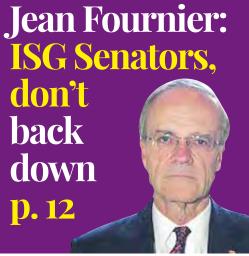
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Party Central Diana Ross helps raise more than \$780,000 at NAC's glitzy

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Heard

on the

Hill p.2

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

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News Quebec & 2019 election

Despite dairy concessions, Trudeau Liberals' ambitions in **Quebec likely** not in peril, strategists say

BY BEATRICE PAEZ & ABBAS RANA

The Trudeau government s decision to bow down to U.S. pressure to loosen restrictions on Continued on page 6

News Environment

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May urges feds to restore staffing capacity after departments found failing on marine mammal protections, toxic substances

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

fter a recent audit found Afederal departments failed to act swiftly to protect endangered marine mammals in Canada and are dropping the ball on ensuring regulations to control toxic

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CAQ's victory in Quebec, rise of conservative provincial parties, a 'wake-up call' for federal Liberals, say Grit MPs

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News Diversity & politics

Underrepresented in the House, Asian-**Canadian MPs say** more Asian faces needed in Ottawa

BY JOLSON LIM

When Conservative MP Michael Chong was first elected to the House of Commons in 2004, he was surprised to find out that he was the first-ever MP from Ontario of Chinese background.

Chinese-Canadians have lived in Ontario for more than a century, with almost half-a-million people of Chinese descent living in the province by 2001, and almost 850,000 people, as of the 2016 federal census. Before Mr. Chong, there had been only four Chinese Canadians ever elected to the House-the first, former British

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News Immigration Committee

Safe Third Country Agreement behind spike of irregular border crossers, say Immigration Committee witnesses

BY NEIL MOSS

The House Immigration Com-mittee, which is looking at refugees and migration in the



CAQ leader and premier-designate François Legault's party won an overwhelming majority government in Quebec on Oct. 1, crushing both the Quebec Liberals and the Parti Québécois. Photograph courtesy of Francois Legault's Flickr

BY ABBAS RANA & JOLSON LIM

he "restless electorate" has L thrown incumbent Liberals out of power in four provinces in the last 16 months, which is "an alarming trend" and a "wake-up call" for the federal Liberals as they prepare for the 2019 federal election, say Liberal MPs and

should not overlook the success

political insiders, and a lead-

ing pollster says federal parties



HEARD ON THE HILL

by Neil Moss

Daughters of the Vote to return to Parliament Hill in 2019

Equal Voice's Daughters of the Vote program, which brought young women representing every federal riding in Canada to sit in the House of Commons Chamber in Centre Block in 2017, will return in March 2019.



Equal Voice executive director Nancy Peckford says the Daughters of the Vote 'changed the lives' of many who participated in 2017. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

On March 8, 2017, young women aged 18 to 23 came from all corners of Canada to Parliament Hill to participate in Daughters of the Vote. The four-day program included leadership training, policy development workshops, and an Indigenous forum.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, former prime minister Kim Campbell, then-interim Conservative leader Rona Ambrose, then-NDP leader Thomas Mulcair, and Green Party Leader Elizabeth May all spoke to the participants last year.

"My experience with the inaugural Daughters of the Vote program suggests that the future of Canada is very bright and we can fully leverage the talent and commitment of diverse and dynamic young women leaders throughout Canada," Ms. Campbell said in an Oct. 3 press release announcing the program's return.

Ms. May said in the release that the 2017 program was "one of the most impressive and inspiring events" she has ever attended.

Nancy Peckford, executive director of Equal Voice, said the program "changed the lives of many of our young women delegates."

Ms. Peckford said many of the delegates have gone on to work in politics, including working in ministerial and MP offices in Ottawa.

The 2019 program will have the support of the newly created department of Status of Women Canada, which has contributed \$3.8-million for the 2019 program and for another program in the spring of 2021. Previously, status of women was under the heritage department.

Status of Women Minister **Maryam Monsef** said more women in politics will lead to better decision-making. Today, women only represent 26 per cent of federal Parliamentarians.

"During the first Daughters of the Vote in March 2017, there were more women occupying seats in Parliament then have been elected in the entire history of Confederation. Canada can and will do better,"Ms. Monsef said. "Our government is proud to support this important project that not only empowers young women from across the country to seek public office, but gives them the tools to lead in their own communities."



Minister Maryam Monsef said more women in politics will lead to better decisionmaking. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

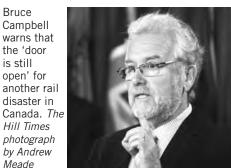
Status of

Women

The 2019 gathering will occur between March 31 and April 4, 2019 to coincide with the anniversary of Indigenous women gaining the vote in March 31, 1960—the final group of women in Canada to be granted the right to cast a ballot. The application to participate in the program next year opens on Oct. 10.

New book on Lac-Mégantic rail disaster reveals it could happen again

Before a 74-car freight train carrying crude oil derailed in Lac-Mégantic, Que., killing 47 people on July 6, 2013, there wasn't a question of if, but when there would be a Canadian rail disaster, says **Bruce Campbell**, author of the new book, *The Lac-Mégantic Rail Disaster: Public Betrayal*, *Justice Denied*.



Mr. Cambell spoke to reporters in the Charles Lynch press room in Centre Block on Oct. 4. flanked by NDP MP **Robert Aubin**, Bloc Québécois MP **Monique Pauzé**, and representatives from the Lac-Mégantic Victim Coalition.

"Over time, the probability of a disaster became greater, and greater, and greater until a point where it was Russian roulette," Mr. Campbell told reporters of the fourth deadliest rail accident in Canadian history.

deadliest rail accident in Canadian history. Mr. Campbell, a former executive director of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and author of three major reports on the Lac-Mégantic rail disaster, said the Lac-Mégantic derailment was"collateral damage" from a series of policy decisions going back to **Brian Mulroney**'s government in the 1980s, resulting in increased deregulation and privatization of Canada's rail, which "systemically" allowed safety to decrease and risks to grow. A system of self-regulation exists within the rail industry, he said. The reality is that oil will continue to be transported on rail and it is increasing, said Mr. Campbell, and the "door is still open" for a repeat of the Lac-Mégantic disaster.

"From my observations, and my interviews, and my assessment, the door [for another tragedy] is still open, especially with the volume of traffic now,"he said.

In his book, Mr. Campbell outlines how the legal system failed to hold those behind the disaster to account, and how neither the governments of **Stephen Harper** or **Justin Trudeau** have properly addressed the safety of Canadian rails. In 2013, Transport Canada issued an emergency directive on trains carrying dangerous materials and in 2014, the federal government called for the phaseout or retrofit of the older DOT-111 oil-by-rail cars, but Mr. Campbell says the federal government still has to fulfill a long number of commitments to improve rail safety in Canada.



NDP MP Robert Aubin holds a copy of Bruce Campbell's recently released book at the Oct. 4 press conference. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

"This book ... uncovers new elements in the story behind the disaster," the author said. "What happened, how it happened, who is responsible, and why is can happen again."

The 216-page book was published by Lorimer on Oct. 2. It is on sale for \$24.95.

Supreme Court enters the 1990s

Canada's top court announced recordings of hearings will be available on its website, offering Canadians a chance to tune in to this often out-of-sight pillar of democracy.



The Supreme Court announces that audio recordings of hearings will be available on its website. *The Hill Times file photograph*

Audio recordings will be available for cases heard since October 2017. Going forward, audio will be uploaded to the court's website within 24 hours of the hearing, unless there is publication restrictions.

The court has offered webcasts of hearings since 2009.

"This initiative is part of the Court's continued efforts to make its work more accessible to Canadians," read a press release.

The court's transparency has come under question after *The Globe and Mail* reported that the Supreme Court imposed a 50-year embargo on internal deliberation notes, which took effect in June 2017 and was announced as part of a larger agreement with Library and Archives Canada. Previously, the embargo period was 25 years

"So why the secrecy?" **Emmett Macfarlane**, a political science professor at the University of Waterloo and an expert on the Supreme Court, wrote in a May 18 op-ed for the CBC following *The Globe*'s report. "The answer is, quite simply, that the court benefits from being a black box that spits out seemingly authoritative rulings on the most difficult legal questions of the day."

It's a plane, it's a plane!

If Hillites looked to the sky on Oct. 3, they would have seen an unusual sight—a plane circling Parliament Hill.



The plane was dragging a banner urging the government to "kill Bill C-69," referencing the controversial environmental assessment bill that gives the federal environment minister final say over major energy projects.

It has been criticized from both energy groups, who say it will curtail investment in Canada's natural resource industry, and from environmental groups, who say the bill does not do enough to protect the environment.

Currently, the bill is at second reading in the Senate. It passed third reading in the House of Commons on June 20 with opposition from the Conservatives and New Democrats.

The stunt was paid for by Suits and Boots, a group of pro-energy investment professionals founded by **Rick Peterson**, a venture capitalist and a candidate in the 2017 Conservative leadership race.

Former Ontario PC leader ties the knot

Patrick Brown, the former leader of the Ontario Tories, wed **Genevieve Gualtieri** in Kleinburg, Ont., on Sept. 30.

Mr. Brown, a former federal Conservative MP, resigned as the leader of the thenofficial opposition at Queen's Park on Jan. 25 following a CTV report of two women alleging he engaged in sexual misconduct.



Former Conservative MP Patrick Brown got married to Genevieve Gualtieri on Sept. 30. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter*

He was projected to be a shoo-in to become the next Ontario premier before his resignation. **Doug Ford** won the subsequent leadership election on March 10, and then a majority government on June 6.

Following his resignation, Mr. Brown registered as a candidate for the Peel regional chair. Those elections were later cancelled by Mr. Ford. Mr. Brown then registered as a candidate to be the next mayor of Brampton, Ont.; the municipal election will take place on Oct. 22.

Several noteworthy Tories attended the private wedding ceremony, including **Peter MacKay**, former minister of justice, national defence, foreign affairs, and deputy leader of the federal Conservative Party from 2004 to 2015; **Bill Davis**, former premier of Ontario from 1971 to 1985; Conservative MP **Alex Nuttall**, and Conservative Senators **Salma Ataullahjan** and **Victor Oh**.

Mr. Brown was the Conservative MP for Barrie, Ont., from 2006 to 2015. Ms. Gualtieri was once an intern in Mr. Brown's Parliament Hill office.

nmoss@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

Taking the law into their own hands: citizens in the South are strengthening access to justice for women, and Canada must support them

This is a sensitive, potentially dangerous time to be advancing women's rights. Advocates and elected leaders must continue to be bold. Canada must continue to invest in women in the global South.



Opinion

Tanzania feels like one of the most challenging places in the world to be a woman. Almost half of all Tanzanian women have faced physical or sexual violence, and while 70 per cent of people live on less than \$2 per day, poverty is highest among female headed households. I learned this as I trekked 104 km through the Great African Rift Valley and savannah bush on a charity walk in support of Crossroads International.

Of course, the prevalence of violence against women and girls, is not unique to Tanzania. It is endemic in far too many places in the global South, and quite frankly, around the world. While many countries in the South are making great strides in the development of legislation designed to protect women, their application is weak.

The reality is a law on paper is insufficient to protect the rights of the most vulnerable. It is citizens who must uphold the integrity and accountability of justice systems. Yet without equitable and wellresourced legal systems, this can be overwhelming. This is where Canada can help.

A key difference in how gender-based violence cases are treated in Canada versus the South, is the knowledge, norms, institutions, expertise, and resources in place to secure justice for women and protect their rights.

A woman may have a legal right to security and a constitutional freedom to pursue her ambitions and aspirations, but if in her country there is not a recourse of justice for violations, if police lack the resources to respond to a complaint, if a lawyer lacks the knowledge, experience, or will to effectively apply the law, or if a justice lacks the resources to administer their court, the systems will fail and women will remain threatened.

What impact would #MeToo have if there were not appropriate systems in place to hold perpetrators accountable? The Canadian government has placed the economic and social well-being of women at the centre of its international development goals. Now we must ensure access to justice is a central theme of this strategy.

Canada can play a meaningful role in supporting the development of justice systems that are accessible to women and survivors of violence. We have good models. We already share our expertise on justice issues with other countries, including when it comes to the development of their constitutions.

There is also much that individual Canadians can do with the support of their government to help women access justice. In Ghana, Canadian lawyers volunteering with Crossroads' Court Watch program just completed a six-month evaluation of the application of the country's domestic violence law. While it is considered strong legislation, the evaluators found major limitations, including the fact that only the most severe cases of abuse are prosecuted and that vast majority of these are adjourned or abandoned. They are providing recommendation for improvements

In Tanzania, our group visited one of the first shelters for women fleeing abuse. We heard harrowing stories of violence and were moved by personal accounts of Massai girls who had to flee their families and communities to avoid female genital mutilation. We also witnessed incredible examples of determination and courage. But for me, as a law professor and a former minister of justice in the Government of Canada, it was meeting Tanzanian volunteer paralegals that encouraged me most. Women and men who, thanks to Crossroads and local partners, are learning about the law and working in their communities to help women understand and assert their rights. Just 25 volunteers have reached more than 16,000 people in a short time.

Not everyone will have the opportunity to see first-hand such challenges and solutions. It is important for those of us who have borne witness to share our stories, and for government to communicate the who, why, and how of women's development policy.

This is a sensitive, potentially dangerous time to be advancing women's rights. Advocates and elected leaders must continue to be bold. Canada must continue to invest in women in the global South. One of the best ways to do so is by supporting systems that allow women to assert their rights and access justice.

Anne McLellan is the former deputy prime minister of Canada and former minister of justice.

The Hill Times

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News Quebec & 2019 elections

CAQ's victory in Quebec, rise of conservative provincial parties, a 'wake-up call' for federal Liberals, say Grit MPs

Coalition Avenir Quebec's majority government victory on Oct. 1 follows Doug Ford's Ontario Progressive Conservative victory in June. Meanwhile, Progressive Conservatives may form government in New Brunswick while Jason Kenney's United Conservative Party in Alberta poll high.

Continued from page 1

of right-leaning provincial political parties in recent elections.

"To me, this is alarming," said one Quebec Liberal MP who spoke on not-for-attribution basis only as no federal party wants to be seen as worried about the 2019 election. "We should pay close attention and try to analyze and understand what's going on."

On Oct. I, the Coalition Avenir Quebec (CAQ), led by François Legault, surprised pollsters and easily won a majority government in a strong defeat of the Quebec Liberals and Parti Québécois, the two provincial parties that have traded forming government since 1970. It's the first time in nearly 50 years the province hasn't been represented by either a separatist party or by the Liberals.

Under the leadership of Mr. Legault, who co-founded the CAQ in 2011 and was a former Parti Québécois minister, the party won 74 seats out of the province's 125 seats, pushing the provincial Liberals into official opposition status with 32 seats. The Parti Québécois won only nine seats and lost official party status in the assembly, while the left-wing nationalist Quebec Solidaire saw 10 of its members elected.

The CAQ dominated in the semi-rural and township-filled regions to the south of Montreal and Québec City. In the 2015 election, the federal ridings directly south of Montreal were divided between the NDP and Liberals, while the ridings south of Québec City, went to the Conservatives. Mr. Legault's party also won big in areas north of both major cities, which, at the federal level in 2015, were split between the three main federal parties and the Bloc Québécois.

Mr. Legault ran on a nationalist platform to push for more provincial power, to cut back on Quebec's immigration numbers by 20 per cent, and to end Quebec's dependence on \$11-billion of annual equalization payments from Ottawa, of which federal revenue is transferred between have and have-not provinces, among other promises.

In his first news conference post-election, he said his and the government of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) can find common ground on economic issues, and that he was a "pragmatic guy." Mr. Legault's victory is the

said the CAQ's surprise majority win is worrisome ahead of the 2019 federal election for the Liberals and said they are wondering what it means for them next year.

"The provincial election results will be a cause for concern for federal MPs from those areas,"the senior Liberal said, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "There are certain regions where those election results are going to cause some reflection and concern."

"You've got to look at all of them [provincial election results] individually, but the lesson is that the electorate is restless,"the former senior Liberal said."And obviously the parties that are winning power are better at making sure that their message is getting through to people.

But traditionally, the strategist said, it helps the federal Liberals when their adversaries are in power provincially in Ontario and Ouebec, But, it remains to be seen



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau with outgoing Quebec premier Prime Minister Justin Trudeau speaks with Quebec premier Phillipe Couillard in Ottawa on Oct. 3, 2017 at the First Ministers' Meeting., pictured at a first ministers meeting in 2017. The Quebec Liberals are now the official opposition. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

latest in a string of provincial conservative parties forming government. In April 2016, Brian Pallister's Progressive Conservatives won in Manitoba. In June, Doug Ford's PCs were elected to a majority government. The PCs in New Brunswick may form government after a close election on Sept 24 that saw no party with a majority, while Jason Kenney's United Conservative Party is polling well in Alberta ahead of an election next year. And, last year, the B.C. Liberals lost power to the NDP after winning four back-to-back elections and staying in power for about 16 years. The NDP has formed a minority government with support from the Green Party.

A former senior federal Liberal

if that is still the case in 2019. "Federal Liberals benefit when they have adversaries at the provincial level in Ontario, and Quebec. It helps them at the federal level, doesn't hurt," said the strategist.

Outgoing Quebec premier Philippe Couillard, in a media interview right before the election, described the "incumbency syndrome" as a major challenge for his party's re-election campaign.

"It's harder and harder for incumbents everywhere," he told *The Globe and Mail*, "and it's true we have been in office many years."

Quebec pollster Jean-Marc Léger, meanwhile, said it's not uncommon for Quebec voters to vote inconsistently along the political spectrum for both provincial and federal levels and said it's a phenomenon which some in the province call the "belt and suspenders policy."

something that could clash with the Trudeau government. Photograph courtesy of Francois Legault's Instagram

Premier-designate Francois Legault, at a rally in early September. He ran on fighting for more provincial power for Quebec

UN PREMIER MINISTRE

"Quebecers tend to minimize risk and vote for the red option at the federal government and the blue option at the provincial government, or the opposite," he said.

However, Mr. Léger said the federal Liberals' popularity in the province right now is in line with maintaining the 40 out of 78 federal Quebec seats they currently hold. In a March poll by his polling firm, Léger, it found the Liberals hovered at around 42 per cent in voter support in the province. The party's popularity in polling has declined in Quebec and Atlantic Canada, but only slightly and with minimal impact, he said.

"I don't think it's good news but it's not bad news for the Liberal government,"Mr. Léger said."There is no direct link between the CAQ and the Conservative Party. So it's not like other provinces."

While some CAQ members have links to the federal Conservatives, there are stronger links between the Tories and the UCP in Alberta, for example. Its leader, Mr. Kenney, was a former top cabinet minister in the Harper government. A number of Ontario PC MPPs also have ties to the federal party, and it's common to see members of both parties help each other out during election time, something that wasn't apparent with the recent Quebec election.

