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News International trade

Canada's next trade battle: consensus building at the WTO

A Global Affairs trade official told the House Committee on International Trade in March that Canada has had little engagement with the United States on reforming the WTO to date.

BY NEIL MOSS

As an embattled international trading system is further strained by some countries' protectionist instincts, the Canadian government continues to try to build consensus over needed

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International Trade Minister Mary Ng says that reforming the World Trade Organization cannot be done by the Ottawa Group alone. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

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Contending with the entertainment economic hole
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News Conservative leadership

MacKay leadership camp touts strength in numbers

BY LAURA RYCKEWAERT

Former Progressive Conservative leader Peter MacKay is fighting to lead the party he once helped found, and his team, led by former MP Alex Nuttall, is touting strength in numbers, claiming a lead in membership sales to go with a lead in notable endorsements and funds raised to date.

"Among caucus members and past candidates we have robust support and a lot of workhorses," said deputy campaign manager

Michael Diamond in a recent interview with *The Hill Times*.

"We're proud of the team, proud of the candidate for recruiting a record-setting number of new members into the party, and we look forward to sharing that vision and moving forward during the general election."

The MacKay camp has boasted of record-breaking membership sign ups since the May 15 cutoff for new Conservative Party members to be eligible to

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News COVID-19 & data

Health agency reveals race-based data guideline as calls grow for nation-wide collection

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

In response to calls for better demographic data to understand health inequities and COVID-19, this week the Canadian Institute for Health Information is releasing an interim race data standard that public health agencies can use.

Many advocates, though, are pushing for more than advice, saying the federal government has a leadership role to play to ensure there's consistent data,

regardless of jurisdiction. That gap in information affects the provincial, territorial, and federal response to the pandemic and until the country moves forward with race-based and disaggregated income data, Canada "can't possibly target resources" and care where they're most needed, said Dr. Jennifer Rayner, an epidemiologist and director of research at the Alliance for Healthier Communities.

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News Economic recovery

Unparalleled BoC bond purchasing welcomed to move country from 'defence to offence,' says Senator Loffreda

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

Given continued global financial market turmoil borne from the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, the Bank of Canada's

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HEARD ON THE HILL

by Neil Moss

Paul Thomas named new director of Parliamentary Internship Programme



Paul E.J. Thomas has most recently been a senior research associate at the Samara Centre for Democracy. He will start his new gig as director of the Parliamentary Internship Programme on July 1. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

An alumni of the Parliamentary Internship Programme will be taking the organization's reins in July. **Paul E.J. Thomas** was named the program's new director earlier this month.

Mr. Thomas was an intern with the program from 2005 to 2006. Alums also include some current Parliamentarians—Liberal MP **Arif Virani** and Conservative MP **Brad Vis**—and a member of the Press Gallery, HuffPost parliamentary bureau chief **Althia Raj**.



HuffPost's Althia Raj was an intern in the Parliamentary Internship Programme from 2004 to 2005. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

Mr. Thomas, who has most recently been a senior research associate at the Samara Centre for Democracy, tweeted that he is "very excited" to be starting the new gig on July 1. He is replacing **Anne Dance**, who has been serving as the program's director since 2016.

"It's a bit daunting to be taking on the post given everything that's happening in the world, but it's amazing to know there's such a supportive community out there for me and the interns as I start this new role," he wrote on Twitter earlier this month.

Mr. Thomas is also an adjunct political science and political management professor at Carleton University.

The internship program was started more than 50 years ago, a brainchild of then-Conservative MP **Alfred Hales** who felt overworked with parliamentary duties as a backbench MP with only a shared secretary.

MPs from across the partisan spectrum hosted interns in their offices this year, including Mr. Virani and Mr. Vis, as well as current Conservative MP and leadership candidate **Erin O'Toole**, Conservative MP **Michelle Rempel Garner**, Liberal MPs **Greg Fergus** and **Pam Damoff**, Bloc Québécois MP **Stéphane Bergeron**, and NDP MP **Jenny Kwan**, among others.

What's old is new again: Harper bashes the media, critics respond

All it took was the resurfacing of a 2018 video of former prime minister **Stephen Harper** placing partial blame for his 2015 electoral defeat on the media for critics of Canada's 22nd prime minister to pounce.

The nearly two-minute video clip that was posted to Twitter last weekend, which has more than 800,000 views, was from an interview the past PM had with conservative radio show host **Dennis Prager**, who founded Prager University.

"I've watched a lot of Harper over the years. Can't tell if this is him saying what he really thinks, him doing business development by playing to the crowd, or both," tweeted **Gerald Butts**, past principal secretary to Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**.

"Anyway, the Arctic is on [fire] and that's enough memory lane. Had Harper spent as much time working on climate change as he did on imagined enemies, he would have had a much better chance in 2015," added Mr. Butts, one of the architects of the Liberals' 2015 win.

Mr. Harper said in the video that he was "censored out of the coverage."

"They would not cover my announcements. They would not cover any gaffe of



my opponent—they scrubbed it out. They actually met every day to co-ordinate their coverage. They would not run any ad I had that showed footage depicting my opponent in an unfavourable light," Mr. Harper said in 2018 of the media during the 2015 election. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

Some compared the sentiment to that of an American president who kept an enemies list.

"Makes me think of [former U.S. president Richard] Nixon, the resentment of his persecutors," Parliament Hill journalist **Stephen Maher** tweeted. "I think a lot of ex-politicians feel hard done by by the media tho."

Mr. Butts offered another idea—former Depression-era U.S. president **Herbert Hoover**.

"Harper friend and Hoover biographer [Kenneth Whyte] should tell him about how [Hoover] diminished his own reputation post presidency by repeatedly mashing sour [grapes] in public," Mr. Butts tweeted.

"I lean more Nixon but agree that [Harper] is not doing himself any favours," responded **Kenneth Whyte**, author of *Hoover: An Extraordinary Life in Extraordinary Times* and former editor-in-chief of *Macleans* magazine. "I've had similar conversations with him and while I think skepticism of media (and politicians) is healthy, his hatred of the media is palpable and, [in my opinion], irrational."

Webinar on future of Canada-China relations to feature former envoy Guy Saint-Jacques

As Canada-China relations have reached a nadir, a virtual panel will talk about the future of the relationship on what could be an illuminating day for the prospects for bilateral ties.



Guy Saint-Jacques, pictured in 2012, was Canada's ambassador to China from 2012 to 2016. *The Hill Times file photograph*

The webinar will take place on May 27, the same day that a B.C. court judge will be ruling on "double criminality" in Huawei executive **Meng Wanzhou's** extradition hearing, which will decide if the crimes she is accused of committing would still be crimes if they were committed in Canada.

Ms. Meng's arrest in December 2018 at the behest of the United States was followed by the arrests of **Michael Kovrig** and **Michael Spavor** at the hands of Chinese authorities in apparent retaliation and the deterioration of Ottawa-Beijing relations to a freeze.

The webinar will feature **Guy Saint-Jacques**, who was Canada's top diplomat in Beijing from 2012 to 2016, as well as Canada China Business Council executive director **Sarah Kutulakos** and UBC School of Public Policy and Global Affairs professor **Wenran Jiang**, who is the director of the Canada-China Energy and Environment Forum.

Last week, Foreign Affairs Minister **François-Philippe Champagne** released a joint statement with his counterparts in the United Kingdom and Australia stating "deep concern" over proposed national security legislation that "clearly undermine[s] the 'one country, two systems' principle under which Hong Kong is guaranteed a high degree of autonomy."

The webinar will take place at 6 p.m. It will be moderated by Institute for Peace and Diplomacy executive director **Bijan Ahmadi**.

Public Policy Forum launches commission to look into misinformation

To address the increase in misinformation circulating online, the Public Policy Forum announced that it is setting up a commission to seek policy ideas to address the issue.



Past Supreme Court chief justice **Beverley McLachlin** will be one of seven commissioners on the Public Policy Forum's Canadian Commission on Democratic Expression. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

The seven commissioners participating in the project include former Supreme Court chief justice **Beverley McLachlin** and Earncliffe principal **Rick Anderson**, a past chief adviser to Reform leader **Preston Manning**, among others.

A recent study by Carleton University that was supported by Abacus Data found that 46 per cent of respondents believe one of four COVID-19-related conspiracy theories despite 57 per cent of people surveyed being "confident" they could "easily distinguish" fact from fiction.

The Canadian Commission on Democratic Expression will also have a citizens' assembly of 42 citizen representatives selected from 450 volunteers. The assembly will meet for six days in Ottawa and Winnipeg and is tasked with advising the commission on its "values and priorities with respect to digital technology and democratic expression," the Public Policy Forum announced.

The work will also be supported by a research program which will be led by McGill's Centre for Media, Technology, and Democracy to inform the project on the "democratic harms of digital technologies," as well as to assist the commission and its assembly.

The commission is scheduled to release an annual report in March 2021.

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News COVID-19

‘We’re all hurting’: culture and sports groups say they need added funds, emergency support extended

The government says it’s developing a new portal in ‘record time’ to help fund arts, culture, and sport organizations, while opposition MPs say a plan for the sector has been too slow.

BY SAMANTHA WRIGHT ALLEN

Opposition MPs and arts, sports, and cultural organizations are calling for more clarity on government support, warning the economic impact of the coronavirus on the sector’s survival will require longer-term planning and aid than other industries to address.

The seasonal and events-focused nature of much of their revenue puts them at particular risk, several organizations said, and will make it more difficult to emerge from the crisis and rebuild when restrictions are loosened.

Events, festivals, and spectator sports are facing losses on their entire year unlike other businesses that can slowly reopen, said Alexandre Boulterice, the NDP’s heritage critic.

“They still need specific federal aid, not just for next two months but for the entire year,” said Mr. Boulterice (Rosemont—La Petite-Patrie, Que.), adding the \$500-million the Liberals announced last month for the sector is “clearly” not enough.

“This \$500-million is just an increase of actual programs that already exist,” he said, noting it leaves out a lot of organizations without connections to Heritage Canada.

The Liberals have said the second phase of the funding roll-out will be widened to include those who don’t have a relationship with Canadian Heritage.

Though cross-sector COVID programs can help this sector—like the Canada Emergency Response Benefit, the Canada Emergency Wage Subsidy (recently expanded to better reflect arts, heritage, and sport organization needs), the Canada Emergency Business Account, and the Canada Emergency Commercial Rent Assistance for

Small Businesses—advocates said they won’t do enough to alleviate the particular pressures that will push many out of business.

At the moment, Canada is embarking on a two-phased approach with a \$500-million emergency support fund set aside for the sector. Of that, up to \$326.8-million will flow from Canadian Heritage, with \$198.3-million dedicated to arts and culture groups in existing programs and other organizations with “demonstrated needs,” \$72-million to the sport sector, \$53-million to the heritage sector, and \$3.5-million for COVID-related projects under the Digital Citizen Initiative.

Another \$55-million was given to the Canada Council for the Arts, which said it has a set formula based on arts organizations that received funding in the last three years. Another \$115.8-million is allocated for the audiovisual sector, to be distributed by the Canada Media Fund (\$88.8-million) and Telefilm Canada (\$27-million).

Though the announcement came early from Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.)—in mid-April—Conservative MP Steven Blaney said the details have been slow coming.

Mr. Blaney (Bellechasse-Les Etchemins-Lévis, Que.), his party’s heritage critic, said the Liberals need to offer a clearer plan, and that the money set aside is not flowing fast enough.

“We need a plan to help them through the crisis and then we need a plan to relaunch,” said Mr. Blaney, adding it must be done safely and that clarity is needed for those thinking of leaving the industry and worried for their survival. “The economic impact is huge. Even more than that, the overall heritage and sport industry has a critical role in [Canada’s] the social fabric.”

Heritage minister promises to work with sector on support

Heritage Minister Steven Guilbeault (Laurier-Sainte-Marie, Que.), who wasn’t available for an interview, said by email that the government’s priority has been for the industry’s ecosystem to go through the first phase of the crisis with the current funding.

“We will be there to support them after. But what will it look like? How will it be done? We will have to work it together with the sector.”



Heritage Minister Steven Guilbeault says the government’s priority has been focused on the first phase of the crisis and it will ‘work together’ with the sector on how to support it post-COVID-19. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

His office added by email that the \$500-million fund was created to “complement” other emergency programs, with an initial focus on past beneficiaries to get the money out the door quickly. For its planned second phase, the government has to build a new portal and an application process for organizations not yet connected to Canadian Heritage programs, a process Mr. Guilbeault’s press secretary, Camille Gagné-Raynauld, said is being created “in a record time” in order to assist organizations as soon as possible and help them stay viable.

A recent Statistics Canada study shows that spectator sports, event promoters, artists, and related industries generated \$9.7-billion in 2018. Of that, \$3.5-billion is attached to operating revenue of spectator sports, \$3.6-billion in revenue from promoters of performing arts, sports, and similar events, and \$2.1-billion in revenue from independent artists, writers, and performers.

At less than half of one per cent of Canada’s GDP, the industry isn’t big, but there are broader ramifications on other sectors, said Pedro Antunes, the Conference Board of Canada’s chief economist.

“Sometimes industries are intertwined,” with this sector hosting events that “have important ramifications for the cities” by drawing international tourists and travellers, “so there’s a multiplier of supply chain impacts that happen with this.”

For sectors like performing arts and sports, he said there’s likely to be “a long drawn-out return.”

“We may see a partial return,” said Mr. Antunes, like in restaurants, but he expects to see a fair amount of consolidation and instances companies going bankrupt, despite all the programs in place. And for those without revenues at the moment, the wage subsidy is only going to be partially effective, he said.

The sector is likely to be very hard hit until there’s a vaccine for COVID-19, with signs it’s already had a large impact, said Mr. Antunes. He pointed to labour force survey comparisons between February and April that show employment drops in the sector, including in performing arts companies by 45.8 per cent, spectator sports by 32.4 per cent, promoters by 13.8 per cent, and

agents and managers by 68.8 per cent. That said, he and Statistics Canada warn the data should be used with caution and careful with interpretations given the high variability.

Meanwhile, independent artists appeared stable, with job losses down 0.5 per cent, which he said may be misleading. While employment overall dropped 15.6 per cent from February to April, he noted the average number of hours work fell by almost a third (28 per cent), suggesting some lost work is not being captured in employment numbers.

‘Everybody’s waiting right now’

Simon Brault, CEO of the Canada Council for the Arts, said the sector is suffering as one of the first hit by bans on large gatherings, and is now facing an uncertain future.

“We have no idea how long this period of time will be and every week is problematic,” he said, with summer festivals affected and organizations, like theatres, unable to rehearse ahead of the fall season.

The federal government so far has been “quite good” with emergency support, said Mr. Brault, and he sees the fund, while not a huge amount, as meant “to prevent the collapse of the sector” and “keep the lights on.” The money should be flowing by June, and he said the council’s pot would be doled out to about 2,000 organizations.

The government’s wage subsidy program has been extended to run until Aug. 29, but given some theatres and events aren’t likely to open until next year, he said such support should, at minimum, be available until January or it will be “very difficult” for self-employed artists and companies.

“In situations like that it’s clear emergency support is needed for quite a long time,” he said. “Everybody’s waiting right now.”

Christina Franc, executive director of the Canadian Association of Fairs and Exhibitions, echoed that call for an extension because her members rely on the revenue generated from the May to October season.

“Everyone’s hurting, but in terms of the recovery phase, while most small businesses will be able to reopen ... we can’t go to full capacity in the winter months,” she said. A preliminary survey of members—more than

700 agricultural societies and heritage groups—suggested three in 10 would have to close their doors forever under current circumstances.

While she said she hopes to see more in Phase 2, Ms. Franc said she’s “not holding [her] breath,” and is instead pushing for a longer-term solution. Many events are volunteer-driven, too, so wage subsidies alone won’t be enough, she said. The association is looking for business continuity and solvency funding to be allocated through a contribution program, rather than loans.

The government is likely under pressure fielding thousands of requests, said Mr. Brault who disagreed that the government has been slow in rolling out support. He said he expects details of the second phase to be announced in the next week or two and hopes it’s more targeted to the “most vulnerable groups,” like newer Indigenous organizations and equity groups, whose survival is “very fragile.”

Sports organizations are also struggling and that will have an impact on small communities and grassroots involvement in sport, said Katherine Henderson, CEO of Diversified and Event-Funded National Sports Organizations and Curling Canada, one of the coalitions members.

The impact of sports events on hosting communities is “enormous,” as they have a “very large knock-on effect for travel and tourism,” she said. For many organizations, like Curling Canada, the vast majority of the revenue is event-driven and as non-profits, “every nickel we make gets invested back into the ecosystem,” she stressed.

“We have a lasting impact,” said Ms. Henderson, who praised the government’s first wave of support as “buttressing” against the crisis and said going forward, there’s a need to incentivize people, perhaps through government subsidies, to return to their local sports clubs.

“The death of a curling club is not just the death of a small business,” she said, calling them hubs for a community that will be important to rebuild.

“Now is the time to think medium and long term,” she said. “It’s not just the economics, it’s the fact that sport has a huge role to play in leading Canadians back to health.”

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Unparalleled BoC bond purchasing welcomed to move country from 'defence to offence,' says Senator Loffreda

The Bank of Canada didn't resort to bond buying during the last crisis, but the economic plunge is much deeper this time around, say economists.

