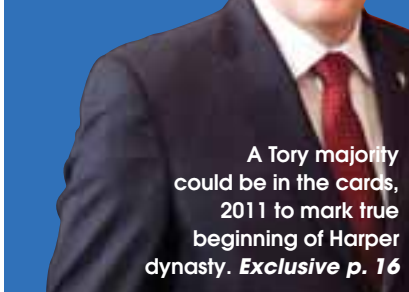


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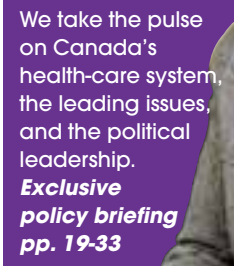
What to do about the Afghan quagmire. **Exclusive** p. 10

ELECTION BUZZ



A Tory majority could be in the cards, 2011 to mark true beginning of Harper dynasty. **Exclusive** p. 16

HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING



We take the pulse on Canada's health-care system, the leading issues, and the political leadership. **Exclusive** policy briefing pp. 19-33



Former Ottawa hired gun Bill Rowe serves up a juicy insider look at the 'most vicious' federal-provincial battle in Newfoundland and Labrador's history. **p. 34**



THE HILL TIMES

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR, NO. 1074

CANADA'S POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT NEWSWEEKLY

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 2011 \$4.00

Tories raise whopping \$17.3-million, parties question 'Republican-style' tactics

The party raised \$17.3-million in 2010, compared to \$7-million collected by the Liberal party, \$4.4-million raised by the NDP, \$1.3-million by the Green Party and \$642,500 by the Bloc Québécois.

By **TIM NAUMETZ**

The minority governing Conservatives' staggering lead on the other main parties in financial donations last year and a lingering question about its creation through a merger of the former federal Progressive Conservative and Canadian Alliance parties have sparked more comparisons between Conservative tactics and U.S. Republican Party political methods.

Please see story on Page 46

Copyright heats up in legislative committee

Bill C-32, Copyright Modernization Act



Photographs by Jake Wright, The Hill Times

Copyright committee: Lib MP Dan McTeague; Tory MPs Dean Del Mastro and Gord Brown; and lawyer Howard Knopf.

Conservatives say partisanship interfering in Bill C-32 hearings

Copyright Modernization Act review could be delayed until the fall as opposition parties call for 200 more witnesses.

By **BEA VONGDOUANGCHANH**

Opposition MPs want to hear from 200 more witnesses on the House special legislative committee studying the controversial Copyright Modernization Act, Bill C-32, but the Tories say excessive partisanship is interfering with the meetings.

"I think there's an elephant in the room at the committee, which is that everybody is going into it, unfortunately, with a very partisan political stance, rather than working together on the bill which was the intent of setting up the legislative committee to

Please see Legislation on Page 4

Experts urge feds to move offshore oil drilling environmental protection under Atlantic Accord

Experts say the governments of Newfoundland and Canada should move environmental and safety protection in the Atlantic Accord.

By **KRISTEN SHANE**

Two Canadian academics are urging the provincial and federal governments to respond to problems they say exist within Canada's system of regulating offshore oil and gas drilling and production

Please see story on Page 6

Donolo brings more focus to Liberals' messaging, and a sharper response

A year into the job, Peter Donolo, chief of staff to Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff, has been credited with bringing more discipline, professionalism, and structure to the OLO and caucus.

By **KRISTEN SHANE**

When Peter Donolo stepped into the Official Opposition Leader's Office on Nov. 17, 2009 for his first day as Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff's (Etobicoke-Lakeshore, Ont.) chief of staff, there were high expectations of the 50-year-old.

"You could almost hear the collective sigh of relief gripping the Liberal Party when the leader hired a new chief of staff last week," wrote Hill Times columnist and former Liberal deputy prime minister Sheila Copps. "The leader of the opposition, struggling to recast his own image, now has a pro on his side. For months, Ignatieff has suffered a downward spiral in personal popularity, courtesy of successful Tory attack ads. With the arrival of Donolo, he is finally about to start fighting back."

Please see story on Page 44



Photograph by Jake Wright, The Hill Times

Chief of staff: Peter Donolo, pictured with CTV's Craig Oliver. Mr. Donolo's mantra is 'it's not a sprint, it's a marathon.'

Every Wednesday morning, the most powerful mandarins in government meet over coffee in Langevin

Ned Franks, one of the country's leading experts on Parliament, says deputy ministers should have five-year tenures.

By **JESSICA BRUNO**

Every Wednesday morning, Clerk of the Privy Council Wayne Wouters, the most powerful bureaucrat in the country, gathers

Please see story on Page 47

FEATURE: BUZZ



HEARD ON THE HILL

BY BEA VONGDOUANGCHANH

NDP MP Martin tweets from U.S. national prayer breakfast in D.C., Taste of the Arctic attracts hundreds, Campbell on Bill Maher's show, and Genies coming to O-town

NDP MP **Tony Martin** joined the Twitterverse last Thursday. His first tweets were about a national prayer breakfast he was attending in Washington, D.C. with U.S. President **Barack Obama**, Commander **Mark Kelly** whose wife is Arizona Democratic representative **Gabby Giffords** who was recently shot at a public event in Tucson, Arizona, *Braveheart* filmmaker **Randall Wallace**, and one of the Chilean miners stuck underground for months, **Jose Enriquez**.

He tweeted that the breakfast was "huge" and "inspiring" and that President Obama noted that his wife **Michelle** keeps him "humble."

Mr. Martin and Liberal Senator **David Smith** were the only two federal Canadian legislators at the prayer breakfast. In a press release, Mr. Martin said he hoped "to be inspired and energized" and was "looking forward to having more time to chat with the Canadian delegation of Parliamentarians from other parties and to strengthening relationships for the work ahead."

Genies return to Ottawa

The Genies are coming back to O-town. The National Arts Centre will be hosting Canadian stars, and of course politicians, at the 31st annual Genie Awards on Thursday, March 10 to celebrate the best of Canadian film and television.

"From *Incendies* to *Barney's Version* and many others, this has been an exciting year internationally and at home for Canadian film," said Heritage Minister **James Moore**, who's well-known for hosting Canadian movie screenings.

"The Genie Awards are an important recognition for Canada's film industry of the talent and calibre of Canadian film—I am pleased that this year's Genie Awards show will cap a year of successful Canadian film screenings in Ottawa."

Government House Leader **John Baird**, who represents Ottawa West-Nepean, Ont., and is the region's political minister, was also excited for the Genies to come to town. "As our nation's capital, Ottawa is every Canadian's second hometown," he said in a press release.



They're baaaack: The Genie Awards are back in O-town on March 10 at the NAC. Canadian Heritage Minister James Moore says Canadian film has had a good year.

Photograph by Jake Wright, The Hill Times

"When the Genie Awards come to town, Canada's film industry leaders will have the support of the city and the entire country."

Ottawa Mayor **Jim Watson** said he was "thrilled" the Genies were coming back to the nation's capital. They were previously held here at the Canadian Aviation Museum in 2009. "There is no better backdrop than the nation's capital to showcase a celebration of Canadian film and the people who create and star in it," Mr. Watson said.

CBC will be broadcasting the ceremony live.

The adaptation of Mordecai Richler's book *Barney's Version*, directed by **Richard J. Lewis**, is nominated for 11 Genies, including best picture, best actor, best actress and best director.

Other nominees for best picture are: *10 1/2*, directed by **Pierre Gendron**; *Les Amours Imaginaires/Heartbeats*, directed by **Xavier Dolan**, **Carole Mondello** and **Daniel Morin**; *Incendies*, directed by **Luc Déry** and **Kim McCraw**; and *Splice*, by **Steven Hoban**.

More Heard on the Hill on Page 40

CORRECTIONS: THE HILL TIMES

Re: "Safe drinking water bill on First Nation Lands hits Senate committee," (*The Hill Times*, Jan. 31, p. 45). British Columbia Conservative Senator **Gerry St. Germain** was attributed as the chair of the Standing Senate Committee on Banking, Trade and Commerce. Conservative Ontario Senator **Michael A. Meighen** is that committee's chair.

Due to two typing errors, some Senators' travel expenses were incorrectly listed in the Jan. 17 edition of *The Hill Times*. Conservative Senator **Irving Gerstein's** "other" travel was \$1,476.36, not \$14,796.36 which makes his total expenses \$44,753.38, not \$58,073.38 as listed. In addition, Conservative Senator **Stephen Greene's** "other" travel was \$152.37 not \$125.37, making his total \$42,217.25, not \$42,190.25 as listed. The total for all Senators, therefore, is \$5,336,757.26, not \$5,350,050.26 as listed. *The Hill Times* apologizes for these errors.



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LEGISLATION: COPYRIGHT

Tories say excessive partisanship interfering in Bill C-32 hearings

Copyright Modernization Act review could be delayed until the fall as opposition parties call for 200 more witnesses.

Continued from Page 1

move the bill through," said Conservative MP Dean Del Mastro (Peterborough, Ont.), Parliamentary secretary to the Heritage minister who sits on the special House legislative committee studying Bill C-32.

Mr. Del Mastro told *The Hill Times* last week that it's "unfortunate" that the opposition parties are purposely dragging out committee hearings and refusing to speed up the process by sitting more hours or on more days.

"The reality is what we have is four hours a week to work on the bill, not nearly enough with an enormous list of witnesses," he said, noting that at the current rate the committee is going, it will take until the end of October to finish the hearings. "The opposition is merely punting the ball down the field on this rather than being engaged and wanting to deal with this. There's no reason why this bill cannot be reported back to the House within weeks if the committee was prepared to put the amount of time and effort and dedication that this important issue deserves."

Liberal MP Pablo Rodriguez (Honoré-Mercier, Que.) said, however, that it's the Tories who are not serious about the bill, and that the opposition will study the bill thoroughly.

"What is true is that we'll take whatever time that's necessary to listen to everybody that's affected directly and indirectly by the bill. We'll take the time," he said. "The thing is the Conservatives want to push ahead a bad bill. So fine if they want to try to do that, but we're not going to accept that. We're standing up for our creators, for our musicians, for our actors, for our writers, so we'll take the necessary time to make sure that these people are protected and that rights holders don't lose rights which is the case with this bill. There are people that have rights that lose it because of the bill. So if the Conservatives are not happy because we're standing up for creators well that's their problem. It was up to them to come with a better bill. Now it's up to us to improve it."

Mr. Del Mastro said the committee originally had a plan to report the bill back to the House before it broke in December, but it got derailed because the opposition is now calling for more than 200 witnesses and not willing to sit extra hours or days to compensate.

"I think the opposition is dragging the puck on it. We thought that there was certainly goodwill among the committee members at least to consider the bill as quickly as possible. We're frustrated," he said, noting that all the committee members have already worked on the file for

a long time and have met with several of the witnesses before the bill even got to committee.

"I doubt very much that we will hear anything new from the witnesses, but I think it's important that we do hear from them and move through that process, so for the opposition to say that they need time to consider this and really go through it in a deliberate and comprehensive manner to me it's not truthful," said Mr. Del Mastro.

Industry Minister Tony Clement (Parry Sound-Muskoka, Ont.) introduced Bill C-32, the Copyright Modernization Act, in Parliament on June 2, 2010.

It was the second bill the Conservative government has introduced in two years to make copyright reforms, and the third one since the previous Liberal government, in an attempt to implement World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) treaties and to bring copyright legislation up to date.

Bill C-32 was called for second reading in November, and is currently being studied at a legislative committee.

There have been seven meetings so far, and if passed, would make changes to "better address the challenges and opportunities of the internet, so as to be in line with international standards"; "clarify internet service providers' liability and make the enabling of online copyright infringement itself an infringement of copyright"; "permit businesses, educators and libraries to make greater use of copyright material in digital form"; "allow educators and students to make greater use of copyright material"; "permit certain uses of copyright material by consumers"; "give photographers the same rights as other creators"; "ensure that it remains technologically neutral"; and "mandate its review by Parliament every five years."

Mr. Rodriguez said last week the bill is unbalanced and needs to be amended. He said that if the government wants the bill passed, it will also need to accept those amendments.

"It's quite obvious from what we're hearing that the bill is unbalanced which we said at the beginning, to the detriment of the creators. The people from the cultural sector, the creators and the artists that we've seen say the same thing. This bill has to be fixed. It has many flaws. We support that point of view and we'll work toward that direction," he said.

"If they're responsible, they will [accept amendments]. But I don't see them being very serious about the bill when Minister [James] Moore and Clement did this little stunt there in front of the music store. That was one of the stupidest things I've ever seen in my life," Mr. Rodriguez said, referring to the press conference that Heritage Minister James Moore (Port Moody-Port Coquitlam, B.C.) and Mr. Clement held in front of the HMV at the Rideau Centre in December to highlight the government's opposition to extending the private copying levy to digital devices such as MP3 players and iPods.



Photograph by Jake Wright, *The Hill Times*

Conservative MP Mike Lake sits on the C-32 legislative committee.

"If you're serious about passing the bill, are you going to do a little stunt like that with lies? Or are you going to sit down with the opposition and try to work on an amendment? I never got a call from them. I never got an approach from them to sit down and negotiate anything. Now they're also lying on the iPod levy. So do you think they're really serious about passing the bill? I don't think so."

After months of consultations with the Canadian public and stakeholders and after 13 years in the making, the bill was expected to pass quickly with no major policy differences between the government and the opposition.

The government is against an added levy for artists on digital media players, as proposed by the opposition, and especially the NDP culture and digital issues critic Charlie Angus (Timmins James Bay, Ont.). The private copying levy is currently applied to blank tapes and CDs to compensate artists for the transfer of their work for private use.

Mr. Angus said he doesn't understand why the Conservatives are in a rush to pass the bill, noting that the government could be playing politics, and use it as a potential election issue. He said the bill will be passed this year, and if the Conservatives want it to be done quicker, they need to work with the opposition to make the necessary amendments rather than using copyright as a partisan issue.

Mr. Clement and Mr. Moore showed up to the press conference with young Conservatives wearing "No iPod Tax" T-shirts in the background.

"We are here to confirm that the Harper government will not bring in an iPod tax as part of its copyright legislation. The iPod tax has been proposed and supported by all opposition parties," the ministers said on Dec. 14. "We simply cannot support the opposition's massive new iPod Tax on Canadian music lovers. The iPod tax would add up to \$75 to the price of every MP3 player and smart phone on the market. It would hurt the economy, punish consumers and families,

and send the wrong message during this fragile economic recovery."

Some insiders said recently it's because of this very public criticism and because the Conservatives are using the levy as a wedge issue, that the opposition, especially the Liberals, will drag out the committee process and make it difficult to pass.

When Annie Morin, chair of the board of Canadian Private Copying Collective, testified before the committee in December, she said that the levy is currently \$0.29 for each blank CD, and the amount generated from this revenue stream is declining "at an increasingly alarming rate" because it's becoming more obsolete. She estimated a 60 per cent decline since 2008. She also noted that 70 per cent of the 1.3 billion songs copied annually are done on digital devices.

She told the committee: "That means that Canadian artists receive nothing in exchange for the vast majority of those copies. What we urgently need is a simple amendment to the Copyright Act that would allow the levy to be applied to MP3 players such as the iPod. ... In 2004, the Copyright Board set the amount of the levy at between \$2 and \$25, depending on the type of memory in question. Based on our research and our experience, we believe that those amounts—between \$2 and \$25—are still valid today. When they were applied in 2004, there was no negative impact on the market."

Mr. Del Mastro said, however, that the Conservatives will not support that amendment.

"As long as we're talking about

creating new taxes, you'll have a problem getting Conservative Party support. If we're talking about creating an industry, re-establishing a market place, ensuring that artists and creators have the protections that they deserve in the law, that's what we intend to do, and that's what we intend to establish with C-32," he said, noting that the reason the Liberals are delaying the committee process is because they have flip-flopped their position on the private copying levy.

"The Liberal Party is trying to put as much distance between itself and its vote in the House of Commons when it supported an iPod tax or a digital copying levy. I think they feel the further this moves along or the more time that goes by the more distance they can get between their stated position and their voted position and what their position is apparently today," he said. "The reality is if they really want to distance themselves, they can demonstrate to every Canadian, they can demonstrate to the Retail Council of Canada that appeared today that they're opposed to the iPod tax by passing this bill as soon as possible without an iPod tax. That's very simple."

Mr. Rodriguez maintained, however, that it's not that simple.

"I hope that at the end of this process we have a bill because we have to modernize our copyright laws. That has to be done for sure but it has to be a good bill that is balanced. It's not what we have in front of us," he said.

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The Hill Times

WEEK AHEAD IN PARLIAMENT

MONDAY, FEB. 7

- House debates Bill C-389, Gender Identity and Gender Expression, at third reading
- House votes on Bill C-42, Strengthening Aviation Security Act, at report stage
- House Agriculture Committee travels to Saskatoon to study the biotechnology industry
- Assistant Information and Privacy Commissioner of Ontario Brian Beamish appears before the House Access to Information Committee to discuss open government
- House Canadian Heritage Committee studies the Canada-European Union Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement, the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement, and Issues Regarding Cultural Diversity
- National Defence Minister Peter MacKay appears before the House National Defence Committee to discuss Bill C-41, Military Justice Bill
- Veteran Ombudsman Guy Parent appears before the House Veterans Affairs Committee to discuss combat stress and its consequences on the mental health of veterans and their family
- Senate Anti-terrorism Committee hears from the Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre of Canada on matters relating to anti-terrorism
- Public Safety Minister Vic Toews appears before the Senate National Security and Defence Committee to discuss Bill S-13, Canada-U.S. Framework Agreement on Integrated Cross-Border Maritime Operations

TUESDAY, FEB. 8

- Liberal opposition day
- House debates Bill C-474, Seeds Regulations Act at report stage
- House Environment Committee studies Bill C-469, A Canadian Environmental Bill of Rights clause by clause
- House Finance Committee continues study on tax evasion and offshore bank accounts
- House Public Safety Committee receives a briefing on the RCMP
- Procedure and House Affairs Committee begins study on question of privilege related to the Finance Committee pre-budget draft report leak
- Special Committee on the Canadian Mission in Afghanistan hears from CIDA vice-president of Afghanistan-Pakistan Task Force
- House Health Committee continues study on health living
- Senate Energy, the Environment and Natural Resources Committee continues study of the current and future state of Canada energy sector, including alternative energy, and hears from Université de Montréal professor Norman Mousseau and Greenpeace in Quebec
- Senate Transport and Communications Committee hears from the Fredericton International Airport Authority who will discuss emerging issues related to the Canadian airline industry
- Senate Energy, the Environment and Natural Resources Committee continues study on the current and future state of Canada's energy sector, including alternative energy
- Assembly of First Nations national chief, Shawn Atleo appears before the Senate Aboriginal Peoples Committee to discuss Bill S-11, Safety of Drinking Water on First Nation lands

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 9

- House votes on Bill C-309, Economic Development Agency of Canada for the Region of Northern Ontario Act at report stage; and on C-507, Federal Spending Power Act at second reading
- House debates Bill C-576, Impersonating Peace Officer at second reading
- House Agriculture Committee continues biotechnology industry study in Guelph, Ont.
- House Access to Information Committee continues study of open government and hears from Treasury Board Secretariat Chief Information Officer Corinne Charette
- House Heritage Committee meets in camera to consider a draft report on the opportunities and challenges on emerging and digital media
- Rights and Democracy president Gerard Latulippe appears before the House Foreign Affairs Committee to discuss the situation at Rights and Democracy
- Senate Social Affairs, Science and Technology Committee continues study on social inclusion and cohesion in Canada's largest cities
- Senate Banking, Trade and Commerce Committee continues study of Bill S-201, Credit and Debit Cards
- Senate Foreign Affairs and International Trade Committee studies the political and economic developments in Brazil
- Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs appear before the Senate Aboriginal Committee to discuss Bill S-11, Safety of Drinking Water on First Nation Lands
- Senate Transport and Communications studies emerging issues related to the Canadian airline industry

THURSDAY, FEB. 10

- Bloc Québécois opposition day
- House debates Bill C-530, Borrowing Limits at second reading
- House Environment Committee continues study of Bill C-468, A Canadian Environmental Bill of Rights, clause by clause
- Lobbying Commissioner Karen Shepherd appears before the Procedure and House Affairs Committee, which is studying a question of privilege related to the Finance Committee pre-budget draft report leak
- House Health Committee continues study on healthy living
- Senate Energy, the Environment and Natural Resources Committee hears from Kevin Heffernan, vice-president of the Canadian Society for Unconventional Gas
- Senate Foreign Affairs and International Trade Committee hears from Annette Hester, research associate, Canadian International Council
- Interac Association president and CEO Mark O'Connell appears before the Senate Banking, Trade and Commerce Committee to discuss Bill S-201, Credit and Debit Cards
- Senate Social Affairs, Science and Technology Committee continues study of social inclusion and cohesion in Canada's largest cities

FRIDAY, FEB. 11

- House debates motion M-515, Older Workers

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NEWS: REGULATORY BODY & OFFSHORE DRILLING

Experts urge feds to move offshore oil drilling environmental protection under Atlantic Accord

Experts urge feds to move offshore oil drilling environmental protection under Atlantic Accord.

Continued from Page 1

off the coast of Newfoundland. While government bodies are reviewing the existing regulatory structure, opposition critics are not satisfied that the federal Tories are serious about reform.

Environmental studies professors Angela Carter and Gail Fraser say the governments of Canada and Newfoundland should move environmental and safety protection from the mandate of the Canada-Newfoundland and Labrador Offshore Petroleum Board, a regulatory body jointly run by the two governments under the Atlantic Accord, and instill it in an independent authority.

They sent a policy brief Jan. 20 to Newfoundland Premier Kathy Dunderdale, her natural resources minister Shawn Skinner and federal Natural Resources and Environment ministers Christian Paradis and Peter Kent.

In it, they draw similarities between their concerns about problems in environmental regulation of the CNLOPB and safety concerns about the board that were raised in a public inquiry into a 2009 helicopter crash that resulted in the deaths of 17 workers headed to an oil rig off Newfoundland's coast.

In his October 2010 report to the CNLOPB, Commissioner Robert Wells noted that "there may be inherent conflicts within a single regulator which on the one hand regulates exploration and production and at the same time is being required to make the hard decisions which a safety regulator must make."

Norway, Australia, and the United Kingdom have established separate safety regulators. One of Mr. Wells' key findings is that the governments of Canada and Newfoundland should do the same.

He wrote that under the present "minimal system" there is only one chief safety officer and eight safety inspectors. The safety officer has legislative authority to stop production if safety demands it. But it's a lot of pressure on one person to have the power to shut down a multimillion-dollar production facility.

The same is true for the chief conservation officer in charge of the environment, who has the same isolated power, Prof. Fraser of York University in Toronto, Ont. told *The Hill Times* last week.

"The pressure to have one person in that position is problematic," said Prof. Fraser.

Mr. Wells also spoke of 'regulatory capture,' when regulators and those they regulate work so closely together that their relationship "may unconsciously influence the hard decisions that safety regulation requires."

There's no evidence of it happening in the Newfoundland offshore regulatory

environment, but an independent safety authority would further safeguard against it, Mr. Wells inferred.

Regulatory capture could equally effect regulators' protection of the environment, said Prof. Fraser. In the United Kingdom, regulators told Commissioner Wells they would try to minimize the risks by rotating personnel to avoid too-close relationships.

"If it's a concern in other jurisdictions, it should be a concern there," said Prof. Fraser.

Mr. Wells also noted a lack of transparency in the board's releasing information about the decisions it takes, operators' plans, and compliance audits.

Prof. Fraser said that while Norway publicly releases specific information on wastewater discharges on a regular basis, she can't get the same from the CNLOPB.

Board spokesperson Sean Kelly told *The Hill Times* last week that a working group of senior managers last month started a review of further information it will consider releasing proactively on its website or, when that's not possible, by hardcopy.

"Part of what prompted that was that since the helicopter inquiry and the BP spill the level of interest in accountability, transparency and openness from offshore boards has increased substantially," he said.

Because similar problems affect both the regulation of environmental and safety activities, Profs. Fraser and Carter, of Memorial University's Grenfell campus in Corner Brook, Nfld., recommended the provincial and federal governments change the offshore board's structure to lift both safety and environmental protection out of its mandate and hand it off to a completely independent authority. It could take over activities such as ensuring offshore waste treatment compliance, responding to emergencies and monitoring the environmental effects of oil and gas activities, while the board continues to look after land leasing, exploration and industrial benefits.

The proposal could require the Newfoundland and Canadian governments to amend the Atlantic Accord Act.

The provincial government accepted all of Mr. Wells' recommendations and a spokesperson for its natural resources ministry said last week that it's started talking about the recommendation to create a separate safety agency with the federal government.

"These discussions are continuing and while they are highly complex, our government plans to move as quickly as possible to meet the objectives of Commissioner Wells. Safety of our offshore workers is paramount," said Heather Maclean in an email to *The Hill Times*.

Canada's Natural Resources Department also said it was reviewing the commissioner's recommendation to restructure the board and talking to the province.

As for the professors' suggestion to widen the proposed new agency's scope to include environmental protection, the provincial natural resources department is reviewing it, said Ms. Maclean. The federal department did not respond to say whether it agreed with the recommendation.

Regulatory reform is important, given the BP spill's clear example of what could happen if it is ignored, said Prof. Fraser.

"I think that what we would want is to know that we have the best regulatory structure possible to protect both worker safety and the environment, and I don't think that's what we have right now," said Prof. Fraser. "I think that the government is liable if they don't follow through and know that they have the best regulatory structure possible. And

they're liable, in a way, for future disasters. So if we have a blowout, God forbid, at least we'll have known that we actually did the best we could and we learned from the disaster that happened in the Gulf of Mexico."

Canada's offshore oil and gas regulatory regime is being reviewed in the wake of the BP spill, which saw millions of litres of oil damage sensitive wetlands in Louisiana and wash along the coasts of several other American states for more than 100 days last summer.

The National Energy Board, which regulates offshore petroleum production in the Arctic, expanded an existing study of whether to change a same-season relief well requirement. It is now in the information-gathering stages of a review of the safety and environmental requirements for Arctic offshore drilling, which will take into account reviews in other jurisdictions including a recently released U.S. presidential panel's report on the BP spill.

The Newfoundland government commissioned Captain Mark Turner last May to do a review of offshore activities there as well. It has received a draft of it and is reviewing it, said Ms. Maclean.

Both the Senate and House Natural Resources committees have studied Canada's offshore oil and gas industry in the wake of the BP disaster. When the Senate committee was conducting its study last summer, drilling was only happening off the Newfoundland coast. The Arctic is not slated to see drilling until at least 2014, pending the NEB review, and a longstanding moratorium still exists off the west coast. Off the Nova Scotia coast, the federal and provincial governments operate a similar joint board to Newfoundland. There is a shallow-water natural gas project producing there, and another one slated to start production this year.

The Senate committee determined that there is no justification of a Canadian moratorium. It heard from various regulators, oil companies, departmental officials and one environmental group.

The House committee's chair, Conservative MP Leon Benoit (Vegreville-Wainwright, Alta.), said the committee would report on a larger study of unconventional oil and gas drilling, including the offshore, but not specifically responding to the BP spill.

"I think what members of the opposition found was that we really are in good shape compared to other countries," Mr. Benoit said last week.

In all cases, in Canada, royalties are collected separately from the regulatory agencies that deal with safety and the environment.

Mr. Paradis has maintained that the CNLOPB and other regulators are "strong" and "independent." He said the NEB "enforces world-class standards."

But NDP natural resources critic Nathan Cullen (Skeena-Bulkley Valley, B.C.) said the government is not truly interested in reform.

"The goal is status quo—don't change anything significantly for our friends in the oil and gas sector," said Mr. Cullen.

Despite the NEB review, he noted, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada continues to lease Arctic land for drilling.

His party has complained the Arctic-only federal review from the NEB is not good enough and a broader one, comprising all unconventional sources of oil and gas, should have been instituted.

Both he and fellow Natural Resources Committee member Liberal MP Scott Andrews (Avalon, Nfld.) agreed the academics' suggestion to restructure the Newfoundland board is worth considering.

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The Hill Times

University of Ottawa

Do they march for democracy? Discussing current events on the "Arab street"

The University of Ottawa and its Graduate School of Public and International Affairs (GSPIA) present a multidisciplinary panel of experts on the current political tensions in the Arab world.



Robert Fowler
Former Canadian ambassador and foreign policy advisor and GSPIA Senior Fellow



**Moderator:
Christoph Zuercher**
GSPIA professor and conflict research specialist



Michael Molloy
Former diplomat, Middle East specialist and GSPIA Senior Fellow



Peter Jones
Former senior security analyst and GSPIA professor



Constanza Musu
Former defence consultant and GSPIA professor



uOttawa

Thursday, February 10, 2011, from 10:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.
Tabaret Hall, room 112 (550 Cumberland, Ottawa)

Registration: www.president.uOttawa.ca
Information: ceremonies@uOttawa.ca or
613-562-5276

ENCOURAGING CHARITABLE GIVING WHILE REDUCING THE DEFICIT

Facilitating Gifts of Private Company Shares and Real Estate

To: The Right Honourable Stephen Harper, P.C., M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada

The Honourable Jim Flaherty, P.C., M.P.
Minister of Finance

cc: Mr. Michael Ignatieff, M.P.
Leader, Liberal Party of Canada

M. Gilles Duceppe, député
Le chef du Bloc Québécois

The Honourable Jack Layton, P.C., M.P.
Leader, New Democratic Party

Honourable Scott Brison, M.P.
Finance Critic, Liberal Party

M. Daniel Paillé, député
Porte-parole en matière
de finances, Bloc Québécois

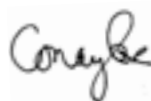
Mr. Thomas Mulcair, M.P.
Finance Critic, New Democratic Party

The Economic Action Plan has been a great success. Commendably, the upcoming budget is expected to focus on reducing the deficit primarily through spending restraint, rather than tax increases or reduction in transfer payments to the provinces. Given this focus, it will be difficult for federal and provincial governments to increase funding significantly during the next few years for health care, education, social services and arts and culture. However, the demand for the vital services provided by our not-for-profit sector will continue to grow, particularly for health care as our population ages.

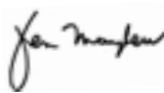
These challenges facing both our governments and our charities also create an opportunity. The government can capitalize on the enormous success of the elimination of the capital gains tax on gifts of listed securities by expanding the tax exemption to include gifts of private company shares and taxable real estate. Concerns about valuation abuse can be addressed by the charity issuing a tax receipt only after it has received the cash proceeds from the sale. Gifts of both these appreciated capital assets are exempt from capital gains taxes in the United States, and Canadian charities should have the same opportunity to access donations from the private sector. Also, share donations to charities of private companies should have the same tax treatment as share donations of publicly listed companies.

Because Canada has a minority government, the support of the Liberals, the NDP and the Bloc Québécois is important. We thank all three opposition Parties for confirming their support.

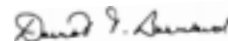
We join the not-for-profit sector in urging you to implement these measures in the upcoming budget. It is a great opportunity to demonstrate that a minority government can work to benefit all Canadians.



David Naylor,
President
The University of Toronto




Ken Mayhew,
Chair
Canadian Government
Relations Committee Association
of Fundraising Professionals



David Barnard,
President & Vice Chancellor
University of Manitoba



Tom Traves,
President & Vice Chancellor
Dalhousie University



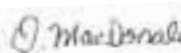
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Association for Healthcare Philanthropy



Diane McDonald,
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(Representing 1,330 members)



Catherine Swift,
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Independent Business
(Representing 107,000 members)



Pamela C. Fralick,
President & CEO
Canadian Healthcare Association
(Representing the federation of
provincial and territorial hospital
and health organizations
across Canada)



Monica Patten,
President & CEO
Community Foundations of Canada
(Representing 165 members)



Clint Davis,
President & CEO
Canadian Council for
Aboriginal Business (CCAB)
(Representing 61 members)



Al Hatton,
President & CEO
United Way Canada-Centraide Canada
(Representing 119 members)



Lucille Joseph,
Chair
2010 Steering Committee,
Canadian Arts Summit



Thomas d'Aquino,
Chair
National Gallery of Canada Foundation
and Distinguished Lifetime Member,
Canadian Council of Chief Executives



Nichole Anderson,
President & CEO
Business for the Arts
(Representing 50 members)



Malcolm Burrows,
Author
C.D. Howe Institute E-Brief
Unlocking More Wealth:



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EDITORIAL

Feds should listen to NRTEE

The National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy recently released a report in Ottawa examining the economic risks and opportunities of climate change and whether or not Canada should "lead, lag, or harmonize policy approaches with the U.S. and the consequences of doing so." It concludes that Canada should harmonize its climate policy with the U.S. and calls it the Transitional Policy Option, "a sensible and realistic approach."

Environment Minister Peter Kent should read the report and seriously consider the options.

The report says the current policy of harmonizing GHGs reduction targets with the U.S. will require a higher carbon price in Canada, but alternatively, harmonizing with the U.S. on carbon prices alone, rather than on targets, would mean Canada's GHG target of cutting emissions to 17 per cent below 2005 levels by 2020 would not be met.

