

Making who to vote for easier

# Harper Casebook

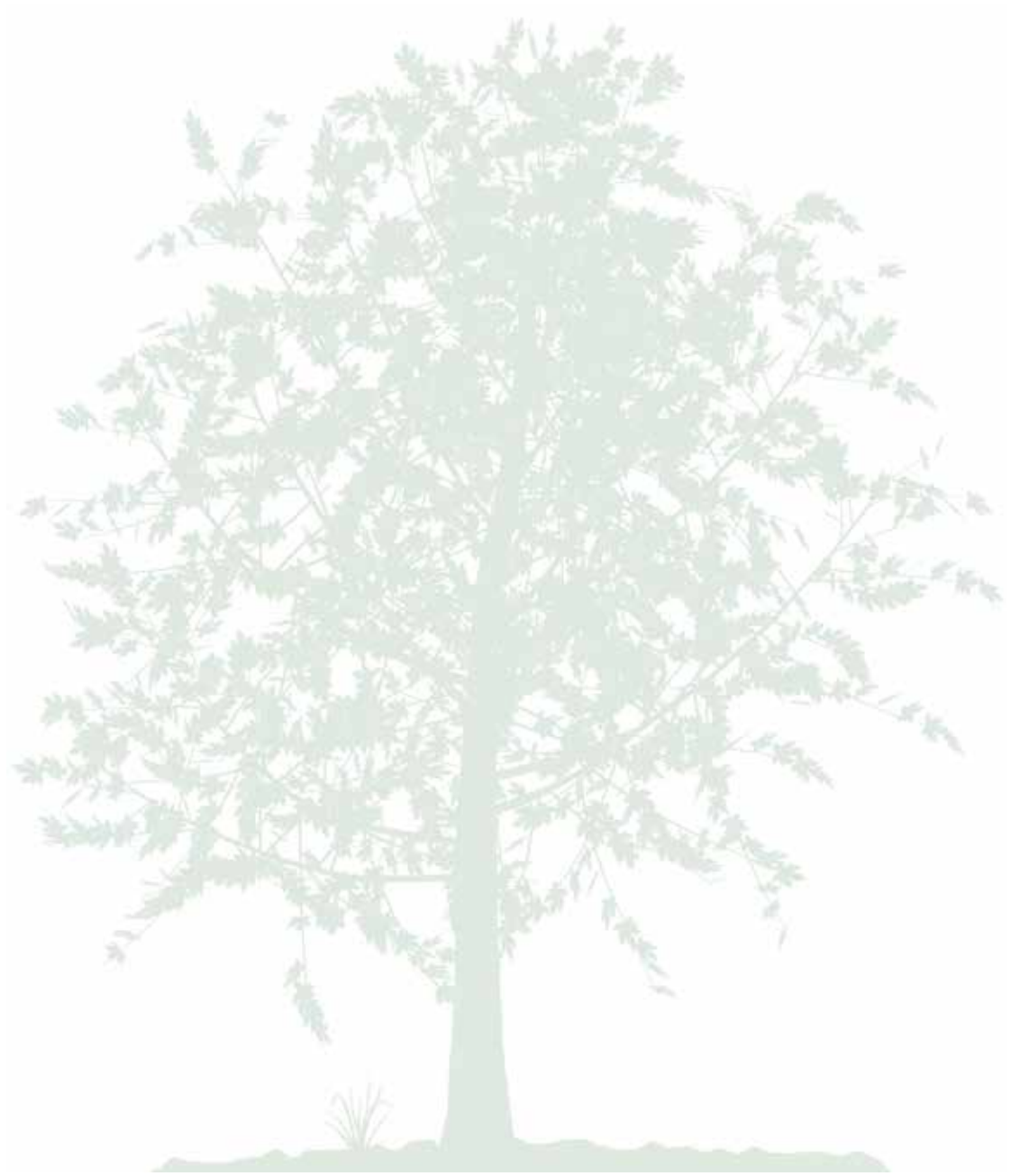
## WE'RE NO DUMMIES

A quick review of the kind of government Stephen Harper has given us during his three terms as prime minister of Canada

- 2006
- 2008
- 2011







# biography

## HOW TO BECOME STEPHEN HARPER

*A step-by-step guide*

**STEPHEN JOSEPH HARPER** is the current and 22nd Prime Minister of Canada. He has been the Member of Parliament (MP) for the Alberta riding of Calgary Southwest since 2002.

- First minority government in 2006
- Second minority government in 2008
- First majority government in May 2011

### Early life and education

- Born and raised in Toronto, father an accountant at Imperial Oil.
- Has a master's degree in economics from the University of Calgary.

### Political beginnings

- Starts out as a Liberal, switches to Progressive Conservative, then to Reform.
- Runs, and loses, as Reform candidate in 1988 federal election.
- Resigns as Reform policy chief in 1992; but runs, and wins, for Reform in 1993 federal election—thanks to a \$50,000 donation from the ultra conservative National Citizens Coalition (NCC).

### Reform MP

- Ambivalent on Canadian unity: calls the “no” side’s narrow plurality in the 1995 Quebec Referendum a worst-case scenario.
- Does not play well with others: in late 1996, breaks with Reform, announces he will not run for them again and quits Parliament.

### National Citizens Coalition

- Quits Parliament in 1997 to become a vice-president, then president, of the NCC.
- Co-author, with Tom Flanagan, of “Our Benign Dictatorship,” an opinion piece that calls for an alliance of Canada’s conservative parties, and includes praise for Conrad Black’s purchase of the Southam newspaper chain, as a needed counter to the “monophonically liberal and feminist” approach of the previous management.
- Leads NCC in a legal battle to permit third-party advertising in elections.
- Says “Canada is a Northern European welfare state in the worst sense of the term, and very proud of it,” in a 1997 speech on Canadian identity to the Council for National Policy, a conservative American think-tank.

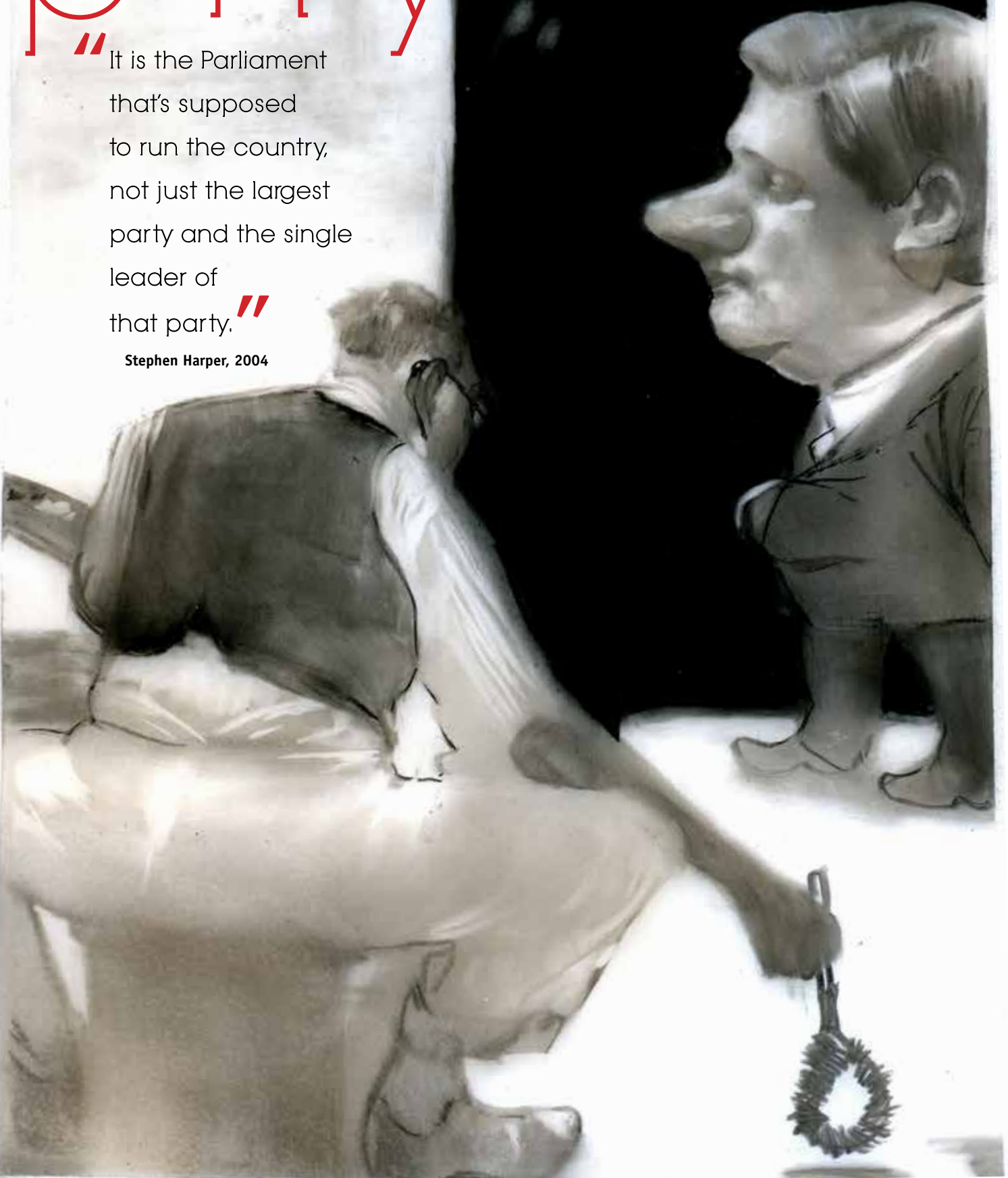
### Canadian Alliance

- Campaigns for leadership of Canadian Alliance: argues for “parental rights” to use corporal punishment against their children; describes his potential support base as “similar to what George Bush tapped.”
- Becomes Alliance leader: wins by-election in Calgary Southwest; becomes Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons in May 2002.
- Says he believes the Atlantic Provinces are trapped in “a culture of defeat”; later says that much of Canada is trapped by the same “can’t-do” attitude.
- Writes to the *Wall Street Journal* in March 2003 to condemn the Canadian government’s unwillingness to participate in the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

