

Heard on the Hill p. 12



# THE HILL TIMES

**Immigration Minister Ahmed Hussen hires a new chief of staff** p. 27



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**News** NDP & privilege

NDP court battle with BOIE wages on, as Parliament fights to keep courts out

BY LAURA RYCKWAERT

The NDP's unprecedented court battle with the House Board of Internal Economy continued last week, with the Federal Court of Appeal hearing arguments on whether or not two 2014 decisions by the board, ordering NDP MPs to repay roughly \$4-million, are immune from judicial oversight.

Reached by *The Hill Times* after the daylong hearing on Nov. 14, NDP lawyer Julius Grey, who along with James Duggan, is representing NDP MPs in the case, said he thinks a decision within two months is probable.

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**News** Grit nomination

**Candidate for Liberal nomination in Saint-Leonard-Saint-Michel signing up new members**

BY ABBAS RANA

The Liberal Party will open up nominations in the coveted Quebec riding of Saint-Leonard-

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**News** Sexting scandal

**Conservative consultant Mills questions why senior-ranking female Conservative MPs are staying quiet on Tony Clement's inappropriate sexual behaviour, conduct**

Female MPs of all parties say that MPs should call out anyone who engages in inappropriate sexual behaviour on Parliament Hill.



Conservative consultant Alise Mills, right, who recently went public with her 'uncomfortable interaction' with then Harper-era Conservative cabinet minister Tony Clement in 2014 when he kissed her on the lips, says female Conservative Parliamentarians should speak up against the alleged inappropriate conduct of their former caucus colleague, but all parties have problems and it shouldn't be a partisan issue. *The Hill Times* file photograph and courtesy of Alise Mills

BY ABBAS RANA & EMILY HAWS

Veteran Conservative strategist Alise Mills, who went public on Nov. 9 about her "uncomfortable interaction" with Tony Clement in 2014, says female MPs, especially those in the Conservative caucus,

should have publicly denounced the alleged inappropriate behaviour of their former colleague and expressed support for her, but top female Tory MPs and Senators are choosing to stay mum.

"We get up for some of the stupidest things, we rally as

a team and as a force, but we didn't get up for this one, and we didn't publicly denounce him?" said Ms. Mills, a veteran Conservative communications consultant with Sussex Strategy

Continued on page 22

**News** Meth & Winnipeg

**Winnipeg Grit MP Ouellette calls on all MPs to combat meth crisis, after being 'solicited' for sex by two young addicts**

BY ABBAS RANA

A Winnipeg Liberal MP is calling on all MPs to come up with a national strategy to deal with a "huge, massive, and terrible meth crisis" that he's dealing with now in his riding, and is predicting will spread to other regions of the country if not addressed immediately through nationally coordinated action.

"We're the canary in the coal mine," said rookie Liberal MP Robert-Falcon Ouellette (Winnipeg Centre, Man.) in an interview last week with *The Hill Times*. "It's coming, it's going to hit the East soon because the meth is much

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**News** Media & election 2019

**Are Canada's newsrooms ready to tackle fake news, cyber threats, 'foreign adversaries' ahead of 2019 federal election?**

BY BEATRICE PAEZ

Hill newsrooms are still in the early stages of contending with issues around potential interference during the 2019 election, but as the vote draws closer, a few have signalled they intend

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## HEARD ON THE HILL

by Neil Moss

# National Security and Intelligence Committee's report on Trudeau's India trip to be released soon



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, Sophie Grégoire Trudeau and their children, pictured in India in February 2018. The trip was considered a public relations disaster after a few days. Photograph courtesy of Twitter

A report on Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau's** calamitous February trip to India authored by the National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians will be released to the public by Dec. 3, according to news reports.

Mr. Trudeau's trip, which had a price tag of around \$1.5-million, became a diplomatic scandal when invitations were sent to **Jaspal Atwal** to two receptions. Mr. Atwal was convicted for the attempted murder of an Indian cabinet minister in 1986. The attempted assassination was organized by an extremist Sikh separatist group. Mr. Atwal, who served five years in prison and was granted parole, was active in the B.C. Liberal party and was a member of the Surrey Fleetwood-Port Kells federal Liberal riding association. He was in India at the same time as the prime minister's trip and he posed for photos with **Sophie Grégoire-Trudeau** and then infrastructure minister **Amarjeet Sohi** during the first event. The invitation to the second reception, a dinner hosted by the high commissioner of Canada to India, was revoked when Mr. Atwal's past came to light and the photo was publicized.

**Daniel Jean**, Mr. Trudeau's national security adviser at the time, told reporters, falsely, that rogue groups in the Indian government were behind the arrangements for Mr. Atwal to be present at the reception. The information was given to reporters in a briefing on background, but Conservative MPs later revealed Mr. Jean, who has since retired, as the source. Later, B.C. Liberal MP **Randeep Sarai** took responsibility for inviting Mr. Atwal.

The National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians' report was delivered to Mr. Trudeau at the end of May, but not made public, and reportedly included 18 findings and six recommendations.

Before the report becomes public, Mr. Trudeau has the power to instruct the NSICOP to revise the report on the India trip to exclude details that compromise national security, national defence, or

Canada's international relationships.

The NSICOP has been in focus in the news of late, due to security concerns raised over the fact now-Independent MP **Tony Clement** was a member of the committee while he said he was being blackmailed by "foreign actors" after sending sexually explicit photos and a video online. Mr. Clement subsequently resigned from the committee, among other things, and as a result of that, and the death of Conservative MP **Gord Brown** in May, the House Tories don't have a representative on the now nine-member (originally 11) committee. Conservative Senator **Vernon White** is a member of the committee.

## This just in: Patrick Brown releases tell-all memoir

Former Ontario Progressive Conservative leader **Patrick Brown** released a tell-all memoir on Nov. 16.

Mr. Brown resigned as leader on Jan. 25 after allegations of sexual misconduct surfaced, which he has denied. His resignation paved the way for now Ontario Premier **Doug Ford** to enter the Ontario PC leadership race, ultimately leading to a PC majority government being elected in Queen's Park on June 7.

In *Take Down: The Attempted Political Assassination of Patrick Brown*, Mr. Brown forwards the argument that there was a "coordinated effort" to oust him as



Patrick Brown's controversial memoir was released last week. Book cover image courtesy of Optimum Publishing International

leader. He speculates that now Ontario Children, Community, and Social Service Minister **Lisa MacLeod** was behind his fall from grace. Mr. Brown also levies sexual misconduct allegations against Ontario Finance Minister **Vic Fedeli** in the book.

A press release calls the book, "the most compelling political memoir this century." Apparently more compelling than **Nelson Mandela's** *Dare Not Linger* and **Barack Obama's** *Audacity of Hope*.

One chapter of the book is titled "Night of the Knives," which covers a conference call that led to Mr. Brown's end as leader, reported on by *Maclean's* in February. The title of the chapter makes a historical comparison to the Night of the Long Knives, in which German chancellor **Adolf Hitler** consolidated his power and settled old scores in 1934.

"There's no question that Brown was the victim of a smear job, but one paid for by whom? Liberal? PC Party? Bay Street? or rogue actors?" reads the release.

The book also documents Mr. Brown's post-leadership life. The eternal runner—he's run in marathons in Boston, New York City, and Toronto—Mr. Brown ran for the chair of the Peel region this summer, but when that election was cancelled by Mr. Ford, he instead ran to become Brampton's next mayor, a race the former MP for Barrie, Ont. ultimately won on Oct. 22.

A news release on Mr. Brown's new book calls his post-leadership life: "the political comeback of the decade."

Mr. Brown's memoir is being published by Optimum Publishing International, which has also published memoirs by People's Party Leader **Maxime Bernier** and former Liberal MP **Don Boudria**.

The 360-page book is on sale for \$40.

## Clement resigns IDU deputy chair post



Independent MP Tony Clement resigned as the deputy chair of the IDU. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

In the midst of his sexting scandal, former Conservative and now Independent MP **Tony Clement** has resigned from his position as the deputy chairperson of the International Democratic Union (IDU), the group's secretary general confirmed to *The Hill Times* in an email on Nov. 14.

The IDU is a coalition of centre-right of centre-right political parties from 63 countries around the globe.

The current chair of the group is former prime minister **Stephen Harper** who took over the role from former New Zealand prime minister **John Key** in 2018. Mr. Clement was a cabinet minister in Mr. Harper's governments, serving as Treasury Board president, as well as the industry and health ministers.

Mr. Clement has also resigned from the Conservative Party caucus.



Former prime minister Stephen Harper visited Carleton University on Nov. 8. Photograph courtesy of Twitter

## Harper stops by Carleton University to speak to political management students

Former prime minister **Stephen Harper** spoke to students in Carleton University's political management master's program on Nov. 8.

The program boasts a number of alumni from Mr. Harper's office as Prime Minister's office as part of its teaching team. **Rachel Curran**, former PMO policy director, is the program's practitioner-in-residence, and is also a senior associate in Mr. Harper's consulting firm. Her predecessor as PMO policy director, **Paul Wilson**, is an associate professor. Former PMO issues management director **William Stairs** was the program's practitioner-in-residence last year. **Guy Giorno**, Mr. Harper's chief of staff from 2008 to 2010, is a fellow and instructor in the program, and **Dustin van Vugt**, who's been executive director of the Conservative Party since 2014, is a fellow in the program.

A number of program alumni also later found their way to jobs in Mr. Harper's PMO, including former PMO policy adviser **Laura Kurkimaki**, who is now vice president of government relations at recreational cannabis company HEXO Corp.

While Mr. Harper was in Ottawa, he also attended an event at Dentons law firm, with which he is affiliated, with fellow former prime minister **Jean Chrétien**, and former U.S. ambassador to Canada **Gordon Giffin**. Both Mr. Harper and Mr. Chrétien have recently released books.

## World Toilet Day on the Hill



The Hill will hold a World Toilet Day event on Nov. 19. Image courtesy of Neha Beri

**Tia Bhati**, an actress, will be speaking to MPs on Nov. 19 on the need of increased access to toilets around the world.

Ms. Bhati recently travelled to India to build school washrooms for girls with her father, **Nav Bhatia**, known as a Toronto Raptors super-fan who can often be seen sitting court-side at Scotiabank Arena.

Ms. Bhati will be speaking The Rush to Flush: World Toilet Day on the Hill being held between 6 p.m., and 8 p.m. International Development Minister **Marie-Claude Bibeau** will give an opening address.

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# Mulroney fêted for his role on the world stage

Canada and the Commonwealth didn't end apartheid, but they certainly played a major role in world sanctions and the condemnation of it, writes Andrew Cardozo.



Andrew Cardozo  
*New Communications*

OTTAWA—It was vintage Brian Mulroney, and yet, it wasn't. The former prime minister was honoured recently by South Africa's high commissioner, Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo, and her government, with the Order of the Companions of Oliver Tambo, marking Nelson Mandela's centenary. It was a somewhat exclusive event on the top floor of the Lester B. Pearson Building in Ottawa. There has always been a part of Mulroney who enjoys the limelight, and more to the point, who gives the audience what it

wants; history, along with those side comments, and his topical and timely clever use of the gab, which are his trademarks. He was serious at times and jovial at others and left the audience wanting more. But it was not vintage Mulroney through the serious moments of his talk, as he deflected the limelight to others.

He started by shining it on the South African people who were the real heroes of ending apartheid and said Western nations were in an outer circle. Within Canada, he first credited John Diefenbaker, who had opposed apartheid at the Commonwealth, as early as 1956 and had influenced his thinking. He also heaped praise on Joe Clark, his foreign minister—and one-time rival—repeatedly. There was lots of praise for the foreign affairs bureaucrats, not a regular thing for conservatives to do.

As he recounted how he took on former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher—a political figure he otherwise had great admiration for—at the Commonwealth meetings, you got a sense of a Canadian prime minister standing up for Canadian values on the world stage, by imposing sanctions on a deeply racist regime.

He frequently conflated his position and values with "Canada's position and values." It was a reminder that Canada has frequently punched above its weight and talked a principled position in the face of controversy.

Remember, Thatcher and many others dismissed Nelson Mandela as a dangerous communist. It was a "Big Canadian" self-confidence versus a "Little Canadian" viewpoint preferred by today's conservatives, across much of the Western world. Stay out of other people's affairs. Turn a blind eye to things you don't like. In fact, Canadian



Former prime minister Brian Mulroney, pictured in this file photo, was honoured last week in Ottawa with the Order of the Companions of Oliver Tambo, marking Nelson Mandela's centenary. *The Hill Times* file photograph by Andrew Meade

Conservatives today would dismiss this as virtue signalling.

South Africa wasn't a blip on Mulroney's record on equality. He did pass the first Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Pierre Trudeau had introduced a multiculturalism policy in 1971, and entrenched it in the Charter in 1982, but did not legislate a mandate for the federal government). He created the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, issued the apology to Japanese-Canadians, appointed Lincoln Alexander as lieutenant governor, the first black person in a vice-regal post, and increased immigration levels from some 84,000 to over 250,000—the suite of policies that Maxime Bernier now rails against.

Canada and the Commonwealth didn't end apartheid, but they certainly played a

major role in world sanctions and condemnation of it, and in so doing, provided international support to the South African people who had been victims of a terribly vicious system.

Whatever your view on Brian Mulroney as prime minister, sitting in that top floor at Global Affairs, with the swirling snowstorm across the landscape out the windows, one had to be proud of what he, and hence we, were part of. It was a good Canadian moment. Virtue signalling can create a better world.

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

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## Opinion

# On Universal Children's Day, we must speak up, address child sexual abuse

For too many years, suicide has been discussed at a level of abstraction, which has not helped focus prevention efforts. We owe it to our children to discuss the situation in all its complexity, writes Natan Obed, president of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.



Natan Obed

Opinion

Universal Children's Day, observed each year on Nov. 20, calls on us to respect the right of all children to grow up in safe,



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, right, walks with Natan Obed, president of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, in Goose Bay, N.L., in 2017. Photograph courtesy of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami

nurturing environments.

Nurturing healthy children is one of the six priorities in the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami's national Inuit strategy for suicide prevention, which was launched in July 2016. On this day, I'd like to draw attention to the responsibility that all levels of government have to realize the promises we have made to all children: investing in the safety and well-being of children.

How can we call ourselves good people if we ignore the rights and needs of all children? Investments are the most cost-effective steps society can make to realize Inuit self-determination.

A significant number of Inuit who die by suicide have experienced child maltreatment or present symptoms that are associated with abuse and trauma. This burdens them with a suicide risk that can multiply throughout their lives each time they face additional risk factors. Child abuse and child neglect are condemned in Inuit society, as evidenced in our legends, which often link the treatment of orphans with the morality of those people who have the ability to care for them. Despite our cultural norms, and our overarching love for children, the prevalence of physical and sexual violence against children is disturbingly high in our communities.

In the 2004 Nunavik Inuit Health Survey, a confidential questionnaire, nearly one-third of Inuit respondents reported that they experienced sexual touch during childhood. The prevalence of self-reported child sexual abuse is similarly high in Nunavut. Out of the 1,710 Inuit respondents to the community and personal wellness module of the 2007-2008 Inuit Health Survey, 41 per cent said they had experienced severe sexual abuse during childhood, which includes someone threatening to have sex with them or sexually attacking them. The Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls Inquiry has heard testimony from Inuit women who give awful truth to these figures, and also shows the links between abuse and a multitude of risks in life.

If we are to reduce suicidal behaviour, we have to identify and address risk factors that are uncomfortable to confront. For too many years, suicide has been discussed at a level of abstraction, which has not helped focus prevention efforts. We owe it to our children to discuss the situation in all its complexity, and to build community and governmental consensus to do whatever we can to create change. We must do this work in an Inuit-specific, evidence-based, and globally informed manner.

To this end, ITK is convening a forum of experts, beginning this week, to address the prevention of child-sexual abuse and trauma among Inuit in Canada. Aboriginal recording artist Susan Aglukark will deliver a keynote address, and we will hear from Inuit from across Inuit Nunangat and from Greenland who have taken concerted action to address child sexual abuse in recent years.

The strategy unites Inuit through a common understanding of what is putting Inuit at risk for suicide and what can be done to help identify and respond to suicide risk so that fewer people reach the point where they contemplate suicide. It envisions suicide prevention as a shared national, regional, and community-wide effort that transforms our collective knowledge, experience and research into action.



Natan Obed, left, pictured in 2017 with Indigenous Services Minister Jane Philpott in Nain, Nunatsiavut, in Newfoundland and Labrador. Photograph courtesy of Rita Ann Dicker

It also focuses on preventive factors. The optimal development of children in safe, nurturing environments is one of the most powerful factors in protecting against suicide risk. Creating social equity can relieve major stressors and provide a buffer against suicide risk for the entire community. This requires addressing the high rates of food insecurity, overcrowded housing, poor educational outcomes, and high unemployment rates, as well as inadequate mental-health care.

By promoting a shared understanding of the context and underlying risk factors for suicide among Inuit, by providing policy guidance at the regional and national levels on evidence-based approaches to suicide prevention, and by identifying stakeholders and their specific roles in preventing suicide, our work aims to outline how various partners can effectively co-ordinate with one another to implement a more holistic approach to suicide prevention.

Natan Obed is the president of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the national organization for Inuit in Canada.

The Hill Times

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# Antennae are up for news on deficits, corporate relief plan, and pot revenue figures in fall economic update, say experts

Finance Minister Bill Morneau will likely release his much-awaited plan to help Canadian businesses affected by U.S. tax cuts as part of this week's fall economic update, but there's plenty more that could come out of it.

BY JOLSON LIM

The Trudeau government will likely offer Canadians businesses its answer to competitiveness concerns in this week's fall economic update, along with changes to its deficit forecast, estimates on pot revenues, and new figures on the impact of a 2016 tax hike on the country's top earners, which are all things experts say they're watching for.

The Liberal government will release its fall economic update on Nov. 21, providing fresh numbers on the federal government's finances, and potentially more in the annual document often described as a "mini-budget."

But perhaps most anticipated is Finance Minister Bill Morneau's (Toronto Centre, Ont.) plan to help Canadian businesses after the U.S. Congress passed tax cuts late last year that many Canadian firms say eliminate their advantage when competing with companies south of the border in attracting investors.

The American tax cuts will, between 2018 and 2022, trim the marginal effective tax rate, which gauges the tax burden on new investment, to make it slightly under Canadian rates. Such a measure would provide a competitive advantage to American firms seeking investment money in a global market, although some measures are set to expire in 2022.

Corporations and business associations, such as the Business Council of Canada (BCC), have also lobbied the Liberals hard for a broad-based corporate tax cut. The Senate Banking Committee also called on the Trudeau

government to do the same in an Oct. 16 report.

While Canada no longer has an advantage with the corporate tax rate, Mr. Morneau has suggested he prefers more targeted measures that deal specifically with new investments.

Mr. Morneau, who a year ago was in damage control mode over his government's planned changes on small business taxes, spent the summer of 2018 consulting Canadian business leaders as to how they would like the federal government to respond.

## Competitiveness concerns

"Everyone is expecting something along the line of an accelerated corporate cost allowance temporarily," said Alexandre Laurin, director of research at the C.D. Howe Institute, of how the fall economic update might respond to competitiveness concerns.

Mr. Laurin said accelerated capital cost allowances provide a precise means of addressing the advantage the Americans will have on new investments. Such a measure would reduce the cost of investment by allowing companies to get a tax break on capital expenses, like a new building, sooner.

It's difficult to estimate how much such a program would cost the federal government, said Mr. Laurin, adding though that it would likely be a temporary measure.

Mr. Laurin said a corporate tax cut, meanwhile, wouldn't have the same effect on investments, and said certain economists believe it can amount to rewarding companies a break for "something it hasn't done." Where a cut may matter is to the extent it influences where companies decide to shift their profits and set up shop, he said. Mr. Laurin said he hopes the government will signal a desire to modernize the corporate tax structure in the fall update, something the C.D. Howe institute, the Senate Banking Committee, and others have called for. While he doesn't believe the feds will move quickly on this, he suggested it's possible the government will commit to strike a commission to examine the matter.

But the degree to which Canadian companies are at a competitive disadvantage is under debate.

The Parliamentary Budget Office (PBO) published an Oct. 23



Bill Morneau, Minister of Finance Bill Morneau, pictured Oct. 16, 2018, at the House International Trade Committee. He will release his fall economic update on Nov. 21 at 4 p.m. in the House. The opposition party leaders and deputy leaders will have the chance to respond to the economic statement that afternoon in the House. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

report finding that the latest foreign direct investment numbers do not back up claims by business groups that Canadian companies are facing a serious tax-competitiveness problem. It found investment levels in the first half of 2018 to be in line with numbers in the previous five years, thereby suggesting no "material impact." However, the report also notes that federal revenues are expected to take a half-billion-dollar annual hit as multinational firms shift profits out of Canada due to corporate tax changes.

But the PBO report is at odds with the grim picture painted by a recent BCC study, which predicted drastic reductions to Canadian GDP and job losses as a result of major investment shift south of the border.

## Deficit forecasts could grow

Also of interest in the fall update is the Liberal government's fiscal trajectory, which has been the subject of strong criticism from the Conservatives over a failed election promise to run deficits of \$10-billion or less each year.

The Liberals have instead run larger deficits, a move criticized as irresponsible because such stimulus spending is often reserved for periods of economic shock. The 2018 federal budget projects a deficit of \$18.1-billion in 2018-19 that will then decline to \$12.3-billion in 2022-23.