The NRTEE says Canada should adopt a phased-in approach to climate change harmonization policy with the U.S. to avoid delays in emissions reductions and to maintain economic competitiveness. The NRTEE says this approach would establish a "price collar" that limits carbon prices between Canada and the U.S. and would allow Canada to make significant greenhouse gas reductions over the next 10 years, address competitiveness concerns for industry, "and pave the way towards greater harmonization later as American policy direction emerges."

Its policy, which would build on current government regulations, calls for a contingent carbon pricing of no more than \$30 per tonne CO₂e higher than the price in the U.S.; a national cap-and-trade system with the auctioning of

permits and revenue recycling to cap emissions and to address regional and sectoral concerns, as it puts it; a limited international permits and domestic offsets to keep domestic carbon prices lower for Canadian firms; and a technology fund to stimulate investment in needed emission reduction technologies.

NRTEE says its policy option offers Canada a way forward by walking a middle line between harmonizing on carbon targets and carbon prices.

"No single climate policy option is risk free; realistically, each entails some costs, but, if Canada desires to achieve its stated environmental goals of GHG emission reductions within a certain period, we will need to consider additional steps now, independent of U.S. actions and policy uncertainty," states the report.

The NRTEE estimates the \$30 carbon price "collar" would help maintain economic competitiveness for energy intensive, trade exposed industrial sectors, and would still achieve significant emissions targets. In terms of the economy, it figures average annual GDP growth, measured over 2005-2010, would be two per cent, one-tenth of a percentage point below what it would be without a policy. And it says the policy would move Canada further to meet its 2020 targets achieving cuts of three per cent below 2005 levels at a minimum, "compared to emissions being at 10 per cent above 2005 levels in 2020, without such a policy."

Why isn't the federal government talking about any of these kinds of policy options? Where is the leadership on climate change the environment? Indeed, trying to help tackle climate change takes a lot of political courage. Unfortunately, this government has shown it has none and it should.

LETTERS: TO THE EDITOR

Political parties should reach out more to grassroots Canadians

Re: "Time to make public funding of politics more democratic," (*The Hill Times*, Jan. 31, p. 9). Duff Conacher makes some good points about the per-vote subsidy and other funding issues. However, I am forced to disagree with his proposal about cutting subsidies for parties based on whether they got more or less seats than their vote share warrants.

This is treating the symptom, not the disease. Rather than introducing formulas that offer too simplistic a funding remedy for the deficiencies of our electoral system, we should fix our electoral system. That would preclude endless arguments over how much the subsidies should be adjusted while offering the benefits of a modern proportional voting system.

I also suggest that the current subsidy should not be reduced. The less political parties have to spend, the less influence they have. Competition from third-party campaigns aside, the lack of diversity in our media ownership already allows for undue influence along ideological lines.

This is made even worse by the staffing cuts that have reduced the numbers of commentators and columnists leaving the remaining few with enormous influence.

While leaving the per-vote subsidy intact doesn't treat the problems of media ownership or editorial diversity, these are not fixable within the general framework of electoral law. They may not even be fixable at the national level in this age of transnational mega-corporations.



Photograph by Jake Wright, *The Hill Times*

Campaigner: Prime Minister Stephen Harper's Conservatives know how to fundraise better than any other federal political party out there.

So we need to resort to the old Hippocratic maxim of first do no harm. While the per-vote subsidy at its current level may diminish the need for political parties to fundraise, Harper's Conservatives haven't let that stop them from reaching out to their grassroots. The other parties just need to follow their example.

Gary Dale
West Hill, Ont.

Prime Minister Harper's accountability promises misleading, says Conacher

Prime Minister Harper's claim that the Conservatives have "delivered" what they promised five years ago is as misleading as the promises were.

The Conservatives promised a Federal Accountability Act that would strengthen good government rules in 55 ways, but introduced an act in April 2006 with only 29 changes. The Conservatives also rejected 25 changes to strengthen the FAA proposed by the opposition parties in 2006.

The FAA also weakened government accountability by cutting eight key ethics rules, and the Conservatives also broke their promises to fix election dates, hold free votes on most issues, stop appointing election candidates, and stop appointing

party supporters to the Senate and other positions.

As a result, as several scandals have revealed in the past few years, secret, unethical donations and lobbying, patronage and cronyism, unfair snap elections, wasteful spending, and excessive government secrecy are all still legal.

So another, stronger Federal Accountability Act is clearly needed to close the dozens of loopholes left open by the first FAA. The question remains, which party will finally deliver the good government promised to Canadians in the Constitution 144 years ago?

Duff Conacher, coordinator
Democracy Watch
Ottawa, Ont.

Arctic mapping camp abandoned amid ice worry news report

On Jan. 31, 2011, CBC Radio news reported that the Canadian government is abandoning plans to set up a remote scientific camp on the Arctic Ocean ice this year, citing dangerously thin ice conditions.

Twenty five Canadian scientists were to conduct mapping work from an ice camp about 400 kilometers offshore. It was determined that the possibility of ice break up, or an ice shift in direction would pose a very risky and dangerous rescue operation for the people involved.

Over the past five years, scientists have set up ice camps in remote areas of the Arctic Ocean as they gather extensive mapping data that could help Canada claim a greater area of the seabed under the United Nations Law of the Sea convention.

Canada and other Arctic countries are vying to claim more of the Arctic seabed,

which is potentially rich in oil and gas resources.

Canada has until 2013 to submit its claim to the United Nations.

Any potential setback and loss of Canadian sovereignty due to Canada not completing mapping on time, was avoidable had the government heeded advice I presented in a *Hill Times* article in August of 2007, when I was asked to comment on Arctic sovereignty.

Once again, the government needs to be reminded that to make the Arctic a priority, it must deliver on the resources and equipment necessary to get the job done, not just pay lip service to issues important to the North and Canada.

Liberal MP Larry Bagnell
Arctic issues and northern
development critic
Yukon



LETTERS: TO THE EDITOR

PM Harper urges Canadians to explore, celebrate Canada's black history

February is Black History Month and an opportunity to celebrate the values of perseverance and dignity that have defined the black community in Canada.

This year, we celebrate four outstanding Canadian icons whose stories characterize the pride, strength and dignity that have driven black Canadians to realize their ambitions in different fields.

John Ware, born into slavery in South Carolina, moved to Alberta where he achieved success and fame. As a pioneer of 'steer wrestling,' his legacy is enjoyed by more than a million people each year at the Calgary Stampede.

At the turn of the 20th century, Carrie Best broke down barriers and changed mindsets—thriving as a broadcaster, author, human rights activist, and the founder of the first black-owned newspaper in Nova Scotia.

Two of Canada's greatest athletes also overcame obstacles and changed attitudes in professional sports. Ferguson Jenkins became the only Canadian player to be enshrined in the Baseball Hall of Fame, while Jarome Iginla was the first black captain in the National Hockey League.

During Black History Month, I encourage Canadians to learn more about the important contributions of black Canadians to our great nation and to participate in various events celebrating this part of our culture.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper
Parliament Hill
Ottawa, Ont.

Partisanship, patronage, threaten democracy

Prime Minister Stephen Harper's hyper-partisanship is tainting the Senate. The Upper Chamber is intended to be a check on excesses of partisanship in the Commons, particularly excesses of partisanship by the Prime Minister and Cabinet government. The Senate is a revising Chamber, a Chamber of "sober second thought" with a first duty through the Crown to all Canadians and all of Canada, not to party, province, region, or special interest.

Harper and Harper's appointed Senators should know this, for these are both constitutional principles and therefore the Tory guiding principles for any Senate reform set down in Tory policy—or were—but today the Harper Tories are not Tory at all.

How to solve it? Not by an election, which is by definition partisan. Leave it in the hands of a partisan Prime Minister like the unprecedented hyper-partisan Stephen Harper. That's patronage. Allow provincial election? That's provincialism and a threat to national unity.

A solution does exist, though, in the Queen's Privy Council of present and past prime ministers and Cabinets, GGs, and others including invited premiers, across party lines and generations. There could be nominations to the Governor General free of charges of partisanship, patronage and provincialism committed to "sober second thought" and to Canada first.

Brian Marlatt
White Rock, B.C.

(The author is the Progressive Canadian candidate in South Surrey-White Rock-Cloverdale, B.C.).

Controversy over CMHR's must be resolved

Re: "Genocidal Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine should be highlighted in Human Rights Museum," (*The Hill Times*, Jan. 31, p. 14). As a Canadian taxpayer of Ukrainian origin I truly would like my Human Rights Museum to reflect not only my peoples' suffering, but show that this sad state is a universal tragedy that has befallen most of humanity at some time in its history. The Canadian Museum for Human Rights should be inclusive and equitable.

To this end the Canadian government should ensure that all 12 of the galleries in the Canadian Museum for Human Rights are thematic, comparative and inclusive.

This will mean that the government establish an independent body to review the proposed contents of this museum, to ensure that the suffering of one or two communities is not elevated above that of all others.

Again, as a Canadian taxpayer who will be funding this project, the government should not entertain any requests for increased federal funding to this institution until the controversy over its proposed contents and governance are resolved fairly.

Roman Zurba
Toronto, Ont.



Photograph by Jake Wright, *The Hill Times*

Immigration Minister Jason Kenney.

CMHR's galleries should be 'thematic, comparative, and inclusive'

Re: "Genocidal Great Famine of 1932-33 in Soviet Ukraine should be highlighted in Human Rights Museum," by Lubomyr Luciuk (*The Hill Times*, Jan. 24, p. 14) and the Jan. 31 notice regarding the Canadian Museum for Human Rights

I wish to echo many of the concerns addressed by the above-noted pieces that have appeared in the last two editions of *The Hill Times*. Mr. Luciuk's submission accurately addresses the problems that currently surround the Canadian Museum of Human Rights, and it is essential that your readership and the entire Canadian public be aware of these issues.

I use the word essential because the Canadian public must understand that the CMHR is very much a public educational institution, whose construction is funded largely by taxpayers, as well as whose operational costs are coming entirely from the public purse *ad infinitum*.

As such, it is imperative that our legislative representatives ensure that the CMHR's contents are indeed "thematic, comparative and inclusive." I think that the following are, *inter alia*, steps that ought to be taken to uphold the integrity of the CMHR and truly reflect the will of the Canadian people regarding the contents of the museum—as clearly

evidenced in the museum's own public canvassing results, contained in Luciuk's submission.

First, our government should halt any continued federal funding towards the Museum until such time as the proposed contents are resolved in a fair manner. Second, those proposed contents ought to accordingly be reviewed independently so that the proposed elevation of two communities' suffering is not sustained. Such a hierarchy runs counter to the mandate of the Museum of "enhanc[ing] the public's understanding of human rights."

It is clear that the contents of the CMHR have been controversial. The resulting divisiveness amongst various communities is regrettable, but certainly not unavoidable. I suggest that the solution in ensuring that such hard feelings not be exacerbated lies in a more equitable approach to the museum's contents that has been proposed. Mr. Luciuk's recommendation of "thematic, comparative, and inclusive" galleries is one that deserves considerable attention. The Canadian Museum for Human Rights must reflect impartiality if it is truly to be for all Canadians.

Andrew Harasymiw
Calgary, Alta.

Canadian Museum for Human Rights must fulfill obligation to be even-handed

Re: "Genocidal Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Soviet Ukraine should be highlighted in Human Rights Museum," (*The Hill Times*, Jan. 31, p. 14). The Ukrainian Canadian Congress is the umbrella organization representing over 1.2 million Canadians of Ukrainian descent. In past weeks we have been inundated with letters, emails, and phone calls decrying the proposed content of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights.

Specifically, members of our community are outraged that the trustees of this Canadian taxpayer-funded museum are largely ignoring the experiences, both in Canada and in Ukraine, of one of this country's largest ethnic groups.

Our community wants to see meaningful, prominent and permanent recognition of the Holodomor, the genocidal famine of 1932-1933, as well as serious treatment of Canada's first national internment operations, which affected not only Ukrainians but many other European communities. As matters now stand, such issues are being consigned to subordinate places within this museum, possibly because the trustees have accepted the final report of the content advisory committee which virtually ignores very painful episodes in our community's

past as well as those of many others (e.g. the crimes of Communism are barely referenced).

The management of the museum has been equivocal in its assurances that the museum will be inclusive. On the one hand they say that the report of the content advisory committee is not conclusive, yet even now they are tendering contracts for its design based on recommendations tabled in this flawed report.

The Holodomor, one of the greatest genocides to befall the 20th century, was the deliberate starvation of many millions of lives by a Stalinist regime intent on stamping out Ukrainian nationalism, the brutal memory of which remains acute among survivors, some of whom now live in Canada. Their story must be told.

If the trustees of this taxpayer-funded museum cannot fulfill their obligation to be even-handed, inclusive and respectful of all Canadians, we call upon the Prime Minister to replace them immediately.

A.M. Chyczij
Vice-president
Ukrainian Canadian Congress
Ottawa, Ont.

Canada needs a national brain strategy, now

It is important to be reminded from time to time what the government is doing to meet the needs of Canadians, as Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq did recently. The \$8.6-million in research funding announced last week is part of an ongoing commitment to find a cure for Alzheimer's disease. This continued commitment has not only supported the work of Canadian scientists who rank among the best in the world, but has also led to discoveries of real significance.

Through this research our understanding of Alzheimer's disease has improved in the last five years. Alzheimer's is a progressive, degenerative disease of the brain, which causes thinking and memory to become seriously impaired. Alzheimer's disease is the most prevalent of a number of conditions known collectively as dementia. Over half a million Canadians have Alzheimer's disease today and more than 100,000 new dementia cases are diagnosed each year. According to *Rising Tide: The Impact of Dementia on Canadian Society* published by the Alzheimer Society last year, the economic burden of dementia in Canada is \$15-billion a year; without a plan to address this crisis, costs will spike to \$37-billion by 2018.

While the numbers affected by dementia in Canada and the associated costs of dealing with the disease are daunting, the impact on those with the illness and on their families is also very profound. The government's continued commitment to Alzheimer's research is a good first step. However, to deal with this crisis Canada needs a response to the call for a brain strategy. Our voice on this issue is one of many neurological charities who see the need for a significant response from government. In public policy terms, it seems to us, and to many Canadians, that Alzheimer's disease, along with other neurological conditions, have been ignored by the policy makers in Ottawa. Canadians want a real response—a comprehensive response that dramatically improves the lives of people living with dementia.

Today, there is no national or federal brain strategy and federal programs, research funding, support and income assistance pale in comparison to the enormous and rapidly-escalating health, economic and social impact of this devastating disease. We have been told by politicians that there is no appetite for another national health-related strategy. Yet national strategies have been successfully developed for a long list of other health issues, many of which have far less impact on the health of Canadians than neurological conditions.

We know that a rising tide is coming; the need for a national brain strategy has never been more apparent and more urgent than now.

Debbie Benczkowski
Chief executive officer
Alzheimer Society of Canada
Toronto, Ont.

THE FULL NELSON: AFGHANISTAN

What to do about the Afghan quagmire

Canada and its allies must acknowledge that after a decade they are slowly, painfully, going nowhere. Foreign Affairs' most recent quarterly report on Afghanistan may be its last and the Cabinet committee on Afghanistan has been disbanded.



BY NELSON WISEMAN

TORONTO—The Department of Foreign Affairs has now produced 10 quarterly progress “reports” on Afghanistan. They reveal little progress and significant regress on the most critical issue: security. The most recent report notes that insurgent attacks have increased by 70 per cent over the past year. Simultaneously, it reports, “Sixty per

cent of Kandaharis see themselves as safe in their communities, and 46 per cent see security as improving. Only one in six Kandaharis see security as getting worse.” The implication is that Canadians have contributed to this relatively positive state of affairs. The findings of a more recent poll conducted for a BBC/ABC/Washington Post/German ADR consortium paint a more troubling picture.

In 2009, only eight per cent of Afghans thought attacks against NATO/ISAF were justified; last year, 27 per cent thought so and support for the presence of foreign troops has shrunk to about half the population. Only 21 per cent of Afghans believe that the U.K. forces are playing a positive role (down from 36 per cent a year earlier) and 36 per cent (down from

43) think that of the Americans. There is little reason to believe that the Afghans think any more highly of the Canadians.

In 2006, the Canadian media were hailing the success of Canadian Forces in the fields of Panjwai, but these “victories” had the enemy largely vanishing rather than being defeated. The Taliban, in classic guerilla style, had outmanoeuvred the Canadians with diversionary tactics, according to a military-related United States think tank. The Americans now see Canada’s campaign as one of the more serious setbacks suffered in the war. Ever since, the roads in Panjwai have been deadly, so Canadians have avoided them as much as possible. According to an interview with CIDA Minister Bev Oda, during her Christmas visit to the soldiers with Peter MacKay, Walt Natynczyk, and others in tow, including Canada’s favourite intellectual, Don Cherry, one of their helicopters was shot at and the Kandahar base was bombed. This does not constitute progress. There has been a lower number of Canadian fatalities in recent months, only one between August and December. The major reason however is because the armed forces spend most of their time, like the Danes and many others, inside their wire.

Ottawa cannot avoid revealing the number of Canadian casualties. According to Scott Taylor, the former soldier and publisher of *Esprit de Corps* who has travelled widely in Afghanistan and who has more credibility than any Canadian reporter hunkered down behind the wire, approximately 1,500 Canadians have suffered injuries with over half of them severely injured. The ratio of wounded to killed soldiers for the U.S. forces last year was 12 to one. For Canada, the ratio last year and in the most deadly year, 2006, was about one in six. With advances in medical technologies relatively few die of their injuries, quite unlike the killing fields of earlier wars. The human and financial costs of caring for the injured will be severe and long-lasting.

The fanciful notion that Afghan fighters can be effectively trained inside the wire is akin to believing that a student driver may be trained without anyone else in the car with him. In addition to the linguistic and cultural challenges of communicating with the Afghans, they are unlikely to respect trainers prohibited from mentoring them in the field. Foreign Affairs reports on how many more Afghan soldiers are now being trained but it neglects to report how many desert or resign: two thirds by one count.

Stéphane Dion has perceptively pointed out that if the ragtag untrained Afghans could undo the Soviets, what should lead us to believe that training will improve their prospects against the Taliban? The cost of sending forces to Afghanistan is very great. Perhaps it would be cheaper, but just as useless, to bring the Afghans here or to train them in another country. (Romania will probably assist for the money, as they allegedly did for secret CIA renditions).

There is very little prospect of foreign forces succeeding in Afghanistan. The dilemmas facing Canada and other countries bogged down there are daunting. For Canada to turn its back on NATO (and the UN under whose auspices the NATO forces operate), however, would be to spurn its multilateral traditions and to damage it in the eyes of allies. On the other hand, Canada and its allies must acknowledge that after a decade they are slowly, painfully, going nowhere. Foreign Affairs’ most recent quarterly report on Afghanistan may be its last and the Cabinet committee on Afghanistan has been disbanded.

The Karzai government and Afghan society more broadly are steeped in a culture of corruption. Foreign aid is no exception; two-thirds of Afghans believe it is misdirected to corrupt government officials. Perhaps NATO should consider adopting the Afghan method to manage the problem and think inside the box: instead of spending a billion dollars annually over the next three years to train Afghans, it may be cheaper and a better investment to buy off the tribal chieftains to secure the border with Pakistan and keep the Taliban at bay.

Nelson Wiseman teaches political science at the University of Toronto.

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COPPS'S CORNER: CRIME BILLS

Toews's parole board proposal punitive

The effect is to penalize people who simply want to put their past behind them. It smacks of retribution and perverts the notion that most people are capable of redemption.



BY SHEILA COPPS

Just about every Canadian family has at least one convicted criminal in their midst.

A now-deceased Conservative Member of Parliament had a brother on death row. A Liberal Member of Parliament was elected after confessing a past indiscretion as a bank robber. According to Public Safety Minister Vic Toews, some 37,000 people are pardoned every year for crimes previously committed.

Husbands, brothers, sons or daughters. Many of us have made mistakes in life that placed us in conflict with the law.

Toews himself pleaded guilty in 2005 to a regulatory offence after violating the Manitoba Elections Act in 1999 by overspending in an unsuccessful run for the legislature. At the time, he characterized his guilty plea as an alternative to a contested case that could cost upwards of \$20,000 in legal fees.

He said "The facts in my case as agreed to by the court demonstrated that the breach of law was a simple mistake rather than a deliberate strategy to circumvent the law."

Why does Toews, of all people, ask the parole board to quadruple application fees when he knows the cost will make it tougher for some to get a pardon?

The minister claims it is about cost recovery, with the current \$150 fee representing a small portion of the \$631 it costs to process a pardon.

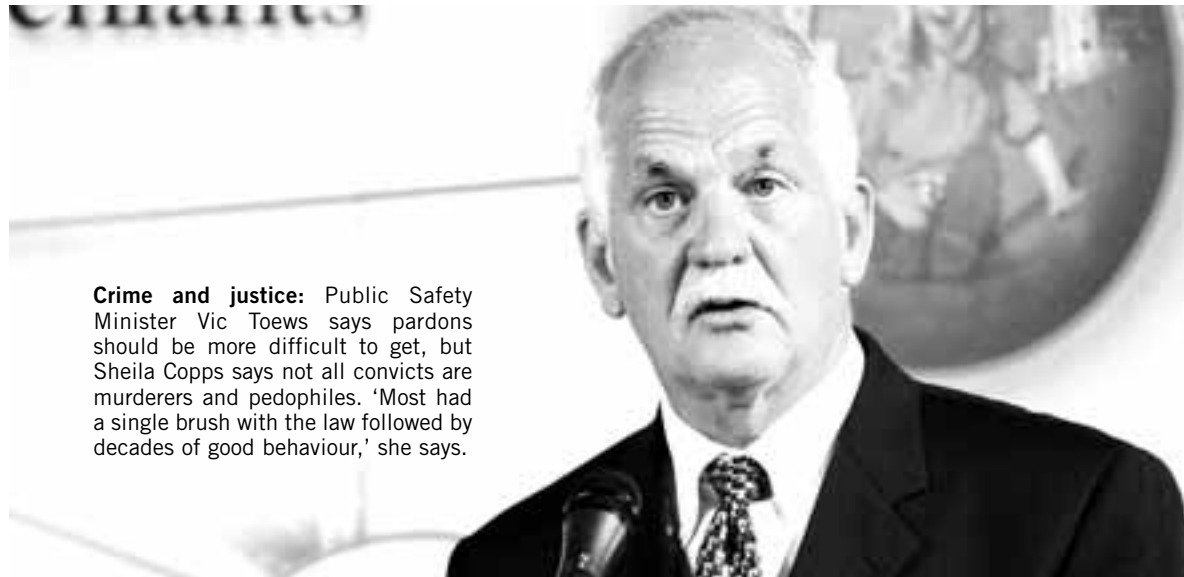
So how does the same minister defend the ballooning costs of his government's ill-conceived incarceration changes? Corrections Canada says new sentencing rules will swell convict numbers by almost 10 per cent within the next three years, increasing the federal prison population to 17,400.

Liberal critic Mark Holland places the annual cost of jailing Canadians between \$86,000 and \$160,000 per convict, depending on the nature of the crime.

The hike of 3,400 prisoners represents a whopping increased annual cost of between \$292-million and \$544-million. That represents up to half a billion dollars more to imprison people at a time when Canada's crime rate is dropping. In comparison, the cost of processing pardons looks like chump change.

But "hang 'em high" justice has little to do with costs or even reducing recidivism. It has a lot to do with promoting retribution and misguided stereotypes.

How else can reasonable people interpret the minister's multiple references to Karla Homolka



Photograph by Jake Wright, The Hill Times

Crime and justice: Public Safety Minister Vic Toews says pardons should be more difficult to get, but Sheila Copps says not all convicts are murderers and pedophiles. 'Most had a single brush with the law followed by decades of good behaviour,' she says.

and Graham James in defence of his punitive proposals?

Does anybody really believe that the 37,000 people who seek pardons every year are all psychotic murderers and pedophiles? After all, pardons are only considered after citizens have completed their sentences and then remained crime-free for between five and 10 years.

In my time as a Member of Parliament, I often helped constituents navigate the intricacies of seeking a pardon. The typical applicant was an upstanding citizen who had done something stupid in his (it was usually a male) youth. Ashamed of his dubious past, he often waited years to apply, but needed a blemish-free record to cross the border or take a trip to another country. Most had a single brush with the law followed by decades of good behaviour. Hardly a predator's profile.

Some countries save money and time by offering an automatic pardon once a sentence has been served and a reasonable time period has elapsed with no repeat offences. Kim Pate, executive director of the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies, urged the minister to consider the Australian approach, which involves an automatic pardon.

But punitive pardon policies are not about money. They are just another element in the Tory law and order agenda.

Toews actually claimed that a criminal record serves as "protection" for society at large. He said he did not believe the debt to society had been paid by convicted criminals who had done their time and remained crime-free. In his estimation, a criminal record serves as a sort of scarlet letter to let society know we have criminals in our midst.

Most of us don't need to be reminded. We have friends and relatives who, despite an early mistake, go on to live normal, productive lives.

Too bad Toews's decade-old brush with the law did not sensitize him to the fact that all Canadians who once found themselves in court should not be labelled forever. They are not all Karla Homolka wannabes.

Toews's parole board proposal is punitive. The effect is to penalize people who simply want to put their past behind them. It smacks of retribution and perverts the notion that most people are capable of redemption.

Given his own history, the minister should know better.

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

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BACKROOMS: POLITICAL BUSINESS

I wonder what animals would say if they watched daily Question Period

The difference between the human species and animals is that we have an intellect. This is a very flattering theory.



BY ANGELO PERSICHELLI

TORONTO—We say the difference between the human species and animals is that we have an intellect. This is a very flattering theory, but sometimes I'm wonder-

ing what the animals would say about us if they had a chance to watch Question Period for a few days. This thought crossed my mind when reading a story last week about how politicians spend the money they collect.

In the article, some Liberals were accusing the Conservatives of spending too much money on negative ads, even during non-election periods, because their coffers are very wealthy.

Basically, when politicians have too much money in their hands they do bad things.

A few points.

First, it was a Liberal government that changed the rules on how to collect money, despite concerns from other parties and, eventually, all parties were able to work with the legislation that

former Liberal Party president, Stephen LeDrew called "dumb as a bag of hammers."

Two years ago, it was the Conservative government that was willing to eliminate some of the public financing of political parties and they were promptly crucified.

Now that the Tories are legally spending money they have legally collected, some want legislation to regulate the previous legislation.

Basically, after approving legislation on how to raise money, it now seems there is another need to regulate how and when to spend it.

Personally, I don't agree with the way the federal Tories are using their money. I don't like it, not only because I'm against all negative politics, on principle, but also because it's useless. I don't

know how many times Conservative organizers can tell my neighbour that the Liberal Party leader is not up to the job. For all the people interested in that message, they've got it. If they didn't, after more than five years, it means that they're not interested.

It is very simple but, unfortunately, that's the name of the game for us, the intellectual humans.

Despite our intellect, we do many strange things. For example, we are those who ask auto makers to build expensive cars capable of speeds up to 200 km/hour (that we eagerly buy), but then hire police to stop us from enjoying said speed because, as we know, it's unsafe.

We support governments that authorize multinational tobacco to manufacture cigarettes and then the same governments spend millions of dollars to tell people that it's bad to smoke and that we shouldn't buy them.

But this is not just about our politicians.

For example, we are all for policies that will create jobs in Canada but we are the first to cross the border for bargain prices. We are pro-environment, but Stéphane Dion lost the election because he wanted to do something about it with the carbon tax. We are all

against corruption and dislike those who don't pay taxes, but I'm wondering how many Canadians using cash to pay for merchandise or for services rendered whenever possible.

We all have our hearts in the right place, but I guess, as humans in possession of an intellect, we can rationalize anything. We have convinced ourselves that we are never wrong; it's always someone else's fault.

With animals, those creatures lacking an intellect, the law of survival of the strongest applies. But animals take only what they need and leave the rest. With intellectual humans, those who survive are not the strongest but the sneakiest. And they don't even leave crumbs on the floor. The more intellect they have, the more they win at the expense of others.

Last week, I was very sad and I didn't know if it was because Question Period started again or because my daughter's 16-year-old unintellectual cat suddenly died. It might be both.

Angelo Persichilli is political editor of *Corriere Canadese*, Canada's Italian-language daily newspaper based in Toronto.

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POLITICAL REPORTING: SOLAR ENERGY

Politicians, press enthusiastically promote government's solar energy initiative, guaranteed

Ontario is buying electricity at up to 13 times what it can sell it for, and guaranteeing the rates in 20-year contracts.



BY TOM KORSKI

Imagine turning a 200 per cent profit from the sun—*guaranteed!* It sounds like a sales pitch captured on hidden camera at an airport hotel seminar. Yet it's the promise of a Government of Ontario program enthusiastically promoted by politicians, the press, even a church bulletin.

It may be the strangest government initiative in the country. As one blogger put it, "If the science

is correct and this lunacy spreads, it should bankrupt the Ontario taxpayer."

In a program called microFIT, the first of its kind in Canada, the government encouraged Ontarians to install rooftop solar panels and sell surplus power back to the provincial energy grid. "Turn sunshine into cash!" read one promotion.

Solar panels are expensive, an average \$30,000 to install, according to the Ontario Power Authority. As an incentive, the government promised to pay one of the world's highest prices for surplus power. The green rates are so exorbitant even the Green Party is raising questions. "We can't figure out how the government came up with those prices," said Mike Schreiner, the Greens' Ontario leader. "I think the prices will need to come down."

MicroFIT pays investors 80.2-cents a kilowatt hour for rooftop solar power. The wholesale price of electricity is about 6 cents. The retail cost for homeowners ranges from about 8 cents in Winnipeg to 11 cents in Calgary, 12 cents in Moncton, and 17 cents in Charlottetown. Translation: Ontario is buying electricity at up to 13

times what it can sell it for, and guaranteeing the rates in 20-year contracts.

MicroFIT subsidies are so generous in sub-Arctic Ontario that investors figure they'll recover their costs in seven years. The Power Authority is slightly more conservative, averaging cost-recovery at 12 years. In sunny New Mexico, where the state offers tax credits for home panels, cost-recovery is 25 years. *The Toronto Star* told readers the Ontario plan "wins accolades" because it promises "a return on investment with little risk."

The effect has been, well, electric.

"Money In The Bank," enthused *The Owen Sound Sun Times*. "Going Green," headlined *The Toronto Sun*. Panels are "sprouting up like weeds," said *Ontario Farmer*, which publishes weekly updates on the program. "Then There Was Light," reported *The United Church Observer*, where readers were encouraged to take out church mortgages to buy panels and "follow through on what we preach about the creator God wanting us to be responsible in our use of the resources we've been given," (see *Observer* January 2011).

Enthusiasts quoted spectacular profits.

The *Observer* calculated churches with "big, beautiful roofs" might pay an average \$62,500 on panels with a 20-year return of \$190,000—a profit of 204 percent. The *Ottawa Citizen* interviewed a homeowner who borrowed \$80,000 in anticipation of a 200 per cent profit. The *Star* profiled a Markham, Ont., couple that spent \$42,000 for the same return. "A number of people put in their RRSP savings based on the economic model put forth by the province," said the Green's Schreiner, in an interview from his Toronto office.

One Liberal member of the Ontario Legislature, Yasir Naqvi, distributed leaflets in his Ontario Centre riding that read, "Making Money From Solar Energy." Naqvi said he's thinking of installing the panels himself: "I'm trying to get a couple of contractors in and have a look at my roof."

Few questioned the program's pyramid economics.

The more solar contracts Ontario sells, the more it loses. Under microFIT, first-comers

reap huge subsidies that can only be sustained by a constant influx of new taxpayers' dollars. I spoke with Naqvi at his Queen's Park office:

Q: "With those subsidies, do you not almost immediately reach a point of diminishing return?"

NAQVI: "An expert would be better able to answer these questions..."

Q: "Doesn't this sound like a Ponzi scheme to you?"

NAQVI: "I mean, it's obviously a business scheme, of course. I'm not going to categorize it as a Ponzi scheme. You know, the electricity market is a complex market."

Naqvi added he thought microFIT was "a good deal," but noted: "I'm not an economist."

Amid the solar panel craze, a few dissenters have raised the alarm.

Ponzi scheme? "I don't disagree with that," said Allan Hubley, a city councillor from Kanata, Ont. He was the only Ottawa councillor to dissent when the council voted to install solar panels on the city hall roof.

"We did it just to get the revenue," Hubley shook his head. "That's just dipping into taxpayers' pockets."

"When cities and schools and churches start using this as a revenue stream, I mean, that money has to come from somewhere," he said. "We can buy power from Montreal at a fraction of the price. This program doesn't do anything to bring down the cost of power. Does it make sense?"

The question is unasked and unanswered—even in the church bulletin.

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OPINION: CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS

Best hope for the opposition: joint nomination meetings

If the Liberals, New Democrats and Greens really want to beat the Tories, they should hold joint nomination meetings in those ridings where a single opponent has a good hope of defeating a Conservative incumbent. This could mean, at the most, joint nomination meetings in some 60 ridings.



BY CLYDE SANGER

OTTAWA—Reality hour has struck for Canada's opposition parties. The Conservative government is riding high, with a lead of seven points in the polls. Its cavalry are sniffing the air and pawing the ground for an election battle. The budget in March, if Prime Minister Stephen Harper insists on including corporate tax cuts, will sound the bugle. How can the Liberals and New Democrats respond?