Continued from page 1

recent and unparalleled foray into bond purchasing comes as a welcome economic stimulus policy to "get confidence back into the market" and to "get the consumer working again," according to Independent Senator Tony Loffreda.

And with a new Bank of Canada governor set to take the helm on June 3, leading economists say that although Canada ultimately didn't need to resort to quantitative easing—the buying of assets to inject money into the financial system—during the 2007-09 financial crisis like in the U.S., the U.K., and the Eurozone, the depth of the downturn here is much deeper this time around, and that the bank's more aggressive recent activity speaks to the expected weakness of the Canadian economy.

"This time, we weren't special at all, we had as serious a shut-down and it looks like we're going to have as serious a downturn as anyone," according to Douglas Porter, chief economist at BMO Financial Group.

Pedro Antunes, chief economist at the Conference Board of Canada, said this time around the central banks "are concerned about trying to avoid as many bankruptcies as possible, but also to secure the financial system."

"How do we go from defence to offence?" said Sen. Loffreda (Shawinigan, Que.), a former banker who sits on the Senate's Standing Committee on National Finance.

Calling this recession "more of a fiscal policy recession than a monetary policy recession," Sen. Loffreda said that the nature of this downturn involves problems with liquidity and cash flow—and that at this point, the Bank of

Canada has done almost all it could do on the monetary policy side.

"I think we have to, at this point in time, transfer from our support policy to an economic stimulus policy, and those economic stimulus policies have to be winners to get us back on track quickly," said Sen. Loffreda in an interview with *The Hill Times* on May 25. "It's not going to snap back quickly, from what I'm hearing from various industries."

Wealth is always created by the entrepreneur, according to the Senator.



Independent Senator Tony Loffreda, pictured speaking with reporters outside the Senate Chambers on Nov. 4, 2019. Sen. Loffreda calls this recession 'more of a fiscal policy recession,' and that economic stimulus policies 'have to be winners to get us back on track quickly.' *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

"It's so important—we've got to get confidence back into the market, we've got to get the consumer working again, we've got to get the consumer spending, and yes, maybe saving a little more," said Sen. Loffreda, who also noted that although one of his main concerns is high Canadian household debt, the Canadian consumer accounts for close to 66 per cent of our GDP, "the motor of every economy and vehicle to every recovery."

According to Isabel Jenish, media relations consultant with the Bank of Canada, the most important response to the COVID-19 crisis is through fiscal action.

"Governments are putting out emergency aid packages to help businesses and households bridge this difficult period, whether it's through wage subsidies, commercial rent assistance, or loan programs," wrote Ms. Jenish in an emailed statement to *The Hill Times*.

The Bank's recent purchases of government bonds, a monetary



Outgoing Bank of Canada Governor Stephen Poloz, pictured at a press conference in Ottawa on May 1, has overseen the central bank's response to the coronavirus pandemic, which economists say puts Canada in a different environment than during the 2008-09 recession. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

policy tool that was considered by the Stephen Harper-led Canadian government during the 2008-09 recession but was ultimately shelved, "are reinforcing the bridge by ensuring lending channels continue to function," according to Ms. Jenish.

"With considerable uncertainty in financial markets, institutions that trade in debt markets tend to hold back and prefer cash, resulting in a credit crunch," wrote Ms. Jenish. "To make sure there is enough liquidity in the system, the Bank is buying debt from governments and businesses through an array of different programs."

As announced on March 27, the Bank of Canada committed to purchasing a minimum of \$5-billion of Government of Canada securities in the secondary market each week until the economic

financial sector policy branch at the Department of Finance, said she "wouldn't necessarily call it quantitative easing" when asked by NDP MP Matthew Green (Hamilton Centre, Ont.) if the government was supporting markets through a similar process undertaken by the United States in 2007.

"There are different strategies and approaches, but the facilities that we have do enable a greater liquidity," said Ms. Anderson, pointing to the Bank of Canada's recent launch of a "facility to purchase, on a temporary basis," some provincial debt.

But although the government has been reluctant to officially call the policy "quantitative easing," many economists believe the Bank's recent policies mirror strategies used by central banks in peer economies more than a decade ago.

Fewer policy tools available to feds today, says Tory revenue critic

Conservative MP Pat Kelly (Calgary Rocky Ridge, Alta.), his party's revenue critic, told *The Hill Times* that although the current crisis is different in character than was the case in 2008, Canada was in a much stronger position back then.

"The Harper government was paying off debt, having balanced budgets, a full employment economy, and the government and [then-finance] minister Flaherty took steps that were necessary to steer Canada through that crisis without resorting to quantitative easing," said Mr. Kelly. "They ran a short-term deficit with a clear plan to return to surplus without raising taxes, and the plan was successful and Canada got through that crisis faster and in better financial shape than any other peer economy."

"This time, in this crisis, the Trudeau government had squandered the advantages that were inherited, they had already added \$86-billion in new debt before the crisis, the Canadian economy teetering on the brink of recession before the COVID crisis, so the policy tools available to this government are fewer than were available in the 2008 crisis," according to Mr. Kelly.

But Jeremy Kronick, associate director of research at the C.D. Howe Institute, noted that Canada didn't experience the same housing market bust as the U.S. did more than a decade ago,

and that when the U.S. and the U.K. pursued quantitative easing, "it just wasn't necessary that time here."

"Now, it's just a lot of different—the sheer size of it—there's so much more government debt, both federally and provincially, that's going out there, the size of the balance sheet increases, it's just so much bigger, it's already three times the size it was before this," said Mr. Kronick.

Downturn 'much deeper' in Canada this time, say economists

The biggest difference between 2008-09 and now is that the depth of the downturn in Canada is much deeper this time, said Douglas Porter, chief economist at BMO Financial Group.

"I think Canada was actually on the cusp of embarking on something like quantitative easing back in 2009, but the economy turned just as I think they began to seriously consider it in the spring of 2009," said Mr. Porter. "And they were saved by a nice rebound in commodity prices and in the economy, and as things turned out, we actually had one of the better recoveries in the early stages of the major economies."

Mr. Porter said he thought it was the right call not to embark on quantitative easing at the time, noting that the Bank of Canada was actually raising interest rates as early as 2010 to show how quickly we were able to bounce back from the downturn in its initial stages.

"Insofar as there's any good news, the downside of [this downturn] didn't last long and it does look like we're already beginning to recover, but of course the hole we've dug is so deep, it's going to take a long time to crawl out of this, a lot longer than it took in the last recession," said Mr. Porter.

Mr. Antunes told *The Hill Times* that Canada had a very conservative banking sector back in 2008-09 that didn't really get up in any significant way into the mortgage-backed securities emanating from the U.S., and that our financial service sector in general wasn't stressed nearly to the extent that some of the banks in many other parts of the world were.

"Central banks would be most concerned about the banks themselves, the financial sectors themselves, and this is where these interventions are coming—indirectly in a way," said Mr. Antunes.

Craig Wright, senior vice-president and chief economist at RBC Economics, said he thinks the Bank's actions speak to the depth of the challenge and the weakness that's expected for the Canadian economy.

"What I think differentiates this time versus then is that in 2008-09, the quarterly record was set in a GDP decline of 8.7 per cent," said Mr. Wright. "We'll get a number for Q1 on [May 29], but Stats Canada's preliminary estimates were -10 per cent, so we're already possibly setting a new record this time and I think everyone in this forecast will have Q2 as even weaker."

"I think the more aggressive action this time around is supported by the need based on a harsher outcome for the community," said Mr. Wright.

Politics through an Indigenous lens: are the parties missing an opportunity?

Indigenous leaders have to balance the environment and culture while growing the economy. This can be a playbook for party leaders.



Chris Sankey

Opinion

Although it is commonly believed that Indigenous support for Conservatives is low, an APTN poll taken in the weeks before the 2019 federal election found that Indigenous support was higher for the Conservatives, under Andrew Scheer, than for any other party, at 26 per cent versus 21 per cent for the Liberals, 17 per cent for the NDP, 16 per cent for the Greens, and three per cent for The People's Party.

This is not surprising if you consider some demographics. Indigenous peoples are far more likely to live in rural, remote, and Western regions; are proud of their community and have a greater interest in practical, hands-on learning and occupa-

tions rather than a formal education. Like their rural neighbours, they have recreational interests in hunting, fishing, camping, and snowmobiling, with higher ownership of permits and guns; and are more likely to consider themselves religious or embrace cultural beliefs. Finally, decades of colonialism and imposed dependence have left many Indigenous people mistrustful of the state, leading them to favour self-sufficiency and limited government.

That said, the Conservatives as a political party have done too little to attract Indigenous people to their platform. They pander too much to their far-right base, who are typically less tolerant of diversity, immigration, and social programs, and they don't seem to have Indigenous people at the table. Peter MacKay and Erin O'Toole's communications during the Wet'suwet'en conflict made it obvious they have no close Indigenous advisors on their teams. Their messages did not translate to any grassroots movements where a mass population was watching on the global stage. While everyone wants the economy to jumpstart, Indigenous peoples need to see that the Conservatives will have a serious environmental protection plan.

By contrast, NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh has a charismatic

personality and has showed an understanding of Canada's history with Indigenous peoples. Of anyone, I felt he could have made a real impact in understanding what it would take for Indigenous peoples to get out of poverty and into prosperity. Unfortunately, he lost seats and popularity because of his ethnicity. Even though the Liberal and Conservative parties are considered racist by a lot of Indigenous and immigrant voters, I believe it was Singh's ethnicity

cancelled. Unfortunately for Singh, what he understands from our past, and what he perceives the vast majority of Indigenous people want, are two different things. In the early '90s I once asked my late mother why she supported the NDP? Her reply: "Because they support union workers and that's who my parents support." Indigenous people want greater independence and less reliance on government assistance through good middle-class jobs.

That's not what the 2019 NDP was offering.

Jason Kenney, whether you like him or not, has established a good blueprint for attracting Indigenous and visible minority voters. As the minister of immigration under Stephen Harper, he developed a progressive strategy that not only was good for business and the labour

market, but also attracted large portions of suburban immigrant voters, especially in Ontario, to the Conservative Party. Now as premier of Alberta, he has established the billion-dollar Indigenous Opportunities Corporation and has working relationships with many Indigenous businesspersons, chiefs, and Métis leaders. Kenney has shown that a conservative party can be a diverse party.

It is not a mystery why a large portion of Indigenous and non-



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, left, and NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh have a strong foundation, but Alberta Premier Jason Kenney has established a good blueprint for attracting Indigenous voters. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

that led to a loss of votes amongst its union base—an older, blue collar worker vote—as well as amongst new immigrants and Indigenous voting base. Despite the wonderful country we live in and how far we have come, when it comes to being a country of diversity, we still have much work to do.

Furthermore, the NDP missed the mark when it came to their stance on our energy sector and their approach to climate change that would see many projects can-

Indigenous people voted Liberal. Justin Trudeau's position on climate change and Indigenous relations attracted a younger voting base. The Liberals have done more than any other federal party in memory to make Indigenous policies a top priority.

While much of their work was well intentioned, I felt Trudeau received poor advice. He listened to specific leaders that I felt not only hurt him, but also the country's economy. Bills C-69 and C-48 only served to divide the nations and alienate the many Indigenous communities that rely on resource economies. Similarly, the signing of the Wet'suwet'en MOU will pose problems not only for his government, but for all Indigenous communities in Canada. The government does not understand our hereditary systems, which are complex. To them, it sounds trendy and noble. Unfortunately, our communities have a lot of work ahead of us to settle our governance questions. Trying to sign over lands and rights to families will lead to trouble and further divide.

Indigenous communities want the freedom and independence to make choices for ourselves and not be held back by social welfare. They have an inherent distrust in the government following decades and centuries of harmful policies and poor relations. And they have far more in common with rural, blue-collar voters than with the average professional living in Toronto or Montreal.

There is an opportunity here for all parties to provide real and practical solutions, if they have the wherewithal to take advantage of it. Indigenous leaders have to balance the environment and culture while growing the economy. This can be a playbook for party leaders.

Chris Sankey is president of Blackfish Group of Companies and a former elected Indigenous councillor.

The Hill Times

The year of the fait accompli

Inevitability used to be a campaign strategy; now it's a narrative cudgel.



Lisa Van Dusen

What Fresh Hell

Of all the trends in politics and governance being led by democracy-degrading actors this year—in addition to the usual lying, bullying, and careening

shamelessness—the one that may come to define 2020 is the use of the *fait accompli*.

In the Sunday *New York Times* of Sept. 3, 1939, the lead Page 1 story was a dispatch by Hanson W. Baldwin headlined "Germany's Hope Seen as the Fait Accompli." The story reported German guns along the Vistula signalling "the start of what may turn out to be another world war," and described Adolf Hitler's reliance, not for the first time in his career, on the "strategy of the fait accompli."

Like so many Hitlerian predictions—overweening megalomania, the depreciation of both life and death, the commodification of racism—the *fait accompli* as a strategic gambit has made a comeback lately among disruptive, destructive power players.

What was once—in geostrategic terms as opposed to the *fait accompli* of a doomed love affair or corporate ousting—a military

manoeuvre designed to transform the status quo through overwhelming force and the element of surprise has, in the age of narrative warfare, been 2.0'ed as a manoeuvre designed to expedite outcomes through a combination of overwhelming ruthlessness and unyielding, weaponized guile.

The *fait accompli* strategy has been decoupled by technology—including surveillance, hacking, and viral propaganda—from Clausewitzian notions of war based on territory and material. It has also been detached from the notion of winning hearts and minds as a strategic imperative by practitioners who are using its latest model to destroy the system in which authentic public support is a requirement for governance.

The *fait accompli* in today's terms is not produced by a seized port or a secured border, it's sealed by the narrative catalyst of an election outcome, a previously unthinkable stunt or an ironically

authoritarian piece of legislation that rationalizes every development that comes after it. It did not surface as a tactic of the authoritarian puppet squad I like to call KAOS on Jan. 1—the avoidable immolation of the Amazon rainforest under Jair Bolsonaro that was ignited last year certainly qualifies—but it's been doubled-down on like a worst-case scenario in a sh*tstorm.

The *fait accompli* strategy in its post-internet, 21st-century version deploys propaganda to portray resistance as either destabilizing and reckless or, more subtly, admirable but futile. These days, the same corruption that produces that propaganda preemptively neutralizes obstacles to the *fait* being finagled in the *fait accompli*, whether it's a stolen election, a genocidally mismanaged pandemic, the self-sabotaging truncation of Britain from the European Union, the unilateral annexation of the West Bank or the long-sought subjugation of Hong Kong. The ultimate propaganda goal is only to produce the sense among those who might

prove otherwise that "there is nothing to be done." (See Trump, D., entire presidency.)

Since, in modern warfare, whoever dominates the narrative controls the outcome, the only way to fight the *fait accompli* is to reclaim the plot with truth, transparency, principled dissent, and the kind of resistance that has seemed futile in asymmetrical dynamic after asymmetrical dynamic in previous wars against freedom, until suddenly it wasn't.

On May 24, China's foreign minister, Wang Yi, delivered a classic *fait accompli* message intended to expedite a new status quo. "We must get it done without the slightest delay," he said of Beijing's plan to install its national security agencies in Hong Kong under the new Basic Law. Meanwhile, in the split-screen of Hong Kong, protesters were fighting back.

Lisa Van Dusen is associate editor of Policy Magazine and was a Washington and New York-based editor at UPI, AP, and ABC. She writes a weekly column for The Hill Times.

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Editorial

Lack of trust in government could begin with lack of presence in House

According to a new joint survey by Léger and the Association for Canadian Studies, half of respondents felt governments were deliberately keeping information about the COVID-19 pandemic hidden.

It was an even 50-50 split nationally between those who said the government is “telling the whole truth” and those who said information is being deliberately withheld. Of those who were more likely to fall on the “truth is out there” spectrum, were respondents from Quebec (60 per cent said they think there’s hidden information) and those aged 35 to 54 (57 per cent). The more trusting demographics could be found in Ontario (55 per cent said they think governments are spilling all the beans), and those aged 55 and up (56 per cent).

As Mike Lapointe reported in *The Hill Times* recently, Canadians’ trust in government has been one of the biggest surges since January, but it’s not something that’s likely going to last. If half of Canadians feel governments are keeping a lid on pertinent information about the coronavirus, that lid could become a valley pretty quickly, as the mistrust seeps into other areas of life, especially the country’s economic recovery.

Just look abroad to the United Kingdom, where Prime Minister Boris Johnson saw his approval rating plummet by 20 percentage points in four days amid a row over how his closest adviser flouted the country’s lockdown rules.

One of the areas in which the federal government could attempt to pull back the curtain and prove to the nation that it has nothing to hide is by finding a workable solution to having Parliament

sit—and actually put some spring in its step about it.

The Liberals asked the Speaker of the House at the beginning of April to look at ways to hold virtual sittings of Parliament. House Speaker Anthony Rota told the government it would take a few weeks, but his team came back with a seemingly workable solution that had been tested earlier in May to allow MPs to participate in parliamentary debate and proceedings either from the Chamber or via videoconference.

Instead of collaborating with the other parties to get that system going in a way that could allow for the resumption of at least some House proceedings, the Liberals instead introduced a new plan, that would essentially continue the status quo with the COVID-19 special committee.

The newest plan allows for four parliamentary sittings during what would typically be the summer recess in July and August. In the meantime, the Procedure and House Affairs Committee has been tasked with more work on the virtual Parliament front, this time honing in on recommendations from its May 15 report to find a workable remote electronic voting scheme.