Randall Bartlett, chief economist at the University of Ottawa's Institute of Fiscal Studies and Democracy (IFSD), which is headed by former parliamentary budget watchdog Kevin Page, said the deficit forecasts in the fall update should be higher than stated in the 2018 budget.

At the very least, changes in accounting for pension liabilities—which impact direct program expenses—will increase deficit figures and be accounted for in this update, he said. The impact of higher interest rates instituted by the Bank of Canada—which have risen higher than the feds anticipated—on the federal government's bottom line may offset this change, he added.

In terms of the bigger picture, Prof. Bartlett said Finance Canada will likely have to lower its predictions on future revenues in light of the higher interest rates as the economy cools down following a strong period of growth.

The last budget predicts revenues will climb by more than 20 per cent between 2017-18 and 2022-23, based on roughly four per cent nominal GDP growth in that time.

"It's not because we're expecting tax rates to fall or anything

like that," he said. "It's just that the Canadian economy is operating above its trend," contributing to higher growth in revenues.

On the expenses side, Prof. Bartlett predicts continued growth of direct program expenses given current programming and public service costs, potential spending in the 2019 "election" budget, and future costs for a new defence plan, the national housing strategy, and a national pharmacare program.

This is despite the federal government's fiscal numbers suggesting that it will plateau costs in this area, only projecting it to grow by \$9.6 billion between 2017-18 and 2022-23. While he believes the federal government's finances are currently sustainable, he said Finance Canada's rosy projections spark curiosity.

"I feel that this government's riding assumptions are not in realm of reality, to be quite frank," he said.

The Parliamentary Budget Office also predicted in its Oct. 23 report that the federal government will run a \$19.4-billion deficit in 2018-19, with future fiscal years likely to see annual deficits that are \$500-million to \$2.8-billion larger than currently forecast.

## Liberals must offer unique economic vision, says Mackenzie

Shane Mackenzie, a consultant at Ensign and a former Liberal staffer, said the Trudeau government will have to show to Canadians that it won't overplay its hand in the face of a competitiveness challenge created by the Trump administration.

"It can either be a race to the bottom or showing why we're uniquely well-placed," he said, adding that Mr. Morneau should provide an alternative vision to Mr. Trump's economic strategy of lower taxes, which has increased his government's deficit and debt-to-GDP ratio. It's a category Canada currently ranks above most other advanced economies in, despite the feds' large deficit spending.

"We're not going to do less than theirs," said Mr. Mackenzie of the idea of new corporate tax cuts. "That's not the way Canada competes."

He predicts Mr. Morneau will focus on other ways to boost Canadian businesses, such as his government's infrastructure plan, its move toward higher immigration levels, and efforts to boost international and interprovincial trade.

The Liberals ought to be mindful of what measures, if any, are in the fall update, given the election is one year away, said Mr. Mackenzie.

"As a mini-budget, they have to think about what's going to fit in budget 2019 and what's going to fit in the next Liberal platform," he said.

## Any surprises?

Mr. Laurin is anticipating the economic update could include numbers on the impact of a 2016 tax hike on Canada's top one per cent of earners will yield in revenues. The Liberals raised the rate from 29 to 33 per cent in 2016.

In September, he published a report that found the feds reaped in \$1.2-billion in revenue in 2016, at a loss of \$1.3-billion for provincial coffers, but much of it had to do with the timing between its initial 2015 announcement and its implementation, providing top earners times to prepare. He said the feds could see as much as \$5-6-billion in revenue from the hike.

Meanwhile, Prof. Bartlett said he's curious as to what cannabis revenue projections will look like in the economic update now that recreational pot has been legal for a month.

He also said there may be new figures on the impact of carbon pricing and further details on how exactly the regime will return revenues to the provinces and to Canadian households. There are currently four provinces—Ontario, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and New Brunswick—that will have the federal backstop system imposed come April 1, 2019.

Mr. Mackenzie said he's interested to see any updates on the new Canada Infrastructure Bank and the impact of federal child and workers' benefits. He's also anticipating the feds will give a nod to the recommendations produced by the Economic Strategy Tables, which were advisory boards created in 2017 and made up of top Canadians business execs, and which provided advice on how to grow six key sectors: manufacturing, agri-food, clean technology, digital industries, health/bio-science, and resources of the future.

Mr. Laurin also said he hopes this fall update will signal a desire to modernize the corporate tax structure, which the C.D. Howe institute and others have called for. The Senate Banking Committee also recommended this in its Oct. 16 report. While he doesn't believe the feds will move quickly on this, he said it's not impossible that it will commit to a commission to examine it going ahead.

"That's something that actually could be in the update," he said. "I don't know if it will, but I know the pressure is there."

jlim@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times

## News Winnipeg &amp; meth problem



Rookie Liberal MP Robert-Falcon Ouellette is urging all MPs to come up with a co-ordinated strategy to address the issue of meth addiction, which he says will spread to all regions of the country in the coming months. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

# Winnipeg Grit MP Ouellette calls on all MPs to combat meth crisis, after being 'solicited' for sex by two young addicts

Liberal MP Robert-Falcon Ouellette says meth addicts have showed up at his Winnipeg Centre constituency office several times in the recent past, cornered his staff behind their desks, yelled and screamed at them, and offered him sex.

Continued from page 1

cheaper, and right now the market is being flooded with this. It's going to be a problem for them [all MPs], at some point."

Mr. Ouellette represents an inner-city riding with a high percentage of people living in poverty, people with disabilities, newcomers, and Indigenous people, and he said, the meth-addiction issue has been slowly building up in the Winnipeg area. The chief reason, he said, is that meth is cheaper compared to other drugs, and gives users an easy, long high. He said the drug is produced in Mexican factories, and while it's illegal in Canada, the market is flooded with huge supplies of meth.

"It makes you feel so good, apparently," said Mr. Ouellette, who won the riding in the last election with 54.5 per cent of the vote and by 8,981 votes. "It lasts 16 hours and creates a psychosis because you don't sleep, and you go, and you go, and you go, and you get to the point where all of a sudden, the glass overflows."

When he was first elected in the 2015 election, Mr. Ouellette, who served in the Canadian Armed Forces for about 22 years, said he never felt unsafe walking around in his riding, but now he does. Recently, he said he walked for two blocks from his office and counted 10 houses that have been boarded up by the city because they were firebombed, abandoned, or used for drugs. He said that Bear Clan, a local volunteer community organization that patrols the streets in Winnipeg, has so far picked up thousands of discarded needles and syringes, and is projecting it will collect 40,000 by the year's end. He said it makes the area unsafe for citizens to take their children out to parks.

"This is a huge health concern: imagine, would you want to live in a neighbourhood where there's needles everywhere, where you could get pricked?" said Mr. Ouellette, adding that this type of environment creates a negative impact on businesses and on property prices. "Forty-thousand [needles] are a lot to pick up in a small [riding]. It becomes a vicious cycle that's hard to break out."

In September, Mr. Ouellette said he took on a challenge from a resident of Winnipeg to spend a night in the Central Park, a major park in the city's downtown. The challenge came from the father of a young man who was stabbed 20 times to death in the park while he was walking with his girlfriend. Mr. Ouellette said he camped out for three nights in the park and talked to dozens of people who had alcohol, meth, or drug addictions.

"It was incredible. People are asking for help," said Mr. Ouellette.

Since getting elected in 2015, Mr. Ouellette said he's kept his constituency office open and accessible to the public, but after some recent incidents, he said he might have to bring in some security measures to keep a check on who enters his office. Mr. Ouellette explained that in recent weeks there had been some incidents in his constituency office, with male and female addicts having showed up in his office, cornered his staff behind their desks, yelled and screamed at them, or just stared and refused to leave. In one incident, his staff had to call the local police. He said his staff are now afraid to work alone in the office and are convinced that some kind of locking system or some security staff should be hired.

"I want my staff to be safe. I don't think it's normal to have to lock up my office. It's supposed to be a public space. I'm not interested in having my doors locked all the time," said Mr. Ouellette.

"Some staff, if they're alone, yeah, they do keep the doors locked. When I'm there, I don't keep the doors locked. I have them open; I have my sign on. I sit there even late at night on Fridays and Saturday evenings."

In another incident, he said, he was working in the office on a Friday afternoon, two young women who were "a little high" showed up, and asked him for money in exchange for sex, which he declined.

"I've been solicited in my office. [About a month ago], I had two young women that came in on a Friday at three in the afternoon. They said, 'Hey, we want to come in.' I don't have an office specifically in my office. It's quite open," Mr. Ouellette told *The Hill Times*.

"[The women asked him], 'Would you like to go out back, maybe do something for a few dollars or whatever you have,' and that's like directly happening in the MP's office. I said, 'I'm not really interested, thank you very much,'" Mr. Ouellette said.

erview-Dieppe, N.B.) and Ms. Petitpas Taylor has instructed her staff to work with him and other members of the caucus to address the issue.

Liberal MP Kevin Lamoureux (Winnipeg North, Man.), parliamentary secretary to the government House leader, said in an interview that the meth problem in his riding and the Winnipeg area is "crippling" and causing all kinds of social and economic issues. He said the issue needs a co-ordinated strategy at the municipal, provincial, and federal levels.

"It's crippling, causing all sorts of dysfunctional issues within families, very destructive; often leading to very inappropriate behaviour, violence in the community, crimes in the communities. [There are] a lot of issues that come out of the problem of crystal meth, and the abuse," said Mr. Lamoureux.

Mr. Lamoureux said he would work with Mr. Ouellette to raise this issue at different forums in the House of Commons, including at committee.



Liberal MP Kevin Lamoureux says the meth issue in the Winnipeg area is 'crippling' and is causing devastating social and economic issues. He said he'll work with his colleague, Mr. Ouellette, to raise this issue in the House. *The Hill Times* file photograph

Recently, Mr. Ouellette asked House Speaker Geoff Regan (Halifax West, N.S.) to allow an emergency debate on this issue, but the request was declined because the meth addiction issue was regional in nature.

Last week, Mr. Ouellette held a summit of community groups, organizations that deal with homelessness, and local police in his

Back in Winnipeg, Mr. Lamoureux said about three weeks ago, he walked with the Bear Clan to pick up discarded needles and syringes, and met with a woman named Thelma who recently quit her meth addiction. He said that Thelma, who until recently worked in the sex industry, is a single mother with six children, and has seen the negative side



Liberal MP Robert-Falcon Ouellette asked House Speaker Geoff Regan, pictured, to allow an emergency debate on the issue of meth addiction, but the request was declined because the issue was regional in nature. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

riding to come up with measures to deal with the issue. He told *The Hill Times* that he would be sharing suggestions that he received at the summit, such as creating a system to collect needles, new recreational facilities for the youth, and starting new treatment facilities, with his fellow MPs on the Hill.

He said that he and other Manitoba caucus members have already reached out to Canada's federal Health Minister Ginette Petitpas Taylor (Moncton-Riv-

of the addiction and was volunteering to collect the needles. Mr. Lamoureux said that he was hopeful that Thelma is still clean and staying away from meth.

"The story behind Thelma is that you have a very strong, determined individual that's trying to beat it. She's got so much on the line on this issue, and it's literally destroyed many aspects of her life," Mr. Lamoureux said. "She's a wonderful story if she can hold on."

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*The Hill Times*

# Pittsburgh synagogue attack exposes threat of online hate

What is now needed is for federal policymakers to prevent similar atrocities by launching a national strategy to combat online hate, writes Shimon Koffler Fogel of CIJA.



Shimon Koffler Fogel

Opinion

OTTAWA—The recent massacre of 11 Jewish-Americans at Pittsburgh's Tree of Life Synagogue was a painful reminder that anti-Semitism, in its most extreme form, remains a threat to innocent life.

While the Pittsburgh atrocity was the deadliest anti-Semitic crime in American history, similar attacks in the past four years have targeted Jewish institutions in Paris, Brussels, and Copenhagen.

The Canadian-Jewish community has been deeply affected by these acts of mass violence against Jews in other democratic countries. There is increased fear and vigilance among community members, reminded in the wake of Pittsburgh that we are not immune to hate crimes. According to Statistics Canada's latest data from 2016, an anti-Semitic hate crime takes place roughly every 36 hours in our country. On both per capita and absolute bases, the Jewish community is the most frequently targeted minority in such incidents.

Canadian law-enforcement agencies have been exceptionally responsive in providing support to Jewish institutions, particularly following the Pittsburgh attack. However, what is now needed is for federal policymakers to prevent similar atrocities by launching a national strategy to combat online hate.

We cannot ignore that the Pittsburgh attacker openly promoted anti-Semitic conspiracy theories and Holocaust denial on social media. Just two hours before the attack, the killer foreshadowed his actions in his final, disturbing online post—not the first time in recent memory that vicious rhetoric *online* preceded deadly violence *offline*.

A national strategy to combat online hate—not only against Jews, but other at-risk groups—should consist of four core elements: defining hate, tracking hate, preventing hate, and intercepting hate.

First, defining hate should begin with a parliamentary committee study assessing the scope of online hate in Canada and proposing parameters for a national strategy. Stakeholders should be engaged in the study, especially social media companies, internet service providers, and experts in new media and key technology—such as encryption software and artificial intelligence. More must be done to co-ordinate, encourage and, in some cases, impel players in the industry to prevent their

platforms from being manipulated by those promoting toxic agendas.

This also requires clear definitions of what constitutes hate, which is why a national strategy should include use of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of anti-Semitism. The IHRA definition is a practical tool that should be used by Canadian authorities in enforcing the law and by social media providers in upholding their respective user policies.

Second, a national strategy requires enhanced tracking and reporting of online hate, via strategic partnerships between the Government of Canada and tech companies. There are models that can be referenced in developing a made-in-Canada approach, such as Tech against Terror-

ism (TaT), a UN-mandated initiative that engages online companies to ensure their platforms are not exploited by extremists.

Third, a national strategy must include prevention. In the current global environment, trust in traditional media and institutions has declined even as online manipulation—including the systemic sowing of misinformation—has increased. A campaign to strengthen internet literacy and critical thinking could help mitigate these trends, as would providing parents and teachers with practical knowledge to help identify signs of online radicalization and extremism among youths.

Lastly, a national strategy must include a more robust approach to intercepting online hate. While freedom of speech is a core democratic value, authorities must act

in exceptional circumstances to protect Canadians from hate speech and incitement.

In 2013, Parliament removed Section 13 of the Canadian Human Rights Act, an effective, if flawed, tool in combating online hate speech. The gap its absence has left can be resolved in various ways. The government could introduce a bill replacing Section 13 with a provision effectively balancing free speech and protection from hate. Alternatively, it could offer training and guidelines to help provincial attorneys general, prosecutors, and police to enforce more effectively Criminal Code hate-speech provisions. There should also be greater use of the code's Section 320.1, which, based on reasonable grounds, allows judges to issue warrants seizing online hate propaganda.

There is, of course, no way to fully eliminate the threat of hate-motivated violence. But a strong, national strategy to combat online hate could make a meaningful difference in protecting Canadians. MPs from all parties would be wise to unite in support of this vital cause.

Shimon Koffler Fogel is CEO of the Centre for Israel and Jewish Affairs.

The Hill Times

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## Editorial

### Time's up: Upper Chamber's independent oversight body should become a reality and soon

It's been six years since the Senate expenses scandal and more than three years since the Auditor General Michael Ferguson released a scathing report on the Senate's spending, recommending an independent oversight body. It's been three years and the Canadian people are still waiting.

The Senate's government representative, Peter Harder, has been pushing for this ever since he got the job in the Upper Chamber in 2016. But the members of the Senate's Rules, Procedures and Rights of Parliament Committee are still looking at, scrutinizing, and reviewing the idea of setting up an independent audit and oversight body, which could include outside experts, along with, as Sen. Harder pointed out in his *Policy Options* piece last week, an expert in corporate governance, an expert in public institutions and a former judge. But some Senators are saying the new body should be composed of Senators only. This is wrong, and clearly counter to the AG's call for independent oversight.

Rather than demonstrating a commitment to reform, the suggestion that a new body of Senators to review Senators' expenses be created to bolster the existing body of Senators responsible for reviewing Senators' expenses demonstrates lessons still haven't been learned.

"Refusing to include outside voices would, in time, come back to haunt the Senate. If its stewardship of taxpayer dollars is questioned again, the public will focus on the AOC, questioning its governance structure, performance, and membership. Canadians would rightly ask whether the correct lessons

were learned in the wake of the Senate expense scandal that was top of mind during the 2015 election campaign," wrote Sen. Harder, who puts it quite right, in his piece for *Policy Options*. "Those who argue against the inclusion of outside experts claim that their presence would unduly interfere with the Senate's parliamentary privilege as a self-governing body. But this attitude sends the message to Canadians that Senators are more concerned with their privileges than with gaining public trust. The Senate belongs to 36 million Canadians, and it is precisely because it was not kept in good order in the years preceding the Senate expense scandal that many informed voices—including current and former Senators, the auditor general, the master of Massey College, Hugh Segal, (a former senator) and a former Senate ethics officer—have called for an oversight component with external membership."

In 2015, the AG called for a "transformational change in the way expenses are claimed, managed, controlled, and reviewed." As former Senate ethics officer Jean Fournier wrote in *The Hill Times* last month: "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."

This has gone on long enough. It's time to take action and get to it. Pronto. Senators should be less concerned about their privileges, and more concerned about winning back the public's trust—and doing nothing won't win it back.

## Letters to the Editor

### Winning the battle against climate change

Last Sunday, on Remembrance Day, we took the time to honour the memory of those who died so that we may be free. In our hearts, we thanked all Canadians who sacrificed so much, in countless ways, during the two world wars and other conflicts.

With the publication of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change report on Global Warming of 1.5 C in October, it is clear that a new foe is on our doorstep and it is just as formidable as in previous wars. Climate change is threatening our whole planet: fire, winds, floods, droughts are taking their toll on human lives and whole ecosystems. And it's only the beginning of hostilities.

As we learned in 1914 and 1939, major threats require extraordinary measures. The time has come for a major mobilization of our economy, of our human capital and of our will as a nation. We need to fight the enemy with

intelligence, science and determination.

As has been seen in times of war, political parties need to collaborate to vanquish their common enemy. I call on all federal political parties to form a "War Cabinet" to arrive at non-partisan, science-based, and effective solutions. This way, we can have a fighting chance to meet our crucial objectives. I sincerely hope that during the next election campaign the topic of climate change will be one where the greater good of saving our planet will take precedence over polarization and division.

In 50 years from now, when our grandchildren gather to remember the sacrifices made by Canadians before them, let's hope they remember the war against global warming, a war that was won thanks to our courage as a nation and the political consensus we created.

Gilles Cloutier  
 Gatineau, Que.

### With the world facing repeated hurricanes, droughts, floods, global warming already happened

With the U.S. disaster-relief agencies on high alert after being battered by repeated hurricanes, floods, droughts, and forest fires, it is clear that global warming has irreversibly occurred.

This year, I experienced this in two far-flung continents. In May, I was visiting Perth, Australia. It was supposed to be autumn, and yet, an unrelenting heat wave was sweeping across the continent, with temperatures hovering between 35C to 40C in Sydney, Brisbane, and other cities accompanied by severe droughts. Sheep and cows were dying of thirst and crops were drying for the lack of rain. This led to columnists talking about year-round summer in Australia and the devastating droughts in the world's driest continent.

After returning to Ottawa, we faced a devastating tornado. Although our house was spared, many others were totally destroyed. This summer has been particularly hot, with droughts and forest fires raging across North America, Europe, and Asia. Parts of British Columbia were devastated by forest fires. France, Germany, Italy, and

Britain faced devastating floods.

Now winter is setting in North America and yet, forest fires are raging in California. Because of hot and dry air, the forest fire around Malibu county is so intense that luxury homes are being threatened as never before. If forest fires are this intense in winter, you may imagine how devastating it would be when summer arrives.

It seems that we have lost the fight against global warming and no amount of carbon tax will reverse it. It is too late to stem the global warming. By burning fossil fuels to run hundreds of millions of gasoline cars, spewing carbon dioxide in the air, we might have permanently destabilized the climate. This year, China has achieved the dubious distinction of being the most car-owning country in the world, with 350 million cars—more cars than the U.S. and Canada combined.

So, let's prepare for devastating storms, floods, droughts and forest fires. Disaster relief should be the priority.

Mahmood Elahi  
 Ottawa, Ont.

### 'Clement has a tough road to redemption'? No kidding

Re: "Clement has a tough road to redemption, say strategists," (*The Hill Times*, Nov. 14, p. 1). This headline might as well read, "Clement pulled a Letterman and some think he can return to the fold." David Letterman came clean on the air as part of his monologue well before the #MeToo movement and, by all appearances, he came out the hero, never missing a beat in his ratings.

Tony Clement came clean (yet to be determined) and instantly became a liability

to the party amid #MeToo and a serious breach of trust to his political roles by exposing himself—pun intended—to extortion. Lapse of judgement? Really? More like self-indulgent recklessness.

Tough road to redemption? Indeed. Mr. Clement tried the Letterman route but unless he proves invaluable to the party's ratings he may be heading down the Anthony Weiner trail.

Kope Inokai  
 Toronto, Ont.

#### THERESA MAY GETS THE BACKING OF ANOTHER CONSERVATIVE MP:



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# Brexit's boiling over

With or without Donald Trump and Theresa May, Asia is the way of the future.



Sheila Copps

Copps' Corner

OTTAWA—Brexit boiling over should be no surprise to anyone.

The decision to leave the European Union was based on a simplistic, nostalgic notion that an exit vote would restore the greatness of Great Britain.

Brexiters enjoy many parallels with the "Make America Great Again" campaign of Donald Trump.

