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# THE HILL TIMES

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**News** Canada-U.S. relations

## 'The words leadership and Trump are an oxymoron': U.S. and Canadian politicians trash Trump's protest response

BY ABBAS RANA

Donald Trump has failed to show leadership while handling COVID-19 and the nationwide protests following the death

of George Floyd, say political insiders, adding that by using inflammatory language to stoke racial tensions, the U.S. president is further undermining his own chances of getting re-elected on Nov. 3.

"The words leadership and Trump are an oxymoron. Trump has shown absolutely no presidential leadership during this new crisis just as he showed no presidential leadership dur-

ing the still ongoing COVID-19 crisis," said Prof. Allan Lichtman, a distinguished historian at the American University, who has correctly predicted the last nine

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**News** Anti-Black racism

## 'Piecemeal reforms have not saved the lives of Black people': anti-racism, police brutality protests raise visibility, urgency of long-overdue reforms, say activists, some Parliamentarians

Even as support for structural reforms seeps into the mainstream, some noted it's dismaying that some politicians continue to deny the existence of systemic racism. See story by Beatrice Paez and Palak Mangat p. 30



Black Lives Matter protesters, pictured May 31, 2020, outside the Vancouver Art Gallery. Thousands of protests have been happening over the last week around the world after a video was released of George Floyd, a Minneapolis Black man, who died on May 25, 2020, after a white police officer knelt on his neck for almost nine minutes while Mr. Floyd was handcuffed face down in the street. Mr. Floyd repeatedly said 'I can't breathe.'

Photograph courtesy of Commons Wikipedia

**News** RCMP

## RCMP officers drew nearly 3,000 complaints in 2018-19; most kept confidential

BY PETER MAZEREUEW

Canadian residents filed 2,988 complaints about the conduct of RCMP officers in 2018-19, a 13 per cent increase from the year prior, and excessive use of force was one of the most common subjects of complaint.

The complaints were filed to the Civilian Review and Complaints Commission (CRCC), an independent body that receives complaints about the RCMP, and then investigates those complaints if the RCMP's own investigations don't satisfy the complainants.

The CRCC received a total of 9,023 complaints that fell within its mandate in the four fiscal years between 2015 and 2019, according to its annual report for 2018-19. The report listed the three most common allegations made against RCMP officers in most provinces and territories: "neglect of duty," "improper attitude," and "improper use of force" dominated that list.

Protests against police brutality and anti-Black racism have spread through more than 100 U.S. cities and most major Canadian cities since a police officer killed George Floyd, a 46-year-old man in Minneapolis, Minnesota, on May 25 by kneeling on his neck for more than eight minutes while he was handcuffed. In video footage of the incident, Mr. Floyd repeatedly tells the four officers arresting him that he can't breathe.

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## HEARD ON THE HILL

by Neil Moss

# Tim Cook's new book will look at how Canada has remembered World War II



Tim Cook's *The Fight for History: 75 Years of Forgetting, Remembering, and Remaking Canada's Second World War* will be released in September.

"The Fight for History examines how Canadians framed and reframed the war experience over time," reads the book's description. "Just as the importance of the battle of Vimy Ridge to Canadians rose, fell, and rose again over a 100-year period, the meaning of Canada's Second World War followed a similar pattern. But the Second World War's relevance to Canada led to conflict between veterans and others in society—more so than in the previous war—as well as a more rapid diminishment of its significance."



Tim Cook, pictured in a file photograph, is a member of the Order of Canada who has won the J.W. Dafoe Award and the C.P. Stacey Award. The Hill Times file photograph and book cover image courtesy of Penguin Random House

One of Canada's most prominent historians has penned a book that is looking at how Canadians have remembered the Second World War in the three quarters of a century since it ended.

A Carleton University history professor, Prof. Cook is a member of the Order of Canada who has won the J.W. Dafoe Award and the C.P. Stacey Award.

With historians at the turn of the millennium largely focusing on Canadian disasters during the battles of Hong Kong and Dieppe as well as Canada's policy of Japanese Canadian internment, Prof. Cook looks at the efforts to "restore a more balanced portrait" on Canada's war efforts that followed.

"This is the story of how Canada has talked about the war in the past, how we tried to bury it, and how it was restored."

Former journalist and current Historica Canada president **Anthony Wilson-Smith** wrote that Prof. Cook "argues convincingly" that the Canadian war effort has been downplayed in a review of the book in *Policy Magazine*.

"In making his case, Cook's many strengths are again evident. He writes fluidly, with a sharp eye for detail and the telling anecdote. His sympathies are with people on the ground rather than higher-ups—but he has a keen understanding of politics and how and why decisions are made," Mr. Wilson-Smith added.

## MPs look to parliamentary diplomacy to counter Chinese influence



Former Liberal justice minister Irwin Cotler, left, as well as Liberal MP John McKay and Conservative MP Garnett Genuis have joined the new Inter-Parliamentary Alliance on China. The Hill Times photographs by Andrew Meade and file photograph

MPs have partnered with their counterparts around the world in order to form a group that will keep an eye on the growing aggressiveness of the Chinese government.

Conservative MP **Garnett Genuis**, Liberal MP **John McKay**, and former Liberal justice minister **Irwin Cotler** have joined the Inter-Parliamentary Alliance on China—a group of 18 current and former legislators from around the world who are working to reform how democratic countries interact with China.

Republican U.S. Senator **Marco Rubio** and Democratic U.S. Senator **Bob Menendez** are also part of the alliance that contains lawmakers from Australia, the European Union, Germany, Japan, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

"The rules-based order is suffering and this cannot continue unchecked," said Mr. Cotler, a Liberal MP from 1999 to 2015, in the group's launch video.

The video which contained appearances from parliamentarians from around the world highlighted the importance of working together and not alone when dealing with Beijing.

"Maintaining the international order is all of our responsibility," Mr. Genuis said.

Sen. Rubio added: "We—the Inter-Parliamentary Alliance on China—stand together to coordinate the response to this great challenge."

Politicians around the globe have increasingly raised concern with Beijing's heavy-handed geopolitical decision-making, especially with its decision to impose a new national security law on Hong Kong which threatens its "one country, two systems" framework.

Mr. Genuis and Mr. McKay weren't the only members of the House working with their international counterparts to address the Chinese government's actions—Lib-

eral MP **Michael Levitt**, chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, along with the foreign affairs committee chairs in Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, jointly penned a letter to UN Secretary General **António Guterres** to urge the establishment of a UN special envoy for Hong Kong.

Mr. Levitt also wrote a letter to Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau**, as did the other committee chairs to their prime ministers.

"We respectfully call on you and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, alongside our partners in Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, to lead the international effort to ensure as much protection as possible for the people of Hong Kong and for democracy worldwide," Mr. Levitt wrote to Mr. Trudeau.

Mr. Trudeau condemned the imposition of national security law last week and invited Canadian expats living in Hong Kong to return home.

## What does a pause say?: praise and scorn for Prime Minister Trudeau's 21-seconds of silence



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau took a 21-second pause last week before answering a reporter's question on U.S. President Donald Trump. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

As protests erupted last week in response to the police killing of **George Floyd** with U.S. President **Donald Trump** threatening to use military might to quell the protests, Prime Minister **Justin Trudeau** was asked about that threat and before he responded he took an uncharacteristic 21-second pause—when all that could be heard was the shuttering of cameras—before answering the question.

The pause made international headlines. It was featured in *The New York Times*, *Time Magazine*, CNN and BBC, among many other foreign networks.

"The pause said a lot," read the CNN report. That was reflected by former U.S. ambassador to Canada **Bruce Heyman**. "Sometime silence says more than words," he tweeted.

"Trudeau's very, very long pause after being asked about what's happening in the US speaks volumes louder than his actual response," tweeted American political scientist and Eurasia Group founder **Ian Bremmer**.

But others disagreed.

"A long pause means nothing," NDP Leader **Jagmeet Singh** tweeted. "Silence won't confront anti-Black racism, actions will."

"The prime minister's refusal to denounce Trump is part of the problem. Trump is a fascist and a racist and he must be called out. Speak up," NDP MP **Niki Ashton** added on Twitter.

Civil rights activist **Al Sharpton** also addressed the pause when fielding a question from a Canadian reporter last week in Minneapolis, Minnesota, before speaking at Mr. Floyd's funeral.

"The time has made the moment of change in America," he said. "And I'm going to express that in my eulogy. And since you're from Canada, I won't have a 21-second gap before I say what I have to say."

The pause also made U.S. late-night shows, with host **James Corden** chiming in: "Somebody needs to unplug the prime minister and then plug him back in."

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The Hill Times



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# A rare look at what keeps CSIS up at night

We all know why CSIS is not an open book but when it does give us a peek behind the curtain we do learn a lot.



Phil Gurski  
*National Security*

OTTAWA—None of us should be surprised that security intelligence services are not open books. What kind of ‘secret’ intelligence agency does not have secrets? And yet many such agencies do issue annual reports, sometimes required by law, or make the odd comment to the media. When this happens, it is usually a big deal and everyone scurries about to read and analyze what was said and speculate on what was really said.

In Canada, we have two such organizations, CSIS and CSE, where I worked for both for more than 32 years. The latter rarely pops its head out—it never did when I worked there from 1983 to 2000. Heck, when I joined, CSE did not even exist, or at least not officially. That has changed, largely because of that outfit’s cyber centre’s expertise, and hence Canadians hear a little more of what goes on amongst our signals intelligence spies.

CSIS has been much more open and one of its regular vehicles is its annual report. We just got a look at the 2019 version and it has some interesting tidbits. I’d like to weigh in on some that touch on terrorism.

In his opening remarks, CSIS director David Vigneault notes that in 2019 CSIS turned 35. I also found it interesting that he elected to refer first to terrorism as a threat before moving onto foreign spying/interference and election protection (that last one is new to me: there was no such effort when I was there). As a counterterrorism analyst, I am of course biased, but the placement of that particular menace should tell us something with respect to the Service’s investigative priorities.

Then CSIS did a curious thing to my mind. In a section entitled ‘terminology—words matter’—it chose to expand on the



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

three kinds of terrorism under the Canadian Criminal Code (Section 83.01) into religious, political and ideological circles. The first should be obvious and is directed largely, but not exclusively, at Islamist extremism, which still occupies the top spot in numbers of actors and threats. The political definition is a little odd to my mind: “adherents focus on elements of self-determination or representations rather than concepts of racial or ethnic supremacy.” What groups fit here? Any ideas?

Then CSIS describes what it calls “Ideologically Motivated Violent Extremism (IMVE)” which is “often driven by a range of grievances and ideas from across the traditional ideological spectrum. The resulting worldview consists of a personalized narrative which centres on an extremist’s willingness to incite, enable, and/or mobilize to violence. Extremists draw in-

spiration from a variety of sources including books, images, lectures, music, online discussions, videos, and conversations.” This is badly worded as it encompasses much of what we see in the other two categories. For the life of me, I cannot fathom why this was done as it is anything but helpful.

CSIS then goes on about violent misogyny and incels (involuntary celibates) as terrorism, despite the fact that there is no consensus on that matter. I have talked to dozens of people—practitioners, academics, and journalists—over the past few weeks and I have received a wide range of views on this issue. That this text came out the very same day the Crown elected to raise charges on a young offender from first degree murder to terrorism who killed a woman in Toronto in February of this year is interesting to say the least.

On “returning foreign fighters,” CSIS claims it and its community partners are “well organized” to manage the threat. I sure hope so as these characters have carried out mass casualty attacks in many countries around the world.

In all I am grateful that CSIS continues to issue annual public reports since Canadians deserve to know a bit about what the agency is up to. And while I may disagree with how it chose to portray terrorism, I do support their contribution to a discussion on this phenomenon. CSIS demonstrated once again that it, not me nor Canadian academics, is the country’s leading source of expertise on terrorism. And we can be thankful that they are standing on guard for thee, er I mean us.

*Phil Gurski worked at CSIS from 2001-2015 as a senior strategic terrorism analyst and is the author of five books on the subject.*  
*The Hill Times*





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## News

# RCMP officers drew nearly 3,000 complaints in 2018-19; most kept confidential

Black Canadians and Indigenous peoples 'are over-policed, overcharged, over-injured and killed when being arrested by police,' says NDP public safety critic Jack Harris. Now is the time to beef up oversight of the RCMP, and there's already a bill in Parliament that can do it, says national security expert Stephanie Carvin.

Continued from page 1

The local Hennepin County Medical Examiner's Office classified Mr. Floyd's death as a homicide. The officer who knelt on his neck, Derek Chauvin, has been charged with second degree murder.

Numerous stories of alleged police brutality come to light in Canada every year. Many involve RCMP officers, which fall under federal jurisdiction. Black, Indigenous, and Inuit people are often on the receiving end of the violence.

The vast majority of complaints about RCMP officers are never revealed to the public. When the CRCC does investigate a complaint, it doesn't publish the resulting report. Spokesperson Kate McDebry told *The Hill Times* that the CRCC keeps those reports confidential to respect the privacy of the complainants.

The CRCC does publish reports from investigations that are initiated by the commission itself, its chair, or at the direction of the federal public safety minister. Most of those cases have already made headlines in the media before the investigations begin.

The CRCC has not posted any new reports on its website since 2017. It posted a total of eight reports online since 2014. All of the incidents covered in those reports happened in or before 2013.

Three more partially-completed investigations are currently in the hands of the RCMP, said Ms. McDerby. The CRCC is required to receive, and take into account, a response from the RCMP commissioner before drawing up its final report on any investigation. There is no time limit within which the RCMP commissioner

must provide that response to the CRCC, said Ms. McDerby.

Brenda Lucki has served as the RCMP commissioner since March of 2018.

The CRCC would be renamed and given an expanded mandate

The bill would provide independent oversight of the CBSA, but Mr. Harris said the NDP would prefer that complaints against the border agency be handled by a separate commission, so as not to further overload and slow the

descriptions of the most common categories of complaints in each province and territory.

The new PCRC should be required to report more detail about the types of allegations made against RCMP officers, the outcomes of the investigations, the areas where the alleged incidents took places, and whether race was a factor in the alleged misconduct, said Prof. Carvin.

The CRCC does not track the racial or ethnic background of complainants, said Ms. McDerby.

"There's the opportunity here to strengthen this bill. If you're not going to pass it right away, then strengthen it," said Prof. Carvin.

which has slowed Canada's economy significantly.

None of the six government bills currently in the House Chamber have been dealt with while Parliament has been suspended. However, there is no rule preventing MPs from sitting to deal with any of those bills—for example, in the same way they met to deal with the government's emergency relief bills—if enough MPs support doing so.

In practical terms, all parties would have to support a recall of the House to deal with government legislation, if they wished to do so with a limited number of MPs and in a short period of time.

The House of Commons is scheduled to return to business as usual on Sept. 21.

## RCMP abuse gets headlines each year

Earlier this month, the Kelowna RCMP launched an internal review after a video surfaced showing an officer repeatedly punching a man in the face while he was struggling with two other officers, Global News reported.

Earlier this year the B.C. Supreme Court awarded \$55,000 in damages to Irene Joseph, an Indigenous woman who suffered minor injuries when she was taken to the ground by an RCMP officer in northern B.C. in 2014. Ms. Joseph, then 61 years old and using a walker, had refused to answer questions from the officer, who suspected her of shoplifting from a nearby store. She was subsequently searched and no stolen merchandise was found.

British Columbia's Independent Investigations Office recommended on May 29 that charges be filed against five RCMP officers in the province over their actions in another case. Dale Culver, an Indigenous man, died after being pepper sprayed by police in 2017. Mr. Culver had refused to stop for the police, who wanted to question him after receiving a tip that someone had been "casing" parked cars in the area. After he died, some of the officers allegedly told witnesses to delete cellphone evidence of the incident.

Last year, a Saskatchewan RCMP officer was suspended from duty after a complaint was filed about use of excessive force during an arrest. The RCMP said the incident in question involved a "physical altercation" between two officers and a man who was on the ground in handcuffs, Global News reported.

Another Alberta RCMP officer was charged with assault last year over an allegation that he used excessive force while arresting a person driving a stolen vehicle in 2018.

In 2018, Bernard Naulalik, an Inuk man, filed a lawsuit against the Nunavut RCMP, alleging that two RCMP officers repeatedly kneed and kicked him in the head after he had been arrested and brought to jail. He was never charged in connection with his arrest, the CBC reported.

The same year, a class action lawsuit was filed in Alberta alleg-

Continued on page 5

Public Safety Minister Bill Blair, pictured on April 20, 2020, at a press conference in Ottawa following the shooting in Portapique, N.S. Mr. Blair is the minister responsible for the RCMP, which was the subject of more than 9,000 complaints from Canadian civilians in the four years leading up to 2019. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade



Brenda Lucki is the commissioner of the RCMP. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

work on complaints about the RCMP.

The government should amend Bill C-3 to require more transparency about investigations into complaints about the RCMP, said Stephanie Carvin, an expert in national security working at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs.

The CRCC currently publishes annual data on the number of complaints it receives; how many

if a government bill currently sitting in the House of Commons, Bill C-3, is passed into law. That bill would rename the commission, calling it the Public Complaints and Review Commission (PCRC), and assign it to start investigating complaints about the Canada Border Services Agency as well. However, the bill would not substantively change the way the commission handles public complaints about RCMP officers.

NDP MP Jack Harris (St. John's East, N.L.), his party's public safety critic, told *The Hill Times* that the government reached out to him late last week to float the idea of advancing the bill in the House. With Parliament adjourned, and MPs instead meeting weekly in reduced numbers as part of a special committee, passing government legislation has become very difficult without consent from all of the parties in the House.

Mr. Harris said the NDP hasn't made a decision yet on whether to support the quick passage of C-3.

complaints it "finalizes"; the number of complaints that end at various stages in the investigation process; the total number of allegations made across Canada against RCMP officers; and broad

"What we're seeing right now in real time is the weakening of the social license with police in the United States and Canada as well," she said.

"The government needs to take steps to strengthen that social license."

Bill C-3 is at second reading in the House of Commons, and was last debated on Feb. 21. It is a recycled version of another bill introduced by the Liberals at the end of the last Parliament.

The House of Commons has been adjourned for most of the time since mid-March, when the COVID-19 pandemic forced shutdowns of large public gatherings across Canada. MPs meet each week in small numbers as part of a House committee to debate the government's response to the pandemic. They

have also held regular House sittings on a handful of occasions to pass government legislation to provide emergency relief to individuals and businesses amid the pandemic,



## News



Stephanie Carvin is an assistant professor at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. Photograph courtesy of Stephanie Carvin

Continued from page 4

ing that the RCMP regularly assault Inuit people in the three territories.

More than one-third of people shot to death by RCMP officers between 2007 and 2017—22 of 61—were Indigenous, *The Globe and Mail* reported in 2019, citing a briefing document prepared by the force for the federal public safety minister. Indigenous people make up only about five per cent of Canada's population.

There have been many allegations of excessive force levelled against police from other forces throughout Canada in recent years.

Thousands of people attended a protest in Toronto at the end of May after Regis Korchinski-Paquet, a Black woman, fell to her death from her highrise balcony after she was in her apartment with multiple police officers. A lawyer for Ms. Korchinski-Paquet's family released a statement that said Ms. Korchinski-Paquet's family members, who were in the hallway outside of the apartment at the time, heard her cry out for help before she fell. The lawyer, Knia Singh, told reporters during a press conference that he thought her death was "highly suspicious."

### 'This is the result of a system, of systemic racism' says Harris

Public Safety Minister Bill Blair (Scarborough Southwest, Ont.) is responsible for the RCMP. The public safety minister does not oversee day to day operations of Canada's national police force, but can guide its decisions informally or through formal ministerial directives. Mr. Blair was not available for an interview last week, according to his spokesperson.

In a written statement, Mary-Liz Power said The RCMP "constantly reviews and updates its policies and procedures to address gaps in training, and to ensure they remain a proactive and responsive police force."

"We continue to bring real consequences for members who break the law and show bias in their policing to ensure we do right by our communities. There is a lot more work to do, and Minister Blair continues to work with agencies, expert stakeholders and individuals with lived experience of racism to make the RCMP a more just and diverse agency," she wrote.

Mr. Blair's mandate letter from Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) did not include specific instructions related to police misconduct. It did instruct him to "ensure that all officials in Canada's law enforcement and security agencies have access to unconscious bias and cultural competency training."

Mr. Harris said the federal government should set standards for police to follow, acknowledge the systemic problems within policing, and act to de-escalate encounters between police and Indigenous and Black Canadians where it can.

Black and Indigenous Canadians "are over-policed, overcharged, over-injured and killed when being arrested by police," he said.

He pointed to several examples, including the Dale Culver case, and another in which an unnamed RCMP officer in Nunavut was shown using the door of his or her moving truck to knock over an Indigenous man in a recently-surfaced video.

"We have to face up to the fact that this is the result of a system, of systemic racism that we know exists," he said.

"When you look at the systemic racism behind the high rate of incarceration and arrest for Black and Indigenous people in this country, it's pretty clear that those standards need to be set."

Conservative MP Pierre Paul-Hus (Charlesbourg-Haute-Saint-Charles, Que.), his party's public safety critic, did not respond to interview requests.

Sandy Hudson, a social justice activist from Toronto, has called for the elimination of police forces altogether in multiple media interviews and a column in *The Huffington Post* this month. She argued that police forces have habitually failed to protect minority communities, and that police forces should be replaced by social workers, mental health experts, and "tactical" response teams that are only deployed to deal with ongoing violent crimes.

Experts told Global News last year that bringing more women into police forces could reduce police violence towards civilians.

Mr. Trudeau addressed the protests spreading across the United States during press conferences last week. He said that anti-Black racism is real in Canada as well. He said his government had worked to fight racism in Canada by giving Statistics Canada money to collect data broken down by race, and funding "community organizations." He promised to do more to remove institutional barriers to Black people in Canada.

When asked whether wearing Blackface before he went into politics had diminished his ability to lead on the issue, Mr. Trudeau said he regretted his actions, and that "we need to focus on doing better every single day."