# phony

"It is the Parliament that's supposed to run the country, not just the largest party and the single leader of that party."

Stephen Harper, 2004





### **Conservative Party leadership**

- Elected leader of the new Conservative Party of Canada.
- Defeated by Martin Liberals in 2004 federal election.
- Joins with Bloc Québécois and NDP in September 2004 to propose sweeping changes to how Parliament runs. He says: “It is the Parliament that’s supposed to run the country, not just the largest party and the single leader of that party.”
- Denies any wrongdoing in Conservative party plan to buy support of cancer-stricken Independent MP Chuck Cadman with the promise of a \$1M insurance policy.

### **Minority #1:**

#### **January 2006 election**

- The three opposition parties join in a vote to bring down the Martin Liberals mired in a scandal over party advertising buys in Quebec.
- Harper becomes Canada’s 22nd prime minister on February 6, 2006, at the head of a minority government—the smallest ever.

### **Minority #2:**

#### **October 2008 election**

- Another minority government for the Conservatives: only 22% of eligible voters cast a ballot for them—the lowest level of support of any winning party in Canadian history.

### **Prorogue #1: December 4, 2008**

- Liberals, NDP and Bloc form a coalition to bring down the Harper government.
- Harper eludes defeat by proroguing (suspending)

Parliament for 54 days—the first Canadian PM ever to do so.

### **Prorogue #2: December 30, 2009**

- Harper moves to suspend Parliament again for a little over two months.
- His manoeuvre kills a troubling inquiry into government-approved mistreatment of Afghan detainees, stymies opposition moves to stall government bills, allows the Conservatives to take control of the Senate.

### **Contempt of Parliament**

- A Parliamentary committee finds the government in contempt of Parliament for failing to release information related to the costs of crime legislation and the purchase of fighter jets.
- Opposition parties unite in a vote of no-confidence—the first time in Commonwealth history that a government is defeated because it is found to be in contempt of Parliament.

### **2011 election**

- Canadians give Harper his first majority.

**Thus Stephen Harper got the power every Canadian prime minister always gets: he got the power to run the country exactly how he—and only he—wanted for four years. And he has.**

**The only brake or control on what Prime Minister Stephen Harper did or does is Stephen Harper.**



# UGLY TRUTHS

EIGHT UGLY TRUTHS TELL IT ALL!

STEPHEN HARPER AND HIS CONSERVATIVES ARE:

**1. SHAMELESS**

IN THEIR ABUSE OF THEIR SENATE  
EXPENSE ACCOUNTS AND PRIVILEGES

**2. DISLOYAL**

TO OUR VETERANS

**3. CHEATERS**

IN ELECTIONS

**4. CONTEMPTUOUS**

OF PARLIAMENT

**5. BUNGLERS**

OF THE DEAL TO BUY JET FIGHTERS

**6. DISDAINFUL**

OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLES IN CANADA

**7. SILENCERS**

OF SCIENTISTS

**8. RECKLESS**

IN THEIR CHOICE OF FRIENDS AND ASSOCIATES

# SHAMELESS

## Senate Scandal

- 2013: Conservative Senator Mike Duffy caught claiming extra housing and meal expenses
- Duffy agrees to repay
- Duffy asks Prime Minister's Office for help
- PMO Chief of Staff, Nigel Wright, gives Duffy a secret personal "gift" of \$90,000
- Wright "resigns" when public learns of the "gift"
- Prime Minister Harper denies knowing anything about any of it
- RCMP begins formal investigation of Wright
- Senate orders Senator Wallin to repay \$139,000 in travel expense claims
- Senators Duffy, Wallin and Brazeau suspended from Senate without pay
- Duffy to stand trial on 31 charges of fraud, bribery and breach of trust.



## Greedy guts. Prying eyes.

AS A TELEVISION journalist and performer, Mike Duffy is used to being in the spotlight, but not quite like this. In 2013, a Senate committee concluded that he'd inappropriately charged taxpayers for housing and travel that didn't have anything to do with his work in the Chamber of Sober Second Thought.

Duffy tried to pass it all off as an honest mistake with an easy fix.

He would simply repay anything he was not entitled to. Case closed. Except it wasn't.

The Senate decided to take a closer look at the whole issue of senators' expense claims.

Their own **Senate Internal Economy Committee** would do it; plus, they hired the accounting firm **Deloitte** to do an independent audit of Duffy's expenses.

The easy fix had disappeared.

**A citizens action group inflated a three-storey high Duffy Doll opposite Parliament in 2013. The doll holds a briefcase bursting with money, while its other hand is stretched out asking for more.**



## Home is where the expense claim is

Things were sliding from bad to catastrophic—and not just for Duffy. Controlling the damage over who paid for his meals was one thing. Controlling the damage over where he was when he ate those meals was something else all together.

The Senate rules on residency are very, very clear. In order to be a Senator from PEI you have to actually live in PEI. Duffy's expense claims suggested he lived mostly in Ottawa. There was no way he could pass off claims made for time spent in Ottawa as an honest mistake. There was no way he could say he honestly mistook Ottawa for Charlottetown.

## Stephen Harper is not amused

Duffy's problems became Stephen Harper's problem. Duffy wasn't the only Conservative senator with "issues" over residency. If Duffy was disqualified because of where he lived, others might soon follow. Stephen Harper was not about to allow anything like that to happen to any of "his" senators.

# The 'dirty scheme'

Mike Duffy is adamant. He says Stephen Harper gave him no choice: either take the deal to save their bacon that was cooked up by the prime minister, his chief of staff and Conservative Party officials or lose his Senate seat.

Duffy calls the deal a "dirty scheme." The scheme was: publicly

admit he made a mistake, pay back the money he claimed for housing allowances, and clam up about the whole thing. Plus, most important of all, keep the whole scheme a deep, dark secret.

In return, he would not be out of pocket. Arrangements would be made to reimburse him for whatever he had to repay. The Senate committee still prying into Senators' expense claims would not point any fingers at him. Finally, the Deloitte audit would abandon all interest in him. And that would be an end to it all. But it wasn't.

# The \$90,000 blunder

Stephen Harper hired Nigel Wright not to make mistakes. But in March 2013 Stephen Harper's chief of staff made a colossal mistake. He wrote out a personal cheque for \$90,000 payable to Mike Duffy. It was to give them the quick fix they all wanted. Duffy was to use the money to pay back what he owed on his disallowed expense claims. There would be no reason for the Senate to investigate any further. Harper's Conservative Senators would be secure. Not quite.

The private "gift" soon became public. Stephen Harper and Nigel Wright tried to brazen it out. But it quickly turned into a Keystone Kops comedy of errors. Nigel Wright said he resigned. Harper said he was fired. It really didn't matter. They had lost the very

thing they wanted most: they were no longer in control of events—after all they had risked.

It was the need to keep control that pushed Nigel Wright to make his mistake. He knew how vulnerable what they had done made them. He knew it went a lot deeper than getting caught padding expense accounts. He did his best to end it but he couldn't. It just all kept unraveling. It still is.

# Still up in the air

Many, many questions are still up in the air about this whole affair.

## Duffy first to face the music

The first round of answers is expected to come as suspended Senator Mike Duffy stands trial. In a court case that opened in April, he faces 31 charges of fraud, bribery and breach of trust. He has pleaded not guilty to all 31.

Regardless of Mike Duffy's fate, the true impact of the trial will be how much it damages Stephen Harper and his Conservatives right before the next federal election, expected in the fall.

The trial will answer many questions. But it is not likely it will answer anything like all the questions that need answering.



SENATE SCANDAL  
PART II

# Who will answer?

Mike Duffy wasn't in it  
all by himself.