Candidate Trump himself travelled to his mother's homeland of Scotland to urge citizens to vote in favour of Brexit.

He made common cause with chief exit architect and U.K. Independence Party Leader Nigel Farage, subsequently inviting Farage to join his presidential campaign.

Both Trump and Farage based their successful messages on the notion of taking their respective countries back to the future.

They harkened back to a time when good-paying jobs were plentiful and not too many foreigners were there to grab them up.

But neither country wants to abandon the benefits that global economic integration has conferred.

The United Kingdom expected to hold all the cards in the negotiation of their exit from the European Union.

Instead, the country has been forced to sign an agreement which appears to put most of the power back in the hands of Europe.

Prime Minister Theresa May is hanging by a thread. It looks highly unlikely that May will even muster the support of her own Parliament, which was highly skeptical about the benefits of her negotiated agreement. She is also facing a Conservative non-confidence motion which could cost her the prime minister's position.

Some politicians are so dissatisfied with the Brexit agreement that they are calling for the prime minister's head in a non-confidence motion.

Others want a new vote, claiming that the negative impact of leaving the European Union was not understood at the time of their national referendum.

Without a negotiated settlement, the United Kingdom would lose the right to sell goods freely into the European market. Move-

ment of people, including Brits residing in Europe, and Europeans living in England, will also be blocked at the British border.

If the fragile deal fractures, which looks increasingly likely, the United Kingdom will face a European divorce next March with absolutely no backstops.

The same dream that Farage sold in the United Kingdom is the one that has Trump supporters rallying around the American president.

They believe Americans can withdraw from international agreements with absolutely no consequences.

Like the Brexiters, they believe that walls will return America to the standard of living and global glory it used to enjoy.

What neither country seems to realize is that neither the United States, nor the United Kingdom is the centre of their respective universes. Their empires have been displaced by powerful new economic and political forces.

The emergence of China as a world superpower is undeniable.

But China is not the only player changing the new world order. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) hosted a summit in Singapore last week that underscored the growing political muscle in that part of the world.

Trump sent his No. 2, but Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was there in person. His presence reflected an understanding that Canada's future prosperity depends on diversifying our economic links.



British Prime Minister Theresa May, pictured on Sept. 18, 2017, in Ottawa at an Invictus Games event. *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

What better place to start than in the ASEAN, with a rapidly-emerging middle class who could be great customers for Canadian goods and services.

The economic and political organization is a 10-country block comprising the third largest labour force in the world. In numbers, ASEAN is eclipsed by only China and India. Home to more than 600 million people, the association represents the seventh-largest economy in the world, with a combined GDP of \$2.4-trillion in 2013. By 2050, it is expected to become the fourth largest world economy. Like the European Union, ASEAN has been working toward economic and political integration.

Unlike the United Kingdom and the United States, ASEAN sees the future in promoting multi-state partnerships, not ending them. The collective economy of these 10 member

states is growing exponentially. Sixty per cent of internal growth has come through productivity gains.

The ASEAN block, combined with China and India, are eclipsing the United States and Europe as the economic powerhouses of the future. Those who expect the Asia-Pacific to revert to twentieth-century serfdom are simply wrong.

For Canada to invest time and political capital in our relationship with ASEAN partners makes sense. The result of those relationships will bring economic benefits and much-needed diversification.

ASEAN can use its political muscle to pressure the United States on international trade agreements.

With or without Trump and May, Asia is the way of the future.

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

*The Hill Times*

# The value of Bernier's dissent

So perhaps Maxime Bernier can use his position as leader of the People's Party to inspire Canadians or to popularize his libertarian philosophy. And that's nothing to be sneezed at.



Gerry Nicholls

Post-Partisan Pundit

OKAVILLE, ONT.—It's really easy to cast Maxime Bernier as a political joke, as the leader of a little party that couldn't.

After all, Bernier voluntarily cut himself adrift from the Conservative Party to head up the People's Party, dooming himself to languish in Parliament's backbench wilderness, a powerless figure, reduced to crankily and vainly shaking his fist at Canada's supply management system.

But maybe he isn't so powerless.

In fact, maybe Bernier, in his new role, could actually still have an impact on Canadian politics.

Now don't get me wrong, I'm not by any means suggesting or predicting that Bernier's People's Party will win any seats in the next election or that it will one day vie for power.

Like it or not, in our brand of parliamentary democracy, new parties that lack a regional base rarely gain any traction.

Besides our draconian political fundraising rules make it next to impossible for fledgling parties to raise the kind of money they need to compete with their established mainstream rivals.

Yet that doesn't mean Bernier can't be influential.

Indeed, he could play a role simply by being a strong and clear voice of dissent.

In other words, since Bernier really has nothing to lose, he's free to challenge conventional wisdom and to bring forward "radical" ideas the other traditional parties won't touch.

And yes, history has shown that individuals with the courage to rock the status quo can make a difference.

Think, for instance, of how in the 16th century, a monk named Martin Luther rattled Europe after he nailed his 95 theses to a cathedral door.

Or if you want a more relevant, more modern political example, consider the case of Barry Goldwater.

In 1964, he ran as the U.S. presidential Republican nominee for president on an unabashedly conservative platform—and got thoroughly whacked, losing the election in a landslide.

Yet, despite his loss, Goldwater's principles still influenced a lot of Americans, many of whom ended up getting involved in politics, including a Hollywood actor named Ronald Reagan, who went on to achieve great political success.

Then there's Green Party Leader Elizabeth May; even

though she's a lonely voice in Parliament, she's done a great job of using her position to propagate a strong environmental message.

So perhaps Bernier can use his position as leader of the People's Party to inspire Canadians or to popularize his libertarian philosophy.

And that's nothing to be sneezed at.

Who knows, maybe there's a Canadian version of Reagan waiting in the wings.

Or if nothing else, Bernier's dissenting opinions might force supporters from the other parties to question some of their own ideological assumptions.

As matter of fact, that's one of the chief benefits of having prominent political dissenters, they keep us from becoming too complacent about our belief systems.

In short, when faced with serious challenges, we have to work to justify our ideologies.

And in this day and age when it so easy to confirm our own biases, that's a valuable exercise.

Mind you, I suspect none of what I'm saying here will please Bernier and his supporters too much since it's difficult to take



People's Party of Canada leader Maxime Bernier, pictured Oct. 10, 2018. Since Mr. Bernier really has nothing to lose, he's free to challenge conventional wisdom and to bring forward 'radical' ideas the other traditional parties won't touch, writes Gerry Nicholls. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

such an abstract and philosophical perspective.

We're all conditioned to judge our politicians based on quantifiable data: how much money are they raising, what are their polling numbers like, how many votes did they get in the last election.

Plus dissenters usually have a hard time of it, as they tend to be mocked and derided.

Yet, as British philosopher Bertrand Russell once aptly put it, we should "find more pleasure in intelligent dissent than in passive agreement."

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.

*The Hill Times*

## Opinion

# Toronto, major Canadian cities have to better position themselves for a new kind of global economy

This means investments in infrastructure, education and talent, universities and other research institutions, housing and cultural and recreational amenities, access to high-speed broadband and an enabling regulatory environment all matter, with strong support for our winning cities.



David Crane

*Canada & the 21st Century*

**T**ORONTO—Toronto lost out on its bid as the location for Amazon's second headquarters, a competition which Amazon promised would allow the winning city to attract 50,000 high-paying jobs. But it's not a big loss—indeed, Toronto may be better off



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The Smart Cities Challenge announced in the 2017 budget, will allocate \$95-million to four Canadian cities next spring when Infrastructure Minister François-Philippe Champagne, pictured, announces the winners. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

for losing since winning would have meant intensified competition for talent and further pressure on a tight housing market, making Toronto an even more expensive city.

What Toronto and other major Canadian cities have to do is to better position themselves for a new kind of global economy. How well our major cities fare as global connection points will determine how well the Canadian economy overall fares in the years ahead—the kinds of jobs we have and the wealth we create to support our standard of living. This means investments in infrastructure, education and talent, universities and other research institutions, housing and cultural and recreational amenities, access to high-speed broadband and an enabling regulatory environment all matter, with strong support for our winning cities.

Smart cities—and smart regions—will lead the way. The Smart Cities Challenge announced in the 2017 budget, will allocate \$95-million to four Canadian cities next spring when Infrastructure Minister François-Philippe Champagne announces the winners.

But this is only a start in building smart cities and smart regions. There's another challenge as well. As the Amazon decision showed, cities that are already in the forefront of the digital economy will have the best chance of staying ahead. Success attracts success. So there is a major challenge on how to advance the prospects for second- and third-tier cities. How will they attract investment and opportunity and retain their talent? One answer lies in reinforcing their strengths—Saskatoon, for example, is a leading city for agri-food research and the head offices of agri-food and related businesses.

By ending up on the list of 20 Amazon finalists, winnowed down from 238 bids across North America (including 11 from Canadian cities), Toronto has raised its visibility on the tech world map. As the city-region's marketing agency, Global Toronto, points out, during the past year the Toronto region attracted investments from Microsoft, Uber, Intel, Samsung, Cognizant, Nvidia and Etsy, all important players in the global tech world.

Cities are where much of the action is occurring. Between 2001 and 2017, Canada's population grew by 5.7 million people to 36.7 million. But 62 per cent of that growth occurred in just five metropolitan cities—Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Calgary, and Edmonton—as their combined populations reached 16 million people or about 44 per cent of Canada's population (40 per cent in 2001).

Of these five, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver are Canada's most important connection points to the global economy. Other cities near Toronto, for example, also saw a population surge—including Oshawa, Barrie, Guelph, and Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo—based on their links to Toronto and their role as hubs of talent and entrepreneurship and as players in a smart region. The success of our major city regions brings nationwide benefits.

As a McKinsey Global Institute report on what it has called digital globalization underlined, "cities are the real engines of

the world economy and serve as major waypoints for global flows" of goods, services, finance, people and data. "Acting as a waypoint generates significant economic output and high-quality jobs, and it helps a city accumulate knowledge, skills and talent, with positive spillover effects on its broader economy."

In its report, the McKinsey Global Institute argued that globalization is not dead – even if the international flow of goods and services is slowing—but it is changing. The new globalization is based on soaring data flows and growing digital connectedness around the world, with the role of digital platforms transforming the costs of doing business and radically expanding the base of potential customers and the ability to reach them. Even small businesses in rural communities can become "micro-multinationals" selling over Shopify, eBay, Amazon and Alibaba if they have high-speed broadband access.

While Canada is focused on trade diversification, the McKinsey think tank warned that "narrow export strategies miss the real value of globalization: the flow of ideas, talent, and inputs that spur innovation and productivity." The transition to digital globalization, it said, creates new opportunities for countries to carve out profitable roles in the world economy but "those opportunities will favour locations that build the infrastructure, institutions, and business environments that the companies and citizens need to participate fully."

In its connectivity index, which measures the extent of trade flows in goods and services, finance, people and data, Canada ranks 13th, far behind the leaders—Singapore, the Netherlands, U.S., Germany, Ireland, and China. No Canadian city is in the list of the 25 most connected metropolises, though Toronto and Montreal are ranked for finance and Toronto for people.

A new McKinsey report, "Superstars: The Dynamics of Firms, Sectors, and Cities Leading the global Economy," identifies 50 superstar cities around the world, including 11 in the U.S., 10 in China, nine in Western Europe, 11 in other parts of Asia from Japan to India, and nine in the rest of the world. No Canadian cities are on the list.

Superstar cities, the report says, "are often global hubs of finance, business, government and gateways to trade, finance, data and talent flows." They are also "hubs of innovation, accounting for 70 per cent of multinational firms' R&D investment and generating an equally high share of the world's scientific publications." An analysis of the allocation of Industrial Research and Assistance Program grants for innovation by small and mid-size companies in Canada shows that a very high proportion flow to firms in Canada's five major metropolitan cities and their immediate regions.

In looking for a better future, we can't afford to ignore the concerns of our mayors and our major cities. While all parts of the country matter, our cities will be the principal engines for future growth and good jobs.

David Crane can be reached at [crane@interlog.com](mailto:crane@interlog.com).

*The Hill Times*



Conservative Party Leader Andrew Scheer, pictured on Oct. 21, 2018, at a rally in Ottawa. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

## Dear Andrew Scheer, here's some super useful and free advice on how to win the next election

Andrew Scheer needs to embrace his inner nerd.



Warren Kinsella

*The War Room*

**T**ORONTO—Dear Andrew: First off, well done.

You handled the Tony Clement scandal well: (a) you moved quickly, (b) you were unambiguous, and (c) you kicked the wrongdoer right out of your caucus.

Opposition can be hell, but you are mostly doing well. Mad Max Bernier sounds madder by the day, and gives every indication that he is running for office in Austro-Hungary in the 1920s, not multicultural Canada in the 2010s. You continue to out-fundraise the Liberal Party—a sitting majority government, for those who haven't noticed—and have been doing so for many months. You are running ads during hockey games to get better-known, and you are getting a bit better-known.

But you still aren't popular. You still aren't winning.

Nanos' latest weekly poll indicates that you are a whopping 11 points behind the Trudeau Party. If an election were held today, the Grits would win a bigger majority than they did in 2015.

Equally, Nanos found that more than twice as many Canadians (42 per cent) prefer Justin Trudeau to you (20 per cent) on this question: "Of the current federal po-

litical party leaders, could you please rank your top two current local preferences for prime minister?"

It's not just Nanos. Mainstreet's Quito Maggi said last week that "a massive Liberal Party majority is in the making." His firm found that Trudeau dominates in British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, and Atlantic Canada—with a double-digit lead in the last three places, which means lots and lots of seats.

So what do you do? Well, for starters, consider Kinsella's Rule of Political Opposites. Your salvation lies therein.

Politics, like physics, is all about action and reaction. It's the third Newtonian law: for every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction.

You shouldn't ever replicate what your opponent does; you should be *reacting* to it. Near the end of his tenure, then, Stephen Harper came to be seen as a sullen, angry guy who didn't like people much. So the NDP picked a sullen, angry guy who didn't like people so much. The Liberals picked a happy, upbeat guy who hugged everyone. Guess who picked right?

Exactly. React, don't replicate.

Cast an eye over recent political history, if you don't believe me. Brian Mulroney's Irish blarney and small-town charm was the right response to the effete intellectualism and elitism of Pierre Trudeau. Jean Chrétien was the perfect response to Kim Campbell.

Thus, cast an eye over your opponents, Mr. Scheer. All three of them—Trudeau, Bernier, and Singh—share certain characteristics.

They are all stylish and debonair. You, to put a fine point on it, are not. They are all charismatic and magnetic. You aren't.

They are all Starbucks and Holt Renfrew. You are Tim Hortons and Giant Tiger.

What does that all mean? It means, Mr. Scheer, that you need to *embrace* your inner nerd. *Celebrate* your lack of charisma. Wear jackets from Moore's, and jeans from Old Navy. Do what Stephen Harper did so

successfully before you: become the Tim's-loving, hockey Dad Everyman. It worked.

There's *another* Canada, as you well know, one that is south of the Queensway and north of Steeles. This is the Canada in which Stephen Harper was for a decade the favourite.

Chrétien and Harper understood the *other* Canada, because they came from it, and because they never forgot it, and because they embraced it. In 2005, accordingly, I wrote that the ballot question would be Starbucks versus Tim Hortons. Amazingly, a decade-and-a-half later, *it still is*.

Chrétien and Harper represent the latter constituency—and Trudeau, Singh, and Bernier all represent the first one.

You will never be them, sir. I don't believe you even *want* to be them. So, do the one thing that always works in politics: *be you*. If voters go looking for Justin Trudeau's opposite, they won't be putting an X beside the parties led by Jagmeet Singh or Maxime Bernier. They'll be looking to for the Everyman; which, in 2019, is *only you*. There you go. That's how you win. You're welcome. Invoice is in the mail.

*The Hill Times*

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## Opinion

# Demand for action on climate change shatters Scheer's hopes in Quebec

In Quebec, the anti-carbon pricing platform Andrew Scheer has been spending the fall shoring up is dead on arrival both in the National Assembly and on the ground.



Chantal Hébert

Inside Politics

**M**ONTREAL—Tens of thousands of Quebecers took to the streets on Nov. 10 to call for more decisive action on climate change. In Montreal alone, 50,000 took part in the demonstration.

In the short space of a week, more than 150,000 signed a pledge that commits them to reduce their carbon footprints but also demands more proactive leadership on the issue from governments.

Those numbers provide an answer of sorts to those who wondered whether Quebec's culture of political mobilization had waned along with the sovereignty movement.

Some of the activism and the passion that for so many decades attended the debate over the province's political future has shifted to the environmental front.

That shift is not happening in a vacuum.

It is already impacting the priorities of the rookie Coalition Avenir Québec government. And it could cost Andrew Scheer's Conservatives any hope of gains in Canada's second-largest province in next fall's federal election.

In Quebec, the anti-carbon pricing platform Scheer has been spending the fall shoring up is dead on arrival both in the National Assembly and on the ground.

As for his commitment to the Energy East pipeline—a project designed to transport oil from the Prairies through Ontario and Quebec to the Atlantic Coast—it amounts to a target on the back of his candidates as well as an incentive for Quebec's premier to keep at a safe distance from the federal Conservatives.

Among the right-of-centre premiers and leaders who have emerged since Justin Trudeau became prime minister, Quebec Premier François Legault already stands alone in support of the federal climate-change framework. The Quebec cap-and-trade system put in place under previous governments is there to stay.

In the eye of many climate change activists outside Quebec, that puts him on the side of angels. But in Quebec, the environment is widely seen as the CAQ's Achilles' heel. The party's recent election platform was virtually silent on the issue. Over his first month as premier, Legault has invested an unexpectedly high amount of time shoring up his environmental credentials.

While the likes of Scheer and Ontario Premier Doug Ford have been flexing their muscles in anticipation of a big election fight over Trudeau's carbon pricing policy he has gone in the opposite direction.

Legault has reversed his party's position on allowing shale gas exploration on Anticosti Island. He has admitted his platform did not make the grade on the environment and promised the CAQ would do better in government.

Legault dispatched three of his ministers to Saturday's Montreal march. And while he did not sign on to the "Pacte pour la transition"—the carbon-footprint-reduction pledge sponsored by a coalition of hundreds of artists, climate change activists, scientists and academics—the premier met with one of its leading organizers on Friday.

No promises were made but the conversation was, by all accounts, amicable.

Whether Legault can keep his government on the good side of an ever-expanding climate change movement is an open question. There will not be a lack of issues on which the two are bound not to see eye to eye. So far the performance of rookie environment minister, Marie-Chantal Chassé, has been underwhelming. But the premier has a fighting chance of building a connection.

The same cannot be said of Scheer's CPC. If the past is any indication, the first inclination of Conservative strategists will be to dismiss the ongoing Quebec developments as the work of an elitist cohort of left-wing activists. They will find plenty of punditry in support of that take.

But among the backers of the Transition Pact, there are more Quebec household names than Scheer can ever hope to get to know between now and the federal election. Together, they command a larger audience than he ever will. In the recent past, more formidable leaders than Scheer have taken on similar Quebec coalitions... and lost.

In the 2008 election, a similar movement propelled Stephen Harper's party into negative momentum territory. The issue then was a modest reduction in some culture budgets. Those relatively minor cuts caused major damage to the Conservative brand in Quebec and likely cost the party an early shot at a governing majority. Climate change is in a different, more powerful, league.

A final thought: As I watched hundreds of commuters pour out of my neighbourhood's subway station on their way to Saturday's march, I wondered if Ontario's recent history might have been a bit different had a similar army of voters taken to the streets to oppose the Ford government's decision to bail out of the federal climate change framework.

Chantal Hébert is a columnist based in Ottawa covering politics for *The Toronto Star*. This column was released on Nov. 12. Follow her on Twitter: @ChantalHébert  
The Hill Times

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# The Khashoggi tapes

Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman may go on for a while, despite the disaster of his military intervention in Yemen, his pointless, fruitless blockade of Qatar, and even this ugly murder. He wouldn't be the only killer in power. But the bloom is definitely off this particular rose.



Gwynne Dyer

Global Affairs

LONDON, U.K.—How odd. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan sends an audio recording of the murder of journalist Jamal Khashoggi in the Saudi Arabian consulate in Istanbul to the governments of all Turkey's major NATO allies, and the only one that gets it is Canada.

What happened to the copies that Erdogan sent to the United States, France, the United Kingdom and Germany? Lost in the mailroom, no doubt, or maybe just lying unopened on somebody's desk. Or perhaps the Turks just didn't put enough stamps on the packages.

"We gave them the tapes," said Erdogan on Nov. 10. "They've also listened to the conversation, they know it." But still not a word out of Washington or London acknowledging that they have heard the recordings, and French Foreign Minister Jean-Yves Le Drian denied that France has received a copy.

When asked if that meant Erdogan was lying, Le Drian replied: "It means that he has a political game to play in these circumstances." Like most Western politicians and diplomats, he is desperate to avoid calling out Saudi Arabia's de facto ruler, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, as a murderer.

The French have a highly profitable commercial relationship with the oil-rich kingdom, mostly selling it arms, and they don't want to acknowledge the evidence on the recording (which may directly implicate the Crown prince) because it could jeopardize that trade.

Erdogan was furious when the French foreign minister issued his denial, and his communications director insisted that a representative of French intelligence had listened to the recording as long ago as Oct. 24. But it was all just "he said/she said" stuff until Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau blew the game wide open on Nov. 12.