However, Mr. Léger said it's important not to overlook the rise of conservative-leaning provincial parties, given that they represent large swaths of Canada's population. He said if national poll figures stay the same headed into the federal election, for the federal Liberals, "it will not be an easy election across the country, except for Quebec and the Atlantic provinces."

But if federal Liberal poll numbers slip further in those conservative-swung provinces, and Mr. Léger said it slightly has in recent months, that could make them battleground provinces next year.

"The trend has not been in favour of the Liberals," he said of polling numbers. "It will be a tough and tight election."

According to the weekly Nanos rolling poll, the federal Liberals had the support of 41.4 per cent of Quebecers last week. The NDP support in the province was at 15.1 per cent, the Conservatives at 14.4 per cent, the Bloc 10.7 per cent, and the Green Party support was at 4.3 per cent.

For rookie Liberal MP Pat Finnigan (Miramichi-Grand Lake, N.B.), who won his riding in the last election with a 13 per cent margin, said that any time a political party loses an election at the provincial or federal level, it's an opportunity to analyze the results carefully to map out the future political strategy.

carefully to map political strategy. "You've got to try and see what the people want. If there's something they're not happy with, you've got to deal with it,"he said, adding that he will reach out to grassroots party members in his riding to talk about what the issues are and what they're not happy about.

Mr. Finnigan has seven provincial ridings in his federal riding. Of these, the Liberals won three, the People's Alliance two, and the Conservatives and the Green Party won one party each, in the most recent election.

Meanwhile, the CAQ were able to win ridings in southern Quebec with a large presence of dairy farmers.

Mr. Legault has promised to defend the industry and said on Oct. 2 that his top priority entering his mandate is to protect supply managed farmers in the province. According to Statistics Canada, there are 5,163 dairy farms in Quebec. The dairy industry plays an active political role both at the provincial and federal level.

Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland (University Rosedale, Ont.) said on Oct. 1 that supply managed farmers will be "fully compensated," after Canada gave up some market share in dairy in reaching an agreement on the new United States-Mexico-Canada (USMCA) trade agreement, but has not yet released any details. The federal government is currently working on a compensation package that it will offer to dairy farmers to offset their losses as a result of the newly renegotiated trade deal.

Mr. Léger said how the Liberals move on providing support for supply-managed farmers slightly hurt by new provisions in the USMCA, could hurt their popularity in the province and at least more than the fact the CAQ was elected.

"This is the core of the CAQ movement,"Mr. Léger said of areas where there is a large presence of supply-managed businesses. "This can be transformed for the Conservatives if the Liberals don't deliver what they're supposed to deliver and

Continued from page 4

explain to Quebecers exactly what is behind this agreement with the U.S."

Mr. Léger added that if Maxime Bernier's People's Party can take votes away from the Conservatives, it's like the vote "counts twice" for the Liberals. Mr. Bernier represents Beauce, Que., and won his riding in the last election with 58.9 per cent of the vote.

While out of government, the Quebec Liberals were able to mostly win in the islands of Montreal and Laval, taking all but nine provincial seats. The CAQ was only able to pick up one seat in the Laval and none in Montreal.

The provincial electoral map of both islands is noticeably similar to the one from the 2015 federal election: both the federal and provincial Liberals won Laval and the western portions of the island of Montreal, while the left-wing NDP or Quebec Solidaire won seats to the east of downtown.

Liberal MP Marc Miller (Ville-Marie-Le Sud-Ouest-Île-des-Soeurs, Que.) told *The Hill Times* that he's not worried the strong CAQ result will impact his party's popularity in the province, saying "electors vote for different reasons provincially than they do federally." In provincial ridings overlapping with his federal one in downtown Montreal, the Liberals retained two seats and Quebec Solidaire won one.

"When you look at Ontario and the provincial Liberals, you're looking at a much different dynamic we would be facing, strategically,"he said."In people's minds, you're talking about parties that have been there for a long time. You can apply that analysis to other parts of Canada."

NDP MP Brigitte Sansoucy (Saint-Hyacinthe-Bagot, Que.), who represents a southern Quebec riding, said "I don't think you can take one situation at the provincial level and just transpose it at the federal level." She told *The Hill Times* that she has four provincial ridings in her federal riding and CAQ won all four but still is not worried about herself in 2019 arguing that people vote for provincial and federal candidates differently.

"We've seen it in Alberta, for example, where they voted NDP at the provincial level, and then Conservative at the federal level [in 2015].,"she said. "People wanted change. In fact, [some voted for two] parties that have never been in power. It was quite strong in that regard. We really need to listen to that voice for change."

Another key theme of Mr. Legault's victory was the rejection of two establishment parties who have shaped provincial politics along federalist and sovereignist lines for almost five decades. Nevertheless, the CAQ want more power for Quebec, and one Bloc Quebecois MP said his party could be their ally.

"The will of the Quebecers was to [throw] out the Liberal Party in Quebec,"said Bloc MP Gabriel Ste-Marie (Joliette, Que.), who won his riding in the last election with 33.3 per cent of the vote. There are three provincial ridings in Ste-Martin's federal riding. In the election, the Parti Québécois won one seat and the CAQ two.

Mr. Ste-Marie said the new provincial government in Quebec would likely ask for more rights and resources for the province, and said the Bloc would be an ally of the CAQ in promoting the province's demands. Mr. Ste-Marie said the Bloc is "not just a sovereignist party" and wants to be "the voice" for Quebecers" on any issue affecting the province.

"Our raison d'être, our goal is to be the voice of Quebecers here. When [the CAQ] will ask for more transfers, more rights for Quebec, we will be an ally,"Mr. Ste-Marie said. "We are not only a sovereignist party, we do want to be the voice of Quebec as a nation to speak for their interests, make sure their interests will be protected well."

The Bloc currently does not have the official party party status in the House and holds only 10 seats in the 338-member House, but Mr. Ste-Marie said that his party has set a target of winning 30 seats in the province in 2019. *arana@hilltimes.com*

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The Hill Times



The right-of-centre Coalition Avenir Quebec, led by François Legault, was just elected with a big majority in Quebec, following Ontario's lead by Doug Ford and his right-wing Progressive Conservatives. Add to this Jason Kenney, Donald Trump, Brexit, Giuseppe Conte in Italy, and with some exceptions, the right is advancing in Canada and in many countries. *The Hill Times file photographs and courtesy of Wikipedia*

Progressive fatigue and good communications: why the right is winning

In this extreme information age, all communicators get less time than ever before. Voters are not simpler or less intelligent. There is just so much more competing information being thrown at them all the time. Clear messages rise to the top. PhDs sink deep.



Andrew Cardozo

Opinion

OTTAWA—The right-of-centre Coalition Avenir Quebec (CAQ), led by François Legault, was just elected with a big majority in Quebec, following Ontario's lead with Doug Ford and his very right-wing Progressive Conservatives. And in New Brunswick, the PCs may yet be the government. Add to this Jason Kenney in Alberta, Donald Trump, Brexit, Giuseppe Conte in Italy, and with some exceptions, the right

is advancing in Canada and beyond. There are many reasons, but at least two are worth examining: progressive fatigue and smart communications—and the two go

hand in hand. On the latter first, neoconservatives win the communications war; time and again. It's not so much the online communications war and social media. It's the simplicity of message, like Make America Great Again (Trump), and For the People (Ford). Legault started with C'est le temps de changer. Maintenant (It's time for change. Now.) and then shortened it to simply, Maintenant. It can't get clearer than that, but also conveniently, can't get more vague than that. But it's a crucible that everyone can pour their urgent beefs into.

Slogans are more than simple words for complex ideas. (Progressives curse and

swear at the simplemindedness to complex problems.) The good slogans are evocative of an emotion; returning to the good old days, caring (yes, Ford cared about people more than Wynne, \$15 dollar minimum wage notwithstanding). The essence of populism of the right or left is being able to not only boil down complex ideas to simple slogans, but to do so in a way that is evocative of an emotion. Better still, it acknowledges that emotion and commits to respond.

There are strong similarities between the Donald Trump/Hillary Clinton election, and the Doug Ford/Kathleen Wynne one. In both cases the women on the left were generally regarded as highly intelligent and extraordinarily experienced. Their male rivals were not so much. In both cases, the women were progressive, feminist, and frequently discussed complex matters of public policy. The men not so much. But the conservatives were better communicators—at least, winning communicators.

All to say, the left has much to learn from the right about clear communications. Trump and Ford may not understand or discuss the intricacies of public policy and the legislative process, but they have a level of emotional intelligence that is higher. They connect better with more people. They win. And they implement their agendas and dismantle others.

Yes, they play to a sense of progressive fatigue; too much political correctness; a loss of male privilege for some; fear of a changing culture; racial demographics; or even xenophobia. Calling them names might feel good, but it does not help because their supporters take that as an insult too and you lose them. Remember the basket of deplorables.

Yes progressives should call out their negative slogans and dog whistles faster and louder, when they use terms like "virtue signalling," "climate Barbie," and "illegal refugees."

But in this extreme information age, all communicators get less time than ever before. Voters are not simpler or less intelligent. There is just so much more competiting information being thrown at them all the time. Clear messages rise to the top. PhDs sink deep.

The harder part is for progressive to rethink their progress. Before getting to the communications, progressives need to think through timing. There is little point rushing through a lot of progressive legislation if you do not have the population (read: the electorate) with you. If enough people turn off your agenda, they will simply vote you out and vote in a conservative replacement, which will go about wrecking your policies with a ball and chain. Then what have you accomplished?

There are some progressives gloating that they did the right thing in Ontario, and: "See, it was obviously the progressive thing because now the conservatives are dismantling it all."Well, if politics was a game, yes, that would be a victory. But politics is not a game. It is about real policies and real people. Hard-working people will not get the \$15 minimum wage. Modern sex-ed is gone. That's the tragedy.

The success of a progressive government is much less about what it achieves during its time in office and much more about what policies outlive its time in power. Those are the ones that change society and people's lives for the better.

Lester B. Pearson is one of the most influential leaders in Canadian politics, because 50 years after his time in office most of his achievements are still in place or have been developed further, rather than obliterated. (I acknowledge my conflict as I work for the Pearson Centre.) Think of medicare, the Canada Pension Plan, the Maple Leaf flag, merit-based immigration, bilingualism, and women's equality.

So here is a thought. Should progressives go slower, do less, but communicate better? Consultations have to be real and governments have to be able to change course in response to what they hear. If the sale of Hydro One was so unpopular, what right did the the Ontario Liberals have to go ahead with it? It's not good enough to say, "we made a judgment call." That's not a policy justification.

Many felt, as a result, that they did not deserve to get re-elected. But the bigger issue for progressives is that we all got a government dedicated to undoing most of the progressive policy agenda. Was Hydro One worth it?

Simple and clear consultations and communications are essential not only to help people understand the policy, but to take ownership of it, the way we now consider medicare, CPP, and the flag all so essential to the Canadian identity.

Sometimes we have to think twice about our principles to make sure the policies survive. While progressives badly wanted a woman nominee in the U.S., in large part to advance women's equality, was it worth it when she lost to a man who is undoing so much of the very policies that women have been fighting for? Think about the Supreme Court which will be able to turn back women's equality for a generation or two. Would it have been better for women's equality for the Democrats to run Joe Biden or Bernie Sanders? Man or woman, black or white, sometimes a tough call has to be made about winning elections so you can secure and advance progressive ideals.

Being open to irregular border crossers into Quebec and not shutting the border down harder helped elect a government in Quebec that has a much tougher line on immigration. Those very border crossers will now be under more opposition by the provincial government, and because of them the CAQ felt emboldened to take a much tougher stance on immigration for thousands of other regular immigrants, present, and future. Was it worth it?

For progressives, this kind of questioning may be heresy. But it is becoming clearer that not to think through these conundrums is inciting more and more voters to respond to negative identity politics, the victory of which sees progressive policies cut down in much bigger ways.

This does not mean abandoning progressive principles. But it does mean making good choices about which ones to pursue and when. And it means learning to communicate better from the winners. Of course, stand up to them and call them out, but don't forget to learn from their winning ways.

Andrew Cardozo is president of the Pearson Centre and an adjunct professor at Carleton University.

The Hill Times

News USMCA trade deal

Despite dairy concessions, Trudeau Liberals' ambitions in Quebec likely not in peril, strategists say

Opposition parties will exploit the issue, pundits say, but it could be defused long before 2019 vote. The feds have pledged to develop a compensation package to mitigate the dairy industry's losses.

Continued from page 1

access to Canada's dairy industry is a cudgel for opposition parties, but strategists say there are limits to how far they can ride the wave of backlash from the industry.

The new NAFTA deal, renamed the U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agree ment, or USMCA, was widely seen as having been reached at the expense of the Canadian dairy sector, in exchange for a side agreement essentially exempting Canada from auto tariffs, which the U.S. administration had repeatedly threatened to impose.

"The Liberals probably took a bit of a calculated decision in terms of what they could stand to lose with this decision, versus the alternative, which may have been auto tariffs," said Kate Harrison, vicepresident at Summa Strategies and a former Conservative staffer."That may have impacted many more ridings across Canada than this one issue. If you're looking at weighting the scales ... that was probably the calculation made there.'

Much of Canada's dairy sector is concentrated in Quebec and Ontario, in federal ridings that traditionally skew Conservative. Data from Statistics Canada shows that of the top 10 federal ridings with the most dairy farms, six are currently represented by Conservatives; two by Liberals, including Francis Drouin (Glengarry-Prescott-Russell, Ont.) and International Development Minister Marie-Claude Bibeau (Compton-Stanstead, Que.); one by Bloc Québécois MP Louis Plamondon (Bécancour-Nicolet-Saurel, Que.), and one by former-Conservative MP Maxime Bernier (Beauce, Oue.), who has since launched his own party, the People's Party of Canada.

In Quebec, there are 5,163 dairy farms across 47 ridings, StatsCan data shows. Of those ridings, 19 are held by Liberals. DP, Bloc, and each have nine, while the People's Party has one. Meanwhile, in Ontario, there are 3,439 dairy farms spread out in 608 ridings. Of those ridings, 28 carry the Conservative banner, 25 are with the Liberals, and five are with the NDP. The other two are vacant.

Even as the Liberals look to Ouebec to expand their seat count in 2019, the concessions made in USMCA may not imperil those ambitions.

John Delacourt, vice-president at Ensight Canada and a former Liberal staffer, said a political calculation wasn't at play in the talks, but noted the party doesn't tend to have a lot of voters in rural ridings. This was about maintaining sup-

ply management and ensuring its future wasn't jeopardized,"he said.

When news broke that U.S. producers would be given access to 3.59 per cent of Canada's market, there was an immediate outcry from the industry, with many farmers framing the impact as "death by a thousand cuts."

Cumulatively, if the concessions made in Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement with the European Union (CETA) and Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) are factored. the industry argues it's had to give up 10 per cent of its market share. Before the U.S. withdrew from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, it would have had access to 3.25 per cent of the market. USMCA also eliminates Canada's "class 7" pricing system, a solution under which processors pay lower prices for domestic milk ingredients.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) signalled in June that there could be some flexibility on increased access for the U.S. dairy sector if a deal could be reached. Mr. Trudeau is touting USMCA as an overall win for Canada, arguing it didn't come at the cost of having to dismantle the supply management system altogether-a concession U.S. President Donald Trump had sought to secure.

Mr. Drouin is among those MPs with the highest number of dairy farms; according to StatsCan, there are 264 in his riding. In an interview last week with The Hill Times, Mr. Drouin said he's been taking some heat from constituents and understands their concerns are legitimate:"I know it's not a perfect deal for them, but I also know that nobody is going to lose their farm because of that either."

The worry is they're not sure what's in the deal yet. Part of my job is to educate them on what's coming," he said.

At the same time, Mr. Drouin said that the CPTPP deal won't have as much of an impact as, the USMCA will admittedly have. He noted that milk exported from New Zealand and Australia, for example, will barely survive the journey to Canada because of its limited shelf life of about 60 days.

New deal a 'slam dunk' for Quebec

Opposition parties will predictably exploit the issue, pundits say, but the issue could be long defused before the October 2019 federal election. The feds have pledged to develop a compensation package to mitigate the industry's losses.

Pollster Greg Lyle of Innovative Research told The Hill Times that the dairy industry has done an effective job in branding themselves as "the little guys."

Dairy farmers have framed

their case in a way where, if the government doesn't award them a generous compensation package, it will be seen as hurting vulnerable sectors, he said.

"If you're hurting the dairy farmer, it means you're hurting the family farmer. And if you are hurting the family farmer, who else would you hurt? It's a very sympathetic cause," Mr. Lyle added.

He said the newly negotiated deal is "a slam dunk" for the Bloc Québécois as they can attack the government in 2019 on the perception that the Liberals sacrificed Quebec in order to win favour in Ontario.