Several polls show that most Canadians do not want an election; the third who do are predominantly Conservatives hoping to win a majority of the 308 seats. The Liberals and New Democrats have

somehow to combine if they are to oust the Harper government, and talk of a post-election coalition is central in debate. Certainly those two parties have been allied several times since 1963, and a recent EKOS poll showed a coalition was widely acceptable to voters today.

But forming a coalition government is the last move in the electoral game. It would depend on beating the present odds and capturing a sizeable number of Tory-held seats. Another tactic would be for the party leaders to make a limited electoral alliance, agreeing not to run competing candidates in certain ridings. It is a top-down arrangement, unpopular with local voters who have no say. Green Leader Elizabeth May learned that in the October 2008 election, after Stéphane Dion agreed not to run a Liberal in Central Nova: she still came 14 points behind Peter MacKay.

There is a third way to defeat the Conservatives, and one much more likely to succeed. The catch—to put the objection out front—is that the opposition parties have left it late, and will have to find a tactic to postpone an election past the summer. For this way is for the Liberals, New Democrats and Greens to hold joint nomination meetings in those ridings where a single opponent has a good hope of defeating a Conservative incumbent. This could mean, at the most, joint nomination meetings in some 60 ridings.

Take just the list of seats that changed hands in October 2008. The Conservatives had a net gain of 16 seats—they actually won 24 but lost eight elsewhere, particularly in Newfoundland. In none of those 24 ridings did the Conservatives win a majority of the votes,—that is, 50 per cent plus one—though in several they were in the upper 40s. There are one or two that the new Tory MP will

have secured, such as Thornhill, outside Toronto, where Peter Kent the television reporter has established himself as Environment minister. But at least nine seats in Ontario, the crucial battleground, are vulnerable to a single serious opponent. For example, check the two Kitchener ridings, London West and Oak Ridges-Markham—and also Halton, where Conservative Lisa Raitt has publicly stumbled. Four others in the Maritimes and three in British Columbia are in the same category.

But how do the parties agree on a single challenger? Answer: through a grass-roots effort by riding associations. They agree on a single nomination meeting, and each party puts up one or more candidates (or refrains, if it chooses).

Independents can join in, too. It is, a variation on the American system of party primaries. It is a win-win game, as riding associations will work to recruit members

who can vote at the nomination meeting, and this will (one hopes) prompt a higher turn-out on election day. The nominated candidate would run under original party colours—Liberal, New Democrat or Green—but has cross-party support to defeat the Tory incumbent.

The Liberals stand to gain most, in regaining many of the 22 seats they lost in 2008. What's in it for the others? There are plenty of Tory marginals elsewhere that a good candidate, New Democrat or Green, could win if they were the single serious candidate (serious, because often fringe candidates join in for fun). One example from 2008 is New Democrat Nettie Wiebe, popular among farmers, who came within 260 votes of winning Saskatoon-Rosetown-Biggar.

And let's not forget Elizabeth May, who has migrated west to contest Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C. The Liberals with 39 per cent of the vote in 2008 came only four points behind Minister of State for Sport Gary Lunn, who has not shone in Cabinet. In a joint nomination meeting, bets would be on May.

And the outcome of the election? Up for grabs, but Harper would not win a majority and the time would have come for the three leaders to plan a coalition government. Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff is on board, as he has said coalition governments are "perfectly legitimate."

Clyde Sanger, an Ottawa based journalist, was Canada correspondent for *The Economist* for 30 years.
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WISEGUYS: POLITICS

Federal Tories likely won't go to polls before Ontario Tories

And united Tories are always a more potent force than divided Liberals. But you never get the sense that the McGuinty Liberals and the Ignatieff gang have the same sort of kinship.



BY TIM POWERS

Parliament's back. A budget won't be coming down until sometime in March. God knows what the election prognosticators will do to keep election speculation alive until then. Only weather stories and political turmoil in Egypt temporarily distract from the distorted single-minded obsession of some who push the election mantra for their own entertainment purposes.

I have been fascinated recently by what is happening in Ontario politics and what it might mean, if anything, to the federal scene. You see, Ontario will actually be having an election in October and for the first time in his tenure Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty could be unseated. Recent polls show Tory leader Tim Hudak with a slight lead over the incumbent. McGuinty is a fighter though and won't give up power easily.

McGuinty has recently lost a few members of his team to the federal Liberals. Whether they jumping from one sinking ship to another is still to be determined. Also, last week the former national director of the Lib-

eral Party of Canada, Rocco Rossi, became a candidate for Tim Hudak, not for Dalton McGuinty, or, for that matter, his former employer Micheal Ignatieff. I think Rossi's joining the Tories can lead to overblown interpretations, however, debates about Rossi's own ambitions aside it is never good publicity for a party to lose a highly visible figure they have invested in.

If Hudak's Tories do well in Ontario I think that has the potential to have a positive bearing on federal Conservative fortunes in a federal vote in 2012. Likewise the reverse could also be true if we go to the polls federally first, but I still don't believe that will happen. There seems to be a healthy constructive relationship between provincial and federal Tories in Ontario. From time to time, as is always the case in federal-provincial relationships, there will be differences but by and large sympatico between those organizations has the potential to produce positive electoral dividends for both.

United Tories are always a more potent force than divided Liberals. You never get the sense that the McGuinty Liberals and the Ignatieff gang have the same sort of kinship (other than the fraternal relationship between Dalton and David McGuinty). Perhaps they do but it isn't obvious to the rest of the world if that is the case. The truth will be told in October.

Grits not panicked by Rossi's departure, reverse is true

Tories should be concerned about Alberta and British Columbia, where the birthplaces of the Harper conservative coalition are now engaged in a bloody civil war, with conservative attacking conservative, and new right-wing political parties being formed every hour.



BY WARREN KINSELLA

I am delighted to see my friends Brad and Tim so very concerned about the future of the Liberal Party. Their empathy, and their conviction, is positively heartwarming.

In internet circles, they might be referred to—uncharitably—as “concern trolls.” But I am a nice person, and I take their expressions of support in good faith. Thanks, fellas.

Since they are both so worried about Liberal fortunes, let me assure them that the Liberal Party is not all that panicked about the departure of Rocco Rossi, a.k.a. Benedict Baldy. The reverse is true, actually.

Rocco, you see, is all about Rocco. When he was national director, he was heartily disliked by caucus and the leader's office—because everything he did seemed to be all about advancing Rocco's interests, and not the party's. Remember, for instance, his bizarre kayak journey up the Rideau Canal?

I doubt you do. But the rest of us remember. We saw it as an epic dumb stunt, like many of the stunts Rocco did and does, which seemed to be more about raising Rocco's profile than actually raising money.

As a McGuinty Liberal, I can also tell you that—with the possible exception of me—nobody really knew who Rocco Rossi was. He not once lifted a finger to assist the provincial party, not once, and his claims that we “courted” him are flatly false.

Just days before he reinvented himself as a Conservative, in fact, Rocco was told very clearly that the McGuinty team was not interested in a bidding war for his loyalty. If he felt he'd be more at home with the rural pump that is the Ontario PCs—with their plans to scrap human rights, and their plans to rip \$3-billion from health care, leading to hospital closures and nurse firings—well, Rocco, go right ahead. Knock yourself out. The latest Ipsos—showing McGuinty with nearly a 20 point lead over Hudak in the GTA—makes clear that Benedict Baldy is going to get “knocked out,” too.

The Liberal Party is fine, thank you very much. Brad, however, should check his own party's health—their willingness to prop up the Harper Reformatories in the coming budget vote doesn't exactly suggest rosy-cheeked health.

Tim, meanwhile, should cast an eye to Alberta and British Columbia—where the birthplaces of the Harper conservative coalition are now engaged in a bloody civil war, with conservative attacking conservative, and new right-wing political parties being formed every hour.

Again, thanks for the concern, fellas. And, Tim, Conservatives are welcome to take the bizarre and erratic Rocco Rossi.

They deserve each other.



The Hatleys and the McCoys? Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty and Federal Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff.

Tensions between Team McGuinty and Team Ignatieff, eh?

Liberals are still reeling from the personal sucker punch the former national director has just delivered to the Once Mighty Liberal Party of Canada™.



BY BRAD LAVIGNE

While conservative commentators are downplaying the significance of Rocco Rossi's defection, many Liberals (my eloquent friend Warren included) are still reeling from the personal sucker punch the former national director has just delivered to the Once Mighty Liberal Party of Canada™.

It would be irresponsible to sweep this event under the rug or see it as little more than the ambition of a driven but unprincipled man. This defection speaks to the current state of the Ignatieff Liberals. It begs the question: ‘If the tent gets so big, does being under it have any meaning?’

This is exemplified by the identity crisis that the Liberals have under Ignatieff's leadership. This guy supported the very war his party took credit for keeping Canada out of. He has written about targeted assassinations and coercive interrogations. He has changed his mind on key issues depending on what his most recent advisors tell him. Without question he is a blue Liberal. And the fact that his national director just

defected to the Conservative Party should not only tell us how much to right Ignatieff, but how little difference there is between the parties under Ignatieff's leadership. (Except Mr. Rossi must now be against the HST).

Word out of Queen's Park suggests that there are tensions between Team McGuinty and Team Ignatieff. Between the two, McGuinty has a better machine and it will sit out a federal campaign, regardless if the election is before or after the October provincial effort.

Meanwhile, Andrea Horvath's leadership numbers continue to climb and the provincial NDP have great leads for pick-up where Layton's Ontario caucus currently holds seats. Both the federal and provincial New Democrats are united and will work flat out together to elect more New Democrats in the next two campaigns.

With Layton strong in the north and throughout industrial Ontario, one next region to watch is Toronto. With Ignatieff a drain on the ticket, look for Liberals MPs to run byelections that ignore the Party Leader. An increased Conservative vote will mean many more Toronto New Democrats elected (and no 416-Conservatives). And that's good for all of Canada.

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OPINION: POLITICS

Media enamoured by nuances of political strategy, feds forge ahead with foreign, domestic agendas

Conservatives continue to control the economic narrative while Liberals settle on a corporate tax cut policy and the media are preoccupied with the square footage of the NDP war room.



BY EVAN SOTIROPOULOS

TORONTO—It's unclear what the ballot question will be if Canadians are compelled to go to the polls in the spring.

Traditionally, the most important national issues of concern are the economy, health care and the environment. You wouldn't know it, however, by reading the political pages of newspapers where articles abound describing the ups and downs of political parties, notwithstanding that public opinion polling has remained remarkably rigid for years.

Kim Campbell quipped that a campaign was no time to talk policy. It seems this is now true between elections too.

Just last week, Finance Minister Jim Flaherty declared that "We can have discussions about other things, but not about the fundamental direction of the economy." While the "direction" of the economy may not need debating (who doesn't want rising economic activity?) a robust discussion on how to achieve it is in the public interest.

Still, Conservatives continue to control the economic narrative while Liberals settle on a corporate tax cut policy and the media are preoccupied with the square footage of the NDP war room.

Another issue the government has dominated the debate on is the Afghanistan war. When Jack



Photograph by Jake Wright, *The Hill Times*

Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon.

Layton, for instance, suggested talking with the Taliban to help achieve peace, he was dubbed "Taliban Jack." (Ironically, NATO confirmed late last year that they are in Washington-sanctioned talks with the Taliban.)

Successfully stifling debate hasn't hurt Harper and his team, however—not surprising given how few people pay attention to parliamentary proceedings. Pollara's Michael Marzolini recently reported that only 15 per cent of people

actually follow federal politics.

When it comes to foreign affairs in particular—which is rarely top of mind for Canadians—the federal government has a lot of leeway to politicize its policies without fearing push-back from the public.

The Prime Minister's Office said last week that they will focus on free trade legislation in the lead up to the budget. But how many people know about the negotiations conducted by DFAIT that impact so many facets of society?

There are presently three free trade government bills: Colombia (which has received royal assent), Jordan, and Panama. Other pending negotiations include those with South Korea, the European Union, and Turkey.

Canada-Turkey relations are worth briefly exploring, especially given recent events in the Middle East.

In December, International Trade Minister Peter Van Loan led a mission to Istanbul and Ankara. His trip focused on expanding commercial relations, promoting trade and included opening a new consulate in Istanbul. Likewise, in January, a Senate delegation led by Speaker Noël Kinsella made a trip to Turkey.

While promoting bilateral trade may be worthwhile, it shouldn't be done in a vacuum without reference to the human rights situation there. The U.S. State Department International Religious Freedom Report and the European Commission 2010 progress report on Turkey highlight that "non-Muslim religious communities ... continue to face undue constraints."

In Question Period recently, Prime Minister Stephen Harper said "that the fundamental basics of [his] government's foreign policy was the encouragement of freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law."

It appears though that these values were lost on Van Loan as human rights seem to have completely fallen by the wayside during his tour of Turkey. He didn't even pay a courtesy call to the Ecumenical Patriarchate—an almost mandatory stop for all visiting dignitaries. This 1,700-year-old living institution shepherding the spiritual needs of 300 million Orthodox Christians is headed by His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew and regularly wronged by Turkish authorities.

But instead of investigating issues of substance like this and others (e.g., the North American perimeter security pact) the Ottawa press has an all-consuming obsession in covering election speculation. While the media are enamoured by the nuances of political strategy, the federal government forges ahead with its foreign and domestic agendas with insignificant scrutiny.

While the ballot question may be uncertain, it surely won't be based on substantive matters. The next campaign will confirm (yet again) that Kim Campbell's claim is correct and highlight how many political reporters focus more on the political process than they do public policy.

Evan Sotiropoulos is a freelance political columnist. news@hilltimes.com The Hill Times

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OPINION: ELECTION BUZZ

Tory majority in the cards, 2011 to mark true beginning of Harper dynasty

If we do have a federal election this spring, the result will be a Conservative majority.



BY GERRY NICHOLLS

OKAVILLE, ONT.—At the beginning of the year I boldly predicted in the *National Post* the federal Conservatives would trigger an election this spring.

Nothing has happened since then to cause me to change my mind. Indeed, if anything every day brings fresh evidence that a federal election is near.

This has emboldened me to climb a little further out onto my forecasting limb.

After much pondering, I have come to the conclusion that if we do have a federal election this spring, the result will be a Conservative majority.

Now I realize this forecast goes against conventional political wisdom.

Many pundits, using current public opinion polls as evidence, are arguing no party currently has enough voter support to win a majority.

Columnist Lorne Gunter has written, "Party standings would probably end the campaign at more or less their current levels. There is almost certainly no majority available to any party."

And former Liberal strategist Warren Kinsella has declared, "Harper is still far from a majority."

Really?

Gunter and Kinsella are forgetting one simple fact: Canadians are not yet politically engaged.



Wily political tactician: A battle-hardened veteran of three national election campaigns and two leadership races, Stephen Harper is a wily political tactician who leads a united, well-disciplined and wealthy party.

The Liberals recently released a poll, for instance, which showed only 15 per cent of Canadians are even paying attention to federal politics. (By the way, that's completely normal. The average person rarely cares about the goings on in Ottawa. They would rather watch *American Idol* than *The National*. And who can blame them?)

But once an election is actually called Canadians will get focused on politics. They will start paying attention.

And what will these focused Canadians see when they start paying attention?

Well for one thing they will see a Prime Minister in Stephen Harper who is at the peak of his political powers.

A battle-hardened veteran of three national election campaigns and two leadership races, Harper is a wily political tactician who leads a united, well-disciplined and wealthy party.

The Liberals, on the other hand, are in a sorry state.



Intelligent, but a rookie: Michael Ignatieff is intelligent but a rookie when it comes to running a national campaign. He has only one national race under his belt, a Liberal leadership contest, which he lost.

Their leader, Michael Ignatieff, is intelligent but a rookie when it comes to running a national campaign. He has only one national race under his belt, a Liberal leadership contest, which he lost.

Nor has he shown any evidence that he is a good campaigner or that he possesses good political instincts or that he can come up with a message that will resonate with Canadians.

His party is also demoralized and cash-poor.

In short, in the next election Ignatieff will have a hard enough time rallying his own Liberal base, let alone winning over undecided voters.

In other words, on paper at least, the Harper versus Ignatieff contest could be the biggest mismatch since General Custer took on Sitting Bull.

And let's not forget the Conservatives only need a net gain of 12 seats to win a majority.

That's absolutely doable.

All things considered, the Conservatives should gain seats in Danny Williams-less Newfoundland and will very likely win back the one seat they lost in Alberta in 2008.

But I'm guessing it's in "voter-rich" Ontario where the Conservatives will really make their majority-guaranteeing electoral breakthrough.

Political conditions in that province are just right for major Tory gains.

Last year's emotion-laden debate over the gun registry, for instance, should help the Conservatives immensely when it comes to taking some opposition-held Ontario rural ridings.

And even Ontario's urban ridings are ripe for the Tory taking.

Consider how the Conservatives handily won the recent by-election in Vaughn.

Plus the victory of conservative Rob Ford in the Toronto mayoralty race shows even the up until now Tory-resistant GTA might be ready to turn blue.

Helping the Conservatives is that Ontarians are growing tired of Liberal Premier Dalton McGuinty and thus will be in the mood to vote against any Liberal, provincially or federally.

For all these reasons a Conservative majority seems to be in the cards.

Mind you, the preceding analysis assumes the Tories will run a good, tactically sound campaign, and I concede that's a mighty big assumption.

Never underestimate the ability of Conservatives to mess things up.

However, all things being equal, we should expect 2011 to mark the true beginning of the Harper dynasty.

How will Prime Minister Harper govern after he wins a majority?

That's something even I can't predict.

Gerry Nicholls is a writer and political consultant. www.gerrynicholls.com

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OPINION: AFGHANISTAN

Canadian Forces important to success in developing Afghan National Security Forces: U.S.

Canada's significant pledge to the training mission is essential for our mission—assisting the Afghans to take lead security responsibility throughout the country by 2014.



BY DR. JACK KEM

KABUL, AFGHANISTAN—Almost 15 months ago LTG William B. Caldwell IV arrived in Afghanistan to stand up NATO Training Mission—Afghanistan (NTM-A)—a new organization with the mission of developing a professional, enduring, and self-sustaining Afghan National Security Force (ANSF). As LTG Caldwell's civilian deputy, I have been privileged to assist in this critical mission to enable the

Afghans to ultimately secure and stabilize their country.

Prior to the stand up of NTM-A on Nov. 21, 2009, the focus on ANSF development was on quantity—getting the numbers up. However, to develop a professional, enduring, and self-sustaining ANSF, the focus quickly changed to not only growth of the force, but to have a concerted effort to increase the quality of the force and build the foundation to professionalize the Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police. During the first year, NTM-A assisted our Afghan partners to both grow the force and reverse negative trends in quality (such as high levels of attrition and low training standards).

Today, the ANSF continues to enjoy impressive growth, increased capacity, and professionalization. Since November 2009, the strength of the Afghan National Army has grown from 97,011 to 152,034 and the Afghan National Police has grown from 94,958 to 116,856. This represents a total growth in the ANSF by approximately 77,000 troops in just 14 months.

In the midst of this tremendous growth, training capacity and quality of the force has increased dramatically. For example, basic rifle qualification for Afghan National Army recruits has increased from 35 per cent qualified to 95 per cent qualified. The number of ANA branch schools has increased from zero to 10, with two additional schools to be opened by November 2011. ANP training capacity has increased from 7,640 seats in November 2009, to 13,631 seats today. We are well on our way to a 20,980 seat training capacity by November 2011.

The most significant program in the professionalization of the ANSF, and the future of Afghani-

stan's society, is NTM-A's literacy program. With the low rate of only 14 per cent literacy for army and police recruits, NTM-A embarked on a mission of mandatory literacy training. The number of ANSF students in mandatory literacy training has grown from zero to more than 47,100 in just 14 months—with an anticipated growth in the program to 100,000 soldiers and policemen in literacy classes on a weekly basis by July 2011.

The successes enjoyed during NTM-A's first 14 months would not have been possible with the support of our NATO and coalition partners. In particular, Canada continues to play a crucial role in this success. Of the more than 2,900 Canadian Forces in Afghanistan, approximately 50, including two general officers, are assigned to NTM-A. Canadian Forces have been especially instrumental in leading the development of the Afghan National Police.

Canada's recent pledge of up to 950 trainers for the NTM-A training mission is greatly appreciated. We have made huge strides

in developing the ANSF, but the mission is not complete and meeting our future growth goals and objectives is not assured. Canada's significant pledge to the training mission is essential for our mission—assisting the Afghans to take lead security responsibility throughout the country by 2014.

During the next year—with the increased Canadian trainers—we will use the solid foundation we have built to ensure continued growth, build and support enabling forces, develop self-sustainable security systems and enduring institutions, and begin the process to professionalize the force. We look forward to the next year working "Shohna ba Shohna," or "Shoulder to Shoulder" with our coalition partners from 30 different nations—especially from Canada. The pledge of up to 950 trainers for the NTM-A mission at this critical time is especially welcome and appreciated.

Dr. Jack D. Kem has been the deputy to the Commanding General, NATO Training Mission—Afghanistan since November 2009. He is a member of the U.S. Department of Defense Senior Executive Service, on leave of absence from the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, where he serves in concurrent appointments as the director, Land Power Studies Institute, the Commandant's Distinguished Chair of Military Innovation, and Supervisory Professor of Joint, Interagency, and Multinational Operations. He has a PhD in Public Ethics from North Carolina State University.

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OPINION: SOUND BITES

Political voices in the era of nine-second sound bites

Think of nine-second sound bites as a sort of political haiku.

By W.T. STANBURY

This column has two parts. The first is to summarize some important new research on the evolution of the way the news media report politicians' words. The second is to have some fun (really!) by proposing words for the near ubiquitous nine second sound bites for both sides of the House of commons.

What the Research Says

In 1992, "a professor at the University of California published research showing that the length of the average TV sound bite had dropped dramatically, from 43 seconds in the 1968 presidential election to a mere nine seconds in the 1988 election." (All of the material in this section is adapted from Craig Fehrman, "The incredible shrinking sound bite," www.Boston.com, Jan. 2, 2011.)

"In recent presidential elections, the average TV sound bite has dropped to a tick under eight seconds. A shorter, dumber, and shriller political discourse, it seems, has become another hazard of modern life."

More generally, solid research shows that "printed quotations [in newspapers] from politicians have been getting shorter for more than a century. This is due largely to the rise of a more sophisticated and independent style of journalism. Letting politicians ramble doesn't

necessarily produce a better or more informative political discourse," writes Fehrman.

As newspapers became "less tied to political parties, they could take candidates' words and combine them with context and analysis."

"Much like newspapers at the end of the 19th century, newscasts in the 1960s and 1970s were going through a transformation. For the first time, network executives saw their news operations as potential profit makers... to get the biggest audiences, they needed more glitz, structure, and speed. Meanwhile, reporters... were becoming more skeptical and more cynical. ... [Journalists and editors were] more interested in exposing and analyzing political image-making than in passively transmitting those images," Fehrman writes.

"In 1968, Walter Cronkite and CBS did a segment on Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon that used five quotations from the candidates with an average length of 60 seconds. ... [In 1988] Peter Jennings and ABC did a segment on Bush and Dukakis that used 10 sound bites from the candidates with an average length of 8.5 seconds. As sharp as that difference seemed in retrospect, it had happened so gradually that the industry itself hadn't realized how much had changed," Fehrman writes.

Research indicates that "as networks shortened their sound bites, they also changed the substance of their political coverage. They started using more in-house experts, pundits who looked less at what people said than at how they said it. TV news became more about strategy and the parsing of strategy — about buzzwords like "expectations" and "momentum"

— than about the issues that presumably lie at the heart of politics. Journalists wanted to turn campaigns into larger narratives, and there was no easier narrative than covering politics as though it were a sport," writes Fehrman.

In the intensely competitive world of TV news, "The choice... may be between shrinking sound bites and no sound bites at all." Everything will be reporter or anchor voice-overs. In 1992 CBS made an attempt to bring back longer sound bites. However, producers found they were "throwing out useful sound bites simply because they weren't long enough — and struggling to find suitable replacements." The implication is that the candidates were not speaking in coherent paragraphs. "The new policy ended up leading to more interpretation and paraphrase, and less airtime for candidates." CBS went back to sound bites as usual—averaging nine seconds.

Political Speech in Nine-second Bursts

The formula for a politician to gain recognition is to get on TV news. It is the holy grail of news coverage. Then the objective is to say something worthy of being given a sound bite of nine seconds or less. The point of all this is to get the politician's own words directly across to voters—not a voice-over summary.

Remember that a 30-minute newscast contains only about 21 to 22 minutes of news. Advertising—couched largely in terms of slogans, and flashy visuals—fills up the balance. Hey, someone has to pay the bills to access all those eyeballs.

The format is rigid and limited: the sound bite must use no more than eight or nine seconds of air time. That means no more than 15 words spoken at a moderate pace—a pace that is "absorbable" by the viewers (targets). It means, also, that the words need to be well-chosen in the sense that the news editor will use them rather than a reporter voice-over.

I recall a senior Liberal political operative explaining that the whole point of the leader's day during the general election was to get at least one sound bite on the national news. In the same vein, Prime Minister Stephen Harper spends considerable time preparing before each Question Period. He seeks to both anticipate what the opposition MPs will throw at him, and to get ready the points he wants to score off them. He knows that he says need have no relation to the question. The whole point is to get the PM's message de jour (line of the day) on the news.

The politician's mantra is this: If you don't frame things the way you want first, an opponent or a smart ass journalist will do it for you. And the frame must require no more than nine seconds. Thus the politician's speechwriter has to be a sort of copywriter. Keep it short and snappy. TV news has become a sort of infotainment.

It's not just the words. Think of the time as a video clip in which you are the actor and script writer. It's a YouTube world. Thus tone, inflection and gestures can greatly enhance the words. How do you get to both Carnegie Hall and on the national news—practice, practice, practice. What are \$200 video cameras for?

Think of the nine-second sound bite as a sort of political haiku. That arcane form of Japanese poetry may require hours of careful cogitation to produce the requisite 17 moras in three phrases of five, seven, and five moras respectively. Basho, the greatest exponent of haiku, said that each haiku should be a thousand times on the tongue. Thank heavens, nine-second sound bites are not so restricted.

From Theory to Practice

Here are 20 field-timed (but not focus-group tested) sound bites on a variety of issues for both sides of the House. For a slightly higher fee, I can offer a video clip of each indicating the appropriate tone, inflection, and suitable gestures.

Sound Bites for the Government Side

We have fulfilled our promises. The opposition parties have done nothing but carp.

Do you want a strong government, or a coalition that includes the separatists?

He [referring to the leader of an opposition party whose identity will be made clear in the reporter's lead in] has nothing to offer to families struggling with the recession.

MPs [Senators] are honest—so there is no need to disclose the details of their expenses.

A low ranking by British academics does not mean the ATI Act is ineffective.

Canada must stay the course in Afghanistan—but the mission may change.

My position on any issue is whatever the PM has most recently announced.

Many Senators have to make large sacrifices to get by on their \$132,000 salary.

You say the top one per cent received over 15 per cent of total income in 2008. Who said life is fair?

If the Liberals want an election, they can defeat us on the next budget—if they have the guts.

No one at Tim Hortons wants an election. They want our steady hand on the economic tiller.

Julian Fantino has the right stuff—he will lead us to more seats in the GTA.

The per vote subsidy is the untouchable security blanket for the opposition parties.

The budget will contain no surprises—just more good government for families.

We are doing a perimeter security deal. We may tell you something about it later.

We appointed Ms. Ouimet—with the approval of the opposition—but we are not responsible for her behaviour.

Boutique tax expenditures! What do you mean? A non-sequitur. Next question.

You don't want the F-35? Should we ask China to sell us its new stealth fighter?

We have to back Israel. It's the only democracy in a strife-torn region of dictatorships.

The website was a convenient way of explaining our wise stimulus programs to families.

Sound Bites for the Opposition

Only \$500 to rub shoulders with Tory ministers! That's less than a dollar a pound.

Mr. Harper has frightened Canadians. But longer prison sentences will not make them safer.

On the census, Harper wants to suppress facts, increase costs, and play to the ignorant.

Every time he needs a boost in the polls, Harper will recycle another Beatles tune.

The new fighter jet is an invitation to the biggest cost over-run in history.

In five years in power, Mr. Harper's government has gone from youth to decrepitude.

The Green Party may have no MPs, but we are No. 1 on the environment issue.

Mr. Harper is a desperate man—he is considering bringing back the blue sweater vest.

The NDP will always protect working people. The rich can take care of themselves.

Stall. Ignore the facts. That has been the Conservatives' environmental policy.

I don't need to see the next budget. I know who prepared it. Bah, humbug!

We will cut taxes, increase expenditures on social programs, and balance the budget.

That tax on income trusts wiped out a record \$32-billion of retiree savings in two days.

If you like years of big deficits, and tax cuts for corporations, Harper's your man.

Mr. Harper either keeps things secret, or he gets his message out with a firehose.

How many new jobs were created by the huge drop in the corporate income tax?

Grab your wallet. The PM is going to give Quebec City \$175-million for a new arena.

The potash decision shows that Harper has a strong ideology—pure opportunism.

The CBC believes in openness for every other government organization but itself.

If the PM is consulting with his caucus, he has lost confidence in the smartest man in any room.

W.T. Stanbury is professor emeritus, University of British Columbia.

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HEALTH

A Hill Times
Policy Briefing
February 7, 2011



HEALTH-CARE ACT

Canada needs a National Pharmaceuticals Strategy and a Family Care Plan to support home caregivers, says *Liberal MP Ujjal Dosanjh. p. 23*

HEALTH-CARE SYSTEM

Our health-care system is at a tipping point and needs to be modernized, and not in the patchwork fashion that we have seen governments use over the past few decades, says *NPD MP Megan Leslie. p. 22*

EVIDENCE AND PRIVATIZATION

Private, for-profit delivery alongside non-profit delivery almost inevitably means a two-tier system that lengthens average wait times. And for-profit organizations tend to be of lower quality, whether they are in hospital, dialysis unit or a nursing home, says *Hugh Armstrong. p. 30*

SPORTS INJURIES

The federal government has a key role to play in coordinating a strategy to better protect amateur athletes from concussions and other traumatic brain and spinal cord injuries, says *NDP MP Glenn Thibeault. p. 24*

CANADA HEALTH TRANSFER

The current federal-provincial accord governing the Canada Health Transfer expires in 2014 and early preparations for the next round of negotiations are underway. At this stage, signs are not encouraging. Canada must negotiate a more effective Canada Health Transfer, says *Allan Maslove. p. 32*

HEALTH CARE IN THE NORTH

How funds made available by Health Canada have made for life-changing improvements to one northern Canadian, and indirectly, for many others, by *Stuart J. Whitley. p. 26*

PHARMACEUTICALS

Canadians pay \$2-billion extra on prescription drugs in order to get in return a net expenditure of \$533-million by drug companies. By *Marc-André Gagnon p. 31*

EMERGENCY ROOM OVERCROWDING

Here's a prescription for emergency room overcrowding. Increase the number of complex care and assisted living beds. Appropriate patients should be directed to these beds and away from those in the emergency room, says *Liberal MP Keith Martin. p. 25*

HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING: FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL HEALTH ACCORD

Health care has gone 'beyond the minister,' Cabinet must move forward on policy changes, say experts

Experts, critics, and stakeholders say with the 2004 federal-provincial health accord set to expire in 2014 they want to know what the feds' plans are. They're still waiting.

By BEA VONGDOUANGCHANH

Health care is not at the top of the federal government's agenda and the Conservatives are not showing leadership on tackling the important issues Canadians face when it comes to the healthcare system by being silent on the renewal of the 2004 health accord, say opposition MPs and stakeholders.

"I don't believe there's any leadership on health from this government," NDP MP and health critic Megan Leslie (Halifax, N.S.) told *The Hill Times* last week.

Ms. Leslie said that she believes the government is not moving on any health care-related issues because it believes health is strictly a provincial jurisdiction.

Jeffrey Turnbull, president of the Canadian Medical Association, agreed. When it comes to transforming the health-care system, which he believes is not adequately serving Canadians, he said the federal government "has not been active in this file, period."

But it needs to start getting active, he said, especially since the 2004 health accord is up for renewal in 2014.

"I think we need to have our national government working with our provincial and territorial governments in preparation for the 2014 accord so that health transformation is on the top of the agenda. At a federal level, it's currently not at the top of the agenda. Canadians want it to be there. All polling shows they put health care and the economy at the same level," he said, noting that the negotiations between 10 provinces, three territories and the federal government is a complex process which needs to begin now. "They have to be talking yesterday, not in a year's time, not in two year's time, but they have to

be starting to talk right now."

The accord, signed on Sept. 16, 2004 under then prime minister Paul Martin and the first ministers, set out an extra \$41.2-billion over 10 years in dedicated funding for health care issues such as reducing wait times, training medical professionals and expanding home care and a national pharmaceutical strategy.

So far, the government has been silent on the future of the accord and what comes next when the money runs out.

"I don't think they're on the ice. They seem to be ignoring medicare in particular," said University of Regina political science professor Greg Marchildon, who was the executive director of the Romanow Health Commission in 2001. He said while the Conservative government has been focused on public health, "doing their thing in terms of First Nations and Inuit health," and the day-to-day regulatory issues, they're not doing enough for the big picture.

