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# THE HILL TIMES

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR, NO. 1466

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER

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### Opinion Politics

## Morneau's handling of tax reform will be a make or break issue for government

- The Finance Department can win any battle when there is a broad split in public opinion on a tax measure.
- At this point, there do not seem to be many voices siding with the Department of Finance.
- During the GST fight, the finance minister's viewpoint eventually carried the day. This time, Finance is strongly in favour of a position that has the potential to create an electoral problem for the government.



Finance Minister Bill Morneau, pictured in this file photo, did his best to counter that, repeating his view that doctors should not get better tax breaks than nurses or police. But nurses and police are not self-employed while doctors are. *The Hill Times* file photograph

BY SHEILA COPPS

OTTAWA—Summer caucuses are always hot. And when you combine heated politics with a sunny West Coast location, the temperature often rises.

After more than two months away from the Ottawa cocoon, Members of Parliament are eager to repeat the views they have heard in their ridings. Sad to say, most people don't make appointments with Parliamentarians simply to tell

them what a great job they are doing. On the contrary, riding office hours are usually a continuum of complaints about government policies, directions, and future plans.

Continued on page 9

### News Liberal nominations

## Liberal Party seeks input from MPs on potential protection from nomination challenges

Liberal MP Alexandra Mendes says most of her caucus colleagues would go for 'outright protection.'

BY ABBAS RANA

Liberal MPs say the party brass is seeking input from them on nomination rules for held ridings for the 2019 election, and have asked them to provide concrete proposals by scheduling in-person or teleconference meetings with top Grit officials. At last week's two-day Liberal caucus retreat in Kelowna, B.C., top party officials, including president Anna Gainey and campaign co-chair Chris MacInnes, invited MPs to submit their input and feedback.

Liberal MPs told *The Hill Times* they would provide their input to the party after Parliament returns for the fall sitting on Sept. 18. They said their proposals would be mainly based on their past experience in seeking the party nomination and the 2015 election campaign.

Continued on page 29

### News Indigenous affairs

## INAC split a 'game-changer' but more steps needed to truly redefine Indigenous relations: sources

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

The splitting up of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada is being

called a "game-changer" for Indigenous relations in Canada, but former deputy minister Scott Serson says the government should first issue a royal proclamation to

define its new relationship with Indigenous peoples.

"They're saying this is a reflection of an RCAP [Royal Commission on Aboriginal

Peoples] recommendation, but the royal commission put a couple of significant

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## HEARD ON THE HILL

by Shruti Shekar

# Politicians send kids back to school before they go back to Parliament



Conservative MP Erin O'Toole's daughter Mollie headed to Grade 6 and his son Jack to Grade 1, both pictured on the left dog Wexford, while Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains made sure daughters Kirpan Kaur, left, and Nanki Kaur both made it to school. Photographs courtesy of Erin O'Toole's and Navdeep Bains' Twitter

The House is just one week away from resuming, but September is also back-to-school season, and parenting politicians have been documenting their children's scholarly experiences on social media.

Innovation Minister **Navdeep Bains** tweeted pictures of himself walking his two daughters, **Kirpan Kaur** and **Nanki Kaur**, to school on Sept. 5.

"The #journey begins again! The First day of school brings so much happiness and pride in our home," he tweeted. "Wishing every #Student much success this yr."

Conservative MP **Erin O'Toole** also tweeted a picture of his two kids. His son Jack, is heading to Grade 1 and daughter Mollie, who is going to Grade 6. Their family dog, Wexford, also decided to dress up for school.

And if you're kids were dreading to go back to school, don't worry; NDP leadership candidate and Ontario MPP **Jagmeet Singh** imparted some advice on Twitter.

"1. You are incredible and amazing just because you're you. 2. School can be tough but you're tougher than you know. 3. But

if you're not feeling okay, ask for help! We all need help sometimes. 4. Take chances (healthy ones!). 5. After you retweet this, spend less time online & more time in the real world. The real world is tough & messy but it's where you'll grow. 6. Have fun! When you're old you'll look back fondly on this time," Mr. Singh tweeted.

## Hubley retires from Senate

Liberal Senator **Elizabeth Hubley** retired last week after serving in the Upper Chamber for 16 years as one of four representing the province of Prince Edward Island.

"It was a great honour to serve Canada as a Senator. ... Certainly it will be one of my cherished memories," said Ms. Hubley in a



Elizabeth Hubley plays the fiddle on Parliament Hill on National Fiddle Day.

phone interview Sept. 8, which is when she turned 75, the age of mandatory retirement.

She was appointed to the Senate in 2001 by prime minister **Jean Chrétien**, and spent much of her time on topics ranging from landmines, culture, fisheries, agriculture, and veterans affairs.

During her time she was the deputy chair of the Fisheries and Oceans Committee, which she indicated was an important committee for her province.

"All of the studies and all of the work that we did on fisheries was of real importance, and I think I will look back not only on the dedicated Senators who were on the committee, but also on how determined they were to address the issues," she said.

She also sat on the Agriculture and Forestry Committee, "which speaks loudly to P.E.I." Other committees she sat on included the Aboriginal Peoples Committee and the subcommittee for Veterans Affairs.

Ms. Hubley noted that she worked well with all Senators and MPs, but particularly those from her province. There are four MPs, all Liberal, from P.E.I.: **Sean Casey**, **Wayne Easter**, Agriculture Minister **Lawrence MacAulay**, and **Robert Morrissey**. The three remaining Senators representing P.E.I. are Liberal **Percy Downe**, and Independents **Diane Griffin** and **Mike Duffy**.

Prior to joining the Senate, Ms. Hubley was provincial MLA in Prince Edward Island between 1989 and 1996. Looking ahead though, Ms. Hubley, plans to run the dance studio that she used to manage before joining politics. She is also a fiddler and is part of a fiddle group.

"A lot of those things sort of get shoved to the background, and I'm looking forward now to doing some [of this] work," she said.

She also plans to spend more time with her family and work on some of her hobbies, which include oil painting and needlework.

## Canada 2020 snags Obama as conference guest

Bluesky Strategy Group's principal **Susan Smith** confirmed in a LinkedIn post last week that former U.S. president **Barack Obama** will be a guest at Canada 2020's lunch event at the end of the month.

The think-tank will host the 44<sup>th</sup> president of the United States between 12 and 2 p.m. at the Metro Toronto Convention Centre in downtown Toronto on Sept. 29, information on Canada 2020's website said.

It added that Mr. Obama will "deliver a keynote speech, followed by an on-stage interview." The on-stage discussion will be "on a wide-range of topics."

There are no individual ticket sales and only tables of 10 can be purchased for \$1,000 each. For more information, head over to Canada 2020's website.

## Democratic Institutions Minister Gould is expecting a new family member

Democratic Institutions Minister **Karina Gould** announced Sept. 5 that she and her husband will be welcoming a child in March 2018.

"I wanted to let you know that I'm going to be bringing on a new team member very soon," Ms. Gould said in a video posted to Twitter. "And I think it's important for you to know because this little person is going to be with me constantly."



Karina Gould.

Tweet replies came from many people from all parties, including Conservative MP **Scott Reid** who said "if anyone can juggle being a minister and a mom all at once, it's you!"

Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** also tweet replied: "fantastic-we needed more young people on the team!"

Congratulations also came from other cabinet ministers including Foreign Affairs Minister **Chrystia Freeland** and Status of Women Minister **Maryam Monsef**.

## Policy Magazine to host panel discussion on NAFTA

In case you wanted to learn more about the trilateral trade deal between Mexico, Canada, and the U.S., *Policy Magazine* will be hosting a panel discussion Sept. 19 in advance of the third round of talks.

The second round of the NAFTA talks concluded in Mexico Sept. 5 and the third round will be hosted in Ottawa from Sept. 23 to 27.

The panelists will include **Sarah Goldfeder**, principal at Earncliffe Strategy Group and former U.S. diplomat, **Meredith Lilly**, Simon Reisman chair in international affairs at Carleton University and former international trade adviser to former prime minister **Stephen Harper**, and **Don Newman**, senior counsel at Navigator and Ensign Canada and chair of think-tank Canada 2020.

The three are also columnists for *Policy Magazine's* latest issue, which delves into trade-related topics, particularly NAFTA. The magazine's editor, **Ian MacDonald**, will moderate the discussion between them on Sept. 19.

The event will be hosted at the Rideau Club on 99 Bank St. from 12 p.m. to 1:30 p.m.

Details on ticket prices and reservations are available on the magazine's website.

## James Travers journalism fellowship open for submissions

The Carleton University R. James Travers Foreign corresponding fellowship is now accepting applications from journalists for a project to be completed in 2018.

Fellowship recipients will receive \$25,000 that covers travel, reporting and research, a press release Sept. 5 said.

The fellowship commemorates **James Travers**, who was a reporter, foreign correspondent, and general manager of *Southam News*, editor of *The Ottawa Citizen*, executive managing editor of *The Toronto Star*, and national columnist for *The Star* when he died March 3, 2011, the press release noted.

It added that Mr. Travers believed "Canadians deserve first-hand, in-depth coverage of important stories outside our borders. He argued passionately that it is crucial for Canadian reporters to 'bear witness'—because in our interconnected world, 'foreign' news is local news."

The application deadline is Oct. 23 and is open to all journalists, whether you're a student or currently working, and in any medium.

Also don't forget, the James Travers debates are also coming up soon. It will be held at the Shaw Centre in Ottawa on Oct. 18.

Split into two debates, one serious and one funny, the former will be between **Shachi Kurl**, executive director of polling company Angus Reid Institute, and *iPolitics's* **Stephen Maher**, an email sent to *The Hill Times* said.

The two will "debate the resolution that Canada is not immune to the populism which resulted in the election of" U.S. President **Donald Trump**, it said.

The email also added "the fun debate will be about [Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau's**] choice of unconventional socks," for which players are still to be determined.

sshekar@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times



## Diversity dividend: Canada's global advantage

September 21, 2017

7:30 am - 8:45 am

Parliamentary Restaurant, Centre Block  
\$25—Free for parliamentarians and media  
Breakfast included

What is the relationship between diversity and economic prosperity? Join **Bessma Momani** and **Jillian Stirk** as they present the results and policy recommendations from a year-long research project that shows a positive correlation between workplace diversity, revenue and productivity in Canada. This finding has important implications for both federal policy and public discourse on issues of diversity, immigration, and the strength of the Canadian economy. (In English, with simultaneous interpretation into French via cell phone.)

This event is sponsored by the **Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation**.



**Bessma Momani**,  
Senior Fellow,  
Centre for International  
Governance,  
University of Waterloo



**Jillian Stirk**,  
Former Ambassador  
and Assistant Deputy  
Minister, Trudeau Mentor




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A high-angle, front-facing view of an F/A-18E/F Super Hornet in flight. The aircraft is white with dark grey accents on the wings and tail. It is carrying several missiles on its wings and a large pod under the nose. The background is a dramatic sky with soft, golden light from the sun, partially obscured by white clouds. The aircraft is positioned in the upper half of the frame, flying towards the viewer.

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## News Technology &amp; government

# Public-sector expert recommends government technological overhauls be done in smaller increments

Phoenix, Shared Services, and Canada.ca are a few examples of federal government technology projects gone wrong.

BY DEREK ABMA

Governments should not waver from pushing ahead with technological changes to improve the way they operate despite several examples—such as the Phoenix pay system for federal employees—turning into disasters, says a U.S. public-sector expert who was in Ottawa last week.

The Phoenix pay system, turned on last year, was supposed to bring efficiencies to the government's payroll system and save it \$70-million a year. Instead, costs to deal with the delays and inaccurate pay amounts going to public servants, and fix the system, cost the government \$50-million last year and was expected to cost another \$142-million over the next two years, on top of wiping out expected savings that were projected during the first three years of operation, according to information the government put out in May. The initial cost of implementing Phoenix was \$309.5-million.

In terms of progress on the Phoenix pay issues, a webpage set up by Public Services and Procurement Canada said that as of Aug. 23 the public service pay centre was working on 237,000 problematic transactions beyond its normal workload of 80,000 per month. That amount had risen from 228,000 on July 26. Another graphic showed that 80,000 new cases had come in between those two dates, but only 71,000 were processed.

Still, the website shows that as of Aug. 23 the pay centre was dealing with 49 per cent of its problematic transactions within target range of 20 to 45 days, up from 35 per cent on July 26.

Another update to these numbers was expected later this month. Following a cabinet shuffle last month, Carla Qualtrough (Delta, B.C.) is the new Public Services minister and the person who will be looked to for ultimately fixing the problem.

Other technological projects that have gone awry for the federal government in recent years, in terms of failing to achieve anticipated performance improvements, savings, and/or meet set timelines, include the creation of the Shared Services Canada IT department and the plan to amalgamate federal government websites within the Canada.ca portal.



William Eggers, director of Deloitte's Center for Government Insights in Washington, D.C., is a believer in technology's potential to improve government, but says there are better ways of doing major technological transformations than what's been seen with governments around the world. Photograph courtesy of Deloitte

William Eggers, director of Deloitte's Center for Government Insights in Washington, D.C., is an advocate for harnessing the power of technology to improve government and was in Ottawa last week for a pair of speaking engagements on Sept. 6—at the Canada School of Public Service and the Public Policy Forum.

The online promo for a book Mr. Eggers wrote—*Delivering on Digital*, released last year—highlights the initially disastrous HealthCare.gov website that went live in 2013 and was meant to provide information on health-insurance plans in conjunction with former U.S. president Barack Obama's signature health-care reform.

In an interview last week, Mr. Eggers said that while he doesn't have all the details about some of the Canadian government's technological issues, governments around the world have regularly failed in bringing major technology projects to fruition, and there are some common elements in many of these cases.

"The scale of some of these projects is much bigger in government than even some of the biggest private-sector enterprises," he said. "So the level of complexity is extraordinarily high."

He added that the procurement process for these projects often lasts several years, resulting in outdated technology put in place by the time projects become operational.

Mr. Eggers has suggestions for how governments can improve their track records when it comes to technological-transformation projects, including "no more blind marriages" with companies who provide the products and services.

"Shorten the request-for-proposal time periods, ask them if they've built a working prototype ... [and] try them out," he said.

He added that governments should approach technology overhauls in smaller parts.

"What you're doing is you're breaking those mega-projects into smaller batches with faster cycle times," Mr. Eggers said.

Such an approach, he said,

would allow government to replace their older technology more gradually, rather than the "rip-and-replace method," where there is no backup if a new system doesn't work.

The Canadian government's chief information officer, Alex Benay, appeared with Mr. Eggers during his speaking engagements in Ottawa last week, and he agrees with his views about doing government technology overhauls in smaller chunks.

"The key to it is to do development and execution in short bursts and to continually rearrange your direction," said Mr. Benay.

He said governments should accept that attempts at technological improvement won't always work out, but "we do have to get better at failing faster and failing more often even, but smaller-scale. Let's not do a \$300-million thing. I'd rather do 30 \$10-million things, and then we can readjust, rearrange, readjust, rearrange."

Mr. Eggers said the benefits of advancing technological use in government includes reducing costs, improving services and experiences for citizens, and essentially "reimagining government in multitude of different ways."

"[Digitization is] the enabler of the century, really," he said.

Mr. Eggers said government departments focused on transportation, for example, are going to find their objectives completely turned upside-down in the coming years as a result of technological advancements.

"Right now, departments of transportation, they build roads, they build bridges, they do traffic management," he said. "But increasingly, it's going to be about mobility, getting people from one place to another through a shared public and private approach, where automobiles and trucks will be autonomous. ... Many people won't necessarily own cars. They'll call up—like they call up an Uber today—an autonomous vehicle."

"And that changes everything about how government provides transportation infrastructure. The

roads can be more narrow; they don't have to be as wide. It totally transforms traffic congestion because the cars can be much closer together."

Mr. Eggers said in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the Canadian government was among the top governments in the world at utilizing cutting-edge technology to improve its services. However, he said it wasn't "a major priority" under the former Conservative government of Stephen Harper.

He said the current Liberal government of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) has signalled that it's ready to get back to adopting technology at a rapid rate.

Mr. Benay said he's largely in agreement with Mr. Eggers in terms of the benefits of utilizing digital technology to improve government operations. An important element he said the government has to focus on is recruiting people with the right technological skills into government, and better matching the skillsets and tasks of those already there.

"Sometimes we have those people internally and we don't necessarily marry the skill to the right program," he said.

Mr. Eggers said governments generally lag the private sector in their adoption of technology. Reasons for this, he said, including a lack of the competitive pressures that exist in the free market, a shortage of skills among staff, competing priorities, and funding limitations. On the brighter side, he said government is able to adopt technology in a less risky manner by assessing what's worked and what hasn't in the private sector.

## Artificial intelligence, friend or foe

The Deloitte public-sector expert said greater integration of artificial intelligence into government processes will be key to operational and financial improvements in the years ahead.

"Artificial intelligence will be the most important technology impacting our lives, our society, our businesses, and our governments over the next decade," Mr. Eggers said. "I think there's very little doubt about that."

Some of the areas where we're seeing signs of this, he said, include developments in the area of autonomous vehicles, "smart" kitchens, and various mechanisms dependent on the collection of data.

When you look at government, he said, there are opportunities to use AI to reduce the amount of "tedious" and "manual" work people have to do, and "allow them to focus more time and attention on mission-critical tasks."

Mr. Eggers said this can free people up to "do all sorts of things that were previously just were not possible."

He added: "There's no area of government that won't be affected by AI over the next decade."

Even foreign affairs work will be subject to technological change, Mr. Eggers noted. "With machine translation and the ability to translate text from speech from one language to the other, there's obvious implications for foreign relations, defence, and intelligence."

Making decisions on investments in things such as social services and policing can be based on more on facts with artificial intelligence as opposed to "intuition," as happens now, he added.

A study Deloitte released this year that showed that investment and usage of AI in the U.S. federal government could allow it cut 1.2 billion hours from the 4.3 billion work hours employees put in every year, within the next five to seven years, representing a cut of almost 30 per cent in the amount of human work done and annual savings of US\$41.1-billion in salary.

Yet, this illustrates a reason many people are uncomfortable with AI—the fear that scores of jobs will become obsolete and disappear in the coming years.

In response to such worries, Mr. Eggers argued that, throughout human history, improvements have constantly been made in technology. While it has proven to be disruptive and has cost some people their jobs, such changes have resulted in more and better-paying jobs, overall.

"We don't have a lot of people who are horse-and-buggy drivers anymore, or people who are making widgets; I could go on and on," he said. "We have a history of new technologies coming in and certain jobs, over time, go down or might go away altogether. But new jobs are created. We've always created more jobs from technological change than have been destroyed over time. And I think we'll do the same thing here."

He noted 50 years ago, most government workers had clerical jobs, and while most of those jobs are gone now, government employment in the Canadian and U.S. has grown, with a bigger proportion of such employment made up of higher-paying jobs.

But even more dire fears about AI exist. Authorities no less than Stephen Hawking have predicted that AI could ultimately lead to the extinction of humankind if its level of intelligence surpasses that of humans.

Mr. Eggers said if this surpassing of human intelligence by technology—known as "negative singularity"—does happen, it's not expected to until some time between 2040 and 2075, which "is a long ways away."

"Right now, computers and AI are able to do narrow tasks and narrow things, trained by humans. ... The key thing is educating people on just where the technology is right now, how advanced it really is, what it can do for you, what the risks are, what they aren't, and being intelligent about it."

He said too many people are scared of AI because they don't understand it, despite using it every day with technology like Siri, Amazon Echo, Netflix recommendations, and other things.

Mr. Benay said it's too early to say exactly what AI's ultimate impact will be on society, economically or existentially. However, he said it's important for the government to be involved in the technology and understand any potential risks that may arise.

"We're at the infancy in this, which means it's very important for the government to be a part of the discussion, not absent from the discussion," he said.

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## Comment

# Small business tax reform a test of Trudeau's nerve

What the Liberals need now is nerve, a more detailed defence of their policy and faith that average Canadians will stand with them, despite the noise coming from a well-heeled minority, and their well-paid lobbyists, who are loudly protesting this unexpected attack on their long-standing privileges.



Susan Riley

Impolitic

**G**ATINEAU, QUE.—Justin Trudeau's proposal to eliminate loopholes in the small business tax is a modest step in the direction of tax fairness and Finance Minister Bill Morneau is, in many ways, an ideal spear-carrier for reform. These may not be popular claims in medical clinics, upscale salons, and most editorial boardrooms, but that doesn't mean they aren't true.

The uber-polite Morneau isn't cabinet's most dynamic pitchman, true, but, as a former Bay Street executive, he knows the many legal, if morally questionable, ways that the wealthy avoid paying their fair share of taxes. Like Paul Martin and former Conservative Party finance minister, Jim Flaherty, Morneau is a former insider in a club that few can afford to join.

What the Liberals need now is nerve, a more detailed defence of their policy and faith that average Canadians will stand with them, despite the noise coming from a well-heeled minority, and their well-paid lobbyists, who are loudly protesting this unexpected attack on their long-standing privileges. (What do they want? Special tax treatment for the one-percent! When do they want it? Always!)

The Liberals also need to clarify that they are not targeting small business per se—the couple that runs the corner store, the farm family, the neighbourhood day care owners—but, rather, well-paid doctors, dentists and other professionals who incorporate themselves solely for the tax

advantages and have been doing so in increasing numbers.

Small businesses generally have long enjoyed favourable tax treatment—the most generous in the G7—justified on the grounds that a 15 per cent rate, and other perks, will encourage them to expand, to create jobs for other Canadians and to contribute to overall prosperity. But the tax measures the Liberals are targeting do nothing of the kind: they simply allow wealthy incorporated individuals to pay far less personal income tax than salaried workers in the same brackets, and to amass larger retirement nest eggs, at favourable rates, than are available to everyone else.

These simple facts have been lost in the Conservatives' aggressive and effective social media campaign against the tax changes, led by deputy leader Lisa Raitt, easily their sharpest performer. The right-wing critique is overwrought, misleading—portraying well-paid doctors as candidates for the food bank, metaphorically speaking—and not particularly Conservative. Brian Mulroney's finance minister, Michael Wilson, was an ardent supporter of a flatter tax system, with fewer loopholes for special interests in favour of lower overall rates.

That's not today's Conservative Party. The mantra now, in Stephen Harper's memorable words, is that "all taxes are bad." And, all special breaks—however unjustifiable, outdated or unfair—must be defended to the death. And who better to wield the broad-axe than Scheer's new finance critic, the hyper-partisan career politician, Pierre Poilievre?

