

SUSAN RILEY: WHEN IT COMES TO FIXING LONG-TERM CARE, TEARS ARE NOT ENOUGH p. 12

Indigenous peoples offer new hope for creating real change p. 11

Displacement, disease, deluge: **trouble comes in threes for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh** p. 10

COVID-19 LOCKDOWN TRIGGERS ANCIENT DEBATE p. 9

Climate crisis: learning and taking inspiration from our COVID response p. 16



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News Canada-U.S. relations

Canada should re-examine U.S. relations, 'pursue its own future' in face of Trump's pandemic response, say some foreign policy and trade experts

BY PETER MAZEREEUW

Canada should respond to U.S. President Donald Trump's

"America First" policies for the COVID-19 pandemic by becoming more self-reliant, manufacturing more of its own essential

supplies, and "recalibrating" its relationship with its southern neighbour, say foreign affairs experts and a parliamentary critic.

"America is putting itself first, which is natural. Why shouldn't

Continued on page 6

News Politics

Fall federal election a 'real possibility' and a 'sweet spot' for Liberals to win a majority, say pollsters

BY ABBAS RANA

While Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Liberals are currently enjoying a strong wave of national popularity, a fall election is a "real possibility" from a purely strategic point of view, and an ideal time to convert a minority government into a majority, say leading pollsters.

"The number suggests that there's going to be a window, at least if you're a Liberal strategist, to potentially win a majority government," said Nik Nanos, chief data scientist and founder of Nanos Research, in an interview with *The Hill Times*. "That window is opening up now and probably will be open in the fall."

Mr. Nanos said that thanks to the effective management of COVID-19, Prime Minister Trudeau's (Papineau, Que.) brand has recovered from the SNC-Lavalin and blackface/brownface scandals, and other controversies in his first mandate. He also said the support the Liberals are enjoying now would not last for a very long period of time.

Since the start of the pandemic, the Liberals have started a number of programs to provide financial help to individual Canadians and businesses affected by the outbreak. More than seven million Canadians have applied for financial assistance and the government has poured billions of dollars, in a very short period of time, into the system to help

Continued on page 20

Opinion Climate catastrophe

Cutting our emissions isn't enough, we'll need geoengineering

Every bit of emissions we can cut now gives us a little more time before we reach the edge. So the crisis almost certainly will arrive, and then we will finally be willing to make radical changes. But what we will desperately need at that point is more time. That's why we will need geoengineering. Read Gwynne Dyer p. 17



What we will desperately need is more time. A truly serious response to the climate threat will come only when it is actually starting to hurt. Unfortunately, by then it will probably be too late, writes Gwynne Dyer. Photograph courtesy of Public Domain Pictures

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HEARD ON THE HILL

by Neil Moss

Cross-party Parliamentarians to urge feds to take strong response to new Hong Kong security law



NDP MP Heather McPherson, left, Conservative MP Kenny Chiu, Independent Senator Marilou McPhe-dran, and Liberal MP Nathaniel Erskine-Smith will participate in a press conference on June 1 calling for the federal government to take 'further steps' against China's decision to impose a national security law on Hong Kong. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade and courtesy of Twitter

As Chinese lawmakers have moved forward with national security legislation that threatens Hong Kong's "one country, two systems" bedrock, Parliamentarians across the partisan spectrum will be participating in a virtual press conference to urge the federal government to take strong action in opposition to the new law.

Alongside human rights activists, such as Alex Neve of Amnesty International Canada, and Avvy Go of the Chinese and Southeast Asian Legal Clinic, Liberal MP Nathaniel Erskine-Smith, Conservative MP Kenny Chiu, NDP MP Heather McPherson, and Independent Senator Marilou McPhe-dran will participate in the press conference on June 1.

"Human rights activists and federal politicians will urge the Canadian government to take further steps in response to a deepening crisis in Hong Kong, as China edges closer to adopting a dangerous new national security law. Those measures should include anticipation of the potential for a growing number of refugees from Hong Kong seeking Canada's protection," the press release read.

Foreign Affairs Minister François-Philippe Champagne released a joint statement last week alongside his counterparts in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia saying they had "deep concern over Beijing's decision to impose a national security law in Hong Kong."

"We are also extremely concerned that this action will exacerbate the existing deep

divisions in Hong Kong society; the law does nothing to build mutual understanding and foster reconciliation within Hong Kong. Rebuilding trust across Hong Kong society by allowing the people of Hong Kong to enjoy the rights and freedoms they were promised can be the only way back from the tensions and unrest that the territory has seen over the last year," the statement noted.

Tensions with the Chinese government were further heightened last week as a British Columbia judge ruled that the extradition case against Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou will continue.

The Chinese embassy in Ottawa said after the decision was made that Canada was "acting as an accomplice with the United States" to injure Huawei and Chinese technology firms.

A week of change for Canadian media: Torstar gets new owners, Postmedia to lay off 'approximately' 40



The *Toronto Star* and *iPolitics* newsrooms are located on the second floor at 17 York St., in the ByWard Market. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

In a week of sweeping changes for Canadian journalism, a new ownership group sits atop one of Canada's most influential newspapers and Postmedia announced 40 staffers would be laid off after an agreement couldn't be reached on wage cuts.

After years of financial difficulty, Torstar—the parent company of more than 70 newspapers across Canada, including the flagship *Toronto Star*, which has the high-

est circulation in the nation—was sold to two Toronto-based financiers with Conservative Party connections.

Jordan Bitove and Paul Rivett bought the paper for \$52-million. The two investors vowed not to alter *The Star's* progressive foundation of the Atkinson Principles, named after the guiding credo of the founder of the newspaper, Joseph Atkinson. Canadaland reported last week that Mr. Rivett made several donations to Conservative politicians, including now-Ontario Premier Doug Ford, then-Conservative leadership candidate Maxime Bernier, as well as the federal Tories. Mr. Bitove donated to both Conservative and Liberal politicians.

Torstar currently employs more than a dozen reporters on Parliament Hill with seven in *The Toronto Star's* parliamentary bureau and six at *iPolitics*.

In other media news, Postmedia announced approximately 40 more people would face job losses due to the economic fallout of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Postmedia CEO Andrew MacLeod announced in a company memo, obtained by J-Source, that the company could not come to an agreement with unions over wage cuts and is "necessarily moving forward with approximately 40 permanent reductions."

The company had previously announced in April that it was closing 15 community newspapers in Manitoba and the Windsor-Essex area in Ontario. Those closures led to the loss of 30 jobs and an additional 50 jobs were cut from the organization's sales department.

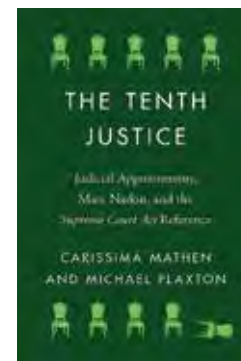
A new book looks back at the Marc Nadon affair

It was a rare moment in Canadian history that pitted a Supreme Court chief justice against a prime minister over the eligibility of a judge to serve on Canada's top bench.

A new book looks at then-prime minister Stephen Harper's failed quest to put Marc Nadon on the Supreme Court.

The Tenth Justice: Judicial Appointments, Marc Nadon, and the Supreme Court Act Reference, by

University of Ottawa law professor Carissima Mathen and University of Saskatchewan law professor Michael Plaxton, looks at the court's rebuffing of the Harper government's plan to have a federal court justice take one of the Quebec seats on the Supreme Court.



Carissima Mathen and Michael Plaxton's *The Tenth Justice: Judicial Appointments, Marc Nadon, and the Supreme Court Act Reference* will be released on June 1. Book cover image courtesy of UBC Press

The court ruled in a 6-1 decision (Reference re Supreme Court Act, ss 5 and 6,) that appointments to the Quebec seats must be from those on the Quebec courts or members of the Quebec bar.

"In *The Tenth Justice*, Carissima Mathen and Michael Plaxton set out the history of judicial appointments, the legal and political context that gave rise to the Reference re Supreme Court, and the impact that the decision has had on legal and constitutional debate in Canada," the book description reads.

"With detailed historical and legal analysis, including never-before-published interviews, *The Tenth Justice* explains how the Nadon Reference came to be a case at all, the issues at stake, and its legacy."

University of Victoria law professor Gillian Calder called the book: "an intriguing detective story."

The 280-page book is being published by UBC Press on June 1.

This just in: Bob Rae to be awarded 20th annual Symons Medal



Former interim Liberal leader Bob Rae will be awarded the Symons Medal for "exceptional contribution to Canadian life" this fall in Prince Edward Island.

The medal ceremony is accompanied by a lecture on the "current state and future prospects of Confederation."

The medal is named after Thomas H.B. Symons, the founding president of Trent University and a Canadian studies professor.

Previous winners of the Symons Medal have included prime ministers Justin Trudeau and Paul Martin, Independent Senator Murray Sinclair, past Supreme Court chief justice Beverley McLachlin, and former governor general David Johnston, among others.

Mr. Rae currently serves as the special envoy on humanitarian and refugee issues. He was previously Canada's special envoy to Myanmar dealing with the Rohingya crisis.

Serving more than eight years in the House of Commons as a member of the NDP in the late 1970s and early 1980s and later in the Liberal caucus where he was the party's interim leader from 2011 to 2013. He was also the only NDP premier of Ontario, in office from 1990 to 1995.

The Symons Medal will be presented to Mr. Rae on Oct. 30 at the Confederation Centre of the Arts in Charlottetown, P.E.I.

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News

'It's been better than nothing at all': MPs settle into Zoom sittings, though some say more room for increased oversight

While some MPs say the debate in the virtual sittings is 'livelier,' and heckling has diminished, one MP notes that the theatrics of Parliament haven't completely been shaken off: MPs have found new ways to play it up for the cameras.



A skeletal House of Commons Chamber hosts a meeting of the special COVID-19 committee on May 13. For the first time in history, on May 27, the House held hybrid sittings, with large screens set up to beam the faces of MPs appearing virtually. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

BY BEATRICE PAEZ
AND PALAK MANGAT

Several weeks into the virtual sittings set up in response to the pandemic, many MPs are comfortably settling into the routine of logging on remotely to probe the Liberal government's measures, even as some say the arrangement falls short of the oversight needed for the biggest crisis in a generation.

The House held its first official hybrid sitting on May 27, with large screens installed in the Chamber to beam the faces of MPs unable to attend in person. The new arrangement, established after piloting a mix of in-person and virtual sittings, calls for four sitting days of the special COVID-19 committee to question the government, while the traditional, routine proceedings remain suspended until September.

The House's inability to restore the full powers and privileges of MPs, including opposition days and the introduction of private members' bills—which have been enhanced in a minority Parliament—was a sticking point for the Conservatives and the Bloc Québécois, who voted against the government motion that was supported by the NDP and Greens. The two parties had been pushing for a small number of MPs to assemble in the House for regular sittings.

"In a limited sense, it's been better than nothing at all," said Conservative MP Bob Zimmer (Prince George-Peace River, B.C.). "We wanted to have a regular sitting, that's what people watch."

Mr. Zimmer likened the virtual sittings—which are broadcast on ParlVu and CPAC, as is Question Period—to catching the highlights of a hockey game in the news versus watching it in person, saying that, anecdotally, based on what he's hearing from constituents, there isn't the same level of engagement. He said there's a "perception" out there the government isn't being fully held to account.

Conservative MP Scott Reid (Lanark-Frontenac-Kingston, Ont.) said he's been calling for committees to have their full powers restored, and for a new one to be struck and modelled after the Special Canada-

China Committee, which has the ability to compel the production of documents and has all four recognized parties setting the agenda.

"In the middle of a crisis, we shouldn't shelter the government," he said in an interview before the government motion was passed. "It's dealing with the biggest economic crisis and health crisis in 100 years. Now is not the time to hamstring our committees."

At the same time, he acknowledged there's a "bandwidth" issue in terms of the House administration's capacity to staff virtual committee meetings beyond the eight currently meeting.

The new motion stipulated that any request or order for the production of documents from reconvened committees will "be responded to when possible, given the constraints that exist" due to the pandemic. It also stated that they can explore other issues not related to COVID-19, suggesting they have a little more latitude than previously afforded under the last lapsed deal.

Mr. Reid, however, said the format of the virtual sittings have allowed for a "livelier" debate. "It seems to be actually better," he said, noting that Parliament has long struggled to find ways to reform Question Period. "During this crisis, there's always lessons you can learn in the long run."

Liberal MP Jean Yip (Scarborough-Agincourt, Ont.) noted that the level of heckling has diminished, allowing for a more substantive debate to cut through, thanks to the five-minute question-and-answer format. "I think it's allowed the government to answer specific questions from the opposition, and maybe to give answers to repeated questions more fully," she said. "You have less of a chance to do theatrics, see more people getting to the point quicker. There is still some grandstanding."

Still, Liberal MP Adam Vaughan (Spadina-Fort York, Ont.) said the theatrics of Parliament haven't completely been shaken off, with MPs finding new ways to play it up for the cameras. "The format of the COVID committee has led to some new forms of MP tactics in how to ask questions and make editorial statements, that seem to go beyond

the normal that would be allowed in Question Period," he said.

It's something some reporters observing the sittings have also noted, with freelance journalist Dale Smith suggesting some MPs are asking "performative questions."

Not everyone is a fan of the format.

Conservative MP Kevin Waugh (Saskatoon-Grasswood, Sask.) said he prefers the old cross-aisle exchanges.

"Some ministers go long in their answers, and when we get to these virtual sittings, it's a point of order, and we're going over on our time," he said. "Whereas in the House, of course, you've got the 35 seconds and your mic is cut, and then the next question [comes]."

There has been frustration brewing among Conservatives over their ability to respond to emerging and peripheral issues, while the NDP has argued that they've been able to secure hard-won concessions from the government.

Tim Abray, a communications consultant who has worked both federally and provincially in Ontario, said that all parties are "scrambling" to drive a narrative and draw attention to themselves and issues they want to push for through the "alternative channel" of the committee.

"I think what [the Conservatives] are discovering is that they relied very heavily on the day-to-day institutional operation of the government: the presence of Question Period, the availability of journalists on the Hill, the ebb and flow of day-to-day government processes," said Mr. Abray. "In the end, it's just creating an incredible amount of confusion for parties to draw focus to things they think are important."

Mr. Abray said the Conservatives "are most successful when they're pointing out specific examples of where the absence of that traditional accountability [and sittings] is failing Canadians." He said the previous arrangement does not "adequately" replace "the entire structure that is meant to be in place to hold governments to account."

NDP MP Daniel Blaikie (Elmwood-Transcona, Man.) said there's "virtue" in having 337 of

his colleagues in the same room "when it's safe to do so." He took issue with the previous restrictions on raising issues not related to COVID-19, but said his party has been able to influence government policy nonetheless.

He cited the NDP's questioning of the government's stance on allowing bailout funds to go to companies using offshore tax havens. Last month, after facing questions from the Bloc Québécois and NDP on that topic, Mr. Trudeau said his government would not withhold subsidies from workers just because of the activities of their employer. The following week, he said, "those who evade or avoid tax will not receive aid."

Mr. Blaikie noted that in his home province, led by Progressive Conservative Premier Brian Pallister, the legislature hasn't sat regularly since mid-March, when sittings were indefinitely suspended. There have been three question periods in May, along with one emergency sitting to pass relief legislation since then.

Among Canada's provincial and territorial legislatures, British Columbia has led the way in the transition to virtual sittings, according to a recent report from The Samara Centre for Democracy.

Conservative MP Karen Vecchio (Elgin-Middlesex-London, Ont.) noted that conversations happening "across the aisle" or "one-offs" are few and far between, meaning she can't ask the government for clarity on things like eligibility requirements for federal programs such as the Canada Emergency Response Benefit, the \$2,000 per month benefit for those unable to work due to the pandemic, even in an informal setting.

Mr. Vaughan said the work that often "gets done in the lobbies" is "under appreciated," adding that includes "legislation, toying with ideas of how to make amendments work, and making [changes to] programs that may not be functioning so well in your corner of the country."

During in-person sittings, Ms. Vecchio estimated she's able to speak to a minister "once or twice a day, [by] just being in the House of Commons, when you're actually present there."

NDP MP Leah Gazan (Winnipeg Centre, Man.) echoed Mr. Blaikie's comments in touting her party's efforts at pushing "for a lot of progressive measures," including securing the government's commitment to engage in a discussion with premiers on providing Canadians with 10 days of paid sick leave per year in exchange for supporting the motion.

"We're in unprecedented times, but the needs of our communities don't stop," Ms. Gazan said. "We've been advocating for the urgent need for a 24-hour space for women and girls. That wouldn't have been possible without a virtual Parliament."

She said the NDP also pushed for the House to sit for additional days during the summer months when it is usually on hiatus.

"Now is not the time for a holiday," she said.

The Hill Times

How members of the other G7 legislatures are convening amid the pandemic:

U.S.

The U.S. House of Representatives was expected to return from a recess triggered by COVID-19 on May 4, but lawmakers reversed course, saying it is not safe to reconvene as a whole. Until a new plan is developed, members can hold hearings and meet remotely, and officials are looking at how the House can consider voting remotely. The House and Senate adjourned in-person sittings in March. Congress reconvened twice to pass emergency legislation amid the pandemic. The Senate reconvened on May 4.

JAPAN

Japan's Parliament sat physically, with a reduced number of legislators taking part on April 14, allowing those not in attendance to view the session on a livestream. Politicians agreed to cut the daily number of committee meetings, with a goal of reducing the number of people showing up to about 90. The federal cabinet met for the first time May 1 on video conference since April 10, when a state of emergency was declared for Tokyo.

GERMANY

Germany's Bundestag, which usually has 709 members, is continuing to meet in limited numbers. A more restricted agenda is prioritized to focus on essential debates. The country's rules generally do not allow remote or virtual sittings, but it has adopted virtual committee meetings as a temporary measure.

ITALY

In March, politicians agreed that half of the members in the Chamber of Deputies and Senate of the Republic would be allowed to sit in Parliament. Some reports noted that parliamentary groups are using all available areas, including those generally saved for media, to allow as many people into the Houses as possible while still accommodating for physical distancing.

U.K.

In April, British Parliamentarians agreed to allow their colleagues to ask questions and make ministerial statements on video conference. That means the government continued to hold sittings in a hybrid model. Up to 50 MPs were allowed to be in the Chamber at a time, with up to 120 allowed to take part remotely.

FRANCE

The National Assembly of France held limited meetings remotely, and committee meetings are restricted to hearings and debates around issues related to COVID-19. Committees have not been holding meetings, except to consider three pandemic-related bills. The Senate has held reduced sittings once a week, limiting questions for the government to 10, and only those asking and answering questions are allowed to attend.



Liberal MP Marie-France Lalonde, centre, says Canada needs national standards for long-term care homes to better manage outbreaks of disease. Ontario Premier Doug Ford, left, and NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh have also called for national standards for homes that so far have operated under provincial jurisdiction. Photograph courtesy of Marie-France Lalonde, *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade

Liberal MP Marie-France Lalonde, a former retirement home operator, joins call for national standards and more money for long-term care

‘We all knew we needed more money into this system. Now the focus should be that.’

BY PETER MAZEREEUW

The federal and provincial governments should get together to set nation-wide standards for long-term care homes, says Liberal MP Marie-France Lalonde, who worked as a hospital social worker and retirement home operator before getting into politics.

The federal NDP have already called for national standards for long-term care in Canada. Ontario Premier Doug Ford joined that call last week, urging a national “standard operating procedure” for homes in Canada, *The Canadian Press* reported.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) told reporters on May 27 that his government wanted to be part of “longer term conversations” about the state of long-term care in Canada. “We need to make sure we’re doing a better job of supporting our seniors, and the federal government is there to work with the provinces while respecting their jurisdiction.”

The vast majority of those killed by the COVID-19 pandemic in Canada have been elderly residents of long-term care homes. The disease has spread through hundreds of long-term care and retirement homes in Canada, forcing the gov-

ernment to bring in military health care workers to homes in Ontario and Quebec after the staff there—those who hadn’t been sidelined by the disease already—couldn’t cope with the outbreaks.

