

# PAAC E-News

Public Affairs: Your Online Newsletter

February • 2007

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- President's Message: The best is yet to be in 2007
- Event report: The little red engine that could
- The Book Man: A classic exposé on the exercise of political power
- The Web Editor: Tomorrow has a billion eyes

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### [President's message](#)

Come along with me, the best is yet to be



*by Elaine Flis*  
*PAAC President*

PAAC's events for 2007 got off to a high-profile start with our Toronto post-mortem of the recent Liberal leadership convention on January 23, which looked at the surprising ascendance of Stéphane Dion as Grit leader. This time it was all on the record, so we have a full report with pictures, for those who could not make it to the event itself - and also for those who did.

The report will also be of interest to members in the Ottawa area, who might not have come to Toronto for the first event, but who will be interested in attending our Ottawa post-mortem, scheduled for February 22. The Ottawa event will be moderated by Don Newman, host of *Politics* on CBC Newsworld.

On the international GR front: I've signed on to help plan **The First International Conference on Advocacy and Government Relations**, scheduled to take place June

2007 in Washington, D.C. This will be an international event for GR people from all over the world, including Canada, the European Union, the U.S.A. and other countries. It will offer significant opportunities for networking, education and the exchange of ideas pertaining to GR and advocacy in all its many forms. The event is sponsored by the American League of Lobbyists in partnership with Roll Call, an American Congressional publication, along with European Voice, which is Roll Call's European counterpart, and other organizations representing GR and public affairs people all over the world. This is going to be big, big, very big for the profession. Anyone interested in sponsorship opportunities, speaking opportunities or any other opportunities connected with this event should contact me about it. I'll offer more details as this continues to take shape.

On our Canadian professional front: Expect monthly events in 2007, starting with those Liberal leadership post-mortems and continuing with a coming Author's Panel on books about great Canadian statesmen. At this writing we're planning to have Professor John English, author of *Citizen of the World*, about the life of Pierre Elliot Trudeau; Senator Hugh Segal, author of *The Long Road Back*, about the Conservative journey from 1993 to taking power in 2006, and former Canadian Ambassador to the U.S. Allan Gottlieb, author of *Washington Diaries*.

Watch also for a pre-election panel (we KNOW there's an election coming) featuring three top pollsters who will unveil their latest federal and provincial polling numbers, exactly when you want to find out about them. And keep on the lookout for a PAAC presentation on Non-Governmental Organizations, featuring panelists from different non-government sectors who will look at lobbying from their specific vantage points. These events are all in the works, so the schedules are subject to change, but keep them in mind.

Keep in mind also that some will be members-only events, so don't let your membership lapse. The deadline is approaching fast, but renewing is easier than ever, now that you can renew online using our interactive web site features, accessed through the Membership Area. Just click over to it and follow the links. There is even a feature for those who forget their login ID; just type in your email and you'll get an emailed reminder.

And now, it is my pleasure to welcome our newest members:

- Nadine Barber, Director, Government Affairs - West, NewAlta Corporation
- Kathleen Perchaluk, Student, Seneca College
- Charles Hain - Osgoode Law PDP
- Trish Ault - Weber Shandwick Worldwide

As always, I'm available via email for any member offering input and suggestions or comments at [eflis@enterprisecanada.com](mailto:eflis@enterprisecanada.com).



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[Event report](#)

## The little red engine that could

*December, 2006, and the Palais de congrès in Montreal is jam-packed as the Liberal Party of Canada Leadership Ruckus gets underway, with no less than eight - eight! - people contending for the job of leading the Liberals after the retirement of Jean Chrétien and the fall of Paul Martin. Alphabetically: Scott Brison, Stéphane Dion, Ken Dryden, Martha Hall Findlay, Michael Ignatieff, Gerard Kennedy, Bob Rae and Joe Volpe have all waded in. Handicappers in the media have varying opinions. Ignatieff - dubbed Iggy by the media because he doesn't like it - is the early favourite, Dryden is still very well remembered for his days as a hockey hero, former NDP guy Rae, having veered in a wild screech of rubber to the middle of the left lane, is touted for his high recognition factor in Ontario, despite some of that recognition being negative. The voting, speechifying, deal-making and rassling begin...and by the time the janitors are sweeping up the last of the confetti, used pamphlets, broken teeth and empty Perrier bottles, the man in charge is the one whom many gave only the merest ghost of a chance at the outset. Dion. Huh?*