As to the actual reforms, the scandal is that they have survived this long, not that they are finally being challenged. "Income sprinkling" is a particularly egregious example of rank favouritism masquerading as good policy. Under this provision, incorporated individuals—including doctors, and others, who run small offices—can sprinkle their income among family members over the age of 18, whether the young adult is active in the business or not. That way, they lower their reportable income and their tax.

Few would object to special tax treatment for family members who are genuinely involved—a lawyer's son who is also her researcher, for instance; a nursery, where the sons and daughters help customers and make deliveries—but to sprinkle income randomly among family members? Legal, but cynical to say the least.

It used to be worse. In 1999, Jean Chrétien eliminated the so-called "kiddie tax" which allowed small business owners to include all children (if not the family dog) in the tax-lowering measure. Since then, only youth aged 18 to 24 can be included, a provision further strengthened in 2003 by the Harper government. Now Morneau wants businesses to prove that family members are actually contributing to the business before claiming their participation for tax purposes.

This entirely reasonable request is being denounced as government meddling by lobbyists.

Another provision allows small businesses to park profits in so-called "passive investments"—money to be used for future expansion, or to cover slow periods. In reality, many incorporated professionals use this vehicle for retirement savings, arguing that they are not eligible for public or private pensions.

But they can use TFSA's and RRSP's, like other Canadians, and pay the same level of taxes when the money is redeemed. This "passive" investment vehicle mostly benefits



Canada's federal Finance Minister Bill Morneau, pictured in a scrum on the Hill.  
The Hill Times file photograph

the very wealthy—those whose savings already exceed the generous limits imposed on RRSP and TSFA contributions. Far from a heartless attack on hard-working entrepreneurs who forgo some of the benefits that salaried employees receive—EI coverage, defined benefit pensions, sick leave—this measure targets wealthy savers who should not need subsidies from everyone else.

The third, and most complicated fix would stop incorporated small businesses from converting their earnings into capital gains, again to benefit from lower rates. Those benefitting from these measures claim they are an important factor in compensating business owners for the risks they take and the responsibilities they have as employers. But surely there are more direct and effective measures—tax write-offs based on the number of jobs created, enhanced incentives for business expansions—that reward risk rather than encouraging tax avoidance?

The blow-back—including interventions at a town hall in Kelowna last week from a couple of disgruntled women physicians—hasn't yet hurt the Liberals in the polls. In fact, the latest sounding has them eight points ahead of the Conservatives at 42 per cent approval. And despite some tough questions, Trudeau was greeted warmly in interior British Columbia last week, with thousands flocking to see him and his ministers at their pre-session retreat.

On top of that, great economic news: Canada's economy grew by 4.5 per cent in the last quarter, the strongest showing since the 2008 recession. As a result interest rates are up again, the loonie is strengthening and jobs are being created. This isn't entirely the result of canny Liberal fiscal management—Canada's open economy is greatly influenced by global trends—but it undercuts Andrew Scheer's glib claims that free-spending, high-taxing Liberals are driving the economy off a cliff.

For all that, the small business tax reforms don't make Liberals champions of the average worker. Morneau backed away from a proposal to close a stock option loophole that allows CEOs, his former Bay Street colleagues, to shelter their huge incomes—and that would have restored untold millions to the federal treasury. As well, efforts to end tax havens used by corporations to avoid Canadian taxes have been fitful.

Meanwhile, the Liberals are considering refinements to their latest reforms to, presumably, avoid unintended collateral damage to the large number of small businesses that only squeak by every year. They may also extend consultations beyond their self-imposed October deadline. That could allow opposition to build, of course, but it also gives them more time to lay out the simple justice of what they are proposing.

It is also true that the whole tax system needs reform, not just small business provisions—an ambitious, long-overdue, but politically risky course. But, for now, tweaks to close loopholes for the well-compensated will have to suffice. If nothing else, they are a reminder that governments are elected to protect the public interest, not to line the pockets of wealthy friends.

The Hill Times



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# Alberta Liberals to investigate allegations of sexual harassment against Kang

Former provincial staffer Kirstin Morrell, who levelled sexual harassment allegations against Liberal-turned-Independent MP Darshan Kang, said she has not been consulted by the Alberta Liberal Party, and will consider whether to participate in the investigation after learning the details.

BY ABBAS RANA

The Alberta Liberal Party is planning on conducting interviews with current and former Liberal staffers following allegations of sexual harassment from former Alberta Liberal staffer Kirstin Morrell against former two-term Alberta MLA and now MP Darshan Kang to find out if there are any more complaints.

Alberta Liberal Leader David Khan said in a statement that the sexual harassment allegations from Ms. Morrell reported in *The Hill Times* two weeks ago against Mr. Kang (Calgary Skyview, Alta.) are “deeply concerning” and described the alleged behaviour as “repugnant and has no place in society.”

“As leader of the Liberal Party, I find these allegations deeply concerning,” said Mr. Khan, who was elected party leader in June.

He promised to share all “relevant information” to “all investigating bodies.”

Prior to getting elected as an MP in the 2015 federal election, Mr. Kang, 66, served as a two-term Alberta MLA between 2008 and 2015. He’s now one of the two Liberal MPs from Calgary, along with Sport and Persons with Disabilities Minister Kent Hehr (Calgary Centre, Alta.). This marked the first time the federal Liberals have won seats in Calgary since 1968. In total, the Liberals won four seats in Alberta, including two in Edmonton.

Ms. Morrell, who now is 37 and owns a small business in Calgary, served as a constituency office assistant in Mr. Kang’s constituency office for about 13 months between 2011-12. In an interview with *The Hill Times* two weeks ago, she accused Mr. Kang of groping and kissing her several times during her employment.

“He doesn’t understand or seem to care about the word ‘no’ or about the word ‘stop,’” said Ms. Morrell.

“When I worked in his office, he would come up, and he would grab my breasts, he would make me sit next to him,” she said, and



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured Aug. 27 at Ottawa’s gay pride parade, has not answered questions about sexual harassment allegations against former Liberal-turned-Independent MP Darshan Kang. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Chief Government Whip Pablo Rodriguez, pictured in this file photo on the Hill with Leslie O’Leary, director of issues management to Infrastructure Minister Amarjeet Sohi. *The Hill Times* file photograph



Two women have accused first-time Liberal MP Darshan Kang of sexual harassment. *The Hill Times* file photograph

estimated that it happened to her about 15 times during her job.

She said whenever she had to consult Mr. Kang about any work-related issues, she would try to meet him outside of his personal office to avoid any potential situation in which he would touch her. But she said he would insist on meeting her inside his personal office.

“At first, I would say, ‘No, no, let’s do this outside of your office.’ He’d say ‘Oh, no, no, come inside my office. There’s no problem, there’s no problem,’” she said.

“I’d come inside his office and sit down. And, then he’d sit down next to me and lean in and grab my breasts, or kiss me. And I’d say ‘stop,’ and he would start to get very forceful about demanding that I stay,” said Ms. Morrell, adding that it happened mostly in the last few months of her employment.

In an interview with *The Hill Times* last week, Ms. Morrell said she had not received any communications from the provincial Liberal Party about the internal investigation and was unaware if there’s any ongoing investigation. She said if the party approached her, she would make a decision on whether to take part in this investigation after learning the details.

“They’d have to approach me first,” said Ms. Morrell. “I would consider it.”

A 24-year-old female staffer who had worked in Mr. Kang’s current MP’s constituency office filed a sexual harassment complaint with Chief Government Whip Pablo Rodriguez’s (Honoré-Mercier, Que.) office in June. Mr. Rodriguez referred the complaint to the chief human resources officer Pierre Parent. The staffer also worked for the 66-year-old MP when he was an Alberta legislator. She moved over to the federal constituency office after Mr. Kang got elected in the last federal election.

Since officially filing the complaint, the staffer has not done any media interviews, but her father told *The Toronto Star* last month that Mr. Kang gave his daughter “unwelcome hugs,” held and stroked her hand during car rides, and once invited her to an Ottawa apartment, where he offered her wine and “pulled at her jacket to try to get her to take it off.” He also alleged in the same interview that the Alberta MP subsequently offered his daughter a series of payments, “escalating to a total of \$100,000,” to stop her from sharing the allegations with her parents.

After *The Hill Times* reported Ms. Morrell’s allegations against

Mr. Kang on Thursday, Aug. 31, the Alberta MP resigned from the Liberal caucus a few hours after the story came out. He is now sitting as an Independent MP.

In written public statements, Mr. Kang has denied all allegations and has vowed to defend his “reputation at all costs.”

“While I cannot comment directly on an open, ongoing investigation, I continue to proclaim my innocence and will defend my reputation at all costs,” said Mr. Kang on Aug. 29.

And in response to allegations from Ms. Morrell, he told *The Hill Times* on Aug. 30: “I fully deny any allegations of misconduct. I have always acted with the utmost professionalism and integrity and I will continue to work to clear my name.”

In his resignation letter on Aug. 31, Mr. Kang said he’s resigning from the Liberal caucus to clear his name.

“I wish to focus my efforts at this time on clearing my name,” said Mr. Kang. “I appreciate that Parliament has provided for due process, and a fair and objective policy for resolving this matter. I also very much appreciate that I am being provided an opportunity to provide my perspective to the independent investigator of the Chief Human Resources Office of Parliament. However, I do not

want my present circumstances to further distract from any of the good work being carried out by my colleagues in the government.”

No allegation against Mr. Kang has been proven in a court of law.

Ms. Morrell said she decided to go public with her allegations because the other staffer was on the receiving end of criticism on social media for filing a complaint against Mr. Kang. Also, because Mr. Kang in a public statement had denied the other staffer’s allegations, she decided to come forward to share her own experience, she said.

“My only motivation was that he had been denying these allegations in the case of the complainant,” said Ms. Morrell last week. “I did not feel he was being truthful because of my own personal experience.”

Mr. Kang declined a comment for this article.

Alex McCuaig, chief of staff to the Speaker of Alberta’s legislative assembly, declined to say if the legislature is conducting an investigation based on Ms. Morrell’s allegations.

“We don’t comment on these kinds of investigations. These complaints can be sensitive and the complainants sometimes wish to remain anonymous,” Mr. McCuaig said.

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Editorial

# Feds need to sell closing of tax loopholes better

The Liberal government claims to be making another move toward creating a level playing field between the wealthy and everyone else.

This time it involves closing loopholes that allow professionals to lighten their tax load by registering themselves as corporations.

On the surface, the plan seems consistent with the Liberals' general motto of helping the middle class prosper, helping more people enter the middle class, and getting rich people to take on a greater proportion of the country's tax burden.

Yet those who would pay more as a result of these proposals are highly organized and seem to be taking an early lead in the public relations war. A group of 35 organizations, including the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Medical Association, and others have formed what's called the Coalition for Small Business Tax Fairness.

They claim the measures in question, rather than targeting the wealthy, are hurting scores of middle-class Canadians, the ones the Liberals say they want to help, but who just happen to be in business for themselves.

Interestingly enough, the Canadian Nurses Association aren't seeing eye-to-eye with their physician colleagues, who are represented by the CMA. Nurses are supporting the government's tax proposals, saying they do in fact make things fairer.

Yet, there's been a dearth so far of

organized support for these measures, and in the absence of such, Liberal government is going to have to do most of its own lifting in this battle.

Finance Minister Bill Morneau's office has said individuals making less than \$150,000 in income will see little effect from the measures that have been suggested. He has to repeat this over and over, not only for the public to believe him, but also his own Liberal caucus—many of whom Jean Chrétien might have called "Nervous Nellies" back in the day.

Last week, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau started selling this plan more aggressively, telling a town hall meeting in Kelowna, B.C.: "There is nothing in these proposals that is targeting small, middle-class businesses."

He's going to have to start saying that more and more for it to stick, making up for much of the silence that has accompanied these proposals after they were announced in mid-July.

More importantly, Mr. Trudeau and Mr. Morneau are going to have to go through whatever tax measures they settle on thoroughly to ensure that they in fact do what they say they're going to do.

After previously ditched promises on electoral reform, the size of deficits this government would be running, and the number of years these deficits would be running, another broken promise—with direct effects on people's pocketbooks, and that much closer to the next election—might actually stick.

*The Hill Times*

Letters to the Editor

# Pharmacare: don't let NAFTA 2.0 stand in the way

Canada is closer today than ever before to achieving a public prescription drug plan for everyone. Provinces, cities, labour unions, businesses, doctors, nurses, health-care workers, economists, and patient groups have come together to form one of the broadest coalitions in Canadian history—in favour of a national pharmacare program. Nevertheless, NAFTA poses an existential threat to the dream of establishing such a program. After two rounds of NAFTA 2.0 negotiations, the Canadian Federation of Nurses Unions (CFNU) is calling on federal negotiators to defend Canada's interests and protect our country's pathway to pharmacare.

If the Trump administration has its way in NAFTA 2.0, Canada will be forced to lengthen lucrative monopolies to Big Pharma giants for costly and life-saving biologic medications. Billions could be added needlessly to yearly medication costs in Canada.

This wouldn't be the first time Canada has conceded to Big Pharma in a trade deal. Two years ago Canada made concessions on patent terms in the free trade agreement with the European Union. Some estimate this will raise prescription drug costs in Canada by nearly \$1-billion per year when fully implemented. If NAFTA 2.0 generates yet another unnecessary spike in prescription drug prices, Canadians will pay—either with their pocket books or with their health. Adding salt to the wounds, rising costs could also dissuade the federal government from finally introducing a Canada-wide pharmacare plan.

Pharmacare is a common sense solution to excessively high prescription drug costs and the financial barriers to accessing medicines.

As nurses, we know the lack of coverage and high prices continue to force millions of patients in Canada to reduce dosages or avoid taking prescriptions altogether. Patients become sicker, lives are threatened, and, too often, avoidable tragedies occur. In fact, nearly one in four Canadian households report members not having the money to take prescription medicines as prescribed.

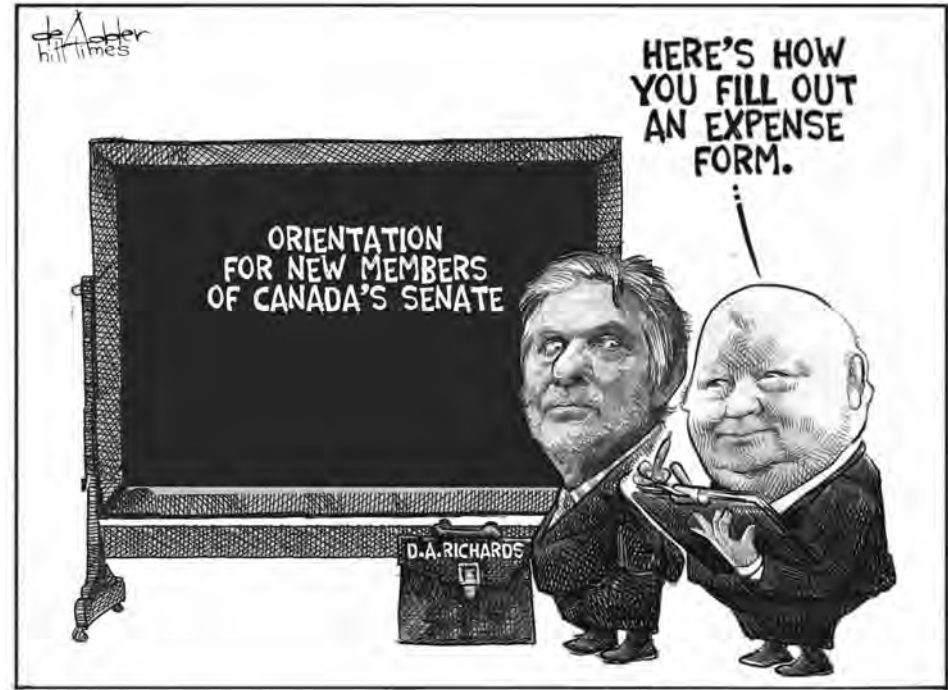
Pharmacare also holds the key to unlocking billions in health-care dollars currently being wasted by the inefficient multi-payer system. A recent CFNU-commissioned report, penned by economist Hugh Mackenzie, found that Canada wasted \$62-billion health-care dollars between 2006 and 2015, because a pharmacare program wasn't in place.

Despite the broad consensus across civil society in favour of pharmacare, and the evidence base to support it, the federal government remains the last major hold-out. Similar to most good policy ideas, the buck stops at the dollar sign. The federal government's reluctance seemingly stems from the (estimated) sum of \$1-billion required to launch the program. However, peer-reviewed studies have found that pharmacare would save patients, businesses, and, ultimately, governments upwards of \$8-billion per year. For once, the math isn't hard: \$1-billion to save \$8-billion.

As Mackenzie put it, "Politically, [pharmacare] is a no-brainer—eliminate waste and deliver better services."

It's long past time for Canada to expand medicare to include public coverage for medications for everyone—let's not let NAFTA stand in our way!

**Linda Silas**  
**President of the Canadian Federation of Nurses Union**  
**Ottawa, Ont.**



# Time for world to turn back on North Korea's Kim Jong-un

To misquote 'Crocodile' Dundee, "That's not a bomb, this is a bomb." The North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un has again tested a nuclear weapon, claimed to be a hydrogen bomb. He may forget that the United States has about 5,000 nuclear weapons, some of which are being decommissioned but still enough to reduce North Korea to a fairly unpleasant place to live, although the dictator has really already achieved this.

We have all met or been threatened by bullies at school, at work, or in life, generally, and some characteristics are the same each time. Generally, there is much shouting and threatening, usually accompanied by a warning or a small-scale act of

violence with the implied threat of much worse to follow if they are not obeyed. The true test of courage is not to react in a more violent way but to treat them as the losers they are and to stand up to them without worsening the situation.

This is a time for the rest of the world, via the UN with all of its nations, to stay their hand and turn their back on him, both financially and through denying him resources. This will not be any easy path as many of the countries citizens will be worse off but it is time to break his hold on his country and hope for a better future for the citizens of North Korea.

**Dennis Fitzgerald**  
**Melbourne, Australia**

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# Comment

## Morneau's handling of tax reform will be a make or break issue for government

The Finance Department can win any battle when there is a broad split in public opinion on a tax measure.



Sheila Copps

*Copps' Corner*

Continued from page 1

The roughest critics tend to be party members. That may seem counterintuitive, as most political activists are usually committed to defending their party of choice. But inside the party, local supporters see themselves as a mirror of their community. They relish the role of the canary in the mine, warning their party if it appears to be taking a wrong turn that has raised the ire of the electorate.

No government can expect the support of all of the people all of the time. But a measure of success is achieved when there are complainants on both sides of any issue. Political equilibrium is in balance when no single issue takes precedence over all the others.

Both factors for a happy electorate were missing from the discussion of proposed tax changes that took centre stage at the recent Liberal caucus meeting in Kelowna.

The last time a tax measure was a key topic at a British Columbia Grit caucus meeting, was in the lead up to the 1993 election, when members revolted against a plan to keep the hated Tory goods and services tax.

At the time, it made tremendous political sense to fight the Progressive Conservatives unpopular tax. Brian Mulroney's government had revoked an existing manufacturers sales tax, and replace it with a levy on all goods and services. But if Liberals formed government, some wanted to keep the revenue coming.

From an economic perspective that made sense, because it secured ever-increasing government revenues based on consumption, not production. Liberal supporters of the tax also argued that undoing the GST would be akin to unscrambling an egg. The Conservatives had already done all the heavy



Finance Minister Bill Morneau, pictured in this file photo, did his best to counter that, repeating his view that doctors should not get better tax breaks than nurses or police. But nurses and police are not self-employed while doctors are. *The Hill Times file photograph*

lifting, with the imposition of the despised measure. Why not simply shut up and reap the benefit?

That pre-election Vancouver caucus meeting proved to be the flashpoint for a heated debate. The majority of caucus members supported abolition of the GST. A smaller number, including the finance critic and supporters, urged the caucus to keep the tax. Liberal leader Jean Chrétien listened carefully to both sides.

At the end of the meeting, he told the media that the majority viewpoint to abolish the GST carried the day.

But he also expressed personal trepidation about whether the decision was the best long-term strategy for the financial health of the country.

Last week's meeting in Kelowna highlighted eerily similar internal schisms. The broad-based coalition of small business and professional groups opposed to the incorporation tax changes, carried the day on the summer barbecue circuit.

A joint campaign by doctors and other small business owners appeared to have won the day in their public opinion battle. A delegation of women physicians even descended on Kelowna to make their case, claiming the income-sprinkling prohibition would force some female doctors to abandon their chosen profession.

Finance Minister Bill Morneau did his best to counter that, repeating his view that doctors should not get better tax breaks

than nurses or police.

But nurses and police are not self-employed while doctors are.

Like other small business owners, they have no access to company pension plans, maternity benefits or sick leave. Many utilize tax avoidance to fill this financial gap.

The proposed changes would directly impact the small business sector in every community in the country.

The Finance Department can win any battle when there is a broad split in public opinion on a tax measure.

At this point, there do not seem to be many voices siding with the Department of Finance. So Morneau's handling of the issue will be a make or break issue for the government.

During the GST fight, the finance minister's viewpoint eventually carried the day.

This time, Finance is strongly in favour of a position that has the potential to create an electoral problem for the government.

The Kelowna message was clear. From a caucus perspective, constituents have spoken and they do not support the majority of the proposed changes.

It remains to be seen whether history will repeat itself.

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

## How to be positively aggressive

Although aggressiveness in politics is usually associated with negativity, as in 'negative attack ads,' that's not always the case; indeed, sometimes a politician needs to be aggressively positive.



Gerry Nicholls

*Post Partisan Pundit*

OKAVILLE, ONT.—As Sun Tzu, the famed Chinese military philosopher, once declared, "Invincibility lies in the defence,

the possibility of victory in the attack."

Yes, okay, quoting Sun Tzu in a column on political strategy is hackneyed, but this particular quote really nails the idea I want to get across, namely that politicians should always be in an aggressive mode.

Simply put, you can't win elections by playing defence.

And although aggressiveness in politics is usually associated with negativity, as in "negative attack ads," that's not always the case; indeed, sometimes a politician needs to be aggressively positive.

What do I mean by that?

Well, let's say you're a politician, and let's further say the media or your opponents are noisily trying to link you or your party to some unpopular fringe organization.

For instance, let's consider this hypothetical example: The media come to you and say, "The Satan Worshipers of North America support sacrificing every first born child to Lucifer. Do you support this group?"