That, above all, is  
absolutely certain. But a  
lot more isn't.

The list of questions that  
need to be answered  
remains as long a  
Pinocchio's nose.



### Why should we have to pay?

Mike Duffy hired a lawyer to work out his side of what he calls “the dirty scheme.” His lawyer charged him \$13,560. But Duffy didn't pay. He got the Conservative Party of Canada to pay. But the CPC, like every major political party in Canada, receives public funds. So, every one of us who pays taxes in Canada got to contribute a little something to paying Mike Duffy's lawyer's bill. This can't be right. Is it even legal?

### He campaigns, we pay

Mike Duffy campaigned for 17 fellow Conservatives in the 2011 federal election. Did he charge the Senate for the expenses he racked up doing it? A story in the *National Post* reported: “Friends say he [Duffy] was told that political appearances on the Senate tab were not only tolerated, they were expected by the Prime Minister.”

### Maple sugar time

Mike Duffy used his Senate office budget to pay Maple Ridge Media Inc. \$64,916.50 for various “editorial” services between 2009 and 2013. The problem is that

## 8 UGLY TRUTHS

# SHAW

Gerald Donohue, the man behind Maple Ridge Inc., told the RCMP he never got any of that money. So, who got the nearly \$65,000? The RCMP is investigating.

### Why only Duffy

At first glance, the Conservative Party of Canada had no problem. They were ready to pay off what Mike Duffy owed. But, with more careful examination, the amount owing jumped from \$32,000 to \$90,000. Then the CPC had a problem. Why? It couldn't have been the extra \$58,000. The CPC fund was reported to hold at least \$1M. Was there something special about how the extra \$58,000 was racked up—something that made it too hot to handle? Finally, why had Duffy gotten such special consideration? He wasn't the only Conservative senator with expense problems—but he was the only one who got a “gift” to bail himself out.

### Friends without benefits

Duffy seems to be an equal-opportunity biller. Police allege that Duffy didn't do any favours for his friends. They believe he sent bills to Elections Canada for expenses while working in 11 Conservative campaigns in 2011 and then asked his friends to pony

# HELSS

up also by billing each individual campaign for the same amounts.

## Those tell all emails

Benjamin Perrin's emails may be the famous "smoking gun." They may well tell who exactly did what and when they did it.

Perrin was Harper's legal advisor. The RCMP asked to see his emails covering the time of the Duffy/Wright troubles. The PMO said they had been erased. They later mysteriously turned up in the Privy Council Office. Five months later, the RCMP decided not to charge Nigel Wright.

The original allegation by the RCMP was that Nigel Wright had paid a "reward" to Mike Duffy "without the consent in writing" he needed to make it legal. After reading the Perrin emails, the RCMP no longer felt there was reason to charge Nigel Wright.

What had changed? Not the \$90,000 payment. Could it be that the Perrin emails show that Nigel Wright did have the written consent he needed to make the payment he made legal? The only person who could have given that consent is Stephen Harper.

## Shades of Watergate

It was the cover up that did Richard Nixon in. What he had

others do to try to hide an illegal act brought him down—not the original act. This may be the fate that awaits Stephen Harper.

An 81-page document filed with the courts by the RCMP asserts that several staffers in the Prime Minister's Office worked with Nigel Wright in the intrigues to clear Mike Duffy—all of which might prove to be illegal. Stephen Harper maintains he knew nothing about any of it, even though they were doing it for weeks on end right under his nose. It is the investigation into the exact nature of these intrigues that may well make Duffy's actions seem like small potatoes.

The RCMP makes two serious allegations:

- the PMO interfered in an independent audit commissioned by the Senate;
- PMO staffers conspired to pressure Senators to alter an official report.

Each charge by itself is several orders of magnitude greater than anything Mike Duffy might have done.

Both taken together are the stuff that lead to the fall of governments.



## Mike Duffy's burning question

**"... how what was not a crime when Nigel Wright paid it on his own initiative, became however mysteriously, a crime or bribe when received by Senator Duffy."**

STATEMENT FROM DONALD BAYNE  
MIKE DUFFY'S LAWYER

8 UGLY TRUTHS

# DISLOYAL

## to all our veterans

**STEPHEN HARPER HAS NO TROUBLE HONOURING DEAD VETERANS.** But somehow, he can't find it in his heart to honour our living veterans, too. ■ Dead veterans offer Harper everything living veterans won't. They are silent, compliant, unable to question his version of things. Their monuments and remembrance ceremonies provide great photo opportunities where he can primp and posture and polish his "proud patriot" image. ■ Dead veterans are votes in the box for Stephen Harper. Living veterans are an inconvenience.

"It's like we've become an inconvenience."  
Bruce Moncur / Wounded Afghanistan Vet

# It's all in the numbers

# \$226M in cuts

TO VETERANS' SERVICES

**\$45K** The average award paid to disabled veterans under Harper's New Veterans Charter.

### Compared to:

**\$47K** The cost of a photo-op of Peter MacKay with a plywood mockup of a nonexistent F-35 jet fighter.

**\$700K** in bonuses paid to senior managers in Veterans Affairs to reward good work in making cuts.

**\$850K** of our money spent by Harper in 2011 to pay for a fly-over of jets to

mark the end of the Canadian mission in Libya.

**\$28M** of our money Stephen Harper spent in 2012 to honour the veterans of the War of 1812—a war that ended before Canada was even a country. He spent our money on a new national monument, hundreds of TV spots, museum exhibits, full scale re-enactments, a phone app and a silver dollar we could buy for \$60. Most Canadians didn't notice.





**\$330M** pledged to the Afghan Army.

**162** Total number of Canadians killed while fighting for us in Afghanistan.

**2,179** Total number of Canadians wounded while fighting for us in Afghanistan.

**75** The number of boards of inquiry into suicides in the military that are still outstanding in late 2014

## One-way loyalty

“The loyalty, the commitment and all that—it’s a one-way street. They expect it from us but they don’t give it in return.”

CPL. STEVE STOESZ  
AFGHANISTAN VET



*If ye break faith with us who die,  
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow  
In Flanders fields.*



# Broken faith

## Salt in their wounds

There is no limit to what we ask our warrior women and men to do for us. There is a limit—a very cold, hard, exact limit—to what Stephen Harper is prepared to do for them.

Harper set out that limit in 2006 in his New Veterans Charter. Harper rejected any idea that we had a moral or legal duty to keep the faith with veterans disabled by their wounds. There would be no more lifelong pensions. The new rule put a limit on how much a wounded veteran could get. It would be paid out one time, in one lump sum. Once paid off, the veteran would be abandoned to his or her fate.

In addition, support for injured active duty personnel was turned into a “get well or get out” scheme. If they can’t get well enough to last 10 years in the service, they lose their indexed pension. This policy can do nothing but add stress to all the hundreds in our military already suffering from the intolerable burden of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This is a policy of rubbing salt in their wounds.

Few beyond the Conservative caucus support these measures. There have been court challenges, class actions and Parliamentary reviews. Harper presses on. There is no limit to how far he will go to get his way.

### **\$700,000 of our money to get his own way**

The Department of Justice has spent nearly \$700,000 to fight seven injured veterans in court. Their class-action lawsuit argues that new compensation rules imposed by the Veterans Charter violate their constitutional and Charter rights.

Lawyers for the Harper government argued that Ottawa has no special obligation to wounded veterans.

The president of Canadian Veterans Advocacy, Mike Blais, is calling on the government to negotiate a settlement rather than pursue the court case any further.

“They shouldn’t be spending money on lawyers fighting a man who has lost two legs, his testicles, sustained serious internal and brain stem injuries, and has complex PTSD,” Blais told reporters in Ottawa.

Blais said veterans “will engage” in an anyone-but-Conservative campaign during the next federal election if the government does not change how it treats veterans—beginning with scrapping the lump-sum payment policy.

## Closed by order of Stephen Harper

In the end, the money didn’t matter. It never really had.

Closing eight of the Veterans Affairs Canada help centres only saved the government only \$3.78 million. A tiny 1.7% of the total cuts Harper said he needed to have. The human cost of the cuts was anything but tiny.

The one-on-one, face-to-face support that was a lifeline for so many of our damaged veterans from WWII and all the wars since was gone. Replaced with a 1-800 phone number.

Thousands rallied from coast to coast in protest. It made no difference. Saving money was all that mattered said Harper. Except no money was saved.

Harper spent \$4 million on a special Veterans Affairs Canada advertising campaign in 2014 to try and recover some respect lost in the Veterans Affairs debacle.