"They're not enforcing the Canada Health Act, they're not engaging in any discussion of the future of medicare in any constructive way and this Prime Minister does not meet with premiers. There are no federal provincial and territorial meetings to allow for that," he said. "And as painful as those are for prime ministers, and I've been to many of them myself when I worked in government, I can understand why a prime minister might not want to have too many of these, but there's no other way to conduct federal/provincial business in this federation without having those meetings."

But Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq (Nunavut) has not shown any of her own leadership on these issues as well, said Liberal MP Ujjal Dosanjh (Vancouver South, B.C.), his party's health critic.



Photograph by Jake Wright, *The Hill Times*

Health files: Federal Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq, pictured, declined to be interviewed with *The Hill Times* for this week's health policy briefing.

"She's showing absolutely no leadership on tackling any issues other than issues that are important but smaller in the scheme of things. Whether it's the toys with lead, or other kinds of issues, she fails miserably on big issues like tobacco control, and her approach suits this government ultimately," said Mr. Dosanjh, a former B.C. premier and federal health minister who negotiated the 2004 accord. "Her silence on most health issues and her failure of leadership suits this government because this government is in denial about the federal jurisdiction and responsibility for health care."

Ms. Aglukkaq declined an interview with *The Hill Times* for this week's health policy briefing. Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Calgary Southwest, Alta.) appointed Ms. Aglukkaq as the Health minister when she was elected to the House of Commons in 2008. Prior to joining Parliament, she was a member of the legislative assembly of Nunavut, serving as the finance minister and House leader and later the territorial health minister and minister for the status of women. She also spent time in the Nunavut bureaucracy as the deputy minister for culture, language, elders and youth, and DM of human resources.

In an email to *The Hill Times*, Jenny Van Alstyne, a media rela-

tions officer in Ms. Aglukkaq's office, said that the government is "committed to a universal and public health-care system and to the Canada Health Act." In addition, Ms. Van Alstyne wrote, "Unlike the previous Liberal government, we won't balance the budget by cutting health care. We continue to work with the provinces, territories and health care professionals to look for ways to improve the health-care system."

She noted that the government is also continuing to increase health transfers to the provinces and territories, which will reach \$27-billion this year. "This significant funding increase allows provinces and territories to continue to meet the health-care needs of their residents," Ms. Van Alstyne said in the email.

Mr. Dosanjh criticized the government, however, saying that it has been "washing its hands of any responsibility for health care" while trumpeting the increased transfer payments. "They're not giving money. That money was allocated a long time ago, during my time. They just haven't taken it away," he said. "This is nothing personal, but I would simply see [Ms. Aglukkaq] parroting the talking points that she's been given. She's playing a role in the government. This government doesn't believe that they should take leadership

on health care and she is complying with that understanding."

Prof. Marchildon said however that health care has always gone "beyond the minister" because the Cabinet as a whole must move forward with any policy changes. "No health minister can very easily do anything on that front unless they have the full support of prime minister and the cabinet. That's always been true. In a sense, medicare has always gone beyond the minister. Always has. It is big P in small P politics," he said.

On other issues, such as health human resource shortages, Judith Shamian, president of the Canadian Nurses Association, told *The Hill Times* last week that her members have not received any "clear message" from the health minister, or the government, that this is an important issue.

"I see a limited leadership. I used to work for the federal government in Health Canada and I know that the federal government can do far more and should do far more," she said. "I think many of us are very concerned that currently there is a strong thinking of trying to reduce federal government involvement in health care for both financial and other reasons."

Ms. Shamian said that while the federal government recently announced funding for more medical resident training, there's been no talk of supporting nurses.

"It's great if we could solve the medical shortage, but if you don't have nurses, you don't have the team to do what needs to be done, just like solving the nursing problem without solving the medical problem is not smart either," she said. "It's the whole spectrum."

She also said the federal government needs to be at the table now to talk about the post-2014 health environment.

"There is a leadership role which doesn't cost money, but it takes on the understanding of what the country needs. When I look at the map, it's Canada, it's not the 13 jurisdictions," she said. "So the federal government has an obligation, moral and otherwise to take that leadership on and it's very weak at the moment unfortunately."

Meanwhile, Ms. Van Alstyne noted that the government "has taken action on many fronts to protect and promote the health and safety of Canadians," including: an "effective response" to the outbreak of the H1N1 virus last year; food and product safety; support for "innovative approaches to reduce wait times and improve access to health care services"; support for electronic health records; and investing in "key" aboriginal health programs. "It is clear that our government recognizes the health and safety of Canadians as a key priority," she said. "As such we will continue to make future investments that will maintain and improve the health and well-being of Canadians across the country."

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HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING: HEALTH-CARE SYSTEM



Lead the way: Federal Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq, pictured. NDP MP Megan Leslie says now is the time to start building the next generation of health care in Canada, what Tommy Douglas called the 'second phase of medicare' and our federal government needs to lead the way.

Photograph by Jake Wright, *The Hill Times*

Time to build next generation of health care for Canadians

Our health-care system is at a tipping point and needs to be modernized, and not in the patchwork fashion that we have seen governments use over the past few decades.



BY NDP MP MEGAN LESLIE

Canada's universal public health-care system has been the pride of our country for many years. Since its

introduction in Saskatchewan by former NDP leader Tommy Douglas, it has become the most important component of our social support network. It is the tool with which we look after one another, and is the great equalizer.

However, our system is at a tipping point and needs to be modernized, and not in the patchwork fashion that we have

seen governments use over the past few decades.

Major changes are needed to contain the rising costs of delivering health care and the demographic challenges to come.

We can't lose sight of the fact that our health-care system creates an attractive environment for investors, exempting companies from paying for private health insurance. A healthy workforce is a productive workforce, particularly for small and medium business owners who rely on their own personal health and that of their employees. This is but one part of the return businesses receive from the corporate taxes they pay.

High standards of universality and portability were introduced in the Ten Year Plan to Strengthen Health Care in 2004; standards that we have not achieved as of yet. Huge discrepancies remain across the country with respect to all aspects of health care, from primary care, through to palliative care and with most, if not all, aspects of public health and chronic disease prevention. The slashing of health-care jobs and beds over the last two decades has led to longer wait times, reduced access to primary care, and ultimately, higher costs due to delayed treatment.

This does not have to be. There are many solutions readily available to make our health-care system sustainable and help us adjust to the 21st century realities of having to offer more services out of the hospital and into community care settings, including the home.

Privatization is not the answer. Studies show provinces with the highest proportion of privatized services are the ones where the wait times are highest, since they poach human resources from our public system. Privatization leads to reduced quality of care, because profit demands lower wages, fewer staff and selective coverage based on procedure costs. Improving our health-care system begins by enforcing the Canada Health Act and reigning in the privatization of health services.

Making our publicly-funded, publicly-delivered health-care system sustainable also requires federal leadership to control the bulging costs of drugs and acute care and to remedy the absence of a national long-term care strategy. Prescription drugs are one of the most expensive components of our health-care system and have increased on average 10 per cent per year since 1995.

We could save Canadians up to \$10-billion per year on prescription drugs if we establish a pan-Canadian universal pharmacare program with a single price-negotiator and a comprehensive efficiency-based purchasing model. A universal pharmacare program would also provide drug coverage to the one-in-four Canadians who don't have any. It would allow the one-in-10 Canadians that stated they didn't fill their prescriptions because of the price to get the medication they

need. Therefore, the cost savings will come not only from lower drug prices but also by reducing the negative health consequences that result from inadequate drug coverage.

We must also address the lack of long-term care beds in this country. Acute care beds are being needlessly filled at four times the cost of a long-term care bed. We need to offer Canadians a suite of options, from home care, to improved community care and residential care. Poor or non-existent care for those living at home with untreated health problems is resulting in huge costs to the system, including the costs of lost labour when family members are charged with full-time care of their loved ones. Establishing a comprehensive care strategy will save costs in the long-run.

We must increase our capacity to prevent and manage chronic illnesses. To do so, we need to look beyond the usual boundaries of our health care system. Our health is affected by our environment, by access to good quality and affordable foods, the condition of our housing, the level of physical activity we engage in, what is called the social determinants of health. Children who grow up in precarious conditions are much more likely to suffer life-long health problems. Chronic disease prevention is perhaps the greatest solution to maintaining a sustainable health-care system, because healthy people need health services less.

We must start preparing for the 2014 renegotiation of the Canada Health Transfer.

While many of the tools for improving service delivery and chronic disease prevention are under the jurisdiction of provincial and territorial governments, the Conservative government must show leadership and bring everyone together to ensure every Canadian, no matter where he or she lives, can have access to high quality and timely health care services.

Now is the time to start building the next generation of health care in our country, what Tommy Douglas called the "second phase of medicare" and our federal government needs to lead the way.

NDP MP Megan Leslie, who is her party's health critic, represents Halifax, N.S.

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Caring Is Only the Beginning...

One in four Canadians was a family caregiver in the last year. Family caregivers provide support to relatives who are disabled, gravely ill, or dying, at great cost to themselves both financially and in terms of their own health and well-being. That's why the 26 members of the Health Charities Coalition of Canada are asking all federal parties to recognize the role of family caregivers and support their increasing needs. We're also asking the federal government specifically to:

- Improve the Compassionate Care Benefit (under Employment Insurance) to provide greater financial support, flexibility and eligibility to caregivers.
- Create a companion program to the Compassionate Care Benefits that is not based on employment.

Caring for a loved one due to age, medical condition, long-term illness or disability is difficult enough. By making family caregivers a priority, Canada's political parties can show all Canadians that they are not alone at a time when they need help the most.

Show Caregivers
you Care



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HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING: CANADA HEALTH ACT

Canada needs a National Pharmaceuticals Strategy and a Family Care Plan to support home caregivers

Prime Minister Stephen Harper would rather treat the federal government as an ATM for the provinces than defend the Canada Health Act and work to improve health care for all Canadians.



BY LIBERAL MP
UJJAL DOSANJH

Stephen Harper is continuing his attack on our health-care system. In a recent interview with Postmedia News, he once again made it clear that he believes that “the provinces are responsible for the management of our health-care system.” On Monday, Jan. 31, during Question Period, Mr. Harper stated that “We operate in a federal system in which health care is the primary responsibility of the provinces.” Like his colleague, Maxime Bernier, he would rather treat the federal government as an ATM for the provinces than defend the Canada Health Act and work to improve health care for all Canadians. Mr. Harper sees medicare as a nuisance, not a priority.

But is it any wonder? This is a Prime Minister whose only adult job outside politics was at the National Citizens Coalition, a right-wing lobbying group that was founded explicitly to oppose public health care.

In 1997, he said that “It’s past time the feds scrapped the Canada Health Act.” In his famous “firewall letter” in 2001, he wrote that, “each province should raise its own revenue for health care—i.e., replace Canada Health and Social Transfer cash with tax points.” In 2005, just before he took power, Mr. Harper said he thought two-tier health care “would be a good idea.”

Mr. Harper is not alone in his preference for the privatization of health care; Brian Mulroney went on the record in October of

2010 to recommend “some form of user fees.”

But these are not solutions. Rather, these attacks on public health care demonstrate an utter failure of leadership. Mr. Harper and his privatization-happy associates deny the federal government’s role, and speak openly about transferring tax points to the provinces—which would destroy the Canada Health Act and the unity of our health care system.

We must not let that happen.

The principal threats to our health-care system are those who say the end is nigh—the naysayers who hope their fantasies will be self-fulfilling. Private health companies and right-wing politicians distort the truth so that they can create fear and advance their agenda. Their fear-mongering about rising costs is irresponsible and shows a complete failure of leadership.

In the past several decades, the share of national income devoted to total health care expenditure has actually remained relatively stable. Today, health care does make up a larger share of provincial budgets, but this is due in large part to choices that the provinces have made to cut tax revenues and reduce expenditures in other areas. Demographic change is affecting costs, but it is not the ticking time bomb it has been made out to be.

Drug costs are the fastest-growing area of health-care expenditure, rising from just under 10 per cent of the total in 1985, to more than 16 per cent of all health-care costs in 2009. And most of these costs end up being paid for by Canadian families or private insurers, not the public system. One-in-10 Canadians report not filling a prescription because they cannot afford to pay. If Canadian families are

going broke to pay for medicine, we are surely losing the spirit of medicare.

Part of the 2004 health accord was the National Pharmaceuticals Strategy. This was a definitive step towards a national pharmacare program.

When the Conservatives took power, all progress stopped. We hear from provincial capitals that governments have abandoned the pharmaceuticals strategy because the federal Conservative government has no interest. That is unacceptable.

At the same time, families are struggling to care for aging and sick loved ones at home. Providing supports to home caregivers would alleviate pressure on families and on our hospitals, freeing up hospital beds and creating savings on health-care provision. That is why we’ve proposed the Liberal Family Care Plan to support home caregivers.

We need to make improvements to our health care system. In the long term, we need to bring pharmaceuticals and the entire continuum of care—including home care and chronic care—into the Canada Health Act. Doing so will require leadership which Mr. Harper seems entirely unwilling to provide.

Mr. Harper would prefer to simply write cheques to the provinces while denying any responsibility and jurisdiction in health care whatsoever. The federal government must reclaim or reassert its jurisdiction and its responsibility for leadership and advocacy in health care. What Mr. Harper is offering is neglect. Canadians deserve better.

Ujjal Dosanjh is the Health Critic for the Liberal Party of Canada, Member of Parliament for Vancouver South and former premier of B.C.

*news@hilltimes.com
The Hill Times*

This is a Prime Minister whose only adult job outside politics was at the National Citizens Coalition, a right-wing lobbying group that was founded explicitly to oppose public health care, says Grit MP Ujjal Dosanjh.



Photograph by Jake Wright, The Hill Times

Commençons par les aider...

Un Canadien sur quatre a été un aidant au cours de l'année dernière. Les aidants procurent des soins à leurs proches atteints d'une incapacité et qui sont gravement malades ou mourants, mais ces soins ont des répercussions à la fois financières et sur leur santé et leur bien-être. C'est pourquoi les 26 membres de la Coalition canadienne des organismes bénévoles en santé demandent à tous les partis fédéraux de reconnaître leur rôle d'aidant et de leur accorder un appui pour subvenir à leurs besoins grandissants. Nous demandons plus particulièrement au gouvernement fédéral :

- D'améliorer les prestations de compassion (offertes par l'assurance-emploi) pour augmenter l'aide financière, la flexibilité et réviser les critères d'admissibilité des aidants.
- De créer un programme de prestations de compassion qui n'est pas basé sur l'emploi.

Prendre soin d'un proche en raison de son âge, d'un problème médical, d'une maladie à long terme ou d'une incapacité est déjà très exigeant. En priorisant les aidants, les partis politiques canadiens peuvent montrer à tous les Canadiens qu'ils ne sont pas seuls à un moment de leur vie où ils ont le plus besoin d'aide.

Montrez aux aidants que
vous voulez les aider



ALS Canada – Association canadienne de soins palliatifs – Association canadienne du cancer du rein – Association canadienne du diabète – Association pulmonaire du Canada – Cancer de l'ovaire Canada – Fibrose kystique Canada – Fondation Canadienne d'Orthopédie – Fondation canadienne de recherche sur le SIDA – Fondation canadienne des maladies inflammatoires de l'intestin – Fondation canadienne du cancer du sein – Fondation des maladies du cœur – Fondation canadienne du foie – Fondation canadienne du rein – Fondation Lymphome Canada – Hope Air – Neurofibromatose Canada – Ostéoporose Canada – Société Alzheimer du Canada – Société canadienne de la sclérose en plaques – Société canadienne du cancer – Société de l'Arthrite – Société Huntington du Canada – Société Parkinson Canada – The Foundation Fighting Blindness – Timbres de Pâques Canada

HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING: SPORTS INJURIES

If Sydney Crosby isn't immune, neither are Canada's youth

Federal government has key role to play in coordinating a strategy to better protect amateur athletes from concussions and other traumatic brain and spinal cord injuries.



BY NDP MP
GLENN THIBEAULT

Our nation has a storied history of amateur sporting achievements, with the record breaking gold medal performance by Canada's athletes at the 2010 Vancouver Olympics serving as a unifying force in fostering the Canadian national identity. For years to come, Canadians across the country will remember where they were when Sidney Crosby scored the "Golden Goal" in the men's hockey final.

In addition to its cultural importance, sports and physical recreation are a vital part of healthy living and an active lifestyle. Currently, more than 23 million Canadians actively participate in sport and physical activity, representing approximately 59 per cent of our population.

This number unfortunately also represents a 20 per cent decrease from the 1992 rates, coinciding with a rise in obesity rates over this interval.

However, recent research indicates that declining participation rates are not the only concern facing Canada's sport community. In fact, the latest findings have revealed a silent epidemic of traumatic brain and spinal cord injuries. Of even greater concern is the rising incidence of these injuries and the cumulative and long-lasting effects they can have on memory, judgment, social conduct, reflexes,

speech, balance and coordination.

"Post-concussion syndrome" involves a prolonged recovery phase, and sometimes even a life-long disability, during which symptoms can include headaches, dizziness, fatigue, irritability, light and sound sensitivity, and memory and concentration impairment.

Even more worrisome is the evidence which suggests a strong causal relationship between an athlete sustaining multiple concussions and exhibiting Alzheimer-like symptoms. Second Impact Syndrome (SIS) occurs when an athlete sustains a second head injury prior to the first injury being resolved. Because the effects of SIS are even more devastating than a single concussion, coordinated action is needed to ensure that youth and amateur athletes are not negligently exposed to a second concussion while still recovering from the initial injury.

The effects which injuries of this type produce are not to be downplayed or marginalized. Rather, concussions can often have serious long term consequences for both the individual athlete involved, as well as on society more broadly through the substantial costs associated with treating the injured athlete. Athletes who have received multiple concussions often suffer from Chronic Traumatic Encephalopathy (CTE) a term current research uses to describe the condition arising from multiple concussions. CTE is a condition most commonly found among boxers and can be characterized by a decline in mental and physical abilities which can include cognitive impairment, ataxia, behavioural changes, Parkinsonism and dementia.

Moreover, not only does recent research show the serious long term neurological effects sports derived concussions can have; it also demonstrates that the prevalence of these injuries is significantly higher than previously thought. The 2010 study by the Hockey Concussion Education Project concluded that concussion incidence rates for participants in amateur hockey were approximately seven times greater than the previously estimated rate. Clearly, we have merely

hit the tip of the iceberg in our attempts to properly classify and curtail incidence rates of sport-related concussions.

While the full scope and severity of the concussion epidemic has begun to be revealed, federal government funding for sports injury research has actually declined. In fact, the Canadian Institute of Health Research saw its funding cut by 38 per cent in 2009/10. The reduction in funding for this type of important research is extremely discouraging. The research community and the public at large are just beginning to understand the far-reaching consequences of concussions. With incidents on the rise, we should be funding more research on the subject. In order to sustain future participation rates in amateur athletics in Canada, we need to show our nation's athletic community that reducing sport related concussions is a priority.

Finally, in addition to the effects sport related concussions can have on the individual athlete; these types of injuries also constitute a substantial economic cost which has yet to be accurately tabulated. Smartrisk's 2009 Economic Burden of Injuries Report found that being struck by sports equipment cost the Canadian health care system approximately \$188-million in direct and indirect costs.

However, this only offers a snapshot of the economic impact as the report exclusively identifies hospital reported injuries and doesn't account for all sports-related injuries. If one factors in unaccounted doctor's visits, rehabilitation costs, and the spinoff costs faced by provincial education systems this figure would likely amount to billions of dollars in economic costs directly resulting from these serious types of sports injuries. In order to accurately gauge the economic costs shouldered by our health and education system as a direct result of serious sport related injuries a more expansive system of data collection is needed.

Prior to becoming involved in politics I worked with persons suffering from debilitating neurological injuries, while also volunteering my time as a local hockey referee.

Serving in these capacities, I have seen the long-term impact these types of injuries can have. I have also seen youth needlessly carted off the ice as a result of devastating injuries sustained during the course of a game. Having witnessed first-hand how these injuries occur, in addition to their long-term effects, I know it's imperative that we take substantive action to reduce concussion incidence rates in amateur sports. The government can no longer be a spectator while our athletes sustain permanent and long lasting injuries. The time for a coordinated response is now.

This silent epidemic of sports incurred



Photograph by Jake Wright, The Hill Times

Step up to the plate: It's time for the Conservative government to step up to the plate and recognize the severity of the concussion epidemic. To shrug off the issue by simply stating that youth athletes wear helmets, as Minister of State for Sport Gary Lunn, above, did during QP in November, is irresponsible and ignores the severity and scope of the issue.

concussions and other serious injuries constitute a public health crisis which merits some form coordination from the federal government. This is the approach taken by the United States. Australia is another nation who has taken decisive action in this regard. The Oceanic country's New South Wales Government established the Sports Research and Injury Prevention Scheme in 1991 to provide funding to support organizations and research institutions in their efforts to increase safer participation in sport and recreational activities. Canada should not be left behind.

We should learn from the action taken by the U.S. and Australia and establish our own method of addressing this serious concern. Canada's amateur athletes should not be unduly placed in jeopardy by the threat of long term cognitive impairment stemming from an on-ice or on-field injury. It is imperative that we create a safe space for our children, within the context of promoting physical activity and a healthy lifestyle.

It's time for the Conservative government to step up to the plate and recognize the severity of the concussion epidemic. To shrug off the issue by simply stating that youth athletes wear helmets, as Minister of State for Sport Gary Lunn did during Question Period in November, is irresponsible and ignores the severity and scope of the issue.

What is desperately needed is a formal consultation process which brings together stakeholders from the academic, medical and athletic communities, as well as provincial and territorial ministers of Health, with the federal government playing a facilitating role. Such a process would grant all stakeholders a voice in determining the most appropriate course of action to stem the growing public health crisis which sport-incurred concussions have become.

Bringing together all stakeholders for such a consultative process would allow us to better understand serious sports injuries and their implications, set up a comprehensive sports injury surveillance and monitoring system, put in place a sufficient deterrent mechanism for ensuring athletes are not prematurely exposed to a second concussion, raise public awareness on the severity and scope of the crisis, allow for the creation of a standardized injury prevention education program and most importantly, work towards implementing tangible solutions that address the stark realities which 21st century sports medicine has revealed.

NDP MP Glenn Thibeault, who represents Sudbury, Ont., is his party's consumer protection and sport critic.

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HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING: EMERGENCY ROOMS



Implement a triage system in ERs that separates acute patients from non-acute patients, says Grit MP Keith Martin.

Here's a prescription for emergency room overcrowding

Increase the number of complex care and assisted living beds. Appropriate patients should be directed to these beds and away from those in the emergency room.



BY LIBERAL MP KEITH MARTIN

Fifty two per cent of Canadians agree that our health-care system is broken and needs to undergo fundamental change if it is going to meet our needs in

the future. One essential change must be reducing the back-logs in Canadian emergency rooms.

As a physician who practised emergency medicine, most of the beds in my department were filled, the majority of the time, with patients suffering from chronic diseases who could no longer live at home. Many of their problems did not require treatment in an acute care hospital.

They could have received appropriate and less expensive care in a non-acute, complex care facility. Unfortunately, beds in these facilities were rarely available. These individuals, who could no longer care for themselves, wound up in the emergency room, sometimes for days on end.

They displaced other patients who needed an acute care hospital bed but wound up sitting in the waiting room for many hours before they could even see a physician because there were no vacant beds in the emergency room. This is cruel, and an inhumane way to care for people when they fall ill.

Many chronically ill patients decompensate unnecessarily at home due to a lack of ongoing home care. These tragedies could be avoided with better access to community services and home visits by nurses. This costs far less and protects the patient from picking up a deadly hospital-borne illness.

The following are a number of simple initiatives that can be implemented quickly to relieve emergency room congestion. They are:

1. Increase the number of complex care and assisted living beds. Appropriate patients should be directed to these beds and away from those in the emergency room.

2. Invest in community services such as: alcohol and drug rehabilitation programs, community care nurses, homecare, emergency shelters and affordable housing. Too many patients wind up in the emergency room who simply cannot meet their basic needs. Their problems are social, not medical.

3. Create a rapid reaction team within hospitals that is comprised of a social worker and a nurse that will help people access the outpatient services and programs they need. This team can also work in the community with a police liaison officer to access hard to reach marginalized people. This would identify medical and social problems before they become acute and direct people to the community services that can deal with them.

4. Implement a triage system in the emergency room that separates acute patients from non-acute patients. This will enable the latter to be diverted to a treatment clinic situated beside the emergency room. This clinic would be staffed by physicians and nurses who can quickly treat simpler problems. This should be open on a 24 hour basis.

These and other solutions will enable our beleaguered health care system to provide for timely access to health care when people fall ill. Leaders like Dr. Sherman must continue to speak out for the reforms our health care system desperately needs. For our patients, inaction and silence must not be an option.

Liberal MP Keith Martin, who represents Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca, B.C., is a physician and has been a longtime advocate for health care reform including incorporating the private sector into the Canadian health-care system. For a list of his Do's and Don'ts of health care reform and other editorials on this subject please visit keithmartin.org.

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HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING: IN THE NORTH

Health care in the North: Imagining a different future

How funds made available by Health Canada have made for life-changing improvements to one northern Canadian, and indirectly, for many others.

By **STUART J. WHITLEY**

WHITEHORSE, YUKON—What qualities lead to happiness and high achievement? Current brain research suggests the unconscious mind—emotion and intuition—play a much larger role than hitherto thought. Mental health depends upon connection. “Happiness is determined by how much information and affection flows through us covertly every day...” (D. Brooks, ‘Social Animal,’ *The New Yorker*, Jan. 17,

2011, p.26). Jeffrey Schwartz, author of *The Mind and the Brain*, contends that getting people to change is important because life itself involves continual rapid changes. The traditional view of managing change in people has focused upon providing critical feedback and judgment, or through the work of professional help, in analyzing individuals’ problems. But this emphasizes the rational methodologies employed by most clinicians. In the Yukon, we have supplemented this with relationship-building.

Ironically perhaps, the First Nations peoples of this country teach us that relationships are first in all things. We have been quick to overlook traditional wisdom in health matters; slow to embrace it. We now know scientifically that the emotional brain centers evolve much earlier, and keep evolving right along and inseparable with the neocortex; where they significantly influence all brain functions.

“George” is a young First Nation man who resides in a rural Yukon community.

Prior to federally-funded health programs, Yukon Mental Health Services (MHS) was aware of him, and vainly attempted to serve him. He frequently missed appointments with MHS staff and his psychiatrist because of lack of transportation into Whitehorse. Due to the heavy demands of the MHS office, no one was able to spend the time necessary to get him there. Because of these factors, he was never able to develop a trusting relationship with MHS. He ignored his treatment plan; he usually didn’t have a current prescription, and if he did, he had no way to access his medication, or support to

ensure that he took it. Additionally, he had a significant substance use problem. Worsening symptoms meant he was frequently hospitalized.

When discharged, MHS would attempt to connect with him and ensure that he had medications; however, the same pattern of missed appointments, and non-compliance with medication would quickly resume.

With the Early Psychosis Program and Rural Yukon Mental Health programs made possible by Health Canada, George’s life has turned 180 degrees. A Rural Mental Health Support Worker was hired for his community, which meant that George was now able to get to see his psychiatrist, and could be monitored by MHS staff at least weekly. His rural support worker brought him to Whitehorse to participate in the Early Psychosis Intervention group held for young individuals with a psychotic disorder.

Through this group, George was able to meet a cohort of peers who were experiencing many of the same problems. Together, they learned about how to recognize the signs and symptoms of psychosis, how to stay compliant with their medication and other aspects of a treatment program, and about how important it was to avoid the use of substances, if they truly wanted to get well. The young adults in the group proved to be supportive of one another; when one was not doing well, the other would supply encouragement. At an overnight retreat, the group members set goals for themselves, and continue to hold each other accountable regarding those goals. George and the other group members have become each other’s primary source of support.

These are the activities most closely associated with happiness and success.

Today, George continues to reside in his First Nation community in rural Yukon. He

has been compliant with his medication for over two years, and has had no hospitalizations. He is substance-free. He is one of the leaders and positive influences in the EPI group. He is employed full-time. He looks confident and happy. This is a young man, who has not simply achieved stability with regard to his mental illness, but who has gone beyond that to achieve role recovery.

Moreover, George’s community now sees him as a strong and positive influence in the community. As they have seen his progress, they have gone the distance in making efforts for him to access continued education in his community. His employer allows him the time off to participate in the weekly early psychosis programming, to support his efforts to maintain his mental health.

A significant benefit has been the development of trusting, valued working relationship between MHS and the FN involved with this young man, which has had a positive spillover to other clients. In all cases, the downstream consequences for their personal health (and consequent fewer demands on our health-care delivery system) are portentous. This is a real example—one of many—how funds made available by Health Canada have made for life-changing improvements to one northern Canadian, and indirectly, for many others.

In the last part of this three-part series, the impact of the loss of funding for such programs will be considered.

The author is deputy minister of Health & Social Services, Yukon Government. The view as expressed is that of the author, and do not necessarily represent those of the Yukon government or any other official. I am indebted to Marie Fast, Clinical Manager, Patrice Cameron and Tammy Thompson for their assistance and insights in the preparation of this piece.

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¹ <http://archive.safety-council.org/info/OSH/mentalhealth.html>

² <http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/publicat/cdic-mcc/28-3/index-eng.php#a2>

³ <http://www.mentalhealthcommission.ca/SiteCollectionDocuments/en/2009/MK%20Speaking%20notes%20Opening%20Minds%20launch%20Oct%20202009.pdf>

IMPORTANT

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cc: Natural Health Product Consumers

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HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING: FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL HEALTH ACCORD

Photograph by Jake Wright, *The Hill Times*

Top issues: Leona Aglukkaq. Experts say the top health-care issues are the sustainability of the publicly-funded system, access to primary care, the rising cost of pharmaceuticals, and human resource shortages.



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Federal-provincial health accord expires in 2014, experts say it's time feds talk about their plans

Experts say the health-care system will implode if the federal government will not continue support under the federal-provincial health accord, and are looking for focused, targeted support and leadership.

By BEA VONGDOUANGCHANH

Sustainability of the publicly-funded system, access to primary care, the rising cost of pharmaceuticals and human resource shortages are the top issues facing health care in Canada, say stakeholders and opposition MPs. All these issues are interconnected, however, and as Canada moves toward the end of the 10-year health accord signed in 2004, the federal government must take a leadership role in bringing the provinces and territories together to negotiate a post-2014 accord.

"Like many other industrialized countries, Canada faces a changing economic and social climate that will have repercussions for the health-care system. Demographic pressures, technological advances, rising costs: these are all challenges shared with other countries," said McGill University professor Antonia Maioni, director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada and an expert in health-care issues.

"But Canada also faces more specific challenges: an increasingly diverse population, regional disparities in access to care, a health-care system that is both highly regulated for publicly-insured services, but at the same time contains gaps for pressing needs in home care, long-term care, and prescription drug coverage. Canada's health-care system is also buffeted by political questions: on the one hand, who should be paying for health care; and on other, who decides the rules that regulate the system."

University of Regina professor Greg Marchildon, former executive director of the Romanow Commission on health, told *The Hill Times* that it's "an important time" for the health-care debate in Canada because of the renegotiations on the Canada Health Transfer in 2014.

Following the Romanow Report in 2002, a new health accord was signed on Sept. 16, 2004 under then prime minister Paul Martin and the first ministers. It set out an extra \$41.2-billion over 10 years in dedicated funding for health-care issues such as reducing wait-times, training medical professionals and expanding home care and implementing a national pharmaceutical strategy. The accord provides a six per cent increase in health transfer payments each year from the federal to provincial governments, but the provinces will no longer receive automatic annual increases in funding when the accord expires. Meanwhile, Canada spent \$192-billion on health care in 2010.

It also put in place an accountability structure to measure progress. Since then, Canadian Medical Association president Jeffrey Turnbull said, there has been some but not significant improvements in the health-care system.

"Our system is failing to meet the needs of Canadians currently," Mr. Turn-

bull told *The Hill Times* last week. It's why there needs to be a transformation, and now is the time to start talking about it, he said.

NDP MP Megan Leslie (Halifax, N.S.) also said the 2014 date is important because it "offers us such an incredible opportunity to reimagine medicare, to lay out our vision of medicare for the future." She noted that the federal government must protect a publicly-funded healthcare system but also "expand it in a way that will actually help control costs."

John Abbott, chief executive officer of the Health Council of Canada which was set up to report on the progress of health care renewal under the 2004 accord, told *The Hill Times* last week that compared to 10 European countries with similar health-care systems as Canada's, "we are not doing as well as we should be and could be."

Mr. Abbott noted that access to primary health care was one of the biggest issues that Canada has problems with, and that includes seeing family physicians in a timely manner whether it be getting same day appointments are being able to see them after hours and on weekends, long waiting periods for access to specialists and extended wait times in emergency rooms. He said that many Canadians, as a result, are going to emergency rooms for services they should be able to get from their family doctors which in turn crowds everything else out.

"There are pressure points," Mr. Abbott said. "We need to connect all those pieces. We have the services in place, but are they the right services for the right patient at the right time? And then we've got issues around how all that care can get coordinated."

Mr. Abbott said "it's a big problem" but, it's also very complex. "It's a little more complex than how do you get someone through the emergency room? Why are they there in the first place is the first question," he said.