Now since no politician wants to be seen as pro-Satan or as pro-child sacrifice, your natural reaction



Anyway, all this is what I mean by positive aggressiveness, it's just about refusing to allow your opponents to put you on the defensive or off message. Of course, Sun Tzu basically said the same thing, only more poetically. *Photograph courtesy of Wikimedia Commons*

would be to quickly respond in the negative, i.e. "I'm no Satan worshiper, and I certainly don't support sacrificing babies to the devil."

Yet replying in such a negative manner is basically playing a non-winning game of defence.

For one thing, voters don't care about what you aren't; they care about what you are.

Secondly, and more importantly, the danger of replying in the negative is that the human subconscious mind has a hard time processing negatives. So when we hear "Don't smoke" or "I'm not a crook!" we subconsciously might register it as "Smoke" and "I'm a crook."

Thus, my point is, if you answer by defensively saying, "I'm no Satan worshiper," it's possible the subconscious minds of the voting public might hear it as, "I'm a Satan worshiper."

And I suspect that would probably be a bad thing.

So with all this in mind, let's see if we can come up with a better, more aggressively positive answer to the "Do you support Satan worshippers?" question.

Let's try this: "You're asking me about the odious practices of Satan worshippers? Well, my record is clear and consistent; I've always stood for goodness, for love, for angels and for the right of all children to grow up free from the fear of satanic sacrifices."

See the difference?

This answer is positive and it aggressively puts forward your agenda.

And to make the answer even more aggressive, you can pivot and go on the attack to put your opponent on the defensive.

For example, you might conclude the Satan worshiper answer by saying something like, "While I stand on the side of angels, my opponents are busy selling their souls to people with horns and pitchforks. That's wrong! They should apologize to all Canadians."

And here's another little tip: avoid repeating an opponent's attack.

In other words, avoid saying, "My opponent just called me a devil worshiper. Let's me tell you why that's wrong."

If you take this approach, you're just helping to perpetuate and amplify the other side's propaganda.

This is why, when countering an attack, it's best to keep things vague and to aggressively declare, "My opponent is spreading lies and misinformation about me. Let me set the record straight about where I stand and about what I believe."

Anyway, all this is what I mean by positive aggressiveness, it's just about refusing to allow your opponents to put you on the defensive or off message.

Of course, Sun Tzu basically said the same thing, only more poetically.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant. [www.gernicholls.com](http://www.gernicholls.com)

*The Hill Times*



## Opinion

# North Korea's nukes

Start dialling back the rhetoric, because you are eventually going to have to accept that North Korea now has a usable nuclear deterrent. You can live with that, because it's better than fighting a nuclear war.



Gwynne Dyer

*Foreign Policy*

LONDON—The last time when North Korean nuclear weapons might have been headed off by diplomacy was 15-20 years ago, when there was a deal freezing North Korean work on nuclear weapons, and then one stopping the country's work on long-range ballistic missiles.

If they had been negotiated with the same attention to detail that was given to the recent deal that has frozen Iran's nuclear program for 10 years, maybe North Korea's quest for nuclear-tipped ICBMs could have been stopped for good—or maybe not, because North Korea has always wanted an effective deterrent to the per-

manent U.S. nuclear threat.

At any rate, both the nuclear and the missile deals with North Korea failed after a couple of years. Pyongyang and Washington were equally to blame for the breakdowns, resorting to tit-for-tat retaliation for various perceived breaches of the deal by the other side.

But it was the United States that had more to lose, since it faced no nuclear threat from North Korea unless the deals were abandoned and North Korea's weapons research went ahead. What we have seen recently—two ICBM tests in July, another one last month, and now what was almost certainly North Korea's first test of a thermonuclear weapon (hydrogen bomb)—is the inevitable result of the failure then.

It took a lot of time and effort to get Pyongyang's bomb and missile programs to this point, and it seems clear that Kim Jong-un's regime decided the safest way to test the new weapons and vehicles was all at once. He's right.

Stringing the tests out over a couple of years might have given the country's enemies time to organize a complete trade embargo

against North Korea, or maybe even some form of attack. The safer course was to bunch the tests up, get the outraged reactions over fast, and then hope the whole issue will fade into the background.

That's what both India and Pakistan did in 1998, and it worked for them. Everybody eventually got used to the idea that they were more or less legitimate nuclear weapons powers.

India and Pakistan didn't bother doing all their missile tests at once, because they had enough space to carry them out over their own land and maritime territory. North Korea is much smaller and entirely surrounded by Chinese, Russian, and Japanese territory, so any long-range tests are bound to pass over one of those countries. Pyongyang chose Japan, because it is a U.S. ally.

But even its ICBM test on Aug. 30, when the Japanese government ordered its citizens in parts of Hokkaido into the shelters, did not enter Japanese airspace. The missile crossed Japan at a sub-orbital altitude, and the Japanese authorities knew that it would as soon as the boost phase ended. The pictures of allegedly panic-stricken Japanese civilians in shelters were propaganda meant to serve Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's project for remilitarizing Japan.

There is no good 'military option' available to the United States and its allies in the current crisis, even though U.S. President Donald Trump says "We'll see."

A direct U.S. attack on North

Korea using only conventional weapons would not get all of North Korea's nukes, which are hidden in hardened underground sites or moved around by night on mobile launchers. It would also call down "fire and fury" on Seoul from 10,000 North Korean artillery pieces and short-range rockets.

A U.S. nuclear attack would probably still not get all of Kim Jong-un's nukes: North Korea is the hardest intelligence target in the world. Pyongyang may already be able to reach the United States with one or two ICBMs carrying thermonuclear warheads, and it can certainly reach all of South Korea and Japan.

The political options for the United States and its Asian allies are equally constrained. Trump's talk of stopping U.S. trade with any country that trades with North Korea is really aimed at China (which already operates selective embargoes on various North Korean exports). But cutting U.S. trade with China would cause immense disruption to the American economy, and it's unlikely that Trump would actually do it.

Normally, when human beings encounter a problem that they cannot eliminate, they find ways of living with it. It often takes a while for them to get there, however, and we are currently in the dangerous phase where people (or at least some people) are convinced that there must be something they can do to make the problem go away.

The only excuse for radical action now would be a conviction that Kim Jong-un is a crazy man who will use his nuclear weapons to launch an unprovoked attack on the United States, even though it would certainly lead to his own death and that of his entire



A U.S. nuclear attack would probably still not get all of Kim Jong-un's nukes: North Korea is the hardest intelligence target in the world. Pyongyang may already be able to reach the United States with one or two ICBMs carrying thermonuclear warheads, and it can certainly reach all of South Korea and Japan. *Image courtesy of Wikipedia Commons*

regime. If you truly believe that, then the right course of action is an all-out nuclear attack on North Korea right now.

Otherwise, start dialling back your rhetoric, because you are eventually going to have to accept that North Korea now has a usable nuclear deterrent. You can live with that, because it's better than fighting a nuclear war.

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

The Hill Times

# Why we will never 'eradicate' terrorism

Declaring victory against terrorism also suffers from the challenge of waging war against common nouns. These wars never end because one of the protagonists cannot surrender. Did you ever hear a bag of heroin say, 'Don't shoot! I give up!'?



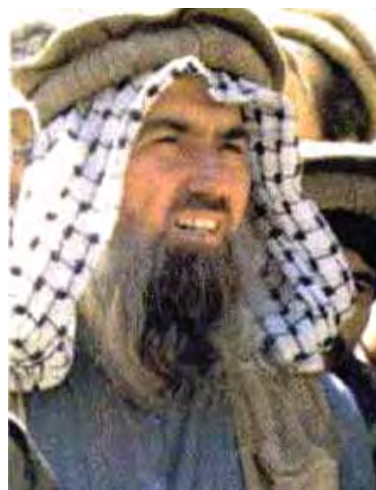
Phil Gurski

*Terrorism*

OTTAWA—Scientists have made great progress in eradicating diseases that once maimed or killed millions of people. Think of smallpox. Or polio, which a few years ago was on the verge of disappearance, though state instability and war have allowed it to cling to life. The reason why these scourges were defeated (apparently there is a difference between eradication and elimination, but that distinction is beyond the scope of this column) is that efforts at de-

veloping vaccines or removing the conditions under which the disease flourished were successful. And we should all be grateful for that.

There is, however, a vast difference between eradicating a disease and eradicating terrorism. The former is the result of a biological organism, the latter is a human-driven social phenomenon. So when I hear a world leader claim that his government has "eradicated" terrorism, my skepticism peaks. Recently, both Saudi Arabia's King Salman and the Algerian Minister of the Interior have made such statements (and the Algerian Army has vowed to "resoundly defeat terrorism"). In addition, Malaysia's new most senior police officer has said it is time to 'weed out' terrorism. Here is why I am not so confident that they are correct. (As a side note, it is particularly galling to hear the Saudi king say that his regime has won out over terrorism, given that it is precisely his kingdom's aberrant version of



Al-Qaeda founder Abdullah Azzam, who was killed in a car bomb in 1989, summed up this view very well when he proclaimed: 'Jihad and the rifle alone; no negotiations, no conferences, and no dialogues.' It is really hard, after all, to defeat a tactic. *Photograph courtesy of Wikimedia Commons*

Islam that has fed it for decades).

Terrorism is a tactic whereby a person, or, more frequently, a group of people or a whole movement, decide that the use of violence to advance some kind of ideological goal is required. These people want change and they have concluded that the only way to achieve this change is through

the use of force. In other words, dialogue, negotiations, talks, and compromise have been judged to be insufficient—hence the move to more physical means. I find that the founder of al-Qaeda, Abdullah Azzam, summed up this view very well when he proclaimed: "Jihad and the rifle alone; no negotiations, no conferences, and no dialogues." It is really hard, after all, to defeat a tactic.

Even if, sorry Mr. Azzam, negotiations with terrorist groups are sometimes possible—we have seen for example what are very promising peace talks between the Colombian government and the FARC—they are hard and they take time. As a non-state actor, a terrorist group is a difficult negotiating partner that can make demands a state cannot. And, of course, a given group can back out of a deal if it believes that the conditions have not been met or 'rogue' elements decide to return to violent means.

Secondly, as a tactic, terrorism is a tool available to a wide variety of ideological currents. We focus a lot on Islamist extremism these days, and for good reason, but as my friend Jamie Bartlett recently wrote in *Foreign Policy* the next big threat may come from the far left/green movement. If, as I expect, the jihadis aren't going away any time soon (and a senior former U.K. intelligence official agrees with me), we may have to deal with multiple seri-

ous terrorist challenges simultaneously. That will tax limited resources.

In the end, a given terrorist group can be (temporarily) defeated. But terrorism cannot. We cannot eliminate a tactic that is used by such a wide variety of groups of people for the simple reason that it is simple, works, and grabs our attention (Brian Jenkins' notion of terrorism as theatre). We generally date the genesis of terrorism to the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century during the anarchist wave (using U.S. political scientist David Rapoport's 'wave theory' of terrorism idea) but it has probably been around since the creation of societies (rather than bands of hunter-gatherers). And it is here to stay.

Declaring victory against terrorism also suffers from the challenge of waging war against common nouns (think drugs, crime, etc.). These wars never end because one of the protagonists, unlike a state, cannot surrender: did you ever hear a bag of heroin say, "Don't shoot! I give up!"? So these proclamations are made for political and propaganda reasons but they really should be taken with a grain of salt.

This is not a defeatist position, it is a real one. And the sooner we can stop dreaming of unlikely goals the better off we will be.

Phil Gurski is president and CEO of Borealis Threat and Risk Consulting.

The Hill Times



# Liberals are making a big mistake on this tax reform stuff

It's also the way you are handling this one, fellas. Small business folks like me, various experts, the Tories, the NDP, and even your own MPs are telling you that you are making a mistake. And, despite that, you insist that you are still going ahead.



Warren Kinsella

*The War Room*

**T**ORONTO—Dear Messrs. Trudeau and Morneau: So, small businesses. Almost 12 years ago, I started one. It was quite a thing.

Before that, I'd been special assistant to Jean Chrétien on the Hill. I'd been a partner at a Bay Street law firm. I'd been a vice-president at a Vancouver ad agency. I'd been a reporter at a couple newspapers.

All of those places couldn't have been more different. But they all had one thing in common: in every one of those places, I'd been working for someone else. My bosses (that Chrétien guy, in particular) were mostly terrific. They were good to me.

But I wanted to go out on my own. I wanted to see if I could take what I'd learned—as a journalist and working for Chrétien, in particular—and do something that was different than what everyone else was doing. *A war room for hire:* that's what I wanted to do.

So, I did. Developed a business

plan, lined up as many clients as I could, hired a few young people, found some space, and got a loan to cover payroll until we got on our feet. Called it the Daisy Group, after the famous ad from the 1964 presidential campaign. (Long story.)

And let me tell you: there is nothing quite like laying awake at night, wondering if you have made the biggest mistake of your life, wondering if you have put your four kids in jeopardy by starting up a small business. And then, there's nothing like that first morning, either—for us, May 1, 2006—when you open the doors for the first time, and a client (in our case, Nike) walks in.

Anyway—we made it work. We made it into a success. I owe it to some amazing clients, and to some amazing young people who worked for me, and with me. I learned from them, and I hoped they learned something from me.

And we're still here. Still have clients, still have amazing young people working with us. It's corny, but I am pretty proud of that. I'm

proud that I made something, and then made it better with the help of others. (My wife Lisa in particular. But that's a long story, too.)

I'm not going to lecture you, fellas, about why your changes to the rules governing small businesses are an unmitigated disaster. You've already gotten an earful from Liberal MPs, who told you at the Kelowna retreat—and who told the media, on the record and in no uncertain terms—that you are making a mistake.

You are, guys, you are. Your plan to prevent us from hiring our kids, and lessening our taxes, a bit? I've employed most of our kids as summer students. It's helped me and it's helped them. But you, Messrs. Trudeau and Morneau, want to make the meagre benefits that flow from that illegal. It's like you are saying we small business owners—the family who runs the convenience store down the street, or the family that run a restaurant you guys go to—are somehow akin to crooks, hiding untold millions in a Caribbean tax haven somewhere.

Also a mistake: what you want to do with so-called passive income. That's the money that a small business makes, that small business owners like me want to leave in the business. I'm still going to pay tax at a high rate if I use that extra income as a dividend or something, later on. For reasons that are beyond my understanding, however, the tall foreheads at the Department of Finance think it is illegitimate that small businesses would want to keep income invested in the small business—to, you know, grow it and hire more people.

A third controversy—in which some owners convert what would have been taxed as salary or dividends into capital gains—shouldn't be. On that one, I think you are probably right. I know some doctors and lawyers are upset about you taking away those sorts of tax planning measures, but I'm not one of them. That kind of thing favours professionals who already earn big bucks, and that isn't terribly fair to others.

But the main problem, Messrs. Trudeau and Morneau, isn't quite so much one tax measure or another. It isn't the policies, *per se*.

It's the way you are handling this one, fellas. Small business folks like me, various experts, the Tories, the NDP, and even *your own MPs* are telling you that you are making a mistake. And, despite that, you insist that you are still going ahead.

No changes, no compromise, no acknowledgement that you might be wrong on a couple things. One of your backbench supporters even likened those of us who are worried to Marie Antoinette, eating cake, and living in gated communities. He deserves to be kicked out of that.

Anyway. I'm a small business owner. Some nights, I still lay awake way for many hours, worrying about payroll, worrying about losing some business. You two, where you work? I don't ever have to worry about those things. I don't think you ever have. But worry you should, fellas.

This small business thing? *It's big.*

Sincerely,  
Etc.

Warren Kinsella is a former Jean Chrétien-era cabinet staffer.

# Harper's hands-off approach to Quebec

Stephen Harper was not only an architect of the demise of the Bloc Québécois but also a driving force behind the 2011 orange wave and the 2015 Liberal revival in Quebec.



Chantal Hébert

*Inside Politics*

**D**id Stephen Harper's approach to Quebec accelerate the decline of the sovereignty movement, or was the former prime minister just the accidental beneficiary of a collective desire on the part of Quebecers to move on from the deadlock over the province's political future?

In a text published in the magazine *L'actualité* on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Parti Québécois' short-lived 2012 victory, former Harper adviser Carl Vallée

argues the Conservatives deserve significant credit for having contributed with their policies to bring the Quebec conversation in line with that of the rest of Canada.

There is no doubt that the Harper decade was not a good one for the sovereignty cause.

By the time the Conservatives lost power in 2015, support for Quebec leaving the federation had fallen to its lowest level since the early 1980s.

The Bloc Québécois was a spent parliamentary force, having failed in two consecutive elections to win the 12 seats required to qualify for official party status in the House of Commons.

The Parti Québécois was back in opposition in the national assembly after premier Pauline Marois' bid to trade a minority mandate for a governing majority after 18 months in power backfired.

The party has yet to recover from that defeat.

This weekend, its rank and file will hold a vote of confidence in its latest leader. The upcoming first-year anniversary of Jean-François Lisée's leadership victory next month will be no cause for celebrations.

With a year to go to the next Quebec election, the PQ is in third place in voting intentions, well behind the ruling Liberals and the second-place Coalition Avenir Québec.

According to Vallée, Harper contributed actively to this steady deterioration of sovereigntist prospects by practicing a less-invasive form of federalism than his Liberal



Former prime minister Stephen Harper. For the record, it was Liberal prime minister Paul Martin—not his Conservative successor—who updated the template for asymmetrical federalism by spelling out Quebec's right to determine its own health spending priorities in the 2004 Health Accord.  
*The Hill Times*  
photograph by Andrew Meade

predecessors and by systematically refusing to engage in rhetorical debates with his sovereigntist foes.

After the PQ formed a minority government in 2012, Vallée says Harper was urged by the civil service to become more proactive in showcasing Canada and the federal government in Quebec.

But the then-prime minister was wary of strategies that he found reminiscent of the failed Liberal sponsorship program. Instead, he opted to decline to take whatever bait premier Marois threw his way.

In doing all of the above, Vallée argues, Harper had a major hand in shifting the Quebec conversation from federalism-versus-sovereignty to a left-versus-right axis more aligned with that of the rest of the country.

It is possible to agree that Harper's net impact on the standing of federalism in Quebec was positive and to also find that it was not as much the product of a deliberate strategy as a case of unintended consequences.

Harper's hands-off approach to the federation's social union for instance had as much to do with the former prime minister's ideological distaste for government activism on the social policy front as with a Quebec strategy.

For the record, it was Liberal prime minister Paul Martin—not his Conservative successor—who updated the template for asymmetrical federalism by spelling out Quebec's right to determine its own health spending priorities in the 2004 Health Accord.

No recent prime minister was as unpopular in Quebec as Harper. That went a long way to make the virtue of not engaging in battles of words with his sovereigntist counterpart a necessity.

These were fights he would have had little chance of winning in Quebec public opinion.

Elsewhere in the country, they would have drawn attention to his limited capacity to champion Canada effectively in a referendum.

Harper's decade in power was a game-changer in Quebec but maybe not in ways he necessarily intended.

In presenting Quebecers with a version of conservatism that was alien to the majority that make up its progressive mainstream, he provided them with an incentive to reconnect with national parties liable to oust his party from power.

A critical number of Quebec voters did accept the sovereigntist premise that the values that underpinned Harper's policies at home and abroad were at odds with theirs. But most of them rejected the conclusion that leaving the federation was their only remedial option.

From that perspective, Harper was not only an architect of the demise of the Bloc Québécois but also a driving force behind the 2011 orange wave and the 2015 Liberal revival in Quebec.

Chantal Hébert is a national affairs writer for *The Toronto Star*. This column was released on Sept. 7.

*The Hill Times*



## Opinion

# Canada's DFI should lead on gender equality

The door is open for Canada to create the world's first feminist DFI. We should go through that door. But before we do, the design of the new institution should include five elements.



Edward Jackson

Opinion

OTTAWA—In the job description for the managing director of Canada's new Development Finance Institution (DFI), recently posted by Export Development Canada (EDC), it is considered an asset for the candidate to have: "Experience in implementing initiatives or programs with a gender equality and/or women empowerment component."

But that is the one and only time gender equality or women are mentioned in this detailed job

description. And that's not good enough, especially for a country with a feminist prime minister and a feminist international assistance policy.

As the parliamentary foreign affairs committee and EDC assess the results of their expert consultations on the final design of the DFI, there is still time to put gender equality where it should be: at the very centre of the new institution's core mission and at every level of its decision-making processes.

There are two reasons for doing this. First, as a federal organization, Canada's DFI should be fully, not only somewhat, aligned with federal priorities. In releasing the new aid policy earlier this year, Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland affirmed that "We know that empowering women, overseas, and here at home, makes families and countries more prosperous." Among other things, the government committed to improving access by women to capital, technology and business advice, including encouraging lending to women entrepreneurs through the DFI itself (though it will do much more than guarantee loans).

Second, Canada's DFI would almost immediately assume a global leadership role among its peers in advancing development financing through a gender lens. More than a dozen DFIs sponsored by other western nations already operate in poor regions of the world. Most use some variation of the environmental and social performance standards of the International



In releasing the new aid policy earlier this year, Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland affirmed that 'We know that empowering women, overseas, and here at home, makes families and countries more prosperous.' *The Hill Times* photograph by Sam Garcia

Finance Corporation (IFC) to assess their prospective investment projects, including criteria related to labour conditions, occupational safety, pollution prevention, biodiversity management, and indigenous rights. However, the IFC tool does not offer comprehensive guidance on how DFIs can best advance gender equality or women's empowerment, reflecting the industry's generally underwhelming performance in this area to date.

The door is open, therefore, for Canada to create the world's first feminist DFI. We should go through that door. But before we do, the design of the new institution should include five elements:

The objective of increasing gender equality should be embedded in the articles of incorpora-

tion and by-laws of the new institution, which will operate as a separately incorporated entity under the auspices of EDC.

At least half of the members of the board of directors of the new DFI, including its board chair, should be selected for their demonstrated expertise in gender equality and women's empowerment in the fields of investment and finance, business or development.

The job description of the managing director should be revised to require more robust experience in gender equality and women's empowerment in finance, business and/or development; once hired, the chief executive should be subject to annual reviews of his or her performance on gender equality metrics,

among other measures.

The executive team should also include a vice-president (or associate managing director) for gender equality and development impact, who would lead the DFI's efforts on gender equality and monitoring and evaluation, and play a full decision-making role on the executive team.

Finally, staff should be thoroughly trained in and directed to employ a gender-lens approach to their due diligence, selection, monitoring and exits of all of the DFI's investments. This would involve actively seeking investments in funds, companies or projects in poor countries or regions that are fully or partially women-owned, offer positive employment opportunities and safe workplaces for women, and/or make products or provide services that improve the well-being of women and girls.