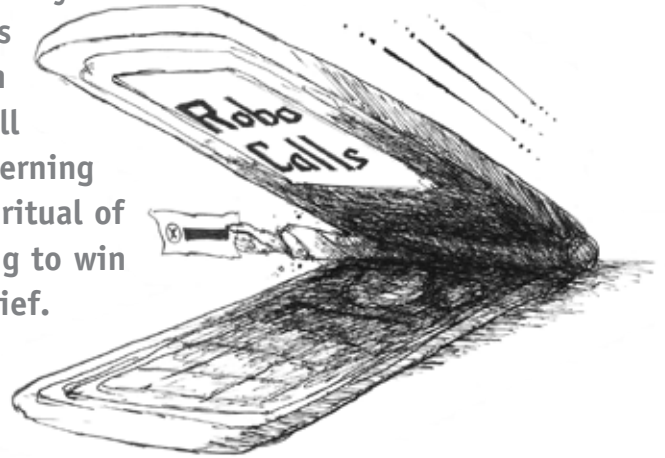
In the end, the money didn’t matter. All that mattered was that Stephen Harper got his way.

8 UGLY TRUTHS

# CHEATERS

## in elections

**FAIR ELECTIONS ARE ALL THAT WE HAVE** to protect us from dictatorship. Once every four years we get to vote. We get to publicly act on our faith in one another. ■ We get to go to polling places in church basements, Legion Halls and school gyms in every city, town, village and hamlet in this democracy of ours to make our mark on pieces of paper that, once added up, will trust someone with the privilege of governing us. It is a remarkable and resilient mass ritual of mutual respect and self-belief. ■ Cheating to win an election ridicules and ravages that belief.



## If it quacks like a duck...

Every cop show on TV reminds us that circumstantial evidence is not proof of guilt. But, when something walks like a duck, swims like a duck and quacks like a duck, it's hard to believe it's not a duck. Yet that's exactly what the Conservatives ask us to do when it comes to robocalls and election cheating.

They want us to disregard all the circumstantial evidence and accept their assurance that they had nothing at all to do with all the dirty tricks that did go on.

That's not easy to do given the circumstances.

### Robocalls and the lone gunman story

It's all Michael Sona's fault. That's their story and they're sticking to it.

It was the 25-year-old former low-level Conservative staffer who did it all, say the Conservatives. He is the evil genius who, all on his own, dreamed up and carried out the whole robocall scheme to prevent thousands of Liberal supporters in Guelph from casting ballots during the 2011 federal election.

The way they tell it he, all on his own, figured out how to get access to the secret Conservative voter tracking data base and lift the 6,700 phone numbers used to make the deceptive calls. He, all on his own, found the Edmonton-based tech company in the business of making such calls. He, all on his own, came up with the money to pay them to do it. And he, all on his own, was sent to trial for doing it.

Sona's lawyer argued that his client did not act all on his own. The prosecution agreed that more than one person was involved in the plot. It didn't help Michael Sona. He was sentenced to nine months in jail for "wilfully preventing or endeavouring to prevent an elector from voting."

# CHEATERS

VOTE  
BUSTERS

We'll give you a call!



It's the kind of thing they do

**2011 ROBOCALLS** Somebody did something suspicious. That much is clear. Somebody, or a lot of somebodies, did a lot of things to tilt the 2011 federal election their way. We just can't say who, for sure. But we have our suspicions.

#### Officially not the Conservatives

There were 2,500 complaints about robocalls from voters in 261 out of 308 ridings in the 2011 election—but no nationwide conspiracy to steal the election. Not by the Conservatives nor any other party, according to Yves Côté, commissioner of elections. After a three-year investigation, he concluded there was insufficient evidence to believe an offence was committed in any riding other than Guelph.

#### Hardly conclusive or convincing

And yet, suspecting the Conservatives still comes easy. It's not hard to see why.

- The fact remains that the offences in Guelph were committed by Conservatives for Conservatives.

- The election results in six ridings besides Guelph were challenged in court. A federal court judge ruled: "There was an orchestrated effort to suppress votes during the 2011 election campaign by a person or persons with access to the [Conservative voter tracking] database." He also ruled there was not enough evidence to prove such actions were "approved or condoned by the CPC." However, he also noted, "Rather the evidence points to elaborate efforts to conceal the identity of

those accessing the database and arranging for calls to be made.”

- The Conservatives claim that their top secret voter tracking database was breached. Yet, the Conservatives, who never give an inch to anybody on anything, have done nothing to track down and punish whoever hacked their database to steal information that was used to interfere with the vote in many ridings other than Guelph.

## And do

**2006 “IN & OUT”** Maybe the Conservatives could have won the 2006 election without cheating. But they didn’t. They cheated and won by just 7000 votes. Their illegal “in and out” scheme may well have made all the difference.

The scheme gave them \$1 million more to spend on their campaign than the law allowed. Four senior Conservative Party officers were charged with running the scheme. The charges included allegations that the Conservatives attempted to fraudulently gain almost \$1 million in refunds from taxpayers.

On March 6, 2012, the Conservative Party of Canada pleaded guilty to exceeding election spending limits and submitting fraudulent election records. The CPC also agreed to repay \$230,198.00 for its role in violating Canadian election spending laws.

In return, all charges against the four Conservative officials were dropped.

## And do

**2008 DEL MASTRO** Dean Del Mastro used to be an MP. Now he is a convict. He was found guilty of spending too much on his 2008 campaign, donating too much to himself and faking paperwork to cover it up. Del Mastro resigned the day that MPs were to vote on whether to eject him from the House. He faces a maximum penalty of three years in jail and a \$6,000 fine. At press time, his sentence was expected April 28.

But being a suspected cheater did not bother any of Del Mastro’s fellow Conservatives. Stephen Harper was happy to let Del Mastro continue as his Parliamentary secretary while being investigated by Elections Canada.

In addition, plenty of senior Conservatives rallied to support him, including former prime minister Brian Mulroney. They paid \$600 each to attend a dinner to raise \$40,000 to help the accused MP pay his legal fees. But, because the dinner was sponsored by a Conservative riding association the Conservatives were able to give the diners tax receipts for a total of \$24,000. Thus, Canadian taxpayers wound up subsidizing a part of the defence of a man ultimately convicted of cheating to win an election.

## And do

**2011 PENASHUE** Peter Penashue was a Conservative star. He was the first Innu from Labrador to become an MP and the first Innu cabinet minister in Canadian history. He was also the first Innu to have to resign his seat in the House.

Penashue resigned on March 14, 2013, following allegations of irregularities in his campaign spending in the 2011 election. Elections Canada found the Penashue campaign took in 28 ineligible campaign contributions totaling \$46,560. The campaign was ordered to repay that amount to the Receiver General of Canada.

Penashue tried to regain his seat in the May 2013 by-election called to replace him. He lost.

## And do

**2013 “PUSH” POLL** The Conservative Party was fined \$78,000 for failing to identify themselves as the sponsors of a robocall “push poll” in Saskatchewan in 2013. The poll sought to rally public opinion against proposed riding boundary changes the Conservatives felt would hurt their chances in the federal election set for 2015.



8 UGLY TRUTHS

# CONTEMPTUOUS

## of Parliament

**Parliament RUNS ON RESPECT.** There are plenty of rules, some written and many unwritten. But we have no laws that can make MPs obey those rules. Instead, we count on the “honourable” members to accept and respect Parliamentary traditions stretching back to the Magna Carta and the deepest roots of our democracy. It worked for us for 800 years. Then came Stephen Harper. ■ He replaced respect with contempt: contempt for all the procedures and practices of Parliament, contempt for 800 years of tradition, contempt for democracy.

## Prorogue. Torture. Contempt.

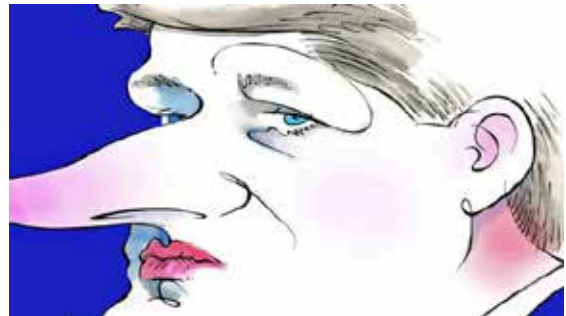
### PROROGUE #1: COALITION CHALLENGE

By December 2008 Stephen Harper was facing certain defeat. All three opposition parties in Parliament were ready to vote together in a coalition to defeat him. He wouldn't give them that chance. He convinced the Governor General to buy him some time. She prorogued Parliament: a manoeuvre that suspended proceedings in the Commons until January 26, 2009. Nobody could vote on anything for 53 days.

Harper used the time to re-jig his budget proposals enough to widen cracks in the coalition. It broke apart. Harper could return to face the Commons without fear of immediate defeat.