January 23, 2007 and PAAC members and guests gather at the pinnacle of the Sutton Place Hotel, more than 130 people shank-to-shank in the Stop 33 dining room to hear insiders from some of the leading campaigns give insight to the question hanging in the air, which is: *How'd that happen?* Our new Events Chair, Howard Brown, pulled in people from four of the leading camps for our post-mortem panel discussion.



**In the spotlight** - On the panel Jan. 23 were (above, L-R): moderator Steve Paikin, Dwight Duncan from the Ignatieff campaign, Sheila Gervais from the Rae campaign, David MacNaughton from the Kennedy campaign, and Herb Metcalfe from the winning campaign. Below: PAAC President Elaine Flis (right) talks with Bob Penner (middle) and John Willis (left) of Stratcom.



We had Ontario Energy Minister Dwight Duncan, who was Ontario Co-Chair of the Ignatieff campaign; Sheila Gervais, National Director of Operations on the Rae campaign; Herb Metcalfe, Convention Co-Chair for Dion, and David MacNaughton, National Campaign Chair for Kennedy. Our moderator was TVO broadcaster, journalist, bestselling author and Friend Of PAAC, Steve Paikin. And this time, unlike previous political post-mortems at PAAC, the proceedings were on the record, permitting both pictures and story on this site.

### **A sprinkle of votes**

Sheila Gervais harkened way, way back to the 1972 federal election when the result was a very close 109 Liberal to 107 Conservatives; almost a tie, where a sprinkle of votes in the other direction could have changed a tight, critical riding or two and thence the election. In 2006 at the Liberal Party convention, it was that way on the first ballot, she said. "Who knows? Three votes another way and it could have given a very different result," with a cascade effect taking over from that point. What she was describing, although she didn't use the term, was the Butterfly Effect, a term used by scientists who study systems that vary in complex and dynamic ways, such as weather. So: A butterfly flaps its wings in Canada, stirs air molecules, which stir further air currents, and weeks later the cascade effect changes the weather in New York. Politics, too, is complex and dynamic. So: A riding changes by a few votes, swings Tory instead of Grit, and the political currents ripple from there to change the fate of a nation. Gervais didn't talk butterflies, but she used the term 'serendipity' a lot, which amounted to the same thing.



**Getting set** - Above: An aerial view of the luncheon head table just as people were sitting down. In view (L-R) are PAAC's Guy Skipworth and Elaine Flis, then Herb Metcalfe and Sheila Gervais. Below: Moderator Steve Paikin gets his thoughts in order while Guy Skipworth, at the podium, gets things underway.



Thanks to his days as NDP Premier of Ontario, Rae may have still been in bad odour with many members of the media and the public in Ontario, which is a critical province in any federal election, but the Rae campaign at the outset was focused on the party, not the public. Gervais admitted that much of the action going into the Super Weekend was internecine, and it was clearly a priority to get out the vote for what support Rae had. Momentum was the Holy Grail, she said. To keep things focused they repeated the slogan Country, Party, Leader. "It formed the glue of the campaign." Well...that sure sounds suspiciously like God, Country, Corps, after a motto of the U.S. Marines, but let us not accuse Mr. Bob Rae of taking inspiration from anything military - despite Gervais's remarks that the campaign could be split into the "air war," meaning the campaign that extended to the media and all those political blogs on the 'Net, and the "ground war," meaning the battle within the party itself and on the convention floor. Let's just say she was dedicated to fighting for her candidate.