Powered by such a design, the daily work of the Canadian Development Finance Institution would be innovative, significant, exciting—and impactful. Talented young people would want to join it and bring its important mandate to life. Impressive partners in the Global South would be drawn into its sphere. It would influence how development finance is done everywhere.

Canada's feminist DFI would have a very bright future.

Edward Jackson is president of E. T. Jackson and Associates, senior research fellow at Carleton University, and honorary associate of the Institute of Development Studies.

*The Hill Times*

## Trump's NAFTA hatred may help Canada

U.S. President Donald Trump has changed the calculus. He is insisting not only that America must win from the NAFTA talks but that Canada and Mexico must lose. His is an aggressive form of nationalism that borders on jingoism. But it could spark a new, practical and more productive form of Canadian nationalism in response. And that wouldn't be so bad.



Thomas Walkom

Inside Politics

TORONTO—In a strange way, Donald Trump's disdain for the North American Free Trade Agreement may do Canada a favour.

He may end up forcing this country to reduce its dependence on the United States.

We know that the U.S. president doesn't like NAFTA. It is one of the few consistent positions he holds.

He routinely calls it the worst trade deal the U.S. has ever signed. From time to time, he threatens to abrogate it.

He accuses Canada and Mexico, the two other signatories to the agreement, of hosing the U.S. He promises they won't get away with this anymore.

His intemperate remarks have earned a harsh reaction from Mexico. But Ottawa has been far more sanguine.

The Canadian government appears to think that Trump doesn't mean what he says, that he is just engaging in some kind of good-cop-bad-cop game in order to enhance America's bargaining position during the three-party NAFTA renegotiations.

But what if he does mean it? What if, through his negotiators, he insists on changes that Canada cannot—or at least should not—accept?

We know that Canada and the U.S. are already at daggers drawn over a provision in the current deal that gives each member state a limited right to challenge one another's trade practices before an independent tribunal.

Trump wants the provision scrapped altogether while Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has said he won't sign a deal without it.

The two countries also disagree vigorously over U.S. Buy America policies as well as Trump's insistence that manu-

factured goods sold in the U.S. contain a specific amount of U.S. content.

Mexico's government, also at loggerheads with Trump, is already working on alternative plans for trade diversification should the NAFTA talks fail. Trudeau would be wise to do the same.

Indeed, some diversification has already begun. The recently negotiated trade deal between Canada and the European Union, while fatally flawed in its details, is at least the right idea. So is the long-simmering but never-acted-upon plan to negotiate a trade agreement with Japan.

Canada has already signed a foreign investment pact with China and started work on a comprehensive trade deal. The foreign investment pact is lopsided in China's favour. With luck, Ottawa will do better on any trade deal.

None of this means Canada should give up on trading with the U.S. It is a big country that sits right next door.

But we should remember two things. First, Canada traded quite handily with the U.S. before signing a formal free trade agreement with that country. It could do so again.

A recent study done for the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives points out that even without NAFTA or its predecessor, the Canada-U.S.

Free Trade Agreement of 1989, most Canadian exports to the U.S. would face either zero or moderate tariffs.

Second, there are other nations eager to buy the goods and services Canada produces. Canadian governments have tried before to make the country's economy less reliant on the U.S. Pierre Trudeau's so-called Third Option, including his brief dalliance with economic nationalism, was an expression of this idea.

But such attempts always foundered on the fact that integration with the U.S. was easier and, for those occupying the commanding heights of the economy, far more profitable.

That fact gave us both the original Canada-U.S. free trade agreement and its successor, NAFTA.

Now, Trump has changed the calculus. He is insisting not only that America must win from the NAFTA talks but that Canada and Mexico must lose.

His is an aggressive form of nationalism that borders on jingoism. But it could spark a new, practical and more productive form of Canadian nationalism in response. And that wouldn't be so bad.

Thomas Walkom is a columnist for *The Toronto Star*. This column was released on Sept. 4. *The Hill Times*



**THE HILL TIMES POLICY BRIEFING**

# DEFENCE

**SEPTEMBER 11, 2017**



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## Policy Briefing Defence

# New defence policy lays out sustainable and 'fully costed' plan to meet ambitious goals for military: Sajjan

Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan says the Liberal government has outdone its predecessors by producing the country's first 'fully funded' defence policy to provide sustainable, long-term funding for the Canadian Armed Forces.

BY MARCO VIGLIOTTI

Despite lingering questions on future missions, long-term funding, and big-ticket equipment purchases, Canada's federal Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan is sticking to the plan.

The former soldier spent the first 19 months as minister promising that long-term, strategic decisions on the future of the Canadian Armed Forces would be flushed out in the Liberal government's new defence policy.

And then in June, the talking points changed, as the new policy was finally revealed in a high-profile announcement at an Ottawa regiment hall.

Almost immediately, Mr. Sajjan (Vancouver South, B.C.) went from deferring on the future direction of the country's defence policy to defending a full-costed, 20-year-plan.

Most notably, the policy promises a nearly 70 per cent increase to annual funding in the next decade and \$47.2-billion over the next 20 years for new equipment, infrastructure, and information technology purchases. It also pledges to increase enrolment in the regular Armed Forces by 3,500 to 71,500 members, and the reserves by 1,500 to 30,000.

Collectively, Canada will spend \$553-billion on defence over the next 20 years, including \$62.3-billion in new funding, under the policy, formally titled *Strong, Secure, Engaged*.

But the new policy has done little to abate persisting questions on funding and future missions.

Canadians still don't know where, or if, soldiers will be deployed as part of a peacekeeping mission promised by the Trudeau government in its early days in office, or how the Liberals or anyone else will go about paying for the promised increase in funding, as federal coffers continue to bleed red ink. And then there's pressing questions about big-ticket purchases of new marine vessels and fighter jets.

Mr. Sajjan counters that the Liberal government has went above and beyond the work of its predecessors to develop comprehensive plans to ensure Ottawa has in place the funding, now and into the future, to meet its lofty commitments.

No longer will the federal government have to comb through budgets to seek out space for future military commitments, they've already been included in long-term projections, according to the minister.

While acknowledging some cynicism



Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan says Canada's newly-unveiled defence policy will provide the Canadian Armed Forces with 'predictable funding' to ensure the federal government gets the 'right procurement products in place.' *The Hill Times* file photos

about the plan, given past failures, Mr. Sajjan maintains that this time is different, with the federal government providing the Canadian Armed Forces with "predictable funding" that will ensure Canada gets the "right procurement products in place."

Time will only tell if that translates to concrete action.

This Q&A has been edited for style and length.

### How do you frame the security relationship between Canada and U.S. amid heated talks on NAFTA?

"Our relationship has always been strong, and continues to be strong. Right from day one, when [U.S. Defence] Secretary [Jim] Mattis was appointed, he called me first, as one of the first defence ministers. We have a lot in common, as well; one, a shared history of working together. But more importantly, we have been able to work together on some of the challenges we all face. For example, the work we're doing as part of the coalition as Operation Impact.

"Also look at NATO, we're also one of the framework nations, the U.S. alongside us, as one of the lead nations. Our

relationship is extremely strong. We've already had a number of meetings formally together from a bilateral sense; we've also had a trilateral meeting with our Mexican counterparts as well. So, our relationship is extremely strong, and this is one of the reasons why in our defence policy, *Secure in North America*, is about having a very strong relationship, and we will always continue to have a good relationship with the U.S. on defence."

### In regards to those passages on the continental relationship in the defence policy, is the federal government working on anything new with the U.S. right now in regards to improving integration on defence and security, or is it more so about maintaining existing collaborative channels?

"Our defence policy is looking out 20 years, and from that, we have to not just look at the current threats, but we also have to anticipate various threats, and, as minister of national defence, it's my job to look at foreign threats. It's one of the reasons why we put a significant emphasis on NORAD

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DEFENCE



Defence Policy Briefing



‘Our defence policy is looking out 20 years, and from that, we have to not just look at the current threats, but we also have to anticipate various threats,’ says Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan, as the Liberal government looks to bolster integration on defence and security with the United States, and weighs plans for a future peacekeeping mission. *The Hill Times* file photographs

Decision on peacekeeping mission after study: Sajjan

Continued from page 14

modernization, because of the current threats. And we’re not just looking at threats from the air, we want to look at all perils—from the land, on the water—so we can have a very thorough discussion and not just make a decision based on the current threats that we face but into the future.

“Plus, we have to look at how we’re going to evolve from technology, work together on innovation, as well. How do we integrate our command structure, which with NORAD, it’s the most unique in the world—it’s the only bina-tional command in the world. But how do we modernize that so that we’re prepared into the future. NORAD played a significant role during 9/11, and Canadian senior officers played a pivotal role in this as well. We want to make sure we evolve NORAD properly so that when we talk about North American defence it’s not just a buzzword, it actually has a tangible meaning for our citizens.”

**How do you manage the security relationship between Canada and the U.S. to ensure it remains, in effect, isolated from the more heated political wrangling seen on other bilateral issues?**

“Defence is in support of our foreign policy, and that’s something Canadians can be extremely proud of. It’s one of the reasons [Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia] Freeland gave that speech to put the defence policy into context. Any mission that we have announced comes with a comprehensive, integrated, whole-of-government approach, because defence is one tool for a government. We will always work closely. Yes, we will have disagreements with our allies on a number of occasions. We’re very fortunate that Canada’s defence relationship with the U.S. is extremely strong. We also have Canada’s defence

industry that’s also very well integrated in support of many of the nations as well.”

**Is there any timetable for new peacekeeping operations?**

“If you go back to when we first formed government and we’re looking at Operation Impact and how we were going to make it even better, we wanted to take the time. We need to have a thorough analysis, because it’s not just a political decision, it’s about having a proper impact with the coalition, and we’ve been able to do that successfully. We’ve done that also with NATO, and peace operations are no different. We need to take the time, especially when we send troops in harm’s way. We want to make sure if we’re going to be sending our troops into risky areas that they’re properly resourced, that they got the proper mandate, and plus we need to stress the fact that this is not the peacekeeping of the past. Peacekeeping has changed, threats have changed, and hence the reason why we call it peace support operations. It’s not just strictly a military operation, it definitely takes a strong, integrated, whole-of-government approach. And we want to have a substantial impact just like we have in previous missions. When we do have all the right answers, then we can explain [it] to Canadians. That’s when we’ll make the announcement.”

**Is the changing nature of peacekeeping operations the chief factor prolonging this decision-making process?**

“It is one of the critical pieces to it. But we also have to take a look at the many nations involved here. When you work with the UN, it’s not just one entity. You look at each mission, how they’re functioning, what type of resources we have, what type of skills that we can provide and enhance. There’s

no need to duplicate efforts either. It’s a very complex environment and we want to make sure we get things right. It’s easy to make a decision and say, ‘We’re just going to send troops,’ and then what you end up doing is just putting a check in the box and sending troops into an area where coalition commanders have to figure out what to do. It’s better to provide the right resources so you can have an impact.

“Peace operations play a very important role in this world. For example, I had a great conversation with His Majesty the King [of Jordan] regarding some security challenges and we shouldn’t all just be looking at one mission and jumping in. It’s about all nations coming together, looking at the problems, and doing its part where it can have an impact. And Canada, as we re-engage in peace support operations, we want to make sure we have a substantial contribution and we will get this right because this is a very important piece and conflict prevention is extremely important going into the future because conflicts have started with many different root causes and we understand that problem.”

**A few weeks ago you visited Canada’s Far North to observe annual military exercises as part of Operation Nanook. What can you tell people about how the Canadian Armed Forces are preparing themselves to account for climate change?**

“This is one aspect, as part of our defence policy, we will be addressing; the military will do its part for lowering greenhouse gas emissions. The Arctic will also play a significant role in our defence policy. So it’s not just conducting operations. When we look at our sovereignty in the north, it’s not just strictly from a defence perspective, we want to be able to integrate with the

other departments, and it’s about supporting our communities that live there, from an emergency perspective, from a defence-related perspective, search and rescue as well. That’s true sovereignty. Sovereignty is strictly not just the military being up there and having the resources.

“We want to make sure that the defence policy is invested well with the other departments, and we will continue to work with our partners. In fact, I was actually privileged to take along with me a number of deputy ministers from the other departments to take part in Operation Nanook.”

What do you say to people do ubtful that promised funding hikes laid out in the defence policy will actually be realized, considering they are scheduled to go into effect several years later?

“I can understand some of the cynicism because previous defence policies, especially the last one, were not funded. This is the first one that has been thoroughly costed out, and this policy is fully funded. We now have a lot of work to do to making sure we have the programs in place. But ... there’s no use asking for a lot of money if you can’t get the programs in place to spend it, and that’s one of the things that has allowed the military to create a plan. And now we have predictable funding that’s going to move forward, that’s going to allow us to get the right procurement products in place. This is something that the Conservatives did not get right. They talked a big game, they couldn’t get it done. They only provided enough money when it comes to the National Shipbuilding Strategy for six combat surface combat-ants. As you known, the Parlia-mentary Budget Office came out with a much higher number and our number almost pretty much matched that. That’s the rigorous costing we’re talking about.

“Plus, more importantly, when you talk about fully funded, that’s not a promise right now, this is our government who has com-mitted as part of the long-term fiscal framework. What it means, is now when we go get projects approved, I’m not requesting money; it’s already funded within the defence policy.”

**Do you think that’s going to tether this government and perhaps future governments to the funding commitments laid out in the defence policy?**

“Absolutely. This is one the reasons we put it in black-and-white in the defence policy on page 43 of the increases within the defence [budget]. You’ll see a substantial increase, as you know, over 70 per cent. It’s going to go from \$19-billion to \$32.7-billion by 2026. And future governments will be held to account on this and this is one of the reasons why we made it black-and-white in our defence policy.”

*mvigliotti@hilltimes.com*  
*The Hill Times*

Projected Canadian defence spending (cash basis) under Strong, Secure, Engaged	
2017-18:	\$20.7-billion
2018-19:	\$21.4-billion
2019-20:	\$21.7-billion
2020-21:	\$24.2-billion
2021-22:	\$25.3-billion
2022-23:	\$26-billion
2023-24:	\$29.9-billion
2024-25:	\$31.7-billion
2025-26:	\$31.9-billion
2026-27:	\$32.7-billion





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## Policy Briefing Defence



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured here with U.S. President Donald Trump in Washington earlier this year, says Canada won't participate in the U.S.-led ballistic missile defence system or commit more personnel for new missions in Afghanistan. *Official White House photograph by Shealah Craighead*

# Trudeau confident on NATO commitments, BMD decision, despite unpredictable U.S. administration

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has restated Canadian opposition to sending personnel to the new U.S.-NATO effort in Afghanistan or to participating in the ballistic missile defence system, in the face of renewed calls from Washington for more support for alliance commitments.

IAIN SHERRIFF-SCOTT

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has been forced to restate Canada's opposition to joining the U.S.-led ballistic missile defence system and re-entering the decades-long military conflict in Central Asia amid renewed fears of North Korea's nuclear ambitions and the rollout of Donald Trump's new policy for Afghanistan.

In an Aug. 23 speech, Mr. Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) quashed any rumours of renewed interest in joining the BMD program or re-entering the war in Afghanistan by forcefully stating Canada would decline any entreaties, though it's not exactly clear if those positions could change in this fluid political climate, especially given the machinations of the Trump administration to the south.

Shortly before Mr. Trudeau's announcement, Liberal MP Mark Gerretsen (Kingston and the Islands, Ont.) raised the prospect of having the government re-evaluate the decision not to join the system, originally made in 2005 by former Liberal prime minister Paul Martin.

Mr. Gerretsen said he personally thinks Canada should start to look at what its role will be in the missile defence scheme, given renewed belligerence from North Korea, which has recently claimed that it has successfully developed a potentially nuclear-armed missile capable of reaching North America, according to reporting by *The Toronto Star*.

Conservative MP and opposition defence critic James Bezan (Selkirk-Interlake-Eastman, Man.) said his party has yet to define its stance on the issue, but will likely do so after the House National Defence Committee is briefed on the North Korean threat.

While the debate will surely evolve in the fall as the Defence Committee embarks on its study, approved last month, the Martin government's rejection of participating in the system in 2005 doesn't mean Canada hasn't contributed to its operation.

Queen's University political science professor Joel Sokolsky told *The Hill Times* that the Canadian government in 2004 agreed that information from the North American Aerospace Defence

Command, conducted jointly with the U.S., could go to the "ballistic missile defence units."

Mr. Sokolsky also noted that NORAD was renewed indefinitely in 2006, which he claims indicates that for the United States "it's not a major issue," and the future of NORAD "does not necessarily rest" on Canada's participation on the ballistic missile program.

But while the North Korean threat has remained in the public consciousness for years, flaring up in unexpected intervals, Mr. Trudeau was likely caught off-guard by U.S. President Donald Trump's recently unveiled plan to bolster military activities in Afghanistan, namely by increasing troop numbers by an additional 4,000 and asking allies from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to help contribute.

In rolling out his Afghanistan strategy, Mr. Trump didn't mince words on what he expected from American allies, saying he would ask NATO and other global partners to "support" the new U.S. strategy with "additional troop and funding increases" in line with what the Americans are planning.

"We are confident they will," Mr. Trump said of potential support from American allies.

"Since taking office I have made clear that our allies and partners must contribute much more money to our collective defence. And they have done so."

As it stands now, on top of refusing to commit personnel to the new effort, the Liberal government's new defence policy indicates that Canada will not meet the two per cent GDP spending commitment target expected of NATO members, despite a huge spike in spending planned for the coming years.

For Canada to meet the NATO target, it would have to more than double current spending on defence to reach \$40 billion.

The projections in the new defence policy, though, currently see the budget increasing from \$18.9-billion in 2016-17 to \$32.7 billion in 2026-27, which is still around \$7-billion shy of the NATO target ten years from now.

Asked broadly about the U.S.-Canada security relationship, Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan (Vancouver South, B.C.) framed it as "extremely strong," saying the two countries will "always work closely," even if they have the occasional disagreement.

"Our relationship has always been strong, and continues to be strong," he told *The Hill Times*.

But given Mr. Trump's confidence that he will be able to

leverage a commitment through pressing NATO allies to meet their funding targets, questions are being raised about whether his administration will look to turn up the heat on Canada.

For his part, Mr. Trudeau argued that Canada's NATO commitment has been substantial enough, saying at a recent summit in Brussels that the work being done by the country through the alliance, not to mention its presence in global issues in general, has been "recognized and supported by the United States."

Prof. Sokolsky also acknowledged that Canada is seen positively in the alliance, arguing that relative to the size of our armed services, "what we deploy abroad, what we do for allies...is fairly respectable and [our] allies know it."

"You can't judge an allied contribution solely on what percentage of GDP it spends on defence," he said, adding that while Canada isn't anticipated to meet the two per cent goal based on projections in the 20-year defence policy, the contingent of 450 Canadian soldiers deployed for NATO operations in Latvia is "a big chunk of troops."

NATO commitments have been a particularly hot topic in the past year, with Donald Trump famously calling the alliance "obsolete" during his campaign for president in 2016. Since then, critics have continually cited this assertion as proof that U.S. leadership in the world is crumbling, even though Mr. Trump and administration officials have attempted to back-pedal on the controversial comment.

After all, the new Afghanistan policy could indicate that the United States isn't losing any interest in foreign entanglements or multinational alliances, despite the Trump Administration's whole vociferous "America first" rhetoric.

Prof. Sokolsky also pointed out that key Trump Administration officials like former generals White House Chief of Staff Jim Kelly, National Security Adviser H. R. McMaster, and Secretary of Defence Jim Mattis are all "liberal internationalists" when it comes to U.S. security policy, adding that because of this, he is "hesitant" to say that the U.S. has abdicated its global leadership.

"All this talk on American leadership by [Foreign Affairs Minister] Freeland, you don't see it. If you look around the world, [the U.S.] is taking the lead in North Korea, it is pressuring Russia over Ukraine," he explained, also citing U.S. support for counter-terrorism operations in Africa.

Despite the Trump Administration's occasionally isolationist rhetoric, Prof. Sokolsky argued that the U.S. remains broadly internationalist and remains willing to maintain the NATO alliance.

As for what that means for Canada, he said we can expect "pressure" from the U.S. to boost military spending, but it won't "make or break" cross-border relations, with arguments on defence spending going on since the beginning of the NATO alliance.—*With files from Marco Vigliotti*

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The Hill Times



## Defence Policy Briefing

# Public Safety Canada, CSE set to start cyber-threat sharing pact with private sector

A not-for-profit exchange will work by collecting data on threats anonymously from its subscribers, commercial threat assessment companies, and the Canadian government.

BY IAIN SHERRIFF-SCOTT

With threats like cyber-espionage and ransomware targeting businesses and governments across the world, cyber-security has never been a more stark reality for Canadian businesses.

Examples like the ransomware attacks that devastated the United Kingdom's National Health Service (NHS) earlier this year, or the more recent attack on container shipping giant Maersk, which cost it nearly US\$300-million, are a reminders that the scale and aggressiveness of these attacks is increasing.

In an effort to get in front of large-scale cyber-threats, Public Safety Canada's Cyber Incident Response Centre (CCIRC) and the Canadian Communications Security Establishment (CSE) are set to begin an information-sharing pact with the Canadian Cyber Threat Exchange (CCTX), a not-for-profit organization devoted to providing the Canadian private sector with critical cyber-threat information and assessments.

Public Safety Canada spokeswoman Karine Martel said an official agreement between her department and the CCTX is expected to be finalized "in the near future."

"Once the agreement is in place, CCIRC will be able to share anonymous and unclassified information on cyber-threats with the CCTX. CCIRC will also share its full suite of products in order to raise awareness of noteworthy incidents and trends," said Ms. Martel.

A spokesperson for the CSE also confirmed that a partnership with the CCTX is "under consideration." CSE offers internationally recognized expertise on cyber-defence and threat mitigation.

"CSE tracks cyber-threats from around the world and is uniquely positioned to offer insight and advice to the CCTX on the cyber threat landscape facing Canadians," the CSE spokesperson said.

The CCTX, launched in April of 2016, received initial core funding from nine Canadian corporate giants, including Bell, Telus, Air Canada, CN, RBC, Manulife, TD, TransCanada, and Hydro One.

CCTX executive director Robert Gordon described the organization in terms of raising "cyber-resilience," not only for large companies, but also for small- and medium-sized companies as well.

"[Canadian companies] face the same level of cyber-threats as companies everywhere do, everything from DDoS (distributed denial of service) attacks, ransomware attacks, malware attacks, phishing attacks. All of the things you read about in the paper apply to Canadian companies," said Mr. Gordon in an interview with *The Hill Times*.



Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale's department is poised to enter an agreement with an organization called the CCTX in an effort to get a better handle on cyber-security threats. *The Hill Times* file photograph

The exchange will work by collecting data on threats anonymously from its subscribers, commercial threat assessment companies, and the Canadian government. CCTX analysts will compile new information about threats into reports, which will be sent to subscribers.

"Some of those reports will be very tactical, for something going on right now, or down to a more strategic weekly summary," said Mr. Gordon.

"Ultimately, we want this information to be actionable intelligence; so precautions that companies should specifically do to be better at protecting their networks."

One often-misunderstood vulnerability that Mr. Gordon highlighted is the risk of ransomware. The concept of ransomware has existed for nearly 30 years but saw no effective widespread application until 2013, when CryptoLocker emerged. CryptoLocker was one of the first ransomware systems to request bitcoin as payment for the decryption and release of data back to organizations it had been stolen from.

That same year, according to an article in ZDNet, between Oct. 15 and Dec. 18, an estimated 41,900 bitcoin were gathered by the operators of CryptoLocker, delivering a US\$27-million payout.

Mr. Gordon stressed that many small companies may not think they have much for hackers to steal, but trade secrets and unique chemical formulas are no longer their target.

"Anything from your distribution list, to your contact list, or when your billing goes out. They are not going to steal it from you because it is of no use to them; it's only of use to you," Mr. Gordon said, explaining that, "unless you pay the ransom, you don't get access to the information that keeps your business running."

Attacks like ransomware are exactly what the CCTX is trying to get in front of. Mr. Gordon expressed that the information-sharing pact with the federal government could provide Canadian businesses with threat assessments that are "high-value and quite actionable for the private sector."

The pact, however, will not be a one-way street. Ms. Martel told *The Hill Times* that "cyber-security is a shared responsibility of information sharing," and said that her department will "encourage" the CCTX to exchange threat information with CCIRC partners.

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# Liberals' defence policy review draws criticism for lacking consistency with foreign policy

Critics claim the Liberals lack a 'conceptual strategy' on defence as the defence policy review was published without a complementary assessment of foreign policy.

BY IAIN SHERRIFF-SCOTT

The Liberal government's defence policy review, which was released to the public this spring, has drawn a similar brand of criticism as successive government's policy reviews have, including that it lacks consistency with Canada's foreign policy.

As Queen's University political science professor Stefanie von Hlatky pointed out in an interview with *The Hill Times*, the review is among many done by previous governments conducted with "a lack of consistency between the foreign policy arm and the defence arm."

Nearly every government since the days of Pierre Elliott Trudeau has conducted a full review of foreign policy. That tradition was broken during Stephen Harper's tenure as prime minister when his government produced only a defence policy review during its nine years.

As well, since the 1960s, only one government has reviewed Canada's defence and foreign policy alongside each other, despite the two policy areas being deeply and innately linked.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's (Papineau, Que.) government broke from the tradition started by his father, and carried the one started by Harper, initiating only a formal review of defence policy last year.

The review's results were expected in January, but was delayed until June, likely in anticipation of unpredictable U.S. President Donald Trump, who took office in January, a development which, as Ms. von Hlatky pointed out, probably made the Canadian government, "a bit more risk averse when it comes to the quick implementation of bold new ideas."

"Certainly the president's views on NATO are quite controversial and a bit unpredictable, going from 'NATO is obsolete' to reinforcing Article 5 over the summer and really doing a 180," she said.

Prof. Van Hlatky added that the signals coming from the U.S. were cause for pause and probably provided a rationale for stalling, or revisiting certain pieces of the defence policy.

One of those pieces might have been the defence budget, which to the surprise of many, is set to increase over the next 10 years from \$18.9-billion in 2016-17 to \$32.7-billion in 2026-27.

The increase marks a shift in the Liberals' plan for defence since the election in 2015, when Mr. Trudeau pledged not to increase the defence budget. But the plan for more funding sees the bulk of it arriving after the next election.

Conservative defence opposition critic James Bezan (Selkirk-Interlake-Eastman,

Man.) wrote in an email to *The Hill Times* that the slow implementation of the new defence budget is unfortunate.

"The majority of the funding announced through the defence policy won't be available until after the next election and the government won't tell us where it is going to come from," he said.

Not only has the budgetary timeline drawn ire from Conservatives, many see the review's lack of accompanying foreign and development policy consultations as signalling a lack of cohesion on Canada's foreign policy outlook.

Ms. von Hlatky expressed that "in terms of a articulating a grand strategy, the defence policy review has not really served that purpose," adding that the review provides the "the nuts and bolts," of Canada's defence policy rather than having a strategic outlook.

And as retired brigadier-general James Cox pointed out in an article published in *The Vimy Report*, "policy" and "strategy" are not the same thing.

Mr. Cox argues that "the overall lack of conceptual clarity between policy and strategy," and "the absence of complementary policy developments in related fields," impeded National Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan's (Vancouver South, B.C.) efforts to put together a comprehensive defence policy and strategy.

Instead, the Liberals took a different angle and presented Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland's (University-Rosedale, Ont.) major foreign policy speech in the House of Commons just days before the defence policy review was published.

Prof. von Hlatky said that she thought the timing of the speech was "deliberate" in relation to the release of the defence policy review and that the minister sought to communicate the "linkages between the two," rather than producing two separate reviews.

In Minister Freeland's 4,400-word speech, she looked to outline Canada's global direction in terms of a renewed focus on our foreign initiatives, be it development, peacekeeping, or Canada's ongoing military commitments.

"The fact that our friend and ally has come to question the very worth of its mantle of global leadership, puts into sharper focus the need for the rest of us to set our own clear and sovereign course," remarked Minister Freeland in her speech.

"I think at the very least, the foreign affairs minister's speech told us what to expect in a Trumpian world, as far as Canadian foreign and defence policy goes," Ms. von Hlatky remarked.

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## Defence Policy Breifing



National Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan speaks to a deployed member of Joint Task Force-Iraq during a visit to Kuwait in December 2016. Photograph courtesy of Department of National Defence

# Collaborative approach required for National Defence

- Taking care of the women and men in uniform goes beyond giving them equipment and training. It means ensuring they and their families are well supported.

- Security and defence require an approach that rises above our political differences for the common safety and security of our nation.

- I want to emphasize the importance of working productively with all Parliamentarians on issues related to the defence file. I call on my parliamentary critics, James Bezan, Randall Garrison, and Michel Boudrias, as well as Defence Committee members, to do the same.



Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan

*Opinion*

**T**he return of the House of Commons brings opportunities to discuss the future of Canada's defence and the continued implementation of our defence policy, *Strong, Secure, Engaged*.

I want to use this as an opportunity to thank all Parliamentarians from the House and the Senate for their work on defence and security issues. Working collaboratively, we can reach the best outcomes for Canadian Armed Forces members, their families, and the safety and security of all Canadians.

The most important priority in *Strong, Secure, Engaged* is taking care of the women and men in uniform who dedicate their lives to protecting and defending Canada and Canadians at home and abroad. This goes beyond giving them the equipment and training they need to do their jobs. It means ensuring they—and their families—are well supported.

Thanks to the work done by DND, Treasury Board, and Finance

officials, the government is making progress on the implementation of the tax exemption for CAF members and police officers deployed on international operations. Combined with the pay raise that many CAF members received recently, the government will ensure that CAF members are compensated appropriately, and that their families are well supported when a loved one deploys overseas.

Working with our colleagues at Veterans Affairs and their new minister, Seamus O'Regan, our government will soon release a Suicide Prevention Strategy that focuses on a comprehensive approach to the support and care for CAF members, especially as they transition out of the Forces.

*Strong, Secure, Engaged* is all about serving our women and men in uniform better than they have been in the past. The full funding of over 300 capital projects gives our military the resources to get the job done, allows Canada's defence industry to be prepared to meet upcoming Defence Team needs, and is a clear sign from this government that we will make the necessary investments to serve our Canadian Forces members. We will continue to work collaboratively with industry partners, so they can continue delivering procurement projects on time and on budget.

Through Bill C-59, introduced by Public Safety Minister Ralph Goodale this spring, our govern-

ment is delivering on our promise to strengthen the accountability of federal intelligence services while modernizing the way we approach cyber-threats. In the defence policy, we are incorporating NATO allies' affirmation that cyberspace is a domain of operation by enhancing our cyber defences. We are creating a new Canadian Armed Forces Cyber Operator occupation, developing the Canadian Forces' active cyber capabilities, and establishing a Cyber Mission Assurance Program that will incorporate cyber-security requirements into the procurement process. Protecting and defending Canadians and Canadian assets against cyber-threats, while respecting Canadians' privacy, is an important priority for our government and one that requires a cooperative approach from Canada's best and brightest from the public and private sectors.

As the prime minister and Foreign Affairs Minister Chrystia Freeland have stated, North Korea's aggressive ballistic missile testing represents a clear and present threat to the safety and security of our Pacific partners and the international community. It violates multiple United Nations Security Council resolutions and international law. We will continue to closely monitor these threats, as well as other air, sea, and land threats as we continue to discuss NORAD modernization with our American counterparts.

International peace and security require a collaborative approach to address existing conflicts, and also the root causes of conflict. This fall, Canada will host a United Nations Defence Ministerial meeting on peacekeeping. We continue to study how and where Canada can best contribute to a UN peacekeeping mission. Before we send our troops into harm's way, we owe it to them to know that their impact will be meaningful and have a lasting contribution.

Security and defence require an approach that rises above our political differences for the common safety and security of our nation. As Parliamentarians, we play an important role informing our constituents about the important work the military does on their behalf. That is why last year I reinstated the Parliamentary engagement program and returned the approval for MPs to visit CAF facilities from the minister's office to base commanders—where it belongs.

This session, I want to emphasize the importance of working productively with all Parliamentarians on issues related to the defence file. I call on my parliamentary critics, James Bezan, Randall Garrison, and Michel Boudrias, as well as Defence Committee members, to do the same.

Defence Minister Harjit Sajjan also represents Vancouver North, B.C.

*The Hill Times*





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## Defence Policy Briefing Text



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau is out of synch with our allies and does not consider Canada's national defence to be a priority, writes James Bezan. *The Hill Times* file photograph

# Trudeau fails Canada's military and allies

- Every time the Liberals have been given an opportunity to step up, they have stepped back.

- In less than two years Justin Trudeau has reneged on his promise to exclude the F-35 and backed out of negotiations with Boeing, adding unnecessary costs and delays to the replacement of Canada's CF-18 fighter jets.

- Canada should be a leader on the world stage. But we are not "back" under the Liberals. We cannot take our cues from international organizations like the UN, nor can we sit on the sidelines.



Conservative MP James Bezan

*Opinion*

**M**aintaining and enhancing Canada's national security and defence posture is aided by our relative geographic isolation and our involvement in the world's strongest defence partnership with our only physical next-door neighbour.

Nonetheless, Canada has continually identified threats to our territorial and continental security and ensured our military forces are properly resourced, equipped, and trained to keep Canadians and our allies safe. From the onset of the Boer War to the battle to defeat ISIS, the Canadian Armed Forces have a proud history of working with our allies to defeat enemies around the world that threaten our values and security.

Given that international tensions have been on the rise as the

result of accusations of foreign-state hacking, Russia's violation of Ukraine's territorial sovereignty, and North Korea's continued missile launches, the Liberals' recent Defence Policy Review provided an opportunity for the government to reassess Canada's current threat environment and to develop a plan to respond.

A major flaw in the Liberals' defence policy is that it fails to adequately address the threats facing Canada. Without proper identification, the military will not be provided with the tools needed to detect, deter, and defeat these threats to Canada and our allies. By overlooking real threats, the Liberals are depriving the Canadian Armed Forces of the ability to be properly prepared for future operations.

Worse yet is the fact that the Liberals' policy does nothing to address the challenges on defence spending and procurement. Since coming to office, the Liberals have consistently cut the Department of National Defence's budget and made a mess of important procurement projects, including replacing our fighter jets and navy vessels.

In less than two years Justin Trudeau has reneged on his promise to exclude the F-35 and

backed out of negotiations with Boeing, adding unnecessary costs and delays to the replacement of Canada's CF-18 fighter jets. Justin Trudeau's Liberals have placed more major military procurements before the courts rather than in the hands of our troops. Unfortunately, their new policy offers little in terms of a solution. Newly appointed Public Services and Procurement Minister Carla Qualtrough will have significant challenges cleaning up this abysmal Liberal mess.

In their first two budgets, the Liberals cut more than \$12-billion in funding from the Department of National Defence. While their new defence policy contains some big promises, any significant new funding has been delayed until after the next federal election, with no explanation of where it is going to come from. Our men and women in uniform deserve the best equipment, training, and support available. That requires substantial investments to be made today—not in 20 years by some future government.

One of Justin Trudeau's first acts as the prime minister of Canada was to withdraw our fighter jets from the fight against ISIS, and he did it without a logical explanation. The decision was

very unpopular with Canadians and our allies. This demonstrates that Prime Minister Trudeau is out of synch with our allies and does not consider Canada's national defence to be a priority.

Canada should be a leader on the world stage. But we are not "back" under the Liberals. We cannot take our cues from international organizations like the UN, nor can we sit on the sidelines. Canada should be making clear commitments to our allies that we are willing to work together to address our common threats, rather than making vague promises to do peacekeeping that have yet to be fulfilled, a year after the fact.

Every time the Liberals have been given an opportunity to step up, they have stepped back. Justin Trudeau has demonstrated that he is willing to use our troops as political pawns to fulfil his personal aspirations at the United Nations Security Council, while leaving the heavy lifting to our allies. Two years of budget cuts and mismanaged procurements has left our troops doing more with less.

The Liberals' defence policy does not provide a guarantee that we will see any sort of significant change.

Conservatives know that actions speak louder than words. That is why we will continue to fight for our brave men and women in uniform and urge the government to ensure they are properly staffed, resourced, equipped, and trained to deal with the growing threats facing Canada.

Conservative MP James Bezan is his party's national defence critic and the MP for Selkirk-Interlake-Eastman, Man. *The Hill Times*



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## Policy Briefing Defence



Electricity grids are among the things vulnerable as the federal government stalls in modernizing its cyber-security strategy. *The Hill Times* photograph by Kristen Shane

# Canada's aging cyber-security strategy needs update

- Our national cyber-security strategy has not changed for seven years, despite the fact the threat of cyber-attacks has dramatically evolved since then.

- Over the course of this summer, two of the most devastating cyber-attacks in a decade have taken place: the WannaCry and Petya attacks.

- Despite the imminent threat that cyber-attacks pose to our critical infrastructure, Canada is lagging behind its allies in cyber-security.



Senator Mobina Jaffer

Opinion

The time for Canada to renew its cyber-security policy is long overdue. But despite the completion of Public Safety Canada's months-long public consultation process on cyber-security in January, the government is still yet to act.

Over the course of this summer, two of the most devastating cyber-attacks in a decade have taken place: the WannaCry and Petya attacks. Between these two cyber-attacks, critical services like the U.K.'s National Health Service, Russia's interior ministry, and Chernobyl's radiation monitoring system were all held for ransom by hackers.

Worse yet, we know that hackers from around the world are compromising important systems for profit—selling access to the highest bidder on the Darknet. For example, CMarket, one of the biggest Darknet markets, sold access to NATO databases, compromising information on government officials around the globe and access to critical infrastructure such as energy grids.

The notion that organized crime and foreign-state actors are stealing and selling access to the systems on which depend in our everyday lives should worry Canadians. The critical infrastructure that hackers target keep our electrical grids running, our telecommunications

systems online, and our dams from overflowing, among many other vital roles. Losing even one form of critical infrastructure could lead to the loss of many lives.

Despite the imminent threat that cyber-attacks pose to our critical infrastructure, Canada is lagging behind its allies in cyber-security. In fact, our national cyber-security strategy has not changed for seven years, despite the fact that the threat of cyber-attacks has dramatically evolved since then. As a result, Canada has become incredibly vulnerable to cyber-attacks.

For example, Canada's private sector has fallen far behind others in terms of its efforts to update defences against the ever-evolving threat of cyber-attacks, despite owning a significant amount of Canada's infrastructure. According to a Deloitte survey, only nine per cent of Canada's organizations can be considered highly secure against cyber-attacks. And to make matters worse, 68 per cent of Canada's organizations lack the ability to recover effectively from successful cyber-attacks.

This happens because our government offers the private sector little incentive and funding to improve. As a result, many companies simply opt out of using proper cyber-security defences, since they are often

expensive and seen as harmful to their bottom line.

The contrast between Canada and the rest of the world could not be clearer. The United States, United Kingdom, and Australia have recently updated their cyber-security strategies with budgets in the billions of dollars, and are forming strong relationships with the private sector to ensure that their systems are protected too.

Meanwhile, the Trudeau government only allocated \$77.4-million over five years to cyber-security in its first budget, and is expected to spend just \$27-million on cyber-security by 2019. If Canada is serious about safeguarding against the threat of cyber-attacks, it must create a new strategy that will forge stronger relationships with the private sector and allocate the necessary funding.

That being said, Canada's greatest vulnerability is its people. Those who operate our critical infrastructure and access sensitive information daily are not being adequately trained. Our outdated public digital literacy programs simply do not teach Canadians about how to handle the constantly evolving threats they will encounter online.

As a result, several practices that put our systems at risk have become widespread in Canada. For example, one in three Canadians do not change their

passwords and often use the same password for different accounts. As well, most Canadians do not know how to report cyber-crime.

This is one of the most urgent areas that a renewed cyber-security strategy must address. Any barriers against cyber-attacks become useless if attackers are unwittingly let in past them by unsuspecting Canadians. It is the government's responsibility to ensure that Canadians understand this threat.

When Public Safety Canada completed its consultations on cyber-security, many hoped that it would lead to the creation of a new cyber-defence strategy.

Furthermore, during the consultations, the government received a stunning 2,399 responses about how to best update Canada's cyber-security policy, resulting in a final report with recommendations that were applauded by experts across the field.

Unfortunately, our government has still not even discussed updating its cyber-security strategy. This is unacceptable. Without an update, Canada could easily fall prey to the next major cyber-attack.

The time to act is now.

Mobina Jaffer is a Liberal Senator from British Columbia and deputy chair of the Senate National Security and Defence Committee.

*The Hill Times*



## Comment

Canadian Armed Forces, pictured in Kabul, Afghanistan, May 6, 2004. Photograph courtesy of MCpl Yves Proteau



# Our new Middle East policy? Get out

We have no business being there, we have no lofty goals capable of being achieved, we have no genuine national interest, we are complicit in a senseless daily slaughter and we contribute to the creation of jihadists who want to kill us, not for 'our freedoms' but because we treat them as less than human. We should just get the hell out.



Murray Dobbin

Opinion

**P**OWELL RIVER, B.C.—For those (mostly Christians) attracted to the idea that the 'war on terror' is a clash of civilizations (a poisonous notion guaranteed to foment decades of unrestrained violence), a caution: you might want to consider ignoring the

old testament injunction an 'eye for an eye.' For if there is a moral equivalent to the dead on both sides an eye for an eye will mean literally thousands of terror attacks like the recent horrific one in Barcelona (16 dead).

The body count in the West's criminal assault on Middle East nations is now in the millions. In Syria, the death toll is now 470,000 <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/a-staggering-new-death-toll-for-syrias-war-470000/>. In Iraq, it is a staggering 1,455,590 (not counting foreigners). In Afghanistan, 105,000 <http://www.cnn.com/2017/08/21/asia/afghanistan-war-explainer/> including the Taliban and Afghan soldiers and police. In Yemen, pulverized by U.S.-backed Saudi Arabia repeatedly accused of war crimes, the toll is now over 12,000 (including 1,500 from war-induced cholera) mostly civilians. A child dies of malnutrition every 10 minutes. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jan/16/yemen-war-death-toll-has-reached-10000-un-says>. It is impossible to get an accurate count for Libya which the West turned into a grotesque failed state as a result of its exalted 'responsibility to protect' doctrine. Estimates range from 30,000 to 100,000.

Divide that roughly two million dead by 16 and you get a moral equivalent that would require 125,000 Barcelona attacks. Hard to imagine? Try imagining the daily horror in these countries with a combined daily death toll in multiples of 16, week after week, month after month, year after year.

And, of course, that doesn't take into account the many more millions who have been wounded, displaced as refugees, died trying to get to Europe or permanently traumatized by war—categories that include millions of children whose lives will never be the same.

This is what we have done. What our governments have done in our name. And we are still doing it. The West either invaded these countries completely illegally (as in Iraq and Afghanistan) or encouraged and then betrayed dissident movements that our governments knew could not possibly prevail. Or, as in Syria, our governments quickly handed over the revolution to armed gangs and jihadists because they were more likely to prevail against Assad in the West's goal of regime change. Or in Libya where we violated the UN resolution for a no fly zone and turned it into an assassination mission.

Does any of this absolve the guilt of the killers in Paris, London, Barcelona, and other places? Of course not. Does it mean that every killer has a legitimate grievance against the West? No. But that, of course, is one of the perverse aspects of terrorism: anyone can be a jihadist by simply declaring membership.

It is stunning that there is almost never any connection made between the terrorist threat, which is very real, and the almost 20-year assault on the Muslim countries of the Middle East. Small wonder then that the popular responses to the terror attacks are almost always completely devoid of any recognition

of the context of the slaughter. In response to the latest attack tens of thousands marched in Barcelona. The theme was "We are not afraid!" The public response in Britain, France, and elsewhere was almost identical.

Do people actually think this is a thoughtful let alone strategic response to terror? It implies that these attacks are similar to hurricanes—unpredictable, unstoppable, inevitable. In fact they should be afraid because more is coming. A more appropriate slogan might have been 'Get the West out of the Middle East' and in fact a few demonstrators actually made the point about Western foreign policy. They received little coverage.

Canada has been incredibly lucky that it has not been targeted by ISIL. Our contribution to the destruction and humiliation of Muslim countries was our eager participation in the ruination of Libya—a country which had boasted the highest standard of living and most generous social programs in Africa. It is a particularly egregious result of imperial hubris. Libya had done everything the West had asked of it: it co-operated fully with the war on terror, and it radically reduced the size of its military. It also abandoned its nuclear weapons program—a lesson North Korea will never forget.