Prof. Marchildon said it's more than just about funding, however. While many people and governments are focused on whether the system is fiscally sustainable, he said it's a "confusing conversation" that needs to be discussed in a national manner. He said part of the problem is the high costs of prescription drugs which is eating up a large portion of provincial budgets. He said that while he can appreciate that the federal government does not want to take on any fiscal risk in this area, it does need to take a leadership role on the issue because provincial governments "are not capable of dealing with the cost problem on their own."

The 2004 accord set up a mechanism to provide a national pharmaceutical strategy, but it never materialized into a national pharmacare program.

Ms. Leslie said last week that in order to address the costs of health care, the federal government could look into a pharmacare program which could potentially save the government \$10-billion by bulk buying prescriptions across the country at reduced prices, among other initiatives, such as home care and long-term care.

Ms. Leslie said, however, that the public system must absolutely be protected.

"Our medicare system is working," Ms. Leslie said. "People say our health-care expenses are ballooning out of control,

Continued on Page 29

HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING

Feds should set up framework, national standards, accountability of outcomes under Canada Health Act, say experts

And feds should clearly enforce accountability based on the provincial transfers. It's an essential part of the Canadian Health Act.

Continued from Page 28

they're unsustainable and for me, unsustainable is absolutely code for privatization. They are not spiraling out of control. They are not unsustainable."

Mr. Turnbull, whose organization has started doing cross-country consultations on the future of Canada's health-care system, said that any discussion of a private versus public health-care system is paralyzing the overall and important discussion that's needed.

"What we're trying to say is let's have this conversation about how we can have better health care, more comprehensive, improved delivery services, etc., that meets Canadians' needs, and then when we've defined what that looks like, then yes, we're going to have to talk about making it efficient as possible, making cost savings where ever we can, and if you do need more money, then let's have the conversation about how we're going to pay for it and there are many different ways to do it, through taxation base systems, social insurance systems, or yes, privatization," Mr. Turnbull said. "All the options should be on the table. I think Canadians should have a thoughtful discussion about what's best for them. But first, we've got to get on and say let's restructure the health care system so that it serves Canadians and not get caught up on private versus public."

For Prof. Marchildon, however, it's "a perfect storm" currently for privatization debate to heat up at the moment. He said because of the federal debt and current deficit, along with a federal government that wants to "disentangle itself" from health care, combined with provincial elections that might produce right wing governments which also want to take on health care by themselves, it's "a very dangerous time."

"The provinces can't have it both ways. They can't have growing federal transfers for medicare through the Canada Health Transfer and then say that the federal government should have even less say on how that money is spent in terms of the principles and conditions of the Canada Health Act," Prof. Marchildon said. "By the same token, the federal government can't expect the provinces to shoulder the full fiscal burden, yet enforce the principles and conditions of the Canada Health Act. So something is going to give here if

Continued on Page 33

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HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING: HEALTH CARE

Evidence and the privatization of health care

Private, for-profit delivery alongside non-profit delivery almost inevitably means a two-tier system that lengthens average wait times. And for-profit organizations tend to be of lower quality, whether they are in hospital, dialysis unit or a nursing home.



BY HUGH ARMSTRONG

Evidence-based medicine has been enthusiastically embraced in Canada and elsewhere, and broadened to include evidence-based policy.

Meanwhile, we are faced with a clamour for the privatization of important features of our public health-care system in Canada. The evidence is clear that privatization means increased costs, reduced accessibility and even reduced quality. Why then this clamour?

After all, our health-care system is sustainable. Leaving aside the bloated U.S. system, our overall costs are similar to those of the other industrialized countries, in per capita terms and as a share of GDP.

The pressures to increase spending are also similar across the industrialized world, primarily because health care is labour-intensive (making productivity hikes a particular challenge), because expectations about what it can and should provide (including for inappropriate interventions) are rising, and because new prescription drugs and medical

equipment are usually more expensive than the versions they replace. (Wage costs, by contrast, have remained remarkably stable in real terms, although physician incomes are another story).

To be sure, the health-care portion of provincial spending—and with reliable help from the federal government, at least until 2014, the provinces foot the bill—is rising, albeit slowly. The chief reason is that provinces are holding the line, and even cutting, on everything else, as they cope with their drastic tax cuts.

Poll after poll indicates that our health-care system is popular with Canadians. While there is always room for improvement, and numerous improvements have taken place over the years, it is relatively efficient and accessible. With private spending at about 30 per cent of total health-care spending, it is, however, more privatized than most European systems. It would be more efficient and accessible if it were expanded.

Prescription drugs and home care are the most discussed areas for expansion, and have been at least since the federally-appointed National Forum on Health reported in 1997. Little progress has been made on either front, however, and less has been made on dental and eye care.

Conscious of public opinion, and of the efficiency and accessibility of public financing, those favouring privatization have shifted their focus from financing to delivery. They argue that the public doesn't care whether health-care services are provided by non-profit or for-profit organizations, as long as they remain accessible and of high quality.

The privatizers may be correct on delivery in public opinion terms, for the evidence here is inconclusive. The evidence on accessibility and quality is, however, much clearer.

Private, for-profit delivery alongside non-profit delivery almost inevitably means a two-tier system that lengthens average wait times. And for-profit organizations tend to be of lower quality, whether they are in hospital, dialysis unit or a nursing home.

Much of the quality evidence is drawn from the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia and other countries that have travelled further down this privatization road than have we, but our limited evidence points in the same direction. Where for-profit eye surgery is available, for example, wait times are longer. For-profit nursing homes have lower staff ratios than do non-profit ones, with predictable negative effects on quality.

Returning to my initial ques-

tion, if the evidence on efficiency, accessibility and even quality is so clear, why the big push to privatize health-care funding and especially delivery?

Part of the answer is naked self-interest. At 10 per cent of the GDP, there is a lot more money to be made in health care. Prominent participants in the debates, like former senator Michael Kirby and former Ontario deputy minister Graham Scott, serve on the boards of major nursing home chains. The Ontario Medical Association promotes the transfer of uncomplicated surgery from hospitals to "independent" clinics owned by some of its members.

The taxes imposed on the very rich may seem more onerous than the cost of paying privately for even the most major illnesses and injuries, those costing hundreds of thousands of dollars. The very rich may be deluded, but they enjoy substantial influence.

Most importantly, notwithstanding the rhetoric about evidence, world views and values are important. Recall that Roy Romanow entitled his 2001 report on the future of health care "Building on Values." Reflecting both his exhaustive consultations across Canada and the evidence, he urged the sturdy defence and cautious expansion of public funding and delivery.

But there are other world views, other values, in increasing ascendancy. They promote individual responsibility, tax cuts, small government and marketization at the expense of the pooling of risk and collective provision. As federal and some provincial elections draw closer, we can expect intensified calls for privatization.

Countering these powerful voices requires a renewed marshalling of the evidence and forceful articulation of the value of public health care.

Hugh Armstrong is a professor in the School of Social Work and the Institute for Political Economy at Carleton University in Ottawa, where he is also cross-appointed to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. His research centres on women and work and on health care.

His recent publications include "Critical to Care: The Invisible Women in Health"; "About Canada: Health Care"; "Contradictions at Work: Struggles for Control in Canadian Health Care" and the 2010 reissuing of "Wasting Away: The Undermining of Canadian Health Care."

His research includes "Nurses at Risk" and "Reimagining Long-Term Residential Care: An International Study of Promising Practices".

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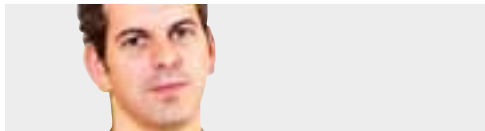
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HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING: PRESCRIPTION DRUG COSTS

The \$2-billion extra price tag of brand-name drugs in Canada

Let's repeat this very clearly: Canadians pay \$2-billion extra on prescription drugs in order to get in return a net expenditure of \$533-million by drug companies.



BY MARC-ANDRÉ GAGNON

Canadians often think that their prescription drugs are cheap. Otherwise, why would so many Americans cross the border to buy them?

Yet in the last five years, Canada has been the world's third most expensive country for brand-name drugs.

In 1987, Canada passed changes to the Patent Act extending patent protection for prescription drugs from 17 to 20 years after brand-name drug companies agreed to spend 10 per cent of their sales on research and development. The rationale was simple: a generous patent policy for brand-name companies would ensure a

more competitive, innovative pharmaceutical sector in Canada.

In order to prevent abuse, the Patented Medicines Price Review Board was created as a watchdog to cap prices of brand-name drugs and ensure transparency of Canadian pharmaceutical activities.

At first, this strategy worked very well. While the price of patented drugs increased, the pharmaceutical industry opened many important research labs in Canada.

The problem arose from the method of price capping and its bias towards pharmaceutical companies. Patented drug prices are capped based on the median of a basket of seven comparable countries with the highest R&D expenditures as compared to sales—the United States, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, France, United Kingdom and Italy. But, there is a catch: most of these countries also have the world's most expensive prices for patented drugs. The rationale was simple: these countries have a high R&D to sales ratio. If Canada has the same prices as they do, it could get the same spin-offs they do.

Since drug companies in Canada have little incentive to sell their drugs at a significantly lower price than the cap set by the PMPRB, Canada is effectively always aiming to be among the world's top five most expensive countries. Since 2005, Canada has been the third most expensive country because exchange rates increased or foreign drug prices decreased while the cap was not adjusted.



Photograph by Jake Wright, The Hill Times

Prescription drug costs: Paying directly for public pharmaceutical R&D might be the best way to produce innovative drugs while reducing the cost burden for all Canadians, says Marc-André Gagnon.

The ratio of investment in research and development to the sale price of drugs has increased in these countries since 2000, but not in Canada. Since 2001, pharmaceutical companies have not been holding up their end of the bargain and the ratio is constantly decreasing. It was only 7.5 per cent in 2009.

In 2006, the PMPRB explored the possibility of modifying the basket of countries to include other comparable countries: Finland, Australia, New Zealand, Austria, Netherlands and Spain. Except for Spain and New Zealand, they all have a higher R&D to sales ratio than Canada.

By using a model to cap prices based on the median between 13 countries, Canada would be aiming to be the world's seventh most expensive country. This would mean an average price reduction of 15 per cent on patented drugs. Since the total cost of patented drugs is \$13.3-billion, this would be a savings of \$2-billion.

Currently, Canada artificially inflates the cost of prescription drugs by \$2-billion to facilitate pharmaceutical R&D, while

total private R&D expenditures in Canada are only \$1.22-billion.

After taking into account generous tax subsidies in R&D, drug companies in Canada spend, in fact, only a net amount of \$533-million in R&D. Let's repeat this very clearly: Canadians pay \$2-billion extra on prescription drugs in order to get in return a net expenditure of \$533-million by drug companies.

Last December, when asked by Montreal's *La Presse* why companies aren't respecting the 1987 agreement of maintaining at least a 10 per cent R&D to sales ratio, Pfizer Canada CEO Paul Lévesque replied that the rules of the game have changed since 1987 and he did not think the agreement was binding. If drug companies don't intend to respect their part of the agreement, it's difficult to understand why the Canadian government should respect its part.

The federal government, however, has little incentive to tackle the issue. Fixing higher prices benefits the Canadian industry and creates a more business-friendly environment. But the federal government doesn't pay for drugs. Health is a provincial jurisdiction and the bills for patented drugs go mainly to the provinces. We find ourselves with federal pricing policies to support business and provincial drug regimes incapable of containing costs. We find ourselves in a situation where even the Maritimes and Prairies must pay higher prices while receiving little economic spin-offs, as pharmaceutical investment is concentrated in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia.

Some say that price reductions would certainly decrease pharmaceutical R&D in Canada. But maybe it's time to start looking at what's being done in the United States. Due to the lack of new drugs produced by private pharmaceutical companies, which spend twice as much on promotion as on R&D, the Obama administration announced in January 2011 that it is creating a government research centre to develop medicines. The idea is to have a major research lab that's not organized as a promotional campaign to increase sales, like most major drug companies have. Paying directly for public pharmaceutical R&D might be the best way to produce innovative drugs while reducing the cost burden for all Canadians.

Dr. Marc-André Gagnon is assistant professor with the School of Public Policy and Administration at Carleton University. He is an expert on the political economy of the pharmaceutical innovation, pharmaceutical promotion, and the commercialization of medical research. In his current research, he compares national models of pharmaceutical innovation, and analyzes the efficiency of different types of public drug coverage policies. In September 2010, his research was released by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives which found that a universal prescription drug plan would cut more than \$10-billion from Canada's health-care bill.

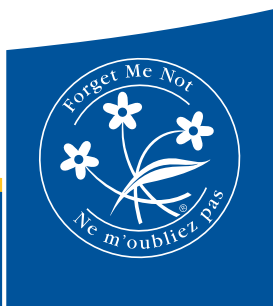
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HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING: CANADA HEALTH TRANSFER

Walking the talk: negotiating a more effective Canada Health Transfer

The current federal-provincial accord governing the Canada Health Transfer expires in 2014 and early preparations for the next round of negotiations are underway. At this stage, signs are not encouraging.

By ALLAN MASLOVE

The current federal-provincial accord governing the Canada Health Transfer expires in 2014 and early preparations for the next round of negotiations are underway. At this stage, signs are not encouraging. The Harper government appears to want to get Ottawa out of the health sector as much as possible, so its primary objective is likely to be restraining the growth of the transfer beyond 2014, with little concern for the programmatic content of

the next accord. The provinces, as always, will want to maximize the transfer while seeking to avoid any commitments.

Obviously, the money is important, but it should not be the only issue or even the most important issue in the upcoming negotiations. The current arrangements are seriously flawed, so simply extending them for a further five or 10 years will not do. Current fiscal arrangements, because they do not require provinces to make any meaningful performance commitments, are incapable of being an effective instrument to help resolve well-known problems

and bottlenecks in medicare. Inadequate long-term and home care capacity has been repeatedly identified as a critical factor in unacceptably long wait-times and hospital overcrowding. Yet nothing in the current accord effectively addresses this issue. This is only one example of many. Yes, simply providing money helps, but effective targeting would help much more.

Ambiguity and lack of transparency are the hallmarks of the current financial arrangements, probably because this suits all governments for different reasons. Ottawa likes to claim a share of the political credit for supporting medicare, but when criticisms arise, it is quick to note that responsibility lies with the provinces. The provinces like to assert their jurisdiction over health care but never hesitate to point to "inadequate funding" from Ottawa to

explain away failures. It is no surprise when ordinary patients and taxpayers are confused about where to focus their attentions when they have concerns or criticisms.

Can we get beyond this? Of course, but it would require Ottawa to change course and recognize that it has an important role to play in health care. The vision of federalism where each order of government operates in its own spheres in splendid isolation is not realistic (and arguably never was) in a world where resources, capital and most of all, people, are more mobile than they have ever been.

Ottawa must be prepared to assert—while recognizing provincial jurisdiction—that it is justified in expecting identifiable progress for the billions of dollars it already provides and the additional billions it will be expected to provide in the future. (After all, federal politicians are not hesitant to insist on value for money in their own direct spending programs, so why not here as well?) And it would require the provinces to recognize—while maintaining their authority over health care—that there are national interests in medicare that lie behind the billions Ottawa contributes.

Assuming that Ottawa is open to representing the national interest in health, there is an alternative plan. A modified model of federal-provincial fiscal arrangements seemed to be emerging several years ago around the federal transfer of gas tax revenues to municipalities (via the provinces) for infrastructure investment and around the previous government's child day-care program. (The latter was cancelled by the Harper government before it became a reality because the Conservatives had another vision for child care, not because of the financing model).

The alternative model would involve negotiating separate contractual agreements between Ottawa and each province. These agreements, like any contract, would involve an exchange. One party (Ottawa) would agree to pay money and, in exchange, the other party (a province) would commit to certain performances (such as observing the principles of the Canada Health Act, enhancements of specified services, investments in long-term care facilities). Some of the contract terms would be standard in all the agreements (adherence to the CHA), but others could vary depending on the specific pressures and bottlenecks in individual provinces.

This approach would not be a leap into uncharted territory; the provinces have already demonstrated in the gas tax program that they are willing to make fairly specific commitments in the context of "contracts" between two sovereign governments. In that sense, 10 health contracts rather than one health accord would not break new ground. As in any contract, the commitments and responsibilities of each party would be explicit, thereby promoting transparency and accountability.

Let us not be unrealistic about how much would change. It would be unrealistic to expect "complete" contracts to emerge from this process as it is unlikely that governments could reach agreement on clear indicators of contract compliance and consequences for non-compliance. That said, one-on-one agreements would still be an improvement. A simple renewal of the existing accord would not.

Allan Maslove is the acting director of the School of Public Policy and Administration at Carleton University. Dr. Maslove is the author of a study for the National Forum on Health entitled, 'National Goals and the Federal Role in Health Care.' He has written numerous articles in the areas of public policy and public finance. His main areas of work have been in taxation, budgetary policy and federal-provincial fiscal relations with a particular focus on the financing of Canadian health care. Recently, he worked in the area of federal-provincial fiscal arrangements, focusing on the financing of the Canadian health-care system.

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HEALTH POLICY BRIEFING: FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL HEALTH ACCORD

Dosanjh says unsustainability of health care 'a myth, a big lie'

Liberal MP Ujjal Dosanjh and NDP MP Megan Leslie say the costs for health care, as a percentage of the GDP, have remained the same.

Continued from Page 29

there is this agenda and everybody's trying to reduce their fiscal risk, particularly the federal government. ... If you are looking forward to greater sort of private sector involvement, private patient pay, user fees, then this could be a time of great opportunity."

Liberal MP Ujjal Dosanjh (Vancouver South, B.C.), his party's health critic and former federal health minister who negotiated the 2004 accord, said that the debate should not only be on the fiscal end, because "the fact of it is the unsustainability of our health care is a big myth, it's a big lie."

Both he and Ms. Leslie noted that costs as a percentage of provincial budgets are increasing because governments have reduced taxes and therefore are taking in less income to support the system. As a percentage of national gross domestic product, however, the costs have remained the same for the past 30 years.

"Yes we have problems, it's not a perfect system, no system is, but private solutions aren't the solutions. Just because you privatize

parts of our health care, it's not going to produce more doctors, it's not going to produce more nurses, it's not going to produce more radiologists, it's a big myth," Mr. Dosanjh said.

"So, the government should be engaging in a dialogue with the provinces with respect to post-2014 and with respect to in fact saying, what have you done with the money we've given you since 2004? Where has it gone? Why do you have unacceptable wait-times in certain areas? We've given you money. We've given you money to expand homecare. Have you expanded homecare? On the pharmaceutical strategy, what we're hearing from the provincial capitals is that the provinces are interested in a national pharmaceutical program, but this government has not shown interest," said Mr. Dosanjh.

The interconnectedness of all the issues surrounding health-care renewal can also be seen in human resource shortages. Currently approximately five million Canadians don't have access to family physicians or nurse practitioners, and "the bigger the shortage, the longer

the wait-time, and if we have to wait longer and longer, the medical problem becomes more and more serious," said Judith Shadian, president of the Canadian Nurses Association.

There is currently a shortage of 11,000 nurses, and by CNA estimates, it could increase to 60,000 by 2020 if the situation is not remedied.

This is why, Ms. Shadian said, the federal government must start talking about these health human resources issues.

"It's not just producing the nurses. Even if governments say we're increasing the seats by x number of seats, we don't have the faculty at this point. We need to build capacity around faculty, we need to build capacity around physical structures, having buildings and simulation labs and so on," Ms. Shadian said, noting other issues in the area of nurse practitioners who are able to prescribe medication except for narcotics and pain killers found in the Controlled Substances Act.

"Many nurse practitioners will be taking care of end of life, or chronic pain and they cannot deliver or do the care that those patients need because of those regulatory barriers. That's a simple thing [the federal government can do] and it's been standing in the queue for a very long time and now this is turning to be my pet peeve because it's ridicu-

lous. We're depriving 100,000s of Canadians from getting [proper care]," she said.

Prof. Maioni agreed that easy solutions are hard to come by when it comes to doctor and nursing shortages. She said there were two types of shortages: "One refers to absolute numbers: are there enough doctors in Canada? The comparative data suggests Canada has a slightly lower doctor to population ratio than in many other countries, but not off the charts," she said.

"The other type of shortage has to do with specialties and regional distribution. Are there enough primary care doctors as opposed to specialists? Are there certain specialties that are under pressure? And, where exactly are the shortages? In rural areas? Remote areas? It's not a simple question," Prof. Maioni said.

The health sector is currently focused on the 2014 negotiations, and stakeholders said that's what the government should also be focusing on.

"It's a 10-year agreement that needs to be discussed and renewed and a lot of the messaging is that the federal government doesn't want to talk about it because of the fiscal restraint. Well, the system will implode if the federal government will not continue this support, but it needs to be focused, targeted support, and that's where

the leadership comes in," Ms. Shadian said. "The federal government needs to provide the leadership to bring the country together to make sure that we know how we're going to get to 2020 or to 2030 and have a healthy nation."

One key component to the 2014 negotiations, however, is the need to step up on accountability measures, Mr. Turnbull said. The federal government should set up a framework with national standards and accountability on the outcomes and clearly enforce that accountability based on the provincial transfers. It's an essential part of the Canadian Health Act, he said.

"Through the transfer process, we have to hold provincial governments accountable for health outcomes based on the transfers," he said, adding that Canada also needs to create a more innovative health environment.

For Mr. Abbott, he said an emphasis on new money and new ways to expand and improve home and continuing care services will be a large focus that the federal government is behind on.

"They're silent [on these issues]," he said. "I think most people in the health sector are looking for that voice, the federal voice is missing and it needs to be there."

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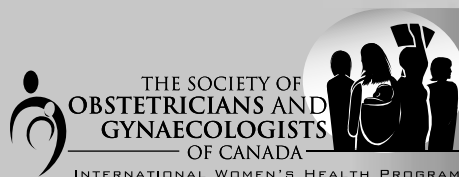
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THE Q&A: BILL ROWE



Photograph by Cynthia Münster, *The Hill Times*

The hired gun: Author Bill Rowe, pictured in Ottawa. 'Danny turned around the psychology of the province.'

Former Ottawa hired gun serves up insider look at 'most vicious federal-provincial battle in Newfoundland and Labrador's history'

Bill Rowe, author of *The War With Ottawa: The Inside Story By a Hired Gun*, takes a 'warts-and-all' look at former Newfoundland premier Danny Williams' fight with prime minister Paul Martin for \$2-billion, what was called the Atlantic Accord Crisis in 2004.

By KATE MALLOY

On a November afternoon in 2004 in a room off the Prime Minister's Office in Centre Block, John Hamm, then-premier of Nova Scotia, was in a meeting with Danny Williams, premier of Newfoundland and Labrador, and prime minister Paul Martin. The three men were hashing out the details of the Atlantic Accord and offshore petroleum revenues. Only the leaders and note-takers were in the room.

Bill Rowe, the first Ottawa representative for Newfoundland and Labrador responsible directly to premier Williams, was in the adjoining room along with a dozen federal and provincial "minions" from the PMO and the premiers' offices. In his new book

Danny Williams: The War With Ottawa, The Inside Story By A Hired Gun, Mr. Rowe says Mr. Martin and Mr. Williams nearly got into a fist fight in the meeting. A source close to the prime minister told Mr. Rowe what happened that day.

"Danny and Paul abruptly levitated from their chairs and stood toe to toe, eyeball to eyeball, fists raised to punching position, shouting abuse and spittle into each other's faces. Judging by the accusations they exchanged, their disagreement had moved away from oil money and to more personal issues. Which of them was the biggest fucking liar in the country and which of them had the tiniest balls. Only the intervention of a valiant note-taker, I was told who wedged himself between them like an NHL referee, prevented a

punch-up between the two senior statesmen. French writer Françoise Sagan would have been delighted. 'I like men to behave like men,' she wrote. 'Strong and childish,'" Mr. Rowe writes.

A Rhodes scholar, a colourful former VOCM radio broadcaster, lawyer, and Newfoundland politician, in his book Mr. Rowe offers a "warts-and-all" look at what he calls the "most vicious" federal-provincial battle in Newfoundland and Labrador's history known as the Atlantic Accord Crisis over offshore petroleum revenues.

In the book, Mr. Rowe describes some of "the ruthless antics within the workings of government" and delivers a candid look at Mr. Williams's "take-no-prisoners" style of leadership.

Mr. Martin had made a commitment during the election 2004 campaign that he accepted the provincial proposal on the Atlantic Accord and the offshore oil, Mr. Williams said. At the time, the province of Newfoundland and Labrador was getting about 15 per cent of the revenue from the offshore oil and the feds were getting 85 per cent. Mr. Williams said Mr. Martin later backtracked

on his promise. That's when the political battle started.

Mr. Rowe credits then Tory MPs Loyola Hearn and Norm Doyle with keeping the accord in the spotlight in the House of Commons, but he later came to distrust Mr. Hearn. He says Liberal MP Gerry Byrne worked behind the scenes to bring the two sides together and that then Natural Resources minister John Efford's career was permanently damaged by the battle.

Eventually, Mr. Williams finally got what he wanted for the province, 100 per cent protection of offshore revenues until 2012, and \$2.6-billion in offshore resource revenues, including \$2-billion up front.

Through it all, Mr. Rowe, a writer and author of other books, kept a journal to record important events. His book, published by Flanker Press, has so far sold an estimated 25,000 copies.

Mr. Williams retired from politics in December after seven years in power, and after turning Newfoundland and Labrador into a 'have' province and signing the deal to the proposed \$6.2-billion Lower Churchill hydroelectric project in Labrador. He left politics as one of Canada's most charismatic and popular premiers.

You describe this battle as "the most vicious federal-provincial battle in Newfoundland and Labrador's history." What made it the most vicious? And why was this Williams's biggest challenge of his career?

"It became very personal. When Danny Williams first got elected and Paul Martin became prime minister they became instant friends. Then when Martin made this commitment to Danny that he was going to accept his proposal and then reneged on it, the emotions became greater than the rationality involved and a very visceral campaign [began] and they started to slag each other. At the health conference here, Danny stood up and said, 'I don't know what's wrong with this fella, we're not even getting crumbs, let alone a crust from this,' and calling him names, basically, and Paul Martin was responding in kind.

"And he had a fellow, Scott Reid, a bully boy type, and Scott Reid would go off on a tangent of his own and say, 'Mr. Williams is going to rue the day, blah, blah, blah,' and the prime minister had to stand up in the House of Commons and apologize for the statements made by his own communications director, Scott Reid, and withdraw them. So it was that kind of debate and I'm just giving you a few examples, just touching on the visceral, emotional environment that took place.

"Then, of course, when the equalization summit came along in November of 2004, Danny Williams boycotted that. He stood up and he wouldn't attend the First Ministers' summit and that cut the feet out from under Martin as well and it was during that time that he said publicly that Martin was a liar and he even produced a message manager on the telephone indicating something that Martin's office had said and then later denied and that he could prove the opposite of. So it was that kind of slanging match, call-

ing each other liars and insulting each other, basically.

"At one point, it's in the first chapter of the book, I indicate they got into a fist fight during a private meeting where there were no officials present and it would have become a fist fight. They were starting to have a fist fight and I won't use his name, but a big guy stood between them like an NHL referee and actually separated the prime minister of Canada and the premier of Newfoundland. Two aging statesmen had to be separated or they would have come to blows at the meeting over this, so that's what I mean when I say it was vicious."

You write about "the final do or die meeting" between Paul Martin and Danny Williams which you describe as "the very last kick at the very last can at the end of the road" on Jan. 28, 2005. Can you briefly describe this meeting and what happened in the end?

"We went into it, I always thought that Danny would get his deal sooner or later because I couldn't see Paul Martin continuing. He couldn't survive this nightmare he put himself in and he would have said yes much earlier if it hadn't been for the advice coming from Finance and from the minister of finance, Ralph Goodale, [who] didn't like what was happening at all.

"So we went into this final do or die meeting with the premier's



Danny Williams:
The War With Ottawa,
Flanker Press,
by Bill Rowe,
277 pp., \$19.95.

office figuring about a 25 per cent chance of success and if we didn't succeed it was basically all over, at least for this round. We went in there and I think that Alex Himelfarb and prime minister Paul Martin came to a decision that they would make this work because Himelfarb was the one who was back and forth between the two sides all day long and, in one case, he even pulled a fast one.

"We had an agreement as a result of much toing and froing and Danny Williams also understanding that Martin [was] wanting a deal and Himelfarb was working on a deal.

"Danny compromised as well—sort of met them not half way—but lowered his sights just a little regarding equalization and the years, and I won't get into the painfully tedious technical details, but he did compromise somewhat and they came to a deal and it was reduced to writing.

"They were about to sign it in the office I was in—the minister of finance for Newfoundland and Danny were about to sign it—and they noticed that something was different from what they had agreed to and it was serious, it could mean hundreds of millions of dollars in the second eight years of the contract and Danny had already called home and gotten the consent of the Cabinet to the deal and it was a done deal.

Continued on Page 35

THE Q&A: BILL ROWE

'Two aging statesmen had to be separated or they would have come to blows'

Bill Rowe writes about a meeting between Paul Martin and Danny Williams in 2004 on Parliament Hill on the Atlantic Accord. 'It was vicious.'

Continued from Page 34

"And here suddenly in the written document something was different to what they agreed to, so everyone went mad and crazy and Himelfarb came back and he said, no and he insisted that that hadn't been agreed to.

"He said when he mentioned to the prime minister that Danny was insisting on it, the prime minister hammered on the table and walked out of the building in disgust, this is the kind of thing that was going on, kind of a histrionic Oscar-winning performance by all sides, especially the Prime Minister's Office and anyway we had a quick palaver and all kinds of scenarios were used.

"It was decided that the risk, if oil stayed up, the risk of our losing that money was very slight if oil kept rising, which in fact it has done, and it looked like it was going to so Danny swallowed his pride and agreed to the deal even though at the very last minute the prime minister and Himelfarb tried to finesse past him and that's the kind of thing that in the past had enraged Williams and had made him not consent to any kind of a deal, a compromised deal but in this particular case, it was either do or die, and it was obvious that the prime minister, I think the words that Himelfarb used was the prime minister cannot as Canadian prime minister, monkey with the principles of equalization to that extent, it will not fly in the other provinces.

"Because you have to remember in Ontario, McGuinty was whining his head off. Every day McGuinty was out saying what a lousy place Ontario had in Confederation and even the day the deal was signed McGuinty was saying that it was going to destroy Canada and equalization was done for and ripping off the people of Ontario, and so on. A couple of other premiers—Manitoba I believe and New Brunswick—didn't like it either, they were behind the scenes complaining about it so Danny recognized all that and got off his high horse and agreed finally to a compromise and a pretty good compromise, over \$2-billion plus interest since the proposal was accepted by the government of Canada, it was a pretty good deal, but not exactly what Danny had wanted, so there was a compromise on both sides."

Are there any similarities between Danny Williams and Joey Smallwood?

"No, I wouldn't say so. Joey Smallwood was kind of a promoter type and highly articulate and an orator in the old sense of the word and more of a pork-barrel politician.

"Danny Williams is a fella who made a quarter of a billion dollars, \$250-million, in two or three decades on his own and, coming from, I won't say he came from nothing, he was a lawyer and a Rhodes scholar and so on, so he had intellect and training and learning and an ability to actually make money that Joey Smallwood never had.

"So all of this, plus a total fearlessness when it comes to dealing with anybody, because when you make a quarter of a billion dollars in the world of business you consider yourself equal to anybody in the world in that area and certainly he felt that Paul Martin was a peer and his equal in every respect and he knew that

Paul Martin prided himself on being a 'my-word-is-my-bond-type-of-guy,' that's how he made his own money in business. And Danny felt he had let him down so badly because he went back on his word.

"So Joey Smallwood would have compromised, even though he was considered to be a bit of a dictator, he wasn't in fact, he was more of a compromiser."

Why do people like Danny Williams so much?

"Because he didn't take no for an answer. In the book, I call him 'crazy' and when I talk to Himelfarb who was the clerk of the Privy Council, I made the point to Himelfarb that, 'You can't win against this guy, the man is crazy,' and Himelfarb said, 'This is your boss you're talking about here, this man you're calling crazy?' And I said, 'Yeah, crazy in the best sense of the word, crazy in the sense that Churchill was crazy, or some of these other people who will never say die are crazy. So your man Paul Martin will have this nightmare forever of standing up in the House of Commons and being called a liar and a reneger and a man who breached his commitment, as long as he's in politics because Danny Williams will never relent, will never give up, he will go for the jugular day after day.' And I think it was probably that realization that led Paul Martin to go against the advice of his officials and come up with a \$2-billion deal for the province on offshore oil."

Was that good leadership on Paul Martin's part?

"Paul Martin was not a good leader. *The Economist* called him Mr. Dithers. Paul Martin would follow the advice of his strategists when it came time to winning an election and say this and say that and say the other thing and then follow the advice of his accountants and bean counters about not living up to his commitment, well that's not leadership.

"Harper is a different kind of a leader. Harper also made a commitment to Danny Williams in writing during the election campaign that he would remove natural resources from the equalization formula which would mean that Newfoundland could finally pay down its huge debt, twice as large as the national average. When Harper got elected and Danny went to collect, Harper said, 'No, I'm not going to do that. I agree but I can't do it. End of story.'

"So Harper's a ruthless person, who will to my mind, hypocrisy is not the right word because he's the kind of person who will say anything as Martin would during an election, but he differs from Martin in that Martin will then find himself in a moral quandary and morasse and tried to live up to his commitment.