### PROROGUE #2: AFGHAN TORTURE

In December 2009, Stephen Harper needed to buy himself some time again. He didn't want to be found in contempt of Parliament. But he didn't want to do what they had the right to ask him to do either. He didn't want to hand over 40,000 documents revealing exactly how our military treated prisoners we took in Afghanistan. Canadian foreign service officer Richard Colvin

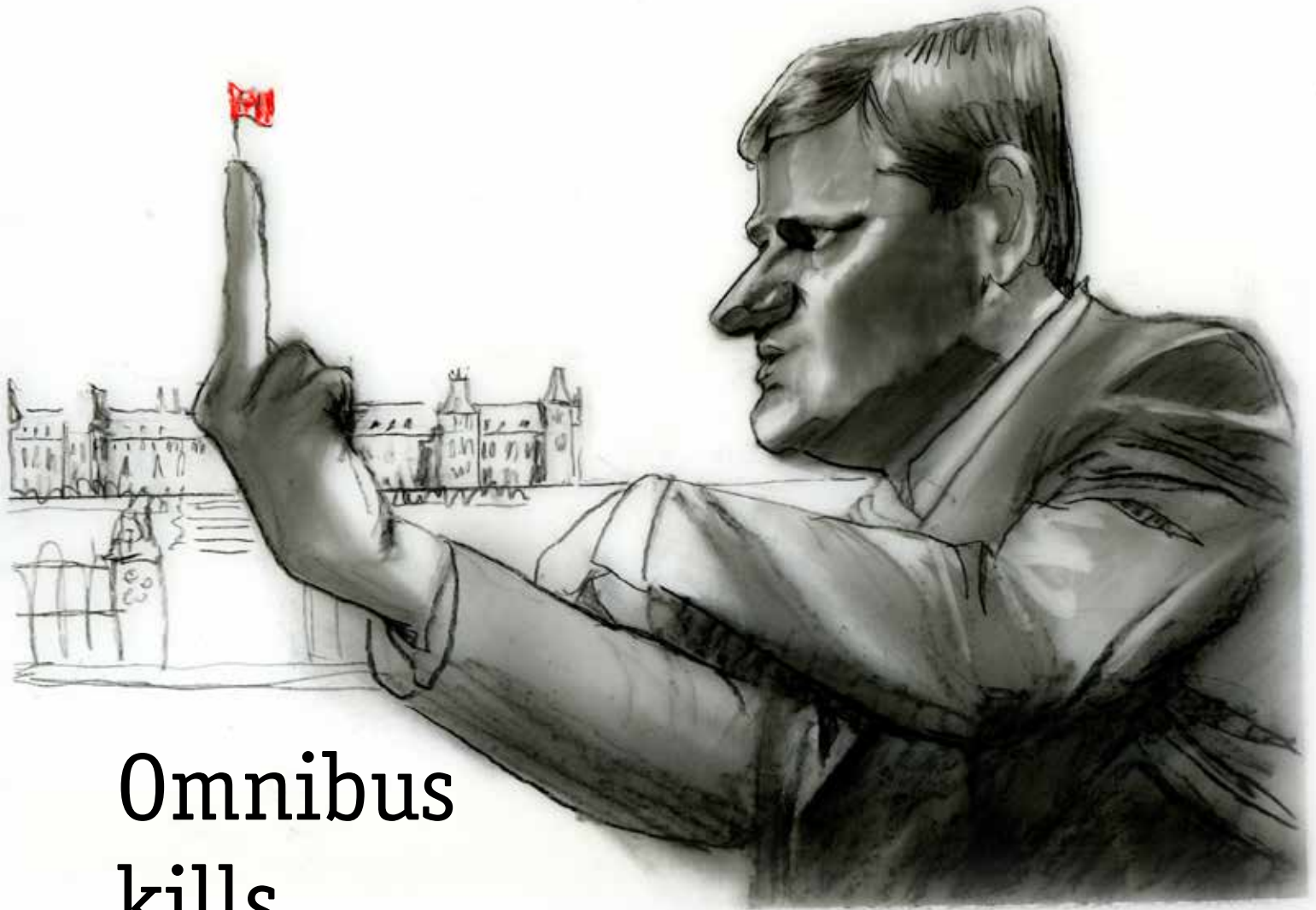


had testified to Parliament that examination of the documents would reveal a policy of aiding and abetting torture.

Harper denied the allegations. Promised to turn over the documents. Then prorogued Parliament for 63 days until March 3, 2010, to delay actually doing it.

When Parliament resumed, all efforts to find a less drastic way out failed. The Conservatives left the Speaker no choice. He had to follow the rules and find the Harper government in contempt of Parliament. This triggered a vote of non-confidence and the defeat of the Harper minority government.





# Omnibus kills

Omnibus bills kill democracy. They make it impossible for MPs to do the job we count on them to do—no matter how hard they try. Just the way Stephen Harper planned it.

Each omnibus budget bill is hundreds of pages long, chock full of a crazy mix of dozens of proposals for legislation, few of which have anything to do with the budget, and most of which have no reason at all to be lumped together.

The Standing Committee on Finance is not given the time it needs, nor does it have the expertise it needs to even begin anything like an informed and intelligent consideration of each singular proposal.

MPs must vote for the whole bill as it is. There is no way to separate the good bits from the bad.

MPs are left hamstrung. Damned if they do and damned if they don't. All

of this gives Harper the whip hand. Everyone has to play things his way or not play at all.

## **Anything but good government**

The Harper cavalcade of omnibus budget bills continues. The impact of the rush to judgement on so many measures taken in bulk is beyond measure or imagining. Considered individually, almost any one of these hundreds of extorted measures gives a glimpse of the perils we are courting.

For example, federal laws once protected 32,000 lakes. Those laws, protecting our navigable waters, were somehow made part of the omnibus budget Bill C-38 in 2012.

When the bill passed, just 97 lakes were left protected by federal laws—most of them in Conservative ridings.

The Harper government's contempt for Parliament has become so ingrained that it could not be bothered to hide it.

**Globe and Mail  
editorial Oct. 2014**

Committee members were expected to be experts in everything from DNA science, to bee keeping, labour rights, and everything in between.

What follows gives just a small sampling of the sheer range of legislation affected by omnibus budget bills.

#### 2010

The 880-page **Bill C-9** included provisions to eliminate environmental assessment for federally funded infrastructure projects, allow the sell-off of Atomic Energy Canada Ltd., lead to the privatization of Canada Post, and gut \$57 million EI so-called surplus.

#### 2012

The 421-page **Bill C-38** empowered the federal cabinet to approve pipelines and other major energy projects regardless of regulatory board recommendations, allowed the National Energy Board to permit activities that kill or harm endangered species, gutted the Fisheries Act, scrapped the *Kyoto Protocol Implementation Act*, changed Employment Insurance benefits, cracked down on charities engaging in so-called political activity, changed the eligibility for Old Age Security payments to 67 from 65.

The 457-page **Bill C-45** amended the *Canada Shipping Act* and the *Fisheries Act*, changed the definition of an aboriginal fishery, amended the Indian Act to change voting rules for land designation, eliminated the Hazardous Materials Information Review

Commission, limited the scope of the *Navigable Waters Act*, set time limits on worker complaints under the Canada Labour Code.

#### 2013

The 309-page **Bill C-4** proposed legislation to affect government union bargaining rights, the arbitration process and rules about worker safety, Supreme Court appointments, employment insurance, veterans affairs, and immigration policy.

#### 2014

The 359-page **Bill C-31** made changes to rail safety rules; identified which public service jobs and services are “essential” impacting collective bargaining rights; made it more difficult for immigrants coming to Canada to qualify for the Guaranteed Income Supplement provided to low-income seniors; introduced taxes for hospital parking.

The 458-page **Bill C-43** proposes to restrict the ability of refugee claimants to access social assistance, reduce Employment Insurance premiums for small business owners, amend the temporary foreign workers program, give a tax break for the breeding of bees and horses, prohibit cable companies charging for paper bills, broaden the scope of the national DNA bank, revise the *Industrial Design Act and Patent Act*.

## “A dark night in Nunavut”

Robert Marleau is an insider’s insider. A true non-partisan public servant, who worked out of the spotlight in Parliament for 31 years, including terms as Clerk of the House of Commons, Privacy Commissioner and Information Commissioner. All to do a good job for the people of Canada.

He was exactly what Stephen Harper was looking for in 2006—someone with high credibility to be the public face of his revamped Access to Information office. Marleau signed on for seven years. He lasted just two.

Marleau wanted to use his office to improve the relationships between Parliament and the government. Stephen Harper had other priorities. He wasn’t interested in relationships. He was interested in having things go the way he wanted—always.

Marleau told Michael Harris, author of the Harper exposé *A Party of One*: “When his government was found in contempt, Harper treated it like a minor, partisan irritation. Parliament is now a minor process obstacle.”

Marleau told Harris that the very man who had recruited him to improve access to information and transparency in government was the biggest obstacle to achieving those goals.

Marleau told Harris: “In 2006, it was at first a fog over information in Ottawa ... Now, in 2013, there is a fear over information release and a black hole over communication. A foggy night in Newfoundland has turned into a dark night in Nunavut.”