The military released a damning report on May 20 about the state of care in the five Ontario homes where it was working. The report said that the staff in some homes weren’t properly trained; had worked extreme hours, and had low moral; were sometimes abusive to residents; and that some were afraid to use personal protective equipment, or even to provide residents with extra pads to prevent them from soiling their beds, out of fear that they could be fired over the extra expense.

The report also said that in some homes residents with COVID-19 were roomed with others who did not yet have the disease, and were also allowed to wander through the building. It also said that the residents of one home were habitually being given expired medication.

Employment Minister Carla Qualtrough (Delta, B.C.) said the government was working to create a program to train unemployed Canadians to work in long-term care homes, to help alleviate staffing shortages, during an interview on CTV’s *Question Period* program on May 10.

Mr. Trudeau has not committed to conducting a national inquiry into the treatment of residents at long-term care homes during the pandemic. Long-term care homes fall under provincial jurisdiction. Mr. Ford has already promised to

strike an independent commission to look into problems with long-term care in that province. Quebec’s provincial ombudsperson is launching her own investigation.

Fixing flaws a ‘shared responsibility’ for governments, says sector spokesperson

Long-term care and retirement homes have been under pressure for years. In decades past, residents of some of the homes often arrived reasonably healthy and of sound mind, said Ms. Lalonde (Orléans, Ont.). Over the years, residents became, on average, older and sicker, and government funding and staffing didn’t keep up, she said.

Ms. Lalonde started her career as a social worker in a hospital. She was a discharge planner, and sent people to live in long-term care homes when they fell ill and could no longer look after themselves. In 2008, she became the co-owner and executive director of a retirement home in Orléans, before selling it in 2012 and getting into provincial politics in 2014. She served as a minister for community safety and correctional services, government and consumer affairs, and francophone affairs in Kathleen Wynne’s Liberal government.

Retirement homes are not funded by the government to provide long-term care, but Ms. Lalonde said they have been providing assisted living ser-

vices privately to more and more people in Ontario in recent years as demand has climbed, and waiting lists for subsidized long-term care homes have grown.

The Ontario government tightened the admissibility criteria for long-term care homes, said Ms. Lalonde, after it introduced its Aging in Place plan in 2010. That plan aimed to provide in-home support to seniors with mild health problems so they wouldn’t have to move into long-term care. The new criteria meant that the people being admitted to long-term care from that point on were more ill than they had been before, she said.

Ms. Lalonde said she did not believe a national inquiry into long-term care homes was needed in Canada, since it was under the provinces’ jurisdiction. She also said she did not agree with the NDP’s call to nationalize long-term care homes.

Ms. Lalonde said the federal and provincial governments should set up formal talks with the provinces and produce a “pandemic directive” for long-term care in Canada, and a 10 year plan for fixing the problems plaguing long-term care facilities.

They should make sure frontline workers and home operators are consulted as part of that process, she said.

The provinces will want more money from the federal government to make sure the long-term care sector can deliver on the new standards, she added.

“After this pandemic—we all knew we needed more money into this system. Now the focus should be that.”

The federal-provincial Health Accord is up for renewal at the end of 2021-2022, said Ms. Lalonde, who was in the Ontario government’s cabinet when it was signed. The federal Liberals have committed to a plan that extends for another five years beyond that, but the renewal talks are an opportunity for the federal and provincial governments to work out a deal to send more money towards long-term care, if the political will is there on both sides, said Ms. Lalonde.

The federal government struck deals with the provinces one by one in 2016 and 2017—including Ms. Lalonde’s Ontario Liberals—to provide funding for health care for the following 10 years. The deals reduced the rate of increase for the general health transfer from the federal to provincial governments, but gave specific additional funding for provinces to improve mental health care and home care services.

“This time on the accord, I suspect there will be a strong push to look at the long-term care, and how can the federal and the provinces work together,” she said.

Better pay for staff, and better training in hand washing and the use of personal protective equipment would be a starting point, she said.

New money for infrastructure should be a part of the solution too, said Ms. Lalonde. Setting money aside for palliative care spaces would help, as would making extra space for residents who often share rooms and bathrooms in long-term care facilities, which makes it easier for disease to spread, she said.

The Canadian Association for Long term Care, an advocacy group for the sector, has already been pressing the federal government for infrastructure money for several years, said Jodi Hall, the association’s chair.

Four-bed ward rooms, shared bathrooms, narrow hallways, and small dining rooms contribute to the spread of disease in homes, she said. Social distancing or isolating sick residents becomes impossible, she said, “because you just can’t change your infrastructure.”

Provincial jurisdiction or not, Ms. Hall said the federal government has a responsibility to help solve the problem.

“Given the aging transition of our society and the growing pressure on provinces, we absolutely see a shared responsibility here going forward.”

Money devoted to housing or hospitals can’t be diverted to help long-term care facilities, she said. “It seems as though we have fallen into the cracks.”

The federal government can help relieve staffing shortages by setting up dedicated immigration streams for people who want to come and work in the sector in Canada, she said.

Ms. Hall also said the government should also require long-term care facilities to share data on their performance through a single database—some commercial products are already available—so policy-makers and advocates have a clear picture of the state of long-term care across the country.

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News

Canada should re-examine U.S. relations, 'pursue its own future' in face of Trump's pandemic response, say some foreign policy and trade experts

'America is putting itself first, which is natural. Why shouldn't we behave in the same way?' says Carleton U's David Carment.

Continued from page 1

we behave in the same way?" said David Carment, a professor at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs.

"A country that believes that the rules of trade or diplomacy can be repeatedly violated is not a country that Canada can rely on or even engage with systematically," he told *The Hill Times* in an interview last week.

"What the U.S. is demonstrating is that it is no longer working by the rules that Canada has based its trading relationship on with the world. That's a problem for Canada."

Mr. Trump's government has moved aggressively to secure essential supplies for the United States as it has sought to control the COVID-19 pandemic, which has killed nearly 100,000 Americans—roughly the same number as in the next three worst-affected countries combined.

The Trump administration attempted to block U.S.-based manufacturer 3M from filling a huge order of medical-grade face masks from Ontario this spring, before relenting.

Multiple international media outlets reported in March that the Trump administration had also sought to buy exclusive access for the U.S. to a vaccine for the disease that was being developed in Germany, which the German government confirmed but the vaccine research company later denied.

The Trump government also cut U.S. funding to the World

Health Organization amid the pandemic, citing concerns with the way the organization had managed the crisis. Mr. Trump has previously said that the virus would disappear "like a miracle," and speculated that malaria medication or bleach could treat the disease.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured on May 21. 'It is in both of our interests to maintain this extraordinary close relationship', Mr. Trudeau told reporters on April 4, as he was negotiating a deal to allow U.S. manufacturers to send essential supplies to Canada. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Mr. Trump has put U.S. allies and multilateral institutions in his crosshairs in a number of other ways since he was elected in 2016, including starting a trade war with Canada, and putting NATO members under pressure to ramp up their defence spending.

Canada should 'pursue its own future': Harris

Instead of pointing fingers, however, Canada's leaders should figure out why they were relying on the United States for personal protective equipment and other cooperation in the first place, and become more self-reliant, said Prof. Carment.

"Maybe there's a lesson here that some things are so essential, that you don't open [them] up to the fragility of [a] supply chain," he said.

The government should try to make it easier for Canadian manufacturers to shift their production to essential equipment, like personal protective equipment, in times of crisis in the future, he said.



U.S. President Donald Trump has cut funding to the World Health Organization and tried to block the export of public health supplies to Canada as he has grappled with the COVID-19 pandemic. *Photograph courtesy of the White House via Flickr*

"If you deem these things to be essential to Canadian security, then there's absolutely no reason why these things shouldn't be internalized," he said.

NDP MP Jack Harris (St. John's East, N.L.), his party's foreign affairs critic, also said that Canada should beef up its ability to manufacture supplies and equipment that are essential in an emergency, and so did Carlo Dade, the director of the Calgary-based think tank the Canada West Foundation's Trade and Investment Centre.

"Canada has to accept that it has to pursue its own future,

said he was not available for an interview. Liberal MP Michael Levitt (York Centre, Ont.), who chairs the House Foreign Affairs Committee, did not respond to an interview request.

Strike a new 'Macdonald Commission': Dade

The "America first" approach to international relations has roots deeper than Mr. Trump himself, and may continue after he leaves office, said Mr. Dade and Prof. Carment.

"The changes in the U.S. are profound. It's gone from being a defender of the global liberal trade order to attacking it," said Mr. Dade.

Canada's big-picture trading relationship with the United States isn't going anywhere, but the number of issues for which the U.S. can be counted on as a reliable ally has "shrunk dramatically" compared to years past, he said.

The Trump administration has failed to permanently fill many top-level bureaucratic posts, "severely" weakening the expertise used to inform its policy making, said Mr. Dade.

A new generation of Republican lawmakers is less sympathetic to or informed about the value of Canada to the United States, said Mr. Dade.

"The Republican Party that we thought we knew is no longer there."

The government should strike a new version of the Macdonald Commission to look at how to "recalibrate" the Canada-U.S. relationship, said Mr. Dade.

The Macdonald Commission, also known as the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, was struck by prime minister Pierre Trudeau in 1982 to examine the future economic prospects of Canada. Three years later, it reported a set of recommendations to prime minister Brian Mulroney that included negotiating a free trade agreement with the United States, which the Mulroney government undertook shortly after and completed in 1987.

"The world of the MacDonald Commission, I would argue, has been completely upended" by the new U.S. approach to international relations, said Mr. Dade.

However, Senator Peter Boehm, a former high-ranking

official in Global Affairs Canada, said Mr. Trump's actions are no reason to change the Canada-U.S. relationship.

"I don't see why we should change our perspective. The U.S. has always been our key partner in international relations. I don't see that changing. I think bilaterally, we have worked very well together through this pandemic," said Sen. Boehm, who retired from the public service and was appointed to the Senate in 2018.

Canada and U.S. working 'below the surface': Boehm

Mr. Harris argued that the United States has "abdicated" its leadership role on the world stage. He said Canada should find other international partners to work with.

Sen. Boehm said that international bodies including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund serve as a "counterweight" for Canada to its deep relationship with the United States.

"If we are looking at reform of international institutions, if we are looking for a new normal in terms of the conduct of multilateral diplomacy, I would expect Canada to be very engaged in that," he told *The Hill Times*.

Canadian and American officials have continued to work together during the pandemic, said Sen. Boehm, who pointed to a mutual agreement to close the border to non-essential travel, and then extend that closure, as an example.

"There's a lot going on below the surface that most people don't know about. And that means technical discussions, whether it is on transport issues, whether it is on how to cooperate on vaccine research," he said.

"The relationship with the U.S. is multifaceted, it's not just at the top."

Canada will face difficult choices as it navigates a world in which multilateral institutions are no longer supported by the U.S. China has built its own sphere of influence, and some longtime U.S. allies are openly questioning U.S. foreign policy, said Prof. Carment.

"Are we going to be part of that? Are we going to bandwagon with them? Or are we just going to fold back into the American sphere of influence?"

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The Hill Times



U.S. President Donald Trump, pictured with Vice-President Mike Pence, doesn't have a clear shot at re-election, says Allan Lichtman, a U.S. academic, who has correctly predicted all presidential elections going back to 1984. Prof. Lichtman points to the president's poor handling of COVID-19 and the subsequent economic fallout as problems.

Photograph courtesy of White House

tration's botched response—first downplaying the significance of the outbreak when it was getting worse, and later saying that social-distancing measures could be lifted by Easter. Even before the COVID-19 outbreak started, it was clear that the agencies responsible for handling pandemic outbreaks were not a priority for the administration.

In 2018, the administration dismantled its pandemic response unit, which was part of the national security team, and also repeatedly called for cuts to the budgets of Centers for Disease Control Prevention and other public health agencies.

But President Trump, in a tweet, disagreed with criticisms levelled against his response to the pandemic.

"The Radical Left Lamestream Media, together with their partner, the Do Nothing Democrats, are trying to spread a new narrative that President Trump was slow in reacting to Covid 19," tweeted Mr. Trump on May 27. "Wrong, I was very fast, even doing the Ban on China long before anybody thought necessary!"

RealClearPolitics' composite of national polls suggested that presumptive Democratic presidential nominee, Joe Biden, has a 5.5-percentage point lead over Mr. Trump.

Prof. Lichtman said he would make his final prediction about the outcome of the presidential election in July, when the second quarter economic numbers about the state of the economy are available.

So far, he said, there are four "keys" against Mr. Trump, including the Republicans' loss in the mid-terms, which saw the Democrats take control of Congress, and his impeachment, which made him the third president in U.S. history to be impeached. The other indicators include the lack of a significant foreign policy achievement and his narrow appeal to voters.

"What's still up in the air are two economic keys. And it takes six keys to count out. [The] president right now he has four, which is why I'm looking to see what's gonna happen

U.S. academic who saw Trump victory in 2016 says president's re-election bid in serious trouble

'The Radical Left Lamestream Media, together with their partner, the Do Nothing Democrats, are trying to spread a new narrative that President Trump was slow in reacting to Covid 19,' says U.S. President Donald Trump in a tweet.

BY ABBAS RANA

A U.S. academic, who has correctly predicted all presidential elections going back to 1984, says that U.S. President Donald Trump's re-election bid appears to be in trouble due to his administration's handling of the pandemic and the economic fallout that has left more than 38 million Americans unemployed.

"Obviously, things are looking worse for Trump now than they were four or five months ago," said Prof. Allan Lichtman, a distinguished professor of history at the American University in Washington, D.C., in a phone interview with *The Hill Times*.

He said the economic downturn and the administration's response to the pandemic, are two key reasons Mr. Trump's chance at winning a second term is in jeopardy.

The 2016 election was the ninth consecutive time, starting in 1984,

when Prof. Lichtman correctly predicted the outcome of the U.S. presidential election. He gained further prominence internationally after the last election, as almost all high-profile pundits and commentators were unanimous in predicting that Hillary Clinton would win the White House.

Prof. Lichtman has written a book, *Predicting the Next President: The Keys to the White House*, to explain his analytical model, outlining how he makes his predictions.

He came up with his model by studying and analyzing past elections between 1860 and 1980. The theory behind his model is that the presidential elections are often a referendum on the incumbent party's performance and whether or not the party holding the White House deserves four more years in power.

This model is based on 13 true or false statements about the incumbent president. If six or more of the statements are false, the sitting president loses, and if fewer than six are false, the incumbent wins. The statements include the most recent mid-term election results; whether the president is facing a nomination challenge from his or her own party; any significant third-party candidate; the state of the short-term and long-term economy; whether the incumbent administration has faced any major scandal; any major national policy achievements; the state of social cohesion in the country; foreign and military successes; foreign and military failures; the quality of the incumbent candidate; and the quality of the opposing party candidate.

The system ignores the polling numbers, advertising, debates, the opinions of political pundits, or how candidates run their campaigns.

For the current campaign, Prof. Lichtman told *The Hill Times* that, based on his model, Mr. Trump

appears to be in trouble chiefly because of his handling of COVID-19 and the economic devastation.

"Not just because there's a pandemic, but because the Trump administration has handled it about as badly as one possibly could," said Prof. Lichtman. "You couldn't draw up a scenario, hardly, which would take a worse response than we've seen from Trump."



Since the start of the pandemic, 38.6 million Americans have applied for financial assistance from the government, and more than two million self-employed, contractual Americans have filed for aid, according to U.S. Labour Department. And, the Johns Hopkins University stats indicated that there are more than 1.6 million reported cases of COVID-19 in the U.S. and more than 100,000 deaths, a figure that likely doesn't fully reflect the actual death toll.

Last month, the unemployment rate was at 14.7 per cent, the highest going back all the way to 1948, and it could go north of 20 per cent in the coming weeks.

Experts have blasted the Trump administration for its slow and muddled response to the coronavirus. They criticized the adminis-

with the economic keys," he said.

Prof. Lichtman said that it remains to be seen how the presidential campaign, which is playing out amid social-distancing measures, will affect the electoral outcome.

However, he said, that, right now, it's a negative for Trump who relishes rallying in front of huge crowds of supporters.

"The campaigns really don't begin in earnest until September," said Prof. Lichtman. "I think it probably hurts Trump in terms of just campaigning, not necessarily in terms of the outcome of the election, which I don't think is influenced by campaigning. Obviously, Trump gets his energy from these raucous campaign rallies. And if you can't control that, you can't have that."

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The Hill Times

Lichtman's 13 "Keys" to the White House

1. Party Mandate: After the midterm elections, the incumbent party holds more seats in the U.S. House of Representatives than after the previous midterm elections.
2. Contest: There is no serious contest for the incumbent party nominations.
3. Incumbency: The incumbent party candidate is the sitting president.
4. Third party: There is no significant third party or independent campaign.
5. Short-term economy: The economy is not in recession during the election campaign.
6. Long-term economy: Real per capita economic growth during the term equals or exceeds mean growth during the previous two terms.
7. Policy change: The incumbent administration effects major changes in national policy.
8. Social unrest: There's no sustained social unrest during the term.
9. Scandal: The incumbent administration is untainted by major scandal.
10. Foreign/military failure: The incumbent administration suffers no major failure in foreign or military affairs.
11. Foreign/military success: The incumbent administration achieves a major success in foreign or military affairs.
12. Incumbent charisma: The incumbent party candidate is charismatic or a national hero.
13. Challenger charisma: The challenging party candidate is not charismatic or a national hero.

—Source: Salon.com, published Jan. 7, 2020

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Editorial

Canada must be on the right side of history as Hong Kong is imperiled

Canada will no doubt be stung by repercussions from its ongoing diplomatic feud with China for years to come. In the long run, it will be worth it.

Beijing's new law banning "subversion" in Hong Kong is a transparent precursor to the elimination of the territory's remaining sovereignty. For those who reside in Hong Kong, including 300,000 Canadians, it could well mean an end to many of their rights and freedoms. For the rest of the world, it is another step in Chinese Leader Xi Jinping's aggressive expansion of Chinese power and influence on the world stage.

Canada's federal government, meanwhile, co-signed a statement on May 28 along with the United States, the UK, and Australia that said China had violated its international obligations by pushing through its new law for Hong Kong, which the statement said "would curtail the Hong Kong people's liberties."

Canada has been at odds with China since the end of 2018, when police arrested Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou at the behest of the United States over allegations that she defrauded a bank and violated U.S. trade sanctions. China retaliated by blocking Canadian canola exports, and imprisoning two Canadians working in China, Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor.

Canada has also delayed making a decision on whether to allow Huawei to supply 5G telecommunications equipment in the country, which has been blocked by the United States and several other allies over concerns that it could be co-opted by China for the purpose of espionage.

Canada-China relations will worsen now, after a B.C. judge ruled last week that Ms. Meng can be extradited to the United States.

If Canada continues to press back against the Chinese government's aggression, it will undoubtedly face a greater backlash that will be felt by Canadians who travel to or do business with China, including many farmers who export to the country. Mr. Spavor and Mr. Kovrig will likely suffer more.

Failing to push back and stand up for international justice would come with an ever higher price, however.

Caving to calls, including from some in Canada, to simply exchange Ms. Meng for Mr. Spavor and Mr. Kovrig would send a clear message to the world that the Chinese elite are above the law, not only at home but in Canada as well. It would also validate China's strategy of taking Canadians hostage whenever it wishes Canada to bend to its will.

Failing to push back against China's assault on free Hong Kong, in whatever modest ways that Canada can, would likewise become a shameful footnote in Canada's history on the world stage.

To begin with, Canada should offer refuge to Hong Kong activists who flee oppression from authorities controlled by or sympathetic to Beijing.

Canadians still remember prime minister Brian Mulroney's stand against apartheid in South Africa proudly. Standing up to China will come at a much steeper price. In the long run, it will be worth it.

The Hill Times

Letters to the Editor

Let's not squander this opportunity to effect big, positive change, says B.C. reader

The reopening of the economy after COVID is an opportunity to address the climate crisis. With the dramatic "bottoming out" of the fossil fuel industry, due to the world market, it is clear that this unstable industry is a dinosaur.