"Harper just said, 'No, I can't do it. I've checked with officials and I misspoke myself and I can't do something that's not going to be for the benefit of Canada. Goodbye, Mr. Williams,' and, of course, this led to the ABC Campaign in the last election."

Are there similarities between Harper and Danny Williams?

"Yes, in a way there are, except this: Williams is very much a people person."

What was it like to work for a man like that?

"Working for Danny was good because I had access to him and whenever I went anywhere people knew I was Danny's guy. I wasn't a cog in the bureaucratic wheel of Newfoundland and Labrador. I was his hired gun. I was his eyes and ears, and mouth, if necessary. So it worked pretty well and it was good and we succeeded. I had a five-year contract and once it was over, it took eight months to come to a good positive conclusion, but once it was over, I was happy enough to get out and go back to real life."

Do you think Danny Williams will actually come back to federal politics?

"No, I think Danny Williams is out of politics completely. He's had a rough seven years in provincial politics and he's had some health issues as well, including a back problem and then, of course, a possibly fatal heart problem that he was coping with, that was cured fortunately by surgery, a long operation. And I would say Danny Williams probably has intimations of mortality and that he wants to spend the next couple

of decades following his own pursuit than those of others."

What do you think his legacy will be?

"His main legacy has been turning Newfoundland and Labrador into a 'have' province. People will say, 'Yes, it's easy to turn a province into a 'have' province if you've got offshore oil coming out of your ears,' but the fact is that Danny turned around the psychology of the province, including in Ottawa by his hard-nosed negotiations with Paul Martin and the Liberal government and obtaining \$2-billion on the Atlantic Accord which could go right against the debt and he sort of made people in Newfoundland and Labrador [realize] that they were no longer Canada's poor cousins, that we were a contributing member of the Confederation, and we no longer have to see stories in national newspapers or on the national news where any time Newfoundland and Labrador was referred to it would always be with the tag, Canada's poorest province. Well, that's gone. Those days are gone and the psychology of that has gone with it."

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OPINION: MENTAL ILLNESS

Let's talk: join conversation to end stigma of mental illness

It's time to de-stigmatize mental illness and promote Canadian mental health, says former Olympian Clara Hughes.

By CLARA HUGHES

Mental illness impacts all Canadians. One of the most startling statistics that we often hear is that one in five Canadians will experience a mental illness at some point in their lives. And that doesn't include the impact on family and friends who watch and worry, often feeling helpless, as a loved one struggles.

Worse, two out of three people with a mental illness won't seek help, too often silenced by the stigma and fear around the disease.

A decade ago, I was one of these statistics.

Most people find it hard to believe that on the heels of winning my first two Olympic medals at the Atlanta Summer Games in 1996, I descended into a deep depression. I struggled to rise in the morning, found myself in tears very often, and soon felt as though I was swim-

ming in quicksand. For two years, I fought depression through the darkest days of my life, unable to compete, unable even to smile.

But I was lucky. I was one of the minority who talked about my problems with people who cared—my "circle of trust." As an athlete, I was surrounded by both the loving support and professional guidance of my family, friends, coaches and fellow athletes. I had access to the tools I needed to make the right decisions, to choose to come back to life, to find the light from the darkness. I talked, and people responded.

And I was lucky enough to emerge a stronger person, able to compete in four more Olympiads and win more medals in competitions all over the world over my 20-year athletic career.

For me, and for so many, the first step was talking about it, recognizing how ridiculous it is that so many people fear mental illness,



Photograph courtesy of Robert Duron

Ending stigma of mental illness: Clara Hughes is a six-time Olympic medal winner, an officer of the Order of Canada, and a member of the Order of Manitoba. On the heels of winning her first two Olympic medals at the Atlanta Summer Games in 1996, she descended into deep depression and for two years fought depression.

and even blame those who suffer for being afflicted. A poll conducted by the Canadian Medical Association (CMA) in 2008 found that only 50 per cent of Canadians would tell a friend that a family member has a mental illness—yet 72 per cent would disclose a cancer diagnosis.

If we don't lift this shroud of silence around mental health, how will anyone be able to help?

The human toll of mental illness is substantial. Around the

world, more than 150 million people are affected by mental illness. In Canada the impact is extensive. Mental illness accounts for 30 per cent of disability claims and 70 per cent of total disability costs. On any given day, half a million Canadians miss work due to a mental illness, at a total cost to the Canadian economy of \$51-billion a year in lost productivity.

There are voices in the silence, working to erase the stigma. Bell

has stepped forward to lead the conversation about mental health and I feel privileged that they have invited me to be the public face of Bell Let's Talk. As part of the campaign that is unfolding across the country, people will be encouraged to spread the word about mental health.

On Bell Let's Talk Day, Feb. 9, Bell will contribute five cents for every text message sent and every long distance call made by Bell customers to mental health-related initiatives across the country.

The campaign is just one facet of a much larger Bell Mental Health Initiative launched last fall. The largest program of its kind ever undertaken by a Canadian corporation, its commitment includes a five-year, \$50-million investment to raise awareness and support for mental health. In addition to its anti-stigma campaign, Bell will be providing funding for research, improving access to treatment and developing innovative workplace programs.

Whether it's chatting about mental health on the phone, on the internet, or across the kitchen or boardroom table, starting the conversation is a critical part of enabling everybody to have the same opportunity to heal that I had.

Clara Hughes, six-time Olympic medal winner, is the only athlete ever to win multiple medals in both Winter and Summer Olympic Games. An Officer of the Order of Canada and a member of the Order of Manitoba, Ms. Hughes is the national spokesperson for the Bell Let's Talk campaign to de-stigmatize mental illness and promote Canadian mental health.

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John Ibbitson,
The Globe and Mail, Ottawa Bureau Chief and the author of *The Polite Revolution*, will discuss how the Canadian nuclear industry must focus away from legacy issues and open a dialogue with Canadians on the opportunity for nuclear energy as part of a global energy solution.



Luis Echávarri,
Director-General, OECD Nuclear Energy Agency will outline a nuclear energy roadmap calling for decisive political action to reduce energy-related emissions of carbon dioxide by 50% by 2050. The roadmap would increase nuclear capacity to 24% of global electricity, making nuclear power a major contributor to the "decarbonisation" of electricity supply.



Mr. Vijay Vaitheeswaran,
An award-winning correspondent for *The Economist*, who will examine the interconnected innovation mega-trends that are reshaping the world economy and why innovation is the only competitive advantage in the 21st Century and the only engine driving commerce.



The Honourable Senator David Angus,
Chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Energy the Environment and Natural Resources who will provide an update on "Preparing for Our Energy Future – Towards A Canadian Sustainable Energy Strategy".

This year's theme will explore various topics and subjects that will contribute to Canada's nuclear industry moving forward in both domestic and international markets.

**Westin Ottawa Hotel
February 23 – 25, 2011**



Mr. Jayson Myers,
President and Chief Executive Officer of the Canadian Manufacturers & Exporters (CME), who will provide the economic analysis of the benefits of the refurbishment on Ontario's nuclear reactors.



Thomas D'Aquino,
Senior Counsel Gowling Lafleur Henderson LLP and Distinguished Lifetime Member Canadian Council of Chief Executives will discuss how Canada recognized the huge potential for innovation in nuclear science and where we stand today as the industry restructures within a highly competitive global marketplace.



Dr. Phillip Finck,
Associate Laboratory Director for Nuclear Science and Technology, Idaho National Laboratory will provide an overview on how nuclear power plays a vital role in the United States national energy and environmental policies.



Lyn Heward,
Former President and Chief Operating Officer and Director of Creation, Cirque du Soleil, who will speak about creative leadership, mobilizing talent and taking up new challenges in a changing and constrained world.

Wednesday, February 23, 2011

18:00 - 21:30 **Welcome Reception**

Thursday, February 24, 2011

07:30 – 08:30 **Breakfast and Introductory Remarks**

Wayne Robbins, Chairman Canadian Nuclear Association, Chief Nuclear Officer Ontario Power Generation.

08:30 – 09:15 **The Transformative Opportunity for the Nuclear Industry in Canada.**

John Ibbitson, Political Journalist and The Globe and Mail Ottawa Bureau Chief.

09:30 – 10:15 **Preparing for Our Energy Future –Towards A Canadian Sustainable Energy Strategy.**

The Honourable Senator W. David Angus, Chairman Standing Senate Committee on Energy, the Environment and Natural Resources.

10:15 – 11:00 **Nuclear Roadmap to 2050.**

Luis E. Echávarri, Director-General OECD Nuclear Energy Agency (NEA).

11:20 - 12:00 **Celebrating Sixty-Five Years of Regulating the Nuclear Industry.**

Michael Binder, President and Chief Executive Officer Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission.

12:15 – 14:15 **Luncheon**

Need, Speed, Greed: The Innovation Economy.

Vijay Vaitheeswaran, Award Winning Correspondent for The Economist.

14:30 – 16:00 **Panel Discussion:**

Strategies in Efficiencies: Making Nuclear Power More Cost Competitive.

Tim Gitzel, President, Cameco Corporation

Jacques Besnainou, Chief Executive Officer, AREVA Inc.

Tom Mitchell, President and Chief Executive Officer, Ontario Power Generation

Blair Kennedy, Vice-President Nuclear, New Brunswick Power

16:30 – 17:15 **Canada's Nuclear Future: Fast Forward or Fall Back?**

Thomas D'Aquino, Senior Counsel, Gowling Lafleur Henderson LLP and Distinguished Lifetime Member, Canadian Council of Chief Executives.

17:15 – 19:30 **Exhibitor and Career Fair Reception**

Friday, February 25, 2011

07:45 - 08:45 **Breakfast**

08:45 - 09:45 **The Spark: Igniting the Creative Fire That Lives Within Us All.**

Lyn Heward, Former President and Chief Operating Officer Cirque du Soleil.

08:45 - 09:45 **Investing in Nuclear Research and Development Infrastructure.**

Dr. Phillip Finck, Associate Laboratory Director for Nuclear Science and Technology Idaho National Laboratory.

11:20 - 12:00 **The Economic Benefits of Refurbishing and Operating**

Ontario's Nuclear Reactors. Jayson Myers, President and Chief Executive Officer Canadian Manufacturers & Exporters.

12:00 - 12:30 **Closing Remarks**

Denise Carpenter, President and Chief Executive Officer Canadian Nuclear Association.

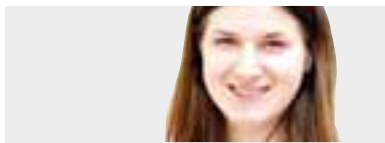
12:30 - 14:00 **Closing Buffet Luncheon**

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HILL CLIMBERS: POLITICAL STAFFERS

Stairs joins CIDA Minister Oda's office as new chief of staff

And former PMO issues management adviser Matt Wolf joins the Sun TV News Channel in Toronto as an editorial producer, fourth PMO staffer to move to Sun TV.



BY KRISTEN SHANE

Darren Cunningham and **William Stairs** were both rumoured for weeks to be involved somehow with the chiefs of staff musical chairs that was taking place after last month's Cabinet shuffle. **Hill Climbers** can confirm that Mr. Cunningham recently left as Industry Minister **Tony Clement's** chief, and Mr. Stairs is settling in to International Cooperation Minister **Bev Oda's** office as her new chief.

After having worked seven years in Conservative Party politics, in three ministers' offices and having participated in three

federal election campaigns, Mr. Cunningham sent an email to colleagues Jan. 31, obtained by **Hill Climbers**, announcing his departure.

"[I]t is time to call it a day," he said, and focus on "my most important job" of being a husband, and father to three young children. His wife, **Kari Menzies-Cunningham**, is the daughter of one of the Conservatives' newest Cabinet ministers, Minister of State for Finance **Ted Menzies**, whom Prime Minister **Stephen Harper** promoted from Parliamentary secretary at the Cabinet shuffle Jan. 4.

"It is time for me to get more sleep, some life balance, and go find new challenges," wrote Mr. Cunningham.

When reached at home last week, he referred comment to Mr. Clement's communications

shop, adding that he's now back to being a private citizen.

It had been rumoured shortly after the shuffle that Mr. Stairs would replace Mr. Cunningham as Mr. Clement's chief, but Mr. Cunningham refused to comment at the time, and Mr. Clement told *The Hill Times* he had made no decisions.

Mr. Cunningham served under Mr. Clement at Industry since 2008 as both director of communications and later chief. Staff there stayed on message last week, even when it was clear Mr. Cunningham had left the building.

When press secretary **Heather Hume** was asked Feb. 3 who her chief of staff was, she replied: "We don't comment on staffing changes. I'm sorry, I can't comment." Not even on her chief of staff, a position which, if changed, would typically appear publicly within a matter of weeks on the government's online employee directory.

Originally from Calgary, Alta., after graduating the University of Regina, Sask., with a bachelor's degree in political science in

1995, Mr. Cunningham worked in the office of then-leader of the Progressive Conservatives, **Peter Mackay**, as director of operations and finance before it merged with the Canadian Alliance in 2003. In the 2004 general election, he worked communications in the new Conservative Party's war room. Coming to the Hill in his mid 30s, he became a communications officer and later manager of Parliamentary media relations in the Conservatives' OLO.

In the 2006 election, Mr. Cunningham was a second wagon-master and communications officer, before being picked up as then-Industry minister **Maxime Bernier's** director of Parliamentary affairs when the Conservatives formed government. He shuffled to be chief for then-Revenue minister **Gordon O'Connor** in 2007, and back to Industry under Mr. Clement the next year.

In the OLO, Mr. Cunningham once worked under Mr. Stairs, who was acting director of communications at the time. Last Wednesday, Mr. Stairs stepped in as Ms. Oda's chief, replacing **Stephanie Machel**, who shuffled into Environment to do the job for **Peter Kent**.

Mr. Stairs had been a senior adviser to the Prime Minister until last month, where one Conservative said his role seemed undefined and the PMO powers-that-be were likely looking for a more key role for him.

On the Hill since the early 1990s as a Tory staffer, the Nova Scotia-bred 50-something was previously chief of staff to Cabinet minister **Vic Toews**, as well

as Mr. Harper's first communications director in the PMO.

He headed the PMO issues management division for part of last year, until moving to be a senior adviser to Mr. Harper.

Other Cabinet shuffle-induced staffing changes are starting to emerge.

Mr. Menzies, the Finance minister's Parliamentary-secretary-turned-junior-minister, is slated to bring his executive assistant **Kim Roper** to his ministerial office, likely as director of Parliamentary affairs (his new staffing titles were not official as of last week).

Mr. Menzies already had an office in the Finance minister's lair, and will now just be expanding it to fit more staffers. Directors of Parliamentary affairs typically handle legislative duties, including informing Parliamentarians of all parties about legislative issues stemming from their portfolios.

Mr. Menzies is sticking alongside his senior special assistant (formerly Parliamentary secretary's assistant) **Bram Sepers**, who is set to take over press duties, although Finance Minister **Jim Flaherty's** communications director **Chisholm Pothier** will keep his lead role on the file. **Shawn Fried** is Mr. Menzies' chief of staff.

Over in Seniors Minister of State **Julian Fantino's** new digs, chief **Dan Mader** has been busy unpacking boxes and interviewing potential new staffers. This week, communications director **Heather Domereckyj** officially starts. She was press secretary to

Continued on Page 45

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FEATURE: BUZZ

HEARD ON THE HILL

BY BEA VONGDOUANGCHANH

Ottawa meets the Arctic, and politicians not above the law

Continued from Page 2

The Arctic comes to Ottawa

A sold-out crowd of 400 gathered at the National Gallery of Canada on Feb. 1 to celebrate Canada's North at "A Taste of the Arctic" event held by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.

The event was a success in 2010, the "Year of the Inuit," to showcase Inuit food, culture and fashion in the nation's capital. Organizers decided to do it again this year, complete with seal meat, which Liberal MP **Justin Trudeau** sampled.

As everyone will remember, it became popular once former governor general **Michaëlle Jean** ate a seal heart during her visit to Rankin Inlet, Nunavut, in 2009. As a strong supporter of Canada's North, Ms. Jean was the special guest at last week's event.

"Whether in outdoor festivals like Toonik Tyme, during expeditions out on the land, or even community feasts in, say, Rankin Inlet—which for some reason attracted a whole lot of attention—it should come as no surprise that the people of the North always share the best they have," Ms. Jean said at the event.

The food stations and hors d'oeuvres included: Char tartar served in a savory curry connette, smoked goose breast with a ground juniper sauce, sautéed shrimp with a loganberry sauce, roasted ragout of seal with blueberry frangelico, and a selection of Northern teas.

ITK leader **Mary Simon** was also of course there, even though she had recently slipped on ice and broke her ankle. She attended on crutches.

Other notable guests included Health Minister **Leona Aglukkaq**, Fisheries Minister **Gail Shea**, Labour Minister **Lisa Raitt**, Liberal Senator **Charlie Watt**, Conservative Senator **Nancy Ruth**, Liberal MP **Todd Russell**, NDP MP **Dennis Bevington** and Green Party Leader **Elizabeth May**. **Lauren Harper** also showed up for the festivities.

A Taste of the Arctic also doubled as a fundraiser for the Avataq Cultural Institute based in Nunavik, Que. Spoken word artist **Taqralik Patridge**, singer **Elisapie Issac** and acrobats ArtCirq entertained the guests.

People who deny climate change have head in sand: Former PM Campbell

Climate change deniers should be laughed at, says American comedian talk show host **Bill Maher**.

The HBO *Real Time* host debated climate change with U.S. Republican representative **Jack Kingston** and featured former Canadian prime minister **Kim Campbell**, comedian **D.L. Hughley** and *National Review* writer **Will Cain** on Jan. 28.

Mr. Kingston took issue with people criticizing non-climate change believers, and likened the people who use the "If you don't believe it, you're crazy" line to "fear mongering."

"You're laughed at because you dare question it," Mr. Kingston said, to which Mr. Maher replied: "You should be laughed at."

Mr. Kingston also said that the science of climate change is political and that we need to get the science out of Washington and into the labs, to which Mr. Maher replied: "The only science that's political is science funded by oil companies."

Ms. Campbell jumped into the debate saying that while we may not know for sure the long-term implications of climate change, there is in fact a climate science that has been studied for years which says that climate change is real.

"We know, for example, dinosaurs weren't running around with thermometers writing down the temperature, but we know how much carbon was in the air hundreds of thousands of years ago because people have dug at the ice cores," she said. "That was the start of climate science."

She said Mr. Kingston's position was "absolute rubbish" and that climate change "is a huge threat to our security and to deny it is to have your head in the sand." Well then.



Former PM Kim Campbell.

Politicians not above the law: new book



Joseph Maingot.

Politicians should not be exempt from the criminal process, says a new book by **Joseph Maingot**, a former House of Commons Parliamentary law clerk, and **David Dehler**, a retired lawyer.

According to the book, *Politicians Above the Law: A Case for the Abolition of Parliamentary Inviolability*, more than 70 per cent of national assemblies and Parliaments guarantee their members will "not be prosecuted, or detained, or arrested without prior consent of the Parliament or the assembly in which they sit." This is known as Par-

liamentary inviolability. Only the United States Congress and all Commonwealth Parliaments do not give this immunity to their members.

Mr. Maingot and Mr. Dehler argue in their book that "protection for the member beyond Parliament should be no more and no less than that provided to the rest of the citizenry" and that "inviolability and its attendant protection for the member erode the separation of powers."

In a blurb for the book, former prime minister **Paul Martin** said it's a book that should be read. "Parliamentary immunity is a necessary guarantee of the independence of the legislature. When it extends to protecting members beyond their Parliamentary activities from the criminal justice system however, it brings the legislature into disrepute and there can be few greater attacks on its independence than that caused by the contempt this engenders," he wrote.

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Former GG Michaëlle Jean, ITK president Mary Simon, Health Minister Leona Aglukkaq and Fisheries Minister Gail Shea.



Liberal MPs Todd Russell and Justin Trudeau with Ms. Jean.



Lauren Harper with Ms. Simon.



Summa Strategies' Robin MacLachlan, Angela Christiano and Greg McEachern, who helped organize the event.

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NEWS: AROUND THE HILL

Public Works say Hill media welcome to stay in National Press Building, for now

After a 17-month delay, Public Works says Hill media are welcome to stay for the time being in the historic Wellington Street National Press Building that has housed them for the past 50 years, says the president of the Parliamentary Press Gallery.

By JESSICA BRUNO

After a 17-month delay, Public Works says Hill media are welcome to stay for the time being in the historic Wellington Street National Press Building that has housed them for the past 50 years, says the president of the Parliamentary Press Gallery.

"We pay to be in that building, it's not as if they're giving us anything. We just want that space to be dedicated to media because we have special proximity needs and special technological needs," said H el ene Buzzetti, president of the Parliamentary Press Gallery and Ottawa bureau chief for *Le Devoir* who recently received a letter from Public Works.

In the summer of 2009 it came to the Parliamentary Press Gallery's attention that media outlets in the National Press Building at 150 Wellington St. were being asked to sign new leases with 90-day termination clauses in them, meaning that Public Works could evict them with only three months' notice.

The gallery negotiated with Public Works to have the eviction clause extended to six months in fall of 2009. Six tenants, including *The Toronto Star* and *La Presse* still have the 90-day clause in their lease, according to documents obtained by access to information advocate Ken Rubin from Public Works.

On Aug. 7, 2009, before the termination clause issue was settled, Ms. Buzzetti sent Norman Price, the gallery's contact at Public Works, a five-page letter detailing the importance of the National Press Building to Parliamentary media. She did not hear back from the department until Jan. 11 of this year.

In the Public Works letter, signed by a representative of the Parliamentary Precinct Branch, the department apologized for the delay in responding, and wrote that it recognized the "vital role" of the press gallery.

"At no time have we since initiated any lease termination in the building, nor have we refused to renew any existing lease(s)," wrote Isabelle Deslandes, the director of portfolio and project management for the Parliamentary Precinct.

This is a relief, said Ms. Buzzetti, but it doesn't put all her fears to rest.

"That's a good thing, but they don't say that they will not in the future, and that's our concern of course. Especially because they're saying that they're going through and re-examining the use of every building in the Parliamentary precinct," said Ms. Buzzetti.

The letter also confirmed for the first time that as part of the ongoing renovations to Parliament Hill and nearby Parliamentary buildings, Public Works was putting any vacant space in the National Press Building aside for the future use of Parliamentary staff.

While the department has not barred existing tenants from renewing their leases, it did deny a request in early 2010 for a new tenant, Public Works spokesperson Nathalie B etot  Akwa explained.

The department also denied a request from a tenant to expand their office.

"We're concerned about that because of course media is going through a difficult period right now, so we're downsizing, but who knows what's going to happen six months, a year, three years from now. We suspect that once this space is taken up by the Senate and the House of Commons we will never get it back," said Ms. Buzzetti.

The House of Commons and the Senate currently occupy five of the nine floors in the building, including the site of the former Press Club, which has been filled with cubicles. One floor sits empty, according to the access to information request, and only three have media tenants occupying them.

"They're getting us by stealth, basically," said Ms. Buzzetti.

Much of the building has the feeling of better days gone by. Elevators are grungy, hallways are cluttered and paint is chipped.

Public Works scheduled \$368,000 of repairs for the building in 2010-2011. This includes \$270,000 to restore the building's

1917 fa ade and \$53,000 "for various small minor repairs," said Ms. B etot  Akwa.

In preparation for the Senate to move into its temporary space in fall of 2009, the department spent \$895,247 for a local construction company to renovate the top two floors of the building. The work took six months and included asbestos removal, according to a brief that appeared in the *Ottawa Construction News* September 2009.

The 94-year-old building is recognized as a heritage building by the federal government. Originally called the Norlite Building, it was built between 1917-1918 by a team of local architects. It is decorated

in an Italian Renaissance style, and before it was expropriated by the government in 1954, it featured an open-concept layout and balconies.

Meanwhile, Public Works' management style is currently being examined by the House Government Operations Committee. Auditor General Sheila Fraser testified before the committee on Feb. 3 as a part of their ongoing look at Public Works' management of construction contracts for the massive \$5-billion renovation of the Parliament Buildings.

There, she re-iterated the recommendation she made in a report last year that the ministry should come up with a plan to hand control of the historical buildings to a dedicated parliamentary body.

"Clearly, we believe that the responsibility has to be given back to Parliament," she told the committee.

She also said that she would "not at all be surprised if the cost estimates increase," as more work gets underway in the \$5-billion long-term plan to revitalize the parliamentary precinct, likening it to renovating one's house and finding some "surprises" along the way.

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AROUND THE HILL: PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES

Photograph by Jake Wright, *The Hill Times*

See you at the finish line: NDP staffer Theresa Kavanagh, right, is starting her annual Learn to Run program on March 21 for 10 weeks.

Getting back to Parliament and getting back in shape

Parliament Hill folks are a social bunch and that goes well with physical activity. It serves the purpose of unwinding by putting Parliament aside for an hour as well as exercise.

By THERESA KAVANAGH

PARLIAMENT HILL—Politics is a special kind of work that has not traditionally been associated with regular physical activity. As someone who has worked on the Hill for 22 years, I can sympathize when folks say they have a hard time carving out fitness time especially those with young families.

My response is that fitness needs to be more than dedicated time for getting in shape. If your

physical activity does not serve another purpose you are unlikely to want to do it. The true test of a good activity is that it ticks off another box for you. For example, the motivation for riding your bike to work is not only fitness but a cheap mode of transportation.

You also save time not having to go to a gym on the way home. Fitness can also give you the solitude you are looking for after a day of talking and listening.

Bringing balance to your day is a wonderful by-product of exercise.

Parliament Hill folks are a social bunch and that goes well with physical activity. It can mean booking workout dates with friends or joining groups no matter what the time frame. I admire the MPs who book a little basketball with their colleagues at the end of a long day. It serves the purpose of unwinding by putting Parliament aside for an hour as well as exercise.

Fitness is a great way to get away from work altogether. I recently went to a 50th birthday party for a friend who I had worked with years ago. To my surprise most of the guests were not work colleagues but new friends she met when she took up rock climbing. As someone with height issues, I will not likely join that group but I was impressed with the loyalties such a pastime can create among participants. I find that physical activity may be the reason for joining a club or class but the side benefit is meeting new people.

When I took up running 11 years ago, I wanted an exercise that was easy to schedule. The side benefit was chatting with people who were interesting and had nothing to do with work. It was great that no one wanted to talk about the next election! Discussions on upcoming races (the running kind) were far more relevant.

Booking activities with your spouse or a good friend can give you the time together that you might not otherwise have. Going for a skate on that wonderful canal ice is an opportunity to chat and enjoy a hot chocolate.

I am fortunate enough to have a husband who is a good sport. Our first date was a bike ride that left him a little unprepared since I was in triathlon training mode—he thought it was just a date! He was left huffing and puffing behind me. I admit that it was a bit mean on my part but he passed the test with flying colours which is why we are married today. I unwittingly created a monster because he is a faster biker than me now.

As I go into buildings on the Hill I see smokers at every entrance. I think how hard it is for them to give up something that has such a social aspect of meeting up with others. This is the obvious attraction with young smokers who can be cool and unconventional and have an instant peer group. It is why I have always believed it is critically important to have teens take part in a physical activity they can call their own.

They need a peer group. Sports are not just for physical fitness but for socialization as well.

This spring will be my sixth year offering a “learn to run” program for folks on the Hill. I get a lot of satisfaction hearing from past participants who continue to enjoy running. Some have even gone on to do marathons. This, however, is not the goal. I am happy when participants figure out that they can make fitness time work for them and discover other benefits. It is particularly nice when they are young parents and they pass on this enthusiasm to their family.

If fitness is thought of as a chore that must be endured to lose weight it is doomed for failure. I wish everyone the opportunity of finding an activity that helps them see another aspect of themselves and can be integrated into their lifestyle. We all have the power to be our own inspiration.

Theresa Kavanagh is the NDP Whip's assistant and committee coordinator. She's also a runner and a triathlete who has completed 14 marathons, qualifying for the Boston marathon four times and running it twice. She will be running a 10-week learn-to-run program from March 21 to May 24. It will run on Mondays when the House is in session and Tuesday when the House is on break. It's a \$50 fee. The money will be donated to a school physical education program.

The Hill Times

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FEATURE: SPIN

The Spin Doctors

By Kristen Shane

“Most Canadians (64 per cent) surveyed in a recent Ipsos Reid poll said there’s no need for an election. All parties say they don’t want one either. They want to keep working hard for Canadians. Let’s ignore the election speculation hype and assume that that’s actually the case. Then why the campaign-style attacks ads?”

Fred DeLorey
Conservative strategist

“Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff revealed his goal for 2011 in a series of end-of-year interviews given in December: an election. Michael Ignatieff said he was ready for an election and that Canadians were ready for an election. Ignatieff then went on a national campaign tour targeting seats the Liberals don’t currently hold. He then revealed his ballot question. Michael Ignatieff, through his own words and actions, is, without question, laying the groundwork for a spring campaign. And he’s doing this in the midst of a fragile economic recovery.

“So I think it’s pretty clear why we’re running ads. It’s the prudent thing to do.

Conservatives do not want an unnecessary election at a time when the economy remains fragile; but we must be ready in case the Ignatieff-led coalition is successful in calling an election.

“It’s important that if we do have an opportunistic election this spring that Canadians know who Michael Ignatieff is and why he came back.

“And let’s not forget—this isn’t new. On every occasion when Ignatieff has threatened an election, we have done exactly the same thing, most recently in the fall of 2009.”



Greg MacEachern
Liberal strategist

“As this edition goes to press, the Conservatives are still twisting and turning about which ads they pulled and which ads they didn’t.

And their odd defence of he ‘Yes, Yes, Yes’ ads (apparently like a mayfly, they were only meant to live for a day?) goes against logic, and belies the fact that a television ‘tag’ was shown, meaning that these ads were prepared with the intention of being put on television.

“It is problematic for the Conserva-

tives that this is the third time they’ve tried this style of attack, and there’s nothing more futile in politics than fighting the last election. Ad campaigns that don’t evolve tend to become less effective as time goes on, whether you’re selling soup or invective.

“As for an election, the Liberals want to show that they’re ready for one, and the Conservatives hope that their ads will prevent one. But if we’re going into an election, the Liberals have smartly painted the Conservatives into a corner, allowing the Liberals to rightly claim that they’re attacking problems, while the Conservatives attack people.”

Karine Sauvé
Bloc Québécois strategist

“That’s a question for the Conservatives! They’re the ones who’ve launched an aggressive and totally useless ad campaign.

“As far as we’re concerned, we’ve been true to ourselves—we’ve been responsible and rigorous. The Conservative government knows what we want to see in the

next budget. We’ve put a dollar figure on our demands.

“The ball is now in the Conservative camp’s court. They say they want to govern. The budget will be the ultimate test. We’ll see just how serious they really are.”



Karl Bélanger
NDP strategist

“I’ll leave it to others to explain why Michael Ignatieff is running ads against the very own corporate tax cuts the Liberals supported all the way to their implementation on Jan. 1, 2011. Now 20 days later,

Ignatieff wants Canadians to believe he’s against them? I’ll leave it to others to explain why Stephen Harper decided to run ads that were so negative and over-the-top that he had to withdraw them because of the backlash.

“But here is what we can see from all the negative election-style ads rolling: it is abundantly clear that Stephen Harper and Michael Ignatieff have given up on getting anything done for Canadians.

Why else would they launch these election-style ads?

“Jack Layton’s New Democrats are ready for an election, but that is not where our focus is. In fact, our preference is to get to work on things that matter to Canadian families, such as protecting and enhancing pensions. The NDP will also keep up the pressure on the Conservative government and work towards improving our health care system, so every Canadian can get the level of service they deserve.

“New Democrats will keep trying to make Canadian families’ lives more affordable with practical solutions such as an affordable housing strategy, dropping the federal tax off home heating or reinstating the ecoEnergy retrofit program.

“That’s the kind of leadership Canadians want to see.”

Answer One Question and Win A Book!

On Feb. 16, The Writers’ Trust will host the Shaughnessy Cohen Award nominees at Politics and the Pen, a gala honouring five political books written in Canada this year. The winning author will receive a cash award of \$25,000. *The Hill Times* and The Writers Trust, meanwhile, are holding a contest to win the books. Answer the question following the description of one of the finalists’ books and you could win a copy of that book. The first person to send the right answer to news@hilltimes.com wins the book. *The Hill Times* will run a question every week leading up to the Feb. 16 event. And thank you to those who took part in last week’s contest. Keep reading!



Anna Porter for *The Ghosts of Europe: Journeys Through Central Europe’s Troubled Past and Uncertain Future*, published by Douglas & McIntyre. Writer and Publisher Anna Porter travelled through four Eastern European nations,

all former members the Soviet Union and now sovereign states. The resulting volume addresses the political upheaval, social realignment and economic realities of each of these pivot points on the new map of Europe.

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NEWS: OLO & PETER DONOLO

Donolo brings more focus to Grits' messaging, sharper response

A year into the job, Peter Donolo, chief of staff to Grit Leader Michael Ignatieff, has been credited with bringing more discipline, professionalism, and structure to the team.

Continued from Page 1

The party hasn't much improved its support in public opinion polls since Mr. Donolo's arrival, but he is being credited with bringing more discipline, professionalism and structure to the 70-member OLO team, sharpening the leader's message, and boosting morale in caucus.