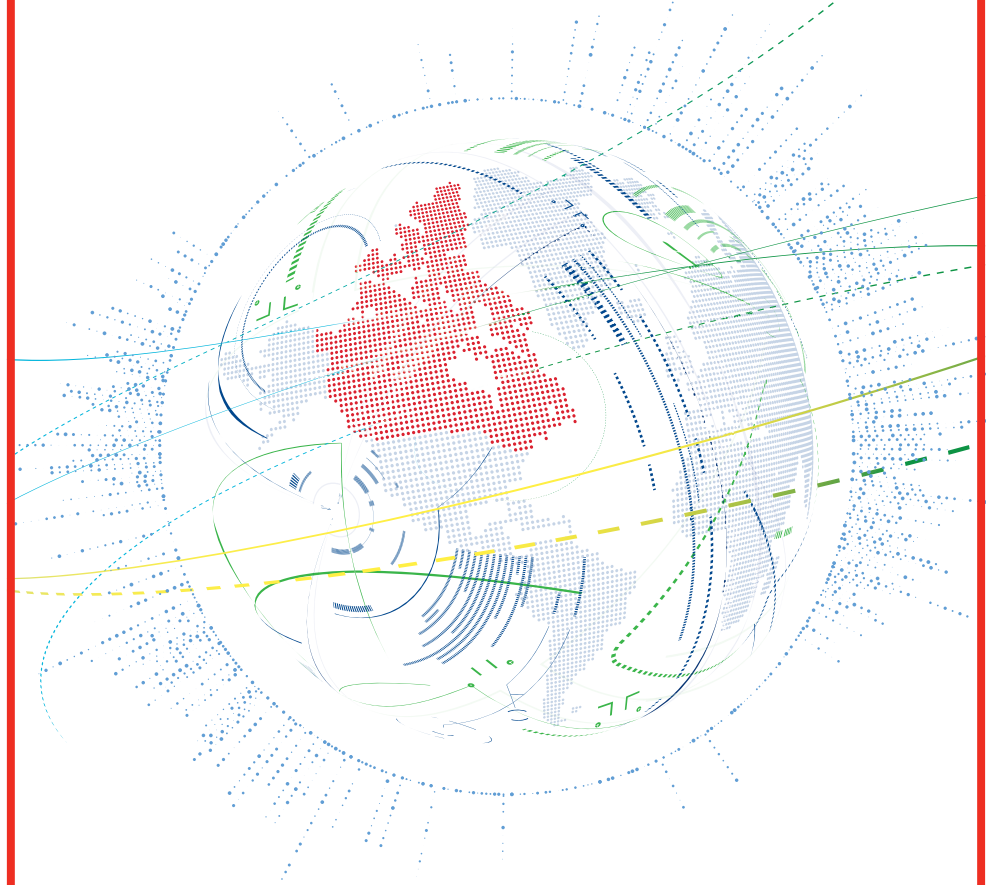
Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu'Appelle, Sask.) addressed the protests by saying that "no one should ever feel unsafe around police officers, who must uphold the law for all, or feel unsafe because of the colour of their skin. We all have a responsibility to fight anti-Black racism in all forms: brutality, or injustice," he said.

In his own press conference last week, NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh (Burnaby South, B.C.) noted that Black people have "died at the hands of police" in Canada as well. He said that deaths of Indigenous people at the hands of the police were "far too common." He said it was "clear that we need systemic change when it comes to policing."

"There needs to be a focus on de-escalation. There needs to be an end to discriminatory policing," he said.

peter@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times

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## News



Conservative MP Garnett Genuis, left, NDP MP Jack Harris, and Bloc MP Stéphane Bergeron say they want to see the Special House Committee on Canada-China Relations reopened. *The Hill Times* photographs by Andrew Meade and file photograph

# Opposition MPs working to reopen dormant Canada-China Relations Committee

The Special House Committee on Canada-China Relations hasn't met since March 9.

BY NEIL MOSS & BEATRICE PAEZ

Opposition MPs are seeking to restart the work of the Special House Committee on Canada-China Relations to address a dire situation in Hong Kong and other pressing issues befouling Canada's relationship with Beijing.

As a result of the suspension of regular parliamentary operations due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the committee hasn't met since March 9. A Conservative motion to have the committee resume work to study the "evolving situation" of pro-democracy activists in Hong Kong was defeated last month. Liberal, NDP, and Green Party MPs in the House voted down the motion on May 25, which had Bloc Québécois support.

NDP MP Jack Harris (St. John's East, N.L.) told *The Hill Times* that he is talking to members of the committee's Subcommittee on Agenda and Procedure about restarting the committee's meetings.

"I've been working with the other members, particularly the vice-chairs that are on the subcommittee...to get things going as soon as we can," Mr. Harris said.

Bloc MP Stéphane Bergeron (Montarville, Que.), a vice-chair of the committee, said discussions are underway to hold an "informal" meeting of the subcommittee to hash out a potential agenda.

He said that Mr. Harris is behind the second attempt to revive the committee.

Conservative MP Garnett Genuis (Sherwood Park-Fort

Saskatchewan, Alta.), his party's China-Canada relations critic, said the committee is "vitaly important" and "needs to meet and needs to be able to do its work."

"Whatever the subcommittee can arrange, we want the committee to be able to do its work," he said.

"Right now we're working to ... try to have some kind of consensus within the majority of how to proceed," said Mr. Genuis, adding that he is hopeful that consensus will be reached as the majority of committee members have indicated support for resuming work.

Committee chair and Liberal MP Geoff Regan (Halifax West, N.S.) declined to comment. Liberal MP Robert Oliphant (Don Valley West, Ont.), parliamentary secretary to Foreign Affairs Minister François-Philippe Champagne (Saint-Maurice-Champlain, Que.), wasn't available for an interview. Mr. Regan and Mr. Oliphant are the Liberal representatives on the five-member subcommittee.

"Our interest is getting the committee back together on all matters, not just Hong Kong," Mr. Harris said. "Hong Kong obviously is pretty important, but the committee had set us a pretty good schedule."

As of March 9, the committee had a series of meeting lined up until May 25, Mr. Harris said.

"There was no way I was interested in having that languish until the fall. There's too many important things going on," he said.

The committee was in the midst of wrangling an appear-

ance from Canada's former ambassador to China, John McCallum, who was a no-show for his scheduled hearing on March 9. Four days later, Parliament temporarily suspended due to the pandemic, and since then, only eight committees have been authorized to meet.

Mr. Bergeron said he will be pushing for the committee to con-



The Special Committee on Canada-China Relations is chaired by former House Speaker Geoff Regan. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

duct hearings on the situation in Hong Kong and the role of China and the World Health Organization in trying to contain the spread of the pandemic. Other issues that may have been on the agenda, including whether to summon Mr. McCallum, would have to be considered by the subcommittee.

Mr. McCallum was forced to resign over comments he made about the U.S.' request to extradite Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou for allegedly committing fraud in violation of sanctions against Iran.

"We haven't had an opportunity to discuss his refusal to appear before the committee," he said.

Mr. Genuis said events of the last few months have changed the work of the committee.

"It probably makes sense for the committee to discuss what to do now

in light emerging circumstances," he said. "But hopefully, we'll be able to achieve some kind of consensus."

Although all opposition parties want to the committee resume its work, there is debate over how the committee can meet again.

"The problem is this committee is not allowed to reconvene and to pursue its work. We need a motion in the House to allow this committee to reconvene," he said. "The next step will be to discuss the matter with the House leaders and whips of the respective parties."

Mr. Genuis said since the opposition MPs want to reconvene the committee, they can send a letter to the chair to summon the committee back.

But that procedural manoeuvre might not be possible. The Standing Orders require a committee chair to convene a meeting within five days of the committee clerk receiving a written request from four committee members. However, those rules reference a "standing committee," but do not address the case of a special committee.

In a follow-up email, Mr. Genuis said the original motion to create the Canada-China Relations Committee was "very clear that this special committee would have all of the powers of a standing committee."

The motion that was passed last December with the support of all opposition parties specified that the Canada-China Relations Committee would "be granted all of the powers of a standing committee, as provided in the Standing Orders."

"Therefore, that Standing Order very much should apply in this case," Mr. Genuis wrote. "In any event, though, with Parliamen-

tary committees meeting in person again and with a majority of the committee wanting to meet, there is no reason for the chair not to move things forward."

If such a scenario took place, the meeting would have to be held in-person. Mr. Genuis said the Conservative motion in the House would

have allowed the committee to be virtually.

He added that even though a meeting has to be held in-person, it could be done "fairly easily" with "appropriate spacing."

It's unclear at this stage whether the special committee can meet during the summer, outside of the negotiated sitting days, Mr. Bergeron said, given House personnel may be on holiday. But he said he's prepared to sit for however many days are needed to delve into some of the issues before the committee.

Mr. Harris echoed the sentiment.

"I'd be interested in seeing the committee meet as soon as possible and perhaps even having meetings after the House rises," he said. "The last thing I would want to see happen is that the

there wouldn't be meetings of the committee until the House comes back again in September—that would be wrong."

## Politics behind Conservative motion to reopen Canada-China Relations Committee, say some MPs

Mr. Harris said while his party supports reopening the committee, it didn't support the Conservative motion to do so because the issue wasn't raised with the other parties before the motion was brought forward.

"We were never opposed to the Canada-China committee getting together to continue its work," he said.

Green Party MP Paul Manly (Nanaimo-Ladysmith, B.C.), his party's foreign affairs critic, explained his party's decision to vote against the motion by saying it was politically-driven.

"The Conservatives are busy playing politics, trying to make it look like the Liberals are chumming up to Communist China," said Mr. Manly, while placing blame on the past Conservative government of Stephen Harper for signing a Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement with China.

Mr. Manly added he is in favour of the reopening the committee.

Despite voting for the Conservative motion, Mr. Bergeron said he also felt the Conservatives politicized the issue of Hong Kong in putting forward a motion without trying to secure buy-in from the other parties first.

"They didn't want to have their motion passed; they only wanted to embarrass the government," he said. "The result is we don't have a unanimous motion."

In a previous email to *The Hill Times*, Mr. Genuis said if advanced notice was given the "government could have blocked our ability to present the Hong Kong motion at all if given advance notice, by asking to move directly to the orders of the day."

"In any event, notice was not necessary—this is a clear-cut issue of human rights and international law, and all parties had plenty of opportunity to listen to the debate, consider the arguments, and cast their votes accordingly," he wrote.

In spite of his criticism of the Conservative motion, Mr. Bergeron said, the Liberals haven't made an effort to reach out to other parties to build support for a proper debate on the situation, one that could lead to an all-party resolution that speaks in solidarity with Hong Kongers.

Mr. Bergeron said if he were Mr. Champagne he would try to build cross-party support.

"I think it would give more power to my position if I were to have bipartisan support from all parties of the House of Commons," Mr. Bergeron said. "But so far, I don't recall that he's sought any support from other parties."

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# ‘The words leadership and Trump are an oxymoron’: U.S. and Canadian politicians trash Trump’s protest response

‘It’s a little bit scary, and as long as Donald Trump is around I think that everyone’s going to have what I call the 21 second pause that Trudeau took yesterday, before opening your mouth on it,’ says former Conservative Sen. Don Oliver.

Continued from page 1

consecutive presidential elections, starting in 1984.

Prof. Lichtman said that by fanning the racial flames during the Floyd protests, President Trump is playing to his base. He said Mr. Trump must realize that his core support is not good enough to get him re-elected.

The president should also remember, Mr. Lichtman said, that he’s not a challenger in the November election, but the incumbent, and the electoral strategies are very different for the two situations. By observing the president’s handling of protests, it appears Mr. Trump has no empathy for anyone else, Mr. Lichtman said.

“This is someone who has no empathy for anyone else, no reserves of sympathy within him [to] express to the nation. He knows nothing other than lashing out,” said Prof. Lichtman.

“He thinks he’s doing a smart political strategy by rallying the so-called base. But his base is in the low 40 per cent range. It’s not enough to win an election.”

Prof. Lichtman, who is the author of *Thirteen Keys to the Presidency*, said last week that according to the model he’s developed to predict elections, President Trump’s chances of getting re-elected do not appear to be very high.

His 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 relate to the most recent mid-term Congressional election results; whether the president is facing a nomination challenge from his or her own party; whether there is any candidate of note from a third-party; 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 stature of the incumbent candidate; and the stature of the opposing party candidate.

So far, he said, the answers to four key questions work against Mr. Trump, including the Republicans’ loss in the midterms, which saw the Democrats taking over the control of the House of Representatives, and his impeachment in the House, which made him the third president in U.S. history to be impeached. The other indicators include the lack of any foreign policy achievement that stands out and his narrow appeal to voters.

With the ongoing protests last week, Prof. Lichtman said the key question about social unrest is also very shaky. If the protests go on for a couple more weeks, this will be the fifth factor working against President Trump.

Prof. Lichtman said the other two factors he’s keeping a close eye on relate to the economy. He said that he would be able to make his final prediction next month after the economic numbers of the second quarter are available.

The nationwide protests in the U.S. started two weeks ago in Minneapolis after Mr. Floyd, an unarmed black man died in the custody of white police officers. A videotape of the incident showed a police officer kneeling on the neck of Mr. Floyd for about nine minutes while he was struggling to breathe, losing consciousness, and asking for mercy. There were three other police officers present who did not help Mr. Floyd. On Wednesday, June 3, the Minneapolis Attorney General Keith Ellison filed charges of second degree murder against the officer who pressed his knee into Mr. Floyd’s neck, while the other three have been charged with aiding and abetting.

The protests that called for an end to police violence started in Minneapolis but spread across the country within days. Most were peaceful. Some descended into looting and rioting.

Following the start of the protests, President Trump adopted a hard line approach and went on the offensive, threatening to call in the military to deal with the violent protests.

On Friday, May 30, as protesters gathered in front of the White House, President Trump, First Lady Melania and their son Barron were taken to the White House bunker. According to CNN, the president stayed there

for about an hour before he was brought upstairs. Mr. Trump later said that he went down to the bunker for an inspection.

On June 1, Mr. Trump’s attorney general, William Barr, ordered law enforcement to clear peaceful protesters out of a park in Washington just before Mr. Trump did a photo op nearby. The police used tear gas to violently clear out the protesters.

In a conference call with governors last week, President Trump admonished some of the governors for their “weak” response. Mr. Trump encouraged governors to use force against protesters, saying “you have to do retribution,” and describing protesters as “terrorists.”

“You have to dominate, if you don’t dominate you’re wasting your time. They’re going to run over you, you’re going to look like a bunch of jerks,” President Trump told the governors.

“You’ve got to arrest people, you have to track people, you have to put them in jail for 10 years and you’ll never see this stuff again,” he added.

Later, Mr. Trump described as “100 per cent correct” a tweet from Arkansas Republican Senator Tom Cotton, asking for “zero tolerance” for “anarchy, rioting, and looting,” and supporting calling in the Armed Forces against “these Antifa terrorists.”

On Wednesday, June 3, in a speech, former U.S. president Barack Obama thanked young African Americans for taking part in protests, and encouraged them to continue doing that, adding he feels change is coming soon. He told young people of colour that he wants them to know that “you matter.”

“I know enough about that history to say: There is something different here,” Mr. Obama said.

“You look at those protests, and that was a far more representative cross-section of America out on the streets, peacefully protesting, who felt moved to do something because of the injustices that they have seen. That didn’t exist back in the 1960s, that kind of broad collation,” he said referencing the demonstrations about racial injustice and clashes between police and protesters in the U.S. during the 1960s.

A day before that, in a statement, former president George W. Bush, a Republican, condemned the racism and harassment that black people face in their own country. He said that it’s time for the U.S. “to examine our tragic failures” in addressing the issue of racial intolerance.

“Laura [Bush] and I are anguished by the brutal suffocation of George Floyd and disturbed by the injustice and fear that suffocate our country,” said Mr. Bush in

a statement. “Yet we have resisted the urge to speak out, because this is not the time for us to lecture. It is time for us to listen. It is time for America to examine our tragic failures—and as we do, we will also see some of our redeeming strengths.”

Former U.S. defence secretary Jim Mattis, a retired Marine General who served under Mr. Trump, also issued a statement on June 3, accusing his former boss of dividing the country with his handling of the protests.

“Donald Trump is the first president in my lifetime who does not try to unite the American people—does not even pretend to try,” Mr. Mattis said. “Instead he tries to divide us. We are witnessing the consequences of three years of this deliberate effort. We are witnessing the consequences of three years without mature leadership. We can unite without him, drawing on the strengths inherent in our civil society. This will not be easy, as the past few days have shown, but we owe it to our fellow citizens; to past generations that bled to defend our promise; and to our children.”

Back in Canada, when Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) was asked about how the Trump administration handled the demonstrations last week, he hesitated for about 21 seconds before he answered the question. When he finally did answer the question, he did not mention President Trump’s name, and made a general statement condemning racism.

“We all watch in horror and consternation what’s going on in the United States,” Mr. Trudeau said, last week. “It is a time to pull people together, but it is a time to listen, it is a time to learn what injustices continue despite progress over years and decades. It is a time for us as Canadians to recognize that we too have our challenges, that Black Canadians, racialized Canadians, face discrimination as a lived reality every single day. There is systemic discrimination in Canada.”

Liberal MP Wayne Easter (Malpeque, P.E.I.), co-chair of the Canada-U.S. Interparliamentary Group declined to comment on President Trump’s leadership in the midst of the ongoing protests. However, he said he’s worried about the effects of the protests on the economy, the COVID-19 pandemic, and how it has dramatically slowed down the economies around the world, including in Canada and the U.S.. He said the protests could further spread COVID-19.

Mr. Easter said that being Canada’s largest trading partner, the economic well-being of Canadians relies heavily on the strength of the U.S. economy.

According to the U.S. Labour Department, about 40 million Americans have applied for employment insurance, and more than two million Americans who are self employed or working as contractors have filed for financial aid. The latest Johns Hopkins University stats, as of last week, suggested that there were more than 1.8 million reported cases of COVID-19 in the U.S., and that the virus has caused more than 106,000 deaths.

The *Washington Post* reported last week that the unemployment

rate for the month of May was at 13.3 per cent. According to the Congressional Budget Office projections, the U.S. is not expected to recover fully from the crisis caused by COVID-19 before 2030.

“One of the things that I’m really, really, really worried about is we are making progress in controlling COVID-19 in Canada. We’re doing the social distancing and all those things. We have to get our economy back on stream. To get our economy back on stream we need the American economy back on stream,” said Mr. Easter. “And their handling of the COVID pandemic in the United States to me is very worrisome. And now you’re seeing with all these protests going on, the social distancing, when you get rioting, and what’s going on down there, then it not only damages their economy, their business, their way of life. It also increases the risk factor in terms of COVID-19 spread. That worries me because we need the Americans’ economy to start to swing around as well in order to enhance ours.”

Former Conservative senator Don Oliver, the first African Canadian in the Red Chamber, blasted President Trump for his lack of leadership in these racially sensitive times. Rather than using inflammatory language, Mr. Oliver said, the president should have held a meeting with the African American leadership and listened to their concerns. Instead, he opted to play politics with this issue, Mr. Oliver said.

“He has been the epitome of a lack of leadership,” said Mr. Oliver. “He should, days ago, have called upon the leadership in the black community to meet with him, sit down, and Trump should not do the talking as he likes to do. But he should listen to what the leaders have to say about systemic racism, and listen to some of the things they recommend should be done to resolve it. But he does not have that capability. He can’t listen to other people’s views because only his views prevail.”

Mr. Oliver said that these protests have created a tricky situation for the Canadian leadership, referring to Mr. Trudeau’s 21 second pause. Being the largest trading partner of the U.S., he said, the Canadian leadership has to be careful, because nobody knows how Mr. Trump will react, or when he could impose tariffs on Canadian goods that will further hurt the already weakened economy.

“It’s a little bit scary, and as long as Donald Trump is around, I think that everyone’s going to have what I call the 21 second pause that Trudeau took yesterday, before opening your mouth on it, you know,” said sen. Oliver. “You have to be so careful what you say around that man, and Canada is a trading country. That’s what we do, that’s how we make our money. And our biggest trading partner for decades and centuries was the United States. And it still is a major partner. We do billions a day in trade with the United States. So we can’t afford to lose that. So we have to tread as though on eggshells when dealing with the United States. It’s a very, very touchy serious time.”

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Editorial

# Trudeau can do a lot to stop anti-Black racism, especially right now

Speaking to Americans last week, in the midst of protests and civil unrest across the United States, Barack Obama said in a nationally broadcast town hall, “I’ve heard some people say, ‘You have a pandemic, then you have these protests; this reminds us of the sixties, and the chaos, the discord and distrust across the country.’ I know enough about that history to say there is something different.”

And he’s right. There is something is different.

Around the world, hundreds of thousands of people have been galvanized by the death of George Floyd, a Black man from Minnesota, killed by a police officer while three others stood by and did nothing. The video of Floyd, pinned on the ground and unable to breathe, went viral. Thousands of people have taken to the streets in the United States and globally to show their support for the Black community and to protest against anti-Black systemic racism.

Here in Canada, where anti-Black racism is still an undeniable reality, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has the power to actually make a difference, with both massive public support and most of Parliament behind him on this issue. As numerous current and former MPs and Senators have been telling The Hill Times over this past week, it’s time for change and it’s time to go beyond piecemeal reforms.

Former Nova Scotia Conservative Senator Donald Oliver, the first African Canadian appointed to the Senate in 1990, has been studying racism and the lack of diversity in the federal bureaucracy for decades. In *The Hill Times* this week, he offers a number of suggestions on how the prime minister can begin to help stop systemic anti-Black racism in Canada. “The job now for public

policy-makers looking for solutions is to dig deeply into the very core of systemic racism, analyze it, and produce detailed, comprehensive, and professional recommendations for change that must be acted upon by government immediately,” he writes.

Mr. Oliver recommends appointing eminent and qualified Black Canadians to senior positions on boards, commissions, and Crown corporations. He says Canada also needs more Black judges, more Black chiefs of staff in government ministerial offices and more Black deputy and associate deputy ministers in the federal civil service. A federal government Department of Diversity headed by a Black deputy minister should be created.

Mr. Oliver also suggests the prime minister establish a commission of inquiry under the Inquiries Act, chaired by an eminent Black Canadian judge, “to examine all socio-economic issues, call evidence and hear from those impacted by racism in the communities across Canada, and report back to Parliament with specific recommendations in each area designed to eradicate or substantially limit the reach and influence of anti-Black systemic racism in Canada.”

In light of the apparent higher COVID-19 incidence among non-Whites in Canada, Mr. Oliver says the prime minister should order Statistics Canada to collect comprehensive, race-based data on COVID-19 from every province and territory in Canada, preferably on a daily basis and retroactively to the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic in mid-March.

The citizens of Canada, and its Parliamentarians, expect the prime minister to take some action to end anti-Black racism. These suggestions are a start. The time for that action is right now. Silence is not an option.

Letters to the Editor

# Canadian sense of hope and optimism would not encourage voters to want a one-party government, writes Wilfred Day

Re: “A fall federal election is ‘a real possibility,’ and a ‘sweet spot’ for Liberals to win a majority, say pollsters,” (*The Hill Times*, June 1). A snap election in September would be “an ideal time to convert a minority government into a majority?” Your article says the current Liberal support of 41 per cent would give them a false majority. However, an Ekos poll released May 12 finds 73 per cent of us think we are on the cusp of a broad transformation of society, probably more socially focused, stressing health and well-being, while only 12 per cent approve of U.S. President Donald Trump’s one-party government. That Canadian sense of hope and optimism would not encourage voters to want a one-party government.

When then-Ontario Liberal premier David Peterson called an unnecessary election in 1990, after polls in July 1990

showed he would win a bigger majority, by September the backlash against the opportunism of the unnecessary election gave Bob Rae an unexpected win.

Pollster Greg Lyle says 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 some time in September, risking a second wave of the pandemic coming in the midst of the election campaign. Again this reminds me of 1990, when economists predicted a coming downturn, suggesting Mr. Peterson was too cleverly getting ahead of bad news. It also reminds me of Manitoba in 1969, when the governing party called an opportunistic election just as the NDP was choosing a new leader, which backfired when Ed Schreyer won the election five weeks after becoming leader.

**Wilfred Day**  
Port Hope, Ont.

# Boost requirement for law enforcement officers across the country, says Lloyd Hoadley

In my opinion, the biggest problem that persists in law enforcement is the minimum qualifications that are required to work in law enforcement. For the most part, through no fault of their own, these people are woefully ignorant, plus they lack psychological testing during the hiring process.

Our injustice system says I have had “invisible disabilities” for 17 years though I have multiple permanent disabilities, including multiple auto-immune, musculoskeletal, neurological and haematological disorders and lupus. I use a cane and a walker for mobility and wear a neck brace, yet I’m invisible?