**8 UGLY TRUTHS**  
**BUNGALERS**  
of the F-35 jets deal



**THE BIGGEST LIE** about Stephen Harper is that no matter what else he may be, he is a good manager. It's just not true. ■ No good manager would do what he's done with the F-35 jet fighters deal. No good manager would, for one second, consider spending billions of dollars—that he keeps telling us we don't have—on things we don't need, don't work and that don't even actually exist.

# Planes in a poke

The real deal was to buy planes in a poke and hope work followed. But only a few Harper government insiders knew that in July 2010.



The rest of us were told that the deal to buy 65 F-35 fighter jets for \$15 billion from Lockheed Martin in Texas was another Stephen Harper stroke of genius: it would help our military protect us and could bring more than \$12 billion in work to Canada.

The truth is very different. It reveals bungling and manipulation on a grand scale, along with conniving and calculated efforts to hide the full extent of the mismanagement and fumbled cover up.

## **A \$10 billion 'miscalculation'**

Kevin Page was the first one to say the Conservative cost estimates just didn't fly. They said the total cost to buy, fly and maintain the planes for 40 years would be \$15 billion. The Parliamentary budget officer disagreed. He told a Parliamentary committee his review showed the cost would be more like \$29 billion.

Soon after that Auditor General Michael Ferguson agreed with Page. He said the cost would be \$25 billion. Worse, he said the Harperites knew it would be. This meant they had been lying to the public and misleading Parliament when they stuck to their concocted low-ball figures.

MacKay eventually admitted that the Harper cabinet had agreed to the \$25 billion cost, but saw no need to tell the public the truth.

## **Buy before you fly**

Perhaps the strangest thing about the whole F-35 deal is that the planes we want don't even exist. The F-35 is still under development. It remains an experimental aircraft. Every flight is still a test flight. Development of the F-35 began in 2001. There is still no aircraft that can be mass-produced. Yet, the Harper government was ready to buy 65 of whatever they turned out to be—without knowing the final cost.

## **Not exactly a done deal**

Two weeks after the Auditor General's report, the status of the whole F-35 purchase changed. The purchase was no longer a certainty. It was pushed back into the "options analysis" phase. Harper moved to shut down any more Parliamentary hearings. All previous statements that there was a signed contract were declared inoperative. Whether the Conservatives will try to do it all again the right way is not clear.

## **The hits just keep on coming**

The original F-35 program is dead. But analysis of what it might have cost continues. The accounting firm KPMG found the cost to be \$45.8 billion—three times more than the Harper figure. The accounting firm of Raymond Chabot Grant Thornton crunched the numbers and found the cost of each plane would be \$95 million—a full \$20 million per plane more than the Conservative figure. The newspaper *Hill Times* reported that a DND internal report states the final cost for the total F-35 purchase could top \$70 billion. Hardly a resounding affirmation of strong fiscal practices.

## **Not half the manager he claims to be**

If Stephen Harper was half the fiscal manager he claims to be, he wouldn't have gone anywhere near this deal. He would have opted out of it when he had the chance. But he didn't. One more time we see that it is partisan politics and favouritism that drives Stephen Harper way more than being a prudent manager of our nation's finances.



8 UGLY TRUTHS

# DISDAINFUL.

## of First Nations

**NEWS ITEM**

\$38 M FOR PANDAS  
NOTHING FOR FIRST NATIONS



**STEPHEN HARPER JUST LOVES TO ORDER PEOPLE AROUND.**

None of us like it much—particularly Aboriginal peoples.

■ They have endured years, decades, centuries of being ordered around by legions of white people—all who knew exactly what was good for them. The more they listened the more they lost. ■ Whatever price Aboriginal peoples needed to pay to become masters of their own destiny has been paid and paid and paid. ■ This is an insight that has no place in Stephen Harper's world.



# One-way promises

Aboriginal peoples in Canada have no more reason to trust Stephen Harper than Sitting Bull had to trust Custer. Their rights have been denied and their lives discounted on every encounter with the Prime Minister. He keeps making one-way promises, the kind he expects others to keep—even when he doesn't. His own lawyer told him he had to stop doing it. Harper didn't listen.



**THE 1,600-KM COLD SHOULDER** A group of Cree arrived in Ottawa in March 2013, after a two-month winter trek from their home in northern Quebec. They wanted to talk with Stephen Harper over his unilateral changes to the Indian Act. Harper had business elsewhere.

Douglas R. Eyford was Harper's special envoy on West Coast energy issues. He had one key recommendation in his final report in November 2013: engage with the First Nations, honour the "legal duty to consult," build relationships and mutual respect. It didn't happen.

Stephen Harper promised to implement the Kelowna Accord that was to provide \$5 billion for health and education infrastructure for First Nations. He didn't do it.

Stephen Harper made cuts to First Nations' health programs while committing \$3.5 billion to improve similar programs overseas.

Stephen Harper used omnibus bills to make sweeping and deep changes to the *Indian Act* without any notice, let alone consultation with First Nations.

Stephen Harper promised First Nations \$1.9 billion for educational development in the *First Nations Control of First Nations Education Act*. The First Nations rejected the act because it definitely did not give them control over their education. The Harper promise of \$1.9 billion evaporated.



## The \$38-million panda insult

*Stephen Harper was "away on business" the day the Cree people arrived in Ottawa to see him. His business was hugging panda bears in Toronto, "loaned" to us from China. Canadian taxpayers will pay \$38 million for the care and feeding of the bears for 10 years.*

8 UGLY TRUTHS

# SILENCERS

## of scientists



**STEPHEN HARPER LIKES WHAT THE POPE DID TO GALILEO.**

He shut him up. ■ Galileo used science 400 years ago to prove the earth moved. The Catholic Inquisition said it didn't. The Pope forbid Galileo to leave his house or tell anyone else the truth about the earth. Stephen Harper is doing the same kind of thing now. ■ He doesn't like the truth discovered by scientists in the public service. So, he simply destroys the science and fires them. ■ The truth is out there. We're just not allowed to know it.

# The truth is out there

The truth is out there. We pay scientists to find it for us. It can do us great good. Stephen Harper doesn't care.

He doesn't trust science. It might not match up with his truth. It's safer for him to do without science, to destroy the truth. And so he does—often.

In a 2013 Environics Research survey of 4000 public service scientists, a full 90% said they were not allowed to speak freely about their work.

So many scientists in the public service have complained about orders to keep silent that Canada's information commissioner is investigating.

## **A trickle, a stream, a flood**

Stephen Harper ordered the shut down of the Experimental Lakes Area (ELA) in March 2013. Nothing could save it. Not hundreds of scientists protesting on Parliament Hill. Not 44 years of award-winning research. Not the fact its system of 58 lakes was a vast outdoor laboratory unique in, and the envy of, the whole world. Not its modest operating cost of just \$2 million a year. Federal government support had to end. And it did.

The excuse used was the usual: the need to save money. The truth was more likely that the science the ELA produced didn't fit in the Stephen Harper universe. Science that proved that industrial pollutants from the USA were killing Canadian lakes, and that hormones in sewage were "feminizing" male fish.

There has not been much room for science in Stephen Harper's universe for a long time. His three governments have

- eliminated almost 3000 environmental assessments
- scrapped the long-form census
- closed research installations
- reduced atmospheric studies
- closed seven of nine world class Department of Fisheries libraries and dumped their (our) books into landfills
- changed the Fisheries Act to make it easier to pollute.

Harper's anti-science handwriting has been on the wall for a long time. But his reckless desertion of the ELA made it plain for all to see. Just how plain was captured by Diane Orihel in a 2014 letter to the editor of the *Globe and Mail*.

Orihel, an aquatic scientist, led the broad public fight to save the ELA. She wrote: "The Harper government has decided that its environmental policies no longer require the guidance of science, indeed all the signs are that science is unwelcome."



**\$3**  
**says it all**

When they fired 63 National Research Council staff, the government was thoughtful enough to include a \$3 Tim Horton's gift card with each termination notice.

## 306

The number of direct anti-science attacks by the Harper government catalogued by John Dupuis in his blog *Confessions of a Science Librarian*.

**8 UGLY TRUTHS**

**RECKLESS**

in their choice  
of friends

**GO DIRECTLY  
TO JAIL**



**SOME OF STEPHEN HARPER'S BEST FRIENDS ARE CRIMINALS.**

He has far more criminals as friends than most of us will ever have. The outcome of the Mike Duffy trial will likely add to his list. What are we to make of this? ■ At worst, it suggests a personality that brings out the worst in people. At best, it makes Harper a remarkably bad judge of character. Certainly not a desirable quality for a prime minister.



# STRANGE BEDFELLOWS/I

## Nathan Jacobson

Stephen Harper liked Nathan Jacobson—even if the Canadian Security Intelligence Service didn't.

He liked this multi-millionaire Canadian businessman enough in 2006 to select him to make an independent security assessment of the Alberta tar sands—even though Jacobson had no known expertise with security or oil sands. He liked Jacobson enough in 2010

pleaded guilty to conspiracy to launder \$46 million. But, through it all Nathan Jacobson somehow managed to stay on everyone's A-list in Canada.