A headline in *The New York Times* recently declared, "Global Financial Giants Swear Off Funding an Especially Dirty Fuel." Banks, pension funds, and global investment houses are pulling away from fossil-fuel investments amid growing pressure to show they are doing something to fight climate change.

The writing is on the wall, this pivotal moment is ripe for the kind of change we must have, and shift away from a dying industry that has served us well, to one that can lead us into a cleaner, healthier future.

As venture capitalist Tom Rand has stated:

"Fossil fuels are like training wheels, the test of an advanced civilization is whether or not they can take them off."

Now is that time.

The federal and provincial governments must ensure that post-COVID-19, economic stimulus funding supports a green recovery allocating funds to: retrofitting buildings where there are huge opportunities for economic stimulus and jobs; supporting active transportation; retraining fossil-fuel workers; supporting community-based renewable energy; and redirecting government subsidies away from new fossil-fuel infrastructure.

Let's not squander this opportunity to effect big positive change.

**Dona Grace-Campbell
 Kaslo, B.C.**

Healthy competition for high-speed internet in all regions

In August 2019, at a time when municipalities, the Quebec government, and the federal government, as well as business and regional stakeholders all agreed on the importance of encouraging the introduction of high-speed internet access in remote areas, the CRTC cut the wholesale rates internet service resellers pay for using the networks of facilities-based competitors, including Bell, Vidéotron, and Cogeco. Today, with the impact of the COVID-19 crisis and the resulting critical need to accelerate broadband deployments so that everyone across Quebec has access to the connectivity needed to work, learn, and stay informed, reversing this decision is more important than ever.

Why? Because given its financial impact, this decision will actually undermine the ability of major providers to rapidly deploy high-speed network access in unserved areas. The 77 per cent decrease in wholesale rates for resellers, compared to 2016, could very well hinder the deployment of digital infrastructure, since the suppliers currently making these investments have demonstrated that they will bear a significant financial burden as a result.

What are the consequences? By forcing the large carriers to sell access at a discount to their smaller competitors, the CRTC decision will without a doubt slow down the implementation of future plans for the deployment of a high-speed connection infrastructure. More specifically, in an attempt to encourage competition, the CRTC has given the green light to authorized resellers to take advantage of the work being done by the network developers. This would allow the smaller players to offer cheaper services to consumers without having to shoulder any of the infrastructure cost that entails. By doing so, the CRTC is dangerously curtailing investment in the telecommunications sector at a time when Canadian consumers are demanding not only to be more connected (especially in the regions) but also better quality, reliability, and performance.

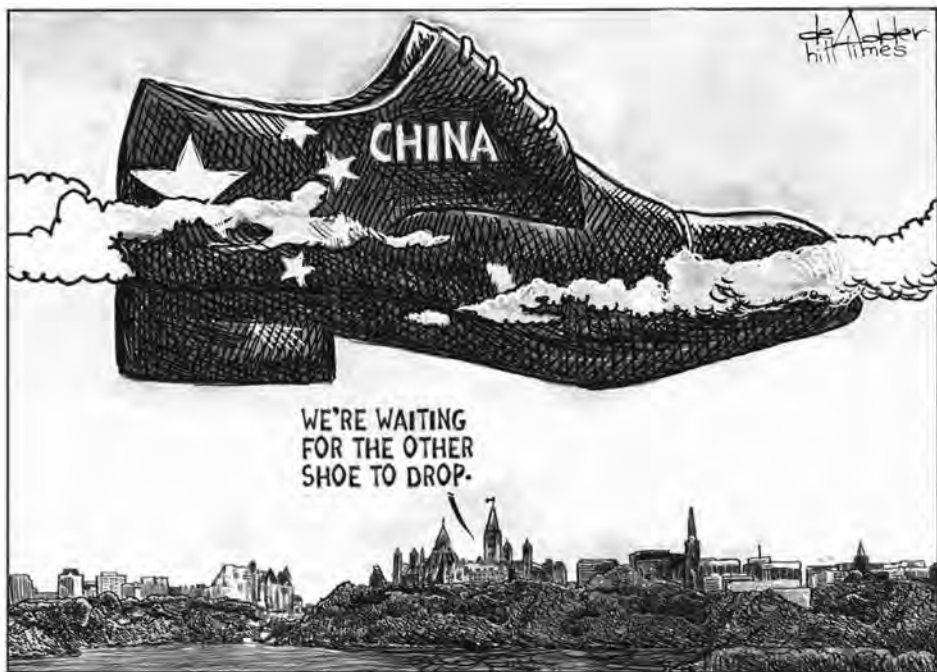
At the FCCQ, we firmly believe that telecommunications infrastructure is an essential component for successful economic development. COVID-19 has reinforced for all of us just how much is still to be done, particularly in rural and more isolated areas.

Major investments are required in telecommunications infrastructure to provide all households and businesses with access to the world-class networks that meet the CRTC's own objective. Not to mention the imminent deployment of next-generation 5G technology, which will require investments in the order of \$26-billion over the 2020-2026 period. These investments are crucial for maintaining the competitiveness and development of Canadian businesses as we work to get our economy going again.

In recent years, the governments of Canada and Québec have worked closely with Canadian telecommunications and cable providers to encourage investment in all regions. The private sector has already invested heavily, more than \$50 billion in network infrastructure alone over the past 30 years. Further, investments required for the implementation of 5G technology will be made by major facilities-based companies that depend on their existing customer base to finance projects that will ultimately allow customers of their competitors to take advantage of it all at a discount.

It's very important to understand the negative impact the CRTC decision will have, especially when it could seriously impede the objective of developing the effective Canada-wide high-speed network infrastructure. COVID-19 has shown we must have. We truly hope that the Government of Canada will not commit to weakening an initiative so essential in terms of economic development.

**Charles Milliard
 President and CEO
 Fédération des chambres
 de commerce du Québec
 Montreal, Que.**



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Canadians have been very supportive of the new normal, but enough is enough

The time has come to move as a herd.



Sheila Copps

Copps' Corner

OTTAWA—Surgical sterility is great for an operating room. But it does not work in the real world.

The notion that after almost three months in lockdown people are expected to either stay home or go to places where they are not allowed to sit down for fear of transmitting COVID is unworkable.

In Calgary, people gather in bars and restaurants in a convivial atmosphere. In Ottawa, you cannot even sit down on picnic tables at the Dairy Queen for fear of an infection outbreak.

In the olden days, Hogtown had another nickname, Toronto the Good. It was based on laws with a distinctively Presbyterian flavour that restricted drinking, dancing, and all things purportedly sinful.



Master Cpl. Véronique Blouin-Lepage, who is a dental technician with the Valcartier Detachment, pictured on May 19, 2020, helps a resident at the Centre d'hébergement Nazaire-Piché during Operation Laser in Montreal. With the high ratio of deaths in vulnerable populations, it is shameful that we need the military to expose germ-infested, understaffed conditions in health facilities, writes Sheila Copps.

Photograph courtesy of DND/ Aviator Zamir Muminar

The new normal has unleashed a wave of righteous caterwauling the likes of which we have not witnessed since the seventies (of the last century).

The blowback on the Trinity-Bellwoods park exuberance, was a case in point.

Everyone from the premier to the mayor jumped on the finger-pointing bandwagon, instead of realistically assessing why there was only a postage-stamp park in an area of multiple, low-income high-rise dwellings.

Not everyone has a private backyard to COVID in. In Toronto, the possibility of having your own personal space is even more remote.

So, on a sunny Saturday in May, when the province had announced the loosening of rules to stage two, people came out in droves.

On the fish-eye lens shots that immediately circulated on social media, it looked as though thousands were elbow to elbow.

But when the television cameras arrived, it was clear that people were trying their best to ensure social distancing.

But the armchair critics jumped in to attack millennials, claiming their irresponsibility was putting lives at risk.

At one point, a COVID-commentating doctor was almost in

tears on television because he could not understand why people would be undermining the contribution of health-care workers in this thoughtless romp in the park.

Across the pond, critics are vicious in their attack British Prime Minister Boris Johnson's top aid for defying lockdown rules and driving to his mother's home to drop off his four-year-old with grandma. He claims he and his wife were sick, and therefore the trip was about necessary child-care while they convalesced.

Without drilling down into the details of his explanation, the revelation rocked the country. People are stuck at home and obviously hurting when the rules that apply to them do not apply to others.

But the COVID epidemic has also unleashed the vitriol of unhappy people who normally keep their acidic worldview to themselves.

In today's world, the COVID police are everywhere, ready to pounce on someone who veers too close on a walking path or accidentally steps in the wrong spot in a grocery store.

The old nosy parker, who was into everybody's else's business, is now doing it with impunity, as though their observations on everyone else are in the public interest.

In the condo in which I live, some dwellers have taken to counting the empty visitor parking spots every weekend to make sure that no interlopers are sneaking into the premises.

Last weekend, I hosted two family members for a dinner. It was within the rule of five, and we had coved in their backyard (with self-distancing) several times over the past few months.

To enter the apartment without neighbourly reporting, we made sure family entered through the underground parking, so as not to be outed by anyone looking out their window into visitors' parking.

I have a friend who is struggling alone to support her husband, suffering with brain cancer. We have a weekly COVID meeting in the passageway between our apartments.

Last Friday, she broke down in tears, describing the loneliness of watching her partner slowly slip away, without the support that would normally attend a dying family member.

Horror of horrors, I hugged her. She needed a human connection and two meters of space just did not cut it.

Perfection may occur in hospital settings, but I think the public's attention would be far better focused on eliminating risk in long-term care facilities.

With the high ratio of deaths in vulnerable populations, it is shameful that we need the military to expose germ-infested, understaffed conditions in health facilities.

But while we focus on not touching each other, the death rate numbers are largely driven by long-term care neglect.

Canadians have been very supportive of the new normal. But enough is enough. The time has come to move as a herd.

Sheila Copps is a former Jean Chrétien-era cabinet minister and a former deputy prime minister. *The Hill Times*

COVID-19 lockdown triggers ancient debate

For many of those who believe in the supremacy of individual freedoms, the pandemic lockdown, with all its tight restrictions on movement and gatherings, is a dangerous overreaction; on the other hand, many who lean in favour of collective rights, view anyone who questions the lockdown rules as either selfish or moronic.



Gerry Nicholls

Post-Partisan Pundit

OKAVILLE, ONT.—The COVID-19 pandemic lockdown might be unprecedented in modern times, but the debate it

has triggered within our society is actually as old as democracy.

And that debate can be summed up as follows: what's more important, the rights of the individual or the rights of the collective?

For many of those who believe in the supremacy of individual freedoms, the pandemic lockdown, with all its tight restrictions on movement and gatherings, is a dangerous overreaction; on the other hand, many who lean in favour of collective rights, view anyone who questions the lockdown rules as either selfish or moronic.

Scan Twitter for any length of time, and you'll be sure to see these two camps ferociously clashing.

The individualists will say, "It's crazy to give tickets to people for walking in the park!", while the collectivists will counter, "You don't care if grandma dies!"

Of course, these two opposing sides will clash on a lot of issues.

As matter of fact, just about every issue you can think of—from gun control to tax policy to legalization of drugs—splits our society between individualists and collectivists, between those who believe people should have the right to run their own lives with a minimum of government interference and those who believe that protecting the greater good of the community should always be paramount.

The reason this debate is never ending is that our society hasn't exactly figured out yet how to create a society that balances these two opposing philosophic views.

And yes, I think the ideal for most people is to create a community where individualism and collectivism can co-exist in some sort of harmony.

In other words, few of us are super hard-core libertarians, who view any restrictions on individual freedom as wrong, and even fewer of us would want to emulate the Borg and totally subsume individualism into some sort of hive-mind collective. (I know I should have used a better example of collectivism, but I've been watching a lot of Star Trek while in isolation.)

Mind you, in some cases it's relatively easy to reconcile the two views.

For instance, one famous story tells how a hooligan appearing in a courtroom argued that, as a free citizen, he can swing his fists wherever he likes, to which the judge replies, "The freedom of the movement of your fists is limited by the position of your neighbour's nose."

Yet, most of the dividing lines between individualism and collectivism are much more difficult to draw, i.e., how much individual freedom should we curtail in the name of stopping terrorism?

Confusing the plot even more, is that all of us have a bit of split personality when it comes to this question, i.e., we can be indi-

vidualistic on some issues, but collectivist on others.

One noteworthy example of this was Pierre Trudeau, whose left-wing economic/fiscal policies reflected a collectivist mindset, while his policy on personal morality seemed to be more individualistic in nature e.g. his famous line about "There's no place for the state in the bedrooms of the nation."

What's more, the general public's attitude on this matter can shift sides quickly depending on the state of the world. When fear is a dominant emotion, such as during a pandemic, many people are more willing to sacrifice individual rights in exchange for the security of the collective, when times are good, by contrast, we want "government to get off our backs."

All of this explains, why politics always seems so rife with hypocrisy.

We just haven't figured out yet how to become "individualistic collectivists."

Maybe we never will.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant. www.gernicholls.com *The Hill Times*

Opinion

We need a different kind of industrial strategy

One that creates opportunities and domestic markets for the most promising young companies, such as acceleration of smart cities, clean energy, sustainable water systems, new forms of urban design, agri-food genomics, smart materials, and health care.



David Crane

Canada & the 21st Century

TORONTO—Think of all the tradable goods and services we produce across Canada—from canola oil and Canada Goose parkas, to tourism and Shopify's e-commerce platform—as Canada's export catalogue. That's what we are offering to sell to the rest of the world—and the success of our catalogue determines how well we do as Canadians.

Whether people in other countries want to buy what's in our Canadian catalogue will have a big impact on our jobs and overall prosperity. Unless we can produce the goods and services others want to buy, we won't be able to afford the things we need to buy from them. We will be a poorer nation. This means we need a really compelling catalogue.

The problem is that too much of our catalogue is stale. We can no longer look to the big-ticket items that other countries have traditionally bought from us as the drivers of future growth. We need a new catalogue—and this is doubly important because other countries are busy producing better catalogues as well.

Our catalogue is dominated by a handful of industries which appear to have limited future prospects as we head towards

2030. These include oil and other fossil fuels and autos and auto parts, which together account for roughly 35 per cent of our merchandise exports. They will not be drivers of future growth. What will be the new drivers?

Bearing in mind that new activities—the new items in our future catalogue—will come from new ideas, it is doubly imperative that we take a much more focused approach on how we develop and convert new ideas into successful businesses that can compete around the world.

Moreover, while the pandemic will lead to some pullback of production for some essential goods to safeguard health, for example, globalization is not dead. As more than 2,000 years of history remind us, we are a world of traders. It will be a highly competitive world.

But it could also be a lonelier world for Canada and one that puts much more onus on us to define and defend our own interests. For much of our history, we could fall back on Britain, then the United States to back-stop us, or give us special treatment. But those days are long gone and an increasingly protectionist U.S. no longer sees a special relationship

with us—its eyes are on other parts of the world, starting with China. Its America First interests likely won't change much even with a new administration.

It is also imperative that we recognize that the economics of growth have changed. This is the message, for example, that Jim Balsillie, chair of the Council of Canadian Innovators, is trying to get across. In a recent appearance before the House of Commons Committee on Industry, Science and Technology, he stressed that "Canada needs to diversify its products, not just its markets" in a world where "intellectual property and data are the most valuable business and national security assets."

We have to rethink many of the things we do and the incentives we create. Perhaps the single biggest marker of how economies have changed can be seen in the growing importance of intangible assets—such as intellectual property, research and development, skills and know-how, branding and business organization—as the sources of value and competitive success.

Continued on page 24

Displacement, disease, deluge: trouble comes in threes for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh

As the narrow escape from Cyclone Amphan and the ongoing threat of COVID-19 have shown, the Rohingya refugees remain extremely vulnerable and need all the help that Canadians can extend them.



Dominique Godbout
& Minaz Kerawala

Opinion

MONTREAL—Brewing in the Bay of Bengal in mid-May, Cyclone Amphan became the region's worst storm since 2007. Fearing devastation, aid agencies scrambled to draw up emergency preparedness buttress the 34 Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh's Cox's Bazar District. Pandemic-related precautions and a paucity of resources greatly hampered their work.

The cyclone hit Bangladesh on May 21, 2020. Fortunately, it bypassed Cox's Bazar, sparing the

refugee camps. While no casualties were reported, flooding and landslides damaged shelters, bridges and sanitation infrastructure.

Our partner, Caritas Bangladesh, helped 150 families rehabilitate their shelters and is keeping emergency stocks on standby to disburse as needed. With monsoon cyclones just weeks away, weather preparation work is a race against time.

Like many Burmese minorities, the Rohingya Muslims of the northern Rakhine State have endured decades of persecution and marginalization. They lack nationality and have no freedom of movement within Burma.

Retaliating to an alleged militant attack, the Burmese army unleashed a torrent of violence, rape and arson upon the Rohingya in August 2017. Within months, over 600,000 Rohingya fled Burma. About a year later, Canada became the world's first country to recognize these atrocities as a genocide.

Now, a million or so Rohingya refugees live in overcrowded camps in Bangladesh, sharing meagre resources with desperately poor yet remarkably generous host communities. Lamentable as their lot is, they live in constant fear of worse fates befalling the half million of their family members who remain in Rakhine.

As of May 27, Bangladesh's Institute of Epidemiology, Disease Control and Research reported that 435 of the country's 38,292 confirmed COVID-19 cases were in Cox's Bazar District. Thirteen of these were in the refugee camps, according to Caritas Bangladesh.

Not reassured by that small number, the agency's project



Fatema Khatun, a Rohingya refugee and a mother of eight, pictured on June 19, 2018, at the Kutupalong camp: 'I had my own home and houses were big. We farmed, ploughed our land, and grew betel leaf. These were our sources of income. We earned a good living and we were able to save some money once everything else was looked after. Now, we have no money and our country is divided. We came here through the border.'
Photograph Développement et Paix-Caritas Canada

director, Pintu William Gomes, said, "With about 50,000 people per square kilometre, it is very difficult to maintain physical distances. Because their nutrition status is not very good, the Rohingya people have poor immune systems. Health facilities are inadequate and there are few quarantine centres. This makes it difficult to prevent community transmission. We fear that if the pandemic spreads, it will be very difficult to save lives."

Although a government-ordered suspension of non-essential services in the Rohingya camps made their work difficult, Caritas Bangladesh staff, have:

- Converted a community centre into an isolation facility
- Distributed hygiene supplies to 2,200 households
- Trained Rohingya and Bangladeshi volunteers, who provided pandemic preparedness information to over 10,000 households
- Engaged religious leaders and community elders in the public information effort

Canadians' generosity, topped up by Global Affairs Canada, helped Development and Peace—Caritas Canada's November 2017 Rohingya appeal raise \$1.25-million. This underwrote a Caritas Bangladesh project that helped thousands of Rohingya refugees build more secure shelters and improve and clean up their camps.

By last fall, with continued Canadian support, Caritas Bangladesh had helped over 100,000 Rohingya refugees and 6,000 people from the Bangladeshi host community. Their humanitarian assistance turned haphazard settlements into organized camps. Initially, they provided basic items like mosquito nets, solar lamps and umbrellas. To circumvent the need for firewood and avert deforestation, modern multi-fuel stoves were distributed.

Later, Rohingya day labourers were trained and provided materials to improve their own living conditions by building latrines, bridges and drainage canals, and installing solar street lamps.

Caritas Bangladesh also helped impoverished host families, partic-

ularly women-headed households, enter the labour market through cash-for-work initiatives; agriculture and home gardening training; and training and support for small business development.

To help sustain this program, Global Affairs Canada allocated a further \$1-million to Development and Peace in its most recent response to annual humanitarian appeals. This will fund a one-year project that will further improve living conditions, make communities more resilient to natural disasters and help over 8,200 refugees reclaim a sense of dignity and agency.