I’ve repeatedly had my rights completely trampled upon by law enforcement. My numerous cries for help, from being violently beaten by a severely alcoholic person who claimed to be my caregiver and power of attorney, were always ignored even though I have numerous pictures, audio, and video recordings and medical reports of these beatings, leaving me defenceless in my home for more repeated physical assaults. These have left me with permanent physical injuries that

have accelerated the deterioration of my permanent disabilities and psychologically damaged with PTSD made more severe by my having lupus. There will be no change until the minimum recruitment standards for law enforcement officers is completely changed. Stop hiring former high school jocks that could barely make their team let alone be in pro sports and hire more educated people.

Law enforcement is sworn to protect the most vulnerable of our citizens while upholding the laws that make our country great, but they pick and choose the laws which they’re sworn to uphold as well as choose who to protect, who to ignore, or who to violate. These egregious failures must end.

I’ve always had respect for law enforcement, military, and all who choose to serve their country or communities. I don’t have respect for those who use their positions of power to look down upon the very people they are sworn to protect or to cause them harm from actions or inactions.

**Lloyd Hoadley**  
Brockville, Ont.



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# Americans undermined by Trump's deliberate attempt to stoke flames of racial hatred

The only way that the United States can take back its streets and its dignity is by making sure that Donald Trump is thrashed in the November presidential election. Even then, the damage done to America may be irreparable.



Sheila Copps  
*Copps' Corner*

OTTAWA—Stockwell Day made a costly mistake last week. On a television panel he de-

nied that systemic racism exists in Canada.

Day was quickly the subject of a social media groundswell that ended up costing him a board position at Telus and his strategic counsel job at McMillan LLP.

Day paid dearly for his mistake. But there are many Canadians who believe what he said. "Canada is not a racist country and most Canadians are not racist and our system, which always needs to be improved, is not systemically racist."

I daresay millions share the viewpoint expressed by Day.

Most of them are not in the public domain so we don't hear their perspectives. Even when the evidence is irrefutable, they simply don't want to stare truth in the face.

I have known Stockwell Day for years, and he is basically a decent, fair-minded individual. However, by making the statement he did on television, he unwittingly aligned himself with those who are currently using race as a wedge issue in the next American election.

The facts on systemic racism in Canada are clear.

The last census demonstrated a clear and present racial difference in how employees are paid.

On average, second-generation Black Canadians were paid 28 per

cent less than their white counterparts. The average pay of racialized and Indigenous workers was 30 per cent less than the earnings of their white colleagues.

On a personal level, that meant an average loss of income of \$14,000 compared to Caucasian Canadians of the same age and education background.

We see the same wage discrimination against women.

According to Statistics Canada, in 2018, women aged 25 to 54 earned an average of 13.3 per cent less than their male colleagues for doing equivalent work.

Looking at what is going on south of the border, it is easy to see why Canadians could believe that our situation is not as grim.

But to completely ignore the reality of pay rates, disproportionate incarceration rates and all the other evidence in Canada is to turn your back on the truth.

But Canada is not facing the horrendous situation of a national leader who will say anything, no matter how outrageous, for personal base electoral ends.

Trump is banking on the fact that the silent majority in the United States actually supports his view. There are millions who back his inflammatory approach, although it appears as though the combination of COVID-19,



U.S. President Donald Trump, pictured April 7, 2020, speaking with the press in the White House Press Briefing Room. Photograph courtesy of White House/Andrea Hanks

unemployment, and civil unrest are taking their toll.

Recent polling shows that Trump has the support of only one-third of Americans for his bellicose response to the death of George Floyd.

Cracks are also appearing in his Republican wall of support, with Senator Lisa Murkowski saying she may not support him as the party standard bearer. Murkowski, the second most senior Republican woman in the Senate, spoke out in support of the comments of former defence secretary Jim Mattis criticizing Trump's "false conflict" between the Armed Forces and ordinary citizens.

Murkowski echoed Mattis' viewpoint, saying "I felt like perhaps we are getting to a point where we can be more honest with the concerns that we might hold internally and have the courage of our own convictions to speak up."

Former U.S. president George W. Bush called on his countrymen to "examine our tragic failures."

But the current president seems oblivious to all critics, doubling down on his view that multiple peaceful protests across the country were organized by thugs.

In Canada, Day immediately recognized his error and tweeted that "I ask forgiveness for wrongly equating my experiences to theirs. I commit to them my unending efforts to fight racism in all its forms."

That statement was quite an about turn from his refusal to recognize systemic racism only a few short hours earlier.

Systemic racism is alive and well in Canada and, unfortunately, supported by millions of Canadians who blindly believe there is no problem.

By recognizing his mistake, Day has a chance to do something about it.

In the case of the Trumpian racism of the American president, the whole country is undermined by his deliberate attempt to stoke the flames of racial hatred.

The only way that the United States can take back its streets and its dignity is by making sure that Trump is thrashed in the November presidential election.

Even then, the damage done to America may be irreparable.

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

*The Hill Times*

# Harper versus the media

If you're a politician, you don't have to like the media, but you shouldn't go out of your way to antagonize journalists, since that usually doesn't end well.



Gerry Nicholls  
*Post-Partisan Pundit*

OAKVILLE, ONT.—Long lasting and bitter feuds, it seems, are an inherent part of human culture, think of the Montagues versus the Capulets, the Hatfields versus the McCoys, and the Yankees versus the Red Sox.

And to that list, we could certainly add, Stephen Harper versus the Media.

True that particular feud doesn't involve shooting or sword fights or bench-clearing brawls, but it certainly overflows with animosity; Harper has always seen the media as a foe, as an institution that's forever out to get him, while the media dismisses such complaints as groundless and paranoid.

Even to this day, years after Harper left office, this squabble continues.

As a matter of fact, it flared up recently after a video emerged in which Harper placed the blame for his 2015 electoral loss partially on hostile and unfair media coverage.

Among other things, Harper claimed the media "would not cov-

er my announcements" and would not cover "any gaffes of my opinions."

Predictably, in response to such attacks, various Canadian media voices shot back that clearly Harper was a whiner and a sore loser.

So once again, Harper is getting bad press.

Now I don't want to get into a debate here over which side of this conflict is right; instead I'd like to focus on how Harper's beligerent attitude towards the media is ultimately counterproductive.

My point is, if you're a politician you don't have to like the media, (in fact, distrusting the media is pretty much standard fare for a lot of politicians) but you shouldn't go out of your way to antagonize journalists, since that usually doesn't end well.

It's like the old expression says, "never pick a fight with the one who buys ink by the barrel."

To see what I mean, consider Ronald Reagan's relationship with the media.

During his time as president, Reagan certainly suffered from his fair share of what conservatives would deem to be negative media coverage, yet he always seemed to treat the media more or less cordially.

This is likely because bashing the media wouldn't fit with Reagan's genial political brand; plus, he also likely realized that his overall likability as a person shielded him from any adverse coverage.

Not that being likable is essential. British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, for instance, wasn't exactly miss congeniality, but when dealing with the media, she essentially adopted a stoic approach.

That's to say, Thatcher accepted media attacks as part of the job; indeed, it meant she was doing her job.

As she once put it, "I always cheer up immensely if an attack is particularly wounding because I think, well, if they attack one personally, it means they have not a single political argument left."

Mind you, there's also times when attacking the media is OK if it makes strategic sense.

U.S. President Donald Trump's openly aggressive approach with the media, for example, delights and energizes his base. (Though admittedly he usually goes overboard.)

And this brings us back to Harper.

Unlike Reagan, he liked to jab the media, unlike Thatcher, he let media attacks get under his skin, unlike Trump, he wouldn't wage open warfare against journalists.

What it all added up to, was Harper implemented a silent cold war media strategy.

As photojournalist Amber Bracken put it, "Every time you photograph Harper, it feels like you're the enemy."

In short, he did everything he could behind the scenes to make life difficult for journalists.

Such a policy, of course, only guaranteed Harper more negative coverage, without gaining him any corresponding political benefit.

So yes, even if Harper was right to be suspicious of the media, his feuding tactics only made things worse.

Gerry Nicholls is a communications consultant.

*The Hill Times*



# Politics

## Trudeau must understand anti-Black racism has to stop, and he's got the power to help stop it

The prime minister should appoint eminent Black Canadians to boards and commissions. Canada also needs more Black judges, deputy and associate deputy ministers, and chiefs of staff in government offices. And there should be a Department of Diversity headed by a Black deputy minister. The upper echelons of power in Canada must reflect the diverse faces of Canada, says former senator Don Oliver.



Donald H. Oliver

Opinion

**H**ALIFAX—Both Canada and the United States are each deeply embroiled in the largest pandemic of anti-Black systemic racism since the height of the Martin Luther King civil rights movement that featured vicious attack dogs, and the brutal beatings, shootings, and murders by whites and by police of unarmed, innocent Black, men, women and children.

Only now, with the internet, technology, and social media, millions and millions of eyes from around the world are watching the United States. People are also watching Canada to see if this middle-ranked world power, once recognized and worshipped for its even-handedness, compassion, understanding and respect for diversity, can rise now to its former

exalted position in the world. The world is watching us in the face of the ugly and racist murder of George Floyd in the United States to see if Canada can now give hope and demonstrate once again its earned reputation for understanding and tolerance, and produce a roadmap that all can see and read for overcoming and eliminating anti-Black systemic racism.

Some would argue that there was abject failure of leadership on the part of the Trudeau government to provide more than the vacuous, “we’re in this together,” but it’s clear that words alone will not eliminate anti-Black racism. Many people, including victims of anti-Black racism in Canada, are looking for some concrete resolutions.

The prime minister, however, has clearly stated repeatedly that anti-Black systemic racism exists in Canada today, and on June 2, he said, with humility: “I am not here today to describe a reality I do not know or speak to a pain I have not felt.” That’s probably because he’s white and privileged. He was born into that and it’s not a sin.

The reality, however, for most African Canadians is that their pigmentation defines who they are thought to be by the rest of the world, and it’s usually not positive. The sad reality for many

Blacks is that with every step they take and every move they make they are liable to be stopped, suppressed, held back, criticized, ridiculed, and prevented from proceeding for perhaps no reason other than the colour of their skin. Those barriers exist particularly in housing, employment, health care, and criminal justice.

But it cannot be forgotten that there are throughout Canada thousands and thousands of white people who I salute and who do not see colour when they deal with us, and many of them have been on the streets the last nine days walking with us side by side, peacefully demonstrating for an end to systemic racism and protesting the horrible death of George Floyd in Minnesota. Many more have been at their homes praying for an end to Black-based systemic racism in Canada. These are the people of good faith who help make our country strong.

In my case, I started school at the age of five, in a small university Baptist town, the only Black child in the class. For the next 10 years or so, we all had the same school teachers, the same coaches for sports; we basically all went to the same Sunday school and church, played on the same hockey teams and attended all the same parties and socials.

But sometimes when I was engaged in an interesting discussion with teachers or with people around the university, or when I was playing sports with my classmates, I would momentarily forget about the colour of my skin. It didn’t seem that important in the scheme of things; after all, we had so many things in common. Colour was not always the foremost thought in my mind.

For a glancing moment, I had a feeling that there was really no difference and that we were indeed intrinsically alike. I had completely forgotten that pigmentation always denoted a marked physical and psychological difference. It had all the shades of invoking a subtle master/servant relationship from the days of slavery, and that being Black meant being inferior and less worthy than your white counterpart. Pigmentation would always describe who I was as a physical being.

So, how could I ever forget something so fundamental, even for an instant. It was painfully and blatantly clear that I would have to be conscious of my colour at all times and be ready to defend it as well. The colour of my skin is a situational fact that has stayed with me all my life. But even though pigmentation was not something that I thought about every hour of every day, it did help orient my entire life.

When in the middle of something very important and demanding, I would often receive the strange query—“don’t you realize you’re Black”—and it would happen on some of the most unexpected occasions, and I had to be ready. The situation is called racism. That is the constant reality for most Blacks in Canada today. We encounter race hatred, intolerance, discrimination, con-

tempt, and prejudice in virtually everything we become part of in our daily lives.

The prime minister cannot possibly fathom our reality of racism because it defies so many of our senses and it’s just there with disquieting regularity. For instance, imagine you are eminently qualified and Black, with excellent managerial skills and experience, have superior, advanced education, are proficient in three languages, are the proper age, and that you’ve just learned that you’ve been passed over for the eighth time in an executive job competition. What a shock. What else can you do? You know implicitly that racism is present and totally in control of what is happening. But it has defied all your senses. Nothing overt gave you an explanation for the result. It’s something painful and hurtful. You want to cry, to scream out. But you dare not. It’s how systemic racism manifests itself, and that’s the pain and the reality our prime minister cannot possibly ever know and understand.

And it’s just like the anti-Black racism demonstrated by the beatings, shootings, and killings of Black people throughout Canada for which there are thousands of white and Black Canadians protesting and peacefully demonstrating in the streets. Prime Minister Trudeau must understand that anti-Black racism has to stop.

The job now for public policy-makers looking for solutions is to dig deeply into the very core of systemic racism, analyze it, and produce detailed, comprehensive, and professional recommendations for change that must be acted upon by government immediately. Remember, the eyes of the world are watching Canada with hope.

The prime minister can put a lot of easy and meaningful things in place immediately, if there is the will. As I have been saying for decades, some of these helpful things are very, very easy for a prime minister to implement and to make happen quickly.

For instance, one way to start to dispel the sting of anti-Black racism is for eminent and qualified Blacks to be appointed to senior positions on boards, commissions, and Crown corporations. For example, you will recall that, as prime minister, Brian Mulroney appointed Lincoln Alexander as the Queen’s representative of Canada’s largest province; Julius Isaacs was appointed chief justice of the Federal Court of Canada, and I was Speaker Pro Tempore of the Senate of Canada.

There are dozens of great Lincoln Alexanders out there today who could become significant influencers on major government boards and commissions and this would help reduce the impact of anti-Black racism. We desperately need more Black judges appointed to our Superior Courts across the country. We need Black deputy and associate deputy ministers appointed to our senior bureaucracy in Ottawa. We need more Black chiefs of staff in government offices. We need a new federal government Depart-

ment of Diversity headed by a Black deputy minister. The upper echelons of power in Canada must reflect the diverse faces of Canada. A number of these things can be done by Prime Minister Trudeau with the stroke of his pen, and what a difference it would make for Canada.

In conjunction with these initiatives in boardrooms across the nation, we also need to make policy more effective. We urgently need accurate information: facts and race-based disaggregated data. Prime Minister Trudeau should pick up his pen this week and sign any prerequisite documentation from the Privy Council Office to order the immediate collection of comprehensive data on COVID-19 from every province and territory in Canada. This data should be submitted to Statistics Canada on a daily and weekly basis, possibly retroactively, to the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The United States now has close to 110,000 reported deaths from COVID-19 and, regretfully, a disproportionately high percentage of those deaths are Blacks and Latinos. In Canada, we have some general information that a disproportionately high percentage of those who have died from COVID-19 are also Black. We know these deaths in both countries involve socio-economic issues such as lack of a nutritious diet, access to the health-care system, employment opportunities, affordable, adequate housing and, most of all, the subtle, all-pervading yet omnipresent anti-Black systemic racism.

To examine and report on these issues, in-depth, I urgently call on Prime Minister Trudeau to appoint in June 2020 a commission of inquiry under the Inquiries Act, chaired by an eminent Black Canadian judge, to examine in detail the above socio-economic issues, call evidence and hear from those impacted by racism in the communities across Canada, and report back to Parliament with specific recommendations in each area designed to eradicate or substantially limit the reach and influence of anti-Black systemic racism in Canada. All aspects of the inquiry must involve in its membership and research a majority of eminent, qualified African Canadian men and women. The inquiry would, as well, receive all the race-based data collected by Statistics Canada, and hopefully provide recommendations to the government before the next wave of COVID-19.

No reasonable Canadian expects this prime minister to fully understand the reality and the 400 years of the pain of anti-Black systemic racism in Canada, but they do expect him to take some positive steps towards its elimination, such as those set out above.

Donald H. Oliver was a Nova Scotia Conservative Senator from 1990 to 2013 who was the first African Canadian Senator to be appointed to the Upper Chamber. He was appointed by Progressive Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney.

The Hill Times





When Justin Trudeau was asked about the death of George Floyd, Donald Trump's threat of military force to quell protests on the streets of the U.S., and brutal force against peaceful protesters, he fell silent for 21 seconds. Mr. Trudeau has forgotten something very basic. The office never sanctifies the man. And when it comes to civil and human rights, you must stand up without thinking about your self-interest, or how powerful your adversary may be, writes Michael Harris. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade & Flickr

# Nagging questions are again bubbling around Trudeau's leadership

These days, all bumpy roads lead to Donald Trump. And so it is with Justin Trudeau's latest image problem.



Michael Harris

Harris

**H**ALIFAX—With his often masterful handling of the COVID-19 pandemic, Justin Trudeau seemed well on the road to refurbishing his image as prime minister.

That image had been besmirched by the SNC Lavalin scandal, and his infamous Black-face shenanigans from long ago. Both of those issues contributed to the Liberals losing their majority government.

Now, despite showing great emotional intelligence in the pandemic, and despite having the backs of millions of Canadians at a time of financial and emotional distress, nagging questions are again bubbling up around his leadership.

These days, all bumpy roads lead to Donald Trump. And so it is with Trudeau's latest image problem.

South of the border, a vile president perpetrated one of his most vile acts since coming to office in 2016—with the help of Russian interference on his behalf in the U.S. election.

President Trump unleashed security forces against peaceful protesters. He did it so that after they had been dispersed, he could walk to a photo-op in front of a legendary church. In a stunt that has been called "blasphemous," the president even held the bible upside down. Trump neither entered the church, nor read from the scriptures.

Trump put the lives of American citizens at risk to get that shot, which he apparently wanted to turn into a political ad. These were Americans who were exercising their constitutional right to protest, in this case, the hideous murder of George Floyd by police in Minneapolis.

All four officers involved in Floyd's death have now been charged with second-degree murder, or aiding and abetting second-degree murder. Floyd was suffocated when one of the officers put his knee to the victim's neck for nine, insufferable minutes.

These peaceful protesters on H Street, one of the closest public streets to the White House, were set upon by mounted police, struck by rubber bullets, assaulted by flash-bang grenades, and drenched in tear gas. And all so that Trump could play dog-whistle to his racist base with a show of authoritarian belligerence hitched to the exploitation of religious symbolism. Another tawdry Trump reality show.

How bad was it? So bad that it even made several members of the Christian Right sick to their stomachs. Some of them talked about how unseemly it was for Trump not to read from the bible, or enter the church.

Dr. Russell Moore of the Southern Baptist Convention lamented that Trump's reaction to nationwide protests over George Floyd's death had left him "broken-hearted and alarmed."

The Episcopal Bishop of Wash-

ington, Mariann Edgar Budde, called the appearance by the president outside the iconic St. John's Church a "charade."

Lisa Murkowski, a Republican Senator from Alaska, now says that she is "struggling" over whether she can support Trump's re-election bid.

Even Trump's former secretary of defense, four-star Gen. James Mattis, sided with the protesters and was appalled by Trump's threat to use the military to "dominate" America's streets. This from a man who once said it was his duty not to comment on the Trump presidency.

In Canada, many political leaders spoke out bluntly about racial unrest in America and Trump's reaction to it. NDP Leader Jagmeet Singh put it bluntly: what Trump was doing "is wrong and needs to be called out."

Bloc Québécois Leader Yves-François Blanchet called for courage to stand up to Trump and call out his "incendiary" actions.

But when Justin Trudeau was asked about the death of George Floyd, Trump's threat of military force to quell protests on the streets of the U.S., and brutal force against peaceful protesters, he fell silent for 21 seconds.

When he did speak, it was to utter a half-hearted bromide. Canadians, he said, were "horrified" by what they were seeing in the United States. Bottom line? His job was to stick to his knitting in Canada. The PM didn't use Trump's name, or condemn his actions during his public remarks.

Perhaps Trudeau sensed that Trump might counter by saying that the PM's own father, Pierre Trudeau, had put the army in the street during the FLQ crisis.

And everyone knows the pragmatic side of the Canada/U.S. relationship. The U.S. is of fundamental economic importance to Canada. The U.S. sneezes and this country catches a cold. So it rarely pays for a Canadian PM to go out of his way to pick a fight with a sitting U.S. president—no matter how repulsive.

But this is one of those times when pragmatism looks very much like appeasement. The history of Trump's train wreck presidency has been encouraged by people who refuse to condemn his outrageous actions because of the position he temporarily occupies. They have allowed a rogue president to run amok because they have wrapped him in the aura of office.

They, and Justin Trudeau, have forgotten something very basic. The office never sanctifies the man. And when it comes to civil and human rights, you must stand up without thinking about your self-interest, or how powerful your adversary may be.

Why? Because if you want peace, work for justice—just as Pope Paul VI said back in 1972. There is a reason that those words are now a fridge magnet you can buy on Amazon.

And it's not as if Justin Trudeau has religiously kept his nose out of the affairs of other countries. When the leader of Myanmar, a Nobel Peace Prize laureate, ignored the decimation of Rohingya refugees inside her country, Trudeau relentlessly pressed her to change her ways.

When she didn't, the PM finally revoked her honorary Canadian citizenship in 2018, 11 years after she had been granted the honour in 2007. He took that move after the House of Commons and the Senate unanimously supported action against Aung San Suu Kyi. That was the Justin Trudeau who told Saudi Arabia that Canada would always "stand up strong" for human rights.

Those words were uttered in the wake of the brutal murder of Jamal Khashoggi by the Saudi regime, an atrocity that intelligence agencies have laid at the doorstep of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman in particular.

Although Trudeau put a moratorium on new arms sales to the kingdom in the wake of Khashoggi's murder, Canada recently lifted the embargo against new export licenses. Now, on a case by case basis, new supplies of Canadian armaments are on their way to a country where floggings, torture, extra-judicial murder and sexual assault of female activists are all on the resume of the ruling regime.

By not denouncing Trump, by selling arms again to one of the most repressive regimes in the world, the PM is hardly demonstrating how you "stand up strongly" for human rights and work for peace.

How telling that Jim Watson singled out Trump by name, denouncing his behaviour as "disgraceful." When the mayor of Ottawa eclipses the prime minister of Canada on human rights, something is wrong.

Michael Harris is an award-winning author and journalist. *The Hill Times*



# Commentary

## Time for Canada to abolish military tribunals

What Canada needs is to civilianize its court martial system. Period. The current system is lacking judicial independence, is procedurally inefficient and unnecessarily costly, and there is no purpose for it remaining as is.



Michel Drapeau & Joshua Juneau

Opinion

OTTAWA—In 2018, the Auditor General of Canada released its report on the administration of justice in the Canadian Armed Forces. The overall conclusion was bleak: Canada's military justice system is inefficient, marred with delay, and plagued with "systemic weaknesses." Moreover, the report concluded that "the judge advocate general did not provide effective oversight of the military justice system."

To our knowledge, despite the resounding criticisms of the auditor general, nothing has been done to address the serious shortcomings identified in the scathing 2018 report. The court martial system continues to operate, inefficiently and despite many obvious "systemic weaknesses."

What Canada needs is to civilianize its court martial system. Period. The current system is lacking judicial independence, is procedurally inefficient and unnecessarily costly, and there is no purpose for it remaining as is. It is time to follow the global trend and appoint civilian judges, civilian staff, and civilian legal counsel to hear military service offences.