In contributing to the assassination of Muammar Gadhafi Canada contributed to the unprecedented refugee crisis which has engulfed Europe. Gadhafi knew exactly what would happen if he were forced from power and

said so as Canadian jets pounded his country. He stated, in desperation <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NLfLdIJeMw>: "Now you people in NATO listen to me—you are bombing the wall that stopped African migration into Europe. This wall stopped the terrorists from al-Qaeda. This wall was Libya. You are destroying it, you fools."

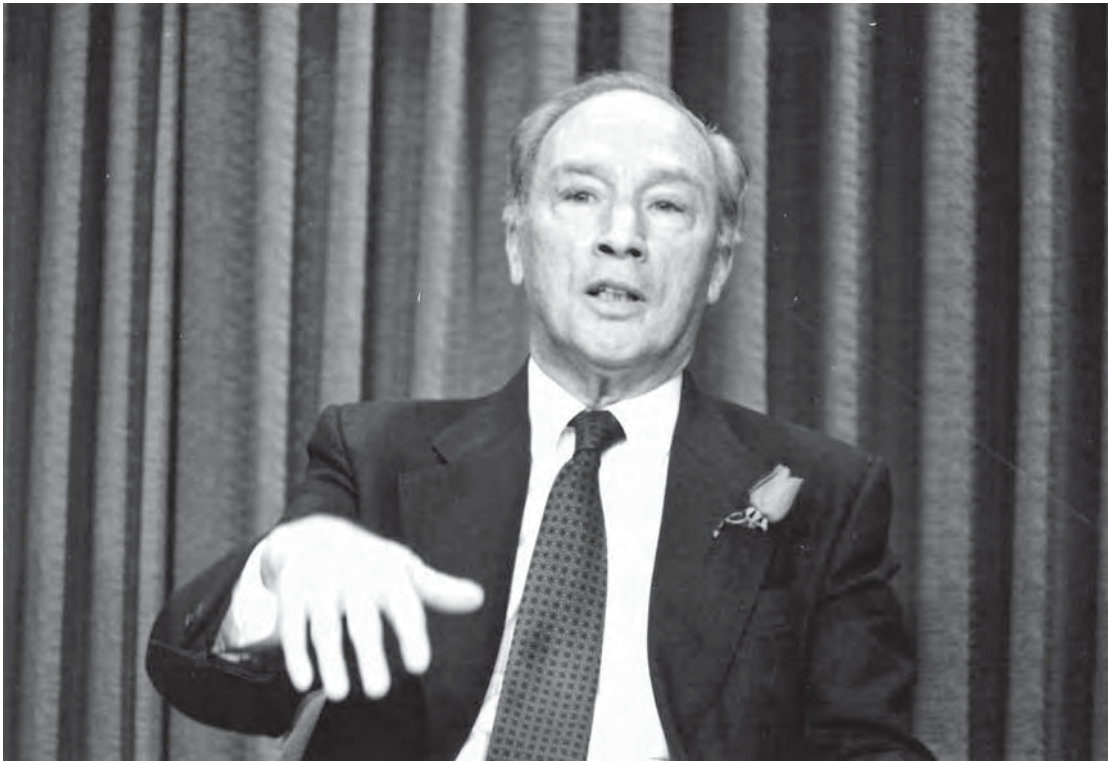
Even the Canadian Air Force pilots knew what the result of regime change would be knowing full well that the vacuum created would be filled by al-Qaeda and other Jihadist groups. They referred <http://nationalpost.com/news/world/canadian-military-predicted-libya-would-descend-into-civil-war-if-foreign-countries-helped-rebels-overthrow-gaddafi-to-themselves-as-Al-Qaeda's-Air-Force>.

We as citizens face the consequences of our actions every day. If we threaten people or hurt them, we get arrested, if we burn down their house, we go to jail, if we drive recklessly, steal a loaf of bread, or fish without a licence, we face consequences. But our government can join in the complete destruction of a country and it—and we—don't even get a reprimand.

Our new Middle East policy? It's simple. We have no business being there, we have no lofty goals capable of being achieved, we have no genuine national interest, we are complicit in a senseless daily slaughter and we contribute to the creation of jihadists who want to kill us, not for "our freedoms" but because we treat them as less than human. We should just get the hell out.

*The Hill Times*





Residential schools existed through the administrations of every prime minister from John A. Macdonald to Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Indigenous peoples and other minorities could not vote until the middle of the last century. Gay sex was not allowed until Pearson and Pierre Trudeau, his justice minister. Same-sex marriage was illegal until the Chrétien-Martin period. The list goes on. *The Hill Times* file photograph by Kate Malloy



The recent motion by an Ontario teachers' union to remove the name of Sir John A. Macdonald from all schools because of his role in establishing residential schools sent a shock wave through many who revere Macdonald or other notable figures named after them. *Library and Archives photograph*



Senator Murray Sinclair said this is what reconciliation looks like: it's about debating ideas and listening to each other and he prefers to honour various Indigenous peoples rather than take Macdonald's name off. *The Hill Times* file photograph

# The controversy around naming buildings, it's actually a good debate

We need to welcome the debate and not hurl insults at those we disagree with. This is an opportunity to understand discrimination present and past. Second, as we become a more egalitarian and diverse society, the dominant group and culture cannot have the only say or the final say on who and what is important.



Andrew Cardozo

*New Communications*

OTTAWA—Sir John A. Macdonald: yes or no? And it goes well beyond our first prime minister.

What's interesting is that there are several different forces at play. And the debate is a proxy for debating who we are as Canadians.

The first strand is the view that buildings and schools should only be named after people who are highly respectable and devoid of controversy and not those who espoused ideas or enacted policies that were discriminatory against any group of Canadians.

Second, is the issue of privilege, or in more understandable terms, the dominant group. The dominant group not only dominates in several spheres of influence, such as politics, business,

and media, but also defines what is the norm for society, what is the culture and what is important.

Third is diversity and inclusion—having the totality of Canada reflected in all spheres of life—not only the dominant group—having buildings and the likes named after women and men and people of various cultural backgrounds.

Fourth, we are judging people from the past by the values of today.

Then there is the fifth strand at play here and that is the influence of a similar debate south of the border about erasing racist Confederate heroes, which turned terribly ugly with the return of racial street fights into the American political debate, with a president seemingly to defend the Ku Klux Klan and white supremacists.

The fact is that most things are named after historically significant people and just about every country has a plethora of people who are so honoured because of their nation-building contributions and, in most places, they are men from the dominant communities. In Canada, that plays out as men of Anglo-Saxon Protestant background and to a lesser extent francophones in Quebec, although there was a healthy

presence of anglophones there until recent decades.

In 2012, Status of Women Canada put together a list of 29 women who federal buildings could be named after—yes only 29. There are some great names on this list, such as Ellen Fairclough, Gabrielle Roy, Jeanne Sauvé and Bertha Wilson, but it was still rather superficial—the first woman to do this, that, and the other. More in-depth research might well find others who achieved more and the list surprisingly lacks diversity. Only one Indigenous woman and no women of colour. Never mind Adrienne Clarkson, Michaëlle Jean, Eva Ariuk, Daphne Odjig, and Rosemary Brown.

Residential schools existed through the administrations of every prime minister, from John A. Macdonald to Pierre Trudeau. Indigenous peoples and other minorities could not vote until the middle of the last century. Gay sex was not allowed until Pearson (and Pierre Trudeau, his justice minister). Same-sex marriage was illegal until the Chrétien-Martin period. The list goes on.

That's not to say we should not hold various of our leaders, and all political parties and MPs and newspaper editors and opinion leaders who agreed with them, responsible.

The recent motion by an Ontario teachers' union to remove the name of Sir John A. Macdonald from all schools because of his role in establishing residential schools sent a shock wave through many who revere Macdonald or other notable figures after are named after them.

So how do you deal with this?

A Yale University report from last year suggests some principles that can be applied when deciding which names stay and which ones go. It's a helpful approach, but by no means a perfect solution. The first question to consider is: "Is a principal legacy of the namesake fundamentally at odds with the mission of the university?" The question assumes that every one will agree what the principal legacy is. Take Louis Riel. A hero and national builder to some, a traitor to others.

Among the Famous Five who advanced women's rights, were eugenicists who wanted to erase some races and people with disabilities. And Tommy Douglas, the "Greatest Canadian," said of homosexuality that it was a mental illness that needed to be treated sympathetically by psychologists.

And Macdonald? He is undoubtedly the key architect and driving force of the great Canadian confederation, which was based on the principles of respect for diversity of English and French. But the Fathers of Confederation excluded the people who were here first, the Indigenous peoples, and purposefully decided to exclude them until such time as they could be assimilated. Colonialists.

Indigenous peoples of course had the most open immigration policy in the history of this land and allowed the newcomers to not only bring their old way, but make their old ways and religions the dominant ways in this land. So, Confederation. A great accomplishment? Or a great subjugation of the people who were here first? An act of European supremacy?

The expansion of Canada across Turtle Island after 1867 is a history of wars against certain

First Nations and clever treaty signing that left the original people in the backwaters by the foreign colonizers.

But here's the thing. As Sir John A. dreamt the grand alliance between English and French, he—and most of his colleagues and successors—were all part of the massive and overt plan to subjugate First Nations, Inuit, and Métis in a way that still has consequences today. That's why it may be a little hard for a Cree kid to delight at the idea of going to Sir John A. Macdonald High School.

So what was Sir John A.'s principal legacy? It depends who you talk to. For most long-time students of Canadian history and political science, it was Confederation. But listening to the debate lately, one can be a little confused. At the very least we need to understand the different perspectives.

And as Senator Murray Sinclair said recently, this is what reconciliation looks like. It's about debating ideas and listening to each other. It's not always comfortable. Sinclair prefers to honour various Indigenous people rather than take Macdonald's name off.

Back to the forces at play: we need to welcome the debate and not hurl insults at those we disagree with. This is an opportunity to understand discrimination present and past. Second, as we become a more egalitarian and diverse society, the dominant group and culture cannot have the only say or the final say on who and what is important. Third, let's get the full diversity of the women and men reflected in things we name after people—it may seem more evened out then. Fourth, some acceptance of changing values and norms should be acceptable and this is a hard one.

And the American strand? We just have to live with it, but not let it dominate our debates.

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

*The Hill Times*



## Opinion

# Trudeau's 'feminist' government should remove sexual discrimination from Indian Act

It has become clear to members of the KTRSG that the Liberal government is not the feminist government Prime Minister Justin Trudeau claimed it to be in 2015. A genuine feminist government would not appoint female cabinet members and then proceed to remove from them their agency to vote in a way that was more in line with their own conscience and sense of justice for all women.



Alice Olsen Williams

Opinion

**C**URVE LAKE, ONT.—Members of the Kwartha Truth

and Reconciliation Support Group (KTRSG) are disappointed with federal Minister of Status of Women Maryam Monsef's voting position on Bill S-3, an Act to Amend the Indian Act.

As many people know, the Senate moved forward a version of Bill S-3, which removed all the sex discrimination in the Indian Act through the inclusion of what is known as the "6(1)a All the Way" clause. Despite this, on June 21, MPs in the House voted on a gutted version of the bill, a version that continues to discriminate against Indigenous women and their descendants born before 1985.

The Liberal government insisted on party solidarity, so Monsef complied and voted in favour of the gutted bill.

Considering the large Indigenous population in the Peterborough and Kwartha area and considering that she is the minister of Status of Women, this is most unfortunate.

At a recent meeting of members of the Kwartha Truth and Reconciliation Support Group, which Monsef attended, it became apparent that this government will address the sex discrimination in the second stage of consultations. This is a meaningless and poor excuse to Indigenous women and their descendants. A second-stage approach was argued in 2010, yet



Alice Olsen Williams, chair of the Kwartha Truth and Reconciliation Support Group, says members are disappointed that Minister of Status of Women Maryam Monsef's voting position on Bill S-3, An Act to Amend the Indian Act. *The Hill Times* file photograph

the sex discrimination was not addressed. Further, Indigenous people such as Mary Two-Axe Early, Jeannette Corbiere-Lavell, Yvonne Bedard, Sandra Lovelace, Sharon McIvor, Stephane Descheneaux, and Lynn Gehl have tirelessly worked for decades to remove all sex discrimination from the Indian Act. Indigenous women and their descendants have waited long enough. Clearly the knowledge, skill, and ability is there for Parliament to remove this discrimination from the bill.

It has become clear to members of the KTRSG that the Liberal government is not the feminist government Prime Minister Justin Trudeau claimed it to be in 2015. A genuine feminist government would not appoint female cabinet members and then proceed to remove from them their agency to vote in a way that was more in line with their own conscience and sense of justice for all women.

The members of the Kwartha Truth and Reconciliation Support

Group, however, are grateful that Senators understand the need to eliminate the sex discrimination in the Indian Act and are grateful for the work of Lynn Gehl.

Alice Olsen Williams, who lives in Curve Lake First Nation, a reserve north of Peterborough, Ont., is chair of the Kwartha Truth and Reconciliation Support Group. She was born in Trout Lake, 150 miles north of Kenora, the Home Land of her mother's people from time beyond memory. *The Hill Times*

## House Transport Committee digs into Bill C-49

•The main provision on rail safety is one that will require railway companies to install inward-facing Locomotive Voice and Video Recorders (LVVR) in Canada.

•If this technology works to prevent accidents, and if transportation investigators and experts are calling for its use to enhance safety, what's left to debate?



Michael Bourque

Opinion

**B**efore Parliament resumes next week, the House Trans-

port Committee will return to Ottawa early to study Bill C-49, the Transportation Modernization Act, which includes provisions for rail service and safety.

The main provision on rail safety is one that will require railway companies to install inward-facing Locomotive Voice and Video Recorders (LVVR) in Canada.

This provision will no doubt result in debate. Citing the privacy of their members, labour groups are on record opposing the use of recording equipment except by investigators after an accident.

While there are legitimate concerns relating to this provision, Canada's railway industry believes that LVVR will save lives and that privacy will be protected. The limits of use to this technology would be dealt with by regulation and through company policy. In fact, the railway industry is on record proposing guidelines for the use of recording equipment. For example, targeting employees, observing areas in the locomotive cab where there are expectations of personal privacy, or posting recordings online—on YouTube or other social media platforms—would be prohibited.

In addition, there are tests that the privacy commissioner has used in the past to guide us on how to use these technologies in the



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

workplace. In a 2003 case involving recording at a railway workplace, the privacy commissioner determined that the rail company's use of digital video cameras was reasonable and useful in answering four key questions: Is the measure demonstrably necessary to meet a specific need? Is it likely to be effective in meeting that need? Is the loss of privacy proportional to the benefit gained? Is there a less privacy-invasive way of achieving the same end?

In today's railway operating environment, activities and communications are tracked by loco-

motive event recorders—devices that register data about train operations—and external, outward-facing cameras. In addition, railways use information from cameras in rail yards, radio communications with the rail traffic controllers and first-person observations of train operations as tools to enhance safety. These activities could not be undertaken without considering questions of privacy.

Most importantly, the Transportation Safety Board (TSB), the independent body that investigates transportation accidents and reports to Parliament, is calling for the use of LVVR for investigations and for proactive use by railway companies as part of their Safety Management System (SMS).

The National Transportation Safety Board, the TSB's U.S. equivalent, has also called for the installation and proactive use of this technology. Their recommendation follows numerous accidents and fatalities, including a 2008 collision involving a commuter train in Chatsworth, Calif., in which 25 people were killed and 135 people were injured. The investigation into this accident found that the train passed a stop signal while the locomotive engineer was sending and receiving personal text messages on his smartphone.

In Canada, commuter railway

GO Transit and Fort McMurray, Alta.-based charter helicopter company Phoenix Heli-Flight are already using this technology. These operators are on record stating that the equipment enhances company safety culture and leads to positive safety outcomes.

Findings in the U.S. are similarly positive. A study conducted at San José State University's Mineta Transportation Institute followed some 20,000 transit buses equipped with audio-video equipment. They found that the technology resulted in a 40 per cent reduction in collisions per million miles travelled and a 30 per cent decline in passenger injuries. They also reported findings of up to a 50 per cent reduction in unsafe driving events.

If this technology works to prevent accidents, and if transportation investigators and experts are calling for its use to enhance safety, what's left to debate? When the next preventable accident occurs, people opposed to the expanded use of LVVR must explain to the families and loved ones of those affected if privacy was worth the lives lost.

When the safety of many is in the hands of very few, Canada's railways take the view that safety comes first.

Michael Bourque is president and CEO of the Railway Association of Canada.

*The Hill Times*





Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured at a caucus meeting last year on the Hill. Liberal MPs will soon submit their input to the party on what the nomination rules should be for the 2019 election cycle. *The Hill Times* file photograph

# Liberal Party seeks input from MPs on potential protection from nomination challenges

Liberal MP Alexandra Mendes says most of her caucus colleagues would go for 'outright protection.'

Continued from page 1

"I will definitely be giving my suggestions on nominations to the party," rookie Liberal MP Deborah Schulte (King-Vaughan, Ont.) told *The Hill Times*, though she declined to share her ideas.

Braeden Caley, senior director of communications to the Liberal Party, told *The Hill Times* in an

email that the party is currently in the process of holding a "comprehensive" consultation process to figure out the nomination rules for 2019. In this process, he said, the party is consulting registered Liberals, caucus members, past candidates, riding associations, commissions, and provincial and territorial boards. He declined to say when the rules would be finalized.

Liberal MP Chris Bittle (St. Catharines, Ont.) told *The Hill Times* he would also provide his feedback and input to the party in the fall. He declined to share specifics, but said that rural and urban ridings should have different rules because of different electoral dynamics.

"I'm certain the party appreciates the different realities, not only between urban/rural, but different parts of the country," said Mr. Bittle. "These are the discussions that we'll have and I look forward to having those discussions."

Just before the start of the summer parliamentary recess, Liberal MPs told *The Hill Times* they want Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) to protect them from nomination challenges. They said elected MPs spend about half a year in Ottawa to perform their parliamentary work, but their potential challengers have the opportunity to spend this time to sign up new people.

"When you get into a nomination fight, Members of Parliament have to be in Ottawa and they've got an obligation to carry forth the government's agenda here, and so by default they have to be in Ottawa to carry forth that agenda, so they're needed here," veteran Liberal MP Wayne Easter (Malpeque, P.E.I.), who won his eighth-term in 2015, told *The Hill Times* in July, and added that elected MPs could face "someone in the riding basically undermining them and going for that nomination when they don't have those obligations to be here and to support the legislative agenda that we're carrying forth."

At the time, Liberal MP Alexandra Mendes (Brossard-Saint-Lambert, Que.) also told *The Hill Times* that she and most of her caucus colleagues wouldn't mind if the party opted to set certain targets, and MPs who meet those targets were protected. She suggested that MPs representing ur-

ban ridings could be required to have 200 to 500 riding association members and rural MPs to have 100 members. Also, Ms. Mendes said, MPs should be required to raise \$75,000 to \$80,000 by the end of their four-year mandate.

"Most [MPs], I would say, would go for being protected, outright protection," Ms. Mendes said in July. "They can live with some sort of criteria that will guarantee our nomination, but most would love to have outright protection."

Liberal MPs are also nervous about nomination challenges because of Mr. Trudeau's decision last year to abolish the \$10 party membership fee. Now, anyone can register with the party and participate in all party activities, including voting in nomination meetings and party leadership elections, the same rights that paid members had before. Also, registered Liberals can take part in the policy development process and attend riding association meetings.

In comparison, the Conservative Party and the New Democratic Party still charge membership fees. The Conservative Party charges \$15 for a yearly party membership, and the New Democratic Party membership fee varies from province to province, ranging between no fee in Newfoundland and Labrador to as much as \$25 in Ontario and Nova Scotia.

Before becoming prime minister, Mr. Trudeau promised free, fair, and open nomination contests in all 338 ridings across the country. But prior to the 2015 election, there were numerous ridings across the country where

unsuccessful nomination contestants accused the party leadership of playing favourites. Now, it remains to be seen if the party leadership protects incumbent MPs from nomination challenges before the 2019 election, or sets targets that could save them from going through the divisive process.

For any political party leader, one of the key challenges is to keep backbenchers happy. One way that some party leaders choose to do that is by protecting incumbent MPs from nomination challenges, or coming up with rules that almost guarantee wins for sitting MPs.

Prior to every election, winning the nomination for the next election is every incumbent's pre-occupation. Although MPs have an overwhelming advantage because of their name recognition, ability to raise funds, and usually supportive riding association executives, they still try to avoid going through the nomination process. This is chiefly because in an open and fair contest, any MP could lose his or her nomination. These fights especially become more intense for parties in government or the ones who are perceived to form government in the next election.

The Conservative Party is also currently holding its own internal discussions about nomination rules in held ridings. The Conservative Party told MPs in 2016 that they could avoid nomination challenges if their riding association could raise \$150,000 and sign up at least one per cent of eligible voters as riding association members. For MPs who were able to meet these conditions by April of next year, the party would hold a vote amongst ridings association members on whether there should a nomination contest or not. If more than one-third voted in favour of holding a contest, the party would arrange one. If less than one-third asked for one, the sitting MP would be acclaimed as the candidate.

Some rural Conservative MPs did not support these rules, arguing the amount of money required to be raised was too high, as fundraising is harder in rural areas compared to urban ones. In interviews with *The Hill Times*, they also said the party never consulted them before coming up with the funding and membership targets.

Former Conservative MP Joe Preston, now a member of the Conservative Party's national council, told *The Hill Times* last week, the council is meeting in Ottawa in October and that the nomination rules for incumbent MPs is one of the key agenda items for this meeting.

"There's a variety of opinions in a grassroots organization like our party," Mr. Preston said last week.

The NDP does not protect sitting MPs from nomination challenges, and requires that all caucus members win their nomination. The New Democrats have never formed government federally and has attained the status of the official opposition only once. Because of this, NDP MPs do not face the same serious nomination challenges that Liberal and Conservative MPs face.

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The Hill Times



## News Indigenous Affairs

# INAC split a 'game-changer' but more steps needed to truly redefine Indigenous relations: sources

AFN national chief Perry Bellegarde says the split is a 'significant step,' but is also calling for the appointment of an independent national treaty commissioner.

Continued from page 1

pieces first before making this change," said Mr. Serson, who was deputy minister of what was then called Indian and Northern Affairs from 1995 to 1999, during work on the RCAP, the final report from which came out in 1996.

"They were suggesting the idea of a new royal proclamation, which would describe the principle of this new relationship, and that's a recommendation that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission picked up on," Mr. Serson said in an interview.

He said the RCAP report also recommended that legislation be tabled, that's agreed upon among Indigenous peoples, giving a clear indication of the steps to be taken to move forward.