In November 2019, the Gambia initiated proceedings against Burma for genocide at the International Court of Justice, a move that Canada had welcomed. Earlier this year, that court ordered Burma to prevent acts of genocide against the Rohingya.

While the order is binding, there is no real mechanism for its enforcement. Ensuring Burma's compliance will require vigilance, advocacy and diplomacy. Canada must retain its early moral lead on this front.

Moreover, as the narrow escape from Cyclone Amphan and the ongoing threat of COVID-19 have shown, the Rohingya refugees remain extremely vulnerable and need all the help that Canadians can extend them.

Dominique Godbout is a programs officer and Minaz Kerawala is a communications adviser at Development and Peace—Caritas Canada, the official international development organization of the Catholic Church in Canada.

The Hill Times

Opinion

Indigenous peoples offer new hope for creating real change

Now is the time to dig deeper with bravery and foresight to foster the innovation needed now to address this crisis while building resiliency for the future.



Kluane Adamek

Opinion

WHITEHORSE, YUKON—As the lockdown created by the global pandemic continues, so do the calls for fundamental change to address the structural injustices and unsustainability of our current economic and political systems. Social distancing and self-isolation mean that mobilization and solidarity just look a little different than they used to. Necessary isolation measures have begun to illuminate another pressing societal challenge: the mental and emotional health and well-being of our citizens and our communities.

As I contemplate our many vulnerabilities—extreme weather, biodiversity loss, poor housing, suicide, missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, to name a few— and the disproportionate effects on Indigenous peoples and other structurally marginalized com-

unities, I am reminded that our associated crises are interconnected and our responses to them require change that go beyond technological or bureaucratic fixes.



Focusing on the people in times of crisis empowers us to refocus on our own well-being, and the well-being of our families, communities, and nations. It compels us to reconnect with the worldviews and practices that enabled our ancestors to survive multiple pandemics, attempts at cultural genocide, and extreme hardship. We are still here because of the strength and resiliency of our cultures, languages and ways of knowing and being. The

The essential question is: where do we go from here, what does our world become post-pandemic?

The reality of this moment allows us to envision a radically different world, a world that actually nurtures the values, ways of knowing and being, and practices

In March 2020—what now feels like years ago—the Assembly of First Nations hosted a national gathering of First Nation leaders and experts in Whitehorse, Yukon, to discuss our perspectives and solutions to the climate emergency. One of the speakers, Chief Dana Tizya-Tramm of the Vuntut Gwitchin Government, masterfully wove together the last 529 years of history in the context of a human-environment relationship in the face of a changing climate, con-

cluding that “...we are not facing a climate issue, we are facing a people issue.”

Focusing on the people in times of crisis empowers us to refocus on our own well-being, and the well-being of our families, communities, and nations. It compels us to reconnect with the worldviews and practices that enabled our ancestors to survive multiple pandemics, attempts at cultural genocide, and extreme hardship. We are still here because of the strength and resiliency of our cultures, languages and ways of knowing and being. The

values and principles of ceremony, caution, community, and compassion, will reconnect us with the teachings that reinforce our love, courage and humility.

Indigenous peoples are enacting these principles every day by localizing economies through the seasonal cultivation of fresh food, holding ceremonies and pow-wows through social media, and virtual youth gatherings exploring topics ranging from Indigenous futurism to language lessons. Now is the opportunity to further invest and support these grassroots resiliency efforts and the worlds they are making possible.

The truth, though, is that this reimagined world, with an entirely new rhythm, won't spontaneously appear after this pandemic subsides. We must dig deeper, dedicating ourselves to the discomfort of creating real change. Real change that stems from leaders who stand with, rather than in front of people. A vision that doesn't just include young people inheriting the future we do, or do not, create, it includes all people no matter your age—a lesson shared recently with me by my 89-year-old grandfather.

So, as we embark on reopening our cities and our world, let us work together to leverage our collective spirit to disrupt the existing system and create a more caring, generous, and respectful place. Let us build on the spirit of all those who are putting themselves at risk to support the health and the needs of others. Indeed, now is the time to dig deeper with bravery and foresight to foster the innovation needed now to address this crisis while building resiliency for the future.

Kluane Adamek is the regional chief from the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) Yukon region, and health, environment and climate portfolio holder at the AFN National Office. She is a citizen of Kluane First Nation.

The Hill Times

Attention progressives, the deficit hawks are circling

We can come out of this a better society or we can emerge awash in bitterness and rancour. Democracy is a door through which a people walk through. What's on the other side is up to them.



W.A. Bogart

Opinion

Through all the darkness of the pandemic we search for some light. Enter reformers. Big ideas

are circulating. Out of a crisis should come significant change for the better. Precedents such as Roosevelt's New Deal as a response to the Depression, and the Beveridge Report, in the U.K., for social welfare reform after World War II are cited as proof that from upheaval there can come transformations to better the lives of individuals and improve society.

A number of big-change ideas are being advanced: a guaranteed annual income, a real tackling of climate change, reforming long term care and support for the elderly, making a complicated



Through all the darkness of the pandemic we search for some light. Enter reformers. Big ideas are circulating. Out of a crisis should come significant change for the better. Precedents such as Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal as a response to the Depression, is cited as proof that from upheaval there can come transformations to better the lives of individuals and improve society. Photograph courtesy of Good Free Photos

and expensive justice system more accessible, finally achieving true reconciliation with the Indigenous peoples. Generally,

there is significant public support for such reform.

Continued on page 24

Opinion

Trump leading U.S. towards abyss of social and constitutional disintegration

So far, Americans have tolerated Donald Trump out of oceanic complacency, political naïveté, and perhaps a secret yearning to shed the responsibilities of liberty. If there was ever a time for a million-person march on Washington, it is now.



Michael Harris

Harris

HALIFAX—Whatever happened to the America that was on its feet and in the street over grand causes like civil rights or the Vietnam War?

These days, the pro-democracy protests are happening in other places like Hong Kong. Good on the protesters. After all, China is threatening their most basic freedoms. Still, it requires courage to take an eyeful of teargas fired by guys who all look like Darth Vader. One never knows if the next volley might be live ammunition.

So far, Americans have tolerated Donald Trump out of oceanic complacency, political naïveté, and perhaps a secret yearning to shed the responsibilities of liberty. If there was ever a time for a million-person march on Washington, it is now.

Consider the president's reaction to the protests and rioting triggered by the murder of George



Whatever happened to the America that was on its feet and in the street over grand causes like civil rights or the Vietnam War? Image courtesy of Pixabay

Floyd at the hands of the Minneapolis police. There are still no charges against the officers in whose custody Floyd was asphyxiated, while handcuffed and flat on

his stomach with an officer's knee on his neck. How could a U.S. president tweet "when the looting starts, the shooting starts"?

Donald Trump is leading the

country towards the abyss of social and constitutional disintegration. What he offers as a replacement for the system Americans used to live under, would make Ferdinand Marcos blush.

The latest sign that a tinpot tyrant is holed up in that big White House on Pennsylvania Avenue is Trump's threat to "strongly regulate" or even shut down Twitter. Picture the social media run by the Federal Communications Commission. Trump made those threats after Twitter attached a "fact check" label to two of the president's tweets.

Now Trump has made good on his threat. He signed an executive order to limit Twitter's liability shield, which protects the social media platform from legal action based on users' posts.

Continued on page 23

When it comes to fixing long-term care, tears are not enough

It may be too much to ask that our prime minister, premiers and opposition leaders not revert to familiar behaviours, to the old struggle for partisan advantage, and forget too soon the tragedy that unfolded on their watches.



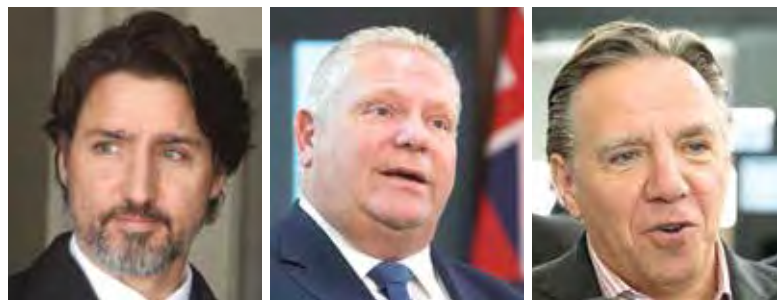
Susan Riley

Impolitic

Doug Ford, and François Legault are genuinely shaken by the horror stories emerging from too many long-term care homes in this country. Let's assume that every preventable, premature, and lonely death in those residences hurts them almost as much as it hurts the families who have lost loved ones to the deadly combination of COVID-19 and long-standing neglect.

They certainly seem to care, expressing at their daily media conferences outrage, empathy and determination to fix the problem. Let's give them the benefit of the doubt, even forgive them for allowing the system to deteriorate to such a baleful state in the first place. Past wrongs can't be undone now; assigning blame is an arid and futile exercise, especially since, to some degree, that blame is so widely shared.

But those who lost parents, or grandparents; those headed for long-term care themselves (often sooner than we'd like); those health-care professionals, regulators, and relatives who have been flagging problems for decades—we cannot let political leaders walk away from this disgrace with temporary fixes and multi-year, formal inquiries that will only prolong the suffering. Count on it: other crises will arrive once



Let's assume, barring evidence to the contrary, that Justin Trudeau, Doug Ford, and François Legault are genuinely shaken by the horror stories emerging from too many long-term care homes in this country. The Hill Times file photographs by Andrew Meade

this one is gone and political and media attention will move on.

And we know how inquiries work. Does anyone remember the 231 recommendations from last year's federal inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, for example? That crisis, too, was fraught with tortured testimony, harrowing recollections, lives ruined, and families shattered. The brutal, racist treatment of so many girls and women was shocking; everyone was moved, including senior cabinet ministers, including a tearful prime minister.

Yet the official "action plan"—the federal response to all those recommendations—will not be unveiled next week as planned. Crown-Indigenous Relations minister, Carolyn Bennett, is blaming the Covid crisis for slowing things down, but also acknowledges incomplete discussions among the provinces, territories, indigenous leaders, representatives of families and women's groups engaged in the lumbering process.

Some improvements have been made—a bill preserving indigenous languages and removing gender discrimination from the Indian Act; moves towards more culturally sensitive policing—along with, more significantly, a shift of responsibility for child welfare from Ottawa to Manitoba Indigenous leadership.

But the head of the three-year MMIW inquiry, Marion Buller, laments that while bureaucrats and advocates debate details, women and girls are "still going missing, still dying, still being murdered."

As to an inquiry shining a bright light into a dark corner: an impromptu report last week from military commanders, whose troops have been called in to replace missing staff in seniors' residences in Ontario and Quebec, has done more to focus public and political attention on the long-term care crisis than a library full of official inquiries. And for much less money.

So Ford is probably right to resist calls for a full-scale public inquiry in favour of a more nimble independent commission. His rationale is understandable: inquiries take too long and the situation is urgent. He also believes the problems are obvious and long-standing: poorly-trained, inadequate staff; crowded conditions in the worst homes and inadequate funding overall. (Too which Ford government's critics will add, his government's gutting of an already insufficient inspection and oversight regime.)

These critics—everyone from the Ontario Health Coalition, to the Toronto Star editorial board, to Ontario NDP leader Andrea Horwath—have a point. The Ford

government cut \$34-million from the long-term care budget last year and stopped doing unannounced inspections. Instead, it instituted a complaints system, responding only to specific criticisms and giving advance warning of on-site visits to the residence in question.

Now Ford, made aware of the "broken system" by the military report, is saying: "I want eyes and ears in the homes." His government has already taken over management of seven of the worst institutions—cockroach infestations, residents pleas for help going unanswered for hours, lack of basic sanitation, force-feeding, or starving, and worse—and promises not to stop there. As he vowed recently: "We are fully prepared to pull licences, shut down facilities."

Some Band-Aids have already been applied. With federal support, long-term care workers are getting a \$4 wage hike. Ford is promising a more rigorous inspection regime. He has moved plans for an independent commission from September to July.

None of this has mollified his critics (even as his public approval ratings have soared.) They insist that a commission will only be nominally "independent," that it will be left entirely to government to relay its findings. A full inquiry, they argue, allows for judicial oversight, the right to subpoena witnesses and objective findings. They are no doubt right, but inquiries also have a history of burying hot messes in endless hearings, delays and numbing complexities.

So commission or inquiry: these arcane and time-wasting arguments are what politicians do. And they are never more engaged that when debating process. If Ontario goes down that road the urgency and, with it, the possibility of serious reform, will die.

Continued on page 25

CHEALSEA, QUE.—Let's assume, barring evidence to the contrary, that Justin Trudeau,

Why the word ‘Elder’ is more than just a word

Dump the private companies in long-term care. The model was attempted, and it failed. Move on. Regulate long-term care funding through non-profit organizations with health expertise.



Rose LeMay

Stories, Myths, and Truths

OTTAWA—The Canadian Forces Health Services Group has stepped into the gap in long-term care homes in Ontario and Quebec, and voiced alarm at the state of care for seniors. Thankfully the professionalism and caring of this core group will have a huge impact for seniors trying to live in long-term care, but won't be able to change the rich companies and boards which are making money off the pain of seniors.

This is what happens when the health-care system is privatized.

In First Nations communities and cultures we use the word Elder. This is not



The provinces could follow one of the most successful programs in the past two decades in Indigenous health, the Aboriginal Head Start program, writes Rose LeMay. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

is “let’s study it.” There’s a saying in Indigenous health that we are “studied to death.” May I suggest a lesson from Indigenous health’s experience in attempting to bring about change? Do not let governments respond to this crisis in long-term care with the em-

pathetic commitment to study the matter. There have been all too many reports done already on long-term care.

As any good op-ed writer, I have ideas. Dump the private companies in long-term care, it just leaves a bad taste. The model was attempted, and it failed. Move on. Regulate long-term care funding through non-profit organizations with health expertise.

We will have to face the fact that we haven’t paid the workers enough, clearly. Regulate long-term care through accrediting bodies at arm’s length from governments just like nursing, and with appropriate salary and benefits.

But here’s a thought, and it comes from one of the most successful programs in the past two decades in Indigenous health. The Aboriginal Head Start program was started in the 1990s as a centre-based early childhood education program to rapidly

strengthen culture and early education outcomes for Indigenous kids, and in its first decade it had amazing results. The mantra of design for this unique program was ‘this is not a Band-Aid program’ (Band-Aid program being just enough money to keep people quiet but not enough to actually fix the problem). There’s a lesson here—we fund what we truly value, and we won’t fund what we don’t value. The long-term care fix is going to cost. But the status quo is truly horrible.

Another unique aspect of program design was that every Aboriginal Head Start had a board, and the majority of the board members were parents of kids in the program. It had immense returns: immediate accountability to the parents and families who needed the centre to succeed. Regulate that every board of a long-term care home must by law have majority members as family of clients currently living in the care home. This model would ensure accountability of care homes, increase connection of the home to the community, and possibly strengthen family ties as well.

It’s an Indigenous model of closer-to-home governance and accountability, and it’s an Indigenous model of giving time to care for our Elders. Every loss of an Elder is a loss of a library of knowledge and experience.

Rose LeMay is Tlingit from the West Coast and the CEO of the Indigenous Reconciliation Group. She writes twice a month about Indigenous inclusion and reconciliation. In Tlingit worldview, the stories are the knowledge system, sometimes told through myth and sometimes contradicting the myths told by others. But always with at least some truth.

The Hill Times

a word used interchangeably with “senior.” An Elder is an earned role with prestige and honour, based on decades’ of learning. Traditionally we treated and cared for our Elders as if they were equivalent to the Minister of Health, with caretakers and supporters. Elders were compensated for sharing their knowledge just like one might pay an expert consultant for their time. Compensation now has shifted to money, just like all other compensation for experts with decades of experience. There may be a lesson from Indigenous cultures to rebalance Canadian society’s perception of seniors.

It is truly ironic that in the past two months governments all over this country figured out how to act quickly, but in this crisis in long-term care, the mantra has suddenly returned: let’s report on it.

Indigenous peoples know all too well what happens when the response to crisis

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Opinion



Michael Spavor, left, and Michael Kovrig, right, have been detained by Chinese authorities since December 2018. Consular officials haven't been able to access the two Canadians since Jan. 13 and Jan. 14, respectively. Photographs courtesy of Twitter and the International Crisis Group

Canada must remain pragmatic with China amid COVID-19

From a realist perspective, Canada's long-term interests are guaranteed when its foreign policy is centered around multilateralism, which allows the country to capitalize on its soft power as a complementary, but vital force to protect and promote liberal values and respect for human rights on the international stage.



Younes Zangiabadi

Opinion

TORONTO—After weeks of Canada's diplomatic restraint from joining other allies like Australia in calling for an international investigation into China's early handling of the global pandemic, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau finally toughened up on Beijing

during one of his latest daily briefings when he said that there are many questions, "particularly, for China," around the origins and behaviours in early days of the COVID-19 global pandemic.

Soon after, Chinese Ambassador Cong Peiwu, for the first time since the outbreak, said that the Chinese government would be, indeed, open to an "inclusive" review of the coronavirus that is led and run by the World Health Organization. While this is a positive development that must be welcomed, it is still unknown whether the investigation process will or will not meet the expectation of the international community. Regardless of that, Canada made the right decision to join other allies in demanding more transparency from China.

However, there is still some domestic pressure on Trudeau's government to go beyond the use of diplomacy and take more coercive measures against China. For instance, there have been calls from influential former ministers—on both sides of the aisle—to impose Magnitsky sanctions on Chinese officials whom some, including former Liberal minister of justice, Irwin Cotler, accuse of suppressing key information related to COVID-19 in the early days of the outbreak in the city of Wuhan.

In an interview with *The Globe and Mail*, Cotler said that "the Chinese Communist Party has to be held accountable through naming and shaming, in the court of public opinion, in actual courts of law through international tort actions, and through Magnitsky sanctions." In the same vein, Peter MacKay, also a former minister of justice who is currently in the race for the leadership of the Conservative Party of Canada, has called for invoking the sanction once the individuals accused of concealing and fabrication of data for COVID-19 are identified in China.

The Justice for Victims of Corrupt Foreign Officials Act

(Magnitsky sanction) allows the Government of Canada to sanction "foreign nationals responsible for gross violations of internationally recognized human rights," imposing travel bans and asset freezes in Canada. The act is named after Sergei Magnitsky, the Russian lawyer who was jailed, tortured, and killed in a prison in Moscow after revealing state-backed fraud in Russia.

So far, Canada's Magnitsky sanctions have targeted officials of foreign countries including Russia, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, South Sudan, and Myanmar. Despite extensive efforts by some Conservative Senators to add Chinese officials to the Magnitsky sanction's list, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has not yet shown willingness to support these headline measures against China. While this hesitation might seem contradictory to Canada's commitment to promoting international justice and respect for human rights, it is indeed a pragmatic decision aligned with Canada's long-term national interests.

First and foremost, sanctions are foreign policy instruments that aim to either coerce, constrain, or signal the sanctioned party to change its behaviour and actions

that are believed to undermine and violate international norms and values. Canada, as a middle power, does not have the political, economic, and financial levers to constrain or coerce China to change its behaviour. Unfortunately, the lack of progress in resolving the ongoing detainment of Michael Kovrig and Micheal Spavor is a clear indication that Canada, despite much effort, is not able to influence China on its own.

Consequently, Ottawa could only resort to Magnitsky sanctions as a way to send a signal to Beijing that it is concerned and discontented with Chinese violations of human rights. This is exactly what Irwin Cotler refers to as "naming and shaming." But one must conduct a cost-benefit analysis of such an approach toward China when it is almost certain that Canada's unilateral imposition of Magnitsky sanctions will not be effective in inducing any kind of change in Chinese behaviour, let alone protecting and promoting human rights inside the country. In technical terms, it is also impossible to implement such measures, considering difficulties associated with identifying Chinese officials responsible for human rights violations and the alleged cover-up of the pandemic.