The Liberals appeased the NDP into supporting this by saying Prime Minister Justin Trudeau would talk to the provinces about paid sick leave—which doesn’t mean it’s a done deal, despite what the New Democrats’ fundraising emails would have supporters believe.

Everyone with the power to negotiate on what virtual or hybrid House sittings could look like has dropped the ball here in not finding a way forward. And if Canadians lose trust in the government, this should be where the finger pointing starts.

The Hill Times

Letters to the Editor

Canada should seize this opportunity to invest in a green recovery, says letter-writer

Canada is in the middle of a crisis as it responds to the COVID-19 pandemic; continuing to subsidize oil, gas, and petrochemical production puts Canadians at risk. Expanding fossil fuel infrastructure compromises our health and accelerates climate change. Furthermore, since this crisis hit, the economics of energy have changed drastically and many of the proposed projects are no longer financially viable.

Canada should seize this opportunity to invest in a green recovery that would create employment for many and further the transition to a clean economy. Investments should help to retrofit buildings, expand public transit, promote use of electric vehicles and support renewable-energy production, among other initiatives. Canada should not invest

in industries that exploit this unprecedented health crisis to roll back environmental protection and Canadian policy to fight climate change, in line with the Paris agreement.

The oil and gas lobby has secretly asked the federal government for massive exemptions from rules intended to protect public health, land, water, and climate. This is unacceptable and must be opposed. Fortunately, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s government has taken some steps to use public funds to repair the damage that the oil and gas industry has done, such as clean up orphaned and abandoned wells. However, much more needs to be done, with the goal of making Canada carbon-neutral by 2050.

Peter Schmolka
 Ottawa, Ont.

Switching to plant-based agriculture might help us save ourselves

The coronavirus could kill one per cent of the population. In contrast, climate change, species extinction, and other forms of ecological collapse could kill us all.

Humans are responsible for the unraveling of the natural world. We can expect social collapse, mass starvation, drought, deadly heat, and war in the not-too-distant future if we continue with business as usual, expecting infinite growth on a finite planet.

We need to transition from fossil fuels to green energy, but there is another, even more simple solution that doesn’t involve new, possibly yet-to-be-developed technology. If we do it quickly enough, we might be able to save ourselves.

Let us transition to plant-based eating and stop all animal agriculture and trade.

We will take all the land being used to grow feed for factory-farmed animals—land the size of the African continent—and return it to forest. We will trap or sequester decades’ worth of greenhouse gases in trees in those restored forests. Wildlife populations will re-establish themselves.

I urge governments and industry to find solutions to the ecological crisis. Stop all subsidies and supply management funding to animal agriculture and divert funds to help farmers transition to plant-based agriculture, so we can return to greener, wilder times.

Edelweiss D’Andrea
 Ottawa, Ont.

Bigger is not always better, say farm advocates

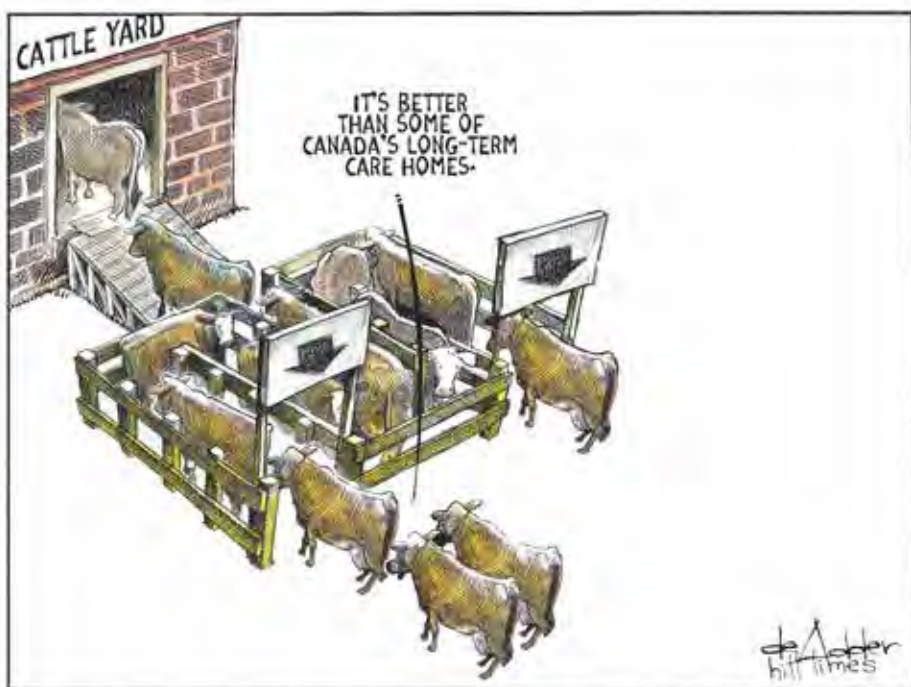
The recent closures of meat packing plants in Alberta, Quebec, and several American states due to the COVID-19 pandemic are shedding light on the tremendous expense of this style of massive meat processing operation. The expense borne by the workers at the plants is the greatest of all, their health threatened so severely, even causing death to two Cargill workers in Alberta. However, the expense doesn’t stop there, as consumers are expected to see meat prices jump, farmers have seen the prices paid for their animals drop by more than 30 per cent and taxpayers will ultimately pay the price to help bail out this sector.

Several decades ago, when the move to close smaller slaughterhouses in favour of building huge single-entity plants was happening, the rationale was that there were going to be tremendous efficiencies in doing this. National Farmers Union studies showed that the promised efficiencies of consumers seeing cheaper meat and farmers making a decent living simply did not materialize. The spread between what farmers are paid for

their animals and what consumers pay for meat has grown. The working conditions at the plants with thousands of animals being slaughtered each day are stressful at the best of times and downright dangerous now. Farmers suddenly have nowhere to sell their animals and consumers are starting to see less meat on the shelves.

Now is the time to look at how we can build a meat-processing system that will not cause these massive problems. A move to build smaller, safer slaughter plants in each province would help to disperse the threats to food security. We could assure meat supply from local farms to meet local demands. If one plant was forced to close it would not disrupt the food chain across the entire country. Providing safe secure food from local farms to local consumers is entirely possible without putting meat packing workers at risk. Surely we’ve learned that bigger is not always better.

Vicki Burns
 Winnipeg, Man.
 Fred Tait
 Rossendale, Man.



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China is hardening, not softening, and we should be concerned

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has been loath to criticize Beijing for its long list of offences because he knows the key to getting a Security Council seat next month depends on Chinese influence.



Andrew Caddell

With All Due Respect

KAMOURASKA, QUE.—Here in Quebec's Lower Saint Lawrence region, winter turns

quickly to summer, and the priority is to avoid COVID-19. Even so far away, the virus reminds us of our connections with China. So it is worrisome to hear of the crackdown on democracy in Hong Kong as the former colony's "Basic Law" is gutted by the Chinese Communist Party of "leader for life" Xi Jinping.

After several months of demonstrations against a law threatening to deport "criminal suspects" to the mainland, Beijing plans to pass a law at the National People's Congress banning "treason, secession, sedition, and subversion."

It has also directed its hand-picked chief executive, Carrie Lam, to speak of the new law in glowing terms. She says the bill would target "only a handful of people," but ominously added: "Rights and freedoms are not absolute."

This is the classic hard line of the Chinese Communist Party against its own people. From the Great Leap Forward of the 1950s, which is estimated to have caused upwards of 45 million deaths, to Tiananmen Square in 1989, where thousands of students and protesters were killed. It was a key reason Britain was so reluctant to hand Hong Kong over to China in 1997, but it hammered out the

moderate "Basic Law" to allow a semblance of democracy. No more, it seems.

In his best-selling (900 million copies) *Quotations from Chairman Mao*, Mao Zedong wrote: "All political power comes from the barrel of a gun." The book was popular among western students in the 1970s; how naive we were.

When China modernized in the 1990s, western leaders had expectations that the pragmatism of Deng Xiaoping would lead to a more open society. China was admitted into the World Trade Organization in 2001, promising to follow the rules of international trade.

But China always plays by its own rules. Whether sending a million Muslim Uighurs to "re-education camps," suppressing Tibet, or persecuting the Falun Gong movement, it will always deal severely with those who don't toe the Communist Party line.

And while the growth of its economy has been extraordinary, the four key prongs of the Chinese economic "miracle" have been the use of sovereign wealth funds fully integrated with large state-owned enterprises, the use of its intelligence agencies to steal patents and acquire corporate information from the West, and the



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau pictured shaking hands with Chinese President Xi Jinping on Dec. 5, 2017 during a trip to Beijing. If Hong Kong's protests against Chinese intervention continue, there will probably be consequences for Canada, writes Andrew Caddell. *PMO photograph by Adam Scotti*

use of slave labour in infrastructure and manufacturing.

In the early 2000s, Canada was one of China's greatest enablers. In the then-named department of foreign affairs and international trade, we talked of "global rebalancing" as China returned to the dominance it held in the 16th century and we eagerly sought to engage China.

However, with the rise of Xi, China became more insular. The Chinese rationale is it is too large a country to allow democracy, as a more open society would fall apart. Meanwhile, it rattles its sabre at its neighbours in the South China Sea and the "province" of Taiwan.

Before COVID-19, Canada had repeatedly turned the other cheek to China. When we criticized it, it blocked our meat exports. When we arrested Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou, it detained and jailed two of our citizens, Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor. This is an international scandal, equivalent to the taking of American hostages in Iran in the 1980s.

Why have we been so tolerant?

Within the UN system, China has skillfully sought control, using its leverage with the

134-member developing-nation bloc, the "G77," to put its citizens in positions of control. This is why Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has been so loath to criticize Beijing for its long list of offences: he knows the key to getting a Security Council seat next month depends on Chinese influence.

But even if we do beat the odds and win the seat, is it really worth sacrificing our reputation for what amounts to a vanity project?

And now the crackdown on Hong Kong, with China using an axe instead of a scalpel. If Hong Kong's protests continue, there will probably be consequences for Canada, as 300,000 Hong Kong Canadians decide to leave. If Hong Kong's protests spread to the mainland, either Xi will be ousted or we will see China reminding us political power comes from the barrel of a gun.

Andrew Caddell is retired from *Global Affairs Canada*, where he was a senior policy adviser. He previously worked as an adviser to Liberal governments. He is a fellow with the *Canadian Global Affairs Institute* and a principal of *QIT Canada*. He can be reached at pipson52@hotmail.com.

The Hill Times

Virus-hounded Trump digs in for most ugly, unpredictable electoral free-for-all ever

With Donald Trump's future in doubt after Nov. 3, the president's approach is degenerating into an implacable embrace of ugly, unhinged, and extremist behaviour.



Les Whittington

Need to Know

OTTAWA—Exposed by the pandemic as an incompetent, uncaring con man, U.S. President Donald Trump has ditched any semblance of respect for American democratic tradition in a naked bid for power and re-election.

With Trump's future in doubt after Nov. 3, the president's approach is degenerating into an

implacable embrace of the ugly, unhinged, and extremist behaviour that brought his presidency into disrepute with all but his cult-like voting base. Declaring he is above the law, championing conspiracy theories, appealing to the most racist, violence-minded fringe groups in the midst of an emergency, and amplifying scurrilous verbal attacks on female political opponents, the president—with the help of his Republican colleagues—is laying the groundwork for the most vicious, unpredictable election season imaginable.

The media and other U.S. institutions already seem overwhelmed. Mostly lost in the shuffle, for instance, is Trump's attempt to reactivate the racism that helped him win in 2016 by making former president Barack Obama a central target of unfounded conspiracy theories. In doing so, he has plunged his country into the political morass associated with dictatorships by insinuating Obama should be jailed for corruption in connection with so-called "Obamagate."

This threat breaks new ground. "You've got a president who's talking about putting the previous one in legal jeopardy, to put it nicely," historian Michael Beschloss told MSNBC. "We have not seen a situation like that in history."

The "Obamagate" atrocity is linked to Trump's efforts, with the help of Attorney General William Barr, to upend American jurisprudence by politicizing the traditionally independent justice department. Along the same lines, the president is steadily undercutting the independent watchdogs put in place by the U.S. Congress after Watergate. And he continues to defy Congressional oversight powers at the heart of U.S. government, asking the courts to thwart efforts by legislators to uncover his tax and financial records and see undisclosed details from the investigation of Russian election interference.

To shift blame for the deaths of 100,000 Americans, Trump has scapegoated China, saying, contrary to U.S. intelligence findings, that COVID-19 originated in a Wuhan lab. No doubt this has contributed to the flare-up in hate crimes against Asians.

Positioning himself as the torch-bearer of the economic recovery after COVID is now the key to Trump's re-election strategy and he is showing he won't hesitate to use any and all means to fan the anger and division that sprung up around the crisis. Ignoring his own government's guidelines for safe reopening, Trump has seized on impatience with the lockdown, particularly among his base, to champion

American "warriors" wanting to return to normal life despite the still-spreading COVID-19.

He traffics unashamedly in the anti-science bias motivating many of his backers. Having absurdly touted an anti-malaria drug as a COVID cure, the president alleges tests showing it ineffective and dangerous are political hit jobs. Elected Democrats, Trump claims, are courting death by trying to worsen the government's COVID response—all to help them win in November.

In a shameless appeal to evangelicals, the president demanded churches reopen, saying these "essential" services were being thwarted by "a lot of Democratic governors" who are anti-religion. With an eye toward the election, Trump has renounced what many would see as the president's role as a steadying hand in all this to instead inflame the culture war that has broken out in the U.S. around government controls to fight the epidemic.

Trump has publicized and promoted anti-lock-down protests that have drawn many Trumpers along with violence-preaching, white supremacy fringe groups. He has criticized governors in key battleground states like Michigan and Pennsylvania for their COVID-related restrictions.

Things are likely to get very ugly. Hardly bothering to hide

their motivation, Trump's Republican allies in the Senate are gearing up to use their investigative powers to try by November to tarnish Joe Biden, the presumptive Democratic nominee, over his son's business activities in Ukraine or over the Obama government's decision to probe Russia's role in the 2016 U.S. presidential vote.

Attempting to suppress the Nov. 3 vote turnout, Trump and the Republican party are engaged in a US\$20-million initiative to block states from implementing mail-in balloting because of COVID, with the president so far threatening to block federal funding for Michigan and Nevada because of it.

Trump is fixated on totally baseless claims about voter fraud, including that it was the reason he lost the popular vote four years ago, and the many Americans worried about his readiness to accept the outcome of this year's election cannot have been assuaged last week to hear the president claiming the Democrats are out steal the 2016 version.

"The United States cannot have all Mail-In Ballots," Trump raged on Twitter. "It will be the greatest Rigged Election in history ... trying to use Covid for this Scam!"

Les Whittington is a regular columnist for *The Hill Times*.

The Hill Times

Opinion

Party leaders putting party staffers in dicey position by taking wrong-smelling wage subsidy

Taking CEWS is not the great equalizer for Canada's federal political parties—it does not make them like the rest of us or preserve their place as key Canadian institutions.



Tim Powers

Plain Speak

OTTAWA—On the surface, it is symbolically stupid for Canadian political parties—including the federal Liberals, Conservatives, and New Democrats—to be claiming the Canada Emergency Wage Subsidy (CEWS). While they are eligible to receive this support because they are classified as not-for-profit organizations and therefore able to get assistance, it just smells wrong.

Why? While this likely was not the intention when CEWS was being designed, it looks like the legislators who unanimously approved this program were acting in their self-interest. In the case of the Liberals and the Conservatives, both parties have recorded healthy annual fundraising numbers and financial reserves and have strong relationships with financial institutions. So, it is likely they could use their own money, rather than taxpayers', to pay staff during this challenging time. While the circumstances of the NDP might be different, it is hard to imagine they could not find support somewhere to keep them afloat.

The prime minister seemed to recognize it was hard to polish the turd of accepting CEWS when asked about it at his regular press briefing on May 25. A *Globe and Mail* reporter asked him if he could justify his party accepting the wage subsidy. Doing his best political non-answer, he said the program was a good program and it was helping people. It was hard even for the prime minister to keep a straight face as delivered that painful bafflegab. He did not want to be caught defending some-

thing he rightly senses most of the country would have trouble swallowing. No speaking moistly here anyone.

Conservative leadership candidates Peter MacKay and Erin O'Toole jumped on their own party for looking at taking CEWS. This was not a brave move, but an obvious one. Nonetheless, sometimes the obvious choice has not been clear to the contenders in this race, so hooray for walking and chewing gum at the same time. It was about time for that to happen.

People who work for political parties are no less important than any other worker in Canadian society. The ones I know across all parties work extremely hard, are passionate about what they do, and have families with mouths to feed like the rest of us. However, where their work differs from others, and most are fully aware of this, is they toil in a precarious profession where their future is shaped by the political environment of the day. When they join up, they know everything from an election defeat to a bad policy choice can cost them their jobs. If it were security of employment they wanted, they would look elsewhere.

Their bosses should not be putting them in a disadvantageous position by turning CEWS into a discussion about the fate of employees; rather, they should be looking to lead with other solutions. If that means dipping into reserves or borrowing money from a financial institution, then so be it. As unfair as it may be, nobody is going to have a pity party over the fate of political party employees. They are going to be publicly derided because their bosses took the easy money as they look to run away from the story.