"You still are going to have the same people working there [in the two, split departments]. As a former deputy, I'm inclined to believe that they're for the most part good public servants, but what they need is a signal that the direction they've been on is changing, that the approach is going to be a genuine partnership approach with Indigenous peoples," he said.

The federal government released 10 "principles" on achieving a renewed nation-to-nation relationship with Indigenous peoples, posted on the Justice Department's website in July. But Mr. Serson said he has seen criticism about of a lack of discussion about these principles with Indigenous leadership.

"You know what Indigenous peoples have been through over the last 30 years: A failed Charlottetown Accord, failed Kelowna Accord. I think that they're looking for a stronger indication," he said.

The government made public its plan to split the Indigenous



Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami president Natan Obed, far left, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, Assembly of First Nations National Chief Perry Bellegarde, and Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Minister Carolyn Bennett pictured on National Indigenous Peoples Day, June 21, 2017, outside the former U.S. embassy in Ottawa during an announcement to turn the space into an Indigenous centre. *The Hill Times* file photograph

and Northern Affairs department (INAC) into two as part of the Aug. 28 cabinet shuffle, where former Indigenous and Northern Affairs minister Carolyn Bennett (Toronto-St. Paul's, Ont.) became Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs minister, and former Health minister Jean Philpott (Markham-Stouffville, Ont.) become Indigenous Services minister.

Planning is now underway on the split—on how to divide up various programs, budgets, staff, and the like—but once complete, the two ministers will be served by two departments with separate deputy ministers.

As recently reported by *The Hill Times*, during the transition, current INAC deputy minister Hélène Laurendeau will remain in place and both ministers will be working out of offices at 10 Wellington St. in Gatineau, Que., and will draft an interim agreement to divide departmental responsibilities. In the meantime, Ms. Bennett's communications director, who is serving both ministers in the interim, said "nobody is losing their job."

The government has indicated that Ms. Philpott will handle health, education, child, family, and housing services, along with efforts to end boil water advisories in First Nations communities and food security. Ms. Bennett, on the other hand, will continue to spearhead the government's efforts to reach self-governance agreements.

Ms. Bennett will lead roughly six months of consultations with Indigenous stakeholders on how to restructure the government's approach to Indigenous affairs ahead of the tabling of legislation to dissolve INAC and create two new departments, which could take several more months, as

reported by *The Hill Times*.

In response to questions from *The Hill Times* last week, Ms. Bennett's office said the government is taking "the next significant step toward ending the Indian Act," with a staged "dissolution of INAC," which requires the signalled legislative amendments. As part of this, two new ministry roles have been "immediately created," which "take on distinct but complementary objectives within the existing legislated structures."

"Formalization of ministerial titles and responsibilities will be finalized following royal assent of proposed amendments to the *Salaries Act*, which is currently before Parliament," said Ms. Bennett's office.

The 1996 RCAP report made 440 recommendations in all, involving a lot of policy and analytical work, said Mr. Serson. As a result, the department concentrated on recommendations to improve socio-economic conditions and establishing the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, "as a first step," he said.

While the intention was to return to the more "fundamental and complex issues around restructuring the relationship," Mr. Serson said the "players changed" and there was a lack of continuing demand from the broader public.

"Other priorities took over in the government, and the government never went back to those more fundamental issues," he said. "This is why a forward-looking plan is important. ... So far we get these bits and pieces, and this announcement of splitting the department looks pretty last minute since we don't have the mandate letters out even yet."

With two years until the next federal election, Mr. Serson said

timing is a "genuine concern on the part of those of us who are interested in seeing forward progress in this area."

Liberal MP Don Rusnak (Thunder Bay-Rainy River, Ont.), chair of the Liberal Indigenous Caucus, said recent the move to restructure the government's relationship with Indigenous peoples is a "game-changer."

"The 10 principles that were released by the government—guiding the government and the recognition of the rights and self determination of Indigenous peoples that will guide the review of law and policies—it's going to be the legacy of this government," he said.

Assembly of First Nations National Chief Perry Bellegarde has called the splitting up of INAC a "significant step" forward in Crown-Indigenous relations, and in an interview with *The Hill Times* last week said the newly-named Crown-Indigenous Relations minister is "strong signal" that's "more reflective" of a nation-to-nation, treaty relationship with the government.

While it will ultimately come down to outcomes, the appointment of a minister focused on improving Indigenous services is also a positive change that could "have a meaningful impact on the ground for our people," he said.

"We all want to move beyond the Indian Act. It's a very colonial, paternalistic piece of legislation, and by changing the department, it is a signal by government that they want to move along with us as well," said Mr. Bellegarde, noting though that doing so will happen in phases.

"The most important thing to keep in mind though is that government is now sending the right signals that we have a treaty relationship with the Crown; we don't have a treaty with the department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada," he said.

Along with reaching new governance agreements with the 634 First Nations in Canada, Mr. Bellegarde said it's not just the government that needs to move beyond the 140 year-old Indian Act.

"We have to start moving and thinking outside the Indian Act ourselves, thinking outside structures that were set up for us, like tribal councils ... like organizing by province and territories," he said.

Mr. Bellegarde said he has, since the 2015 election, been pressing the government and other federal parties for commitments on recommendations in the AFN's "Closing the Gap" document, including treaty implementation. He said he found out about the government's specific plan to split up INAC the day it was made public, on Aug. 28.

Asked whether he'd like to see a royal proclamation made, Mr. Bellegarde noted it was one of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's 94 calls to action, all of which the AFN supports.

Beyond that, he said he'd like to see a national treaty commissioner appointed, which would be an unelected, independent officer of Parliament, like the auditor general, to focus and report on progress on treaty implementation. He noted Canada was created through the work of treaty commissioners.

"Where's our treaty commissioner today?" he said.

Mr. Bellegarde said the gov-

ernment's consultations need to take place in every province and territories, and "make sure everybody has a seat and a voice." Ultimately, he said he's "cautiously optimistic."

"The status quo wasn't obviously working, so you have to try new, innovative things. This is part of that. Let's be optimistic and give it a chance," he said.

In a Sept. 6 piece for *Policy Options* magazine, Queen's University political science PhD candidate Veldon Coburn argued it's "not likely" decolonization will follow a restructured INAC. For one thing, he said, it's important to consider the context in which the RCAP recommendation to split up INAC was made, namely, at a period in government "that was, arguably, one of its greatest upheaval," with major departmental restructuring having taken place in 1993.

Mr. Coburn noted that, as explored in Donald Savoie's *Governing from the Centre*, increasingly "policy decision and policy direction originate not with the ministers and their deputies," but with the Prime Minister's Office and the Privy Council. Moreover, he argued the two new ministries "will continue to be enmeshed in the dense colonial machinery of government, changing little, if anything at all."

"While INAC is commonly believed to be the locus of federal Indigenous policy and programming, the reality is that the machinery of government concerned with Indigenous affairs is dispersed across more than 30 departments," he wrote.

"The truth is, INAC is just one of many structures that comprise the immense and wide-reaching colonial apparatus for the administration of Indigenous affairs."

Mi'kmaq lawyer and Ryerson University associate professor Pam Palmater said in an Aug. 28 interview with CBC News that she thinks, with the change, the government has "just doubled the colonial structure," and raised concerns the split is "more superficiality and less substances."

Mr. Rusnak said the Liberal Indigenous Caucus has been advocating for "this type of change" since it formed in early 2016, though he learned of the government's specific plan the day it was announced.

"It's extremely exciting. This is a game-changer for not only Indigenous communities across the country, but the whole country," he said, adding he believes broad public support exists for the change.

"People know that we've had a horrible relationship between the federal government and Indigenous communities for far too long, and that that needs to change. Canadians are behind it, and they want to make sure that we get it right also."

Mr. Rusnak said the caucus is set to discuss how it can feed into the government's consultation efforts at its next meeting.

"Nothing is set in stone. There's going to be legislation coming and we don't want to invent that in Ottawa," he said.

"The unique position we're in, we have a lot of connections with not only leadership but the community members that actually live in the communities and are directly affected by the decisions that are made now and as we move forward."

*lryckewaert@hilltimes.com*  
*The Hill Times*



# Much is at stake: we need a productive, innovative, and competitive economy

Canada ranks 10th in innovation inputs and 23rd in innovation outputs, according to the WIPO index. Overall, Canada ranks 7th in institutions, such as stable government, 20th in human capital and research, 18th in infrastructure, 24th in business sophistication, 19th in knowledge and technology outputs, and 27th in creative outputs.



David Crane

*Canada & the 21st Century*

**T**ORONTO—Canada has still much to do to develop a productive and sustainable economy that creates the wealth to sustain our education and health-care systems and to deliver good jobs for a prosperous and equitable society. More success in innovation is one of the key ways to accomplish this. As the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) says in its Global Innovation Index 2017, “laying the foundation for innovation-driven development is more important than ever. Only by sustaining investment in innovation will it be possible to turn the current cyclical upswing into sustained economic growth.”

While the current upsurge in Canada’s GDP numbers is welcome news, this should be seen as part of the cyclical recovery from the deep recession of a decade ago and its aftermath. But this does not mean we are now on the path to the innovative and high-productivity economy we need for a sustained better future. We are not.

For Canada, this is a real challenge. We can no longer count on \$100 oil to bail us out. We were never an energy superpower and won’t become one. Nor can we assume things will return to the way they were, because they won’t. The world has changed. Instead, we have to create new economic strengths through innovation. Yet WIPO’s latest innovation index ranks Canada 18th in the world, a drop from its 15th place a year earlier. Our businesses are weak investors in research and development and advanced technologies and many fail to scale up to the needed size for global success.



Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains, right, pictured June 7, 2017, on the Hill testing out a hydrogen fuel cell car with Liberal MP David Lametti. *The Hill Times file photograph*



While the Trudeau government has tried to seize the agenda through its appointment of its Advisory Council on Economic Growth and its Innovation and Skills Plan, including a promised innovation agenda, it is slow on delivery, stronger on rhetoric than action. But it is trying. The opposition parties haven’t even grasped the importance of the challenges we face. *The Hill Times file photograph*

The index, developed by WIPO, Cornell University, and INSEAD, the prominent European business school, lists Switzerland, Sweden, the Netherlands, the United States, and Britain as the leading innovation nations. At the same time, China has moved from 25th to 22nd spot while Mexico struggles at its 58th spot. The Canadian problem seems to be one of turning innovation inputs, such as investment in education and support for research and development, into innovation outputs and competitive new products and services. Canada ranks 10th in innovation inputs and 23rd in innovation outputs, according to the WIPO index. Overall, Canada ranks 7th in institutions, such as

stable government, 20th in human capital and research, 18th in infrastructure, 24th in business sophistication, 19th in knowledge and technology outputs, and 27th in creative outputs.

Canada does reasonably well in education, based on international school tests and higher education rankings. The recent Times Higher Education World University Rankings, for example, ranked the University of Toronto in 22nd place, the University of British Columbia 34th, McGill University 42nd, and McMaster University 78th, in the top 100 universities. But Canadian business, it appears, does not

know how to make the best use of skilled graduates.

Another report, the 2016 Top 100 Global Innovators Report, did not list a single Canadian company among the world’s top 100 innovative corporations—BlackBerry was on the list last year but was dropped this year. The list, prepared by Clarivate Analytics (formerly the intellectual property and science business of Thomson Reuters), included 39 U.S. companies, 34 Japanese, 10 French, four German, three South Korean and three Swiss companies among the top 100. China, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, and Taiwan had one each and the Netherlands two.

While Canada has some truly competitive companies producing

products or services other countries want, such as CAE in-flight simulators, Magna International and Linamar in auto parts, Manulife Financial in insurance, and BlackBerry-QNX in autonomous vehicle technology, we need to do much better. We are a nation of start-ups, quite good at starting companies, but we fail when it comes to scale-ups, growing our companies to successful world-scale businesses—rather, our most promising new companies are often acquired by foreign multinationals, so we end up producing seed corn for others.

Much is at stake. Without a more productive, innovative, and competitive economy we will not be able to earn the wealth to support our health, education, and other needs that depend on a growing tax base; nor deliver the good jobs that support a vibrant middle class, provide a ladder for those seeking to climb out of a low-income world, or create the opportunities for young people

entering the job market.

Yet all of this is largely on the margins of serious political debate in Canada.

While the Trudeau government has tried to seize the agenda through its appointment of its Advisory Council on Economic Growth and its Innovation and Skills Plan, including a promised innovation agenda, it is slow on delivery, stronger on rhetoric than action. But it is trying. The opposition parties haven’t even grasped the importance of the challenges we face.

The new Conservative leader, Andrew Scheer, seems determined to return to the discredited fiscal policies of the Harper government with his promise to eliminate the federal deficit within two years of achieving office, no matter what. Yet it was that obsession by the Harper government with deficit elimination in a period of slow growth that needlessly held Canada’s economy back: what matters is the debt to GDP ratio, not the deficit per se.

Moreover, Scheer has appointed, as his critic on innovation policy, Maxime Bernier, a misguided small-government zealot with little appetite for government investment in innovation. We don’t know who the NDP leader will be, but the NDP is most often a champion of small business, favouring tax cuts for shop owners, restaurants and beauty salons as the way to stimulate the economy. Yet it is not small business that drives economic growth—growth comes from growth companies that start small, but want to become bigger.

Getting our policies right is critical. But if our politicians are failing to study and debate the real issues we are less likely to get the policies right. This applies to opposition parties as well as government. In today’s world, our MPs are falling down on the job. They need to get serious about our real challenges—not be looking for quick and easy headlines.

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

*The Hill Times*



The new Conservative leader, Andrew Scheer, seems determined to return to the discredited fiscal policies of the Harper government with his promise to eliminate the federal deficit within two years of achieving office, no matter what. *The Hill Times file photograph*



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# HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

## After cabinet shuffle, new Veterans Affairs Minister O'Regan hires a chief of staff

PARLIAMENT HILL—New Veterans Affairs and Associate Defence Minister **Seamus O'Regan** has a new chief of staff running his first-ever ministerial office. **Cyndi Jenkins** moved over from her role in the Prime Minister's Office to take on the job.

Until recently, Ms. Jenkins had been an Atlantic regional desk adviser in the PMO's operations branch since the beginning of 2016. Before that, she was director of issues management in Liberal New Brunswick premier **Brian Gallant's** office in Fredericton.

Ms. Jenkins briefly served as executive director of the New Brunswick Liberal Association, according to her LinkedIn profile, and is a former associate with Cox & Palmer, a law firm in Fredericton. Before leaving to study law at the University of New Brunswick, she was a scheduling coordinator in the office of then Liberal N.B. premier **Shawn Graham**, and a former political aide to the then-named federal minister of Indian and Northern Affairs in Ottawa.



Cyndi Jenkins is now chief of staff to the Veterans Affairs Minister. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

She replaces **Christine Tabbert** as chief of staff to the Veterans Affairs minister. Her new boss, Mr. O'Regan, who also hails from the East Coast, is the Liberal MP for St. John's South-Mount Pearl, N.L.

Ms. Tabbert had overseen the office under former minister **Kent Hehr**, who is now the minister responsible for Sports and Persons with Disabilities, from the beginning. She was previously an assistant vice president and lead counsel for advisory services at Manulife Financial in Toronto, and before that was a partner in Fasken Martineau's litigation department.

It's unclear where Ms. Tabbert is now, but stay tuned to **Hill**

**Climbers** for any updates.

**Peter Cullen** is no longer listed as working in the Veterans Affairs minister's office, according to the government's electronic directory service. He had been hired to the office around May 2016 as an assistant to the minister's parliamentary secretary, then Liberal MP **Karen McCrimmon**. Liberal MP **Sherry Romanado** was shuffled in as parliamentary secretary for Veterans Affairs back in January.

As recently reported by **Hill Climbers**, just before the shuffle **Alex Wellstead** stepped into the role of press secretary in the Veterans Affairs minister's office, filling a role which opened up after press secretary **Sarah McMaster** went on maternity leave last month.

Along with moving Mr. O'Regan into Veterans Affairs and Mr. Hehr into the Sports portfolio, the recent Liberal cabinet shuffle also saw **Jane Philpott** take on the new role of Indigenous Services Minister, with former parliamentary secretary to the Finance minister **Ginette Petitpas Taylor** taking over as Health minister. Former Sports minister **Carla Qualtrough** is now Public Services and Procurement Minister, and former Indigenous and Northern Affairs minister **Carolyn Bennett** is now the Crown-Indigenous Relations minister, working closely with Ms. Philpott in their new roles.

So far, as of filing deadline last week, the rest of the Veterans Affairs minister's team remained in place during the post-shuffle transition.

That includes: **Paul McCarthy**, director of policy; **Jeff Valois**, director of parliamentary affairs; **Rob Rosenfeld**, director of communications and issues management; **Alex Wellstead**, press secretary; **Ben Charland**, stakeholder relations; **Trevor Harrison**, issues manager; **Sarah Nasser**, policy adviser; **Katharine Hues**, legislative assistant; **Bernard O'Meara**, special assistant for operations; **Ana Fajarczuk**, executive assistant to the minister; and special assistants **Daniel Bourque** and **Annabelle St-Pierre Archambault**.

Having stepped into a brand new role, Ms. Philpott hasn't inherited an existing ministerial staff team, but Ms. Philpott's press secretary from Health, **Andrew MacKendrick**, is continuing to staff the minister during the transition.



Here comes trouble: New Veterans Minister Seamus O'Regan has a new chief of staff running his office. The Hill Times file photo

As she works to hire on her own team, Ms. Philpott is also currently being supported by exempt staffers working for Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister **Carolyn Bennett**, as indicated by Ms. Bennett's communications director, **James Fitz-Morris**, indicated to *The Hill Times* last week.

Another first-time minister, Ms. Petitpas Taylor has largely inherited Ms. Philpott's old staff team, led by chief of staff **Geneviève Hinse**.

That includes senior staffers: **Caroline Pitfield**, director of policy; **Jordan Miller**, director of parliamentary affairs; **Yves Comeau**,

director of communications; and **Brian Kaufmann**, senior policy adviser, amongst others.

Over in new Public Services and Procurement Minister **Carla Qualtrough's** office, all of former minister **Judy Foote's** political staff team currently remain in place during the transition.

Along with chief of staff **Gianluca Cairo**, that includes senior staffers: **Stevie O'Brien**, director of policy; **Lucio Durante**, director of operations; **Taras Zalusky**, director of policy, procurement and parliamentary affairs; **Mary-Rose Brown**, policy adviser

and acting director of communications; **Katherine O'Halloran**, national manager of regional affairs; and **Anthony Laporte**, press secretary, amongst others.

Mr. Hehr has similarly inherited the old Sports minister's staff team, which so far remains in place during the post-shuffle transition. **Matt Stickney** is chief of staff in the office. Other senior staffers include: **David Bedford**, interim director of policy; **Jude Welch**, director of parliamentary affairs and issues management;

Continued on page 34

### Cabinet List

Minister	Portfolio	Chief of Staff	D. Comms	Press Secretary	Main Office Telephone
Trudeau, Justin	Prime Minister; Intergovernmental Affairs, Youth	Katie Telford	Kate Purchase	Eleanore Catenaro, Chantal Gagnon, Cameron Ahmad	613-957-5555
Bains, Navdeep	Innovation, Science and Economic Development	Elder Marques	-	Karl W. Sasseville	343-291-2500
Bennett, Carolyn	Crown-Indigenous Relations	Rick Theis	James Fitz-Morris	Sabrina Williams	819-997-0002
Bibeau, Marie-Claude	International Development and La Francophonie	Geoffroi Montpetit	Louis Bélanger	Marie-Emmanuelle Cadieux	343-203-6238, (PS) 343-203-5977
Brison, Scott	Treasury Board	Sabina Saini	Bruce Cheadle	Jean-Luc Ferland	613-369-3170
Carr, Jim	Natural Resources	Zoë Caron	Laurel Munroe	Alexandre Deslongchamps	343-292-6837
Champagne, François-Philippe	International Trade	Julian Owens	Joe Pickerill	Pierre-Olivier Herbert	343-203-7332
Chagger, Bardish	Small Business and Tourism	Olivier Duchesneau (acting)	Jonathan Dignan	-	343-291-2700
Duclos, Jean-Yves	Families, Children and Social Development	Rheal Lewis	Mark Kennedy	Sabrina Atwal	613-995-2727
Duncan, Kirsty	Science	(acting) Marjorie Michel	Mathieu Filion	Emilie Gauduchon	819-654-5546
Freeland, Chrystia	Foreign Affairs	Anne Dawson	Michael Bhardwaj	Ann Marie Paquet	343-291-2600
		Jeremy Broadhurst	Alexander Lawrence	Adam Austen	343-203-1851, (D. Comm) 343-203-5938
Gameau, Marc	Transport	Jean-Philippe Arseneau	Marc Roy	Delphine Denis	613-991-0700
Goodale, Ralph	Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness	Marci Surkes	Dan Brien	Scott Bardsley	613-991-2924
Gould, Karina	Democratic Institutions	Rob Jamieson	John O'Leary	Byrne Furlong	613-943-1838
Hajdu, Patty	Employment, Workforce Development and Labour	Matthew Mitschke	Carlene Variyan	Matt Pascuzzo	819-654-5611
Hehr, Kent	Sports and Persons with Disabilities	Matt Stickney	Jane Almeida	Ashley Michnowski	819-934-1122
Hussen, Ahmed	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship	Ali Salam	Bernie Derible	-	613-954-1064
Joly, Mélanie	Canadian Heritage	Leslie Church	Christine Michaud	-	819-997-7788
LeBlanc, Dominic	Fisheries, Oceans & Coast Guard	Vince MacNeil	Kevin Lavigne	Laura Gareau	613-992-3474
Lebouthillier, Diane	National Revenue	Josée Guilmette	Cédric Beauregard	John Power	613-955-2960
MacAulay, Lawrence	Agriculture and Agri-Food	Mary Jean McFall	Guy Gallant	Oliver Anderson	613-773-1059
McKenna, Catherine	Environment and Climate Change	Marlo Reynolds	Caitlin Workman	Marie-Pascale Des Rosiers	819-938-3813
Monsef, Maryam	Status of Women	Monique Lugli	Philippe Charlebois	Célia Canon	819-997-2494
Morneau, Bill	Finance	Richard Maksymetz	Daniel Lauzon	Chloe Luciani-Girouard	613-369-5696
O'Regan, Seamus	Veterans Affairs, Associate Defence	Cyndi Jenkins	Rob Rosenfeld	Alex Wellstead (Veterans) (Associate Defence)	613-996-4649, 613-996-3100
Petitpas Taylor, Ginette	Health	Geneviève Hinse	Yves Comeau	-	613-957-0200
Philpott, Jane	Indigenous Services	-	-	Andrew MacKendrick	613-957-0200
Qualtrough, Carla	Public Services and Procurement	Gianluca Cairo	(acting) Mary-Rose Brown	Anthony Laporte	819-997-5421
Sajjan, Harjit	National Defence	Zita Astravas	Renée Filiatrault	Jordan Owens	613-996-3100
Sohi, Amarjeet	Infrastructure and Communities	John Brodhead	Kate Monfette	Brook Simpson	613-949-1759
Wilson-Raybould, Jody	Justice	Lea MacKenzie	David Taylor	Kathleen Davis*	613-992-4621*

Parliamentary affairs and communications adviser.