It is important to remember that China has historically opposed what it considers as foreign meddling in its internal affairs and its ambassador to Canada has previously made that clear when he warned Ottawa of "very firm countermeasures" if Parliament adopts a Senate motion that called for Magnitsky sanctions on China for its alleged human rights abuses against Muslim Uighurs and pro-democracy protesters in Hong Kong. Therefore, these sanctions will undoubtedly further deteriorate the already strained Canada-China relations, creating unnecessary and serious crises for Canada as it struggles to recover and rebuild its economy in the post-pandemic era.

In addition, the global pandemic has exposed serious vulnerabilities in Canada's supply chain, which makes taking such unilateral measures a huge strategic mistake as it stigmatizes China at a time when much of Canada's import of personal protective equipment including face masks currently come from that country. Prime Minister Trudeau certainly understands this reality and that is why his government has recently taken concrete steps to diversify Canada's trade partnerships with other countries across Asia and Europe.

From a realist perspective, Canada's long-term interests are guaranteed when its foreign policy is centered on multilateralism, which allows the country to capitalize on its soft power as a complementary, but vital force to protect and promote liberal values and respect for human rights on the international stage. Hence, unilateral approaches such as Magnitsky sanctions are counterproductive, particularly when it comes to dealing with a major global power like China.

Younes Zangiabadi is executive vice-president of *The Institute for Peace & Diplomacy*.
The Hill Times

Privacy and our spy agencies

Spies act in the shadows for obvious reasons: does this mean they are constrained by privacy issues? We can, and should, have laws in place to protect our privacy, but we must also allow CSIS to carry out its legislated mandate.



Phil Gurski
National Security

OTTAWA—Why do we have intelligence agencies? Have you ever asked yourself that? The agencies, which work in this world, do so secretly for reasons I would hope we understand, if not totally accept. They gather information from human sources, some of whom are placed in very dangerous situations such as requiring them to infiltrate terrorist cells. Outing these brave people could get them killed. They also intercept communications, either domestically under a court-granted warrant—what we at CSIS call a “Section 21 warrant” and the RCMP calls a “Part VI” warrant—or without (what CSE does, provided the information it collects does not belong to Canadians). Disclosing how we collect data leads to data sources drying up: trust me, I saw this happen while at CSE. In sum, all this cannot be done openly, hence the insistence that “sources and methods” remain secret/classified.

What should we make then of proposed changes to Canada’s privacy laws that, in the view of CSIS, would make their work much harder to do, thus hampering their mandate? CSIS is particularly concerned that these amendments would require it to disclose the identity of foreign agencies with whom it shares information or the nature of the data exchanges. This would result in an aversion by those agencies to share with Canada.

Not surprisingly, privacy advocates are all in favour of these changes. I have

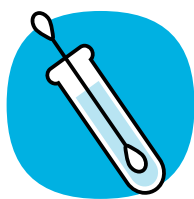
Continued on page 24



CSIS director David Vigneault, pictured May 13, 2019, at the House Public Safety and National Security Committee meeting on the Hill. *The Hill Times* file photograph by Andrew Meade

You’re making a difference to keep people safe from COVID-19

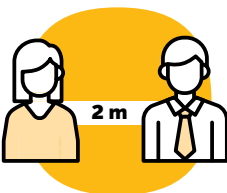
We all need to continue our efforts to protect each other.



Get tested if you are worried you may have COVID-19, or have been exposed to the virus.



Wear a face covering when physical distancing is a challenge.



Practice physical distancing, stay two metres apart.



Continue to **wash hands frequently**.

Inside or out, stay safe. Save lives.

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Opinion

World leaders shine in UN meeting on COVID-19 crisis

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau showed his chops at bringing nations together during a meeting to rally international action to stem the financial damage caused by the global pandemic.



Douglas Roche

Opinion

Justin Trudeau gave a brilliant demonstration on May 28 of Canada's convening power to boost global cooperation when he co-chaired a high-level UN meeting to advance concrete solutions to the development emergency caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Working with his co-chairman, Prime Minister Andrew Holness of Jamaica, and UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, Trudeau led 50 heads of governments and international institutions in finding new ways to strengthen the finances of vulnerable countries devastated by the pandemic.

Although the subject of Canada's campaign for election to the Security Council did not come up in the six-hour virtual meeting, it did in the press conference that followed. Asked what Canada would do if elected to the Security Council, Trudeau said the success of this meeting in showing "solidarity" with the countries hurt most by the pandemic showed that



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau co-chaired a UN meeting on May 28 on 'Financing for Development in Era of COVID-19 and Beyond.' Photograph by Evan Schneider, courtesy of the United Nations

Canada can pull together "the E10."

This is UN short-hand for the 10 elected members of the Security Council, who often bring views as diverse as those among the five permanent members, all of which makes it very difficult for the Security Council to get anything done.

Canada showed, Trudeau added, that in building a consensus of views to take action in dealing with the effects of COVID-19, it can get some harmony among the 10 non-permanent members. Guterres beamed: "I agree with the Prime Minister." And then, in a neat aside: "The council has never been paralyzed by its elected members."

That's about as close as the Secretary-General will ever

come to criticizing the major powers who give him so much trouble, and to giving his opinion about who should be elected to the UN's highest body. Trudeau was off camera at that moment, but I think he must have smiled.

This was a remarkable international meeting on at least two counts. First, instead of glad-handing in the hallways or clustering in small groups of insiders, the participants were all at their desks in their home cities. There was no "crowd" to play to and thus their speeches, mercifully short, were devoid of applause lines and were more fact-centred. Boris Johnson, Angela Merkel and Emmanuel Macron seemed content just to recite the facts.

While electronic meetings doubtless have their advantages—no travel and more business in less time—the advantage of getting to know the other person and rubbing shoulders with one another as quiet lobbying goes on is lost. Is the benefit of a face-to-face meeting, in which a Churchill and a Roosevelt and a Stalin look one another in the eye and size up the prospects of a plan, now to be lost in the post-COVID Zoom era?

Second, the grudging tone that marked encounters between the developed and developing countries in the past was absent in this meeting. There seemed to be a general recognition that everyone—the well-off and the

Continued on page 24

The climate crisis: learning and taking inspiration from our COVID response

Canada needs to abandon its practice of setting and missing distant targets and adopt concrete, detailed, and specific action plans that we rigorously follow and track. Because simply talking about carbon neutrality by 2050 is like saying we want zero cases of COVID-19 in 2050 and then failing to take immediate action. How would Canadians react if, during the Prime Minister's daily press briefing, that was the goal put forward without clear and concise action?

BY CATHERINE ABREU, JULIA CROOME, DALE MARSHALL, CAROLINE BROUILLETTE, AND ANDREW GAGE

Imagine a world where the federal government regularly holds press conferences with scientists and experts. Together, in front of a phalanx of reporters ready with tough questions, they present in detail the most recent data and research related to carbon emissions and climate change in Canada. They highlight the successes and shortcomings in recent months of the fight against climate change and identify which measures will be implemented in the short term for Canada to get on track to meeting our emission reduction commitments.

Does this sound familiar? This is of course our reality in the age of the COVID-19 pandemic: the scientific tracking of infections, regular updates on and adjustments to the policy response from our governments, and the reassuring sight of our leaders and scientists working hand in hand.

Our response to the climate crisis, like the current health crisis, depends largely on our ability to measure and assess the effect of government policies and action. Just like we have discovered over the last few months, the recipe for tackling this challenge can be fairly straightforward:

1. Listen to the experts
2. Set out clear targets and goals with clear timelines
3. Test, measure, and assess progress toward targets and goals
4. Develop an action plan and execute it
5. Recalibrate the action plan when new data is available

These are also the ingredients of an effective response to the climate crisis. The federal government has already committed to legislating a net zero emissions target by 2050, with 5-year interim emissions reduction targets. To ensure that this legislative framework is credible and allows the country to achieve these goals, the government will need to bring together all these ingredients and to prepare the country for the sizable challenge that awaits us.

Six organizations comprising Climate Action Network Canada, Ecojustice, Environmental Defence, Équiterre, West Coast Environmental Law and the Pembina Institute have sent a detailed report on how to undertake and win this challenge to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's cabinet.

Putting these ingredients into one law is the best way to achieve our climate goals. Well-designed legislation is one of the most powerful and effective tools that we can use. It can be a clear and coherent way to strongly declare, "This is what we care about, and here is what we will do about it, starting right now."

In other words, Canada needs to abandon its practice of setting and missing distant targets and adopt concrete, detailed, and specific action plans that we rigorously follow and track. Because simply talking about carbon neutrality by 2050 is like saying we want zero cases of COVID-19 in 2050 and then failing to take immediate action. How would Canadians react if, during the Prime Minister's daily press briefing, that was the goal put forward without clear and concise action?

Catherine Abreu is executive director of the Climate Action Canada Network. Julia Croome is a lawyer with Ecojustice. Dale Marshall is national program manager at Environmental Defence. Caroline Brouillette is a climate change analyst at Équiterre. Andrew Gage is a lawyer with West Coast Environmental Law.

The Hill Times



The oilsands, pictured in 2008, in Fort McMurray, Alta. We don't need to start geoengineering now. It would be wonderful if we never have to do it, but that would take a miracle. We cannot know how long we would have to go on doing it, either: long enough to get the carbon dioxide in the atmosphere back down to a safe level, certainly, which would be at least a matter of decades, writes Gwynne Dyer. *The Hill Times* file photograph by Jake Wright

Cutting our emissions isn't enough, we'll need geoengineering

We actually have to stop all of our emissions before we push the climate system over the edge, and we don't even know precisely where the edge is. Every bit of emissions we can cut now gives us a little more time before we reach the edge. So the crisis almost certainly will arrive, and then we will finally be willing to make radical changes. What we will desperately need at that point is more time. That's why we will need geoengineering.



Gwynne Dyer
Global Affairs

LONDON, U.K.—Human beings respond well to a crisis that is familiar, especially if it is also imminent. They don't do nearly as well when the threat is unfamiliar and still apparently quite distant. Consider our response to the current coronavirus threat.

Countries in East Asia with recent experience of similar viruses (SARS, etc.) immediately responded with 'test, track and isolate' drills, plus instant lockdowns if the virus had already gained a foothold in the population.

Other countries, just as rich and well-educated, had the same information, but they still waited several months before taking emergency measures that upset the comfortable routine of their lives. So the United States, Britain, and France all ended up with death rates per million more than 50 times higher than China, Korea and Japan.

The same applies to global heating, except that in this case we are all Americans. None of us has prior experience of a genuine climate crisis, and although we have known enough about what's going to happen to justify urgent action for 30 years now, we have done nothing decisive about it.

We have lots of 'clean' technology, but total demand for energy has grown so fast that we are still getting a steady 80 per cent of our energy from fossil fuels. Realistically, this is not going to change much. We are who we are, shaped by millions of years of evolution, and our ancestors didn't do long-term planning; they had to concentrate on acute short-term problems.

A truly serious response to the climate threat will therefore come only when it is actually starting to hurt. Unfortunately, by then it will probably be too late.

The Earth system—biosphere, atmosphere, the oceans, the rocks, all the components that govern the climate—plays by its own rules. It will absorb new inputs like warming for a long time while changing as little as possible: it's a 'homeostatic' system.

We are still benefiting from this feature now: a full degree Celsius of warming already, and not much to show for it except hotter summers, shorter winters and bigger storms. But when the pressure on the climate system gets too great—reaches a 'tipping point'—it is liable to charge off in unpredictable directions at high speed.

'Non-linear change,' they call it, and we won't like it a bit. Hundreds of millions, maybe billions, will start to die.

THEN we'll be ready to make great changes to save ourselves, but it will be too late. Human systems will be collapsing under the impact of famines, wars, and endless waves of refugees, and besides once the climate hits non-linear change it's almost impossible to bring it back. We're stuck with wherever it ends up, whether that new state will support a large human civilization or not.

How far ahead is this calamity? We probably have at least a decade or two. Will we end all our greenhouse gas emissions in that time? Probably not.

"Cutting" our emissions isn't enough. We actually have to stop all of our emissions before we push the climate system over the edge, and we don't even know precisely where the edge is.

Every bit of emissions we can cut now gives us a little more time before we reach the edge, but the global population will still be going up and people in the poorer countries will still be increasing their energy use. (It's their turn; you can't deny them that.)

So the crisis almost certainly will arrive, and then we will finally be willing to make radical changes. What we will desperately need at that point is more time. That's why we will need geoengineering.

Geoengineering is not a cure; it is a way of temporarily counteracting the warming caused by our emissions of greenhouse gases, by reflecting a small part of the incoming sunlight in one way or another.

In fact, you could say that it is 'positive' geoengineering, as opposed to the large-scale 'negative' geoengineering we have been doing for the past two centuries by dumping huge amounts of warming gases into the atmosphere.

When we are finally ready to act decisively on global warming, we will need a window of time to make the changes that are required to preserve this global civilization and the biosphere it now dominates. Only geoengineering can create that window.

We don't need to start geoengineering now. It would be wonderful if we never have to do it, but that would take a miracle. We cannot know how long we would have to go on doing it, either: long enough to get the carbon dioxide in the atmosphere back down to a safe level, certainly, which would be at least a matter of decades.

But even without knowing the answers to these questions, we clearly need to speed up research and testing of the various potential techniques for geoengineering now.

Gwynne Dyer's new book is 'Growing Pains: The Future of Democracy (and Work)'.
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News

Liberals preparing legislation to extend deadlines for courts, security reviews and more amid pandemic

The law could give Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains more time to give notice of a national security review to a foreign company trying to take over a Canadian business.

BY PETER MAZEREEUW

The Liberal government is drawing up legislation to extend or suspend hundreds of

routine deadlines for courts, businesses, and even its own ministers as the COVID-19 pandemic has disrupted life across the country for months.

Justice Canada published draft legislation May 19 titled the *Time Limits and Other Periods Act (COVID-19)*. The draft law would make it legal to extend or suspend legal time limits that are “difficult or impossible to meet” because of the pandemic and associated public lockdowns, according to the draft.

The law would allow for an extension of up to six months for time limits for civil court proceedings that fall under several different laws. It would not ex-

tend timelines for investigations or legal proceedings related to criminal offences.

The law would also allow government ministers to order extensions of up to six months for deadlines set in 22 different laws and eight regulations that are unrelated to civil courts. Those extensions could only be granted if the person, court, or entity to which the extension order applies gave consent.

Among those are deadlines for Innovation Minister Navdeep Bains (Mississauga-Malton, Ont.) to give notice to a foreign investor that the government intends to conduct a national security review of their proposed investment in a Canadian company.

The government announced in April that it would be carefully scrutinizing foreign investments in Canadian companies that have been devalued by the pandemic.

“Some investments into Canada by state-owned enterprises may be motivated by non-commercial imperatives that could harm Canada’s economic or national security interests, a risk that is amplified in the current context,” said the April 18 statement.

Expiry dates for firearms licenses could also be extended under the new law, as could deadlines for corporations to hold annual general meetings, and for MPs who have lost their seat in

the House, and then subsequently won one again, to begin contributing to their retirement fund.

The extensions can apply retroactively back to March 13. The new powers for ministers to extend deadlines would only last until Sept. 13 of this year, according to the draft.

The Liberal government gave opposition critics and stakeholders until May 29 to provide feedback on the draft.

Conservative MP Rob Moore (Fundy Royal, N.B.), his party’s justice critic, told *The Hill Times* that he understands why the legislation is necessary, with a variety of deadlines for court filings or license requirements disrupted by the pandemic.

He said he has already raised a concern with Justice Minister David Lametti (LaSalle-Émard-Verdun, Que.) over the fact that criminal court proceedings won’t qualify for extensions under the proposed law. He said he is concerned that delays caused by the pandemic could lead to criminal cases being thrown out.

The Supreme Court’s landmark Jordan ruling in 2016 set a precedent for judges to throw out criminal cases that have been unreasonably delayed, on the grounds that those delays violate a defendant’s right to a timely trial.

The Liberals’ draft law would require the government to table any extension orders made by ministers in the House of Commons and Senate “at the earliest opportunity” if those Houses are not sitting, or within three days if they are sitting. The orders must then be forwarded to parliamentary committees, the draft says.

Neither the House or Senate have been sitting regularly since mid-March, in respect of advice from public health officials that people should avoid group gatherings amid the COVID-19 pandemic. The Liberal and NDP caucuses voted a government motion through the House on May 26 that suspended regular House sittings until the end of September. The Conservatives and Bloc Québécois opposed the motion.

The House and Senate Speakers would have to recall their Houses in order for the government to introduce and pass the time limit legislation. The House and Senate have re-convened for single-day sittings to pass emergency legislation several times since March.

The government would also be required to post details about any extensions made under the law and the reasons for them online within five days of an extension order being made, the draft law says.

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Opinion

Bigger than the bottom line: Canada needs small businesses to keep their lights on

We’re now past that 60-day mark. Canada’s economy relies on those small businesses, and so we must do more to help them.



Perrin Beatty

Opinion

Canadian small businesses—and all the Canadians behind them—have been on the front lines in the fight against COVID-19. From creating new business models almost overnight, to implementing unprecedented health and safety measures, to revamping production lines to manufacture critical supplies, the innovation and resilience they have shown is truly impressive.

According to data from the Canadian Chamber/Statistics Canada Canadian Survey on Business Conditions, Canada’s SMEs have punched

above their weight throughout the crisis in testing working from home, with 55.5 per cent saying they had done so compared to 45.5 per cent of all businesses. This demonstrates the can-do spirit that drives so many SMEs.

But where the spirit is willing, the wallet is weak. It comes as no surprise that times are hard for businesses of all sizes. Small business owners, however, differ from many of their larger counterparts because they put everything they have into their businesses, from their life savings, to using their own homes as collateral. At the same time, they are cornerstones in their communities, sponsoring the local youth hockey leagues and volunteering on the boards of local charities.

That’s why small businesses are often bright lights in their communities. Shops on main streets across the country have had to go dark for weeks, and many might not be able to turn those lights back on. According to the same survey, 50 per cent more SMEs than the national average said they didn’t have enough cash to keep their doors open longer than 60 days without any revenue.

We’re now past that 60-day mark. Canada’s economy relies on those small businesses, and so we must do more to help them. That’s why the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and Salesforce, the world’s leading CRM company, will begin the process of providing \$10,000 grants



Minister of Small Business, Export Promotion and International Trade Mary Ng, pictured on May 25, 2020, on the Hill. The Canadian Chamber of Commerce and Salesforce, the world’s leading CRM company, will begin the process of providing \$10,000 grants to 62 small businesses across the country on Monday, June 1, writes Perrin Beatty. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

to 62 businesses across the country on Monday, June 1.

Good people coming together is how Canadians have managed this crisis, and the Canadian Chamber and Salesforce are following their lead, one business at a time.

Margaret Stuart, the country manager for Salesforce, said it best when she noted that small businesses underpin some of Canada’s most innovative and hardworking communities, and that it should be our collective priority to help them get back to work safely and prepare for Canada’s next normal.

The Canadian Chamber’s is administering the small business

relief fund through our *Canadian Business Resilience Network*. Supported by the Government of Canada, the network is a coordinated, business-led, inclusive campaign to help businesses emerge from this crisis and drive Canada’s economic recovery. This is about the business community coming together to help each other.

We’ve deliberately cast a wide net for the small business relief fund. Rather than being restrictive and limiting in our eligibility criteria, our guiding principle for the program will be to do the most good with the funds.

To that end, our intention is to allocate the funds to those small business that best demonstrate how the funds will help the businesses, their employees, and their communities.

From June 1 until June 12, Canadian businesses will be able to apply to receive one of 62 grants, and we’ll announce the recipients in late June. This is open to for-profit small businesses, from two to 50 people that have been operating for several years but are now struggling financially because of COVID-19. Businesses can use the \$10,000 grants in the way that makes most sense for their business in support their recovery efforts.

We have no doubt that we will receive many great applications, and sadly many more than we will be able to help given the scale of COVID-19’s impact on Canadian businesses. But today is part of the ongoing journey in helping every Canadian business, one day at a time.

