trying to prevent cultural activities of others.

We expect our Government and representatives in the Canadian Parliament to make possible reconciliation between communities and refrain from complicating historical discussion by further politicizing it.



TURKISH CANADIANS PEACE AND SOLIDARITY PLATFORM

AVIATION



An enhanced regime for air passenger rights

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Policy Briefing Aviation

Enhanced protection of air passengers' rights on the way

The new regime would establish clear standards for how passengers are to be treated in various situations, including cases of overbooking, delays, cancellations, long delays on the tarmac, or lost or damaged baggage.



Transport Minister Marc Garneau

Air passengers

Two weeks ago, I was disturbed, as many Canadians were, by the appalling incident that took place on board a United Airlines flight, when a passenger was forcibly removed from his seat.

I, like most others, found the incident shocking and upsetting. When I learned about this event, I wrote to all the airlines operating in Canada to tell them such

actions are unacceptable in Canada. But Canadians are naturally wondering what air carriers can and cannot do.

When you buy an airline ticket, you expect and deserve that the airline will respect its agreement with you. When the terms of that agreement are not fulfilled, you should know your rights as a passenger, and be entitled to clear, transparent, and enforceable compensation, and certain standards of treatment when things do not go as planned.

To that end, I intend to introduce legislation to clarify the responsibilities of air carriers and the rights of travellers. The proposed legislation, which I will introduce in the coming weeks, grows out of consultations I held last year with stakeholders throughout the transportation system, including members of the public at large. The result of those consultations is Transportation 2030, an integrated national strategy to support the Canadian travellers

and deliver a safe and innovative transportation system that promotes trade and economic growth, a cleaner environment, and the well-being of Canadians. One of the key themes of the Transport 2030 strategic plan is improving the traveller experience in Canada.

Current federal legislation under the *Canada Transportation Act* already outlines various obligations for domestic and international air carriers, as well as certain rights and recourse for travellers when they feel they are not treated properly. The act also provides a means, through the Canadian Transportation Agency, to assist, mediate, and adjudicate disputes.

After hearing from Canadians, and looking closely at practices under the air passenger rights regimes in the United States and European Union, I am proposing a new regime that takes the best practices from each.

The legislation I will introduce will seek to give a mandate to the Canadian Transportation Agency to develop new regulations to strengthen air passenger rights. The new regime would establish clear standards for how passengers are to be treated in various situations, including cases of overbooking, delays, cancellations, long delays on the tarmac, or lost or damaged baggage, to name just a few. Minimum compensation to be paid to passengers will be established under certain circumstances through the development of the regulations.

We are taking a balanced approach because we recognize that Canada's aviation industry is an important contributor to our economy and a major employer. While we have no intention of placing an undue economic burden on air carriers that would affect their competitiveness or the cost of air travel, a clear regime should be in place to protect air passengers.



Transport Minister Marc Garneau is promising new legislation in the coming weeks that will better protect air passengers' rights. Photograph courtesy of Flickr

Strengthened rights for air travellers is just one of the changes we plan to make in the near future, in our quest to improve the travelling experience for Canadians.

I also intend to introduce legislation to liberalize international ownership restrictions, expanding them from 25 per cent to 49 per cent of voting interests for Canadian air carriers. Broader international ownership should bring more competition to the Canadian air sector. This will mean more choice, and possibly lower prices for Canadians.

Transportation 2030 continues to guide our efforts to prepare our transportation system for the challenges of the 21st century. With the forward-looking plan our government has developed, we can improve the transportation system so that it better serves our country in the decades to come.

Marc Garneau is the federal Transport minister and MP for Notre-Dame-de-Grâce-Westmount, Que.

The Hill Times

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Aviation Policy Briefing

Airports ask for government help to reduce security-screening lines

Ultra-low-cost-carriers are poised to disrupt Canada's airline market, with WestJet the latest to indicate plans to enter this space.

BY MARCO VIGLIOTTI

Canada's airport authorities are expressing frustration with the long lines greeting passengers undergoing routine security screening, and are calling on Ottawa to dedicate more resources to curb growing wait times.

"Passengers have told Canadian airports and airlines alike that this is their biggest service complaint," said Daniel-Robert Gooch, president of the Canadian Airports Council, which advocates for the authorities that operates the country's airports.

Under the existing system, the federal government owns most of the country's busiest airports, but they are operated by not-for-profit governing bodies that rely exclusively on private funds. They also pay rent to the government for use of the airport, yet are largely responsible for funding new infrastructure and repairs, among other services.

Mr. Gooch said there's "always a lot of interest in the price of air travel," and cost competitiveness is of "particular interest" to airports that compete with U.S. airports just across the border.

But for the largest facilities in Canada, the problem is how to deal with the influx of travellers moving through their gates—and infrastructure is not the culprit, he said.

Although some areas have seen runway and airspace get congested, Mr. Gooch noted that airports have invested \$22-billion into their infrastructure since 1992 to be able to handle the growth, all of which was paid for by travellers through user fees.

However, over the past 10 years, passenger traffic has grown by about 32 per cent, and 5.4 per cent in the past year alone, which he argued is putting strain on the government services offered there, namely those performed by the Canadian Air Transport Security Authority (CATSA).

And funding may be the problem. "While travellers pay an air travellers security charge on

every ticket, not enough of the money is getting to CATSA," Mr. Gooch said.

"We now understand that funds given to CATSA in the most recent budget are insufficient to provide the same level of service as last year, when we saw wait times grow to over an hour at peak times at some airports."

For Mr. Gooch the answer is clear; the government needs to continue to invest in improving technology.

He pointed out that Transport Minister Marc Garneau (Notre-Dame-de-Grâce-Westmount, Que.) "outlined significant commitments" to improve the service at screening in a highly publicized speech last November, saying "we need to get that work back on track."

The minister, he noted, talked about the need for service standards and to be competitive with airports in other countries.

Meanwhile, CATSA already has a multi-year plan to innovate through technology, but Mr. Gooch said, "Budget 2017 seems to have frozen those implementation plans."

He also claimed that recent policy changes have seen airports shoulder a larger share of security costs previously covered by the federal government.

Mr. Gooch argued that while federal policy seems designed to have to passengers cover the entire cost of air travel, there needs to be a discussion and some consideration given to how other jurisdictions conduct business, with many of the busiest airports in the U.S. and overseas receiving government subsidies.

Government funding aside, the economics of flying in Canada appear poised for major upheaval.

Vancouver-based Jetlines and Calgary-based charter airliner Enerjet have announced their intentions to become the country's first ultra-low-cost carriers (ULCC), a popular business model in Europe in which flights are offered for significantly less, though often without the expected luxuries currently provided by traditional airlines. The flights are typically offered for a flat-rate but most everything else, from checked baggage to extra leg room, is offered for an extra fee.

Both firms requested and received exemptions from the federal government in November to increase the share of their respective companies owned by foreign entities from 25 to 49 per cent.

The Trudeau government has said it would eventually increase



Daniel-Robert Gooch of the Canadian Airports Council is calling for Ottawa to allocate more resources to ease wait times facing passengers going through security screening at Canada's largest airports. *Photograph courtesy of the Canadian Airports Council*

the cap on the percentage of foreign investors in airliners that are granted voting rights for all carriers to 49 per cent.

Jetlines, which has suggested it could lower the base fares offered elsewhere for flights by 30 to 35 per cent, said the request was made to facilitate investment into the company by international investors that "specialize" in investing in and supporting startup, ultra-low cost carriers around the world.

A 2016 survey found that Canada has the world's highest costs for international air travel, and the sixth highest costs for domestic flights.

Increasing the ownership cap from 25 per cent to 49 per cent was also a recommendation included in the review of the Canada Transportation Act completed by former federal cabinet minister David Emerson in December 2015.

The European Union has a 49 per cent cap, while New Zealand and Australia, the latter of which is only slightly less populated than Canada, have no such restrictions.

Enerjet announced its intentions last fall to partner with U.S.-based Indigo Partners to "fast-track development" of an ultra-low-cost-carrier for Canadians.

"Together with Indigo, Enerjet will develop a Canadian ULCC with a strong financial foundation and broad international experience, implementing a model that has met with success around the globe," the company said in a statement.

"The customers and shareholders of this new ULCC will benefit from the capital, talent, best-practices, and strong industry presence introduced through this partnership with Indigo."

Jetlines' funding partner is Jet Metal.

In late March, Jetlines announced it has entered into an agreement with Intervistas Consulting to support the development of the of the company's route structure for its first 15 aircraft, along with a defined startup schedule for its first four Boeing 737 aircraft.

According to the company, the plan is to provide market research and network-planning support to assist Jetlines in its development and implementation of a viable network plan.

Jetlines said it will look to "capitalize on unserved and underserved markets" by providing more price competitive options both domestically and to key sun destinations.

Last fall, WestJet, Canada's

second largest carrier, said the 25 per cent cap on foreign ownership should only be increased if the United States does so as well.

But now the company appears poised to get involved in the push for cheaper air travel. Last week, it announced plans to launch its own ultra-low-cost carrier, provided it receives pilot agreement and regulatory approvals by the end of the year.

In a statement, WestJet said the air travel industry has "changed remarkably" since its inception in 1996, when the concept of a low-cost airline was still relatively new.

However, today there are more than 100 low-cost airlines around the world, with ultra-low-cost carriers a relatively recent development.

"As the price-sensitive consumer seeks out alternatives to what is presently available, we believe there is no better airline suited to bring ULCCs to Canada than WestJet; after all WestJet pioneered low-cost travel in Canada in 1996," the company said.

"There is much work to be done from now until we plan to launch at the end of 2017 and much more news to share with you in the weeks and months to come."

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Policy Briefing Aviation

Airport privatization still on table despite budget snub, warns industry group

Airliners and some airport operators, in addition to opposition parties, have come out against a prospective plan to sell off Canada's busiest airports.

BY MARCO VIGLIOTTI

Selling off Canada's busiest airports remains on the radar for the Trudeau government despite failing to appear in the 2017 budget, warns the group representing mid-sized and small domestic airliners.

John McKenna, president and CEO of the Air Transport Association of Canada (ATAC), said he received a call the day after the budget came down last month as part of what was clearly a government-sponsored poll based on the questions asked, although it was not explicitly stated.

The second question posed to him was if he supported privatizing the busiest airports in Canada, which are owned by the federal government but leased to non-for-profit governing bodies that are financed mostly by fees charged to passengers and airlines.

"So clearly it's still on the agenda," he said.

ATAC represents most domestic airlines except the major two ones: Air Canada and WestJet.

It was revealed last fall that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's (Papineau, Que.) government had asked international investing giant Credit Suisse to study the benefits of privatizing some Canadian airports.

Airports in Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa, Winnipeg, and Halifax—the country's busiest—will be reviewed individually, including through on-site visits, as part of the study, reported *The Globe and Mail*.

Privatizing Canadians airports was recommended by former cabinet minister David Emerson in his review of the Canada Transportation Act, tabled in December 2015.

In February, Toronto-based think-tank the C.D. Howe Institute released a report concluding that selling off airports would generate big windfalls for the government without major price increases for passengers.

"Selling equity stakes in Canada's major airports could raise between \$7.2-billion to \$16.6-billion for investment in other critical social and economic infrastructure even after paying off their existing debt," said Steven Robbins, author of the think-tank's report, *A Better Flight Path: How Ottawa Can Cash In on Airports and Benefit Travellers*.

He maintained that selling equity stakes in the facilities would not change the competitive pressures operators face from other airports and modes of travel.

"Air travellers are highly price sensitive, and this means that any investor-owned airport would seek to maximize revenues by boosting its value proposition



Although it wasn't discussed in last month's budget, the federal government is still weighing privatizing Canada's busiest airports, including Montreal's Pierre Elliott Trudeau Airport, pictured, says John McKenna of the Air Transport Association of Canada. Flickr photograph courtesy of Abdallah H

through improved quality, lower prices, or both. Airports can't just raise prices for travellers," Mr. Robbins said.

He added that Canada's airports currently generate nearly \$2-billion annually in cash flow, a portion of which could be provided as returns to investors without increasing costs for travellers.

However, the proposed privatization plan wasn't well received elsewhere.

The National Airlines Council of Canada, representing airlines such as Air Canada and WestJet, told the *Toronto Star* that privatization "would fail the most elementary test of stewardship of the public interest."

Meanwhile, the operators of the Ottawa, Vancouver, and Calgary airports came together to launch a public campaign against the plan, which includes the website noairport selloff.ca.

When reached by *The Hill Times*, the National Airports Council, which represents domestic airports, refused comment on the issue, citing the diverse perspectives of its membership.

In the run-up to budget last month, senior Liberals maintained that no decision on selling the airports had been made, and despite weeks of frenzied speculation, privatization was not mentioned in the annual spending blueprint.

When reached last week, Delphine Denis, a spokesperson for Transport Minister Marc Garneau (Notre-Dame-de-Grâce-Westmount, Que.), reiterated that no decision has been made on airport privatization.

"The government continues to study the issue and no decisions have been made," she told *The Hill Times* in a statement.

The government, she said, will continue trying to develop a "strong, integrated, and modern transportation system" by supporting "greater choice, better service, lower costs, and new rights for middle-class Canadian travellers."

Mr. McKenna, however, urged the Liberals to resist the temptation to take a short-term revenue boost at the expense of air passengers, warning that privatization would increase costs across the board.

Currently, airports in Canada pay about \$300-million in rent annually, money that would evaporate if the facilities were sold off to private interests, he said.

Mr. McKenna estimated the price tag of the Montreal or Calgary airport at between \$3-billion and \$4-billion, while the Vancouver airport would likely net between \$5-billion and \$6-billion, a price easily dwarfed by the busiest facility, the Toronto Pearson International Airport.

On the other hand, potential buyers would want to seek out, at minimum, a five per cent return on their investment, he theorized.

Therefore, if investors forked over \$5-billion to purchase a single airport, they would want to see at least \$250-million annually in revenue, roughly the same cost currently spent in rent at all federal facilities, according to Mr. McKenna.

"That translates into higher costs for carriers, higher costs for passengers, and

that's what we're worried about," he explained, noting that for the Toronto airport alone, investors would likely seek to drum up \$300-million in returns annually.

"It's a lose-lose for airlines and passengers."

Higher fees at airports to bolster returns for investors would likely increase the number of Canadian passengers that cross the border to seek out cheaper deals state-side, Mr. McKenna warned.

"We already have a leakage of five million [passengers a year] going across the border now. What's it going to be if fees go up five, 10, 15 per cent in all the airports? It's not going to be good for the long-term development of our airports," he said, adding that the C.D. Howe Institute was the only entity to support selling off the facilities.

The International Air Transport Association, which represents some 265 airlines that collectively comprise 83 per cent of global air traffic, said in a statement the Canadian government should eliminate airport rent, not seek privatization, to improve the "competitiveness" of Canada's aviation sector.

"The Canadian government has already pocketed about \$5-billion as the historical landlord of airport property. That's a \$5-billion disincentive to travel, to visit this wonderful country, or to plan a business trip," Alexandre de Juniac, the IATA's chief executive, said in a statement.

"Eliminating Crown rents would boost Canada's GDP by over \$300-million annually, create more than 4,000 jobs, and generate an additional \$111-million in tax receipts. This should be the priority."

The proposal is also strongly opposed by the federal Conservatives and NDP.

Writing in *The Hill Times*, Conservative MP and transport critic Kelly Block (Carlton Trail-Eagle Creek, Sask.) said it's "concerning" that while Canada remains one of the world's most expensive jurisdictions for airlines to operate in and fly out of, "the most significant overhaul of the air sector that is under consideration by this government could likely result in even higher airfares for travellers."

In the House last month, NDP Leader Tom Mulcair (Outremont, Que.) asked the prime minister to hold off on any proposal to privatize the airports because he never mentioned this as a campaign promise in 2015.

"I am wondering if the prime minister could show Canadians exactly where in the Liberal election platform this was ever mentioned. Since he has no mandate to do so, will the prime minister guarantee that he will not privatize Canadian airports?" Mulcair asked.

The NDP government of Alberta has also voiced its opposition to privatizing airports. Brian Mason, the province's Infrastructure minister, told *The Globe and Mail* late last year that such a move would cost consumers more and be of no benefit to airports, even if it puts "billions and billions of dollars in the federal government's pockets that they can spend on other things."

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Government support for Bombardier to be tested before WTO

‘You get into a position where the firm becomes so politically important that it’s almost like it’s too big to fail.’

BY DENIS CALNAN

An international complaint by Brazil and its aircraft manufacturer Embraer could test the legitimacy of the financial relationship between Bombardier Inc. and the Canadian and Quebec governments.

On Feb. 7, it was announced that the federal government is lending \$372.5-million to Bombardier, interest-free.

The federal government said its funding “will support thousands of good middle-class jobs, strengthen the long-term competitiveness of Bombardier, and help to build the aircraft of the future.”

A day after the federal government’s announcement, Brazil launched a formal complaint against Canada before the World Trade Organization, saying that this amounted to a subsidy that distorts the market and will have a negative affect on Brazil’s economy.

The federal loan came after Quebec’s US\$1-billion investment into the company’s C-Series aircraft program last year.

Many Canadians question the government’s investment in the company in the first place.

“I’m not typically a big fan of these things,” said Dane Rowlands, director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University.

“You get into a position where the firm becomes so politically important that it’s almost like it’s too big to fail,” he said. “So governments frequently end up directing money in their direction, and its understandable politically because you want to be able to say, ‘Look at how many jobs we’ve saved and this is a high-tech sector and isn’t this great that we’re doing this.’ But it’s not easy to be able to say what would have been the outcome otherwise.”

Conservative Transport critic Kelly Block (Carlton Trail-Eagle Creek, Saskatchewan) in an email to *The Hill Times*: “Bombardier has outstanding loans from the government and publicly stated they didn’t need the money. In general, I believe the way to encourage investment and job creation is not through handouts, but rather through lower taxes and efficient regulation. What the company needs now is new orders for the C-Series and its other products.”

Ms. Block also noted: “Recently, Canadians have learned that even before the loan agreement is signed, the company intends to increase compensation for six executives by 50 per cent. Any expectations of Bombardier need to be clearly articulated by the government and included in the agreement they sign off on,” she said.

NDP Transport critic Robert Aubin (Trois-Rivières, Que.) said in an email: “The NDP has long called for investments to create and maintain good jobs for Bombardier’s employees.”

But he added: “Not only did Bombardier employees get a lacklustre plan from the federal government, it is also unclear if the money would help them keep their jobs. We have called on the federal government

to release the details of the agreement, but they refuse to do so.”

As a result, Mr. Aubin said it’s “unclear as to whether the government entered into an agreement that protects good jobs. We would expect that any plan for Bombardier would include the protection of good jobs.”

Ms. Block said: “If the Liberals will not demand accountability from Bombardier executives in terms of increased compen-

sation while the company is in the midst of major layoffs, taxpayers should be concerned that the Government will not enforce the loan’s conditions.”

Mr. Rowlands said this can end up with firms playing their governments against each other, with the companies pointing to the financial aid their competitors are getting as evidence that they are in need of the same.

“So you play this game and the losers end up typically being the taxpayers,” he said.

While the Brazilians have asked for consultations at the WTO, it could lead full trade litigation in Geneva.

“I think the Brazilians are going to have a tough time,” said Lawrence Herman, a trade lawyer at Herman and Associates and a senior fellow at the C.D. Howe Institute.

Mr. Herman said that the Quebec and Canada contributions toward the company will be able to sustain a challenge.

But he said “when the government participates on commercial terms in a venture ... that is probably permitted under the WTO agreement, because it isn’t the kind of direct infusion of capital, or the forgoing of revenue.”