On May 5, 2010, Jacobson hosted a gala party on Parliament Hill in support of one of his pet good-works projects. The guest list ran to 400 people, including MPs, senators and six Harper cabinet ministers. Again, nobody seemed to



**MACKENZIE INSTITUTE PHOTO** Caption with this photo read: Nathan enjoying some levity after a meeting with visiting Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper

to happily join him in a photograph for the Mackenzie Institute website. If CSIS had problems with Jacobson, Harper didn't know, or care. He should have.

On July 30, 2012, the world discovered Nathan Jacobson was exactly what CSIS had said he was years earlier—a criminal.

Strangely enough, it was a 1998 court action started by Jacobson against CSIS that revealed the agency conclusion that "Jacobson is heavily involved in criminal activities, specifically, narcotics, representing the Russian Mafia in Canada, bringing over Russian members of the mafia to Canada—and other criminal activities."

The law didn't catch up with Jacobson until 2006. By then he was operating in the USA. He was charged with 10 criminal offences, including racketeering connected to \$126 million in internet sales of prescription drugs. In 2008, he

know, or care, that Jacobson was a self-declared criminal awaiting sentencing that could send him to prison for 27 years.

What they did know was that Jacobson had for years and years donated the maximum the law allowed to the Conservative Party of Canada, along with separate donations to the campaigns of several individual MPs. They also knew Jacobson was well connected to major world players like the presidents of Russia and Israel. Nothing else mattered. Until July 30, 2012.

**ONE LAST TWIST** In 2014, a judge in San Diego allowed Nathan Jacobson to withdraw his guilty plea. Lawyers say this is exceedingly rare and remarkable. He did, however, give up \$4.5 million in "administrative forfeiture" to the U.S. government.



# STRANGE BEDFELLOWS/II

## Dr. Arthur Porter

Dr. Arthur Porter fooled a lot of people for a long time. Stephen Harper should never have been one of them. But he was.

Porter was charged in February 2013 with criminal conspiracy to skim \$22.5 million from the \$1.38 billion McGill University Health Centre (MUHC) project he oversaw. As of March 2015, he was sitting in a Panama jail, cleared to eventually be sent back to Canada to stand trial.

Back in 2008, Porter was one of Stephen Harper's chosen. The Prime Minister appointed him to sit on the Security Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC), the agency we all count on to keep our security services from breaking the law. Porter is a doctor and executive administrator. He had no experience with security matters or the protection of civil liberties. But Stephen Harper saw something he liked.

He saw something in Porter he liked so much that he made him the head of SIRC in 2010.

Perhaps it was enough that Porter had been moving in Conservative Party inner circles since he arrived in Montreal in 2004 to head up the mammoth MUHC redevelopment project. Perhaps it was enough that Porter and his wife never failed to make the maximum allowable donations to the CPC. Whatever it was, it meant the man Harper personally picked to put in charge of protecting us from those who would deceive us was himself a colossal liar, cheat and thief.

### How did this happen?

It is the great unanswered question that still hangs in the air over this whole affair: How could this have happened?

How could all the people in high places—the ones who assure us they

are the sharpest minds we have—how could they have been fooled by such a charlatan. Yet they were.

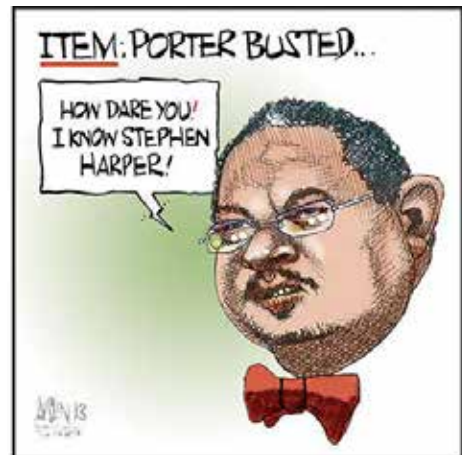
In fact, Porter somehow escaped the scrutiny called for in at least seven different laws and policies, including an RCMP check of police records, a CSIS security check and a check with Canada Revenue. We give a father who volunteers to coach his daughter's school basketball team a harder look than Arthur Porter got. So, perhaps the reviews were done.

Perhaps the prime minister knew and just didn't care: didn't care that Porter was pursuing a posting with Laurent Gbagbo, the dictator of Côte d'Ivoire; didn't care that Porter had dealings with a known international arms dealer. But, on November 8, 2011, Harper had to care.

On that day, the *National Post* outed Arthur Porter. The newspaper printed a story revealing Porter's involvement with the arms dealer.

Porter resigned from the SIRC the next day. He resigned as head of the MUHC in the next month and was on the run for 18 months. He and his wife were arrested in Panama in May 2013. He is due to be returned to Canada to stand trial.

When that will be may well depend on when Stephen Harper calls an election to again present himself to us as the man with all the high intelligence and good judgement it takes to keep us all safe—and never, ever leave our national security in the hands of someone like Dr. Arthur Porter.



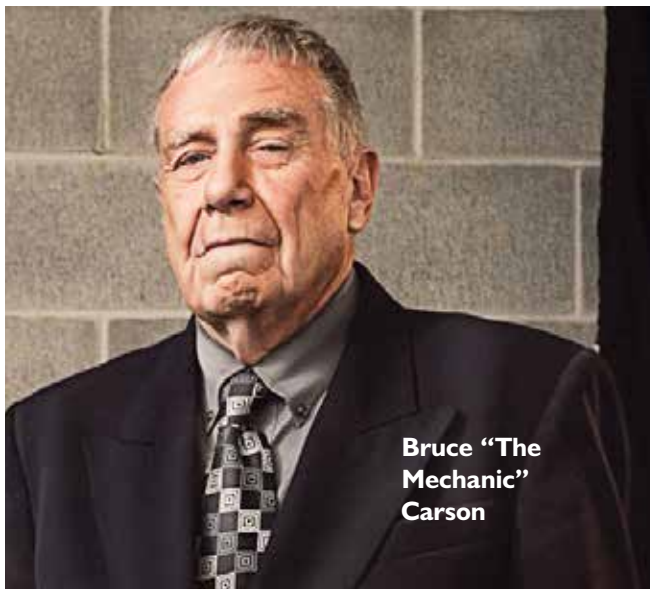
# STRANGE BEDFELLOWS/III

## Bruce Carson

Stephen Harper knew Bruce Carson was a convicted criminal. He hired him anyway. It was another mistake.

It turns out Carson just can't seem to live within the law.

As of March 2014, Carson faced two separate criminal charges linked to



his special relationship with Stephen Harper. He is accused of using his insider connections to lobby for a water filtration company too soon after leaving the Prime Minister's Office. He is also accused of doing the same on behalf of the Energy Policy Institute of Canada (EPIC), an energy industry-funded think tank created by Carson.

Harper dropped Bruce Carson in 2011, when reports of his influence peddling triggered an RCMP investigation. But, up until then Harper liked everything

about Bruce Carson. Despite what he knew about him.

He knew Carson was a disbarred lawyer. He knew he had been convicted of theft and fraud. He knew he had done 18 months in jail for his crimes. None of it mattered. Harper liked Carson.

He made him part of his inner circle. He brought Carson with him to the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) in 2006. Harper made him his chief policy analyst and troubleshooter. Carson was given top secret security clearance and became Harper's chief advisor on Afghanistan.

Carson could do no wrong in the PMO. He was their number one "go to guy." He got things done. They nicknamed him "The Mechanic."

When he left the Prime Minister in 2008, he wangled himself a job as head of the Canada School of Energy and Environment (CSEE). It came with \$15 million in federal government funding. It was sunshine all around for Bruce Carson and the Prime Minister—until the police charged "The Mechanic" with criminal acts.

Perhaps the man who was a convicted criminal, who went into business with a prostitute, and who faces trial on two more criminal charges, served the Prime Minister well. Perhaps a top security clearance was well deserved. Perhaps no harm came of it.

But it has to make you stop and think: should we trust a man to run our country who trusts a man like that? Should we?

# STRANGE BEDFELLOWS/IV

## Patrick Brazeau

Patrick Brazeau is another one of Stephen Harper's spectacularly bad choices. Yet another one that turned into tragedy and then slid inexorably toward farce.

Brazeau shot to national prominence in 2008 when Stephen Harper made the 37-year-old a senator. It didn't last.

By early 2015, Brazeau had been expelled from the Conservative Party, expelled from the Senate, was facing criminal charges for domestic assault, sexual assault, cocaine possession, breaching bail, and for fraud and breach of trust relating to his senate expense claims. His first job after being drummed out of the Senate was as a manager of an Ottawa strip club.

What possible reason could Stephen Harper have had to place his trust in someone so easily led astray? Politics.