"For the Bloc, it's a slam dunk because the Bloc message is, 'Vote for us because we'll never trade you off to another provinces' interests,'"said Mr. Lyle in reference to the sovereigntist party, which lost its recognized party status in the House in 2015 after winning only

MP



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland, pictured at the press briefing in the National Press Theatre in Ottawa on Oct. 1, where they outlined the new USMCA deal, which, if ratified by all three countries, will replace NAFTA. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

10 seats (12 are required)."It gives fresh oxygen to the Bloc.' Bloc MP Gabriel Ste-Marie (Joliette, Que.) said in an interview

that, until the 2015 election, the Bloc had a significant presence in the

Continued on page 7

Number of

Top 50 federal ridings with dairy farms

farms reporting dairy cattle and **Federal Riding** milk production **Political Party** John Nater Conservative Perth-Wellington, Ont. 613 Montmagny--L'Islet--Kamouraska--Rivière-du-Loup, Que. 429 Bernard Généreux Conservative Maxime Bernier People's Party Beauce, Que. 371 Alain Rayes Conservative Richmond--Arthabaska, Que. 368 Louis Plamondon Bécancour--Nicolet--Saurel, Que. 314 **Bloc Quebecois** Dave MacKenzie Oxford, Ont. 313 Conservative Mégantic--L'Érable, Que. 307 Luc Berthold Conservative Marie Claude-Bibeau Compton--Stanstead, Que. Liberal 269 Bellechasse--Les Etchemins--Lévis, Que. Steven Blaney Conservative 266 Francis Drouin Liberal Glengarry--Prescott--Russell, Ont. 264 251 Ben Lobb Conservative Huron--Bruce, Ont Saint-Hyacinthe--Bagot, Que. Brigitte Sansoucy NDP 228 Jacques Gourdes Conservative Lévis--Lotbinière, Que 217 Stormont--Dundas--South Glengarry, Ont. 214 Guy Lauzon Conservative Anne Minh-Thu Quach NDP Salaberry--Suroît, Que. 213 Harold Albrecht Kitchener--Conestoga, Ont. 210 Conservative 203 Richard Hébert Libera Lac-Saint-Jean, Que. Rémi Massé Avignon--La Mitis--Matane--Matapédia, Que 174 Liberal 173 Ruth Ellen Brosseau Berthier--Maskinongé, Que. NDP Larry Miller Conservative Bruce--Grey--Owen Sound, Ont. 163 Denis Paradis Liberal Brome--Missisquoi, Que. 159 Guy Caron NDP Rimouski-Neigette--Témiscouata--Les Basques, Que. 159 NDP 124 François Choquette Drummond, Que. François-Philippe Champagne Saint-Maurice--Champlain, Que. 124 Liberal Pierre Breton Shefford, Que 123 Liberal Mark Strahl 116 Conservative Chilliwack--Hope, B.C. Jöel Godin Portneuf--Jacques-Cartier, Que. 113 Conservative Ted Falk Conservative Provencher, Que. 100 Blaine Calkins Red Deer--Lacombe, Alta. 100 Conservative Jamie Schmale Haliburton--Kawartha Lakes--Brock. Ont. 98 Conservative Christine Moore 97 Abitibi--Témiscamingue, Que. NDP Leeds--Grenville--Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes, Ont. VACANT formerly Conservative riding 97 Wayne Easter Malpeque, P.E.I. 94 Liberal Mission--Matsqui--Fraser Canyon, B.C. Jati Sidhu 94 Liberal Northumberland--Peterborough-South, Ont. 93 Kim Rudd Liberal Karen Vecchio Conservative Elgin--Middlesex--London, Ont. 85 North Okanagan--Shuswap, B.C Mel Arnold Conservative 85 -Kent--Middles Bev Shipley 8/1 Simon Marcil **Bloc Quebecois** Mirabel, Que. 80 Alaina Lockhart Liberal Fundy Royal, N.B. 75 74 Mike Bossio Liberal Hastings--Lennox and Addington, Ont. Candice Bergen Conservative Portage--Lisgar, Man. 74 72 Wellington--Halton Hills, Ont. Michael Chong Conservative Sentier Carlton--Eagle Creek, Sask Kelly Block Conservative 68 Argenteuil--La Petite-Nation, Que. Stéphane Lauzon Liberal 67 Cheryl Gallant Conservative Renfrew--Nipissing--Pembroke, Ont. 67 Châteauguay--Lacolle, Que. Haldimand--Norfolk, Ont. Brenda Shanahan Liberal 66 **Diane Finley** Conservative 63 Luc Thériault **Bloc Quebecois** Montcalm, Que. 62 Jean Rioux Liberal Saint-Jean, Que. 62

USMCA trade deal News



The top 10 ridings with the most dairy farms: 1. Conservative MP John Water; 2. Conservaive MP Bernard Généreux; 3. People's Party MP Maxime Bernier; 4. Conservative MP Alain Rayes; 5. Bloc MP Louis Plamondon; 6. Conservative MP Dave MacKenzie; 7. Conservative MP Luc Berthold; 8. International Development Minister Marie-Claude Bibeau; 9. Conservative MP Steven Blaney; and 10 Liberal MP Francis Drouin. *Photographs courtesy of the House of Commons*

Feds not 'upfront'

Continued from page 6

House and it did not let the federal government trample on the interests of Quebecers. He described the newly negotiated deal as good for Ontario but bad for Quebec because of concessions made in the dairy sector.

"We were there as their voice, to protect them. I do believe Quebecers will send a message to say, 'Hey, we do exist, you are always passing our interests or absolutely forget,' "said Mr. Ste-Marie.

Already, last week, in the lead-up to the provincial elections, some federal Quebec Liberals had started to distance themselves from their cousins. A Quebec Liberal MP told *The Hill Times* that in the coming weeks the MPs will undertake an effort on their own to make it clear to Quebecers that the provincial Liberals are different from the federal Liberals.

Opposition should be 'realistic' about possible gains

Liberal MP Kim Rudd, who represents Northumberland—Peterborough South, Ont., which has 93 dairy farms, said the compensation package is about "recognizing that they're giving up something to support a good deal for Canada."

"Those farmers who have contacted my office have said, 'Look, we're disappointed, but we understand this is a big agreement, and there's lots of other things in it," she said.

In an interview, Liberal MP Pat Finnigan (Miramichi-Grand Lake, N.B.), whose riding has six dairy farms, said that dairy farmers in his riding also have expressed "concern," though he noted that ultimately their political reaction would depend on whether they deem the package to be fair.

"For as long as there's any uncertainty, or any lack of clarity or detail, I think it does nothing but provide a big opening for opposition parties," said Yaroslav Baran, principal at Earnscliffe Strategy Group and a former Conservative staffer. "They will naturally be probing for details and working with stakeholders."

Though the dairy lobby has considerable clout and can effectively mount an offensive, Ms. Harrison said the issue around supply management isn't necessarily a unifying issue in Quebec, where the Liberals hope to boost their presence.

"The opposition just has to be realistic about how many votes they can actually expect to gain," she said.

Conservative MP Guy Lauzon, whose Stormont-Dundas-South Glengarry, Ont., riding is home to 214 dairy farms, said in an interview last week he hasn't received too many phone calls and it's too soon to tell whether this gives a boost to his party. Those who have contacted his office are still waiting for details on how it will impact them.

Meanwhile, Conservative MP Dean Allison (Niagara West, Ont.), who has 34 dairy farms in his riding, said some constituents have been telling him how "betrayed" they feel by the government, given its repeated assurances that dairy access was not up for negotiation.

"When we [Conservatives] put some concessions on dairy for CETA, we were trying to get something more for the rest of the country. What did we actually get?" he said, adding his party was upfront with the industry then about what would be bargained. "We seem to give a lot and maintain the status quo in a few other things."

The Liberals consider the preservation of the Chapter 19 dispute-resolution mechanism to be a win, for example, but critics argue that it's hardly a concession for the U.S. since it was already in the agreement and stands to benefit all parties.

Other elements in the deal that are intact, including cultural exemptions for the creative sector, could have even more broader appeal to Quebecers and could be a counterpoint for the Trudeau Liberals in rallying their base there, said Ms. Harrison.

Despite the concessions made, Mr. Delacourt said, this deal provides some clarity for the dairy industry and other sectors, too, because it settles the issue of whether supply management will be dismantled. "I actually think by the time we get into the campaign, most Canadians will be in a good place with this, and this includes agriculture communities," he added.

NDP MP Alistair MacGregor (Cowichan-Malahat-Langford, B.C.) said the uncertainty around what the erosion of their market share means for their businesses long term is affecting farmers' mental health. (Mr. MacGregor sits on the House Agriculture Committee, which is undertaking a study on farmers' mental health.)

"I understand we were in a tough position. What bothers me is the government repeatedly promises something and does the exact opposite. They should at least be upfront with farmers and say, 'We're going to make concessions in this sector,' "Mr. Mac-Gregor said. "They were prepared to believe the prime minister at his word, and these percentages might look small, but they have a large impact on thousands of people who make their livelihood in this sector."

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Best thing about NAFTA 2.0? It could have been worse

It's a bad deal, with little pretence about its shift from free trade to managed trade. Even the new name reflects that: we have moved from a North American free trade agreement to a U.S.-Mexico-Canada agreement.



David Crane

Canada & the 21st Century

TORONTO—The best that can be said about NAFTA 2.0 is that it could have been worse. It's a bad deal, with little pretence about its shift from free trade to managed trade. Even the new name reflects that: we have moved from a North American free trade agreement to a U.S.-Mexico-Canada agreement.

In fairness to our own negotiators, they were forced to negotiate with a gun to their heads, with a U.S. administration prepared for a bare-knuckle fight and starting from a much more powerful economic position.

The U.S. can hurt Canada a lot, but while Canada can inconvenience the U.S. it cannot hurt the U.S. very much. The threat to savage our auto industry is just one example of U.S. power. It's almost always been like that (except for a few decades when the U.S. really needed access to our oil and gas but those days are largely gone). Moreover, the U.S. had a president, supported by a core of like-minded zealots, committed to an America-First strategy, where they were quite prepared to jettison NAFTA and torpedo the Canadian economy if they didn't get their way.

The trade negotiation can be seen as part of a wider Trump vision of the world, a clash of civilizations best symbolized by its visceral fear and hatred of China, one where the U.S. is assailed from all sides and where the U.S. must lash out to advance and secure America First. In this apocalyptic world view, Fortress North America becomes the base, dominated by the U.S., with Canada and Mexico as subordinate states.

The full implications of what will now be called USMCA will not be known for some time. This is still an agreement in principle, and while the U.S. has published a draft text, trade lawyers and industry experts have yet to work their way through all the implications. In areas such as telecommunications, digital industries, intellectual property, and many other aspects of the new knowledge economy, it will be the details that matter.

Nonetheless, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau now finds himself in the position of having to sell the agreement to Canadians. Not surprisingly, as Trump's Canadian salesman, he has been forced to present the deal as win-win.

The agreement, Trudeau says, "is good for Canada, good for Canadian business, and most importantly, good for Canadian workers and their families. When this improved agreement is implemented, North American trade will be preserved and modernized for the 21st century—just as we set out to do." But the outcome bears almost no resemblance to Canada's original negotiating objectives.

We can expect much supportive drumbeating from the business community, mainly because there is an agreement, not because they have better access to the U.S. market (they don't). What we have is a national sigh of relief—it could have been worse. As *The Toronto Star* headlined in its editorial on the deal, "Canada holds its own on trade," while *The Globe and Mail* editorial headline read, "in trade drama, Canada has held its own." That's the message. One result of the new agreement is that

One result of the new agreement is that automobiles are likely to cost more, with a complicated set of new rules of origin that will be an administrative nightmare. As veteran trade analyst Jeffrey Schott of the Peterson Institute for International Economics in Washington argued, USMCA "will impede regional trade and investment," with the provisions on autos "perverse" since this is the first trade agreement negotiated by the U.S. "that raises rather than lowers barriers to trade and investment."

Other elements are, potentially, even more troubling. One is the inclusion of an annual meeting each year to examine each country's macroeconomic (fiscal and monetary) and exchange-rate policies and "their consequences on diverse macroeconomic variables, including domestic demand, external demand, and current account balance." Will our core economic policies now be subject to annual review by the U.S.?

Then there's the new North American Competitiveness Committee, which will meet annually to promote physical and digital trade and investment-related infrastructure and improve the movement of goods and provision of services within North America. It sounds positive but that depends on whether it becomes a forum for the U.S. to push its idea of "a predictable and transparent regulatory environment" and other interests.

Moreover, the committee could become a way for the U.S. to dragoon Canada and Mexico into supporting overall U.S. trade policies, such as its economic war against China. The three countries, the text says, shall "discuss collective actions to combat market-distorting practices by non-parties that are affecting the region." A Fortress North America approach?

A third provision represents not only a threat to Canada, but a distinct assault on our sovereignty. This is the provision requiring Canada not only to give the U.S. a 90-day advance notice of our intention to negotiate a trade deal with a non-market country (read China), but then to submit any trade agreement text to the U.S. for approval. What if the U.S. said it wanted certain elements reworded or removed and China said it wouldn't sign a trade deal with Canada if they were? According to the USMCA, the U.S. could kick us out of the North American agreement if we signed an agreement with China that lacked U.S. approval.

Trudeau says we can still improve trade with China—true enough—but we cannot sign his much-promised free trade deal with China unless the U.S. goes along. How could Canada ever put itself in such a demeaning position?

At the end of the day, USMCA is likely to be approved by the House, because the Liberals have the votes and the Tories will likely go along. What our Senate will do is another question—perhaps delay but eventually approve. So what do we mean when we talk of an independent Canada?

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

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HILTIMES

Editorial

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Fisheries and Oceans Canada needs to take stronger lead to protect marine mammals

In the midst of all the major news cover-age of NAFTA 2.0 last week, Canada's federal Environment Commissioner Julie Gelfand tabled three audits and an annual report last Tuesday, which deserve some attention and government action. Specifically, in her audit on the protection of marine mammals, Ms. Gelfand found that Fisheries and Oceans Canada, along with Environment and Climate Change Canada, Parks Canada, and Transport Canada have been "very slow to take action to reduce threats" posed by marine vessels and commercial fishing, and called recent progress "reactive, limited, and late," according to Laura Ryckewaert's story in this week's issue of The Hill Times. Ms. Gelfand also warned it may be too late for some species, like the southern resident killer whale. Fisheries and Oceans Canada needs to take the lead on this and get the other departments in line to set up a national response to protect Canada's marine mammals.

There are more than 40 marine mammal species in Canada's oceans, including 14 considered endangered or threatened because of human activities. But the commissioner found federal departments have lagged on protecting Canada's marine mammals, and had "not fully applied existing policies and tools to proactively manage threats." She also found Fisheries and Oceans"lacked the resources and national guidance to effectively support the partners working to respond to distressed marine mammals.

For instance, Ms. Gelfand's report found for 11 of the 14 marine mammal species listed as endangered or threatened, Fisheries

and Oceans couldn't demonstrate "whether it had implemented any specific management measures to reduce the threats posed by commercial fishing and marine vessels," The Hill Times reports."Some recovery action" was undertaken for three endangered species-the southern resident killer whale, the North Atlantic right whale, and the St. Lawrence Estuary beluga whale-but in reviews by DFO in 2017, even the department" concluded that those measures were not enough,"the audit stated.

"As Canada's economy grows, the risk of interactions with marine mammals will increase. If not properly managed, these interactions could also affect the country's economy and environment, as well as Canada's reputation in wildlife protection," her report states.

The environment commissioner wants Fisheries and Oceans Canada, the Canadian Coast Guard, in collaboration with Transport Canada and Environment Canada to implement measures to protect marine mammals from marine vessels. She also wants Fisheries and Oceans to develop a national approach to respond to distressed marine mammals, clarify roles and responsibilities, review the current response capacity and training needs in each region, and develop a consistent reporting mechanism. Fisheries and Oceans Canada and the federal government departments need to take continued action to manage threats from commercial fishing and vessels for all mammals, as the environment commissioner states, but Fisheries and Oceans needs to step up. The Hill Times

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Letters to the Editor Eggleton's open caucus on restorative justice was inspiring, says reader

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tragic take-home message from the Anational Symposium on Restorative Justice last year in Ottawa was that "the people who most need to be consulted aren't even in the room." It was a stunning admission and sad realization of a truth that touched at the heart of democracy in an age where "consultation" seems to have become the new moniker for social marketing to marginalized groups across society.

Fast forward to last month's "Open Caucus on Restorative Justice," held in the Centre Block on Parliament Hill.

Brought together by now former Senator Art Eggleton in the throes of the Senate sponsorship scandal, the Open Caucus is a forum for discussion on issues of national importance. It is a non-partisan collaboration that brings together groups of Senators who represent the majority of its membership. It is open to all Members of Parliament, Senators, parliamentary staff, media, and the public.

Is restorative justice an issue of national importance? Apparently so. The September gathering brought the largest body of public visitors the Open Caucus has seen since its first sitting in 2014. Incidentally, or, perhaps purposefully, it animated the message and the plea from last year's symposium with

Reduce, reuse, recycle shouldn't be trendy

educe, reuse, recycle, the 3Rs is popular Ramong people and is tossed out there, often. in the news. When it comes to plastic bottles, bags, and straws but not when it comes to cars and neighbourhoods, for example.

There are a lot of small cars out there and most often it is an economic decision, but not always. You go to any parking lot, even those in front of discount stores and you will see many new, very large vehicles. The 3Rs do not seem to apply to our vehicles, apparently.

Our neighbourhoods offer another example. We all seem to be clamouring for newer, bigger homes in new neighbourhoods. When I was growing up, it was normal to see a family of six living in houses of a 1,000-square feet. Now a family of six is rare but houses of 1,000 square feet is rarer, and even rarer still is a family of six living in a 1,000 square foot house.

The 3Rs come into play when you hit retirement and it is usually a health or an economic decision Why do we march on Parliament Hill to

stop using plastic straws and piping oil if we insist on bigger houses and bigger cars?

History says that we are building on the best agricultural land as we expand our cities with new neighbourhoods. I do not think reducing our arable land or reusing or recycling our farmland into residential neighbourhoods and industrial parks is in the goal of the 3Rs philosophy.

It seems to me that we pave over thousands of acres of farmland to build newer homes every year, but we are worked up over how many plastic straws hit our waste management sites.

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guest panellists who, yes, actually were in the room. Their message landed with openhearted compassion and concern among Senators of every political and cultural stripe who attended. In guiet ways that scarcely half of Canadians have heard about, the guests showed how Canada's criminal justice system is being reformed with and for the people it was formed to serve. As a member of the public gallery, I found the session deeply moving and greatly

candour and conviction from five superb

reassuring, not just because of its message of the day, but because of a principle that was held up to scrutiny and scorn in Canada's democracy and that very nearly died a few years ago-that in so many ways the Senate is Canada's council of elders. The vision it was founded in and the people who bring it to life every day are what keep balance and harmony of still a young nation in the gentle care that comes with eldership.

Last month's caucus came with extra status and special recognition because it was Sen. Eggleton's last as he retired from public life last week. It was a fitting and nobly poignant testament to a lustrous political life. Is Senate reform possible? Apparently so.

Alan Howard Perth, Ont.

Every city has older rundown neighbourhoods, ignored or avoided by homebuyers

and politicians. Often times, they become rentals or the first step on the property ladder, seldom thought about in the 3Rs scheme of things. Focusing on appearances and not on the potential is often easier to build or buy new houses in new neighbourhoods.

I live in an older neighbourhood, in a mid-century home, with deer visiting my yard. I have a view of trees and a short walk to the creek. I also have decade old cracks in my sidewalk, a shrub growing in my street. The neighbour's house sold recently but it was a hard sell and it went for less than it was bought for almost 10 years ago. A realtor mentioned that people want new, modern homes inside mid-century houses. They see antiques and character as simply old.

So the politicians are only following the wishes of the populace when they abandon the 3Rs, and pave over farmland to make room for new homes, new roads and new conveniences.

Are we only environmentalists when it is convenient and only in trends? I do not wish to live in a cave, but I think that there is a sense of disproportionate importance in our lives that needs addressing. Maybe the answer is paving new roads out of used plastic bags and straws, and building new houses out of bricks made of compacted trash. Maybe, and this may be unrealistic, we could just reduce the number of neighbourhoods, recycle our old houses, and reuse abandoned schools. This is just a thought

Garfield Marks Red Deer, Alta.

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Incumbent syndrome is sweeping across the country

But the warning bells sounding for Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick Liberals are not currently tolling for the federal party.



Sheila Copps Copps' Corner

Otrawa—Incumbent syndrome is an affliction sweeping across the country. The phrase was coined by retiring premier Philippe Couillard on the eve of the worst defeat in the history of the Quebec Liberal Party.