Presently, there are four full-time military judges, each earning in excess of \$200,000 per year who, in 2019, only heard from 44 defendants at the trial level—11 defendants each, on average.

Nearly all trials occur outside of Ottawa because of outdated traditions and regulations that require offences be tried within the unit lines of the accused. Practically, this means that a judge,



Master Cpl. Scott Galbraith, pictured Jan. 30, 2020, aboard HMCS Fredericton during Operation Reassurance. Globally, there is an overwhelming change in the way that militaries administer justice, and the trend is for the complete abolishment and/or civilianization of military tribunals of criminal jurisdiction in peacetime, write Michel Drapeau and Joshua Juneau. Photograph courtesy Cpl. Simon Arcand, Canadian Armed Forces

prosecutor, defence counsel, and all support staff must travel on location, at taxpayers' expense, for a trial to be heard before the accused's comrades-in-arms. For general courts martial, the five-member panel (quasi-jury) must be selected broadly, and panel members are commonly flown across the country to sit for days as a juror, all at public expense.

All of the above requires significant logistics, travel costs, meal expenses and accommodation expenses for the judges, lawyers, staff, panel members and others and causes much disruption and ad hocery to the unit hosting a court martial. Surprisingly, this occurs despite the military having full court facilities in the National Capital Region, which are not commonly used.

Globally, there is an overwhelming change in the way that militaries administer justice, and the trend is for the complete abolishment and/or civilianization of military tribunals of criminal jurisdiction in peacetime. Consider the following examples.

In Belgium, courts martial have been abolished and all offences are prosecuted by regular civilian authorities.

In Denmark, courts martial were abolished in 1919, following the first World War. All criminal offences are tried in the regular civilian courts.

In France and Germany, all offences by military personnel in peacetime are now tried by civilian courts. In Germany, even the decision to prosecute is made by regular civilian authorities.

The Netherlands has completely abolished courts martial. Decisions on whether to proceed are done by public prosecutors who are independent of the ministry of defence, and who perform

a similar role to Canada's attorney general.

And the list goes on. Norway no longer has courts martial; Sweden no longer has courts martial. Criminal offences by military personnel are prosecuted by regular civilian authorities there.

In the United Kingdom, courts martial are overseen by civilian judges. The judge advocate general is a civilian who, with a civilian standing court, hears cases of service persons in the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Canada's court martial system is also marred by its own judges being subject to the chain of command as well as the code of service discipline, raising issues of judicial independence. This was highlighted recently in the trial of the military's own sitting Chief Justice, Mario Dutil.

In 2015, Dutil was under investigation for allegedly having a consensual extra-marital affair with a subordinate and allegedly falsifying a travel claim. His conduct was investigated by a panel of the Federal Court Inquiry Committee, that concluded that there had been no wrongdoing by Dutil.

Normally, this would have been the end of the story. However, in Canada, military judges hold rank, and so are officers subject to the code of service discipline. Following the Inquiry Committee decision, the Military Police initiated an internal criminal investigation against Dutil, resulting in four charges being pursued against him. A court martial was convened before the very court where Dutil presided for 19 years.

At trial, the presiding judge, the acting chief justice, recused himself from hearing the matter.

He also stated that no military judge had the requisite impartiality to hear this case. The director of military prosecutions sought appeal, and the Federal Court quickly dismissed the appeal.

On or around March 12, 2020, after the Federal Court threw the matter out and all charges were withdrawn by the director of military prosecutions, before any judge was even seized of the issues.

If a non-military judge were accused of a criminal offence they could be brought before their own court to face justice. However, in Ontario, for example, there are hundreds of Superior Court judges dispersed in 52 separate locations which could independently hear such a case. The same isn't true of courts martial, where Dutil's case could only be administered by his own court staff, prosecuted by the director of military prosecutions, and heard by one of three remaining military judges, who all knew him very well, as he was their boss.

The oddity of court martialing the chief justice in his own court for military offenses is evident. In the end, damage has been done to the image of courts martial, and serious questions should be asked about the perspicacity of the charging procedure. The sustained media coverage has also likely done damage to Judge Dutil, and confidence in the administration of military justice has likely waned.

A judge in military uniform is a paradox. In Canada, the chief military judge, who is the supreme authority in the military justice system, holds the rank of colonel. To anyone familiar with the purpose of holding military rank, this poses an obvious problem because the chief justice is junior in rank to

more than 100 officers, including the judge advocate general, which at least optically impedes their independence as the chief justice may become subject to orders of persons of superior ranks being tried in his court.

Judges simply should not hold military rank and should not be subject to the orders and directives of the military's chain of command. Period.

The solution is to civilianize courts martial. Following the lead of our European allies, courts martial should be abolished. A new military division should be added to the Federal Court to expand its jurisdiction consistent with the court's original mandate, which is to ensure the better administration of the laws of Canada such as the prosecution of offences under the National Defence Act.

Around the world, military courts are being disbanded and completely civilianized, particularly in peacetime, and there is good reason for it. Canada needs to follow suit and seriously scrutinize the viability of the current system.

In consideration of the 2018 auditor general's report, and in the wake of the Dutil matter, there is good reason to follow the international trend, and to completely civilianize Canada's military justice system. The first step is to abolish the military judiciary and civilianize the court martial system.

Our brave men and women serving in uniform deserve to have access to a military justice system that is consistent with the changing international norms. This is not the case at present. Far from it.

Michel Drapeau and Joshua Juneau are administrative lawyers in Ottawa.

The Hill Times



# Women peacebuilders key to just recovery towards a post-pandemic world

Women peacebuilders and other essential workers provide us with a glimmer of hope, a way forward based on the well-being, health, safety and peace for all.



Rachel Warden

Opinion

These days in Canada we often hear the phrase “We’re stronger together.” But stronger how? And who, precisely, are “we?”

COVID-19 has exposed the vulnerability of certain communities and, in my work in Canada and globally with Indigenous peoples, migrant workers, and women peacebuilders, I have learned that we are only as strong as the most vulnerable among us, and that our collective strength depends on how their needs are addressed.

Indeed, this is echoed in the ‘Just Recovery Principles’ recently launched by more than 150 civil society groups, which state: “in a globalized world, what happens to one of us matters to all of us.”

While Canada’s financial assistance is understandably focused on national recovery, there is also a need to increase global assistance, especially to human rights defenders and women peacebuilders, if we want to emerge from this pandemic as a more just, peaceful and sustainable world.

In Canada, COVID-19 has helped us understand who the essential workers are, but we must also recognize those unsung heroes around the world who are also continuing to support marginalized communities despite considerable odds.

For example, KAIROS’ women, peace and security partners in Colombia, the Philippines, the West Bank, South Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo have been laying the groundwork for just and sustainable peace for years, sometimes decades. They work with some of the world’s most vulnerable communities at this time when these vulnerabilities have increased, especially for women. All our partners report an increase in gender-based violence, including military repression and human rights violations targeted at women who are traditional community leaders.

In response to the ever-changing context that is COVID-19, these women peacebuilders are creatively adapting their programs to reach marginalized women and ensure their voices

are heard, including by migrating some workshops and critically needed training online.

Our partners are using the internet to reach as many communities as possible and train women community leaders, even in remote areas. They are educating communities about the virus and how to stop its spread and delivering food and other critical supplies.

And, significantly, they have not stopped advocating for peace. For example, our partner in Colombia meets online with other civil society organizations and networks to advance the implementation of the Colombian peace agreement.

Our partners teach us that when women victims of violence are provided with the services and care needed to heal, restore dignity and claim their rights, including psychosocial and legal support and human rights training, they become active peacebuilders and human rights defenders themselves.

Their voices are essential to building sustainable peace. According to research by Inclusive Security, peace agreements have a 35 per cent greater chance of being more effective and durable when women help draft them.

Canada recognizes the importance of these grassroots women peacebuilders. Its Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) identifies gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls as the best way to eradicate poverty and build a more peaceful, inclusive and equitable world.

And yet, FIAP has been underfunded since its inception, in part

because Canada’s official development assistance (ODA) funding has been well below the international standard of 0.7 per cent gross national income (GNI), much lower than countries such as Norway, which invests 0.94 per cent of GNI.

Some may argue that Canada cannot afford to increase its ODA. But if we really believe that we are “in this together” and “stronger together,” if we are listening to vulnerable communities in Canada and around the world, Canada cannot afford not to. If Canada wants to remain a credible advocate and key player in global multilateralism, and a contender for leadership at the United Nations, we must back up our words with financial commitments as other progressive nations have done.

Women peacebuilders and other essential workers provide us with a glimmer of hope, a way forward based on the well-being, health, safety and peace for all.

Right now, they need Canada’s financial and political support. And we need their strength to heal from this pandemic—together.

*Rachel Warden is KAIROS’ partnerships manager, and oversees the organization’s Women of Courage: Women, Peace and Security program. She has been involved in the human rights and social justice work for more than 20 years and in solidarity and social justice movements for much longer, starting with the anti-apartheid and divestment movement and the Nicaraguan solidarity movement.*

*The Hill Times*

# A more strategic approach to IP key to long-term recovery

Our longer-term economic recovery and the prosperity generations of Canadians will enjoy going forward, will be tied to our ability to recapture sovereignty over the ideas our most skilled develop and their translation into the production and sale to a world that needs solutions more than ever.



Dan Herman & Shiri Breznitz

Opinion

such products creates opportunities for new domestic suppliers, we should welcome this close-to-market opportunity that has put innovative domestic companies at the front of the line.

In so doing, however, let’s not get confused—“made in Canada” isn’t about replacing everything we currently import. Doing so is pure economic folly. With just over 37 million residents, our internal market for consumption is nowhere near big enough to allow us to maintain the prosperity we have become so accustomed to. Rather, “Made in Canada” is about prioritizing our ability to think, design, and produce high-value products that the rest of the world wants.

The rationale is simple: the most prosperous countries on Earth are those that trade the

most. In particular, the residents of countries with high ratios of non-resource exports as a share of GDP, notably the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden and Denmark, all enjoy per capita incomes significantly higher than that of Canadians. What do they have in common? Their propensity to export is nearly 50 per cent greater than Canada’s.

Yet to export something of value, you need to hold the ability, that is to say, the rights to sell it. To borrow a trite phrase, “it’s the IP, stupid.”

As our work on the Government of Ontario’s Expert Panel on Intellectual Property chaired by Jim Balsillie highlighted, Canada has a significant IP rights deficit as compared to our global peers. Despite the fact that SMEs that hold IP rights are three times more likely to have expanded domestically and 4.3 times more likely to have expanded internationally, just two per cent of Canadian SMEs hold at least one. How are we to produce for, let alone sell to, the rest of the world, if we don’t own the rights to do so?

The response to the COVID-19 crisis by both Canadian researchers and Canadian industry should remove any doubt that we have the abilities and knowledge to

invent solutions to this crisis and future ones. Moreover, that Canadian manufacturing companies have so quickly risen to the challenge of producing innovative solutions for testing, ventilators, and personal protective equipment serves to remind us that the capabilities that are required for long-term manufacturing innovation are still very much present. However, these positives won’t lead to long-term prosperity if we continue to ignore the need to better protect our investments and our knowledge base. With more than \$1-billion now being invested by the federal government in COVID-19-related research, now is the time to start.

To do so, and to rebuild the chain of experience we require in our economy, we need to address several weaknesses in the ecosystem that connects knowledge and commercial activity in Canada. The findings of the Government of Ontario’s Expert Panel on Intellectual Property should be instructive.

First, we need to increase the pace at which we generate, protect and commercialize the knowledge that taxpayer funding contributes to. This will require enhanced IP education for our researchers, students and entrepreneurs, as well as enhanced access to the IP expertise required to effectively turn this knowledge into commercializable value.

Second, we should prioritize the translation of publicly funded IP into commercial outcomes for domestic firms. As one stake-

holder highlighted during the Panel’s public consultations, “Canada has become the world’s open-source factory for ideas.” Better enabling Canadian firms to scale and compete globally would be well served by more effectively connecting publicly funded IP to domestic firms through a provincial or national IP collective.

Lastly, given the rapidly shifting global political economy within which we operate, we need to rapidly diversify and deepen our trade engagement in the emerging and developing economies that are looking for the IP-rich goods and services in which Canada can lead globally, such as: medical technologies, life sciences, mining technologies, clean-tech and agri-tech.

COVID-19 has brought about an economic crisis that will hit many, if not most, Canadian households. While our immediate recovery is in the hands of our front-line personal, our longer-term economic recovery and the prosperity generations of Canadians will enjoy going forward, will be tied to our ability to recapture sovereignty over the ideas our most skilled develop and their translation into the production and sale to a world that needs solutions more than ever.

*Dan Herman is a Toronto-based entrepreneur. Shiri Breznitz is a professor at the University of Toronto. They were members of the Government of Ontario’s Expert Panel on Intellectual Property.*

*The Hill Times*



# Global



Protesters in support of Black Lives Matter, pictured May 30, 2020, in Oakland, California. It's a witch's brew that blights the lives of African-Americans, and it is taking a very long time to evaporate. There is racism elsewhere, too, but most of it is fear of the unfamiliar, directed at recent immigrants, and you can expect it to go away in a generation or two. Alas, this is different, writes Gwynne Dyer. *Photograph courtesy of Commons Wikipedia*

## Race in America

The racial disparity that shows African-Americans are killed at a higher rate than the rest of the population repeatedly leads to a debate in the U.S. media about whether the disparity is due to racism or just to a higher black crime rate, but it's really quite unnecessary.



Gwynne Dyer

*Global Affairs*

LONDON, U.K.—It's been a bad week in the United States: several nights of protests, huge anger, rioting, and looting in dozens of cities, hundreds arrested or injured—but only six dead over the police murder of George Floyd. The number may have gone up by the time you read this, but it's definitely not 1968 again.

In the last sustained series of riots about police violence against African-Americans, it was very different: 34 dead in the Watts riots in Los Angeles in 1965, 26 dead in Newark in 1967, 43 killed in the Detroit uprising later the same summer. And 46 dead after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968, although police violence was not the immediate cause that time.

Does the much lower death toll in 2020 mean that things have got (slightly) better in the intervening half century? Or does it just mean that wearing bodycams is making the police more cautious about using extreme violence? Either way, race relations in the United States are still worse than almost anywhere else.

American police are remarkably violent compared to those

in other countries, of course. On average, U.S. police officers kill about one thousand civilians a year, whereas British police kill two. The U.S. population is five times the British, but that still means that American police kill civilians at about one hundred times the British rate.

More to the point, in this context, is the fact that about 30 per cent of American civilians killed by the police are African-Americans, although they are only 13 per cent of the U.S. population.

This disparity repeatedly leads to a debate in the U.S. media about whether the disparity is due to racism or just to a higher black crime rate, but it's really quite unnecessary. All you need to know is that the proportion of those killed by the police who were UNARMED is two and a half times higher for blacks than for whites.

Which brings us to the nub of the matter: fear. White fear born of ancestral guilt, in turn a heritage from the centuries of slavery.

I live in a racially diverse part of inner London, and I'm familiar with similar districts in Paris, Toronto, Rome, and other Western big cities. There's one phenomenon I've never seen there that I have often witnessed in quite prosperous parts of American

cities—the Upper West Side, say, or Berkeley—and that is a white couple crossing the street to avoid encountering young black men on the same side of the street.

This is not to be compared with the entirely rational fear of police violence that young African-American men feel, but it is a significant fact: many white Americans believe, consciously or subconsciously, that African-Americans are intrinsically DANGEROUS. The only other place I have run into this phenomenon is Brazil.

There is a saying in Brazil: “Branco correndo? Campeão. Preto correndo? Ladrão.” If it's a white man running, he's a champion; a black man running is a thief. It is no coincidence at all that Brazil is the only other white-majority country where African slavery was a major domestic institution.

Slavery died out in Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire, although serfdom and other less oppressive institutions persisted. And the Islamic empires didn't care what colour the slaves were: the Turks got as many white slaves from the annual raids into Russia as black slaves from the trade routes across the Sahara and up the East African coast.

This whole institution was essentially alien to the European

explorers making their way down the west African coast 500 years ago, but the African kingdoms were quite happy to sell slaves to them too.

The Europeans were equally willing to buy, because they had a use for slaves in the new plantations they were creating in the Americas. Justifying these transactions to themselves required a little psychological adjustment, however, because buying and selling other human beings had not been part of their culture for a thousand years.

They solved their dilemma by deciding that the African slaves they bought were an inferior sort of human being, and that rationalisation permeated the cultures of the slave-owning societies in the Americas for the next four centuries. The last to give slavery up were the United States, in 1865, and Brazil, in 1888.

But that rationalization is still hanging around, together with the underlying knowledge that American whites had done their black fellow citizens a great harm, and the widespread belief among whites that you must fear those whom you have wronged.

It's a witch's brew that blights the lives of African-Americans, and it is taking a very long time to evaporate. There is racism elsewhere, too, but most of it is fear of the unfamiliar, directed at recent immigrants, and you can expect it to go away in a generation or two. Alas, this is different.

Gwynne Dyer's latest book is *The Future of Democracy* (and Work).

*The Hill Times*



# ‘Tedium and tiredness’ setting in on Trudeau’s daily press conferences, PM should consider cutting them down, say political players

‘It might be sensible to consider a more intermittent or ad hoc process’ for making COVID-19-related announcements in the coming weeks and months, says pollster Frank Graves.

BY ABBAS RANA

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s almost daily press conferences were very valuable and useful in the early weeks of COVID-19, but he should now consider holding them only when he has something important to announce, or run the risk of overexposure.

“There is the issue of overexposure, I don’t think that’s been an issue so far,” said pollster Frank Graves, president of EKOS Research. “But at some point, it will become one, I think.”

Mr. Graves said that the daily press conferences have been very effective for Mr. Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) since they began in mid-March. They were an opportunity for him to reassure Canadians in this once-in-a-century event that the government had their back, and also announce specific government programs to help out millions affected by COVID-19.

Now, most of the important funding and other announcements have already been made, said Mr. Graves, and it’s not clear if the daily media availabilities in the coming weeks will have the same value as they did before.

“It might be sensible to consider a more intermittent or ad hoc process for making these types of announcements or dealing with the public or the press,” said Mr. Graves. “There’s a limit to how many multibillion dollar packages you can roll out.”

Mr. Graves said the daily pressers have played a key role in helping Mr. Trudeau to repair his brand after the damage done to it during his first mandate and the 2019 election campaign by stories like the blackface/ brownface

controversy, the SNC-Lavalin scandal, and others.

“It’s probably one of the most plausible explanations for why he’s had a dramatic improvement in his approval rating, and the standing of his party,” said Mr. Graves.

leadership campaign and is operating under outgoing official leader Andrew Scheer (Regina-Qu’Appelles, Sask.). Since the start of the pandemic, Mr. Trudeau has been the chief beneficiary of nearly all the media’s attention. According to most public opinion polls, if an election were to be held now, the Trudeau Liberals would win a majority government.

A Leger poll released last Tuesday suggested that if an election were to be held that day, 40 per cent of decided voters would have voted for the Liberals, 27 per cent for the Conservatives, 18 per cent for the NDP, and seven per cent for the Green Party.

The online survey of 1,536 Canadian was conducted between May 29 to May 31. The margin of error for the poll was plus or minus 2.5 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

The Liberal Party was reduced from a majority to minority government in last October’s election, losing 27 seats and 6.3 percentage points of the national vote. After the election, Mr. Trudeau had transformed his persona from that of a celebrity to

with the media were mostly limited to brief impromptu scrums before and after Question Period on the Hill, formal press conferences alongside international leaders visiting Canada, on the side lines of political events, and the occasional one on one interviews with journalists.

Since mid-March however, Mr. Trudeau has been making himself available to the media almost on a daily basis. Even when Sophie Gregoire Trudeau had tested positive for COVID-19 in March, and Mr. Trudeau himself was in self-isolation, the pressers continued on a daily basis. During these interactions, he made announcements about different government funding programs to help out Canadians of all walks of life affected by COVID-19. As of last week, the government has announced about \$150-billion worth of measures to help Canadians. According to the parliamentary budget officer, the national debt could hit \$1-trillion by the end of this fiscal year.

So far, Mr. Trudeau has held about 70 press conferences since mid-March. At the press conferences, which have been held out-

ready been made. By May 29, Mr. Grenier wrote, the prime minister had “fielded some 900 questions, averaging about 16 questions from reporters per press conference.”

More recently, Mr. Trudeau has more often been asked questions at these press conferences that are not related to COVID-19. For example, last week, reporters questioned Mr. Trudeau about President Donald Trump’s handling of protests triggered by the death of George Floyd. In answering the question, he took a 21 second pause in which he appeared to be struggling with what to say. And when he did finally answered, he made a general statement about racism. Pundits and political insiders believe it took him too long to answer the question because the U.S. president has a “vindictive streak” and governs Canada’s largest trading partner. The prime minister has not explained what was going through his mind when he took an unusually long pause to answer the question.

“He [President Trump] does have a clear, vindictive streak,” said Mr. Graves, adding that it could be the “genuine dismay” about the way the Trump administration has handled the protests.

Veteran Conservative political strategist Tim Powers said that by effectively managing the COVID-19 pandemic, Mr. Trudeau has gained a lot of political capital. He said if Mr. Trudeau continued on holding the pressers everyday, he will run the risk of losing some of this capital. Canadians might start to ask if the press conferences are becoming political events that are helping the Liberal Party, he said.

Mr. Powers said the opposition parties have already started to call these press conferences the “Trudeau Talk Show.”

“How many more announcements can he make? How many support programs can he come forward with? I mean, I think he’s earned some strong positives in public opinion, because of the way he’s managed things,” said Mr. Powers, vice-chairman of Summa Strategies. “But I think the risk of continuing at the current pace is the gains could be eroded, because you get called out for the press conferences not being so much a news event that benefit Canadians but a political event that could benefit the Liberal Party, and the mood starts to sour on that. You see more critiques emerge around that, then that that has potential consequences.”

From a strategic point of view, Mr. Powers said the prime minister has done well during these press conferences, so it will be beneficial for him to stop doing them while he’s at the top, instead of waiting until people start to raise questions about his motives.

“It’s like anything: you need to get out of it when you’re on top, before what you’re doing brings you to the bottom, and he’s not at that place yet, but he’s getting close,” Mr. Powers said. “I think there’s a tedium and a tiredness to it all.”

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The Hill Times



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, pictured May 29, 2020, has been holding almost daily press conferences about COVID-19 since mid-March. Now, some political insiders are saying that ‘tedium and tiredness’ is setting in for these daily media availabilities. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

As of June 4, there have been close to 93,715 confirmed cases of COVID-19 in Canada, and 7,637 Canadians have died because of it. More than seven million Canadians have applied for employment insurance and emergency financial relief from the government.

Most recent polls have been showing for weeks that the Liberals have made significant gains over opposition parties. This is chiefly because of the rally-around-the-flag effect of a national crisis situation, and the Canadians’ approval of the way the government has managed the outbreak, say political insiders and pollsters.

The Conservative Party is currently in the midst of a divisive

a humbled leader. At the time, he had started to use more of a team approach to politics, sharing the public spotlight with his cabinet ministers. But, since the COVID-19 pandemic started in Canada, Mr. Trudeau returned back to the lead role, becoming the chief spokesperson of his party.