Prime Minister's Press Office: 613-957-5555

Kate Purchase, director of communications  
Andrée-Lyne Hallé, deputy director of communications  
Cameron Ahmad, media relations manager

—Last updated on Sept. 6, 2017.



# HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

## Two more federal NDPers going to work in new British Columbia government

Continued from page 33

**Jane Almeida**, director of communications; and **Ashley Michnowski**, press secretary.

More post-shuffle staffing changes are expected to likely follow the recent Liberal summer caucus retreat, which took place Sept. 5 to Sept. 7 in Kelowna, B.C.

In other PMO staffing news, youth affairs adviser **Tamer Abdalla** recently got a shout out from Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** on Twitter.

"Big welcome back to @tam-erabdalla! He's re-joined PMO after Army Reserve training this summer. Thanks to all [Canadian] reservists for your service," tweeted Mr. Trudeau on Sept. 1.

Mr. Abdalla has been working as a youth affairs adviser in the Prime Minister's Office since January 2016, having served as

manager of field organization for the Liberals in Ontario during the 2015 election campaign.

He's now the only person in the office specifically listed as providing youth affairs advice, after former youth affairs adviser **Hilary Leftick** switched roles to become director of public appointments in the PMO early this year after the departure of now Liberal MP **Mary Ng**.

Mr. Trudeau is also the minister responsible for youth and for intergovernmental affairs.

### Innovation Minister Bains' communications director takes leave

Innovation, Science, and Economic Development Minister

**Navdeep Bains'** director of communications, **Pauline Tam**, has gone on leave as of Sept. 8.

Ms. Tam indicated she would be taking leave from her role in Mr. Bains' office for health reasons in a Sept. 6 email to media.

She was hired on to work for the minister back in June 2016, and previously worked as a strategic communications consultant with Own Your Story Strategic Communications in Ottawa. Before that, she spent around two decades as a staff writer for *The Ottawa Citizen*, ending as the paper's health and medical reporter.

**Karl Sasseville** remains press secretary in Mr. Bains' office, which is run by chief of staff **Elder Marques**.

### More federal NDP staffers heading to B.C.

Two more federal NDP staffers are heading West to work for the new NDP government in British Columbia, led by premier **John Horgan**.

**Tim Howlett** worked his last day as director of policy and research for the NDP caucus on the Hill the week before last. He's been tapped to serve as manager of issues management in the B.C. government's communications and public engagement branch, which falls under the purview of Minister of Advanced Education, Skills, and Training **Melanie Mark**.

Mr. Howlett has spent a number of years working on Parliament Hill, starting off as a legislative assistant to NDP MP **Nathan Cullen**. After the 2011 election, he joined the NDP official opposition leader's office and filled a number of roles over the years, including policy and stake-



George Smith is B.C. bound. *The Hill Times* file photo

holder relations and issues management, before being promoted to the role of director of policy and research in September 2016.

**George Smith** similarly marked his last day working as director of media relations for the federal NDP caucus on the Hill last week. He's been hired on as a senior assistant to B.C. Attorney General **David Eby**, the NDP MLA for Vancouver Point Grey.

Mr. Smith started working for the NDP on the Hill shortly after the 2011 federal election, during its early days as official opposition. He became executive and media assistant to outgoing NDP leader **Thomas Mulcair**, and did communications work for the party during

the 2015 federal election. In July 2016, he was promoted to the role of deputy director of communications, but not long after switched titles again to become director of media relations.

Mr. Smith's twin brother, **James Smith**, continues to work as a press secretary for the NDP caucus on the Hill, alongside fellow press secretaries **Sarah Andrews** and **Mélanie Richer**.

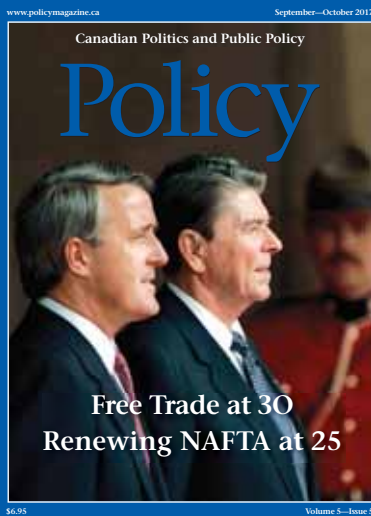
The new B.C. NDP government was sworn in on July 18, forming minority government after striking a deal to win the support of the province's Green Party following the narrow May 9 election. The B.C. Liberals won 43 of the provincial legislature's 87 seats in the election, while the NDP won 41 seats and the Greens three.

Mr. Smith and Mr. Howlett join some familiar faces from Ottawa in B.C. Former NDP director of leadership **Rick Devereux**, who also previously was director of operations to the NDP leader on the Hill, is now director of events services in the B.C. government's communications and public engagement branch.

Former NDP senior caucus writer **Danielle Dalzell** also now works in the communications and public engagement branch as manager of special projects.

**Ray Guardia** is chief of staff to Mr. Mulcair, who's set to be replaced as party leader some time next month. **Jordan Lechnitz**, **Lucy Watson** and **Chantale Turgeon** are deputy chiefs of staff. Amongst other central NDP Hill staff, **Riccardo Filippone**, to whom both Mr. Smith and Mr. Howlett reported, remains director of strategic communications.

*lryckewaert@hilltimes.com*  
*The Hill Times*



September 19, 2017

A Policy Magazine Working Lunch

## The NAFTA Talks

A Panel Discussion with Authors from Our Special Issue

**Sarah Goldfeder**, Principal, Earncliffe Strategy Group and former U.S. diplomat who advised two U.S. ambassadors to Ottawa as well as serving in Mexico.

**Meredith Lilly**, Simon Reisman Chair in International Affairs at Carleton University and former international trade adviser in previous PMO.

**Don Newman**, Senior Counsel, Navigator and Ensign Canada, *Policy* columnist and Chair, Canada 2020.

Moderated by *Policy* Editor L. Ian MacDonald.

Plus pollster **Frank Graves** with EKOS numbers—the mood on NAFTA.

The Rideau Club, 99 Bank Street 15<sup>th</sup> Floor

Date: September 19, 2017

Time: 12–1.30 PM

Tables of 8 @ \$1,000, 1/2 tables @ \$500

More Information: [info@policymagazine.ca](mailto:info@policymagazine.ca) or (514) 943-3868

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PARLIAMENTARY  
CALENDAR



Federal cabinet  
meets in St.  
John’s for pre-  
Parliament  
retreat

MONDAY, SEPT. 11

**Cabinet Retreat**—The newly shuffled cabinet is set to meet in St. John’s, N.L. for a retreat from Sept. 11 to 13, just before Parliament returns.

**House Health Committee Meets on the Hill**—The House Health Committee will be holding meetings all week, beginning on Monday, Sept. 11 to review Bill C-45, the Cannabis Act. The committee will be hearing from witnesses all week long from 8:30 a.m.-6 p.m. (EDT). Monday to Friday, Room 415, Wellington Building, 197 Sparks St.

**House Transport Committee Meets on the Hill**—The House Transport Committee will be holding meetings this week, also beginning Monday, Sept. 11 to Thursday Sept. 14. The committee will be reviewing Bill C-49, the Transportation Modernization Act.

**Happy Birthday, MP Raj Grewal**—Liberal MP Raj Grewal (Brampton East, Ont.) celebrates his birthday today. He turns 32.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 12

**Ballade on the Rideau**—The Ottawa Choral Society is organizing a twilight cruise along the Rideau Canal to raise funds for its concerts, and vocal and choral arts in the nation’s capital. The cruise departs from the boarding pier in front of the Shaw Centre in Ottawa (east side of the canal) at 5 p.m. and terminates at Dow’s Lake at 6:30 p.m. It will feature wine, a selection of savoury treats, and the light, mellow jazz offerings of guitarist Ed Stevens. \$50 per person; only room for 90 passengers. Reserve now at 613-725-2560 or admin@ottawachoralsociety.com.

**Mexico, Canada, NAFTA, and Beyond**—As discussion on the “modernization” of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) ramps up, Mexican Ambassador Dionisio Pérez-Jácome will help shed light on what’s at stake, the risks, and opportunities, along with other strategic elements of the Canada-Mexico relationship. 5:30 p.m. registration, cash bar, reception; 6:30 p.m. presentation, discussion; 7:45 p.m. optional dinner. Rideau Room, Sheraton Hotel, 150 Albert St. For a list of ticket prices and to register: <https://cicncbsep122017.eventbrite.ca> or [ottawa@thecic.org](mailto:ottawa@thecic.org) or 613-903-4011.

**ASEAN Film Festival**—The ASEAN Committee in Ottawa is organizing this film festival. At a launch evening on Sept. 12, the ACO will be screening a Brunei-made film, Yasmine. 5:30-8:30 p.m. Ottawa Public Library, 120 Metcalfe St., Ottawa. [eventbrite.com/e/asean-film-festival-launching-evening-tickets-37424645121](http://eventbrite.com/e/asean-film-festival-launching-evening-tickets-37424645121).

**Happy Birthday, MP Angelo Iacono**—Liberal MP Angelo Iacono (Alfred-Pellan, Que.) celebrates his birthday today. He turns 52.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 13

**Census Data Release**—On Sept. 13, Statistics Canada will release data from the 2016 census on income for Canada, its provinces and territories, municipalities, and many more detailed levels of geography. Media lock-up: 12 a.m. (midnight) until 8:30 a.m. ET. Statistics Canada (Ottawa), 170 Tunney’s Pasture Driveway, Jean Talon Building.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 14

**Canadian Psychiatric Association Conference 2017**—This annual scientific and continuing education conference will take place at the Shaw Convention Centre, 55 Colonel By Dr., Ottawa, Ont. Scientific programming from 8:30 a.m. on Sept. 14 to 6 p.m. on Sept. 16. Close to 300 leaders in the field of psychiatry and mental health will be in Ottawa to present new research on psychiatry, clinical practice, and patient care.

**Fête Champêtre**—The Ottawa Symphony Orchestra invites you to Fête Champêtre, one of Ottawa’s premier must-attend cultural events. Guests will socialize over light refreshments, fine beverages, and the sound of beautiful classical music. This year’s event is hosted by Claudio Taffuri, the Ambassador of Italy to Canada. Tickets are limited. \$100 each. Visit [tiny.cc/ottawasymphony](http://tiny.cc/ottawasymphony) for more information or call 613-231-7802.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 15

**SSHRC Impact Awards**—Governor General David Johnston will present the 2017 Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Impact Awards at Rideau Hall, on Friday, Sept. 15, 2017, at 6 p.m. The Impact Awards recognize the highest achievements in social sciences and humanities research, knowledge mobilization, and scholarship supported by SSHRC. Five awards will be presented including the Gold Medal. By invitation only. For more info: [heather.sams@sshrc-crsh.gc.ca](mailto:heather.sams@sshrc-crsh.gc.ca) or 613-992- 5138.

**How Resurgent Nationalism is Reshaping Economics and the World**—Join Carleton alumnus Greg Ip, chief economics commentator at the *Wall Street Journal*, for a discussion about resurgent nationalism and the retreat of elite opinion. From his perch in Washington, D.C., he will discuss the origins of these trends, how durable they are, whether Canada will join them, and what it means for economists and journalists. Singhal Family Theatre on the second floor of Richcraft Hall at Carleton University. Doors open at 6:30 p.m.; keynote speech, 7 p.m.; reception at the theatre atrium, 8:30-9:30 p.m. Admission is free.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 16

**Canadian Press/CBC Golf Tournament**—The second annual Parliament Hill Open is taking place Saturday, Sept. 16. Mont Cascades Golf Club, Cantley, Que. (30 minutes from Ottawa). Tee times start around 11 a.m.; best-ball format, with a bevy of prizes, and an auction raising money for the Tom Hanson Photojournalism Award, a six-week CP internship for an aspiring photographer that honours the memory of one of its most celebrated and popular press gallery members. Sign up as a complete foursome or as a single or pair. \$95, includes green fee, power cart, and steak dinner. Email CP Ottawa’s James McCarten ([james.mccarten@thecanadianpress.com](mailto:james.mccarten@thecanadianpress.com)) or the CBC’s Paul MacInnis ([paul.macinnis@cbc.ca](mailto:paul.macinnis@cbc.ca)) for more information or to hold your space.

**NDP Summer Caucus Retreat**—The retreat is taking place at the Hamilton Convention Centre on Sept. 16 and 17. All 44 NDP MPs are expected to arrive in Hamilton, Ont., a day before the retreat to attend a CFL football game between the Hamilton Tiger-Cats and the Saskatchewan Roughriders on Friday evening.

**Carleton University’s Big 75th Birthday Bash**—The university is celebrating its 75th birthday with an event with free admission featuring a 50-foot ferris wheel, birthday cake, beer gardens, magic show, and more. 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Saturday, Sept. 16. Parking Lot 5, Athletics Centre, 1125 Colonel By Dr., Ottawa. [events.carleton.ca/carletons-75th-birthday-bash](http://events.carleton.ca/carletons-75th-birthday-bash).

SUNDAY, SEPT. 17

**10th Edition of the Canada Army Run**—This annual race weekend features members of the public and Canadian Armed Forces. Sunday, Sept. 17. Register online via [armyrun.ca](http://armyrun.ca). Festival Plaza, Ottawa City Hall.

**Terry Fox Run for Cancer Research**—This annual event takes place in communities across Canada. Run, walk, blade, or bike in a non-competitive environment while raising funds for cancer. [terryfox.org/run/](http://terryfox.org/run/).

**NDP Leadership Candidate Showcase**—Leadership candidates will have one last chance to pitch to voters before online voting begins tomorrow. Hamilton, Ont.

MONDAY, SEPT. 18

**Online Voting Begins in NDP Leadership Race**—The first ballot results announcement will take place Oct. 1, and subsequent ballot results each following week until a winner is determined. A new leader will be selected no later than Oct. 15.

**House Resumes**—The House of Commons resumes on Sept. 18 and is scheduled to sit weekdays until Oct. 6. It will take a one-week break, Oct. 9-13. It will sit again for four consecutive weeks, meeting weekdays from Monday, Oct. 16 to Friday, Nov. 10. It will take a one-week break from Nov. 13-17 and will return on Monday, Nov. 20, to sit every weekday for four consecutive weeks until Friday, Dec. 15. The House is scheduled to adjourn that day.

**CPAC’s 25th Anniversary:** The Cable Public Affairs Channel, popularly known as CPAC, is marking its 25th anniversary with an event in Ottawa’s Hill precinct. The public affairs cable channel, which broadcasts parliamentary proceedings, will use the event to celebrate the milestone and unveil what’s next for the network. It will run from 5:30 to 8 p.m. at Room 100, Sir John A. Macdonald Building, 144 Wellington Street. RSVP by Sept. 1.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 19

**Senate Resumes**—The Senate is set to resume on Sept. 19. It is scheduled to sit Tuesday to Thursday (with the option of adding Mondays and Fridays) for three consecutive weeks until Oct. 5, with a break week Oct. 9-13. It will resume sitting Oct. 17 to Nov. 9, which will be followed by another break week, Nov. 13-17. It will come back Nov. 21 to Dec. 22.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured at Ottawa’s gay pride parade on Aug. 27, will be convening a cabinet meeting in St. John’s, N.L., from Sept. 11-13. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

TUESDAY, SEPT. 19

**Consumers 150: The State of Canadian Consumer Rights and Advocacy**—This two-day conference will examine issues affecting Canadian consumers, including the cost of prescription drugs, sharing economy platforms, air passenger protections, and much more. Ottawa, Ont., Sept. 19-20. For complete information and to register, please visit [consumers150.ca](http://consumers150.ca). The conference is being hosted by the Public Interest Advocacy Centre, Option consommateurs, the Consumers Council of Canada, and Union des consommateurs.

**Research in Canada: The Naylor Report Under the Microscope**—Join Universities Canada and Policy Options for a lively discussion moderated by Jennifer Ditchburn, editor-in-chief of Policy Options, on the report from the Fundamental Science Review Panel. Featured speakers include: John Borrows, Canada Research Chair in Indigenous Law, University of Victoria Law School; Santa Ono, president of The University of British Columbia; and Dr. Janet Rossant, president and scientific director of the Gairdner Foundation. Sept. 19, 2017, 12 to 2 p.m., Fairmont Château Laurier, Laurier Room. For more information, visit [univcan.ca/events](http://univcan.ca/events).

**A Policy Magazine Working Lunch: The NAFTA Talks**—Hosted by Policy Magazine, there will be a panel discussion with Sarah Goldfeder, principal at Earncliffe Strategy Group and former U.S. diplomat; Meredith Lilly, Simon Reisman chair in international affairs at Carleton University and former PMO international trade adviser; Don Newman, senior counsel Navigator and Ensignt Canada, Policy columnist and chair Canada 2020. Moderated by Policy editor L. Ian MacDonald. Tuesday, Sept. 19, 12 noon-1:30 p.m., The Rideau Club, 99 Bank St., 15th floor. Info: [info@policymagazine.ca](mailto:info@policymagazine.ca) or 514-943- 3868.

**Invictus Games 2017: Transforming Empathy in Empowerment**—Join the Canadian Club of Ottawa for its first luncheon of the season with Michael Burns, CEO, Invictus Games 2017. The 2017 Invictus Games will honour the men and women who have come face-to-face with the realities of sacrificing for their country, by using the power of sport to help them on their journey to recovery. 11:30 a.m.-2 p.m. Fairmont Château Laurier, Drawing Room, 1 Rideau Street.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 20

**Liberal Caucus Meeting**—The Liberals will meet in Room 237-C Centre Block on Parliament Hill. For more information, please call Liberal Party media relations at [media@liberal.ca](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 Room 112-N Centre Block, on Wednesday. For more information, please call the NDP Media Centre at 613-222-2351 or [ndpcom@parl.gc.ca](mailto:ndpcom@parl.gc.ca).

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

THURSDAY, SEPT. 21

**Diversity Dividend: Canada’s Global Advantage**—The Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences in partnership with the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation presents this Big Thinking Lecture featuring Bessma Momani, senior fellow, Centre for International Governance, University of Waterloo, and Jillian Stirk, former ambassador and assistant deputy minister, and mentor with the Trudeau Foundation. Sept. 21. 7:30-8.45 a.m. Parliamentary Restaurant, Centre Block. \$25, pre-registration required. Complimentary for Parliamentarians and the media. Break-fast included. [ideas-idees.ca/events/big-thinking](http://ideas-idees.ca/events/big-thinking).

THURSDAY, SEPT. 21

**Big Thinking on the Hill with Bessma Momani and Jillian Stirk**—The next Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences’ Big Thinking on the Hill lecture features Bessma Momani and Jillian Stirk speaking on “Diversity dividend: Canada’s global advantage”. What is the relationship between diversity and economic prosperity? Join Bessma Momani, professor of political science at the University of Waterloo and Senior Fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation and Jillian Stirk, former Canadian ambassador and a Mentor with the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation as they present the results and policy recommendations from a year-long research project that shows a positive correlation between workplace diversity, revenue and productivity in Canada. A hot breakfast will be served on Thursday, Sept. 21 from 7:30 am to 8:45 am in the Parliamentary Restaurant, Centre Block. Free for parliamentarians and the media - \$25 for all others. Organized in partnership with the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation. For more information and to register go to [www.ideas-idees.ca/big-thinking](http://www.ideas-idees.ca/big-thinking) or call 613-238- 6112 ext. 310.

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**Library and Archives Canada’s Signature Series: Paul Martin**—Please join us for this lively conversation as Dr. Guy Berthiaume, librarian and archivist of Canada, interviews former prime minister Paul Martin before a live audience. A 15-minute question period for media will follow. Documents from Library and Archives Canada’s Paul Martin fonds will also be on display during the event. The discussion will be in English with simultaneous translation in French. Sept. 21. 12:15-1:15 p.m. Library and Archives Canada, 395 Wellington Street, 2nd floor.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 22

**Group of 78 Annual Conference—The Group of 78 hosts its annual conference** in Ottawa, with the theme: “Getting to Nuclear Zero: Building Common Security for a Post-MAD World.” For details on the agenda and registration, visit <http://group78.org/conference-2017/> or call 613-565-9449.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 23

**Recovery Day Ottawa 2017**—The Community Addictions Peer Support Association (CAPSA) will be holding its 5th annual Recovery Day Ottawa at City Hall to raise awareness about addictions and to celebrate those in recovery from addiction and their supporters. The event will run from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., with the main rally to go from 1:30 to 3:30 p.m. To RSVP or for more information visit [RecoveryDayOttawa.ca](http://RecoveryDayOttawa.ca) or contact Gord Garner at 613-709-2418 or Raylene Lang-Dion at 613-355-3428.

**U.S. First Lady Melania Trump to Visit Canada**—U.S. First Lady Melania Trump will lead the United States delegation in support of the 90 American athletes slated to compete at the Invictus Games in Toronto, from Sept. 23 to 30, 2017.

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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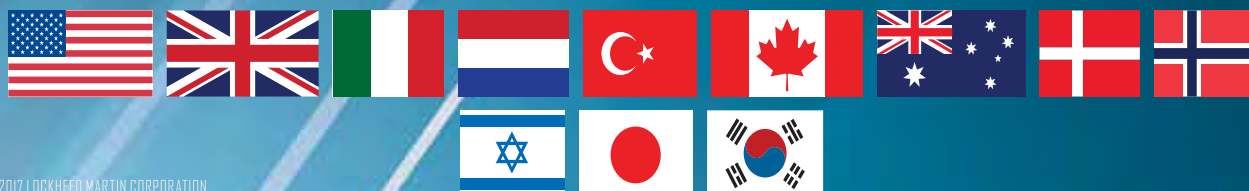
- The F-35 has won every competition it has entered; most recently it was chosen over the Super Hornet and Typhoon.
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