### **Death by butterfly**

Gervais's dedication came through when she said, by way of being a good sport, "the party has come out very well." It came out on a wistful note. This lingering dedication, a pang for what might have been, also showed up elsewhere when she spoke of Rae. "He had led a party, led a government," she said. "He knew how to defeat Tories." This may have caused head-scratching among some listeners, considering the short span of Rae's Ontario NDP government, and who it was who defeated it. Yet her dedication to Rae and



to her principles was undeniable, and that dedication to the candidate was something she had in common with her counterparts in the other campaigns. Bob Rae's team was dedicated, but Liberal Leader Rae was not to be. The butterfly of serendipity flapped its wings, and Bob Rae was out.



**All is forgiven** - With leadership competition over, Dwight Duncan and Sheila Gervais are fellow Liberals and comrades again.

Dwight Duncan, speaking for Team Iggy, said they understood Ignatieff's problems going into the thing. "He was an academic without political experience," Duncan admitted. "That was the challenge." On the up side, their man had Star Power in some circles. It gave him appeal in close-in politicking, but it made him an irresistible target. "None of us liked the media coverage - except for TVO," Duncan said, with a nod to Paikin, but he added that other factors loomed larger, including Dion's tendency to attract fewer enemies within the party. "Stéphane Dion on the last ballot was definitely our worst case scenario," he said. "The only way we could have won was if Bob Rae was on the last ballot." He said this not to denigrate Rae but to tip his hat to Dion. Rae had baggage which Dion did not. Nor did the Big Speeches have much power to sway delegates. "Those Friday night speeches were highly overrated," Duncan said. "They didn't make a huge difference." Herb Metcalfe agreed with him: "I don't think the speeches influenced anyone."



**All smiles** - Above: David MacNaughton, left, and Dwight Duncan share one of the many laughs of the upbeat and interesting luncheon event. Below: MacNaughton with moderator Paikin.



David MacNaughton, fresh from Gerard Kennedy's corner, did not focus his comments only on his candidate's perspective, but stepped back for a big-picture look in hindsight. He noted that the leadership contest dragged on for a long and excruciating eight or nine months. That's a very long time to maintain a lead, but the importance of that fact was less appreciated then than it is now. At the time, he said, everyone wanted to be the leader right from the start, "to create a sense of inevitability," particularly early fave Ignatieff. It was a natural instinct, but it failed to recognize the rigours of a marathon. Being a Crown Prince may have worked for Jean Chrétien and for Paul Martin, but for Ignatieff in this race, "there was no way."

Indeed, those in the news media have long recognized that the candidate in the lead is their main target - a fact they relish. The media were a big factor, they clearly enjoyed it, and this was not lost on MacNaughton. If Kennedy had won, he quipped, the *Globe* headline the next day would have read, IGNATIEFF, DION, RAE LOSE LEADERSHIP,



with a deck below it saying, SEE KENNEDY - PG. 10. MacNaughton said, and others echoed, that the media coverage of the campaign was of poor quality - "Except for TVO!" he added, cutting his eyes over to Paikin - and anyone who believes that aggressively critical coverage translates to bad coverage would have to agree. TVO coverage was insightful and probing; many others were not far from partisan. This factor had a particularly heavy impact on Ignatieff when his desire to comment on the Mideast conflict caused him to come down with an acute case of foot-in-mouth disease. But media or even public disapproval does not necessarily translate at the party level. A killing media blow to an election candidate may only bruise a leadership candidate.

### **Out of the woodwork**

Not being in the media crosshairs must have helped Dion, but he benefitted more from another factor, MacNaughton said. The various 'Anybody But' posses that sprang up didn't extend to Dion. Either he didn't incite the sort of antagonism that breeds such things, or not many people thought he was enough of a threat. "So there was the possibility of somebody coming out of the woodwork," said MacNaughton. But it would not be Kennedy, and the time came when there was clearly no possibility of a Kennedy win. Under probing by moderator Paikin, MacNaughton admitted he was among those who helped convince Kennedy to drop out when the writing was on the wall. "Some people were dedicated to staying," he said, and there was a Full And Frank Discussion about that. "It was an intense few minutes," he said, but added, "had we stayed we would have bled more votes. It was the right thing to do." When Kennedy fell, Dion rose.



**Give him a hand** - Above: Herb Metcalfe (second from left) explains the finer points of his winning campaign plan for Stéphane Dion. At left: Sheila Gervais. To the right: MacNaughton, then Duncan.