Yes, Trudeau said, Canadian intelligence has the recording, and he is well aware of what is on it. In fact, Canadian intelligence agencies have been working very closely with Turkey on the murder investigation, and Canada is "in discussions with our like-minded allies as to the next steps with regard Saudi Arabia."

Why did Trudeau come clean? One popular theory is the nothing-left-to-lose hypothesis. Last August, the tempestuous Crown Prince killed all future trade deals with



Former Saudi dissident and *Washington Post* columnist Jamal Khashoggi was killed on Oct. 2 after he went to the Saudi consulate in Istanbul. Saudi Arabia has changed its story a few times, but it fired five top officials and arrested 18 Saudis it says were connected to the killing. Photograph courtesy of April Brady/Project on Middle East Democracy

Canada, pulled thousands of Saudi Arabian foreign students out of Canadian universities, and generally showered curses on the country after Canadian officials called for the release of detained Saudi campaigners for civil rights and women's rights.

Canada's bridges to Saudi Arabia have already been burned, according to this theory, so Trudeau felt free to say the truth. But he's not really free: Canada still has a \$13-billion contract to build armoured vehicles for Saudi Arabia that the Saudis might cancel, and this is a real contract, not one of Trump's fantasy arms sales.

Maybe Trudeau is just braver than the others, but his purpose is clear. He waited more than three weeks after getting the recording for the "like-minded allies" to agree to a joint policy towards the murderous prince—nobody believes Khashoggi could have been killed without Mohammed bin Salman's consent—and then he spilled the beans.

Of course, all the major NATO governments have the recordings. They have had them for at least three weeks. They were just dithering over what to do about them, and Trudeau decided it was time to give them a push. Good for him, but what exactly can they do about Mohammed bin Salman's crime?

It almost certainly was MbS (as they call him) who ordered the killing. Since his elderly father, King Salman, gave him free rein to run the country less than three years ago, he has become a one-man regime. Nothing happens without

his approval, least of all the murder of a high-profile critic in a foreign country by a 15-strong Saudi hit squad including several members of his personal security team.

No Western leader (except perhaps Donald Trump) will be seen in public with MbS any more, foreign investment in Saudi Arabia this year is the lowest in several decades, and the price of oil is falling again. So he has to go, if it's still possible for anybody in Saudi Arabia to remove him from power. But that's the big question.

The Saudi royal family is no longer a tight, united body that can just decide MbS has to go and make it stick. It's a sprawling array of people many of whom scarcely know each other, and without the agreement of King Salman, any smaller group within the family that organized a coup against the Crown Prince would almost certainly fail.

So he may go on for a while, despite the disaster of his military intervention in Yemen, his pointless, fruitless blockade of Qatar, and even this ugly murder. He wouldn't be the only killer in power. But the bloom is definitely off this particular rose.

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



## Genomics is code for PROTECTION

Caribou is an iconic species not only in Québec, but throughout Canada where its sustainability is essential for the stability of the tundra ecosystems and for the food security and economy of Northern communities. But herd populations are declining rapidly – in some cases, a drop of around 99 per cent.

Québec-based researchers are working with the province's Ministry of Forests, Wildlife and Parks to develop and integrate a much-needed genomic tool to identify herds at risk and manage endangered caribou populations. Learn more at [genomecanada.ca/livinginnovation](http://genomecanada.ca/livinginnovation).



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## Opinion

# National Security Intelligence Committee has taken a hit by Clement's sexting scandal

Spies and cops are already loath to talk about their work to outsiders and Tony Clement's escapades could make them more loath, which would be unfortunate because NSICOP is a necessary group that sheds some much needed light into an otherwise dark world. But I also doubt the parliamentary attendees at NSICOP meetings get into the details of security intelligence and law enforcement agencies' sources and methods.



Phil Gurski  
*Terrorism*

OTTAWA—I imagine that most Canadians are already very tired of this story and yet here I am weighing in on it, from the perspective of national security. To sum up this debacle, not that I think anyone does not know the salacious details, MP Tony Clement engaged in what was first a one-off sharing of sexually explicit material online, but which quickly morphed into a series of inappropriate actions. It also seems that he has been subject to extortion/blackmail on at least two occasions and, to his credit, he appears to have alerted the necessary authorities fairly quickly, although the old adage “once burned, twice shy” did not give him pause to reconsider his actions.

A lot of the discussion over the past few days has centred on two primary aspects of these incidents: what an MP thought he was doing by sending sexually explicit pictures over the internet and what an MP who serves on the National Security Intel-

be very surprised if it consisted of the machinery of sensitive intelligence operations. Allow me to explain. Security intelligence and law enforcement agencies are very protective, for good reasons, about two aspects of their jobs: sources and methods.

Keeping both of these secret are the *sine non qua* of the spy world: disclosing either, which is done rarely and only when absolutely necessary, is disastrous as it leads to losses on both fronts (human sources get killed and adversaries move to other, more secure methods of communicating). I doubt whether the parliamentary attendees at NSICOP meetings get into those kinds of details. There is also the overarching “need to know” principle: if you do not need to know something, you don't.

Still, the committee has taken a hit. A member has acted egregiously and put both

Tony Clement's sexting scandal had an impact on NSICOP, but there is no sign in the public domain that he was targeted because of his membership on the committee, was asked by the extortionist for sensitive intelligence, or handed over such information, writes Phil Gurski. *The Hill Times* file photograph



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ligence Committee of Parliamentarians, the body that oversees Canada's spy agencies and hence had access to very sensitive material, thought he was doing by sending those pictures over the internet and thereby opening himself up to extortion. I will focus exclusively on the latter and leave the former to the moralists.

NSICOP was created in November of 2017 following the passage of Bill C-22, the National Security and Intelligence Committee of Parliamentarians Act. Clement was one of eight MPs (in addition to three Senators) named to the committee at that time (he has since left NSICOP). This body is charged with the oversight of some 17 federal government agencies which have a role in national security, including the three heavyweights: CSIS, CSE, and the RCMP. Canada was the last of the so-called 'Five Eyes' countries (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the U.K., and the U.S.) to create such a review agency. In light of Clement's moves, some are questioning the future of NSICOP.

The situation is not as dire as some think, but the impact on NSICOP is not irrelevant either. Firstly, there is no sign in the public domain that Clement was targeted because of his membership on the committee, was asked by the extortionist for sensitive intelligence, or handed over such information. Secondly, although I am not privy to what NSICOPers discuss, I'd

the reputation and mandate of the body at risk. Spies and cops are already loath to talk about their work to outsiders and Clement's escapades could make them more loath. That would be unfortunate as NSICOP is a necessary group that sheds some much needed light into an otherwise dark world.

Overall, this affair should tell Parliament and the NSICOP secretariat that perhaps a review of security clearances is in order. Members should have to undergo the same level of scrutiny I did when I worked for CSIS: it is unclear whether that transpired. As Clement's actions appear to have predated his nomination to the committee it is incumbent on those who selected him to have known about them and their potential harm to national security.

In the end, it does not appear that irreparable damage was caused to Canada's national security apparatus. The whole thing is embarrassing, yes, but not fatal. I cannot imagine Canada's 'Five Eyes' partners are too happy with all this—after all they share with us on the understanding we will duly protect their intelligence—but the alliance is not on the verge of dissolution. Nevertheless, changes are required to ensure to the extent possible that a repeat is not on the horizon.

Phil Gurski is a former CSIS strategic analyst and the Director of Security and Intelligence at the SecDev Group.

The Hill Times

# Nurse practitioners are the innovative solution to Canada's health-care woes

We should be investing in the full range of primary health-care services to increase access for all Canadians.



Linda Silas & Ivy Lynn Bourgeault

Opinion

It was recently national Nurse Practitioner Week, but you would be forgiven if you've never heard of nurse practitioners. Most Canadians haven't—and most don't know their value to our health-care system.

You may be even more surprised to learn that nurse practitioners could be the innovative solution—or at least, a critical part of it—to Canada's ongoing health-care woes.

Traditional wisdom holds that Canada needs more doctors to ensure timely access to health services, yet the increase in the supply of doctors in Canada has

outpaced Canada's population growth for a decade. Still, every day we continue to hear stories about Canadians without access to a family doctor.

Canada routinely underperforms in international surveys of timely access to primary health care, such as access to a family doctor. When this happens, patients often rely on the more expensive health services provided in our acute care system, arriving in hospital emergency rooms instead. As a result, our acute care facilities are stretched to capacity.

What's the solution? Recent history offers potential lessons.

In response to a perceived doctor shortage, in the early 1980s the Canada Health Act was amended so provinces could allow nurses to practice medicine as nurse practitioners. Nurse practitioners are highly skilled health-care professionals with advanced education who can diagnose, treat, prescribe medications, order tests, offer referrals, and admit or discharge patients.

Nurse practitioners also often go beyond traditional medical care models to provide holistic health promotion and illness prevention through patient education.

So, are they effective? Very.

Decades of rigorous evidence shows that nurse practitioners improve access to personalized, cost-effective, high-quality health care that reduces wait-times and costs throughout the broader health system. This patient-centred approach is well-suited to address multiple and on-going health conditions. Nurse practitioners are

especially critical for providing health services among Canada's growing population of seniors, Indigenous peoples and those living in rural and remote locations.

We aren't the first country to innovate this way.

The United States began integrating nurse practitioners intensively following the creation of an education program in 1965. Through a concerted effort, the number of nurse practitioners doubled over a decade; there are now more than 248,000 licensed nurse practitioners in the U.S.

In contrast, the path towards the integration and expansion of Nurse Practitioners in Canada's health system has been rocky. To find answers, the Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions (CFNU) recently conducted the largest survey of nurse practitioners across Canada.

The results were illuminating—and disappointing.

We found that even though nurse practitioners have the potential to address pressing health access issues, they are largely absent or under-utilized in most parts of Canada.

Barriers due to government legislative, regulatory and policy restrictions, along with financing, funding and reimbursement issues are challenges to the widespread use of nurse practitioners across the country. There are also opposition from certain interest groups and challenges in uptake at the organizational level.

Perhaps, most critically, Canada has a supply of only 14 nurse practitioners per 100,000 Canadians compared to 76 per

100,000 Americans. And currently, more than half of nurse practitioners work only in Ontario—meaning most of the country is missing out.

We are failing to take advantage of the capacity of nurse practitioners to improve health access and reduce costs across the system.

The buzzword in health care is innovation. Often, we look to new high-tech devices and computer applications. But nurse practitioners are a long-standing health-care innovation that has repeatedly proven its worth. It's time for implementation.

There are a few excellent examples that could be scaled up across the country.

Manitoba's mobile clinics, in which nurse practitioners and registered nurses provide on-the-spot primary care for people living in smaller, underserved communities provide an excellent model. Ontario's nurse practitioner-led clinics, as well community health centre models utilizing nurse practitioners, are leading practices that could be readily implemented nation-wide.

Nurse practitioners represent an innovative opportunity for Canada to address our growing health care needs, especially within underserved populations, communities and settings. It's time for governments and employers to get on-board and remove the remaining obstacles for utilizing nurse practitioners.

We should be investing in the full range of primary health-care services to increase access for all Canadians.

Linda Silas is a nurse and has been the president of the 200,000-member Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions (CFNU) since 2003. Ivy Lynn Bourgeault is CIHR chair in gender, work and health at the University of Ottawa and the lead of the Empowering Women Leaders in Health project. They are both contributors with EvidenceNetwork.ca based at the University of Winnipeg.

The Hill Times

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## News Liberal nomination

# Candidate for Liberal nomination in Saint-Leonard-Saint-Michel signing up new members

Hassan Guillet says he does not currently live in the riding, but has 11 close family members who live in Saint-Leonard-Saint-Michel, Que.

Continued from page 1

Saint-Michel in January after incumbent MP Nicola Di Iorio's announced resignation takes effect, but already a potential candidate says he's started to sign up members ahead of the contest.

In an interview with *The Hill Times*, Hassan Guillet, a retired executive in the aerospace industry and a former spokesman of the Council of Quebec Imams, said he's interested in the nomination and is reaching out to potential supporters.

"I'm interested in the nomination," said Mr. Guillet, who speaks several languages, in addition to Canada's two official languages, including Arabic, Italian, and Spanish, and is a retired aviation industry executive. He also added that he was meeting with people in the riding and signing up new members.

Mr. Guillet, who moved to Canada from Lebanon in 1974, was in the national spotlight early last year for his heart-rendering sermon during the memorial service for the victims of the January 2017 Québec City mosque shooting. His extemporaneous funeral speech received praise both within and outside of Canada, including from J.K. Rowling, author of the *Harry Potter* series, on Twitter.

"The extraordinary and humane words of Imam Hassan Guillet, at the funeral for the victims of the Quebec massacre," tweeted Ms. Rowling, in sharing a transcript of the speech in February of last year. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) also attended the funeral.

After the speech, the federal Liberals approached Mr. Guillet to encourage him to consider running for the party, which he accepted. Mr. Guillet declined to share any details about his conversations with the party.

Mr. Di Iorio, a Montreal lawyer who is currently the incumbent MP, announced in April that he was planning on stepping down from his seat for family reasons, but did not say when. Over the summer months, he reconsidered his decision and said that he was reflecting on his future plans. He has not been seen in



Liberal MP Nicola Di Iorio, left, has said he'll officially resign on Jan. 22. Quebec Imam Hassan Guillet says he intends to seek the Liberal Party's nomination in the riding, and has already started signing-up members. *The Hill Times* file photograph and courtesy of Facebook



the House Chamber since Parliament returned for the fall sitting in mid-September. Mr. Di Iorio said publicly that he was absent from the House because he was working on a special assignment from Mr. Trudeau; he did not say specifically what that assignment was, but mentioned work on road safety and traffic congestion issues.

Two weeks ago, Mr. Di Iorio said he would resign from his seat on Jan. 22.

Chief Government Whip Mark Holland (Ajax, Ont.) told reporters recently that Mr. Di Iorio will give back his final five months of salary. The annual base salary of an MP is \$172,000.

The riding of Saint-Leonard-Saint-Michel is a safe Liberal riding, and whoever wins the party's nomination is almost guaranteed to win the election in 2019. Represented in the House since 1988, this riding has always elected Liberals, starting first with Alfonso Gagliano, who held it until 2002, and later Massimo Pacetti. Mr. Pacetti carried the Liberal Party's banner until 2014; he did not seek re-election in 2015 after he was expelled from the Liberal caucus in 2014 along with now-former Newfoundland and Labrador MP Scott Andrews, as both faced allegations of sexual misconduct from two female NDP MPs. The Liberal Party held an internal investigation but never publicly shared the findings of the final report. Neither were allowed back in the caucus.

In the 2015 election, Mr. Di Iorio won by a margin of about 50 per cent of the votes. He won 64.7 per cent of the votes, compared to second-place NDP candidate Rossani Fillato, who garnered 14.8 per cent of the votes. The third-place Conservative candidate, Jean Philippe Fournier, carried 11.1 per cent of the votes. It's not clear if a byelection will be held in the riding before the next federal election.

Once the seat becomes officially vacant, Mr. Trudeau will

have 180 days, or six months, to set a date for the byelection. The next federal election is scheduled for Oct. 21, 2019. The House of Commons is scheduled to adjourn for the summer recess on June 21 and will return only after the federal election.

A Liberal Party spokesman said in an email to *The Hill Times* that the nomination date has not yet been decided for this riding.

"With Mr. Di Iorio only recently having confirmed the timing of his resignation, no new nomination process has yet been started," said Braeden Caley, senior director of communication for the Liberal Party. "Over 35,000 people have registered as new Liberals in Quebec in the last two years alone, and local Liberals in Saint-Leonard-Saint-Michel are looking forward to running a 2019 campaign that is focused on Justin Trudeau's positive progress to strengthen the middle class and grow our economy."

And a spokeswoman for the PMO declined to say when the byelection will be called in the riding.

"By-election announcements will be made in due course," wrote Eleanore Catenaro, PMO press secretary in an email to *The Hill Times*.

Byelections also still need to be called for three already vacant ridings: York-Simcoe, Ont.; Burnaby South, B.C., and Outremont, Que.

Maddalena Fiore, the Liberal riding association president in Mr. Di Iorio's riding, declined to be interviewed.

Mr. Guillet told *The Hill Times* that he does not live in the riding, but he has 11 close family members who live in Saint-Leonard-Saint-Michel. He said that if he won the party's nomination, he will move to the riding.

"[I will move to the riding] Not only for political reasons, all my family is there," he said.

arana@hilltimes.com  
*The Hill Times*

## Opinion

## Mortgage finance regulations: it's time to level the playing field

Safeguarding our residential lending markets requires consistent regulation across all jurisdictions



Keith Lancaster

Opinion

One of the fundamental lessons learned from the 2008-09 financial crisis is that the stability of the economy is substantially predicated on the health of its residential mortgage-lending system. An essential contributor to that health is an effective and efficient regulatory regime applied to the mortgage market. Canada's regulations are among the best in the world, have served its citizens well, and have most certainly helped to prevent disruptions to the financial system. In fact, Canada's balanced financial regulations helped it weather the 2008-09 financial crisis relatively unscathed; this certainly was not the case in all countries.

Nearly 10 years later, the markets have evolved, and now it is clear that not all mortgage lenders are required to apply the same level of rigour in their lending practices. At its very root, prudent mortgage underwriting relies on a balance of two components: accurate and independent valuation of collateral (the property securing the mortgage), and an assessment of the borrower's capacity and willingness to service the debt. The Appraisal Institute of Canada's (AIC) 5,400 members play an integral role in the application of these regulations by providing unbiased opinions of value. This role puts AIC in a position to help identify and recommend adjustments to the regulations, thereby building upon a strong regulatory regime.

One of the core causes of the 2008-09 financial crisis was an overheated U.S. housing market, stoked by lending to borrowers that were unable to service their loans, exacerbated by the repackaging of those loans through mortgage backed securities. Borrowers were plied with adjustable-rate mortgages that they couldn't afford and rates rose just as home values started declining. The crash that followed hit every major economy in the world, and many took years to recover. In some countries, like Ireland, banks and financial institutions failed outright, placing even greater pressure on ailing

economies. At the time, Canada shone as an example of sound regulation; our crash was much less significant and the recovery time was far shorter.

Following the crisis, the Office of the Superintendent of Financial Institutions—the agency which regulates and supervises Canada's federally regulated financial institutions to determine whether they are in sound financial condition and meeting their requirements—strengthened our regulatory system by introducing additional regulations to protect against the kind of risk that led to the financial crisis in the first place. OSFI introduced guideline B-20, which came into effect in June of 2012.

The guideline includes five principles: 1. FRFIs that are engaged in residential mortgage underwriting and/or the acquisition of residential mortgage loan assets should have a comprehensive Residential Mortgage Underwriting Policy. 2. FRFIs should perform reasonable due diligence to record and assess the borrower's identity, background, and demonstrated willingness to service his/her debt obligations on a timely basis. 3. FRFIs should adequately assess the borrower's capacity to service his/her debt obligations on a timely basis. 4. FRFIs should have sound collateral management and appraisal processes for the underlying mortgage properties. 5. FRFIs should have effective credit and counter-party risk-management practices and procedures that support residential mortgage and underwriting and loan asset portfolio management, including, as appropriate, mortgage insurance.

Collectively, these principles underpin a lending system, which appropriately identifies and manages risk and mitigates consumer indebtedness—but the rules do not apply to all lenders. In addition to the FRFIs, which are subject to OSFI regulation, there are scores of institutions and mortgage lenders which are not. At present, these lenders account for almost 25 per cent of residential mortgage holdings in Canada. To put this into perspective, the total value of outstanding residential mortgage loans in Canada is over \$1.5-trillion. Therefore, one could extrapolate that over \$350-billion worth of current mortgage loans were made outside OSFI's regulatory regime. Some of these lenders are regulated provincially, and some provinces have implemented regulations similar to OSFI's, but the need for regulatory harmonization remains.

Harmonizing regulations across all jurisdictions will require leadership from the government of Canada and collaboration among all provinces and territories, but the effort would benefit all Canadians.

Keith Lancaster is the CEO of Appraisal Institute of Canada.  
*The Hill Times*



# Universities heading towards a crisis

Growing class sizes and fewer course offerings are increasingly become an issue at universities, despite occasional increases in narrowly 'targeted' funding.



Robin Vose

Opinion

There's a crisis emerging in Canadian universities.

From institutional over-reliance on low-paid, contract academic staff, to the gutting of early-career research capacity, we're losing the ability to provide reliable, high-quality, and truly comprehensive education. And while things are worse in some provinces than others, the overall picture has serious implications that urgently require action at the federal level.

It all comes down to numbers: of students, teachers and dollars, and the data is clear. While the post-secondary student body continues to grow, the hiring of new faculty into secure, tenure-track positions has declined drastically. Recent Statistics Canada numbers show that, from 2010-11 to 2016-17, faculty at the rank of assistant professor decreased by 18.5 per cent. Previously, from 2006-07 to 2010-11, the number of assistant professors had already declined 6.9 per cent.

This disappearing segment is the younger generation of teachers and researchers desperately needed by Canada to remain competitive, progressive, and healthy. It's a troubling issue highlighted by the government's own fundamental science review, which also noted that Canada already falls behind comparator nations in relative number of PhD graduates.

The Naylor report makes strident calls for the development and retention of outstanding young academics, whose numbers should be burgeoning, not shrinking, in number.

The effects play out every day in my own province of New Brunswick, where, despite occasional increases in narrowly "targeted" funding (usually to benefit the private sector), and welcome initiatives to improve accessibility for low-income students, I also see growing class sizes and fewer course offerings—too many of those are taught by precariously employed instructors without the research support necessary to advance their fields.

