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TWENTY-NINTH YEAR, NO. 1538

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, JUNE 4, 2018 \$5.00

News Ontario election: June 7

With Wynne headed for big loss, federal NDP and Conservatives to target ridings for 2019 election, say veteran political players

BY ABBAS RANA

With Ontario Liberal Premier Kathleen Wynne headed for big loss in this week's provincial election, veteran federal political players say Thursday's results will provide a roadmap for the federal NDP and Conservatives for possible winnable ridings in the 2019 election, and they say the federal Liberals won't have the provincial machine that helped them win a majority government in 2015.

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News Phoenix

Conservatives accuse MacKinnon of trying to 'direct' Grit MPs to defeat motion asking Wernick to testify about Phoenix

BY ABBAS RANA

Conservatives on the House Public Accounts Committee are accusing Liberal MP Steven MacKinnon, parliamentary secretary to the Public Services

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News Trans Mountain pipeline

Trans Mountain purchase to expose Liberals on multiple fronts, say pollsters: 'they wear everybody's mistakes'

The Liberals will likely lose seats in British Columbia over the controversial decision, says Shachi Kurl.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured last week at the National Press Theatre in Ottawa, had one very busy, pivotal week in his leadership. His government announced it will buy the \$4.5-billion Trans Mountain pipeline and it retaliated against the U.S. by imposing \$16.6-billion in tariffs after U.S. President Donald Trump announced tariffs on steel and aluminum imports. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



BY PETER MAZEREUW & BEATRICE PAEZ

Buying the \$4.5-billion Trans Mountain pipeline has made the governing Liberals politically vulnerable on multiple fronts and

will likely endanger seats in British Columbia and Quebec without providing a boost in Alberta, say pollsters.

The controversial move, announced by Natural Resources Minister Jim Carr (Winnipeg

South Centre, Man.) and Finance Minister Bill Morneau (Toronto Centre, Ont.) on May 29 in Ottawa, could alienate environmentalists, Vancouverites worried

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News NAFTA

'This is going to create border chaos': MPs react to Trump tariffs, Trudeau response

BY BEATRICE PAEZ

The Trudeau government made the right call in retaliating with countermeasures to Washington's move to enact tariffs on Canadian steel and aluminum, while also giving the issue some breathing room to allow for a resolution before trade relations get worse, say some MPs.

"It's extremely important to the country to know that our

Continued on page 19

News Politics & privacy

House Ethics Committee to release interim report on probe into Cambridge Analytica-Facebook scandal this summer, says Zimmer

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

The House Access to Information, Privacy, and Ethics Committee will deliver an interim report this summer on its sprawling study into the Cambridge Analytica-Facebook data breach, and last week it received some

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HEARD ON THE HILL

by Shruti Shekar

Former Chrétien-era minister Don Boudria to receive award from Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

The Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians (CAFP) is awarding the Distinguished Service Award on June 4 to former Liberal cabinet minister and MP **Don Boudria**, 68, who is now a lobbyist in Ottawa at Hill and Knowlton Strategies.

"The first reaction is that there are all kinds of people who have done bigger things than me, and I'm just a bus boy," Mr. Boudria laughed during a phone call after meeting with his physiotherapist.

He was recently diagnosed with polymyalgia rheumatica, an inflammatory disorder that causes muscle pain and stiffness. That ordeal started not too long after Christmas.



Social Development Minister Jean-Yves Duclos, Don Boudria, and his son, Dan Boudria, pictured in the government lobby on the Hill. Photograph courtesy of Twitter

Mr. Boudria was elected into the House in 1984 to represent the riding of Glengarry-Prescott-Russell, Ont., which he represented from 1984 to 2006.

Before that he had several jobs, including working as a bus boy in the parliamentary kitchen on the Hill, which he's still proud of to this day. He wrote an entire book about it, titled *Busboy: From Kitchen to Cabinet*. When prime minister **John Turner's** Liberals were defeated in 1984, Mr. Boudria was part of a group of young, scrappy and high-profile MPs who included **Sheila Copps**, **John Nunziata**, and **Brian Tobin**, and who were known as the Rat Pack because of their vocal opposition to the **Brian Mulroney** government. Once **Jean Chrétien** won government in 1993, Mr. Boudria was put into cabinet. Over the years, the hardworking MP, cabinet minister and Chrétien loyalist was also known on the Hill as "Binder Boy," a nickname coined by Reform Party MP **Deb Grey**. He earned the moniker because he regularly handed Mr. Chrétien notes during Question Period from his big white binder. Mr. Boudria will be awarded on June 4 at a reception at the Sir John A. Macdonald Building on the Hill at 5 p.m. There will also be a dinner to follow.

Mr. Boudria said he was excited about receiving the award.

"In terms of something parliamentary, this is the greatest thing that has happened to me since I was elected. I am recognized by the Parliamentarians past and present," he said. "I'm so grateful and looking forward to the event."

The award is presented to a former Parliamentarian "based on his or her contribution to public life while in office, and on their continued interest and activity in the promotion of human welfare and parliamentary democracy in Canada and abroad."

During his time on the Hill, Mr. Boudria was minister of public works and government services, minister for international cooperation, and he was also House leader and party whip.

Get to know the personal lives of Canada's PMs through a new book

For all the history nerds out there, there's a new book coming soon all about former prime ministers and what it's like to live their lives.

History professor **J.D.M. Stewart** has written a new 344-page book titled *Being Prime Minister*, to be published by Dundurn Press this June.

The book delves into what Canada's prime ministers were like as people and gives a behind-the-scenes picture of what it's like to be Canada's leader.

"From **John A. Macdonald** to **Justin Trudeau**, readers get a glimpse of the prime ministers as they travelled, dealt with invasions of privacy, met with celebrities, and managed the stress of the nation's top job," the book's sleeve says.

Mr. Stewart also includes personal conversations with six of seven living prime ministers.

The Globe and Mail's columnist **John Ibbitson** tweeted on May 30: "Attention political geeks: The definitive book on the private lives of the prime ministers is here. P.E.T. had a pilot's licence. Who knew?" Mr. Ibbitson was referring to former prime minister **Pierre Elliott Trudeau**.

Separated at birth, eh?



CBC's Chris Brown and Conservative MP Erin O'Toole. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade and photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

This just in: There's a new internship out there for budding journalists

Abacus Data pollster **Bruce Anderson** says he's going to establish a new journalism internship that will allow students itching to become journalists to work as reporters on the Hill.

"Now that @jaimiesinterns has enough money to be self-financing, a group of us are creating a new internship for journalism students to spend summers working in Parliamentary News Bureaux more details to come!" Mr. Anderson tweeted on May 26.

"This is a real thing, I'm happy to report!" *iPolitics* columnist **Susan Delacourt** tweeted on May 29.

Mr. Anderson, who is also the chairman of Summa Strategies' Summa Communications, is also the creator of the successful Jaimie Anderson Parliamentary Internship.

That internship, named after his daughter, gives paid summer internship opportunities to young people "who have a keen interest in learning more about and making a contribution to the political life of our country."

Mr. Anderson started out in 1980 as a Hill staffer. In 1983 he joined Decima Research and in 1989 became a founding partner of Earncliffe Strategy Group.

Crestview welcomes all for post-Ontario election after-party

It's safe to say that everyone deserves a good after-party once the Ontario election wraps up this week.

So if you haven't booked your after-party yet, or you haven't figured out what you're doing, then you should make sure to RSVP to government relations firm Crestview Strategy's annual summer celebration. The party is also dubbed "the post-election" party.

It's going to be on Wednesday, June 13, at The Campbell House, which is located downtown Toronto on Queen Street West.

Sorry Ottawa folks, this one might be hard to get to!

The party starts at 6 p.m.

Ex-PM Chrétien says he would speak French to U.S. President Trump

Former Liberal prime minister **Jean Chrétien** said on CBC's *The Current* last Thursday that if he met U.S. President **Donald Trump** he would say "Bonjour."

"Bonjour—and he won't understand," said the 20th prime minister of Canada on the show, adding that if he was American he would not have voted for the 45th Republican president.

During the show, Mr. Chrétien also said that even though there seems to be a lot of kerfuffle around the NAFTA negotiations, he thinks the trilateral trade deal with the U.S. and Mexico will still work out.

"You cannot undo an omelette," he said to the CBC, adding that the three countries are very trade dependent.

President Trump created a trade war last week when Canada, Mexico and the European Union lost exemption to the U.S. metal tariffs and Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** fired back with tariffs on U.S. experts.

Foreign Affairs Minister **Chrystia Freeland**, meanwhile, was flying back and forth to Washington last week to push the NAFTA negotiations ahead. The CBC reported on May 16 that Ms. Freeland has been seeking former Progressive Conservative prime minister **Brian Mulroney's** advice on the negotiations since he helped craft the original Canada-U.S. trade deal in 1988 which was superseded by NAFTA in 1994.

According to the U.S. Trade Representative's website, "U.S. goods and services

trade with Canada totaled an estimated \$673.9-billion in 2017. Exports were \$341.2 billion; imports were \$332.8 billion. The U.S. goods and services trade surplus with Canada was \$8.4 billion in 2017."

Mr. Chrétien said that whatever agreement the three countries come to, Mr. Trump will eventually take credit for it.

"Change one comma, Mr. Trump would say it is the biggest historic victory that America ever had," he said. "And we [should] say 'Yes, sir, Monsieur Trump.'"

Susan Lunn leaves CBC, joins Agriculture Canada



CBC Radio reporter Susan Lunn shows off some of her tags that she has acquired over the years as a reporter. She announced she is leaving journalism for a gig at Agriculture Canada. Photograph courtesy of Twitter

Longtime reporter **Susan Lunn** announced on May 31 on Twitter that she was leaving journalism for a new role at Agriculture Canada.

"It's true. After 32 years of reporting I'm leaving to work for Agriculture Canada to contribute hopefully in a different way," the CBC Radio reporter tweeted.

Ms. Lunn replied to comments on her Twitter post that she would be joining the government department as a policy analyst.

Ms. Lunn started her journalism career working at the *Chronicle Herald* in Halifax. She started working at CBC Radio in the early 90's and has worked in several locations including Sudbury, Saskatoon, Regina, Toronto, and most recently in Ottawa working on the Parliamentary beat.

Queen's Park veteran Geoff Turner joins Bluesky Strategy in Ottawa

Consulting firm Bluesky Strategy Group has hired on **Geoff Turner**, a longtime provincial political staffer, as a senior consultant to its team in Ottawa.

Mr. Turner has held several senior roles in the Ontario provincial legislature, including as the senior policy adviser to the finance minister from May 2016

to June 2017 and the policy adviser to the safety and correctional services minister from March 2014 to April 2016.

He was in charge of stakeholder relations for the labour minister from February 2013 to March 2014. From 2006 to 2011 he served in various roles in the offices of the finance minister, the revenue minister, and the education minister.

In 2005 he was also a Liberal candidate for the federal riding of Lanark-Frontenac-Lennox and Addington, Ont.

According to a May 31 press release, Mr. Turner will work with issues relating to cannabis legalization, the alcohol beverage system and retail modernization, healthcare and social services funding, First Nation policing reform, and workplace safety, among others.

sshekar@hilltimes.com
@shruti_shekar



Geoff Turner, a longtime provincial staffer, joins Bluesky Strategy Group as a senior consultant. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn



Canadian Foodgrains Bank

Partnering with Canadian farmers and the Government of Canada to end global hunger for 35 years

In 1983, a new kind of bank was founded—Canadian Foodgrains Bank.

Its creation can be traced back to the vision, commitment and concern of prairie farmers in the 1970s who wanted to share food with people who didn't have enough to eat.

Today the Foodgrains Bank is a partnership of 15 churches and church agencies, working together with Canadian farmers, the Canadian agricultural sector, the Government of Canada, churches across the country and many individual Canadians who want to help hungry people in the developing world.

Through local partners in the developing world, we provide emergency food relief; support nutrition projects for mothers and children; and fund development programs to help families improve their food security, particularly farm families.

Celebrating Partnership

As we mark our 35th anniversary, we want to celebrate and highlight our partnerships, beginning with Canadian farmers and the Canadian agricultural sector.

We celebrate our partnership with Canadian farmers. They not only give generously to assist people who don't have enough to eat, but also inspire us by how they care for their land and the environment.

We celebrate our partnership with the Canadian agricultural sector. Every year hundreds of agricultural businesses and companies across Canada generously supply donated seeds, inputs and services to farmer-led growing projects that raise funds for the Foodgrains Bank.

We also celebrate our partnerships with others. This includes Canadian churches and individual Canadians; the thousands of communities and families we work with in developing countries; and our long-standing and vital partnership with the Government of Canada.

As a result of these partnerships, since 1983 the Foodgrains Bank has been able to provide almost \$1 billion of food-related assistance for tens of millions of people in over 70 countries.

Looking Ahead

Since 1983, the Foodgrains Bank has grown and changed. More changes will come as we find new ways to help those who don't have enough to eat. But one thing will remain the same as we look ahead: Our appreciation for our partners, the ones who make our work of ending global hunger possible. Thanks to all!

Together, we can continue to make a difference for the far-too many today who still don't have enough food to eat.



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www.foodgrainsbank.ca

News Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women Inquiry

With five months to go under current timelines, observers eager for word on MMIW inquiry's extension request

Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Carolyn Bennett's office said a response is coming 'shortly,' having previously suggested an announcement would come by last week.

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

It's been three months since the national inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women submitted a request for an extension—for two more years and another \$50-million—to the federal government, and with only five months to go under the current timeline, observers are urging the government to respond soon.

"I think families have been waiting for long enough that the government should be considerate of their emotional turmoil as they take their considerations and come with an answer sooner," said Francyne Joe, president of the Native Women's Association of Canada. "Families are waiting week-by-week to hear what's happening. They've been contacting the office to see if I've heard anything or if the staff have heard anything, and we are in the same place as they are; we've heard nothing," she told *The Hill Times* last week.

The independent national inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls was officially launched in September 2016. Ultimately allocated a budget of \$53.8-million, it was given until Nov. 1, 2018 to publish its final report—with an interim report due, and since delivered, on Nov. 1, 2017—and until Dec. 31, 2018 to complete its mandate.

On March 6, the inquiry officially submitted a much-anticipated request for extension, seeking an extra two-years for its work, pushing the final deadline to Dec. 31, 2020, and another \$50-million. If granted, that would bring the inquiry's total budget up to roughly \$103.8-million.

The inquiry is currently made up of chief commissioner Marion Buller, a member of the Mista-wasis First Nation, and commissioners Michèle Audette, a former president of NWAC whose father is Québécois and mother is Innu; Brian Eyolfson, a former public servant and a member of the Couchiching First Nation; and Qajaq Robinson, a former associate with Borden Ladner Gervais LLP who has an Inuit background.

A fifth commissioner, Métis University of Saskatchewan law professor Marilyn Poitras, resigned in July, citing concern the commission was "going down a tried road."

In response to emailed questions last week, the inquiry confirmed it had not yet gotten any response from the federal government to either its November 2017 interim report, which included 10 calls for "immediate" action, or to its March 6 request for an extension, and that it did not yet have an indication of when the federal government would be responding.

"In the absence of a response, work is continuing towards the development of a national inquiry final report for delivery in November 2018," said Nadine Gros-Louis, acting communications manager for the inquiry, in an emailed response May 31.



Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Carolyn Bennett, pictured at the Assembly of First Nations' special assembly on federal legislation in Gatineau, Que. on May 1. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

With a "very broad" mandate to look at everything from policing to justice systems to social services, "each of which could be the subject of a separate inquiry," Ms. Gros-Louis said as the inquiry's work progressed "it became clear that the 28-month term set" by the government was "inadequate" for the inquiry to do a "proper and thorough examination."

The requested two-year extension would allow the inquiry to "undertake additional activities that will strengthen its understanding of the causes contributing to violence, which in turn, will strengthen the final report and recommendations," she said.

To date, 15 community hearings have been held, with 1,273 testimonies gathered from family members and survivors. The inquiry's work is currently focused on institutional, knowledge keeper, and expert hearings. Upcoming hearings include an expert hearing June 11 to June 13 in Toronto on racism and an institutional hearing is June 25 to June 29 in Regina on police policies and practices.

"This is our opportunity to make the systemic changes necessary to ensure that current and future generations of Indigenous women and

girls and Two-Spirited people can live safely," said Ms. Gros-Louis.

Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Carolyn Bennett's (Toronto-St. Paul's, Ont.) office indicated last week that the "government anticipates having a decision shortly" on the request for extension, and will respond to the inquiry's interim report at the same time.

James Fitz-Morris, director of communications to Ms. Bennett, said the minister "immediately" began holding "discussions with MMIWG families, Indigenous partners and communities as well as her provincial and territorial counterparts" after receiving the extension request on March 6.

He noted that granting the request for extension would require changes to the inquiry's terms of reference and mandate, in turn requiring agreement from provinces and territories as there

are concurrent inquiry mandates in place for each.

"As you can appreciate, broad discussions such as this take time," said Mr. Fitz-Morris.

In terms of the inquiry's 10 calls to action, the government responded

"immediately to a number of recommendations contained in the interim report," he said, including striking a working group of senior public servants from "relevant departments" to meet to "address the back-office and administrative issues" faced by the inquiry, but said some, like the call for the creation of a National Police Task Force, "require more time."

"The government believes the goals of such a task force have merit however, creating a brand new body with a mandate to cover all police forces in all jurisdictions in Canada will require a considerable amount of time and coordination," said Mr. Fitz-Morris.

He reiterated the government's commitment to ensure the inquiry delivers on its mandate, and "to getting the families the answers they have been seeking for decades in a timely manner."

Denise Stonefish, chief of the Delaware Nation and chair of the Assembly of First Nations' women's council, is among those eager for the federal government to respond.

"The federal government has to come out and make a decision one way or another, rather than letting

everybody, including the families, sitting back wondering if there's going to be an extension or not," she told *The Hill Times* last week.

Ms. Stonefish said she supports the inquiry's request, noting from the beginning she expressed concern that the two-year mandate was too short.

While the national inquiry "struggled at the beginning," Ms. Stonefish said of late she's "not hearing so much about" concerns over the inquiry from families as she previously did—that it was slow to start, had poor communication with families, was taking too much of a colonial approach, and more.

"Everybody's come to realize, OK, that's in the past, let's move forward," she said.

With the inquiry currently still working to submit a final report in five months under existing timelines, Ms. Joe said it's "working faster and possibly not incorporating all of the items that they had wanted to incorporate for a fully inclusive report."

Ms. Joe said NWAC is "fully in support of an extension" for the inquiry, but noted her organization has been clear that it's looking for more transparency from the inquiry.

"We've indicated to the national inquiry that if an extension is approved we want to know where the monies are going to be directed to and what type of timeline is going to be created, what sort of schedule, that will be inclusive of families," she said.

But already, Ms. Joe said the inquiry has succeeded in raising awareness about the issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women among Canadians.

"I've heard more so from non-Indigenous Canadians that they're concerned about these issues and that we need to do something to protect all women, and I think the families, in sharing their stories, it's been a process of healing for many of them," said Ms. Joe.

"Families are starting to feel some of the respect that they wish that they had had when the issues first took place, when their loved one disappeared, when their loved one was murdered," she said.

Conservative MP Cathy McLeod (Kamloops-Thompson-Cariboo, B.C.) said it's "absolutely inappropriate" that the government has not yet responded to either the inquiry's interim report or its request for extension.

"The inquiry has been left basically hanging in limbo. They're doing the sort of work in terms of trying to finish things off, but they put in this request and this has been a couple of months now and they have no idea what they're going to do and where they're going to go," said Ms. McLeod. "That's not any way to run such an important inquiry."

"The minister needs to be clear and formal in terms of what she's going to do, when she's going to do it, but to leave interim recommendations sitting for over six months I think is unacceptable," she said.

Asked if she supports the inquiry's request for extension, Ms. McLeod said she wants to see greater transparency "around why this is more complex and how the money is being spent," and more information on "what are the addi-

tional unique challenges that make this different than the budget for the Truth and Reconciliation."

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was struck in June 2008 to examine the residential school experience in Canada and, after a re-launch and extension, officially wrapped up its work in December 2015; it had a total budget of \$60-million.

"In my mind they had as much or more complexity to the work that they had to do," said Ms. McLeod.

lryckewaert@hilltimes.com

The Hill Times

A look at the MMIW national inquiry's interim report

On Nov. 1, 2017, the national inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women released its interim report.

Along with reviewing its "vision," mandate, scope and structure, and past lessons learned through the pre-inquiry phase, advisory meetings, and 98 existing reports, the inquiry used the interim report to highlight some "significant challenges" for the inquiry to date.

Among other things, those challenges include: the difficulty of balancing the federal jurisdiction with the corresponding inquiry work in 13 provinces and territories; the federal government's failure to get consent to share contact information for participants in the pre-inquiry process; hiring and office set-up delays; work still underway to have a "comprehensive legal case-management system" in place to analyze what's being gathered; the need to adhere to federal procurement and contracting rules, which can take more time and lack flexibility; and short timelines.

The interim report also included 10 recommendations, or calls, for "immediate" action:

- That the TRC's 94 calls to action, in particular those related to Indigenous women and kids, be implemented, and that the full implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples take place, including a federal action plan.
- That the government achieve full compliance with the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal's 2016 ruling regarding the government's racial discrimination against First Nations children.
- That the government find a way to share contact information of participants in the pre-inquiry process, or to provide those participants with information on how to take part in the national inquiry.
- That federal, provincial and territorial governments allocate additional project funding to support Indigenous organizations participating in the inquiry.
- That the federal government, in collaboration with Indigenous organizations, family coalitions, and others, establish a commemoration fund.
- That additional federal funding be provided to Health Canada's resolution health support program to help it meet increased needs resulting from the national inquiry's work, "at a minimum for the duration" of the inquiry.
- That Health Canada's resolution health support program in turn provide funding to Indigenous organizations and other service providers to ensure health supports for participants.
- That the federal government assess the possibility of restoring the Aboriginal Healing Foundation.
- That the federal government work with provinces and territories to create a national police task force to which cases and investigations can be referred, assessed, and potentially reopened.
- That the government "provide alternatives and options to its administrative rules" so the inquiry can fulfill its mandate in the "short timeframe" set out.

—Compiled by Laura Ryckewaert.



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News Legislation

Liberals drawing up gun bill amendments, cannabis bill enters home stretch

The House Public Safety Committee will begin its clause-by-clause examination of C-71 on June 5, and wrap it up June 7, said Mr. McKay, though the Conservatives on the committee had asked for more time.

BY PETER MAZEREEUW

At least one Liberal MP on the House Public Safety Committee is working with Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale's (Regina-Wascana, Ont.) office to bring forward amendments to the gun safety bill, C-71.

"I think there have been some discussions ... between the minister, minister's staff, and Liberal members, about amendments," said Liberal MP John McKay (Scarborough-Guildwood, Ont.), the committee chair.

Liberal MP Pam Damoff (Oakville North-Burlington, Ont.), a committee member, said she was working on an amendment to expand background checks for those applying for gun licences, and look for any history of intimate partner violence by the applicants. She also said she was considering bringing forward an amendment to include a check for a history of suicide attempts among applicants, if it didn't infringe on provincial jurisdiction. She said testimony from Heidi Rathjen of PolySeSouvient, an advocacy group formed after the 1989 École Polytechnique mass shooting, and Dr. Alan Drummond and Dr. Atul Kapur of the Canadian Association of Emergency Physicians, was at the root of those amendments.

When asked whether she had brought her ideas to Mr. Goodale's office, Ms. Damoff said she "always" spoke with the minister's office. She said she had not yet submitted her amendments and did not know how the government would receive them if they were passed by the committee.

Mr. McKay also said he was concerned by an issue raised by PolySeSouvient. Under C-71, gun transport authorization permits allow gun owners to transport their guns to any shooting range or club within their province, allowing gun owners, in theory, almost unrestricted travel around their province with their guns. In its brief to the committee, PolySeSouvient recommended limiting transport authorizations to cover only travel to and from a gun owner's home and a gun club or range of which he or she is a member.

Liberal MP Mark Holland (Ajax, Ont.), the government's

parliamentary secretary for public safety, said, "there's been discussion of some of the areas that they might want to look at. We are reviewing some of the things that came out of testimony, but aren't in a position now where we have a disposition on anything yet."

Mr. Holland sits in on the Public Safety Committee meetings, but does not have a vote.

"We don't have, sort of, a list of amendments either that we are seeking, or we don't have a position on potential amendments," he said. "We have sort of vague ideas of different things that might be raised, and so we're preparing our response to what might be raised. But right now nothing has been specifically raised, so we don't have a position," he said.

The government has worked with its MPs and at least one Senator several times in recent weeks to amend its own bills in response to criticism. Liberals on the House Environment Committee were in talks with the office of Environment Minister Catherine McKenna (Ottawa Centre, Ont.) last month as they introduced and passed more than 130 amendments to the government's landmark bill to overhaul the environmental impact assessment process, C-69. Independent Senator Tony Dean (Ontario) worked with the government to bring forward 29 amendments to the cannabis legalization bill, C-45, while it was before the Senate Social Affairs Committee late last month. Sen. Dean is the sponsor of C-45 in the Senate.

The Public Safety Committee will begin its clause-by-clause examination of C-71 on June 5, and wrap it up June 7, said Mr. McKay, though the Conservatives on the committee had asked for more time.

No legislation coming for Trans Mountain—for now

The government has backed away from its threat of legislation to "reinforce" federal jurisdiction over the Trans Mountain pipeline, at least for now.

Natural Resource Minister Jim Carr (Winnipeg South Centre, Man.) told reporters last week that "there isn't any legislation that is required to help this deal," during a press conference in which he and Finance Minister Bill Morneau (Toronto Centre, Ont.) announced the government was purchasing the Trans Mountain pipeline from Kinder Morgan.

"There's not any one-off piece of legislation that's necessary. We're very confident that we are acting within federal jurisdiction, and the movement of natural resources across provincial boundaries has been proven time and time [again] in the courts, including the Supreme Court of Canada, as squarely within federal jurisdiction," he said.

"But we reserve the right as a government to look at other pieces of legislation going forward if we

think that it's in the interest of moving ahead with this project, and the assertion of the federal jurisdiction."

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) told reporters in April that he would bring forward legislation to "reassert and reinforce" the federal government's right to approve the expansion of Kinder Morgan's pipeline from Alberta to the B.C. coast. The B.C. government under NDP Premier John Horgan is staunchly opposed to the pipeline's expansion.

Independent Senator Marc Gold (Stadacona, Que.) and York University professor Bruce Ryder, both constitutional lawyers, told *The Hill Times* in April that the government could use legislation to reassert its jurisdiction in several ways, including drawing up in law a detailed list of rules for the pipeline and making clear no others apply, though both noted that approach would likely provoke a backlash from B.C. and others provinces.



Liberal MP John McKay, left, chairs the House Public Safety Committee, which is wrapping up its study this week of Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale's (centre) gun safety bill, C-71. Liberal MP Pam Damoff, a member of the committee, is working on at least one amendment to the bill, to be introduced during clause-by-clause examination. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

The government will pay Kinder Morgan \$4.5-billion for the existing pipeline, but won't need to bring forward any appropriation bills to do so, as the money will come from Export Development Canada, according to Finance Canada.

The construction of the new components of the pipelines, which could cost billions, will be paid for with tolls on the companies that route their oil through the pipeline, Mr. Morneau said.

Along with the pipeline, the government acquired "shipper contracts" that "include tolls paid by the shippers for the use of the pipeline," said Finance Canada spokesperson Jocelyn Sweet.

Cannabis bill enters final stretch

The government's cannabis legalization bill, C-45, is now at third reading debate, and a final vote is coming on June 7. The Senate Social Affairs Committee brought forward several dozen amendments to the bill, including 29 amendments from the government itself, introduced by the bill's sponsor in the Senate, Sen. Dean, as well as several others from Sen.

Dean himself, Conservative Senator Judith Seidman (De la Durantaye, Que.), and others.

Sen. Dean said he does not know if the government will accept any of the proposed amendments, beyond those he brought forward on its behalf.

One of the government amendments, sent to Sen. Dean by the Justice Department, would allow those convicted of minor violations of the new laws around cannabis—those punished with a ticket—to avoid having the offence added to their criminal record, if they plead guilty.

Duncan's office vague on spring promise for disability legislation

The Liberals promised before the 2015 election to bring in a National Disabilities Act to promote equal opportunity and inclusion in society for people with disabilities. No legislation has been introduced so far, but the government's own election promise tracker says "it is anticipated that new federal accessibility legislation will be introduced to Parliament in spring 2018."

Just three weeks remain before the House rises for the summer break. The office of Disabilities and Sport Minister Kirsty Duncan (Etobicoke North, Ont.) said the government would

deliver the promised legislation "very soon," but would not say whether it would come before the House breaks until the fall.

Sen. Pate makes good on mandatory-minimums pledge

Independent Senator Kim Pate (Ontario) introduced a bill in the Senate last week that would allow judges to ignore mandatory minimum sentencing requirements brought in by the previous Conservative government.

The bill, S-251, makes good on Sen. Pate's promise to bring such legislation forward if the federal government did not do so. Sen. Pate told *The Hill Times* in April she was waiting to see if the government would give any sign it intended to tackle mandatory minimums, a Liberal 2015 pre-election promise, after it did not do so in its major justice reform bill, C-75.