Herb Metcalfe, aware that he was on the record this time, rose before his PAAC audience to declare for the above-mentioned record that he yielded to no one in his respect for the eight candidates who stood up and ran great campaigns motivated by dedication to the principles of Liberalism, democracy and the Canadian way - and as the self-admitted "father" of the winning campaign, he could well afford to. The Stéphane Dion victory, he said, proved "you don't need three million dollars to run a national leadership campaign."

As he told it, the tale of Dion's victory sounded like the political version of Rocky; a

shoestring operation from the git-go, with strategy written on the fly and initial expectations low. Describing the nitty-gritties of campaigning, Metcalfe seemed especially proud of seeding Montreal cabbies with taxi chits they could give to expense-wary delegates, bearing Dion's smiling face on the reverse. But whether that changed any votes is debatable - it may have garnered no more attention than the faces of children on milk cartons.

In fact, there was much more than gimmickry at work for Stéphane Dion; there was a definite shrewdness to the campaign. Damon Runyon once said, "The race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, but that's the way to bet." Yet Runyon was talking about horse racing, a much more straightforward contest. In politics that's not always the way to bet. "Our focus was to be on the final ballot," said Metcalfe, "because if we were on that final ballot, we knew we could win." The comment suggests a new reality was becoming clear to them; that in an eight-man political race, the one who comes busting out of the gate first does not necessarily have the long-term advantage, as had been the case in the Chrétien days. With this idea in mind, Metcalfe's people got their policies written early, and made early plans for endurance and survivability. "Through the whole exercise we were everybody's friend. We wanted to be everyone's second choice," he said. "We wanted to be the Little Red Engine That Could." The plan worked.



**Looking to the future** - Above: David MacNaughton talks politics with Don Guy (right), former Chief of Staff to Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty and now reputedly a top operative on McGuinty's 2007 re-election team. Below: After the panel presentations, audience questions were welcomed. Here Bonnie Crombie (centre), who was a convention delegate, heads to the microphone.



Once everybody on the panel said their piece, the session went to Question and Answer, which was when Steve Paikin used his own questions as a surgeon uses scalpels and probes, to tease out a general consensus that the New Political Reality for a leadership contest is not what once worked for Chrétien and Martin. The secret to winning a marathon race with many candidates and no Crown Prince is: Don't start in first place.

And if it's true that the Dion campaigners understood all along about the power of being everyone's second choice in a contest like that, then Dion's surprising feat of legging it up to the top of the pile while everyone else was duking it out in a brawl below was no random Butterfly Effect, but the result of his campaign generals knowing instinctively what everyone else is just now coming to terms with: That a self-imagined star candidate who comes on stage in a Mick Jagger victory trot with upraised arms and a 1500-watt smile, is virtually doomed from the start in any race with a crowd of contenders and a long trek ahead. Metcalfe had a better plan, but even he admitted to being amazed when all those Kennedy delegates - 80 or 90 percent of them, a human tsunami - headed straight for Dion when Kennedy went down.

### **Adrenaline kept them in the game**

Did our on-the-record event get us the inside story? One experienced sage at the event said no, that people choked up on what they said, compared to earlier events in which the resident writer was fitted with a muzzle. "Of course they did," the man said. "There's no doubt about it." Still, our guests and members at off-the-record events to date have never acted like somebody who feels free to burn bridges in a tell-all book, because the people who come to our events are too polite. What was said on the record January 23rd had the ring of truth, or at least as much as anybody will tell who is out for reconciliation and not vengeance. Certainly, the campaigners were sincere when they spoke of the adrenaline rush they felt; the thing that made their campaign efforts so rewarding whether they won or lost. "It was a great feeling," David MacNaughton said, "full of shared

purpose and camaraderie."

Later, in a crowded elevator headed back down to street level, somebody said the Liberals are now united for future campaigns; all friends again. The car was quiet as people thought about that. Then a well-connected fellow at the back of the car said, "Well - at least, they're *trying* to be."

-D.S.