Stephen Harper first hooked up with Brazeau in 2006. Brazeau was then vice-chief of the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples (CAP). He gave Harper exactly what he needed for his election campaign: protective cover for the Conservative failure to keep promises made to Aboriginal Peoples.

Brazeau co-signed a public letter with CAP's national chief in support of the Conservatives. Shortly after the Conservative election win, Brazeau became National Chief of CAP—which Harper was quick to make the new favoured Aboriginal voice in Ottawa.

Brazeau paved his way to a senate appointment by helping Harper deep six the Kelowna Accord that would have

given First Nations \$5 billion and much more direct control of their own affairs.

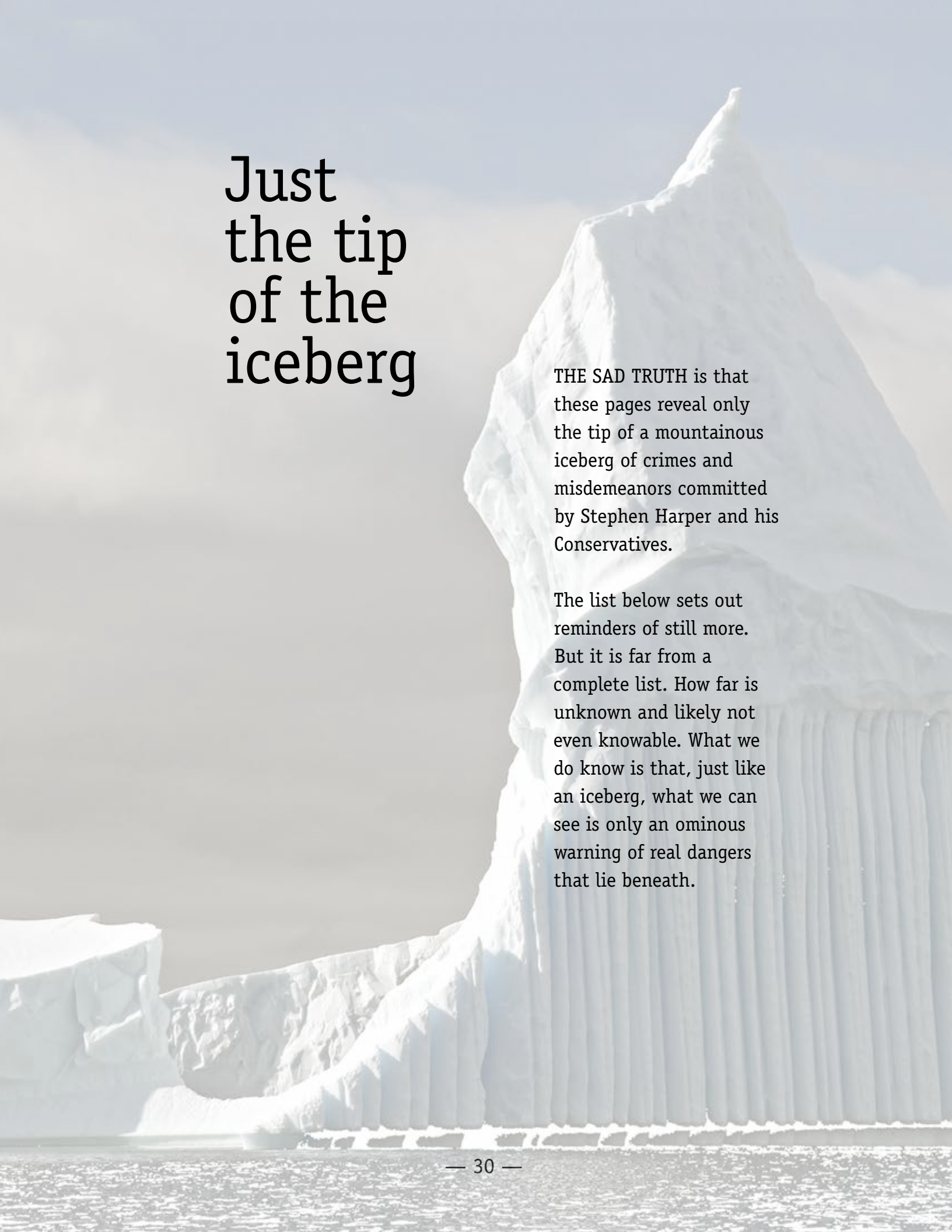
Brazeau spoke against the accord. He told a Parliamentary committee, "Kelowna provided false hope for grassroots people."



**Senator Patrick Brazeau is escorted out of the Parliament buildings Feb. 12, 2013, after he was suspended from duties by the Senate in wake of the criminal charges he is facing**

The cozy relationship started to unravel in late 2012 with a senate inquiry into Brazeau's expense claims. Then came his arrest in February 2013 on charges of domestic assault, followed by expulsion from the Conservative caucus and then the senate itself, and still more criminal charges.

The tragedy of Patrick Brazeau, the young Aboriginal leader with a place in the sun, continues to slide towards farce. Leaving us all to ask one more time: How does Stephen Harper get it so wrong, so often?



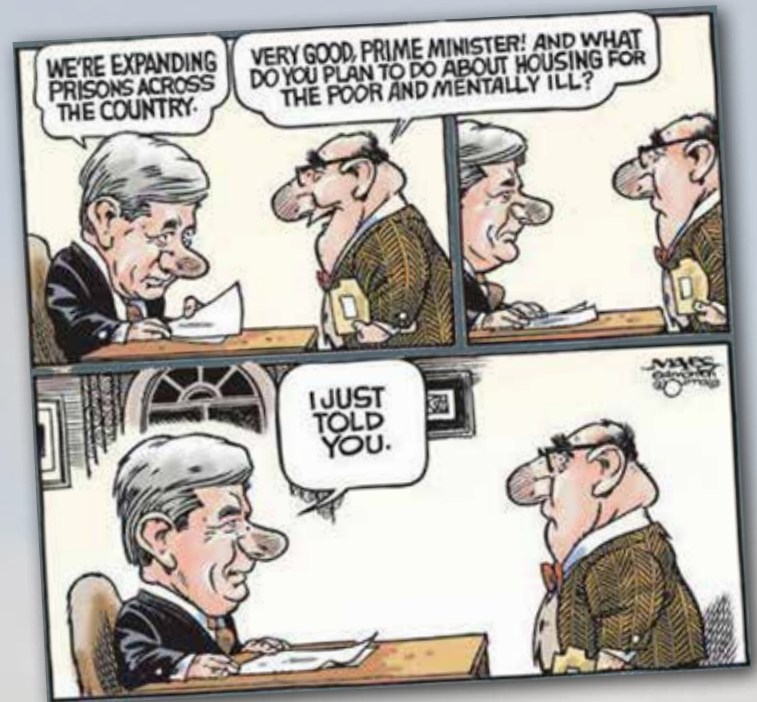
# Just the tip of the iceberg

THE SAD TRUTH is that these pages reveal only the tip of a mountainous iceberg of crimes and misdemeanors committed by Stephen Harper and his Conservatives.

The list below sets out reminders of still more. But it is far from a complete list. How far is unknown and likely not even knowable. What we do know is that, just like an iceberg, what we can see is only an ominous warning of real dangers that lie beneath.



- Tobacco: How Stephen Harper gave away billions in uncollected taxes
- Interfering with, and then firing, the veterans ombudsman
- Refusing to reveal information requested by Parliamentary Budget Officer, Kevin Page
- Terminating an investigation of Bruce Carson by the Ethics Commissioner
- Restructuring Elections Canada so that it cannot investigate election fraud
- Making it more difficult to vote
- The David Suzuki audit and the “shut up” campaign
- The Cadman bribe issue
- Refusing to address the concerns of the relatives of the missing Aboriginal women
- Needless surveillance of millions of innocent emails
- The big cosy fireplace in the CSEC surveillance centre
- Wasting millions at the G20
- The scandal over millions spent on 32 projects in Tony Clement’s riding
- Sacking Helena Guergis without cause
- Taking away the passports of the Hill killer but not arresting him or taking his guns
- Failing to control transfats and salt in processed foods
- \$1.25 billion grant to bail out GM that they used to move to Mexico
- Atlantic Accord: Alberta gets to keep oil money; Nova Scotia has to pay it to Ottawa.
- Lac-Mégantic train disaster
- Failure to win seat on United Nations Security Council
- Failure to fully fund Medicare
- Facilitating the sale of Atomic Energy of Canada at a fire-sale price
- Blackballing and then pushing out Linda Keen, president of the Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission
- Ending Canadian production of medical isotopes
- Selling Canadian embassies
- Withdrawing from Kyoto Protocol
- Cut entire climate change division in Foreign Affairs
- Refusal to acknowledge or participate in any investigation of climate change



- Signing a free trade deal with Colombia in spite of the murders of many Columbian union members
- Reducing Canada’s peacekeeping force to 32
- Appointing Patrick Brazeau to the Senate

#### ADDITIONAL SOURCES

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