His party faced an unstoppable wave, and despite outward claims of optimism, Couillard and his team saw it coming.



Just like the movement for change in Ontario and New Brunswick, once the wave takes hold, there is nothing an incumbent can do to stop it.

Therein lies a message for the federal Liberals as they prepare for the next election.

Unlike Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, the outgoing Quebec premier had plenty of advance notice of his party's plunge in popularity.

Having inherited a province in deep economic trouble, Couillard's first two years included an austerity plan that many Quebecers found hard to swallow. In addition, the premier himself was not an emotive political leader. Many felt he was too cold and aloof to really connect with the people. Quebecers appreciate passion, and they reward it at the polls. The phrase was coined by retiring premier Philippe Couillard on the eve of the worst defeat in the history of the Quebec Liberal Party by CAQ Leader François Legault. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade and courtesy of Flickr

But in the months leading up to last week's vote, the Liberals were polling in the twenties. Despite an upward bump in the final weeks, the outcome was never really in doubt.

Most polls predicted a much tighter race but Quebecers did what they usually do. They voted en masse, and the collective decision was a ballot for change.

Voters threw all the bums out, including the deliverance of a potential death blow to the Parti Québécois, denied party status for the first time in history.

Couillard looked positively relieved when he took to the stage with a graceful concession speech on election night. If he looked relieved, PQ

leader Jean-François Lisée appeared positively shell-shocked. So complete was the separatist party's repudiation that Lisée lost his own seat to upstart Quebec Solidaire candidate and former fellow journalist Vincent Marissal.

The QS rise mirrored the fall of the PQ, breeding a rivalry that will be hard to bridge in the near future. Even if a fusion of the two parties were possible, political support for sovereignty has bottomed out.

Coalition Avenir Quebec winner François Legault was inclusive and positive in victory, pledging to work with all Quebecers and reaffirming his commitment to the place of Quebec within Canada.

The olive branch Legault held out was an important message of economic and social stability. Legault's political career has been chequered at best, but he has a solid reputation as a successful business leader who understands the importance of constancy to a strong economy. And Couillard delivered him a strong economy in spades. Not that the Liberals got any

credit for it.

Coming from medicine, Couillard probably had no idea that the confidence we bestow on doctors will never translate into political gratitude.

Who can blame the man for being a little confused?

He delivered the province from a heavy debt load and attracted new investment and economic growth to take Quebec from the back of the Canadian pack to the front.

And his thanks was a collective voter decision to throw him out in favour of a party that did not even exist seven years ago. To be fair, the warning bells sounding for Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick Liberals are not currently tolling for the federal party.

Trudeau's success in bringing home a new free trade arrangement for North America may actually help him dodge the change bullet.

There is no clear alternative in the wings. The Conservative leader is running television advertisements which sound like a casting call for *Father Knows Best*.

Although the focus of the ad is Andrew Scheer's mother, his dull intonation is that of an old man in a young person's body. The Harper lite label is not going away any time soon.

Federal Liberals are also currently benefitting from the lack of New Democratic Party lift-off via their new leader, Jagmeet Singh.

However, Singh is the new kid on the block and a positive election campaign could position him to represent change in the same way it helped Trudeau the last time out.

After a strong debate performance, the prime minister vaulted from third to first place because he best represented generational change.

That playbook is spent so the Liberal brain trust will have to come up with a new way of making Trudeau become the voice for another new change. Otherwise, the weight of incumbency could drag the party down.

In this day and age, the status quo is death in politics.

Sheila Copps is a former Jean Chrétien-era cabinet minister and a former deputy prime minister. The Hill Times

Anticipating Harper's book

Stephen Harper always seemed to be ahead of the curve. That's why I can say with absolute certainty that Right Here, Right Now will be jam-packed with insightful, wellthought out, rational analysis.



Post-Partisan Pundit

OAKVILLE, ONT.—Former prime minister Stephen Harper's new book, Right Here, Right Now comes out this week and I'm pretty excited about it. In fact, as soon at it hits the bookshelves, I'm going to pick up a copy and do what I've been waiting to do for months—check out the index to see if he mentioned me.

And, yes, it's totally within the realm of possibility that he might drop my name in somewhere in his new literary opus.

After all, we worked closely together back in the days when he was president of the conservative advocacy group, the National Citizen's Coalition.

And given how the book's publicity blurb says Harper"thoughtfully examines the substantive underpinnings of how and why Donald Trump was able to succeed Barack Obama as president of the United States, and how these forces are manifesting themselves in other western democracies" it makes sense that he might refer to his NCC experiences, yes?

Indeed, I'd argue it was during his stint at the NCC that Harper learned a lot about the stuff he will likely talk about in his book: the nuts and bolts of populist political campaigning—how to tap into public resentment; how to appeal to emotion; how to go on the attack.

So if he does mention the NCC in his book it also follows that he might say something like, "Of course, when it comes to political messaging, I owe much of my success to the great advice offered to me by the brilliant Gerry Nicholls."

That'd sure be sweet.

Mind you, come to think of it, it could go the other way as well. I mean since Harper and I did

have something of a falling out after he left the NCC (I'll spare you the gory details), it's possible, he might write something like, "When I left the NCC I was happy to say goodbye to that annoying pest, Gerry Nicholls."

Hmmm, on second thought, maybe it's just as well if I'm not mentioned in the book.

But whether I'm mentioned or not, I'd still urge everyone out there who is interested in politics to get a copy of Harper's book.

And no I haven't seen ad advance copy, but I can still guarantee you it'll be a worthwhile read.

I say that because, like him or hate him, you can't deny Harper has a unique background when it comes to politics.

He started out his career as a policy wonk, he helped create the Reform Party, he led the activist NCC, he played a big part in forming the Conservative Party of Canada, and, last but not least, he was Canada's prime minister for nine years.



That's a deep well of experience to draw on; certainly he has a strong background in all aspects of politics from the ideological to the practical.

Plus, Harper has a deep, logical and analytical mind.

As a matter of fact, one of the things that constantly awed me about Harper when I worked with him was his uncanny ability to foresee how political developments would unfold.

He always seemed to be ahead of the curve.

That's why I can say with absolute certainty that *Right Here*, *Right Now* will be jam-packed with insightful, well-thought out, rational analysis.

So get out there and buy a copy of his book, because if anybody can make sense out of what's happening in this crazy old world we're living in right now, it's Harper.

On the other hand, I can't guarantee his book will be the most exciting read in history, but you can't have everything, right?

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant. The Hill Times

Opinion

Remembering Peter Adams

Working for Peter was a marvel. His energy level was unrelenting. While an MPP, he maintained three full offices, wrote several books, and was renown for attending virtually very riding event. He was active in caucus and in committee, and was an idea generating engine.

Paul Davidson

Lives Lived

OTTAWA—Peter Adams died Friday, Sept. 28, in Peterborough at the age of 82, surrounded by his family after a tenacious relationship with cancer.

His political family mourns his passing and remembers a devoted citizen leader who always saw promise and built a wider circle.

I first met Peter in the fall of 1988, where he was a recently elected MPP and I was a newly arrived intern. If memory serves, Peter was wearing a track suit at the time—as he was a competitive marathon runner in addition to being a published scholar, community activist, and family man.

Working for Peter was a marvel. His energy level was unrelenting. While an MPP, he maintained three full offices, wrote several books, and was renown for attending virtually very riding event. He was active in caucus and in committee, and was an idea-generating engine.

He was at once intensely local—visiting the Peterborough Farmers' Market every week without fail, paying attention to the local concerns of constituents and global—alerting us (in 1988) to the perils of climate change and exploring policy methods for altering human behaviour.

He was a Parliamentarian of the old school. Having been raised in the U.K., he was steeped in the rhetorical traditions of Westminster, and preferred speaking without notes—often to the distress of the premier's office.

His narrow loss (185 votes) in 1990 was an unexpected blow. He could have returned safely to academia at Trent, where, before politics, he was the founder of its geography department, and creator of its Northern Studies Program. Peter's expertise in Arctic research was internationally acclaimed, and for a time he served as vice president Academic of Trent. But the chance to stand again

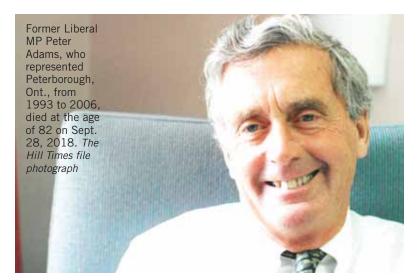
in 1993 federally gave Peter an-

other chance to serve. And voters rewarded him with a margin of 16,000 votes over the Progressive Conservative incumbent.

Peter seized the opportunity of his second political life to drive change in areas that mattered to him and his constituents. He was unflagging in his support for environmental policy that recognized the reality and urgency of climate change. He engaged in issues of Northern Development in ways that recognized Indigenous knowledge and culture. He was tireless in advocating for the needs of people with disabilities. And he developed a real interest and skill in House procedural affairs. Peter served for over 12 years, choosing not to run in 2006.

Perhaps Peter's greatest contribution was to create and lead the Liberal Higher Education Caucus. It was typical Peter. Gather people, organize people, and doggedly pursue the minister, the prime minister, and officials to secure new and sustained investment in higher education and research. Canada and the provinces had squeezed postsecondary institutions pretty hard in the early and mid '90s to achieve balanced budgets. Peter and his colleagues knew that underinvesting in research and higher education was a recipe for economic, social, and competitive failure.

Peter invited students, researchers and administrators to brief him and his caucus colleagues.



He offered advice about who else to meet with. And he stood up in caucus to make the case.

Peter would be the first to acknowledge that many people were involved in those historic investments including Chaviva Hosek, Eddie Goldenberg, Paul Martin and Jean Chrétien; John Manley, Allan Rock, Kevin Lynch, and David Dodge, to name a few. But few had the tenacity of Peter.

And so in successive budgets, substantive new investments were made, new organizations like CIHR and CFI were created, and new supports for students were launched.

In all that he accomplished, Peter demonstrated that the life and work of a backbench MP could be rewarding and productive. He never angled for cabinet, and some would say he accomplished more than many who were elevated to the front bench. He developed lifelong friendships with people in all parties. Indeed, the widow of the MP he defeated came to the community event marking Peter's 25 years of public service and sat in the front row.

I interned for Peter for six months—30 years ago this fall. He stayed in touch. He was always curious about my various projects, and made helpful suggestions to the very end.

When I last visited Peter, about a year ago, he was in discomfort and frustrated by the toll of his illness, but he was brimming with intellectual energy, ahead of me on essential reading, and working on articles of history related to Samuel de Champlain's visits to Peterborough and the Kawarthas. He was leading the local effort to create safe housing for adults with disabilities.

Peter was a marathoner. Paul Davidson is president of Universities Canada. The Hill Times

Post-NAFTA fight is Trudeau's to lose

If a peace of sorts does not break out over the next year, and the Americandriven tariff hostilities continue unabated, the prime minister may face hard questions as to whether he made a fool's bargain.



Chantal Hébert Inside Politics

If Justin Trudeau's Liberals are defeated in next fall's federal election, it will almost certainly

not be on account of their management of the NAFTA file.

Notwithstanding a poor initial reception in his home province, the prime minister is not likely to lose Quebec over the concessions he made on the way to keeping Canada in the North American trade loop.

Yes, Quebec is central to Trudeau's re-election prospects and, yes, the federal decision to give the U.S. greater access to Canada's dairy market will be the first bone of contention between Ottawa and the government Quebecers are electing this week.

Coming as voters were headed to the polls, news of a resolution of the NAFTA issue dominated the last few hours of the Quebec campaign.

The main party leaders had all urged Trudeau to make no concession on supply management. On Monday, they all took time out from their election night preparations to express disappointment over the outcome of the talks and reiterate their support for the province's dairy farmers.

Liberal Leader Philippe Couillard spoke of a bad deal for Quebec. Coalition Avenir Québec Leader François Legault promised to explore every option to help preserve the current dairy industry model. Parti Québécois Leader Jean-François Lisée accused Trudeau of having thrown the province's interests under the bus.

One could already hear the sound of a unanimous resolution in the making in the next national

assembly. But for all those fighting words, it's unlikely that any of them really expected the prime minister to choose the integrity of the supply management system over the continuance of a trilateral trade arrangement between Canada, the U.S. and Mexico. Chances are that, in Trudeau's place, they would have made a similar choice.

It is hardly the first time that Canada's protectionist agricultural policies have turned into a bargaining chip at a trade negotiation table. And on recent previous occasions, Quebec (and Ontario) supported trade-offs along the same lines.

Under successive Liberal and PQ governments, the province was a driving force behind the negotiation of a major trade agreement with the European Union and a keen supporter of the Trans Pacific Partnership.

Both those deals featured breaches in Canada's agricultural quota system.

As at Queen's Park, expect the post-election talk in Quebec's national assembly to shift from disapproval of Trudeau's concessions to a push for more compensation for the agricultural sector.

The measure of the success of Canada's NAFTA negotiation was always going to boil down to the amount of potential economic damage it stood to minimize.

On that basis, the definitive political verdict on this weekend's deal will, at least in part, be dependent on whether it leads to a larger truce on the Canada/U.S. trade front rather than on any specific concession made on the way to the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement.

Trudeau tried and failed to convince the Trump administration to drop its tariffs on steel and aluminum in exchange for Canada's signature on a NAFTAminus deal. Over time, that may turn out to be a more politically burdensome failure than any other concession.

If a peace of sorts does not break out over the next year, and the American-driven tariff hostilities continue unabated, the prime minister may face hard questions as to whether he made a fool's bargain.

Until then though, the post-NAFTA debate is Trudeau's to lose. The opposition parties in the House of Commons did not have any kind words for the new trade deal. But it is hard for leaders of the opposition to come hard at a government when so many of their own allies insist on providing the prime minister with political cover on his handling of the biggest file on his desk.

NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh may feel the deal negotiated over the weekend was not worth having, but that is not the sense of some of the country's most influential trade unions.

Even before Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer had issued a single comment, a host of Conservative luminaries had come out to commend the agreement—starting with former interim leader Rona Ambrose and former prime minister Brian Mulroney. Manitoba Premier Brian Pallister and Alberta Conservative Leader Jason Kenney also had good words for the deal.

That being said, the federal Conservatives most feared a breakdown in the talks that could have led to a snap election, and a Trudeau call on all voters to stand up to U.S. President Donald Trump by rallying to the Liberal flag. Even from Scheer's partisan perspective, a Trudeau deal in hand is better than no deal at all.

Chantal Hébert is a national affairs columnist for The Toronto Star. This column was released on Oct. 2.

The Hill Times

Opinion

Iraq's new hope

This system was tolerated during the 15 years of war because people's first priority was survival. Now that the fighting has died down, people are starting to protest, and Muqtada al-Sadr has become the repository of their hopes. He will have a hard time living up to them.



Gwynne Dyer Global Affairs

L ONDON, U.K.—Fifteen years after George W. Bush invaded Iraq to destroy Saddam Hussein's imaginary "weapons of mass destruction," what have the Iraqis got to show for it? There was a great deal of death and destruction (around half a million Iraqis have died violently since 2003), but they do now have a democratically elected government. Sort of.

Iraqis voted in their fourth free election last April—or rather, fewer than half of them bothered to vote at all, so pessimistic were they about the notion that voting can change anything. And after the election, the politicians seemed to be living down to their expectations. Almost six months later, the

many political parties were still bickering over which of them would be in the government, which would give them access to the huge amounts of money that are available to government ministers in one of the world's most corrupt countries. It looked like business as usual, despite bloody riots in the south (where most of the oil is) over chronic shortages of water, electricity, and jobs.

But on Oct. 2, the Iraqi Parliament elected a prominent Kurdish politician, Barham Saleh, to the largely ceremonial office of president. The president then has 15 days to nominate the new prime minister (who really runs the government), but Barham Saleh did it within hours. The new prime minister will be Adel Abdul Mahdi—which may be a signal of big changes coming.

big changes coming. Abdul Mahdi is not himself a revolutionary figure. He is a former finance and oil minister who, like Barham Saleh, has been a familiar fixture in Iraqi politics ever since the invasion. (A stock Iraqi joke claims that the country has the most environmental government in the world, since it constantly recycles its old politicians.)

But Abdul Mahdi is the figurehead of a coalition in which a revolutionary outsider, Muqtada al-Sadr, will be the dominant influence. Sadr's party astonished everybody by winning the largest number of seats in the May election, drawing its support mainly from working-class Shias in Baghdad and the south, but his non-sectarian stance also drew votes from the marginalized Sunni minority of Iraqi Arabs.

Sadr's sympathy for the Sunni Arabs' plight is unusual among Iraqi Shia politicians, and all the more remarkable because he is a Shia cleric whose father and uncle were both grand ayatollahs murdered by Saddam Hussein's Sunni-dominated regime. If any man can bridge the gulf that has opened up between Sunni and Shia Arabs in Iraq, he is that man. His party has been among the

His party has been among the least corrupt on the Iraqi political scene, and he is a nationalist who is equally opposed to American and Iranian meddling in Iraqi politics. He has disbanded his own party's militia and urges others to do the same, and he promised to appoint non-political technocrats instead of usual party stalwarts if his party won power.

That promise will be hard to keep, since the extreme fragmentation of Iraqi politics means all governments must be broad coalitions. The coalition Sadr leads (although he will not personally seek office) includes the Iraqi Communist Party, which more or less shares his goals, and the group led by former prime minister Nouri al-Maliki, which emphatically does not.

Maliki, in power from 2006 to 2014, proved himself to be viciously anti-Sunni, largely subservient to Iranian interests—and, of course, monumentally corrupt. It will be very difficult to hold this coalition together, let alone to carry out Sadr's programme of sectarian reconciliation and government by technocrats.

Corruption in Iraq is a system, not a series of individual crimes, and the beneficiaries of the system will fight tooth and nail to preserve it. The parties use it not only to finance their own activities and reward their own members, but to build a large support base through bribery, mostly in the form of jobs.

There are 37 million people in Iraq. In most other countries, a population of that size would require around 600,000-700,000 employees to provide all the normal functions of a central government.

The Iraqi government employs 4.5 million people to do the same jobs very badly or not at all. Many of them rarely even show up at work, but they and their families all vote for the right party at election-time. And since they are on the take themselves, they don't protest when the senior politicians in their party steal millions (or in some cases billions) from public funds.

This pattern is almost standard in countries whose income, like Iraq's, comes largely from exporting a single natural resource (oil, in this case), but Iraq is exceptional in the brazen incompetence of the political class and the utter neglect of those outside the magic circle.

This system was tolerated during the 15 years of war because people's first priority was survival. Now that the fighting has died down, people are starting to protest, and Muqtada al-Sadr has become the repository of their hopes. He will have a hard time living up to them.