At St. Thomas University, where I work, 12 out of 21 departments have one or more empty faculty positions—some of which have remained vacant for years. Another half a dozen or more regular professors are likely to disappear this year, a reduction of 20 per cent in our permanent faculty complement.

In some departments, losses have been catastrophic. In my own discipline, we lost a third of our regular teaching capacity over the last five years due to non-replacement of faculty members, while in smaller departments, even the loss of a single professor can slash course offerings by half.

Yet we know perfectly well how essential strong, well-funded, diverse university curricula are to the health of any modern society.

More than ever, we need programs that focus on the full range of topics that make the university sector truly "universal": from

the physical sciences and engineering to the arts and humanities.

And we desperately need to grow beyond traditional subjects, in particular, by more fully integrating Aboriginal experiences and aspirations into our approaches to public education. The languages, histories, and world views of Canada's First Peoples deserve the same funding, as has previously been made available to their European analogues. This cannot be done properly by leaving it to a shrinking professoriate, to volunteers, or to poorly paid contract workers who are somehow expected to develop new research and teaching directions in their free time.

Solutions can be found. Canada must, at minimum, live up to its treaty and other obligations by adequately funding Aboriginal students' unrestricted access to post-secondary education, while also hiring the new Aboriginal faculty that are needed to teach them. Federal funding can be more evenly distributed to support more than just a few "superstars" through the Canada Research

Chairs program. Such monies would be better spent on encouraging institutions to wean themselves off their addiction to cheap contract labour, by subsidizing new permanent positions or permitting the regularization of existing untenured ones. Finally, legal reforms are needed at both the national and provincial levels to stop the scandalous treatment of casual labour that is doing so much harm to professors and students alike.

Maintaining our capacity to provide students with world-class university education, and above all, to improve and broaden the sorts of new subject materials they can choose to study, urgently requires the sustained hiring of whole cohorts of new,



Twelve out of 21 departments at St. Thomas University have one or more empty faculty positions, writes Robin Vose, a history professor at the university. Photograph courtesy of St. Thomas University's Alumni association Twitter

permanent, full-time university professors who are supported by a full range of training and research resources. The future of my province, and of Canada, depends on it.

Dr. Robin Vose is a history professor at St. Thomas University in New Brunswick and past president of the Canadian Association of University Teachers.

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## News Media &amp; election 2019

# Are Canada's newsrooms ready to tackle fake news, cyber threats, 'foreign adversaries' ahead of 2019 election?

*Le Devoir* is working with data developers at Polytechnique Montréal to develop an internal tool that can help the newsroom 'have a greater overview of what's happening in social networks' in order to identify viral topics or strange patterns.

Continued from page 1

to have a game plan to anticipate the spread of misinformation.

In a report last year about cyber threats to the democratic process, the Communications and Security Establishment said that, "almost certainly, political parties and politicians, and the media are more vulnerable to cyber threats and related influence operations than election activities themselves." The threat to the media lies in "foreign adversaries" using cyber capabilities—deploying social botnets, or a series of computers under the command of one user—to muddy the media environment and shape public opinion by disseminating misinformation, according to the report.

There's also the threat of a news outlet's brand being hijacked, said Scott Jones, head of the Canadian Centre for Cyber Security, a division within the Communications and Security Establishment. Without the proper cyber security infrastructure and controls in place, he said, a sophisticated hacker could break into the system and make subtle alterations to a story or post an entirely fake story.

Asked how likely such a scenario would be, Mr. Jones said,

"We actually haven't seen that yet. But that's actually one of the hardest to detect. Is it doable? It depends on how your security is being set up, how your information is verified. Is there something that maintains the integrity of your documents on the site? It really does depend on the security and investment organizations are making to protect themselves."



CTV Hill bureau chief Joyce Napier, right, also said that, as the election approaches, her newsroom will also be looking at how they might tackle these issues if they arise. *The Hill Times* file photograph by Andrew Meade

*The Hill Times* reached out to several news organizations that cover federal politics and Parliament Hill and asked how they plan to brace for the onslaught of misinformation that could affect the political discourse amid the campaign season. Some responded, noting that it's still early in the game. "We are planning on dealing with this issue—likely with a dedicated reporter—but we are in the early stages so there is not much I can say," said Robert Fife, *The Globe and Mail's* Ottawa bureau chief, in an email response.

CTV's Ottawa bureau chief, Joyce Napier, also said that, as the election approaches, her newsroom will also be looking at how they might tackle these issues if they arise.

To a large extent, she said, Canada hasn't witnessed the same scale of misinformation unleashed by trolls trying to interfere with domestic politics. "We're not seeing the same phenomenon [at this point]. It's a little bit early to assess if there will be some political interference."



Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale, pictured in a Hill scrum. Hill newsrooms are still in the early stages of contending with issues around potential interference during the 2019 election, but as the vote draws closer, a few have signalled they intend to have a game plan to anticipate the spread of misinformation. *The Hill Times* file photograph

In Quebec, Florent Daudens, director of information at *Le Devoir*, said there hasn't been any evidence to suggest there was interference in the recent provincial election, noting that the stakes were not that high. But he said that it could be an issue in the federal election, and in anticipation of that, *Le Devoir* is working with data developers at Polytechnique Montréal to develop an internal tool that can help the newsroom "have a greater overview of what's happening in social networks" in order to identify viral topics or strange patterns.

Mr. Daudens said he isn't sure how much of a target Canada could be for fake news and other forms of interference. "We're not a big player on the world stage, but we're not that small either."

*The Hill Times*, for its part, is also still working on its own plan.

Even if next year's elections aren't overrun by concerns of foreign interference, *Toronto Star* journalist Alex Boutillier said newsrooms have to be just as wary of domestic actors using the media to try to influence electoral outcomes. Though he declined to get into the specifics, Mr. Boutillier cited his own experience covering the 2015 election when he received incriminating documents about a minister. Unable to verify the authenticity of the documents with the government, and the source, the *Star* passed on reporting the story. Another organization went ahead, he said, noting that it reported on the existence of the documents, not treating them as fact.



"We are planning on dealing with this issue—likely with a dedicated reporter—but we are in the early stages so there is not much I can say," said Robert Fife, *The Globe and Mail's* Ottawa bureau chief. *The Hill Times* file photograph

"I think these are the questions news organizations need to be asking themselves about right now when some of this stuff starts happening in 2019. You don't have to imagine foreign hackers, Russian-backed intelligence operations, North Korean freelancers coming to attack the integrity of the election," said Mr. Boutillier. "There could be domestic actors who are doing that kind of thing. Journal-

ists have to really create some resilience within their organizations to say we have a certain level of ethics we have to follow and we don't compromise them in the case of a juicy, history-changing story."

## More 'deliberate' fact-checking needed, says professor

Some newsrooms don't have the resources to actively police or monitor their readers' activities on their social media pages to screen for trolls posting misinformation.

"We keep an eye as much as possible on our social media accounts, particularly on our Facebook page," said Mike De Souza, National Observer's managing editor. "If we see someone is abusive or deliberately sharing misinformation, we will take steps to remove those comments, and in some cases, if someone has crossed the line and gotten into comments that are abusive or inappropriate, those people will be banned. ... But there's only so much we can do."

It's a team effort monitoring the page, he said, adding that they count on their online community to flag problematic content as well. "I presume that, as we get closer to the federal election, we'll probably try to step up our efforts to inform people what the issues are, and what we're concerned about, and how we can make our page a safe space for the free exchange of ideas and comments that are fair," Mr. De Souza said.



Mike De Souza, managing editor of National Observer, right, pictured with animal rights activist and lawyer Camille Labchuk, said: "We keep an eye as much as possible on our social media accounts, particularly on our Facebook page, if we someone is abusive or deliberately sharing misinformation." *The Hill Times* file photograph by Cynthia Münster

In the face of threats of election interference through disinformation or misinformation campaigns, Gavin Adamson, a professor at Ryerson University's journalism school, said newsrooms need to be more "deliberate" in their fact-checking.

Fact-checking is part of the reporting process, but, he said, news

outlets need to do more to make those efforts more obvious by branding their work as fact-checks.

Mr. Boutillier said he can only think of a couple of outlets that aggressively debunk misinformation and frame their work as fact-checks: BuzzFeed and The Canadian Press. "The media, writ large, is not doing debunking. That's not to say that's the only or best way to handle this situation," he said. "We're not doing a good job of debunking, but we'll see if that ramps up when the election heats up in earnest."



*Toronto Star* reporter Alex Boutillier says newsrooms have to be just as wary of domestic actors trying to influence the electoral outcome. *The Hill Times* file photograph by Andrew Meade

In addition to devoting more resources to fact-checking and ferreting out misinformation, Prof. Adamson said there's an opportunity, leading up to the 2019 vote, for newsrooms to "band together" on a project that highlights the value of good journalism. For example, he suggested an effort aimed at educating the public about the role that third-party political players, like Ontario Proud, a group founded by Jeff Ballingall, a former Harper-era staffer, are playing in shaping political discourse through the "free advertising" they effectively offer to the Conservatives with their online campaigns.

Prof. Adamson said he isn't convinced that fake news makes that much of a difference in the polls, noting it's hard to parse what information, whether it's party messaging or media coverage of issues, ultimately affects voters' choice at the ballot box. Nevertheless, he said, through their reporting, newsrooms have a role to play in countering misinformation.

Elections Canada, for its part, was recently in the market for a social media "listening" and analytics tool that would have the capacity to detect and track, in real time, potential trends that could affect the integrity of the election, according to Global News. Bidding closed last month, and the agency said in an email that they plan to have a contract "in place as soon as possible" to start preparing for the vote.

*The Hill Times*

# I caught my aneurysm in time: a health-care exec's journey into the world of precision health

Precision health is an emerging approach for disease treatment and prevention that considers individual variability in general environments and lifestyles.



Gary Folker

Opinion

Spending 30 years in the health-care industry couldn't prepare me for what was about to happen.

Earlier this year, I fought and overcame cancer in my neck. On a trip to my doctor for a follow-up, I noticed something odd on one of my CT scans. I pointed it out to my doctor, who immediately realized it was an aneurysm. The 7.5-centimetre bulge on my abdominal aorta was ready to burst. A few days later, I had a successful procedure, and again, was given a clean bill of health. Two close calls.

Aneurysms are silent killers. Notoriously hard to detect, it's even harder to know when it might rupture. Nearly 75 per cent of all patients with a ruptured aneurysm die from the condition, according to the University of North Carolina Health Care. Let that sink in.

After sharing the harrowing experience with my work colleagues, I learned my own company, Orion Health, had launched a pioneering project in New Zealand to spot aneurysms in the general public, with the goal of identifying those in danger and giving them a chance to have life-saving surgery.

Orion Health, together with the University of Auckland and the Waitemata District Health Board, created a machine-learning model to reduce the cost of health care and save lives by identifying patients at risk of an aneurysms. Based on epidemiological studies, 800 New Zealanders were identified as likely candidates for abdominal aortic aneurysms (AAAs) during a precision-screening trial. Of the patients, 632 took up the offer of an ultrasound, 36 were found to have an AAA, a prevalence rate of 5.5 per cent and almost exactly the rate that was predicted by the data analysis.

Precision health is an emerging approach for disease treatment and prevention that considers individual variability in general environments and lifestyles. With the explosion of health-care data, clinicians are better-equipped to make care decisions based on data—rather than intuition, clinical visits, or trials.

Tying artificial intelligence, data analytics and databases together, scientists use the information to identify at-risk populations. The information can help identify people at risk of aneurysms, asthma, diabetes, and more.

Giving way to a new era of care, precision health allows clinicians to catch diseases and conditions before they become more serious and costlier to the health-care system. It is an approach that has proven

to improve health-care outcomes. It helps governments and administrators identify where to allocate money to treat at-risk patient populations, through prevention measures or providing better care.

With the right resources, general practitioners can use a handheld ultrasound to check an at-risk patient for an aneurysm right in the doctor's office. It's very easy to do, and just one example of an application or precision health.

The explosion of patient data in hospitals, labs, pharmacies, and communities presents an immense opportunity. However, it is often unconnected and unshared, making it extremely difficult to take that extra step and utilize it for effective precision health. My colleague Dr. Chris Hobson wrote on the subject earlier this year, urging decision-makers to fix information gaps in the health care system.

Some regions and provinces across Canada have rich databases of patient data and are in a position to mine them for the patient's benefit. Robust databases, funding, and employment of more data scientists would go a long way toward improving health care through the lens of precision health.

The world is on the cusp of an astonishing change in how we approach health. Rather than racing to cure disease once it happens, we can progressively prevent it before it attacks. With the proper approach, Canada can prevent silent killers, improve outcomes for our populations, and usher in a new era of care.

Gary Folker is the executive vice-president of Orion Health.

The Hill Times



Aneurysms are silent killers. Notoriously hard to detect, it's even harder to know when it might rupture, writes Gary Folker of Orion Health. Photograph courtesy of Pixabay

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# NDP court battle with BOIE wages on,



House of Commons law clerk Philippe Dufresne, right, House Clerk Charles Robert, centre, and House Speaker Geoff Regan, left, pictured at a March 2018 meeting of the Commons Board of Internal Economy. An appeal by the BOIE seeking to have the Federal Court of Appeal overturn an October 2017 court ruling to hear an NDP challenge of two 2014 board decisions had its day in court on Nov. 14. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

The first-of-its-kind challenge of two 2014 rulings by the House Board of Internal Economy will set important legal precedent when it comes to the application and scope of parliamentary privilege protections in Canada.

Continued from page 1

The ruling will have important implications on the application and scope of parliamentary privilege, and in turn, the ability of courts to weigh in on undertakings on Parliament Hill.

It all began in 2011.

The NDP—newly vaulted to official opposition status in the House of Commons for the first time—set up a satellite office in Montreal, along with smaller offices in Québec City and Toronto, to support MPs in the respective regions. Staff in these offices were paid with parliamentary funds—something the NDP asserted at the time it got a green-light from the House Board of Internal Economy (BOIE) to do—with MPs in the respective regions asked to contribute a portion of their Members' Office Budgets to a pool fund.

The BOIE is the governing body of the House of Commons, chaired by the House Speaker and made up of equal numbers of MPs from the opposition and the governing parties. It's responsible for the financial and administrative matters of the House, for establishing rules to govern MPs' use of parliamentary funds, and deciding on misuse.

The NDP's arrangement became publicly known through

media in 2013, and in turn, the House administration referred the matter to the BOIE for deliberation.

Around the same time, separate questions were raised over mail-outs sent by NDP MPs to constituents, using parliamentary funds, which were criticized as being partisan, constituting a misuse of funds.

The BOIE ruled on both matters in 2014—with its two NDP members at the time dissenting—and in both cases declared that parliamentary funds had been misused: 23 NDP MPs were ordered to repay roughly \$1.2-million over the mailings, and 68 NDP MPs were ordered to repay roughly \$2.7-million related to the satellite office staff—almost \$4-million in all.

The NDP was quick to challenge the board, calling it a “kangaroo court” and the decision a partisan one. In the fall of 2014, the NDP filed separate applications seeking judicial reviews of the BOIE's decisions.



NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh, pictured recently on the Hill. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

The cases were soon merged into one. The House of Commons, on behalf of the BOIE, subsequently sought to have the case dismissed, arguing the BOIE is protected by parliamentary privilege and is therefore immune from judicial oversight.

In October 2017, the Federal Court ruled to dismiss the House's motion seeking to have the case struck down; the next month, the BOIE filed notice it was appealing the decision.

That appeal got its day in court last week.

Tucked away in a small courtroom on the 10<sup>th</sup> floor of the Federal Court of Appeal's offices on Sparks Street in downtown Ottawa, lawyers from the opposing parties made their case over the course of roughly five-and-a-half hours on Nov. 14.

Last April, the Senate—which is separately fighting to be removed from a multimillion-dollar lawsuit before the Ontario Superior Court filed by P.E.I. Senator Mike Duffy over the expenses scandal on the grounds it's protected by parliamentary privilege—sought intervenor status in the appeal, in support of the BOIE. Former Saskatchewan Conservative MP Maurice Vellacott, who sat in the House from 1997 to 2015 and is separately seeking to challenge a BOIE repayment order over his own expense claims, is also an intervenor in the case, in support of the NDP.

It was ‘Take Our Kids To Work’ day on Nov. 14, and as a result

the hearing kicked off to a full room, with law clerks and counsel from the House of Commons and Senate also present, including Senate deputy law clerk Michel Bédard and House law clerk Philippe Dufresne; Jeremy Huws, chief of staff to NDP House Leader Ruth Ellen Brosseau (Berthier-Maskinongé, Que.), also stopped by.

At the heart of the appeal are questions over the application and scope of parliamentary privilege protections; namely, whether or not that privilege—entrenched in Section 18 of the Constitution to cover the Senate, the House, and the members thereof, and defined by the Parliament of Canada Act—extends to decisions of the BOIE.

A number of recognized categories of rights and immuni-

ties associated with parliamentary privilege have been defined over time, including over: freedom of speech; freedom from arrest in civil actions; freedom from obstruction, interference, or intimidation; freedom from the obligation to answer a summons or be a member of a jury; the right of the House to regulate its own affairs regarding debates and proceedings; the right to control access to the precinct and exclude strangers; and the right of the House to punish or discipline anyone found to have breached its privileges or to be in contempt.

An Oct. 5 ruling by the Supreme Court of Canada—*Chagnon v. Syndicat de la fonction publique et parapublic du Québec*—was referenced heavily throughout the hearing on Nov. 14.

The Chagnon case dates to 2012, over a decision of the Speaker of Québec's national assembly, Jacques Chagnon, to fire three security guards. The union representing the officers filed grievances over the decision; in turn,

Continued on page 21

## The current and former NDP MPs and amounts owing

MP	Riding	Amount Owing
Robert Aubin	Trois-Rivières, Que.	\$30,158
Paulina Ayala*	Honoré-Mercier, Que.	\$29,280
Tyrone Benskin*	Jeanne-Le Ber, Que.	\$31,888
Lysane Blanchette-Lamothe*	Pierrefonds-Dollard, Que.	\$29,842
Denis Blanchette*	Louis-Hébert, Que.	\$31,888
François Boivin*	Gatineau, Que.	\$24,498
Charmaine Borg*	Terrebonne-Blainville, Que.	\$22,807
Alexandre Boulérice	Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie, Que.	\$122,122
Marjolaine Boutin-Sweet	Hochelaga, Que.	\$24,259
Tarik Brahmi*	Saint-Jean, Que.	\$22,953
Ruth Ellen Brosseau	Berthier-Maskinongé, Que.	\$30,959
Guy Caron	Rimouski-Neigette-Témiscouata-Les Basques, Que.	\$64,916
Andrew Cash*	Davenport, Ont.	\$1,288
Sylvain Chicoine*	Châteauguay-Saint-Constant, Que.	\$31,069
François Choquette	Drummond, Que.	\$24,216
Olivia Chow*	Trinity Spadina, Ont.	\$1,288
Raymond Côté*	Beauport-Limoilou, Que.	\$31,064
Anne-Marie Day*	Charlesbourg-Haute-Saint-Charles, Que.	\$35,430
Pierre Dionne Labelle*	Rivière-du-Nord, Que.	\$26,812
Rosane Doré Lefebvre*	Alfred-Pellan, Que.	\$29,551
Matthew Dubé	Chambly-Borduas, Que.	\$30,727
Pierre-Luc Dusseault	Serbrooke, Que.	\$26,805
Mylène Freeman*	Argenteuil-Papineau-Mirabel, Que.	\$30,301
Jonathan Genest-Jourdain*	Manicouagan, Que.	\$31,788
Réjean Genest*	Shefford, Que.	\$21,380
Alain Giguère*	Marc-Aurèle-Fortin, Que.	\$28,794
Sadia Grogue*	Saint-Lambert, Que.	\$29,836
Dan Harris*	Scarborough Southwest, Ont.	\$141,467
Sana Hassainia*	Verchères-Les Patriotes, Que.	\$26,754
Pierre Jacob*	Brome-Missisquoi, Que.	\$31,051
Matthew Kellway*	Beaches-East York, Ont.	\$1,288
François Lapointe*	Montmagny-L'Islet-Kamouraska-Rivière-du-Loup, Que.	\$30,364
Jean-François Larose*	Repentigny, Que.	\$15,299
Alexandrine Latendresse*	Louis-Saint-Laurent, Que.	\$31,888
Hélène Laverdière	Laurier-Sainte-Marie, Que.	\$24,216
Hélène LeBlanc*	La-Salle-Érnard, Que.	\$27,866
Laurin Liu*	Rivière-des-Milles-Îles, Que.	\$29,845
Hoang Mai*	Brossard-La Prairie, Que.	\$30,739
Christine Moore	Abitibi-Témiscamingue, Que.	\$31,793
Dany Morin*	Chicoutimi-LeFjord, Que.	\$28,152
Isabelle Morin*	Notre-Dame-De-Grâce-Lachine, Que.	\$169,117
Marc-André Morin*	Laurentides-Labelle, Que.	\$25,690
Marie-Claude Morin*	Saint-Hyacinthe-Bagot, Que.	\$30,023
Thomas Mulcair	Outremont, Que.	\$7,440
Pierre Nantel	Longueuil-Pierre-Boucher, Que.	\$14,911
Peggy Nash*	Parkdale-High Park, Ont.	\$1,288
Jamie Nicholls*	Vaudreuil-Soulanges, Que.	\$30,740
José Nunez-Melo*	Laval, Que.	\$31,700
Annick Papillon*	Québec, Que.	\$29,266
Claude Patry*	Jonquière-Alma, Que.	\$14,081
Ève Pécllet*	La Pointe-de-l'Île, Que.	\$27,111
Manon Perrault*	Montcalm, Que.	\$22,009
François Pilon*	Laval-Les Îles, Que.	\$31,874
Anne Minh-Thu Quach	Beauharnois-Salaberry, Que.	\$15,324
Mathieu Ravignat*	Pontiac, Que.	\$30,727
Françine Raynault*	Joliette, Que.	\$27,952
Jean Rousseau*	Compton-Stanstead, Que.	\$142,548
Romeo Saganash	Abitibi-Baie-James-Nunavik-Eeyou, Que.	\$35,600
Craig Scott*	Toronto-Danforth, Ont.	\$1,288
Djaouida Sellah*	Saint-Bruno-Saint-Hubert, Que.	\$29,840
Rathika Sitsabaiesan*	Scarborough-Rouge River, Ont.	\$1,288
Mike Sullivan*	York South-Weston, Ont.	\$1,288
Philip Toone*	Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Que.	\$31,069
Jonathan Tremblay*	Montmorency-Charlevoix-Haute-Côte-Nord, Que.	\$30,739
Nycole Turmel*	Hull-Aylmer, Que.	\$15,161
Whip	N/A (Parliament Hill Office)	\$35,633
House Leader	N/A (Parliament Hill Office)	\$189,714
Party Leader	N/A (Parliament Hill Office)	\$408,573

Total: \$2,749,362

\* These are former MPs who were defeated in 2015, with their ridings at the time listed. —Source: list courtesy of *The Ottawa Citizen*, reprinted with permission.