"We have waited patiently. The time to act is now. The legislation I am tabling today could help us along this path," said a press release from Sen. Pate last week.

peter@hilltimes.com
@PJMazereeuw

Status of Government Bills

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Second reading:

- C-5, An Act to Repeal Division 20 of Part 3 of the Economic Action Plan 2015 Act, No. 1
- C-12, An Act to amend the Canadian Forces Members and Veterans Re-establishment and Compensation Act
- C-27, An Act to amend the Pension Benefits Standards Act, 1985
- C-28, An Act to amend the Criminal Code (victim surcharge)
- C-32, An Act related to the repeal of section 159 of the Criminal Code
- C-33, An Act to amend the Canada Elections Act
- C-34, An Act to amend the Public Service Labour Relations Act
- C-38, An Act to amend an Act to amend the Criminal Code (exploitation and trafficking in persons)
- C-39, An Act to amend the Criminal Code (unconstitutional provisions)
- C-42, Veterans Well-being Act
- C-43, An Act respecting a payment to be made out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund to support a pan-Canadian artificial intelligence strategy
- C-52, Supporting Vested Rights Under Access to Information Act
- C-56, An Act to amend the Corrections and Conditional Release Act and the Abolition of Early Parole Act
- C-75, An Act to Amend the Criminal Code, the Youth Criminal Justice Act, and other Acts
- C-77, An Act to amend the National Defence Act
- C-78, An Act to amend the Divorce Act, the Family Orders and Agreements Enforcement Assistance Act, and the Garnishment, Attachment, and Pension Diversion Act

Committee:

- C-62, An Act to amend the Federal Public Sector Labour Relations Act and other Acts
- C-71, An Act to amend certain Acts and Regulations in relation to firearms
- C-76, Elections Modernization Act

Report stage and second reading:

- C-59, An Act respecting national security matters
- C-47, An Act to amend the Export and Import Permits Act and the Criminal Code (amendments permitting the accession to the Arms Trade Treaty)
- C-64, Wrecked, Abandoned, or Hazardous Vessels Act
- C-68, An Act to amend the Fisheries Act
- C-69, An Act to amend the Impact Assessment Act and the Canadian Energy Regulator Act, to amend the Navigation Protection Act
- C-74, Budget Implementation Act, 2018, No. 1

Third reading:

- C-21, An Act to amend the Customs Act
- C-57, An Act to amend the Federal Sustainable Development Act

SENATE

Senate pre-study:

- C-74, Budget Implementation Act, 2018, No. 1
- C-48, Oil Tanker Moratorium Act
- C-55, An Act to amend the Oceans Act and the Canada Petroleum Resources Act
- C-58, An Act to amend the Access to Information Act and the Privacy Act
- C-65, An Act to amend the Canada Labour Code, the Parliamentary Employment and Staff Relations Act, and the Budget Implementation Act, 2017, No. 1 (harassment and violence)

Committee:

- C-50, An Act to amend the Canada Elections Act (political financing)
- C-51, An Act to amend the Criminal Code and the Department of Justice Act
- C-46, An Act to amend the Criminal Code (offences relating to conveyances)

Third reading:

- C-24, An Act to amend the Salaries Act and the Financial Administration Act
- C-45, Cannabis Act

The ‘incomprehensible’ Phoenix meltdown: entirely predictable and entirely preventable

Good whistleblower protection could have prevented the Phoenix fiasco, argues David Hutton.



David Hutton

Opinion

Calling the project an “incomprehensible failure,” Auditor General Michael Ferguson’s recent report on Phoenix describes not just a litany of outrageously bad and irresponsible decisions, but a stunning level of dishonesty among the senior executives responsible. For years—right from the start of the project—they knowingly hid important information and misled their superiors, concealing serious problems and risks. Here are just two examples:

In 2012, when IBM’s estimate of what the project would cost came in at almost double the budget, Phoenix executives



Calling the project an ‘incomprehensible failure,’ Auditor General Michael Ferguson’s recent report on Phoenix describes not just a litany of outrageously bad and irresponsible decisions, but a stunning level of dishonesty among the senior executives responsible, writes David Hutton. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

chose to simply cut down the project to meet the budget: removing more than 100 functions; reducing the testing; compressing the project timeframe; and cutting the number of development staff—all without acknowledging the destructive impact that these changes would have on the viability of the system. There’s a saying in the IT world: “If the product doesn’t have to work, we can meet any schedule and any budget.”

That’s Phoenix to a “T.”

In 2015, shortly before the fateful decision to proceed with a huge rollout, an independent report by Gartner Group made it clear to anyone who read it that the project was doomed. In fact Gartner recommended an immediate, dramatic, 180-degree change of strategy, a massive infusion of resources and a new management structure. Their recommended recov-

ery plan included: deferring any rollout, possibly for years; keeping the legacy systems running in the meantime; committing substantial resources to making Phoenix fully functional; and of course testing it properly before any attempted cutovers. Astonishingly, the minister responsible was not even shown this report.

Continued on page 39

**MY NORTH
MY HOME**

Meet the dedicated people of Canada’s Defence and Security Industry and discover how their work and their passions create innovative ideas that keep Canadians safe.

Read their stories:
MyNorthMyHome.ca

MY JOB
is design engineering

MY PASSION
is knowing that what I do helps save lives in Canada’s north

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THE HILL TIMES

PUBLISHED EVERY MONDAY AND WEDNESDAY BY
 HILL TIMES PUBLISHING INC.
 246 Queen Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5E4

PUBLISHERS Anne Marie Creskey,
 Jim Creskey, Ross Dickson
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Editorial

PM Trudeau's right to hit back at Trump, now the hard work really starts

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his advisers have, no doubt, mulled breaking off the friendly relationship with U.S. President Donald Trump more than once since the erratic businessman took office. They chose the right time.

Mr. Trump's steady stream of xenophobic and misogynistic statements and actions during his tenure have posed numerous opportunities for Mr. Trudeau to criticize the president—with more than a passive-aggressive tweet—and pose as the defender of liberal values. He wisely resisted the temptation. Mr. Trump's attacks on Canada's dairy and forestry industries, and frustrating NAFTA bargaining tactics were, in the big picture, small potatoes, and Mr. Trudeau was right not to unduly escalate the dispute with a politician who lives and breathes conflict.

The latest tariffs by the United States, this time on Canada's steel and aluminum industry, called for a counterpunch, however, and Mr. Trudeau and Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland delivered one last week when they announced retaliatory tariffs on numerous goods from the United States.

Mr. Trudeau maintained a diplomatic tone during the May 31 press conference, but made it clear that blame for the escalating trade dispute lay with Mr. Trump. The U.S. president, predictably, lashed out via Twitter in response, writing that Canada had been "unfair" to the U.S. agricultural sector and "must open their

markets and take down their trade barriers!"

Finally standing up to Mr. Trump, who has the power to cripple Canada's economy, was the right decision, but that was the easy part. The government must now navigate its way through and out of a burgeoning trade war with Canada's biggest trading partner, minimizing the short-term economic harm without making concessions that cause harm further down the road.

Mr. Trudeau's team has been preparing for this moment since Mr. Trump's first days in office, restructuring the PMO and cabinet in response to his election victory, and attempting to build ties with U.S. legislators and influencers outside of the White House. We'll now see how effective those efforts have been.

"This is not about the American people. We have to believe that at some point their common sense will prevail," Mr. Trudeau said during last week's press conference, a thinly-veiled reference to Mr. Trump. Let's hope Mr. Trudeau's plan out of this mess doesn't rely too heavily on common sense from those quarters. We've seen nothing from Mr. Trump to suggest he won't harm U.S. businesses that trade with Canada if he thinks he can profit from it politically; someone, within the U.S. or Canadian political establishment, will have to convince him that's not the case.

The Hill Times

Letters to the Editor

Fraser, Hanington did not 'mislead' their readers, says Pellerin, disputes Taylor

Re: "New book on Afghanistan war is revealing, misleading," (*The Hill Times*, May 30, p. 9). I am disappointed that *The Hill Times* would use the term "misleading" for a book that the author of the opinion column, Scott Taylor, acknowledges he has not read. I have read the book, *Operation Medusa: The Furious Battle That Saved Afghanistan from the*

Taliban, by retired major general David Fraser and Brian Hanington, and did four field visits in Afghanistan including one in Kandahar in October 2006. I feel that the authors have reported accurately the events on the ground during Op Medusa, they have not misled their readers.

Col. Alain Pellerin (Ret.)
 Ottawa, Ont.

Disagree with Taylor's take on Fraser's Operation Medusa book, says former MP

Re: "New book on Afghanistan war is revealing, misleading," (*The Hill Times*, May 30, p. 9). I was disappointed that *The Hill Times* would publish Scott Taylor's column, who admitted that he hadn't even read the book, *Operation Medusa: The Furious Battle That Saved Afghanistan from the Taliban*. This does not strike me as responsible journalism on his part and aiding and abetting that shoddy effort is below *The Hill Times'* normal standard. Having visited the troops on seven occasions in Kandahar, I am confident in saying that all Canadians should be proud of their efforts, up to and including the leadership of people

like former major-general David Fraser. Lessons need to be learned for sure and they have probably not been captured adequately. That said, they should be based on actual knowledge and understanding and not the shallow and marginally informed perspective of someone who can't take the time to read the book before criticizing.

Laurie Hawn
 Edmonton, Alta.

(The letter-writer is a retired colonel of the Royal Canadian Air Force and was Conservative MP for Edmonton-Centre from 2006-2015).

Prime Minister Trudeau promised to do something about fighting climate change, but buying a pipeline doesn't quite cut it

After the crippling rage and ensuing cynicism I've now harboured since Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's callous electoral reform betrayal last year, I didn't feel anything at all when I found out last week that he was buying a \$4.5-billion Trans Mountain pipeline.

How silly of me to think that in 2019, I would finally be able to vote for someone who would take our carbon budget seriously, and have it actually count toward something other than a tally of the other conscious voters who also wasted their ballot.

When the PM went to Paris, he made a major commitment to the rest of the world on our behalf. It was a commitment his Liberals evidently had no intention of keeping (much like electoral reform) as he preached sanctimoniously to other countries of its critical imperative. Prime Minister Trudeau has made self-righteous liars out of all of us and many don't seem to care.

How silly of me to think that Canadians would eventually be embarrassed by the global community's disapproval of our myopic selfishness, as we refuse

to even stop growing our oil industry, let alone phase it out.

I am 34 and live in Toronto. A large portion of my meagre paycheque is depleted by riding expensive public transit, buying expensive vegan groceries, and renting a tiny, yet over-priced apartment. But I don't mind forking over the money because I feel like I am doing my part to help tackle climate change. After all, our governments are busy subsidizing more important things with their share of my cheque, I'm told.

How silly of me.

Once a year, I try to take a camping trip to get away from the grind and pretend that I am living in harmony with nature for a few days.

This June, I'll bring my tent to Burnaby Mountain, along with some hard-earned cash that I have set aside to help pay the salaries of those who will arrest and fine me when I get there.

At least I can say that I created jobs, right?

Alykhan Pabani
 Toronto, Ont.



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circulation@hilltimes.com
 613-288-1146

THE HILL TIMES

Published every Monday and Wednesday by Hill Times Publishing Inc.

246 Queen Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5E4
 (613) 232-5952
 Fax (613) 232-9055

Canadian Publications Mail Agreement No. 40068926
 www.hilltimes.com

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Choice of Charlevoix shows Trudeau learned from past global summit mistakes

Protests will mostly be far away from the summit, and headlines will focus on what the political leaders are up to, not the protestors.



Sheila Copps

Copps' Corner

OTTAWA—Prime Minister Justin Trudeau welcomes the world to Charlevoix next week.

The charm offensive that has worked so well around the world has a chance to take centre stage at home.

But for any leader, the main objective of the G7 is actually to get out of the meeting without watching the place burn down around him.

Trudeau's choice of La Malbaie is designed to ensure a minimum amount of disruption

from protestors who are already marshalling to make international news.

The Réseau de résistance anti-G7 group is offering free transportation and Québec City couch-surfing to promote maximum attendance for a demonstration the day before the summit opens.

The network is reaching out across the country with a bilingual call for resisters to come to Québec City to fight "capitalist exploitation, colonialism, and racist and sexist policies."

They are hoping to replicate the high-water mark of international upheaval in 1999, when 40,000 protestors breached the ramparts at a multilateral trade meeting in Seattle, 500 people were arrested, and the city was in lockdown.

The resisters are well-organized. Their website boasts committees for finance and logistics, information and popular education, a legal team to defend those who may be arrested, a mobilization and networking committee, and a committee to coordinate all of the above.

Like protestors, governments have gotten smarter in coordinating world summits to limit collateral damage. The newly-emerging threat of terrorism has also changed the complexion of international meetings, as former supporters of mild-mannered civil disobedience are more concerned about bombs than bombast.

But the geographic location picked by the prime minister is probably the most important factor determining whether protests or policy become the dominant theme for debate.

When former prime minister Stephen Harper chose Toronto as the location for a G8/G20 hosting experience, he probably thought it made eminent sense to bring

up overshadowing the positive outcomes from the event.

The police footprint was so huge around the meeting perimeter that ordinary citizens crossing the street became targets of police manhandling. The aftermath of the event was a fiasco, with the government spending months defending its decision to unleash a huge police presence on its own people.

And who could forget the famous pepper spray, utilized at the Vancouver APEC meeting hosted by prime minister Jean Chrétien.

Chrétien chose a meeting venue on the campus of the University of British Columbia, with the hope that a single entry point to the event would prevent protestors from disrupting the discussions. Instead, the overuse of pepper spray by one

Alleged overuse of pepper spray to clear the road leading to the APEC meeting in 1997 became the subject of a public inquiry that took three years and cost \$10-million. It concluded police had used excessive force in quelling protest.

The political bad taste left by that meeting lasted long after world leaders had left the country. Chrétien is currently writing a book to be released next October on the 25th anniversary of his 1993 victory. I have no doubt that the pepper spray incident will be one of the autobiographical highlights, or lowlights depending upon your perspective.

The substance of next week's meeting could be testy. Given the American decision to slap tariffs on steel and the steely impasse in trade negotiations, the atmosphere in the meeting will become tense. Canada's \$16-billion in retaliatory measures will raise the ire of irascible American President Donald Trump, who plans to attend.

If history is any indication, the crowd of protestors will do everything in their power to seize world headlines while world leaders are on Canadian soil.

However, the largest anti-G7 rally is slated for Québec City on the eve of the meetings. The leaders themselves will actually be far away in La Malbaie. It happens to be almost 150 kilometers from the city.

The chances of pepper-spraying police dominating world news are slim, as the sheer distance will simply keep most protests away from the international public eye. Instead, the media will be focussed on the drama unfolding in the room.

The prime minister has learned from past mistakes. The heat in this meeting will be on the inside.

news@hilltimes.com



Cover of aggressive police actions upstaged the political outcome of the 2010 G20 summit in Toronto. *The Hill Times* file photograph

world leaders to the most diverse city in the world.

But his team likely did not take into account the impact of mass traffic disruption, requiring a huge police presence that ended

officer dominated the messaging, so much so that Chrétien was forced to deflect complaints about police brutality, claiming "for me, pepper, I put it on my plate".

The scourge of social media skeletons

The reality of politics today is that whatever you've stated on blogs or on Facebook or on Twitter in the past can and will be used against you in the present.



Gerry Nicolls

Post-Partisan Pundit

OKVILLE, ONT.—Here's my advice for anyone contemplating a run for elected office: erase anything and everything you've ever posted anywhere on social media.

And then, after completely expunging your social media past, set up new social media accounts in which you post nothing but trivial and inoffensive comments, stuff like, "I really like ice cream and apple pie," or, "Hooray for (insert name of local sports team here)."

Okay, I know this sounds like harsh counsel, but the reality of politics today is that whatever you've stated on blogs or on Facebook or on Twitter in the past can and will be used against you in the present.

Indeed, we've seen this happen time and time again in the ongoing Ontario provincial election, where candidates from all the main political parties have generated embarrassing headlines due to controversial social media comments they posted years ago. Here's a sampling:

- Ontario Progressive Conser-

vative Party candidate Andrew Lawton landed in hot water because someone dug up a Twitter posting from seven years ago in which he joked, "An immigrant, a Muslim and a communist walk into a bar. The bartender says 'Hello, Mr. President.'"

- Laura Kaminker, a candidate for the NDP, put her party in a public relations bind when it was discovered that in a 2014 blog posting, she proclaimed her disdain for Remembrance Day, calling it "collective brainwashing."

- Liberal party candidate Amanda Yeung Collucci posted on Facebook in 2012: "9/11 was it really a terrorist attack or just another for cover up? As soon as it happened back in 2001, I thought how can the U.S. Defense be so weak? I thought they LET it happen so they can declare war."

And in each one of these cases, party leaders were forced to defend their candidates, which put them on the defensive and which put them off message.

That's not a good thing. Of course, there's nothing re-

ally new about past statements or comments coming back to haunt politicians.

Ever since democracy was invented, candidates for office have had to worry about getting bit by some skeleton in the closet.

What makes things different now, however, is the relative ease with which those skeleton-filled closets can be found.

In the olden days, campaigns had to rely on what's called "opposition research," i.e. they would pay someone to comb through old newspaper clippings and speeches and legislative records to find dirt on their opponents; a time consuming and expensive process.

But in these modern times of internet access, anyone with a computer can find embarrassing information about any political candidate simply by Googling his or her name along with key words such as "gay," "Muslim," "immigrant," "9/11."

What's more, thanks to the existence of social media, even political amateurs, people who've

never been quoted in a newspaper or given a speech, still have public records.

So how can political candidates protect themselves from any social media sins?

Well, my initial advice, about deleting all commentary, was only semi-facetious.

Potential candidates should absolutely scrutinize their past social media commentary (because, after all, your opponents will) to see if there's any controversial time bombs waiting to go off.

And if anything is found that's even remotely problematic, it'd be a good idea to delete it.

Mind you, things posted online have a way of sticking around even after they're deleted, so it's also a good idea to have a defence ready just in case.

That means candidates should fill in their campaign communications team as to any potential problems.

Forewarned, as they say, is forearmed.

Now if you'll excuse me, I have some tweets to delete.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.

www.gerrynicholls.com
The Hill Times

Opinion

Ontario Liberal Party headed for a monumental, historic defeat

And, already, some of us are starting to hear some of the excuses being road-tested by Kathleen Wynne's campaign wizards. Because they know they are going to lose.



Warren Kinsella

The War Room

TORONTO—Seventy-two hours. In 72 hours, the Ontario general election grinds to a close. Folks who live in other parts of Canada—or those who come from other parts of Canada, as is often the case on Parliament Hill—can be forgiven for being fed up with Ontario election coverage and commentary.

So, I ask forgiveness in advance for the following. But it's important.

The Ontario Liberal Party—formerly the most efficient and effective provincial political machine in Canada—is heading towards the precipice: a monumental, historic defeat. If it maintains party status, the pollsters are all telling us, it'll be a miracle.

And, already, some of us are starting to hear some of the excuses being road-tested by Kathleen Wynne's campaign wizards. Because they know they are going to lose. So they're making excuses, already.

Here's 10 of them, gratis. Feel free to clip and save.

"We've been in power for more than a decade, we knew winning again was unlikely." The same excuse could've been trotted out in 2014, when the Ontario Liberals had already been in power for more than a decade. Also worth remembering is that Stephen Harper was in power for about a decade, and left his party in fine shape. Same with Christy Clark in British Columbia. Same with Bill Davis: all were in power for a long time, but didn't leave their parties in ruins.

"Female political leaders never get re-elected. Misogyny, etc." Nancy Pelosi, Margaret Thatcher, Angela Merkel, Indira Gandhi, et al. would all tend to disagree: being a woman, in and of itself, is no magical bar to re-election. Being a woman didn't hurt Kathleen Wynne in 2014 so much, did it?

"Kathleen is gay. She was defeated by homophobia." See

above. 2014. Bogus excuse.

"This is the former premier's fault. Gas plants, blah blah blah. Wasn't our fault." Passing the buck to the guy who got you into provincial politics isn't just disrespectful, it's disingenuous: from the perspective of Joe and Jane Frontporch, it's all one Ontario Liberal Party. As when Paul Martin commenced his "Mad As Hell™" tour more than a decade ago, voters see just one Liberal Party. They don't make the sorts of distinctions Martin and Wynne do.



Ontario NDP leader Andrea Horwath, Ontario PC leader Doug Ford, and Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

"Hiding Kathleen wouldn't have worked. She's the leader, we needed to have her front and centre." Not so. A former Ontario Liberal leader, Lyn McLeod, experienced precisely the same problem in 1995: she was dragging her

party down. So, McLeod and her senior people made the (tough, principled) decision to take her off the air for the final two weeks. They held onto 30 seats as a result. Why didn't Wynne do likewise? We may never know.

"We ran an ethical and scandal-free government. We were sunk by Dalton's scandals." As I like to say: it's never the break-in, it's the cover up. For instance, Jean Chrétien resigned in December 2003, and the daily headlines were then still screaming about the so-called "sponsorship scandal." Chrétien's approval number? *Sixty per cent*. Five years earlier, in December 1998, Bill Clinton became the most popular president in the history of U.S. polling, with a *73 per cent* approval rating—all of which came *after* the Lewinsky scandal, and *after* his

again. **We decided to take the hit so a new leader could start fresh.** This is completely false: under Sandra Pupatello, the Ontario Liberal Party would have won another majority—and I have the polling to prove it. To wit: the Ontario Liberal *brand* was popular, the Ontario Liberal *record* was popular, the Ontario Liberal *caucus* was popular. What wasn't popular was *the leader*. Wynne needed to take a proverbial walk in the proverbial snow. She didn't.

"Our internal polling actually showed that we were going to do far worse. We are pleased where we ended up." You are forgiven if that one in any way reminds you of that scene at the end of Monty Python's 'Life of Brian,' when the guys who have been crucified start singing 'Always Look On the Bright Side of Life.'

"Trudeau has hurt the Liberal brand everywhere. He pulled down our numbers." Did Trudeau take on water after India? Yes. Does he have both sides of the ideological spectrum (unfairly) mad at him after the decision to buy the Trans Mountain Pipeline? Yes. But the notion that Trudeau is in any way responsible for Wynne's disastrous campaign is ridiculous and unfair. If anything, *Wynne's* numbers pulled down *Trudeau's*.

"We'll be back." Well, some Ontario Liberals may be. But Kathleen Wynne and her campaign's Wizard?

Seventy-two hours from now, they won't be.

Warren Kinsella is a former Jean Chrétien-era cabinet staffer and a former provincial and federal election campaign war roomer.

The Hill Times

A mistake to nationalize Trans Mountain pipeline

In all of this, the federal government's assumption appears to be that the obstacles facing Trans Mountain are transitory—that all Ottawa need do is guide the project through a rough patch.



Thomas Walkom

Inside Politics II

The federal government's decision to nationalize the Trans Mountain pipeline is deeply flawed.

It is flawed politically because it doesn't solve the real problem—which is that a good many British Columbians oppose any project that would increase the likelihood of heavy-oil spills along the Pacific Coast.

It is flawed economically because it is predicated on the assumption that the world—particularly China—is desperate to buy high-cost bitumen from the Alberta oil sands.

Certainly for Texas-based Kinder Morgan, the pipeline's current owner, Tuesday's announcement is good news. The company's share price, which had been sliding, moved upward after

Finance Minister Bill Morneau announced Ottawa's plan to buy the pipeline for \$4.5-billion.

Delays had been costing Kinder Morgan \$75-million a month.

The original Trans Mountain pipeline, from Alberta to Burnaby, B.C., on the Pacific Coast, has been in place since 1953. For years, it transported standard

crude oil without controversy.

That changed in 2012 after Kinder Morgan announced plans to triple its capacity in order to move bitumen from the tar sands for export to Asia.

Bitumen is heavier and stickier than standard crude. In the event of spills, it is much more difficult to clean up.

For that reason, the expansion proposal, which was okayed by the federal government in 2016, alarmed residents in B.C.'s populous Vancouver area. It also aroused opposition from some Indigenous nations along the pipeline route.

For many, the proposed Trans Mountain expansion came to represent everything that was wrong with Canadian energy policy. Climate-change activists saw it as an attempt to prop up the carbon-emitting oilsands industry. Some First Nations saw it as an attack on Indigenous rights.

The private-sector union Unifor argued that its focus on exporting raw bitumen for refining elsewhere cost Canada jobs

But for Justin Trudeau's Liberal government, the Trans Mountain

expansion represented a historic compromise: Alberta would sign on to Ottawa's climate-change agenda; in return, the federal government would guarantee the province a new pipeline to get tar-sands bitumen to market.

In theory, this compromise seemed doable. In practice, it was not. It didn't speak to the real concerns of pipeline opponents. It still doesn't.

The only difference now is that pipeline critics will be demonstrating against a federal Crown corporation rather than a privately owned U.S. company.

But the real weakness in Ottawa's nationalization scheme is economic. The Trans Mountain expansion was conceived at a time when petroleum prices were hitting record highs and before shale oil had become an important source of energy.

In those heady days, it made some economic sense to build a pipeline devoted to developing Alberta's high-cost oilsands for export. Now it makes less sense.

Companies that have already invested heavily in the oilsands will continue to mine bitumen at almost any price in an effort to offset their fixed costs. But new investors are warier.

What's more, as Alberta's Parkland Institute points out, the Trans Mountain expansion was conceived at a time when there were fewer pipelines bringing tar-sands oil to market. Since then, the Key-

stone XL pipeline, which is meant to take heavy oil from Alberta to Texas, has been approved.

The ultimate cost of the federal government's new pipeline scheme remains unclear. The \$4.5-billion price tag cited by Morneau on Tuesday covers only the cost of purchasing Kinder Morgan's existing assets. The planned expansion was expected to cost the Texas-based company \$7.4-billion more.

Presumably, the cost to the new owners—us—will be about the same.

The Alberta government may also be called on to pony up an unspecified amount of money, Morneau said.

The finance minister said he plans to re-privatize the pipeline company as soon as possible. We shall see if that works out.

In all of this, the federal government's assumption appears to be that the obstacles facing Trans Mountain are transitory—that all Ottawa need do is guide the project through a rough patch.

In fact, the problems facing pipelines today are much deeper. Kinder Morgan found that out the hard way. The federal Liberal government and its new Crown corporation are on track to be taught the same lesson.

Thomas Walkom is a Toronto-based columnist for *The Toronto Star* covering politics. This column was released on May 30.

The Hill Times

A path forward on Canada's pollution law

We urge the government to embrace these areas in a revised CEPA and ensure that the departments are resourced sufficiently to ensure that they are able to get the job done. We are firm in our resolve that the time for action is now.



Tim Gray, Bob Masterson, & Devon Page

Opinion

Last June, the House Standing Committee on the Environment and Sustainable Development completed its review of the Canadian Environmental Protection Act (CEPA).

The committee made 87 recommendations to amend CEPA, and Environment Minister Catherine McKenna has promised a formal response to the committee's report in the coming



The committee made 87 recommendations to amend CEPA, and Environment Minister Catherine McKenna has promised a formal response to the committee's report in the coming weeks. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

weeks. We are expecting a robust and substantive response from the minister to address the very serious concerns raised by the committee.

During the review, the minister challenged different sectors to explore common ground in their engagement with government. Our organizations took that challenge seriously. In the past, we had a difference of opinion on how best to regulate toxic substances but, we have also worked together to secure sustained funding with Canada's Chemicals Management Plan. And there are some areas where we still disagree on a path forward. But through our discussions, we found that there was more for us to agree on than to disagree. With that in mind, it is our view that the time for action on legislative change is now. CEPA has not been substantially updated in over two decades, and there are many areas where it has become dated.

One other thing we agree on is that there have been some positive developments in CEPA's

implementation. In particular, the federal Chemicals Management Plan has been effective at prioritizing and assessing chemicals needing risk assessment and risk management, setting the stage for continuous improvement to the prioritization, risk assessment and management processes of chemicals in Canada.

However, we also recognize the need to better equip CEPA for the challenges and opportunities associated with protecting Canadians from potentially harmful substances.

Underpinning the act should be the inherent right of all Canadians to a healthy environment, a right that is now recognized in more than 100 countries globally. A right to a healthy environment would require companies to work for the improvement of people's lives and the environment, while striving to do no harm; take preventative action to protect health and the environment; understand and meet expectations for social responsibility; and work with all

stakeholders for public policy and standards that enhance sustainability, act to advance legal requirements and meet or exceed their letter and spirit. Sustainability initiatives like the chemistry industry's Responsible Care®, encourage companies to innovate for safer and more environmentally friendly products and processes, and to work to eliminate harm throughout the life cycle of their products.

CEPA must recognize that pollution often affects some people—vulnerable populations—far more than others. These vulnerable populations can include women, Indigenous people, low-income people, and children. In addition, chemicals often have a greater impact on people and the environment when they interact with other chemicals that we are exposed to. We must take these factors into account where the scientific tools exist to do so when we assess and regulate chemicals.

Once we assess a substance to determine if it needs to be risk managed, the government should have the flexibility to identify uses or forms of the substance that are demonstrably safe for the environment or the health of Canadians.

We also believe that CEPA should have mandatory timelines for taking comprehensive risk management actions. As global understanding of toxic substances is developing rapidly, our regulatory system should keep pace. If new science suggests that a substance is more harmful than previously thought, or if another jurisdiction has decided to significantly restrict a chemical's

use, Canada should take a second look at that chemical.

Finally, consumers have a right to be provided with information about the products they are buying through labeling that identifies the health and environmental risks.

CEPA currently contains the authority to require the mandatory use of labels to convey information to consumers. Mandated requirements need to provide consumers with product information for the communication of risk that may be associated with ingredients in consumer products under conditions of intended use and reasonably foreseeable misuse.

Consumers have a right to be provided with information about the products they are buying. Mandatory labels must provide information to consumers so that they can judge what risks may exist with the products they are buying. We believe this information can be provided in a way that will improve consumer confidence in chemicals management in Canada.

We hope that these reforms provide a constructive contribution to reforming CEPA. We believe they provide real benefits to health, environment and economy of Canadians. We urge the government to embrace these areas in a revised CEPA and ensure that the departments are resourced sufficiently to ensure that they are able to get the job done. We are firm in our resolve that the time for action is now.