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

Why intelligence services need access to your phone

Our society has to decide what the balance is between giving our security intelligence and law enforcement agencies the tools they need and safeguard the privacy and the immunity from eavesdropping we crave. I happen to think we can achieve both through the courts.



Phil Gurski Terrorism

OTTAWA—How many of you recall the terrorist attack in San Bernardino back in December 2015? An Islamist terrorist couple went into a California health sector office's Christmas party and opened fire, killing 14 and wounding 22. The two were later killed in a hail of police gunfire, but that is where the controversy over the incident really started. In an attempt to find out the motivation behind the attack, U.S. law enforcement tried to get into Syed Rizwan Farook's cellphone only to find they could not as it was password protected.

Authorities approached the phone's manufacturer, Apple, for help only to be rebuffed. The company said variably that it could not unlock the device or that by doing so it would set a dangerous precedent and undermine their users' confidence in Apple's ability to ensure privacy. In the end, the FBI allegedly paid a hacker to get into the phone and allow the FBI to continue its investigation anyway.

At the time, this debate was heated with strong positions on both sides. Those in favour of meeting the government's request who thought Apple should comply said that terrorists—especially dead ones—have no expectations of privacy and that the FBI needed the phone's data to see who else was involved in the plot and whether others were being planned. Those against said the state has no business asking for private information and that if Apple had complied, nothing would be secure ever again from Big Brother's prying eyes (and ears). I saw both arguments and weighed in—cautiously—on giving the police access, albeit on very strict conditions.



Wow, is that ever strong. The community will "demand access" and if denied will look into legislation to make sure they get what they want and or need. Is this acceptable in a liberal democratic society?

In a word, I say, yes, but with a caveat. My position has not changed since 2015 and I do think we can achieve security and privacy at the same time; just as spies and cops cannot normally



The Senate's National Security Committee, pictured in this file photograph. If CSIS or the RCMP can make a case that an ongoing investigation into a serious threat can only go forward with access to data they cannot currently read, they can go before a Federal Court judge and make that case, much as they currently do for other intercept warrants, writes Phil Gurski. *The Hill Times file photograph*

Well, guess what? The issue has not gone away. In early September, the U.S. intelligence community, in conjunction with their 'Five Eyes' partners (the 'Five Eyes' is a group of nations that includes Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the U.K. and the U.S. and is the world's premier intelligence club), apparently "quietly intercept communications of citizens without a court-approved warrant (SIGINT organizations like CSE do not get warrants but they also do not collect domestically) nor should they be able to demand access to encrypted domestic communications without one. If CSIS or the RCMP can make a case that an ongoing investigation into a serious threat can only go forward with access to data they cannot currently read, they can go before a Federal Court judge and make that case, much as they currently do for other intercept warrants. Who would be opposed to this?

There are rules and procedures to follow and judges who deem certain cases too weak, can turn them down (this does happen by the way).

There is, of course, a down side to having to get a warrant. It presupposes that you already have begun an investigation into an individual or cell and already have enough information to make your case. You are asking for part of the puzzle you don't have yet. It does not allow for "fishing expeditions" into those who have not already crossed your radar (which was what transpired in San Bernardino, no?). In other words, even a warrant does not guarantee 100 per cent security. As a free society, we have to accept that. The alternative is unfettered and uncontrolled state access to everyone's communications and I am fairly confident no Canadian wants that.

Our society has to decide what the balance is between giving our security intelligence and law enforcement agencies the tools they need and safeguard the privacy and the immunity from eavesdropping we crave. I happen to think we can achieve both through the courts.

Phil Gurski is a former strategic analyst with CSIS, an author, and the director of Intelligence and Security at the SecDev Group.

The Hill Times

Opinion



It's go time: Members of the Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, pictured on Oct. 3, 2018, on the Hill. It's now up to Independent Senators to take action and bring about real and comprehensive Senate reform overall in the Upper Chamber, writes Jean Fournier, the Senate's former and first ethics officer. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

DEAR ISG SENATORS, DON'T BACK DOWN, AND STAND YOUR GROUND

It's now up to the ISG Senators to make Senate reform a reality. There's no going back.



Jean T. Fournier

ITAWA—It's now up to Independent Senators to take action and bring about real and comprehensive Senate reform. Senate reform is not only about the adoption of a new selection and appointment process for Senators. Here, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau seized the initiative with a sense of urgency and determination and in March 2016 announced the appointment of seven Independent and nonpartisan Senators recommended to him by the newly established Independent Advisory Board for Senate Appointments.

But there is more to Senate reform. So much more. Real and comprehensive Senate reform is

also about stronger and more transparent rules for Senate expenses, a stricter and more transparent ethics and conflict of interest code for Senators as well as establishing appropriate time lines for the adoption by the Senate of government legisla-tion. And here the initiative lies not with the prime minister, but entirely with the Senate itself and, increasingly, with the Independent Senators Group (ISG) whose numbers have grown rapidly from seven to 47 of the 105 Senate seats in just over two years. This is due in good part to the fact that former prime minister Stephen Harper went into the last

election with 22 Senate vacancies. During the 1864 Confedera-tion debates in Québec City, Sir. John A. Macdonald referred to the Senate as "only valuable as being a regulating body, calmly considering the legislation initiated by the popular branch." On average, more than 40 bills are examined and 50 special studies are conducted each year by the Senate's standing, joint and special committees. Doing this work, political parties and Independent Senators are allotted committee chairs and committee member positions proportional to the size of their membership. Until recently, this did not include the chair-ships of three committees which are critical to the legislative process: the Standing Senate Committee on Internal Economy, Budgets and Administration; the Senate Committee on Rules, Procedures and the Rights of Parliament; and the Senate Standing Committee on Ethics and

Conflict of Interest for Senators. But last November, Senators agreed to a new deal that gave the ISG leadership of the Internal Economy Committee, along with seven others.

Within a year or so, the ISG will almost certainly hold a majority of Senate seats (more than 53 seats). Nothing short of a quiet revolution and the potential breakthrough are needed to achieve real, lasting, and comprehensive Senate reform.

When this happens, and it is only a matter of time. There will be challenges and opportunities for Independent Senators to demonstrate leadership and get on with the job the prime minister started with regards specifically to Senators' expense rules and procedures, the Senate's conflict of interest code, and legislative time limits. There is much work to be done here. But it's not all bad news when it comes to Senate reform. There are hopeful signs of a more open and comprehensive Senate renewal process, and we have seen some positive steps in the right direction the last five years.

Consider the following: in 2013, Senator Marjory LeBreton, the government leader in the Senate at the time, showed great initiative and courage in inviting the auditor general to conduct a comprehensive audit of all Senators' expenses after months of controversy over the expenses of some Senators. At the time, the Senate expenses scandal was threatening to permanently destroy the institution. Canadians were angry with the status quo and their sense of confidence in individual Senators and in the Senate as an institution was at an all time low. There was talk of abolishing the Senate or electing members of the Upper House. Clearly, something more realistic and practical was badly needed.

Another important step occurred in 2013 as well. In separate articles across the country, Mel Cappe, Tom Flanagan, Stephen Hume, and David Zussman proposed that Senators be appointed on the recommendation of an independent non-partisan body, similar to the U.K. House of Lords Appointment Commission established in 2000, which examines the quality of appointments and recommends to the prime minister so-called Independent members of the House of Lords. The new appointment procedure is seen as a success in the U.K. It has reduced partisanship over the years, increased expertise, and enhanced the legitimacy of the Upper House, clearly making it a more effective Chamber of legislative review. Som 70 peers have been appointed in this manner over the years.

In the fall of that year, I also wrote two articles along the same lines, one in the *Vancouver Sun* followed by a much longer one in *The Hill Times* titled, "Time for a People's Senate: better than election or abolition."

"Mr. Fournier has a good idea. It should be thoroughly researched, talked about, picked up, and pursued," wrote *The Hill Times*' editorial at the time. The following year, in January 2014, a few months after these articles appeared, Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau announced: "I am committing today that if I have the privilege of serving Canadians as their prime minister, I will put in place an open, transparent process for appointing and confirming Senators." Coincidence or not? As Yogi Berra said: "That's too coincidental to be a coincidence."

In the same year, the Supreme Court decision on Senate reform confirmed inter alia that unanimity between the federal and provincial governments is required to abolish the Senate and the concurrence of seven provinces is also needed for other substantial changes. The court's ruling reinforced the general view that the appointment process proposed by Trudeau was the only practical option for those of us who value the Senate.

In 2014 as well, nine long years after the establishment of the Office of the Senate Ethics Officer, the Senate finally adopted amendments to the ethics and conflict of interecode for Senators which recognized the Senate ethics officer's independence in initiating and investigating complaints and allegations of wrongdoing, 10 years after the House and some 20 years after most provincial and territorial legislatures. During my seven years working as the Senate's first Senate ethics officer, there was an old saying that applied to the Senate as an institution: "There is regular time and there is Senate time."



In 2015, the auditor general issued a scathing report on Senate expenses calling for a "transformational change in the way expenses are claimed, managed, controlled, and reviewed." Said the auditor general: "We found a lack of independent oversight in the way Senator's expenses are governed."He recommended the creation of a separate body" to provide independent oversight of Senator's expenses, the majority of whose membership, including its chair, was to be independent of the Senate." The oversight body would have "the authority to review expenses incurred by individual Senators" and "the authority to make final decisions on whether those expenses comply with the rules, policies and guidelines."

At the time, then-Senate Speaker Leo Housakos said he would make the Senate"more transparent and accountable," and promised "more disclosure, more oversight, and better controls."He also stated that consideration was being given to establish an oversight body:"A proposal to create the oversight body will be put forward before Conservatives, Liberals, and Independent Senators when Parliament returns." In the fall of 2016, he added:"We are now looking at longterm options such as an oversight committee to deal with Senators expenses on a regular basis."

Regrettably, two years later, we are still waiting for an oversight body. In November, the Internal Economy, Budgets and Administration Committee endorsed the creation of a committee to fulfill this function. It is now being studied by the Rules Committee, where Senators still can not agree on whether outsiders should be involved. While there have been improvements in the Senate's expense management system, there has been no comprehensive and detailed response to the auditor general's report. Canadians are entitled to this. It's their tax money. This is best practices in all

government organizations, and this applies to the Senate as well. The Senate's tardy and incomplete response reflects poorly on the Senate.

In early 2016, Prime Minister Trudeau announced, as promised two years earlier, the appointment of seven Independent Senators under the new selection and appointment process. Potential nominees must "demonstrate a record of service to the community, the public and their chosen fields of expertise." They must also "demonstrate to the advisory board that they have the ability to bring a perspective and a contribution to the work of the Senate that is independent and non-partisan." Finally, they must also "disclose any political involvement and activities."

The new selection process means that no Conservative, Liberal, or NDP fundraisers need apply. No defeated federal or provincial candidates of any political party, no federal or provincial cabinet ministers, no partisan affiliations, no party organizers or political activists. No more participation by Senators in weekly national caucus meetings. No more "whipped votes" or involvement in election campaigns. "Enough is enough," said Canadians. What was long tolerated is no longer politically or ethically acceptable in the 21st century.

The selection process also means that the "new Senate" will now act as it was intended to by the Fathers of Confederation and as envisaged by the Supreme Court in its 2014 decision on Senate reform, namely as a "Chamber of Sober Second Thought"—like the U.K. House of Lords, after which the Senate is modelled, and as a truly independent legislative body that is complementary to the House of Commons.

Our review of the Senate's record over the last five years shows a mixture of the good, the bad, and the indifferent. The establishment of a new appointment process certainly stands out as a remarkable achievement, and this should be celebrated. There are now 47 Independent Senators, 31 Conservatives, 10 Liberals, 11 non-affiliated, and six vacancies. As noted earlier, the ISG will likely have an absolute majority of seats in the Senate next year. Meanwhile, there is urgent and important work to be done if the Upper House is to become a well-functioning and accountable institution that is respected by Canadians. There are three areas for priority attention and action.

First, working closely with the Senate Committee on Internal Economy, Budgets, and Administration and with other Senators, the ISG should deal decisively and publicly with the expenses controversy which has overshadowed much of the Senate's good work over the last five years. Specifically, the ISG should press for the immediate implementation of the 2015 recommendation of the auditor general that henceforth "Senators will not assess the spending of their peers and that an oversight body will be created with the authority to review expenses incurred by individual Senators (and) to make final decisions on whether those expenses comply with the rules, policies, and guidelines, and whether amounts should be repaid by Senators."

As noted earlier, the Senate has been unable or unwilling to present a comprehensive response and action plan in reply to the auditor

general's report. Housakos promised "more disclosure, more oversight, and better controls." Moreover, Canadians were told that "all expenses of each Senator are online and that this is sufficient." If the matter was as simple as that, the auditor general would have recommended this. If I was a new Senator, I would not be satisfied. I would want to be reassured that the rules, policies, and practices that govern the Senate's expenditures and control systems were the best. I would also want to know that the financial managers and advisers on staff were first rate and that I was not at risk.

Other legislatures have established independent oversight bodies. For example, the Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority (IPSA) was established in the U.K. in 2009 following its House of Commons' expenses scandal, which led to the resignation of the Speaker and several ministers, and criminal charges against a number of MPs. IPSA was created to manage members' expenses at arm's length from the House, ending the historical selfpolicing of their expenses.

As well, the Australian Parliament created a similar Independent Parliamentary Expenses Authority (IPEA) in 2017. Said the prime minister at the time:"IPEA's core function will be to audit and report on parliamentary work expenses. The new authority will provide clear and consistent guidance to Parliamentarians and will monitor and administer claims for travel expenses and allowances. It will do this to ensure taxpayers' funds are spent appropriately and in compliance with the rules. He added: "This is a very important reform. It is the most important reform to parliamentary expenses in a generation." Compelling enough?

What is the Senate waiting for? Another three years? Another expenses scandal?

Second, working closely with the Standing Senate Committee on Ethics and Conflict of Interest for Senators and other Senators, the ISG should review and update the Senate code and inform and

engage Canadians on matters relating to the code. Since its adoption in 2005, all reviews of the code have been behind closed doors. This is not acceptable in today's world. Next year will mark the fifth anniversary of the last set of changes to the code in April and June 2014. Why not show initiative and take this opportunity to review the code and to engage interested Canadians in the process?

In 2015, Auditor General Michael

Ferguson issued a scathing report

'transformational change in the way

controlled, and reviewed.' The Hill Times

on Senate expenses calling for a

expenses are claimed, managed,

photograph by Andrew Meade

If the Senate wants to regain and retain the confidence of Canadians, it cannot be tardy, reclusive, and insular. Why not be bold, show initiative, and "let the sunshine in," as they say? Other jurisdictions have opened their doors. Why not the Senate? The Senate was the last jurisdiction in Canada to adopt a code and to create the position of Senate ethics officer. When it was adopted in 2005, the Senate code was considered to be the weakest of all the legislatures in the country. Thankfully, amendments were made in 2008 and 2012 as well as in 2014



ISG Sen. Sabi Marwah, pictured with Liberal Sen. Mobina Jaffer and Liberal Sen. Jane Cordy, on Sept. 20, 2018, is the new chair the Senate Standing Committee on Internal Economy, Budgets and Administration Committee. He replaced ISG Sen. Larry Campbell last month. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

after my departure as Senate ethics officer. The code now is broadly consistent with what I termed the Canadian model of parliamentary ethics. It will have taken almost 10 years for the Senate to catch up, which is not exactly the sign of a healthy and highly ethical organization. Senators should refresh and update the code on a regular basis and in a fully transparent manner.

Third, working closely with the Standing Senate Committee on Rules, Procedures, and the Rights of Parliament, the ISG and other Senators should proceed to develop, introduce and implement rules and procedures for the introduction of legislative time limits to ensure that the government of the day is able to get its legislative program though the Senate in an orderly and timely manner, and without

undermining its capacity to govern effectively. The Senate is constitutionally a"House of Review,"not a"House of Delay."Bicameral countries like the U.K., Germany, and Australia have adopted effective rules and procedures, including time limits in their Upper Houses to ensure timely adoption, while allowing

reasonable time to legislators to consider government bills and propose amendments.

Under the former Senate appointment process, the government of the day relied on party discipline to pass its legislative program. Times have changed. No more partisan control or "whipped votes" directed by party leaders in the House or the Prime Minister's Office. The Senate is an essential part of the legislative process, but when Senators delay bills for overtly political reasons or move slowly on legislation that has been adopted by the House, they overstep their bounds.

Such delay tactics are an insult to the intelligence of Canadians, a clear violation of the constitutional primacy of the House of Commons, and anti-democratic. For example, a short Senate bill that would make *O Canada* more gender inclusive was stalled by Conservative Senators for more than 16 months. This is unacceptable behaviour. There are too many instances of excessive delay in the Upper House. The Senate can study for a reasonable period of time, advise, and amend, but it should not block or use procedural means to delay government legislation. This would seem to be plain old common sense.

Comparisons are sometimes made with the United States Congress, which consists of two effectively co-equal Chambers that have essentially similar legislative powers. The Fathers of Confederation discussed the matter at length during the Quebec Conference in 1864 and made it clear that they would have nothing to do with a U.S.-style Senate. Canada's Upper House would be appointed and be a "House of Review," a complementary legislative body, but never a rival to the House of Commons. That said, new Senators seem to have a better understanding of the process and of their respective roles and responsibilities.

Again the "new Senate" should look at the experience of other countries and adopt similar measures that fall within the ambit of the Senate itself or the Parliament of Canada Act. The matter should be thoroughly researched, talked about, and resolved. Hopefully, this will happen soon as the ISG numbers increase in the Senate and overtly political partisanship diminishes.

The people's Senate still has a long way to go. The three areas identified here are the essential next steps on the road to real and comprehensive Senate reform. But it is not the whole story. For example, the question of the distribution of Senate seats should be dealt with as well. British Columbia and Alberta represent close to 25 per cent of the country's total population, yet these provinces have only 12 seats. This should be addressed as well.

There are big challenges, opportunities, and expectations for ISG Senators in the first instance, but for all Senators as well. Can the ISG leadership make things happen that the old parties could not or would not when it comes to Senate expenses, ethics and time lines? As John F. Kennedy put it: "Things do not happen. They are made to happen."It's now up to the ISG to continue to build on what Trudeau started almost three years ago with the appointment of independent non-partisan Senators, and make Senate reform a reality. There is no going back. Canadians are watching. Don't let us down. Jean Fournier is a former Senate ethics officer.

The Hill Times

'There were far too many jobs eliminated,' May urges feds to restore staffing capacity after departments found failing on marine mammal protections, toxic substances

'The clock could well be running out for certain species, such as the West coast's southern resident killer whale,' says federal commissioner Julie Gelfand.

Continued from page 1

substances are actually effective, Green Party Leader Elizabeth May says it's clear departments still lack "core capacity" after Harper-era staffing cuts.