The strength of Brazil’s challenge may be found in the WTO rule that doesn’t al-

low export subsidies.

That’s what this Canadian and Quebec money looks like “because so much of what Bombardier produces is ultimately exported,” said Mark Warner, a Canadian and American lawyer at MAAW Law.

Mr. Warner said an interesting thing about this case is that it may be one of the first times that a country has challenged what he called “Quebec Inc.,” referring to Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec (CDPQ) which manages the pension funds for public insurance plans and which also entered a financial agreement with Bombardier.

Providing some insight into the relationship between governments and Bombardier, Mr. Warner, a former legal director at the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade in Ontario, said “they are a very tough company to give money to.”

He said it tends to hold out on taking money from governments until “they get the money on the terms they want.”

Mr. Herman said if the decision is pushed to a WTO panel, the implications of the final ruling, after months and perhaps years of uncertainty, will be a clarification on this sort of government investment.

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Policy Briefing Aviation



Transport Minister Marc Garneau, pictured on the Hill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

Trudeau government remains mum on pricing emissions from interprovincial flights

Months after unveiling plans for a national price on carbon, airlines still have no clarity on what price will be slapped on flights that cross provincial borders.

BY MARCO VIGLIOTTI

The aviation sector is still seeking clarity from Ottawa on how carbon emissions produced by flights travelling across provincial borders will be priced more than six months after the Trudeau government announced plans to mandate a minimum national price on carbon.

"We are in the dark as far as that goes," said John McKenna, president and CEO of Air Transport Association of Canada, which represents most domestic airlines aside from Air Canada and WestJet.

Last fall, the Liberal government announced that it would mandate a national price for

carbon emissions starting in 2018. The minimum price will be set at \$10 a tonne at the start of 2018 before rising to \$50 by 2022.

However, the development and implementation is being left to the provinces, who are responsible for determining the actual fee and how it's collected. Ottawa is only mandating the price floor.

Currently, British Columbia and Alberta have in place carbon taxes, additional fees attached to carbon intensive products. Since most of these products are used for transportation purposes, these taxes are being faulted for increasing prices for a broad swath of consumer goods and services.

Conversely, Ontario and Quebec are pushing forward with a cap-and-trade system in which industrial polluters must ascertain credits to emit a certain level of carbon. The government then institutes a hard cap on allowable emissions that ideally would fall over the years.

The system aims to encourage companies to limit their carbon footprint by allowing them to sell any unused credits to less green competitors and reap the profits.

All four provinces, coincidentally the country's most populated, have or will have in place prices above the \$10 threshold by 2018, meaning they essentially won't be impacted by the Trudeau government's proposed pricing scheme.

Collectively, they constitute roughly 85 per cent of the population of Canada.

But these provincial plans only cover air travel that occurs wholly in their borders.

For example, Alberta's carbon price on aviation jet fuel will be 5.17 cents per litre in 2017 and 7.75 cents per litre in 2018 for flights within the province. But cross-border flights are entirely exempted.

British Columbia has also exempted international and interprovincial flights from its carbon tax, while Ontario and Quebec have both exempted aviation from their cap-and-trade programs.

Under the division of powers in the Constitution, the federal government is exclusively responsible for regulating interprovincial trade and commerce.

However, the Liberals aren't revealing just yet how they intend to address cross-border flights.

"We haven't been consulted at all. It's very frustrating," Mr. McKenna said. "We're just twisting in the dark here, we don't know what to expect."

Grant Dingwall, a spokesperson for the National Airlines Council of Canada (NACC), which represents Air Canada, Jazz Aviation, WestJet, and Air Transat, told *The Hill Times* that the group is unaware of how the government's planned national

minimum carbon price would affect the aviation sector but argued that any measures must understand the fundamental structure of the industry.

"It's important that environmental initiatives recognize that the very nature of the air travel industry means that the vast majority of our flights cross provincial and international borders," he said in a statement.

In 2016, Canada signed an agreement from the International Civil Aviation Organization adopting an international carbon offset market for air transport players.

Mr. Dingwall said the market will bring about "real emission reductions" while keeping the domestic industry harmonized with international competitors, and should be adopted domestically.

Pursuing any other model, he said, would make the domestic aviation sector "less competitive" compared to international rivals and increase costs on consumers with no "demonstrable" environmental benefit.

Mr. Dingwall said NACC is recommending that any increase in taxes on passengers be invested in green technologies, including the development of biofuels that will help lead to reductions in emissions.

When reached for comment, Marie-Pascale Des Rosiers, a spokesperson for Environment Minister Catherine McKenna (Ottawa Centre, Ont.), said the federal government plans to release a technical discussion paper in the future that will "provide more detail on the 'federal backstop' carbon pollution pricing system."

"The [government's] approach gives provinces and territories the flexibility to implement a system that best suits their needs, and will ensure that all Canadian jurisdictions will have carbon price in place in 2018," she said in a statement.

Mr. McKenna, though, called the carbon price "another cash grab" by the government, noting that airlines already have to fork over roughly \$100-million each year on account of the fuel excise tax.

"Are they going to replace that with a carbon tax or going to add to what we are already paying? We don't know what's going to happen with that," he said.

Mr. McKenna noted the industry has been monitoring and working to control its carbon footprint for the past decade to show to Ottawa that airlines are capable of reducing pollution without government involvement.

The results, so far, show the industry is capable of doing just that, he said.

"Given the increase of our industry of about three to five per cent a year over the past 10 years, we're keeping our growth of emissions well under 10 per cent," Mr. McKenna said.

"We're already doing our share. Why are we doing it? Because we are trying to show the government industry can self-regulate."

Des Rosiers, however, argued the government's carbon pricing scheme would create an "incentive for continuous emissions reductions" while supporting the competitiveness of Canadian businesses.

Conservative MP and transport critic Kelly Block (Carlton Trail-Eagle Creek, Sask.), though, believes the Liberal's carbon

price will have severe financial consequences for the aviation sector without reaping the intended reductions in emissions.

Writing in *The Hill Times* last fall, Ms. Block pointed to a report commissioned by the National Airlines Council of Canada, which represents the larger airlines, and produced by the Delphi Group.

The report, she said, argued that carbon prices in the range being discussed by the government will not incentivize the "decoupling of growth from environmental impact in the aviation sector," and instead concluded that compliance costs would push money out of the sector, potentially shrinking it.

"Taxing the sector to shrink it is not the way to reduce emissions. Canada's geography makes aviation a necessity to connect our regions," she wrote.

"As the Delphi report has noted, a federal carbon tax of \$50 per ton of carbon dioxide equivalent will not have any discernible impact on reducing emissions and should not be the primary tool used by the federal government to achieve its stated objectives."

According to Ms. Block, the report also makes a strong case that reducing emissions in the aviation sector is dependent on new aircraft technologies, including more fuel-efficient aircraft and engines, and the development of biofuels.

While reduction strategies remain the subject of fierce political debate, no one can dispute that emissions produced by the aviation sector are on the rise.

According to the federal government, the transportation sector, which includes aviation, was responsible for 24 per cent of the 722 megatonnes of carbon dioxide equivalent emitted in 2015, second only to the oil and gas, which accounted 26 per cent of total emissions.

The increase in greenhouse gas emissions between 1990 and 2015 was mostly due to a 76 per cent increase in emissions in the oil and gas sector and a 42 per cent increase in the transportation sector, according to Environment Canada.

In particular, the Canadian aviation sector produced 18.1 megatonnes of carbon in 2015, up more than a megatonne from 2014, according to government's latest annual report on reducing greenhouse gas emissions in the sector. It corresponds with a \$15 hike in revenue per passenger over that span, meaning passenger totals were on the upswing.

According to Statistics Canada, there were 133.3 million total passengers moving through Canadian skies in 2015, a nearly 3.5 million increase from the previous year. Most of the growth was attributable to the roughly 1.49 million increase in domestic passenger traffic and the 1.7 million hike in the international sector. Transborder traffic was also up but by a far smaller margin.

However, it appears the industry is becoming more efficient. While overall emissions have risen in recent years, they have fallen on a per capita basis. For example, emissions per passenger fell from 105.11 grams of carbon dioxide equivalent to 103.22 in 2015.

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The Hill Times

Feds, Canadian pilots disagree over extent to vetting foreign pilots

The issue has come to the fore after a Sunwing pilot was found drunk in the cockpit of a plane before a flight. The Slovakian national was then taken off the plane.

BY DENIS CALNAN

The Canadian government and the group representing many Canadian pilots are in a disagreement about the extent of vetting of foreign pilots working in Canada.

While the Canadian Federal Pilots Association, which is a bargaining organization representing about 450 professional pilots, says some basic checks are not being done, the federal government says all foreign pilots are put through the hoops to meet all the licensing requirements.

The issue has come to the fore after a Sunwing pilot was found drunk in the cockpit of a plane before a flight. The Slovakian national was then taken off the plane.

Miroslav Gronych, 37, pleaded guilty to having three times the legal amount of alcohol in his blood.

Earlier this month Mr. Gronych was sentenced to eight months in prison.

Greg McConnell, national chair of the Canadian Federal Pilots Association, said there is not enough vetting by Transport Canada.

"If somebody wants to come from overseas to work in Canada and if the company for whatever reason wants to hire that individual they can choose to have Transport Canada issue them a foreign licence validation. In the staff instruction, with respect to issuing foreign licence validation, it tells the air operator to check and see if the licence and medical certificate are valid. That's generally a responsibility that's left up to the state or the country to do that vetting," he said.

"I don't believe if an air operator calls a foreign authority and asks to check on a pilot's licence that they'll be forthcoming with that information. It's different when Transport Canada makes those calls, said Mr. McConnell.

He said some of his members have expressed concern about the issue.

Mr. McConnell forwarded a document to *The Hill Times* identified as Transport Canada's staff instruction document with the subject line: "Foreign Licence Validation Certificate."

One section reads: "[Transport Canada] licensing staff are not required to request licence verification unless there are concerns over the authenticity or validity of the documents presented. It is the responsibility of the air operator to verify that each licence holder is properly qualified and holds an appropriate and valid licence and medical certificate.

The federal government said that the necessary checks are in place to ensure qualifications are valid.

"Transport Canada has regulations in place to ensure that foreign pilots operating in Canada are fully qualified," said Natasha Gauthier, manager of media relations for Transport Canada, in an email to

The Hill Times.

"To be employed by a Canadian air operator, foreign pilots must first obtain either a Canadian commercial or airline transport pilot license, or obtain a Canadian validation of their foreign license, also called a Foreign License Validation Certificate (FLVC)," reads the email.

"To obtain a Canadian commercial or airline transport pilot license, foreign pilots must meet all of the licensing requirements in Canada. These include the requirements to obtain a Canadian medical certificate, complete an application and written examinations, complete a flight test, and provide proof of flight experience," she said.

"Before issuing a FLVC, Transport Canada licensing staff verify that all foreign pilots hold a valid licence and a medical certificate issued by the same state that issued the licence," said Ms. Gauthier.

Mr. McConnell said he maintains that the proper vetting is not done.

Mr. McConnell said he does not know when the proper vetting practice stopped, and said that when he was a licensing inspector at Transport Canada he did the vetting that he said it now no longer does. He said he does not know why it would have been cut, but that he imagines it could be due to budget cuts at some point.

"Canadians need to have confidence that carriers are operating safely, and Transport Canada inspectors play a critical role in providing the public with the assurance that the system is safe," said Conservative Transport Critic Kelly Block (Carlton Trail-Eagle Creek, Sask.), her party's transport critic, in an email to *The Hill Times*.

"Transport Canada has a responsibility to ensure that all carriers are meeting all relevant Canadian regulations, including those pertaining to crew training," she said.

"The NDP has been successful in pushing a study on aviation safety in the Transport Committee," said NDP transport critic Robert Aubin (Trois-Rivières, Que.) in an email.

"We find it unacceptable that Transport Canada instructs its personnel to not verify the validity of foreign pilots piloting licence. Since November 2015, [Transport Minister] Marc Garneau has done nothing to correct these serious air safety deficiencies, which put Canadians the safety of Canadians at risk," he said.

In an opinion piece for *The Financial Post*, Ashley Nunes, with the Center for Transportation Logistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, said the Canadian Federal Pilots Association is wrong for thinking the government is better than companies at validation.

He said that "airlines have more incentive than the government does to vet pilots, regardless of where those pilots are from. Airplanes—like the one Gronych commanded—can cost upwards of \$100-million. What airline would knowingly hire a pilot that compromises that investment, let alone the lives of customers? The answer is none."

Mr. Nunes wrote in the *Financial Post* that unions speak about passenger safety, but "pilot unions have long supported contradictory positions. Drug testing and psychological testing—important safeguards in the aviation industry—have all been opposed by pilot unions."

The Hill Times



Canada's federal Transport Minister Marc Garneau, pictured in this file photo on Parliament Hill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

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Policy Briefing Aviation

Privatizing Canada's airports is a bad idea

There is absolutely no evidence of any advantage for Canadians if the governance model of Canadian airports changes.



Senator Dennis Dawson

Privatizing airports

PARLIAMENT HILL—Privatizing Canadian airports is a very bad idea.

The problem with privatization is clear: it favours profit over service.

The government should seriously consider its options before it completely destroys a model that serves Canada and Canadians well.

The current model works because it provides the accountability necessary to ensure that government and airports focus their investments on airport infrastructure maintenance and improvement. Airport management is entrusted to non-profit organizations whose role is specifically to manage, operate, and develop airport services under long-term agreements.

On the other hand, privatization means turning the existing corporations into for-profit corporations, thus generating profit for shareholders instead of using these resources to develop airport infrastructure and fund operating costs. As a result, the Canadian government would not assume responsibility for problems or debts incurred by the airport authorities, ultimately reducing service accountability to travellers.

Many of these decisions or directions are motivated by the greed of the Finance Department

and Finance ministers, eager to do anything that could help the government generate short-term revenue increases, balanced budgets, or reduced deficits.

So much that a department like Transport Canada, which controlled a host of major entities like airports, CN, and Air Canada, gradually experienced a narrowing of its sphere of operation and influence, to accommodate the will of the Finance department and its ministers. As a result, the minister of Transport, a powerhouse in cabinet since the department was created in the 1930s, gradually became relegated to that of a small player.

If this scenario were to be applied to Canadian airports, the travelling experience would be completely jeopardized. Instead of privatization, the federal government should use its influence to bring relevant stakeholders to the table to discuss systems that could address the inefficiencies within air-travel experiences in Canada.

In 2012, airports were generating more than \$45 billion annually and their operations provided over 200,000 jobs. The Senate Commit-



Sen. Dennis Dawson writes that privatizing Canada's airports would lessen the accountability for quality service for Canadian passengers. *The Hill Times* photograph by Kristen Shane

tee on Transport and Communications tabled a report entitled *The Future of Canadian Air Travel: Toll Booth or Spark Plug, Report on the Future Growth and Global Competitiveness of Canada's Airports* that suggests that air travel in Canada is essential for tourism, business, and connecting communities both nationally and globally. If the government starts using airport resources as a way to fund the Finance department, privatization would take away any benefit airports give to the Canadian economy.

There is absolutely no evidence of any advantage for Canadians if the governance model of Canadian airports changes. That being said, privatizing Canadian airports is a bad idea. Hopefully, the government will consider the interests of Canadian travellers before they opt for a path of turbulence through privatization.

Sen. Dennis Dawson is a Liberal and was appointed to the Upper Chamber in 2005 by former prime minister Paul Martin.

The Hill Times

Liberals ready to sacrifice country's airports for quick cash

Budget 2017 continues to demonstrate that anything that can increase federal revenues will be considered.



Conservative MP Kelly Block

Privatizing airports

The Liberals have spent the cash and their credit card to the limit and are now looking to sell off the furniture. This means Canada's major airports may be up for sale.

While this asset sale wasn't announced in Budget 2017, there is no doubt it remains on the table.

It is hard to believe that Credit Suisse was hired to respond to the question: "would selling our airports benefit the interests of Canadians?" but rather to come

up with a plan on how to execute the sale.

Literature reviews reveal that the outcomes of converting major airports to for-profit monopolies are at best mixed, and often negative for travellers, businesses, and governments.

More often than not, the sale of an airport leads to an unhealthy monopoly, typified by higher customer charges, inadequate investment, and dissatisfaction from the airlines that operate in and out of the airport.

That's why the vast majority of airport users, whether business or leisure travellers, airlines, unions, and other aviation groups, have come out firmly against this Liberal proposal.

When one considers the national importance of airports, the secrecy surrounding who would be eligible to buy them greatly concerns the sector. Foreign ownership of Canadian airlines is capped at 49 per cent. Would Canadian airports be held to the same level?

Not surprisingly, their concerns have been ignored and the aviation sector is now the latest target of the Liberal government's relentless attempts to raise revenues to fund their spending ambitions.

Budget 2017 continues to demonstrate that anything that can increase federal revenues

will be considered as the public transit tax credit was eliminated and taxes on ride sharing services were raised.

Raising revenues by higher taxes and higher fees appears to be the overarching theme of all Liberal initiatives to date, including in the transport sector.

Rather than introduce a clear plan that outlines substantive measures to ensure Canada's airports are more efficient and competitive internationally, while remaining among the best, the minister of Transport is listless.

Last November, at Transport Committee, I asked Minister Marc Garneau why the government had commissioned the Credit Suisse report. His response was startling: "I didn't give that direction".

The minister of Transport has an important responsibility in cabinet to facilitate efficient and cost-effective transportation, and not to the Treasury. As a member of cabinet, the minister of Transport must be as accountable for this decision as the minister of Finance.

This response reinforces the notion that there is no plan or vision for aviation, and absent that, those who depend on our airports either for their business or to visit their family for the holidays are being asked to pay for the Liberal mismanagement of Canada's finances.



Transport Minister Marc Garneau is 'listless' when it comes to producing an effective plan for Canada's airports, writes Conservative MP Kelly Block. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

It is concerning that while Canada remains one of the world's most expensive jurisdictions for airlines to operate in and out of, the most significant overhaul of the air sector that is under consideration by this government could likely result in even higher airfares for travellers.

Unfortunately, as we near the midpoint of the Liberal mandate, when it comes to air travel, the minister of Transport has very little to show.

Kellie Block is the Conservative MP for Carleton Trail-Eagle Creek, Sask., and her party's Transport critic.

The Hill Times

Aviation Policy Briefing

VOX POPULI ON AVIATION

What the industry advocates and experts have to say about the Canadian aviation sector.

Daniel Robert-Gooch, president of the Canadian Airports Council, addressing the House Finance Committee on Sept. 29, 2016

“Air travel is essential in a country such as Canada. The number of passengers using Canada’s airports has jumped 27 per cent since the economic slowdown in 2009. Although airports are making strategic infrastructure investments to meet this demand, they are being stymied by wait times at pre-board screening checkpoints at Canada’s largest airports, as well as increasingly by CBSA [the Canadian Border Services Agency] at our air borders.

“At peak travel times, passengers can wait more than an hour to get through security at our largest airports. While the rest of the world is setting service standards and applying innovation and a risk-based approach to security, Canada is falling short. This is why we are calling on the government to establish a service standard, so that most passengers will be screened in under 10 minutes, as well as a more nimble funding mechanism for CATSA [Canadian Air Transport Security Authority].”

Transport Minister Marc Garneau speaking to the Chamber of Commerce of Metropolitan Montreal on Nov. 3, 2016

“When it comes to air travel, security is paramount and will remain so. Everyone understands the imperative to protect travellers in an age of heightened risk. But no one enjoys being delayed at airport security. Long lineups at screening checkpoints should be the exception, but that is not the case. Too many Canadians are waiting too long.