Tim Gray is the executive director of Environmental Defence. Bob Masterson is president and CEO of the Chemistry Industry Association of Canada. Devon Page is executive director of EcoJustice. The Hill Times

Workplace safety missing from debate over C-46

Some 2.3 million Canadians high at work is a serious safety concern.



Derrick Hynes

Opinion

With cannabis legalization fast approaching, the federal government still has yet to solve one of the biggest problems posed by the new legalization: the significant impact that legal pot will have on workplace safety.

The proposed legislation leaves employers inadequately equipped to manage the risk

posed by cannabis use by workers on and before the job, a current problem that is only going to get worse after legalization.

Cannabis impairment impedes cognitive function and memory, slows reaction time, and limits attention span. Cannabis users coming down from a high also experience fatigue and a lack of clarity, all of which can significantly impair workplace performance.

Drug-induced impairment on the job poses obvious safety concerns for employees and their coworkers who work in safety-sensitive industries.

It also causes serious concerns for the safety of the public, who place their trust in the hands of airline pilots, train engineers, truck drivers, etc. to keep them and their families safe by operating free from impairment.

In 2017, 21.5 per cent of respondents to the Government of Canada's Canadian Cannabis Survey reported using cannabis to get 'high' before or at work last year, with 7.7 per cent reporting they got 'high' before or at work weekly or daily.

This means that roughly 2.3 million Canadians were regularly high at work in 2017, and this risk is likely going to increase with legalized cannabis.



Excuse me while I light my spliff: Participants pictured at the 4/20 demonstration on Parliament Hill in 2017. *The Hill Times* file photo

Since Colorado legalized recreational cannabis in 2013, reported adult past month use increased 71 per cent compared to before legalization.

Cannabis-related safety incidents also increased, with cannabis traffic-related deaths (+125 per cent), cannabis related hospitalizations (+72 per cent),

and cannabis related emergency room visits (+35 per cent) all dramatically up since legalization.

Airline safety activists have long advocated for legislation which would enable airlines to employ safety screenings for drugs and alcohol, and legalized cannabis is only going to increase the risk factor.

In a recent study, experienced pilots were given one joint of cannabis and trained on a flight



simulator, and 77 per cent of the study's participants showed impairment up to 24 hours after use, and most concerning only one participant in the study reported any perceived understanding of the drug's effects.

Today many sectors in the Canadian transport industry already employ safety screenings for

drugs and alcohol, as U.S. regulations require them for all land-based cross-border operators.

The Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission recently introduced fitness for duty regulations that include safety screenings for drugs and alcohol. And the Transportation Safety Board recently recommended the government introduce alcohol and drug testing for pilots in the airline industry.

Advances in technology have led to significantly more accurate cannabis drug screening, with current testing techniques clearly able to identify very recent use, and therefore likely impairment.

It is concerning that such a key community safety issue has featured so little in most of the debate over cannabis legalization, even though employers have been pressing government on this issue for nearly two years.

The government has an obligation to take a leadership role on this issue by introducing legislation that allows employers in key, safety-sensitive industries to conduct safety screening for alcohol and drugs.

What people choose to do when they are at home is up to them, but when those choices affect their work, and that work affects our safety, that is something we should all care about.

Derrick Hynes is the CEO of FETCO. The Hill Times

Opinion

Trudeau gambles his promise, his progress, our planet

Justin Trudeau not only imperils his re-election chances in 2019, he risks squandering the small, progressive steps his government has taken over the last few years: reform of the criminal justice system, the beginning of practical remedies for struggling Indigenous communities, artful handling of the difficult trade file, the push for gender parity, and almost-forgotten efforts to shore up the Canadian Pension Plan and reform the Child Benefit.



Susan Riley

Impolitic

CHELSEA, QUE.—What a colossal mistake Justin Trudeau has made in buying the Kinder Morgan pipeline.

He not only imperils his re-election chances in 2019, he risks squandering the small, progressive steps his government has taken over the last few years: reform of the criminal justice system, the beginning of practical remedies for struggling Indigenous communities, artful handling of the difficult trade file, the push for gender parity, and almost-forgotten efforts to shore up the Canadian Pension Plan and reform the Child Benefit.

He also risks the future of talented cabinet ministers and Liberal MPs, some of whom must harbour private doubts about the multi-billion dollar bailout. He gives the struggling New Democrats a potentially winning issue and opens the door to a return to Conservative rule. He is not only betraying the promise he once represented, but the progress his government has made in other areas.

That said, the election is still months away and Trudeau's future isn't the most important factor at play. What matters more is the clear incentive the prime minister is offering the oil industry to extend, and possibly expand, production in the oil sands at a moment when evidence of devastating climate change is undeniable.

If the Kinder Morgan expansion is built, either by the Liberal government or by private investors, it will carry three times more bitumen to the Vancouver harbour from Alberta and further dim any faint hope of meeting our Paris targets. No amount of green rhetoric, and no timid, tentative, federal carbon tax can disguise the stark truth that greenhouse gas emissions will continue, even accelerate, their upward trajectory.

And for what?

For a government that believes in "evidence-based" policy making, precious little proof has been advanced to back up dramatic claims made for the pipeline expansion. We are told repeatedly by Trudeau and his ministers, and by Alberta Premier Rachel Notley, that the \$7.4-billion project will create 15,000 thousand good-paying jobs in Alberta, and, by extension, elsewhere in Canada. It will reassure foreign investors that Canada not only welcomes them, but is ready to help out when their

business plans go sour. It will flood government coffers with royalty revenues and corporate taxes to pay for schools, hospitals, and soccer fields. It will stimulate so much goodwill in Western Canada everyone will willingly sign on to an ambitious climate change program.

There hasn't been a scintilla of credible proof advanced for any of these claims—no cost-benefit analysis, no risk assessments, nothing but warmed-over submissions from the oil sector, or the big banks. But there is a growing body of critical analysis from independent economists, non-partisan research institutes, academics and alternative media, especially the *National Observer* and *The Tyee*, based in Vancouver. And their reporting paints a very different picture (although they are rarely invited to share their insights on network television panels).



Here's the deal: Minister of Natural Resources Jim Carr and Finance Minister Bill Morneau, pictured on May 29 at the National Press Theatre in Ottawa where they announced the government would be spending \$4.5-billion to buy the Trans Mountain pipeline expansion. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Earth scientist David Hughes, who spent three decades with the Geographical Survey of Canada and is an expert in the nation's energy sector, has written columns and studies arguing that job predictions for the pipeline are inflated. In an exhaustive recent report—an attempt, he has said, to establish some basic facts—he reports that 52 per cent of jobs created in the oil and gas sector overall are short term construction jobs. Further, employment in the industry has flatlined since 2006, partly because of the declining activity and partly because of automation.

According to Kinder Morgan's own submissions to the National Energy Board, the pipeline twinning will create 40 permanent jobs in Alberta, 50 in British Columbia and some 2,500 short-term construction jobs. And while the pipeline could save corporate jobs in Calgary's emptying office towers, oil and gas workers now make up only 2.2 per cent of the national work force, and seven per cent in Alberta. Spending \$4.5-billion to purchase a 65-year-old pipeline—with the prospect of \$8-billion to \$15-billion more to complete the expansion—sounds like the country's most expensive job-creation scheme ever.

The prime minister also repeated in the Commons last week that Canada must get its oil to tidewater, and from there to Asian markets, because it is "losing \$15-billion a year" by having only one customer—those heavy oil refineries in the Texas Gulf. But Hughes, writing in *Maclean's*, has challenged that figure, which was drawn from a February report by Scotiabank. At that time, "exceptional circumstances" and

supply disruptions drove the discount up to \$32-per-barrel. But the so-called "light-heavy discount" is volatile and normally sits at \$13-per-barrel to compensate for the higher cost of refining and transporting the sticky Alberta product.

In fact, the Scotiabank report noted (but the pipeline's defenders ignore) that Canada normally loses \$7-billion annually because of the discount. Even this will strike some as too much, but, as Vancouver economist and former senior private sector executive, Robyn Allan, writes in the *National Observer*, the discount could be even higher if Alberta bitumen ever gets to Asia, owing to the high cost of shipping overseas.

Allan accuses Trudeau, Notley, and other pipeline boosters of a "betrayal of public trust" for distorting the findings of the Scotiabank report and, apparently, of doing no independent research. Nor has there been any serious discussion of creating more upgrading capacity within Canada, both to keep jobs here and to mitigate environmental risks of exporting toxic and unpredictable diluted bitumen.

As for the payback to provincial and federal coffers in corporate tax and royalties, that figure has dropped significantly over the years as oil prices and profits

skyrocketed and slumped. Hughes reports that royalty revenues have declined 63 per cent since 2000 in Alberta, noting "dramatic and sustained revenue shrinkage" even in the boom years.

The only unambiguous winner, so far, is Kinder Morgan which valued its existing pipeline at \$550-million in 2007. It is going home to Texas with billions of Canadian taxpayer dollars, a golden parachute out of a project it long ago determined was too risky.

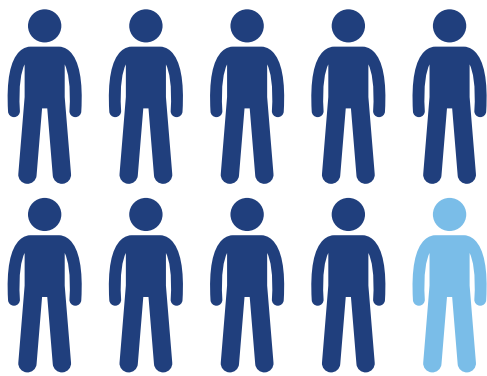
The true explanation for the fake urgency created by Trudeau and Notley is political: both leaders need a pipeline more desperately than anyone, even the oil industry. (Two other pipelines, Keystone XL and Enbridge 3 have been officially approved and construction could begin within months.)

Notley's already wobbly chances of re-election would disappear had she not secured this pipeline and Trudeau's vaunted carbon tax—modelled on Alberta's and one of his signature policies—would implode and probably will anyway. This panic has, perhaps, made them incurious about thoughtful and persuasive counter-narratives.

Whatever the explanation, they have clearly convinced themselves—and been convinced by an embedded and well-financed oil lobby—that the Kinder Morgan expansion is in the "national interest." They have yet to convince the nation.

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

The Hill Times



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Korea: the real deal

No promises, but this actually could happen. And if Trump and Kim did get the Nobel Peace Prize for it, so what? It's meant as a reward for saints, but it works just as well as bait for scoundrels.



Gwynne Dyer

Foreign Policy

LONDON, U.K.—The summit is on, it's off, it's sort of on again. It's amateur night every night at the White House, and the fate of the U.S.-North Korean summit scheduled for Singapore on June 12 will be decided by the coin Donald Trump flips each day:

heads three days in a row means 'yes,' tails three days in a row and the meeting stays cancelled.

So let's not waste time speculating on the unknowable. Let us just assume that the meeting between Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un actually goes ahead in the end. What would be a good outcome that stays within the bounds of plausibility?

One that avoids a nuclear war, obviously, but it's equally obvious that neither party is going to abandon its nuclear weapons. The United States, as the first country to build nuclear bombs and the only country ever to use them, sees having thousands of them as its birthright and would never consider giving them up. North Korea's regime has only a few, but sees them as the only real guarantee of its survival.

But that can't be entirely true, because North Korea had already survived for 57 years before it tested its first nuclear explosive device in 2006. It was another dozen years before it built a very small but theoretically effective force of nuclear-tipped ballistic missiles that could, on a good day and with a tail-wind, reach the United States. Only now has Pyongyang achieved nuclear deterrence against the U.S. What protected it before that?

What served North Korea as deterrence until 2017 was a very

big army (twice the size of South Korea's army plus the American troops stationed in South Korea), and the ability to destroy Seoul within a day or two using only conventional artillery and rockets.

Seoul's northern suburbs are only 50 km from the North Korean border, well within the range of many thousands of North Korean artillery pieces, and the metropolitan area is home to half of South Korea's 50 million people. As the capital, it also contains almost all the government ministries and military headquarters. Not even U.S. nuclear weapons could save it from destruction in a North-South war.

So forget about both sides' nuclear weapons and concentrate on the conventional balance. South Korea has twice North Korea's population but only half as many soldiers on active service, because Seoul would rather save money and rely on (American-supplied) nuclear deterrence. Now that North Korea has nukes of its own, it too can afford to shrink its army by at least half. In fact, it can't really afford not to.

Kim Jong-un would gain a lot if the summit actually happens. Just by sitting down with a U.S. president as an equal he would win the kind of international legitimacy that always eluded his father and grandfather. If he also got an American promise not to try to overthrow him and a suspension of U.S. economic sanctions, his success would be complete. But what could he offer the U.S. and South Korea in return?

Kim has already unilaterally suspended both nuclear weapons testing and further ballistic missile flight tests in order to attract Trump to the table, but he must come up with some other concessions to get the rest of what he wants. How about a deal that commits him to reduce North Korea's army to the same size as South Korea's, and an agreement by both sides to move their artillery at least 50 km back from the inter-Korean border?

That sort of deal would save Kim a lot of money without exposing him to any serious risk: it's his secret police, not the army, that keeps his population in line. South Korea would still have no credible ability to attack the North, and Kim's own ability to threaten Seoul with a "sea of fire" would evaporate because he would first have to move his artillery back to the border area along roads totally exposed to U.S. and South Korean air power.

This is what successful diplomatic deals actually look like. They are often asymmetric in some details, but they are more or less balanced overall and they give both parties what they really need.



U.S. President Donald Trump and North Korean's Kim Jong-un. It's amateur night every night at the White House, and the fate of the U.S.-North Korean summit scheduled for Singapore on June 12 will be decided by the coin Mr. Trump flips each day: heads three days in a row means 'yes,' tails three days in a row and the meeting stays cancelled, writes Gwynne Dyer. Photographs courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

What Trump needs is a diplomatic triumph that feeds his ego and maybe gets him the Nobel Peace Prize, while giving him a plausible excuse not to insist on the unattainable goal of eliminating North Korea's rudimentary nukes and ICBMs.

Kim can afford to give him concessions on other military issues, because even a 10 per cent chance that one North Korean ICBM could deliver one nuclear weapon on an American city is deterrent enough to preclude any U.S. attack on North Korea. In return, North Korea gets an end to sanctions and huge savings on its bloated military spending.

No promises, but this actually could happen. And if Trump and Kim did get the Nobel Peace Prize for it, so what? It's meant as a reward for saints, but it works just as well as bait for scoundrels.

Gwynne Dyer's new book is 'Growing Pains: The Future of Democracy (and Work)'.

Debate on allowing CSIS data to be released in court cases

In the end, this ruling may force the government of Canada to rethink CSIS' role. It may change the rules of the road to have the intelligence agency collect to evidentiary standards (spy agencies in other countries appear to do this). Whatever the outcome of this trial, it bears watching for what it means for our ability to prosecute terrorism cases.



Phil Gurski

Terrorism

OTTAWA—Carrying out a terrorism investigation is not easy. The stakes are high since many (erroneously) see terrorism as an existential, pervasive threat and no one is willing to accept failure as an option: dead bodies in our streets are not something anyone wants to see. Time is often of the essence as law enforcement and security intelligence agencies operate furiously in the "left of boom" space to stop acts from succeeding. A variety of means are deployed, from human sources and agents, to surveillance, to federal court intercept warrants (the latter are not handed out like candy by judges, contrary to what most Canadians may think). When all goes according to plan plots are neutralized and arrests are made. Canada's citizens can then sleep soundly at night.

Except that arrests are not the end of the story: they are merely the beginning. Once a suspect is in custody, the next phase, and almost always a much more difficult phase, begins. Trials have to be held, evidence has to be presented and arguments between the Crown and the defence ensue. In our system of jurisprudence, everyone, terrorists included, are presumed innocent until proven guilty. In terrorism cases the burden of proof extends not just to the act itself but the motivation behind that act. Under the Canadian Criminal Code, a terrorist act is defined as violence carried out "in whole or



in part for a political, religious or ideological purpose, objective or cause." The Crown has to show beyond a reasonable doubt that the accused planned (or executed) his act for any one or several of those reasons. This is usually much more difficult than you might think.

Another complicating factor is the nature of the evidence presented in court. The defence must have access to, and be able to challenge, every piece of information the Crown used in making its case. This aspect is a fundamental part of our justice system and our belief in a fair and open trial. Where this gets murky is when some of that information is derived from an intelligence service—in other words, from a CSIS investigation.

Normally, the data CSIS collects on a given individual is not used or exposed in court. There are provisions under the Canada Evidence Act (namely Sec. 38) to prevent CSIS information from being disclosed. In light of an ongoing terrorism trial in Ottawa, however, this protection may be vanishing.

A Federal Court has ruled that the legal team for Awso Peshdary, accused of recruiting Canadians to join the Islamic State, should be given the affidavit CSIS prepared to gain a warrant against him. Photograph courtesy of Facebook

The identity of the CSIS affiant will be protected but the reasons why a warrant was granted will not be. The judge ruled that "Without the information about Mr. Peshdary derived from the CSIS Act warrant, the RCMP may not have had sufficient evidence to acquire a Criminal Code authorization, and may not have assembled the evidence relied on for the charges that were subsequently laid against Mr. Peshdary." In other words, the Peshdary case may revolve on what CSIS knew, not what the RCMP knew.

This ruling is worrying, as it may set a precedent. Normally, CSIS issues an advisory letter which can be used by the RCMP to apply for its own warrant. The two streams of in-

formation do not cross. In Canada, CSIS and the RCMP perform different but complementary functions. CSIS collects intelligence and the RCMP collects evidence. The latter is used to build criminal cases, not the former. If CSIS information can now be requested by defence lawyers across the board it may have significant implications for how the spy agency functions. To date, the criminal cases that have gone to trial have been based solely on information collected to evidentiary standards by the RCMP and other law enforcement partners. CSIS intelligence is not gathered to that standard and it is unclear how it will stand up in court.

It is also unclear why the judge ruled in this fashion. The entirety of the Crown's case against Peshdary is built on the evidence the RCMP gathered and it is that evidence that should be tested, not CSIS intelligence. Is the judge granting Peshdary's lawyers access to CSIS info out of a sense of fairness? Out of "public interest" as he wrote?

In the end this ruling may force the government of Canada to rethink CSIS' role. It may change the rules of the road to have the intelligence agency collect to evidentiary standards (spy agencies in other countries appear to do this). Whatever the outcome of this trial, it bears watching for what it means for our ability to prosecute terrorism cases.

Phil Gurski worked as a senior strategic analyst at CSIS from 2001-2013, specializing in al-Qaeda/Islamic State-inspired violent extremism and radicalization and as a senior special adviser at Public Safety Canada from 2013 until his retirement from the civil service in May 2015.

The Hill Times

Opinion

The sinking of the good ship Shared Services Canada

Shared Services Canada, created in 2011 had a vision for huge savings based on common, shareable software/hardware and telecommunications gear managed by one organization. It sounded good on paper.



Ian R. Cunningham

Opinion

RUSSELL, ONT.—The iceberg's been struck, the watertight compartments are flooding while the officers, crew, and passengers are abandoning ship and running for their lives. Phoenix it isn't, but you're close. Unlike Phoenix, this ship isn't rising—it's going down by the head. Blame the politicians, but the real culprits are government bureaucrats and their supporting cast of under-achieving, over-paid consultants.

Shared Services Canada (SSC), created in 2011 (the amalgamation of 43 departments IT personnel) had a vision for huge savings based on common, shareable software/hardware and telecommunications gear managed by one organization. Supported by IT consulting firms, some of which can be expected to be driven by desire to maximize fees, and senior bureaucrats with their close relationship with multinational software and hardware vendors (who feed off government technology projects like Secure Channel, Email Transformation Initiative (ETI) and most recently, Phoenix) the program staggered forward.



Treasury Board President Scott Brison and Public Services and Procurement Minister Carla Qualtrough are the political ministers responsible. So, why does SSC flounder? The reasons are numerous, but the lack of internal leadership. The Treasury Board Secretariat, accountable for the chief information officer role for government, provides minimal leadership or direction, writes Ian Cunningham. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade



So, why does SSC flounder? I suggest the reasons are numerous. Let's start with the lack of internal leadership. The Treasury Board Secretariat (TBS), accountable for

the chief information officer (CIO) role for government, provides minimal leadership or direction. TBS is commonly perceived as an inhibitor to progress. Likewise, the organizational structure of SSC is seriously flawed—repeated tinkering with it has only exacerbated the problem. Need proof—go look at the government online directory service Government Electronic Directory and look up SSC. An organizational nightmare laced with redundancy and wastage—a perfect example of kowtowing to senior management at the expense of the individual employees. Although major project planning and cost estimation of the scale required to deliver the “vision” has never been done before in government, and assigning responsibility to outside consultants was a huge mistake. Ignoring the advice and warnings of the real subject matter experts i.e., government employees, has landed SSC where it is today.

Combining major components of 43 unique departmental computer infrastructures is monumental enough—doing it without first building an accurate asset inventory database was a recipe for disaster. Delaying the construction of new, high-tech data centres forced significant additional (unplanned) spending on legacy (old technology) infrastructures that was originally designated for new gear. “Build it and they will come” would have worked. It is now merely an afterthought to SSC.

Lacking required support and cooperation from the 43 departments, SSC spent significantly more effort than originally planned for obtaining information essential for program success. Lacking leadership and direction from central agencies, SSC struggled with major initiatives e.g. email consolidation. Less than 20 per cent of the total email accounts to be moved to the new shared email system have been completed—delays included roadblocks and red herrings thrown up by the departments themselves. Don't blame the service provisioned by the contractor (Bell/CGI). Effective email consolidation allows no room for alternatives or “opting out.” SSC facilitated the sanctioning of both, and Treasury Board stood back and did nothing.

The latest “vision” of SSC management is to move everything into the “cloud.” That's merely rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic and doesn't resolve the inherent issues. Instead, they should start with a re-organization of SSC in a more logical, efficient, and effective manner using a decentralized support structure. Better to utilize employee strengths while reducing reliance on highly paid consultants—consultants should support government initiatives, not create nor drive them. Develop strong internal leadership, and the will to enforce and deliver the mandate of the SSC organization. Listen to their own people who know best what works, and what doesn't. Do it the “right way.”

Do all of that, and you've made a great start. Ian R. Cunningham is a retired public servant who currently owns a management consulting firm in Russell, Ont. *The Hill Times*

cpac WELCOMES J. SERGE SASSEVILLE AS NEW BOARD CHAIR

FROM ONE INDUSTRY LEADER TO ANOTHER

The Cable Public Affairs Channel (CPAC) is pleased to introduce J. Serge Sasseville as Chair of the Board of Directors. M. Sasseville is a distinguished lawyer and media, telecom and entertainment executive and currently serves as the Senior Vice President, Corporate and Institutional Affairs with Quebecor Media. CPAC also wishes to thank its founder and outgoing chair Phil Lind, who will continue to serve as a member of the board of directors.

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J. SERGE SASSEVILLE | CHAIR OF THE BOARD, CPAC

Senior Vice President, Corporate and Institutional Affairs, Quebecor Media Inc.

J. Serge Sasseville is Senior Vice President, Corporate and Institutional Affairs of Quebecor Media Inc. A member of Quebecor Media's Executive Committee, he has been with the Quebecor group of companies since 1987 in various senior and executive-level roles. He is a member of the Funders Group of the Canada Media Fund, Vice-Chair of the Board of Directors of the Canadian Wireless Telecommunications Association, a member

of the Library and Archives Canada Steering Advisory Committee and sits on the Boards of Directors of the Quebecor Fund, the Banff World Media Festival, the National Arts Centre Foundation and the Lafontaine-Cormier Foundation. He is also Chairman of Angèle Dubeau & La Pietà. Before joining Quebecor, he practised law with the firm Stein, Monast, in Quebec City from 1981 to 1987.



PHILIP B. LIND | PAST CHAIR & FOUNDER, CPAC

Vice Chairman, Rogers Communications Inc.

Philip B. Lind is Vice Chairman of Rogers Communications. He worked closely for nearly 40 years with company founder, E.S. “Ted” Rogers to build the company. In 2002, Mr. Lind was named the Order of Canada and received a Doctor of Laws degree from the University of British Columbia. In 2012, Mr. Lind was inducted into the American Cable Hall of Fame, the third Canadian to be inducted. Mr. Lind serves on

the following boards: Rogers Communications, Art Gallery of Ontario, Vancouver Art Gallery, Albright Knox Contemporary & Modern Art Foundation, the Atlantic Salmon Federation, Central Canadian Public Television Association, and the U.S. Cable Centre, Denver.



Snatching defeat from the jaws of victory: why the government's Copyright Board plans threaten to spark another lobbying battle

With a framework in place to win broad support on the administration of copyright and a process at the House Industry Committee to grapple with the substantive issues, the government established a viable reform process that seems suddenly set to go badly off-track.



Michael Geist

Opinion

OTTAWA—Copyright reform has long been viewed as one of the more contentious policy

issues on the Canadian agenda, pitting creators, education groups, innovative companies, and a growing number of individuals against one another in processes that run for years and leave no one fully satisfied. Indeed, the copyright review currently underway before the House Industry, Science and Technology Committee promises to run for months with MPs hearing from a broad range of stakeholders presenting perspectives that will be difficult to reconcile.

Given the somewhat messy politics, last fall the government identified a short term solution that appeared to have wide-ranging support. Innovation, Science, and Economic Development Minister Navdeep Bains and Canadian Heritage Minister Mélanie Joly announced the substantive policy questions would be left to the copyright review, but that the government would move quickly to address the administration of copyright by introducing long-overdue reforms to the Copyright Board of Canada.

The strategy was a political slam-dunk since both creator and user groups have expressed frustration with the slow processes at the board, which are said to foster marketplace uncertainty and leave creators waiting years to be paid. A public consultation identified the solutions: more funding for the board, a clear articulation of its mandate, the introduction of case management techniques commonly used in litigation, and

strict time limits to stop delay tactics.

Yet despite an easy political and policy win, the issue is now mired in internal disputes that threaten to sideline the broader copyright review process as parties gear up for a battle over board reform. The source of the dispute is not the administrative changes to the board. Rather, some are also pushing for substantive changes that would have significant implications for broader copyright policy that threaten to create massive liability risks for some copyright stakeholders.

The substantive change at issue is described as “tariff harmonization,” which sounds innocuous but would result in a radical change to copyright policy and pre-empt much of the work of the Industry committee.

Canadian copyright law features two different approaches to the use of tariffs determined by the copyright board. Some tariffs, such as those for music collective SOCAN, are mandatory owing to concerns over competitive practices. This means the collective must file tariffs with the board, which determines the appropriate rate. Since the tariffs are mandatory, the law provides for the possibility of a statutory damages multiplier, meaning that users that fail to pay the prevailing tariff may owe several times more than the actual licence fee. This helps foster compliance and represents a quid pro quo for the mandated approach.

Alternatively, for some tariffs, such as those involving Access Copyright, the use of the board is optional. This leaves it to rights holders to determine if they want to privately negotiate their rates or have the board establish a rate for the market. Since the process is optional, there are no statutory damages multipliers in effect.

Despite the obvious differences in approach, the government is considering “harmonizing” the two approaches, by granting statutory damages multipliers for both of the mandatory and voluntary tariff systems. Not only would the approach undo the policy rationale behind multipliers for statutory damages within Canadian copyright, but it would also have a dramatic impact on substantive copyright issues such as fair dealing.

Access Copyright, which supports the measure, argues that the massive escalation in potential damage awards are needed for three reasons: deterrence, promotion of settlement negotiations, and efficient use of court resources. Yet none of the arguments ring true.

Deterrence is used in the context of small establishments that might use music without paying the appropriate licence. But that is far different from the current situation with educational institutions that have not paid the Access Copyright licence because of a good faith analysis of the scope of fair dealing under Canadian

copyright law, an issue currently before the Industry committee.

Further, the so-called public policy benefit of promoting settlement negotiations amounts to little more than the hope that increasing liability risk will convince educational institutions – and by extension students and taxpayers—to cave to Access Copyright’s legal claims. The litigation costs sparked by the Access Copyright lawsuit are significant. To accept Access Copyright’s argument, it would be beneficial to encourage collectives to file lawsuits against educational institutions with the added threat that failure to settle could lead to hundreds of millions in liability beyond what even they would argue are the applicable royalties.

As for efficient use of court resources, to maintain that it is a waste of resources to determine actual damages is to dismiss how most litigation unfolds and suggests that the collective’s insistence of good faith negotiation has instead devolved into being primarily interested in a windfall at the expense of students and taxpayers.

With a framework in place to win broad support on the administration of copyright and a process at the House Industry Committee to grapple with the substantive issues, the government established a viable reform process that seems suddenly set to go badly off-track. In doing so, it may turn an easy win into a political quagmire that once again leaves stakeholders largely dissatisfied.

Michael Geist holds the Canada Research Chair in Internet and E-commerce Law at the University of Ottawa, Faculty of Law. He can be reached at mgeist@uottawa.ca or online at www.michaelgeist.ca.

The Hill Times

Supporting our people is what the Warrior Games are all about

Soldier On has disbursed more than \$5.4-million directly to ill and injured members across the country in support of their recovery.



Jay Feyko

Opinion

Team Canada is excited to be participating in the 2018 Warrior Games, taking place June 1-9 at the U.S. Air Force Academy in

Colorado Springs, Colorado. It is the first time that Team Canada will participate in the competition.

The goal of the Warrior Games is to enhance the recovery of ill and injured armed service members and veterans through sport. The 18 members of Team Canada will compete against more than 300 ill and injured armed forces members and veterans from the United Kingdom Armed Forces, the Australian Defence Force, and the United States Army, Marine Corps, Navy, Air Force, and Special Operations Command. Team Canada will participate in all 11 sports, including archery, cycling, track, field, indoor rowing, powerlifting, shooting, sitting volleyball, swimming, time trial cycling, and wheelchair basketball.