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[The Book Man](#)

## A classic exposé on the successful exercise of political power



*Book Review by Stewart Kiff*

The Way it Works: Inside Ottawa

by Eddie Goldenberg - published by McClelland & Stewart

This is a readable, practical memoir that gives the reader a useful view of the goings-on inside the Prime Minister's Office (PMO). It is true that there have been many books about past Prime Ministers and how they came to their decisions. Yet this book stands apart. First of all, it is well written. Goldenberg's prose has a light touch. He writes directly and succinctly, with a clear purpose.

Even better, Goldenberg's first-hand and previously unpublished information is unrivaled in quality, except by what the former prime minister himself knows. Eddie Goldenberg in many ways served as Jean Chrétien's right brain for all of his years in power; from his leadership run, to his time in Opposition, to heading up Chrétien's PMO. All through those years, the Chrétien-Goldenberg tandem worked smoothly in consolidating Chrétien's hold on the number one spot in Canadian politics. Everybody knew that when Goldenberg spoke, it was with the full voice and authority of the Prime Minister.

This is possibly the clearest, most unvarnished account we will have of political level decision-making in the Chrétien years - since the only more authoritative account would have to come from Chrétien himself, and he simply has too much legacy at stake to

deliver an account with details like these.

Until this point, except for perhaps targeted and discreet leaks to the press, Goldenberg has been entirely quiet. This book amounts to a virtual deluge of new information and accounts about key events which remain highly pertinent today.

But this is no disinterested account. Goldenberg misses few opportunities to discredit and lessen the legacy of Paul Martin Jr., albeit in a straightforward and dispassionate way. For example, Goldenberg reports that Martin's verbal support for the Meech Lake Accord was pure artifice; that he actually did not support it, but verbally endorsed it because that was the good political position to take.

Nor does Goldenberg pull punches on the Chrétien legacy. There is an entire section about the regrets and consequences of the Federal Liberals' promise to scrap the GST upon assuming power. This promise, which brought about the eventual resignation of Cabinet Minister Sheila Copps, , brought no end of headaches and problems to the Liberals as they assumed power.

What sets the book apart, though, is not that it covers the history and events of the era. Many journalists have already done that. Goldenberg also explains the political pressures on the PMO at the time the decisions were made, and exposes how the competing interests played out at the time in the eventual decision. The reader gains access to the content and nature of the decisions from Goldenberg's perspective. In particular, the chapter on how Chrétien chose his cabinet in 1993, and why various players made it in or did not, is a classic exposé in the successful exercise of political power at the Federal level of Canadian politics.

This is of the most readable, useful and entertaining Canadian political books in a long time.

**Strongly recommended.**

PAAC member Stewart Kiff is the President of Solstice Public Affairs. He welcomes your feedback and suggestions, and can be reached at [stewart@solsticecanada.ca](mailto:stewart@solsticecanada.ca).

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*[The Web Editor](#)*

## Tomorrow has a billion eyes

*by David Silburt*  
*PAAC Web Editor*

In the novel *The Light of Other Days*, Arthur C. Clarke (with co-author Stephen Baxter)



wondered what would happen if people could spy on anyone, anywhere, anytime with a widely available handheld device, and what changes would shake society as a result. Today this seemingly wild imagining of the man who predicted - some say invented - the modern communications satellite is rapidly becoming another of Clarke's predictions come true, thanks to the combination of intrusive news media and the wide availability of gadgets like cell phone cameras. This is no mere fad; it is a trend that will change much about our world.

Consider the increasingly intrusive nature of the news media. If you look west from here with the right kind of eyes, you can see the swarm circling above the courthouse where Robert Pickton is on trial, charged with terrible crimes. All those little black specks in the sky out there, circling and dipping like the reeling shadows of indignant desert birds, are not buzzards. Not exactly. They're reporters - most of them no doubt working on a book as well as daily dispatches to their media outlets - along with book agents, and script writers and would-be directors for movies in the planning stages, and TV news media types with \$200 haircuts and well-practiced masks of concern, and they are all going to shove our faces into the worst of it for years to come. The story reads like a Thomas Harris novel, so nobody can resist it. Those media people will be careful not to lick their lips when the cameras are on them. But the carny show is well underway, and if you want to know what effect it can have on Pickton's trial, just read what Warren Kinsella has to say, in his *National Post* article. It's the best writing to date on the legal consequences of the biggest media freak show since O.J. went to court, but there is a bigger picture around it.