Before COVID-19 started to appear on the public radar, the Liberals and the Conservatives were tied in a statistical dead heat—with Conservatives one point ahead, according to Leger. On Jan. 22, the Conservatives had the support of 32 per cent of Canadians, the Liberals 31 per cent, the NDP 19 per cent and the Green Party eight per cent.

Prior to the start of the outbreak, Mr. Trudeau’s interactions

side the Rideau Cottage at 11:15 a.m. usually each weekday, Mr. Trudeau has shared with Canadians the latest guidelines about how to fight COVID-19, and has announced financial assistance programs for Canadians.

According to CBC’s Eric Grenier, in the first few weeks of these press conferences, millions of people were tuning in to listen to these announcements. According to the CBC numbers, in the week of March 16, 4.8 million Canadians watched these press conferences on TV, and 2.3 million listened on radio. But gradually the number of Canadians following these press conferences have gone down, because most of the important and far reaching funding announcements have al-



## Opinion

# Don't forget who got us into this mess with China

Warranted though this passionate anger may be, by singularly focusing our collective rage against China, Canadians have allowed the central culprit—the one who plunged us into this disaster—to escape free of judgment. Make no mistake: Donald Trump brought this catastrophe to Canada.



Christopher Tang

Opinion

**B**AKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA—Amidst the fallout of ruling against Huawei CFO Meng Wanzhou on May 27, Canada is bracing for a deepening estrangement from an indignant China.

Understandably, Canadians are angry at China's draconian measures of retaliation. Angry that two Canadians—Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor—have been held without charges for nearly 18 months as pawns in Beijing's 'hostage diplomacy.' Angry that Canadian producers have suffered under punitive Chinese restrictions against Canadian canola, soybeans, beef, and pork exports. Angry that Canada's respect for the rule of law appears to matter little to a Chinese government determined to punish a measly middle power daring to defy a rising China.

Warranted though this passionate anger may be, by singularly focusing our collective rage against China, Canadians have allowed the central culprit—the one who plunged us into this disaster—to escape free of judgment.

Make no mistake: Donald Trump brought this catastrophe to Canada.

In their quest to gain leverage amidst faltering trade negotiations with China, and to undermine Huawei's global ambitions, the Trump administration exploited Canada's extradition treaty obligations, trapped Ottawa into needlessly arresting Meng, and has left Canada to suffer the brutal wrath of China alone and abandoned.

At the heart of the charges brought against Meng is fraud, and available evidence would suggest that she did, in fact, defraud HSBC about Huawei's close ties to Skycom (an unofficial Huawei subsidiary), thereby exposing the bank to risks of violating U.S. sanctions when Skycom sought to transfer U.S.-manufactured technology to Iran. These fraud allegations date back to 2010, and draw largely from Reuters reporting from 2012 and 2013 highlighting the Huawei-Skycom connection.

The timeline here is telling. Seeking to conclude its prized nuclear deal with Iran between 2013-2015, the Obama administration turned a blind eye to Huawei's po-



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*

tential sanctions violations, likely to avoid muddying the difficult Iran negotiations any further. Huawei's actions and Meng's fraudulent claims, that is, didn't matter before 2016.

And then they did. On the campaign trail in 2016, both China and Iran were key foreign policy obsessions for then U.S. presidential hopeful Donald Trump. When he wasn't promising an end to China's "raping" of America on trade, he vowed to "rip up" the Iran nuclear deal. When he did, in October 2017, the other signatories—Britain, France, and Germany—roundly condemned his abandonment of a deal they deemed to be "working."

For a Trump administration mired in a trade war of its own choosing with China, and now keen to diplomatically isolate Iran, pursuing charges against Meng Wanzhou would serve a number of political ends. Further still, with Huawei now a leading 5G innovator poised to expand its global reach, Trump's many protectionist China hawks—among them, Larry Kudlow, Robert Lighthizer, and noted fabricator Peter Navarro—have powerful commercial and financial incentives to undermine Huawei's brand.

Indeed, as David Crane has astutely pointed out, Trump's White House has also consistently sought to limit Canada's trade and diplomatic relations with China, and would have known that requesting Canada detain Meng would further imperil that relationship, as it has done.

Short of issuing a warrant for her arrest, Trump's Department of Justice could have just as easily gone public with the charges brought against her—as they do when prosecuting cyber espionage suspects from the Chinese military—embarrassing her and discrediting Huawei in the process. Instead, a U.S. federal court issued a silent warrant for her arrest in August 2018—a revelation

that emerged only *after* her detainment in Vancouver that December—thereby implicating Canada in Meng's unnecessary, excessive, and politically motivated detainment.

Viewed within its larger geopolitical context—of a bitter U.S.-China trade war, of American concern over Huawei's rising global stature, of Trump's vendetta against Iran, of American suspicions of Canada-China ties—the arrest of the daughter of Huawei's founder at Washington's behest raises an important question: who started this dangerous game of 'hostage diplomacy'?

Trump then exposed his own hand, commenting mere days after Meng's arrest that he would "certainly intervene" if he "thought it was necessary" to conclude a trade deal with China—his words deeply undermining Canada's independent judiciary, and revealing a casual disregard for Canada's precarious position between these feuding superpowers.

Is it any wonder, then, that China harbours such suspicion over the independence of Canada's judicial process?

Even invested observers like Jean Chrétien and then-ambassador to China John McCallum couldn't hold back from candidly hoping the U.S. would simply drop its extradition request and make this all go away.

That the Trump administration would do that is highly unlikely, if only because its motives for willingly instigating this debacle remain in place: a roiling trade war Washington is hard pressed to win, an interest in poisoning Canada-China ties, and a looming 5G revolution figuring Huawei prominently. In fact, U.S.-China hostility only continues to deepen amidst China's early COVID-19 opaqueness and the U.S. withdrawal of Hong Kong's special status following China's reneging on the region's political sovereignty.

For now, this means Canada will continue to be the battleground and Canadians the casualties, of a much larger U.S.-China war. A war in which Canada's commitment to abiding by its legal foundations and honouring its treaty commitments is exploited by two rivaling powers not even trying to hide the fact they are playing political games.

For their part, Canadians lining up to vent their understandable rage over Beijing's belligerence while letting Trump's White House completely off the hook, only further do Washington's bidding.

Canada is being taken advantage of. By Chinese heavy-handedness, to be sure. But first and foremost, by American deceitfulness. Anyone who refuses to acknowledge this—anyone who is more concerned by Vancouver mansions, and ill-advised photo ops, and 'wolf warrior' diplomacy, and unfounded suspicions of 5G backdoors, and fantasies of a world without China, and how "the Chinese Communist mind" just isn't like ours—is wilfully ignoring the origins of this story: Donald Trump trapped us. To the surprise of no one, he now is nowhere to be found.

From here, Canada is in tough. One approach would be to reach out to, and collaborate with, like-minded middle powers that have been similarly squeezed in their own bilateral relations with China—countries like Australia, Norway, and Sweden.

What we cannot do is to continue to ignore the painful lesson that the Meng Wanzhou affair has taught Canada about Trump's America: that it will manipulate us to serve 'America First,' that it will drag us into harm's way without a second thought, and that it will abandon us when the going gets tough.

*Christopher Tang, a Canadian, is an assistant history professor at the California State University in Bakersfield, California.*  
The Hill Times





THE HILL TIMES POLICY BRIEFING

JUNE 8, 2020

# ENVIRONMENT

Green groups join forces to push for resilient recovery

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**'As minister of environment and climate change, you will lead in implementing the whole-of-government plan for climate action': Wilkinson's mandate letter, a reminder**

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## Environment Policy Briefing



Robert Hornung has been an influential voice in renewable energy for years. Now, as head of the Canadian Renewable Energy Association, his role will be bigger than ever before. Photo courtesy of the Canadian Wind Energy Association

# Wind and solar groups unite in new national renewable energy association ‘during this period of historical global transformation’

On July 1, the Canadian Renewable Energy Association will open its doors.

BY AIDAN CHAMANDY

As the coronavirus restrictions continue to ease across the country, a new national renewable energy association is getting ready to push to ensure “renewable energy and energy storage play a central role in transforming Canada’s energy mix during this period of historical global transformation,” reads a press release from the Canadian Renewable Energy Association.

On July 1, the Canadian Renewable Energy Association will open the doors of its office on Bank Street in downtown Ottawa and begin to advocate for a larger role for renewable energy in meeting Canada’s energy needs.

The upcoming July 1 launch marks the culmination of a months-long process that began in November 2019. On Nov. 28, 2019, the membership of the Canadian Wind Energy Association (CanWEA) and the Canadian Solar Industries Association (CanSIA) voted in favour of amalgamating. Prior to the

November 2019 vote, the boards of CanSIA and CanWEA were in talks for about a year on whether joining forces would better serve their respective members’ interests, said Robert Hornung, president of the Canadian Wind Energy Association in a June 4 phone interview with *The Hill Times*.

Mr. Hornung is now set to take the reins of the Canadian Renewable Energy Association as its inaugural president and CEO, CanWEA and CanSIA announced on May 19.

“I would describe myself as a collaborator and a consensus builder,” Mr. Hornung said. He

said his vision for the new group is one that is “an effective voice in policy debates” and a “solutions provider.”

“We need to understand the diverse needs of different stakeholders and bring forward solutions that are sensitive to those and address them,” he said.

The new association will have staff based in Ottawa, Toronto, Alberta, and Quebec, to reflect a focus on advocating for renewable energy policies under both provincial and federal jurisdictions, Mr. Hornung said. Though at first the group won’t have offices in Saskatchewan and Atlantic Canada, Mr. Hornung said the association still plans to be “very active” in those provinces.

“This is largely an area of provincial responsibility. Every province is unique and every electricity market is unique; therefore it’s important to be engaged on the ground in those regions in order to effectively engage with all stakeholders,” Mr. Hornung said.

On the federal level, as Ottawa looks toward an economic recovery, Mr. Hornung said his organization and its membership can be a big help.

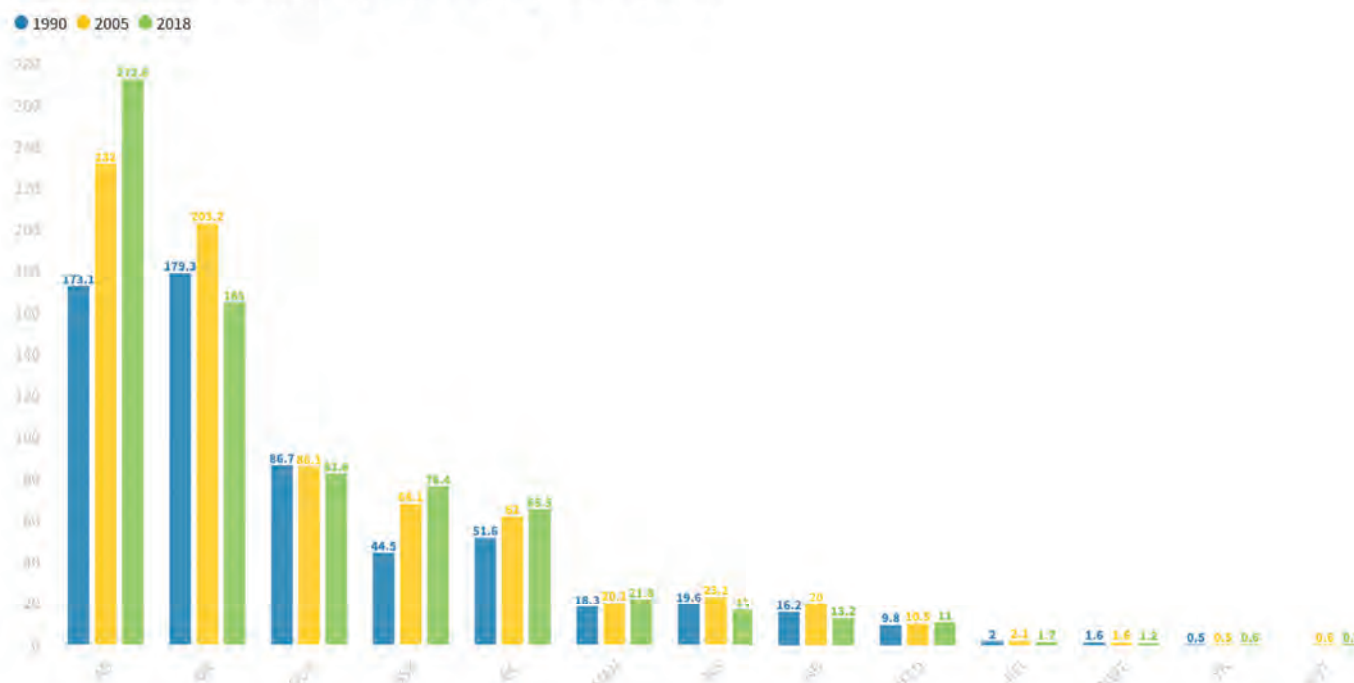
“We want to get people back to work, but we want to ensure that’s also helping us address other issues. We have a significant global challenge in climate change,” Mr. Hornung said. The recovery “represents an opportunity to invest in initiatives that will help us to address that as well.”

On April 3, 12 green groups wrote to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) and several relevant ministers to that end. Mr. Hornung, in his capacity as president of CanWEA, was one of the signatories, along with Wesley Johnston, president and CEO of CanSIA. The letter had three main themes: first, to continue signalling the importance of climate policy; second, to ensure funding for climate policy is sustainable; and third, to focus on existing programs to ensure quick delivery.

He said he’s also been in touch with departments like Natural Resources Canada and Environment Canada to try and figure out ways to put forward solutions to incorporate green technologies and policies “that are efficient and meet the objectives of the government as it shifts its focus from the immediate impacts of COVID to the economic recovery.”

Continued on page 27

### Provincial and territorial greenhouse gas emissions



Source: Environment and Climate Change Canada • Nunavut became a territory in 1999 and therefore is not included in the 1990 analysis



# Canada's untapped cleantech opportunities can transform and help rebuild the economy

Re-shaping of country's workforce key to cleantech sector's future.



**Kevin Nilsen**

*President & CEO, ECO Canada*

ECO Canada has been working with government and industry to grow and support the environmental workforce in Canada for almost 30 years. As a national organization, we provide support across the country to Canadians interested in developing careers in environment-related fields and to the employers looking to fill such roles to grow their business in a sustainable way.

As the steward for the environmental workforce, we are currently sharing our views on how enabling more people to work in the growing cleantech sector can enhance the country's economic recovery in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. There is no question Canada's employment landscape has been shaken, and while some areas are facing significant downturns others such as the cleantech sector are expected to be engines for growth.

## Research points to economic recovery opportunity

ECO Canada does a significant amount of research to determine what sectors of the economy will be growing, what skillsets are required, and how the environmental workforce can be developed to meet such demands.

A study we completed in early 2020 just prior to the pandemic outbreak pointed to major opportunities for Canadian workers to enter a growing cleantech sector at a time when jobs were being minimized in other areas of the economy.

We feel just as strongly today that these jobs can be drivers for an economic recovery that benefits the country as well as helps to improve the environment.

According to the report "Cleantech Defined: A Scoping Study of the Sector and its Workforce," cleantech was a \$1.2 trillion industry in 2015 and had been projected to reach \$2.5 trillion by 2022. While the pandemic will certainly impact that growth trajectory, we still believe investment and interest from both the public and private sectors in cleantech in Canada will grow.

Our research findings highlight Canada as a top country in the world from a research and innovation perspective. And although this is worth celebrating, it is worrisome that we only rank number 16 in terms of global market share in cleantech.

We must ensure future funding is not only limited to "new" and "innovative," but also encompasses commercialization and the building of a deep workforce. Doing so will help Canada gain a greater slice of that global revenue pie. Canada has a long history of breeding great innovators so with the relaunch of the economy following COVID-19 we also need to ensure we take the steps to commercialize and capitalize on our innovations.

## Pandemic leading people to seek new employment options

The COVID-19 pandemic along with recent developments in Canada's economy, such as stalled energy projects, are prompting workers to consider new industrial sectors for employment. This may be an effective way to build a talent pipeline to the cleantech sector. We know a number of industries are already expanding their demand for cleantech expertise in the near term. Energy, mining, manufacturing, forestry and hydro all present massive cleantech opportunities. Agriculture and construction are both making progress in reducing costs while promoting environmental sustainability. Trucking and transportation firms are also committed to looking at ways to reduce their footprints and decrease costs through route optimization and other innovations.

These are sectors of the economy which we want to get re-started and operating efficiently and effectively as they all provide major employment opportunities for Canadians. Jobs in cleantech are broad and range from engineers, geologists, and project managers to tradespeople and machine operators. Employers we work with are seeing the marketplace moving away from some of the typical jobs in traditional industries to more opportunities in the cleantech space. These companies see the need for skilled and talented people who find ways to deliver value by developing new technologies, testing new services and producing higher efficiency products.

We know these workers' expertise and abilities are vital

to us to recover our economy and take a leadership role globally in cleantech.

## Expanding skillsets will be required to develop capabilities

According to the report "Cleantech Defined: A Scoping Study of the Sector and its Workforce," cleantech was a \$1.2 trillion industry in 2015 and had been projected to reach \$2.5 trillion by 2022. While the pandemic will certainly impact that growth trajectory, we still believe investment and interest from both the public and private sectors in cleantech in Canada will grow.

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## Our goal is a healthy economic recovery for Canada

A successful cleantech strategy will lead to healthier bottom lines for companies by reducing costs, improving performance, reducing environmental impact and ensuring the sustainable use of natural resources. That's something all Canadians, as well as our governments, want.

I'm excited by the opportunity new investment in the environmental workforce can bring to Canada's economic recovery. We need government and industry working together to recover the economy and to put us on a strong footing globally. We are championing these efforts now.

ECO Canada is perfectly suited to bridge the gap between the people and the evolving skillsets required to support industry as employers generate new ways of doing business and find new markets globally. Our economic recovery depends on us developing such solutions and putting people and their talents to work in environment-related fields. We've been doing this successfully for some 30 years.

**To review ECO Canada's Cleantech Report or access other workforce reports, contact us at [research@eco.ca](mailto:research@eco.ca).**



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## Environment Policy Briefing

# Canada's at a crossroads, we should choose right path

We can go backwards to so-called 'business as usual' with horrific conditions in long-term care homes, widespread inequality, and no real action on climate change. Or we can build for better.



NDP MP Laurel Collins

*Opinion*

Canadians have been shaken by this pandemic. It has exposed the gaps in our health-care system and our so-

cial safety net, and it has intensified the growing inequalities in our society. It has brought into sharp focus how vulnerable we all are when disaster hits. Most of all, it has showed us that we need to take better care of people and the planet.

And, now we are at a crossroads.

We can go backwards to so-called "business as usual" with horrific conditions in long-term care homes, widespread inequality, and no real action on climate change.

Or we can build for better.

Environmental groups, civil society organizations, and communities across the country have been calling for a new way forward. They are calling for a sustainable and just recovery that ensures the health

and prosperity of everyone in Canada and our climate.

At the same time, there are those who are calling for us to go back to depending on old unsustainable industries, more privatization, and deeper cuts.

There are those who want to go back to the old "normal" of getting stimulus funds into the pockets of CEO and shareholders instead of helping workers transition to the good, green, family supporting jobs of the future.

It's important to acknowledge what the old "normal" looks like for our climate.

Is Canada on track to meeting our targets? In a word, no.

In 2016, Canada committed to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by 30 per cent compared to 2005 levels, and the Liberals later acknowledged this target was inadequate and committed to exceeding it. Despite these promises, and lots of talk about climate leadership, the Liberals have failed. In fact, emissions have been rising. In the most recent national inventory report, the government admitted that they've allowed Canada's emissions count to jump back up to 729 megatonnes, close to 2005 levels, erasing almost all of the progress we'd made since then.

The old "normal" also means inadequate laws and insufficient enforcement to protect the environment and human health. Even before COVID-19, the government was well behind schedule in reforming the Canadian Environmental Protection Act. In fact, over the last five years, Environment Canada has been doing significantly fewer inspections, investigations, and prosecutions to enforce the laws that protect people from toxic chemicals and air pollution.

The minister of the environment and climate change now says that many of the Liberal promises on climate action have to be delayed. This includes updating national climate targets as part of Canada's commitments under the Paris Agreement, and updating fuel standards that are a key part of the government's own climate strategy.

While the government has been rightly focused on the response to COVID-19, we cannot not lose sight of the fact that we are still facing another great threat to our health and livelihoods. As we move into the recovery phase, we need to recognize the opportunity to prioritize and invest in the bold action required to address climate change for future generations of Canadians.

Previous economic crises, like the global financial crisis of 2008, saw temporary decreases in greenhouse gas emissions, followed by rebounds to higher levels than before. We must build for better this time.

Recovery following the pandemic is a historic opportunity to invest in the infrastructure we need to ensure a livable future, and we can't afford to waste it.

We have the opportunity to transition to a low-carbon economy, respect Indigenous rights and build a healthier society for everyone. We can do all of this while investing in infrastructure to meet the challenges of the 21st century and creating millions of good, sustainable jobs that would allow workers here in Canada and their families to thrive for many years to come.

This is an opportunity to make immediate investments in public transit, affordable housing, energy-efficient retrofits, renewable energy projects, and electrical grid expansion, which will create sustainable jobs, save families money, and protect the planet. We can build for better.

We can fight climate change, homelessness, and inequality like we really want to win.

We can build a Canada where we take better care of the planet and better care of each other.

NDP MP Laurel Collins, who represents Victoria, B.C., is her party's environment and climate change critic.

*The Hill Times*

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## Polytechnics: Key to Climate Agenda!

By Sarah Watts-Rynard

Chief Executive Officer, Polytechnics Canada

Less than a year ago, thousands of protesters marched through the downtown Ottawa streets demanding climate action, while hundreds more watched through their office windows. Today, with offices empty and large gatherings restricted, the global pandemic has grabbed the headlines and our collective attention is focused elsewhere. It remains to be seen whether climate change will take a backseat to economic recovery and other urgencies of the day, as it has so many times before.

We have reason to be hopeful. When everyone was told to stay home, people in cities around the world commented on improved air quality. Many have identified bike lanes and wider sidewalks as alternatives to crowded public transit – an eco-friendlier solution than more parking spaces. In conversations about recovery, there is a sense it must be tied to broader climate change ambitions. Yet, with governments facing competing priorities, sustained progress will clearly rely on leaders from all sectors of the economy. Canada's polytechnics are already out of the gate.

At the intersection of talent development and business innovation, polytechnic institutions are addressing environmental sustainability in three connected ways:

- As publicly funded exemplars of net-zero and eco-friendly buildings, behaviours and experimentation,
- As hubs for the development of "green skills" among the thinkers and doers who will drive our sustainability agenda, and
- As innovation intermediaries, helping businesses rethink their processes, products and systems and adopt new technology.

As both magnets for next-generation talent and pillars within their communities, polytechnics are leading by example. They are adopting sustainability strategies that target the entire operation of their campuses, including net-zero infrastructure, zero-waste facilities and the adoption of eco-friendly technologies. Polytechnics are integrating environmental considerations across all aspects of their operations, not just preparing learners for a sustainable future, but living it themselves.

And, there's more to come. In 2021, George Brown will begin construction on The Arbour, Ontario's first mass-timber, low-carbon institutional building. This energy-efficient 10-storey building will use passive energy strategies and carbon-free energy production to address operational needs. With an innovative mix of passive and active climate control systems, The Arbour will require little additional fuel for much of the year. Natural ventilation using operable windows and dual solar chimneys will allow the building to "breathe."