Team Canada’s 18-person contingent will include seven serving members of the Canadian Armed Forces and 11 veterans, all of whom suffered a physical or mental health injury or illness while serving Canada. Their participation in the Warrior Games is a testament to their courage and

dedication to recovery. They are role models for their peers and their journey is an inspiration to all Canadians. These athletes attest to the fact that while serious illness or injury can profoundly impact one’s way of life and the accompanying trials are undeniable, it is possible to overcome these challenges and continue to achieve one’s goals through perseverance and adaptation.

Paramount to their recovery is the support of family, friends, and loved ones. The defence community is a way of life, not just for serving members and veterans, but for their families as well. Military families are the strength behind the uniform and contribute to the operational effectiveness of the forces when our serving members are deployed or at work here in Canada. They are also the major source of support and strength to our serving members and veterans who are injured and ill and in the process of recovering.

The Canadian Armed Forces and Veterans Affairs Canada are also integral partners in the re-



Canadian Warrior Games sitting volleyball team, pictured last week practising in Colorado Springs. Photograph courtesy of Lieut. (Navy) Kelly Boyden, CAF

covery of our ill and injured women and men. Whether military or civilian, serving members or veterans, regular or reserve force—people are the key to everything we do, and defence leaders are committed to looking after their wellbeing. This includes ensuring our ill and injured members and veterans receive the care and support they need throughout their recovery by providing supportive leadership, dedicated medical treatment, and support programs such as the Return to Duty program, Career Transition Services, and the Soldier On program.

Using the transformative power of sport, the Soldier On program has supported thousands of members since its inception

in 2007 and remains committed to supporting veterans and serving CAF members with a permanent mental health or physical injury to adapt to their new normal, overcome their challenges, and Soldier On in life. Thanks to the generosity of Canadians, Soldier On has disbursed more than \$5.4-million directly to ill and injured members across the country in support of their recovery. Soldier

On is proud to add to this support through funding Team Canada’s participation in the 2018 Warrior Games.

All Canadian are invited to follow Team Canada and all of the competition at the Warrior Games which will be live-streamed at www.dodwarriorgames.com. To help support our serving members and veterans through a donation, please visit <https://www.soldieron.ca/>

Jay Feyko is the senior manager of the Canadian Armed Forces’ Soldier On program, which supports ill and injured military members’ and veterans’ participation in sport, recreation and physical activities.

The Hill Times

News Trans Mountain

Trans Mountain purchase to expose Liberals on multiple fronts, say pollsters: 'they wear everybody's mistakes'

The Liberals will probably lose seats in B.C. over the decision, says Angus Reid Institute's Shachi Kurl.

Continued from page 1

about offshore oil spills, and fiscal sticklers who don't want government money in private sector projects, they said. If that's not enough, the government will also wear the fallout from any conflict between pipeline protesters and authorities, said one.

"The question is really going to be, 'How do you deal with the protesters?'" said Greg Lyle, the owner of the Innovative Research polling firm.

"Every time there's a confrontation, there's an opportunity for mistakes to be made," he said. "They wear everybody's mistakes, because they are everybody in this except the protesters."

The government will buy the Trans Mountain pipeline infrastructure for \$4.5-billion and could spend billions more on its expansion, but Mr. Morneau also said the government doesn't plan on being a long-term owner.

Angus Reid Institute executive director Shachi Kurl and Nanos Research chair Nik Nanos both said they had polling figures that showed a government investment in the pipeline would be divisive, at best, among Canadian voters.

Ms. Kurl's firm asked Canadians in April how they would feel about the federal and Alberta governments investing in Trans Mountain, and 56 per cent agreed it would be a "bad idea" and "poor use of taxpayer funds," while 44 per cent agreed it was a good idea and good use of tax dollars. In B.C., 70 per cent agreed it was a bad idea, as did 70 per cent in Manitoba, 53 per cent in Ontario, and 56 per cent in Quebec. The positive outlook was more popular only in Alberta, at 52 per cent, and Saskatchewan, at 51 per cent. The online survey of 2,125 Canadian adults was equivalent to a poll with a margin for error of 3 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

By taking action to get the pipeline built, the Liberals still have a chance to make gains with many voters in their base who, above all else, just want to see progress on a project they view as a "necessary evil," said Greg Lyle, the owner of Innovative Research Group. But progress will be difficult, with protesters and a B.C. government opposing the pipeline at every turn.

"It would have been better not to have bought it," said Mr. Lyle.

"Right now they're making lemonade," he said, of the stalled project the Liberals had vowed to see through.

Ms. Kurl said the Liberals will likely lose seats in Vancouver or Burnaby because of the decision, and the serious concerns for many voters there about an increased risk of an oil spill off the B.C. coast because of the pipeline.

"It will definitely lose them



Finance Minister Bill Morneau announced the government's decision to buy Kinder Morgan's Trans Mountain pipeline expansion last week alongside Natural Resources Minister Jim Carr. A poll by Angus Reid last month found 53 per cent of voting-aged Canadians in Mr. Morneau's home province of Ontario and 70 per cent in Mr. Carr's home province of Manitoba thought investing in the pipeline would be a bad use of taxpayer money. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

some seats in British Columbia," she said, later adding, "it seems doubtful that the Trudeau Liberals will be thanked for their troubles on the file in Alberta."

The Liberals currently hold 18 seats in B.C. The move will also be unpopular in Quebec, said Mr. Nanos, a bastion for environmentally-conscious voters, where the party has 40 seats.

"There's a difference between approving a pipeline and investing in a pipeline, and I think they've crossed a line that it will be difficult for them to reconcile, for those voters where the environment is very important," he said.

The Liberals will get "squeezed" from right-leaning voters for putting taxpayer dollars into a private sector project, and from the left "for not just approving the pipeline, but investing tax dollars" into it, he said, adding "another line of vulnerability" for the party.

Oceans Protection Plan the counterpoint for B.C. anxiety

Liberal MPs in B.C. and Quebec are backing their government's decision, and denying that they will pay for it at the polls in

2019. B.C. Liberals are touting the government's Oceans Protections Plan as a counterpoint, while Quebec Grits are pointing to the Lac-Mégantic disaster as a reason their constituents will support a project to move oil by pipeline instead of by rail.

"While there are certainly people who voted for me in 2015 who may not vote for me the next time because they're angry with me for this, I think the vast majority of people who did support me continue to," said Liberal MP Jonathan Wilkinson, who represents the riding of Vancouver North, which he won with 56.6 per cent of the vote.

Mr. Wilkinson said the Trans Mountain purchase was necessary, in the face of a recalcitrant B.C. provincial government, to ensure investor confidence.

"If you're an investor looking at making an investment in Canada, and you look at this case, and you say, 'Even getting to yes through the process doesn't mean yes.' Then I think it [the issue with the B.C. government] raises all kinds of questions about whether or not this is an appropriate place to invest." Most Canadians thinking about that will say the government took the right decision.

Liberal MP Hedy Fry (Vancouver Centre), who had expressed disappointment over the pipeline approval, told *The Hill Times* that there was a noticeable shift in support for the pipeline within her riding, a change that she attributed to the government's sweeping environmental legislation, introduced earlier this year.

Since the government introduced its environmental programs, including the \$1.5-billion Oceans Protection Plan, she said the split in pipeline support has been narrowing over the past year.

"The polling has changed. It's a 50-50 [split] now, not 70-30 [against]."

A \$1.5-billion program, the Oceans Protection Plan is aimed at mitigating the effects of oil

spills and protecting Canada's coastlines. Ms. Kurl said the Liberals could improve support for the Trans Mountain decision in B.C. if they did a better job of convincing British Columbians that the spill risk had been mitigated, either by bringing in better policies or doing a better job of communicating the work they have already done.

Liberal MP Ken Hardie (Fleetwood-Port Kells, B.C.) also pointed to the feds' ocean plan as an indication that the government's pipeline acquisition is not in conflict with its environmental policy.

"The decision really shines a big light on the concept that you can look after the economy, including the energy economy, and the environment," Mr. Hardie said in an interview. "This gives us an opportunity to talk about the Oceans Protection Plan ... which will raise the level of security on the water for all kinds of things, not just oil tankers."

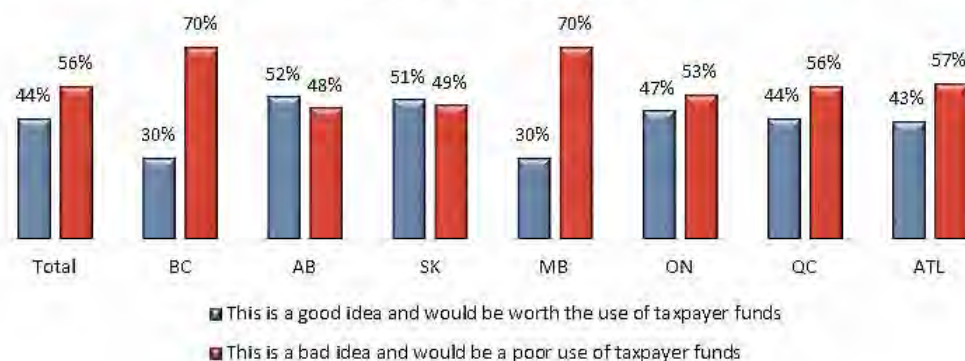
Mr. Hardie said he hadn't heard much from constituents since the government announced its plan to buy the pipeline. "Almost right after the election, I started prompting my constituents to talk to me about their feelings about



Vancouver Liberal MP Hedy Fry said investing in renewable energy and fossil fuels wasn't an 'either/or' decision. 'We still have a hell of a lot of oil to sell,' she said. *The Hill Times* file photograph

There has been some talk that the Alberta and federal governments could become investors in the Trans Mountain pipeline and the expansion project.

What are your views on this?



The Angus Reid Institute released a survey of voter attitudes on pipelines on April 18. *Graphic courtesy of the Angus Reid Institute*

Continued on page 17



'It will be built': Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has promised to get the Trans Mountain pipeline expansion built one way or another, despite opposition from environmentalists and the B.C. government. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Continued from page 16

Kinder Morgan. For two years, I heard crickets. People were just not engaged in that topic. It was not top of mind," said Mr. Hardie, who won 46.9 per cent of the vote in 2015.

On whether the government should focus on investing more in renewable resources, Ms. Fry added: "I don't see it as an either/or. We still have a hell of a lot of oil to sell. What are we going to do with it?"

A coalition of five Alberta First Nations sent letters last week to Finance Minister Bill Morneau (Toronto Centre, Ont.) and Alberta Premier Rachel Notley that said they wanted to buy a

stake in the expanded pipeline when the government sells it back into the private sector, the CBC reported. The group also met with Infrastructure Minister Amarjeet Sohi (Edmonton Mill Woods, Alta.) and Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale (Regina-Wascana, Sask.). B.C.'s Cheam First Nation is also interested in buying a stake, the CBC reported. Some First Nations along the pipeline route are staunchly opposed to the expansion, and the issue is as divisive within many of those communities as it is across Canadian society as a whole, *Macleans*'s reported.

Liberal MP Joyce Murray (Vancouver-Quadra, B.C.), who positioned herself as a vocal

opponent of the pipeline, said it was "inappropriate" for her to speculate on the impact that Ottawa's move to temporarily go into the oil business would have on her chances at re-election. She was among a few in the Liberal caucus—including Ms. Fry and Terry Beech (Burnaby North-Seymour, B.C.)—who publicly expressed their disappointment when the government approved the pipeline project. (Both Ms. Fry and Ms. Murray had a comfortable lead over their opponents, earning 58.1 and 58.7 per cent of the vote, respectively. Mr. Beech had a six-percentage point lead over the NDP contender.)

In a media scrum on Wednesday, Ms. Murray said she had "ample opportunity" to represent the concerns of her constituents, the majority of whom "were not for the project." She said that while she would continue to voice their concerns, it would be up to voters to assess her performance.

When reached for comment, Mr. Beech's office said he could not comment on the issue until the MP had a chance to meet with his constituents over the weekend.

Green Party leader Elizabeth May (Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.) told reporters last week that she believed the decision to purchase the Trans Mountain pipeline would lose the Liberals every seat in B.C., *The Huffington Post* reported. The Conservatives have criticized the decision as a poor use of taxpayer money, and the NDP has panned the move as benefitting a U.S. pipeline company.

Lac-Mégantic looms over pipeline debate: Quebec MPs

Quebec Liberal MP Alexandra Mendès (Brossard-Saint-Lambert) said last week she couldn't yet say what her constituents thought of the Trans Mountain purchase, but "my feeling for the past year or so from constituents

is that they do prefer pipelines to trains as transport methods for oil.

"Clearly we all hope for a future without such a dependency on oil. But I think a lot of my constituents are also quite realistic, they understand that oil needs to be transported while we still need it, and they much prefer pipelines to trains. And I think the Lac-Mégantic issue is still very present in everybody's mind on this," she said.

Rémi Massé (Avignon-La Mitis-Matane-Matapédia) the chair of the Liberal Quebec caucus, said the pipeline purchase was a "good decision," and that he did not think Quebec voters would punish his party for it.

"We federalists believe it's important that we work with all the provinces. Alberta had a challenge...there were natural resources there that had to be put to market," he said.

Quebec Liberal Anthony Housefather (Mount Royal) also raised the spectre of the 2013 Lac-Mégantic disaster, when a train carrying oil derailed and exploded, killing 47 people in the town east of Sherbrooke.





















Quebec Liberal caucus chair Rémi Massé said Quebec voters will get behind the purchase as a good economic decision. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

"We in Quebec have seen, with Lac-Mégantic, the danger of trains transporting hazardous materials, and rather than trains or trucks, this should be done by pipeline," he said.

"The assets are worth the \$4.5-billion, it was a fair market price. And I think we want to get this built, and I have no issue with making a purchase in the national interest. I don't think my constituents will either," he said.

peter@hilltimes.com
bpaez@hilltimes.com

B.C. Liberal MPs, by lowest vote share

-  **Pitt Meadows-Maple Ridge:** Liberal MP Dan Ruimy, 34%, (second place: Conservative Mike Murray, 31%)
-  **Coquitlam-Port Coquitlam:** Liberal MP Ron McKinnon, 35% (second place: Conservative Douglas Horne, 32%)
-  **Burnaby-North Seymour:** Liberal MP Terry Beech, 36% (second place: NDP Carol Baird Ellan, 30%)
-  **Mission-Matsqui-Fraser Canyon:** Liberal MP Jati Sidhu, 37% (second place: Conservative Brad Vis, 35%)
-  **Vancouver Granville:** Liberal MP Jody Wilson-Raybould, 43% (second place: NDP Mira Oreck, 27%)
-  **Surrey Centre:** Liberal MP Randeep Sarai, 45.1% (second place: NDP Jasbir Sandhu, 30.1%)
-  **Steveston-Richmond East:** Liberal MP Joe Peschisolido, 45.1% (second place: Conservative Kenny Chiu, 38.5%)
-  **Cloverdale-Langley City:** Liberal MP John Aldag, 45.5% (second place: Conservative Dean Drysdale, 34.7%)
-  **Kelowna-Lake Country:** Liberal MP Stephen Fuhr, 46% (second place: Conservative Ron Cannan, 39.8%)
-  **Surrey Central:** Liberal MP Ken Hardie, 46.9% (second place: Conservative Nina Grewal, 29.3%)
-  **South Surrey-White Rock:** Liberal MP Gordie Hogg, 47.4% (second place: Conservative Kerry-Lynne Findlay, 42.3%)
-  **Vancouver South:** Liberal MP Harjit Sajjan, 48.8% (second place: Conservative Wai Young, 33.9%)
-  **Delta:** Liberal MP Carla Qualtrough, 49% (second place: NDP Kerry-Lynn Findlay, 32.8%)
-  **West Vancouver-Sunshine Coast-Sea to Sky Country:** Liberal MP Pam Goldsmith-Jones, 54.6% (second place: Conservative John Weston, 26.2%)
-  **Surrey Newton:** Liberal MP Sukh Dhaliwal, 56% (second place: NDP Jinny Sims, 26.1%)
-  **North Vancouver:** Liberal MP Jonathan Wilkinson, 56.6% (second place: Conservative Andrew Saxton, 26.9%)
-  **Vancouver Centre:** Liberal MP Hedy Fry, 58.1% (second place: NDP Constance Barnes, 20%)
-  **Vancouver Quadra:** Liberal MP Joyce Murray, 58.7% (second place: Conservative Blair Lockhart, 25.8%) Source: Elections Canada

Trans Mountain pipeline deal: what the government got and how they're paying for it

The government has agreed to buy the Trans Mountain pipeline, the expansion project, and related assets, including so-called "shipper contracts" for \$4.5-billion. Those shipper contracts "include tolls paid by the shippers for the use of the pipeline," according to Finance Canada, but the department did not give a clear answer on whether that meant oil producers have already committed to paying tolls that will finance the construction of the expanded pipeline, which some have estimated will cost billions.

"Ultimately, the capital and operating costs of the pipeline expansion will be funded through the revenues generated by those assets," said spokesperson Jocelyn Sweet.

"Specific contractual arrangements between Kinder Morgan and shippers are commercially confidential. Kinder Morgan remains the owner of the assets until a purchase agreement has closed," she wrote in an emailed statement.

More details on the assets acquired in the deal will be made available in a purchase and sale agreement that is expected to be released later this week.

The government won't have to ask Parliament for the \$4.5-billion to complete the deal. It will come out of the fund called the Canada Account, run by Export Development Canada.

"Consistent with generally accepted accounting standards, the acquisition of the project will be recorded as an asset. We do not expect that the purchase would have an immediate impact on the government's debt or deficit, as the cash outlay for the purchase would be offset by the recording of an asset," Ms. Sweet wrote in an emailed statement.

The Hill Times

News Ontario election

With Wynne headed for big loss, federal NDP and Conservatives to target Ontario ridings for 2019 election, say veteran political players

However, pollster Greg Lyle says although Thursday's election results will be a good indicator of where parties might find success in 2019, the dynamic will be totally different.

Continued from page 1

"In terms of their strategy, wherever the provincial New Democrats do well, that's probably a template for the federal New Democrats on the ridings they should focus on in the next federal election," said pollster Nik Nanos of Nanos Research, in an interview with *The Hill Times*. "Likewise, in the ridings where the provincial Conservatives do well, those will be target ridings for the federal Conservatives to take a look at."

Mr. Nanos said the scope of the potential Liberal loss in the June 7 election is a lot more significant than just the change of provincial government coming because it will also provide insight into the distribution of progressive votes in Ontario and what it will mean for the three national political parties in 2019.

"Because the Liberal brand in Ontario will realize a setback and the federal election will be next year, the federal Liberals and New Democrats should take note of the distribution and split of the progressive vote in Ontario," said Mr. Nanos.

The Ontario provincial election is scheduled for June 7, where 124 seats are up for grabs. Almost all the polls were trending towards a possible NDP victory in the popular vote, followed closely by the Conservatives. All polls were showing the governing Liberals in third place, meaning the Wynne government would lose power to either the NDP or the Conservatives. If the polling numbers turn out to be accurate, the Liberals will be out of office after 15 years of running the province starting with premier Dalton McGuinty, in 2003 who stepped down in 2013. Ms. Wynne took over as premier after Mr. McGuinty's departure.

In 2014, the Wynne Liberals won 58 of the 107 ridings. The Conservatives won 28 and the NDP 21 seats. Since the election, the number of provincial seats has gone up to 124 because of the redistribution of electoral boundaries. To win a majority government, the winning party needs 63 seats.

According to an online poll conducted by the Innovative Research Group, the NDP was leading the pack with 36 per cent

support followed by the Progressive Conservatives with 34 per cent support, and the Liberal support was at 22 per cent. The online poll of 958 Ontarians was conducted May 27-29, and had a margin of error of plus or minus 3.2 percentage points.

open the PMO's Ont. desk; and John Zerucelli, who will soon exit the PMO where he's currently a senior adviser. Zita Astravas, a former Queen's Park staffer who works as chief of staff to Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan (Vancouver South, B.C.), has been on a leave

on in terms of their ridings the support they had over the years," said Mr. Angus.

Pollster Greg Lyle of Innovative Research agreed that if the Liberals lose in Ontario, the New Democrats and the Conservatives would have a better idea of



Ontario Premier Kathleen Wynne, Ontario PC leader Doug Ford, Ontario NDP leader Andrea Horwath, pictured. Federal New Democrats and Conservatives say this week's election results may offer possible new, winnable Ontario ridings in the 2019 election for their parties, but Greg Lyle said the dynamics will be different in the federal election. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

An Angus-Reid Institute poll conducted between May 27-May 29 showed that if an election had held last week, 39 per cent of Ontarians would have voted for the NDP, 37 for the PC Party and 17 per cent for the Liberals. The poll of 773 Ontarians had a margin of error of plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

With 121 federal seats, Ontario represents more than one-third of the national electoral map of 338 seats and plays a critical role in the outcome of every election. In the 2015 general election, the Trudeau Liberals won a majority government with 184 seats, the Conservatives won 99 seats, the NDP 44, Bloc Québécois 10, and the Green Party only one seat. Of the 121 Ontario seats, the Liberals won 80, the Conservatives 33, and the NDP eight.

Both provincial and federal Liberals have a tight connection and help each other out at election time. A number of former senior Liberal Queen's Park staffers now work for the federal government in top positions, including Gerald Butts, principal secretary to Mr. Trudeau; Katie Telford, chief of staff to the prime minister; Brett Thalmann, the PMO's director of administration and special projects; Ryan Dunn, the PMO's director of issues management; Brian Clow, senior PMO adviser on Canada-U.S. relations; Lindsay Hunter, and Jamie Kip-

of absence from Mr. Sajjan's office to work on the provincial campaign.

Five-term NDP MP Charlie Angus (Timmins-James Bay, Ont.), who has travelled to several ridings across the province to help out his party's candidates, said the momentum is on the New Democrats' side and is optimistic that the party will win this week. He said if his party formed government provincially, it would not only help his party boost its profile, but it would provide a road map for federal ridings to focus on in 2019.

"If we do well, it will certainly boost us federally, in terms of having more ridings to work in; better support and a much higher profile in Ontario," he said, adding that a win would make Ontario the third province along with Alberta and British Columbia where the NDP forms government, which would help the party in the next federal election.

"We'll have three NDP governments in three of the most populous provinces in the country. That will be extraordinary for us. It will certainly help us in 2019."

He said the potential Liberal loss in Ontario would deprive the federal Liberals of the political organization they had in 2015.

"If the Liberals are decimated, it will take away much of the operating machine that the Liberal government federally has relied

their federal election campaign in 2019.

"Having two scary right-wing premiers and having a carbon pricing issue to fight on, gives them something to rally the centre-left on," said Mr. Lyle.

Meanwhile, last week federal Liberal and Conservative MPs were reluctant to discuss what the provincial election result could mean for the next federal election.

"I don't think so," said rookie Liberal MP Mark Gerretsen (Kingston and the Islands, Ont.), in an interview with *The Hill Times* last week, when asked if this week's election result means anything for next year's general election. However, he said he's been canvassing for his provincial counterpart Sophie Kiwala and said he would be happy to work with whoever gets elected as his provincial counterpart.

Rookie Liberal MP Michael Levitt (York Centre, Ont.) also said he didn't think the provincial election results will translate federally.

"I don't think so," said Mr. Levitt in a brief interview on his way to the House of Commons for the Question Period on May 31.

Rookie Conservative MP Marilyn Gladu (Sarnia-Lambton, Ont.) also declined a comment, saying she doesn't "have much to say about the provincial election," but did say she was helping out the provincial PC candidate door knocking.

Meanwhile, Mr. Angus and Mr. Lyle said there isn't any validity anymore that Ontarians usually elect one party provincially and another party federally.

"That's what academics liked to read into things," he said.

"When you talk to people at the doors, their calculation is, 'Who is speaking for me and who isn't?'"

Mr. Lyle described it as an "interesting coincidence."

"I don't think it was ever true. I have not met a lot of voters who sit down and say, 'Well, I really like to vote for Kathleen Wynne but because Justin Trudeau is prime minister I feel I have to vote for another party.' I mean I just don't meet those people. ... This is just an interesting coincidence."

Mr. McGuinty served as the Ontario premier between 2003 and 2013 and Ms. Wynne has been serving as the premier since his departure. Liberal prime minister Paul Martin served from 2003-06 and Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper from 2006-15. Before that, former PC leader Mike Harris served as the premier for about seven years between 1995 and 2002, and Ernie Eves for one year, during prime minister Jean Chrétien's time in office. Between 1990-95, the New Democrats ran the province under Bob Rae as the premier while Progressive Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney and Mr. Chrétien's time in office. Mr. Rae joined the Liberal party in 2006.

Liberal pundit and political insider Warren Kinsella wrote in his column in *The Hill Times* last week, that in less than 10 per cent of the time in the last 100 years, Ontarians elected the same party to govern them provincially and federally.

The Hill Times

'This is going to create border chaos': MPs react to Trump tariffs, Trudeau response

Members of the all-party steel caucus are convening on Monday in the hopes of co-ordinating with the government on the next steps to take, said Liberal MP Bob Bratina.

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government, as any government, would stand up to these kinds of measures, whether they're legal or not," said Liberal MP Bob Nault (Kenora, Ont.) in an interview. "Whether the countermeasures will have an impact on Trump changing his mind, I don't know."

The U.S. administration on Thursday followed through on its threats to impose steel and aluminium tariffs—25 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively—on Canada, Mexico, and the European Union, citing national security concerns.

Talk of hefty tariffs on those imports first surfaced in March. Mexico and Canada were given temporary reprieve but that lapsed on May 31.

A few hours after Washington said no relief would be granted for Canada, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland announced Ottawa's intention of slapping \$16.6-billion in levies on U.S. imports, effective July 1. Mr. Trudeau called the U.S. move an "affront to the long-standing security partnership" between the two nations.

"When Trudeau acted swiftly yesterday, just hours after [U.S. Commerce Secretary] Wilbur Ross announced the tariffs, it resonated well," said Liberal MP Terry Sheehan (Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.). "[The measures are] very targeted."

Mr. Sheehan said that the U.S. tariffs on Canadian imports are equivalent to a tax on American consumers that will affect everything from military defence contracts to manufacturing. His riding is home to Algoma, one of the largest steel producers in Canada. He said it's too early to speculate what the impact will be on the company's operations.

At the same time, Mr. Sheehan noted, the Liberal government has allowed for a two-week window to give stakeholders a chance to weigh in on the

potential costs for the domestic industry.

Members of the all-party steel caucus are convening on Monday in the hopes of co-ordinating with the government on the next steps to take, said Liberal MP Bob Bratina, who represents the riding of Hamilton East, Ont. Steel producers Dofasco and Stelco are some of the plants close to his riding that are grappling with the uncertainty posed by the brewing trade war, he noted.

"They're all making excellent profits right now. Stelco has been actively looking at re-establishing previously shut down facilities," Mr. Bratina said. "Dofasco has spent a lot of money on upgrading blast furnaces, which is the big furnace that creates iron. Basic ironmaking operations have been upgraded. ... They now have to pause and re-examine what the impacts will be."

Working-class Americans, the base that Mr. Trump regularly appeals to, stand to be hit hard by the tariffs, as the price of everyday consumer goods will tick up, Mr. Bratina said, and Mr. Trump may be forced to reconsider when the reality of the Canadian counter-tariffs hits home for his supporters.

"We don't know the full gravity of what this will mean in consequence. This is going to create border chaos," Conservative MP David Sweet (Flamborough-Glanbrook, Ont.) told *The Hill Times*. "I don't think the administration has really thought through what's going to happen at the border."

Given that auto parts travel back and forth across the border, the haggling over the tariffs could hold up production of cars as a



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland convened reporters on Thursday to announce that the government would impose \$16.6-billion in tariffs in response to the U.S. penalties on Canadian steel and aluminium. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

worst-case scenario, Mr. Sweet said, adding that he hoped "cooler heads will prevail" in the end.

Mr. Sweet, who also belongs to the all-party steel caucus, said that he was disappointed that the government did not include specific measures in its latest budget to come to the aid of industry as a fallback strategy if NAFTA negotiations went south.

"There has always been this attitude that this is all looked after. It's profoundly disappointing to us," he said. "We want to work as effectively as we can with the government, if they'll give us some space to do that."

Mr. Nault said the trade spat with the U.S. has everything to do with politics and posturing amid protracted negotiations over NAFTA, not security concerns. "We should go back to negotiating. This is a business deal ... so the business community will have to have their say as to what their reaction is," he added.

Gabriel Ste-Marie, the MP for Joliette, Que., who caucuses with the Groupe parlementaire québécois, is supportive of the punitive measures the government responded with. Quebec is responsible for producing 90 per cent of Canadian aluminium.

"We are in accord with the government. We have been a good security provider to the U.S.

for more than 100 years; we played a role in World War II in providing aluminium, so invoking national security measures with us is just unacceptable," Mr. Ste-Marie said.

However, NDP MP Tracey Ramsey, who represents the riding of Essex in Ontario and is a member of the all-party steel caucus, said the Liberal government failed Canadians by not being able to secure a perma-

nent exemption from the tariffs, given how deep ties are between the two countries. Ms. Ramsey's riding is home to steel fabricators, including Essex Weld Solutions, and she said she has been working for more than a year with her U.S. counterparts to push for an exemption.

In an interview, she said that this issue has escalated to a high level and that the talks should now involve Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Trump, adding that it's evident that resolving the issue on the ministerial level hasn't worked.

Mr. Nault disagreed. "We have a trade agreement right now, so there's no reason to panic. There's no reason we need to go head to head between the prime minister and Trump," he said. "I would think that would not be useful or successful. Instead, we should quiet down, settle down, relax. This is a business deal, and that's the best way to approach it."