"There were far too many jobs eliminated, too many pink slips under [former Conservative PM] Harper, and [Environment Minister] Catherine McKenna hasn't rebuilt the core capacity of that department,"Ms. May (Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.) told *The Hill Times*.

She urged the government to "restore capacity" to ensure departments, in particular Environment and Climate Change Canada (ECCC) and Fisheries and Oceans Canada (DFO), have enough people to do the work required under law.

On Oct. 2, Canada's federal Environment and Sustainable Development Commissioner Julie Gelfand tabled the 2018 fall reports to Parliament covering four subjects: toxic substances, protection of marine mammals, departmental progress in implementing sustainable development strategies, and an annual report on the environmental petitions process.

Federal departments have been slow to leverage existing tools and rules to protect endangered and threatened marine mammal species, found the commissioner, calling recent progress "reactive, limited, and late," and warning the clock may already be running out for some species, like the southern resident killer whale.

The commissioner also found departments have largely failed in ensuring regulations to control risks from toxic substances are effective, and haven't prioritized enforcement activities based on the degree of risk to human health or the environment. Despite these findings, Ms. Gelfand said she doesn't think there's an "issue of public safety," as all chemicals listed as toxic substances have at least one measure in place, be it a regulation, code of practice, or the like.

"What we're saying is they just haven't done that evaluation to see whether or not they're attaining the objective ... to make sure it's effective," she told reporters at a press conference at the National Press Theatre in Ottawa on Oct. 2.

The one "bright light" in the fall 2018 reports is marked progress in departments' integration of environmental considerations in decisionmaking, said Ms. Gelfand. A review of 26 federal departments and agencies found the cabinet directive on the environmental assessment of policy, plan, and program proposals was applied to 93 per cent of proposals submitted to cabinet in 2017, up from 40 per cent the year prior.

Canada is home to more than 40 marine mammal species, 14 of which are currently considered endangered or threatened.

For her audit, covering 2012 to 2018, the commissioner focused on whether relevant departments adequately protected marine mammals in Canadian waters from threats posed by marine vessels (like oils spills, collisions with ships, and chronic noise and disturbances) and commercial fishing (like entanglement in fishing gear, depletion of food sources, and bycatch).

It's a timely examination given the National Energy Board's recently re-launched assessment of the impact of marine shipping related to the Trans Mountain pipeline expansion, which would see tanker traffic increase near the southern resident killer whale's habitat.

"One large oil spill that could potentially happen near where

these whales are located would absolutely decimate the population, either directly or indirectly by impacting their food source,"said NDP MP Wayne Stetski (Kootenay-Columbia, B.C.).

Overall, the Green Party Leader Elizabeth May commissioner says recent findings by the federal found federal environment and sustainable departments had development commissioner dropped the ball underline a need to 'restore on protecting capacity' in terms of departmental Canada's marine staffing. The Hill Times mammals, and photograph by Andrew Meade had "not fully ap-

plied existing policies and tools to proactively manage threats."

For 11 of the 14 marine mammal species listed as endangered or threatened, DFO couldn't demonstrate"whether it had implemented any specific management measures to reduce the threats posed by commercial fishing and marine vessels." For three endangered species-the southern resident killer whale, the North Atlantic right whale, and the St. Lawrence Estu-action" was undertaken, but in reviews by DFO in 2017, even the department" concluded that those measures were not enough."

In 2018, DFO began to implement management measures, including mandatory reporting on all fishery interactions with marine mammals and gear modifications and restrictions, to address threats from commercial fishing to two of these three species-the southern resident killer whale and the North Atlantic right whale-but only after 12 right whales were found dead in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the summer of 2017, the deaths of five of which were deemed to have been likely caused by collisions with marine vessels. A mandatory vessel slowdown in the gulf was subsequently implemented, but only up to January 2018.

Up to and including the 2017 fishing season, DFO was also found to not have "adequately considered most marine mammals" in its management of commercial fish stocks.

For the West Coast's southern resident killer whale-an endangered species since 2003 with a population of just 76 whales at the time of the audit, now at 74the species is threatened by a variety of activities including noise and disturbances from vessels and depletion of food sources. Fisheries management plans for the 2017 season in B.C. identified Chinook salmon as a primary food source for these whales, but didn't include any direct measures to reduce the threat of food scarcity, despite DFO having first identified this a threat to the species' recovery in 2008.

In July 2018, measures were announced to address the scarcity of Chinook salmon. As well, in June 2018, the government announced a \$167.4-million Whales Initiative to support specific measures to protect and help the recovery of endangered whale species.

While the commissioner found that work to address threats posed by marine vessels to the southern resident killer whale and the North Atlantic right whale had improved since the Liberals announced the

\$1.5-billion Oceans Protection Plan in late 2016, in her opening comments on the report on Oct. 2, Ms. Gelfand said recent measures may be too little too late.

Ms. May said she doesn't recall ever seeing a commissioner making such a comment, and said she thinks actions to protect these animals "are lacking because of a fundamental crisis of resources."

A 2015 report for Policy Alternatives compiled information on cuts announced under the Harper government, concluding roughly 20 per cent of Environment Canada staff would be cut between 2010 and 2017 as part of reduction efforts, and 30 per cent of DFO staff responsible for the Species at Risk Act.

Mr. Stetski said the commissioner's findings on marine mammal protections "resonated" with him most, and said he thinks it comes down to a failure to have the "right priorities around the sometimes very limited resources" that exist.

Among other things, Mr. Stetski highlighted the commissioner's finding that marine protection areas were not "adequate to actually protect" marine mammals.

The commissioner also found marine mammals aren't explicitly included in the National Oil Spill Preparedness and Response Regime, and concluded DFO failed to meet "most deadlines for finalizing required recovery strategies and action plans" for listed species as required by law. For the southern resident killer whale, for example, both the recovery strategy and action plan

were finalized four years late. On toxic substances, the commissioner found that ECCC and Health Canada still have "significant work to do in selected areas to effectively control the risks of toxic substances."

For one thing, the commissioner concluded the department didn't prioritize its enforcement efforts based on what could cause the greatest risk to human health and the environment, but instead prioritized this work "mainly on the basis of a businesses' potential for non-compliance." At the same time, the commissioner found "most toxic substance regulations received few inspections and enforcement measures" during the audit period, covering April 1, 2014 to December 31, 2017.

Over that time, 22 per cent or 2,231 of the 10,180 total inspections carried out by the department focused on a single toxic substance used by dry cleaners, tetrachloroethylene (an air pollutant), despite no evidence it presented a higher risk to human health or the environment than others. By comparison, "a regulation prohibiting 26 toxic substances from being manufactured, used, sold, or imported in Canada had no inspections," reads the report.

At the time of the audit, ECCC had just 201 enforcement officers across the country; these officers are responsible for enforcing regulations under both the Canadian Environmental Protection Act (CEPA) and the Fisheries Act. Moreover, the commissioner found a shortfall of intelligence officers-who help enforcement officers prioritize work by collecting and analyzing information-with only 16 employed by the department across the country. Some regions are without any dedicated intelligence staff and others have only one full-time person. For example, "Ontario had the largest number of regulated businesses, but no permanent intelligence staff," reads the report.

While problems were flagged in the prioritization of enforcement activities, the commissioner found related fines collected under CEPA had increased.

The commissioner also found ECCC and Health Canada hadn't made "satisfactory progress" on a 2009 recommendation on the need to evaluate whether efforts to reduce the risks of toxic substances were meeting their objectives, examining six toxic substances for the audit—among them PCBs, lead, mercury, and dioxins and furans.

As part of the \$1.13-billion Chemical Management Plan announced in 2006, Health Canada and ECCC committed to assess 4,300 chemicals by 2020-21 to determine whether they should be added to CEPA's list of toxic substances. As of December 2017, 3,331 had been assessed, with 138 substances considered toxic. Once a substance is deemed toxic, CEPA requires that at least one enforceable "action" be developed to control the risks posed by it.

While the commissioner found action plans had been developed for all six substances examined, neither department had completed evaluations on whether plans had met their objectives—though work had begun to evaluate three of the six.

"For example, the objective for dioxins and furans was to virtually eliminate the substance. Yet, the departments did not assess whether this objective was met or whether their actions were appropriate," reads the report.

The departments agreed with the commissioner's recommendation to "establish a long-term, systemic approach to evaluate how effective their actions are in controlling toxic substances," with both noting work has already begun.

The commissioner also noted online public, departmental information on toxic substances "often lacked clarity and was not easy to find."

Liberal MP Darren Fisher (Dartmouth-Cole Harbour, N.S.) said he's "focusing on the positives" in the commissioner's fall 2018 reports and "recognizing the fact that we've done a lot, but we still have a long way to go" from recent action on marine mammal protections to seeing an increase in the number of prosecutions related to toxic substance regulations.

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News





François Legault is making national headlines for all the wrong reasons

At his first press conference after the election, François Legault dispensed with any notion that he would be the premier of all Québécois.



The War Room

ORONTO--Hypocrisy, nailed to a L cross. It is about three feet high, and

Hours: Mon.-Fri. 6:30am-8pm; Sat. by appointment only; Sun. closed

it is found at the very centre of a massive, baroque throne. It rather resembles something one would find at Versailles, in fact. At a minimum, it is more ornate and more conspicuous than something one would see above the tabernacle in a church.

And that is what Maurice Duplessis intended, one presumes, when he had a cross affixed to the blue walls of the National Assembly more than 80 years ago: to resemble a church. Back then, Duplessis-an autocrat and a bigot who ordered Jehovah's Witnesses arrested for practising their religion, and who led anti-Semitic campaigns to keep out Jewish refugees fleeing persecution in Europe—called his province"the only Catholic government in North America.

At the time of its installation in 1936, then, the crucifix was regarded as a literal embodiment of the solemn bond that then existed between the Quebec state and the church, when more than 90 per cent of the province's population were Roman Catho lic. The crucifix even survived the Quiet

Revolution, after which Quebec finally became a secular state.

Over the years, there have been reports written about it, and debates about it. In 2008, academics Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor recommended removing the cross. They said that "it seems preferable for the very place where elected representatives deliberate and legislate not to be identified with a specific religion. The National Assembly is the assembly of all Quebecers." All the politicians in the Quebec National Assembly disagreed. They voted unanimously to keep it, in its hallowed spot above the Speaker's throne. Aware, perhaps, that they are intensely

hypocritical for maintaining the crucifix, some Quebec legislators have argued that the Christian symbol has historical value. But this, too, is a lie. The original crucifix is long gone. The one that is up there, now, is a copy, surreptitiously nailed to the wall in 1982

During one of the more-recent debates last fall—when controversy was raging about "the Quebec Liberal" government's

bill that would force women to remove veils when getting on a city bus, or going to see their doctor-François Legault, the leader of the Coalition Avenir Quebec (CAQ), was asked about the decidedlyunsecular symbol hanging above his head in his workplace. Legault shrugged. He said the crucifix should stay."We have a Christian heritage in Quebec and we cannot decide tomorrow that we can change our past," said the leader whose very party name is about Quebec's future.

"I don't see any problem keeping it." "A Christian heritage."

Therein lies the problem, of course. Legault is no longer a mere member of the opposition in the provincial legislature. In a few days' time, he will be premier of Quebec, presiding over a massive majority in the National Assembly.

At his very first press conference after the election, Legault dispensed with any notion that he would be the premier of all Québécois. To the Muslims (with their headscarves), and the Jews (with their kippahs), and the Mennonites and the Amish (with their traditional styles of dress), and the Hindus (with their tilaka markings on their faces), Legault's message was plain: I don't represent you.

Here's what he said at that first press encounter: "The vast majority of Quebecers would like to have a framework where people in authority positions must not wear religious signs."And then, knowing what he wants is wholly contrary to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and every human rights code extant, he went even further: "If we have to use the notwithstanding clause to apply what we want, the majority of Quebecers will agree."

This from the man who said he would march newcomers to the border who lack the ability to properly conjugate verbs, and expel them-to where? Cornwall? Vermont? Newfoundland and Labrador? We shouldn't be surprised, one supposes. Legault has already revealed himself to be another petty, pitiful aspirant to Maurice Duplessis' throne. He's a hypocrite.

Andrew Scheer, however, is seemingly fine with all of that. The Conservative leader was on the phone to Legault mere moments after the polls closed, heaping praise on the premier-elect, promising future cooperation and all that. Justin Trudeaulooking and sounding like a prime minister should-was much more circumspect.

As he has done before, the prime minister said "the Charter of Rights and Freedoms is there to protect our rights and freedoms, obviously," adding that the state should not "tell a woman what she can or cannot wear."

He went on: "It's not something that should be done lightly because to remove or avoid defending the fundamental rights of Canadians, I think it's something [about] which you have to pay careful attention."

And we are paying attention, now. Before he is even installed, François Legault is making national headlines for all the wrong reasons.

Jesus, from his lonely, lofty spot above the National Assembly, might remind Monsieur Legault about what he said in Matthew 23:3. You know: "Do not do what they do, for they do not practise what they preach."

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

The Hill Times

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Diana Ross helps raise more than \$780,000 at this year's glitzy NAC Gala

Sparkles and satin were on display as guests dressed in their best to see the Motown Queen perform Oct. 3.

The 1970s were back in a big way on Oct. 3 as the National Arts Centre held its annual gala featuring Motown Queen Diana Ross.

Always known for its glitz and glamour, with a theme of sequins and satin, the gala was particularly so this year.

Raising money for the National Youth and Education Trust, the 22nd annual NAC Gala is a highlight on the Ottawa social scene. This year the night raised more than \$780,000 to provide children throughout the country with performing arts workshops and other initiatives. Over the last 22 years, the gala has raised \$14-million. The trust is aimed at helping to nurture and develop young artists across Canada.

The preshow reception started at 6 p.m., with the NAC Orchestra show beginning at 7 p.m. Diana Ross performed with the orchestra in the second part of the concert, which was followed by a dinner. All 1,977 tickets available for the event were sold, with prices starting at \$229.

U.S. Ambassador Kelly Craft, who came to the pre-show reception with Ontario Progressive Conservative Premier

Doug Ford around 6:30 p.m., looked stun-

ning in a long-sleeved gold sequin dress. The two worked the Salon room before the show started and stuck pretty close together. The room was shoulder-to-shoulder for most of the reception, which could explain why security teams spotted looked

Sophie Grégoire Trudeau makes introductory remarks

right, at the 22nd annual NAC Gala, which featured

Diana Ross. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

a bit stressed. Overall though, the reception had a fun and relaxed atmosphere, with guests bopping along to Montreal-based group Discothèque as they sang disco favourites like the Bee Gees' Stayin' Alive and Wild Cherry's Play that Funky Music.

Heritage Minister Pablo Rodriguez and his wife Roxane Hardy were spotted posing for photographs on the red carpet, and Treasury Board President Scott Brison and his husband Maxime St-Pierre slipped in shortly before the show started.

Other politicians in attendance included Finance Minister Bill Morneau, with his wife Nancy McCain, as well as Andrew Leslie, the parliamentary secretary to the

minister of foreign affairs, and Veteran Affairs Minister **Seamus O'Regan**. Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson spent some time chatting with a friend near the reception food table.

Party Central was told that Health Deputy Minister Simon Kennedy and Privy Council Clerk Michael Wernick were there, but yours truly never saw them.

The diplomatic community was also out in full force, including French Ambassador Kareen Rispal, Indian High Commissioner Vikas Swarup, and United Kingdom High Commissioner Susan le Jeune.

Guests noshed on appetizers, including trays with cheese and crackers. The skewered cheese with olives and sundried tomatoes seemed to be a hit, as did the spring rolls and the water chestnuts wrapped in bacon. Most drank red or white wine, but bartenders also looked to be shaking up cosmopolitans.

The show itself started on time with a short speech by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's wife Sophie Grégoire Trudeau, who was honorary chair of the event, and

Foundation officer Jayne Watson. The crowd for supporting the arts. "When we allow youth to express their creativity, we also send them the message their uniqueness, their diversity and freedom are not only to be fostered, but celebrated," Ms. Grégoire Trudeau told the crowd. with National Arts Centre Foundation CEO Jayne Watson, The first

song of the concert was filled with

the sounds of 24-year-old violinist Blake Pouliot, dressed in a sequined suit, who performed with the NAC Orchestra under the direction of Alexandre Shelley. The vast majority of the crowd was engaged in the performance, although several patrons were checking the program or trying to record the show on their mobile phones.

One woman, dressed in an elegant satin beige dress, played absentmindedly with the beaded chain around her glasses, while another had a small pair of binoculars.

Ms. Ross performed with the orchestra during the second half of the concert. She's known for hits such as Ain't No Mountain High Enough, Upside Down, and I'm Coming Out. It was the first time Ms. Ross had performed in Ottawa in three decades.

She devoted much of the night to her hits from the 1970s, including Touch Me In the Morning, It's My Turn, as well as the upbeat Why Do Fools Fall in Love. ehaws@hilltimes.com

The Hill Times

NAC Gala had a disco theme

The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade







Policy director changes for Wilkinson, Wilson-Raybould

Two new political aides recently joined Public Services and Procurement Minister Carla Qualtrough's office.

Fisheries, Oceans, and Canadian Coast Guard Minister Jonathan Wilkinson recently named Victoria Windsor as his new director of policy.

Ms. Windsor joins Mr. Wilkinson's office straight from Democratic Institutions Minister **Karina Gould**'s office where she's been working since February 2017, starting off as a senior special assistant for parliamentary affairs and ending as a policy adviser.

Before then, Ms. Windsor was a special assistant for Atlantic regional affairs to then public services and procurement minister **Judy Foote**. She's also a former field organizer for the federal Liberal Party in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Ms. Windsor has a bachelor's degree in politics and political economy from New York University, a master's degree in history of international relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science, and studied law at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland, during which time she worked as a research assistant.

In the fisheries minister's office, she replaces **Alexis McIntyre** as director of policy. Ms. McIntyre is currently away on maternity leave and is set to take over as chief of staff to Mr. Wilkinson when she returns later this year. For now, **George Young** is on loan from the Prime Minister's Office, where he's been busy as a liaison for ministers' offices since November 2016, as acting chief of staff to the minister.

Over in Ms. Gould's office, the minister has also recently bid farewell to special assistant **Jamieson Rees**.

Mr. Rees originally joined the minister's staff team in January and before then was a Hill assistant to Ms. Gould in her capacity as the Liberal MP for Burlington, Ont.

A Wilfrid Laurier University alumnus, Mr. Rees has both a bachelor's degree in political science and a master's degree in applied politics from the school.

Rob Jamieson is chief of staff to Ms. Gould. Meanwhile, over in Justice Minister **Jody Wilson-Raybould's** office, **Keith Smith** exited his post as director of policy to the minister as of Sept. 18.