We are all in this together, and by working together to navigate the crisis, we can all succeed. In a challenging time that affects everyone, the moral imperative is not about helping because one can, but because one must. This is bigger than all of us, and it’s bigger than the bottom line.

Perrin Beatty is president and CEO of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce.

The Hill Times

Feds seek logistics company to handle huge PPE imports



Procurement Minister Anita Anand is leading the government's effort to buy up personal protective equipment for the provinces and territories in what Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland has called a 'wild west' environment for global procurement amid the COVID-19 pandemic. *The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

Coronavirus Cases by Country:

Country	Total Cases	New Cases	Total Deaths
USA	1,751,487	+5,684	102,431
Brazil	414,661		25,697
Russia	379,051	+8,371	4,142
Spain	283,849		27,118
UK	269,127	+1,887	37,837
Italy	231,139		33,072
France	182,913		28,596
Germany	182,202	+307	8,552
India	164,936	+6,850	4,673
Turkey	159,797		4,431
Iran	143,849	+2,258	7,627
Peru	135,905		3,983
Canada	88,467	+948	6,873
Chile	86,943	+4,654	890
China	82,995	+2	4,634
Saudi Arabia	80,185	+1,644	441
Mexico	78,023	+3,463	8,597
Pakistan	61,227	+2,076	1,260
Belgium	57,849	+257	9,388
Qatar	50,914	+1,967	33
Netherlands	45,950	+182	5,903
Bangladesh	40,321	+2,029	559
Belarus	39,858	+902	219
Ecuador	38,103		3,275
Sweden	35,727	+639	4,266
Singapore	33,249	+373	23
UAE	32,532	+563	258
Portugal	31,596	+304	1,369
Switzerland	30,796	+20	1,919
South Africa	25,937		552
Ireland	24,803		1,631
Indonesia	24,538	+687	1,496
Kuwait	24,112	+845	185
Colombia	24,104		803
Poland	22,825	+352	1,038
Ukraine	22,382	+477	669
Egypt	19,666		816
Romania	18,791	+197	1,231
Israel	16,809	+16	281
Japan	16,651		858
Austria	16,628	+37	668
Dominican Republic	16,068	+345	485
Philippines	15,588	+539	921
Argentina	13,933		501
Afghanistan	13,036	+580	235
Panama	11,728		315
Denmark	11,512	+32	568
S. Korea	11,344	+79	269
Serbia	11,300	+25	241
Bahrain	9,977	+285	15
Kazakhstan	9,576	+272	37
Czechia	9,134	+48	318
Oman	9,009	+636	40
Algeria	8,857		623

Source: Worldometer and updated May 28, 2020. As of May 28, there were 5,846,538 cases worldwide, 359,529 deaths, and 2,537,260 recoveries. This chart was cut to fit the page.

The Public Health Agency of Canada is looking for a company that can store and ship the government's big orders of personal protective equipment amid the COVID-19 pandemic.

BY PETER MAZEREEUW

The federal government is looking for a business partner to handle the distribution of hundreds of shipping containers worth of personal protective equipment at a time, as it seeks to ramp up imports of equipment needed to fight the novel coronavirus.

The government put out a tender notice on May 4 through its procurement website, BuyandSell.gc.ca, to gauge corporate interest in providing "extended logistic services" to the Public Health Agency of Canada as part of its effort to bulk-buy personal protective equipment for Canada's provincial and federal governments.

The logistics company will be asked to handle up to 100 shipping containers filled with PPE at a time, every two weeks, according to the notice. It must be able to receive the imported PPE and then move it by air, train, or sea; manage customs paperwork; store it securely in a temperature-controlled environment; take inventory of the goods; unpack or "deconsolidate" the shipping containers into smaller bundles of PPE; and send it on to its final destinations across Canada.

The contract would last for one year, but could be extended for up to three more years.

The tender notice closed on May 7. Dozens of companies had expressed an interest in the contract by that time, according to the BuyandSell website, which is managed by Public Services and Procurement Canada. The government will issue a request for proposal, the next step in determining the winner of the contract, in "the coming weeks," PSPC said in a written statement.

The company that wins the contract must be ready to start working within 24 hours of being selected, according to the notice.

Canada's government has been scouring the world over the past few months for personal protective equipment needed by civilians and medical professionals dealing with the spreading novel coronavirus.

The tender notice says the logistics provider must be able to handle "both dangerous and non-dangerous goods." Public Services and Procurement Canada did not say which PPE items would be imported and handled by the logistics company when asked by *The Hill Times*, but referred to a departmental webpage that lists gloves, gowns, face shields, surgical and

Other national governments have been scrambling to buy the same supplies as they try to stem the spread of the disease as well. Some countries have banned domestic companies from exporting the equipment, or have even outbid would-be buyers of PPE right before their orders have shipped off.

More than 40 flights carrying PPE cargo recently landed in Canada, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) told reporters on May 26.

Public Services and Procurement Minister Anita Anand (Oakville, Ont.) told *Global News* that the government was planning for the possibility of a long-term battle with COVID-19 as it seeks to buy PPE for the provinces and federal health providers.

Item	Quantities ordered	Quantities received (subject to testing)
Face shields	55,553,000	6,636,356
Gloves (pairs)	1,075,693,980	14,228,625
Gowns	133,344,029	1,355,765
Hand sanitizer	20,253,088 litres	5,177,304 litres
N95 respirators	104,561,800	11,799,530
Surgical masks	333,703,750	79,475,500
Ventilators	29,570	203

This number includes an order of 10.9 million KN95 respirators from a single supplier, roughly 9.8 million of which have not met Canada's standards for this mask type. To date, close to 2 million of these respirators have been redirected to other organizations outside the health system, and we expect to deploy more in the near future. We have suspended shipments of KN95 respirators from this supplier. None of these masks that failed our standards were distributed by PHAC for medical use.

Includes both N95 and KN95 respirators

Includes both nitrile and vinyl gloves (previously reported separately)

Units of measurement have changed from units to litres

The Public Services and Procurement department has published a running tally of its efforts to procure personal protective equipment for the country. *Screenshot of the PSPC website*

N95 masks, ventilators, and hand sanitizer as the items that the government has procured so far.

PSPC did not say which country the gear would be imported from. Most of the world's PPE manufacturers are in China.

"The government of Canada is purchasing supplies from a number of sources and countries, both internationally and domestically, that would be handled by the selected third party logistics solution provider," the department told *The Hill Times* in a written statement.

The logistics provider contract is separate from the deal the government struck with Amazon in April to help it manage and distribute PPE, according to the department. The Amazon deal is centred around the use of Amazon's e-commerce "business store platform" to process and manage procurement orders, according to the department. The logistics provider must be able to work with the Amazon technology.

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The Hill Times

News



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured May 21, 2020, at that day's press conference at the Rideau Cottage which is on the grounds of Rideau Hall in Ottawa. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

A fall federal election is 'a real possibility,' and a 'sweet spot' for Liberals to win a majority, say pollsters

Liberal MPs have recently held discussions in caucus meetings about nomination rules for incumbent MPs for the next election, Liberal MP Ken Hardie confirmed to *The Hill Times* last week.

Continued from page 1

people and to prevent the economy from slipping into a recession, or a depression. According to the parliamentary budget officer, the debt could hit \$1-trillion by the end of this fiscal year.

In the recovery phase of the crisis, the government will have to pump billions more in spend-

ing into the economy. It's not clear how long the government can keep on spending more money, and it's hard to imagine the government can keep up this pace of spending money until the end of this year. Mr. Nanos said he expects that once the money stops going into the system in the new year, and the government starts to introduce measures to cut programs and services, or to raise taxes, the government's popularity will plummet. Moreover, he said, if the economy slips into a recession or a depression causing high unemployment, that it would make the whole situation even more complicated for the governing party.

"After the Liberals stop pumping money into the economy and start thinking about how the bill is going to have to be paid for this and how they're going to govern, they will probably not going to want an election," said Mr. Nanos.

"The mood is going to change as soon as we enter into a recession, as soon as the government won't have the fiscal levers to have a proactive policy agenda because

of the size and scope of the deficit. Because at some point, they're going to have to turn off the taps and literally the day after they turn off the taps, I would expect that people are not going to be as positively disposed towards the government as they were when they were pumping money into the pockets of Canadians and Canadian businesses," said Mr. Nanos.

Mr. Nanos said the Liberals have a legitimate rationale to call an election in the fall, considering the enormity of the crisis, and they can reasonably argue they need a fresh mandate.

"They need a new mandate because of the scope of the stimulus and spending, which is unprecedented in the modern era, basically equivalent to the Second World War," said Mr. Nanos. "So, this goes back to this: should Canadians have the opportunity to vote on how we fight the war against COVID-19? Whether they're satisfied with the Liberals, or whether they're dissatisfied and want, for example, the Conservatives to take Canada on a different path when it comes to public debt and government priorities."

Mr. Nanos said if the Liberals do not call an election this fall then they might as well wait until the end of the current mandate, which would be Oct. 16, 2023, as things will get challenging starting next year. He described this fall as the "sweet spot" for the Liberals to seek a new mandate and to win a majority government. In the 338-member House, the winning party needs 170 seats to form a majority government. Currently, the Liberals have 157 seats, the Conservatives 121, the Bloc 32, the NDP 24, the Greens three, and there's one Independent MP.

"The fall will be the Liberal sweet spot for them to try to snatch a majority government," said Mr. Nanos. "After the fall, all bets are off because we don't know how deep a depression/recession that we're going to have, and how many Canadians will continue to be unemployed."

Considering the challenges in the new year, if an election were to happen next spring or any time after, it will be because the opposition parties would want an election, not the government.

"If there is an election in 2021, it will be because the opposition parties see the advantage," Mr. Nanos said. "So what we're talking about is windows of opportunities for the parties—the short-term window of opportunity is for the Liberals, the longer-term window of opportunity is for the opposition parties."

As for the logistical and health challenges of calling an election in the midst of a pandemic, Mr. Nanos cited the example of South Korea, where general elections were held in April and the voter turnout was the highest in 28 years. The governing party won a thumping majority in that election.

Scrutiny of the timing of an election call is something that usually doesn't last very long in the public eye during a campaign before it is overtaken by other issues, said Mr. Nanos.

A number of recent polls have suggested that if an election were to be called now, the Liberals would win a majority. According to a Leger poll released last week, the Liberals were leading the pack with the support of 41 per cent of Canadians, followed by the Conservatives with 27 per cent support. The NDP had the support of 15 per cent and the Greens were at six per cent. The online poll of 1,510 Canadians was conducted between May 22 and May 25, and had a margin of error of plus or minus 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

Pollster Greg Lyle of Innovative Research agreed in an interview that the fall is the best time for the Liberals to win a majority. He said this time frame may not be a "popular possibility" but from a strategic point of view he described this as a "real possibility." He said any party running a minority government has to have back-up plans to go to the polls should the need arises. Mr. Lyle said the Liberals have a perfectly reasonable policy rationale to go to the polls if they want to.

"It's not necessarily a popular possibility, but it's a real possibility," said Mr. Lyle.

"This is a huge, fundamental challenge to the country, requiring us to do things that were simply unimaginable during the last election campaign, and it's a democracy. So hav-

ing a public discussion about what is the right approach in this world is a perfectly democratic argument."

He said the best time for the Liberals to go to the polls is shortly after the Conservatives elect their leader on Aug. 21, with the election day sometime in September.

If the Liberals waited longer, he said, opposition parties and the media are going to raise some pointed questions about the way the government handled COVID-19, and examples of misspent money. Considering the amount of money spent to deal with this crisis, he said, it won't be hard to find cases where money was not appropriately spent. Mr. Lyle said that waiting longer means giving more time to opposition parties to prepare, and an NDP that performs well in a general election is bad news for the Liberals. He also said the support for the Liberal Party will drop when the government slows its spending.

"It's very rare for the government to effectively spend large amounts of money, and we've just spent very large amounts of money," said Mr. Lyle. "It's quite likely that we're gonna discover some of that money was not well spent, those chickens will all come home to roost."

Mr. Lyle, however, pointed out that a key risk factor in this decision is whether a second wave of the pandemic comes in the midst of the election campaign. If that situation arises it could backfire on the Liberals, said Mr. Lyle, adding that "this is a hard call" for Liberal strategists to make as they decide whether to go for an election this fall or not.

Two-term Liberal MP Ken Hardie (Fleetwood-Port Kells, B.C.) told *The Hill Times* that he has not heard anything from anyone in the party that would suggest that the Liberals have a plan to go to the polls this fall or any time next year. However, he confirmed that the Liberal caucus has discussed what the nomination process should be for incumbents to carry the party's banner in the next election.

Mr. Hardie declined to confirm any details, citing caucus confidentiality. In the last election, the Liberal Party had set certain conditions for MPs to meet if they wanted to run without facing any nomination challenges. It appears the party will do the same this time. The Conservative Party has already announced nomination rules for incumbent MPs.

"I couldn't say, obviously, because I'm in no position to have a decision on that one way or the other," said Mr. Hardie. "But I've seen nothing, heard nothing other than the fact that, you know, we're discussing as a caucus what we would do as individual MPs to meet the requirements of the party to be uncontested in the next race. But beyond that, no, I haven't heard a peep about any of it."

He conceded that considering the support the Liberals are enjoying in the polls, it's "tempting" to look at different possibilities for an election, but he said he has not seen any discussion about it at any forum inside the party.

"It's tempting to look at what's been going on with the government response to the virus, see what the polls are saying, and then translate that into whether or not there's an opportunity to go for an election. But that translation hasn't been going on at least as far as our conversations are concerned."

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Time for foreign policy update to prepare Canada for post-pandemic world, say some experts

The rules-based international order as it once was ‘no longer exists,’ says Canadian International Council president Ben Rowswell.

BY NEIL MOSS

As the COVID-19 pandemic has forced governments to reassess their priorities and shifted geopolitical fault lines, some former diplomats and experts are calling for a refresh and for a new statement on Canada’s foreign policy foundations.

Canada hasn’t had an official review of its foreign policy since 2005 and the last major foreign policy speech outlining Canada’s place in the world was from then-foreign affairs minister Chrystia Freeland (University-Rosedale, Ont.) in the House of Commons in 2017.

Canadian International Council president Ben Rowswell said the current moment doesn’t just represent a moment to have a foreign policy update, but it provides a “imperative” for one.

“[Foreign policy priorities have] fundamentally changed even since Chrystia Freeland made that speech in 2017,” said Mr. Rowswell, a former high-level Canadian diplomat in Venezuela, Afghanistan, and Iraq, and a former adviser in the PCO.

In the speech, Ms. Freeland noted Canada’s dedication to the international order and offered a subtle critique of the nationalist foreign policy platform of U.S. President Donald Trump.

“That very eloquent speech in 2017 was about the centrality of the rules-based international order to Canada’s interests abroad then laid out what needs to be done to uphold the rules-based order. I think in 2020 it’s a fair statement that the rules-based international order no longer exists,” Mr. Rowswell said.

He added that new reality has to be taken into account by Canada, including in a potential foreign policy review.

“In 2020, [the rules-based international order] may be beyond salvaging, at least the rules-based international order as we knew it. And the imperative is now to build a new international order, hopefully built on rules as well, rather than a salvage operation,” he said.

“We’ve gone from the world of treaties to the world of thugs,” said Mr. Rowswell, noting that Canada needs to highlight how it can protect its citizens and advance its interests in a world where the most powerful countries are acting in a way that is “completely arbitrary.”

Former Conservative Senator Hugh Segal, a past chief of staff to then-prime minister Brian Mulroney, told *The Hill Times* last month that a foreign policy update could be helpful.



Foreign Affairs Minister François-Philippe Champagne, pictured in this file photo at the National Press Theatre in Ottawa, gave the Trudeau government’s most recent foreign policy expression last February in what one expert called a ‘disappointing’ speech that lacked specifics. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

“The relationship between China, the United States, Europe, and Canada’s foreign policy is going to be affected by what happened during COVID,” said Mr. Segal, citing a need to update Ms. Freeland’s 2017 statement.

“It was a great statement when it was made, but events have overtaken it. So—a fresh foreign policy statement about what we have now learned, and what we think should change in our foreign policy with respect to perhaps China [and] how we protect our own national interests with respect to the United States,” he said.

Barbara Martin, a Queen’s University policy studies professor and former senior-level foreign affairs officer, said while a review may not be possible currently, a statement of Canada’s foreign policy future should be forwarded.

“I don’t think a full-blown policy review is realistic under the circumstances—partly because there is so much in flux and partly because many people in government have much more important things to do right now,” said Prof. Martin, a Canadian Global Affairs Institute fellow who had a more than 30-year career in Canada’s foreign service. “But I do think it would be timely for the government to offer a statement on the challenges it sees today and give a signal of the direction it can take.”

Prof. Martin said that much has changed since Ms. Freeland’s speech in 2017, but many of the trends have continued.

Since that speech, there have been subsequent foreign policy speeches by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) and now-Foreign Affairs Minister François-Philippe Champagne (Saint-Maurice-Champplain, Que.), but they have lacked the same comprehensiveness.

Most recently, Mr. Champagne

gave a foreign policy address to the Montreal Council of Foreign Relations in February in which he outlined the challenges brought by China and Iran.

Prof. Martin called Mr. Champagne’s statement last February: “disappointing.”

“There were references to some challenges, but it didn’t offer any particular direction for the way forward,” she said.

For an updated foreign policy statement, Prof. Martin said, the basis of Canada’s vision remains the same as always which is based on “security and prosperity.”

“The devil is always in the details in foreign policy,” she said, adding that there are questions about how Canada manages China’s assertiveness on the world stage and how Ottawa can handle the pressure being put on the rules-based international order.

“Champagne makes reference to it, but he doesn’t say what to do about it. We need more than those kinds of platitudes. We need a concerted effort to build alliances to reinforce the order against the forces that are undermining it,” she said.

A foreign policy statement needs to outline how Canada sees the international order and globalization going forward and what can be done to build compromise and consensus in the global order that is “clear and succinct” and “not filled with generalized statements,” Prof. Martin said.

Mr. Rowswell said a continued commitment to multilateralism will be “absolutely essential” for Canada.

“We’re not a superpower. The vast majority of threats facing our citizens come from outside our borders. The vast majority of opportunities for our economy [and] livelihoods come from markets outside our border,” he said, “so it’s going to be absolutely essen-

tial that we act with others.”

“We’re going to need to think for ourselves and act with others,” said Mr. Rowswell, adding that multilateralism is a means, but not the ends.

University of Waterloo political science professor Bessma Momani, a foreign policy and Middle East expert, said a foreign policy update could be beneficial as Canada faces an increasingly leaderless world.

“It does feel as there is no sense of value in international cooperation the same way it once was,” said Prof. Momani, a fellow at the Centre for International Governance and Innovation. “There’s this feeling that everyone’s to themselves [and] everyone’s for themselves.”

“I think the pandemic has shown us that we do need to cooperate,” she said, citing international disagreements over essential medical equipment procurements and vaccines.

Prof. Momani said Canada should articulate how it can add value to the world stage.

“We’re not the type of power that can be the leader of all things,” she said. “What we tend to do is take niche areas ... that are our comparative advantage and we pursue them very passionately and we’re effective that way when we choose our topic matter selectively and put all of our energies of our government behind it.”

“There seems to be few countries taking on that leadership role and that’s really worrying for the globe. So I do hope that Canada does articulate foreign policy objectives and makes it very clear what are the issue areas that it wants to lead on,” she said, adding that there has to be specifics announced that are backed with funding.

Former diplomat Jeremy Kinsman said global solutions need more international cooperation and less nationalism.

“Canada has to be an agent

for the promotion of conclusive cooperation, but respectful of cultural diversity on which some of the nationalistic resentments are based,” said Mr. Kinsman, who served as Canada’s envoy to Russia, the United Kingdom, and the European Union, among others.

He said the rivalry between the U.S. and China is the “most worrying development” and it is “defining our time.”

“We do stand out as principal exponents in the world for managing diversity at home,” Mr. Kinsman said. “It’s our best soft power advantage too, even with countries that are themselves immigration-averse.”