“We need to do better. By comparison, our competitor countries are doing better. Wait times in Germany, France, and Belgium range between 90 and 95 per cent of passengers waiting 10 minutes or less. We will work to set internationally competitive targets, allowing Canada’s airports to keep up with hubs in other countries.

“To improve security screening, we will have to look at innovations, at new equipment and technology. We will also look at CATSA governance. Can we make it more accountable to a service standard and its funding more responsive and sustainable? Ultimately, we want to move more people, faster,

through airport screening using new technologies and new methods, whilst improving the quality of screening.”

Review of the Canada Transportation Act led by ex-cabinet minister David Emerson, tabled in December 2015

“Presently, Canada’s air transport system may be in the best shape that it has ever been. The largest airlines boast renewed fleets, record profits and aggressive growth strategies; the quality of our airport and air navigation infrastructure is among the best in the world; and traffic continues to grow faster than the economy. But low fuel prices may be masking a number of underlying issues, and emerging challenges on the horizon threaten the sustainability of the Canadian air sector’s current success.

“Despite the importance of air travel to Canada, it is increasingly difficult for our air transport system to remain globally competitive, due to geography, population density, and federal policies that inhibit growth. Not much can be done about the first two, but policies that, in today’s context, no longer serve national interests should be revisited.”

Jerry Dias, president of Unifor, Canada’s largest private sector union, to the House Transport Committee on April 7

“Our members working at airports are increasingly facing low wages and insecure work. This is a well-documented phenomenon that is increasingly receiving attention from the press.

“As employment quality in Canada’s airports continues to erode, our air transportation system faces increased potential for safety breaches and workplace accidents.”

Massimo Bergamini, president and CEO of the National Airlines Council of Canada, in response to Budget 2017, March 22

“After weeks of speculation around the government’s intentions on airport privatization, and after recent leaks suggest privatization is still very much in play, Canadians remain in the dark. Our organization has opposed for-profit-privatization of Canada’s airports, not on ideological grounds, but because it would result in higher fees for travellers and airlines.

“As the Australian consumer protection agency reported two weeks ago, privatization in that country has resulted in massive increases in costs for airlines and travellers alike. Much like in Australia, in a country as vast and sparsely populated as our own, whether it is to seek out job opportunities or connect with loved ones, for many, air travel is the only option.

“The government’s decision to keep privatization on the table distracts from the real issues and delays needed action to fix Canada’s non-competitive air transport cost structure and policy framework.”

Conservative finance critic Gérard Deltell on selling off Canadian airports during a press scrum March 8

“We all recognize that now the credit card are full thanks to the Liberal government, and now they’re trying to sell the furniture to pay the credit card. This is the wrong way to play ... and this is the Liberal way.”

Conservative leadership candidate Maxime Bernier in a press release Aug. 3, 2016

“Many Canadians do not fly, or rarely do, because they find it too expensive. Many others cross the border and fly from an American airport because it’s cheaper there. To tolerate such a situation is to show disrespect to Canadian consumers.”

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News Marijuana Legislation

VOX POPULI

on marijuana legalization

Greg MacEachern
Senior vice-president at
Environics Communications

—interview with *The Hill Times*, April 19



"The challenge may be for the [next] election, where this is in terms of implementation and roll-out, and sometimes in the early days—whether it's the Affordable Care Act in the United States, or the Phoenix pay system—sometimes new systems do not roll out perfectly."

Will Stewart
Managing partner
at Navigator Ltd.

—interview with *The Hill Times*, April 19

"At the end of the day, I think the bill that we've seen will pass relatively unchanged through the House. I think the big risk here for this bill is in the Senate and all the uncertainties that come with the independent Liberals of the Senate, the Independent Senators, and the Conservative Senators that still make up a huge block of votes in the Senate. That's where a huge amount of the uncertainty will be for this piece of legislation."



Ralph Goodale
Public Safety minister

—CTV *Power Play*, April 13



"They of course have experience in the United States where states have legalized cannabis. The federal law is still prohibition. But one of the cases we'll be making to the Americans is that our approach, we think, will be more effective in keeping kids safe and cutting off the cash to organized crime."

Jane Philpott,
Health minister

—CTV *Power Play*, April 13

"There are a whole range of substances in this country that are legal to use, including tobacco and alcohol, that have tremendous risks associated with them, and so we are taking a public health and public education focus and we'll have a strong emphasis of making sure Canadians are aware of the potential risks."



Andrew Coyne
National Post columnist

—CBC's *At Issue*, April 13



"Unless and until we see the consequences of this, it is hard to know exactly how it will play out politically at the federal level. If it does get into place and we start seeing all kinds of negative impacts—people are freaked out by seeing people being able to buy pot across the counter in a store—that is one of the implications of this, then maybe people who had not thought about this clearly will recoil."

Chantal Hébert
The Toronto Star columnist

—CBC's *At Issue*, April 13



"What is really important on this is that Ontario and Quebec have decided to walk in tandem on this. ... I suspect other provinces will see merits in trying to harmonize their regulations and their rules with their neighbours."

"I don't think there is much of an upside. I don't think that a lot of—despite the perception—I don't think that the majority of the young people who voted for the Liberals were sitting on the edge of their seats waiting for this."

Stephen Maher
iPolitics editor and columnist

April 20

"Our blue-ribbon commentators should all do some research today on the lawn on Parliament Hill, where marijuana enthusiasts will gather to mark 4/20, an annual celebration of cannabis. Many people enjoy smoking marijuana, just as others like to drink beer. It is ridiculous that it was ever illegal, and sensible people should nod with approval that the Liberals are about to end a stupid chapter in our history."



Michael Cooper
Conservative MP

—CTV *Power Play*, April 13



"This government, instead of putting the health and safety of Canadians first, decided to put politics first today with a rushed and arbitrary timeline to legalize marijuana. Quite frankly, based upon what came out of today, there are more questions than answers."

"What we saw today is what Justin Trudeau always likes to do, which is to take the easy way out, to say he kept an election promise, and meanwhile say to the provinces and municipalities, 'You do the hard work, and by the way, you pick up the tab.'"

Rachel Blaney
NDP MP

—CTV *Power Play*, April 13

"Decriminalization is such an important step. ... When we have a prime minister who stood up in the House of Commons and announced that since he had become an MP he has used this substance, to say I'm good with that but I don't care about your criminal record, the implications it will have on your life, how that will change your ability to travel and to do the things you need to do in your future, just shows a total lack of understanding of what really needs to happen today."



Marijuana legalization presents potential political risks and gains for Liberals, say political insiders

One the one hand, the Liberals are keeping a key election promise, but much will depend on what the reality of legalized marijuana looks like.

Continued from page 1

around impaired driving laws.

"At the end of the day, I think the bill that we've seen will pass relatively unchanged through the House. I think the big risk here of this bill is in the Senate and all the uncertainties that come with the independent Liberals of the Senate, the Independent Senators, and the Conservative Senators that still make up a huge block of votes in the Senate. That's where a huge amount of uncertainty will be for this piece of legislation," said Mr. Stewart.

Several sources *The Hill Times* spoke with pointed to legalized marijuana as part of a progressive Liberal election platform that brought in a new group of young voters into the electoral process for the first time, who will be key to the party's continued success.

However, Mr. Stewart and others pointed out that legalized pot might not be embraced by many new and first-generation Canadians, where the Liberals also found a lot of support in the 2015 election.

"We know that some of the cultural communities are certainly a little bit more conservative in their outlook on this, but if you ask someone from the same cultural community who was born here or raised here how they feel about it, they might be just as happy to light up a joint as anybody else," said Angus Reid Institute executive director Shachi Kurl.

And by the time the October 2019 election rolls around, Canadians will be able to judge the reality of legalized marijuana, not just the idea.

"Whether it's the Affordable Care Act in the United States or the Phoenix pay system, sometimes new systems do not roll out perfectly," said Greg MacEachern, a former Liberal Hill staffer and senior vice-president of Environics Communications.

Liberal MP Bill Blair (Scarborough Southwest, Ont.), a former police chief who is also the lead federal political player on the legalization of marijuana as parliamentary secretary to the Justice minister, told *The Hill Times* that there's "a lot of work to do in bringing about these changes and doing it right."

He added that the target date for implementation—July 1, 2018—is attainable.

"The fact that there may be political risk in this I think is superseded by the fact that we need to do a better job of protecting our kids and we need to do a better job of keeping our communities safe. ... So a certain amount of political risk is acceptable. I think that's what Canadians expect of us in order to do what's right," he said.



A cannabis enthusiast pictured enjoying 4/20 on the Hill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

On April 13, the government introduced two pieces of legislation in its effort to legalize marijuana. The first, Bill C-45, otherwise known as the Cannabis Act, creates a legal framework controlling the production, distribution, possession, safety standards, and sale of marijuana that would allow adults in Canada to legally possess and use small amounts of recreational marijuana from licensed providers. It also creates new Criminal Code offences—in some cases punishable by up to 14 years in prison—for selling or giving marijuana to minors, though there will be no criminal offence for

youth who possess small amounts of legal pot. It would allow adults to possess up to 30 grams and grow up to four plants at home.

The second bill, Bill C-46, or An Act to amend the Criminal Code (offences relating to conveyances), revamps Canada's current impaired driving laws to make it illegal to drive within two hours of having had an illegal level of intoxicants in your blood, and gives law enforcement new powers to request roadside tests for intoxication.

The plan to legalize and regulate recreational marijuana in Canada is one of the most significant public policy changes pursued by a federal government in recent memory, said Mr. MacEachern.

"We're the second country to do this [after Uruguay] but really the first major government to introduce this. This is brand-new territory," he said.

Mr. MacEachern called the announcement of the marijuana legislation "one of the government's best days thus far in 2017. It showed a government calm and in control of a major policy shift."

He said the government appears to be "erring on the side of caution and trying to establish that this was a very thoughtful process and one that they didn't take lightly."

He noted the government's choice of wording, discussing "strict control" and "risks" associated, is seemingly aimed at those who aren't so sure about it.

Joe Jordan, a former Liberal MP and senior associate at Bluesky Strategy Group, said there were two ways the Liberals could have played this—coming out in tie-dye T-shirts or in Mountie uniforms, "and they went with the Mountie uniform."

"They were clearly putting a fence around this to alleviate fears that the country was going to turn into one great big Woodstock concert," he said, adding that the message was received that it's not going to be a "free for all."

"This is a winner for them. I don't think there is any political risk in it at all. ... I think they're on solid ground there," said Mr. Jordan, a former Liberal MP.

According to polling data released by Angus Reid on April 20, 63 per cent of Canadians surveyed said they favour of the marijuana legalization legislation, which shows a growing shift in public support for legalized marijuana. In 2001, polls showed less than half of Canadians agreed with recreational pot being legal. But even now, 31 per cent of respondent said cannabis legalization is a bad idea.

Angus Reid's Ms. Kurl said the Liberals have likely scored a win on this with younger voters by keeping a key election promise, but there's risk in being "able to competently manage what is going to be a really big transition in how law enforcement, how the legal system, how society adapts to and transitions to this new reality."

The recent poll numbers showed that people aged 18 to 34 and British Columbians were the most supportive of the bill, while Quebecers and people aged 55 years and up are the least on-board. The research also found that large majorities in Saskatchewan, Ontario, Quebec, and Atlantic Canada feel age restrictions should be higher than the proposed federal minimum of 18.

Continued on page 27



Health Minister Jane Philpott, Liberal MP and parliamentary secretary Bill Blair, Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale, Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould are the lead political players on the legalization of marijuana. *The Hill Times* photographs by Jake Wright

Continued from page 26

As well, 66 per cent of people surveyed said they don't think the legalization plan will stop young people from using.

Blair continuing as frontman, Wilson-Raybould, Philpott, Goodale to work in lockstep

Sources said Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould (Vancouver Granville, B.C.) and her department took the lead on drafting the legislation, and she will continue to take the lead on it, including fielding questions in the House. Mr. Blair will continue to be the public-facing lead for the Liberals on this public policy issue.

Already Mr. Blair has travelled across Canada to meet with senior provincial and territorial officials, police and fire chiefs, bylaw enforcement, and public health officials, among others. He said he expects many departments to have officials get involved in the ongoing talks, including Global Affairs, Finance Canada, Labour, and the regional development agencies.

"All of them will have issues that will need to be addressed," Mr. Blair said.

Health Minister Jane Philpott (Markham-Souffville, Ont.) and Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Minister Ralph Goodale (Regina-Wascana, Sask.) also have ongoing roles to play alongside their Justice counterparts in shepherding the bill through cabinet and caucus.

Health Canada has set up a Secretariat for Cannabis Legalization and Regulation that will be leading the process at that department. As well, this year's federal budget earmarked \$9.6-million over five years for a public-education and awareness campaign on marijuana.

Ms. Philpott is expected to answer health-centered questions on Bill C-45. Mr. Goodale will be concerning himself primarily with the border questions related to the new regime and how the U.S. administration will deal with Canadian travellers. It will continue to be illegal to transport marijuana over the border.

Mr. Blair said the biggest challenge will be getting the provinces and territories all on board and on the same or similar pages when it comes to the regulatory frameworks.

"Each of the regions have different perspectives and priorities with respect to this issue ... and so working within that is a challenge," he said. "But I think it's an appropriate challenge and we're committed to doing it right."

Mr. Blair said a considerable amount of discussion has taken place with the senior levels of government in the provinces and territories, and this will continue.

With so much left to be determined, it's expected that lobbying of provincial governments by marijuana producers will spike.

Global Public Affairs' Darrell Dexter, the former Nova Scotia premier who is leading the firm's cannabis service, told *The Hill Times* that the federal government's approach is generally in line with what the industry wants, and said he thinks completing the process by the government's intended timeline is doable.

"There will be some rough edges in the legislation that will need to be sanded off through the process, and that's entirely normal," Mr. Dexter said.

Mr. Stewart said his sense is that plans at the provincial levels are "more robust" than what those governments are "letting on in the press."

For provinces with elections set to take place between now and July 2018, including Ontario and British Columbia, Mr. MacEachern said he expects they'll wait until the election is passed to move on regulation plans.

If provinces and territories don't have a retail framework for recreational marijuana in place by the time legalization takes effect, the federal law sets it up so that consumers from those places can buy it through a mail system similar to the one used for medical marijuana.

Red Chamber is where the 'big risks' lie

With a majority in the House of Commons, the government's biggest challenge getting it through won't be with MPs, but rather with the Senate, insiders said.

Mr. Blair said both Bill C-45 and C-46 are priority bills and he'll be advocating for early progress on them. But he said it's difficult to predict how far they'll get before June, when the House is scheduled to rise for the summer.

Mr. Stewart raised the possibility the government will prorogue Parliament this summer, as has been speculated. He said it "makes a lot of

sense," politically, to do so halfway through a mandate. But he added it would kill the legislation and probably make it "impossible to hit the July 2018 timeline."

Whether or not prorogation this summer would hobble marijuana legalization efforts would likely depend on how far legislation gets in the House by the end of the June session, with a maximum of seven sitting weeks to go. If it doesn't get past second reading, reintroduction would likely be less of a setback. As has been done in the past, the House could give unanimous consent to reinstate a bill in the new session at the same stage it was at before prorogation.

Mr. Stewart said he expects the bills to make it to the Senate "relatively unchanged." He said the Red Chamber is where the "big risks" lie, and where the most lobbying effect could still be had.

"With the independent Liberals of the Senate, the Independent Senators, the Conservative Senators that still make up a huge block of votes in the Senate, that's where a huge amount of the uncertainty will be," said Mr. Stewart.

It's expected the directors of parliamentary affairs for each of the ministers involved will also be making efforts to engage with Senators individually.

Mr. Blair said there's a "good understanding" from the Parliamentarians he's spoken with that they "can't delay unnecessarily."

Sources say there has been no negative reaction to the marijuana legislation from within the Liberal caucus, and that what was announced wouldn't have been a surprise to anyone who had been speaking with Mr. Blair in the lead-up to the bill's tabling, or who had read the Task Force on Cannabis Legalization and Regulation's report.

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The Hill Times



Another cannabis enthusiast pictured on the Hill on 4/20. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT'S MARIJUANA LEGISLATION

A handy explainer of the Liberal government's new marijuana laws and impaired driving changes.

What is allowed under new Cannabis Act for Canadians aged 18 and up?

- Up to 30 grams of legal weed in public
- Sharing of 30 grams amongst adults
- Purchasing from a licensed retailer
- Dried, fresh cannabis, and cannabis oil (edibles coming later)
- Up to four plants as high 100 centimetres per residence
- Making edible cannabis products at home

What isn't allowed under new Cannabis Act for Canadians aged 18 and up?

- Illegal distribution or sale (tickets for small amounts, up to 14 years in jail for larger)
- Possession over the limit (tickets for small amounts, up to five years less a day in jail for more)
- Giving or selling to youth or using them to commit an offence (up to 14 years in jail)
- Taking marijuana across international borders (up to 14 years in jail)
- Driving while impaired by a drug, or within two hours of having illegal levels in your blood (\$1,000 fine up to life in jail for dangerous driving causing death)
- Production of pot over limit at home or with dangerous materials (tickets for small amounts, up to 14 years in jail for larger)

Other restrictions aimed at protecting youth

- Products/packaging appealing to young people
- Selling marijuana through self-serve displays or machines
- Promoting cannabis anywhere a youth might see it

Roles and responsibilities for legalizing marijuana

Federal Government:

- Establishing parameters for regulated adult access
- Creating criminal penalties for those operating outside legal system
- Setting industry standards and rules for packaging, potency, etc.
- Instituting federal licensing regime
- Setting minimum provincial and territorial conditions
- Enforcing law at the Canada-U.S. border
- Bring act into force no later than July 1, 2018

Provincial and Territorial Government:

- Authorizing distribution and sale
- Enacting additional rules for home-growing, consumption
- Able to increase minimum age and lower possession limit
- Creating inspection regime

Changes to impaired driving laws:

- Roadside oral fluid screeners
- Police can demand drivers provide a saliva sample if they are suspected of having drugs in their system
- Once reasonable grounds established, could demand a blood sample

Drug-impaired driving

- Create three new offences for having specified levels of intoxicants within two hours of driving, levels for which will be set in regulations:
 - Between two and five nanograms (ng) of THC: Maximum fine of \$1,000
 - Five ng or more of THC: A hybrid offence—mandatory penalty \$1,000 for first offence and scaling up to various amounts of jail time for subsequent offences.
 - Combined THC and Alcohol: 50 milligrams of alcohol per 100 ml of blood and a THC level higher than 2.5 ng is also a hybrid offence

Transportation offence reforms

- Repeal and replaces all transportation offences related to impaired driving
- Allow mandatory roadside alcohol screening during lawful stops
- Increase certain maximum fines and penalties
- Facilitate investigation and proof of blood-alcohol concentration
- Eliminate defences that encourage risk-taking behaviour

Source: Government of Canada

News Conservative Leadership 2017

Quebec's 78 ridings 'extremely important' in Conservative leadership race, low membership numbers, easier to campaign in, lots of influence

Conservative Party members should elect a Quebecer to lead the party in the 2019 election which will help the party in winning more seats in Quebec, says former Conservative MP John Reynolds.

BY ABBAS RANA

Quebec's 78 ridings will be "extremely important" in the outcome of the May 27 Conservative Party leadership race, say Conservatives.

The ridings have low membership numbers, which make it easier to campaign in, but also have lots of influence compared to ridings in Western Canada and major urban centres where each electoral district association (EDA) could have more than a thousand members, say Conservatives.