Public money is not a new thing in federal politics. As the CBC's Eric Grénier well detailed in a recent article, "political parties receive taxpayer subsidies worth tens

of millions of dollars each year." So, the argument goes, what is a few more bucks? Grénier says the wage subsidy for political party workers across the spectrum would cost around \$670,000. Pennies, really. But it is the principle of it.

Taking CEWS is not the great equalizer for Canada's federal political parties—it does not make them like the rest of us or preserve their place as key Canadian institutions. Rather, it looks self-interested and hypocritical, particularly when we are all told daily by most of these parties that we must make sacrifices for the benefit of the greater good. This is not sacrifice, it is opportunism paid for by you and me.

Tim Powers is vice-chairman of *Summa Strategies* and managing director of *Abacus Data*. He is a former adviser to Conservative political leaders.

The Hill Times

It's time to learn from free trade talks and boost COVID-19 collaboration

Most regulators share the common goal of protecting the health and safety of their citizens. So why not accept the results of testing that trusted colleagues have already undertaken?



Deena Horton & Jean Charest

Opinion

Canadians are poised for a return to work. It will be a "new normal" with the emphasis on public health. Drawing from trade negotiation experience, we can protect ourselves by incorporating standards and certification reflecting international collaboration and consensus. The government is already pursuing this route as it collaborates internationally in the search for a vaccine. Now is the time to step up collaboration with trusted partners on testing.

Everyone seems to agree that testing will be key to successfully restarting our economies, and to controlling relapses. Yet, testing is lagging far behind our needs in terms of being able to test large swaths of the population.

Testing of both asymptomatic and symptomatic citizens is said to be the only way that we will be able to end the social distancing and isolation measures that have kept offices shuttered and employees at home, write Deena Horton and Jean Charest. Photograph



Testing of both asymptomatic and symptomatic citizens is said to be the only way that we will be able to end the social distancing and isolation measures that have kept offices shuttered and employees at home, write Deena Horton and Jean Charest. Photograph

We are not medical professionals, so we are not about to comment on medical issues, but here is where the issue of mutual acceptance of certification comes in. This has been a staple element of free trade agreement negotiations (where we do have some familiarity) and is fully appropriate and relevant to this situation.

From the beginnings of the NAFTA through the CPTPP, trade negotiations have recognized that products can differ, but still meet performance requirements. And coming to grips with differing standards can be a deterrent to entering new markets, especially for smaller firms. Helping the global south with ensuring that their needs are met through regulations

has been a part of Canada's engagement with emerging economies.

Most regulators share the common goal of protecting the health and safety of their citizens. Many regulators know one another from attending international conferences and sharing information on common challenges. So why not accept the results of testing that trusted colleagues have already undertaken? Another thought—why not divvy up the testing? Presumably the same companies (including those from China) are applying for approval in Canada, the U.S., Japan, and the EU. Perhaps the approval process for these tests can be recognized by others so that each regulatory authority can focus on fewer applications?

While Health Canada's approval for general use of rapid COVID-19 diagnostic test kits is currently on hold, these kits and others will go a long way to eventually allowing the gradual opening of the economy. Diagnostic testing, coupled with antibody serology testing used to determine who had been affected in the past, will be critical. Not just to diagnose an active infection, but also to look at who may be immune in order to allow them back into the workforce. And examining economies in Asia and beyond, which are already restarting, shows that contact tracing will be another piece to the final blueprint to economic revival.

Look at the totality of what is unfolding—here is not where we should necessarily be following the U.S. lead—the U.S. is scrambling to catch up itself. Let's take a look at New Zealand, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, for example, where there

has been some success. All our data will need to be mobilized, and we should be reaching out to our trading partners and their regulators to find the best models to follow, and the best tests and policy options to be adopted in Canada. Recognition of systems and products that have had a proven effect should be taken without prejudice, assuming that the results are credible.

Efforts to step up mutual recognition would also benefit Canadian companies who have developed innovative tests. Cities are facing bankruptcy, there is a shortage of reagents and swabs, there are millions unemployed—if testing is key to our economic survival, then let's do whatever it takes to work with our colleagues and partners around Asia and the EU to reduce unnecessary regulatory barriers. Let's take the next step to mutual recognition of approvals and certification of testing results to ensure that Canada has the most rapid and efficient access to globally proven products and services that will allow us to overcome COVID-19.

Deanna Horton is a fellow at the *Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto* and the *Canadian Global Affairs Institute*. Jean Charest is a partner at *McCarthy Tétrault* and was premier of Quebec from 2003 to 2012.

The Hill Times

Not playing house: women's work deserves equitable treatment in COVID recovery

Recovery without effective, equitable child care may result in a shrinking of the workforce, as more and more women may choose to opt out entirely because the burden is too great.



Erica Ifill

Bad+Bitchy

OTTAWA—The die has been cast. Game on, Canada.

Last week, Shopify announced that it is switching to a “digital by default” model of human resources that requires all 5,000 of its employees to work from home indefinitely. This move follows similar ones by Twitter, Square, and Facebook to move permanently to a work-from-home model, while Google has extended its work-from-home horizon until the end of the year. As Tobi Lutke, Shopify’s CEO, tweeted: “Until recently, work happened in the office. We’ve always had some people remote, but they used the internet as a bridge to the office. This will reverse now. The future of the office is to act as an on-ramp to the same digital workplace that you can access from your #WFH setup. This means that the work experience should be the same for everyone who works together at Shopify no matter where they are working from.”

Well isn’t that a quaint concept from Neverland. The idea of sameness is exactly what keeps us from reaching equality; recognizing that everyone comes from a different place and recognizing the needs of those differences is equity. And work-from-home policies are anything but equitable.

Women, surely, are not finding the current remote-work situation equitable.

Women continue to be largely responsible for reproductive work. A policy brief on the gender impacts of COVID-19 from the Institute for Gender and the Economy at the Rotman School of Management explains how women disproportionately shoulder the household burden: “As countries go into lockdown, women’s domestic work burden increases. When schools and daycares close and social distancing measures are put into place, caregiving is moved back into the home, and grandparents or other relatives cannot provide care. Further, sick and/or self-isolating people also need caregiving.” Without daycare, schools, or other social supports, women are stuck with both the professional burden of working full-time while taking care of children and attending to cooking, cleaning, and laundry.

What do men do? Not nearly as much. And this differential in household duties means that women are more likely to reach a breaking point and leave the workplace.

Indeed, this pandemic could result in a reduction of women’s labour participation, thereby shrinking our labour pool. That’s not a recipe for economic growth.

Over the weekend, Twitter lit up, with a long-form piece in *The Lilly* as its catalyst. The piece brought home that women’s paid labour, already paid at a fraction of white men’s labour, is under threat as women move into the role of caretaker, or unpaid labourer. The real reason Twitter lit up was because we all concluded that one of the women featured was married to a wasteman—a stay-at-home dad who didn’t want to take care of his own kid, but was “considering his options.” Due to his laziness, his wife had to dissolve the company she founded, one that was devoted to hiring and promoting women of colour. All 13 of those employees have lost their jobs because one privileged luddite of a man didn’t pitch in.

But if it’s this bad with men around, what about single mothers?

According to Statistics Canada, there were 689,000 lone-parent families in 2014, of which women led 81 per cent. At that time, between a quarter and one-third of these women worked in the sales and service industry and 12.6 per cent of them were in the health-care industry. These industry categories indicate that these women may be more susceptible to contracting COVID-19 as essential workers, resulting in an additional burden for single mothers. In addition, the burden of domestic work—without child care—has served to stretch single mothers into panic. Daycares are closed, summer camps may be out for the season, babysitters are mostly out, as well as domestic care, usually performed by immigrants of colour who have their own families to worry about during COVID-19. All these fundamental supports that are critical to balance both work and home life are gone.

Seems like old Black women were right: it takes a village to raise a child (we’ll forget that this was the title of Hillary Clinton’s picture book).

This is exactly why we need a feminist recovery. And when I say feminist, I don’t mean “white women by default.” I mean intersectional feminism (or intersectionality, coined by Columbia Law professor, Kimberlé Crenshaw) where the intersections of identity are fully realized in the policy-making space, which they currently are not. If your feminist policies aren’t intersectional, they’re just white supremacy in a skirt.

Hawaii introduced it, why can’t we?

Specifically, as a means to “diversify and reshape the economy,” Hawaii’s Commission on the Status of Women introduced policies that would engender some serious pearl-clutching in this country. These policies include the move from militarization and the move towards care-giving and equity including free, publicly funded child care for all essential workers. Ontario is already doing this so it shouldn’t be hard to make it permanent. Recovery without effective, equitable child care may result in a shrinking of the workforce, as more and more women may choose to opt out entirely because the burden is too great.

It’s obvious that Shopify performed zero gender-based analyses or equity analyses for this move, and that’s at a detriment to staff that aren’t cis-gendered white men.

Erica Ifill is a co-host of the *Bad+Bitchy* podcast.

The Hill Times

What’s good for the Venezuela goose should be good for the U.S. gander

Chrystia Freeland should assemble the Lima Group and recognize Barack Obama as the interim acting U.S. president until their election in November.



Scott Taylor

Inside Defence

OTTAWA—In early May, we had that bizarre little incident wherein a handful of mercenaries attempted to overthrow the Venezuelan government. The 60 or so would be “liberators” were easily defeated by security forces loyal to President Nicolás Maduro, with eight killed and the remainder captured. Among these captured were two ex-American Special Forces operatives who worked for the Florida-based security firm Silvercorp.

The president-founder of Silvercorp is Canadian-born Jordan Goudreau, who served a stint in the Canadian Armed Forces before joining the U.S. military to become a Special Forces operative.

Goudreau did not take part in the actual attack, but he did announce the attempted coup d’état on May 3 before the raid began. Once the attempted liberation devolved into a chaotic botched fiasco, our good man Goudreau told the media that he had been contracted by Juan Guaidó to overthrow Maduro.

To prove his point, Goudreau produced a contract complete with Guaidó’s signature dated October 2019. In exchange for US\$213-million, Silvercorp was to invade Venezuela and overthrow Maduro.

The comical ending to the Silvercorp coup attempt is embarrassing for Canada because Guaidó is the man that Canada chose to be the president of Venezuela. Guaidó never ran in a presidential election, but when the voters of that country re-elected Maduro to a second term in 2018, outside countries did not like the outcome.

Under the direction of then-minister of global affairs Chrystia Freeland, Canada formed a collection of 14 American States, which has become known as the Lima Group.

In January 2019, the Lima Group recognized Guaidó as Venezuela’s president.



Scott Taylor asks: If Juan Guaidó can be named as Venezuela’s president by a group of outside nations, then why not do the same for the U.S. and Donald Trump? *White House photograph by Tia*

Since then a total of 60 countries have followed suit and meddled in Venezuela’s internal politics by recognizing the unelected Guaidó as that nation’s president.

If that is how we are doing things these days, why not set our collective sights on the U.S.? During the COVID-19 crisis, Donald Trump has become increasingly unhinged and the American people are suffering dire consequences as a result of his demented leadership. Case in point, at a recent press conference Trump suddenly blurted out that he has been taking the anti-malaria drug hydroxychloroquine as a preventive measure to ward off COVID-19.

While the media broadcast his stated claim, the fact is that virtually nobody believes he was telling the truth. There is no proven science that hydroxychloroquine protects against COVID-19, but it is known to have harmful side effects for patients that are obese or have heart conditions. Trump is obese and has a heart disease, say some medical observers. No doctor would let him take the drug.

On May 20, Trump doubled down on the lie when he told reporters that he would stop taking hydroxychloroquine in two days because that is when its two week “regimen” would be up. Hydroxychloroquine is a prophylactic drug not an antibiotic—it does not have a “regimen,” meaning it only works when you take it.

The majority of the “fake news” during this pandemic has come from the mouth of the POTUS. As late as March 1, he was telling Americans that the virus was a Democrat “hoax.” He also stated that it would go away by itself in the warmer weather, he mused about ingesting bleach as a possible cure, he refuses to wear a mask even while touring a mask-making plant, and now he is bragging that it is a “badge of honour” for the U.S. to be leading the world in all statistics: the most tested, the most cases, and the most deaths.

Maduro may be a bad hombre but I do not think he has ever boasted that he succeeded in leading the world in dead Venezuelans.

If Guaidó can be named as that country’s president by a group of outside nations, then why not do the same for the U.S.? Freeland should assemble the Lima Group and recognize Barack Obama as the interim acting U.S. president until their election in November. At least Obama was once elected president by the American People.

However, we all know that this will never happen, even though Trump’s continued presidency threatens the entire world. Which makes it all the more puzzling that Canada would still be leading the way to interfere in Venezuela’s politics.

Military coups are not a democratic process.

Scott Taylor is the editor and publisher of *Esprit de Corps* magazine.

The Hill Times

Canada's next trade battle: consensus building at the WTO

A Global Affairs trade official told the House Committee on International Trade in March that Canada has had little engagement with the United States on reforming the WTO to date.

Continued from page 1

reforms at the World Trade Organization amid COVID-19, but some experts say progress won't be made until after the next U.S. election as the American government is not currently engaging in the process.

International Trade Minister Mary Ng (Markham-Thornhill, Ont.) is spearheading the Ottawa Group—whose members include Australia, Brazil, Chile, the European Union, Japan, Kenya, South Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, and Switzerland—to build consensus around modernization of the 164-member World Trade Organization (WTO). The group was formed in 2018.

The WTO has been burdened by the assault on trade norms from the Trump administration, including the hollowing out of its dispute settlement appeal body. In response to the impasse, an alternate trade appeals forum was struck between some WTO members, but without the participation of the U.S.

University of Ottawa emeritus law professor Debra Steger, who was the Canadian senior negotiator on dispute settlement and the formation of the WTO, said the appeal body issue is the “symptom of the malaise” that started with protectionist actions and WTO members not abiding by the rules which in turn threatens the trading system.

“If any one of [the WTO member states], especially the most powerful ones, individually do things that threaten the organization then the house of cards will start to tumble, and that's what's happened in effect,” she said.

Prof. Steger called the work of the Ottawa Group “very important” and said “it should continue” in order to lay the groundwork for when there is political consensus for WTO reforms.

“In order to really prepare the ground ... it is important for like-minded countries to develop some proposals ahead of time so that when countries who are not prepared to get serious about these issues now, so that when they are ready politically [there are] some well-thought-out proposals [that]



Mary Ng became Canada's international trade minister last November taking over leadership of the Ottawa Group, an initiative of past trade minister Jim Carr. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

are ready to move forward on later,” she said.

“All of a sudden what will happen is prime ministers and presidents of the most powerful countries will say, ‘We're doing it now,’” said Prof. Steger, citing her experience as a negotiator during the Uruguay Round—a nearly eight-year process which led to the creation of the WTO in 1995.

She added that the process won't start until after the U.S. election in November and until the WTO gets a new director general. In a surprise move, Roberto Azevêdo announced that he would be resigning from the international body at the end of August, a year prior to his term expiring.

Appearing in a Peterson Institute for International Economics virtual event on May 22, Ms. Ng said that the Ottawa Group “can only do so much.”

“Ultimately, WTO reform efforts will require the engagement of all members to succeed,” she said.

Testifying before the House of Commons Committee on International Trade in March, Global Affairs trade negotiations director general Kendal Hembroff said U.S. engagement in the efforts have been “quite limited.”

“We feel that U.S. engagement is absolutely essential, and we have looked for every opportunity to engage the United States,” she said. “It's not just on appellate body reform, but on WTO reform issues more generally. Certainly when the United States is ready to engage, we will be ready at the table.”

The committee was in the early stages of a study on Canada's efforts to reform the WTO before the House of Commons was

adjourned due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Ms. Ng said Canada has been able to build consensus around the role of the WTO and the role of multilateral systems, adding that a series of WTO joint statements on keeping barrier-free

policy studies professor, said those joint statements require a degree of consensus building.

“Despite all the difficulty of countries communicating with each other at the moment, large numbers of countries were able to get together and agree on these

He added that it would be “very helpful” if proposals forwarded by the Ottawa Group were endorsed by China and the United States. But he said at the WTO consensus is needed across the body for change.

“Everyone has the right to say, ‘I'm not joining that consensus.’ When small countries refuse to join a consensus on a really big issue, it sometimes happens that the chair of the meeting just doesn't notice them, saying that they're not part of the consensus,” Prof. Wolfe said. “But you can't not notice Europe or the United States or China. In that sense their agreement matters.”

Peter Clark, a trade consultant at Grey, Clark, Shih, and Associates, said the work of the Ottawa Group is to build consensus among middle powers and then sell their reform ideas to China, the U.S., the EU, and Japan.

“I don't know how optimistic we can be until the election is over,” said Mr. Clark, a former Canadian liaison to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, a predecessor to the WTO.

He added that even if U.S. President Donald Trump loses the next election, it doesn't ensure the stalemate at the WTO will be improved.

Mr. Clark said Canada relies on the WTO more than many other countries.

“Canada's a middle power which is more heavily dependant on exports than most. We really do need the rules-based system,” he said.

“If you didn't have the WTO you'd have to invent it.”

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The trade policies of the Trump administration has sent the world trading system into chaos. *White House photograph by Shealah Craighead*

trade links open during the pandemic serve to prepare for future trade policy action.

The reforms being looked at aren't just minor tweaks, Ms. Hembroff told the committee.