Liberal MP Julie Dabrusin (Toronto-Danforth) echoed that sentiment: "He has taken the right measured response that we need. I think we have a really strong team, and people who are taking a partisan approach need to recognize that we have a team that's been working really hard on this issue."

The default partisan response from the opposition parties, calling the government's inability to prevent the imposition of the steel and aluminum tariffs, is not productive, said Adam Taylor, a trade-focused consultant and ex-staffer for former Conservative trade minister Ed Fast. Mr. Taylor said the government's response was appropriate and that it was forced into the position of retaliating.

"If the Trudeau government is failing Canadians, then the Mexican government is failing Mexicans, and the European governments are failing Europeans. I don't know why anybody would think there's anything the Trudeau government should have done," Mr. Taylor said. "Given that these actions have been launched on virtually every U.S. ally, that's an unfortunate partisan reaction that I don't think actually has a place in the current context."

bpaez@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

All-party steel caucus membership:

Liberal MP Bob Bratina, co-chair (Hamilton East—Stoney Creek, Ont.)
Liberal MP Terry Sheehan, co-chair (Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.)
NDP MP Scott Duvall, vice-chair (Hamilton Mountain, Ont.)
Conservative MP David Sweet, vice-chair (Flamborough—Glanbrook, Ont.)
Liberal MP Filomena Tassi (Hamilton West—Ancaster—Dundas, Ont.)
NDP MP Tracey Ramsey (Essex, Ont.)
NDP MP Erin Weir (Regina—Lewvan, Sask.)
NDP MP David Christopherson (Hamilton Centre, Ont.)

Some of the tariffs imposed by Canada:

Household/kitchen goods: automatic dishwasher detergents; candles and tapers (not including birthday candles and other festive occasions); tableware and kitchenware; household articles and hygienic or toilet articles, of plastics; pot scourers and scouring or polishing pads, gloves; tablecloths and serviettes;

Grocery items: Soy sauce; soups and broths; ketchup and other tomato sauces; prepared mustard; mayonnaise; orange juice, strawberry jam; cucumbers and gherkins; pizza and quiche; toffee; liquorice; nut purées and nut pastes; berry purées; yogurt

Household furniture: mattresses of cellular rubber or plastics, whether or not covered; mattresses of other materials; other bedding and similar articles; table, kitchen or household articles and parts thereof, of aluminium;

Hygiene products, other toiletries: organic surface-active products, pre-shave, shaving, or after-shave preparations; preparations for perfuming or deodorizing rooms; hair lacquers; manicure or pedicure preparations; household articles and hygienic or toilet articles, of plastics

Gardening products: insecticides; fungicides; herbicides; other sacks and bags (including cones) of polymers of ethylene; lawn mowers



U.S. President Donald Trump started a trade war last week when he imposed tariffs of steel and aluminium. In response, Prime Minister Trudeau ordered more than \$16-billion worth of tariffs on U.S. products. *Photograph courtesy of Gage Skidmore*

News Politics & privacy

House Ethics Committee to release interim report on probe into Cambridge Analytica-Facebook scandal this summer, says Zimmer

American, British, and Canadian legislators are set to take part in a meeting in Washington, D.C. on July 16 focused on electoral integrity, *The Hill Times* has learned.

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suggestions for change from Canadian whistleblower Chris Wylie.

"It started off just being a study on Cambridge Analytica and Facebook and the breach of personal information, and it just kept getting bigger and bigger," said Conservative MP Bob Zimmer (Prince George-Peace River-Northern Rockies, B.C.), chair of the House Ethics Committee, which is leading the investigation.

"We have a bunch of more witnesses that we want to appear. We'll see where that testimony leads us and see if again this cloud keeps getting bigger or if at some point we feel we have enough information to table a [final] report and we can address the shortfalls of Canadian law as it affects Canadian privacy."

Mr. Zimmer told *The Hill Times* the committee is planning to have an interim report completed before July, but cautioned it would be "by no means conclusive necessarily for the entire study," which is set to continue next fall. Mr. Zimmer said "if it's necessary" the committee could opt to meet during the summer recess as well.

At the same time, he said he's been in contact with his U.K. counterpart, British Conservative MP Damian Collins, chair of the Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee, about possibilities to coordinate work between the Canadian and U.K. committees studying the issue, as well as with American legislators also looking into the matter.

"We're so tied as our three nations; just whether it's part of the Commonwealth, or if it's our biggest neighbour, we need to do something, there's no sense we all need to create our own wheels. If we can all work together we can get something that's really strong and really good for all, so we're going to see what that looks like," said Mr. Zimmer.

Mr. Zimmer said he's been invited to attend a meeting in Washington, D.C. being organized by American legislators for July 16, which will include U.S. Senator Mark Warner, U.K. legislators, and others, and will be focused on the issue of elections integrity, including around privacy and personal data in politics.

The House Ethics Committee launched its study into the Cambridge Analytica-Facebook personal data breach in April, sparked by news that the U.S.-based company—described as the American front for the U.K.-based SCL Group—had inappropriately obtained data from 87 million Facebook users worldwide, including 622,161 Canadians. This data was then plugged into micro-targeting software—software, it's since been revealed, which was developed by Canadian-based company AggregateIQ (AIQ)—used during the 2016 U.S. presidential election.

Mr. Wylie, who was director of research for SCL and Cambridge Analytica from mid-2013 to late 2014, is to thank for blowing the whistle on these activities, and in turn, leading legislators to examine the evolving world of data mining and psycho-profiling activities by companies involved in politics around the world.

Since April, the actions and connections of AIQ, a small Victoria, B.C.-based operation, have come under the committee's spotlight, in terms of its connections to SCL group—having been called a "franchise" of it—and its work for the Vote Leave campaign in the U.K.'s Brexit vote.

AIQ executives Jeff Silvester and Zack Massingham appeared before the committee on April 24, but refuted much of what multiple people, including Mr. Wylie, have said of the company, and denied reports it is a "franchise" of SCL; knowledge of why Mr. Massingham's phone number was listed on SCL's website as the contact for its Canadian office; knowledge of coordination between the various pro-Brexit campaigns (which are currently the subject of a U.K. investigation into whether Vote Leave circumvented spending limits); and more.

Committee members were quick to express skepticism over AIQ's testimony, with Mr. Zimmer saying something didn't "smell right."

On May 29, the committee heard the highly-anticipated testimony from Mr. Wylie, who appeared via video link from a room in the Canadian embassy in London and was sworn-in with an oath, committing to tell the "truth,

the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

Mr. Wylie is the first witness to have been sworn in by the committee, an atypical move that Mr. Zimmer said was prompted by the committee's previous experience with AIQ, though he noted even without an oath, falsified testimony before a committee can potentially lead to contempt of Parliament charges.

"We thought it was important to get the testimony under oath, and any successive testimony under oath as well to do with this particular case," he said. "You can swear under another oath or under the Bible, and every committee room still has a Bible in it to have the ability to do that."



Canadian whistleblower Chris Wylie testified before the House Ethics Committee via video link on May 29, and offered up a number of suggestions and points for consideration for MPs as they work to recommend legislative changes to address issues raised around the use of personal data in politics. Screenshot courtesy of ParIVu

Mr. Wylie responded to questions from committee members in public for about two hours before a break for a House vote, after which the committee returned in camera for another half-an-hour of questioning.

Mr. Zimmer said Mr. Wylie's testimony was "pivotal" for the committee's study, including in terms of next steps, and was "incredibly informative," as Mr. Wylie "knows the back doors and where they open," and in turn, knows "how to keep them closed."

"It's given us good direction to go to ask people the next questions, and also ... for the recommendations too, I think that's where a lot of us are intrigued, in making laws," said Mr. Zimmer.

Bringing transparency to online political ads a 'first step,' says Wylie

Cambridge Analytica and its operations are a "canary in the coal mine," Mr. Wylie told the committee, and have exposed how easy it is to misappropriate

information and interfere in elections "particularly in cyberspace."

"It's the beginning, not the end," he said. "[It has shown] how the internet and the growing digitization of society has opened up vulnerabilities in our election system."

Previously, foreign actors would physically have to come to a country to interfere in an election, "now you don't," he said, and "moving forward, we need to look at cybersecurity as a priority for elections."

"We have to understand that we may look at social media as domestic political players as a communications space ... if you are a malicious foreign actor, you look at it as an information battlefield."

The internet is no longer something most people can avoid using, said Mr. Wylie, and he encouraged MPs to look at social media platforms as utilities and to take a step back to look beyond the issue of data and consent and consider what's acceptable behaviour for artificial intelligence technologies, in general.

"These are decision-making machines, so we should be regulating how they can make decisions; which is really important because as society moves forward all of this information is going to start being connected to one another," he said.

"Every single year, we are integrating smart devices that are

country like Russian to start to interfere in elections if that has to be done in public."

There are positive uses for micro-targeting, for example, helping to motivate underrepresented groups to participate in the democratic process, said Mr. Wylie, and use of such tools and online communications shouldn't be treated as "inherently nefarious."

"In the same way that you can have a knife and it can be a murder weapon or it can create a Michelin-star meal, it's a tool. So the appropriate thing to do is to look at what is reasonable for this tool, and how to use this tool and create boundaries for that tool," he said.

Given the rapid development of technology, Mr. Wylie suggested there should be "rules on reasonable expectation." For example, he said when he joined Facebook in 2007 and started putting up photos, he consented to algorithms (via terms of use), but facial recognition technology didn't exist then and "probably" wasn't anticipated by users. He also suggested governments should require both foreign actors doing work in their country, and domestic actors doing work in elections in other countries, to be registered.

Having already testified before the U.K. and U.S. committees studying the same issue, Mr. Wylie said he's gotten a lot of the "same questions" and seen a "lot of the same problems." With companies like Facebook—whose CEO, Mark Zuckerberg, he noted, has declined to appear before some committees—exerting "huge amounts of influence on the democratic systems of countries all around the world," he suggested it "may actually require a multinational approach" to find a "common solution" to "common questions."

Mr. Wylie said legislators should be careful in considering how to proceed, warning that if parties are required to have opt-in consent before talking to voters it could create a situation years down the road where "there's an election and you can't reach electors." The ability of political parties to approach or reach-out to a voter who doesn't necessarily agree with it or want to talk is an important part of the democratic process, he said.

On May 31, the House Ethics Committee met in camera with federal Privacy Commissioner Daniel Therrien and his director of policy, parliamentary affairs and research, Barbara Bucknell. Mr. Zimmer said the aim was to get some "good direction as a committee of where to go" with its study.

Mr. Zimmer said the committee has already sent a request to AIQ to once again come before it, and plans to once again ask Mr. Zuckerberg to appear as a witness. Mr. Zuckerberg declined to a previous such invite, and Mr. Zimmer said "if he declines again then we will subpoena him."

"It doesn't mean that we have the ability to force him to come, it's still up to him to decide, but we'll be pursuing subpoenaing different witnesses more than we have in the past I would say," he said.

tryckewaert@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

connected to algorithms that are connected to databases in new and multifarious aspects of our lives. People are putting Alexa into their homes, their fridges can connect to their phones, we might have self-driving cars at some point in the future ... there's a lot of benefit to that, but there's a lot of risks to that."

Introducing transparency requirements around online political advertising—requiring both parties putting out ads and the platforms running them to report details about them—"would be a really helpful first step," said Mr. Wylie.

"That would allow journalists, governments, parties, whomever, to look at what ads are actually being put out on this platform, and in addition to that, the actual targeting specification for those adverts. Currently we do not know," he said, adding that such transparency could help avoid introducing "cumbersome" rules about what can or cannot be run on a given platform.

"[Such transparency] would make it a lot more difficult for a

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Health Policy Briefing

Health Minister Petitpas Taylor says she won't hesitate to fight marketing abuses from drug companies; mum on supporting surrogacy bill, suicide motion

In an email Q&A, the health minister talks about preventing marketing abuses by prescription drug companies, the healthy eating strategy, suicide prevention, and more.

BY JOLSON LIM

With cannabis legalization looking all but certain, Health Minister Ginette Petitpas Taylor may have a bit more time to focus on her department's other sprawling responsibilities.

There's the opioid crisis, her newly-unveiled tobacco strategy, and supporting a growing population of seniors, to begin with.

As scrutiny of pharmaceutical companies' role in creating the current opioid crisis increases south of the border, Ms. Petitpas Taylor said in an email interview that Health Canada is exploring options to increase transparency on the issue.

She said Health Canada "won't hesitate to address advertising and marketing abuses using the new powers at its disposal."

New regulations will allow her to impose conditions on opioid market authorization, including preclearance of opioid-related materials provided to healthcare professionals.

Asked about a private member's bill and motion related to her file, one of which was put forward by Liberal colleague Anthony Housefather, Ms. Petitpas Taylor wouldn't say whether she would support either.

Mr. Housefather's bill would decriminalize payments for surrogacy, egg and sperm donors, while NDP MP Charlie Angus is demanding a national suicide prevention strategy.

She also defended the Medical Device Single Audit Program, which medical-device companies recently said would boost costs and drive foreign tech companies away.

This email Q&A, the full version offered online, has been edited for style and length.

Recently, American drug manufacturers have been found to have misled the public on the addictiveness of their products, and the NDP has said if American companies have done so, 'it stands to reason that it's possible they did

so in Canada.' You said the federal government is looking at ways to strengthen industry accountability and transparency. How is it being looked at right now, and what are you looking into in terms of improved oversight?

"The latest national data suggest that we will see more than 4,000 opioid-related deaths in 2017 alone. This is unacceptable. While most of this tragic loss of life can be attributed to contaminated drugs that have been obtained illegally, prescription opioids have also contributed to the devastating impacts of the current opioid crisis. Canada's opioid prescribing rate is the second highest in the world, after the United States. We're exploring all options to address this crisis.

"Health product advertising material should comply with the terms of market authorization. Canadian regulations allow pharmaceutical companies to mention only the name, price and quantity of the drug when advertising to the general public. In the U.S., pharmaceutical companies must also provide the risks and benefits of medications in their product promotions. Canadian regulations also prohibit the advertising of controlled drugs, such as opioids, to the public. When Health Canada becomes aware of information in a health product advertisement that is false, misleading or deceptive, it takes appropriate actions.

"My department has closely noted the proceedings and outcomes of the U.S. case where Purdue U.S. pleaded guilty and agreed to pay more than \$634-million in fines related to misleading advertising of OxyContin to healthcare professionals.

"Here in Canada, had charges against Purdue been pursued under the Food and Drugs Act at the time of the alleged inappropriate marketing practices, the maximum penalty that the courts could have imposed upon conviction was a fine of \$5,000 per offence. Since that time, however, the Food and Drugs Act has been amended to dramatically strengthen the penalties available.

"The maximum penalty is now up to \$5-million per offence. In addition, if the offence involves knowingly or recklessly causing a serious risk of injury to human health, the fine is left entirely to the discretion of the court, with no cap on the financial penalty.

"These penalties could not be applied to situations that arose before the changes in the law but Health Canada won't hesitate to

address advertising and marketing abuses using the new powers at its disposal.

"I recognize that industry's marketing of opioids to health care professionals may unduly influence prescribing decisions. My department's exploring options to increase transparency on this issue. New regulations permit me to impose terms and conditions on opioid market authorizations. These could include risk management plans for opioids, including preclearance of opioid-related materials provided to healthcare professionals."

How would you observe the growth of Health Canada as a federal department due to legalization of cannabis? Currently, about 300 people work at Health Canada's cannabis legalization and regulation branch, but is it now clear that more people will have to be hired in order to meet the needs of legal marijuana?

"Branch capacity will continue to grow and additional hiring will depend on the volume of applications, licences and compliance and enforcement activity.

"We'll offset the overall cost associated with implementing this new system through cost recovery and by collecting licensing and other fees, as well as through revenues generated through taxation, as is the case with the tobacco and alcohol industry."

The NDP have recently put forward a motion, M-174, calling for a national suicide prevention strategy. The Liberals, while in opposition, called for such a plan in 2011. Do you support the idea or back MP Charlie Angus' motion?

"We're committed to improving the overall mental health of Canadians through collaborative initiatives with public, private, not-for-profit and Indigenous stakeholders.

"In December, the Public Health Agency of Canada released its 2016 report on progress on the federal framework for suicide prevention. It provides an overview of federal suicide prevention activities undertaken with stakeholders across Canada.

"We're also investing \$2-million over five years to support the development of the Canada Suicide Prevention Service by Crisis Services Canada. It'll provide Canadians who are in crisis, thinking about suicide or affected by suicide with free, confidential support from trained responders by phone, text or chat.

"By increasing awareness, reducing risk factors, improving access to quality mental health services and eliminating the

stigma often associated with mental illness, we can build resilient communities that are supportive of mental well-being, and help prevent suicide."

Your Liberal colleague Anthony Housefather introduced a private member's bill on May 29 that would seek to scrap provisions in the Assisted Human Reproduction Act and decriminalize payments for surrogacy, egg, and sperm donors. What is your opinion on the idea? What is Health Canada currently doing to strengthen the AHRA?

"In October 2016, Health Canada announced its intent to strengthen the Assisted Human Reproduction Act by bringing into force the dormant sections of the act, including the development of supporting regulations focused on safety and reimbursement of expense. Since that time, the department has been working through the regulatory development process.

"While payment for donor sperm and eggs as well as payment to surrogates are prohibited under the act, Health Canada recognizes that the reimbursement of expenses is an important part of facilitating the responsible use of assisted human reproduction. As such, Health Canada intends to establish within the reimbursement regulations for Section 12 of AHRA, broad categories of expenditures for which donors and surrogates may be reimbursed.

"We also intend to provide increased clarity regarding the processes for reimbursements and for reimbursing surrogates for loss of work-related income.

"Health Canada intends to publish the regulatory proposal for Section 12 in Canada Gazette in the fall of 2018.

"Canadians will have an opportunity to provide input during the comment period, which is anticipated to last 75 days. We look forward to hearing from Canadians about both the proposed regulations on reimbursement as well as Mr. Housefather's bill."

Recently, medical-device companies have voiced concerns over new safety rules, saying they will boost costs and drive foreign companies away.

"The Medical Device Single Audit Program is not a new regulation and does not introduce new requirements for manufacturers. It is changing the way quality management system audits are performed and it continues to be based on ISO 13485.

"Canada is transitioning from one mandatory program to another. The Canadian Medical Device Conformity Assessment System program was mandatory, and the MDSAP program will replace it as the only mandatory program as of Jan. 1.

"Health Canada has implemented mitigation measures to facilitate the transition to MDSAP. On May 4, we announced reductions to audit duration for small-sized manufacturers meeting certain criteria.

"MDSAP will bring important benefits to Canadian firms that operate in multiple markets. In a survey conducted by the Health Canada in late 2017, well before the recent enhancements to the program were announced, the

vast majority of class II, III and IV medical device licence holders indicated they were planning to make the transition.

"Having said that, we recognize that some firms, especially smaller manufacturers and those that do not trade in multiple markets, may not be in a position to fully capitalize on the benefits of MDSAP. Health Canada is confident that the adjustments will address the key concerns of these manufacturers."

Health Canada is committed to restricting the marketing of unhealthy foods to children. What did you hear from stakeholders in consultations in 2017 and what is your proposed monitoring framework and research agenda? Will it be subject to feedback and amendments going forward?

"Health Canada consulted with Canadians about a draft marketing of unhealthy food and beverages to children policy in the summer 2017.

"Input received during this consultation is being considered as we move forward with developing a regulatory approach to restricting the marketing of unhealthy foods and beverages to children.

"Earlier this month, Health Canada posted a policy update on its proposed approach for regulations to restrict the marketing of unhealthy food and beverages to children.

"Monitoring will be a critical element of successful implementation of marketing restrictions. To ensure the effectiveness of the marketing restrictions, HESA committee adopted an amendment to introduce a five-year mandatory review of the impact of the legislation by Parliament.

"This would help determine the impact of the legislation, including whether it will result in an increase in marketing to teenagers. Health Canada is developing a monitoring strategy, and we are meeting with experts, health stakeholders and industry associations to discuss factors that are significant in monitoring marketing to children.

"Several meetings have already taken place this spring. We will continue to seek input as the monitoring strategy is developed."

Some employers feel they are in limbo regarding policies to deal with the impact of recreational marijuana for the workplace. For example, some groups—such as FETCO—are wondering whether the same workplace restrictions on alcohol consumption can apply to cannabis use, and how a company would determine whether an employee is considered stoned or impaired for work. Does the federal government intend to address the issue going forward?

"The Task Force on Cannabis Legalization and Regulation heard from employers who expressed concern with the impact of cannabis legalization on workplace safety particularly for safety-sensitive industries.

"While the legalization of cannabis has highlighted this concern, impairment in the workplace is not a new issue, and is not limited to cannabis."

jlim@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

New tobacco strategy will need more funding to reach five per cent target, say observers

BY JOLSON LIM

Health Minister Ginette Petitpas Taylor unveiled the country's new anti-tobacco strategy last week with a goal of cutting the number of smokers to five per cent of the population by 2035, but observers say the lack of funding now offered for anti-tobacco initiatives makes it hard to meet.

"It's an ambitious target ... but I don't think we're quite on track for that," University of Waterloo professor David Hammond told *The Hill Times*.

While it's refreshing to see new efforts to fight tobacco use, Prof. Hammond, who holds a federal applied public health chair, said there will have to be more funding to go along with new measures.

In February, the Liberals announced plans to "renew and enhance" its anti-tobacco policy, committing \$80.5-million over five years, with \$17.7-million more in annual base funding going forward.

That's a boost after years of cuts under the previous Conservative government for the Federal Tobacco Control Strategy. Ottawa provided a budget of \$115-million in 2004 for the strategy, but by 2013, it had plummeted to \$34.8-million, Treasury Board of Canada figures show. That year, actual spending was only \$22.4-million.

The program launched in 2001 as a 10-year \$560-million plan to cut the smoking rate from 25 per cent to 12 per cent by 2011. While Ottawa hasn't met that goal, the strategy was successful in cutting the smoking rate to 15 per cent today, preventing thousands of deaths. Tobacco use is the leading cause of preventable deaths in Canada.

The tobacco strategy was renewed in 2013 and expired in March. Last year, the program had a \$43.2-million budget, which was shared among Health Canada and other agencies. This year, \$11-million in new money has been earmarked for the new Tobacco Strategy.

The strategy is the first significant federal anti-smoking effort is more than a decade, and prioritizes supporting Canadians trying to quit smoking, protecting youth and non-smokers from nicotine addiction, working with Indigenous groups, and improving data collection and research.

It was unveiled by Ms. Petitpas Taylor (Moncton-Riverview-Dieppe, N.B.) on World No Tobacco Day on May 31 in Montreal.

"This strategy places us among the world leaders in the fight against smoking," Ms. Petitpas Taylor told an audience at the Canadian Public Health Association's national conference.

Prof. Hammond said it's great news to see a focus on Indigenous communities,

where the smoking rate hovers above 50 per cent for adults. He said there's been "tremendous success" in preventing new smokers, but Canada has struggled in helping smokers quit.

"We're good at pulling the fire alarm but we have to help get smokers to the door to get out of the burning building," he said.

He said frontline organizations are seriously hurting despite doing the lion's share of usage tracking and watchdog work on tobacco corporations, who have seen their profits skyrocket in recent years due to increasing wholesale prices outside of Canada.

"That's probably the area I would most point to as needing support," he said.

Physicians for a Smoke-Free Canada is known for its gritty anti-smoking campaign featuring Heather Crowe, a waitress who developed and died from lung cancer through second-hand smoke working in restaurants her entire life.

Neil Collishaw, the organization's research director, said government funding hasn't come since 2012, and the organization no longer has salaried staff. Other organizations have entirely folded.

"We've been able to hang on with a reduced level of activity because we had other sources of funding," he told *The Hill Times*. "The string's run out. We don't have any new contracts."

More than 80 health experts and organizations sent Ms. Petitpas Taylor an letter in April asking her to find a solution to funding for these organizations.

He said there's a chance the organization can receive new funding through Health Canada's Substance Use and Addictions Program, which recently opened up to anti-tobacco organizations. However, he doesn't expect to receive as much funding as it had under a tobacco-focused program that ended in 2012, which had a \$20-million annual pool at one point.

Mr. Collishaw said in the 2000s, government-funded media campaigns were immensely successful, but noted there was no specific mention of it in the strategy.

Four days after Ms. Crowe's death in 2006, Ontario passed a law banning smoking in indoor public spaces and near entrances of government buildings.

He said \$200-million in annual funding would be adequate money to give the federal government a chance to meet its target. That's roughly the cost of two F/A-18F Super Hornet jets.

Ms. Petitpas Taylor also said she's in favour of health warnings directly on cigarettes, which she called a "bold" idea.

She also said she expects plain packaging for cigarettes to become reality by the end of the year after Bill S-5 received royal assent last week. It will also regulate vaping products, which the government sees as a less harmful option to smoking.

There are about 4.6 million Canadians using tobacco. To reach five per cent, there would have to be 2.8 million fewer smokers by 2035.

"The minister is right about one thing. There's 45,000 Canadians dying every year from tobacco-related disease. That is something that keeps me going," Mr. Collishaw said.

jlim@hilltimes.com
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Health Policy Briefing

A national seniors strategy needs to account for complexity in the aging process

Evidence says transforming our health and social care systems to include frailty would produce both health and economic benefits. Such benefits would be real and significant for older Canadians, their families and for those on the front lines delivering care.



Russell Williams & John Muscedere

Opinion

Canadians 65 years and older now outnumber children 14 years and under, which means our needs as a society are changing. We are succeeding in shifting the aging curve through preventive interventions and better public health—that's good news.

But the changing demographic is causing strains in our health and social care supports. How can Canada rise to the challenge?

There are many calls for a national strategy for seniors, or for homecare, palliative care, dementia and pharmaceutical care for seniors. However, any strategy targeting seniors cannot be based solely on age—but should be based on risk and vulnerability—or what is known as “frailty.”

Taking frailty into account may both improve and help save our fractured health system.

Frailty can occur at any age and describes individuals who are in precarious health, have significant multiple health impairments and are at higher risk of dying. The hallmark of frailty is that minor

illnesses like infections or minor injuries, which would minimally affect non-frail individuals, may trigger rapid and dramatic deterioration in health.

Getting older doesn't necessarily mean you are frail. It does mean that as you age you are more likely to become frail. Frailty is a more precise, and evidence-based, determinant of health outcomes and health care utilization than age alone.

The most rapidly increasing segment of the population is individuals over 80 years old and over 50 per cent of those over the age of 80 are frail.

A large, growing proportion of our health and social care spending is, and will increasingly be, focused on older Canadians living with frailty. From a societal perspective, frailty also places large burdens on family, friends and caregivers, including financial, social and productivity costs.

Everyone is impacted by frailty.

Yet frailty is poorly understood, pervasively under-recognized and under-appreciated by health care professionals and the public. Not enough health-care professionals have expertise in caring for older adults that live with frailty and we do not have sufficient evidence to guide the care of older adults living with frailty.

So what would transformed health and social care systems look like if frailty were considered?

First, all older adults coming into contact with the health-care system would be proactively screened for the presence of frailty or risk factors for its development. By using readily available, easy to use tools to identify frailty, proactive models of care and interventions could be put in place to prevent or delay its development or progression. Care planning would also start early rather than waiting for a crisis.

Next, older adults living with frailty and their family, friends and caregivers would be involved at every stage of system change. When citizens are engaged in decision making, it improves the patient experience, contributes to more cost-effective services and enhances the overall quality of our health and social care systems.

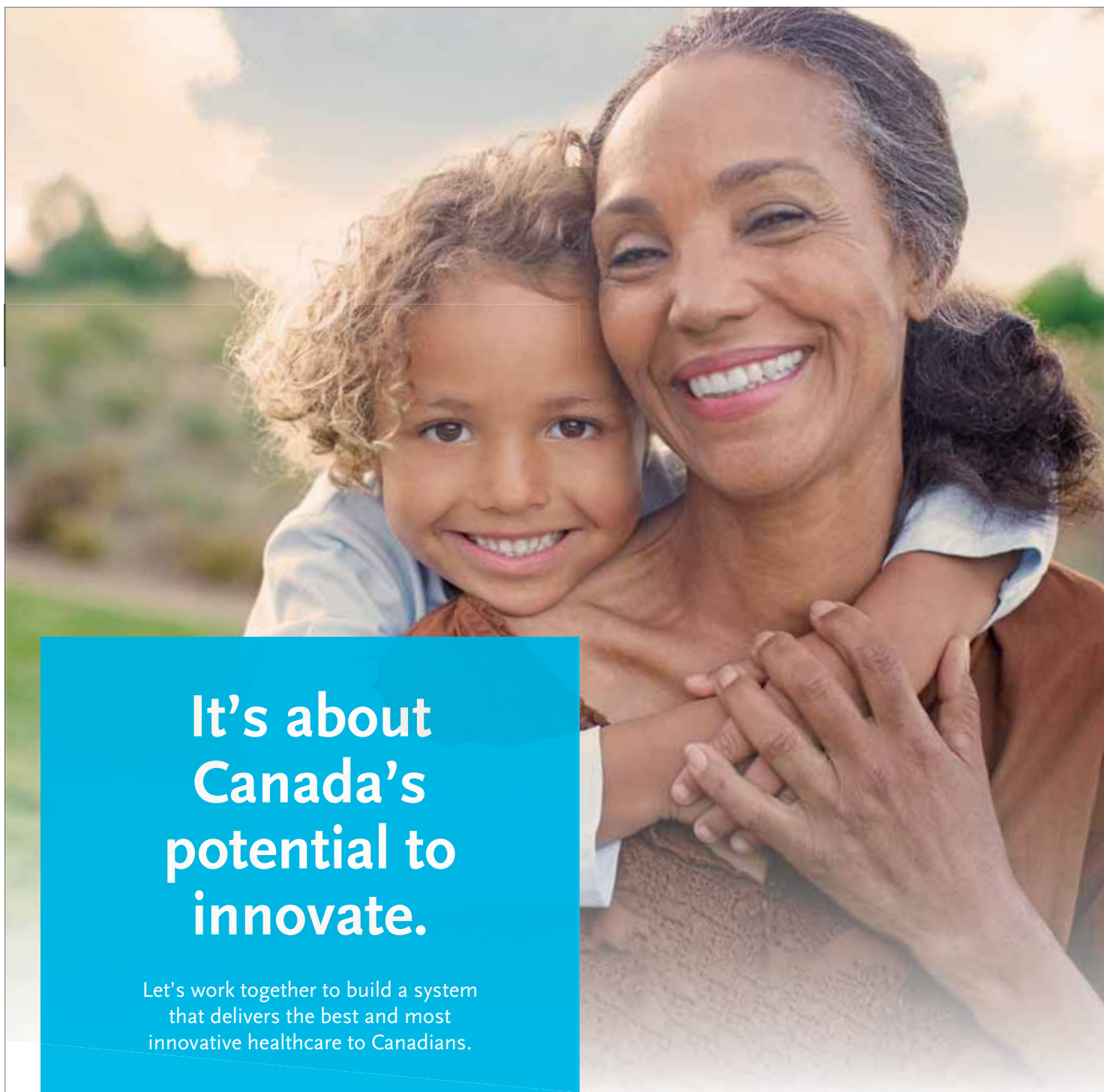
The Canadian Frailty Network undertook a study aimed at identifying priority areas based on input from Canadians affected by older adults living with frailty. The two top priorities identified dealt with (1) better organization of health and social care systems to provide integrated and coordinated care, and (2) tailoring care, services and treatments to meet the needs of older adults who are isolated or without family and caregiver support or advocates.