"Many of the Quebec ridings have low membership totals, and therefore a very small amount of people in certain ridings can have an extremely high degree of influence over the entire race," said Conservative MP Tom Lukiwski (Moose Jaw-Lake Centre-Lanigan, Sask.) in an interview last week.

Regardless of riding association membership numbers, all 338 ridings across the country are weighted equally in the leadership contest and have 100 points each, with the total 33,800 points up for grabs. The winner will need at least 16,901 points, or 50 per cent plus one of the available points.

Using an example to explain his point, Mr. Lukiwski, who is supporting Conservative MP Andrew Scheer's (Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask.) campaign, said if a riding association in Quebec has 30 members and all vote in the leadership election, a candidate needs the support of only 24 to receive 80 of 100 points. In comparison, if a riding has 1,000 members in Alberta, a leadership candidate will require the support of 800 members to receive the same 80 per cent support.

"I would use the term extremely important, there're 78 ridings," said Mr. Lukiwski who was first elected in 2004, and has been elected in every election since. "So, from a percentage basis, that's a fairly high percentage of EDAs in one province of the country."

Mr. Lukiwski said most of the 14 leadership candidates are spending a "fair amount of time" in Quebec because of the potential reward with low investment of resources and effort.

Another leadership candidate and some top supporters of other campaigns echoed Mr. Lukiwski's views. They spoke to *The Hill Times* in not-for-attribution based interviews because they said they wanted to avoid any potential negative perception that their campaigns are focusing more strategically on Quebec.

Following the March 28 deadline to sign up new members, the Conservative Party is currently reviewing and compiling the membership lists. The final numbers are expected to be announced by the end of this week. Traditionally, the Conservative Party has had low membership numbers in Quebec compared to Western Canada, such as Alberta, which is the bedrock of the party base.

In the last election, the Conservatives won only 12 of the 78 seats in Quebec. In the 2011



Conservative leadership candidates Chris Alexander, Maxime Bernier, Andrew Scheer, and Erin O'toole. To elect their new leader, the Conservative Party members will start to receive their mail-in ballots after April 28. The Conservative Party leadership convention is taking place on May 27 in Toronto. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

election, the Conservatives won a majority government, but carried only five of the 75 seats. Following the 2011 election, Quebec's total number of seats was boosted to 78 because of the redistribution of electoral boundaries every 10 years to reflect the population changes across the country.

Since March 28, some leadership campaigns publicly released membership numbers for their campaigns. Businessman and reality TV star Kevin O'Leary said he signed up 33,366 members; Conservative MP Michael Chong (Wellington-Halton Hills, Ont.) 17,000; Conservative MP Kellie Leitch (Simcoe-Grey, Ont.) 30,000; and Conservative MP Lisa Raitt (Milton, Ont.) 10,600. Conservative MP Maxime Bernier's (Beauce, Que.) campaign would not provide his numbers, but said the campaign was able to match Mr. O'Leary's. Mr. Bernier and Mr. O'Leary are considered the two front-runners. Other campaigns did not release their membership numbers.

At the time of the merger of the PC and Canadian Alliance parties in 2003, both parties agreed that for leadership conventions, all EDAs will have an equal 100 points each, no matter how many members a riding association has. This measure was taken to ensure that no one geographical region or one wing of the party would have advantage in electing future leaders of the party. Since the merger, next month's convention will be the second time the party has elected a leader.

Quebec has the highest number of federal ridings in the country after Ontario, which has 121. The four Atlantic provinces have a combined total of 32 seats and Quebec has more seats than the combined total of Manitoba (14), Saskatchewan (14) and Alberta (34). The three provinces have 62 seats in total. British Columbia has 42 seats.

For the May 27 leadership convention in Toronto, party members can vote using one of three methods: mail-in their ballots; vote at a designated polling station in their region; or vote at the convention centre. Party members will start to receive their ballots after April 28.

The Conservative Party is using the preferential ballot system for the leadership contest in which paid card-carrying members who signed up with the party before March 28 will vote for up to 10 leadership candidates numerically, from their most to least preferred. The person with the least number of first-choice votes will be dropped after the first ballot. The lower-ranked choices on the eliminated candidates' ballots will be distributed among the other candidates and counted again. The process will be repeated until someone receives more than 50 per cent support.

Former Conservative MP John Reynolds, co-chairman of Mr. Bernier's campaign, agreed with the significance of Quebec ridings, and said his candidate is spending an "adequate" amount of time in the province. He said the Quebec MP is trying to reach out to all corners of the country to get as much support as he can. Mr. Reynolds pointed out that for candidates who are not fluent in French, it's tough to campaign in Quebec ridings where most people, especially in rural areas, speak only French.

"It's easier [to campaign in Quebec] for everybody," said Mr. Reynolds. "It's an equal thing if you go spend the time there. But, if you are a candidate who doesn't speak French, how are you going to a French-speaking riding where they don't speak English?"

Mr. Reynolds said if the Conservative Party chooses to elect a leader from Quebec it could help the party win the next federal election because the Conservatives would need to make significant gains in Quebec in 2019 and would have a better chance of doing so if someone from the province led the party, he said.

"They're [Quebec ridings] very significant, it's a large block of votes, and also it's very important for us to have a leader that can defeat Trudeau in Quebec in the next election," Mr. Reynolds said. "That's the key."

Other than Mr. Bernier, Conservative MP Steven Blaney (Bellevue-Les Échecs-Lévis, Que.) is the only other candidate from Quebec, but is considered a long shot in the contest.

Mr. Reynolds declined to say how much time Mr. Bernier is spending in Quebec or other provinces.

Conservative MP Deepak Obhrai (Calgary Forest Lawn, Alta.), who was campaigning for his leadership in Quebec last week, also agreed with the significance of Quebec ridings, but also said all ridings are equal and that he's been campaigning in other regions of the country as well. He said he's not fluent in French, but that every time he goes to Quebec, it gives him an opportunity to improve his French-language skills.

"Quebec is important, but so are other regions. Despite my shortcomings in the language, I still come here and it gives me an opportunity to learn French," said Mr. Obhrai, who also declined to say how many days would he spend in Quebec, or which ridings he was going to campaign in. He said he doesn't want to provide information to his opponents about his campaign strategy.

Former Conservative Senator Marjory LeBreton, who is supporting Mr. O'Leary's campaign, said the businessman is campaigning in different regions of the country. She said Mr. O'Leary has a team of organizers in Quebec, but declined to share details.

"He dispersed his time pretty evenly across the country," Ms. LeBreton said. "He's been into Quebec several times."

Rookie Conservative MP Gérard Deltell (Louis-Saint-Laurent, Que.), who is supporting Conservative MP Erin O'Toole's (Durham, Ont.) campaign, described it as a "mathematical observation" that with low membership numbers, it's easier to campaign and win support in Quebec. He said Mr. O'Toole's campaign team is working in all provinces to get support for their candidate.

"This is a mathematical observation, but every member has the right to vote, and we [hope] that every member will vote," said Mr. Deltell.

"Quebec is always critical, but it's not more critical than other parts because all the members will have the right to vote. Technically, mathematically may be, but the reality is we must speak to everybody from coast to coast to coast and every member is important."

The Hill Times

Conservative leadership: who supports who

Sources: Media reports, The Hill Times archives, and candidate/supporter communications. Note: This list is limited to former and current political staffers, elected politicians, and candidates.
Compiled by Kristen Shane and Chelsea Nash



ERIN O'TOOLE
Harold Albrecht Conservative MP
Mel Arnold Conservative MP
James Bezan Conservative MP
John Brassard Conservative MP
Blaine Calkins Conservative MP
Colin Carrie Conservative MP
Michael Cooper Conservative MP
G rard Deltell Conservative MP
Kerry Diotte Conservative MP
Todd Doherty Conservative MP
Jim Eglinski Conservative MP
Ed Fast Conservative MP
Randy Hoback Conservative MP
Robert Kitchen Conservative MP
Ron Liepert Conservative MP
Larry Maguire Conservative MP
Kelly McCauley Conservative MP
Cathy McLeod Conservative MP
Blake Richards Conservative MP
Jamie Schmale Conservative MP
Martin Shields Conservative MP
Bev Shipley Conservative MP
Robert Sopuck Conservative MP
Karen Vecchio Conservative MP
Dianne Watts Conservative MP
Kevin Waugh Conservative MP
Nancy Greene Raine Conservative Senator
Bob Runciman Conservative Senator
Ron Atkey former Conservative minister
Diane Ablonczy former Conservative MP
Laurie Hawn former Conservative MP
Ed Holder former Conservative MP
Randy Kamp former Conservative MP
Gerald Keddy former Conservative MP
Wladyslaw Lizon former Conservative MP
Barbara McDougall former Conservative minister
Ted Opitz former Conservative MP
Bernard Trottier former Conservative MP
David Wilks former Conservative MP
John Hamm former Progressive Conservative Nova Scotia premier
Bob Bailey Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Jamie Baillie Nova Scotia MLA, leader of Progressive Conservative Party of Nova Scotia
Lorne Coe Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Vic Fedeli Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Michael Harris Ontario MPP
Stacey Hassard Yukon Party MLA
Wade Istchenko Yukon Party MLA
Scott Kent Yukon Party MLA
Brian Macdonald New Brunswick Progressive Conservative MLA
Norm Miller Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Rick Nicholls Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Randy Pettapiece Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Laurie Scott Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Lisa Thompson Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Bill Walker Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
John Yakabuski Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Kelly Elliott Thames Centre, Ont. councillor
Jody Mitic Ottawa city councillor
Dave Myette Saugeen Shores, Ont. councillor
Dave Boushy former Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Frank Klees former Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Michelle Branch former Bathurst, N.B. councillor
Brad Vis Conservative staffer
Daniel Lindsay former Conservative leadership candidate
Fred DeLorey former Conservative candidate and staffer
James Dodds former chief financial officer for the federal Progressive Conservative Party
John MacDonald former Conservative chief of staff
Dan Mader former Conservative chief of staff
Tausha Michaud Hill staffer
Mike Murray former Conservative staffer, candidate
Dave Pierce former Conservative staffer



KELLIE LEITCH
Ben Lobb Conservative MP
Peter Van Loan Conservative MP
David Yurdiga Conservative MP
Bob Dechert former Conservative MP
Consiglio Di Nino former Conservative Senator
David Artemiw former Progressive Conservative Queen's Park staffer
Trent Blanchette former Conservative staffer
Richard Ciano principal at Campaign Research, former Ontario Progressive Conservative party president
Michael Diamond director of operations for ex-Toronto mayor Rob Ford, Manitoba Progressive Conservative caucus staffer
Tannis Drysdale former northern VP for the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party
Jan Dymond former political staffer
Stephanie Gawur constituency assistant
Sander Grieve former Progressive Conservative Hill staffer
Stanley Hartt former chief of staff to prime minister Brian Mulroney
Nick Kouvalis former chief of staff to Toronto mayor Rob Ford, principal at Campaign Research
Dany Renauld former federal Progressive Conservative Party organizer in Quebec
John Simcoe chief financial officer, Ontario PC Fund
Mitch Wexler voter-data expert and a principal at Politrain Consulting



MAXIME BERNIER
Dan Albas Conservative MP
Alupa Clarke Conservative MP
Tony Clement Conservative MP
Jacques Gourde Conservative MP
Tom Kmiec Conservative MP
Alex Nuttall Conservative MP
Lynn Beyak Conservative Senator
Claude Carignan Conservative Senator
Nicole Eaton Conservative Senator
Stephen Greene Conservative Senator
Leo Housakos Conservative Senator
Michael MacDonald Conservative Senator
Ghislain Maltais Conservative Senator
Thanh Hai Ngo Conservative Senator
Kelvin Ogilvie Conservative Senator
Larry Smith Conservative Senator
Leela Aheer Alberta Wildrose MLA
Scott Cyr Alberta Wildrose MLA
Mike Ellis Alberta Progressive Conservative MLA
Derek Fildebrandt Alberta Wildrose MLA
Steven Fletcher Manitoba PC MLA, ex-federal Conservative cabinet minister
Don MacIntyre Alberta Wildrose MLA
Jason Nixon Alberta Wildrose MLA
Angela Pitt Alberta Wildrose MLA
Laura Ross Saskatchewan Party MLA
Rick Strankman Alberta Wildrose MLA
Wes Taylor Alberta Wildrose MLA
Rick Casson former Conservative MP
Russ Hiebert former Conservative MP
Jay Hill former Conservative whip and House leader
Ryan Leef former Conservative MP
Gary Lunn former Conservative minister
Joe Oliver former Conservative minister
Pat Perkins former Conservative MP
John Reynolds former Conservative MP and B.C. MLA
Brian Storseth former Conservative MP
Lawrence Toet former Conservative MP
Gerry Weiner former Progressive Conservative federal minister
Michel Rivard former Conservative Senator
George Richardson former Canadian Alliance party president
Kevin Falcon former B.C. Liberal MLA
Heather Forsyth former Alberta MLA and Wildrose Party interim leader
John Hastings former Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Fred Bamber councillor, municipal district of Bonnyville no. 87, Alberta
Matt Whitman deputy mayor of Halifax
Babu Nagalingam senior adviser to the Ontario Progressive Conservative leader
Jeff Callaway former Alberta Wildrose Party candidate, current party president
Nathan Giede columnist, former B.C. Conservative party candidate
Marie-Claude Godue former federal Conservative candidate
Phil Green former Conservative candidate
Adam Richardson former Canadian Alliance candidate and staffer
Robert Strickland former Conservative candidate
Steven Barrett former Conservative staffer
 ric Duhaime newspaper columnist, former Canadian Alliance adviser
Aaron Gairdner former Conservative staffer
Emrys Graefe deputy director for the Conservative Party's 2015 campaign
Maxime Hup  former Hill staffer
Mark Johnson former Conservative staffer
Leif Malling former Conservative staffer
Tony Oliver former vice president of the Progressive Conservative Party of Newfoundland
Dan Robertson former Conservative staffer
Kory Teneycke former Conservative staffer
Dean Tester former Conservative staffer
Mark Whiffen past president of the Progressive Conservative Party of Newfoundland and Labrador



BRAD TROST
Leon Benoit former Conservative MP
Joseph Ben-Ami former operations director to Canadian Alliance leader Stockwell Day
Mike Patton former Conservative staffer



STEVEN BLANEY
Pierre-Hugues Boisvenu Conservative Senator
Jean-Guy Dagenais Conservative Senator
Daniel Gaudreau former federal Conservative candidate
Pierre-Luc Jean former Conservative staffer
Christophe Lavoie Hill staffer




CHRIS ALEXANDER
Yuri Shymko former Progressive Conservative MP and Ontario PC MPP
Alexandra Day former Conservative staffer
Paul Egli former Conservative nomination candidate



PIERRE LEMIEUX
Steve Outhouse former Conservative staffer



DEEPAK OBHRAI
Corneliu Chisu former Conservative MP
Joe Daniel former Conservative MP



MICHAEL CHONG
Peter Kent Conservative MP
David Tilson Conservative MP
Victor Oh Conservative Senator
Mike Wallace former Conservative MP
Terence Young former Conservative MP
Erminie Cohen former Progressive Conservative Senator
Ted Arnott Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Ted Chudleigh former Ontario PC MPP
Gary Mar former Alberta MLA, cabinet minister
John McDermid former Progressive Conservative MP, minister of state
R jean Savoie former New Brunswick MLA
Devin Baines Conservative staffer
Nathan Caranci Conservative staffer
Yaroslav Baran former Conservative staffer
Susan Elliott former PC national director
Catherine Keill former staffer to then-Alberta Progressive Conservative premier Jim Prentice and former Progressive Conservative MPs
Harry Near former PC national campaign director, adviser to PC leader Geoff Norquay former Conservative staffer
Chisholm Pothier former Conservative staffer
Bram Sepers former Conservative staffer
William Stairs former Conservative staffer
Adam Taylor former Conservative staffer
Peter White former principal secretary to Progressive Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney




KEVIN O'LEARY
Guy Lauzon Conservative MP
Len Webber Conservative MP
Percy Mockler Conservative Senator
David Wells Conservative Senator
Steve Clark Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP, deputy leader
Karla MacFarlane Nova Scotia Progressive Conservative MLA
Julian Fantino former Conservative MP
Ken Hughes former Progressive Conservative MP and Alberta PC MLA and minister
Tim Uppal former Conservative MP
Bernard Valcourt former Conservative MP
Marjory LeBreton former Conservative Senator
Mike Harris former Ontario Progressive Conservative premier
Rick Perkins former Conservative candidate
Erika Barootes former political staffer to the former Alberta PC government
Andrew Boddington former Ontario Progressive Conservative Party executive director
Erinn Broszko former federal Conservative candidate
Jim Burnett adviser to the Ontario PC Party leader
John Capobianco former federal Conservative candidate
Mike Coates former Conservative staffer, current Hill & Knowlton vice-chair
Erin Chutter former political staffer
Amanda Galbraith former Conservative staffer and spokesperson for Toronto Mayor John Tory
Ari. S. Laskin former Ontario PC staffer
Sara MacIntyre former Conservative staffer
Amy Mills former Conservative staffer
Peter McQuaid former party president of P.E.I. Progressive Conservatives
Naresh Raghubeer former aide to a former Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Patrick Robert former Conservative staffer
Chris Rougier former Conservative staffer
Doug Schweitzer former CEO of the Manitoba PC Party
Lesli Tomlin former Conservative staffer
Norm Vocino former Conservative staffer



LISA RAITT
Dean Allison Conservative MP
Phil McColeman Conservative MP
Bruce Stanton Conservative MP
Judith Seidman Conservative Senator
Scott Armstrong former Conservative MP
Keith Ashfield former Conservative minister
John Carmichael former Conservative MP
Rob Clarke former Conservative MP
Mary Collins former Progressive Conservative Minister
Kerry-Lynne Findlay former Conservative minister
Robert Goguen former Conservative MP
Gary Goodyear former Conservative minister of state
Dick Harris former Conservative MP
Ted Menzies former Conservative MP
Darrel Stinson former Conservative MP
Alfie MacLeod Nova Scotia PC MLA
Lisa MacLeod Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Eddie Orrell Nova Scotia PC MLA
Mike Cluett Halton regional councillor
Cecil Clarke mayor of Cape Breton Regional Municipality, former Conservative candidate
Gordon Krantz mayor of Milton, Ont.
Michel A. Plourde mayor of Danville, Que.
Keith Bain former Nova Scotia PC MLA
Currie Dixon former Yukon Party MLA
Phil Gillies former Ontario Progressive Conservative cabinet minister
Darrell Pasloski former Yukon premier
John Snobelen former Ontario Progressive Conservative MPP
Case Ootes former deputy mayor of Toronto
Henry Lau former Conservative Party candidate
Adam Rodgers former Conservative Party candidate
Andrew Brander Hill assistant to Ms. Raitt
Darell Fowlie former Newfoundland and Labrador Progressive Conservative staffer
Jessica Oliver former Conservative staffer
Jana Regimbal former Conservative staffer
Brooke Timpson former Conservative staffer



ANDREW SAXTON
John Duncan former Conservative MP
John Fraser former House Speaker and Progressive Conservative minister
No l Kinsella former Senate speaker and Conservative Senator
Elaine Allan former Conservative candidate
Paul Seear former Conservative staffer
Brock Stephenson former Conservative staffer



RICK PETERSON
Bill Clarke former Conservative MP
Jeff Bridge 2013 campaign manager for the B.C. Conservatives
Karen Mortfield former press secretary to a former Ontario Progressive Conservative leader
Mark Mullins former adviser to federal and Ontario PCs, former Fraser Institute director