Mr. Smith first joined the minister's office in 2016 and before then had been director of policy research and international affairs with the Canadian Human Rights Commissions' human rights promotion branch. He's also a former director of the intergovernmental and international relations directorate of the then-federal department of aboriginal affairs, amongst other past jobs.

Since his departure, senior policy adviser **Audrey DeMarsico** has stepped up as acting director of policy to the minister. Ms. DeMarsico joined Ms. Wilson-Raybould's office roughly one year ago and before then was a partner at Hansell LLP in Toronto. Also currently focused on policy work in the minister's office are policy advisers **Whitney Morrison** and **Farzin Yousefian**. **Jessica Prince** is chief of staff to Ms. Wilson-Raybould.

Other current political staff to the minister include: Laura Berger, judicial appointment coordinator; François Giroux, judicial affairs adviser; Alexander Steinhouse, acting director of parliamentary affairs; Izabel Czuzoj-Shulman, parliamentary affairs adviser; Philip Jansson, parliamentary affairs adviser; Léo Newman, regional assistant; David Taylor, director of communications; Célia Canon, communications adviser; and Melissa Doyle, executive assistant.

Comms adviser among new hires in Minister Qualtrough's office

Public Services and Procurement Minister **Carla Qualtrough** recently welcomed two new aides to her political staff team.



Public Services and Procurement Minister Carla Qualtrough pictured during a committee meeting in May. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

Marielle Hossack started on the job as a new communications adviser in Ms. Qualtrough's ministerial office on Sept. 17. Before then, Ms. Hossack had been serving as a parliamentary adviser to Ms. Qualtrough in her Hill office as the Liberal MP for Delta, B.C. since November 2017.

With a bachelor of arts degree specializing in communications from the University of Ottawa, she's also a former social media coordinator for the National Capital Commissioner, and has been a communications development adviser for World Vision Laos, among other past experience. In the minister's office, Ms. Hossack

is now working closely with Ms. Qualtrough's press secretary, **Ashley Michnowski**, and director of communications, **Christine Michaud**.

Madison Taipalus is another new fulltime hire in Ms. Qualtrough's office, and



also started work on Sept. 17 as a special assistant for Western and Northern regional affairs.

Back in the summer of 2017, Ms. Taipalus was a policy intern in Ms. Qualtrough's office as the then-minister for sport and persons with disabilities. She was most recently an assistant in Liberal MP **Francis Scarpaleggia**'s Hill office as the MP for Lac-Saint-Louis, Que. Mr. Scarpaleggia is also the Liberal caucus chair, a role he's held since 2011.

Originally from Ms. Qualtrough's home turf of Delta, B.C., Ms. Taipalus has a bachelor's degree in international relations and affairs from the University of British Columbia.

In her new role, Ms. Taipalus joins fellow regional advisers **Anthony Laporte**, special assistant for Quebec regional affairs; **Neil McKenna**, special assistant for Atlantic regional affairs; and **Liam St-Louis**, special assistant for regional affairs for the National Capital Region.

Matt Stickney is chief of staff to Ms. Qualtrough.

In other news, **Michael Huang** has been hired on as a special assistant in the ministers' regional office (MRO) in Toronto; his first day on the job was Sept. 17.

The Liberal government began staffing up the 16 ministers' regional offices across Canada in January 2017. Under this government, the various MROs are used to support the work of ministers across cabinet when they are visiting different regions, and include a combination of political staff and public servants. Under the previous Conservative government, responsibility for these MROs was divided between the respective regional ministers that were named at the time.

These MROs are located in: Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Regina, Toronto, Kitchener, Montreal, Québec City, Halifax, Fredericton, St. John's, Charlottetown, Iqaluit, Yellowknife, and Whitehorse.

In the Toronto MRO, Mr. Huang joins **Dovejot Parmar**, special assistant for regional affairs, and **Sarah McEvoy**, Ontario regional affairs manager. Stationed in Ms. Qualtrough's office in Ottawa as the national manager for the ministers' regional offices is **Christine Burke**.

A look at the NDP caucus communications team

Nina Amrov is a new press secretary for the NDP caucus on the Hill, and marked her first day on the job on Sept. 4.

A former parliamentary assistant to NDP MP **Georgina Jolibois**, the MP for Desnethé-Mississippi-Churchill River, Sask., on the Hill, Ms. Amrov was most recently a regional tour and media coordinator for the federal NDP's Quebec caucus. The party currently has 15 MPs from la belle province.

Since July 2017, Ms. Amrov has also been a chief steward for the NDP staffers' union, the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 232. Her fellow NDP caucus press secretary, **Nasha Brownridge**, is currently president of the staff union. Ms. Amrov is also a former constituency assistant to then-NDP MP Lysane Blanchette-Lamothe. Ms. Lamothe represented Pierrefonds-Dollard, Que. in the House from 2011 to 2015. During the 2017 NDP leadership race, which ultimately saw Jagmeet Singh named the new party leader, Ms. Amrov was national organizing director for NDP MP Niki Ashton's ultimately unsuccessful campaign.

Along with Ms. Brownridge and Ms. Amrov, **Orian Labrèche** is also an NDP caucus press secretary. As well, **Kathryn LeBlanc** tackles media logistics for the caucus.



Back in August, **Mélanie Richer** returned to the Hill to take over as the NDP caucus' deputy director of communications for media as of Aug. 21.

as of Aug. 21. Before then, Ms. Richer had been busy as a communications and media specialist for the Ottawa Community Housing Corporation since March, having left the

Mélanie Richer is back on the Hill working for the NDP

Hill and her gig as an NDP caucus press secretary to take on the job.

Ms. Richer was a press secretary for the NDP during the 2015 federal election campaign, and later was a tour coordinator to then leader **Thomas Mulcair**. She's also briefly been a press secretary for the NDP in Nova Scotia during the May 2017 provincial election, and for the NDP in Newfoundland and Labrador during the November 2015 provincial election.

In other past jobs, she's also been a records coordinator for the War Amputations of Canada, a consultant with Prospectus Associates in Ottawa, and a member of the promotions and production team for Senators Sports & Entertainment.

Kerry Pither is director of strategic communications for the NDP, as reported by **Hill Climbers** in June. **Willy Blomme**, chief of staff in the NDP leader's office on the Hill, resigned from her post on Oct. 4. In a press release flagging the decision, NDP parliamentary leader **Guy Caron** said she resigned due to "personal reasons" but would be staying on to help find a new chief of staff and "assist with the transition." A former chief of staff to NDP leader **Jagmeet Singh** during his time at Queen's Park, Ms. Blomme stepped into the role federally in January 2018.

"She has built a strong new team and set a course that will ensure that the NDP can offer real solutions for Canadians," said Mr. Caron in the email.

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Underrepresented in the House, Asian-Canadian MPs say more Asian faces needed in Ottawa

There are currently eight MPs of East or Southeast Asian background, accounting for 2.4 per cent of all 338 MPs. However, there are nearly 3.2-million people of that background in Canada, accounting for almost 10 per cent of the population.

Columbia Progressive Conservative MP Douglas Jung, in 1957.

"In Ottawa, we're playing catch-up with the diversity of this country, whether it's today or whether it was back in 2004," said Mr. Chong (Wellington-Halton Hills, Ont.), a former Harper cabinet minister and five-term MP. His father arrived in Canada from Hong Kong in the 1950s, and his mother arrived from the Netherlands in the 1960s.

Mr. Chong, who competed and lost the race for the Conservative leadership in 2017, is among eight individuals of East or Southeast Asian descent currently in the House of Commons.

By the numbers, Asian-Canadians (intentionally limited to East and Southeast Asians for this story) are underrepresented in Canadian politics, and have been for decades.

The eight MPs make up 2.4 per cent of all 338 MPs in the House. However, there are nearly 3.2-million people of East and Southeast Asian background residing in Canada, accounting for almost 10 per cent of the country's population, according to 2016 Statistics Canada figures on ethnic origin.

Two of the eight MPs, Mr. Chong and Alice Wong (Richmond Centre, B.C.)—also a former Harper cabinet minister—are Conservatives. Two are NDP MPs, Anne Minh-Thu Quach (Salaberry—Suroît, Que.) and Jenny Kwan (Vancouver East, B.C.). Four are Liberals, Ms. Yip, Small Business and Export Promotion Minister Mary Ng (Markham-Thornhill, Ont.), Shaun Chen (Scarborough North, Ont.), and Geng Tan (Don Valley North, Ont.).

Two represent ridings in British Columbia's Lower Mainland and four represent ridings in the Greater Toronto Area, with both regions boasting significant Asian populations. Ms. Quach is the only francophone, and her and Mr. Chong represent ridings with a



Asian MPs, clockwise from top: Conservative MP Michael Chong, Conservative MP Alice Wong, NDP MP Anne Minh-Thu Quach, NDP MP Jenny Kwan, Liberal MP Mary Ng, Liberal MP Jean Yip, Liberal MP Shaun Chen, and Liberal MP Geng Tan. There are only eight MPs of East or Southeast Asian background. *The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade and file photos*

small number of visible minorities. In light of a new wave of discussion about Asian representation in media this year, five MPs from the three main federal parties who spoke to *The Hill Times* say more needs to be done to get the demographic makeup of the House of Commons on par with the Canadian reality today.

This article is the first of a three-part series focusing on the issue of representation, experiences of federal politicians, and voting habits among Asian Canadians.

"I feel very fortunate but there is always things we can improve," said Liberal MP Jean Yip (Scarborough-Agincourt, Ont.), who represents a Toronto riding with a large Chinese community."I think as Chinese Canadians, we bring a unique voice. Just visually we bring representation. Young people see us there and see our faces, it makes a difference."

Said Mr. Chong: "We've got work to do in all parties to ensure the democratic chamber, the House of Commons, reflects the people it represents."

Ms. Ng, who was added to the government's front bench as part of the July 18 shuffle, is the first and only member of Mr. Trudeau's cabinet who is Chinese. She was formerly director of appointments in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), making her the most senior staffer of Chinese heritage to have worked at the PMO.

The 2016 census found almost 1.8-million Canadians were of Chinese background.

As she told *The Hill Times* in September, "I think it's important for people to see people they can relate to, to take on public positions like this."

"To be a cabinet minister should mean that anyone like me, who is ... a young person, think that it's normal,"said Ms. Ng. To compare numbers, there are 24 MPs of South Asian background currently in the House, representing a little more than seven per cent of all members. Canadians of South Asian background account for 5.7 per cent of the country's population as of 2016.

Meanwhile, there were almost 840,000 Canadians of Filipino background, as of the last federal census, but there are currently no MPs of that background on the Hill. There has only been one individual of Filipino background ever elected to the House, Rey Pagtakhan, a Manitoba Liberal MP who served from 1988 to 2004.

Speaking from her experience in the Chinese Canadian community, Ms. Yip said for immigrant families, careers with stability and security are often desired by parents for their children. It's something that makes politics, activism, and journalism less likely as a career choice.

"When you come over as a newcomer, you want your children to have a good life. You want security for them, and financial security,"she said. "They just want something that's safe, and I can certainly understand that. But you can see more young people are taking the chance to get involved. I think with every generation you will see more civic engagement."

It's a sentiment that Ms. Quach also understands. She said the expected jobs for children of immigrants are to be doctors and lawyers, not so much politicians, but that second-generation Canadians are in a good position to participate in politics.

"It's maybe something that may be new to the second generation," she said. "I would like to see more young Vietnamese people involved in politics, even if it's not the NDP."

She said her family has been "super supportive" and was "really proud" when she was first elected in 2011—coming a long way since 1980, when her parents arrived in Quebec as refugees fleeing communist-controlled Vietnam as part of the wave often referred to as the "boat people."

Ms. Quach was elected again in 2015 and is tied as the secondever Vietnamese-Canadian to be elected to the House of Commons.

She said as an MP of Vietnamese background, despite representing a riding where half of all Vietnamese people are members of her family, she's often sent a barrage of invitations to events held by the diaspora community across Canada. It can come with added expectations.

"Yes, there is a lot of pressure, but it's because they like you," she said. "They like the fact they have a voice, I can bring it to the House. ... For once, they are more involved in Canadian politics." There are 240,000 Canadians

There are 240,000 Canadians of Vietnamese background, but Ms. Quach is currently the only MP of that background.

For Ms. Kwan, she said her parents were reluctant to support her political ambitions at first, but eventually helped her knock on doors. She arrived in Canada from Hong Kong with her parents when she was nine and worked as a community advocate under the wing of well-known B.C. activist Jim Green before being elected as Vancouver's youngest-ever city council member in 1993 at the age of 26. She was a provincial B.C. MLA for almost 20 years before being elected federally.

"I first told them I wasn't going to law school and second I was going to enter into politics, they kind of looked at me like I was from Mars," she said. "They didn't want me to do it, they knew it was going to be hard work. But they also knew I was a very determined person."

She said engagement with ethnic communities is especially important for getting visible minorities involved in politics. "When people have barriers

and can't connect with them, the more they feel disconnected to elected officials and those positions the more they feel disconnected to government and what democracy can and should mean." she said.

can and should mean," she said. Mr. Chong said one of the potential reasons why there are so few Asian-Canadian MPs is because Ottawa is "far removed" from ethnically diverse population centres like Toronto, B.C's Lower Mainland, and Montreal. He noted that the public service that supports the federal government—many of whom live and work in the National Capital Region—also isn't reflective of the country's population.

In addition, he said political parties, and specifically the way nominations are run at the riding level, are archaic and not open enough to new blood. Mr. Chong proposed changes to the party nominations process as part of his 2014 Reform Act, but they watered down in the final version passed by Parliament in 2015.

"It's not easy to run and win a party nomination. Political parties in Canada are very closed and privately run clubs. It's often difficult to break into those clubs unless you know somebody on the inside," he said.

For Ms. Yip, she said it's also important that Asian Canadians are seen in public life and in non-stereotypical roles. She said before she was elected as an MP in a 2017 byelection, she would watch the CBC show *Kim's Convenience* with one of her sons, an example of a multi-dimensional depiction of Asian-Canadians on television.

Each of the MPs interviewed by *The Hill Times* said they were never subject to overt racism while serving on the Hill and were grateful for the progress the country has made with electing more visible minorities and Indigenous MPs, and were hopeful for the future. In the 2015 federal election, 46 visible minorities were elected to the House, along with 10 Indigenous MPs.

"I think we've made progress as time evolves,"Ms. Kwan said."And I do think there will be more ethnic minorities in all elected offices." jlim@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

Asian Canadians in politics

Douglas Jung—the first-ever visible minority and first Chinese-Canadian to be elected to the House in 1957
 23—the number of MPs of East or Southeast Asian background elected to the House in its history
 Four—the number of Chinese-Canadians to be in the federal cabinet
 Eight—the number of MPs of East

or Southeast Asian background current in the House

• 2.4—the percentage of MPs who are of East or Southeast Asian background currently in the house

• **10**—the percentage of Canada's population who are of East or Southeast Asian background

 3.2 million—the number of Canadians who are of East or Southeast Asian background

 Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese the three top ethnic groups among East and Southeast Asians by population, in order

Safe Third Country Agreement behind spike of irregular border crossers, say Immigration Committee witnesses

Immigration Committee exploring broad study on migration challenges and opportunities in the 21st century.

Continued from page 1

21st century, is being told by witnesses that the federal government should suspend the Canada-U.S. Safe Third Country Agreement to reduce the number of irregular border crossers coming into Canada.

In the face of a question over whether the United States can be considered a safe country due to the immigration and refugee policies of U.S. President Donald Trump and his administration, which curbs refugee admission from six predominately Muslim countries, Doug Saunders, the author of several best-selling books on immigration, including Arrival City and Maximum Canada: Why 35 Million Canadians are Not Enough, appeared in front of the committee on Oct. 2 to speak about migration and irregular border crossing.

The Safe Third Country Agreement is what is causing irregular crossings between entry points on the Canada-U.S. Border," Mr. Saunders, an international affairs columnist at The Globe and Mail, told the committee. "There is no other factor."

'People are not crossing at irregular points because it's an easy way into Canada, they are crossing because it's the hardest and most expensive way into Canada, but it's the only way under [the] Safe Third Country," said Mr. Saunders.

The Safe Third Country Agreement was a pact struck in 2002 between Canada and the United States, which came into force in 2004, that compels refugee claimants to make their claim in the first country along the 49th parallel that they arrive in. The agreement forces refugee claimants to cross the border irregularly as the pact is in place at recognized land crossings, at train stations, and at airports.

Mr. Saunders said he thinks the concern of Canadians isn't the numbers of refugees and miway in which they reach Canada. He added that if the same number of claimants were presenting themselves at an approved crossing and they were being processed quickly, there would "no controversy" with the number of claimants.

Appearing alongside Mr. Saunders last week was Megan Bradley, a political science professor at McGill University who is an expert on refugees and forced migration. She said the goal shouldn't be to reduce the number of refugees that come to Canada, but to insure those that need protection as refugees can access it in a "safe and reliable" way without risking their own or their families' lives.

Prof. Bradley also supported the suspension of the Safe Third Party Agreement.

"I don't think we can count on a fair [refugee] determination from the U.S.," Prof. Bradley said. Prof. Bradley said, unlike Can-

ada's refugee system, the American system of asylum processing has been overly politicized.

Idil Atak, a criminology professor at Ryerson University, specializing in irregular migration and refugee protection, who appeared before the committee on Oct. 4 also endorsed Canada suspending the Safe Third Country Agreement, as did Rosa Baum, a research fellow at the Aleph

Policy Initiative.

Ms. Baum said the system that has been protecting rights of refugees and migrants in the U.S. has been

"deteriorating" and she said that process started before Mr. Trump entered the Oval Office.

In August, there were 2,220 asylum claimants who entered Canada by land ports of entry, accord-

ing to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), which is up from July, and the highest number since April when there was 2,465 claimants. The IRCC has yet to release data for September.

There were 5,615 total asylum claimants in August processed by the IRCC and the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) from all land, air, and sea ports of entry. It is the highest in a year, in August 2017 there were more than 8,000 claims. The numbers take into account all claimants, including irregular border crossers.

Mr. Saunders said there link between tightening temporary visas and an increase in irregular entry and noted that increased border security doesn't lead to less irregular border crossers. But he said speeding up the processing time can lead to less demand.

Appearing before the committee on Oct. 2, Richard Wex, the new chairperson of the Immigration and Refugee Board, said there is a backlog of 65,000 asylum claimants in Canada. He said it will take around two years to clear the backlog, if there are no more claimants. Mr. Wex said the backlog continues to grow on average at a pace of around 2,400 per month.

The New Democrats have been calling for the suspension of the Safe Third Country Agreement since last year.

"I certainly hope that the government would take the advice of the witnesses coming out of this committee, and to act on them," said NDP MP Jenny Kwan (Vancouver East, B.C.), her party's immigration and refugees critic and a member of the committee.