Training and certification qualifications for caregivers and health-care professionals would include frailty recognition and assessment. Canada is a leader in frailty measurement, with Canadian researchers developing some of the most commonly-used tools, such as the Clinical Frailty Scale and the Edmonton Frailty Scale. Unfortunately, Canada has been comparatively slow to adopt its own innovations, lagging behind other nations.

Evidence says transforming our health and social care systems to include frailty would produce both health and economic benefits. Such benefits would be real and significant for older Canadians, their families and for those on the front lines delivering care.

Russell Williams is chair of the board of directors of the Canadian Frailty Network. Dr. John Muscedere is the scientific director and CEO of the Canadian Frailty Network.

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Health Policy Briefing

Not one more: Charlie Angus, advocates set sights on suicide prevention strategy with M-174

Quebec is a world leader in suicide prevention, says academic Jack Hicks, but Canada is one of the only developed countries without a national suicide prevention strategy.

BY EMILY HAWS

NDP MP Charlie Angus is receiving support on his suicide-prevention motion, but instead of voting on it immediately, he wants to delay the vote for about a year and drum up a national conversation.

The last thing Mr. Angus (Timmins-James Bay, Ont.) wants is another motion adopted by the House without any change coming as a result, he told *The Hill Times* last week, and by engaging people, activists, and community leaders, he said it will increase political pressure, prompting government action.

The pressure will create “a strong consensus that it’s time for the feds to be at the table and work in sort of a hub role, working with the provinces, working with Indigenous communities,” and other stakeholders on a coordinated effort, he said. He had no timeline on when he wants a vote on the motion, but wants to talk for most of the coming year and is waiting for a good time “when all the stars really start to align.”

He launched the motion, M-174, and his campaign Not One More on May 22. He said private member’s bills can be limiting, but motions can be more easily passed. Still, the onus of a strategy is on the government.

“We need an all-of-government approach to say...we do need statistics. We need to start identifying where the crisis points are, and have comparable measurable numbers to say what’s changed, what’s adding to the pressure points,” he said. “Then out of that, we [can] start to say ‘Okay, what are the appropriate cultural strategies that are much more based at the grassroots level that can respond to that?’”

Mr. Angus became familiar with the issue thanks to his role as the party’s Indigenous youth critic. He was approached by University of Saskatchewan adjunct professor Jack Hicks in late 2017, who proposed there should be more of a focus on preventing suicide through a strategy.



NDP MP Charlie Angus, his party’s ethics and Indigenous youth critic, introduced M-174, which calls for a national suicide prevention action plan. It calls for addressing data gaps, which advocates say is a key issue to lowering suicide rates, among other changes. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Prof. Hicks researches the suicide rates of Inuit children and helped draft Nunavut’s 2010 strategy. He said he approached Mr. Angus because other parties didn’t enact it while in power. Prof. Hicks said he’s unsure if this time will be different, but said the medical community now seems more supportive of a national strategy.

According to a June report by the House Indigenous and Northern Affairs Committee, the national suicide rate is about 11 per 100,000 people. However, it is much higher for Indigenous populations.

The rate in the four Inuit land-claim regions ranges between five and 25 times the national rate, said the report, with Inuit males between the ages of 15 and 29 having rates 40 times higher. On-reserve First Nations rates are slightly better but still bleak: males aged one to 19 had a suicide rate of 30 per 100,000, and females of the same age were 26 per 100,000.

Those rates are why the motion calls for actions to establish culturally appropriate prevention programs as articulated by Indigenous organizations, said Mr. Angus. The motion takes a whole-of-government approach to reducing suicide by establishing a plan that includes national guidelines for best prevention practices, as well as the creation of a national public health monitoring program for the prevention of suicide and identification of groups at elevated risk, among other plans.

It would also create programs to identify and fill gaps in knowledge related to suicide prevention, including timely and accurate statistical data, which stakeholders say is crucial, and

the development of tools to promote responsible and safe reporting of suicide and its prevention by media.

The motion also wants the government to report to Parliament annually on the national action plan, “including data on progress over the previous year, and a comprehensive statistical overview of suicide in Canada for the same year.”

Suicide prevention framework is a good start, but not a strategy, say advocates

Mara Grunau, the executive director of the Calgary-based Centre for Suicide Prevention, which is a branch of the Canadian Mental Health Association, said many of the contributing factors to high Indigenous suicide rates stem from colonialism, such as the intergenerational trauma caused by the residential school system, but in the wider population, it’s more complicated.

“A lot of suicide comes from individual risk factors...things that have happened to that person, or that exist in that person for them uniquely,” she said, adding it’s typically a combination of mental health issues along with social factors, such as a divorce, job loss, or another death.

Having someone take their own life makes the people surrounding them more likely to take theirs, she said, and added they are left with guilt.

Ms. Grunau and Mr. Angus said suicide is a non-partisan issue, and Conservative MP Marilyn Gladu (Sarnia-Lambton, Ont.), her party’s health critic, agrees. She said she’s had people come into her office looking for suicide prevention

resources, and her staff have been trained by the local counselling centre on where to direct them.

She hasn’t talked to her caucus yet about Mr. Angus’ motion, but given that several Conservative caucus members have been touched by the issue, she said she expects they will support it. The only thing she would have liked to see more of, she said, is for the motion to include more concrete action, but she added understands why it didn’t, as motions are usually just statements.

“It’s easier to get an agreement to a motion, and then the government may act on the motion if they have a bill,” she said. She said she hopes the government will take it seriously.

The Liberals also called for a national strategy in 2011, so Prof. Hicks said he thinks they will support it. However, Thierry Bélair, a spokesperson for Health Minister Ginette Petitpas Taylor (Moncton-Riverview-Dieppe, N.B.) didn’t say whether this was the case, only pointing to actions already taken, including the Public Health Agency’s 2016 Suicide Prevention Framework.

The framework is good, say stakeholders, but there’s no money attached to it so it’s not a strategy. Prof. Hicks said it was a way for the previous Conservative government to look like it was taking action without spending money, and thinks the Liberals just went along with it.

Mr. Bélair noted in the emailed statement that the government has invested \$2-million over five years to develop Canada Suicide Prevention Service by Crisis Services Canada, a hotline resource that integrates regional distress and crisis line services nationally, but stakeholders say the national hotline is being underfunded.

The government also sits on the National Collaborative for Suicide

Prevention with the Mental Health Commission and the Canadian Association for Suicide Prevention.

Canada is one of the only developed countries that doesn’t have a national suicide prevention strategy, but it does have smaller ones for certain segments of the population, including for veterans. Nunavut, New Brunswick, and British Columbia, as well as other provinces, have also implemented various suicide prevention initiatives over the years.

The Federation of Sovereign Indigenous Nations is expected to ask the Saskatchewan and federal governments for funding for their own strategy released in May.

Quebec is a world leader in suicide prevention strategies, said Prof. Hicks, adding it’s a bit ironic that Canada is so far behind. He said the Quebec strategy didn’t do anything new but implemented established practices enthusiastically and with enough funding. The Quebec strategy cut the province’s suicide rate by a third, he said, and the youth suicide rate by more than 50 per cent.

“Literally, when you go to international meetings on suicide prevention, Quebec is one of the examples people are just over the moon about,” he said.

Although he focuses on the human impacts of suicide, there is also an economic argument made, he said. Suicide, particularly in remote communities, is expensive because people often need to be airlifted to receive treatment. He didn’t have numbers on how much money suicide costs the healthcare system because the data isn’t collected, but he said given high rates, it’s likely significant.

Ms. Grunau said she hopes the motion and subsequent action plan can help the government coordinate all of the actions taking place on the ground, leveraging everyone’s work together.

“When the government comes to the table...they can bring things together faster than we can,” she said, emphasizing the need for both government and grassroots approaches. “We have the grassroots, so if we have significant government support, I think we would really see a really quick escalation of efforts in suicide prevention.”

Julie Kathleen Campbell, the executive director of the Canadian Association for Suicide Prevention (CASP), echoed Ms. Grunau’s sentiment, adding the stigma around suicide has decreased, but now the issue needs to be dealt with in a strategy. It’s also important to address general wellness in society, she said, including with work.

“I think we need to have a good look at our way of living. Right now everything is towards performance,” she said. “The more we have the technology to support our living, the worse our living gets. The number of burnout, depression, anxiety attacks that we have in our life is so high. So the way that we live is not healthy, there’s a lot of changes that we need to do at the base to get that wellness.”

ehaws@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

If you, or someone you know, are having suicidal thoughts or thinking about taking action, you can reach out for help at the National Crisis Line at 1-833-456-4566.

Pharmacare for all: the cost of delay

Dating as far back as the 1940s, at least seven different royal commissions, national fora, parliamentary committees, and citizen reference panels have studied this issue and recommended single-payer, universal pharmacare on clinical, ethical, and economic grounds.



NDP MP Don Davies

Opinion

It's well known that Canada's public, universal medicare coverage of physician and hospital services is a very cost-effective way of delivering care to Canadians. Repeated studies demonstrate that Canada's medicare system delivers comparable service to private systems with lower per capita costs. More importantly, we do so while covering every Canadian.

Evidence has been mounting for decades that we can achieve the same result with pharmaceutical coverage.

Most recently, using very conservative assumptions, the Parliamentary Budget Office found that we could have covered every Canadian's pharmaceutical needs and saved \$4.2-billion in 2016 if universal, single-payer pharmacare had been in place. The study also found that we will continue to save over \$4-billion per year into the future.

These savings are not isolated, and indeed are likely under-stated.

Empirically driven, peer-reviewed studies have repeatedly demonstrated that universal, single-payer pharmacare will result in national savings in the range of \$7-billion to \$13-billion annually.

How is such a clear win-win policy possible?

The savings are achieved principally through the increased bulk purchasing power of a pan-Canadian universal program. However, additional savings are reaped through reduced cost-related non-adherence, streamlined administration, disciplined formulary control, better prescribing practices, and judicious use of exclusive licencing agreements.

Using the PBO methodology as an example, the math is straightforward.

Of the \$24.6-billion spent on pharmaceuticals by all sources in 2016, \$12-billion was incurred by governments, \$9-billion by private insurance plans, and \$3.6-billion directly by patients themselves. Had we employed a single-payer universal pharmacare system that year, he calculated that we would have needed to spend only \$20.4-billion (and hence, saved \$4.2-billion).

So, where would the \$20.4-billion needed to fund universal pharmacare come from?

Since the federal and provincial governments already spend \$12-billion on pharmaceuticals, they would have to raise a further \$8.4-billion. Given that \$9-billion in private-sector spending would be eliminated by universal pharmacare, the federal govern-

ment could raise the entire additional public share of pharmacare through a targeted levy re-directing funds to the federal government.

This would save the private sector \$600-million per year. The remaining \$3.6-billion in savings from universal pharmacare would go directly to patients by eliminating their out-of-pocket costs.

So: patients save \$3.6-billion; the private sector saves \$600-million; provincial and territorial governments don't have to spend a nickel in extra costs; and the federal government can raise the \$8.4-billion it needs simply by re-directing private sector expenditures from private plans to the federal government.

While there are clear financial costs imposed by deferral, it's vital to remember that the human cost of inaction is far higher. Every day we delay implementation, more Canadians fall sick, and some will die, from curable illnesses left untreated.

Indeed, a recent study by the Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions revealed, for the first time, the estimated annual number

of deaths and illnesses in Canada that result from financial barriers to accessing prescription medications.

The study found that every year we delay implementing universal pharmacare, we can expect 640 premature deaths of Canadians with ischemic heart disease; 420 premature deaths of working-age Canadians with diabetes; and 670 premature deaths from all causes among older working-age (55-64) Canadians. 70,000 older Canadians (55+) will suffer avoidable deterioration in their health status, and 12,000 Canadians with cardiovascular disease aged 40+ will require overnight hospitalization.

And these numbers understate the problem, as they only deal with deaths and illnesses from heart disease and diabetes.

This is unacceptable.

Dating as far back as the 1940s, at least seven different royal commissions, national fora, parliamentary committees, and citizen reference panels have studied this issue and recommended single-payer,



Canada's federal Health Minister Ginette Petitpas Taylor, pictured in a Hill scrum. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

universal pharmacare on clinical, ethical, and economic grounds.

The inescapable conclusion? Canadians can't afford to wait.

They need action from their federal government.

They need pharmacare now.

It's time.

NDP MP Don Davies, who represents Vancouver Kingsway, B.C., is his party's health critic.

The Hill Times

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Health Policy Briefing

NDP health critic calls on feds to investigate drug companies over opioid crisis

The narrative that bad prescribing practices is behind crisis is 'just wrong,' says opioid addiction expert.

BY NEIL MOSS

NDP MPs say they want the government to investigate pharmaceutical companies over any role they played in the opioid crisis.

NDP MP Tracey Ramsey (Essex, Ont.) said on May 7 in the House that there are 37 families in her riding who have been affected by the opioid crisis, which she said is more than one-and-a-half times the provincial average.

"The government has failed to provide real leadership on this crisis," Ms. Ramsey said, calling on the government to open an investigation into drug manufacturers' role in the crisis.

In 2017, an estimated 4,000 Canadians overdosed on opioids, up from 2,861 in 2016.

NDP MP Don Davies (Vancouver Kingsway, B.C.), his party's health critic, questioned Health Minister Ginette Petitpas Taylor (Moncton-Riverview-Dieppe, N.B.) in the House on May 10 about why the government had not opened a criminal investigation into pharmaceutical companies as the United States has done.

"Unfortunately, at the same time when the United States was pursuing charges against pharmaceutical companies that inappropriately marketed opioids, the former Harper government failed to take similar action. However, I can assure the House that our government is looking at ways to strengthen industry transparency and accountability, and we will have more to report in the coming time," Ms. Petitpas Taylor responded.

In the United States, Purdue Pharma, the manufacturer of OxyContin, pled guilty in 2007 to misleading regulators, physicians, and patients of the addictive risks of their drug. The company settled with the U.S. Justice Department for \$600-million for to end a criminal investigation. Additionally, three Purdue Pharma executives agreed to pay fines totalling \$34.5-million.

"I was the first person, I think, in Parliament to call for the federal government to explore what kind of legal avenues are available to hold the opioid manufacturers responsible for ... the public costs that opioids have done and ... to explore, like [what] happened in the States, there were mis-marketing of their products to physicians or the public," Mr. Davies told *The Hill Times*.

"I think [the government] should be exploring potential

criminal prosecution if that's warranted," Mr. Davies said. He added he was not sure if a crime was committed, but it should be investigated.

There is debate about whether the overprescription of pain killers, like oxycontin, is the reason for the opioid crisis.

"The narrative that doctors have spawned this whole [crisis] ... through bad prescribing practices is just wrong," Mark Tyndall, executive director of the University of British Columbia Centre for Disease Control, told *The Hill Times*.

"I have been monitoring this file for over three years and I've talked to a lot of people about it and I think [the cause of the crisis] is multi-factorial and there's a lot of different aspects to it," Mr. Davies said.

In a statement to the *The Hill Times*, Ms. Petitpas Taylor said, "Here in Canada, had charges against Purdue been pursued under the Food and Drugs Act at the time of the alleged inappropriate marketing practices, the maximum penalty that the courts could have imposed upon conviction was a fine of \$5,000

driven by the fact that the illegal market is now saturated with clandestinely produced opioids like fentanyl," Prof. Hyshka said.

Asked if there should be prosecutions into opioid manufacturers for any role they played in the crisis, Conservative MP Marilyn Gladu (Sarnia-Lambton, Ont.), her party's health critic, told *The Hill Times*, "we don't know who they are."

One way to help fight the crisis is to look into decriminalization, Mr. Davies said. But he said, there is no "magic bullet" to solve the problems connected to drug use.

"I think a lot of the harm, if not most of the harm, that is perpetrated by drug use is attributed to the criminalization of it opposed to the drugs themselves," he said.

Sen. Campbell, meanwhile, said the government should be providing opioid replacements to safe injection sites and open treatment centres where opioids could be used. He said he does not believe Canada should move towards the decriminalization of drugs like heroin or cocaine.

"We need to treat the opioid crisis like the public health emergency that it is," Prof. Hyshka said.

She said all governments give "lip service" to treating the crisis as a health crisis, but they continue to treat it as "a moral issue and criminal issue."

She said Canada needs to implement decriminalization for minor possession of drugs and alongside that the government needs to shift resources from

enforcement to investments in the health system.

"We basically have a completely fractured addiction mental health care system across the provinces," Prof. Hyshka said. "No [province] has a good addition mental health care system, so we really need to reorienting mass amount of resources we are pouring at the federal level to enforcement ... and re-orient that into systems of care."

"We need to recognize the limits of an enforcement-based approach in controlling the illegal drug market," Prof. Hyshka said.

Canada should take the same path as Portugal did when it decriminalized drugs in 2001, Mr. Davies said.

In 2000, Portugal had 14,000 criminal offences related to drugs, ever since the number of offences has dropped to between 5,000 to 5,500 per year, according to a 2012 report in the *Yale Journal of Health Policy, Law, and Ethics*.

"If we look internationally we see many instances where jurisdictions have loosened criminal penalties on possession on one or more different drugs and in most cases we see that the criminal law has little impact in shaping patterns of use," Prof. Hyshka said.

Decriminalization will lead to reduce the stigmatization of those addicted to drugs, she said.

Ms. Gladu said Portugal had the harm reduction infrastructure in place before it went down the route of decriminalization.

Mr. Davies said the Conservatives are being "disingenuous" about why Canada needs more harm reduction infrastructure before moving towards decriminalization.

"Decriminalization is a harm reduction approach," Mr. Davies said. "The Conservatives are all over the map on this and they don't know if they want to fish or cut bait on their drug policy. Most of their caucus takes a hard on drugs, criminalized approach."

At the Liberal convention in last April, a non-binding resolution was adopted to decriminalize possession of small amounts of illegal drugs.

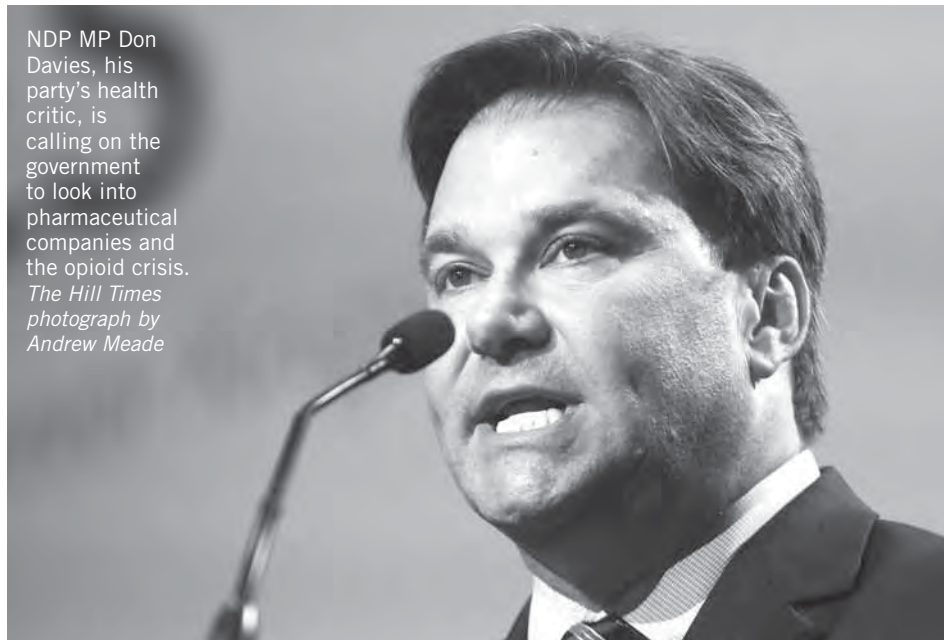
But following the convention and speaking in the House, Liberal MP Bill Blair (Scarborough Southwest, Ont.), parliamentary secretary to both the justice and health ministers, said the government is not decriminalizing any illegal drugs, except for marijuana.

Sen. Campbell said more needs to be done.

"We're spending large sums of money on ebola, but what are we doing for opioid addictions, which is killing way more people than ebola, which is affecting Canada way more than ebola? So why can't we start taking care of our people here?" Sen. Campbell asked.

"Are we waiting for 8,000 [people to die from an overdose]? Will 16,000 get people's attention? How many people have to die?" Sen. Campbell questioned.

nmoos@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times



NDP MP Don Davies, his party's health critic, is calling on the government to look into pharmaceutical companies and the opioid crisis. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

"The drive to get on these drugs was based on trauma [and] pain," Dr. Tyndall said.

"You could spend your whole life prosecuting pharmaceutical companies for all kinds of drugs. ... Just to pick out Purdue [Pharma] and opioid prescribers is just almost misinformed and won't really help all the people that are dying."

He added, "I think there are some problems with the way the drug is marketed, certainly. There is probably way too many prescriptions, but the people that ended up getting dependant on these drugs weren't your hospital discharge person who got too much drugs."

Independent Senator Larry Campbell (British Columbia), a former mayor of Vancouver, who also served as the province's chief coroner and was a member of the RCMP drug squad, called the NDP's wish to prosecute pharmaceutical companies a "waste of money."

"I'm trying to keep people alive. I'm not trying to go back and punish people," Sen. Campbell told *The Hill Times*. "If some doctors overprescribed [OxyContin] some of that would be lack of training, I believe the majority of it is innocent in nature."

per offence. Since that time, however, the Food and Drugs Act has been amended to dramatically strengthen the penalties available. The maximum penalty is now up to \$5-million per offence."

Mr. Davies said people dying from overdoses range from those who are using unregulated drugs to get high and those who get addicted to pain killers and move to unregulated drugs when their doctors taper them off pain killers.

"One of my colleagues describes [the start of the crisis] pretty aptly when he says that the overprescribing of opioids was sort of like the kindling in that it created an increased demand for opioids in the population through diversion of legitimate prescriptions as well as through smaller influence of people developing ... unintended addictions from taking drugs as intended," Elaine Hyshka, an assistant professor at the University of Alberta's School of Public Health, told *The Hill Times*.

The increased overdoses aren't necessarily related to more people using drugs, but the drug supply being spiked by lethal substances.

"The death rate we are seeing in B.C., Alberta, and Ontario, and elsewhere, is certainly being

Rate of opioid-related deaths by province or territory in 2016 and 2017* per 100,000 people

Year	Province/Territory	Rate per 100,000 people
2016	British Columbia	20.3
	Alberta	13.0
	Saskatchewan	6.0
	Manitoba	4.3
	Ontario	5.2
	Quebec	1.6
	New Brunswick	3.4
	Nova Scotia	4.2
	Prince Edward Island	3.3
	Newfoundland and Labrador	2.5
2017	British Columbia	29.8
	Alberta	16.2
	Saskatchewan	2.9
	Manitoba	5.5
	Ontario	7.8
	Quebec	1.5
	New Brunswick	4.4
	Nova Scotia	6.3
	Prince Edward Island	0.9
	Newfoundland and Labrador	4.5
Total: 7.2		
Total: 9.8		

*The 2017 annual death rate is based on data from January to September

Source: Statistics Canada

Liberals failing to prioritize Canadians' health concerns in an effective manner

The government should be prioritizing public health responses specifically to the needs of Canadians. Essentially, what should become key priorities on this list are the health issues that are affecting us nationally.



Conservative MP Marilyn Gladu

Opinion

When it comes to health policy in Canada, it is clear that there are more issues than funding available. For this reason, the government should be prioritizing public health responses specifically to the needs of Canadians. Essentially, what should become key priorities on this list are the health issues that are affecting us nationally.

As an example, additional health services and supports for seniors should be seen as a key priority since one in six Canadians today are already seniors—a figure that is rapidly rising. However, as one of their first moves in government the Liberals not only eliminated the minister of state (seniors) portfolio; we also see they have not addressed numerous other challenges facing seniors, including those on a fixed income without health benefits who can't afford their hearing aids, cataract surgeries, dentures, etc.

Life is hard for our seniors who have to decide to pay rent, put food on the table or purchase vitally needed medications. Additionally, with more than 400,000 Canadians suffering from dementia (and considering the exponential growth expected of this condition within our aging population) I expected much more is needed than the \$4-million in annual funding announced in the recent budget. On behalf of Canadian families dealing with the fallout from the above issues I ask: where is the compassion from the Liberal government and the prioritization of these citizens within the realm of health care?

In addition to better health care for our seniors, I have been on record in numerous publications that I was concerned to see the term "palliative care" not even mentioned in budget 2018. However, I am now somewhat encouraged as the government has opened up a public consultation period to receive input on providing consistent access to palliative care for all Canadians—a key point contained within my private member's bill on palliative care (Bill

C-277.) As the shadow minister of health for the official opposition, I pledge to work in co-operation with the government as much as possible on this urgent matter.

Mental health is another area that must be a priority, with one in five Canadians experiencing mental health issues across a wide spectrum of age, gender and ethnic groups. Considering the epidemic of youth suicide and depression, the rise of PTSD, and the gaps in service that exist across the provinces and territories, especially in rural, remote and Indigenous communities I would encourage the government to prioritize mental health over some of the other initiatives they are spending money on.

This is a constant theme—I often feel the current government prioritizes in a poor manner when it comes to certain policies being formulated: like changing the PMPRB drug approval process; changing the Canada Food Guide that has been in existence for 50 years; and re-doing the approval process for food, drugs and cosmetics. I don't hear many stakeholders who are urgently calling for these measures to be undertaken by the government, but Canadians are certainly calling for more support for mental health.

The opioid crisis is another issue taking lives across the country, yet there are still inadequate prevention programs and treatment centres where people can better take control of their deadly addictions. The government is spending more taxpayer money than ever before to legalize drugs and provide injection/consumption sites, as opposed to reducing the number of Canadians abusing drugs. As a result we see a clear lack of treatment beds and communities are asking for more to be done while receiving little to no response.

With opioid deaths rising across Canada, is it possible the government has again misplaced their priorities? To those who prefer to argue about jurisdiction instead of solving problems, I would point out that strong leadership from the federal mantle would bode well towards addressing the epidemic we face.

In terms of harm reduction and smoking, this government continues to send mixed signals: \$80-million to get people to stop smoking cigarettes, while investing \$800-million and rising so they can promote the smoking of marijuana. We see steps being taken towards prohibiting marketing of foods like pop and "Timbits" to children, while at the same time allowing youth 12-17 years of age to possess up to five grams of marijuana without penalty. And quite sadly, other than advertising by the public safety minister on drug impaired driving, we have seen very little public education on the harm of cannabis to Canadian youth—something that was strongly recommended to be done in advance of legalization by every jurisdiction that has already legalized.

In fact, we now know that the Liberals fully intend to legalize cannabis without even having an impaired drug driving strategy in place, despite every jurisdiction that decriminalized cannabis seeing a spike in impaired driving. I have very serious concerns about this—concerns that are shared by provinces, municipalities and police forces across Canada.



Health Minister Ginette Petitpas Taylor, pictured. One thing has become increasingly clear: strong leadership will be required by whoever forms the next government to correct the mistakes we are seeing made now, writes Conservative MP Marilyn Gladu. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Prescription drug coverage is another national concern, with an estimated eight per cent to 10 per cent of Canadians having no coverage, and another 10 per cent to 12 per cent having gaps in coverage according to recent reports by the Parliamentary Budget Office. The House Health Committee completed its two-year study on pharmacare, releasing their report entitled "Pharmacare Now."

However, it doesn't appear that a fiscally responsible pharmacare program will happen now, or anytime soon: the Liberals have appointed an "advisory council" lead, Dr. Eric Hoskins to further study the issue; and, it is not clear what the mandate or scope of that study will lead to in terms of concrete actions for Canadians who are lacking prescription drug coverage. Given the thoughts of Canadians on this subject, I anticipate this will be an election issue.

Health policy in Canada should be focused on clear priorities, supportive of improved patient outcomes by provinces, territories and Indigenous stakeholders, and with the flexibility to address the issues of the day as they arise. At this late juncture in the current Liberal government's mandate, I do not have strong faith they can accomplish this.