ANDREW SCHEER
Ziad Aboultaif Conservative MP
David Anderson Conservative MP
John Barlow Conservative MP
Luc Berthold Conservative MP
Kelly Block Conservative MP
Sylvie Boucher Conservative MP
Ted Falk Conservative MP
Garnett Genuis Conservative MP
Marilyn Gladu Conservative MP
Matt Jeneroux Conservative MP
Tom Lukiwski Conservative MP
Pierre Paul-Hus Conservative MP
Alain Rayes Conservative MP
Scott Reid Conservative MP
Gerry Ritz Conservative MP
Bob Saroya Conservative MP
Kevin Sorenson Conservative MP
Mark Strahl Conservative MP
Shannon Stubbs Conservative MP
Arnold Viersen Conservative MP
Cathay Wagantall Conservative MP
Mark Warawa Conservative MP
Chris Warkentin Conservative MP
Bob Zimmer Conservative MP
Denise Batters Conservative Senator
Norman Doyle Conservative Senator
Dennis Patterson Conservative Senator
Don Plett Conservative Senator
Carolyn Stewart Olsen Conservative Senator
Scott Tannas Conservative Senator
David Tkachuk Conservative Senator
Betty Unger Conservative Senator
Garry Breitkreuz former Conservative MP
Paul Calandra former Conservative MP
Royal Galipeau former Conservative MP
Bal Gosal former Conservative MP
Bryan Hayes former Conservative MP
Costas Menegakis former Conservative MP
Tilly O'Neill-Gordon former Conservative MP
LaVar Payne former Conservative MP
Peter Penashue former Conservative minister
Kyle Seeback former Conservative MP
Devinder Shory former Conservative MP
Chuck Strahl former Conservative MP
Jeff Watson former Conservative MP
Wayne Anderson Alberta Wildrose MLA
Steven Bonk Saskatchewan Party MLA
Bill Boyd Saskatchewan Party MLA
Fred Bradshaw Saskatchewan Party MLA
Greg Brkich Saskatchewan Party MLA
Jennifer Campeau Saskatchewan Party MLA
Jeff Carr New Brunswick Progressive Conservative MLA
Lori Carr Saskatchewan Party MLA
Nathan Cooper Alberta Wildrose House leader and MLA
Herb Cox Saskatchewan Party MLA
Dan D'Autremont Saskatchewan Party MLA
Terry Dennis Saskatchewan Party MLA
Larry Duke Saskatchewan Party MLA
David Hanson Alberta Wildrose MLA
Larry Harrison Progressive Conservative Nova Scotia MLA
Jeremy Harrison Saskatchewan Party MLA
Warren Kaeding Saskatchewan Party MLA
Greg Lawrence Saskatchewan Party MLA
Don MacIntyre Alberta Wildrose MLA
Monte McNaughton Ontario PC MPP
Hugh Nerlien Saskatchewan Party MLA
Greg Ottenbreit Saskatchewan Party MLA
Kevin Phillips Saskatchewan Party MLA
Doug Steele Saskatchewan Party MLA
Warren Steinley Saskatchewan Party MLA
Lyle Stewart Saskatchewan Party MLA
Christine Tell Saskatchewan Party MLA
Carl Urquhart New Brunswick Progressive Conservative MLA
Glenn van Dijken Alberta Wildrose MLA
Randy Weekes Saskatchewan Party MLA
Shayne Saskiw former Alberta Wildrose MLA
Joan Baylis Conservative staffer
Kenzie Potter Conservative staffer
Nancy Bishay former Conservative staffer
Georganne Burke former Conservative Party outreach manager and organizer
Mike MacDonald former Conservative staffer
Hamish Marshall former Conservative PMO and party staffer
Marc-Andr  Leclerc former Conservative Party staffer
Stephen Taylor former Conservative nomination contestant, ex-director of the National Citizens Coalition

Feature Book Excerpt: Donner Prize Finalist

Dying in the shadows

Modern death has become a wrenching political dilemma, one that grows more pressing as the population ages. A Good Death confronts our fears about dying, our struggle for meaning, and our dread of being trapped by voracious medical technology in a nightmare world that has abandoned caring in pursuit of curing, no matter the cost or the suffering to patients and their families. A Good Death asks the tough question none of us can avoid: How do we want to die?

BY SANDRA MARTIN

By the early 1990s, there were bright-to-die organizations in more than two dozen countries with several hundred thousand paying members and tens of millions of unaffiliated believers, according to Richard N. Côté in his book, *In Search of Gentle Death: The Fight for Your Right to Die with Dignity*. “The self-deliverance genie had been freed from its bottle and had taken on a robust, self-sustaining life,” he writes. But opposition from religious, right to life, and disability groups as well as pro-life medical ethicists had also swelled, with sanctity-of-life proponents articulating fears of a slippery slope leading to Nazi-like atrocities against the weak, the vulnerable, and the elderly.

The problem for people who wanted “chosen” deaths was access. The terminally ill who were wealthy, well-connected, or daring could find the means to end their lives, but many others had no choice but to suffer it out. As Ronald Dworkin wrote in “Assisted Suicide: The Philosopher’s Brief” in the *New York Review of Books* in March 1997, “the current two-tier system—a chosen death and the end of pain outside the law for those with [medical] connections and stony refusals for most other people—is one of the greatest scandals of contemporary medical practice.”

Given the intransigence of politicians and medical associations to accommodate the wishes of a large part of the general public, Côté described how new technology that circumvented doctors was being developed by campaigners he called “euthanasia activists.” The late John Hofsess, founder of the Right to Die Society and the activist who helped Sue Rodriguez mount a legal and political campaign in favour of physician-assisted death in the early 1990s, was the most prominent Canadian in the underground death movement.

Deeply discouraged by the failure of the Rodriguez challenge at the Supreme Court, the Senate committee’s subsequent failure to recommend abolishing the law against assisted suicide, and Parliament’s intransigence in acting on the modest changes the Senate committee had proposed, Hofsess began shifting his emphasis. He morphed the Right to Die Society into an “overground” political action organization and

an “underground” service provider for people who had approached him privately for help in ending their lives. He began by producing and selling a nine-part series of booklets called “The Art and Science of Suicide” describing various “self-deliverance” methods, even offering plastic bags equipped with elastic in a sewn-on casing.

“I was definitely influenced by [Jack] Kevorkian,” the American pathologist known as Dr. Death, Hofsess told me in an email in July 2015. As a lay person, Hofsess had no access to prescription drugs, which also became true for Jack Kevorkian, after his medical licence was suspended in Michigan. That is why Kevorkian switched to a mixture of helium and carbon monoxide and later carbon monoxide on its own. There were also philosophical and practical differences between Hofsess and Kevorkian. Hofsess went to the client rather than expecting the client to come to him. One of the reasons that Rodriguez didn’t use Kevorkian for her assisted death in 1994, was that she was too sick to fly halfway across the continent. Another distinction was that Hofsess operated in secrecy, unlike Kevorkian, who “wanted attention not for his own gratification but for furthering ‘the crusade’—and didn’t mind in the least if his actions led to another prosecution.”

Between mid-1999 and late 2001, Hofsess and his assistant Evelyn Martens helped eight people die. The clients usually drank a potion containing the sedative Rohypnol, which made them unconscious. “It’s a perfect medication for an assisted death,” Hofsess told me in an email. Martens would apply a mask to the person’s face attached to a helium or debreather canister; once it was secured, Hofsess would turn on the gas. Death was quick and painless and very hard to detect by a doctor or a coroner.

Hofsess’s most famous client was the poet Al Purdy. He wrote Hofsess in April 1999 describing his ill health. He had had prostate surgery; subsequent X-rays had shown a shadow on his lung that was diagnosed as squamous carcinoma. The doctors wanted to operate, predicting they could remove the tumour and leave Purdy with 80 per cent lung capacity. Purdy wasn’t convinced. He believed that “the massive invasion of my body required for its removal would very

probably kill me,” given he had celebrated his eightieth birthday the previous December. Even if he survived the surgery, Purdy’s “various old age conditions” made him question whether his “quality of life” would be very elevated.”

On the evening of Thursday, April 20, 2000, a year after Purdy first wrote to Hofsess, the underground Right to Die Society team assembled at Purdy’s house and gave the poet a dose of Rohypnol diluted in a glass of Chilean wine. Once Purdy was unconscious, Hofsess and Martens put a plastic bag over his face, attached the collar and pumped in helium gas through a tube. Purdy died easily and Hofsess and Martens removed all traces of their visit.

Unbeknownst to Hofsess, Martens had begun freelancing as a death provider. In 2002, she was arrested and charged with two counts of assisting a suicide. Her home, which housed the Right to Die Society office, was raided. All of the organization’s records, books, and pamphlets were seized, and the covert death service, or as Hofsess liked to call it, the “underground railroad,” collapsed. Martens’s preliminary enquiry, held in Duncan, British Columbia, lasted eight months, from November 2002 to June 2003, followed by a criminal trial in October 2004. A jury acquitted the seventy-three-year-old woman on November 4. Martens never implicated Hofsess as a death supplier, but outside the court she declared her days with the right-to-die movement were over. She died in January 2011, just before her eightieth birthday.

As for Kevorkian, he continued to defy the medical profession and the law until he went a death too far in his defiance. Late in 1998, he provided the American television program *60 Minutes* with a film showing him performing euthanasia with a lethal injection to Thomas Youk, a fifty-two-year-old man in the end stages of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis. Youk was filmed on September 17, 1998, giving his informed consent before the procedure. Kevorkian, like Henry Morgentaler before him with respect to abortion, was daring the authorities to prosecute him.

And they did, charging him with first-degree murder. He was convicted and given a sentence of from ten to twenty-five years. He was released on compassionate grounds in June 2007, after eight years in prison, and died four years later of a pulmonary thrombosis. By then, euthanasia had been legalized in the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, and assisted suicide laws had been enacted in the U.S. states of Oregon and Washington.

Canada was a different story. Hofsess, who had insisted privately to me that he had been prepared to stand trial and go to prison for helping Purdy die, ended his life in a Swiss death clinic in February, 2016-- the very same day that he had arranged for Toronto Life magazine to publish his posthumous article on his role in the poet’s death. The absence

of a Morgentaler figure who was prepared to risk prosecution to change the law, the polarizing effect of the Robert Latimer case, in which the Saskatchewan farmer ended the life of his severely disabled and pain-wracked child, the emergence of palliative care as the medically approved approach to dying, and the lack of political will all helped stall the right to die movement in Canada.

Furthermore, the rigid regulatory grip exercised by provincial and territorial colleges of physicians and surgeons kept doctors on the approved side in the sanctity-of-life stakes. If they did help suffering patients, they did it in the shadows and kept mum about it afterwards. Those who openly helped patients die when they were in excruciating pain were often reported to the authorities by other members of the medical team. That’s what happened to respirologist Nancy Morrison, a staff physician at Queen Elizabeth II Hospital in Halifax, Nova Scotia, after the death of patient Paul Mills in November 1996.

Mills, a sixty-five-year-old who was suffering from terminal cancer of the esophagus, had a Do Not Resuscitate order on his chart. Antibiotics and tube feeding had been halted, and he had been removed from life support with his family’s consent. He was receiving palliative care, but he didn’t die easily. Despite massive doses of narcotics over an eight-hour period, he was gasping for breath and seemingly in great pain.

Finally, Morrison injected Mills with potassium chloride and nitroglycerine, two drugs with negligible value as painkillers but a known capacity to stop the heart from beating. She was subsequently charged with first-degree murder. At her preliminary enquiry, doubts were raised by her lawyers about the efficacy of the intravenous line that was supposedly delivering the narcotics to Mills. If the line was clogged, then how could the potassium chloride have reached the patient’s heart in order to kill him? That defence was accepted. Morrison wasn’t sent to trial, but she was reprimanded by the province’s College of Physicians and Surgeons for actions that were “inappropriate and outside the bounds of acceptable medical practice.”

And yet that kind of compassionate and interventionist medical aid in dying is precisely what some patients want, including renowned microbiologist Donald Low. In February 2013, one week after a brain scan revealed that he had a midbrain tumour, he began talking with his wife, medical journalist Maureen Taylor, about assisted dying. Even with Low’s connections in the international medical community, and despite his access to potent drugs, he died the death he feared: paralyzed, unable to communicate with his family, and sedated so that he could tolerate the intolerable.

The couple made a video before Low died so the renowned doctor could tell the medical profession that palliative care was fine as a service doctors provided to patients, but it wasn’t so hot when the roles were inverted and the doctor was the patient. “Why make people suffer for no reason, when there’s an alternative?” Low asks in the video. “A lot of clinicians have opposition to dying with dignity. I wish they could live in my body for



Sandra Martin’s book, *A Good Death: Making the Most of Our Final Choices*, is a 2016/17 Donner Prize Shortlist finalist, one five books picked as the best public policy book of the year. The \$50,000 winner will be announced on May 15 in Toronto.

twenty-four hours, and I think they would change that opinion.”

The video went viral when it was posted to the Internet on September 24, 2013, not only in the media but within the medical profession. Here was one of their most respected members delivering a poignant and public deathbed plea to his colleagues, urging them to think like patients, not doctors. It added an authoritative medical voice to a surging national debate that had reignited in both British Columbia with the Carter challenge to the law prohibiting physician-assisted death, and in Quebec, which had tabled its medical-aid-in-dying legislation in June 2013, three months before Low died.

The battle with doctors over the right of patients to have choices in end-of-life care was far from over, however. Listening to patients about how they want their lives to end is one of the least heralded and most significant instruments in any doctor’s black bag. Putting the interests of the patient first is a key lesson in achieving our final human right: choice in the manner and timing of our deaths.

Sandra Martin’s book, *A Good Death: Making the Most of Our Final Choices*, published by HarperCollins Publishers Ltd., is a 2016/17 Donner Prize Shortlist finalist, one five books picked as the best public policy book of the year. Ms. Martin, an award-winning journalist and broadcaster, writes the Long Goodbye column for *The Globe and Mail*. Her previous books include *Working the Dead Beat: 50 Lives that Changed Canada* and *The First Man in My Life: Daughters Write about Their Fathers*. Reprinted with permission from HarperCollins Publishers. The Donner Prize winner will be announced in Toronto on May 15. The winner will receive \$50,000. Each of the other winners receives \$7,500.

The Hill Times



A Good Death: Making the Most of Our Final Choices, by HarperCollins Publishers Ltd., 400 pp., \$27.99

Innovation and the budget: much policy left on the table

Following on the work of the Advisory Council on Economic Growth, the 2017 budget was long billed as the ‘Innovation Budget’. While the Trudeau government’s plans to boost innovation were said to have been trimmed somewhat by uncertainty surrounding the economic impact of the Trump presidency, the budget still contained innovation investment. Economist Jack Mintz breaks it down.



Jack M. Mintz

2017 budget

Economic growth per worker depends crucially on two factors: innovations adopted by entrepreneurs and investment. The 2017 federal budget is rightly focused on innovation. Last year, it was rightly focused on public infrastructure. Lacking in both budgets, however, is a plan to support entrepreneurship and private investment, which are both critical to the adoption of new innovations.

This lack of focus on the private sector seems rooted in a misperception of factors leading to growth. Ian Morris, in his acclaimed

book, *Why the West Rules—For Now*, shows that technology, often resulting from war-making demands, has been one of four major factors explaining economic growth since 14,000 BC. Others include energy capture, societal organization (eg. urbanization) and information technology/communication.

It is not just supply of innovators but also the demand for their ideas that matters. Demand depends on entrepreneurial businesses that put good ideas into profitable practice.

We know that Canada has many advantages relative to many countries—a relatively good infrastructure, political stability, good rule of law and a well-educated work force—but also several economic disadvantages. We have a small market (manufacturing and services tend to locate near large populations), a less dense labour pool and cold weather. To overcome these disadvantages, we have leveraged policies including free trade to access international markets, immigration policy to access a larger talent pool and business tax reform to improve competitiveness. These policies help contribute to a better innovation climate.

Yet something is still amiss. Canada’s growth has been less than stellar, with output per working hour still chugging along at roughly one per cent annually. Despite many good public policies adopted over the years, we have not doubled productivity growth rates that would match some high-performing countries.

While our performance relative to other Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development countries has improved since the 1990s when we were fourth-lowest, our relative ranking has improved only because of economic slowdowns in other countries since the 2008 financial crisis. Our productivity growth rate since 2011 has been better than the G7 average, but worse than the OECD average (see the table). It falls behind Ireland, resource-based Australia and Mexico although ahead of the United States and Norway.

In a recent paper published in Australia on tax reform, I showed that Canada’s private sector investment as share of GDP is far less than in most OECD countries in both manufacturing and services. Where we shine—the resource sector—we have witnessed plunging investment since 2014, especially in oil and gas and mining.

With improved prospects for our middle class over the years through better employ-

ment, new threats to Canadian livelihoods are on the horizon. Disruptive labour-saving technologies being adopted throughout the Western World are expected to put many workers out of work in the not-too-distant future.

The 2017 budget therefore stressed innovation at least in words. About \$1.5 billion per year of *new* and *redirected* money is spent on skills and innovation, with less than a fifth spent on innovation itself. The most important measures—in dollar terms over five years—include reformed labour market agreements with the provinces (\$2.075-billion), expanding Employment Insurance for more flexibility for families (\$886-million), innovation superclusters (\$950-million) and a new innovation fund (\$200-million).

While improving skilled training is a worthy objective, it is unlikely to add to innovative capacity that depends on more than the availability of skilled labour. Besides, much of skill training depends on the effectiveness of provincial educational and training programs, which are vastly larger than federal training programs such as those funded by Employment Insurance. In part this reflects our constitution—provinces jealously guard their role in education and object to federal intrusion.

The federal government does have an important role in funding university and college research. Yet, the granting agency core budgets are nominally frozen in the coming year. Some new funding is directed at targeted research programs. Overall, the budget comes up short.

With the roughly \$1.2-billion over five years with new or redirected funds for innovation, the funding is so low it would hardly budge long-term productivity rates. Even so, its logic is based on a faulty premise.

Taking advice from the Advisory Council on Economic Growth, the budget directs funds to “winning” sector clusters. Why such funding is needed is unclear since one would expect entrepreneurs in the private sector would be more than willing to amass the resources on their own to pursue profitable opportunities. The budget’s focus is on six sectors: advanced manufacturing, agri-food, clean technology, digital industries, bio-health and clean resources. While some initiatives may work well, it is far from clear that anyone can predict which sectors and companies will be successful within two decades. Government winner-picking strategies have been spotty at best. For example, Peter Lougheed’s diversification strategies largely failed in Alberta, as shown by Ted Morton and Meredith McDonald in a paper two years ago.

A decade from now, I suspect we won’t move the productivity rate one decimal point resulting from measures taken in this budget.

In my view, a better working model for innovation is for government to reduce the burden of taxes and regulations that make entrepreneurs less willing to implement new projects.

Some of the policies would encourage public-funded universities and colleges to connect better with the private sector



Finance Minister Bill Morneau, pictured March 22, 2017. The 2017 budget wisely avoided raising capital gains taxes. With potential U.S. tax, trade and regulatory reforms in 2017, it will likely be the case that the next budget will have more meaningful impact on innovation by reducing regulatory and tax barriers in Canada, not raise them. Let’s hope that will be the case. *The Hill Times photograph by Jake Wright*

to achieve commercialization of research ideas as currently done by the most successful global institutions. Typically, this would require regulatory changes to encourage a stronger connection between entrepreneurs and academics.

We also might want more health innovation but provincial health policies often get in the way (private medical innovators argue it is easier to export product than sell it in Canada). Procurement, for example, is focused on costs savings, not benefits, thereby reducing the demand for innovations.