Liberal MP Robert Oliphant (Don Valley West, Ont.), the chair of the House Immigration Committee, said he is undecided if the Safe Third Country Agreement should be suspended.

[My view on the agreement] has changed twice. I think it's going to keep changing," Mr.

Refugee Agency monitors both Canada and the United States in terms of their compliance with the safe third country agreement," Mr. Hussen said in the House on May 7.

Conservative MP Michelle Rempel (Calgary Nose Hill, Alta.), her party's immigration critic, said she wants the agreement extended to include Canada's full border, as she had said the

> diately close the loophole in the Safe Third Counregain control of our borders, and prioritize the world's most vulnerable," she said in an Oct. 3 statement.

have identified the irregular border crossers as an area to score political points against the government. An Angus Reid poll found that

67 per cent of Canadians view the issue as a crisis.

Migration study still in its 'early stages': Oliphant

Mr. Saunders, Prof. Bradley, and other witnesses testified at the House Immigration Committee last week as it undertakes a study on the migration challenges and opportunities that exist in the 21st century.

Mr. Oliphant said, when arriving at the Immigration Committee after chairing the House Public Safety Committee, he thought the committee was missing the big-picture view and wanted to take the fall session to look at the broader framework.

'We're a committee that doesn't have legislation to deal with, we don't have to interrupt our studies with important work of Parliament. We haven't had a piece of legislation for some time. So I thought this is a real opportunity to do a seminal study on migration and to put everything in a broader context," he said.

Mr. Oliphant said he wants to understand what's behind times of increased migration and irregular border crossing,s as well as look what's being done to help victims of genocide and LGBTQ refugees.

Committee members travelled to Tanzania and Uganda over the summer as part of their study. In Tanzania, the committee members looked into immigration processing and family reunification, while in Uganda they focused on refugee issues in the country that has 1.4 million refugees in the country of more than 41 million people.

Witnesses, that include experts, academics, stakeholders among others, are appearing in front of the committee speaking on a broad range of issues. They are speaking on irregular border crossers to internally displaces peoples, as well as the effects of war and natural disasters on forced migration.

Ms. Kwan said she is worried that the study is "so broad" there isn't a focus in one area.

She said there is the potential for issues not to get the attention they deserve in order for the study to be "complete and comprehensive."

Ms. Kwan said many areas being looked at could need their own study.

Mr. Oliphant said he hopes the study can help depoliticize the committee that is known for its partisan rancour.

On Oct. 2, when the committee was questioning Mr. Wex about his new position, MPs spent more than 20 minutes of the hourlong session with the new IRB chair issuing points of order, and debating and voting on motions, amendments, and sub-amendments

Conservative MP Larry Macguire (Brandon-Souris, Man.) said so far the committee's study has been bi-partisan and that needs to be at the "forefront" to get "real answers.'

Mr. Oliphant said when he was the chair of the House Public Safety Committee, his goal was to have a unanimous report. But he said he doesn't want it to be a "bland report" and "given the personalities engaged on this file, getting unanimity is pretty tough."

He added that he is less concerned about unanimity, but it is still his preference.

The chair of the committee said he wants a study that will be referred to by academics, journalists, Parliamentarians, ministers, and by future governments. He added that he wants it to be referred to as a study that set a course and gave suggestions for the future of Canada's immigration system.

The working timeline is to submit the report to the House of ommons before Christmas, Mr. Oliphant said.

"But, I'm not going to be upset if it doesn't happen until the end of January," he said, adding jokingly that it will be filed finished in this Parliament.

Mr. Macguire said he wanted to see the study to be more in depth and done well, instead of something done quickly to address an urgent problem.

nmoss@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

Members of the House Immigration Committee, pictured last week on the Hill. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

Oliphant said, sitting in his Valour

Building office last week in Ot-

thought ... it is the safest way to

protect people because it drives

them to regularize irregular bor-

to make a permanent change

based on a temporary regime,'

he said cautiously referring to

the Trump administration."It was

working when we had a different

Immigration Minister Ahmed

Hussen (York South-Weston, Ont.)

has eschewed calls to suspend the

talks with the U.S. government to

see in which ways the agreement

"The Safe Third Country

Agreement is premised on the

notion of better management of

asylum seekers between Canada

and the United States. It is based

on a principle supported by the

United Nations Refugee Agency,

that refugees should claim asy-

lum in the first safe country that

they land in. The United Nations

can be modernized.

agreement but has said he is in

"I've also thought I don't want

tawa."I have looked at it, and

der crossings.

regime.'

agreement is not enforced at nonofficial border crossing zones. "The Safe Third Country Agreement was put in place by a Liberal government. It means that Canada believes that those who have reached the United States of America are no longer fleeing persecution. This Liberal government needs to enforce this spirit of the agreement," Ms. Rempel wrote in a tweet on April 27. 'Canada's Conservatives will continue to advocate for an asylum system that is planned, orderly and compassionate. We call

upon the government to immetry Agreement,

The Tories

19



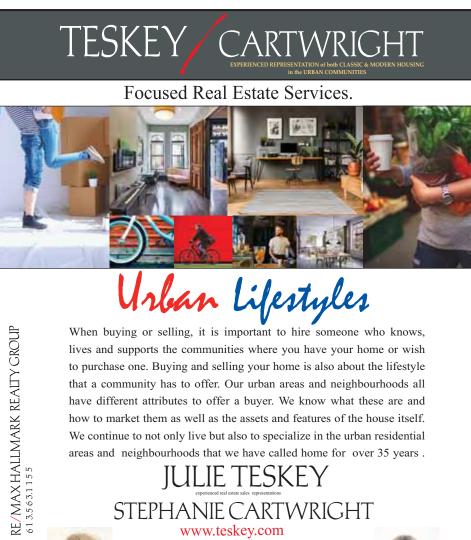
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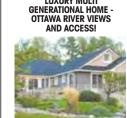
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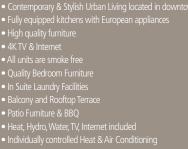


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Harper to talk about his new book, Right Here, Right Now: Politics and Leadership in the Age of Disruption, on Thursday in Toronto



MONDAY, OCT. 8

House Sitting-The House breaks Oct. 8-12 and will resume sitting again for four weeks, from Oct. 15-Nov. 9. It will break again for one week. Nov. 12-16, and will return for four weeks, the last four of 2018, sitting from Nov. 19-Dec. 14. While the House is adjourned for six weeks until Jan. 28, 2019, the occupants of Centre Block are scheduled to be moved to the West Block, the Government Conference Centre, and other buildings in the Parliamentary Precinct. The Centre Block is expected to be closed for 10 years for a massive rehabilitation and renovation project, so that's until at least 2029, folks.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 10

IDRC's Panel Discussion: Mobilizing Women's Collective Action for Change-IDRC's Solutions for Gender Equity speaker series launches with a panel that will share examples of women's collective actions that positively influence gender relations and adverse gender norms and practices. The speakers-Niveditha Menon, Sofia Trevino, Linda Rosa Palomo—will present approaches their organizations have used to successfully increase the voice and visibility of women who are marginalized, disadvantaged, or sidelined from society. Wednesday, Oct. 10. 1 p.m.-2 p.m., Global Centre for Pluralism. Dialogue Room, 330 Sussex Dr., Ottawa. For more information, visit idrc.ca

THURSDAY, OCT, 11

Stephen Harper Speaks at Canadian Club in Toronto-Former prime minister Stephen Harper will talk about his book published by Signal Books and Penguin Random House Canada Limited, Right Here, Right Now: Politics and Leadership in the Age of Disruption, on Thursday, Oct. 11, at 12:40 p.m. at 401 Bay St. Media inquiries: Keri Johnson, communications coordinator, Canadian Club Toronto, (416) 364-5590 or kjohnson@ canadianclub.org

2018 International Organization of La Francophonie Summit-Leaders of Francophonie member states will convene in Yerevan, Armenia until Oct. 12. Canada is a member of La Francophonie.

SUNDAY, OCT. 14

CICan 2018 Indigenous Education Symposium-Hosted by Colleges and Institutes Canada (CICan) at the Hôtel-Musée Premières Nations in Wendake, Que., Oct. 14-16, the symposium will focus on the role of colleges, institutes, cegeps and polytechnics in serving the learning needs of Indigenous people and communities. Participants will share experiences, approaches, and best practices in supporting reconcili-ation through the implementation of the principles of CICan's Indigenous Education Protocol, which include increasing Indigenous representation in institutional governance, indigenizing curriculum and learning approaches, creating more supportive and culturally relevant learning environments, and strengthening partnerships with Indigenous communities. For more information: www.collegesinstitutes.ca/event.

MONDAY, OCT. 15

House Sitting—The House will resume sitting again for four weeks, from Oct. 15-Nov. 9. It will break again for one week, Nov. 12-16, and will return for four weeks, the last four of 2018, sitting from Nov. 19-Dec. 14. While the House is adjourned for six weeks until Jan. 28, 2019, the occupants of Centre Block are scheduled to be moved to the West Block, the Government Conference Centre, and other buildings in the Parliamentary Precinct. The Centre Block is expected to be closed for 10 years for a massive rehabilitation and renovation project, so that's until at least 2029, folks

Global Automakers of Canada Reception-Brian Fulton, chair of the Global Automakers of Canada and president and CEO of Mercedes-Benz Canada Inc., is hosting a reception along with senior executives from the association's 15 member companies to discuss the current state of the automotive industry in Canada. Oct. 15. 5:30-7:30 p.m. Wellington Building, Room 325, 180 Wellington St., Ottawa. Refreshments and

hors d'oeuvres will be served. By invitation only. Please RSVP by Oct. 5 to Sadaf Amdjadi at 416-595-8251 ext. 1223 or auto@globalautomakers.ca. TUESDAY, OCT. 16

IBM Canada's Advocacy Day on Parliament Hill—IBM Canada will be in Ottawa with senior executives to meet with MPs, Senators, and staff to discuss IBM's footprint in Canada and its impact through employment and giving back to the community.

Marine Day on the Hill-The Chamber of Marine Commerce is hosting a Marine Day on the Hill reception for all MPs and Senators. The event, featuring Transport Minister Marc Garneau as a speaker, will also have multi-party panel discussion on Great Lakes-St. Lawrence shipping as a national trade and transportation corridor. 6-8 p.m. Room 410. Wellington Building. RSVP by Oct. 13 to Taylor Bourdeau at 613-232-3539 or admin@cmc-ccm.com

Canadian Global Affairs Institute's Conference Ready for Launch: Preparing Canada for a Future in Space-Transport Minister Marc Garneau will provide a keynote address at 8:30 a.m., followed by a panel discussion with Mac Evans, Lucy Stojak, Sylvain Laporte, Robert Thirsk. Other participants in the conference include: Kenneth Hodgkins, Charity Weeden, Mike Greenley, Dan Goldberg, Marina Mississian, Ewan Reid, Nadeem Ghafoor, Froduald Kabanza, Dr. Christopher Sands, Prashant Shukle, Sarah Pacey, Ryan Anderson and

Gordon Oskinski. Tuesday, Oct. 16, Westin Hotel in Ottawa. More information, please contact Brittany Noppe at bnoppe@cgai.ca.

WEDNESDAY, OCT, 17

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

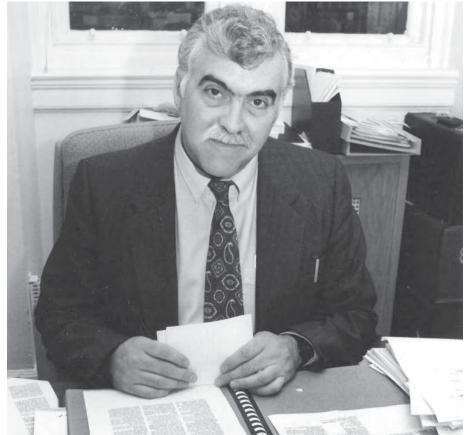
Conservative Caucus Meeting-The Conservatives will meet for their national caucus meeting. For more information, contact Corv Hann, director of communications with the Conservative Party of Canada at coryhann@conservative.ca.

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.

Bloc Québécois Meeting—The Bloc Québécois caucus is still on Wednesday morning in La Francophonie Room (263-S, Centre Block) starting at 9:30 a.m

Entrepreneur of the Year Awards—eBay's 14th Annual Entrepreneur of the Year Awards celebrates outstanding achievements in Canadian entrepreneurship, demonstrating how small- and medium-sized businesses find success online through platforms like eBay. 5:30-8 p.m. Métropolitain Brasserie, 700 Sussex Dr., Ottawa.

FROM THE HILL TIMES' PHOTO ARCHIVES: HILL LIFE & PEOPLE, 30th YEAR IN PRINT



The Hill Times file photograph

 $\mathbf{F}^{\mathrm{ormer}\ \mathrm{NDP}\ \mathrm{MP}\ \mathrm{Jim}\ \mathrm{Fulton},}$ pictured in this undated photograph during the 34th Parliament in his Confederation Building office on the Hill, represented the farflung Skeena, B.C., riding from 1979 to 1993, and was one of the most effective NDP MPs ever to sit in the House. The former probation officer was a star in Question Period and in media scrums. He was smart, funny, and knew what he was talking he believed in what he did. A big bulk of a man who stood at more t six feet tall, he was known as outrageously controversial and passionate about the environment and the rights of First Nations peoples. He once slapped a dead salmon on then-prime minister Brian Mulroney's desk during Question Period to attract attention to environmental issues, but as Peter O'Neil wrote in the Vancouver Sun in 2008, his "personal warmth and humour made him impossible to dislike." Mr. Fulton served as his party's environment critic from 1980 to 1993 and hired Hill staff who focused on nothing but the environment."He was to federal politics and the environment movement what gonzo journalist Hunter S. Thompson, the gun-toting, drugconsuming chronicler of the Hells Angels, American decadence and Richard Nixon, was to American journalism in the 1960s and '70s," wrote O'Neil. After leaving politics, Fulton worked as executive director of the David Suzuki Foundation. He died of colon cancer in 2008 at the age of 58. - by Kate Malloy The Hill Times

THURSDAY, OCT. 18

The Fraser Institute Founders' Award-In recognition of its founders, T. Patrick Boyle and Michael A. Walker, the Fraser Institute is honouring Shaun C. Francis, chair and CEO of MEDCAN Health Management Inc., and chair of the True Patriot Love Foundation. Fairmont Royal York in Toronto. For information on sponsorship opportunities or to reserve your place, contact Megan McElwain by calling 416-363-6575 ext. 228 or by emailing megan mcelwain@fraserinstitute.org. Corporate table (10 tickets): \$7,500; standard ticket: \$500.

Startup Canada Day on the Hill 2018—This annual entrepreneurship event takes place on Oct. 18. Hundreds of entrepreneurs, companies, innovators, investors, politicians, and government decision-makers are expected to attend from across Canada. 8 a.m.-5 p.m. \$95. Shaw Centre, 55 Colonel By Dr. Tickets available via Eventbrite.

Carleton University's 'Author Meets Readers'-Car leton University's Faculty of Public Affairs invites you to "Author Meets Readers." Karim H. Karim and panellists will discuss his new edited collection, Diaspora and Media in Europe: Migration, Identity, and Integration. Europe's current migration crisis provides the backdrop for the book, whose authors' research contributes to our understanding of how Syrian, Somali Turkish, Moroccan, Congolese, Jamaican, Nepalese, and Ecuadorian diasporas living in Europe use contemporary communications technology to integrate into receiving societies and stay in touch with mum in the old country. Oct. 18, 5:30-7 p.m. at Irene's Pub, 885 Bank St. Free to attend. Register at carleton.ca/fpa

Famous Five Speaker Series—Celebrate Persons Day on Thursday, Oct. 18, with Famous5 in the Canada Room at the National Arts Centre, Ottawa, 5:30 p.m.-7:30 p.m. There will be a reception and a panel discussion. Panellists include Penny Collenette, Margaret From, Shari Graydon. Famous5 will honour Nobina Robinson with a 'What Gets Measured Gets Done Award.

TUESDAY, OCT. 23

Innovation Symposium—The eighth Innovation Sympo-sium, hosted by the University of Toronto, will take place on Tuesday, Oct. 23, at ONRamp, located in the heart of the Toronto Discovery District. The symposium connects Canadian innovators with post-secondary students, inspiring and encouraging the next generation of innovators.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 24

Manning Innovation Awards-Now entering its 37th year, the Manning Innovation Awards, presented by Scotiabank, recognize and reward the contributions of Canada's most outstanding innovators. This year, the awards are returning to Toronto to introduce and celebrate the 2018 Manning laureates. Events run Oct. 23-24, with an innovation symposium on Oct. 23 at the University of Toronto and the awards reception on Oct. 24 at the Scotiabank Centre.

 $\textbf{Genomics on the Hill} \\ - \text{Don't miss this exciting}$ opportunity to meet some of Canada's most prominent scientists and research partners who are translating the biological code into discovery, innovation, and hope. Oct. 24. 4-7 p.m. Refreshments will be served. Centre Block, Room 256-S. RSVP: goh@genomecanada.ca.

THURSDAY, OCT. 25

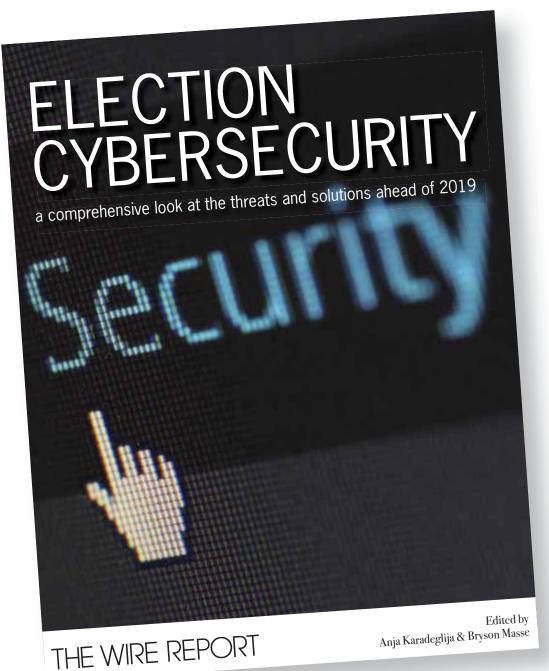
CGAI's Annual Defence Procurement Conference—The Canadian Global Affairs Institute is set to host this conference Oct. 25 at the Fairmont Château Laurier hotel, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa. cgai.ca.

The Parliamentary Calendar is a free events listing. Send in your political, cultural, diplomatic, or governmental event in a paragraph with all the relevant details under the subject line 'Parliamentary Calendar' to news@hilltimes.com by Wednesday at noon before the Monday paper or by Friday at noon for the Wednesday paper. We can't guarantee inclusion of every event, but we will definitely do our best. Events can be updated daily online too

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