Respectfully, I would argue they are failing Canadians on a multitude of extremely important health issues by failing to prioritize Canadians' health concerns in an effective manner. One thing has become increasingly clear: strong leadership will be required by whoever forms the next government to correct the mistakes we are seeing made now.

Conservative MP Marilyn Gladu who represents Sarnia-Lambton, Ont., and is her party's health critic.

The Hill Times

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Health Policy Briefing

Health-care money belongs to the provinces

We frequently forget that Quebec has one hand tied behind its back, because the Canadian government holds onto health-care dollars it owes the provinces.



MP Rhéal Fortin

Opinion

Health care is one of Quebec's most important political issues. It is the biggest budget item, constantly in the headlines and an absolutely vital service relied on by everyone. The burden of the health-care system rests exclusively on the shoulders of Quebec's health minister. However, we frequently forget that Quebec has one hand tied behind its back, because the Canadian

government holds onto health-care dollars it owes the provinces. Too often, we have seen the federal government withhold money under certain conditions or in order to make partisan announcements. But this money belongs to the provinces for an area under their exclusive jurisdiction. In the late 1950s, the Canadian government promised to cover 50 per cent of health-care costs. Since then, the federal government has steadily pulled out and cut transfers.

In June 2016, [Groupe parlementaire québécois] MP Luc Thériault tabled Bill C-300 requiring the federal government to fulfill its responsibilities. It is clear to us that health transfers must increase by six per cent per year until the federal government pays its current share of 25 per cent. Unfortunately, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's government all but threatened the provinces and forced them to sign a bad deal. Despite its much larger revenues, the federal government contributes only 23.3 per cent of health-care costs. Even worse, under this agreement, transfers will continue to shrink until they reach a paltry 20 per cent in 2026, according to the Government of Quebec's 2017-2018 budget. Let's not forget that the federal government has reserved the right to dictate what certain parts of the money given back to Quebec are to be used

for, even though health care is clearly an exclusively provincial jurisdiction, something that bears repeating.

move marijuana use and production from the Criminal Code. This should also be done in co-operation with the provinces, which

the provinces, who will be on the hook for all these costs. The same goes for public safety and other costs. Sharing the revenues from legalization 75/25, when the provinces will be responsible for 100 per cent of the costs and risks, is unfair and will worsen the fiscal imbalance.

Even though it hardly delivers any health care and does not run any hospitals, Health Canada has a large budget to act in a jurisdiction not its own, with a few exceptions. One area under its jurisdiction is to approve or ban products. But when it is time to quickly fulfill its responsibilities, the department seems to be paralyzed. The best example of this was this winter when a girl died after drinking a sugary alcoholic beverage. We specifically called

on the minister to take action and remove this product from store shelves, something simple that would have made a difference in the health of many young people. Unfortunately, the minister responded by launching a study that will take months and will do nothing to protect the public.

Québec Debout MP Rhéal Fortin represents Rivière-du-Nord, Que.

The Hill Times



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured last week on the Hill. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

In the headlines is another public health issue where the federal government is trying to impose its vision against the will of the provinces: marijuana. This is a great example of the federal government trying to impose its public health vision over the expressed wishes of Quebec and other provinces, who wish to take a different approach. The federal government's role in this area should simply be to re-

will have to deal with all the public health problems caused by legalizing this drug. By deciding to keep 25 per cent of cannabis taxes, the federal government will be increasing the fiscal imbalance with the provinces, particularly in health care. All experts agree that legalizing cannabis will lead to higher public health costs. Awareness campaigns and the medical costs of cannabis use are the responsibility of

Bill banning marketing of unhealthy food and drink faces final hurdle

We don't need more studies. We know there's an obesity crisis in Canada. Either we take action, or taxpayers will pay more for health costs later.



Nancy Greene Raine

Opinion

There is an obesity crisis in Canada and a look through the lobbyist registry helps explain why.

My bill, the *Child Health Protection Act*, passed the Senate in September. Since then—and I'm bor-

rowing a phrase that has too often been used to describe bills being considered by the Senate—it has languished in the House of Commons.

It finally cleared committee in the House on May 1 and is ready for debate at third reading. If it passes, it will rank with my Olympic gold medal at the Grenoble Games as one of my proudest accomplishments.

The bill is simple. It would end the targeted marketing of unhealthy food and beverages to children under 13 years of age. It would not prevent parents from purchasing whatever they want for their children.

The need for this kind of legislation crystallized during the study on obesity done by the Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology in 2016.

We learned that the number of obese children has tripled since 1980—a disturbing statistic that seems unlikely to be reversed given that tablets and smartphones are prompting a less active lifestyle in young people and the wide availability of prepackaged, highly processed convenience foods.

Banning the marketing of this sort of food and drink to kids seemed like an obvious step. We don't have exact data for Canada,

but in the United States food and beverage advertisers spend between \$10-billion and \$15-billion every year on marketing directed at children.



Passing this bill is something meaningful and concrete we can do now. If it passes, Canada will be the better for it, writes Nancy Greene Raine, who recently retired from the Senate. The Hill Times file photo

The colossal sums of money tell you all you need to know: children are being targeted because the ads work.

Which brings me to the lobbyist registry.

Bill S-228 has been through Senate and House of Commons committees, where witnesses have had the opportunity to present their arguments for and against the bill and to answer parliamentar-

tarians' questions—all in public.

The lobbyist registry shows that a campaign against the bill has also been raging behind closed doors.

Soft drink manufacturers, industry associations, broadcasters and advertisers have been speaking with Senators and MPs about this bill.

Even the National Hockey League has lobbyists working to defeat the bill.

I say again—why would these groups spend so much time, energy and money on

this if marketing to kids doesn't work?

Industry recognizes that the most powerful lobbyists are kids themselves. Parents know how tempting it is to give in when their children pester them for junk food at the grocery store. Even people without kids know full well how insistent they can be when they want something in a store. Children, like parliamentar-

ians, can be very loud, very insistent and very difficult to distract.

I believe we need to level the playing field for parents. How else can we expect them to compete with billions of dollars of advertising that have been crafted for the sole purpose of influencing young minds?

A preschooler's risk for obesity increases by six per cent for every hour of television watched daily. One 30-second commercial can influence brand preferences of children as young as two.

We already have strong evidence this bill will work. Quebec prohibited commercial advertising of all products to children in 1980. Guess what? Quebec children eat more fruits and vegetables.

Also of note is that francophone Quebecers tend to have healthier weights than anglophone children—likely because they are less exposed to marketing from English channels in Ontario and the U.S.

We don't need more studies. We know there's an obesity crisis in Canada. Either we take action, or taxpayers will pay more for health costs later.

Passing this bill is something meaningful and concrete we can do now. If it passes, Canada will be the better for it.

Nancy Greene Raine is an Olympic gold and silver medalist, a two-time World Champion downhill skier and a former Senator who represented British Columbia for nine years. She retired from the Senate on May 11, 2018.

The Hill Times

As legal pot nears, employers pushing for drug testing law stuck at starting line

Employers have been pushing the federal government to address what they see as legal uncertainty surrounding drug testing.

BY JOLSON LIM

With cannabis legalization likely weeks or months away, some employers are still pushing the federal government to allow mandatory alcohol and drug tests in “safety-sensitive” industries, but Ottawa has given no sign it will touch their request.

Bill C-45 and Bill C-46 address many aspects of legalizing cannabis—from pot production to enforcement—but employers see the lack of attention to workplace impairment as a blind spot in the Liberal government’s efforts to ensure pot legalization goes smoothly.

“Our assumption is once the government legalizes this substance, this problem is only going to get worse,” said Derrick Hynes, president of FETCO, an association representing employers in federally-regulated transportation and communications firms, such as Air Canada and Canada Post.

“And we don’t feel like we have a full complement of tools to manage it.”

Since late 2016, FETCO and other associations in sectors such as construction and air travel have been pushing the federal government to legislate drug testing rules, something they believe are currently unclear because only a mishmash of case law governs it.

But Mr. Hynes said that so far both elected and unelected officials, including from the Prime Minister’s Office, haven’t done anything. Throughout the last 18 months, he’s also spoken to officials at Economic and Social Development Canada (ESDC) and Health Canada.

“It is rare for them to say ‘you guys are completely out to lunch.’ But that respect for our message hasn’t turned into any meaningful action on the government’s part,” he told *The Hill Times*.

Mr. Hynes originally wanted to slow down pot legalization in order for workplace impairment to be addressed through legislation, but with the Senate expected to vote on Bill C-45 on June 7, he’s accepted legalization will happen.

He said testing is meant mainly as a “deterrent” rather than a way to catch drug-using workers, while ensuring safety in industries in which workers have a higher chance of being hurt, or are involved in ensuring the safety of passengers.

Labour groups have resisted mandatory drug-testing, saying it attacks workers’ dignity and privacy rights. In March, an ESDC committee of federal officials, labour groups, and employers in federally-regulated sectors couldn’t collectively recommend how the federal government should move forward on the issue.

Hassan Yussuff, president of the Canadian Labour Congress and a member of the committee, told *The Hill Times* that random and mandatory drug test is an “irrational demand” not backed up by a clear evidence that there is a problem with cannabis in the workplace to begin with.

“There’s nothing that warrants us to even consider their argument,” he said.

But what’s new is the debate is the technology around drug-testing, which Mr. Hynes said isn’t “as invasive as they used to be.” He said current techniques involving an oral swab test would be able to detect substance use four-to-six hours prior to a shift beginning.

“The argument has always been that you can’t touch cannabis, it stays in your system for 30 days, so how are we going to know how people are actually impaired? That’s not the hurdle we’re trying to jump over here. We’re trying to point to recent use, which we think is the greatest risk,” he said.

Mr. Hynes said the test is already being applied in the Toronto Transit Commission, which had fought in court for, and won, the power to test its workers. The threshold for failing the test is 10 or more nanograms of THC, the main psychoactive substance found in cannabis.

It’s less strict compared to what’s proposed in Bill C-46, which offer new drug-related offences for motorists and provides police powers to conduct roadside tests. A driver who is found to have at least two nanograms of THC per millilitre of blood could face a fine.

“But employers have no business conducting probable cause justification to invade people’s privacy,” Mr. Yussuff said, adding that drug testing could run into a grey area leading to employers arbitrarily targeting workers because their hair is messy or have a shirt unbuttoned.



A pot smoker on Parliament Hill pictured. Employer associations are worried about a spike in workplace impairment following legalization this year. *The Hill Times* file photograph

Indeed, some have questioned whether random roadside tests in Bill C-46 would violate the Charter and have a disproportionate impact on people of colour. The Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Committee recommended it be removed from the bill, citing testimony from legal experts.

Defining the rules around drug testing has been a touchy topic for successive governments, with the only guidelines for employers coming from court and arbitration rulings rather than from any law passed through Parliament.

Besides the military, there aren’t any federal labour laws permitting or regulating mandatory workplace drug and alcohol testing. A patchwork of arbitration and court rulings are the only form of guidance when it comes to rules around the legality of drug testing.

A 2013 Supreme Court ruling balanced the issues of safety and privacy, finding employers can implement a random drug-testing program in limited cases when it can show evidence of a significant substance abuse problem posing a safety risk at work. A union must agree to such a system.

The country’s highest court may also hear a case involving oil company Suncor. An Alberta court found the company’s random testing to be unconstitutional, because it allowed for workers to be tested multiple times in a month.

Meanwhile, federal and provincial occupational health and safety laws dictate that employers can discipline and dismiss employees who violate their workplace drug and alcohol policies as long as those actions don’t discriminate against workers battling substance addiction.

Senate recommends government tackle workplace impairment

Senators didn’t propose any amendments that tackle the question of workplace impairment, but the Social Affairs, Science and Technology Committee urged Ottawa to “work with provinces and territories to facilitate the development of workplace impairment policies” in observations included in its study of the cannabis legalization bill, C-45. The committee had heard from employers and labour groups in April.

The recommendation is in line with suggestions from the blue-ribbon 2016 Task Force on Cannabis Legalization and Regulation set up prior to the tabling of Bill C-45 in April 2017.

The panel urged Ottawa to improve research on cannabis and workplace impairment while working with the provinces and territories, employers, and labour representatives to craft general workplace impairment policies.

ESDC regularly meets with provincial and territorial counterparts through the Canadian Association of Administrators of Labour Legislation to better understand the scope of workplace impairment and identify gaps with resources available to workers and bosses, according to department spokesperson Emily Harris.

A survey published last January by the Human Resources Professionals Association indicated 71 per cent of employers felt they weren’t prepared for legalization.

Providing more resources to help employers and workers learn about the risks of impairment and to help workplaces refresh their policies are measures Mr. Yussuff and Mr. Hynes both agree would make sense.

“I don’t think that in any way, shape, or form is expressing a bias [on drug-testing]. It’s just saying, to let people know, that current rules as they are will exist tomorrow morning even if this substance is legal,” Mr. Yussuff said.

Karen Stokke, a manager at Alberta-based Cannabis At Work, a consultant company offering businesses advice on how to deal with pot in the workplace, said she didn’t believe the federal

government can do a whole lot more in terms of offering help for workplaces.

“There’s so many different industries as well, that I don’t think it would be effective for the federal government to try and tell everybody how to update their policies. I think the information is already there, but it’s a matter of getting the right people involved and asking the right questions,” she said.

Ms. Stokke said much of the worry prior to legalization has been propped up by stereotypes and stigma about cannabis use.

“Sure it’s not a legal substance technically, but it’s already here, people use it and we deal with it in the workplace,” she told *The Hill Times*. She said that’s what she’s been telling companies that approach Cannabis At Work.

However, Mr. Hynes predicted a spike in cannabis use after legalization, and with it, pot-related accidents. He said there was an uptick in cannabis-related accidents in Colorado after pot was legalized in the state in 2014.

According to the 2017 Canadian Cannabis Survey, 23 per cent of full- and part-time workers consumed weed and 39 per cent of respondents said they had driven while high.

Mr. Yussuff, however, thinks concerns over the impact of legalization on workers are much ado about nothing.

“I think workers are like most people, conscious that, what this is about is trying to prevent people from having criminal records, not to allow people to behave recklessly.”

jlim@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times



Dr. Mark Ware and former minister Anne McLellan, pictured at a news conference in 2016, recommended that multiple levels of government look at workplace impairment as part of a task force on cannabis. *The Hill Times* file photograph

Health Policy Briefing

Drawing on rich traditions to nourish our children

Canada's Food Guide is undergoing revisions and this is an opportunity to consult with Indigenous leaders to ensure it is culturally relevant and reflective of our First Nations, Inuit, and Métis teachings.



Wilton Littlechild
Opinion

Indigenous peoples are “*Inuwak*,” Peoples of the Land. We have a spiritual relationship with our mother earth; our food is from the land and is intrinsically related to our cultural and spiritual way of life. Food not only nourishes us physically, it impacts our mental attitude and is an essential part of many of our spiritual ceremonies.

Unfortunately, integral parts of our culture and our connection to the land have been impacted or interrupted in many ways. Colonization disrupted access to the land and our traditional food sources. The genesis of much of the poor nutrition in our communities—and specifically with our children—begins with the history of residential schools.

The meals served at the residential schools did not meet Canada's official food rules, nor did they meet the later updated version of these guidelines in the form of Canada's Food Guide. Food was often inadequate both in terms of quality and quantity; children were hungry and suffering from malnutrition.

We have heard so many accounts from residential school survivors of being served food that was not fit for human consumption.

In my experience as a boy at residential school, I remember we were fed dog biscuits.

The school meals were also unfamiliar—a far cry from the traditional food that many of our parents and grandparents had hunted, fished, or harvested. Food was used as a weapon in the schools, including as a form of punishment. If you misbehaved, it could be taken away from you.

This history of poor nutrition in Indigenous children, starting with colonization and worsening through the residential schools, has carried through to today. Much like abuse, as we have found in our research of the residential school system, poor nutrition passes on through the family. If you are not fed properly as a child, you will not promote nutritious food to your own children. This is how habits are formed; we feed our children the way we were fed as children. And on it goes.

Today our communities are faced with additional challenges around supporting their children to eat well and develop healthy food habits. For example, in isolated communities, healthy food choices are limited and

expensive. Unhealthy choices are abundant and heavily marketed—and this is true in all communities across the country. Pop and other sugary, high fat snacks line our store shelves usually at our children's eye level, and not surprisingly, this is the first thing they see and the first thing they want.

This has led to some very negative effects in our communities including high rates of type 2 diabetes, obesity in our children and other health complications. I remember an older man speaking at a traditional gathering summing it up well: “The day we started getting sick was the day we started hunting on the shelves.”

We have been led to poor nutrition through history, habit, availability of poor choices, and marketing.

Now we need to go back. There is richness in our traditional teachings, richness in our cultures and richness in our traditional ways of life that still have instructions for us. It is time to reflect on these traditions and take a holistic approach as we move forward.

We need to repair the flow of traditional knowledge from parents to children that has been damaged, and in some cases, severed due to the residential school system. We can do this by helping to educate our young parents about healthy eating and cooking.

We also need to make changes to our present environment. I have challenged schools and community centres to remove pop machines and other unhealthy choices. All

communities should have access to affordable healthy food. Special efforts should be made for our remote communities where food costs are high, and more nutritious items can be the most expensive.

Celebrities and athletes have long been used to market food and we can do the same by having our own First Nations role models promote healthy lifestyles to our children.

Legislation to prohibit junk food marketing to our children would protect them and promote better food and drink choices. Bill S-228, currently in the House of Commons, is expected to pass this year.

Canada's Food Guide is undergoing revisions and this is an opportunity to consult with Indigenous leaders to ensure it is culturally relevant and reflective of our First Nations, Inuit and Métis teachings.

In the old days, our chiefs would look ahead to see what was coming so they could warn our communities, find a solution, and protect them. Now is the time for all of our Indigenous leaders to do the same. Treating illness is important but we need to shift more of our focus on wellness and prevention by advocating for change at all levels to ensure all our children enjoy long, healthy lives.

Wilton Littlechild, Ph.D., LLB, Q.C. Cree Nation, grand chief, Indian residential school survivor, lawyer, and former commissioner of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and an expert adviser with EvidenceNetwork.ca.
The Hill Times

Prevention decreases demands on the health system

Clearly, provincial governments have no problem spending many additional billions on treating sickness. Maybe it's time they started directing spending towards improving health.



Herb Emery
Opinion

Provincial ministers of health and ministers of finance seek to “bend the health care cost curve” but year after year, provincial budgets bend the cost curve in the wrong direction, adding billions of dollars to provincial health spending.

In fact, we've doubled spending on our medical treatment system in Canada since 2005—

and what did we get in return? Not improved access to care, nor improved health outcomes. Increased spending has, instead, entrenched an inefficiently organized system that has inflated the cost of getting, at best, the same access and outcomes.

The alternative to spending to meet rising needs is slowing the rise in health care needs. Simple economics: don't increase supply, decrease demand.

Since the 1940s, health promotion and chronic disease prevention have been recognized as essential for a sustainable public health care system. Health policy commentators Steven Lewis and Terrence Sullivan argue “that bending the NEEDS curve is the best way to bend the cost curve. Every structure and incentive should be aimed at preventing or postponing avoidable health breakdown.”

The potential to reduce the growth in health spending is large. As much as 25 per cent of provincial spending on medical treatment is for avoidable illness and injury, particularly chronic diseases like cardiovascular disease and type II diabetes.

This is more alarming when one considers that a small proportion of the population with chronic and complex conditions accounts for the majority of all health spending. What if we could prevent more Canadians from becoming part of that suffering minority?

Since 2013, I have led a number of studies analyzing data

from thousands of participants in a local health-care foundation's preventive health-care program based in Calgary, Alta. I wanted to determine if preventive services could bend the health care needs curve.



Health Minister Ginette Petitpas Taylor, pictured on Nov. 9, 2017, getting a flu shot on the Hill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

The foundation offers participants access to a variety of healthcare practitioners including doctors, naturopaths, nurses, nurse practitioners and dentists. Participants receive lifestyle counselling and dietary supplements aimed at combating vitamin insufficiency, obesity, insulin resistance and other problems that can lead to chronic disease. The cohort of participants who joined the program in 2012 and 2013 whose data we studied bore no out of pocket costs for the program.

In a recent publication of study findings in *Canadian*

Public Policy, our research question was simple: for 4,121 participants compared to 20,605 matched controls, did access to the foundation's program change participant use of hospitals, emergency departments

and general practitioner services? What we found was striking. On average, participants in the program showed statistically significant reductions in hospital and emergency department admissions. Prevention, in other words, reduces health care utilization—and money—now, and not just in the future.

If these reduced uses of medical care were achieved province-wide in Alberta, there would be 22 per cent fewer nights in hospital, 21 per cent fewer emergency ward visits and six per cent fewer

visits to Alberta's 5,500 family physicians.

These health services avoided would translate to: 475,000 fewer nights in hospital, or the equivalent cost of maintaining 1,300 occupied acute care hospital beds for one full year; 280,000 fewer emergency room visits annually; and 900,000 fewer visits to family physicians annually.

The services avoided represent an annual \$1-billion in spending on medical treatment. And these are just the immediate impacts of preventive services.

Preventive care will also reduce the future need for medical treatment by preventing or postponing participants from developing chronic conditions like diabetes and cardiovascular disease.

The evidence from our study may be new but the insight as to the need to prioritize prevention has been around since the earliest days of public health care. We are paying a lot for medical treatment today because of chronic government inaction. Canadians cannot afford to ignore the calls to invest in prevention any longer.

Clearly, provincial governments have no problem spending many additional billions on treating sickness. Maybe it's time they started directing spending towards improving health.

Herb Emery is an expert adviser with EvidenceNetwork.ca and is professor of economics at the University of New Brunswick.
The Hill Times

Attracting such R&D branch plants is Canadian policy and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured last week on the Hill, has gone out of his way to court tech companies such as Amazon, Apple, Microsoft, Alphabet/Google and Alibaba.
The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade



Current outcry over Huawei Canada's R&D investments creates impression Chinese company's doing something sinister, but it's not

Canada's takeover of the Trans Mountain pipeline for \$4.5-billion, with another estimated \$7.5-billion or more needed to twin the pipeline, is a dubious initiative for several reasons. But it showed Canada can act when it has to. Imagine if a similar amount of money had been available to really build up our own tech sector. The benefits would have been much greater. Instead, we have R&D branch plants.



David Crane
Canada & the 21st Century

TORONTO—The current outcry over Huawei Canada's research and development investments in Canada has created the impression that the Chinese company is doing something sinister here. In fact, it is only doing what Apple, Amazon, Alphabet/Google, Microsoft, IBM, Cisco, SAP, Samsung, General Motors, and Ford are doing here.

All these companies are here because the Harper and Trudeau governments have wanted them here and they are all using Canadian talent and science programs to advance their own corporate interests. One difference is that while Huawei is transparent about its R&D spending in Canada, companies such as Apple, Alphabet/Google, Microsoft, and Amazon have refused to supply similar data to Research Infosource, which compiles the list each year of Canada's leading R&D spenders.

By focusing on Huawei, there's a chance for opportunists

to tap into some of the Sino-phobia seeping cross the border from a paranoid U.S. Indeed, the federal Conservatives are already doing this—they oppose a free trade deal with China and Canada's participation in the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and have now taken up the claim by U.S. Republicans that Huawei is a national security threat. Other conservative groups, such as the Macdonald-Laurier Institute, are joining the China threat paranoia, the 21st century version of the Yellow Peril. Before China emerged, Japan was the big threat. Remember when Japan was poised to dominate the world? Outside the U.S. capital, anti-Japanese protesters smashed Japanese cars before approving U.S. politicians.

But this diverts our attention from the really critical question: what is Canada getting out of its federal and provincial investments in education; support for university researchers; funding for research initiatives and infrastructure; tax incentives and grants for research and development and money to seed and grow tech start-ups, many of which will be scooped by multinationals?

Multinationals from around the world are scooping up our talent, including top university professors, and taking advantage of Canadian science programs to advance their own intellectual property development that will

generate wealth in their own countries.

A recent *Globe and Mail* series launched with the headline "How Canada is helping a Chinese tech giant become a superpower." But it could have written "How Canada is helping a U.S. tech giant become a superpower." The real issue is how can we turn Canadian expertise into Canadian successes rather than creating intellectual property and seed corn for other countries.

What Huawei is doing is tapping into Canada's high-quality engineering and computer science talent coming out of our top universities as well as working with our universities, creating an R&D branch plant. It's what other tech multinational companies are doing as well. They are competing for scarce talent in a world where countries are racing to gain advantage in the next generation of technologies. Canada is helping them in this race, but we may not end up with many companies of our own that can participate in this global competition and we may add little to our portfolio of exports to sell to the rest of the world.

Attracting such R&D branch plants is Canadian policy and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has gone out of his way to court tech companies such as Amazon, Apple, Microsoft, Alphabet/Google and Alibaba. He has shared the stage with top corporate executives from the U.S. and China and

the federal government website noted recently that Trudeau had met with Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos several times where, according to the website, "he promoted Canada's diverse and skilled website." He has done the same thing, for example, with Eric Schmidt, who recently stepped down as executive chairman of Alphabet/Google, and Jack Ma, executive chairman of Alibaba Group, both in Toronto. Trudeau also appeared on stage with Microsoft executives to open Microsoft's artificial intelligence lab in Vancouver, with 450 jobs, in 2016.

"Tech talent and investment are coming to our country in record numbers, and companies like Amazon are bringing even more energy, vision—and thousands of good jobs—to Canada. We are proud to champion these companies, who invest in our talent and the future of our economy, and create new opportunities for Canadians to succeed," Trudeau said when he shared the stage with Amazon executives in Vancouver late last month for Amazon's announcement it planned to add 3,000 tech jobs in the city.

While there's concern over Canadian tech grads moving to the U.S. for jobs, perhaps the bigger brain drain is the extent to which Canadian tech grads are being snapped up for R&D branch plants here. One result is that it is much harder for smaller Canadian tech companies to compete for talent. Even larger Canadian companies, such as QNX-BlackBerry, the Ottawa-based Canadian leader in connected car and autonomous vehicle technologies, face a challenge. Apple has located a research lab nearby and we shouldn't be surprised if some QNX engineers migrate to Apple.

It's not just about using our talent. If a principal business model in the tech sector is that small companies do the groundbreaking development of new ideas and large companies are the acquirers, bringing scaling capabilities to take these technologies to world markets, then Canada is in serious trouble.

After the Harper government enabled the break up of Nortel into a series of foreign-owned subsidiaries and the decline of BlackBerry, Canada's tech sector has consisted largely of small and midsize companies. With few Canadian acquirers, many of our promising start-ups will be acquired by foreign multinationals even though Canada played a big role in getting these companies started.

It will take some big thinking to turn Canadian talent and knowledge into successful Canadian enterprises. But it has been done for oil, with Canada's takeover of Trans Mountain pipeline for \$4.5-billion, with another estimated \$7.5-billion or more needed to twin the pipeline. It's a dubious initiative for several reasons, but it showed Canada can act when it has to. Imagine if a similar amount of money had been available to really build up our own tech sector. The benefits would have been much greater. Instead, we have R&D branch plants.

David Crane can be reached at crane@interlog.com.
The Hill Times



PARTY CENTRAL

by Emily Haws

Guests compete for airline tickets during A Taste of the Arctic's community game

The lively night might have been celebrating Arctic life, food, and culture, but 'A Taste of the Arctic' was the hottest ticket in O-town on May 28.

The Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) held its annual event at the National Arts Centre last Monday, bringing together Ottawa and Inuit politicians for a night of music, food, and a community game, with the winner receiving plane tickets from First Air going anywhere they fly.

ITK president **Natan Obed**, looking dapper in a sealskin bowtie, said the night celebrated the relationship between Ottawa and Inuit democracies, adding that working together spurs productivity.

Sealskin fashion was on display throughout the night, with some guests donning sealskin vests, broaches, or suit lapels. One guest wore a mostly backless dress, save for the sealskin straps. The glamour was on full display, with the event being fancy for a Monday night.

The lights looked like northern lights, and people mingled while electronic music featuring Indigenous elements played in the background.

Outside in the hall, guests admired the covers of ITK's own magazine *Inuktitut*, used the photo booth, or had their name tags written in English and Inuktitut. Roughly 400-450 tickets were sold, said organizers.

Party Central spotted quite a few ministers mingling around the room, including Indigenous Services Minister **Jane Philpott**, along with her director of communications **Andrew MacKendrick**. Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister **Carolyn Bennett** was spotted near the table serving frozen raw caribou and Arctic char, as well as seal meat stew.

Organizers said every effort was taken to ensure the country food, or traditional food, was as fresh as possible. Candied Arctic char on bannock was served, along with caribou jerky and muskox meatballs.

For those less adventurous, the NAC chefs cooked up a northern seafood hotpot with clams, shrimp, and seaweed in a Labrador tea broth.

Heritage Minister **Mélanie Joly** was also there, and Mr. Obed said during his speech that Inuktitut would be one of the languages included in the government's legislation to protect Indigenous languages set to be tabled

later this year. Social Development Minister **Jean-Yves Duclos** also made an appearance.

Nunavut Independent MP **Hunter Tootoo** wore a sealskin tie to the event, attending with his daughter **Taya**, and three-month-old granddaughter **Alyna**. Northwest Territories Liberal MP **Michael McLeod** took in the music near the centre of the room, along with Labrador MP **Yvonne Jones**.

Guests were treated to a show by **Silla + Rise**, a Juno nominated Inuit musical group based in Ottawa. Vocalists **Cynthia Pitsiulak** and **Charlotte Qamaniq** and DJ **Eric "Rise Ashen" Vani** blended traditional Inuit throat singing with electronic dance music. The group explained that one of their songs was about ice hopping, a Northern rite of passage when the ice starts to break up when the warm weather arrives. About a third of the crowd cheered when asked if they had tried it.