Raised in Montreal, the bilingual Mr. Donolo came to work on the Hill in 1991 when he was in his early 30s, at a time when his new boss, opposition leader Jean Chrétien, had been dismissed as "yesterday's man." He was working as communications director to Toronto's then-mayor Art Eggleton, who is now a Liberal Senator, when Mr. Chrétien hired the wavy-haired film and jazz lover as his communications director. Mr. Donolo worked alongside Mr. Chrétien's chief of staff, Jean Pelletier, and others in the OLO to help Mr. Chrétien lead the party to three back-to-back majorities. Mr. Donolo worked with Mr. Chrétien until 1999, gaining praise from many, including former American ambassador to Canada, Jim Blanchard, who said Mr. Donolo was a better communications director than anyone doing the same job in the White House, according to Mr. Donolo's former colleague and recruiter Eddie Goldenberg in his book *The Way it Works: inside Ottawa*.

Although not everyone is happy in the 77-member Liberal caucus, one year and three months into the chief of staff job, his friends and colleagues in the caucus say Mr. Donolo has used his connections within the party to pull together a strong team, and his strategic tact and good-natured personality to win the respect of caucus and focus the party's direction. The polls may not be up for the Liberals, but Grits are quick to point out Mr. Donolo's own mantra: "It's not a sprint; it's a marathon."

Meanwhile, his rivals note that one man

can't turn around a party with a recent history of internal strife or a leader who has been unable to gain traction with voters. The Liberals need more help than that.

Mr. Donolo was quick to make his mark. On his first day on the job, after Mr. Ignatieff unceremoniously replaced Ignatieff-loyalist Ian Davey, Mr. Donolo shook up senior OLO staff by adding a few old hands including former Quebec Cabinet minister Jean Marc Fournier as principal secretary, longtime Ontario-based Liberal organizer Pat Sorbara, and former prime minister Paul Martin's communications director Mario Laguë in the same role.

Globe and Mail columnist Lawrence Martin wrote at the time that party members were annoyed with the amateurish way Mr. Davey and his partner, former communications director Jill Fairbrother, were dismissed—through a leak to reporters even before Mr. Davey and Ms. Fairbrother were told.

But caucus members "went on ad nauseam about the wisdom in the change," one member reportedly told Mr. Martin. "It was Donolo to the rescue."

Liberal insiders at the time said adding experienced leaders brought a new atmosphere of "adult supervision" to the Queen Street branch of the OLO. Mr. Donolo has been credited for bringing more discipline, professionalism and structure to the estimated 70-member staff.

"He had the ability to attract quality people," said Liberal MP Rodger Cuzner (Cape Breton-Canso, N.S.), the party's former whip and current fisheries critic.

"Peter can pick up the phone, and every Liberal across the country will take the call," Liberal Deputy Leader Ralph Goodale told *The Hill Times* last week. He has a "very impressive Rolodex."

Mr. Donolo streamlined the OLO reporting structure so that staffers reported less often directly to the chief of staff and more to their immediate bosses or directors of divisions such as communications or policy.

Although Mr. Donolo spends much of his day in meetings and putting out fires, so to speak, "his door is always open. If you have something to go tell him, he's always there to listen to his employees," said a former staffer.

When Mr. Laguë died suddenly in August,



Photograph by Jake Wright, *The Hill Times*

It's Peter: Donolo good on messaging, response.

"He pulled the team together, there's no question. He helped us celebrate Mario's life amidst the grief because Peter himself has a *joie de vivre* that is very infectious," said a current staffer who asked not to be named so as to keep the spotlight on the Liberal caucus rather than staffers. Mr. Donolo declined to be interviewed for the same reason.

Keith Beardsley, a political analyst and former adviser to Prime Minister Harper, said he used to follow Mr. Donolo's work in the PMO when the Progressive Conservatives were in opposition.

"The major improvement that I see is with the communication side of the OLO. He has brought more focus to the Liberals' messaging, they are more responsive to events and their talk[ing] points are sharper. I think this has had a positive impact on his [I]leader [and Mr.] Ignatieff's delivery has improved," Mr. Beardsley said in an emailed statement to *The Hill Times* last week.

But before he was able to help polish Mr. Ignatieff's rough edges, Mr. Donolo

had to gain his trust. Key to his ability to build rapport with anyone, his friends have said, is his sense of humour.

"He's forever telling jokes," said David Zussman, a University of Ottawa public management professor and a member of Mr. Chrétien's 1993 transition team who's known Mr. Donolo for 20 years. "It's not that he memorizes jokes and gives them, he's just extremely quick to make a humorous observation about things."

Mr. Cuzner remembers Mr. Donolo comparing Mr. Ignatieff's mostly public, unscripted Liberal Express and Open Mike tours last summer and fall to what Liberals have said are Mr. Harper's message-controlled invitation-only events.

"You'd see [Mr. Harper's] entourage going and Peter likened it to a prisoner transfer," said Mr. Cuzner. "So he has the ability to use that sort of wit to draw the contrast and make the points. So I'm sure he has that kind of relationship with the leader."

Informing his advice to the leader is decades of political experience—he knows what it's like to come from behind, from opposition to government—time spent in the early 2000s studying public opinion at the market research firm Strategic Counsel, and studying both Canadian and American political history. He looks at the big picture and the long term, his friends have said.

When Mr. Harper prorogued Parliament last year, effectively snuffing the media attention that opposition parties would have enjoyed while sitting in the legislature, Mr. Donolo played a key role in attempting to shine the spotlight back onto his party in showing that it was working amid the freeze. He helped orchestrate a series of 50 town halls and public meetings in Ottawa and in universities across the country.

The party's Canada 150 thinkers' conference in March set the groundwork for policy development. Its fall "Open Mike" town halls, winter 20/11 tour, and especially its summer-long Liberal Express road show served to train the leader and his staff for the next election campaign, and to re-engage the thousands of Liberals who sat on their hands rather than vote for former leader Stéphane Dion (Saint Laurent-Cartierville, Que.) in the last general election, say Liberals.

"Peter would say that we all contributed our bit, it was a collective decision-making process; that is true," said Mr. Goodale. "But Peter was the core guy."

It's all part of a strategy, said Mr. Goldenberg. It's difficult for any opposition party to get noticed in the media, but through these types of events the Liberals could try to do that and demonstrate contrast between their party and the Conservative government.

"I think they're in the process of doing that right now quite successfully," said Mr. Goldenberg. The party is focusing on wedge issues so that it can brand itself as a caring, compassionate party that supports post-secondary students and baby-boomers caring for aging parents, and shuns corporate tax cuts, expensive fighter jets and prison expansions, said Mr. Goldenberg.

Despite Mr. Donolo's work to reconnect the leader with the party base and show how the Liberals differ from their competitors, Mr. Ignatieff is still plagued by approval ratings sunk well below his competitors: he was at 12 per cent, compared to Mr. Harper and NDP Leader Jack Layton (Toronto-Danforth, Ont.) tied at 26 per cent, according to a Vision Critical/Angus Reid poll conducted online Jan. 7 to 9, with a margin of error of plus or minus 3.1 per cent, 19 times out of 20. The party hasn't gained much sustained ground from the Conservatives in the polls. And the Liberal leader's opponents on the left continue to hammer his party for voting with the Conservatives on key issues such as last spring's controversial "omnibus" budget.

Anne McGrath, Mr. Layton's chief of staff, said she has a lot of respect for Mr. Donolo, but also said when he was named to the position "it was like Superman was coming in," which is an unfair position to put him in.

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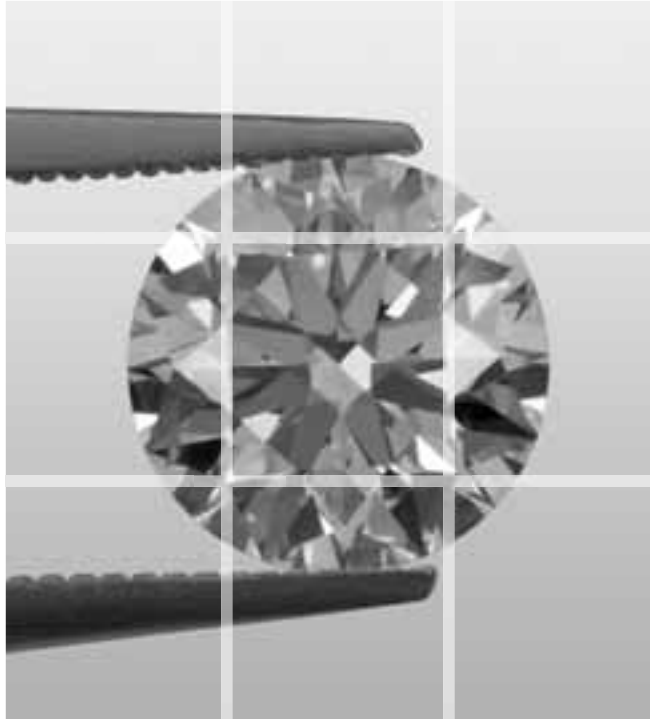
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HILL CLIMBERS: POLITICAL STAFFERS

PMO staffer Wolf heads to Sun TV News

Matt Wolf recently joined Sun TV News as an editorial producer in Toronto.

Continued from Page 38

Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency Minister **Keith Ashfield**.

Sun News hires a fourth former PMO staffer

Former PMO issues management adviser **Matt Wolf** recently joined the Sun TV News Channel in Toronto as an editorial producer.

Reached on his cell phone last week, Mr. Wolf said he's not working on the news side of the right-leaning 24-hour news channel expected to launch early this year, but on opinion shows, although no specific one yet.

"Political jobs are temporary by nature. This is a change of direction, something else interesting," he said.

Mr. Wolf left government last fall after a temporary stint as Agriculture Minister **Gerry Ritz's** communications director. He is better known for working in the PMO issues management unit since July 2008, alongside former directors **Jenni Byrne** and **Jasmine Ighneski**.

At Sun News, he works in the same location as **Dennis Matthews**, a former PMO advertising manager. Mr. Matthews left government last year, after more than two years in his PMO ad job, which was originally under the strategic planning division led by former staffer **Patrick Muttart**. Mr. Matthews had worked his way into the job from starting as an executive assistant to Mr. Muttart in the winter of 2006, soon after the Conservatives were elected.

He could not be reached for comment last week through his office voicemail. A LinkedIn profile matching his name and work history indicates he is director of marketing and brand development at Sun TV.

A third former exempt staffer, **Jason Plotz**, left PMO in early summer to do media monitoring for Sun Media. As a past issues management researcher, Mr. Plotz had developed a reputation as a

guy who could dig up any dirt on the opposition in a jiffy.

He was hired by fellow former PMO staffer **Kory Teneycke**, perhaps the most well known figure in Sun TV News' early days. Mr. Harper's former communications director was in charge of shepherding the embryonic channel through its birth, but stirred controversy over his fresh ties to politics and a petition against the station that he allegedly had a hand in doctoring. Perceived to be a liability to parent company Quebec Media Inc., he quit as it was trying to attain a federal broadcasting licence for the channel. After it received a licence, he rejoined the venture last month.

Mr. Teneycke referred **Hill Climbers** last week to Quebecor's vice president of corporate and institutional affairs, **Serge Sasseville**, who refused to comment on the hiring of former PMO staff.

Speaking to **Hill Climbers** last summer about Mr. Plotz's new job, Mr. Teneycke emphasized that Mr. Plotz was not in a reporting or news decision-making role. Likewise, Mr. Wolf stressed his role in opinion programming, not newsgathering.

Responding to criticism that the channel could still be perceived as "too close to government" given the former PMO staffers' involvement, he said, "We'll report stuff objectively and accurately. People here will be professional with their job."

New MPs and Senators still hiring Hill staff

Three new MPs who won byelections Nov. 29 have hired most of their staff, while two new Senators appointed Dec. 20 are expected to have theirs in place in the next few weeks.

In addition to new Vaughan, Ont. Conservative MP Mr. Fantino, Conservative **Robert Sopuck** is new to represent Dauphin-Swan River-Marquette, Man. His legislative assistant **Duncan Hamilton** is set to do a grab-bag of committee and administrative work alongside Mr. Sopuck's Parliamentary assistant **Brett Carlson**.

Together, they bring a mix of experience and knowledge of the riding.

Mr. Hamilton told **Hill Climbers** last month that he has worked over the last six years for another Manitoba Conservative MP, **James**



Photographs by Jake Wright, *The Hill Times*

This just in: Ted Menzies, Mike Wallace and Kim Roper, top; William Stairs, left, and Kory Teneycke.

Bezan, Saskatchewan-based Agriculture Minister Mr. Ritz, and rural Ontario MP **Larry Miller**. He also said he spent a short time in the Whip's office. He left his last post as Mr. Miller's LA in July.

Mr. Carlson is a student at Carleton University in Ottawa, Ont. studying political science and psychology, but comes from Mr. Sopuck's riding, said Mr. Hamilton. He interned last summer in Ottawa for Human Resources Minister **Diane Finley** and has been working part-time since then for Brant, Ont. MP **Phil McColeman**. Mr. Sopuck also has three staffers in his constituency.

Down the road in Winnipeg North, Man., Liberal MP **Kevin Lamoureux** has a full slate of staff working in his busy constituency office, but no one yet named to permanently manage the Ottawa office in Confederation Building.

Much of his work is constituency-based, explained his executive assistant **Roldan Sevillano** to **Hill Climbers** in early January. Mr. Lamoureux has one full-time and close to 10 part-time staffers in his riding office.

Ninety per cent of the work they do is immigration related, said Mr. Lamoureux two weeks ago, as he and his wife were busy preparing his new office.

He is looking to eventually hire a student part time to manage his Hill office.

Meantime, Mr. Sevillano has been travelling back and forth to get things set up, and Mr. Lamoureux hired a temporary assistant.

Mr. Sevillano, who was Mr. Lamoureux's campaign manager, is the Winnipeg North riding association president and is set to run in the next provincial election in one of the new ridings created

due to a redistribution that is dissolving Mr. Lamoureux's former riding as an MLA, Inkster.

Mr. Sevillano said once an LA is set up in Ottawa, he would be based out of Winnipeg.

"Getting elected near the Christmas season isn't the best time to get elected, just because no offices are open to get anything set up," he noted last month.

New Senators **Larry Smith** and **Don Meredith** are in the same boat. Temporary workers were answering the phones in both of their offices in late January. **Patti-Lou Fowlow** in Mr. Meredith's office said she was brought in Jan. 17 by Senate human resources to get his office set up. Neither Senator had hired permanent full-time staffers who were in their offices at the end of January.

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NEWS: MONEY & POLITICS

Conservatives raise whopping \$17.3-million last year, parties question 'Republican-style' tactics

The party raised \$17.3-million in 2010, compared to \$7-million collected by the Liberal Party, \$4.4-million raised by the NDP, \$1.3-million by the Green Party and \$642,500 by the Bloc Québécois.

Continued from Page 1

A senior Conservative Senator has confirmed to *The Hill Times* that the former Progressive Conservative Party, until its merger with the Canadian Alliance eight years ago to form the Conservative Party of Canada, had retained one of the most prestigious fundraising and direct marketing firms in the U.S. during its majority government years under then-prime minister Brian Mulroney.

And, a former member of the Conservative Party who did not want to be identified, told *The Hill Times* the direct mail solicitations for donations he continues to receive from the Conservative Fund Canada, the financial arm of the party, contain the same kind of messaging, style and appearance as the solicitations he once received from the Progressive Conservative Party.

Conservative Senator Don Oliver, a former board member of the Progressive Conservative Party's fundraising arm, the PC Canada Fund, confirmed the PC Party retained the Falls Church, Virginia, firm of Odell, Simms & Lynch when he was on the

board. The company, established in 1974, has long had Republican Party links, and one of its founders, Robert Odell, is now a Republican state Senator in New Hampshire.

"When I was involved, Bob Odell certainly gave us a lot of advice, but I don't know when the contract severed, I know nothing about that," Sen. Oliver told *The Hill Times*.

He said the U.S. firm advised the Conservatives on messages and content for the letters to mail to party supporters or potential party supporters to solicit contributions.

Confirmation of the fundraising methods of the Progressive Conservative Party and rumours within the Conservative Party that the formula was passed on through the merger have prompted opposition MPs to further criticize Mr. Harper's recent declaration he intends to campaign in the next election on a platform that includes elimination

of the multi-million-dollar system of public allowances for qualifying federal parties. While the PC Party had its U.S.-based fundraising system to bring to the merger table, Mr. Harper's Canadian Alliance Party had an extensive grassroots mail-

ing list from the populist campaign Preston Manning, and at the early stages, Mr. Harper had used to oust the federal PC Party from western Canada and some parts of Ontario.

Because of the successful Conservative fundraising formula, and the government's tactic of using legislative and policy initiatives such as the flood of 'tough on crime' bills over the past four years to appeal to the core Conservative base, elimination of the public allowances would make the Conservative Party the financial Goliath of federal politics.

The allowance, now a payment through Elections Canada of \$2 per vote for every vote qualifying parties receive, was brought in by the former Liberal government of Jean Chrétien when it banned union and corporate donations and limited federal political donations to \$5,000 from each donor, effective Jan. 1, 2004. Mr. Harper lowered the individual donations to \$1,000 in 2006.

Opposition MPs question Mr. Harper's position, in light of evidence his party may be paying a Republican-connected direct marketer for advice on the messaging and design that has proved so lucrative for the Conservatives.

But, because of the secrecy surrounding its fundraising methods, the Conservative Party refuses to confirm whether it has used the methods so successfully since the merger and Prime Minister Stephen Harper's (Calgary-South-

west, Alta.) election as the first leader of the new party in 2003. It will not deny or confirm whether it continues to use the same Virginia-based company as the Progressive Conservatives.

"We don't comment on how we fundraise, though I'm sure the other parties would love to know," Conservative Party spokesman Fred DeLorey said in an email response to questions.

A *Hill Times* telephone request for an interview with Odell, Simms & Lynch, left with an attendant who answered the company's phone, was not returned.

Party financial reports Elections Canada posted on its website last week showed how far ahead of its main rivals the Conservative Party remains in financial support from donors. The party raised \$17.3 million in 2010, compared to \$7-million collected by the Liberal party, \$4.4-million raised by the NDP, \$1.3-million by the Green Party and \$642,500 by the Bloc Québécois.

Sen. Oliver said he suspects the Liberal Party depends on similar outside help for its fundraising efforts.

"I'm sure they've gone to many experts, there are dozens of people who have this type of expertise, and I'm sure the Democratic Party has all kinds, and the Republican Party has them. In the States, raising money for a Senate seat is a huge business. The day you're elected,

the next day you start, and it's in the millions, so there are many experts down there who can give you good advice," Sen. Oliver said.

But a Liberal Party spokeswoman said an in-house fundraising team "works with a Canadian broker, and they work with Canadian creative agencies, letter shops, printers, and that's how we execute our direct mail campaign."

NDP national director Brad Lavigne said his party also depends on a Canadian consulting firm to help design and produce its direct-mail fundraising.

Liberal and NDP MPs said the Conservative fundraising tactics, linking specific policy issues to targeted groups among voters, are, like the controversial attack ads the Conservatives released last month, borrowed from the Republican Party.

"Stephen Harper once called the Republican Party his 'shining light,' this was his quote," said Liberal MP Mark Holland (Ajax-Pickering, Ont.). "I think you're seeing the same kind of strategies used by Republicans imported here, he's emulated it. What they do is they go after ultra-right-wing conservative groups, send a very targeted message to raise enormous amounts of money that make them very beholden to that money."

NDP MP Paul Dewar (Ottawa Centre, Ont.) also questioned the Conservative fundraising style and tactics, as well as the U.S.-style of attack ads.

"Here's a party that claims to want to be standing up for Canada, and meanwhile it's using an American platform [style] to raise money," he said.

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NEWS: MANDARINS

Every Wednesday morning, most powerful mandarins in government meet over coffee in Langevin Building

Ned Franks, one of the country's leading experts on Parliament, says deputy ministers should have five-year tenures.

Continued from Page 1

46 deputy ministers and heads of agencies for about an hour-long meeting in the Langevin Building in Ottawa. They talk about government priorities, current affairs, and public service management over "passable coffee and slightly dry muffins," as one veteran of the confabs put it. But it's the Clerk, whose direct boss is Prime Minister Stephen Harper, who sets the tone week after week at these meetings and that tone influences the federal public service.

"So, over time, this is one way for the Clerk to put his imprint on the bureaucracy, and to say, 'This is generally the mood I want the bureaucracy to function under, or the principles or the values that I believe in as the senior values of the public service,'" said former deputy minister Michel Dorais, who worked as a senior bureaucrat at Citizenship and Immigration and the Canada Revenue Agency and attended the meetings when Liberal prime minister Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin were in power and under Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Calgary Southwest, Alta.).

"There's nothing that can replace that, there's no email system that can replace that, because what the Clerk does at those meetings, week after week after week after week, is give a certain tone," said Mr. Dorais.

The attendees all come on their own departmental dime, including those representing agencies such as Veterans Affairs, Western Economic Diversification and Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, who fly in from other provinces, according to one former DM and breakfast meeting organizer who asked not to be identified.

The exact format of the meeting depends on the Clerk, though it follows a general format of a short briefing by the Clerk on the important issues of the week, including legislation, topics discussed in Cabinet and important events, said DMs who have attended. No decisions are made at these morning meetings.

Under some clerks, deputy ministers are called upon to contribute more actively to the meetings than others, contributing presentations about their areas of expertise, or commentary on a topic, explained Mr. Dorais. Under others, such as Jocelyne Bourgon, who was Clerk from 1994 to 1999 under prime minister Jean Chrétien, the meetings were more weighted towards PCO making the presentations, he said.

As for Mr. Wouters's meeting style, attendees are staying tight-lipped, as it is traditional to be discreet about the contents of DM breakfasts, even though they are not considered a Cabinet confidence.

Mr. Dorais knew Mr. Wouters when they were both DMs attending the breakfast meetings. Before he became the Clerk, Mr. Wouters was a deputy minister for both the Treasury Board and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada.

Mr. Dorais was circumspect when asked about Mr. Wouters's management style.

"Wayne is a very human person," he said.

The former DM and breakfast organizer described Mr. Wouters as "collegial" and "very personable," adding "he is obviously one of the best policy minds."

Whether the meetings lean more towards policy or public service issues is another mark of a clerk's influence on the meetings, said Mr. Dorais.

According to Mr. Dorais, Kevin Lynch, the clerk of the PCO prior to Mr. Wouters, liked to delve "deep into financial issues." Alex Himelfarb, who was clerk from 2002 to 2006 played a big role as the prime minister's policy adviser, and a lesser one as head of the public service.

Clerks Mel Cappe and Ms. Bourgon "were more leaders of the public service, and less policy advisers."

One of the benefits of the weekly gatherings was the speed at which a Clerk could get a message out to the key players in the federal public service by making a statement at the breakfast meeting.

"Most deputies will attend, and when they return to their department they will in turn debrief their senior management on some of the important stuff, who in turn debriefs their management team, so in a matter of a day or two, you have literally hundreds and hundreds of people that have been passed a message. It's a very efficient way for the Clerk to send a message around," explained Mr. Dorais.

C. Scott Clark, a deputy minister of Finance from 1997 to 2000, when Paul Martin was Finance minister, said that he would keep the minister abreast of what was talked about at breakfast meetings.

"You know when you go to the PCO that the Clerk is there, the Clerk is the Prime Minister's minister, so you know that you're getting the information directly that you need to have," he explained.

The Prime Minister rarely attends breakfast meetings, and when or if he does, it's usually just to drop by and say hello, said the former organizer.

Whether or not his presence is felt in a more esoteric manner, through his presence via the Clerk, is hard to tell, said Ned Franks, one of the country's leading experts on Parliament.

"The Clerk in fact wears three hats: he's deputy minister to the Prime Minister; he is the person who is guardian of the Constitution as Clerk of the Privy Council; he's head of the public service. I think that any Clerk of the Privy Council with a genuine conscience and concern of his three roles must feel that conflict a fair amount of the time," he said. "There is a tension there, and it's not really articulated or discussed."

Mr. Clark also said the tenor of a clerk's relationship with his or



Photograph by Jake Wright, The Hill Times

He's got the power: PCO Clerk Wayne Wouters leads the weekly DM meetings.

her deputies could be influenced by their working relationship with the Prime Minister.

"You're not kind of immune to the pressures that are on you, and what you have to get out of your deputies, if you're the Clerk," he said.

The former DM and meeting organizer said that any influence on the meeting would better be attributed to the Prime Minister's Office, in general, rather than the Prime Minister, even though no one from the PMO attends the meetings.

"There will undoubtedly be messages of policy, direction he's going, and stuff like that, but as a participant, as an observer, it would be very difficult to tell which one of those came from where," the organizer said.

There are some drawbacks to the community-building and information sharing at a breakfast meeting, Mr. Franks pointed out.

"I worry sometimes that they get to thinking more like a community of deputy ministers and less like the deputy minister of a specific department, and other people have expressed that concern to me," he said.

The probability of this is greater now than it was historically, as the current tenure of a deputy minister is only about three-and-a-half years, Mr. Franks explained, noting that it takes a DM at least two years to learn the department.

"It means that more than half the time, the deputy minister of a department hasn't got full control of the portfolio," he said.

"There is a professional ethic that sometimes gets violated by the department, and a deputy minister who is not a professional

in that way, but a professional deputy minister, would see it differently, and I think that problem comes up more often than we would think. So that's one of the risks of being a deputy ministerial community rather than a departmental minister," he stated.

The shorter DM tenure has been paralleled with a shorter stay for most occupants of the Clerk's Office as well. This too troubles Mr. Franks.

"I would like to see the tenures of both Clerks of the Privy Council and deputy ministers substantially lengthened, at least five years. I would feel much more comfortable that they were caring more about their departments and the civil service and less for the short-term party interests of those in power," he said.

But when the breakfast meetings are at their best, they can help the public service run smoothly, Mr. Clark noted.

"What also comes out of meetings like that, if they're good meetings, and being run properly, is that you're able to mitigate error. In other words, if you're living in silos and not communicating, then your chances of mistakes are pretty high, and if you're communicating through effective meeting structures that allows you to focus," he said.

Having a corps of well-informed deputy ministers also helps when ministers, or even entire governments change, the meeting organizer added. In these cases, it's the DM's job to get their new minister up to speed on her or his new portfolio, and to help PCO present policy options to a new government.

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CIVIL CIRCLES: PBO & TREASURY BOARD



Treasury Board President Stockwell Day says more 11,134 workers left the public service last year.



PBO Kevin Page estimates attrition at closer to 1,133 in 10 departments in the public service over the next three years.

Photographs by Jake Wright, *The Hill Times*

PBO, Treasury Board President Day lock horns over numbers, dollars

Canada's Parliamentary Budget Officer Kevin Page and Treasury Board president Stockwell Day have been locked in a verbal round of tug-of-war over whether or not the government's numbers add up.

By JESSICA BRUNO

Since he released his report on the departmental budget freeze on Jan. 20, Canada's Parliamentary Budget Officer Kevin Page and Treasury Board president Stockwell Day have been locked in a verbal round of tug-of-war over whether or not the government's numbers add up. "All we've heard from Minister Day is that he has a clear plan, even though no one has seen it, and it sounds like attrition is part of that plan," Mr. Page told *The Hill Times* in a recent interview.

The PBO's report took a look at the government's five-year, \$6.8-billion freeze, which was instituted as a part of the government's 2010 budget, and concluded that there is "limited evidence" attrition will play a strong hand in saving the government money, as Mr. Day has alluded to in the past.

The government has said the budget freeze will result in savings of \$300-million in 2010-2011, \$900-million in 2011-2012 and \$1.8-billion in 2012-2013, according to last year's budget. These measures, along with asking departments to absorb a 1.4 per cent wage increase for workers and a freeze to departmental travel and hospitality allowances, would help contribute to the savings.

According to the Treasury

Board Secretariat, in 2009-2010 11,134 workers left the public service, and an anticipated 13,000 more will leave in 2010-2011. More than a quarter of public servants will be eligible to retire by 2012, according to government estimates.

The PBO's estimates put attrition at closer to 1,133 over the next three years in 10 departments, after it factors in several thousand new workers at Correctional Services being hired. The PBO arrived at these numbers by looking at 10 of the largest government departments and agencies, which together employ 160,000 federal civil servants. The 10 departments the PBO requested information from included: National Defence, Public Works, Indian Affairs, Industry Canada, Transport Canada, Fisheries and Oceans, and the Canada Border Services Agency. All but two departments, Correctional Services Canada and the RCMP, responded to his request. Of the eight that responded, only one, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, said it had a plan to address the budget freeze.

Mr. Day has said Mr. Page "could not be more wrong."

"It is more than 11,000. ... If he is off by 1,000 per cent on that number, which is very easily proven, what is off on all the other numbers he is talking

about?" Mr. Day said in Question Period Feb. 1.

Mr. Page has said that the PBO needs to see the details of how departments will deal with attrition and the budget freeze before it can make a final assessment of the budget freeze.

"The question is, what's the overall plan in terms of strategy, what are the other overall measures, and then we want to know what's the plan relative to all of the departments. Are some of the departments going to be protected?" Mr. Page said in a recent interview with *The Hill Times*.

Both the PBO and the House Government Operations Committee have requested that the government disclose the details of how departments would meet the budget cuts to them as a part of their ongoing studies.

The government has not given them the information, citing Cabinet confidence.

In a letter dated Aug. 6, 2010, Mr. Day declined Mr. Page's request because "items that have received Cabinet and/or Budget approval have not yet been considered by the Treasury Board."

"Until we see the plan, we're not prepared to say if the operational freeze is achievable," Mr. Page told the House Government Operations Committee on Feb. 1.

There are 51 mentions of budget savings in the Treasury Board Secretariat's most recent supplementary estimates 2010-2011, but nowhere in the report does the department responsible for overseeing the public service explain where the cuts were made this year.

Some of the budget savings include \$13,761,089 from the Canadian Broadcasting Corpo-

ration, \$4.9-million from Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada and \$2.1-million from Canadian Heritage. In all, the cuts total \$180-million.

Mr. Page said he expects the balance of the \$300-million in cuts will appear in Supplementary Estimates C, the final round of budgetary adjustments for the year to be released this spring.

"One part of the process is departmental freezes, its one part, it's not the whole plan, obviously not, growth in the economy is part of it," said Conservative MP and committee member Ed Holder (London West, Ont.).

Just how much the federal government can depend on economic growth to eliminate the deficit is another point of contention between the PBO and the government.

In a second report, also released on Jan. 20, the PBO compares their deficit projections to those of the International Monetary Fund and the Department of Finance.

While Finance Department projections show Canada's deficit ending in 2015-2016, when the government is predicted to post a surplus of \$2.6-billion, both the IMF and the PBO have said that Canada will continue to post deficits.

Both the PBO and Minister of Finance Jim Flaherty (Whitby-Oshawa, Ont.) have cited IMF reports to support their own numbers.

The most recent update to the Economic Action Plan, released by the Finance Department on Jan. 31, the government quotes an IMF report stating that Canada will maintain "the strongest fiscal position in the G-7" in the medium-term.

"As the IMF says, this government is on track. We will balance the budget in medium term," Mr. Flaherty said the next day in the House.

In some respects, Mr. Page said Mr. Flaherty is right.

"Canada is better off, in this financial crisis, [compared to other countries]. Minister Flaherty is absolutely right about that, and this government and previous governments deserve credit for that," said Mr. Page.

"But from a Parliamentary perspective, we want to make sure that we don't slip into another fiscal crisis like we did in the 1990s," said Mr. Page, adding, however, that Canada is in a much stronger fiscal situation now than it was back then.

Mr. Page attributes the schism in predictions to a disagreement over whether Canada has a structural deficit—a chronic shortfall of budget revenue compared to spending. The IMF and PBO have factored a structural deficit into their predictions, while the Finance Department has not, according to the PBO report.

"A large part of the deficit is cyclical, which means as the economy recovers it will go away. What the IMF and the PBO are saying is there is a small structural component to this deficit which will not go away even when the economy recovers back to the potential, which is about the time-frame of 2013-2014," Mr. Page told the committee last week.

It does not look like Mr. Page will have the last word on the government's purse at the House Government Operations Committee. Mr. Day's spokesperson confirmed he will appear before them at their next meeting, Feb. 8, to answer questions about the freeze. At the time of writing, it was not confirmed whether he would appear.

If he does, no doubt Mr. Page will have something to say about that.