Consider what cell phone cameras accomplish, when their data files are sold to those same intrusive media. When Saddam Hussein went to settle up for a few of his many crimes, one man with a phone camera was all it took to cause the event to ooze onto web sites ranging from the lowest dregs of YouTube all the way up to news sites like CNN. Nobody could resist it. Result: What should have been seen as the legal consequence of a legal conviction instead came off as a sectarian lynching, with Hussein standing tall and taking it like a man, thus providing further inspiration to the bloodpack that idolized him.

It's a platitude that the ubiquitous phone cameras can do good as well as bad. We've seen revealing on-the-spot battle video from a widening war in which, like it or not, we all have a stake. But it was also revealed that when Hezbollah picked a fight with Israel last summer, they used a technique called "hugging" to further their public relations aims in the war, and instant on-the-spot video was one reason it worked. Hugging; that was when terrorists launched attacks from positions close to civilians so that the counterattack would cause inevitable collateral damage to those civilians, which could then be recorded on video and forwarded to news organizations only too happy to suck it up and spew it out to the world as "the human cost of Israel's terrible revenge." That was the public affairs department of Hezbollah in action, with an assist from Big Media and the modern cell phone.

In more mundane events, when a phone camera catches police using unnecessary force, that's a good revelation against bad cops. When it catches a traffic accident or crime, that's helpful to police. Occasionally, bad or biased media reports are exposed by citizens

with cell phones. But so much more of what is being done ranges from the trivial to the cheaply malicious. Cell phone cameras are used by the egotistical to create vanity videos for posting on MySpace, by the voyeuristic to peer up women's skirts, and by full-on perverts to peek into school gym change rooms. They can't resist it. People have posted web sites dedicated to 'outing' those who use handicapped parking spaces. Anybody with a cause, a beef or a whim feels free to indulge. It's all happening exactly as Clarke and Baxter predicted, although they imagined something called a "wormcam," which would create a wormhole in the quantum structure of the universe; in effect a cosmic keyhole through which to peer. Turns out, nothing so exotic is required. A phone camera, the Internet, and enough ISPs and amoral news media to steamroll over whoever might prefer to think before they broadcast, and you've got the Clarkian horror come true.

In the Clarke/Baxter novel the spread of the ultimate spy gadget is motivated by the greed of those who sell the product, and the basest instincts of those who use it irresponsibly. They were right about that too, and those oh-so-cool phone cameras are getting better, fast. The newest gotta-have-it, the Apple iPhone, has a 2.0-megapixel camera in it, but they're sandbagging - 5.0 megapixel phone cameras are for sale in Japan right now. What's over the horizon? Low-light phone cameras for recording video surreptitiously in the dark? Telescopic lenses? How about tiny concealable cameras that communicate with your pocket phone via BlueTooth, so that the enterprising user can record video on the sly - say, in a big-profile murder trial - with Internet customers waiting, ready to pay cash for the files? Can there really be any doubt about this? What will judges do when video of their courts starts showing up on YouTube - throw out the case? Every time it happens?

The young men who conceived YouTube made millions from the idea. You can be sure that dollar signs are dancing in the heads of people thinking up the next big thing in the intrusion industry, ready to make full use of the underhanded videos that will become increasingly available in the next few years, from every conceivable source. Fair trials? Sorry; the courts will just have to redefine the concept of a legal trial, and be satisfied with that. That will be the least of the upheavals to come.

Kinsella is right about what intrusive media are doing to the notion of a fair trial, but there are worse things ahead. In court, in the bedroom, on the street or anywhere else, if you look behind you today, very fast, you can see who is surreptitiously recording. Soon the time will come when you cannot.

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## Have your say

We welcome member input, whether it's a letter to the editor, a story suggestion or a proposal for a guest column. Feel free to email your input or suggestions to us. All submissions for publication on this site are subject to approval by the Editorial Board.

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