# as Parliament fights to keep courts out

Continued from page 20

the Speaker argued his decision to fire the guards was protected by parliamentary privilege and therefore couldn't be reviewed by a labour arbitrator. Lawyers for the guards argued privilege didn't extend to protecting the decision to fire them. The case wound its way through the Quebec court system, landing before the Supreme Court in 2017.

The Supreme Court ultimately ruled in favour of the guards—as described in the case in brief, all judges in the case “agreed that privilege should be limited to what was necessary for a legislature to fulfill its role,” with a majority finding that, even if privilege extends to the management of employees, it didn't extend, in this case, to the Speaker's decision. In its reasons for judgment, the court noted, “courts must rely on the necessity test to ascertain the existence and scope of privileges.”

Amongst other case law referenced was the landmark 2005 Supreme Court decision in *Canada v. Vaid*, which related to a former chauffeur to the House Speaker filing a discrimination and harassment complaint against the Speaker over his firing. The case established that privilege extends to that which is necessary for MPs and Senators to discharge their duties, but does not cover the management of all employees.

Under question in this case is the BOIE's interpretation and application of the rules it has adopted to govern the use of parliamentary resources, meaning the courts are being asked to interpret the definition of what constitutes parliamentary versus partisan functions and to define what constitutes proper expenses,

something that should only be decided by Parliamentarians, argued board lawyer Guy Pratte. Members' management of resources should be considered central to the internal affairs of the House, he argued.

Like Standing Orders or decisions from the Speaker, the board's rules and rulings are an area of law Parliament has reserved for itself to adjudicate and is exclusively within its purview, Mr. Pratte continued. Moreover, he said unlike previous cases (including *Chagnon and Vaid*), this case isn't a question of parliamentary privilege impacting a third party, as all those involved were Parliamentarians (at the time). As deference has been given to Parliament even in cases involving third parties, he said, it should surely be the same in a case that only involves MPs.

Among other things, Mr. Pratte also pointed to a 2017 amendment to the Parliament of Canada Act—made after the issue at hand as part of legislative changes to make the BOIE's meetings open to the public—which states that “the proceedings of the Board are proceedings in Parliament.”

If a judicial review is allowed to go ahead, Mr. Pratte argued it would open the door to court challenges any time an MP disagrees with decisions by the House administration or the board on expenses, noting that in 2013 roughly 70,000 such claims were made by MPs.

Mr. Duggan, a lawyer for the NDP, kicked off his submission by noting that the actions at hand—mailings and satellite offices—are far from being part of the law-making process, and that in this case, majority control over the BOIE allowed two parties, the Liberals and Conservatives, to gang up on another. Unlike the Senate

Committee on Internal Economy, Budgets, and Administration, which is a committee of the Senate, the BOIE is established in law as a separate board, he said. By nature of it being a board, not a committee of the House, Mr. Duggan argued it falls under the *Federal Courts Act*—which sets out that federal boards, commissions, or other tribunals are subject to judicial review—saying, “words matter.”

For his part, Mr. Grey began his submission by offering up historical context for parliamentary privilege, namely that it was first created as a tool to protect Parliamentarians from the Crown; to be able to fulfill their functions, to legislate and criticize the crown, without fear of arrest or other retribution. Such threats do not exist today, and acting as a check on executive powers requires the means to do so, including research support and offices, he said. By allowing the challenge to go ahead, the court would be ensuring the original purpose of parliamentary privilege, argued Mr. Grey, adding the BOIE's decision in this case was made in “bad faith.” If two parties decided at the BOIE to allocate themselves large sums of money, but excluded another recognized party, Mr. Grey questioned whether that too would be considered outside the courts purview.

In the meantime, amid the ongoing challenge, current and now-former NDP MPs wrapped up in it have paid back the



NDP MP Alexandre Boulerice, who was ordered to repay \$122,122 over the satellite offices, told *The Hill Times* in November 2017 that each time he sought a reimbursement for expense claims, 25 per cent was withheld by the House. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

money or had their expenses docketed by the House administration to recuperate the amounts deemed owed.

NDP MP Alexandre Boulerice (Rosemont-La Petite-Patrie, Que.), who was ordered to repay \$122,122 over the satellite offices, told *The Hill Times* in November 2017 that each time he sought a reimbursement for expense claims, 25 per cent was withheld by the House; he said, “from time to time” MPs caught up in the matter could ask the part to reimburse that 25 per cent and said “it's not hurting us personally.”

The NDP did not respond to a request for interview and comment by filing deadline.

The cost of this court battle for the NDP is unclear. As of the end of 2017, the party was \$3.1-million in debt, and it's seen low fundraising numbers in recent years and months, now less than a year out from the next election.

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*The Hill Times*



## Movember and Men's Mental Health

# Seeking help is a sign of strength

### Did you know...

- While rates of mental illness are comparable with women, men are less likely to recognize, talk about, and seek treatment for their illness.
- In Canada, 80% of people who die by suicide are men.
- The mental health of adolescent boys and young men needs more attention and resources as early intervention is the best predictor of a healthier adulthood.

Together,  
We accelerate change.

Learn more, visit:  
[mentalhealthcommission.ca](http://mentalhealthcommission.ca)

Financial contribution from



Health Canada Santé Canada

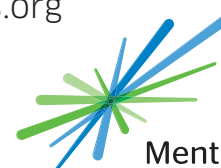
### Tools and Resources

**The Mental Health Commission of Canada develops tools and resources to reduce stigma and accelerate changes.**

Go to our website Training and Resources section and learn about the Mental Health First Aid training course, or download our Suicide Prevention Toolkits.

There are also other resources:

- [menshealthfoundation.ca](http://menshealthfoundation.ca)
- [cmha.ca/documents/men-andmental-illness](http://cmha.ca/documents/men-andmental-illness)
- [movember.com/mens-health/mental-health](http://movember.com/mens-health/mental-health)
- [mensdenCanada.wordpress.com](http://mensdenCanada.wordpress.com)
- [headsuptguys.org](http://headsuptguys.org)



Mental Health Commission of Canada  
Commission de la santé mentale du Canada

## News Sexting scandal

## Conservative consultant Mills questions why senior



Tony Clement, pictured in this file photograph on the Hill, resigned from the Conservative caucus on Nov. 8. *The Hill Times* file photograph

## Female MPs of all parties say that MPs should call out anyone who engages in inappropriate sexual behaviour on the Hill.

Continued from page 1

Group, in an interview with *The Hill Times*.

Ms. Mills, a longtime federal Conservative strategist, tweeted that she was disappointed by the lack of public support from members of her own party and others shortly after she did two radio interviews Nov. 9 concerning her relationship with Mr. Clement (Parry Sound-Muskoka, Ont.) earlier this month.

In an interview with Sirius Radio on Nov. 9 in the morning and in another interview with CBC Radio's *As It Happens* later that evening, Ms. Mills said that her longtime professional relationship with Mr. Clement ended in late 2014, when it crossed over to something she found "awkward and inappropriate."

"It was more compliments and physical contact at first," she told CBC's host Carol Off, which she said was odd but not inappropriate. Eventually, the two went for drinks one night and "instead of kissing me on the cheek he kissed me on the lips goodbye," she said. Before the kiss, he had discussed her looks, how lovely

she was, and how she was one of his favourites.

"It wasn't lingering or anything, I was just taken aback by it. But prior to that, over drinks, he discussed my looks and, you know, how lovely I was and how I was his, you know, one of his favourites," she said.

Ms. Mills said it was hurtful because she had thought of Mr. Clement as a mentor who respected her work, but felt sexualized, which was "far more brutal than people might suspect."

"I never experienced what these women have experienced, or at least what they're claiming has happened on his Instagram or Twitter accounts," said in the CBC *As It Happens* interview. "Mine was more—it began as being more vague. The compliments that he hadn't necessarily given me before. You know a little bit more contact physically I wouldn't say that it was overt or aggressive or abusive in the way that we would normally see it. But it changed and it coloured how I felt about our relationship until it reached a crescendo, where it was obvious that if I showed even the slightest intent that the relationship would have crossed over, and that is where my heart was broken, because I had considered him to be a friend, an ally, a mentor and you know a fellow conservative.

"I had fundraised for him. I had supported him. I felt that our relationship was based upon mutual respect both personally and professionally. He had been there for me when my father had passed away. But once that line was crossed, I remember feeling

the pit of my stomach through that disappointment, that visceral disappointment—that it's another one of these guys—why is it you. It was in Vancouver. It was over drinks and I just got up. I just walked to the car and I just knew that I could never see him in that light again," said Ms. Mills.

About two hours after the *As It Happens* interview aired, she tweeted about feeling less support from Conservative women that night.

"Not a whisper from my #CPC female Twitter warriors tonight? Yes, I've had calls from women in our world who are decision makers etc but we need to see a show of support, CPC women are a little less tonight. @AndrewScheer," she tweeted at 8:40 p.m. on Nov. 9.

Last week, she told *The Hill Times* that there were many women who reached out to her privately—including Conservative deputy leader Lisa Raitt (Milton, Ont.) on Nov. 9—but she expected there to be more public support from elected Conservative women generally.

"I don't know what the correct approach is, and I don't want to start gunning women," she said. "NDP and Liberals should feel comfortable saying it, too. If one of my Conservative members had sexually harassed a Liberal member, I would be right behind that Liberal woman."

Ms. Mills said she didn't hear from Conservative House Leader Candice Bergen (Portage-Lisgar, Man.) or Immigration critic Michelle Rempel (Calgary Nose Hill, Alta.), who previously told Status of Women Minister Maryam

Monsef (Peterborough-Kawartha, Ont.) to "grow a pair" on Twitter and call out sexual harassment within her own party regarding the groping allegation against Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's (Papineau, Que.) that caught headlines earlier this year. That said, Ms. Mills also noted the two aren't part of her circle, but said she's had several conversations with Mr. Scheer's office since she did the interviews.

Ms. Mills said some who have reached out to her privately since noted they hadn't reached out earlier because they had been travelling.

In a second tweet on Nov. 9, at 10:24 p.m., Ms. Mills tweeted: "Then where's @nikiashton or @kathleenmonk or @denisebatters or @NDPAnne or @EqualVoiceCA or the many others who've I rallied for when justice needed to be served? The men have shown up ... but this? No excuses."

Ms. Mills said she hadn't heard from anyone from the NDP, either publicly or privately, other than a former NDP staffer who tweeted about it, but had heard from union leaders or others loosely affiliated with the party. She reflected over the weekend, and said she concluded it doesn't matter which party women are from as long as they support other women who come forward about their experiences.

"I don't know if they needed to tweet, but I sure expected to have an email," she said. "But it was amazing how many men stepped forward [to show support]."

When asked if it was possible that people didn't reach out publicly because she defended former Progressive Conservative leader

Patrick Brown during his scandal involving sexual misconduct allegations earlier this year, she said she hadn't considered it.

"If that is the case, shame on them," she said, noting that she had agreed with details alleged in Mr. Brown's lawsuit against CTV, and that's why she signed onto his team. When asked, she said she couldn't speak about those details publicly.

Overall, Ms. Mills said she hopes party leaders and whips take action. Making sexual harassment and misbehaviour a partisan issue isn't helpful, she added, because it happens in every party.

The controversy surrounding Mr. Clement started three weeks ago when he publicly announced on Nov. 6 that he was stepping down from his critic's duties, saying he had shared sexually explicit images and a video of himself in the last three weeks to someone who he alleges is targeting him for financial extortion. The RCMP is investigating.

But on Nov. 7, Conservative Party Leader Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask.) asked for Mr. Clement's resignation from the caucus, *The Toronto Star* published a story, based on interviews from two unidentified women who said the politician was aware of earlier attempts to expose his behaviour and communicated with them about this.

Continued on page 23

# ranking female Tory MPs are staying mum on Clement

Continued from page 22

The two women who had intimate relationships with Mr. Clement, one online and one in person, told *The Star* about a number of anonymous accounts that had individually messaged them between May and July 2018 about Mr. Clement's alleged inappropriate behaviour toward women.

On Nov. 8, Mr. Clement released a statement addressed to his constituents on his MP website, apologizing for and acknowledging more "inappropriate" online exchanges and "acts of infidelity."

"First and foremost, I apologize to my family for the needless pain and humiliation my actions have caused. I also apologize to my colleagues and my constituents for letting them down," he said in the statement. He also said that he's committed to seeking help and treatment to make sure it won't happen again, but did not specify what kind of treatment.

Stephanie Parker, 38, a female constituent of Mr. Clement's told *The Hill Times* two weeks ago that the MP sent many inappropriate messages to her at the beginning of his time as a senior minister in the Stephen Harper cabinet, almost a decade ago, and added that he behaved like a "creepy uncle" who for years was "pushing boundaries," to the point that it embarrassed her, but she didn't know what to do about it. She told *The Hill Times* that Mr. Clement made her feel uncomfortable online a number of times, including suggesting, "your place or mine," when he offered to teach her guitar lessons.

In the last three weeks, numerous women have publicly spoken up in media interviews in which they echoed Ms. Parker's sentiments.

First elected in the 2006 federal election, Mr. Clement has been re-elected in every federal election since. He ran unsuccessfully twice for the Conservative Party's leadership. Before entering the federal political arena, he served as an Ontario cabinet minister. Mr. Clement was considered a seasoned and talented federal legislator and a savvy Conservative star.

Mr. Clement was also forced to resign from the super-secret National Security and Intelligence Committee for Parliamentarians, which handles highly classified intelligence information. The fact Mr. Clement was aware of an alleged attempt to extort him last summer also raises serious questions as to whether he fulfilled his legal obligations to inform the Privy Council Office, given his committee position.

Meanwhile, *The Hill Times* tried to contact Ms. Bergen, Ms. Rempel, Saskatchewan Conservative Senator Denise Batters, and some female Conservative MPs on the House Status of Women Committee for this article, including chair Karen Vecchio (Elgin-Middlesex-London, Ont.), and member Rachael Harder (Lethbridge, Ont.) to get their reactions to Ms. Mills' complaint that she was not receiving any public sup-



High-ranking Conservative MPs Michelle Rempel, left, and Candice Bergen and Conservative deputy leader Raitt. Ms. Raitt did offer support privately to Alise Mills who publicly said she expected more women and men to speak out about Tony Clement's inappropriate sexual behaviour. The issue of sexually inappropriate conduct should not be used as a partisan weapon, Ms. Mills said, but most other parties also don't normally criticize their own caucus members in these situations. However, some say this should change and that it should be treated as a non-partisan issue. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

port from Parliamentarians, but they either declined interview requests or did not respond. Nancy Peckford, executive director of Equal Voice and now mayor-elect of North Grenville, Ont., also did not respond to an interview request.

Conservative MP Marilyn Gladu (Sarnia-Lambton, Ont.), in an interview with *The Hill Times*, said she didn't know Ms. Mills and wasn't aware of the incident. But Ms. Gladu said that in her personal interaction with Mr. Clement, her former caucus colleague always interacted with her in a respectful way. Ms. Gladu, however, pointed out that she'd always been of the view that sexual harassment of any kind is unacceptable in the work and private lives of individuals.

"I didn't speak publicly because I didn't know who she was," said Ms. Gladu. "I never heard about the incident."

Liberal MP Pam Damoff (Oakville-Burlington, Ont.), vice-chair of the House Status of Women Committee, in an interview with *The Hill Times*, declined to comment on specific cases involving MPs' inappropriate behaviour, including the Clement case, but said sexual harassment is a non-partisan issue and male and female MPs should work together to address this.

NDP MP Sheila Malcolmson (Nanaimo-Ladysmith, B.C.), vice-chair of the House Status of Women Committee, also declined to comment specifically on Ms. Mills' experience with Mr. Clement. However, she said that she was "astounded" by the "lapse of judgment" by a senior politician like Mr. Clement, in how he spent so much time "creeping" women out online.

"It's a breathtakingly poor choice of how he spent his time to be creeping women out online. ... [late at night] for him to be spending his precious time as a Member of Parliament, a privileged position that the voters gave him to waste his time."

Ms. Malcolmson said that this is an issue that crosses partisan lines and MPs should call each other out if they see someone making another person uncomfortable.

"As a woman Parliamentarian, I call on all Parliamentarians [to do so], and men especially if they see things that makes someone uncomfortable," said Ms. Malcolmson.

Green Party Leader Elizabeth May (Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C.), in an interview with *The Hill Times*, said that she does not personally know Ms. Mills, and has only seen the print-media reports about the interview. Based on that, she said the Conservative Party should launch an investigation into Ms. Mills' claims, and if the claims are substantiated, the leader should take appropriate action. She also said that sexual harassment is not a political issue, and male and female MPs of all parties should be addressing it in the spirit of non-partisanship.

"The Conservative Party is not off the hook in this instance ... just because Tony Clement has left the caucus. I don't think they're off the hook to take the primary responsibility for investigation," said Ms. May.

Ms. Malcolmson also agreed that the Conservative Party should hold an internal investigation to confirm Ms. Mills' claims.

But Ms. Gladu said that the RCMP is already conducting an investigation, and everyone should await the results of that before deciding what to do next.

Meanwhile, Ms. Mills said that it's the hyper-partisanship among the parties that is preventing real change from happening on the issue, and it's the women that suffer both personally and professionally because of it.

"If anyone thinks Tony's the biggest monster out there, they need to check themselves," she said.

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Conservative MP Marilyn Gladu says she doesn't know Alise Mills and therefore couldn't comment on her specific story, but said sexual harassment and sexually inappropriate behaviour are obviously wrong. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



NDP MP Sheila Malcolmson, vice-chair of the Status of Women Committee, says that she's 'astounded' by Ind. MP Tony Clement's 'lapse' of judgment. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Green Party Leader Elizabeth May says the Conservative Party should conduct an internal investigation into Alise Mills' claims. *The Hill Times* file photograph

## Opinion

# Feds have a long way to go to make progress on plastics pollution

The federal government should mandate a minimum of at least 75 per cent of recycled plastic content in all new products. High recycled content targets create a market demand for recycled materials.



Keith Brooks

Opinion

The federal government has promised to release a draft of its long-awaited national plan for cut-

ting plastic pollution at this Friday's Council of Canadian Ministers of the Environment (CCME) meeting. Unfortunately, the CCME has a history of voluntary agreements with little bark and no bite. But on plastics, we need something more.

In Canada, just 11 per cent of plastic is recycled. Every year, 10,000 metric tonnes of plastic end up in the Great Lakes alone. Nationally, we throw out enough single-use plastic bags to reach the moon and back. We produce more garbage per person than any other country in the developed world.

We need a strong and credible approach to addressing the plastics issue. The last thing we need is another voluntary arrangement with no teeth.

Plastics never really break down. Microplastics have been found in tap water, bottled water, fish and molluscs, and even in Ontario-brewed beer. It's been found in human stool samples, too. That means it's in us.

The federal government has shown leadership on this huge global issue. In June they spearheaded the Ocean Plastics Charter at the G7 summit in Charlevoix, Que., and announced a plan to reduce plastic waste in federal operations by 2030. But we still haven't seen a serious plan to

tackle Canada's plastic pollution problem.

Meanwhile, last month the European Parliament approved a wide-reaching and ambitious plan to significantly limit plastic waste throughout the EU, including major bans on single-use plastics as early as 2021, high recovery and recycling rates for plastics, and a requirement to use recycled content in new plastic. This could be a good model for Canada's national strategy to follow.

The Canadian government should start by banning plastics that are toxic, or particularly tough to recycle. Products like Styrofoam or unrecyclable black plastics contaminate our recycling streams and fill up landfills, while there are plenty of alternatives available.

More importantly though, we need legislation which will build a circular economy, and move us away from our current throwaway culture. First, the government needs to set a common target across the provinces and territories of at least an 80 per cent recycling rate by 2025, with 100 per cent of plastics captured and none going to landfills or the environment.

The current patchwork of targets and waste management systems is challenging to navigate for consumers and producers. The targets

aren't enforceable and there are no penalties to missing them. And what can be recycled varies from municipality to municipality. It's no wonder we're doing so poorly.