One of the benefits of environmentally friendly campuses is that students see climate action up close. Canada's economy will need a workforce equipped with the skills necessary to operate and install alternative energy grids, maintain and repair fleets of electric vehicles and implement the most up-to-date retrofit and green building techniques. Canada's polytechnics are committed to developing a talent pipeline with these skills and the many others necessary to transition to a green economy. Today's polytechnic students are developing a sustainability mindset that is open to innovation and ready for collaborative problem-solving.

For example, the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology's Integrated Water Management program focuses on the skills required to identify local solutions to global water issues. The first of its kind in Canada, the program emphasizes water monitoring program development, data analysis, project management, site assessment and emergency preparedness, among other competencies. Students develop specialized applied knowledge by completing a capstone research project in either water environmental technologies or advanced industry applications.

An essential element of accomplishing Canada's environmental goals and ambitions will be reaching beyond the technology, systems and processes on which we now rely. Pragmatic technology- and innovation-based solutions will be critical additions to carbon taxes and other market-based levers.

As innovation intermediaries, Canada's polytechnics possess the significant applied research capacity essential to implementing climate-focused technologies and processes. They are both living laboratories for sustainability and hubs for environmentally focused applied research. Polytechnics are recruiting experts to drive a sustainability research agenda, mobilizing knowledge so that best practices can be shared and scaled. They are helping organizations of all sizes adopt, implement and commercialize new solutions to reduce our carbon footprint, setting the stage for wider adoption of what works best.

One such example is happening right here in Ottawa. In partnership with Ottawa's Glebe Community Centre, Algonquin College's Construction Research Centre recently undertook a project to analyze and reduce carbon emissions for the Centre's 100-year old building. Existing energy data was supplemented by thermal imaging to survey the condition of the building envelope and develop a building information model to produce energy simulations. The model laid the groundwork for cost- and resource-efficient solutions to limit carbon emissions of one of the city's heritage buildings.

We know that environmental action will require attention through the current crisis and many other challenges to come, through successive mandates and successive governments. As applied research hubs, curators of workforce-relevant skills and leaders within their communities, polytechnics will be important contributors over the long haul.



WWW.POLYTECHNICSCANADA.CA



# Canada is going in the wrong direction fighting climate change

The climate, biodiversity, and pollution emergencies cannot keep being put on hold.



Green Party Leader Elizabeth May

Opinion

SAANICH GULF ISLANDS, B.C.—In the midst of a pandemic, it is hard to keep a focus on anything else. When overlaying that pandemic, south of our border, we watch a gathering storm of race-based violence and white supremacy, unmasked on the faces of police officers in state after state, it is harder to keep a focus.

The United States of America is no longer a safe place. And the ongoing recklessness of its president—whether in the face of COVID-19, or daytime murders of innocent and unarmed black men, or the climate emergency, Donald Trump makes the world less safe.

Still, this issue of *The Hill Times* is giving us a rare chance in our spiralling crises to focus on those things that are falling through the cracks—like the planet.

The recent decision to postpone the planned Glasgow climate negotiations from November 2020 to November 2021 is very bad news indeed. The Conference of

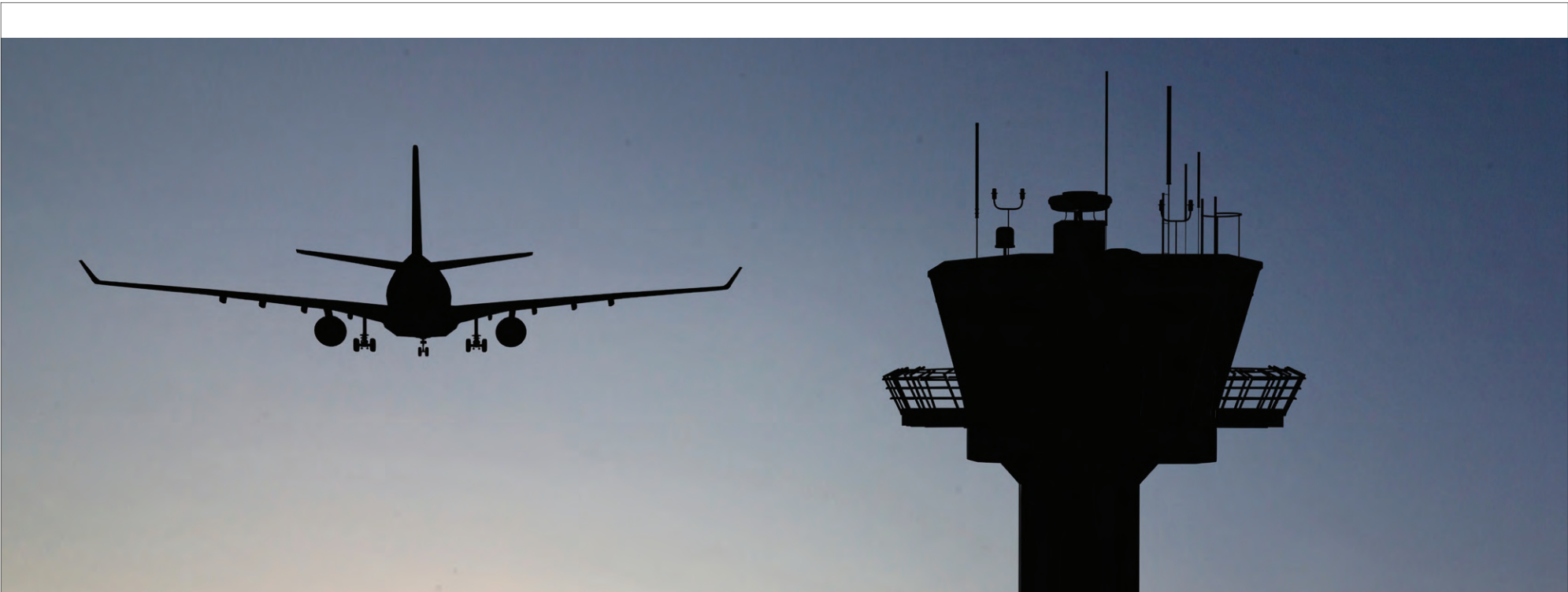


According to *The Energy Mix*, ‘Canada has lavished at least C\$13.8-billion per year in public financing on oil and gas projects since signing onto the Paris Climate Agreement, making it the fossil industry’s highest per capita source of public finance in the G20, and their second-largest overall benefactor after China, according to a blistering new report issued today by Oil Change International and Friends of the Earth U.S.,’ which Green Parliamentary Leader Elizabeth May writes is outrageous. *The Hill Times* file photograph by Jake Wright

the Parties (COPs) are annual. But some years are more important than others. Clearly, COP3 in Kyoto, COP 11 in Montreal, disastrous COP15 in Copenhagen, and successful COP21 in Paris were very important COPs. So too is the upcoming meeting.

The year 2020 is the year designated in the Paris Agreement for a full review of existing targets with a requirement that countries accelerate their carbon reductions to meet the treaty’s goals—holding global

Continued on page 27



Canada’s aviation industry is working throughout this crisis to serve the critical needs of Canadians. From runway maintenance, to emergency response preparedness, to keeping goods, medical supplies and essential workers moving, Canada’s airports are maintaining our high safety standards.



As we look to the future, our industry is working with government so airports can meet these needs and be prepared to support Canada’s economic recovery.

Learn more about how Canada’s airports are continuing to support our economy and communities at [canadasairports.ca](https://canadasairports.ca).



## Environment Policy Briefing

# A smarter say to healing the environment

Emerging opportunities, driven by advances in information and communication technologies (ICTs), offer new insights about building an interconnected future that has a much lighter environmental footprint.



Jatin Nathwani

Opinion

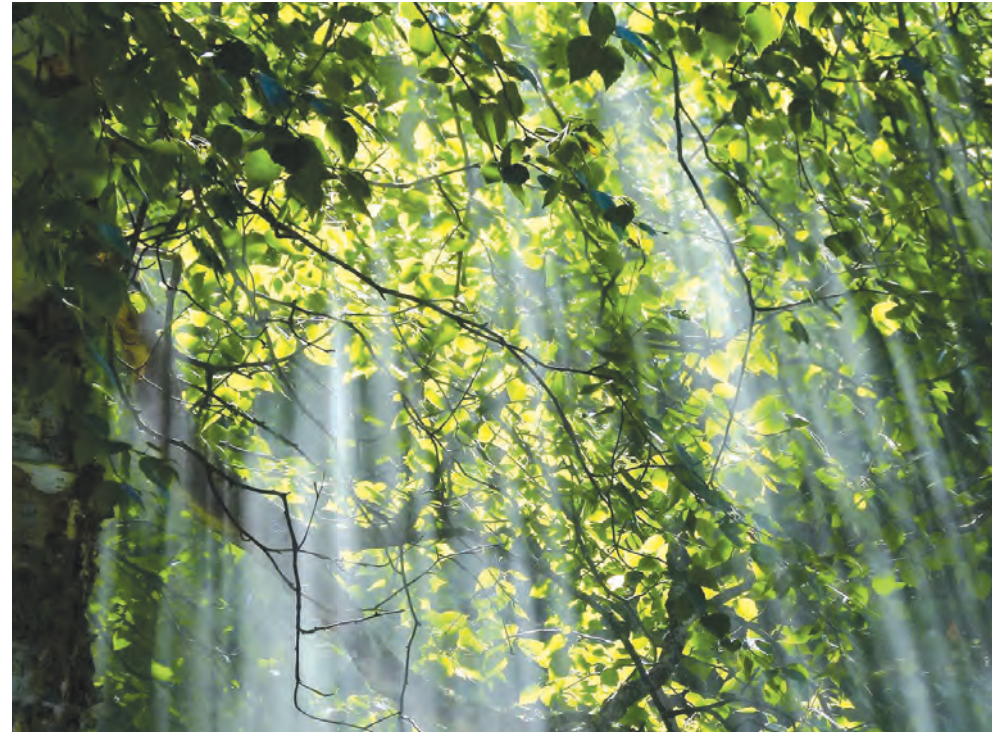
This much we know well: Canada, like most countries, is dependent on fossil fuels for most of its energy. Fossil fuels in turn are the largest source of greenhouse gases from human activity and these emissions are causing pervasive changes in the Earth's climate, posing large risks to a fragile ecosystem that needs much

healing. The dire consequences of no action—ranging from extreme weather to flood, fires, famines, rising sea levels, and threatened ecosystems—have also been well-documented and are embedded within our cultural narrative of concern for the environment. A recitation of a tale of woe is not my objective because it simply creates a numbing effect, paralyzing further meaningful conversation. COVID-19 has exhausted our capacity to worry.

Here, I will focus on: “What can we do?” to mitigate the worst of the consequences and actions that will help us adapt to a world that is less acrimonious and more benign to the environment. The daily insults we hurl at the environment through our hyper-consumption patterns supported by rapid extraction of natural resources is very much a part of the economic growth paradigm. Is there a pathway for long-term sustainability of the environmental common that will meet our immediate needs but also that of future generations?

Looking through the lens of sustainability rather than a “greening” environmental lens, it is helpful to identify a few technological options that look promising. We can think of sustainability as the basis for improvement in environmental performance that yields social benefits as well such as improved health or quality of life.

Emerging opportunities, driven by advances in information and communication technologies (ICTs), offer new insights about building an interconnected future that has a much lighter environmental footprint. We are already witnessing the role of these technologies as they rapidly



An interconnected world, enabled by smart sensors, devices and data is one healing option for a sustainable environment. Photograph courtesy of Pixabay

weave their way into all aspects of our daily lives. It goes beyond simple use of devices such as computers, smart phones and tablets but all objects that we connect and interact with including cars, buildings, appliances and entertainment choices.

The information and communication technologies not only enable communication between people, but between people and objects, and between objects themselves. Many ICT-enabled solutions have already improved Canada's environmental performance through, for example, innovations that reduce energy consumption in buildings or enhancing the monitoring capabilities of the environment with low cost sensors and devices. We are witnessing dramatic changes in how water and electricity are delivered to consumers, enabling the use of mapping to develop and monitor new conservation programs, smart meters to educate consumers on their electricity or water use, and sensors to monitor delivery systems and ensure optimal efficiency.

The most dramatic and impactful development in a positive direction will be the ubiquitous role of sensors and devices in reducing the global carbon emissions from the transport sector. We are at the cusp of a massive disruption in the transport sector within a decade or two that will prove to be most benign to the environment. This is not simply increasing the efficiency of vehicles envisaged under a ‘business-as-usual’ scenario or increased penetration of electric vehicles—albeit they remain important—but it is a revolution in transport referred to as ‘Transport-as-a Service’ (TaaS). Autonomous or semi-autonomous electric vehicles replacing the gasoline and diesel fuelled cars will deliver, initially, the services we need most effectively in dense urban environments. Over time this will evolve to satisfy other niche applications. At its core, ‘TaaS’ is a fundamental shift away from car ownership as the model for mobility. It allows individuals access transport services: ‘any time, any place when and where’ required.

This disruption is driven primarily by large cost savings to the consumer. It is achieved through a vastly improved utilization of an asset. For example, the car I own is essentially used five per cent of the time. For 95 per cent of the time, it sits in a parking lot or a garage at home. Once it becomes clear that the upfront cost of buying

a car plus the ongoing cost of operating and maintaining is far higher—by a factor of two to 10 times higher—then TaaS becomes highly attractive. The cost of ownership is replaced by a ‘single’ per usage charge that offers greater convenience, lower cost and a lower environmental footprint.

The emergence and successful penetration of transport as a service will depend on one key challenge: as a consumer, we want a “point-to-point” or “door-to-door” access at all times. Digital technologies are now at the cusp of delivering autonomous electric vehicles acting as the enablers of a positive transformation of the transport sector away from oil-based internal combustion engines.

One of the primary environmental benefits of switching to an electric, autonomous and shared personal transport system is the reduction of CO2 emissions and congestion within and near larger urban environments. Recent analyses indicate that oil consumption from U.S. passenger vehicles will decline from over eight million barrels per day in 2020 to under one million barrels per day in 2030 implying a 90 per cent reduction in oil demand. Whether the timing proves to be correct is not germane. Looking ahead, oil's dominant role in transport will wane. The trend towards disruption is clearly evident.

Rapid penetration of electric mobility combined with a digitally interconnected system for ‘Transport-as-a Service’ offers a pathway for a much cleaner environment.

The transport and the oil and gas sector in Canada contribute a lion's share of greenhouse gas emissions. This emerging solution (TaaS) for mobility will not only reduce GHG emissions and lower traffic congestion and air pollution, it will increase the efficiency of material use, allows us the flexibility to think creatively about land use, urban planning and making the most of the collective environmental endowment. An interconnected world, enabled by smart sensors, devices and data is one healing option for a sustainable environment.

Jatin Nathwani is the founding executive director of the Waterloo Institute for Sustainable Energy, and he holds the Ontario Research Chair in Public Policy for Sustainable Energy at the University of Waterloo.

The Hill Times



Canada's egg farmers are leading the way to a *sustainable future*

With innovation and new efficiencies, we're helping pave the path to a sustainable future for the fresh, high-quality eggs that Canadians love.



Read our Sustainability Story at [eggfarmers.ca](http://eggfarmers.ca) to learn more.





# FEEL THE NEED TO SPREAD YOUR WINGS?



When the time comes, nature will be waiting for you.

Canadians have coped with a lot the past few months. But through it all, the Natural Heritage Conservation Program (NHCP) has been hard at work protecting the species and spaces we love.

Thank you to the Government of Canada for its continued support of the NHCP. Together we have conserved thousands of hectares in more than 130 projects right across the country during the program's first year.





## Environment Policy Briefing

# ‘As minister of environment and climate change, you will lead in implementing the whole-of-government plan for climate action’

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s mandate letter written to Environment Minister David Wilkinson on Dec. 13, 2019, for the record.



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau

Opinion

It is more important than ever for Canadians to unite and build a stronger, more inclusive and more resilient country. The Government of Canada is the central institution to promote that unity of purpose and, as a minister in that government, you have a personal duty and responsibility to fulfill that objective.

Many of our most important commitments require partnership with provincial, territorial and municipal governments and Indigenous partners, communities and governments. Even where disagreements may occur, we will remember that our mandate comes from citizens who are served by all orders of government and it is in everyone’s interest that we work together to find common ground. The deputy prime minister and minister of intergovernmental affairs is the government-wide lead on all relations with the provinces and territories.

There remains no more important relationship to me and to Canada than the one with Indigenous peoples. We made significant progress in our last mandate on supporting self-determination, improving service delivery and advancing reconciliation. I am directing every single minister to determine what they can do in their specific portfolio to accelerate and build on the progress we have made with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples.

I also expect us to continue to raise the bar on openness, effectiveness and transparency in government. This means a government that is open by default. It means better digital capacity and services for Canadians. It means a strong and resilient public service. It also means humility and continuing to acknowledge mistakes when we make them. Canadians do not expect us to be perfect; they expect us to be diligent, honest, open and sincere in our efforts to serve the public interest.

As minister, you are accountable for your style of leadership and your ability to work constructively in Parliament. I expect that you will collaborate closely with your cabinet and caucus colleagues. You will also meaningfully engage with the government caucus and opposition Members of Parliament, the increasingly non-partisan Senate, and parliamentary committees.

It is also your responsibility to substantively engage with Canadians, civil society and stakeholders, including businesses of all sizes, organized labour, the broader public sector and the not-for-profit and charitable sectors. You must be proactive in ensuring that a broad array of voices provides you with advice, in both official languages, from every region of the country.

We are committed to evidence-based decision-making that takes into consideration the impacts of policies on all Canadians and fully defends the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. You will apply gender-based analysis plus (GBA+) in the decisions that you make.

Canada’s media and your engagement with them in a professional and timely manner are essential. The Parliamentary Press Gallery, indeed all journalists in Canada and abroad, ask necessary questions and contribute in an important way to the democratic process.

You will do your part to continue our government’s commitment to transparent, merit-based appointments, to help ensure that people of all gender identities, Indigenous peoples, racialized people, persons with disabilities, and minority groups are reflected in positions of leadership.

As minister of environment and climate change, you will lead in implementing the whole-of-government plan for climate action, a cleaner environment and a sustainable economy. This includes exceeding current 2030 targets and developing a plan to achieve a net-zero emissions economy by 2050.

I will expect you to work with your colleagues and through established legislative, regulatory and cabinet processes to deliver on your top priorities. In particular, you will:

- Implement the Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change, while strengthening existing and introducing new greenhouse gas reducing measures to exceed Canada’s 2030 emissions reduction goal and beginning work so that Canada can achieve net-zero emissions by 2050.
- Lead government-wide efforts to develop a plan to set Canada on a path to achieve a prosperous net-zero emissions future by 2050. This includes:
  - Setting legally-binding, five-year emissions-reduction milestones based on the advice of experts and consulta-



The prime minister wants Environment Minister David Wilkinson, pictured, to, among other things, ‘implement the Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change, while strengthening existing and introducing new greenhouse gas reducing measures to exceed Canada’s 2030 emissions reduction goal and beginning work so that Canada can achieve net-zero emissions by 2050.’ *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

- tions with Canadians; and
  - Working with the minister of innovation, science and industry and the minister of natural resources to position Canada as a global leader in clean technology.
  - Work with the minister of natural resources and provinces and territories to complete all flood maps in Canada.
  - Support the minister of natural resources to operationalize the plan to plant two billion incremental trees over the next 10 years, as part of a broader commitment to nature-based climate solutions that also encompasses wetlands and urban forests.
  - Work with the minister of natural resources to help cities expand and diversify their urban forests. You will both also invest in protecting trees from infestations and, when ecologically appropriate, help rebuild our forests after a wildfire.
  - Expand the Learn-to-Camp program to meet the target that 400,000 kids each year learn basic camping skills.
  - Provide a bursary for children and their families who live in poverty or underprivileged circumstances that create significant barriers to visiting national or provincial parks.
  - Advance Parks Canada’s efforts to play a leadership role in natural and cultural heritage conservation and promotion, and work to ensure that Canada’s national parks and national historic sites are a source of national pride and enjoyment today and for future generations.
  - Work with the minister of Canadian heritage to provide clearer direction on how national heritage places should be designated and preserved, and to develop comprehensive legislation on federally owned heritage places.
  - Work with the minister of fisheries, oceans and the Canadian Coast Guard to introduce a new ambitious plan to conserve 25 per cent of Canada’s land and 25 per cent of Canada’s oceans by 2025, working toward 30 per cent of each by 2030. This plan should be grounded in science, Indigenous knowledge and local perspectives. Advocate at international gatherings that countries around the world set a 30 per cent conservation goal for 2030 as well.
  - Implement our plan to ban harmful single-use plastic products and take steps toward eliminating plastic pollution in Canada. This includes working with provinces and territories to develop national targets, standards and regulations that will make companies that manufacture plastic products or sell items with plastic packaging responsible for collecting and recycling them.
  - Work with the minister of health to better protect people and the environment from toxins and other pollution, including by strengthening the Canadian Environmental Protection Act, 1999.
  - With the support of the minister of agriculture and agri-food, create a new Canada Water Agency to work together with the provinces, territories, Indigenous communities, local authorities, scientists and others to find the best ways to keep our water safe, clean and well-managed.
  - Develop further protections and take active steps to clean up the Great Lakes, Lake Winnipeg, Lake Simcoe and other large lakes.
  - Continue to work to protect biodiversity and species at risk, while engaging with provinces, territories, Indigenous communities, scientists, industry and other stakeholders to evaluate the effectiveness of the existing *Species at Risk Act* and assess the need for modernization.
  - Support the minister of transport and the minister of fisheries, oceans and the Canadian Coast Guard in implementing the Oceans Protection Plan.
  - Work with the minister of innovation, science and industry, the minister of transport and the minister of natural resources to advance toward our zero-emission vehicles targets of 10 per cent of light-duty vehicles sales per year by 2025, 30 per cent by 2030 and 100 per cent by 2040.
- These priorities draw heavily from our election platform commitments. As mentioned, you are encouraged to seek opportunities to work across Parliament in the fulfillment of these commitments and to identify additional priorities.
- I expect you to work closely with your deputy minister and their senior officials to ensure that the ongoing work of your department is undertaken in a professional manner and that decisions are made in the public interest.

Your deputy minister will brief you on the many daily decisions necessary to ensure the achievement of your priorities, the effective running of the government and better services for Canadians. It is my expectation that you will apply our values and principles to these decisions so that they are dealt with in a timely and responsible manner and in a way that is consistent with the overall direction of our Government.

Our ability, as a government, to implement our priorities depends on consideration of the professional, non-partisan advice of public servants. Each and every time a government employee comes to work, they do so in service to Canada, with a goal of improving our country and the lives of all Canadians. I expect you to establish a collaborative working relationship with your Deputy Minister, whose role, and the role of public servants under their direction, is to support you in the performance of your responsibilities.

We have committed to an open, honest government that is accountable to Canadians, lives up to the highest ethical standards and applies the utmost care and prudence in the handling of public funds. I expect you to embody these values in your work and observe the highest ethical standards in everything you do. I want Canadians to look on their own government with pride and trust.

As minister, you must ensure that you are aware of and fully compliant with the Conflict of Interest Act and Treasury Board policies and guidelines. You will be provided with a copy of Open and Accountable Government to assist you as you undertake your responsibilities. I ask that you carefully read it, including elements that have been added to strengthen it, and ensure that your staff does so as well. I expect that in staffing your offices you will hire people who reflect the diversity of Canada, and that you will uphold principles of gender equality, disability equality, pay equity and inclusion.