“We are looking at fairly substantive changes, both through the negotiations we are undertaking and in terms of some of the more procedural elements,” she said. “Ultimately, WTO reform is not something that will happen overnight. It is something that will take many years to accomplish, and it will have many moving pieces.”

Former trade official Robert Wolfe, now a Queen's University

statements. That's encouraging,” he said.

Prof. Wolfe said maintaining momentum in the reform process is of “relatively immediate importance,” as things that would effect the response to the pandemic are part of the reform work, like the monitoring process to alert WTO member states to how the pandemic is impacting global trade.

He added that reforms will require the endorsement of the world's major economic powers.

“If the U.S., the EU, and China don't want the system to change, it won't change,” Prof. Wolfe said.



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Canada-U.S. Relations Policy Briefing



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and U.S. President Donald Trump have divergent political interests that will lead to tough talks on reopening the border, said Chris Sands, director of the Wilson Center's Canada Institute. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade, White House photograph by Shealah Craighead

Post-pandemic world presents real opportunity to change U.S.-Canada relationship, experts say

As the COVID-19 pandemic rages and the American election gets closer, Canadian foreign policy experts weigh in on how the pandemic has affected bilateral relations, and where we go from here.

BY AIDAN CHAMANDY

As the November U.S. presidential election approaches, with the prospect of a second-Trump term a real possibility, and the COVID-19 pandemic upending life on both sides of the border, some Canadian foreign policy experts say they expect the fallout from the pandemic will have a lasting effect on the bilateral relationship and the post-pandemic period presents a good opportunity for Canadian foreign policy practitioners to take novel approaches to the age-old problem of over reliance on trade with the United States, regardless of who sits behind the Resolute desk on Jan. 20, 2021.

One of the most high-profile issues currently facing the relationship is managing the nearly 6,500-kilometre border, especially as both countries begin to gradually reopen and COVID-19 cases continue to spike in certain locales.

Both countries have agreed to keep the border closed to non-essential travellers until at least June 21. Certain cross-border health-care workers are permitted entry to either country, and trade and commerce continue to flow. Refugee claimants who cross into Canada at official points of entry and meet certain eligibility criteria under the Safe Third Country Agreement are also allowed to enter.

The decision on when and how to open the border will likely become a much more difficult issue to manage as time passes, given the divergent political incentives of U.S. President Donald Trump and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.), said Christopher Sands, director of the D.C.-based Wilson Center's Canada Institute.

The two leaders' differing political incentives are based "on the election cycle and the economy," Mr. Sands said. "Trudeau was hit in the last election, but his election is behind him and he has a huge advantage because of the official opposition leader's weakness."

On the economic front, however, Mr. Sands said, is where Mr. Trudeau's job gets trickier.

"Canada's economy was almost in recession in the fourth quarter of 2019. Canada is going into a recession and has been performing bad, economically, for some time. Mr. Trudeau is not in a strong position," Mr. Sands said.

Canadian gross domestic product (GDP) growth was largely flat from the third quarter to the fourth quarter of 2019, and that trend continued into early

2020 with factors such as rail disruptions contributing to the slow growth, according to data from Statistics Canada. In March, GDP dropped nine per cent and the most recent Labour Force Survey data showed more than three million Canadians have lost their jobs due to the pandemic.

Because Canada's economy was already a poor performer prior to the pandemic, Mr. Sands said it behooves Mr. Trudeau to take an extremely cautious approach to reopening the border and to continue to emphasize the centrality of public health in the decision.

"It's in his interest to say 'safety first,'" Mr. Sands said. "As long as COVID is on everyone's mind, he has a perfect thing to blame for hard economic times."

The incentives for President Trump are almost exactly the opposite.

"The U.S. has an election in November and Trump was going into it with a much stronger economy. He was planning to run on good times, but then COVID throws everything into question. He's got a political and economic interest in moving forward, but Trudeau doesn't," Mr. Sands said.

With the border closed until at least June 21, many would-be travellers on both sides have found their vacation plans interrupted. As the world adjusts to the new and yet-unforeseen norms of international travel post-pandemic, the U.S. will become an even more attractive target for Canadians looking to get away, said Sarah Goldfeder, principal at Earncliffe Strategy

Group and a fellow with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

"The reason a lot of people go from Canada to the U.S. isn't because they want to see things, it's because they want to see people," Ms. Goldfeder said.

As the pandemic has and continues to prevent families with members on either side of the border from travelling to see each other, Ms. Goldfeder said she expects vacations to be "centred around seeing family, and the reality for many Canadians is their family is on the other side of the border."

However, Ms. Goldfeder also said security will be tightened.

"It's going to be a long time before we take for granted crossing the border like we used to," she said. "There will be more pressure to account for where and why you're going. There will be longer conversations about who you're going to see and how long you're staying."

Time to diversify trade options, say experts

While the border and all the downstream implications are a more pressing problem, for some experts the pandemic and four years of the Trump administration—with four more potentially on the horizon—have highlighted the need for a renewed push for rethinking trade diversification and the broader relationship with the Americans.

Fear of over-reliance on the United States for economic prosperity and external security has long pervaded Canadian foreign policy thinking. In 1972, foreign minister Mitchell Sharp articulated the "Third Option" doctrine in an article published in *International Perspectives*. Mr. Sharp tried to answer the question of how to live "distinct from, but in harmony with" the United States, as rising nationalist tides hit the shores of both countries. He argued against increased integration with the U.S. in favour of a trade diversification and a national industrial strategy emphasizing Canadian ownership.

The proceeding years saw the creation of institutions such as the Foreign Investment Review Agency and Petro-Canada that addressed Canadian ownership issues. Trade diversification, however, did not bear the same fruit. The 1982 Macdonald Commission recommended taking a "leap of faith" and signing a free trade agreement with the U.S. In the late-1980s, the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement, which later became NAFTA, made Canada and the U.S. two most of the most integrated economies, and countries, in the world.

Then came Mr. Trump's claim that NAFTA was "perhaps the worst trade deal ever made" and his administration's subsequent efforts to renegotiate the deal, ending with the Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA), which comes into effect on July 1.

"One of the fundamental damaging things Trump has done to the relationship is shaken Canadians' trust in the U.S. in ways that have been profound and radical. Threatening the destruction of the Canadian economy resonated deeply in Canada," said Eric Miller, president of Rideau-

Potomac Strategy Group and fellow at the Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

Canadians have mistrusted U.S. presidents before, Mr. Miller said, but where unpopular leaders like George W. Bush were perceived as "cowboys that would do bad things that harm the world," Mr. Trump is entirely different.

"There was no sense under [Ronald] Reagan or George W. Bush that the U.S. was deliberately going to use its power to injure Canada. Canada might be excluded from certain things, but there was no sense that we [the U.S.] are going to destroy your economy," Mr. Miller said. "Canada now has to make choices about co-operation on bigger picture issues, on economic issues that it hasn't had to contemplate much in the past."

The Liberals' 2018 fall economic statement announced the federal government's intention to increase non-U.S. exports by 50 per cent by 2025. Attached to the announcement was a \$1.1-billion investment over six years to beef up trade resources and infrastructure for exporters.

Mr. Miller said that is a welcome investment, but new ideas in addition to new money will be required for diversification to be successful.

"When Canada looks for models it tends to look at the Anglo-sphere. Neither the U.S. or U.K. are good models because Canada needs a mid-sized country that trades a lot," he said.

Mr. Miller said countries like Japan have successfully grown their respective trade volumes by reducing the risk of exporting, something Canada has not done well.

Japan deploys a model dubbed "Consortium for a New Export Nation," wherein the Japanese government essentially approaches a partner country and fronts it money for an infrastructure project to be built by Japanese companies, ensuring future servicing of the infrastructure will also be done by Japanese companies. The model incorporates small, medium, and large companies, which Mr. Miller said would be essential to replicate in Canada's SME-driven economy.

Just as Mr. Miller said Canadian trade policy needs to take advantage of the geopolitical environment, James L. Anderson, an external fellow at the Centre for International and Defence Policy at Queen's University, said he believes Canadian foreign policy is in a similar position.

Mr. Anderson said the Trump administration's focus on the domestic challenges of the pandemic creates space for global leadership on infectious disease co-operation, especially as the World Health Organization comes under heavy criticism from multiple countries, which he said Canada is well-positioned to fill.

Whereas the WHO is made up of all 193 United Nations countries save for Liechtenstein, Mr. Anderson sees value in a smaller body tasked with handling infectious diseases, what he calls "an infectious disease analogue to the G7." Pursuing such a policy could be a boon to Canada's campaign for a UN Security Council seat, too, Mr. Anderson said.

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Policy Briefing Canada-U.S. Relations

Liberal actions are eroding the special Canada-U.S. relationship

Canada is at a crossroads and must chart a new course for success in the post-COVID-19 environment. This must start with key issues shaping the relationship with Canada's most important ally.



Conservative MP Colin Carrie

Opinion

The relationship between Canada and the United States

has been one of the closest the world has ever known. From fighting side-by-side on the European front, to forming NATO, to NORAD, to creating the largest free-trade zone in the world via NAFTA, the integrated nature of the relationship is incomparable anywhere in the world.

However, under the current Liberal government, Canadians have seen a consistent erosion of our status as a preferred trading partner with the United States. This has been exhibited by actions such as the imposition of U.S. national security tariffs on Canadian steel and aluminum in response to the Liberal government's lack of action on Chinese dumping, resulting in Canadian public opinion of the U.S. hitting a 38-year low. This transformation is occurring against the backdrop of a radically changing international stage punctuated by the destruction of the credibility and influence of multilateral institutions like the United Nations, the World Health Organization, and the World Trade Organization, as well as a shifting global economy.

As a middle power, Canada is at a crossroads and must chart a new course, both domestically and internationally, to position itself for success in the post-

COVID-19 environment. The review must start with key issues shaping the relationship with Canada's most important ally, the United States.

Firstly, many Canadians have been calling for an increase in manufacturing domestically to produce critical goods such as personal protective equipment (PPE), hand sanitizer, drugs, vaccines, ventilators, and other crucial goods. While that may be an element, a comprehensive solution to safely secure essential products for times of crisis could be to negotiate a reciprocal agreement with the United States for critical medical items and related supplies to ensure Canada's requirements are fulfilled on a relative priority basis. Canada must ensure that our contribution to the North American supply chain for these critical items also preserves and protects the health and safety of Canadians. The Canada-U.S. relationship must thrive in both good and challenging times, valuing our integrated societies and economies not as a burden—but as a strength. Furthermore, “Buy America” policy provisions must be addressed. Sadly, the Liberal government failed to resolve this in the most recent negotiations of

the Canada-United States-Mexico Agreement (CUSMA). By eliminating non-tariff trade barriers of critical supplies, the Canada-U.S. relationship would remain strong through future crises.

Next is the issue around improving and expanding the extent and efficiency of Canada-U.S. trade. It is essential that each nation work in tandem to enhance our digital technology to effectively track the exact value, extent, and complexity of the trade crossing our borders. These improved measuring mechanisms will permit increased accuracy in the volume and value of trade between the two nations to be communicated consistently and effectively. This could facilitate required policy enhancements to targeted sectors and supply chains. These enhancements would enable increased volume and speed in cross-border trade to better position Canada to recover from this pandemic, expand North American trade, and increase global competitiveness.

While expanding our digital technologies is key, it is important to recognize that the U.S. government generally prioritizes national security over trade. As a result, the integrated nature of the Canada-U.S. next-generation

digital technology (5G) framework is currently at risk due to the current befuddling rhetoric of the Liberal government on the issue of Huawei. The Chinese tech giant has been identified as a national security threat by many of Canada's allies, including the United States. The potential negative implications of the Chinese Communist Party gaining a foothold in Canada's next-generation technological infrastructure are significant, including ostracization by the U.S. government. Following 10 Downing Street's approval of Huawei for portions of their 5G infrastructure, the White House is reportedly considering withdrawal of U.S. spy planes from the United Kingdom and the Senate is considering blocking the sale of F-35A fighter jets. While the U.K. is currently re-evaluating its position on Huawei, Canada must be informed by these potential consequences before approving Huawei here as well. Additionally, Canada must dispel any U.S. concern that Canada poses a national security threat. Canada's defence, security, and intelligence capabilities must not be compromised.

In these turbulent times, Conservatives will continue to hold the government to account particularly with respect to all aspects of Canada's most important international association—the Canada-U.S. relationship.

Colin Carrie is the Conservative MP for Oshawa, Ont., and his party's Canada-U.S. relations critic. *The Hill Times*

Responding to COVID-19 with the border we have

There will be a lot to learn from the policy experiment we are all living with because of COVID-19. The U.S.-Canada border has been managed co-operatively and well, but we have room to experiment and innovate.



Christopher Sands

Opinion

The COVID-19 pandemic has driven policy change as dramatically as the September

11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States did. And in both cases, the U.S.-Canada border has been a focal point.

On March 18, in response to predictions of a rapid spread of this coronavirus strain, the United States and Canada jointly announced a 30-day restriction of border traffic to essential transit only. After a series of unilateral border closures imposed by the Trump administration on China and the European Union, Canada was treated as a partner, and the border was restricted, not closed.

Truck traffic at the Detroit-Windsor and Buffalo-Fort Erie crossings continued at 80 to 85 per cent of normal levels, and cross-border supply chains continued to operate. In April, Washington, Ottawa, and Mexico City announced a 30-day extension of the restrictions, and have since extended them again into late June.

The COVID-19 border co-operation story is not a perfect one. A week after the restriction was announced, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau went before media cameras to warn the Trump administration against a rumoured deployment of U.S. troops to the Canadian border. In fact, the option of deploying the U.S. National Guard to patrol remote areas between

border crossings was considered to help Canada deal with irregular border crossers trying to exploit a loophole in the 2005 U.S.-Canada Safe Third Country Agreement. Canada had been asking for the loophole to be closed for months. Trudeau could have learned this with a phone call. President Donald Trump quietly dropped the proposal and a temporary fix to the agreement was worked out.

Then on April 6, news broke that Minnesota-based 3M was under pressure from the Trump administration to stop all exports of personal protective equipment (PPE) until U.S. needs were met. Behind the pressure was a threat to invoke federal authority under the Defense Production Act of 1950 to seize control of 3M's manufacturing facilities for the duration of the crisis. Canadians were shocked.

What happened? Congress passed the Defense Production Act to mobilize private sector resources in a national emergency. In a natural disaster or pandemic, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and specifically the Federal Emergency Management Agency within DHS, can use this authority to get a beer bottler to bottle potable water after a hurricane. And most of the time, in a natural disaster, FEMA doesn't need to threaten firms, just to ask.

FEMA quickly clarified that PPE, medical devices, and medicines intended for use in Canada and Mexico were exempt from any export restrictions. They even entered this exclusion into formal rule-making.

George Washington once said that you go to war with the army you have. In a crisis, governments fall back on familiar policy tools before they can think to build new tools or institutions. The joint border restrictions relied on years of hard work by officials to enhance border co-operation and data sharing, much of it in response to 9/11. There is one set of existing tools that Washington and Ottawa could still use to make the border work better for both countries during this pandemic and any future ones: trusted shipper and trusted traveler programs.

After 9/11, the United States set up the Customs-Trade Partnership Against Terrorism and Canada had a similar program, Partners in Protection. Both were streamlined to work together better as part of the Free and Secure Trade (FAST) initiative. These programs give companies the option to secure their loading docks, materials handling, and logistics at their own expense and become “trusted shippers” in a time of crisis. Similarly, many individuals who cross the border

frequently have joined NEXUS, a trusted-traveler program. By volunteering data and meeting high standards, the government can expedite inspections and make crossing the border easier.

Why not add an option to test for COVID-19 and adopt sanitary workplace and equipment standards under FAST and NEXUS? Firms and individuals who did so would be a lower risk at border crossings and could be deemed “essential” during restricted border policies. In addition to providing companies with a greater return on investment from their participation in these programs, this would allow Canadians and Americans a less confusing way to figure out how they can cross the border safely.

There will be a lot to learn from the policy experiment we are all living with because of COVID-19. Overall, the U.S.-Canada border has been managed co-operatively and well. But we have room to experiment and innovate. Doing so will prepare us for the next crisis.

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Canada-U.S. Relations Policy Briefing

For better or for worse, the future of Canada-U.S. relations will evolve

The Trump era has strained the conjugal bonds between Canadians and Americans in fundamental ways.



Eric Miller

Opinion

In 1939, distinguished Canadian historian Arthur Lower opined that Canadians and Americans were bound together in so many ways that they “resemble a married couple, who must take each other for better or for worse.”

The ensuing years have brought their significant ups and

downs, but the relationship has endured. Some U.S. administrations, such as those of Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush, have been unpopular in Canada. Concerns typically stemmed from what many Canadians saw as a “cowboy mindset.”

The Trump era has nonetheless strained the conjugal bonds between Canadians and Americans in fundamental ways. While past U.S. administrations have threatened consequences for non-co-operation on certain policy or military issues, they never directly threatened Canada itself. President Donald Trump, by contrast, threatened the “ruination” of the Canadian economy, declared Canada a threat to national security, and publicly belittled Canadian leaders.

These attacks have changed the fundamental perception of the United States in the eyes of many Canadians. Whereas, pre-Trump, the U.S. was basically seen as a powerful, stable country occasionally prone to misdirection, it is now seen as an erratic, self-pitying brute that relishes bullying its friends and cavorting with its traditional enemies. The coronavirus has arguably added

a sense of pity to this perceptions list.