Inuit leaders were also on hand, including Inuit Circumpolar Council Canada (ICCC) president **Nancy Karetak-Lindell**, and Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated (NTI) president **Aluki Kotierk**.

Nunatsiavut Government president **Johannes Lampe** also mingled with guests, along with Makivik Corporation executives **Andy Pirti** and **Andy Moorhouse**. Métis National Council president **Clément Chartier** also attended, along with a handful of other non-Inuit Indigenous leaders.

Silla + Rise soon introduced **Samantha Metcalfe** and **Cailyn Degrandpre**, the young throat singers who performed at the Trudeau cabinet swearing-in ceremony in November 2015. There were less giggles, but were just as entertaining.

Guests played the community game, which had them unraveling a ball of yarn the number of times corresponding to a die they rolled. Over half the audience got into it, cheering as the end got closer.

The Jerry Cans, an Iqaluit-based rock band that incorporates throat singing into their music, performed next, capping off the night. The group went viral on social media last summer when it covered **The Tragically Hip's Ahead by a Century** entirely in Inuktitut, an Inuktitut dialect.

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A Taste of Arctic shindig was a lively one

The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade



Nunavut Independent MP Hunter Tootoo, right, with his daughter Taya, and Herd Eaton.



Labrador Liberal MP Yvonne Jones and ITK president Natan Obed.



The covers of *Inuktitut*, ITK's magazine, were on display.



An ice sculpture near the middle of the room.



Guests participated in the community game.



Frozen Arctic char was served as one of the country, or traditional, foods.



Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister Carolyn Bennett and staffer Daniel Pujdak.



A chef cut caribou using an ulu, an all-purpose knife traditionally used by Inuit women.



A northern seafood hotpot was also served, with sea salt crackers on the side.



Silla + Rise, Juno-nominated musical group that combines traditional Inuit throat singing with electronic music, performed for guests.



The seal meat stew was a traditional treat for guests to try.



Guests took turns unravelling the ball of yarn during the community game last Monday night.



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HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

Public Services Minister Qualtrough recruits director from Innovation Minister Bains' team

Kerry Pither is the new director of communications for the federal NDP caucus on Parliament Hill.

Public Services and Procurement Minister **Carla Qualtrough** has undergone a couple of staffing changes recently, including the departure of her director of operations, **Lucio "Luch" Durante**.

A longtime Liberal staffer, Mr. Durante had been working in the Public Services Minister's Office, located in Gatineau, Que., since January 2016, starting under then-minister **Judy Foote**. He officially left the minister's office on May 8.

Over his years on the Hill, Mr. Durante has worked for then-Liberal MP **Dan McTeague** (from about 1993 to 2005), and then-Liberal MP **Bonnie Crombie**, who is now mayor of Mississauga, Ont. He was the Ontario desk in the then-official opposition Liberal leader's office, starting under then-leader **Michael Ignatieff** in early 2011. During the 2015 federal election, Mr. Durante was part of the Liberal campaign team, focused on Ontario operations.

In turn, **Shaun Govender** has joined Ms. Qualtrough's office to take over as director of operations; he started on the job on May 14. Until recently, he'd been a special assistant for western regional affairs and regional economic development to Innovation, Science, and Economic Development Minister **Navdeep Bains** since March 2016.

Before then, Mr. Govender had been living in Vancouver and working as executive director of the B.C. Liberal Party. He's also previously been director of operations and outreach for the Liberals in British Columbia, and has been a project coordinator for Scenic Oasis Film Inc.

While Mr. Govender is no longer working for Mr. Bains, **Joshua Bragg** and **Daniel Grubb** remain in place as special assistants for regional economic development. **Gianluca Cairo** is chief of staff to the Innovation minister.

In other office news, **A.J. Cheema** exited Ms. Qualtrough's office at the end of April. He'd been a special assistant for western and northern regional affairs to the minister since February 2016.



A.J. Cheema is no longer working on the Hill and has moved back out West. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Mr. Cheema is a former south Asian market manager with RCI Capital Group, a former president of Universal Linen Supplies, and a former realtor with Sutton

Group West Coast Realty. He's now moved back to the west coast.

A new regional adviser to replace Mr. Cheema has not yet been hired in the minister's office, but stay tuned to **Hill Climbers** for an update.

Matt Stickney is chief of staff to Ms. Qualtrough. The minister's staff team also includes: **Taras Zalusky**, director of policy, procurement, and parliamentary affairs; **Christine Michaud**, director of communications; **Ashley Michnowski**, press secretary; **Brian Bohunicky**, senior adviser; **Nicholas Kang**, policy adviser; **Joel Tallerico**, legislative assistant; **Renée Desjardins**, special assistant; **Dilys Fernandes**, special assistant for operations; **Anthony Laporte**, special assistant for Quebec regional affairs; **Neil McKenna**, special assistant for Atlantic regional affairs; **Liam St-Louis**, special assistant for regional affairs for the National Capital Region; and **Lesley Sherban**, special assistant for Ontario regional affairs and assistant to the minister's parliamentary secretary, Liberal MP **Steven MacKinnon**.

Also stationed in the minister's office in Gatineau is **Christine Burke**, national manager of the 16 ministers' regional offices spread across Canada. There are currently 18 political staffers stationed in these offices, which are located in: Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Regina, Toronto, Kitchener, Montreal, Quebec City, Halifax, Fredericton, St. John's, Charlottetown, Iqaluit, Yellowknife, and Whitehorse.

NDP recruits new comms director from the Canadian Labour Congress

The federal NDP caucus has a new director of communications in place, with human rights advocate **Kerry Pither** having recently moved over from the Canadian Labour Congress to take on the job as of the week before last.

Until recently, Ms. Pither had been the national director of communications for the CLC since September 2014, according to her LinkedIn profile. Before then, she was a campaigns and public engagement specialist with the Public Service Alliance of Canada.

Ms. Pither is a former communications specialist with the Canadian Association of University Teachers, has been a researcher with the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, and spent roughly seven years starting in 1992 as a volunteer coordinator with the



Kerry Pither is the NDP's new communications director on the Hill. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

East Timor Alert Network, during which time she also served as a spokesperson for the network.

She's also previously done freelance work as a political communications strategist, including related to the Commission of Inquiry into actions of Canadian officials in relation to **Maheer Arar**.

According to Ms. Pither's website, in 2003, Mr. Arar's wife, **Monia Mazigh**, asked for her help to secure Mr. Arar's release from Syrian detention, after which, Ms. Pither helped to coordinate work related to the Maher Arar Commission of Inquiry headed by Dennis O'Connor and which was released in 2006. She wrote about Mr. Arar's case, in part, in her 2008 book, *Dark Days: The Story of Four Canadians Tortured in the Name of Fighting Terror*. The other three Canadians were **Abdullah Almalki**, **Ahmad El Maati** and **Muayyed Nureddin**, who, like Mr. Arar, were detained by Syrian officials while visiting family. She had similarly helped coordinate work related to their Commission of Inquiry.

Along with her book, Ms. Pither has previously penned op-eds for *The Ottawa Citizen*, the *Windsor Star*, and *This Magazine*.

Former NDP deputy director of communications **Sarah Andrews** started on the job in her new role off the Hill last week.

She's now a strategic communications specialist for the Union of Safety and Justice Employees in Ottawa, which is led by national president **Stan Stapleton**.

The union represents more than 15,000 public service workers across Canada, including staff at the Supreme Court of Canada, the Canadian Human Rights



Sarah Andrews is now working for the Union of Safety and Justice Employees.

Commission and Tribunal, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), the commissioner of Elections Canada, the federal information and privacy commissioners, the RCMP, and the departments of justice and public safety, amongst other federal agencies.

Nasha Brownridge is an NDP caucus press secretary focused on B.C., **Orian Labrèche** is the Quebec caucus press secretary, and **Kathryn LeBlanc** is caucus press secretary for NDP MPs from Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Willy Blomme is chief of staff in the NDP Leader's Office, which is currently overseen on a day-to-day basis by NDP MP and parliamentary leader **Guy Caron** as federal leader **Jagmeet Singh** does not yet have a seat in the House of Commons.

The NDP has been allocated \$1,737,570 to run its caucus research office for 2018-19, and another \$2,113,660 for its leader's office for the fiscal year.

lryckewaert@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times

Cabinet's Directors of Communications and Chiefs of Staff List

Ministers	Portfolio	Chief of Staff	D. Comms	Press Secretary	Main Office Telephone
Trudeau, Justin	Prime Minister, Intergovernmental Affairs, Youth	Katie Telford	Kate Purchase	Eleanore Catenaro, Chantal Gagnon, Matt Pascuzzo, Amreet Kaur	613-957-5555
Bains, Navdeep	Innovation, Science, and Economic Development	Gianluca Cairo	Mallory Clyne	Karl W. Sasseville	343-291-2500
Bennett, Carolyn	Crown-Indigenous Relations	Sarah Welch (acting)	James Fitz-Morris	-	819-997-0002
Bibeau, Marie-Claude	International Development and La Francophonie	Geoffroi Montpetit	Louis Bélanger	Justine Lesage	343-203-6238, (PS) 343-203-5977
Brison, Scott	Treasury Board	Adam Carroll	Bruce Cheadle	Jean-Luc Ferland*	613-369-3170
Carr, Jim	Natural Resources	Zoë Caron	Laurel Munroe	Alexandre Deslongchamps	343-292-6837
Champagne, Francois-Philippe	International Trade	Julian Ovens	Joe Pickerill	Pierre-Olivier Herbert	343-203-7332
Chagger, Bardish	Small Business and Tourism	Caitlin Workman	Sandra Aubé	-	343-291-2700
Duclos, Jean-Yves	House Leader	Rheal Lewis	Mark Kennedy	Sabrina Atwal	613-995-2727
Duncan, Kirsty	Families, Children and Social Development	Olivier Duchesneau	-	Émilie Gauduchon	819-654-5546
Duncan, Kirsty	Science	Anne Dawson	Michael Bhardwaj	Ann Marie Paquet	343-291-2600
Freeland, Chrystia	Sports and Persons with Disabilities	Jude Welch	Jane Almeida	Annabelle St-Pierre	819-934-1122
Gameau, Marc	Foreign Affairs	Jeremy Broadhurst	Alexander Lawrence	Archambault Adam Austen	343-203-1851
Goodale, Ralph	Transport	Jean-Philippe Arseneau	Marc Roy	Delphine Denis	613-991-0700
Goodale, Ralph	Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness	Marci Surkes	Dan Brien	Scott Bardsley	613-991-2924
Gould, Karina	Democratic Institutions	Rob Jamieson	Jordan Owens	Nicky Cayer	613-943-1838
Hajdu, Patty	Employment, Workforce Development, and Labour	Matthew Mitschke	Carlene Variyan	Véronique Simard	819-654-5611
Hussen, Ahmed	Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship	Ali Salam	Hursh Jaswal	Mathieu Genest	613-954-1064
Joly, Mélanie	Canadian Heritage	Leslie Church	Emilie Simard	Simon Ross	819-997-7788
LeBlanc, Dominic	Fisheries, Oceans & Coast Guard	Vince MacNeil	Laura Gareau	Vincent Hughes	613-992-3474
Lebouthillier, Diane	National Revenue	Josée Guilmette	Bernard Boutin	Jérémy Ghio	613-995-2960
MacAulay, Lawrence	Agriculture and Agri-Food	Mary Jean McFall	Guy Gallant	Oliver Anderson**	613-773-1059
McKenna, Catherine	Environment and Climate Change	Marlo Reynolds	Julia Kilpatrick	Caroline Thériault	819-938-3813
Monsef, Maryam	Status of Women	Rebecca Caldwell	Justine Villeneuve	Célia Canon	819-997-2494
Morneau, Bill	Finance	Ben Chin	Daniel Lauzon	-	613-369-5696
O'Regan, Seamus	Veterans Affairs, Associate Defence	Cyndi Jenkins	John Embury	Alex Wellstead	613-996-4649
Petitpas Taylor, Ginette	Health	Geneviève Hinse	Mathieu Filion	Thierry Bélair	613-957-0200
Philpott, Jane	Indigenous Services	Rachel Doran	Micol Zarb	Rachel Rappaport	613-957-0200
Qualtrough, Carla	Public Services and Procurement	Matt Stickney	Christine Michaud	Ashley Michnowski	819-997-5421
Sajjan, Harjit	National Defence	Zita Astravas	Renée Filiatrault	Byrne Furlong	613-996-3100
Sohi, Amarjeet	Infrastructure and Communities	Leslie O'Leary	Kate Monfette	Brook Simpson	613-949-1759
Wilson-Raybould, Jody	Justice	Jessica Prince	David Taylor	-	613-992-4621

* Senior communications adviser ** Communications manager
Prime Minister's Press Office: 613-957-5555
 Kate Purchase, executive director of communications and planning
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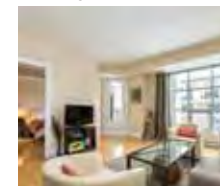
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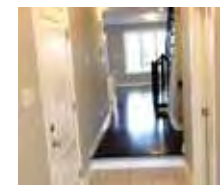
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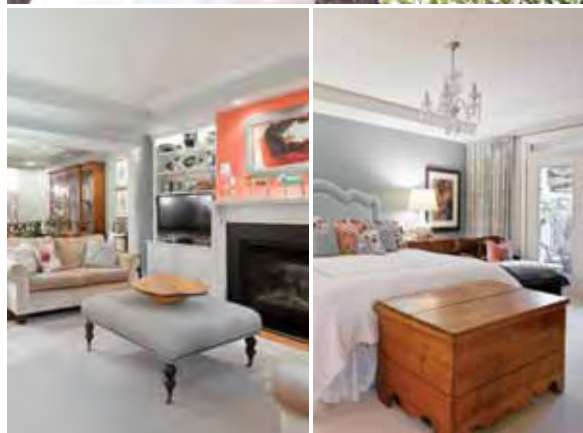
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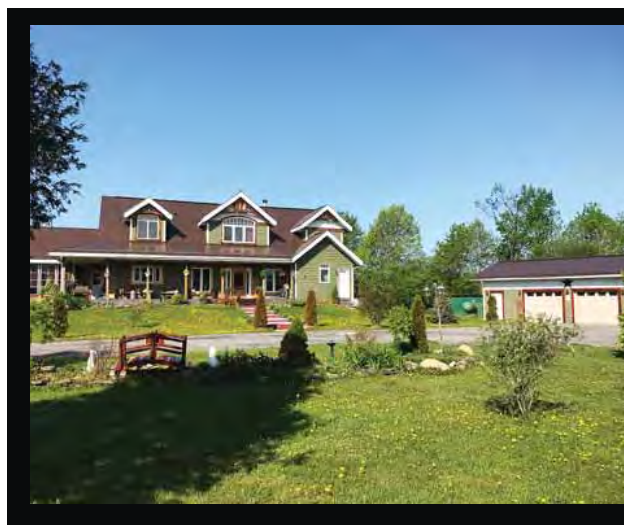
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Conservatives accuse MacKinnon of trying to 'direct' Grit MPs to defeat motion asking Wernick to testify about Phoenix

Divided Liberals lets Conservative motion pass in the Public Accounts Committee to invite PCO clerk Wernick appear to discuss AG's report on Phoenix

Continued from page 1

and Procurement Minister Carla Qualtrough, of trying to get Liberals to defeat a Tory motion last week calling PCO clerk Michael Wernick to testify about the AG's scathing report on the Phoenix pay system.

"He was shaking his head when I put the motion forward originally, he started shaking his head towards all the members of the committee," Conservative MP Alex Nuttall (Barrie-Springwater-Oro-Medonte, Ont.) told *The Hill Times* last week in an interview.

Mr. MacKinnon (Gatineau, Que.) was not successful because four Liberals abstained and one voted against it. Mr. Wernick will testify some time before the House adjourns later this month.

Through his assistant, Mr. MacKinnon declined to be interviewed, but according to one committee source, Mr. MacKinnon also lobbied two Liberal MPs to vote against the Conservative motion.

Mr. Ferguson appeared before the committee on May 31 to answer questions about his scathing audit on the government's Phoenix pay system which he described as "an incomprehensible failure of project management



The House Public Accounts Committee voted last week to invite PCO clerk Michael Wernick to appear before the committee to talk about the government's failure to properly implement the Phoenix pay system. He's expected to appear before the committee prior to the start of the summer recess. *The Hill Times* file photograph

on Friday in an email that Mr. Wernick had not yet received the committee's request.

"The clerk of the Privy Council has yet to receive an invitation to appear before the committee," said Stéphane Shank, PCO's media relations manager said.

Mr. Sorenson, a five-term MP, said in "some people's opinion," not "in my opinion," Mr. MacKinnon tried

to "direct" the vote on Mr. Nuttall's motion. Mr. Sorenson declined to get into details saying that, as chair of the committee, he wants to preserve the committee's non-partisan spirit. He also did not vote on the motion because the chair votes only in case of a tie.



Liberal MP Steven MacKinnon and Conservative MP Kevin Sorenson. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

"The parliamentary secretary sat in, and he was trying to, in some people's opinion, I'm not saying in my opinion, but in some

people's opinion, he was trying to direct it," said Mr. Sorenson. "And, yet, I commend the committee, they're looking at this from a non-partisan, non-biased position where the highest levels in the public service is being questioned about the culture and about incomprehensible failure."

Mr. Sorenson said his committee is expected to send a letter to Mr. Wernick early this week and would want to hear from him before the summer recess starts on June 22. He said the committee is willing to work around the clerk's schedule and would hold a special meeting if needed.

"We do want it before we break for summer," said Mr. Sorenson. "If our committee didn't respond, we'd be negligent. So, this is why we are inviting him."

No Liberal member of the committee was available to comment last week for this article.

Meanwhile, the AG's audit said the Phoenix pay system that has affected almost half of the 290,000 public servants was launched without ensuring its proper functioning. Public servants affected by the Phoenix pay system have either been overpaid, underpaid, or not paid at all. Started under former prime minister Stephen Harper's government in 2009, the system was expected to save \$70-million annually. Instead, it's now expected to cost \$1.2-billion until the system is fixed. Mr. Ferguson also said officials in the Public Services and Procurement Department knew about the flaws of the software before its launch but still ignored it. He has recommended putting in place an oversight system before the launch of new IT projects.

"We concluded that the Phoenix project was an incomprehensible failure of project management and oversight," said Mr. Ferguson. "Phoenix executives prioritized certain aspects, such as schedule

and budget, over other critical ones, such as functionality and security.

The Hill Times

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Parliamentary Calendar



Canada 2020 hosts Fifth Annual Conference in Ottawa on Tuesday

MONDAY, JUNE 4

The House Is Sitting—The House is scheduled to sit every weekday until adjourning for the summer break on June 22, but it could adjourn earlier. The Senate will largely follow the same schedule, though the Senate traditionally only sits Tuesday to Thursday, and is scheduled to break a week later in the spring, on June 29.

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians AGM—This annual event occurs on Parliament Hill and comprises: a breakfast briefing with Indigenous Services Minister Jane Philpott; memorial service for deceased Parliamentarians in the Senate Chamber; luncheon with Assembly of First Nations national chief Perry Bellegarde, as keynote speaker; afternoon business meeting; presentation of 2018 Distinguished Services Award to Don Boudria; and a closing dinner.

Rights City Event—The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies at Concordia University, along with Amnistie internationale Canada francophone, the Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights, and the Comité unifié des organisations arméniennes du Québec, is hosting the two-day 2018 #RightsCity event in Montreal on June 4. Speakers include: Thomas Mulcair, former leader of the New Democratic Party; Marie-Eve Bordeleau, Montreal's commissioner of Indigenous affairs; professor Homa Hoodfar who was jailed in Iran for 112 days; Irwin Cotler, founder and chair of the Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights; Marty Castro, former chair of U.S. Commission on Civil Rights under the Obama administration; and more. De Seve Cinema, Concordia University, 1400 De Maisonneuve Blvd. W. To register: <https://www.eventbrite.ca/e/rightscity-2018-montreal-droits-humains-2018-tickets-44271937557>.

TUESDAY, JUNE 5

Fifth Annual Canada 2020 Conference—The Canada 2020 think-tank hosts its annual gathering of Canada's progressive policy community. Keynote speakers will include former FBI director James Comey; 2018 Pulitzer Prize winner Ronan Farrow, a contributing writer with *The New Yorker*; Liz Plank, executive producer of *Divided States to Women*, *Vox Media*; Emily Chang, anchor Bloomberg TV and author of *Brotopia: Breaking Up the Boys' Club of Silicon Valley*; Justin Wolfers, professor of economic and public policy, University of Michigan; Vaclav Smil, author and distinguished professor emeritus, University of Manitoba; Heather Boushey, executive director and chief economist, Washington Centre for Equitable Growth; Bruce Heyman, former U.S. ambassador to Canada; Minister of Small Business and Tourism Bardish Chagger; Environment Minister Catherine McKenna; Roland Paris, professor of international affairs, University of Ottawa; and Matt Browne, executive director of Global Progress. 8 a.m.-5 p.m. Shaw Centre, 55 Colonel By Dr., Ottawa. Register to attend via canada2020conference.com.

McKenna at CIC National Branch—Join the Canadian International Council's National Capital Branch for an evening with Environment Minister Catherine McKenna, who plans to deliver a significant speech to mark World Environment Day. Also featuring moderator Ailish Campbell, Canada's chief trade commissioner. 5 p.m. (registration and cash bar); 6 p.m. (presentation, discussion); 7:30 p.m. (optional dinner). The Sheraton Hotel, Rideau Room, 150 Albert St., Ottawa. ottawa@thecic.org or 613-903-4011. More information: <https://cicnbcjun052018.eventbrite.ca>.

Propane on the Hill Reception—The Canadian Propane Association is hosting a reception, 6-8 p.m., East Block Courtyard. RSVP by May 30: Kristina Proulx at kproulx@tsa.ca or 613-241-6000, ext. 265.

'Children in War' and 'Ukraine: Tiding Over' International Visual Arts Projects—Several Ukrainian organizations are hosting this exhibition and reception with a cash bar. 7 p.m. Sussex Contemporary Gallery, 531 Sussex Dr. By invitation only. Please RSVP to Ottawa@unfcanada.ca.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6

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 with the Conservative Party of Canada at coryhann@conservative.ca.

NDP Caucus Meeting—The NDP caucus will meet from 9:15-11 a.m. in the Wellington Building. For more information, please call the NDP Media Centre at 613-222-2351 or media@ndp.ca.

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

THURSDAY, JUNE 7

Ontario Votes—Voters in Canada's largest province go to the polls today to elect members of the Ontario legislature.

Community Liaison Officers' Group Ottawa—The CLO Group is hosting a 2017/2018 series of information sessions for foreign diplomatic missions' personnel responsible for welcoming new embassy staff members and their families. The group involves networking and sharing information essential for a smooth transition and settlement of new families to Ottawa/the National Capital Region. This month the meeting will be a social event. 3:30 p.m. To join the group or participate in the meeting, please contact andjelka.vidovic@embassyservices.org.

One Year of Strong, Secure, Engaged: A Status Report—The Canadian Global Affairs Institute will be hosting a one-day conference in Ottawa to provide a status report on the implementation of Canada's new defence policy. Speakers include: deputy minister Jody Thomas and senior associate deputy minister Bill Matthews. Chateau Laurier Hotel, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa. cgai.ca.

Ottawa's 15th Annual Israeli Film Festival—As part of the ongoing film festival, see *Scaffolding* at 7 p.m. General admission: \$13. Canadian Film Institute members, seniors, students, children: \$9. Ottawa Art Gallery, 50 Mackenzie King Bridge. For more information, see israelifilmfestival.ca.

FRIDAY, JUNE 8

G7 Summit in Charlevoix, Que.—The 2018 G7 Summit will be held at the Fairmont Le Manoir Richelieu in La Malbaie, Que., located in the province's scenic Charlevoix region. The summit will take place from June 8-9. Canada holds the presidency of the G7 in 2018. It rotates annually.

SUNDAY, JUNE 10

Conference of Montreal—The International Economic Forum of the Americas hosts this annual event featuring speakers typically including heads of state, central bank governors, ministers, and global economic decision-makers. June 10-14. This year's line-up includes: former UN secretary general Ban Ki-moon, Lady Lynn Forester de Rothschild, chair of E.L. Rothschild, and OECD secretary general Ángel Gurría.

MONDAY, JUNE 11

National Day of the Republic of Croatia—On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between Croatia and Canada, H.E. Marica Matkovi, Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to Canada, will host an invitation-only reception on June 11 from 5 p.m.-7 p.m. Embassy of Croatia, 229 Chapel St., Ottawa, Ont.

Documentary Screening and Q&A with Helen Clark—Catch the Ottawa premiere of the documentary film *My Year with Helen*, presented by the New Zealand High Commission, the Canadian Council for International Co-operation, Famous 5 Ottawa, One World Arts, and Carleton University. Don't miss this unique opportunity to meet Helen Clark, New Zealand's first elected female prime minister at the new Ottawa Art Gallery. 7 p.m. documentary screening, 8:30 p.m., Q&A with Helen Clark. Free. Ottawa Art Gallery, 50 Mackenzie King Bridge. Tickets available via Eventbrite.

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.

The Hill Times



Extra! Extra!
Read the full
Parliamentary
Calendar
online

The 'incomprehensible' Phoenix meltdown: entirely predictable and entirely preventable

Continued from page 7

Ferguson bemoans the "culture of obedience" which he feels led to this situation. But this culture is not an accident—it is the calculated result of a style of management that puts career and self interest above the public interest, and thrives when there is a lack of oversight, accountability, and too much secrecy. It is the result of a management culture of intimidation, promulgated by both senior bureaucrats and politicians. To change this culture requires putting in place the right organizational machinery.

There are many components to this machinery such as independent reviews and audits—all of which were either ignored or subverted by Phoenix executives—but one of the most powerful is whistleblower protection, since this can act as a safety net when everything else has failed.

Protecting whistleblowers is one of the most effective and proven ways for leaders to learn about problems within their organizations, by enabling honest employees to come forward without fear of reprisal, bypassing their immediate superiors if necessary (or even going to an independent agency) to share their concerns and to have them properly investigated.

With an effective whistleblowing law in place, and a competent integrity commissioner appointed, this officer of Parliament would have fulfilled his duty to investigate the allegations brought to him. This independent investigation would have undoubtedly led to a report sent directly to Parliament (and published for the public to read) setting out the misconduct and cover-up that Phoenix executives were evidently engaged in. Heads would have rolled, the project would have been cancelled or completely overhauled, and countless public servants and their families would have been spared years of unnecessary suffering. This would also have saved taxpayers perhaps \$1-billion or more.

Does this scenario seem implausible? In the U.S., which has had whistleblowing laws for decades, one of the first issues to be exposed by whistleblowers (in the 1970s) was the shoddy construction of nuclear power stations by dishonest contractors. As a result of these revelations, reactors costing hundreds of millions of dollars that were 99 per cent complete, were mothballed and never brought into service, thus averting near-certain nuclear failures. Whistleblowers around the world have shown repeatedly that, if protected, they can protect the public by exposing wrongdoing—even in mega-projects where powerful vested interests are desperate to keep their misconduct hidden.

Unfortunately, nothing like this can happen in Canada because there is zero protection for whistleblowers. Instead we have a deeply-flawed whistleblowing law (unchanged for more than 11 years) and an Integrity Commissioner's Office which is supposed to protect government whistleblowers but has consistently proven to be their worst enemy. And in 11 years not a single whistleblower has prevailed before the tribunal that is supposed to provide them with a remedy for reprisals. So rather

than being protected, Canadian whistleblowers are routinely ignored, crushed, and silenced.

Could whistleblowers really have prevented the Phoenix disaster? The answer in our mind is an unequivocal "yes." Literally hundreds of people working on this project had to know of at least some of the blatant misconduct by management, and at least some tried to blow the whistle. Four years ago, while running a small whistleblowing charity, I was approached by one person who had raised concerns about the fraudulent nature of the project—but had been forced out of their job as a result. Last year, colleagues at another whistleblowing group heard about several employees who were looking without success for a safe way to blow the whistle on Phoenix. We even heard of one who apparently approached the integrity commissioner and was given the brush off.

There may have been dozens of other potential whistleblowers who decided in the end to keep quiet rather than put their careers and their families' livelihood at risk with little chance of making a difference.

Successive governments have shown that they are quite happy with this situation. Just last year, the Liberal government ignored an unanimous report from a parliamentary committee which conducted an in-depth review of the whistleblowing law and recommended sweeping changes. In dismissing these recommendations, the government threw away a valuable opportunity to help prevent recurrences of disasters like Phoenix.

What comes now? For its part, the government has freely acknowledged that it is responsible for fixing Phoenix, but it has said little about fixing the abuse of bureaucratic power in order to avoid similar recurrences.

Meanwhile, since the government seems determined not to help whistleblowers, at Ryerson's Centre for Free Expression we are doing what civil society has done in other countries—we will help them ourselves. We are setting up a free confidential advice centre that they can go to for help. We expect this to be staffed and operational by the fall.

We have also decided to conduct our own investigation of the Phoenix project—to find out what happened to those honest employees who tried to blow the whistle, and to learn how others were deterred from speaking out at all. More information about this project will be forthcoming in the next few weeks.

For the past decade Canada has had the well-deserved reputation of being a Third World country when it comes to whistleblower protection. After Phoenix, we also have the reputation of being a Third World country when it comes to government competence and integrity. The Liberals should be demonstrating to Canadians that it is taking steps to fix, not just this broken IT system, but a broken bureaucracy. Protecting honest employees and enabling them to raise concerns safely—well that would be a great start.

David Hutton is a senior fellow at the Centre for Free Expression, Ryerson University.

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