Regulations based on old practices also make it more difficult for entrepreneurs to implement new processes and sell new products. Regulations also protect incumbents from market competition, reducing the incentive to innovate. It is not surprising that Canada is not at the forefront in world telecommunication markets with a regulated telecommunication sector protected from foreign competition.

Taxes can also impede innovation, especially capital gains taxes. Investors willing to invest in new projects must sell off underperforming assets but capital gains taxes discourage them from doing so. Governments looking to support venture capital unintentionally provide subsidies to poorly operated companies that crowd out better performing companies to raise capital from the market.

The 2017 budget wisely avoided raising capital gains taxes. With potential U.S. tax, trade and regulatory reforms in 2017, it will likely be the case that the next budget will have more meaningful impact on innovation by reducing regulatory and tax barriers in Canada, not raise them. Let’s hope that will be the case.

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THE HILL TIMES

News

West Block's interim House Chamber takes shape as Hill construction continues

Centre Block will be emptied in the summer of 2018, and is expected to be the 'largest heritage restoration project in Canada.'

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

PARLIAMENT HILL—The interim House of Commons Chamber being built in the West Block's courtyard is taking shape with concrete being poured to form the visitors' galleries and about 60 per cent of the glass roof now installed.

"The pouring of the gallery floor started Monday [April 17] and is scheduled for completion in the first week of May," Pierre-Alain Bujold, spokesperson for Public Services and Procurement Canada (PSPC), said in an email response to *The Hill Times*.

A steel frame for the viewing galleries is already in place, as are the large "tree trunk" steel columns supporting the freestanding glass-domed roof.

Along with pouring concrete for the gallery "floor structure," the department said next steps include installing lay lights and the catwalk that will connect the galleries surrounding the Chamber to the main building at the third floor level.

Canadian comedian Rick Mercer had the honour of installing the first piece of glass in the domed roof that tops the West Block building's courtyard on March 2, as documented on his CBC show, *The Rick Mercer Report*. Glass installation for the roof is now about 60 per cent completed, said Jean-François Létourneau, another Public Services spokesperson, with each piece weighing about 275 kilograms.

The glass-domed roof was chosen in part to maintain an outdoor feel in the old courtyard space, department officials have said, and will also help make the building more energy efficient.

While the glass roof won't be so clear as to allow MPs or other visitors to the House of Commons to cloud-watch from inside the Chamber, it will let in plenty of light—which previously raised concerns over glare interfering with the cameras that record House proceedings. As a result, shutters are being installed in between the layers of

glass to help control the Chamber lighting, and Mr. Létourneau said the installation of them would be complete by the end of July.

Under construction since February 2011, the West Block building's roughly \$863-million rehabilitation is nearing completion, with main construction on the building slated to finish this year. The glass-domed roof itself is estimated to make up \$115-million of total costs.

Next up on the renovation docket is the Centre Block building, which will be fully emptied during the 2018 summer sitting recess, at which time furniture for MP desks and "centre aisle furniture" from the current House of Commons Chamber will be moved into the interim Chamber being built in the West Block's courtyard, said Mr. Létourneau. The interim Chamber will be in use by the start of the 2018 fall session.



Workers pictured on March 17 installing glass on the new domed roof topping the West Block building's courtyard. Photograph courtesy of Public Services and Procurement Canada

Actual construction on Centre Block is slated to begin in 2019, and will take at least a decade to complete, though a detailed project time frame and costs have not yet been finalized.

"The renovation of the Centre Block, in scale, complexity, and time frame is expected to be the largest heritage restoration project in Canada," said Mr. Létourneau.

The overall renovation of the East Block building is set to follow Centre Block's.

By the time Centre Block is emptied in 2018, construction on the Hill will have cost roughly \$3-billion in all to date. Already, construction related to Parliament Hill's rehabilitation has been ongoing for more than a decade.

While work on Centre Block is underway, the West Block will serve as home to displaced House of Commons functions, including



New House Chamber Coming: The completed steel framing for the interim House of Commons Chamber, including the viewing galleries, is pictured in the West Block's courtyard on March 31. Concrete is currently being poured and installation of the glass-domed roof is ongoing, with protection put up (as shown) to allow work on the interim Chamber to continue at the same time. Photograph courtesy of Public Services and Procurement Canada

the prime minister's office, currently on the third floor of Centre Block, which will be relocated to former prime minister Alexander Mackenzie's old office in the Mackenzie Tower. Mr. Mackenzie was the second prime minister in Canadian history and the first Liberal one. The move will make Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) the second prime minister to ever have an office in the building.

Among other things, the building will also include a cabinet meeting room, offices for the various caucus House officers, the House Speaker's office, a cafeteria, a parliamentary restaurant, an interim Charles Lynch press theatre, and work space for the Parliamentary Press Gallery—along with 24 MP offices and four committee rooms, which are part of its future, permanent function.

At the same time, the Government Conference Centre (GCC) at 2 Rideau St. will serve as the interim home for the Senate, including its Chamber, Senate leadership offices, including for the Usher of the Black Rod, and more. The GCC has been under construction since 2014 and renovations are expected to cost \$219-million in all by the time they're completed in the summer of 2018. The total budget for the project is \$269-million, with \$50-million needed to cover other costs, including leasing nearby temporary office space for Senators and staff.

MPs' seats will be grouped in twos in the interim House Chamber in the West Block's courtyard. Currently in Centre Block, with the House having swelled from 308 to 338 MPs last election, some MPs sit in groupings of three. While much of the furniture for the interim Chamber is coming from the current space, one thing that won't be moved is the Speaker's chair.

"It will not fit through the doors into the interim Chamber, therefore risking the integrity of the heritage piece," explained Mr. Létourneau. "This provided the opportunity of using the Speaker's chair built for Edgar Rhodes, who was Speaker of the House of Commons from 1917 to 1921."

Mr. Rhodes was a former Conservative MP from Nova Scotia, representing various ridings in the province over the years, and later became the province's premier. Up until 1921, each House Speaker was given their own chair—which they could keep fol-

lowing their tenure—meaning Mr. Rhodes was the only person to use his. It's been in storage in the Nova Scotia Archives since his death in 1942, as reported by the CBC last fall, and was donated to the House of Commons in 2005.

When the House resumes in the fall of 2018, the chair will be used for the second-time ever by another Nova Scotian, current House Speaker and Liberal MP Geoff Regan (Halifax West, N.S.).

"I would say it's not quite as comfortable as the current chair, but it's being restored," Mr. Regan told the CBC.

The Rhodes chair is being reupholstered with green velvet to replace the old brown leather, and its detailed carvings are also being repaired, according to the CBC.

Inside the West Block building itself, window installation is about 75 per cent done, with the installation of doors "just beginning," said Mr. Létourneau. Each floor in the building is at a "different level of completion," with the second and third floors the furthest along.

"A large part of the work currently underway involves pulling cables for electrical and multimedia, installation of drywall, installation of windows, and installation of [woodwork]," he said.

A new underground Visitor Welcome Centre is also currently being built, which is the first new construction on the Hill in 100 years. Much of it will be completed in tandem with the West Block, with a second phase to correspond with work on the Centre Block building. Once completed, it'll be the main entrance for visitors to the Hill and will include security screening facilities and more.

Right now, the first phase of the welcome centre connected to the West Block is "essentially a concrete frame," said Mr. Létourneau.

"The interior is filled with jack posts that will support the weight of the floors until the concrete has cured. These will start coming down in the coming weeks and the area will be backfilled over the summer," he said.

Over in the GCC, "architectural partitions, stud-work, electrical and mechanical rough-ins are near completion, with finish drywall being installed throughout," said Mr. Létourneau.

The decorative plaster ceilings in both the concourse space of the old train station, which is where the interim Senate Chamber is

being built, and the general waiting room, where among other things two committee rooms are being built, is currently being repaired and prepped for painting, he said.

"Heritage elements initially removed during the demolition are being reinstated, such as the salvaged marble chimney mantles and wood trim. Wood windows and trim are going through final preparation and installation," said Mr. Létourneau. "The massive steel windows, within the general waiting room, which have significantly corroded over time, are being dismantled for repair."

Meanwhile, the Centre Block project team is "launching an investigation program" to check out the state of the Centre Block building, said Mr. Létourneau.



The decorative plaster ceiling in the general waiting room of the old train station building, now known as the Government Conference Centre, pictured March 10. Photograph courtesy of Public Services and Procurement Canada

"Detailed project cost, scope, and schedule will be finalized in 2019, following the completion of the investigation program," he said.

There are also 20 to 30 "enabling projects," like re-routing gas connections and creating site project offices, that are being worked on to prepare the building for major construction, he said.

An almost \$15-million contract for project management support services for work on the Centre Block was awarded to a joint venture of Colliers Project Leaders Inc. and Tiree Facility Solutions Inc. in January. As well, Public Services is planning to announce soon the contract for architectural, and engineering, and construction management consulting services for work on the building.

A tender process for a construction-management services contract for the East Block, posted in February, is now closed with bids currently being evaluated.

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The Hill Times

Freeland's biases put question mark on her ability as Foreign Affairs minister

Is she capable of accepting that Russia has legitimate interests?



Murray Dobbin

Canada's foreign policy

POWELL RIVER, B.C.—The irrational has begun to dominate our politics as if the American virus has stealthily moved north to infect our national narratives. It reflects itself in various ways but it seems that war—old wars, current wars and future wars—have gripped the minds of our political elite and their courtiers in the media. Most problematic is Chrystia Freeland whose well-documented hostility towards Russia raises questions about her suitability for the Foreign Affairs post. She got off scot-free after whitewashing her grandfather's Nazi past.

The question is: Why is she still in one of the most important cabinet posts in the

Trudeau government? She got a pass on her grandfather's record with the help of media groupthink along the lines of "we can't blame her for her Nazi grandfather." But no one ever did. Critics blamed her for knowing her grandfather was a Nazi collaborator for two decades and saying nothing, and for never denouncing him (she still hasn't). Critics also blamed her portraying him in her autobiography as almost a freedom-fighter.

Freeland's grandfather Mykhailo Chomiak spent the entire war in occupied Poland editing the Nazi-run newspaper *Krakivski Visti* (*News of Krakow*) under the orders of the Nazi's German governor-general Hans Frank, the man who organized the Holocaust in Poland. Chomiak ran the newspaper from editorial offices of a former Polish-language Jewish newspaper, *Nowy Dziennik*, whose editor ended up being murdered at the Belzec concentration camp along with 600,000 other Jews.

Just how pro-Nazi was the newspaper? *Krakivski Visti* was a vicious propaganda tool fomenting as much hatred of Jews as it could. The writer Juilan Tarnovych wrote a series "Out of Satan's Claws" in which he referred to Jews as "Yid mobs," "bastards," "rotten scum," "bacillus," "that riffraff—that nest of crawling kikes," and "a pile of crawling worms." Chomiak himself wrote editorials claiming Poland was "infected by the Jews."

Instead, of saying (last year) "I am proud to honour [his] memory today," how dif-

ficult would it be to distance herself from her grandfather's role?

Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that Freeland, like her father and grandfather, is a devoted Ukrainian nationalist who seems to harbour a deep-seated hostility towards Russia. Even when she was a journalist with the *Financial Times* she did not hide her fierce Ukrainian nationalism—encouraging the Euromaidan rebellion that became a violent coup against Russian-friendly Viktor Yanukovich. Freeland's take? "Their victory will be a victory for us all; their defeat will weaken democracy far from the Euromaidan. We are all Ukrainians now. Let's do what we can ... to support them." On March 17, the third anniversary of the Crimea annexation, Freeland issued a statement strongly condemning Russia and stating "Canada is steadfast in its support for the people of Ukraine."

The "democracy" that resulted from the 2014 coup was not quite as advertised. Freeland's Nazi ghosts came to life in the new government which was chock-a-block with outright Nazis. The new government had five cabinet members from the Svoboda Party—proud descendants of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) who fought against the Red Army alongside the Nazis. In 1941, the OUN sent a message to Lvov's Jews in the form of a pamphlet which said: "We will lay your heads at Hitler's feet"! The OUN and the SS arrested and executed 4,000 of the city's Jews.



Murray Dobbin writes that Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland is 'totally blinded' by her bias against Russia. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

To place Freeland in the position of foreign minister is nothing short of reckless. If her bias was against Luxembourg it would hardly matter. But the world is now closer to a nuclear holocaust than at any time since the Reagan administration. The relationship between the West and Russia is now the most important geo-political issue on the planet.

Someone should ask Trudeau just who he is trying to please by keeping this flawed politician in such a powerful post.

Murray Dobbin is a columnist based in Powell River, B.C.

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Feature Spin Doctors | By Laura Ryckewaert

“The Liberal government has introduced a 308-page budget implementation bill. What from it stands out to you most?”



KATE PURCHASE
Liberal strategist

“Last week, our government introduced the Budget Implementation Act—the next step in our ambitious plan to invest in the middle class and build an economy that is as inclusive as it is innovative. Here are just a few of the ways the act will prepare Canadians and their communities for the changing economy and secure Canada’s place as a hub of innovation.

“First, the act will update laws to reflect the changing world of work. Targeted amendments to the Canada Labour Code will give federally regulated employees the right to request more flexible work arrangements, and give them the job protection they need while they are receiving caregiving, parental or maternity benefits.

“Second, the act will establish an ‘Invest in Canada Hub,’ a new federal body dedicated to attracting leading global firms to Canada, in order to bring good jobs, fresh capital, and new technologies to our economy.

“Third, the act will establish a new Canada Infrastructure Bank. This arm’s-length organization will invest in large, transformative projects—including regional transit plans—and create good, well-paying middle class jobs today while delivering economic growth for years to come.

“With these measures, and many more, we are taking the next steps in our long-term plan to revitalize the middle class, and ensure all Canadians have the opportunity to be part of the changing economy.”



CORY HANN
Conservative strategist

“The easy one here is to point out the hypocrisy. An omnibus bill being tabled after the Liberals promised they wouldn’t do it. No one should be surprised, however. Time after time, the Justin Trudeau Liberals have proven they’d say anything to get elected. It’s just another in a long line of broken promises from this government.

“But, as I said, that’s the easy way out. I’ll actually pick a few things here the Liberals have quite expertly buried inside this that will make life more expensive for average Canadians.

Inside their budget implementation bill, Justin Trudeau lays out his plan to hike fees on fishing licenses and campsites. Surely it’s temporary? Wrong. The fees will go up, essentially, forever. The prime minister can charge taxpayers over \$130,000 for his Bahamas getaway, but if you want to take the family camping for the weekend, prepare to shell out even more.

“Yes, that long weekend when you pack the cooler and kids, hoping to save on some air conditioning by sleeping in a tent and taking a cheap swim, is going to cost you more. Filling the wee ones with hotdogs and marshmallows, while you knock back a cold one is now hitting your bank account more thanks to the Liberals. Justin Trudeau to the Bahamas? No expense spared. Your family getaway to the campsite? Pay up.”



RICCARDO FILIPPONE
NDP strategist

“After campaigning on increased transparency, the Liberals have taken a strategy right out of the Conservative playbook by introducing a 300-page omnibus budget bill that changes almost 30 pieces of legislation—a number of which were not even mentioned in the budget.

“They criticized Stephen Harper for massive budget bills that sneaked in significant changes to laws and regulations, but now that it benefits them, they’re doing the exact same thing.

“This omnibus budget bill makes it easier for private investors to buy publicly owned infrastructure and then help them make their profits by charging Canadians through more user fees and tolls. It also guts the power of the parliamentary budget officer to hold the government accountable by independently conducting studies and publishing reports that are in Canadians’ interests.

“It further erodes accountability by making it easier for foreign investors to take over Canadian companies without any review or job guarantees by raising the review threshold amount from \$600-million to \$1-billion.

“And in terms of holding the wealthiest among us accountable, it does not contain any measures to crack down on tax evasion, even though the Liberals voted in favour of the NDP opposition day motion that called for a number of specific measures.”



MATHIEU R. ST-AMAND
Bloc Québécois strategist

“The first thing to remember is that this bill is another broken Liberal promise. When he was a member of the opposition, Justin Trudeau tore his shirt off every time the Conservatives tabled a mammoth bill. During the election campaign, the Liberals promised that they would put an end to these colossal bills involving dozens of pieces of legislation and often used to force unacceptable amendments down the opposition’s throat.

“The Bloc Québécois has always denounced this approach, which serves neither democracy nor the public. As we saw with Bill C-29 last December, the government tried to hide from the public that it would be taking away rights under the Bank of Canada Act. The Bloc will continue to scrutinize every page of this bill to defend the interests of Quebecers. The question now is to find out what the Liberals are trying to hide this time in the 308-page budget implementation legislation.

“The Liberal government’s broken promises are adding up and are beginning to tarnish the prime minister’s reputation. It is not by legalizing marijuana that he will get voters to forget these broken promises.”



DAN PALMER
Green strategist

“The original mandate letter to then-House leader Dominic LeBlanc tasked him with changing the House of Commons Standing Orders ‘to end the improper use of omnibus bills and prorogation.’ Yet at 308 pages, the budget implementation bill continues this Harper-era omnibus trend.

“Harper initially used omnibus budget bills as a way of forcing opposition MPs to pass unwanted changes to both environmental assessment laws and navigable waters legislation. Now, the Liberals seem to be further muddying the waters by making it more difficult for opposition MPs to scrutinize and amend important legislation.

“On the face of it, changes to make the Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer an independent officer of Parliament, rather than a part of the Library of Parliament, are welcome. But the PBO changes should be a stand-alone bill, particularly as red flags are being raised by the likes of former PBO head Kevin Page that the ‘legislation creates the facade of independence.’ The bill proposes a detailed PBO work plan to the Speakers of the House of Commons and the Senate, which Page worries could lead to politicians controlling the PBO’s agenda. The bill also appears to take away the power of individual MPs to ask the PBO to provide cost estimates of government initiatives, which could inoculate its fact-checking effectiveness. PBO changes, and other sections like setting rules for the Infrastructure Bank, are budget-related but are not budgetary. This bill offends the Liberals’ promise to end the use of omnibus bills.”

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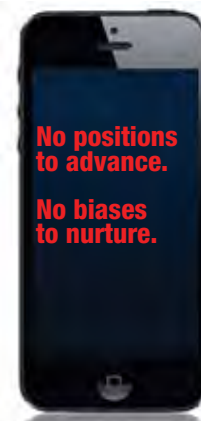


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Brown people need a grand story, and there's no one definitive account

Kamal Al-Solaylee is an associate professor at the School of Journalism at Ryerson University. His first book *Intolerable: A Memoir of Extremes* won the Toronto Book Award and was a finalist for the Hilary Weston Writers' Trust Prize for Nonfiction, a Lambda Literary Award, and CBC's Canada Reads. Born in Yemen, Al-Solaylee was the national theatre critic for *The Globe and Mail* and holds a PhD in Victorian literature from the University of Nottingham. He lives in Toronto. Al-Solaylee is shortlisted for the Writers' Trust's Shaughnessy Cohen Prize for Political Writing for his book *Brown: What Being Brown in the World Today Means (to Everyone)*, published by HarperCollins Canada. The Shaughnessy Cohen Prize winner will be announced at the Politics & the Pen gala in Ottawa on May 10.

BY KAMAL AL-SOLAYLEE

THE NUMBERS AND STATS Tell one part of the story of being brown in one part of the world, North America. But numbers alone can't and don't reveal the personal, the emotional, the stories, the heartbreaks and triumphs behind this or that percentage of brown clout or political capital.