America in the Trump era is a hard friend to have. Those governors, premiers, military leaders, diplomats, businesspeople, and others whose networks, goodwill, and collaborative spirit keep the Canada-U.S. relationship on a stable track have had to work overtime to avoid disaster.

Nevertheless, in bilateral relations, as in marriages, things that are said and done often cannot be easily undone. The consequences of this era will resonate for years to come.

At the same time, a real diminishment of bilateral ties would have profoundly negative impacts for both countries.

The Canadian strategy has been to try to keep things on track by focusing on its essential interests, looking for initiatives on which to co-operate and, importantly, avoiding public criticism of President Trump. Many American advocates of the relationship have followed the same model.

By maintaining a businesslike, but not especially close, relationship, the myriad of day-to-day initiatives, ranging from Shiprider to intelligence sharing to managing

wireless spectrum bands at the border can continue unimpeded.

Looking ahead, three factors will define the Canada-U.S. relationship over the next decade.

The first is the degree to which the loss of trust by Canadians in Americans persists. Based on informal conversations, it is notable how many Canadians with past or present experience at the elite levels of Canada’s government, business, and academic institutions have grown deeply skeptical of the United States. A number have privately commented of late that Canada needs a fundamental re-think of its relations with the United States.

By contrast, many American observers seem blissfully unaware of the extent of this loss of faith.

In order to not make things worse, sensitive issues, including the re-opening of the border, need to be deftly handled. Fortunately, to date, they have been.

The second factor is the extent to which the United States faces an institutional or national unity crisis. The extreme levels of political polarization coupled with the penchant of political leaders to question the trustworthiness of virtually every public institution,

including elections, is incredibly dangerous.

What happens in America always impacts Canada. One can only hope for the sake of both countries that these tendencies pass.

The third factor pertains to the North American impacts of global trends. One consequence of the coronavirus pandemic seems to be that the United States and China are now inexorably on a path to a new Cold War. How Canada navigates this geopolitical reality will inevitably impact its bilateral relationship with the United States.

The ties that bind Canada and the United States together run deep and the “marriage” will persist for many years to come. Yet, just as modes of marriage have grown and changed in our societies, so will the “bilateral marriage” evolve.

After the acrimony of recent years, it will take time for Canada and the United States to learn to love and trust each other again.

In the coming years, the two countries may have something like a commuter marriage in which they substantially follow their own professional paths but vacation and spend weekends together. It may not look like Lower’s 1939 relationship, but it will nonetheless be marriage.

Eric Miller is president of Rideau Potomac Strategy Group and a fellow at the Canadian Global Affairs Institute.
The Hill Times

America, Canada’s problem

Unquestioning friendship to Canada survives in American public opinion and the ‘deep state’ of the American government, but at the topmost level of the U.S. administration it is no longer settled policy.



Robert Bothwell

Opinion

In 1940, a *New York Times* journalist, John MacCormac, published a book that he titled *Canada: America’s Problem*. The problem was clear: Canada was at war; the United States was not. There was, potentially, a fundamental divergence between the two North Amer-

ican nations, which might end with the United States being dragged where it did not want to go, on the British side of a European war.

MacCormac, as it turned out, was unduly alarmist. The United States was increasingly sympathetic to the British. The American president, Franklin Roosevelt, supported the British (and Canadian) cause. American supplies, money, and even some volunteers, flowed into Canada. The Canadian prime minister, Mackenzie King, was a friend of Roosevelt’s, and the president’s most frequent foreign visitor, staying at Roosevelt’s country estate, Hyde Park, or at the White House. Co-operation was virtually complete, politically, economically, and militarily. In particular, Canada forged a close relationship and understanding with the northeastern political class in the United States that effectively dominated American politics and government during the 20th century.

The Second World War was a crisis of the first order. It was succeeded by the Cold War, and by the time the Cold War ended, Canada and the United States were what can be called habitual allies. The alliance had its ups and downs, but it always reverted to a steady, un spectacular, and reliable association. In today’s phrasing, each country had the other’s back. There were no existential moments like 1940 to test it. Canada was not a problem for the United States. Canadians (or some Canadians) from time to

time exploded with concern about the big American brother—over the Vietnam War, or some other unilateral American adventure, like George W. Bush’s invasion of Iraq, or the attempt to alter the world economy by Richard Nixon in 1971. But afterwards, things settled down. Nixon was followed by Gerald Ford, Bush by Barack Obama, both notable friends of Canada. Obama gave the new prime minister, Justin Trudeau, a lavish reception at the White House in 2016; afterward, in 2017, they drank beer together at the Liverpool House in Montreal. It seemed to be a friendship comparable to Mackenzie King’s with Franklin Roosevelt—long-term, unspectacular, based on mutual respect and mutual advantage.

But Obama was no longer president when he and Trudeau had a beer. Roosevelt is a memory. Their policy of unquestioning (and often unthinking) friendship to Canada survives in American public opinion, and the “deep state” of the American government, but at the topmost level of the U.S. administration it is no longer settled policy. It is hard to say what is. Virtually no stable relationship could withstand Donald Trump. In the White House, ministers come and go. Today’s cabinet secretary is tomorrow’s “loser.” Chiefs of staff, national security advisers, national intelligence directors—poof.

The Canadian government scrambles to avoid getting on

Trump’s bad side. Trudeau must have bitten his tongue so often that it is a miracle he can still eat, or talk. Because Trump seems to have no impulse control, it may be that no subject, or accord or agreement or treaty is safe from his uncontrolled tweets. Old NAFTA, new NAFTA, the U.S. army to the northern border, as the words tumble forth and the conceptions—“thoughts” would be too kind—succeed one another, who can say what the United States will do next?

Fortunately, Canada is seldom first in Trump’s tweets or press events. The president concentrates for the most part on his domestic demons, denying fact, fabricating history, at all times demonstrating that he is, as he says, a “very stable genius.” The “leader of the free world,” as even sensible Americans like to call their chief executive, leads in only one thing—international derision. It was inconceivable, even at the darkest moments of the Cold War, that the United Nations General Assembly would burst into laughter when the American president addressed them. Trump however specializes in turning the improbable into fact.



Then-Canadian prime minister Mackenzie King and then-U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt on July 31, 1936. During the Second World War, Canada forged a close relationship and understanding with the northeastern political class in the United States that effectively dominated American politics and government during the 20th century. Photograph courtesy of Library and Archives Canada

True, this is an election year, and there is the possibility that Trump will be defeated in November. Would he go quietly, and accept defeat? Retirement for Trump would not be pleasant. He might spend most of his time in court, along with the members of his

family. Jail is a possibility. It is a form of the Gadhafi syndrome—give up power and what then? It is a thought that must have occurred—frequently—to his international chums, the select few about whom he speaks fondly—Kim Jong-Un, Mohammed bin Salman, Vladimir Putin, and (frequently, but not always) Xi Jinping, who is too convenient a whipping boy to receive Trump’s glowing accolades all the time.

No, Canada is not in their league. It is clear what would be best for Canada, namely a Democratic victory in the American general election in November. Failing that, this country must look to a policy beginning with C—Cringe.

Robert Bothwell is a historian and professor of international relations at the University of Toronto.
The Hill Times

Policy Briefing Canada-U.S. Relations



U.S. President Donald Trump, left, and International Development Minister Karina Gould. In February, Trump proposed slashing 21 per cent of foreign aid, while Canada recently quietly announced \$159.5-million in humanitarian aid to a plethora of worthy organizations. *White House photograph by Andrea Hanks, The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

On guard for thee: global citizenship and Canada-U.S. relations

Canadians have a chance to gain more ground in the UN Security Council seat race by sharply contrasting our values with the current American political leadership; a growing divergence that is notable.



Erika Simpson & Michael Simpson

Opinion

To suggest the United States would station troops along the longest undefended border in the world slashed a psychological

wound between Canada and the United States. COVID-19 shut the Canada-U.S. border down, but it was the speed with which leaders of historically friendly countries agreed to go their separate ways that left indelible scars.

Under the pressure of a tiny virus, our paths are diverging; our common border is widening. As our economies strain and our health-care systems are tested, the world cannot help but bear witness to our growing divisions. Statistically, the political philosophy of “me first” is losing.

According to Worldometer, more than 95,000 people in the United States have succumbed to the virus, as of May 21. Public opinion in the U.S. is marked by negative ratings and political divisions, with few having confidence in the president. Canada has lost more than 6,100 souls. A considerably smaller rate of 126 fewer people per million. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s popularity has increased dramatically in the polls, with almost two-thirds of Canadians approving of his handling of the virus.

Liberal internationalism and an evidence-based “feminist” approach, marked by co-operation and level-headed thinking is winning the day—and not just in Canada.

Canada-U.S. relations are being judged in the courts of

domestic and international public opinion. In February, Donald Trump proposed slashing 21 per cent of foreign aid. Canada quietly announced \$159.5-million in humanitarian aid to a plethora of worthy organizations, like the Red Cross and UNICEF, followed by a \$600-million pledge to Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance.

In the midst of a pandemic, Trump withheld more than US\$400-million from the World Health Organization, claiming a Chinese bias. Canada paid our dues and then voluntarily increased our contribution by millions.

While Trump threatened to ban the export of personal protective equipment, including to his neighbours in Canada, our Minister of International Development, Karina Gould, stepped up to help convene the international Group of Friends on Food and Nutrition Security, confronting the growing international fear of a global “hunger pandemic.”

This is an additional pandemic, catalyzed by the virus, that the head of the World Food Programme warns could kill 300,000 people per day of the world’s increasing poor. Perhaps most indicative of America’s growing isolation and Canada’s increasing solidarity in the community of nations, was the recent proposal at the UN Security Council pro-

posing a ceasefire for all nations to stop armed conflict and all fighting while humanity faces the common threat of COVID-19. It was an international call for common sense, in which the U.S. was the lone voice of opposition by blocking the vote.

COVID-19 is a global threat and, in the words of Gould, we will not be able to rest until it is wiped out in every corner of the globe.

Our path forward for health, well-being, and a virus-free world is linked to many of the other global challenges we face, such as poverty, food security, human security, and climate change.

None of these global challenges can be tackled alone.

Ironically, the very path forward to future resilience has been eloquently laid out in an agreed-upon plan called Agenda 2030, which describes 17 interlinked sustainable development goals (SDGs) we must accomplish in the coming decade.

The secretary-general of the United Nations has appealed for “accelerated” change in the coming “Decade of Action” on Agenda 2030. It is a common path forward, which desperately needs world leaders whose vocabulary champions the words “together” and “solidarity,” versus “me, first” and “us/them.”

Canadians uphold values like working together—mantras that have become the approved working language of today’s federal government speeches and press releases.

A digital Movement Map of Canadian organizations identifies almost 12,000 civil society groups in that work on the SDGs, the internationally agreed-upon way forward to a resilient common future. It is an astounding number and proof of our solidarity.

Nowhere is leadership needed more than at the Security Council of the United Nations where global security concerns are hotly debated.

Prime Minister Trudeau is competing with Norway and Ireland for only two elected seats this year. Norway and Ireland are both generous donors when it comes to international aid and co-operation.

Former Liberal prime minister Lester Pearson originally set the agreed-upon standard of 0.7 per cent of gross national product (now gross national income) as the bar nations should aspire to. Norway is exceeding it and Ireland is far ahead of Canada.

Despite Canada’s duly lauded Feminist International Assistance Policy, our measure of international development aid was, and still is, distinctly lagging, at approximately 0.28 per cent GNI.

Canadians share a global identity marked by international co-operation and concrete actions that cherish global citizenship. In the coming weeks, before the official secret vote among UN ambassadors takes place in June (or perhaps in the fall, due to the pandemic creating lags in UN voting procedure), Canadians have a chance to gain more ground on the Irish (whose peacekeeping record is stellar) and the Norwegians (whose financial contributions to development are unparalleled) by sharply contrasting our values with the current American political leadership; a growing divergence that is notable.

It is time for Canada—with our feminist, internationalist leadership, and caring international reputation—to sit across the Security Council table facing the U.S., China, and Russia and speak up strongly for a better world. A world that is surely listening.

Erika Simpson is an associate professor of international politics at Western University, president of the Canadian Peace Research Association, and author of NATO and the Bomb. Michael Simpson is the executive director of the British Columbia Council for International Co-operation.

The Hill Times

Look to the new NAFTA for the roadmap to the future of the Canada-U.S. bond

The CUSMA odyssey reminds us that our advocacy with Congress and the states must be a permanent campaign.



Colin Robertson

Opinion

Canadian leadership needs to move beyond COVID-19 border controls and turn to implementing the Canada-U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement. In what is already a divisive U.S. election, we must also avoid anything that could be construed as interference.

The Nov. 3 elections will decide not just the presidency, but also, crucially, one-third of the Senate plus all 435 members of the House of Representatives as well as 11 governors, including in five border states—Washington, Montana, North Dakota, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

If it's a referendum on the economy and direction of the country, then change is probable, but as former British prime minister Harold Wilson observed "a week is a long time in politics." Most Canadians hope for deliverance from the Donald Trump show, but odds-makers still favour the president, so Canadian leaders should keep their thoughts to themselves.

The top table discussions between prime ministers and presidents concentrate on global issues and it's more complicated with an administration that rejects multilateralism. Our diplomatic game needs to be in top form. Canada is already suffering collateral damage as the Sino-U.S. trade dispute morphs into Cold War territory. There will be more of a requirement for the kind of helpful fixing we are demonstrating through reforming the World Trade Organization's dispute settlement and on Venezuela through the Lima Group.

For most Canadians, what matters is the intermestic connections. These have been brought home with the COVID-imposed border controls. They fit into three broad baskets: trade and economics; climate, energy, and the environment; and security and defence. With three-quarters of our trade headed south, Canadians naturally prioritize trade and economics, but for the Americans, the top item is defence and security.

COVID-19 has fundamentally shocked both our economies. Our approach to relief is different but, with luck, our recoveries will be in tandem. Fortunately, the CUSMA,

taking effect on July 1, gives us a mutually agreed set of rules, including provisions for digital trade that have accelerated with COVID.

COVID raised questions about the reliability of North American supply chains. Despite the planning on pandemics negotiated in 2012 by then-U.S. president Barack Obama, then-Mexican president Felipe Calderón, and then-prime minister Stephen Harper, there was limited North American co-ordination. We have got to do better, because the next time is likely to be sooner rather than later. Business has stepped up and governments should look to their call for a "North American Rebound," especially around designing North American supply chains and creating strategic stockpiles.

With the Trump Administration in denial on climate change, the best Canadian approach is to work with those in Congress, states, and cities who share our approach. If Joe Biden is elected, then Keystone once more will be a flashpoint, but let's not make it the litmus test of the relationship.

We also need to keep our eyes on the renegotiation of the Columbia River Treaty. Water management is increasingly complex given the interests involved. For now, the complicity between the different levels of government is what we aim for when negotiating with the Americans.

Trump wants the allies to spend at least two per cent of their GDP on defence. Canada currently spends about 1.3 per cent of GDP. Arguably we are doing our bit: active naval deployments in the Atlantic

and Mediterranean; in Latvia where we lead the battle group, in the air with the Trudeau government doubling to 12 our deployable fighter jets.

But the Americans expect more and this won't change with Biden. We should do more, especially in the Arctic around North American defence. The Russians

are testing our defences and the Chinese are already implementing their Arctic strategy. The framework we announced last year is inadequate. We need a detailed strategy with funding for infrastructure and sustained operations. As the Americans remind us: "you claim sovereignty, so exercise it." It's also our best "defence against help."

The CUSMA odyssey reminds us that our advocacy with Congress and the states must be a permanent campaign. Close engagement is the responsibility not just of the prime minister and ministers but premiers and provincial legislators, as well as business and labour.

COVID's social distancing robs us of the regional gatherings of premiers and governors, legislators, and civil society that constitute the hidden wiring of the relationship. In their weekly COVID calls, the prime minister and premiers should identify new opportunities for this vital informal engagement. Our prosperity and sovereignty depend on it.

Colin Robertson is vice-president and fellow at the Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

The Hill Times

MacKay leadership camp touts strength in numbers

Former MP Alex Nuttall is Peter MacKay's campaign manager, with ex-Ford aide Michael Diamond as his deputy, and veteran staffer William Stairs acting as a key adviser.

Continued from page 1

vote in this year's leadership race. Though unverified to date—the campaign declined to comment on its official tally, which it said it was still verifying itself—that would suggest it's signed up more than the 35,000 supporters that Kevin O'Leary's 2017 leadership campaign claimed to have signed up.

With the membership cutoff passed, Mr. Diamond said the team is now focused on getting Mr. MacKay—who he called a "road-tested politician"—and his message out in front of party members, new and old, "to make sure they hear Peter loud and clear."

But original plans for getting the candidate, and his message, out across the country went up in smoke with the outbreak of COVID-19.

A former Nova Scotia lawyer and son of ex-PC minister Elmer MacKay, Mr. MacKay was first elected to the House of Commons as the Progressive Conservative MP for the old riding of Pictou-Antigonish-Guysborough in 1997. In 2003, he succeeded Joe Clark as federal PC leader and soon after struck a deal with then-Canadian Alliance leader Stephen Harper to merge and create the Conservative Party of Canada. While Mr. Harper went on to become leader and then prime minister when the party formed government in 2006, Mr. MacKay became minister of foreign affairs. He later served as national defence minister from 2007 until 2013, and then as justice minister from 2013 until 2015. Post-election, Mr. MacKay became a partner with the global law firm Baker McKenzie in Toronto, where he now lives.