Give particular attention to the ethical guidelines set out in annex ‘a’ of that document, which apply to you and your staff. As noted in the guidelines, you must uphold the highest standards of honesty and impartiality, and both the performance of your official duties and the arrangement of your private affairs should bear the closest public scrutiny. This is an obligation that is not fully discharged by simply acting within the law.

I will note that you are responsible for ensuring that your minister’s office meets the highest standards of professionalism and that it is a safe, respectful, rewarding, and welcoming place for your staff to work.

I know I can count on you to fulfill the important responsibilities entrusted in you. It is incumbent on you to turn to me and the deputy prime minister early and often to support you in your role as minister.

This is Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s mandate letter written to Environment Minister David Wilkinson on Dec. 13, 2019. The letter was edited to fit the printed page.

*The Hill Times*



## Policy Briefing Environment

# Think system change for Canada's low-carbon reboot

Ending our reliance on fossil fuels will require that we keep the renewed sense of compassion and togetherness prompted by COVID-19. The climate fight is the ultimate long game and a tough political battle, but our collective experience through COVID-19 tells us another future is possible.



Marc Lee

Opinion

VANCOUVER—There is growing momentum for a low-carbon reboot of our high-carbon economy as we emerge from a pandemic-induced shutdown.

Our COVID-19 experience invites us to reimagine an alterna-

tive future with vastly different rules and social norms that place public health and collective well-being above all.

Unlike the economic response to COVID-19, climate action over the past couple decades has been slow and plodding. The climate conversation in Canada needs to move beyond noble aspirations accompanied by awkward contradictions around the expansion of fossil fuel extraction and production.

In spite of the huge disruption to our hyper-mobile lifestyles, the carbon impact of shutting down due to the pandemic appears to be comparably small. While there were significant declines in passenger transportation, commercial building energy use,

and electricity generation during the shutdown period, these areas account for only 29 per cent of Canada's emissions.

While some of this drop could become locked in as a permanent change in how we do things—less business travel, more work from home—other parts could roar back when restrictions are lifted.

Unlike buildings and transportation, most of us don't see the massive complex of industrial emissions needed to get materials out of the ground, constructed into capital goods, processed into useful goods and services, and incineration or landfilling at the end of life.

This points to structural changes in the way we do things and how we organize society if we are to achieve deep emission reductions that meet the targets in the Paris Agreement on climate change. Individual behaviour change helps, but it's time to put the hand-wringing about green consumer choices aside for something more systemic.

The most successful jurisdictions in reducing their carbon emissions to date have been those removing coal-fired power. This shift did not rely on millions of people deciding to switch their

homes off of coal because of modest levels of carbon pricing changing incentives at the margin.

Instead, it was done at a system-wide level by regulatory fiat. We need more of these types of structural reductions in emissions that span the entire economy.

There is also good reason to believe that large emission reductions could come from dramatically shrinking the carbon and ecological footprint of our economy by "closing the loop" on material flows. Aggressive zero waste policies could move beyond recycling and composting to redesigning products, as well as reducing and reusing materials. There is a huge opportunity to displace energy demand and carbon emissions from raw materials extraction and processing.

Achieving deep emission reductions also means Canada must come to grips with its alter ego as a major producer and exporter of fossil fuels. More than one quarter of Canada's total emissions are from the extraction and processing of fossil fuels.

To get on a pathway to our 2050 target of net zero emissions, we need to shift investment patterns away from fossil fuels and into clean, green, public investments that build the world we want.

To lean into carbon emissions as we emerge from the pandemic, much higher carbon taxes on currently super-low fuel prices could be implemented, with pro-

ceeds used to invest in the clean economy we want.

Investments in new affordable housing and social infrastructure (libraries, child care, and community health centres) could anchor the development of low-carbon, complete communities. This means greater proximity of homes to work, shops, entertainment, parks and public services, and a greater emphasis on walking, biking and transit.

The need for new non-market, rental housing for a growing and aging population provides an opportunity for redevelopment plans that include residential care units close to community health centres.

For workers, the best defence is a good offence: a well-designed transition plan should have a net positive impact on employment because green investments tend to be more labour-intensive. This means we need to invest in people and implement well-resourced just transition plans for workers in affected industries.

Ending our reliance on fossil fuels will require that we keep the renewed sense of compassion and togetherness prompted by COVID-19. The climate fight is the ultimate long game and a tough political battle, but our collective experience through COVID-19 tells us another future is possible.

Marc Lee is a senior economist with the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives' British Columbia office.

The Hill Times

# We may be in uncharted waters, but we aren't lost at sea

Canada should remember what we learned during the 2008 financial crisis and our recovery from it.



Phillip Gass &amp; Aaron Crosby

Opinion

As Canada navigates the COVID-19 pandemic from immediate response, to short-

term relief, and, finally, long-term recovery, its leaders will face increasing scrutiny as to how much money is going where, and to what extent it will help us build back better.

If this all feels vaguely familiar, it's because we've seen it before. When the global financial crisis of 2008 hit, governments around the world began structuring similar stimulus plans. We can learn a lot by looking back at how effective these turned out to be, both in terms of revitalizing economies and forging a path toward a low-carbon, sustainable future.

In the aftermath of the 2008 crisis, many countries implemented two distinct kinds of policies: those that met urgent needs to support vulnerable sectors and people, saving industries and creating jobs; and those that aimed at longer-term recovery.

In the latter category, countries such as the U.S. came out of the financial crisis with policies aimed

at transitioning the energy system toward renewables, rolling out mass broadband, revolutionizing education and health care, investing in research and development, and renewing infrastructure.

While these kinds of long-term policies don't fill the immediate need for jobs, they build a foundation for future growth and prosperity (the central tenet of building back better) by deliberately reshaping the economy.

To do this, you need to have some idea of what you're driving toward. Post-2008, countries including the U.S., Korea, Australia, Japan, and China used stimulus to support and nurture sectors that were poised to drive green recovery, which meant that economic rebuilding went hand in hand with immediate and lasting environmental improvements.

They put people to work retrofitting buildings to high energy-efficiency standards. China launched into its drive for global leadership on wind and solar power manufacturing. The U.S. forced its troubled auto manufacturing sector to reorient and start building fuel-efficient cars that would serve future markets.

It became clear that, in recovering from crisis, a nation could actively reshape its future to become at once greener and more prosperous.

The global financial crisis also taught us that bailouts of companies should be avoided, but if they are necessary, taxpayers should be made whole at the end of the day, and conditions of bailouts should be onerous and tied to policy directives.

Because the auto bailouts in the U.S. were tied to improvements in vehicle efficiency, a lower emitting vehicle fleet was able to thrive, despite decades of resistance by the sector itself. The Canadian auto bailout came with daunting conditions; it forced restructuring and accelerated bankruptcy that wiped out shareholders, replaced senior management and took equity stakes. In the same vein, the present-day bailout of KLM-Air France was conditioned on limiting the airline's ability to compete with France's more environmentally friendly domestic rail services in cases where the journey by rail would be less than 2.5 hours.

Investment in simple, "shovel-ready" projects where finance was constrained also performed well after the 2008 crash, such as energy-efficiency funding for residential and municipal sectors. Areas where there was potential for a high number of standardized small projects, such as efficiency retrofitting, also performed better, and showed lower risk than large, complex infrastructure projects.

But governments must consider what's shovel-worthy, too, applying the principles of smart industrial policy and targeting far-sighted support in areas where latent comparative advantage may take years to emerge. Many countries, notably Europe, made large investments in wind and solar power part of their post-2008 spending. For Europe, this led to a large wind-energy cluster, where countries like Germany held a mechanical engineering advantage.

The inevitable price of this kind of success is risk; the EU investments in solar energy did not create a similar cluster, in part because China already had an advantage in semiconductor electronics.

Policy design is also crucial to avoid unintended consequences and rebound effects. In Australia, a home-insulation program was rapidly instituted, but failed because of a lack of consultation and poor design choices that traded safety, accountability, and effectiveness for speed of implementation. In Japan, subsidies to drive a massive shift toward more efficient, lower-emitting vehicles were a great success, but the decrease in greenhouse gases was largely offset by reductions in road tolls designed to boost tourism, which led people to drive more.

These kinds of pitfalls can be avoided by working across ministries, consulting with stakeholders, and carefully considering policy impacts (both intended and unintended).

We have an opportunity right now for a green transition, with an unprecedented global investment of public funds that will have decades-long repercussions. It's our chance to set Canada on a path of resilience and ensure we can compete in the low-carbon markets of the future.

But in our rush to create policy solutions in these uncharted waters, let's not forget that we can draw on rich experience to help us navigate toward this goal.

Phillip Gass leads IISD's energy transition program. Aaron Crosby is a senior associate with IISD.

The Hill Times





# THE GREAT REBUILDING

A SPECIAL REPORT ON CANADA'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY

*The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade*

Some are calling it '**The Great Rebuilding**,' and Canada's economic recovery will require strong political leadership, quality research, a strategic response, and a strategic plan in order to reopen the economy. In this special report, *The Hill Times* will look at the role of government relations, especially now that everyone needs some kind of government help. Communications with government is vital to industry. What role will government infrastructure projects play in the rebuild? What about defence spending?

Publication date: **June 15, 2020**

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## Policy Briefing Environment

# Wind and solar groups unite in new national renewable energy association ‘during this period of historical global transformation’

Continued from page 18

Mr. Hornung said he’s heard back from the government by way of acknowledgement, but hasn’t had any substantive discussions yet.

“We know that we’ve been heard and we look forward to an ongoing dialogue going forward,” he said.

One specific project Mr. Hornung said he is particularly interested in right now and one which he said could help the economic recovery and contribute to greening the economy is a request for information on renewable electricity generation in Alberta, part of the federal government’s green government initiative.

The tender posted on Public Works and Government Services Canada, which closed May 8, says the government is looking for information on new renewable energy installations that could generate the equivalent of 200,000 to 280,000 megawatt hours annually, which is the amount of energy federal buildings in Alberta consume.

Mr. Hornung has decades of experience as a leader in the renewable energy sector. He’s worked on climate change issues with the Pembina Insti-

tute, serving as policy director from September 1994 to August 2003; Environment Canada; the Organization for Co-operation and Development; and more. After leaving the Pembina Insti-

tute in August 2003, he became president of CanWEA, where he’s worked for nearly 17 years. He also serves on the Advisory Council of Positive Energy, a University of Ottawa initia-

tive seeking to bolster public confidence in Canadian energy policy.

In 1993, the first commercial wind farm in Canada was built near Pincher Creek, Alta. In the

early days, growth was slow. Under Mr. Hornung’s leadership, Canada’s wind power capacity grew by leaps and bounds. In 2004, the year after Mr. Hornung took over, the total installed capacity of wind farms in Canada produced just 444 megawatts per year. Since then, wind power has been one of the fastest-growing energy sources in the country, according to Natural Resources Canada.

According to CanWEA, there are currently 301 wind farms operating coast-to-coast-to-coast producing nearly 14,000 megawatts, enough to power roughly three million homes.

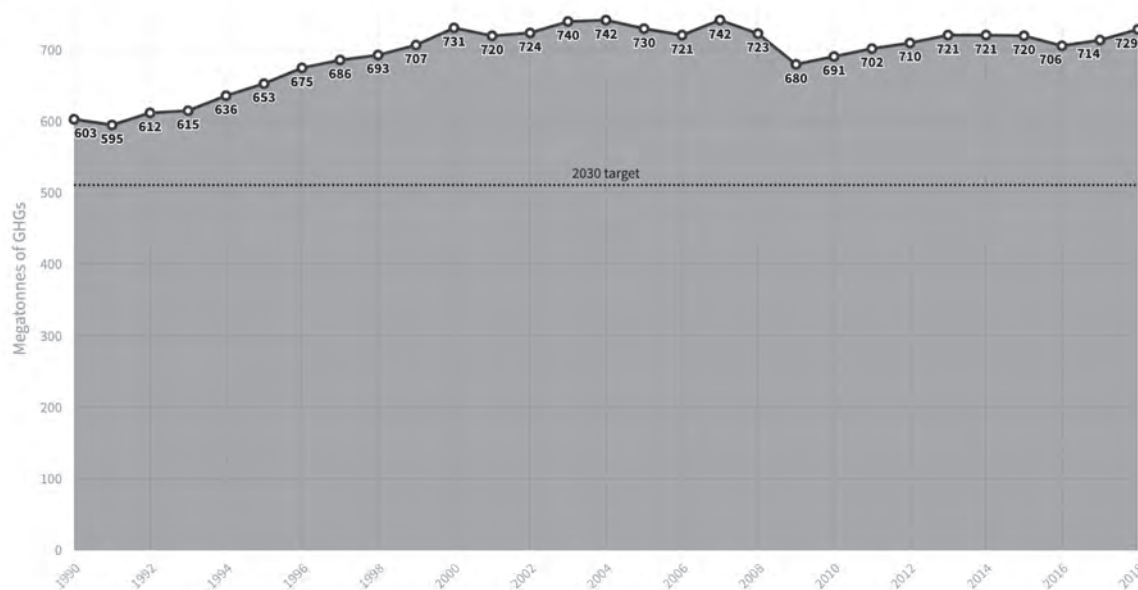
Hydro power still dominates Canada’s renewable energy sector, accounting for more than two-thirds of renewable energy production. Solid biomass is second, accounting for just over 23 per cent, while wind power is a distant third at five per cent, according to NRCAN. The vast majority of wind power comes from Ontario and Quebec.

During the 2019 election campaign, the Liberal platform put action on climate change at the centre of its pitch to voters, along with support for the middle class and stronger gun control.

In addition to promising to exceed Canada’s targets under the Paris Agreements, and to be net-zero by 2050, the platform promised a \$5-billion Clean Power Fund to “support the electrification of Canadian industries, including our resource and manufacturing sectors, and make Canada home to the cleanest mills, mines, and factories in the world” and “help support the transition of northern, remote, and Indigenous communities off reliance on diesel-fuelled power and onto clean, renewable, reliable energy,” the platform reads.

achamandy@hilltimes.com  
The Hill Times

Greenhouse gas emissions since 1990  
Megatonnes



Source: Environment and Climate Change Canada • The federal government has set a goal of 511 megatonnes of GHG emissions by 2030, and net zero by 2050.

# Canada is going in the wrong direction fighting climate change

Continued from page 21

average temperature increase to no more than 1.5 degrees C (as compared to pre-Industrial levels) or as far below 2 C degrees as possible.

While the COP is postponed, the requirement that Canada submit a new target (called a nationally determined contribution—NDC—in UN-speak) is not postponed. The new target is still due in calendar 2020. On May 27, in the hybrid Parliament, I pointed out that the planet’s atmosphere hit an unprecedented 417 parts per million (ppm) that week. When I say “unprecedented” it is in the context of never seen over the last million years. This is cause for alarm. Meanwhile,

one of the hottest places on Earth was inside the Arctic Circle at 30 degrees C. We must ensure that Canada at least doubles our nationally determined contribution this year. (See details at greenparty.ca by clicking on “Mission: Possible” for full details.)

Meanwhile, Canada is going in the wrong direction. A study released May 26 found that of all the G20 countries, Canada is the worst offender of fossil fuels subsidies, reported *The Energy Mix*: “Canada has lavished at least C\$13.8-billion per year in public financing on oil and gas projects since signing onto the Paris Climate Agreement, making it the fossil industry’s highest per capita source of public finance in the G20, and their second-largest overall benefactor

after China, according to a blistering new report issued today by Oil Change International and Friends of the Earth U.S.”

The crisis in loss of biodiversity continues while we focus elsewhere. A very worrying study demonstrated logging in British Columbia is jeopardizing the survival of caribou. Logging is continuing into critical caribou habitat despite the listing of caribou in the federal Species at Risk Act. University of Montana scientist Eric Palm, one of the study’s authors, said “It is dire. They’re going extinct and it is happening now.”

Meanwhile, on our other coast, a coalition of conservation organizations took the Nova Scotia government to court for its multiple failures to act to pro-

tect endangered species. Justice Christa M. Brothers for the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, wrote: “Unless someone like you cares a whole awful lot, nothing is going to get better. It’s not. [Dr. Seuss, *The Lorax*, 1971]” It may be *The Lorax*’s first judicial citation.

Citing failures to act in the cases of the Wood Turtle, Canada Warbler, Ram’s-head Lady Slipper, Eastern Wood Pewee, Black Ash and Mainland Moose, Justice Brothers ruled, “... the minister has exhibited a chronic and systemic failure to implement action required under the ESA [Endangered Species Act].”

We can say that of all ministers administering various bits of endangered species legislation, whether federal or provincial. The

whole system is failing. Species are going extinct. It is time for a fundamental reset to laws that work and ministers who will enforce them.

But what of our pollution laws? Are we doing any better in that corner of Environment Canada? Tragically, things are no better there as inspections and prosecutions for air pollution and toxic chemical violations of the Canadian Environmental Protection Act are down—even as compared to the Harper era.

During the negotiations for unanimous consent to keep Parliament functioning, Greens asked that the House Environment Committee be on the short list of committees back at work. No other party supported our request, and I wasn’t willing to deny and stop the billions of dollars of emergency aid to reach Canadians. But the climate, biodiversity and pollution emergencies cannot keep being put on hold.

Elizabeth May is the MP for Saanich-Gulf Islands, B.C., and the Green Party parliamentary leader.

The Hill Times



## Opinion

# Canada seated on Security Council could constitute a setback for a rules-based order

Canada would be a disruptive force against a rules-based order on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), were it to win the coveted seat later this month.



Robert Assaly

Opinion

VERDUN, QUE.—Canada would be a disruptive force against a rules-based order on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), were it to win the coveted seat later this month.

That is if this government is to be believed.

On one hand, the government's UNSC bid website pitches, "the rules have not been equally applied ... Canada understands the importance of rules-based international order—one in which might is not always right." Except when it comes to Israel, where Canada has virtually promised to ensure that a rules-based order will not be "equally applied," if at all. In 2018, then foreign minister Chrystia Freeland promised a UNSC seat, "would allow Canada to serve as an 'asset for Israel,' whose recent threats of territorial annexation amounting to war crimes had been met with Canadian silence in the face of world-wide condemnation.

"Canada is missing in action," is how Canadian law professor Michael Lynk described it last month, an expert on international law, and the special rapporteur to the UN Human Rights Council on the situation in the Palestinian territory.

Far too little, and possibly too late to the party, Global Affairs finally whispered into the silence this week with a feeble expression of concern about the annexation threat. That came only when the CBC sought a response to a pointed letter invoking the UNSC by dozens of politicians and diplomats,

including former Liberal cabinet ministers. The signatories reminded Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, who has personally lobbied for the seat recently, "that the acquisition of territory through military conquest is illegal, and that the UN Security Council voted on eight occasions between 1967 and 2016 to forbid it" in this case. They pressed him "to publicly acknowledge Canada's commitment to multilateralism and the rule of law," acknowledging that he must be aware that "many of our allies have already spoken out opposing the Israeli proposal."

A couple of days later the prime minister felt compelled to at least "deplore" the annexation, although unable to link it to the rule of law as requested in the letter. Just Peace Advocates spokeswoman Karen Rodman observed, "the comments by the prime minister do not change this long-standing entrenched track record of acting as an asset for Israel."

Also last week, more than 100 Canadian and international NGOs, as well as several prominent individuals, sent a letter to every UN ambassador urging them not to vote for Canada for a UNSC seat. I was one of the co-drafters of this letter. Based on our voting pattern in the last decade, as a shill for Israel at the UN at the expense of UN man-

dated Palestinian rights, the letter recognized that both Ireland and Norway, the other two candidates would make more solid contributions based on their voting records.

Should we lose the vote for the seat again, the prime minister has no one to blame but himself and his hypocrisy on a rules-based order. After Canada holding a UNSC seat in each of the preceding six decades, Stephen Harper's Israel-first policy was blamed for losing it in 2010. In fact, in the last two elections, Trudeau positioned himself to make it a priority this time round.

Lynk concludes, "If Canada's campaign for a council seat is once again unsuccessful, its taciturn approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will surely have been a contributing factor."

Many of the Canadian NGOs who signed the letter to the UN ambassadors in 2018 first encouraged the PM and Freeland, in pending UN votes on Palestine, to "demonstrate the upholding of the 4th Geneva." They affirmed "Canada's impending bid for the United Nations Security Council in 2020" makes it "now more imperative than ever that Canada's voting record at the United Nations is one that reflects the principles of international law. This is especially important as

both Ireland and Norway, who are bidding for this seat, were amongst the 128 countries to vote for peace during the UN General Assembly."

Canadian heads of national churches wrote Minister for Foreign Affairs François-Philippe Champagne last month, implored Canada to speak out against the annexation, observing that it would be a war crime under the IV Geneva Convention. They noted, "Our choices define us as people and nations. It is our prayer that Canada will choose to be a nation that does not remain silent in the face of illegal actions, but will work alongside other nations to uphold human rights and international law."

It seems that even when the chips are down, Canada choice remains Israel, over both international and Canadian law, at the expense of a rules-based order.

Rev. Robert Assaly is the pastor at the St. Thomas More parish in Verdun, Que. In the 1990s, he was the Canadian Council of Churches' liaison to the Middle East Council of Churches, where he served as director of its Jerusalem office, and was the vicar of Gaza. He's also a former vice-chair of the North American Coordinating Committee of NGOs on the Question of Palestine at the UN.

The Hill Times

## The short game and the long game of COVID-19

It's not enough to defeat COVID-19, we need to reduce risks for future pandemics.



Simon Sutcliffe

Opinion

The COVID-19 pandemic has captured the attention of Canadians with an urgency and a level of grudging acceptance unlike any other medical or natural disaster in our lifetime. We have complied with imposed restrictions and privations that would have been thought impossible and unacceptable under normal circumstances mere days before they were imposed.

Containment of this first episode of disease is emerging, and while containment is not cure, it buys time until herd immunity or an effective vaccine confers dis-

ease control, as in the past with smallpox, polio and measles. The promise of containment presages "a return to normal."

But resuming "normal life" will be simply a prelude to ongoing COVID-19 outbreaks (until a vaccine) or to the next pathogen that emerges. After all, SARS-CoV-2 is but one of many coronaviruses and other animal viruses that could give rise to the next pandemic.

The repeated emergence of pandemics presents the greater and on-going threat to present and future society.

We have demonstrated we can change behaviours, lifestyles and social and business practices for short, sustained periods to overcome an acute challenge to our well-being. But do we have the collective courage, resolve and wisdom to confront the global circumstances that generate the conditions in which pandemics arise?

It's not good enough to contain this pandemic. We need to reduce the risk of future and recurring pandemics.

Control of pandemics requires more from us societally and politically than containment of the infection. COVID-19 and major pandemics of past eras have not been caused by a new pathogen, but a pathogen new to us. They result from transfer of an animal

pathogen into a human, either directly, or through a secondary animal host.

Pandemics are a mirror of our choices and actions that create the conditions that favour novel virus transmission between animals, commonly wild, and humans. How does this happen?



infrastructure, climate change causing habitat change, altering wet lands, river flows and flood plains with consequent human and animal migration and change in insect vector distribution, for example.