I propose that we think of brown as a continuum, a grouping—a metaphor, even—for the millions of darker-skinned people who, in broad historical terms, have missed out on the economic and political gains of the post-industrial world and are now clamouring for their fair share of social mobility, equality and freedom. Past colonial powers (France, Britain, Italy) must now resolve the paradox of having former subjects living among them, transforming themselves from nameless individuals with swarthy skins into neighbours, co-workers and friends. Brown is the colour of the five million Muslims in France, most of whom come from the former North African French colonies. Brown is the colour of the Pakistani and Indian immigrants to the United Kingdom who arrived as the Raj gave way to post-partition chaos and violence.

Brown is the colour of the uprisings that have taken over the Arab world in the first half of this decade. It's the colour of hundreds of thousands of Egyptians—young and old, illiterate and digitally savvy—saying “Enough” to a life of poverty and political oppression. Most of their revolutions have been usurped, silenced or devastated by ruling parties and widening ethnic ten-

sions between Sunnis and Shiites, but the essence of that moment, its idealism, lives on. Brown is yet another Mediterranean ghost ship carrying hundreds of Syrian or North African asylum seekers who were faced with a choice between staying put or possibly perishing en route—and still chose the latter. It's the wave of refugees knocking at Europe's doors in the summer of 2015. The thwarted revolutions in Syria and Libya, as well as the ongoing instability in Iraq, have led to the displacement of about seventeen million people, according to 2014 figures from the International Organization for Migration. A population almost half the size of Canada's is scattered across refugee camps, shelters, no man's lands.

Brown represents hundreds of Nepalese, Indian, and Bangladeshi construction workers dying daily—literally, an average of one a day—to build arenas and infrastructure for Qatar's 2022 World Cup. Brown is the thousands of Latin children smuggled by their own parents or travelling alone across the U.S.–Mexico border in hope of finding a life away from drug wars, marauding militias and extreme poverty. Some are killed when they're deported back to Central America.

We are not a distinct ethnic group but myriad large ones with more in common than we have acknowledged before. Eugenists have been kept up all night worrying about our birth rates and concocting ways to sterilize our fecund kind before we contaminate the purity (and beauty) of white people. Blacks in East Africa and parts of the Caribbean resented us for being a market-dominant minority. And for that, they exiled us, forcing us to seek

refuge anywhere that would have us. Some moved to North America, others to the Gulf States. Our stories and histories have spread worldwide, and we've created diasporic communities to protect and showcase our heritage and, most of all, our food. Everyone loves our food—biryani rice, falafel, couscous, tacos—and in many ways, we're identified with what we prepare in our kitchens or serve others in our “ethnic” restaurants. Our bodies, too, are sometimes consumed as a slice of exotica or sexual adventurism, a tradition that has existed in bafflingly perfect harmony with our supposed physical inferiority since the heyday of racialist science.

For much of our history, we've been defined by others—as the brown race, as the weaker tribe, as the civilization-ready subjects of empires. But the time has come for us to self-identify as we wish. There's strength in numbers and comfort in knowing that one's experience is not isolated or an aberration. Whenever I get pulled aside when crossing the US border, I find it reassuring that I'm

I propose that we think of brown as a continuum, a grouping—a metaphor, even—for the millions of darker-skinned people who, in broad historical terms, have missed out on the economic and political gains of the post-industrial world and are now clamouring for their fair share of social mobility, equality and freedom.

not the only brown face. I see the Iraqi or Pakistani business traveller, the Colombian student, the Sri Lankan chef or the Indian family with three or four or five children, and I know that while our stories are different, we find ourselves singled out because of our brown skins and histories. We don't talk to each other, but we do exchange knowing glances. It's our lot as brown people to be treated with suspicion when we cross borders.

Often we're asked to speak on behalf of a billion people and their faith—any brown Muslim knows what that feels like. Sometimes the calls for us to speak, to justify actions taken by a tiny fraction of our communities, are posed in good faith, as when a friend asks me to explain, say, the origins of the Sunni–Shiite hostilities. Every Irish person who's ever been asked about the history of the Troubles between Catholics and Protestants probably can relate to this. Other times the calls to speak have an accusatory



Kamal Al-Solaylee, author of *Brown: What Being Brown in the World Today Means (to Everyone)*, published by HarperCollins Canada: ‘For much of our history, we’ve been defined by others—as the brown race, as the weaker tribe, as the civilization-ready subjects of empires. But the time has come for us to self-identify as we wish.’

tone, particularly when coming from right-wing media outlets in the U.S. and Canada. With the rise of so-called lone-wolf attacks in Western cities, the pressure on the average brown person of Muslim origin to explain the incomprehensible has increased. Many friends find this to be problematic, and I agree—but only to some extent.

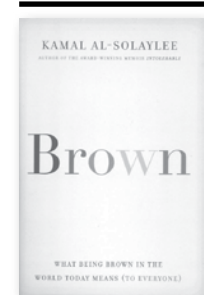
We carry the burden of our skin colour everywhere we go. Pretending that it's otherwise is intellectual dishonesty. I can talk about terrorist attacks in faraway lands—a satirical magazine in Paris, a coffee shop in Sydney—because the narrative of the radical jihadist has been thrust into my world by Western media and by the perpetrators of these heinous crimes. It has become part of my story whether I choose to tell it or not. Hispanic and Filipino migrants tell me that they experience a similar thing. If one Filipina maid is caught stealing or “acting immorally” in the Gulf, all are under suspicion and expected to account for such aberrant behaviour. Similarly, long-established Mexican-Americans are drawn into debates on illegal immigration as if they're to blame for any new influx. Many of them have not set foot in Mexico for generations, and all are culturally more American than Mexican, but as sociologists tell us, hyphenated people—like those of mixed race—are usually seen as belong-

ing to the subordinate and not the dominant group. Italian and Irish Americans have lost that hyphen, and have worked their way toward whiteness and the mainstream; for us, the hyphen is imprinted like a birthmark on our skin. Our transition into the collective is still in progress.

But perhaps we need that hyphen. In Europe—particularly France and Britain—colonization serves as the brown people's overarching story. In North America, browns don't have the history of slavery that gives black people their defining narrative. Brown people need a grand story. As this book will show, there's no one definitive account but a continuum of story arcs.

Excerpt from *Brown: What Being Brown in the World Today Means (to Everyone)* by Kamal Al-Solaylee ©2016. Published by HarperCollins Publishers Ltd. All rights reserved.

The Hill Times



Brown: What Being Brown in the World Today Means (to Everyone), by Kamal Al-Solaylee, HarperCollins Publishers Ltd.

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HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

PMO hires a new executive assistant, another switches assignment

Melissa Rumble has switched assignments and is now executive assistant to the chief of staff and principal secretary.

The Prime Minister's Office recently hired **Nour Kechacha** as an executive assistant to both PMO senior adviser **Mathieu Bouchard** and to director of administration and special projects **Brett Thalmann**.

Until recently, Ms. Kechacha had spent the last year working as a legislative assistant to Liberal MP **Marwan Tabbara**, who was elected to represent Kitchener South-Hespeler, Ont. for the first time in 2015 with 42.27 per cent of the vote.

Before that, she was an operations manager with the National Council on Canada-Arab Relations, according to her profile on LinkedIn, and was previously a research officer for the All-Party Parliamentary Group for the Prevention of Genocide and Other Crimes Against Humanity from September 2013 to June 2014.

As well, **Melissa Rumble** has switched roles in Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau's** office.

Previously an executive assistant to the deputy chief of staff and principal secretary—a now vacated role in the PMO since **Jeremy Broadhurst** left to serve as chief of staff to Foreign Affairs Minister **Chrystia Freeland** at the beginning of the year—Ms. Rumble is now executive assistant the PM's chief of staff **Katie Telford** and principal secretary **Gerald Butts**.

Previously, PMO aide **Samantha Khalil** had been executive assistant to both Ms. Telford and Mr. Butts but recently became an issues management coordinator in the office, as reported by **Hill Climbers**.

Ms. Rumble has been working in the PMO since December 2015, hired shortly after serving as a social media coordinator for the Liberal Party's 2015 campaign.

She also previously worked on Mr. Trudeau's 2011 campaign in Papineau, Que., and on his 2013 leadership bid, and subsequently worked in Mr. Trudeau's previous office as Liberal leader under the Harper Conservative government. Ms. Rumble is a graduate of Carleton University's master of political management program and also studied an undergrad in communications and media studies at the school.

Employment, Workforce Development, and Labour Minister **Patty Hajdu** has beefed up her political policy staff team in recent weeks.

Kelly Bryant joined the minister's office as a policy and scheduling assistant the week before last. She was previously working at the Liberal Party's headquarters as a coordinator for the party's summer leadership program.

Ms. Bryant studied public affairs and policy management at Carleton University, and spent the summer of 2015 as an intern for the Canadian Jewish Political Affairs Committee (CJPAC), as indicated on her LinkedIn profile.

As well, last month, **Hersi Hujaleh** bid farewell to Finance Minister **Bill Morneau's** office to join Ms. Hajdu's ministerial team as a new policy adviser.

Mr. Hujaleh had been hired to serve as a policy adviser to Mr. Morneau early on in the government's mandate, starting in late 2015. He's a former economic policy adviser to then Liberal official opposition leader **Michael Ignatieff** and has been an economist at the Department of Finance.

Simon Robertson is director of policy and parliamentary affairs to Ms. Hajdu, while **Matthew Mitschke** is the minister's chief of staff.

Ministers Freeland, Champagne hire new assistants

Foreign Affairs Minister **Chrystia Freeland** recently hired **Allison Chick** to her ministerial office as the new assistant to her parliamentary secretary, Liberal MP **Matthew DeCourcey**.

Her first official day in Ms. Freeland's office was April 18. She had joined the whip's team back in December 2015, had been working as a committee analyst in the Chief Government Whip's Office.

Prior to that, she was a management assistant at Risk Dynamics, a global risk management adviser firm to financial institutions, and had also previously worked for The Ottawa Hospital, among other experience.

In more belated news, **Alex Lawrence** is currently acting as communications director to Ms. Freeland, while **Lynne Lessard** remains deputy press secretary to the minister.

International Trade Minister **François-Philippe Champagne** has hired **Jill Swenson** to serve as a special assistant for operations and western and northern regional affairs. She started in the job on March 6.

Previously, Ms. Swenson was working at the Liberal Party's federal headquarters in Ottawa, focused on political engagement and national field work and training. Before joining the party's HQ in 2016, she was an assistant consultant with Hill and Knowlton Strategies in Calgary, focused on campaign and engagement strategies, strategic communications and media relations at the firm, according to her LinkedIn profile.

During the 2015 federal election campaign, she was the canvass chair, community team organizer and volunteer coordinator for former Liberal candidate **Matt Grant's** campaign in Calgary Confederation, Alta. Conservative **Len Webber** won



Jeremy Broadhurst, Zita Astravas, and Katie Telford, chief of staff to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured in this file photo. Melissa Rumble, not pictured, is now executive assistant to Ms. Katie Telford and principal secretary Gerald Butts, also not pictured. *The Hill Times* photograph by Jake Wright

the seat with 45.91 per cent of the vote, while Mr. Grant came second after garnering 43.53 per cent of the vote.

Now in the minister's office, Ms. Swenson will be working closely with **Marc-André Poirier**, special assistant for Atlantic regional affairs, and **Sylvain Bédard**, a policy, operations and Quebec regional affairs adviser.

Julian Owens is chief of staff to the minister. Other senior staff in the office include: **Christopher Berzins**, director of policy; **Jamie Innes**, director of parliamentary affairs; **Joseph Pickerill**, director of communications; and **Chantal Gagnon**, press secretary.

Conservative caucus down one communications aide

Ashley Kelahear, who had been a senior communications officer working out of the Conservative caucus' research bureau, has bid farewell to the Hill.

Ms. Kelahear joined the staffing ranks for the Conservatives in opposition in the fall of 2016. She previously worked for the party on the Hill during its years in government, including as a caucus liaison in the Conservative research office back in 2007.

She later became a communications assistant in prime minister **Stephen Harper's** PMO in 2010 and a year later became press secretary to then Labour minister **Lisa Raitt**, in time taking on the title of communications director to the minister.

According to a tweet from Ms. Kelahear on March 8, she currently sits on the Board for iSisters Technology Mentoring,

a Canadian charity focused on developing and delivering technology programs and "building awareness to connect women in need with technology through mentoring," as described on its website.

A number of communications aides remain on hand for the Conservative caucus on the Hill, including: **Kelsie Corey**, communications officer; **Saro Khatchadourian**, communications officer; **Anthony Farrow**, communications officer; and **Frédérique Laquerre**, communications adviser for Quebec media relations.

There's also **Mike Storeshaw**, director of media relations; **Dennis Matthews**, director of strategic communications; **Harris Ruess**, manager for digital media and senior strategic communications adviser; **Emily Hillstrom**, press secretary for digital and social media; **Jake Enwright**, press secretary and senior communications adviser; **Steven Woodhead**, senior strategic communications adviser; **Steve van Groningen**, strategic communications adviser; **Ben van Duyvendyk**, strategic communications graphic designer; **Kayleigh Kanoza**, social media adviser; **Philippe Chartrand**, social media adviser; and **Paul Dagenais**, new media developer.

Garry Keller is chief of staff to interim Conservative leader **Rona Ambrose**, who's responsible for the Conservative research office, while **David McArthur** is deputy chief of staff. Directly responsible for the operation of the research office is **Martin Bélanger**, director of caucus services, policy and research.

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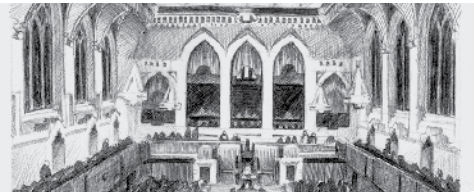
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Feature Events

PARLIAMENTARY CALENDAR



House is back May 1

MONDAY, APRIL 24

House Sitting—The House is not sitting. It breaks April 14-28 and resumes sitting again from May 1 to May 19. The Senate sat until April 13 and is off until May 1, at which point it will sit until May 19.

Seven: A Documentary Play—Inter Pares presents the Ottawa premiere of this acclaimed production, which intertwines seven true stories told by women's rights activists in Russia, Cambodia, Guatemala, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Northern Ireland. The evening will be a conversation about violence against women and women human rights defenders, and a celebration of inspiring work to promote women's rights. The event will begin with a reception at 6 p.m., followed at 7 p.m. by the inaugural presentation of the Peter Gillespie Social Justice Award to a Canadian organization whose work has had a positive and innovative impact on women's rights. Monday, April 24. Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health, 299 Montreal Rd., Ottawa. Tickets are pay what you choose. interpares.ca/seven.

TUESDAY, APRIL 25

Canada's Infrastructure Outlook—The Ottawa Economics Association (OEA) invites you to a luncheon event featuring Glenn Campbell (executive direc-

tor, Canada Infrastructure Bank Transition Office, Infrastructure Canada) and Jordan Eizenga (partner, infrastructure M&A, Deloitte LLP). Join the OEA for a panel discussion on Canada's infrastructure needs, the government's infrastructure investment plan and the role of the Canada Infrastructure Bank. Members: \$50 prepaid on-line/\$80 at the door; Non-members: \$75/\$100; Student members: \$25/\$30 (online prices are exclusive of HST). Tuesday, April 25, 11:45 a.m., Château Laurier Hotel, Laurier Room. Details and registration via cabe.ca.

Characteristics of a Nation-Nation Relationship: Jurisdiction—In the second event of a five-part dialogue series "Characteristics of a Nation-to-Nation Relationship," the Institute on Governance, with Canadians for a New Partnership, are bringing together experts April 25-26 at the Coast Coal Harbour Hotel in Vancouver to share their vision in an open forum for the future relationship between the Crown and indigenous peoples, and help define the characteristics of an approach that recognizes and respects the distinctions between indigenous peoples. Keynote addresses include Senator Murray Sinclair and Keith Harper, former U.S. ambassador to the UN Human Rights Council. For more information and to register, please visit <http://iog.ca/characteristics-nation-nation-relationship/> or contact Corinne Carroll at ccarroll@iog.ca.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26

Arthur Hanson on China and Global Green Prosperity—Presentation by Arthur Hanson on China and Global Green Prosperity, Christ Church Cathedral, 414 Sparks Street, April 26, 7:30 p.m. Free for members of the Canada China Friendship Society, \$5 for non-members.

The Spirit of Budo: The History of Japanese Martial Arts—Catch this exhibition April 26 to May 16, 2017. Open weekdays 10 a.m.-4 p.m., weekends 11 a.m.-4 p.m. Japanese culture demonstrations every Saturday and Sunday from 2 p.m. The Embassy of Japan in Canada, auditorium, 255 Sussex Dr., Ottawa. Free admission.

FRIDAY, APRIL 28

Understanding the Indian Act—The federal government recently announced it would review the laws and policies related to indigenous peoples, and it has struck a cabinet working group to lead the task. Of these laws, the 141-year-old Indian Act stands out as one of the most complex and most reviled. What is the history behind this colonial law? How does it function? Is there any hope we will be able to remove it from the books and replace it with a framework that better reflects a nation-to-nation relationship? This work-

shop, presented by Policy Options magazine (a digital publication of the Institute for Research on Public Policy), will bring together three leading experts to help answer our basic questions about the Act, with the aim of building knowledge around this key policy question facing our country. Friday, April 28, 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. Tickets and information available at: <http://irpp.org/irpp-event/understanding-the-indian-act/>.

MONDAY, MAY 1

House Sitting—The House resumes sitting after a two-week break. It's sitting weekdays from May 1-19. The Senate sits from May 1-May 19.

TUESDAY, MAY 2

CCSPA Government Breakfast Reception—The Canadian Consumer Specialty Products Association invites all MPs, Senators and staff to their Annual Government Breakfast Reception. May 2, 7:30 a.m. to 9 a.m. at the Ottawa Marriott (100 Kent Street). Please RSVP to Nancy Hitchins at hitchinsn@ccspa.org.

Cabinet Meeting—Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is expected to hold a cabinet meeting on May 2. For more information, call the PMO Press Office at 613-957-5555.

Big Thinking on the Hill with Stephen Toope—The next Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences' Big Thinking on the Hill lecture features Stephen Toope speaking on "Canada: A "nice hat for America?" Toope is the director of the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto and President of the Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences. He will be joined by moderator Gabriel Miller, the new Executive Director of the Federation. It is admirable to be humble and self-effacing, but that is not what the world needs from Canada right now. The world has changed fundamentally since the heyday of Pearsonian internationalism. Toope will discuss how a refreshed foreign policy for Canada will require tough-minded focus, and stronger and more diverse relationships. A hot breakfast will be served on Tuesday, May 2 from 7:30 am to 8:45 am in the Parliamentary Restaurant, Centre Block. Free for parliamentarians and the media, \$25 for all others. For more information and to register go to www.ideas-idees.ca/big-thinking or call 613-238-6112 ext. 310.

Ottawa Press Freedom Luncheon—Ann Telnaes, *The Washington Post's* Pulitzer prize-winning cartoonist and president of the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists, will be the keynote speaker at the 19th annual World Press Freedom Day Luncheon and awards presentation. Telnaes will speak on "Donald Trump's Dysfunctional Relationship with the Press: A Cartoonist's View." The annual luncheon, hosted by the Canadian Committee for World Press Freedom, in partnership with the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, recognizes the ongoing struggle for journalistic freedom by honouring winners of the annual Press Freedom Award and International Editorial Cartoon contest. Tuesday, May 2. 11:30 a.m. Fairmont Château Laurier Hotel ballroom. Tickets: <https://www.eventbrite.ca/e/19th-annual-world-press-freedom-day-awards-luncheon-tickets-32899334796>.