Michael Diamond is Mr. MacKay's deputy campaign director. Photograph courtesy of Facebook

Mr. MacKay announced his bid to succeed Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask) as leader of the Conservative Party on Jan. 25, and his campaign for the top job has shifted to the virtual realm as of March 12 as a result of COVID-19.

Since then, Mr. Diamond said the campaign has relied on telephone town-halls, Zoom meetings, and live-streaming through various social media platforms to connect Mr. MacKay with party members, with the campaign estimating it's held close to 100 such events.

"It's been different, but it's been effective," he said, as the shift to virtual has



Conservative leadership candidate Peter MacKay and his wife, Nazanin Afshin-Jam MacKay, pictured at an event with former minister Rob Nicholson in 2015. Mr. Nicholson is among the 100-plus current and former politicians who have endorsed Mr. MacKay to date. The Hill Times file photograph

enabled Mr. MacKay to do more events, and more in a single day, than originally planned. He pointed to the campaign's claim of record-setting membership sign-ups as proof of the effectiveness of its virtual efforts.

Organizing that virtual tour is Janelle Feldstein, a longtime Senate staffer, whose years working for the Upper Chamber include nine years as chief of staff to various Senate Speakers. A veteran conservative campaigner, Ms. Feldstein was deputy director of tour for the Conservative Party's 2006 and 2011 campaigns and was tour director in 2008.



Janelle Feldstein is head of Mr. MacKay's now-virtual tour. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Before the pandemic was declared, the MacKay campaign secured a headquarters office on International Boulevard in Etobicoke, a less than five-minute drive from the Toronto Congress Centre where the next leader of the Conservative Party was originally set to be announced on June 27. But, with the COVID-19 wind-down, Mr. Diamond said he can't recall the last time he stepped foot in the space, with the entire team working remotely as of mid-March.

Despite the pandemic and losing the "cohesiveness of being in one place," Mr. Diamond, said the team hasn't "missed a beat."

Mr. Nuttall and Mr. Diamond were early recruits to Mr. MacKay's camp. While he's known both to varying degrees for years from Conservative circles, Mr. Diamond said it's his first time working with, or for, either of them.

Mr. Nuttall was the Conservative MP for Barrie-Springwater-Oro-Medonte, Ont., from 2015 to 2019, prior to which he'd spent eight years as city councillor in Barrie. Mr. Nuttall previously backed former



Former MP Alex Nuttall, pictured in 2017, is running Mr. MacKay's campaign. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

The exact date of when the next leader of the Conservative Party will be announced is not yet known. Voting will be done entirely by mail, and in order to be counted, ballots have to be received by the party by Aug. 21, with the result to be "announced as soon as those ballots can be properly processed and examined by scrutineers while respecting any health guidelines in place at that time," according to the party.

The vast majority of voting in the 2017 leadership race was done by mail, and as part of Get-Out-The-Vote (GOTV) efforts, campaigns had helped supporters get their mail-in ballots in order by offering support with things like printers and photocopiers, said Mr. Diamond, who was director of communications for Kellie Leitch during the last leadership race.

GOTV efforts this time around, which are being led by Patrick Tuns, will depend on what public health guidelines are in place come summer, but Mr. Diamond said the campaign is already busy "making plans for what we can do to help based on various scenarios."



Patrick Tuns is Mr. MacKay's GOTV director. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Mr. Tuns, now a principal with Endgame Strategies, is a former partner with Upstream Strategy Group and a former assistant to then-Conservative MP Parm Gill, and was deputy campaign director for Mr. Ford's 2018 leadership run.

The MacKay campaign has continued to pump out plenty of social media content and video messages from the candidate amid the pandemic, work that the campaign's digital director, Emrys Graefe, has played a role in overseeing.

Mr. Graefe is currently a vice-president for digital with Rubicon Strategy and previously served as digital director for Mr. Bernier in the 2017 leadership race. He's also a former aide to Mr. Nuttall on the Hill and a former deputy



Emrys Graefe is digital director for the MacKay campaign. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

director of political operations for the federal party.

But, given physical distancing restrictions, the work of shooting these videos has frequently fallen to the candidate himself, with Mr. MacKay using a laptop or a GoPro—at times with the help of his wife, Nazanin Afshin-Jam MacKay—to shoot footage that gets sent to his team for production.

Among those helping with that production is Jason Ransom, Mr. Harper's former official photographer who later shot for then-interim leader Rona Ambrose and who spent some time on the road with the MacKay campaign before it went virtual.

The Hill Times has tallied a total of 118 endorsements from

current and former MPs, Senators, and other notable politicians for Mr. MacKay, compared to 54 for his main leadership competitor, Conservative MP Erin O'Toole (Durham, Ont.), as of filing deadline.

Those amount to more than just a name on a list, said Mr. Diamond, with endorsers helping to work the phones to recruit new members and promote the candidate, along with offering up advice and insights when it comes to policy and issues development.

"It's really a lot of work in all spectrums of the campaign," he said.

The MacKay camp is also leading in fundraising to date, having raised a total of nearly \$1.05-million in the first quarter of 2020 (up to March 31), with Conservative MP Erin O'Toole's campaign second with \$784,997. In terms of individual donors that quarter, Mr. O'Toole's campaign led by more than 700.

Phil Evershed, a former chief of staff to then-deputy prime minister Don Mazankowski, is serving as Mr. MacKay's director of fundraising. Now with Point-North Capital, Mr. Evershed is also a former head of mergers and acquisitions for CIBC World Markets, a past global head of investment banking for Canaccord Genuity, and, among his political experience, served as executive assistant to then-regional industrial expansion minister Sinclair Stevens. Tian White is acting as official agent.

Pothier joins team MacKay, Stairs serving as key adviser

Chisholm Pothier is a recent addition as the MacKay campaign's new director of communications. Previously, former Harper press secretary Julie Vaux filled that role, but she resigned in March due to concerns that the leadership race was continuing despite COVID-19, though she's said she still supports Mr. MacKay.

Mr. Pothier is himself a former Harper-era staffer, having spent years tackling communications for then-finance minister Jim Flaherty. He was communications head for Michael Chong's 2017 leadership bid and before taking on his current day job as director of communications and stakeholder relations for Medavie Health Services New Brunswick spent a little more than a year as director of communications and stakeholder relations to Manitoba Premier Brian Pallister.

Jordan Paquet is serving as press secretary for the campaign. He's a former longtime Ambrose staffer, having been principal secretary to Ms. Ambrose as health minister and later as interim party leader, and before then worked as an advance in Mr. Harper's PMO.

Former Conservative MP Brian Storseth and Maureen Murphy are national campaign co-chairs.

Mr. Storseth was the MP for Westlock-St. Paul, Alta., from



Jordan Paquet is Team MacKay's press secretary. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

2006 to 2015, and since then served as campaign manager for Mr. Brown's 2018 Ontario PC leadership bid. Ms. Murphy has a long record of work on Parliament Hill, including as an executive assistant and later senior adviser to Mr. MacKay as a PC MP and leader, and roughly eight years as chief of staff to Rob Nicholson as both minister of justice and national defence.

William Stairs is serving as a senior adviser to Mr. MacKay, and was on the road with the candidate before the campaign went virtual. A former communications director for the federal PC Party and later Mr. MacKay as its leader, Mr. Stairs later ran Mr. Harper's communications shop as opposition leader. He went on to serve as chief of staff to multiple Harper-era cabinet ministers and spent a year in the PMO as director of issues management.



Longtime staffer Maureen Murphy is a national campaign co-chair. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Nita Kang is serving as a deputy operations manager for the campaign, helping to keep the team organized and in lockstep. A former director of special projects for the Ontario PC party who briefly served as director of operations and caucus liaison to health minister Christine Elliot, she's most recently been busy as a real estate sales rep with Royal LePage in Mississauga.



Rachel Cook, a former assistant to Conservative MP Michael

Cooper (St. Albert-Edmonton, Alta.), who's backing Mr. MacKay, is the campaign's national volunteer outreach co-ordinator.

Kevin Mason is in charge of the campaign's national database and field operations. He's a former assistant to Conservative Senator Linda Frum and currently spends his days working for Alberta Senator Doug Black; last fall, he ran then-candidate Brian St. Louis' ultimately unsuccessful campaign in Nepean, Ont.

Campaign organizers are spread out across the country.

In Quebec, Catherine Major is serving as provincial campaign manager and helping with French communications. She's a former Quebec press secretary and regional organizer for the Conservative Party, a former aide to Conservative MP Gérard Delteil (Louis-Saint-Laurent, Que.), and up until January was communications director to Quebec



Catherine Major is leading Mr. MacKay's campaign in Quebec. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

education minister Jean-François Roberge.

Conservative MPs Ed Fast (Abbotsford, B.C.) and Kerry-Lynne Findlay (South Surrey-White Rock, B.C.) are Mr. MacKay's B.C. co-chairs. Former minister Laurie Hawton and organizer Debra Janzen are Alberta campaign co-chairs. Saskatchewan Conservative Senator Denise Batters and MP Randy Hoback (Prince Albert, Sask.) are co-chairs for their province, with Conservative MPs James Bezan (Selkirk-Interlake-Eastman, Man.) and Marty Morantz (Charleswood-St. James-Assiniboia-Headingley, Man.) doing the same next door.

Rob Flack is the MacKay campaign's Ontario chair, and while Rick Perkins, a former vice-president of the Nova Scotia Liquor Corporation and a 2019 CPC candidate, is Atlantic chair, he's supported by a team of provincial chairs, with N.S. PC Leader Tim Houston and former MP Scott Armstrong serving as Nova Scotia co-chairs; former 2019 candidate Sylvie Godin-Charest as New Brunswick chair; former minister Gail Shea, organizer Martha Ellis, and lawyer Margaret Anne Walsh as P.E.I. co-chairs; and Conservative Senator Fabian Manning as Newfoundland and Labrador chair. In the territories, Conservative Senator Dennis Patterson and former MP Ryan Leaf are co-chairs.

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News COVID-19 & data

Health agency reveals race-based data guideline as calls grow for nationwide collection

‘Until we know where the discrepancies and inequities in health are, we can never tackle them,’ says the Alliance for Healthier Communities.

Continued from page 1

“It’s ignorance and blindness to where there’s gross inequities. Until we know where the discrepancies and inequities in health are, we can never tackle them,” she said, saying communities need action and the work needs to start somewhere. “I hate to keep waiting until we get it all perfect.”

The alliance is part of a national working table headed by Canadian Institute for Health Information (CIHI)—which the institute notes are not formal—that’s considering two things: what data to collect, and how to train health professionals so they’re comfortable asking these questions. While this work has been going on for years, the report on the interim standard noted a “heightened awareness and interest” in collecting such data to better understand COVID-19’s spread.

The lack of data on race in Canada makes it difficult to monitor racial health inequalities and CIHI’s interim standard was created in an effort to “harmonize and facilitate collection of high-quality data,” according to a copy shared with *The Hill Times* of the standard, “Race-Based Data Collection and Health Reporting,” to be released later this week.

It proposed two questions asking patients to identify their race categories (also giving the option of “prefer not to answer”) and whether they identify as First Nations, Inuit, or Métis.

Though the Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC) has said it is looking into the possibility of collecting more demographic data related to COVID, most said it’s a matter of political will, under the direction of Health Minister Patty Hajdu (Thunder Bay-Superior North, Ont.) and Indigenous Services Minister Marc

Miller (Ville-Marie—Le Sud-Ouest—Île-des-Soeurs, Que.).

When asked, neither of the ministers’ offices, the PHAC, or CIHI offered a position on whether such data should be collected nationwide.

However, Ms. Hajdu’s spokesperson, Cole Davidson, said in an email that “[d]emographic data collection and data sharing between the federal and provincial/territorial governments is crucial to advancing our knowledge of COVID-19 and understanding potential inequalities in our health care system. We’re working with provinces and territories to ensure we’re collecting the data we need to better understand this pandemic.”

And while these conversations are happening, advocates say it’s not leading to the outcome that is becoming more urgent by the day—a commitment and timeframe for nationwide data collection.

“As a national strategy, if you don’t value gathering the data it’s hard to motivate other places to do so,” said Aimée-Angélique Bouka, the College of Family Physicians of Canada vice-chair-elect for residents. “You’ll see disparity across the board if you don’t see proper federal leadership in the project.”

‘It’s all about political will’

Canada has a blind spot regarding its treatment of racialized groups and immigrants, despite the evidence, she said.

COVID-19 was thought to be “the grand equalizer,” but some populations have proved more vulnerable. In the United States, by mid-April nearly one-third of those who died were African American, an Associated Press report revealed, though Black people represent about 14 per cent of the population where they reported. Such disparities exist in Canada, though Dr. Bouka said society is uncomfortable with painful questions that reveal a pattern of neglect.

“COVID is only a snapshot and a clear representation of what happens in our country in a systematic way.”

She said she would add a question about immigrant status, and how long a person has been in Canada as other important markers that influence health,



Advocates say the decision to collect better demographic data on populations vulnerable to COVID-19 is a matter of political will, under the direction of Health Minister Patty Hajdu, left, and Indigenous Services Minister Marc Miller. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

said Dr. Bouka, who wrote about that blind spot for *Policy Options* this month.

Because we don’t have this self awareness we are slow to accept it, but once the outbreaks became evident, demographics became impossible to ignore, she said.

For more than two decades, Independent Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard has been calling for race-based data collection.

“It’s so frustrating and infuriating,” said Sen. Bernard (East Preston, N.S.), a former social worker and researcher who co-authored a 2010 book, *Race and Well-Being*, which she said demonstrated racism is an everyday experience for Black Canadians and has an impact on all forms of their health.

“I can’t help but ask myself, ‘How many more casualties do we have to see before there’s a true appreciation for why the collection of this data across all provinces and territories [is] essential?’”

Sen. Bernard said she has been asking these questions of Liberal ministers and their aides—she’s not comfortable divulging the details of these conversations—and while she remains hopeful, she said it’s “all the more urgent to make the decision now.”

“We need to be on the same page with this, and let’s cut through the politics,” she said, and look at COVID-19 as a starting point, an “awakening” for the inequities in health that long predated the pandemic.

Unfortunately, it takes more than proof to shift policy, said Dr. Bouka and it becomes about building more evidence and raising enough voices to make inaction impossible.

“It’s mostly us being reminded so politicians can’t ignore it. Ultimately, it’s all about political will. If your weaknesses are shown repeatedly, then you can’t just pretend that you didn’t know,” she said.

Though it’s left up to the individual jurisdictions, Sen. Bernard said it’s important to have data that’s consistent across the country, which requires leadership so that it is collected in the same way.

Alex Maheux, CIHI spokesman said by email it’s up to the provinces and territories to

decide how to proceed, but it has expressed willingness to support jurisdictions in that data collection and is currently working with partners to understand race and ethnicity data needs.

Earlier this month, Manitoba became the first province to track the ethnicity of COVID-19 patients while Quebec and Ontario have said they will as well. At a local level, Toronto has also said it tracks demographics.

In mid-July, CIHI said it will also publish a broader discussion document, followed by ongoing engagement with relevant stakeholders to “refine” the standard, if needed.

Public Health Agency of Canada spokesperson Maryse Durette said by email the government is committed to working with the provinces and territories—as well as other partners—to improve data completeness and access, including demographic information.

“These indicators will help to further our understanding of COVID-19 among different population subgroups and to monitor trends going forward,” she said, and it plays “a critical role” in helping to understand disease severity and risk factors, to monitor trends over time, and to ensure that public health measures can be effectively designed and delivered where needed.”

Data collection on Indigenous people ‘distinct’

CIHI’s standard notes that though Indigenous groups are often considered alongside racial and ethnic categories, First Nations, Inuit, and Métis have “inherent and collective rights to self-determination,” including ownership and governance of their data. That warrants “distinct consideration” and must include engagement with Indigenous communities and data governance agreements.

Canada tracks on-reserve cases of the coronavirus, but with nearly half of First Nations living off-reserve, the picture is incomplete. Yellowhead Institute independently researched, and on May 12 published findings revealing more than triple the cases reported by Indigenous Services Canada. Mr. Miller has acknowledged the department’s data is insufficient and on May 9 announced \$250,000 towards

improving data collection—not enough, according to Yellowhead researcher Courtney Skye.

“If we’re going to recognize First Nations, Indigenous, and Inuit are more impacted and more at risk for poor outcomes because of COVID-19, there needs to be a multi-jurisdictional prioritization of getting proper information available to communities to make informed decisions,” she said.

“Communities have a right to that information and the federal government has a fiduciary responsibility to make sure this work is adequately funded.”

Rose LeMay, CEO of the Indigenous Reconciliation Group and regular *Hill Times* columnist, penned a plea in April for COVID-19 data that notes background and Indigeneity. A month later, she said she remains baffled there’s been limited movement to close the data gap.

“This is a once-in-a-lifetime data dump, if we were to access it, because this shows the inequities of the system”, she said, noting Canada has “substantial work” to build trust given its problematic history collecting information on Indigenous people, and declaring who is and isn’t status.

That could be addressed by involving organizations perceived as objective to lead the way alongside Indigenous groups, and would likely require building new partnerships to do it well.