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Departmental Operating Budget Spending

	Billions of dollars	Percent of Budget
Personnel	41,009	67%
Professional and Special Services	8,148	13%
Transportation and Communications	3,098	5%
Repairs and Maintenance	3,206	5%
Utilities Materials and Supplies	3,117	5%
Rentals	1,892	3%
Information	347	1%

—Source: Parliamentary Budget Office "A Comparison of PBO and IMF Projections," Jan. 20, 2011

Projected Deficit (Billions of Dollars)

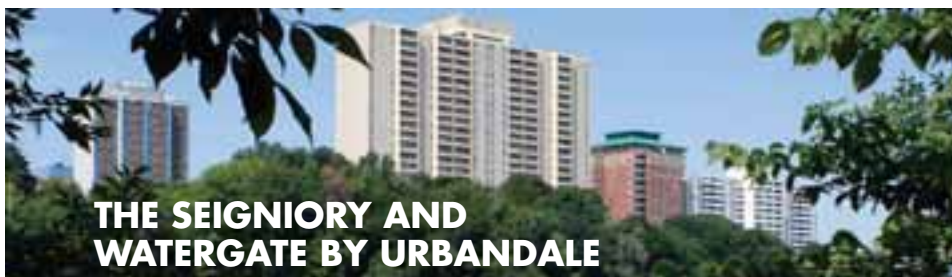
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
2010						
2011						
PBO November 2010	40.0	29.6	24.5	19.2	14.6	11.0
IMF December 2010	49.7	33.6	26.4	18.3	10.1	5.4
Finance Canada Oct. 2010	45.4	29.8	21.2	11.5	1.7	2.6

—Source: Public Accounts of Canada 2010

Projected Debt (Billions of Dollars)

	2010-2011	2011-2012	2012-2013	2013-2014	2014-2015	2015-2016
Federal debt (PBO)	559.1	588.7	613.3	632.5	647.1	658.1
Federal debt (Finance)	564.5	594.2	615.5	627.0	628.7	626.1
Difference	5.4	5.5	2.2	5.5	8.4	32.0

—Sources: Parliamentary Budget Office "Economic and Fiscal Assessment 2010" Nov. 3, 2010; Department of Finance "Update of Economic and Fiscal Projections," Oct. 2010



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FEATURE: EVENTS

Cappe, MacDonald, Lynch and Carson to talk about climate change, clean energy on Feb. 9



THE PARLIAMENTARY CALENDAR

MONDAY, FEB. 7

CFMS Federal Lobby Day—The Canadian Federation of Medical Students will gather to meet with MPs to discuss the under-representation of low income and rural background individuals in Canadian medical schools. CFMS president Matthew Sheppard and Vice President Advocacy Ashley Miller will be on hand for interviews. Feb. 7, 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m. Room 2-2, National Press Building, 150 Wellington St. vpcommunications@cfms.org

National Gallery Media Event—The media are invited to the National Gallery of Canada's unveiling of its 2011-2012 Exhibition Program, to be followed by a buffet lunch. Highlights will include a tour of the exhibition *19th Century British Photographs*. Feb. 7, 11 a.m. National Gallery of Canada, 280 Sussex Dr. RSVP to bmallet@gallery.ca

Canada's Olympic Effort—The Canadian Club of Toronto will present its Canadian of the Year Award to John Furlong and Canada's Olympic effort. Feb. 7, 11:45 a.m. Fairmont Royal York Hotel, Canadian Room, Toronto, Ont. www.canadianclub.org

IPAC 6th National Leadership Conference—The theme for this year's IPAC National Leadership Conference is "Wicked Problems. Wicked Times. Today's Leadership Realities." Feb. 7-8. Westin Harbour Hotel, Toronto, Ont. www.ipac.ca

TUESDAY, FEB. 8

Government Relations Under Siege—PAAC presents a workshop "Government Relations Under Siege: Confronting the Myth of the Backroom." Speakers include Robin Sears, Navigator, and Adam Radwanski, *The Globe and Mail*. Feb. 8, 8-11 a.m. \$62.15 members; \$73.45 non-members. Borden Ladner Gervais, 40 King St. W., 44th floor, Toronto, Ont. www.publicaffairs.ca

A Glimpse Into the Energy Future—The Economic Club of Canada presents speaker Dr. Fatih Birol of the International Energy Agency—Paris. He will discuss "A Glimpse Into the Energy Future." Feb. 8, 11:45 a.m.-1:30 p.m. \$89.27. The InterContinental Hotel, 255 Front St. W., Toronto, Ont. www.economicclub.ca

Canadian Club Luncheon—Today's guest speaker is Galen Weston, Loblaw's. Feb. 8, 12 p.m. \$45.30 members; \$67.80 non-members. Ballroom, Fairmont Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. www.canadianclubottawa.ca

The Longest War: A Journalist's Front-Line Assessment of America's Entanglement in Afghanistan—Join speaker Rajiv Chandrasekaran, senior correspondent for the *Washington Post* for a talk "The Longest War: A Journalist's Front-Line Assessment of America's Entanglement in Afghanistan." Presented by CIPS at the University of Ottawa, the Conference of Defence Association Institute and CIC-National Capital

Branch. Feb. 8, 5:30 p.m. Free. Room 12102, Desmarais Bldg., University of Ottawa, 55 Laurier Ave. E. www.cips.uottawa.ca

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 9

Conservative Caucus—The federal Conservatives meet Wednesday mornings for their caucus meeting at 9:30 a.m. in Room 237-C Centre Block, when the House is sitting. For inquiries, call Eric Duncan at 613-992-7381. The chair of the national conservative caucus is MP Guy Lauzon.

Liberal Caucus—The federal Liberals meet Wednesdays in Room 253-D Centre Block when the House is sitting. For more information, please call Caucus chair MP Anthony Rota at 613-995-6255.

NDP Caucus—The federal NDP caucus meets Wednesday mornings at 1 Wellington at 9 a.m. Please call senior press secretary Karl Bélanger at 613-720-6463. Caucus meets Wednesdays when the House is sitting.

Bloc Caucus—The Bloc Québécois meets Wednesdays at 9:30 a.m. in Room 268, La Promenade Bldg. when the House is sitting. For more information, please call the leader's press secretary Karine Sauvé at 613-947-2495.

From Climate Change to Clean Energy—IRPP President Mel Cappe and *Policy Options* editor L. Ian MacDonald, along with invited guests Bruce Carson, University of Calgary, Kevin Lynch, BMO Financial Group, and Velma McColl, Earncliffe, will discuss "From Climate Change to Clean Energy" at a working luncheon today. Feb. 9, 11:45 a.m., \$50. Devonian Room, Calgary Petroleum Club, 319 5th Ave. SW, Calgary, Alta. Please register in advance. Suzanne Lambert at 514-787-0746 or slambert@irpp.org

Elizabeth Fry 2011 Community Forum—The Elizabeth Fry Society presents "Outside the Walls," its first Community Forum on criminalized women. Feb. 9, 12-4:30 p.m. Bronson Centre Theatre, 211 Bronson Ave. www.efryottawa.com

Going Beyond Vision Loss—A reception for MPs and Senators from all parties will be hosted by Speaker Peter Milliken and John Rafferty, CEO of CNIB, with introductions by CTV's Craig Oliver. Have lunch and celebrate with people who are living well with vision loss and learn how they do it. Feb. 9, 12-1:30 p.m. Speaker's Lounge, Centre Block, Parliament Hill, Ottawa, Ont. RSVP to 613-563-0000 ext. 5040 or yana.tarabukhine@cnib.ca

Canadian Celiac Association Meeting—The Canadian Celiac Association-Ottawa Chapter hosts a general meeting featuring a panel of chefs who will discuss the trials and tribulations of gluten-free cooking in restaurants. All welcome. Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m. Riverside Church, 3191 Riverside Dr., Ottawa, Ont. celiac@magma.ca

THURSDAY, FEB. 10

A Candid Conversation About Being a Woman in American Political Life—Guest



A CANDID CONVERSATION ABOUT BEING A WOMAN IN AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE—Guest speaker Judith Heumann, U.S. President Barack Obama's Special Adviser on International Disability Rights, will discuss "A Candid Conversation About Being a Woman in American Political Life and Working Within the Obama Administration." Presented by Equal Voice and the Embassy of the United States. Feb. 10, 7:30 a.m. Pre-registration and photo ID required. U.S. Embassy. Event is now sold out, but there is a waiting list. Register to info@equalvoice.ca

speaker Judith Heumann, U.S. President Barack Obama's Special Adviser on International Disability Rights, will discuss "A Candid Conversation About Being a Woman in American Political Life and Working Within the Obama Administration." Presented by Equal Voice and the Embassy of the United States. Feb. 10, 7:30 a.m. Pre-registration and photo ID required. U.S. Embassy. Event is now sold out, but there is a waiting list. Register to info@equalvoice.ca

Government 2.0—A Platform for Collaborative Government—The Library of Parliament seminar program welcomes open government expert David Eaves at this seminar on Government 2.0 and how Web 2.0 technologies can transform how government conducts its day-to-day business with its citizens. Can Government 2.0 launch government as a platform, an opportunity to stimulate the economy as well as political engagement? Feb. 10, 8:30 a.m. Room 2-2, National Press Building, 150 Wellington St. 613-943-2594.

Bye Bye to the Badger—Richard "The Badger" Brennan, former president of the parliamentary press gallery is moving back to *The Toronto Star's* Toronto office after four years in the capital. Come send him off. Feb. 10, 6:30 p.m. Hy's, 50 O'Connor St., Ottawa, Ont.

Celebrating Five Years of Family Research—The Institute of Marriage and Family Canada invites you to a dessert party to celebrate five years. Speakers include *National Post* columnist Barbara Kay and former Stephen Harper Cabinet minister Monte Solberg. Feb. 10, 7 p.m. Lord Elgin Hotel, Ottawa, Ont. RSVP to info@imfcanada.org

FRIDAY, FEB. 11

Postal Transformation—Guest speaker Cal Hart, Canada Post, will discuss "Postal Transformation: Renewing Canada Post's Physical and Electronic Network to Create a Modern Post." Presented by OCRI. Feb. 11, 7:30-9 a.m. \$40 members; \$60 non-members. Rideau Room, Sheraton Ottawa Hotel, 150 Albert St., Ottawa, Ont. RSVP to Heather Hammond at 613-828-6274 ext. 224.

Ontario Young Liberals 2011 AGM—The Ontario Young Liberals will hold their AGM. Chris Drew at 416-961-3800 or cro@oyl.org. Registration required, more details available soon at www.oyl.ca

SATURDAY, FEB. 12

Bloc Québécois Holds Annual General Council Meeting—The Bloc Québécois will host its annual general council meeting Feb. 12-13. Hotel des Seigneurs, 1200 rue Johnsson, Ste-Hyacinthe, Que. Call 613 947-2495.

Valentine's Gala—Enjoy a four-course gourmet dinner, drinks and some music from singer-pianist Gregory Charles. Presented by Borden Ladner Gervais in support of The Youth Education Fund. Feb. 12, 6:30 p.m. \$250. Museum of Civilization, Gatineau, Que. 819-776-7114 or civilization.ca/museumgala

Calgary East Bleeding Heart Liberal Ball—Celebrate companionship, friendship and lifelong connections with Liberal Party supporters at the Calgary East Bleeding Heart Liberal Ball. Feb. 12, 8 p.m. \$150. Fort Calgary, 750-9th Ave. SE, Calgary, Alta. 403-719-6253 or liberalball@gmail.com

MONDAY, FEB. 14

9th Public Affairs Summit—Federated Press presents the 9th Public Affairs Summit where more than a dozen publicly-traded companies, crown corporations and associations will share their best GR strategies and much more. Participating organizations include Borden Ladner Gervais, BDC and others. Feb. 14-16, \$1975. Danielle Delannoy, 1800-363-0722 ext. 221 or <http://www.federatedpress.com/pdf/3EL1102-E.pdf>

TUESDAY, FEB. 15

Democracy, Economy, Environment: The Ecology of Crisis and the Crisis of Ecology—Guest speaker Ronnie Lipschutz, University of California, will discuss "Democracy, Economy, Environment: The Ecology of Crisis and the Crisis of Ecology." Presented by CIPS at the University of Ottawa. Feb. 16, 4 p.m. Free. Room 3120, Desmarais Bldg., University of Ottawa, 55 Laurier Ave. E., Ottawa, Ont. www.cips.uottawa.ca

Tim Hudak's Ottawa Reception—Niagara MPP and Ontario PC leader Tim Hudak will hold a reception this evening. Feb. 15, 5-7 p.m. Play Food and Wine, 1 York St., Ottawa, Ont. Tickets at www.ontariopc.com

Transit Awareness Day 2011 Reception—The Canadian Urban Transit Association presents the Transit Awareness Day 2011 Reception. Feb. 15, 5-7 p.m. Rooms 2-1 & 2-2, Booth Building, 165 Sparks St., Ottawa, Ont. RSVP to Alana Fontaine at 613-233-8906 or alana@impactcanada.com

First Annual Macdonald-Laurier Soirée—Mark this date! Join in the First Annual Macdonald-Laurier Soirée and celebrate two of Canada's greatest Prime Ministers and Flag Day all in one great event. Feb. 15, 5:30 p.m.-7:30 p.m. Fairmont Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. 613-482-8327 or info@macdonaldlaurier.ca

Ghosts of Violence—The Atlantic Ballet Theatre of Canada presents the world premiere of *Ghosts of Violence*, inspired by women who have lost their lives at the hands of a partner. Feb. 15, 7:30 p.m. \$35 and up. NAC, 53 Elgin St., Ottawa, Ont. www.nac-cna.ca

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 16

Conservative Caucus—The federal Conservatives meet Wednesday mornings for their caucus meeting at 9:30 a.m. in Room 237-C Centre Block, when the House is sitting. For inquiries, call Eric Duncan at 613-992-7381. The chair of the national conservative caucus is MP Guy Lauzon.

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WEDNESDAY, FEB. 16

Canadian Natural Gas Breakfast Conference—Encana Natural Gas Inc. is holding a Canadian Natural Gas Breakfast Conference highlighting the features and benefits for the transportation industry. Feb. 16. Call 403-645-8327.

Politics and the Pen—A highlight of Ottawa's winter social calendar, the Politics and the Pen gala is a grand celebration of Canadian political and literary cultures. Feb. 16. Space and sponsorships are selling quickly. Fairmont Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. Contact Writers' Trust executive director Don Oravec at 416-504-8222, ext. 244.

THURSDAY, FEB. 17

An Outlook on the Next Phase of Canada's Economic Plan—Join Perrin Beatty, President and CEO of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce for a talk "Vigilance and Leadership: An Outlook on the Next Phase of Canada's Economic Action Plan." Feb. 17, 11:45 a.m.-1:30 p.m. Presented by the Economic Club of Canada. The Marriott Toronto Eaton Centre, Toronto, Ont. www.economicclub.ca

Parliamentary Associations—The Canadian Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union meets in Geneva, Switzerland for the Extraordinary Session of the IPU. Feb. 17-19. For more information, please visit <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/ia>

SATURDAY, FEB. 18

Confessions of a Greenpeace Dropout—Dr. Patrick Moore will discuss his book *Confessions of a Greenpeace Dropout: The Making of a Sensible Environmentalist* as well as environmental issues ranging from climate change and energy independence. Presented by the Fraser Institute. Feb. 18, 11:45 a.m., \$35. SFU Harbour Centre, Segal Centre Rooms, 515 Hastings St. W., Vancouver, B.C. events@fraserinstitute.org

Women, Canada and the World: Is Canada Failing?—A panel discussion "Women, Canada and the World: Is Canada Failing?" will be held today. Panelists include Rieky Stuart, McLeod Group and Sandeep Prasad, Action Canada for Population and Development. Presented in part by CIPS at the University of Ottawa and *Embassy Magazine*. Feb. 18, 1 p.m. Free. Desmarais Bldg., 12th floor, University of Ottawa, 55 Laurier Ave. E. www.cips.uottawa.ca

Conversation and Cocktails with Michael Ignatieff—Join Liberal leader Michael Ignatieff and Liberal Caucus members for this Conversation and Cocktails event. Feb. 18, 5 p.m., \$125; free for Laurier Club members. The Fort Garry Hotel, 222 Broadway St., Winnipeg, Man. www.liberal.ca

Parliamentary Associations—The Canadian Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association travels to Trinidad & Tobago for a bilateral visit. Feb. 19-24. For more information, please visit <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/ia>

SUNDAY, FEB. 19

Okanagan Election Readiness Workshop—Kelowna-Lake Country is partnering with other ridings in the Southern interior and the Liberal Party of Canada in B.C. to host an Election Readiness Workshop. Sessions include: Get out the vote; campaign finance; door and phone canvassing; voter ID and conversion; Liberalist database training. Feb. 19 9:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m. \$25. Kelowna Secondary School, 1079 Raymer Ave., Kelowna, BC. www.liberal.ca

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FEATURE: EVENTS

Obama's special adviser Heumann to discuss women in U.S. political life Feb. 10 in Ottawa



THE PARLIAMENTARY CALENDAR

SUNDAY, FEB. 19

A Day with Ken Dryden—Join Liberal MP Ken Dryden and friends for a day of skating, brunch and a tour of the Montreal Canadiens Hall of Fame. Feb. 19, 11 a.m. Bell Centre, 1909 Ave. des Canadiens de Montreal, Montreal, Que. <http://events.liberal.ca/Event/a-day-with-the-honorable-ken-dryden>

MONDAY, FEB. 21

House Not Sitting—The House of Commons breaks on Feb. 21 and will sit again on Feb. 28.

TUESDAY, FEB. 22

Global AIDS Conference—The AIDS Healthcare Organization (AHO) is organizing a Global AIDS Conference to be held in two sectors. If you wish to participate and represent your country, contact the secretariat of the organizing committee. First summit runs from Feb. 22-25, in Washington, D.C. The second summit runs from Feb. 28 to March 3, in Saint Louis, Senegal. secret_global_summit@globomail.com

A Court of Last Resort—Prof. Errol P. Mendes, University of Ottawa will discuss his new book *Peace and Justice at the International Criminal Court: A Court of Last Resort*. Feb. 22, 4 p.m. Free. Presented by CIPS. Room 3120, Desmarais Bldg., 55 Laurier Ave. E. www.cips.uottawa.ca

Third Essentials of Lobbying—Federated Press presents a conference "3rd Essentials of Lobbying." This conference will offer attendees the chance to learn from top veteran lobbyists, gain insights on developing lobbying strategies tailored to the federal government and much more. Participating organizations include Borden Ladner Gervais, Temple Scott Associates and others. Feb. 22-23, \$1975. Novotel Ottawa, 33 Nicholas St., Ottawa, Ont. Contact: Danielle Delanoy, 1-800-363-0722 ext. 221 or <http://www.federatedpress.com/pdf/3EL1102-E.pdf>

Conversation and Cocktails with Michael Ignatieff—Join Liberal leader Michael Ignatieff and Liberal Caucus members for this Conversation and Cocktails event. Feb. 18, 5:30 p.m., \$500; free for Laurier Club members. Residence of Aldea Landry, 110 Victoria St., Moncton, N.B. www.liberal.ca

Parliamentary Associations—The Canada-Europe Parliamentary Association travels to Tromsø, Norway for a meeting of the Standing Committee of Parliamentarians of the Arctic Region and Second Northern Dimension Parliamentary Forum. Feb. 22-23. For more information, please visit <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/ia>

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 23

Continental Divide: Canadian and U.S. Views on Energy and Climate Change—The Public Policy Forum presents a breakfast roundtable "Continental Divide: Canadian and U.S. Views on Energy and Climate Change." Feb. 23, 7:30-10 a.m. Champlain Room, The Delta Ottawa Hotel and Suites, 361 Queen St., Ottawa, Ont. www.ppforum.ca

Gaining Ground: How Smart Tax Policy is Making Canada a Northern Tiger—Join speaker Jack Mintz, University of Calgary, for a talk "Gaining Ground: How Smart Tax

Policy is Making Canada a Northern Tiger." Feb. 23, 11:45 a.m.-1:30 p.m. One King West Hotel, Toronto, Ont. www.economicclub.ca

NAHO Speaker Series—Dr. Pierre S. Haddad, Director of the Canadian Institute of Health Research Team, will discuss "Combining Modern Science and Traditional Medicine in the Fight Against Aboriginal Type 2 Diabetes: The Experience of the CIHR Team in Aboriginal Antidiabetic Medicines." Presented by the National Aboriginal Health Organization. Feb. 23, 1-3 p.m. NAHO, 220 Laurier Ave. W. Suite 1400, Ottawa, Ont. www.naho.ca

Improving Corporate Productivity and Innovation 2011—The Conference Board of Canada presents a conference "Improving Corporate Productivity and Innovation 2011." Feb. 23-24. McGill University, Desautels Faculty of Management, Samuel Bronfman Building, Room 151, 1001 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal, Que. www.conferenceboard.ca

Parliamentary Associations—The Canadian Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association travels to Whitehorse, Yukon for an Executive Committee Meeting. Feb. 23-28. For more information, please visit <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/ia>

Parliamentary Associations—The Canadian Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union travels to New York, N.Y. for a Parliamentary Meeting on the Occasion of the 55th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women. Feb. 23. For more information, please visit <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/ia>

Workplace 2.0: Adapting Places and Spaces—The Public Policy Forum presents a conference "Workplace 2.0: Adapting Places and Spaces." Feb. 24, 8 a.m.-2 p.m. Canadian Museum of Nature, 4th floor gallery, 240 McLeod St., Ottawa, Ont. Contact: Melanie Charron, 613-238-7160 ext. 291 or melanie.charron@ppforum.ca

2011 Ottawa Conference on Defence and Security—The Conference of Defence Associations and The CDA Institute present the 2011 Ottawa Conference on Defence and Security. Day 1: Canada-U.S. Security Interests - 10 Years after 9/11. Speakers include Thomas d'Aquino, Michael Wilson, Ward Elcock, and James Blanchard. Day 2: "The Canadian Forces Post-Combat Mission in Afghanistan." Speakers include Chief of Defence Staff Gen. Walter Natynczyk, Lt-Gen. Andrew Leslie, Vice-Admiral Dean McFadden, Lt-Gen. Michel Maisonneuve, and Robert Fonberg. Feb. 24-25. Fairmont Chateau Laurier Hotel, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. www.cda-cdai.ca/cdai/defence-seminars/seminar2011

Conversation and Cocktails with Michael Ignatieff—Join Liberal leader Michael Ignatieff and Liberal Caucus members for this Conversation and Cocktails event. Feb. 22, 5:30 p.m., \$400; free for Laurier Club members. Ballroom, Intercontinental Hotel, 225 Front St., Toronto, Ont. www.liberal.ca

OIW AGM & Reading Night—The Ottawa Independent Writers members will vote for a new board of directors and discuss other business. Some authors will give readings of their work. Feb. 24, 7 p.m. Room 156,



FIRST ANNUAL MACDONALD-LAURIER SOIRÉE—Mark this date! Join in the First Annual Macdonald-Laurier Soirée and celebrate two of Canada's greatest Prime Ministers and Flag Day all in one great event. Feb. 15, 5:30 p.m.—7:30 p.m. Fairmont Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. 613-482-8327 or info@macdonaldlaurier.ca

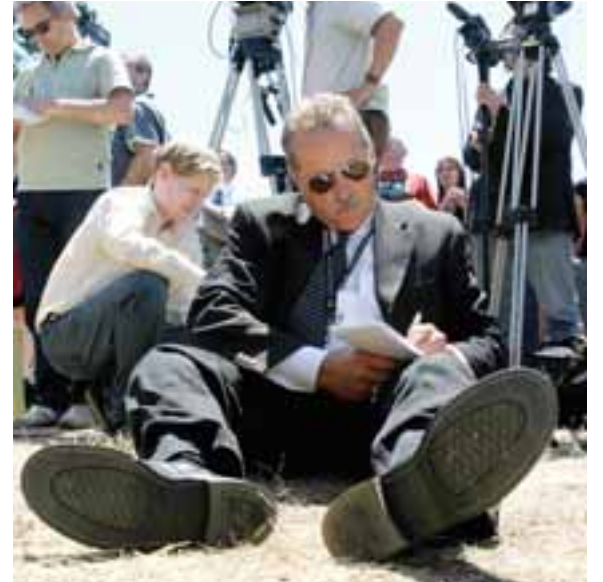
Library and Archives Canada, 395 Wellington St., Ottawa, Ont. <http://www.oiw.ca/events/ph>

Confessions of a Greenpeace Dropout—Dr. Patrick Moore will discuss his book *Confessions of a Greenpeace Dropout: The Making of a Sensible Environmentalist* as well as environmental issues ranging from climate change and energy independence. Presented by the Fraser Institute. Feb. 24. Centini Restaurant, 106 8th Ave. SE, Calgary, Alta. events@fraserinstitute.org

Parliamentary Associations—The Canadian Delegation to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe will go to Vienna, Austria for the 10th Winter Session. Feb. 24-25. For more information, please visit <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/ia>

Parliamentary Press Gallery AGM—The Parliamentary Press Gallery holds its AGM. On the agenda: 1) President's Report; 2) Treasurer's Report; 3) Results of Officers Elected; 4) Nomination of directors and voting; 5) Life and Honorary memberships; 6) New Business; 7) Results of directors elected. Active members for the positions of president, VP, Treasurer and Secretary must be received by the Board of Directors in the Head Office: Room 350 N, Centre Block, House of Commons, before 10 a.m. on Friday, Feb. 18. Nominations will be posted on the Head Office bulletin board. Voting for the four officer's positions will take place Feb. 23 in the National Press Theatre between 9 a.m. and 6 p.m. AGM. Feb. 25, 12:30 p.m. National Press Theatre, 150 Wellington St., Ottawa, Ont.

SATURDAY, FEB. 26
Parliamentary Associations—The Canada-U.S. Inter-Parliamentary Group will attend the National Governors Association Winter Meeting in Washington, D.C. Feb. 26-28. For more information, please visit <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/ia>



Photographs by Jake Wright, The Hill Times

BYE BYE TO THE BADGER—*Toronto Star* Hill reporter Richard 'The Badger' Brennan, former president of the parliamentary press gallery is moving back to *The Star's* Toronto office after four years in the capital. Come send him off. Feb. 10, 6:30 p.m. Hy's, 50 O'Connor St., Ottawa, Ont.

MONDAY, FEB. 28

The House is Sitting—The House is scheduled to return today and will sit until March 11.

Is Financial Literacy The Policy Path to Better Retirement Planning—IRPP presents a working lunch with Mel Cappe, IRPP, and other panelists including Saul Schwartz of Carleton University. Feb. 28, 11:45-2 p.m. \$50. The National Club, 303 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. Suzanne Lambert at 514-787-0746 or slambert@irpp.org

TUESDAY, MARCH 1

Translating Knowledge into Action—Join Liberal MP Keith Martin (Esquimaux-Juan de Fuca) for a discussion on "Translating Knowledge into Action: Improving the Health of the Bottom Two Billion." Presented by CIPS at the University of Ottawa. March 1, 10:30 a.m. Free. Room 3129, Desmarais Building, 55 Laurier Ave. E., Ottawa, Ont. www.cips.uottawa.ca

Security Without Nuclear Deterrence—Commander Robert Green, Royal Navy (Retired) will discuss his new book *Security Without Nuclear Deterrence*, a blueprint for a nuclear weapons-free, and secure, world. Presented by the Rideau Institute. March 1, 7:30-9 p.m. Ottawa Public Library, 120 Metcalfe St., Ottawa, Ont. 613-565-9449 or operations@rideauinstitute.ca

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2

Conservative Caucus—The federal Conservatives meet Wednesday mornings for their caucus meeting at 9:30 a.m. in Room 237-C Centre Block, when the House is sitting. For inquiries, call Eric Duncan at 613-992-7381. The chair of the national conservative caucus is MP Guy Lauzon.

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Bloc Caucus—The Bloc Québécois meets Wednesdays at 9:30 a.m. in Room 268, La Promenade Bldg. when the House is sitting. For more information, please call the leader's press secretary Karine Sauvé at 613-947-2495.

Canadian Club Luncheon—Today's guest speaker is Rick Hansen. March 2, 12 p.m. \$45.30 members; \$67.80 non-members. Ballroom, Fairmont Chateau Laurier, 1 Rideau St., Ottawa, Ont. www.canadianclubottawa.ca

THURSDAY, MARCH 3
Bacon & Eggheads Breakfast—PAGESE presents a talk on "The Amazing, Changing, Aging Brain" with Allison B. Sekuler, McMaster University. March 3, 7:15 a.m. No charge to MPs, Senators and Parliamentary Press Gallery members, others \$20. Government Conference Centre, 2 Rideau St. Register to Donna Boag at 613-991-6369 or pagese@rsc.ca

Parliamentary Associations—The Canadian Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association travels to London, England for the 60th Westminster Seminar on Practice and Procedure. March 7-18. For more information, please visit <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/ia>

The Parliamentary Calendar is a free listing edited by listings editor Alia Heward who can be reached at 613-232-5952, ext. 200. Information regarding political, cultural and governmental events should be sent to alia@hilltimes.com with the subject line 'Parliamentary Calendar' by Wednesdays at noon. Our fax number is 613-232-9055. We can't guarantee inclusion of every event, but we do our best.

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FEATURE: PARTIES



PARTY CENTRAL

BY JESSICA BRUNO

House Speaker Milliken hosts annual Robbie Burns party on Hill, many flock to shindig wearing kilts

Pass the haggis and praise the Bard! The House Speaker's annual Robbie Burns party on Jan. 31 welcomed Parliamentarians back to the Hill with splash of tartan.

While your ever-ready representative at the canapé table wasn't there last Monday night, she does have eyes and ears everywhere. This time, they were in the bagpipe section, with none other than former Liberal MP and *Hill Times* contributor Joe Jordan.

"It went really well...it's grown," said Mr. Jordan of the dinner, which is in its tenth installment.

He remembers that House Speaker Peter Milliken (Kingston-and-the-Islands, Ont.) first came up with the idea to hold a tribute to the poet and cultural icon who is known simply as 'the Bard' in Scotland shortly after he was elected Speaker.

Mr. Jordan said he has been involved in the party since the beginning, along with regulars former NDP MP Bill Blaikie, Defence Minister Peter McKay (Central Nova, N.S.), Conservative MP Gerald Keddy (South Shore-St. Margaret's, N.S.) and Pat Martin (Winnipeg Centre, Man.).

Since then it's gone from a small gathering in the Speaker's Salon to a party of 90 or so MPs and personal guests who take over the Railway Committee Room, one of the larger committee rooms in Centre Block.

At the back of guests' minds this year was the thought that this Robbie Burns party may be Mr. Milliken's last, said Mr. Jordan. He has announced he will not run for re-election in the next election.

To honour Mr. Milliken's commitment to Scottish culture, Mr. Jordan presented a set of bagpipes to the Rob Roy Pipe Band and Highland Dancers of Kingston, Ont., at the dinner. The group is a regular performer at the Burns night. Mr. Jordan said that the set of pipes would help young kids without a set of their own to get a start at learning the instrument.

Aside from the pipe presentation, every traditional Robbie Burns party follows a strict format, and the House Speaker's was no exception. To open the ceremonies, Mr. Jordan ushered in the haggis with a tune on his 'pipes. Behind

him was Conservative MP and Robbie Burns enthusiast Ed Holder (London West, Ont.), who delivered the *Address to a Haggis* (yes, such a poem exists).

It reads like a chef's love letter to the classic Scottish dish that is made of sheep's intestine stuffed with other assorted mouton bits and oatmeal, calling it among other colourful things, the "Great chieftain o' the puddin'-race!"

"It's about a two-minute long chant and shouting about the haggis, and then they do a toast to the chef," explained Anthony Carricato, a communications officer in the Speaker's Office.

When Mr. Carricato was the House Speaker's events officer he was responsible for organizing the Burns dinner. This year he attended in a kilt a friend had bought at Value Village.

Many of the other attendees also tartened themselves up for the evening, be it with a tie, a plaid dress, or a full kilt and sporran, noted Mr. Jordan.

The dish of honour was carried in on a plank by Mr. MacKay and Mr. Martin. Also part of the procession was the Parliamentary Restaurant's executive chef, Judson Simpson, who prepared the haggis.

Guests, including Scottish Government Counsellor in North America Robin Naysmith, who was invited by Liberal MP Kirsty Duncan (Etobicoke North, Ont.) also dined on Cock-A-Leekie Soup which is a chicken-and-leek soup that also includes prunes.

During the evening, Mr. Milliken recited one of Burns's many poems off by heart, and Liberal MPs Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) and Hedy Fry (Vancouver Centre, B.C.) traded good-natured jabs when they recited a *Toast to the Lassies* and a *Response to the Laddies*, respectively.

Both MPs tried something new and wrote their own poems for the occasion, which went over well with the crowd, said Mr. Jordan.

"As all of us here will testify, the lassies' place has moved from the home and kitchen into the House of Commons and the boardroom," said Ms. Fry before reading her composition.



Former Liberal MP Joe Jordan



Liberal MPs Hedy Fry, Bonnie Crombie and Mark Eyking with NDP MP Peter Stoffer



Chair of the Liberal Caucus, MP Anthony Rota



Liberal MP Paul Szabo, Speaker Peter Milliken, and Conservative MP James Rajotte



Liberal MP John McKay



Haggis-bearers: Defence Minister Peter MacKay and NDP MP Pat Martin



Tory MP Larry Miller

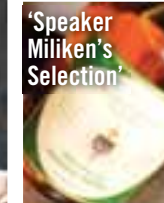
Party Central Photographs by JAKE WRIGHT



Liberal MP Rob Oliphant and Anthony Carricato from the Speaker's Office



Mr. Stoffer and Tory MP Ed Holder



'Speaker Milliken's Selection'



Strategix Public Affairs President Gina Cosentino



Liberal MP Justin Trudeau and Mr. Stoffer



Ms. Crombie and Mr. Eyking



Mr. Milliken



Mr. MacKay

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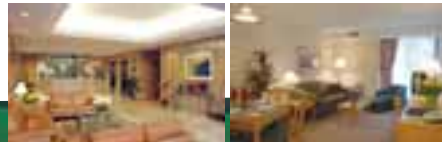
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