Former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations Paul Heinbecker, chief foreign policy adviser to then-prime minister Brian Mulroney, said a foreign policy update can’t happen until after the U.S. election.

“Timing is everything,” said Mr. Heinbecker. “And I don’t think the time is right.”

Mr. Heinbecker said the “single biggest disruptive factor” for the world is Mr. Trump and his future needs to be understood before Canada can iron out an updated foreign policy framework.

But he said that after the Nov. 3 election is over and it is clear who will reside at the White House, a foreign policy assessment is worth doing.

“I actually do believe in foreign policy [updates] to check the state of the world and our relationship to it and see whether there is anything that might or should be done as a consequence,” he said.

He said in the mean time Canada remains in “pretty good shape” as a result of Ms. Freeland’s “mini-review” in 2017.

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'The rise of China is a central geoeconomic issue of our time'

Living with China: A Middle Power Finds Its Way, by Wendy Dobson, is a finalist for this year's prestigious Donner Prize, one of the best public policy books of the year. She offers a summary of her book here.

BY WENDY DOBSON

The emergence of the coronavirus pandemic has put a spotlight on China's changing role in the world. It has revealed the crucial role China plays in the dense global supply chain networks of a wide range of industries, raising new anxieties about globalization. It has provoked intense debate about how China handled the outbreak and what this implies about China's political system, and it has exacerbated tensions between China and the United States. Canada is now confronted with even greater challenges in developing a coherent policy approach to this rising world power.

For decades, China has been an object of curiosity to many Canadians. We, like others, saw it as a developing economy with different values and institutions, yet one we assumed would become more like us, adopting liberal values, becoming democratic and ruled by law. But Xi Jinping's China Dream and his model of authoritarian state capitalism and managed markets has established a different, competitive, trajectory. American leaders have defined China as a strategic rival who unfairly uses industrial subsidies and acquires foreign intellectual property, restricts foreign investors' market access, and forces technology transfers.

Canadians, who have conducted quite separate relationships with the two powers, have been pulled into the orbit of their deteriorating relationship and are beginning to recognize that there is a lot to learn about China. We lack a China strategy that serves both our national interests and the global imperative of coexistence between the two giants even as they compete. Published before the onset of the novel coronavirus pandemic this book establishes a context for such a strategy recognizing the determination and ambition of China's leaders as well as the significant tensions they face between state and market. Xi Jinping is determined to shed memories of past humiliations at the hands of foreigners and replace them with the China Dream, a long game extending to 2050 when China will become a fully developed economy and global technology leader. This leadership will come not by territorial



Wendy Dobson: 'The emergence of the coronavirus pandemic has put a spotlight on China's changing role in the world. It has revealed the crucial role China plays in the dense global supply chain networks of a wide range of industries, raising new anxieties about globalization.' Photograph courtesy of University of Toronto Press

conquest but through such state-led initiatives as the Made in China 2025 industrial investment strategy and by activities that shape the global order such as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), a vast infrastructure investment project in Eurasia and beyond.

Tensions between state and market run deep in China, where maintaining political and social stability and economic growth and development are seen as fundamental to party legitimacy. Tensions must be managed between the competing objectives of market reforms that encourage innovative industries and require entrepreneurial thinking while at the same time preserving politically preferred interventions by state-owned enterprises and commercial banks. Xi Jinping's strategy is to ensure political stability by consolidating his power and inserting party control deeply into China's economic life. But pursuit of this political objective has economic costs of less entrepreneurial freedom, slower growth and fewer new jobs than would be possible with the freer play of market forces. At the same time, risk-taking in China's still-developing financial system grew to an extent that in 2017 President Xi proclaimed financial risk a national security threat and stepped up both deleveraging and the pace of modernization.

Tensions between state and market are also evident in President Xi's aims to shape the global order. As Chinese investors increased their focus on high-tech American M&As, the Committee on Foreign Investment in the U.S. (CFIUS) tightened

its security screening of new transactions and the administration applied regulatory hurdles and export controls to sensitive technologies. Calls for reciprocal market access grew more insistent as bilateral investment in the United States plunged to a seven-year low in 2018.

The Belt and Road Initiative also sent mixed signals, acquiring a reputation for inappropriate policy bank lending programs in which borrowers' loans exceeded their ability to repay, suffering debt distress and the necessity of renegotiations amid charges of 'debt trap diplomacy'.

In summary, China's record in the past decade has been one of substantial economic modernization and internationalization, but one that could be even more impressive if there were fewer political constraints on market forces and institutions. The mixed picture of China's emergence has significant implications for Canada's China strategy. A comprehensive strategy should define our interests in forward-looking ways, while addressing the diplomatic deep freeze that set in with the 2018 arrest of Meng Wanzhou, Huawei's CFO, and China's arrests of Canadians in retaliation. This strategy has to be spearheaded and articulated in person by the prime minister, because Asians expect leaders to deal regularly and directly with each other. Canada has had a reputation of turning up for commercial deals, but not clearly engaging effectively with China or fully participating in the cooperative efforts of Asian middle power leaders to develop strategic approaches to regional security.

The second priority is to promote public learning and deepen Canadians' familiarity with China. This goal can be addressed in part by measures such as more civic and educational people-exchanges. Australians have also used White Papers as policy instruments to promote foreign policy discussions for the past three decades. Given the importance of our relationships with both world powers we should approach the strategic shift with commitments to manage open relationships with both protagonists, to cooperate with other like-minded governments to advocate the merits of coexistence and accommodation yet be prepared to take stands to manage differences in values, norms and institutions.

The third priority is to protect our sovereignty and national security in the shifting geopolitical environment. The policy debate about Huawei's 5G capabilities and related security concerns has intensified in response to reports of governments requiring companies to turn over data on demand. Differing eco-systems are another issue as Huawei and other Chinese enterprises turn to non-western markets to increase demand, with the emergence of technology 'blocs' a likely result. On the supply side, Chinese enterprises are redoubling their efforts to become self-sufficient in such key imported components as semiconductors. Currently China produces only a small share of its total demand relative to substantial imports from Korean, Japanese, American producers.

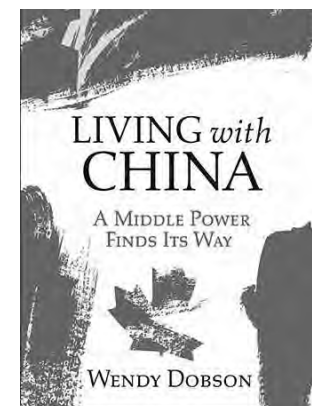
Huawei's funding of digital research in Canadian institutions raises questions about cybersecurity and protection of intellectual property and underlines the importance of managing the relationships among security, trade and investment. Canada should also become a more active player with middle powers in Asia to develop shared views and interests in regional security. Some experts argue that technology blocs can be avoided by making room for China in a multilateral governance structure in telecommunications that addresses the need for internationally accepted boundaries for cyber warfare and for multilateral rules of conduct.

The fourth priority is to deepen economic engagement with China to develop strong complementarities in both goods and services. Chinese seek secure supplies of energy, food and natural resources while Canada seeks secure demand for its abundant supplies of goods and its trade in the services sought by China's huge middle class. However, deeper engagement is obstructed by the diplomatic deep freeze over Meng Wanzhou's arrest and by Beijing's blockage of shipments of Canada's agricultural goods.

Indeed, while the case can be made for freer trade, formal talks are off the table because of the diplomatic freeze and, significantly, by USMCA restrictions that prevent any signatory negotiating FTAs with planned economies. Sectoral talks are a possibility, based on groundwork laid by officials in 2012 that identified seven sectors of mutual interest. Such talks could begin by liberalizing trade in clean tech and environmental goods where businesses in both countries have common interests. But the long term outlook for liberalizing goods trade given China's actions over

Huawei remains clouded.

The fifth priority is to manage the bilateral relationship as China becomes more influential and assertive. The relationship is no longer just about Canada-China issues. As we have seen with Huawei, it is about differing eco-systems and managing China-US differences. While bilateral engagement with China is a strategic goal, in Confucian terms Canada is a small (and



Living with China: A Middle Power Finds Its Way, by Wendy Dobson, University of Toronto Press, 184 pp., \$32.95.

Questions for Wendy Dobson

Why did you want to write this book?

“Because Canada needs a strategy for living with China. My primary purpose in writing this book is to deepen Canadians’ understanding of how China is changing. President Xi Jinping has a vision of a transformed China in a long game to become a global technology leader and fully developed economy by 2050. This vision contradicts long-held Canadian assumptions that as China developed it would become more like us. Instead China’s development path of authoritarian state capitalism has stirred American mistrust, growing rivalry between the two and possible trade war. Canadians have been pulled into the orbit of this China-U.S. feud by the U.S. request of Canada to extradite Huawei CFO Meng Wanzhou. This affair has highlighted Canada’s lack of a China strategy. My analysis first focuses on China and creates context for the comprehensive strategy I propose for living with this giant.”

Why is your book important?

“The book is important because it strives for a balanced analysis of the Canada-China relationship. It articulates in plain English and straight forward style the case for a China strategy that speaks directly to Canadians. Where many conferences and published articles are critical of China, this book strives for a balanced analysis of the potential strengths and weaknesses of the Canada-China relationship. I focus first on the tensions between state and market in Chinese policy before turning to China’s innovation strat-

egy as a somewhat controversial source of strength and its recent emphasis on outward direct investment that contrasts with its still-developing financial system. These sections on the economy and China’s institutions set the stage for the proposed China strategy.”

Why should people read your book now?

“Because the rise of China is a central geo-economic issue of our time. The book is forward looking, understandable and focused on a China that is ambitious and hardworking, and as the coronavirus pandemic has shown, plays a crucial role in globalization and our health. There is a lot to learn about China and the final chapter proposes a comprehensive strategy, arguing for a better understanding by Canadians of China’s history and institutions. A multi-pronged approach is needed. One that is based on Canadian interests and long-term economic and security objectives. As laid out in the final chapter other strategic elements include careful definition of Canada’s interests, wider and deeper bilateral economic engagement through trade and investment and managing the long-term relationship with a more assertive China. Canadian policy makers should engage with multilateral partners willing to push back against inappropriate political influence while pursuing the relationship based on mutual respect, accommodation, and genuine discussion of differences in values and institutions.”

Continued from page 22

therefore less significant) country. Managing the relationship should emphasize partnering and institutional networking relationships with the rest of the world through multilateral alliances of governments and coalitions of civil society. A range of soft power issues should be jointly addressed, such as the badly planned BRI projects, China’s retaliation against Canadians for Meng Wanzhou’s arrest and the treatment of the Uighurs. It has also been argued that we should push back against inappropriate Chinese political influence, diversify trade to avoid excessive dependence on Chinese imports and press China to adopt laws and institutions consistent with global standards. As one American expert has also argued, Americans should exert their power with others in pursuit of joint goals and accommodation rather than in zero-sum rivalry that is in no one’s interest.

In conclusion, the Canada-China relationship is complex and uncertain, made more so by the impacts of the coronavirus pandemic. Normalization will take time to develop and carry through. As other middle powers have found, living with China requires focus, patience and determination. Living between the US and China, even more so.

Wendy Dobson is author of *Living with China: A Middle Power Finds Its Way*, which is one of five finalists for this year’s Donner Prize, the best public policy book of the year. The four other finalists for this year’s \$50,000 Donner Prize are: *Breakdown: The Pipeline Debate and the Threat to Canada’s Future*, by Dennis McConaghy; *Empty Planet: The Shock of Global Population Decline*, by Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson; *The Tangled Garden: A Canadian Cultural Manifesto For The Digital Age*, by Richard Stursberg; and *The Wealth of First Nations*, by Tom Flanagan. The winner will be announced in the fall.

The Hill Times

Trump leading U.S. towards abyss of social and constitutional disintegration

Continued from page 12

Trump has deployed Twitter to broadcast thousands of lies both before and during his calamitous presidency. His mendacity has run the spectrum from his claim that Barack Obama was born in Kenya, to his advice to Americans to inject disinfectant into their bodies to fight COVID-19.

Trump has repeatedly abused his social media platform to personally attack, malign, and destroy his critics with the full power of the federal government behind him—and few if any facts.

Remember “Nervous Nancy’s Unhinged Meltdown”? That was the Speaker of the House of Representatives he tweet-smear, second in line for the presidency behind the VP should anything happen to the incumbent. Trump has falsely attacked hundreds of other perceived critics with the same scuzzy tactics.

Here’s the skinny.

Had Donald Trump not been the president, he would have been banished from Twitter for gross violations of its own community rules.

By giving him carte blanche up until now, Twitter has allowed Trump to turn the social media platform into a virtual octagon for no-holds-barred political cage-fighting. As a result, this sorry con-man presides over the Bullshit Pulpit, which he regularly uses to bamboozle his own people while advancing his political and personal interests.

Twitter deserves a measure of credit for finally calling Trump for a rules-violation by “glorifying violence” in his George Floyd tweet, which the social media platform has obscured behind its warning. Nor will it allow people to “like” Trump’s post.

It also deserves credit for advising fact-checking for Trump’s absurd claim that mail-in ballots would lead to massive fraud in this November’s presidential election. The president offered zero evidence for his false tweet.

There’s a good reason for that; because there isn’t any.

In fact, Republican Senator Mitt Romney said that 80 per cent of votes cast in his state are routinely done by mail-in ballot. There is no massive voter fraud problem in Utah or any other state, according to multiple studies. Even President Trump votes by mail-in ballot.

Trump’s renewed claims of massive voter fraud should ring a bell. In 2017, the president set up a commission called the Presidential Advisory Committee on Election Integrity. It was tasked with investigating

claims of voter fraud. The more likely purpose was to substantiate a lie the president used to explain why Hillary Clinton won the popular vote in the 2016 election by three million votes: massive fraud at the ballot box.

And there was a second objective widely commented on by critics of the so-called Integrity Commission chaired by VP Mike Pence. By putting up a phoney claim of widespread voting corruption, the Republicans thought they could justify unwarranted restrictions on voting, including exclusionary measures like voter ID.

The real goal was not protecting voting integrity at all, but promoting voter suppression. It is easier to cheat in close contests, and the Republicans generally lose when voter turnout is high.

Less than a year into its work (the group met twice), President Trump disbanded his own commission. All it managed to come up with was a string of personal narratives of wrongdoing devoid of hard evidence. That struck Maine’s secretary of state as woefully inadequate. “The plural of anecdote is not data,” Matthew Dunlap told reporters.

The Washington Post investigated Trump’s claim about the 2016 election and found that 0.000002 percent of ballots cast were fraudulent. That means four votes out of 136 million, none of which counted.

Justin Levitt of Loyola Law School, Los Angeles, found just 31 cases of voter impersonation in one billion ballots case between 2000 and 2014 in presidential elections. That means one instance of voter fraud for every 32 million votes.

But while Twitter should be praised for putting the choke chain on Trump’s lies and incitements, it is essentially a baby-step taken very late in the game. The same outfit refused to take down dirt-bag tweets from the President in which he effectively accused one of his main media critics of murder.

Trump’s target was the host of MSNBC’s *Morning Joe*, Joe Scarborough. Trump talked about “Psycho Joe” being rattled by damning information coming out on the internet, including the possibility of a “cold case” investigation into his part in the 2001 death of former staffer Lori Klausutis.

Did Joe get away with murder? Trump posed the question. Not surprisingly, Scarborough’s wife, Mika Brzezinski, called the president a “cruel, sick, and disgusting person.”

At the time of her death, the 28 year-old Klausutis worked in Scarborough’s congressional office when he was an elected Republican. A coroner’s investigation concluded

that she died from an undiagnosed heart condition that caused her to fall while at the office, fatally striking her head. Scarborough was hundreds of miles away at the time of the tragic accident.

Despite the facts, Trump also supplied a possible motive for Scarborough’s alleged involvement in his aide’s death. An affair between the two perhaps? Pretty rich coming from the Pussy Grabber in Chief. Even after Timothy Klausutis begged Twitter CEO Jack Dorsey to remove Trump’s offensive tweets about his deceased wife and Scarborough, the company refused.

What cowardice. Trump had already accused Twitter of interfering in the 2020 election and denying him freedom of speech over fact-checking his lies about voter fraud. Now he has moved to remove their liability shield. Instead of holding its ground, Twitter blinked.

Executives at the social media platform should have known that bile and misinformation is not freedom of speech. It should have known that truth is the lifeblood of every democracy.

By Trump’s perverted standards, perjury should be protected by the First Amendment. Twitter folded on this particular incident not because Trump did not egregiously abuse Joe Scarborough, Timothy Klausutis, and the memory of his deceased wife. It folded because Donald Trump is President.

Were Trump not president, his tweets would not be obscured, his account would be toast.

Were Trump not president, he would have been charged in Michigan when he broke state law by not wearing a mask while recently touring a local Ford plant.

Were Trump not president, he would no longer be an unindicted co-conspirator in the Stormy Daniels case, a matter that put his personal lawyer, Michael Cohen in prison. He would be charged.

Americans make a democracy-killing mistake in confusing respect for the Office of President with the bunco artist who temporarily occupies it.

This is the man who was saved from being convicted at his impeachment trial by a toxically partisan, Republican controlled Senate.

This is the man who fired the head of the FBI who was investigating him.

This is the man who has ordered “purges” of disloyal people across the government, including in the Pentagon.

This is the man who ordered the wholesale removal of inspectors general who provided oversight of his fast and loose administration.

This is the man whose attorney-general dropped charges against a Trump senior staffer, Michael Flynn, who had twice pleaded guilty to lying to FBI investigators about his meetings with Russian officials.

And this is the man who now wants to strongly regulate social media platforms, like they do in North Korea, Saudi Arabia, and China.

How fitting that this is also the president of the United States who retweeted the chilling message of the head of Cowboys for Trump, New Mexico Republican Couy Griffin. And what did this cowpoke have to say that caught the eye and the Twitter-finger of Donald Trump?

“The only good Democrat is a dead Democrat.”

Quo Vadis, America?
Michael Harris is an award-winning author and journalist.
The Hill Times

Opinion

We need a different kind of industrial strategy

Continued from page 10

One of the biggest challenges in Canada is to expand the too-small universe of Canadian-controlled and headquartered companies—Canadian multinationals—that have the scale and scope to fill the Canadian catalogue with new products and services that the rest of the world wants to buy.

As a recent study from Statistics Canada shows, Canadian companies that become multinationals are 23 per cent more productive than Canadian companies that do not become multinationals. What enables them to become multinationals is that they have firm-specific advantages—intellectual property and other intangibles—that they have developed in Canada and can then take abroad. The study also found that Canadian multinationals were just as productive as foreign multinationals. It is the more productive companies that become multinationals.

Research and development is important. “R&D efforts represent a key strategy for firms to develop firm-specific advantages,” the Statistics Canada study says. “In addition to innovative products, services and production processes, firm advantages also include the development of intellectual property, which gives firms and edge in both their home and host markets. In addition, R&D efforts enhance a firm’s absorptive capacity, allowing it to better learn from both domestic and foreign markets.”

What this means is that instead of the all-too-frequent sell-off of young Canadian companies—and their intellectual property—we have to create the conditions so that more Canadian companies can scale up and compete globally based on their intangible assets, including intellectual property.

This means a different kind of industrial strategy—one that creates opportunities and domestic markets for the most promising young companies, such as acceleration of smart cities, clean energy, sustainable water systems, new forms of urban design (including transportation and housing), agri-food genomics, smart materials, and health care. It is also one that discourages foreign takeovers of our best young companies and their intellectual property as well as discouraging universities from selling off their intellectual property to foreign corporations.

More of our investment in academic R&D and talent development must go to building Canadian companies rather than supporting foreign R&D branch plants here that capitalize on our investments in education and new knowledge to create intellectual property and prosperity for their foreign parents.

Canada today lacks such a coherent strategy for the future. It is not coming from government, from our universities, our business organizations or our think tanks. Yet it is hard to think of a more pressing need. Without such a strategy we will only offer the world a dated catalogue that’s far less attractive than those of our competitors. And that means we will be a poorer country.