The lack of trust shouldn’t stop this work from happening, she said, adding the “how” is a “purely technical exercise” that she said she thinks Canada’s health-care system is capable of managing.

Ms. Skye said the patchwork approach isn’t working and it needs to be led by Indigenous people and be properly resourced. She added that this is another indication that the Liberal government’s approach to reconciliation is more for “show” than addressing “tangible barriers,” like health, that impact the daily lives of Indigenous people.

“These realities are known, are well-documented, and have existed for a long time, and there hasn’t been enough of the practical work done on behalf of the federal government and provinces,” she said. “It does come down to the will of the government.”

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HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

New aides for Ministers MacAulay, Hajdu



Veterans Affairs Minister Lawrence MacAulay, pictured at his November 2019 cabinet swearing in, and Health Minister Patty Hajdu, pictured speaking to media about the COVID-19 pandemic on April 23. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

Meanwhile, Alexander Steinhouse has been temporarily seconded to the Prime Minister's Office to help with issues management work.

Veterans Affairs and Associate Defence Minister **Lawrence MacAulay** has a new special assistant, with **Bradley Henstock** having joined the minister's political staff team last month.

Mr. Henstock previously spent the six months leading up to the October 2019 federal election working as a constituency assistant to then-Liberal MP **Matt DeCoursey**, who represented Fredericton, N.B., in the House of Commons from 2015 up until last fall.



Bradley Henstock, left, pictured with his former boss Matt DeCoursey. *Photograph courtesy of Facebook*

Mr. DeCoursey was unseated by Green MP **Jenica Atwin**, who won the riding with roughly 33.7 per cent of the vote. Mr. DeCoursey ultimately came third, behind the Conservative candidate, with 27.4 per

cent support. He has since joined Finance Minister **Bill Morneau's** office as a special adviser, as previously reported by *Hill Climbers*.

Before joining Mr. DeCoursey's constituency office, Mr. Henstock spent about half a year working as a digital media officer for the Liberal official opposition in New Brunswick.

Prior to the November 2018 provincial election that ultimately saw then-premier **Brian Gallant's** Liberals defeated by **Blaine Higgs' Progressive Conservatives**, Mr. Henstock had been a communications officer in the premier's office, having started out there as an intern in the summer of 2016, according to his LinkedIn profile. He has a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of New Brunswick, and is a former president of the New Brunswick Young Liberals group.

Mr. Henstock joins fellow special assistant **Michael Ferguson** in Mr. MacAulay's office, which is run by chief of staff **Guy Gallant**.

Also currently working away on the minister's team are: **Matthew Mann**, director of parliamentary affairs; **Christian Dicks**, director of operations; **John Embury**, director of communications; **Sarah Cozzi**, senior policy adviser; **Benjamin Sparkes**, parliamentary, policy, and Atlantic regional affairs adviser; **Abigail Garwood**, policy and Ontario regional affairs adviser; **Andrea Waselnuk**, policy, stakeholder relations, and events adviser; **Yves-Joseph Rosalbert**, Quebec regional affairs adviser and assistant to the minister's parliamentary secretary, Liberal MP **Darrell Samson**; **Linda Hooper-Fraser**, executive assistant; and **Annabel DaSilva**, executive assistant to the chief of staff and minister.

Meanwhile, over in Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau's** office, an added pair of hands has been brought in to help with issues management work, at least for now.

Alexander Steinhouse, director of parliamentary affairs to Justice Minister **David Lametti**, has been temporarily seconded to the top office as an adviser for issues management and parliamentary affairs.



Justice Minister David Lametti, pictured May 1 addressing media after announcing the federal government's ban on 1,500 models and variants of assault-style firearms in the wake of the shooting in Portapique, N.S. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

A former lawyer with Davies Ward Phillips & Vineberg LLP in Montreal, Mr. Steinhouse has been working on the Hill since the fall of 2016, starting out as a policy and parliamentary affairs adviser to then-justice minister **Jody Wilson-Raybould**. He became head of parliamentary affairs in the office in June 2018, and during the federal election last fall he served as a legal counsel for the Liberal Party.



Alexander Steinhouse is currently tackling issues management work for the PMO. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

Brian Clow is overall in charge of the issues management team in the PMO as executive director of issues management, parliamentary affairs, and Canada-U.S. relations, supported by **Maxime Dea** as director of issues management and parliamentary affairs and legal affairs adviser. Mr. Dea is in turn supported by a deputy director, **Sébastien Belliveau**.

Samantha Khalil is a senior manager for issues management and parliamentary affairs, while **Kathleen Davis** is a senior issues adviser for Global Affairs. Aside from Mr. Steinhouse, there are three other issues management and parliamentary affairs advisers: **Sabrina Kim**, **Alana Kiteley**, and **Thi Tran**. Rounding out the team is issues management and parliamentary affairs co-ordinator **Munavvar Tojiboeva**.

Katie Telford is chief of staff to Mr. Trudeau.

Over in Mr. Lametti's office, *Hill Climbers* understands that, rather than temporarily hiring on new help, the minister's remaining parliamentary affairs team—namely, special assistant **Morgan Maccougall-Milne**—will pick up the slack during Mr. Steinhouse's absence.

Rachel Doran is chief staff to Mr. Lametti.

In other, more belated staffing news, Health Minister **Patty Hajdu** welcomed

Kylie Phillips to her office as a regional affairs adviser for the West and North back in March.

Ms. Phillips joined Ms. Hajdu's team straight from the Liberal research bureau, where she worked for the first three months of the year as executive assistant to the LRB's managing director, **Melissa Cotton**. She previously interned in then-public safety minister **Ralph Goodale's** office over the summers of 2017, 2018, and 2019 while completing a bachelor's degree in political studies at the University of Saskatchewan.



Kylie Phillips is Ms. Hajdu's regional adviser for the West and North. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

After her internship ended last summer, she returned to her home province of Saskatchewan to run Liberal candidate **Tracy Muggli's** campaign in Saskatoon-Grasswood. Ultimately, Conservative MP **Kevin Waugh** reclaimed the riding with roughly 53.3 per cent of the vote.

Jean-François Leroux covers Quebec regional affairs for Ms. Hajdu, while **Gowthaman Kurusamy** is the minister's regional adviser for Ontario, and **Elizabeth Arsenault** is the regional adviser for the Atlantic.

Sabina Saini is chief of staff to the health minister, whose office also currently includes: **Leah van Houten**, director of operations; **Adam Exton**, director of parliamentary affairs; **Kathryn Nowers**, director of policy; **Thierry Bélair**, director of communications; **Matt Pascuzzo**, senior communications adviser and issues manager; **Cole Davidson**, press secretary; **Tahiya Bakht**, senior adviser; **Travis Gordon**, senior policy adviser; **Lhori Webster**, policy adviser; **Aisling MacKnight**, senior parliamentary affairs adviser and issues manager; and ministerial driver **Ryan Bell**.

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Long seen as lagging on an international scale, Canada has been playing catch up with economic development in the Arctic. Has there been any momentum to close the gap between Canada and other Arctic nations? And how does this push, or lack thereof, for development affect the unique culture and language of the North?

Infrastructure projects ranging from transportation to high-speed internet have been identified as a crucial element of the government's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework. But aside from promises made and money allocated, what is the strategy to ensure these projects actually move ahead?

This policy briefing will also examine the impacts of climate change on the region, as well as the effect of modernization on the North and its traditional way of life.

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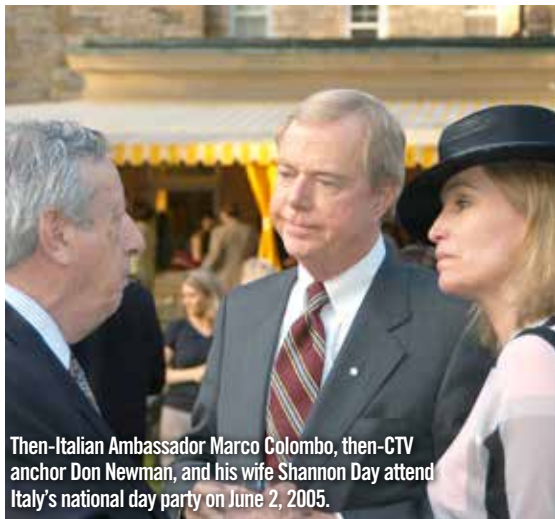
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Parties of the past

The Hill Times photographs by Sam Garcia

With COVID-19 putting a pause on diplomatic gatherings in Ottawa, *The Hill Times* is offering a look back with (some never-before-seen) images of celebrations and special events that have occurred at this time in years past.

Italy throws a garden party



Then-Italian Ambassador Marco Colombo, then-CTV anchor Don Newman, and his wife Shannon Day attend Italy's national day party on June 2, 2005.



Then-Mexican Ambassador María Teresa García De Madero and Mr. Colombo.



Mr. Colombo and then-House Speaker Peter Milliken.

Asia Pacific food fair



Cherry Ignatius, wife of the then-Malaysian high commissioner; Laureen Harper, wife of the then-Canadian prime minister; and Shuqing Gao, wife of then-Chinese ambassador participate in an Asian Pacific food and cultural fair hosted by the Chinese Embassy on May 10, 2006.



Ms. Harper and Kwee-joo Hong, wife of the then-Korean ambassador.

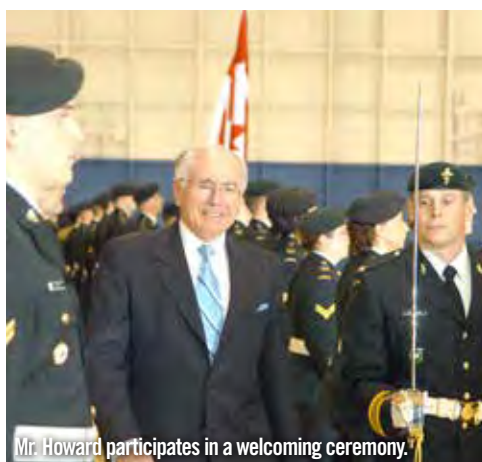


Janette Kelly, wife of the then-New Zealand high commissioner and Ms. Harper.

Australian PM makes a call



Malcolm McKechnie, then-chief of protocol; Janette Howard, wife of the then-Australian prime minister; then-Australian prime minister John Howard; and then-Canadian prime minister Stephen Harper. Mr. Howard arrived for an official visit to Canada on May 18, 2006.



Mr. Howard participates in a welcoming ceremony.

Parliamentary Calendar



Samara Centre for Democracy examines provincial parliaments in May 28 webinar

MONDAY, MAY 27

House Not Sitting—The House is expected to be suspended until Wednesday, June 17. However, during this adjournment time, a Special COVID-19 Pandemic Committee has been established, composed of all members of the House, and could meet on an expanded schedule of Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays. As per a government motion tabled May 25, the House could sit Wednesday, June 17, to consider supplementary spending estimates, and again on July 8, July 22, Aug. 26. As per the original sitting calendar, the House was also scheduled to return in the fall on Monday, Sept. 21, for three straight weeks. It was scheduled to adjourn for one week and to sit again from Oct. 19 until Nov. 6. It was scheduled to break again for one week and to sit again from Nov. 16 to Dec. 11. And that would be it for 2020. We'll update you once the House calendar has been confirmed.

Senate Not Sitting—The Senate has extended its suspension due to the COVID-19 virus until June 2. The June possible sitting days were June 1, 5, 8, 12, 15, and 19. The Senate was scheduled to sit June 2-4; June 9-11; June 16-18; and June 22, 23, it was scheduled to break on June 24 for St. Jean Baptiste Day; and it was scheduled to sit June 25 and June 26. The Senate was scheduled to break from June 29 until Sept. 22. The Senate's possible September sitting days are Sept. 21, 25, 28. It's scheduled to sit Sept. 22-24 and Sept. 29-Oct. 1, with a possible sitting day on Friday, Oct. 2. The possible Senate sitting days are Oct. 5, 9, 19, 23, 26, and 30. It's scheduled to sit Oct. 6-8; it takes a break from Oct. 12-16; it will sit Oct. 20-22; and Oct. 27-29. The November possible Senate days are: Nov. 2, 6, 16, 20, 23, 27, 30. It's scheduled to sit Nov. 3-5; it will take a break from Nov. 9-13; it will sit Nov. 17-19; and Nov. 24-26. The possible December Senate sitting days are: Dec. 4, 7, and 11. The Senate is scheduled to sit Dec. 1-3; Dec. 8-10 and it will sit Dec. 14-18. We'll also update you once the Senate calendar has been confirmed.

Looking Through the Retro-Scope—Former premier of British Columbia Christy Clark will speak on "Looking Through the Retro-Scope," exploring why policy makers missed so many opportunities to prepare for the pandemic, and why governments frequently fail to learn from history, hosted by McGill University, on May 27, at 4:30 p.m. Register online.

THURSDAY, MAY 28

Adapting to COVID-19: Provincial and Territorial Legislatures Compared—Important decisions about how to fight COVID-19 are being made by provincial and territorial governments. But when the pandemic reached Canada two months ago, it brought the work of legislatures to a halt. Since then, legislatures across the country have struggled to adapt to physical distancing and travel restrictions, experimenting with small emergency sittings, special committees, and virtual proceedings—or just closing their doors. As legislatures start to re-open, major questions remain about how to ensure government scrutiny and democratic representation in the present and in the face of future outbreaks. Join the Samara Centre for Democracy's Paul EJ Thomas, MPP Julie Green, professor JP Lewis, and reporter Sabrina Nanji for a virtual conversation about how provincial and territorial legislatures have adapted to the pandemic, what steps they're taking to continue parliamentary work, and how they might resume regular operations

over the coming weeks and months. Thursday, May 28, at noon. RSVP to receive a link to the event and a reminder: https://engage.samaracanada.com/provincial_and_territorial_pandemic_responses_and_next_steps

Work, Life, and Disability in Times of COVID-19—Employment, Workforce Development, and Disability Inclusion Minister Carla Qualtrough will take part in a panel discussion on "Work, Life, and Disability in Times of COVID-19." She will be joined by a group of speakers that includes Yazmine Laroche, deputy minister of public service accessibility; Luke Vigeant, co-founder and CEO at Inkblot Therapy; and Laura Chavira Razo, MBA candidate and Access to Success Fellow at Rotman School of Management, among others. The event will be held live on a virtual platform checked for digital accessibility. The livestream link will be sent prior to the day of the event. Live captioning will be available. If there is anything we can do to help make the event more accessible, reach out to us at contact@accessosuccess.ca. The free event is Thursday, May 28, from 3-5 p.m. Register via Eventbrite.

THURSDAY, MAY 28–SATURDAY, JUNE 6

Hot Docs Festival Online—Hot Docs will be presented online this year because of the pandemic, from May 28 to June 6. Introduced at the 2017 Hot Docs Festival, the \$50,000 award and cash prize have traditionally been given to the Canadian feature documentary screened at the Hot Docs Festival that receives the highest average rating as determined by audience poll. This year, the award will honour the top five Canadian documentaries in the audience poll and will present each director with a cash prize of \$10,000. The Hot Docs Festival Online will offer more than 135 official selections for at-home audiences to stream directly from www.hotdocs.ca on its recently launched Hot Docs at Home TVOD platform. Although the festival wraps on June 6, a majority of films will be available for extended post-festival viewing until June 24. The film lineup is available at www.hotdocs.ca/festivalonline.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 8

Canada's Foremost Fintech Conference FFCON20—Featuring high-growth start-ups and leading industry experts across fintech sectors including digital banking, P2P finance, AI, capital markets, Wealthtech, payments, crypto, and blockchain. July 8-9. Speakers include: Robert Asselin, senior director public policy, BlackBerry; Paul Schulte, founder and editor, Schulte Research; Craig Asano, founder and CEO, NCFI; George Bordianu, co-founder and CEO, Balance; Julien Brazeau, partner, Deloitte; Alix Cormick, president, Venture Law Corporation; Nikola Danaylov, founder, keynote speaker, author futurist, Singularity Media; Pam Draper, president and CEO, Bitvo; Justin Hartzman, co-founder and CEO, CoinSmart; Peter-Paul Van Hoeken, founder & CEO, FrontFundr; Cynthia Huang, CEO and co-founder, Altcoin Fantasy; Austin Hubbel, CEO and co-founder, Consilium Crypto; Patrick Mandic, CEO, Mavennet; Mark Morissette, co-founder & CEO, Foxquilt; Cato Pastol, co-founder & CEO, Lending Loop; Bernd Petak, investment partner, Northmark Ventures; Ali Pourdad, Pourdad Capital Partners, Family Office; Richard Prior, global head of policy and research, FDATA; Richard Remillard, president, Remillard Consulting Group; Jennifer Reynolds, president & CEO, Toronto Finance International; Jason Saltzman, partner, Gowling WLG Canada; James Wallace, co-chair and co-CEO, Exponential; Alan Wunsche, CEO & chief token officer, Tokenfunder; and Danish Yusuf, founder and CEO, Zensurance. For more information, please visit: <https://fintechandfunding.com/>.

The Parliamentary Calendar is a free events listing. Send in your political, cultural, diplomatic, or governmental event in a paragraph with all the relevant details under the subject line 'Parliamentary Calendar' to news@hilltimes.com by Wednesday at noon before the Monday paper or by Friday at noon for the Wednesday paper. We can't guarantee inclusion of every event, but we will definitely do our best. Events can be updated daily online, too.

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