Next, the federal government should mandate a minimum of at least 75 per cent of recycled plastic content in all new products. High recycled content targets create a market demand for recycled materials. They encourage companies to develop and support collection systems which yield large quantities of high-quality materials. And they also significantly reduce our reliance on the petrochemical industry continually pumping out new plastics from virgin oil.

Finally, the government should make manufacturers of plastic goods responsible for their collection and recycling. It sounds fanciful, but this model already exists in British Columbia, and it's one we already make use of every time we return bottles or cans to the beer store for reuse and recycling. It's called Extended Producer Responsibility and it has a number of advantages, not least relieving municipalities of the burden of paying for the disposal of whatever garbage comes their way.

When producers are responsible for the waste they create, they have an incentive to create packaging that can be easily and



In Canada, just 11 per cent of plastic is recycled. Every year, 10,000 metric tonnes of plastic end up in the Great Lakes alone. Nationally, we throw out enough single-use plastic bags to reach the moon and back. We produce more garbage per person than any other country in the developed world. Photograph courtesy of Pixabay

efficiently collected and recycled. Why should producers be able to create whatever mess they like and have municipalities—and taxpayers—foot the bill for cleaning up?

Considering the progress made on plastic pollution over the last six months from the EU and many others, the Canadian government has a long way to go if they hope to remain a world leader. When the CCME announces its draft strategy expected this week, it is vital that it has both high targets and ambitious timelines to show that Canada is serious about creating a zero plastic waste future.

Keith Brooks is programs director at the Environmental Defence. The Hill Times

# One day, we'll break the door right off its hinges and let in light we need to address mental illness without shame

The reality is that if men aren't talking with friends, colleagues, spouses and families first, they aren't likely to be seeking professional or medical help.



Louise Bradley &amp; Matt Jeneroux

Opinion

Talk. Ask. Listen. Encourage. Action. Check In. These are the tenets of Movember's campaign to

raise awareness about men's mental health. The wildly popular initiative was created to bring men's health issues to the fore—encouraging screening and early intervention for a range of illnesses that affect young, middle aged and older men in communities across Canada.

The reality is that if men aren't talking with friends, colleagues, spouses and families first, they aren't likely to be seeking professional or medical help.

Mental illness is still viewed as a weakness or limitation and stigma continues to stop men from getting treatment—for everything from anxiety and depression to problematic substance use and operational stress injuries.

But every brave soul who comes forward—whether from the world of politics, sports or first responders—cracks the door open a little wider and lets in more light for us all. A key frustration that detracts from this progress is the number of lives that mental illness claims through suicide, which is highest among middle-aged men.

That's why we joined forces to host the inaugural Father's Day

on the Hill event, which was held in Ottawa last June. Its goal was to encourage men to talk about their feelings—and seek help if they are struggling. Its success has spurred us to get to work on next year's event.

This effort hits close to home for both of us. While we have both walked the road to mental wellness, it's safe to say that many men experience mental illness differently than women. Keeping the exceptions in mind, depression in men often manifests in aggression, anger, or intractable silence.

It's not always easy to identify these personality changes as the onset of a mental illness—especially if you are the one experiencing the symptoms. But what holds true for all of us is that the earlier we seek treatment, the better our chances of a full recovery.

Slowly, but surely, men like sports broadcaster Michael Landsberg, a strong proponent of the #sicknotweak message, and former NHLer Sheldon Kennedy, a survivor of childhood trauma, are redefining masculinity as owning the courage to raise a hand and ask for help.



Slowly, but surely, men like former NHLer Sheldon Kennedy, left, a survivor of childhood trauma, and sports broadcaster Michael Landsberg, a strong proponent of the #sicknotweak message, are redefining masculinity as owning the courage to raise a hand and ask for help, write Louise Bradley and Matt Jeneroux. Photographs courtesy of Wikipedia and Twitter

For every hand raised, another should be poised and ready to reach out to offer support. For the Movember campaign, there are at least five ways to take those all-important first steps: talk, ask, listen, encourage action, and check in.

Talk to your colleagues. Some may be trained in Mental Health First Aid, and many federal government departments now have mental health champions.

Ask about employee assistance programs, which are readily available for government employees seeking anything from a quick phone call to more involved therapy sessions.

Take a moment to listen to others, and to yourself. If you or someone you know is feeling anxious, stressed, panicked, or simply overwhelmed, it may be time to address it.

Check in with friends and family members this November, and don't be afraid to raise difficult topics.

Encourage action. Stand tall in the knowledge that it takes courage to be vulnerable and strength to ask for help. The only thing that will truly combat stigma is refusing to be bowed by its weight.

Together—by talking, listening, acting and checking in—we will one day break the door right off its hinges and let in the light we need to address mental illness without shame.

Louise Bradley is the president and CEO of the Mental Health Commission of Canada. Matt Jeneroux, who is the Conservative Member of Parliament for Edmonton Riverbend, Alta., is a vocal advocate for men's mental health. The Hill Times



# The changing landscape of Canadian infrastructure

As the CIB proceeds to fulfill its mandate, legitimate questions and concerns will be raised by the public and stakeholders as the sale of any government assets take place.



Brian Klunder

Opinion

OTTAWA—Even with the billions of dollars spent on infrastructure by governments in Canada, Canada's infrastructure deficit (estimated by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities to exceed \$200-billion) continues to pose a significant challenge for all levels of government in Canada.

Governments are continually pressed to decide how limited resources should be spent. A transportation artery like Toronto's Gardiner or Windsor's EC Row Expressway cannot be ignored, so other spending priorities are placed on the back burner. As such, federal and provincial infrastructure dollars are often being used to catch up rather than invest in new or greenfield infrastructure projects.

To change Canada's infrastructure landscape and attract investment to greenfield projects, the federal government has created the Canada Infrastructure Bank with a mandate to entice institutional investors to invest in Canadian infrastructure.

Within its mandate, the CIB assists governments and investors by helping to de-risk an asset and make it more viable as a long-term investment that will retain its value. An added bonus is the creation of the CIB may also serve to attract institutional investment for those projects that may not require CIB assistance to de-risk the project.

An asset sale to a private or institutional investor can benefit municipal and provincial levels of government by removing the asset from their accounts with the investor paying for ongoing upkeep and maintenance in return for future revenue. Governments can then use the proceeds from the sale of the asset to reinvest in other infrastructure assets without revenue potential. In this way the municipal or provincial government can break the cycle of only being able to play catch up with infrastructure dollars and begin investing in other priorities.

Canada is home to incredible expertise in the area of infrastruc-

ture investment. In fact, three of the top 10 global investors in infrastructure are Canada—CPP Investment Board, Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan and OMERS. This experience will serve governments well as they embark on working with the CIB and governments across Canada to structure transactions Canadians can support with pride.

Even with expertise in Canada, few Canadians are familiar with essential infrastructure assets being owned by private or institutional investors. The CIB, government and investors must be mindful that this lack of immediate experience with private investors owning and managing Canadian infrastructure assets will make Canadians wary of allowing vital assets to be controlled by someone other than the government.

Success for government and investors will depend on the public and stakeholders being fully engaged in discussions around an asset sale to a private investor. They need to understand what assurances can be gained to ensure the asset is maintained in the public interest. Along with money, time and energy must be invested in educating the public about the benefits private infrastructure investment can bring to a community.



Infrastructure Minister François-Philippe Champagne, pictured recently on the Hill. If we want to change our infrastructure landscape, an investment in educating the public must be an essential part of the process, writes Brian Klunder. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

As the CIB proceeds to fulfill its mandate, legitimate questions and concerns will be raised by the public and stakeholders as the sale of any government assets take place. We will be well served if the CIB, governments, and investors take the time to ensure the public fully understands why these asset sales are in the public interest. If we want to change our infrastructure landscape, an investment in educating the public must be an essential part of the process.

Brian Klunder is senior counsel at Temple Scott Associates where he heads TSA's Public Infrastructure Investment practice. *The Hill Times*

# #HearMeToo: women-led grassroots organizations are best chance to end violence

Research by UN Women also tells us that only five per cent of international funds are allocated to programs targeting gender equality and women's empowerment in fragile states. Canada can change this chronic underfunding by investing in the best chance for sustained peace in the world's most volatile regions.



Rachel Warden

Opinion

Gloria Suarez will not be quiet. She knows all too well that silence against gender-based violence feeds more violence. Suarez is with the Organización Femenina Popular (OFP), Colombia's pre-eminent grassroots women's organization. In a country ravaged by more than 50 years of civil conflict, where rape and other forms of violence against women were used as weapons of war, the OFP works for sustained peace.

Next week, Suarez will be on Parliament Hill to urge the Canadian government to fully fund and implement its Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP). Joining her are women from four other KAIROS partners—Héritiers de la Justice (Democratic Republic of the Congo), South Sudan Council of Churches—National Women's Program, National Council of Churches (Philippines), and Wi'am (West Bank). These women live and work in regions impacted by protracted, intractable and brutal conflicts. While the contexts differ, the impacts on women are similar.

They are in Canada during the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence campaign, which begins on Nov. 25, the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women. The 2018 campaign theme—Orange the World: #HearMeToo—is intended to galvanize action to end violence against women and girls.

Their organizations transform lives and build conditions for sustained peace by providing women with the support they need to

heal, reclaim dignity, and become effective peace builders and human defenders. The *casas de mujeres* (women's centres) which are at the heart of the OFP's work, for example, offer psycho-social counselling, human rights training, and legal support to female survivors of violence who seek justice and reparations through Colombia's Victims' Laws.



Gloria Suarez, pictured, is with the Organización Femenina Popular, Colombia's pre-eminent grassroots women's organization. Next week, Ms. Suarez will be on Parliament Hill to urge the Canadian government to fully fund and implement its Feminist International Assistance Policy. *Photograph courtesy of KAIROS Canada*

Women are several times victims of war, experiencing sexual violence by soldiers, increased domestic violence, stigmatization, harassment, and even death for criticizing war. Women are

also often excluded from peace negotiations.

Although peace-building is often seen as the purview of world leaders and armed actors, most of whom are men, genuine peace-building often manifests itself in the tireless work of women and their male allies.

According to *UN Women*, when women are included in peace processes there is a 20 per cent increase in the probability of an agreement lasting at least two years, and a 35 per cent increase in the probability of an agreement lasting at least 15 years.

This role is recognized in United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. Canada too recognizes this through FIAP, which recognizes women and peace-building as an action area.

During Colombia's peace negotiations, which began in 2012, the OFP mobilized with other women's organizations to ensure the implementation of UNSCR 1325 was part of Colombia's Peace Accords. As a result, women were present at all levels of the

negotiations, which is unusual as typically women make up only a tiny fraction of chief mediators, signatories and negotiators.

Thanks to the insistence and persistence of the OFP and others, the Final Accord to the Conflict in Colombia between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, signed in 2016, is remarkable for its unprecedented inclusion of women's rights and gender justice.

KAIROS and its partners are asking Canada to match dollars to words. As the federal government prepares the 2019/20 budget, we urge that it fund and implement FIAP and focus support on grassroots organizations. This cannot happen if its international assistance remains stagnant at 0.26 per cent of gross national income. The international standard is 0.7 per cent. Canada could match this standard with an annual increase of 15 per cent over the next 10 years. It's doable and its needed.

Research by UN Women also tells us that only five per cent of international funds are allocated to programs targeting gender equality and women's empowerment in fragile states. Canada can change this chronic underfunding by investing in the best chance for sustained peace in the world's most volatile regions. Just like silence, inaction is not an option.

Rachel Warden is the partnerships manager at KAIROS Canada. *The Hill Times*

## Feature Events

# Commons returns Monday for final four-week legislative stretch in 2018

## Parliamentary Calendar



### MONDAY, NOV. 19

**House Is Sitting**—The House returns on Nov. 19 for four weeks, the last four legislative weeks of 2018, sitting from Nov. 19-Dec. 14. While the House will adjourn 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.

**The Rush to Flush: World Toilet Day on the Hill**—It's The Rush to Flush: World Toilet Day on the Hill and Tia Bhati, an actress and social media influencer, will speak to MPs about the importance of access to toilets around the world. Ms. Bhatia is also the daughter of Mr. Nav Bhatia, Toronto Raptors Ambassador. They recently went on a trip to India to build washrooms for girls in schools. International Development Minister Marie-Claude Bibeau will be giving opening remarks. Monday, Nov. 19 from 6 p.m.- 8 p.m., 160-S, Centre Block. Invitation only.

**ParlAmericas meeting on Transformational leadership for Gender Equality in the Caribbean**—The ParlAmericas meeting on transformational leadership for gender equality will be held on Nov. 19 in Bridgetown City, Barbados, Canadian Section of ParlAmericas (CPAM).

### TUESDAY, NOV. 20

**Auditor General to Release Fall Reports**—Auditor General Michael Ferguson will release seven reports on Tuesday, Nov. 20, which will be tabled in the House, including: reports on the connectivity in rural and remote areas, focusing on Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada and the CRTC; conserving federal heritage properties with a focus on Parks Canada, Fisheries and Oceans Canada, and National Defence; Canada's fighter force and how the Department of National Defence has managed risks related to Canada's fighter aircraft fleet and meeting commitments to NORAD and NATO; whether Global Affairs has met its physical security needs at Canada's missions abroad to protect staff and assets; whether the Canadian Armed Forces has adequately responded to inappropriate sexual behaviour; whether the Correction Service Canada has adequately supervised offenders in the community; and on whether the Canada Revenue Agency applied the Income Tax Act consistently during compliance activities. The AG will also release reports on the Canada Council for the Arts, the Canada

## FROM THE HILL TIMES' PHOTO ARCHIVES: HILL LIFE & PEOPLE, 30<sup>TH</sup> YEAR IN PRINT



Then-Progressive Conservative MP Felix Holtmann, pictured in his Parliament Hill office in April 1990. Mr. Holtmann became a household name when the Manitoba pig farmer and then chair of the House Communication and Culture Committee added more fuel to the firestorm in Canada shortly after the National Gallery of Canada announced it had bought American painter Barnett Newman's \$1.8-million *Voice of Fire* abstract painting, as the country was slipping into a recession.

The painting, an 18-foot, gigantic canvas with just two colours of acrylic paint—two blue stripes flanking one red stripe down the middle—was considered an extravagant expense at the time. MPs debated the cost of the painting in the House and in committee and it was a national news story. Mr. Holtmann told one interviewer: "It looks like two cans of paint and two rollers and about 10 minutes would do the trick."

His quote caught on with people, but it also created a sensational storm among artists who were angry the painting's purchase had to be justified, especially to the polka-dancing pig farmer from Rosser, Man. "I tell ya, I've jolted, provoked, and stimulated a lot of interest in this committee," he told *The Hill Times*. Mr. Holtmann enjoyed the attention. He replicated the painting on the side of his barn and wore a *Voice of Fire* pin on his lapel. He introduced a motion that month in the House asking the National Gallery to sell the American painting to buy something Canadian, but it was defeated.

The National Gallery of Canada finalized its purchase of the painting in 1989 which was created by Barnett Newman as a special commission for Expo 67 in Montreal.

"*Voice of Fire* conveys a range of meanings. Newman intended the work to be studied from a short distance; its enormous scale transforms the space and tests our sensory experience," according to the gallery's description of the painting.

By 2014, the painting was estimated to be worth \$40-million, and in 2014, a smaller and similar Barnett Newman painting, *Black Fire*, sold for \$84.2-million, according to the *Ottawa Citizen*.

Mr. Holtmann, meanwhile, who is now 73, was the MP for Selkirk-Interlake, Man., from 1984 to 1993, and was a plain-talking rural backbencher. He was defeated in 1993 by Liberal Jon Gerrard. Mr. Holtmann tried to make a comeback in 1997 in Charleswood-Assiniboine, but lost to Liberal John Harvard. Mr. Holtmann was arrested on drunk driving charges in 2002, acquitted in 2007, and arrested again for drunk driving on June 4, 2015. The *Voice of Fire* is still at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa.—by Kate Malloy

*The Hill Times*

Mortgage and Housing Corporation, and the Canada Development Investment Corporation. The reports will be tabled in the House at 10 a.m. and will be available on the AG's website, [www.oag-bvg.gc.ca](http://www.oag-bvg.gc.ca).

**Canada's International Development Research Centre's (IDRC) Annual Public Meeting**—Tuesday, Nov. 20, 2018, 5-6 p.m., IDRC, 150 Kent St., 8th floor, W. David Hopper Room, Ottawa. IDRC is a Crown corporation that funds research in developing countries to promote growth, reduce poverty, and drive large-scale positive change. This event is free but seating is limited, so please register: [www.idrc.ca/annual-meeting-2018](http://www.idrc.ca/annual-meeting-2018)

### WEDNESDAY, NOV. 21

**Liberal Caucus Meeting**—The Liberals will meet in Room 237-C Centre Block on Parliament Hill. For more information, please contact Liberal Party media relations at [media@liberal.ca](mailto:media@liberal.ca) or 613-627-2384.

**Conservative Caucus Meeting**—The Conservatives will meet for their national caucus meeting. For more information, contact Cory Hann, director of communications with the Conservative Party of Canada at [coryhann@conservative.ca](mailto: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 contact the NDP Media Centre at 613-222-2351 or [media@ndp.ca](mailto: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.

**Save the Date: Lawrence MacAulay's 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary on the Hill**—Agriculture and Agri-Food Minister Lawrence MacAulay, the MP for Cardigan, P.E.I., will be celebrating 30 years in Parliament on Nov. 21, 2018. An event will be taking place on Parliament Hill to recognize this momentous occasion. Details to follow.



Agriculture Minister Lawrence MacAulay, pictured in this file photo, will mark 30 years in the House on Nov. 21. *The Hill Times* photograph by Cynthia Münster

**Fall Economic Update**—Finance Minister Bill Morneau will deliver the fall economic update in the House of Commons on Nov. 21.

Continued on page 30



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## HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

# Chief of staff change-up for Immigration Minister Ahmed Hussen



Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Minister Ahmed Hussen recently saw his senior-most staffer, chief of staff Ali Salam, depart. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Meanwhile, Border Security and Organized Crime Reduction Minister Bill Blair recently made a number of policy staff hires.

Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Minister **Ahmed Hussen** recently bid farewell to his chief of staff, **Ali Salam**, and has already promoted **Zubair Patel** to take over the role.



Ali Salam, left, pictured with Proof Strategies' Louis-Charles Roy. *The Hill Times* photograph by Cynthia Münster

Mr. Salam marked his last day in Mr. Hussen's office on Nov. 16, and is now Toronto-bound, where he's set to join National Public Relations' local office as senior vice president for public affairs.

He first became chief of staff to the minister for immigration, refugees, and citizen-

ship in November 2016 under then minister **John McCallum**. Mr. McCallum, who is now Canada's Ambassador to China, resigned from cabinet, and from his seat in the House of Commons, in January 2017 and Mr. Hussen was subsequently shuffled into the role, and onto the front bench.

Before taking charge of the immigration minister's office, Mr. Salam spent most of 2016 as acting chief of staff to then democratic institutions minister **Maryam Monsef**, having originally been hired on as a director of policy and parliamentary affairs to the minister at the beginning of the year.

Mr. Salam is also a former director of policy to then Ontario citizenship, immigration, and trade minister **Michael Chan**; a former manager of health promotion with the Heart and Stroke Foundation, a former special assistant for Ontario and later multicultural outreach lead to then Liberal leader **Michael Ignatieff** on the Hill; and a former manager of political organization for the Ontario Liberal Party, among other past roles indicated on his LinkedIn profile.

In his capacity as chief of staff to Mr. Hussen, so far this year (based on disclosures available online as of filing deadline last week) Mr. Salam wracked up a total of \$16,369 in travel and hospitality expenses, with five trips to Toronto; one to London, Ont., to support Mr. Hussen during the January cabinet retreat; one to the United Arab Emirates, Nigeria, and Qatar, totalling \$7,659; and one to Washington, D.C., in June, totalling \$2,385.

Mr. Salam recently was on a brief parental leave after welcoming the birth of his first child, and during that absence, the minister's director of operations and outreach, Mr. Patel, filled in as acting chief of staff.

Mr. Patel will now permanently take over as chief of staff. He's been in the office since February 2016, starting under Mr. McCallum as a senior special assistant.

A former Queen's Park staffer, Mr. Patel previously worked for a Liberal MPP at the



Zubair Patel is Mr. Hussen's new chief of staff. *Photograph courtesy of Twitter*

provincial legislature, starting in 2007, and by 2011 had landed in then-premier **Dalton McGuinty's** office as manager of community relations. During the 2015 federal election, he tackled outreach and community engagement work for the Liberals in Toronto, among other past roles noted on his LinkedIn profile.

As well, policy adviser **Sacha Atherly** left Mr. Hussen's office to join Border Security and Organized Crime Reduction Minister **Bill Blair's** team as a senior policy adviser in late September.

Ms. Atherly had been working for Mr. Hussen since the spring of 2016, starting off as a special assistant for policy. Before then, she was an executive assistant and office manager to Foreign Affairs Minister **Chrystia Freeland** in her capacity as the Liberal MP for University-Rosedale, Ont.

Mr. Blair has made a number of other recent additions to his new ministerial office as the minister for Border Security and Organized Crime Reduction.

**Alicia Castelli** joined Mr. Blair's political staff team around mid-October as a policy and Quebec regional affairs adviser. Previously, Ms. Castelli was busy at work as an aide to Liberal MP **David Lametti**, who represents LaSalle-Émard-Verdun, Que. and has been parliamentary secretary to Innovation, Science, and Economic Development Minister **Navdeep Bains** since January 2017.