Vision Forum—To celebrate the launch of Vision Health Month, visit the Vision Health Forum for some light refreshments, interactive displays, and mini vision expo. The Canadian Association of Optometrists, Canadian Council of the Blind, Foundation Fighting Blindness, and the Canadian National Institute for the Blind will be hosting the Vision Forum. 4-8 p.m., Room 256-S, Centre Block. For questions or to RSVP, contact Laurence Therrien: optometrists@tsa.ca or 613-241-6000, ext. 226.

Canadian Vintners Association Lobby Day: Vintners on the Hill—CVA's board of directors from across Canada will be on Parliament Hill May 2 to discuss our wine industry and ways to grow it.

CBC and Netflix Parliamentary Reception and Screening of Anne—Join Heritage Minister Mélanie Joly, parliamentarians, and staff in celebrating the stars and creators of the acclaimed co-production *Anne* on Tuesday, May 2. National Arts Centre. RSVP: rsvp@cbc.ca. Further details TBA.

Party under the Stars—The annual Party under the Stars will be held on May 2 at City Hall in Ottawa with multi-Juno Award winner Charlie Major and Indigenous Award winners Twin Flames. Join CTV's Don Martin as master of ceremonies, Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan, Andrew Leslie, Candice Bergen, Mayor Jim Watson, and councillor Jody Mitic as they join forces to raise funds for PTSD wellness. Tickets: \$30 available online: tothestanandback.com or at 149 Confederation Bldg. Contact Cheri Elliott for more info. 613-240-5582.

Chicken Farmers of Canada Hosts Chicken Tailgate Party—Parliamentarians, their staff, and industry friends are invited to come celebrate Canadian chicken with the farmers who raise them, and share local craft beer. Tuesday, May 2, from 6-9 p.m. at the Sir John A. Macdonald building, 144 Wellington St.

The Canadian Alliance on Mental Illness and Mental Health—Will be hosting their 15th Annual Champions of Mental Health Awards Gala, recognizing the work of Canadians across the country who have helped to advance the mental health agenda in Canada. The event will be hosted by the Bruno Guevremont, Team Canada Captain at the 2016 Invictus Games. The Reception will begin at 6:00 on Wednesday May 3rd, taking place at Canada Hall 1 at the Shaw Centre. For more information and to purchase tickets, please visit camimh.ca.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3

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

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

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

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

THURSDAY, MAY 4

Bacon & Eggheads Breakfast—The Partnership Group for Science and Engineering presents a talk, 'Next-Generation Technologies for Tomorrow's Crops: Getting to the Roots of Global Food Security' with Leon Kochian, University of Saskatchewan. Thursday, May 4, 7:30 a.m. Parliamentary Dining Room, Centre Block. No charge to MPs, Senators, and media. All others, \$25. Pre-registration required by Monday, May 1 by contacting Donna Boag: **Diplomatic Hospitality Group**—The Canadian Federation of University of Women's Diplomatic Hospitality Group in Ottawa invites diplomats, their spouses/partners, and their families to this event, with the theme Bountiful Canada. It will feature a visit to the Canada Food and Agricultural Museum and the Experimental Farm. 901 Prince of Wales Dr., and 960 Carling Ave. 10 a.m.-noon. A nominal fee will be charged to help cover costs.

First 100 days into the Trump Administration—Charles Doran is one of the most influential American commentators on Canada-U.S. relations. On May 4, he will discuss the first 100 Days into the Trump administration. 5:30 p.m. Social Sciences Building, Room 4007, 120 University, University of Ottawa campus. To register or for more information: <https://www.uottawa.ca/alumni-week/content/faculty-social-sciences-lecture-0>.

FRIDAY, MAY 5

Seeing Human and Climate Trauma as One—Sheila Watt-Cloutier, environmental, cultural, and human rights advocate, is known for her advocacy work in showing the impact of global climate change on human rights—especially in the Arctic. She will give a talk on "Seeing Human and Climate Trauma as One." Friday, May 5, at 7 p.m. Shaw Centre, Canada Hall 2, 55 Colonel By Dr., Ottawa. To register or for more information: <https://www.uottawa.ca/alumni-week/content/alex-trebek-distinguished-lecture-series-0>.

MONDAY, MAY 8

House Sitting—The House is sitting this week and every weekday this week and next. It breaks May 19 for a week and returns again on Monday, May 29. It is scheduled to sit every weekday from May 29 to June 23, but it could adjourn earlier.

Our Whole Society: Religion and Citizenship at Canada's 150th—May 8-9, St. Paul University, Ottawa. At Canada's 150th, we need to discover a new way of talking, thinking and acting together so that Canada's religious diversity can become a resource for our collective advancement. Building on years of experience in interfaith and religious-secular dialogue this conference will convene a range of fresh perspectives around the themes of Reconciliation, Immigration & Refugees and Solidarity in Diversity. Speakers include: Dr. John Ralston Saul; Prof. John Borrows; Rita Chahal; Dr. Andrew Bennett; Prof. Douglas Sanderson; Dr. Ingrid Mattson; Prof. Howard Adelman; Karen Joseph; Bishop Mark MacDonald; Palbinder Shergill; and Dr. Martin Mark. To register: <http://www.interfaithconversation.ca/2017>

Canadian Cable Systems Alliance Parliamentary Reception—The Canadian Cable Systems Alliance (CCSA) will be holding its 3rd annual reception on May 8th, 2017. The event will be held in the Commonwealth Room, 2nd floor, Centre Block. All MPs, Senators and Parliamentary staff are welcome to attend to learn about how CCSA's independent and entrepreneurial member companies connect Canadians generally living outside urban markets to the Internet, to television programming and to other important telecommunications services. Live music and catering by Dish will be on-site. Please RSVP to Cynthia Waldmeier at cynthia@impactcanada.com or 613-233-8906.

TUESDAY, MAY 9

Egg Farmers of Canada Eggcellent Breakfast—All MPs and Senators are invited to come meet Canada's egg farmers at the 2017 Eggcellent Breakfast. It happens in the Parliamentary Dining Room, Tuesday, May 9, between 7:15 a.m.-8:45 a.m. and enjoy a delicious dish made with Canadian eggs. Please RSVP by May 2 to rsvp@blueskystategygroup.com.

Global Impact Soirée by the Canadian Council for International Co-operation—On the occasion of Canada's 150th anniversary, the Canadian Council for International Co-operation is hosting the Global Impact Soirée, an inspiring social event to highlight the achievements of our colleagues, community, and country, on May 9, at the Museum of Nature, 4th floor gallery. Tickets, early bird special \$50 until April 15, include gourmet food and one drink ticket. Regular price \$65. Attire: cocktail/black tie.

Arctic food, Inuit culture and Northern networking

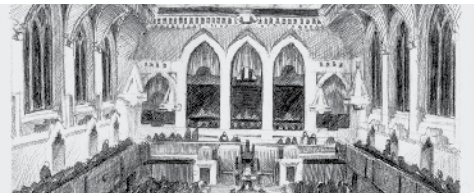
Friends & Family Early Rate: \$99 After May 1: \$199

Wednesday, May 17, 2017, 6PM - 10PM
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa
Business casual or best sealskin

A Taste of the Arctic
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PARLIAMENTARY
CALENDAR



Canadian
Dental
Association’s
Days on the
Hill May 9–10

Continued from page 38

TUESDAY, MAY 9

The Canadian Dental Association’s (CDA) Days on the Hill—May 9 & 10, CDA’s Days on the Hill connects leaders from Canada’s 21,000 dentists with parliamentarians to discuss important issues pertaining to oral health. The CDA is the national voice for dentistry in Canada and is dedicated to the promotion of optimal oral health for Canadians. For further information, please contact Bonnie Kirkwood at bkirkwood@cda-adc.ca

An Evening with the Canadian Dental Association—The Canadian Dental Association (CDA) invites you to its annual parliamentary reception for friends of the dental profession, parliamentarians, and staff on Tuesday, May 9, at 5:30 p.m., Room 238-S Centre Block. Refreshments will be provided. To RSVP, please contact Bonnie Kirkwood at bkirkwood@cda-adc.ca

3M Canada—3M Canada invites you to an interactive reception showcasing Canadian science and technology on Tuesday, May 9, 2017. The reception will be held at the Wellington Building (180 Wellington Street) in Room 330, from 5:30 p.m.-7:30 p.m. All Parliamentarians are invited. Guests are asked to use the 197 Sparks St. entrance. Please RSVP to 3MReception@hkstrategies.ca before Friday, May 5, 2017. We look forward to seeing you there!

Inside The Song—The Junos and the Canadian Music Publishers Association are inviting Canadians to get ‘Inside the Song’ with some of the country’s world-renowned creators and songwriters of today’s biggest hits. Canadians, politicians and artists will get the chance to explore the behind the scenes journey of song writing with multi-platinum, award-winning producer/songwriter Rob Wells (Justin Bieber), Toronto songwriter Naomi Shobha (Tyler Shaw) and award-winning Quebec singer-songwriter Sally Falk who will debut a new song in celebration of Canada. The evening will be hosted by award-winning publisher Vince Degiorgio. May 9, 6:30 to 9:30 p.m., Riviera (62 Sparks St.) in downtown Ottawa. For more information, please email rsvp@compassrosegroup.org. By invitation only.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 10

Politics and the Pen—The annual fundraiser that brings together federal politicians, writers, diplomats, notable arts and business leaders to support the Writers’ Trust’s mandate to advance and celebrate Canadian writers and writing will happen Wednesday, May 10, at the Chateau Laurier Hotel. The evening will end with the \$25,000 Shaughnessy Cohen Prize winner for the best political book of the year. Nominees: Kamal Al-Solaylee for *Brown: What Being Brown in the World Today Means (To Everyone)*; Christie Blatchford for *Life Sentence: Stories from Four Decades of Court Reporting – Or, How I Fell Out of Love with the Canadian Justice System (Especially Judges)*; Ian McKay and Jamie Swift for *The Vimy Trap: Or, How We Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Great War*; James McLeod for *Turmoil, as Usual: Politics in Newfoundland and Labrador and the Road to the 2015 Election*; and Noah Richler for *The Candidate: Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail*.

SATURDAY, MAY 13

Science Odyssey Funfest—Natural Resources Canada will be hosting Science Odyssey Funfest in Ottawa on Saturday, May 13. A one-day celebration and learning experience for youth, the event aims to spark interest in careers in science and technology and increase awareness of science and technology in our everyday lives. 580 Booth Street, Ottawa, Saturday, May 13, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Cost: free.

MONDAY, MAY 15

Donner Prize—The award for the best public policy book by Canadian will be announced in Toronto at the Donner Prize’s Gala evening. The Donner Prize encourages and celebrates excellence in public policy writing by Canadians and the winner receives \$50,000 while the other nominated authors receive \$7,500. The shortlist will be announced in April and the winner will be proclaimed at a gala dinner in Toronto on Monday, May 15. Last year’s winner was Donald Savoie’s *What Is Government Good At? A Canadian Answer*. For more information, contact the Donner Prize manager Sherry Naylor at 416-368-8253 or sherry@naylorandassociates.com.

TUESDAY, MAY 16

Society of Composers, Authors, and Music Publishers of Canada—The Society of Composers, Authors, and Music Publishers of Canada (SOCAN) invites all Parliamentarians and staff to come celebrate Canadian music talent at a reception on May 16 on Parliament Hill. 5:30-8:30 p.m. The event will showcase music performances from English and French top-chart artists.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17

The Council of Ontario Universities Pop-up Research Park Reception—On Wednesday, May 17 from 3-5 p.m., in the House Speaker’s Salon on Parliament Hill, House Speaker Geoff Regan will host the Research Matters Pop-Up Research Park reception in collaboration with the Council of Ontario Universities (COU). The reception will showcase a number of innovative research projects occurring at Ontario universities and will bring together researchers, students, and industry and community partners from across the province. This year, COU’s theme will focus on Canada 150 by showcasing how research has helped shape Canadian identity over the years. All Parliamentarians and staff are invited to attend.

Canada Grows On Trees—Celebrating Canada’s Sustainably Managed Natural Resource, Forests: The Forest Products Association of Canada will be hosting a cocktail reception on May 17, 5:30 p.m. to 7:30 p.m., in the Laurier Room at the Chateau Laurier in Ottawa. For more information or to RSVP, please contact nleboeuf@fpac.ca.

ITK’s A Taste of the Arctic—ITK will host its A Taste of Arctic May 17, 6 p.m. to 9 pm at the National Gallery of Canada. Come and experience Inuit food and entertainment including uniquely Arctic ingredients like seal, caribou, arctic char, arctic berries, arctic shrimp, and muskox among other options. The event also showcases Inuit culture and talented performers who demonstrate the modern conservation of Inuit traditions that keep Inuit culture strong.

China-Taiwan Relations: Challenges of Pushing Canada’s Agenda—May 17, 7:30 pm presentation by Ron MacIntosh, on China -Taiwan Relations: Challenges of Pushing Canada’s Agenda, Christ Church Cathedral, 414 Sparks Street. Free for members of the Canada China, \$5.00 for non-members.

THURSDAY, MAY 18

U.S. Tax Reform and Canadian Competitiveness—The Ottawa Economics Association (OEA) invites you to a luncheon event featuring Jack Mintz, president’s fellow, School of Public Policy, University of Calgary, and national policy adviser, EY Canada. Jack Mintz will present his views on U.S. tax reform, Canadian competitiveness, and what needs to be done to improve private investment in Canada. Members: \$50 prepaid on-line/\$80 at the door; Non-members: \$75/\$100; Student members: \$25/\$30 (online prices are exclusive of HST). Tuesday, April 25, 2017, 11:45 a.m., Chateau Laurier Hotel, Laurier Room. Details and registration via cabc.ca.

MONDAY, MAY 22

House Not Sitting—The House is not sitting this week, May 22-May 26, but resumes sitting on Monday, May 29, and will sit every weekday from May 29 to June 23, but the House could adjourn earlier.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 24

Bank of Canada Release—The bank is expected to make its latest interest rate announcement. 10 a.m.

THURSDAY, MAY 25

Diplomatic Hospitality Group—The Canadian Federation of University of Women’s Diplomatic Hospitality Group in Ottawa invites diplomats, their spouses/partners, and their families to this event, with the theme Historic Ottawa. It will feature a visit to the Billings Estate Historic Site, 2100 Cabot St., Ottawa. 10 a.m.-noon. A nominal fee will be charged to help cover costs.

SATURDAY, MAY 27

Conservative Party Leadership Convention—The Conservatives will elect their next leader on May 27, 2017. The party is urging Conservative Party members to buy memberships or renew them in order to vote. For more information, contact Cory Hann, director of communications, Conservative Party of Canada, at 613-697-5614.

SUNDAY, MAY 28

NDP Leadership Debate—The party will hold a debate in Sudbury. 2-3 p.m. Cambrian College. In order to vote for the leader, you need to become a member of the NDP no later than Aug. 17. Online voting begins Sept. 18 and a leader will be announced no later than Oct. 29.



House Sitting—The House resumes sitting after a two-week break. It’s sitting weekdays from May 1-19. The Senate sits from May 1-May 19. *The Hill Times* photograph by Shruti Shekar

MONDAY, MAY 29

House Sitting—The House resumes sitting on Monday, May 29, and will sit every weekday from May 29 to June 23, but it could adjourn earlier.

TUESDAY, MAY 30

Canadian Foundation for Healthcare Improvement’s Hill Day Breakfast—Parliamentarians are invited to come hear how CFHI is turning innovation into action that is having a direct impact on the health of Canadians. Health leaders and family members will talk about a nationwide collaboration that successfully reduced the inappropriate use of anti-psychotic medications and is now being implemented in every nursing home in New Brunswick. The breakfast is by invitation only. Parliamentarians can drop in between 7:30 a.m. and 9:30 a.m. at the Speaker’s Lounge, 216-N Centre Block, Parliament Hill. For more information, contact Graeme.Wilkes@cphi-fcass.ca.

Business Council of British Columbia Parliamentary Reception—Members of the Business Council of British Columbia (BCBC) including leaders from business, First Nations and academia invite all Parliamentarians to join them at a reception on Tuesday, May 30, 5 p.m.-8 p.m., Renaissance Room, Fairmont Chateau Laurier. Join BCBC to learn more about the important role that its 250+ members play in making Canada more innovative, more competitive and more diverse. Please RSVP to Hunter Doubt at hdoubt@globalpublic.com or 613-783-3452.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 31

CANSEC 2017—This is an annual showcase of technology, products, and services for land-based, naval, aerospace, and joint forces military units. Organizers say this two-day event is the largest and most important defence industry event in Canada. Until June 1. EY Centre, 4899 Uplands Dr., Ottawa, Ont. defenceandsecurity.ca/CANSEC2016/cansec/Overview.

5G Huddle—On May 31 and June 1, the Wireless World Research Forum will host the 4th Annual 5G Huddle at the Crowne Plaza Gatineau-Ottawa, as part of the celebrations of the 150th Anniversary of Confederation, a move which is supported by the Canadian Wireless Telecommunications Association (CWTA), Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada (ISED), the Information Technology Association of Canada (ITAC), and the Radio Advisory Board of Canada (RABC). The 2017 5G Huddle will focus concretely on the transition from 4G to 5G, i.e., on what needs to be done to lay the groundwork for widespread 5G adoption and ensure that we are prepared to capitalize on the opportunities and benefits ahead. For more information and to register, please visit www.5ghuddle.com

Polytechnics Canada Annual Policy Conference—The theme is “Building Canada through Skills and Innovation.” Speakers include Jamie Merisotis, Lumina Foundation, Martha Hall Findlay, Canada West Foundation, Kevin King, CAE Healthcare, and Barrie McKenna, The Globe and Mail Ottawa Bureau. The one-day conference ends with a dinner at NAIT’s culinary school, Ernest’s in Edmonton. For more information visit: www.polytechnicscanada.ca.

THURSDAY, JUNE 1

A Collaborative Roadmap for Canadian Parliamentary Reform—*Turning Parliament Inside Out: Practical Ideas for Reforming Canada’s Democracy*, edited by Michael Chong, Scott Simms, and Kennedy Stewart, will launch their book at Ben McNally Books, 366 Bay St., on June 1 in Toronto. Author proceeds will go to Samara Canada.

SATURDAY, JUNE 3

Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner—Press gallery members are urged to bring their favourite Parliamentarian to this annual event. Saturday, June 3. Canadian Museum of History. The evening will begin with a reception in the River View Salon at 5:30 p.m. The dinner will be held in the Grand Hall at 7 p.m. Tickets: \$113 per person. Part of the ticket price will go to a donation to a charitable organization to further journalism. Tickets will be limited to a total of four per active member.

TUESDAY, JUNE 6

Diplomatic Hospitality Group—The Canadian Federation of University of Women’s Diplomatic Hospitality Group in Ottawa invites diplomats, their spouses/partners, and their families to this event, with the theme Canada’s First Capital. It will feature a visit to Kingston, including a bus tour, cruise, and lunch. 8 a.m.-5 p.m. A nominal fee will be charged to help cover costs.

Great Canadian Debates: The Government Must Act to Save Journalism in Canada—The Macdonald-Laurier Institute presents this debate between former *Toronto Star* publisher John Honderich (for) and Postmedia columnist Andrew Coyne (against). 7 p.m. June 6. Barney Danson Theatre, Canadian War Museum, 1 Vimy Pl., Ottawa. Tickets: \$25-\$20. macdonaldlaurier.ca.

The Parliamentary Calendar is a free events 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 Wednesday 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. Events can be updated daily online too. news@hilltimes.com
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