David Crane can be reached at crane@interlog.com.

Attention progressives, the deficit hawks are circling

Continued from page 11

These and other ideas, properly implemented, could make for a better world. But they could be very costly. And there is a dark cloud on the horizon: the ever increasing debt run up to avoid catastrophic financial consequences that would have otherwise resulted because of the lockdown to fight the contagion.

There are three schools of thought about the debt and its implications. One is that, with a bit of luck, matters will resolve themselves. The sober editorial page of *The Globe and Mail* subscribes to this hopeful possibility. It points to the enormous debt that was run up as part of the fight to win World War II. These obligations were handled by rolling them over for decades. As the years passed, the debt shrank as a percentage of a growing GDP in a muscular economy. Optimists believe that something similar can happen again, particularly in an era of historically low interest rates.

The second, in stark opposition to the first, warns of dire consequences. Canada, as a commodity exporting country, will need to deal with a long period of low prices for those goods because of built up inventory and lagging demand. Rating agencies, now accepting of our increasing obligations, will change their minds. Our credit status will be downgraded and serious economic consequences will ensue, particularly for those just now entering the workforce.

A third view questions the bleakness of the second position but also the optimism of the first. It warns that: the economy is unlikely to bounce back sharply; comparisons with the situation after World War II may be misguided since we are unlikely to experience the robust expansion of the economy that resulted after the end of the conflicts; and, there is no guarantee that interest rates are going to remain low.

So many things can happen amidst the tumult of this pandemic. But the message here is two-fold. First, those wanting big ideas for reform to be implemented need to come up with realistic proposals for how those programs will be financed by a government carrying massive debt. A wealth tax might be one of them. There’s apparently support for it. But we’ll see how far that goes in a country that already has significant rates of tax. A better strategy might be to enlist the aid of well versed economists who are willing to take on the deficit hawks and who can make the case that implementing progressive measures will make for a better—and wealthier—society in the long run.

Second, progressives should not be trying to out manoeuvre each other. Positioning addressing climate change to leap over proposals for a guaranteed income wastes time and resources among folks who should be supporting each other. Trying to find a way forward, together, should be the guiding light.

We can come out of this a better society or we can emerge awash in bitterness and rancour. Democracy is a door through which a people walk through. What’s on the other side is up to them.

W.A. Bogart is distinguished university professor and professor of law, University of Windsor. He is at work on his next book *Who Do We Think We Are?: Canada in a Turbulent World*.

World leaders shine in UN meeting on COVID-19 crisis

Continued from page 16

destitute—is suffering the effects of the pandemic, and this commonality is a new basis for cooperation.

The Secretary-General was grim. Painting a picture of 60 million people pushed into extreme poverty, famine of “historic proportions,” 1.6 billion people left without livelihoods, and a loss of \$8.5-trillion in global output—the sharpest contraction since the Great Depression of the 1930s—he called for a response with “unity and solidarity.” Thus, as St. Lucia’s prime minister, Allen Chastanet, put it, “We need a new global economic architecture.”

What might this architecture look like? The meeting delved into six areas:

- Expand liquidity in the global economy.
- Reduce the burden of debt for developing countries.
- Create conditions to enhance private investment.
- Create special programs for job creation.
- Stop illicit financial flows.
- Align recovery policies with the UN’s 17-point Sustainable Development Goals.

The envisioned architecture calls for very technical discussion, and the experts, including Canada’s Mark Carney, were on hand to provide illumination. Working group discussions will continue on these points with three reporting periods set over the next year. Guterres pointed out that the U.S. and China, though absent from the summit meeting, had agreed to join the working groups.

Out of sight of the cameras, this plodding work goes on, but that’s how the UN sets up systems to improve the finance and trade capabilities of all countries. The international bodies that dominate the financial world today — the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization — all had their origins in multilateral discourse to find common solutions to economic problems.

These problems are not abstractions, as COVID shows. They are in the blood of all human beings, and we have entered a world where “them” has become “us.”

As I watched this meeting unfold, my mind went back 39 years to the famous Cancun North-South Summit of 1981, which was co-chaired by Justin Trudeau’s father, Pierre Trudeau. Trudeau Senior brought passionate concern to the dialogue of that day on what to do about the poor and marginalized. I like to think the son has the same dedication to finding pragmatic solutions to relieve the misery of the afflicted. I want to see this commitment in action—whether or not Canada is elected to the Security Council.

Former Senator Douglas Roche watched the high-level UN meeting from his Edmonton home. He chaired the United Nations Disarmament Committee in 1988 as Canada’s ambassador for disarmament.

Privacy and our spy agencies

Continued from page 15

always found that such people, whom I think are all most probably fine Canadians, have a poor-to-non-existent understanding of intelligence in Canada, fear the worst, and want to put increasingly stringent requirements on what CSIS (and CSE) can and cannot do.

I would imagine we all agree that privacy is important, although in the online world it is a valid question as to whether most Canadians care what they put out there and where it ends up; at least based on what I have seen posted. We can, and should, have laws in place to protect our privacy, but we must also allow CSIS to carry out its legislated mandate.

We in Canada are also blessed with oversight bodies (the National Security Intelligence Review Agency NSIRA) to which all Canadians can apply when they feel CSIS has overstepped its bounds. Many countries do not submit their spies to such review. We used to joke at CSIS that the CSIS Act devoted more space to restrictions on our actions than what we were actually being asked to do.

At the same time, CSIS has a job to do and it cannot fulfill its functions if it is constantly challenged on issues that, to my mind at least, neither constitute egregious violations of its mandate, nor warrant change. Spies do what spies do, after all. No one at CSIS wantonly violates a Canadian’s privacy without due cause.

Sometimes I wonder if privacy advocates are in tune with what Canadians want. I guess we could find out if we did a poll, although from what I read, representative polling is taking a hit these days vis-à-vis accuracy. It would also help if CSIS—and to a lesser extent CSE—were a little more open with what keeps them awake at night and what they do. Both agencies are getting a little better—a few weeks ago they issued a joint statement warning that Canadian intellectual property linked to the pandemic is a “valuable target” for state-sponsored actors.

Then we have the truly bizarre court rulings. On May 19, Germany’s Federal Constitutional Court ruled that monitoring the internet traffic of foreign nationals abroad by the BND intelligence agency partly breaches the constitution. The ruling said that non-Germans were also protected by Germany’s constitutional rights.

What? Non-Germans are afforded the same rights as Germans in Germany? Who thinks that way (the German court obviously)? This sort of decision would be the death knell of any spy service. If something analogous were to happen in Canada you might as well put up a ‘For Sale’ sign at CSE.

As a democracy, we can debate what we want our intelligence services to do. We can put restrictions on what they collect and with whom they share it. We cannot, however, constrain their essential *raison d’être* unless we want to shut them down. The latter may appeal to some, but it would be to Canada’s detriment on many, many levels.

Phil Gurski worked at both CSE and CSIS for 32 years and is currently the director of security studies at the University of Ottawa.

When it comes to fixing long-term care, tears are not enough

Continued from page 12

The process fight to end all others, of course, centres on federal/provincial jurisdiction. Long-term care is a provincial responsibility; no ambiguity in the Constitution. Yet federal NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh is demanding the prime minister establish national standards for long-term care and make them mandatory—with appropriate funding. Others have suggested long-term care be included in the Canada Health Act, essentially becoming part of medicare.

These are sensible suggestions that could improve care, but there is zero chance they will succeed, notably in the short term. Provinces, especially Quebec, will fiercely resist any “interference” in their tiny fiefdoms and the “imposition” of services, however needed, on their populations.

Instead, any attempt to equalize (and improve) treatment of elderly Canadians will prove a fabulous distraction—a reawakening of constitutional battles of yore that entirely consume the political agenda. Trudeau, abandoning the pastoral tone he has so far adopted, responded tartly to Singh’s suggestion: “Perhaps the fact that the NDP no longer has many seats in Quebec has caused it to forget the importance of respecting the Constitution” and the division of powers.

Bloc Québécois Leader Yves-François Blanchet immediately amplified Trudeau’s message: “Not only do I not believe that Canada should take control of senior health care, but I believe Quebec should take control of everything which is currently under Canadian control.”

This cannot be reassuring to older Quebecers, and those who love them, given the province has the worst homes in the country and the highest death rates by far. Even Legault acknowledges the situation “is an embarrassment for Quebecers.” And, notwithstanding his stout defence of provincial autonomy, he practically pleaded with Ottawa last week to keep Canadian forces personnel in Quebec seniors residences until September, while the province tries to recruit and train 10,000 personal care workers to replace those who have quit or fallen ill. He is offering new recruits \$21 an hour during training and \$26 an hour for full-time jobs.

(Another proud provincial autonomist, Alberta’s Jason Kenney, suggested last week that the prospect of more deaths in seniors residences should not interfere with the re-opening of the provincial economy. A chillingly pragmatic response, at best.)

It may be too much to ask that our prime minister, premiers and opposition leaders not revert to familiar behaviours, to the old struggle for partisan advantage, and forget too soon the tragedy that unfolded on their watches. But it is the only hope for reform—that their hearts were truly touched, that they are appalled and afraid at what this crisis has revealed about Canada’s treatment of some of the most vulnerable elderly. And that they really will fix it.

Susan Riley is a veteran political columnist who writes regularly for *The Hill Times*.

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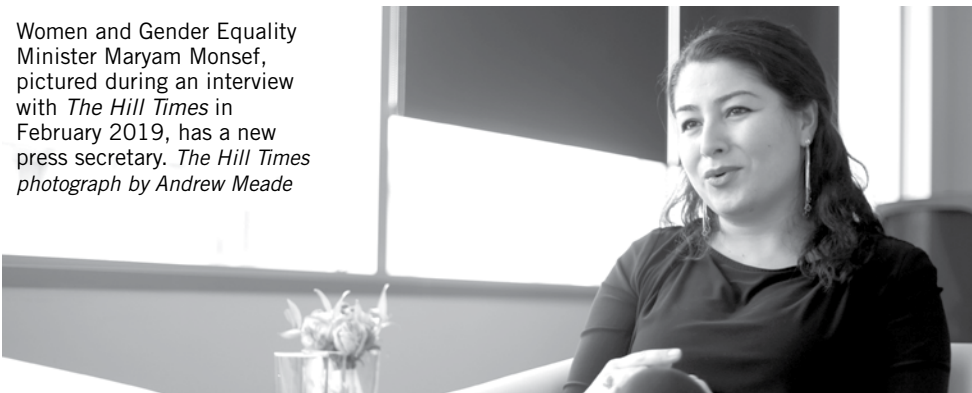


HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

Women and Gender Equality Minister Monsef scoops up a new press secretary

Women and Gender Equality Minister Maryam Monsef, pictured during an interview with *The Hill Times* in February 2019, has a new press secretary. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Marie-Pier Baril is a former deputy press secretary to Chrystia Freeland during her time as minister of foreign affairs.

Women and Gender Equality Minister **Maryam Monsef** has a new press secretary, having scooped up **Marie-Pier Baril** from Diversity, Youth, and Inclusion Minister **Bardish Chagger**’s office to fill the role.

Before joining Ms. Monsef’s office in mid-March, Ms. Baril had been manager of communications and issues to Ms. Chagger since January. She previously spent almost two years as deputy press secretary to then-Foreign Affairs Minister **Chrystia Freeland**, and is also a former email engagement and fundraising co-ordinator for the federal Liberal Party.



Marie-Pier Baril, pictured here with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Sophie Grégoire Trudeau, is now press secretary to the minister for women and gender equality. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

Ms. Baril has a bachelor’s degree in international studies and political science from the University of Montreal; a master’s degree in public policy, with a focus on East Asian policy, Korean politics, and Northeast Asia regional security, from The University of British Columbia; and a master’s degree in international business from Hult International Business School.

Braeson Holland was the last to hold the title of press secretary to Ms. Monsef, having worked for the minister from October 2018 up until February, when he exited to become a senior adviser for communications in the Liberal research bureau.

Alexandra Howell remains in place as director of communications to Ms. Monsef.

Danielle Moriarty is another fresh face in the office, having been hired on as the new assistant to Ms. Monsef’s parliamentary secretary, Liberal MP **Gudie Hutchings**, in April.



Alex Howell continues as Ms. Monsef’s director of communications. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

Previously, **Monica Granados** filled that role, but she recently left to become an issues manager to Fisheries, Oceans, and Canadian Coast Guard Minister **Bernadette Jordan**, as reported by *Hill Climbers*.

Ms. Moriarty is a former special assistant for Ontario regional affairs to National Defence Minister **Harjit Sajjan**, having worked for the minister from early November 2017 until earlier this year. She’s also currently secretary of the board of directors of the Ontario Liberal Party.

Prior to landing a job in Mr. Sajjan’s office, Ms. Moriarty worked at federal Liberal Party headquarters as a co-ordinator for riding fundraising and the party’s Victory Fund of monthly donors.

Along with Ms. Granados, one as-yet unreported departure from Ms. Monsef’s team is that of **Saleha Assadzada**, who was an executive assistant to the minister from May 2017 up until the end of January. She



Having left the Hill, Saleha Assadzada is now working for the World Trade Centre Toronto. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

spent the 2019 election working on Liberal MP **Chandra Arya**’s successful re-election campaign in Nepean, Ont.

Ms. Assadzada has since moved to Toronto where she’s now working for the Toronto Region Board of Trade as a program co-ordinator for its trade services arm, the World Trade Centre Toronto.

Leslie O’Leary is chief of staff to Ms. Monsef, whose office also currently includes: former MP **Mike Bossio**, senior adviser for rural affairs; **Rosalyn Stevens**, senior special assistant for communications and planning; **Christopher Evelyn**, director of operations; **Matthew Pollesel**, director of parliamentary affairs; **Isabella McKenna**, special assistant for parliamentary affairs and issues management; **Yanique Williams**, director of policy; **Kendra Wilcox**, policy adviser; **Laurence Harvey**, policy and Quebec regional affairs adviser; **Skye Wolff**, Ontario regional affairs adviser; **Harry Burton**, special assistant for operations and Atlantic regional affairs; **Joanna Lam**, regional adviser for Western Canada and the Territories; and **Heather Porter**, executive assistant and scheduler to the minister.

Meanwhile, over in Justice Minister **David Lametti**’s office, parliamentary affairs adviser and issues manager **Ana Fujarczuk** made her exit from the team around the middle of May.



Ana Fujarczuk is no longer working for the justice minister. *Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn*

She’d been working for the minister since February 2019, before which she was a parliamentary and Ontario regional affairs adviser to then-Indigenous services minister **Jane Philpott**. On the Hill, Ms. Fujarczuk had also previously been an assistant to Etobicoke-North, Ont., Liberal MP **Kirsty Duncan** and an executive assistant to veterans affairs minister.

As recently reported by *Hill Climbers*, Mr. Lametti’s director of parliamentary affairs, **Alexander Steinhouse**, has also temporarily exited the office to fill in as an issues manager in Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**’s office. As a result, special assistant **Morgan Macdougall-Milne** is left tackling parliamentary affairs for Mr. Lametti. No doubt, the associated workload is lighter than normal, given the House of Commons is currently only sitting as part of a special committee focused on COVID-19.

Last week, the House administration installed new TVs on either side of the Speaker’s Chair to allow for these sittings to be hybrid starting on May 27, with some MPs taking part from the floor of the House of Commons and others participating virtually via teleconference.

Rachel Doran is chief of staff to Mr. Lametti.

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Parliamentary Calendar



MONDAY, JUNE 1

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.

MONDAY, JUNE 1—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.

THURSDAY, JUNE 4

Ottawa International Writers Festival Virtual Book Launch: On Pandemics: Deadly Diseases from Bubonic Plague to Coronavirus—Dr. David Waltner-Toews, author of *On Pandemics*, and a leading epidemiologist, will talk about what attracts animal diseases that jump to humans—zoonoses—why they've become more common in recent history and how we can keep them at bay. This is an online event happening on June 4, at 1 p.m. (ET), hosted by CBC's Lucy van Oldenbarneveld. Contact Ottawa International Writers Festival at 613-562-1243 or info@writersfestival.org

MONDAY, JUNE 8

All Five Eyes on 5G—The Conference of Defence Associations Institute Expert Series will present this webinar in collaboration with the Center for a New American Security on June 8 at 3 p.m. EDT and on June 9 at 5 a.m. AEST. This webinar will bring together experts from the U.S., U.K., Australia and New Zealand to present a policy debrief and to debate controversial questions like, which providers can be trusted, how do we build trustworthy networks, and what do future intelligence sharing arrangements look like in the context of 5G? Moderated by former CSIS director Richard Fadden, the speakers will be from Rand Corporation; CNAS; Oxford University; Waikato University in New Zealand; and Charles Sturt University in Australia. Follow this link to register: <https://cdainstitute.ca/all-five-eyes-on-5g/>

WEDNESDAY, JULY 8

Canada's Foremost Fintech Conference FFCON20—Featuring high-growth start-ups and leading industry

Dr. Waltner-Toews to talk about his book, *On Pandemics*, at Ottawa International Writers' Fest online event on June 4



Minister of Health Patty Hajdu, pictured May 26, 2020, arriving on the Hill for that day's media briefing on the global pandemic. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Canada's Chief Public Health Officer Theresa Tam, pictured May 26, 2020, arriving for a media availability in West Block to update Canadians on the response to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

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, NCSA; George Bordinianu, 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 Pastoll, 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 &

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FRIDAY, AUG. 21

Conservative Party Leadership—The federal Conservative Party's Leadership Election Organizing Committee, also known as LEOC, announced on April 29 that Aug. 21 is the deadline for mail-in ballots, after the leadership selection was suspended on March 26 due to the global pandemic. The party says the winner will be announced once the ballots can be safely counted.

THURSDAY, OCT. 15

PPF Testimonial Dinner and Awards—Join us at the 33rd annual event to network and celebrate as the Public Policy Forum honours Canadians who have made their mark on policy and leadership. Anne McLellan and Senator Peter Harder will take their place among a

cohort of other stellar Canadians who we've honoured over the last 33 years, people who have dedicated themselves to making Canada a better place through policy leadership and public service. The gala event will be held on Thursday, Oct. 15, at the Metro Toronto Convention Centre, 255 Front St. W., Toronto.

SATURDAY, OCT. 24

Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner—The Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner will take place on Saturday, Oct. 24, in the Sir John A. Macdonald Building on Wellington Street in Ottawa.

FRIDAY, OCT. 30

CJF Awards Celebrating 30 Years of Excellence in Journalism—The Canadian Journalism Foundation Awards will be held on Oct. 30, 2020, at the Ritz-Carlton, Toronto, hosted by Rick Mercer, former host of *The Rick Mercer Report*. The CBC's Anna Maria Tremonti will be honoured. Tables are \$7,500 and tickets are \$750. For more information on tables and sponsorship opportunities, contact Josh Gurfinkel at jgurfinkel@cjf-fjc.ca or 416-955-0394.

TUESDAY, NOV. 3

U.S. Presidential Election—The U.S. presidential election is scheduled for Tuesday, Nov. 3, 2020. U.S. President Donald Trump is the Republican candidate and former vice-president Joe Biden is the Democratic candidate. The winner is scheduled to be inaugurated on Jan. 20, 2021.

THURSDAY, NOV. 12

Liberal Party National Convention—The Liberal Party of Canada announced the 2020 Liberal National Convention will be hosted in Ottawa, from Nov. 12-15. For more information, please contact: media@liberal.ca, 613-627-2384.

FRIDAY, NOV. 13

UVic and Senate of Canada Co-Host National Forum on Bridging Divides in Wake of a Global Pandemic—The University of Victoria (UVic) and the Senate of Canada are bringing together change-makers at the Victoria Forum to help generate solutions to some of the world's most divisive problems. The two-day virtual forum will be held November 13-14, 2020 to examine issues that fall under the theme of "Bridging divides in the wake of a global pandemic." The forum will draw on emerging trends and lessons learned from the COVID-19 pandemic through biweekly webinars. For more information or to register, visit www.victoriaforum.ca.

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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