She's got a history of lending a hand to Liberals in Mr. Lametti's current riding, having previously volunteered on former prime minister and then-Liberal MP **Paul Martin's** campaigns in the then-named riding of LaSalle-Émard, Que., including in 2004, as noted on her LinkedIn profile.

Before joining Mr. Lametti's office in the spring of 2017, Ms. Castelli was a legislative and parliamentary research assistant to Quebec Liberal Senator **Dennis Dawson**.

During the 2011 election, she was a poll clerk for Elections Canada, and in 2015, Ms. Castelli volunteered for local Liberal campaigns, including Liberal MP **Andrew Leslie's** successful bid in Orléans, Ont. and Liberal MP **Francis Drouin's** successful campaign in Glengarry-Prescott-Russell, Ont.

**Leena Walia** is now working in Mr. Blair's office as a policy and Western regional affairs adviser to the minister. Until recently, she was busy at work as a constituency assistant to Liberal MP **Randeep Sarai**, who represents Surrey Centre, B.C. Mr. Sarai was elected to the House of



Leena Walia is working for Border Security Minister Bill Blair. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

Commons for the first time in 2015 after garnering roughly 45 per cent of the vote, beating out incumbent NDP MP **Jasbir Sandhu**, who attracted about 30 per cent of the vote.

Ms. Walia studied a bachelor of arts at McGill University, majoring in political science and minoring in economics and international development studies, and while at the school spent time as a research assistant with the school's International Community Action Network, previously known as the McGill Middle East Program.

Along with these updates is the recent addition of senior policy adviser **Kelly Murdock**, as reported by *Hill Climbers* last week. **Stevie O'Brien** is chief of staff to Mr. Blair.

## Former political aide Knudsen now with DFO

**Mark Knudsen**, who recently exited his post as a policy and Pacific regional affairs adviser to Fisheries, Oceans, and Canadian Coast Guard Minister **Jonathan Wilkinson**, is now working on contract for the department of Fisheries and Oceans Canada.

Mr. Knudsen was granted a waiver of the one-year cooling off period which political staffers are subject to post-employment under the federal Conflict of Interest Act. The federal conflict of interest and ethics commissioner, currently **Mario Dion**, is able to grant waivers to staff, with a notice posted on the commissioner's website. In Mr. Knudsen's case, such a notice was posted on Oct. 22.

The notice indicates Mr. Knudsen has entered "into a 90-day casual contract of service" with Fisheries and Oceans Canada, where he'll be doing policy work related to the management of the Pacific albacore tuna, a role that could see him make presentations to his old colleagues in Mr. Wilkinson's office, among others.

In explaining his reasoning for granting the waiver, Mr. Dion cited the fact that Mr. Knudsen had "already decided to resign" from his role in the minister's office in July 2018 "for personal reasons," and that his knowledge, "skills and experience relate to the Pacific region" and the role of DFO.

Mr. Knudsen started working for the federal fisheries minister in January 2018, under then minister **Dominic LeBlanc**. Previously, he worked for the former B.C. Liberal government, including as an aide to then B.C. environment minister **Mary Polak**; then agriculture minister **Norm Letnick**; then jobs, tourism, and skills training minister **Shirley Bond**; and to then aboriginal relations and reconciliation minister **John Rustad**.

He's one of two exempt staffers to be granted such a waiver by the conflict of interest commissioner so far this year, based on the online registry, with the other being **Dan Brien**, who was granted a waiver in July.

Up until then, Mr. Brien had spent a little more than two years as director of communications to Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Minister **Ralph Goodale**. He left the minister's office to become director of strategic communications and issues management for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, as previously reported by *Hill Climbers*.

In granting Mr. Brien a waiver of his one-year cooling off period, Mr. Dion noted, among other things, that Mr. Brien was already "a public servant on a priority list and was offered employment subsequent to a standard process within the RCMP" and was technically "on leave without pay" from his previous job with the Public Prosecution Service of Canada (PPSC) while working for Mr. Goodale.

"Mr. Brien must return to a position within the public service before the end of this priority status in order to maintain his status as a public servant," reads the notice.

Before joining Mr. Goodale's office in February 2016, Mr. Brien had spent the last roughly nine years as director of communications for the PPSC.

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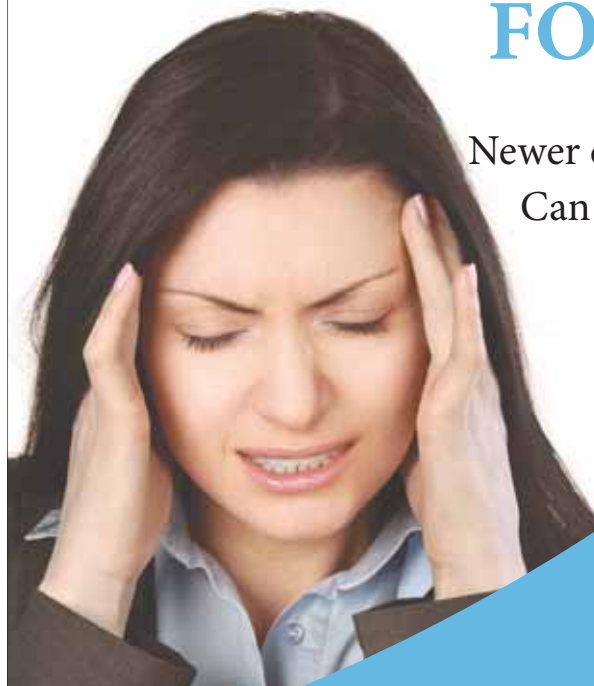
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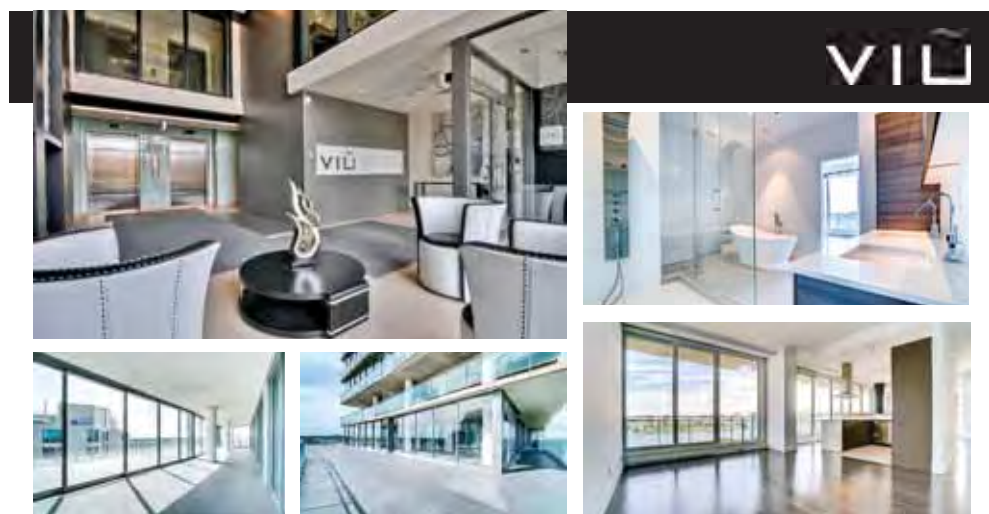


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## Feature Events

# Parliamentary Calendar



Continued from page 26

#### WEDNESDAY, NOV. 21

**FCM Advocacy Days Reception**—As part of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities' Advocacy Days and Board of Directors meeting being held Nov 20-22, Vicki-May Hamm, president of the FCM, invites all Parliamentarians and their staff to a reception to celebrate this occasion. The event will be held Wednesday, Nov. 21, from 6 to 8 p.m. in the Drawing Room at the Chateau Laurier. Invitation only.

**Canadian Medical Association's 2nd Annual Reception on the Hill**—The Canadian Medical Association invites you to join Canada's physicians for a night of jazz, great food, and conversation. The reception will be held in the O'Born Room at the National Arts Centre on Wednesday, Nov. 21, 2018, 6 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. Please RSVP to [grassroot@cma.ca](mailto:grassroot@cma.ca)

**The Art of Giving Gala**—Global Affairs Canada's grand annual Government of Canada Workplace Charitable Campaign fundraising soiree, Canadian Museum of History, 100 Laurier St., Gatineau, Que., Friday, Nov. 23, 2018. Doors open at 7 p.m. Attire: formal, tickets \$75. See: [eventbrite.ca/ArtofGivingGala](http://eventbrite.ca/ArtofGivingGala).

**'Perspectives: The Series'**—To be launched with a forum on Diversity in Canada, Hosted with the Canadian Museum of History, Gatineau, Que., 7 to 9 p.m., Nov 21. Leading thinkers and activists will give short talks and participate in a panel discussion providing different perspectives on diversity—how we accept and manage it in Canada. More info and tickets: [www.thepearsoncentre.ca](http://www.thepearsoncentre.ca)

#### THURSDAY, NOV. 22

**VIA Rail Canada's 40th Anniversary**—As part of VIA Rail Canada's 40th anniversary celebrations, parliamentarians and their staff are invited to join members of VIA Rail's board of directors as well as the corporation's directors and executives at a reception that will take place on Nov. 22, between 5:30 p.m. and 7:30 p.m., at the Lantern Pavilion of the National Arts Centre, 1 Elgin St., Ottawa. To RSVP or for more information, please contact [viarailcanada@viarail.ca](mailto:viarailcanada@viarail.ca).

#### SATURDAY, NOV. 24

**Alberta Manning Networking Conference**—On Nov. 24, the Manning Centre will host its second annual Alberta Manning Networking Conference at Red Deer College in Red Deer, Alta. This will be a one-day conference featuring speakers including: media personality Rex Murphy, former Alberta treasurer Jim Dinning, Twitter Canada's head of public policy Michele Austin, and Why Young Men author Jamil Jivani. Register via [abmnc2018.ca](http://abmnc2018.ca).

#### MONDAY, NOV. 26

**The Year Four Conference**—This conference will focus on what this Parliament needs to accomplish in the year ahead. Ministers, MPs from all parties, and Senators are invited to talk about what they plan to do in the year ahead. Key business, labour academia, NGOs and other will put forward their top priorities for government action. 8:30 a.m. to 5 p.m., Nov. 26. Delta Hotel Ottawa. For more info: [www.thepearsoncentre.ca](http://www.thepearsoncentre.ca)

**Canadian Association of Fire Chiefs (CAFC) Annual Reception on the Hill**—Nov. 26, 5:30 p.m.-7:30 p.m. Room 256-S Centre Block. Please join fire chiefs from across the country to celebrate the contributions of parliamentarians to the fire sector during CAFC's annual GR week. This reception is for MPs, Senators, and their staffers.

**The 67th Westminster Seminar on Practice and Procedure**—The Canadian Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association will take part in the 67th Westminster Seminar on Practice and Procedure on Nov. 26 in London, U.K.

**Global Affairs Canada Spirit of Giving Gala**—To be held Friday, Nov. 26, at the Museum of History. Tickets are \$75. The gala is in support of the Government of Canada Workplace Charitable Campaign. Funds raised go to the United Way, HealthPartners, as well as other registered Canadian charities designated by donors.

#### TUESDAY, NOV. 27

**Ottawa Mayor's Breakfast Series**—Canadian Heritage Minister Pablo Rodriguez will take part in Ottawa Mayor Jim Watson's Breakfast Series on Nov. 27 at Ottawa City Hall. Registration is at 7 a.m., followed by a buffet breakfast at 7:30 a.m., and the presentation at 8 a.m. Individual tickets are: \$35 for Ottawa Board of Trade members; \$50 for non-members; corporate tables \$245 for Ottawa Board of Trade members; and \$350 for non-members. Register online: [www.ottawachamber.ca](http://www.ottawachamber.ca)

**Senators and the High Commissioner for South Africa Host Reception**—South African High Commissioner to Canada Sibongiseni Dlamini-Mntambo along with Canadian Senators Wanda Thomas Bernard, Marilou McPhedran

and Mary Coyle are holding an invitation-only reception to launch the UN 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence Campaign, along with Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, under secretary general of the UN and executive director of UN Women. Tuesday, Nov. 27, 5 p.m.-7 p.m., Room 100, Sir John A. Macdonald Building, Parliament Hill, 144 Wellington St., RSVP [Katrina.leclerc@sen.parl.gc.ca](mailto:Katrina.leclerc@sen.parl.gc.ca)

#### WEDNESDAY, NOV. 28

**Event in Honour of Holocaust Education Month**—Professor Amos Guitart will talk about "The Crime Complicity: The Bystander in the Holocaust," on Nov. 28 at 7 p.m. at the Soloway JCC, 21 Nadolny Sachs Priv., Ottawa. Hosted by the Shoah Committee of the Jewish Federation of Ottawa. For more information, please contact Lindsay Gottheil at 613-798-4696, ext. 355.

#### THURSDAY, NOV. 29

**Bacon and Eggheads Breakfast: What Will It Take for Canada to Finally Solve Indigenous Water Health Challenges?**—With Madij Mohseni, University of British Columbia, is a talk presented by the Partnership Group for Science and Engineering (PAGSE). Thursday, Nov. 29, 7:30 a.m.-8:45 a.m. Sir John A. Macdonald (SJAM) Building, Room 100. Free for Members of the House, Senators, parliamentary staff, and media. Others \$25. Breakfast included. Pre-registration is required by November 26 by contacting Meghan Johnson at [mjohnson@nature.ca](mailto:mjohnson@nature.ca) or 613-868-7437.

#### FRIDAY, NOV. 30

**G20 Leaders' Summit**—Argentina will host G20 leaders, including Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, in Buenos Aires. Nov. 30-Dec. 1.

#### SATURDAY, DEC. 1

**TOK Ottawa Free Symposium for Emerging Writers, Poets, Readers**—TOK, the digital magazine of Diaspora Dialogues is organizing and hosting TOK Ottawa, a two-day free symposium for Ottawa's emerging writers/poets and readers November 30 (Bronson Centre) and Dec. 2018, 1, 2018 (Ottawa Public Library main branch). More info and to register: <http://tokmagazine.ca/tok-ottawa-symposium>

#### MONDAY, DEC. 3

**The Exchange Toronto: Conversations to Inspire Change, Featuring Anita Hill**—With host Nicole Stamp, moderator Sally Armstrong, auctionista Layne, and musical guest Iskwé. Anita Hill sparked a cultural shift on sexual harassment when she testified against Clarence Thomas, in front of a national television audience at his Supreme Court confirmation hearing in 1991. Monday, Dec. 3, 7 a.m. breakfast and reception; 8:30 a.m. presentation; and 10 a.m. reception continues. Metro Toronto Convention Centre, South Building, 255 Front St. W. Funds raised from The Exchange will support the Canadian Women's Foundation programs that help women move out of poverty and violence and into confidence and leadership. For more information, contact Gurpreet Chahal, manager, philanthropy, events: [gchahal@canadianwomen.org](mailto:gchahal@canadianwomen.org).

#### TUESDAY, DEC. 4

**Assembly of First Nations Special Chiefs Assembly**—Dec. 4-6—Hundreds of First Nations leaders, Elders, youth and delegates will gather on unceded Algonquin Territory in Ottawa, ON for the AFN's annual December Special Chiefs Assembly. First Nations leaders and representatives will discuss current issues and priorities and set direction for the coming year. A Parliamentary Reception will be held for parliamentarians, diplomats and First Nation leaders on December 4 from 6 p.m.-8 p.m. at the Shaw Centre (for information on the reception contact Naomi Sarazin at [NSarazin@afn.ca](mailto:NSarazin@afn.ca) or 613-241-6789 ext. 135). Information and a provisional agenda for the Special Chiefs Assembly are available on the AFN website at [www.afn.ca](http://www.afn.ca)

#### THURSDAY, DEC. 6

**Annual National Conference of the Council of State Governments**—The Canada-United States InterParliamentary Group will take part in the Annual National Conference of the Council of State Governments on Dec. 6 in Covington, Kentucky, U.S.

*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](mailto: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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# “The Conservative Party reportedly plans to target media in the lead up to 2019. What do you make of this strategy?”



**CAMERON AHMAD**  
Liberal strategist

“Andrew Scheer seems committed to reliving the days of pre-election 2015, when constant attacks on Ottawa journalists by Stephen Harper’s Conservatives were just the tonic for a news cycle consumed by the Mike Duffy spending scandal.

“Consider the recent cascade of Conservative attacks on Canada’s media:

“MP Pierre Poilievre trashes Bloomberg’s Josh Wingrove as a ‘Liberal reporter,’ after he notes Canadian CEOs support the federal price on pollution; the party’s senior media relations staffer brands reporters pearl-clutchers, adding this incites her to ‘go for the jugular.’ MP Michelle Rempel accuses The Canadian Press of being PMO lackeys, after CP’s ‘Baloney Metre’ calls out her fear-mongering over irregular migration.

“The tactic is directly from the playbook of Stephen Harper, whose CPC sent out a fundraising email in 2014 saying, ‘We’re up against the Liberals and the NDP in the next election, but we also have to fight an uphill battle against all their friends in the Ottawa media.’

“Harper lived what he preached. Throughout his tenure as PM, news conferences in the capital were freakish rarities, and media questions strictly controlled and curtailed.

“Unlike the CPC, Liberals respect the role of a free and independent press, and we expect the media to hold us to account on a daily basis. Any read of the daily news coverage of the government will confirm that the press gallery does just that.”



**CORY HANN**  
Conservative strategist

“Hi. It’s the Conservative Party here. This is not a plan. It is not a strategy. What we have said, however, is something any media relations person worth their weight would say—we will challenge inaccuracies. When there are pieces of a story that aren’t covered, we’ll speak out on that. When there are pieces of a story that are missed, we’ll speak out on that. When the Conservative Party position doesn’t get covered, or isn’t covered accurately, we’ll speak out on that.

“We recognize the job Canadian media have, and the role they play in our democracy. Challenging inaccuracies or speaking out about our party’s position is not targeting media, it’s partaking in the back and forth process that exists in the building of a news report.

“The Conservative Party is not perfect. The NDP is not perfect. And holy wow, the Liberal Party is most definitely not perfect. In fact, no one is perfect, including the media. From time to time, media can get it wrong. From time to time, the Conservative Party can get it wrong. The media challenges us when we do get it wrong. And we will do the same when media have it wrong. That’s not some strategy—it’s basic media relations.”



**MÉLANIE RICHER**  
NDP strategist

“It’s off-base. Attacking Canada’s fourth estate, which has the goal to keep elected officials accountable, is an attack on our democracy.

“Do we sometimes disagree with what journalists write? Sure. But they still do the important work of keeping politicians and political parties accountable to the Canadians who voted them in.

“It’s one thing to push back against statements you disagree with, but to use the Trump approach of attacking anyone who disagrees with you that is reporting on facts, is unacceptable. And Canadians know this to be unacceptable.

“And it’s dangerous. “Canadians rely on the media to give them accurate information about what’s happening in their communities, in their country, and in the world. When political parties attack the media for their benefit, they’re undermining that very information that Canadians need.

“Journalists need to do their jobs, and one of their jobs is to keep elected officials accountable. We don’t have to agree or like everything they report, but we do need to respect the need to do it.”



**ÉRIC COUTURE**  
Bloc Québécois strategist

“Attacking the press may be a winning political move for some but it sure is not a good move for democracy. In the end, it shows that a party works more for its own interests than the public interests themselves. Not a good idea.

“When media cover good news about us, media are great. When they cover bad news about us, they’re despicable!

“That’s mainly how political parties think, and that’s why we spin. We try to amplify the good news and to filter the bad ones. When it works, we’re happy but when it doesn’t, damned media!

“The truth is we need a good press, a free press; we need reporters who make politicians answer for their actions, we need journalists that make us sweat, we need a living, a growing, a strong press that insures the vitality of our democracy.

“And we need information that is trustworthy. In this strange era of social media and fake sites of fake news (real fake news), we need professionals who seek the truth. Sure, we won’t like them all the time, we may even dislike them a lot, but it’s not about liking or disliking the press, it’s about being free.

“To be informed is to be free,” said René Lévesque. So let the press do its job, keep complaining and co-operate.”



**RODD LEGGETT**  
Green strategist

“I wonder who rationalized the vile act of smearing someone into a political strategy. Certainly it was practised by our early ancestors before the emergence of cities ... and civility. The logic is unassailable. Tarnish someone’s reputation. This discredits them and soon no one takes them seriously. You’ve manufactured immunity. At first a single person’s reputation was soiled, but the strategy evolved to attack groups; the ‘liberal media’ are the most recent victim.

“This is old hat for the Conservatives. Harper used the same tricks when he was in power, including undermining the CBC’s hard-earned reputation for impartial journalism. Today, Donald Trump, Steve Bannon, Roger Stone, and their fellow travellers have perfected the ‘fake news’ strategy that is benefitting populist thugs around the world.

“There is no doubt that the media’s business model and the 24-hours news cycle have their pernicious elements. But as Churchill said of democracy, which is often a woefully inadequate form of government, a free press is better than all the other forms that have been tried from time to time.

“If you’re Andrew Scheer, struggling with a popular opponent and your own anonymity, and with the unpredictable Mad Max nipping at your heels, following the example of Donald Trump is certainly tempting. But Scheer should think long and hard and consider Trump’s effect on the great republic to the south. Let’s hope the Conservatives learn from their mistakes, stop smearing our journalists and let them do their vital work of holding politicians—red, blue, orange and Green—to account.”

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