There are also wild animal markets bringing live wild and

Health Minister Patty Hajdu, pictured May 26, 2020, arriving for a media briefing on the Hill. The COVID-19 pandemic has captured the attention of Canadians with an urgency and a level of grudging acceptance unlike any other medical or natural disaster in our lifetime. We have complied with imposed restrictions and privations that would have been thought impossible and unacceptable under normal circumstances mere days before they were imposed, writes Simon Sutcliffe. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

It can happen through deforestation with the consequent reduction of biodiversity, the destruction of habitats due to human encroachment for agriculture and trade, juxtaposing agriculture and urbanization without consideration of public health

domesticated food sources into human contact, the hunting and sale of wild animals as "bushmeat," the ownership of exotic wild species as pets and air travel transferring infections anywhere in 24 hours without the possibility of quarantine.

Such factors are exacerbated by social circumstances, including poverty, hunger, overcrowding, limited education, poor hygiene and the social distress of disparities, insecurity and uncertainty.

This constellation of circumstances creates the conditions in which human and animal interaction share viral transfers that become global pandemics.

A return to pre-COVID-19 "normal" would be a complacent acceptance of the status quo—a short-term, high cost fix—the cost of containment. But if the control of pandemics is the goal, then the means are neither easy, nor short-term.

Controlling future pandemics requires us to take a clear position on issues relating to our global future—leadership to champion the social, environmental and economic conditions underlying the emergence of pandemics, and solidarity to stand squarely with those who have made the choices necessary to achieve pandemic control.

Simon Sutcliffe is a clinical oncologist and former CEO of the B.C. Cancer Agency and Princess Margaret Hospital. His current activities address population-based aspects of cancer control, palliative care and global health, particularly in lesser-resourced countries.

The Hill Times



# Conservative Party's not a credible opposition today

We are all losers in the decline of the Conservative Party as a source of serious ideas for a more successful Canada. A healthy democracy needs a credible opposition to hold the government accountable and to be a government-in-waiting when the time arrives for a change.



David Crane

*Canada & the 21st Century*

TORONTO—What on Earth is happening to the Conservative Party? Is it determined to become increasingly irrelevant on the big issues facing Canada? Or are Conservatives simply hoping that the country will someday tire of the Liberals so that they can win by default?

We are all losers in the decline of the Conservative Party as a source of serious ideas for a more successful Canada. A healthy democracy needs a credible opposition to hold the government accountable and to be a government-in-waiting when the time arrives for a change. And society's best hopes to advance come from the competition of intelligent

ideas. The Conservative Party is not a credible opposition today.

With a handful of uninspiring leadership candidates, a striking dearth of new and exciting ideas, an absence of serious internal debate on Canada's future, a reliance on tired bumper-sticker bromides and jingoism, and a likely winner to be decided by social conservatives who want to roll back the clock on social issues, this is a political party that is not trying to win by a superior leadership or better ideas.

Moreover, this is a political party that cannot seem to get over the fact that it won more votes than the victorious Liberals in the 2019 election, but fewer seats. Yet this only happened because of a surge in Conservative support in Alberta and Saskatchewan. The Conservative vote fell in Ontario and the Liberals won handily in Ontario, all four of the Atlantic provinces and garnered the largest share of votes in Quebec. And when Prime Minister Justin Trudeau promised to end our first-past-the-post voting system the strongest defence of the system came from the Conservatives. Today's Parliament is the result of that system. So

Conservatives should stop whining and move on.

We will have a chance to see whether any of the leadership candidates can do better than their dismal performance so far when the Conservatives have leadership debates on Jan. 17 and 18. But the leading candidates, Peter MacKay and Erin O'Toole will be competing to win second-choice support from social conservative candidates.

Canada's big challenges are clear. They include: Transforming the economy in the aftermath of the pandemic to create or expand the industries of the future; meeting the needs of Canadians by overcoming built-in inequality including stagnant wages, inadequate training opportunities and a lack of affordable housing; doubling down on meeting our climate change commitments, moving to net zero emissions and adjusting to a low-carbon world; building the smart infrastructure that is needed for economic growth, environmental stability and liveable communities; and addressing the challenges of an aging society.

MacKay, in what he calls "A Jobs Plan for Canada" tells us he will be "Canada's jobs prime minister." He promises that he would "focus on areas where Canada can regain its global leadership in natural resources. Canada will become a technology powerhouse of the North and a nation where advanced manufacturing provides high-paying, sustainable jobs. Our tax system will be transformed from a hindrance to a driver of job creation and growth. I will enact policies that will bolster our small business sector. And

fair trade will be a key building block so that Canada can lead the world in job creation." But how? He doesn't do much to explain. Promoting Canada's natural resources, he claims, "will provide millions of new high-paying jobs to Canadians." Can it really?

Likewise, O'Toole's "Rebuilding Canada," which promises to make Canada "more prosperous, more secure, more resilient and more independent than ever before" is a disjointed set of pledges that raise many questions on implementation, let alone effectiveness. He accuses the Trudeau government of putting its trust in what he calls "corrupt international institutions" and attacks the United Nations as a failed institution.

Yet both are locked into outdated thinking. Both are big boosters of the oil industry and see expanded oil production and exports as sources of future prosperity. They want to dismantle existing laws and processes that force the oil and pipeline industries to meet strict environmental standards. They want to get rid of the carbon tax and have little to say on how we would meet our global climate change commitments. They largely ignore the economics facing the oil industry, including the fact that taxpayers, not investors, are already paying to build today's pipelines and that carbon capture projects are only built if there are big public subsidies.

Canada needs to move to a new kind of economy, a knowledge-based economy based on intangibles such as intellectual property and data as key assets. But both MacKay and O'Toole

are largely clueless on how this might be accomplished. Yet this will be the essential source of new businesses and jobs for a more competitive and hence more prosperous economy. MacKay's boast that he would make Canada the "technology powerhouse of the North" is an aspiration, not a policy prescription.

Neither has much to say about inequality and what needs to be done to improve the lives of the bottom 40 per cent of Canadians, on how to improve the affordability of housing, or to bring about a more inclusive society.

There are lots of traditional, though outdated, Tory ideas. O'Toole, like many Conservatives, dislikes the CBC and would end CBC English-language television broadcasting. Both MacKay and O'Toole bemoan our "high taxes," forgetting the fact that these same taxes pay for health care, education, public safety, research and development and many other vital public goods. MacKay talks of changing (cutting?) the capital gains tax, which is already too low. O'Toole wants to criminalize almost any form of public protest. Lots of red meat for the aging Tory base.

But what we are not getting is a serious set of ideas for a more successful country that also reflects the underlying values and the equity, environmental, and inclusive goals of Canadians. That is the real Conservative challenge and, in the current leadership race, they are failing that fundamental test.

David Crane can be reached at [crane@interlog.com](mailto:crane@interlog.com).

*The Hill Times*

## We've all got a stake in this and there is no time to waste

If a commitment to peace rather than military and economic might were the main consideration, permanent membership to the Security Council might more appropriately be granted to New Zealand, Norway, Ireland, Austria, Bhutan, or a host of other nations, rather than the incumbents.



Earl Turcotte

*Opinion*

Canadians will soon learn whether or not we win a new temporary seat on the UN Security Council. "The UN Security Council is the big table," Foreign Affairs Minister François-Philippe Champagne said recently. "This is where the most consequential decisions are taken with respect to peace and security around the world." I agree, but not because the Security

Council is the apex security body of the United Nations, because it isn't. Moreover, the most consequential decisions with respect to peace and security are not always or even very often taken by the Security Council, per se, but by the individual permanent members of the Security Council—the U.S., Russia, China, the U.K., and France (P-5)—the first three of these, in particular, and usually based upon what they deem to be in their narrow national interests.

Back to the status of the Security Council within the UN architecture. Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations confers upon the Security Council "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security." This responsibility is granted by member nations of the General Assembly "in order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United

Nations." Moreover, "in carrying out its duties under this responsibility, the Security Council acts on their behalf." Thus, the Security Council is both mandated by and accountable to the UN General Assembly, the most powerful body of the United Nations. This is the really "big table." Here, each member state has a vote and a modicum of power—power that can be harnessed to address all manner of security threats including, when necessary, irresponsible behaviour by members of the Security Council itself.

It is perhaps the most tragic of ironies that the five permanent members of the UN Security Council are among the world's largest arms exporters. (The U.S. alone accounts for 35 per cent of global arms exports). Further, that all absolutely refuse to give up their nuclear weapons—weapons whose continued existence poses an existential threat to all of humanity. Where is the security in this?

If a commitment to peace rather than military and economic might were the main consideration, permanent membership

to the Security Council might more appropriately be granted to New Zealand, Norway, Ireland, Austria, Bhutan, or a host of other nations, rather than the incumbents.

The central point, however, is that far from being the exclusive domain of the Security Council, international peace and security is ultimately the business, prerogative and the responsibility of every nation. And whether or not Canada wins a new term on the Security Council, there is a tremendous amount more that we could be doing, from ceasing the export of Canadian-made light armoured vehicles to Saudi Arabia, to working with the UN and like-minded nations to dramatically step up pressure on nuclear-armed states to eliminate their nuclear arsenals before some fool deliberately or accidentally sets our world ablaze. We've all got a stake in this and there is no time to waste.

Earl Turcotte is the chair of the Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons and a former Senior Adviser with the United Nations Development Program.

*The Hill Times*



# ‘Piecemeal reforms have not saved the lives anti-racism, police brutality protests raise of long-overdue reforms, say activists, some



Anti-Black racism protesters, pictured May 31, 2020, in Times Square in New York City. Robyn Maynard, author of *Policing Black Lives*, said the movement unfolding on the streets of several cities in Canada is ‘notable’ in its ‘rejection of the small-scale reforms,’ such as better diversity training for police and their use of body cameras, offered in response to the concerns of Black Lives Matter. Photograph courtesy of Lori Hillsberg/Flickr

Even as support for structural reforms seeps into the mainstream, some noted it’s dismaying that some politicians continue to deny the existence of systemic racism.

BY BEATRICE PAEZ  
& PALAK MANGAT

The scenes of solidarity expressed on the streets, where tens of thousands of people across the U.S., Canada, and Europe, have been marching for several days with their fellow Black compatriots, point to a growing

recognition that it’s time to go beyond long-overdue ‘piecemeal reforms,’ says an activist and some Parliamentarians.

Robyn Maynard, author of *Policing Black Lives*, said the movement unfolding on the streets of several cities in Canada is “notable” in its “rejection of the small-scale reforms,” such as better diversity training for police and their use of body cameras, offered in response to the concerns of Black Lives Matter.

“These piecemeal reforms have not saved the lives of Black people. It’s about calling for a radical rethinking of the role of the police in society, making more visible that policing is a form of violence,” Ms. Maynard said. “We’re talking very vocally about defunding [police].”

Whereas in years past, such discussions would have been confined to the movement’s core supporters, she said, they’ve leapt into the consciousness of

the larger public in the wake of the death of George Floyd, an African-American man from Minnesota who died while being arrested, when a white officer knelt on his neck for more than eight minutes. There’s an acknowledgement, she said, that his death, and numerous other incidents—which have been captured on video—have not necessarily led to restraint in the use of excessive force in policing.

Still, in Montreal, where thousands marched last weekend, the city’s first response to activists’ renewed calls has been to have police outfitted with body cams, a proposal that Mayor Valérie Plante resisted last year.

Mr. Floyd’s death, which preceded that of Regis Korchinski-Paquet in Toronto, has also ignited a series of protests in Canada that have expanded the reach of the movement, according to Ms. Maynard. (Ms. Korchinski-Paquet plunged to her death from her

balcony while the police responded to a distress call; an investigation is pending.)

Independent Senator Rosemary Moodie (Ontario) also observed the protests, which are colliding with a deadly pandemic that’s disproportionately affecting racialized communities, are drawing out more allies.

“Every race is out there on the streets, supporting the concerns of what’s happening,” Sen. Moodie said. “It’s across the world; it’s a profile of the urgent need we have to look at society ... that we need to move from the classic law-and-order paradigm.”

Conservative MP Garnett Genuis (Sherwood Park-Fort Saskatchewan, Alta.), his party’s multiculturalism critic, said “there are different points at which action is required” to combat anti-Black racism, both at the individual and institutional level.

When it comes to suggestions of defunding police, he said, the

feds’ role is more “collaborative and consultative” because of its jurisdiction. “I don’t think supporting policing and supporting other areas of engagement are mutually exclusive,” he said, pushing back on calls from many activists to reduce resources to policing. He said that increasing funding to help with greater and better training could help in how officers engage with certain community groups.

## ‘Fatigue in the Black community’

Liberal MP Greg Fergus (Hull-Aylmer, Que.), who chairs a couple of Black parliamentary caucus groups, said many white people have reached out to him following Mr. Floyd’s death to express their “utter disgust” for what was captured on video. It showed that the white officer, fac-

Continued on page 31



# of Black people': visibility, urgency Parliamentarians

Continued from page 30

ing charges of second-degree murder, was accompanied by three other officers, who are now also facing charges of aiding and abetting, in subduing Mr. Floyd.

"I think these videotapes—it was [for some] the first real proof and existence of brutal, callous, horrifying racism that unfortunately happens all too often," Mr. Fergus said. "I really feel that the positive thing is there are a lot of white people who are contacting me out of the blue expressing their total disgust, utter disgust, saying, 'What can I do?' There's a little bit of fatigue in the Black community, who don't always want to be the touchstone to guide people through this process."

His response to them has been to "start the uncomfortable conversation" around racism, "and then act on it."

"We don't want to get to the point where people are convinced they don't count," he added.

Even as support for structural reforms seeps into the mainstream, with corporations distancing themselves from those who deny racism's grip on society and issuing statements cloaked in the language of the movement, some noted it's dismaying that some politicians continue to deny the existence of systemic racism.

Ontario Premier Doug Ford denied on June 2 that race relations in Canada can be as volatile as the U.S., saying "systemic racism" isn't an issue facing the country. Quebec Premier François Legault, similarly, said on June 1 that discrimination exists, but there's "no system" in his province that enables it to persist. A day after those comments, Mr. Ford backpedalled, acknowledging that he hasn't faced racism and vowed "to stamp" out systemic racism, while Mr. Legault maintained his stance.

"The reality of anti-Black racism, the violence of racism, the reality of racism in this country, seems to be lost on people," said Independent Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard (East Preston, N.S.). "And I find that very annoying ... [that] we still insist on this default narrative that says we're not as bad as they are in the U.S."

Ms. Maynard said politicians don't have to look far to find historical documentation of racism in Canada. She pointed to government-commissioned studies, including Ontario's 1995 report on systemic racism, and most recently, the final report of the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls' National Inquiry. The denials amount to a "blatant disregard" for the realities such communities face.

Sen. Bernard said "what gives her pause" to consider this could be the moment that prompts further reform is that many businesses have issued statements in solidarity with the movement, which have come from a place of sincerity, not just because it's trendy.

Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Papineau, Que.) and other federal political leaders have acknowledged that racism remains an endemic condition in Canada.

Asked whether the government will be able to respond to the concerns protesters are raising attention to at a time when it's preoccupied with the pandemic, which has derailed much of its agenda, Mr. Fergus said: "I'm very hopeful. The prime minister hasn't shied away from this discussion. Quite sincerely, and with humility, he's come to it. He has a track record of taking

action on this in the last mandate. There's a lot more work that needs to be done."

At the community level, Liberal MP Emmanuel Dubourg (Bourassa, Que.) said outreach activities to younger Black Canadians are especially important to him. His work dates back to his days as a member of the National Assembly of Quebec in 2007. He commended groups like Hoodstock, which holds community discussions around systemic racism and poverty, and advocates for better justice for Black Canadians. The group was created in 2009 to mark the anniversary of Fredy Villanueva's death, an unarmed teenager who was shot and killed by a Montreal police officer in a parking lot in 2008.

Diversity Minister Bardish Chagger (Waterloo, Ont.), in an interview, echoed Mr. Genuis' sentiments in saying that it falls on "every individual" to "help build a more inclusive Canada." "Each of us need to demand better," she said.

Ms. Chagger was asked how she would "amplify" the voices of Black Canadians at the cabinet table, at a time when the pandemic has overshadowed other pressing issues. "I will not be distracted from the work that I have been both elected and appointed to do. Yes, COVID-19 is a global pandemic, it is part of our reality, but so is every other issue of importance to me," she said.

Ms. Chagger also shares the cabinet table with Public Safety Minister Bill Blair (Scarborough-Southwest, Ont.), who, as former chief of police in Toronto, had defended the practice of carding. Numerous reports have shown the practice disproportionately targets Black people, particularly young men.

NDP MP Matthew Green (Hamilton Centre, Ont.), in an earlier interview, said the prime minister's decision to appoint Mr. Blair to this cabinet post reflects the limits of what can be accomplished at the federal level in terms of policing reform.

Liberal MP Judy Sgro (Humber River-Black Creek, Ont.), who served in the past as vice-chair of the Toronto Police Services Board, said people are entitled to their own opinions. "I think all kinds of people have all kinds of opinions, because that's the world we live in. It's a democratic state we live in, and we should be able to have different opinions and be able to explain why I feel this way and you feel this way," Ms. Sgro said, when asked if Mr. Blair's past remarks present any conflict for her.

"When we hire police officers today, they go through a pretty extensive examination as to their own attitudes on everything from the LGBTQ community, to the Black community, to the Asian community, and so on. But I think sometimes those negative attitudes develop over time, and they should have almost like a refresher course," she said.

In an emailed response to a request for comment over concerns expressed by activists in the Black community and Mr. Green about his 39 years with the Toronto Police, Mr. Blair's office said "his experience and knowledge, along with his commitment to finding equitable outcomes for all Canadians, help inform government decisions, always with the safety of Canadians in the forefront of his mind."

The statement said the minister is "committed to consultation."

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The Hill Times

# Vox pop on fighting anti-Black racism in Canada

## Liberal MP Greg Fergus (Hull-Aylmer, Que.)

"I think these videotapes—it was [for some] the first real proof and existence of brutal, callous, horrifying racism that unfortunately happens all too often. I really feel that the positive thing is there are a lot of white people who are contacting me out of the blue expressing their total disgust, utter disgust, saying, 'What can I do?' There's a little bit of fatigue in the Black community, who don't always want to be the touchstone to guide people through this process."



## Robyn Maynard, author of *Policing Black Lives*



"These piecemeal reforms have not saved the lives of Black people. It's about calling for a radical rethinking of the role of the police in society, making more visible that policing is a form of violence. We're talking very vocally about defunding [police]."

## Independent Senator Wanda Thomas Bernard (East Preston, N.S.)

"The reality of anti-Black racism, the violence of racism, the reality of racism in this country, seems to be lost on people. And I find that very annoying ... [that] we still insist on this default narrative that says we're not as bad as they are in the U.S."



## Independent Senator Rosemary Moodie (Ontario)

"Every race is out there on the streets, supporting the concerns of what's happening. It's across the world; it's a profile of the urgent need we have to look at society ... that we need to move from the classic law-and-order paradigm."

## Diversity Minister Bardish Chagger (Waterloo, Ont.)

"Each of us need to demand better. ... I will not be distracted from the work that I have been both elected and appointed to do. Yes, COVID-19 is a global pandemic, it is part of our reality, but so is every other issue of importance to me."



## NDP MP Matthew Green (Hamilton Centre, Ont.)



"We're past talk. The prime minister has the leadership ability to direct a course of action that dismantles white [supremacy]. Whether or not he chooses that course of action is indicative of his [position]. ... The framing of protests as vandalism, which is the destruction of private property versus the extrajudicial killing of Black people [over decades], further demonstrates that this government prioritizes private property over the lives of humans in this country. Breaking a Starbucks window is vandalism; getting tear gas in the face is violence. We must never confuse the two."

## Liberal MP Adam Vaughan (Spadina-Fort York, Ont.)

"I think it's time to really seriously think about how we do anti-Black racism policy at all levels of government. It's not good enough to say we see anti-Black racism if we're not prepared to follow through on change. ... The longer you ignore this, the more violent the protest becomes. The day of reckoning is coming, and if we don't listen, and act on what's heard, seen, and known to be true, the civil unrest is on us, and not on the protesters."



## Former Liberal MP Celina Caesar-Chavannes



"There's so much going on in the Black community right now, and as conscious individuals who are concerned about the well-being of our community, we don't have much of a choice but to attend [the demonstration]. I was at the protest in the 1990s for Rodney King. The fact that I have to now drive my teenage children to protest ... it's hurtful, it's frustrating."

## Liberal MP Patrick Weiler (West Vancouver-Sunshine Coast-Sea to Sky Country, B.C.)

"There's been a shift over time to more gender policy-making, but we have to go a step further and think about race-responsive policy."





# Books

## Wiseman surveys history of Canada's political parties in engaging new book, *Partisan Odysseys*

Longtime political science professor Nelson Wiseman talks about his new book, *Partisan Odysseys: Canada's Political Parties*.

BY KATE MALLOY

Nelson Wiseman, director of the Canadian studies program at the University of Toronto and a longtime political science professor, says he realized Canadians weren't terribly aware of some of the historical forces that have shaped our country's federal political parties, so he wrote *Partisan Odysseys: Canada's Political Parties*. The book, published by the University of Toronto Press this year, is well-written, engaging, and an important body of work that offers a condensed look at the history of Canada's political parties.

"My aim was to enlighten non-specialist students of Canadian politics and general readers who have some knowledge or are somewhat innocent of Canadian history. Academic specialists will also find the book interesting, encountering some things unfamiliar to them," Prof. Wiseman told *The Hill Times*.

Prof. Wiseman, who has written columns over the years for *The Hill Times*, has also written *Social Democracy in Manitoba* (1983); *In Search of Canadian Political Culture* (2007); edited *The Public Intellectual in Canada* (2013); and co-authored along with K.J. Read, *Government and Enterprise in Canada* (1985).

### What's your book about?

"*Partisan Odysseys* surveys the history of Canada's political parties. The book identifies signal events and distinctive motifs that have informed different eras in the history of the parties. It begins by tracing the rise of four different types of parties in the 19th century and shows how by the end of the century, the Conservative and Liberal parties that continue to this day firmly established themselves. It then explores topics including nationalism, minority governments, third parties, and the reconfiguration of party positions. The book

concludes by examining changes in the way Canada's ever-evolving parties have operated and how the modern party has emerged as a nimble, enterprising institution compared to its historical antecedents. I show how parties from the pre-Confederation period to the present have adjusted, adapted, and reinvented themselves in response to significant social and economic changes as well as how parties have, in turn, shaped or reinforced these social forces.

"*Partisan Odysseys* falls between the cracks of history and political science. It reflects a wide reading of materials and may be read as a history of the parties through the lens of Canadian history or as a history of Canada through the lens of the history of the parties."

### What inspired you to write it?

"Many Canadians are woefully unaware about the historical forces that have shaped our political parties, who and what they have represented, and how they have evolved. My aim was to enlighten non-specialist students of Canadian politics and general readers who have some knowledge or are somewhat innocent of Canadian history. Academic specialists will also find the book interesting, encountering some things unfamiliar to them."

### Why did you write this book?

"For several years, I taught a course on Canada's political parties at the University of Toronto and noticed that many of my political science students were notoriously averse to history. My teaching drew on histories of the individual parties and many biographies of party leaders, but I found little that tied them together chronologically. There are many excellent histories of Canada, but political parties are just a part of their overarching story. Similarly, there are many histories of the individual parties but not in relation to each other or in the broader context of Canadian history and specific issues that

have divided them. I set out to fill that gap."

### How long did it take you to write it?

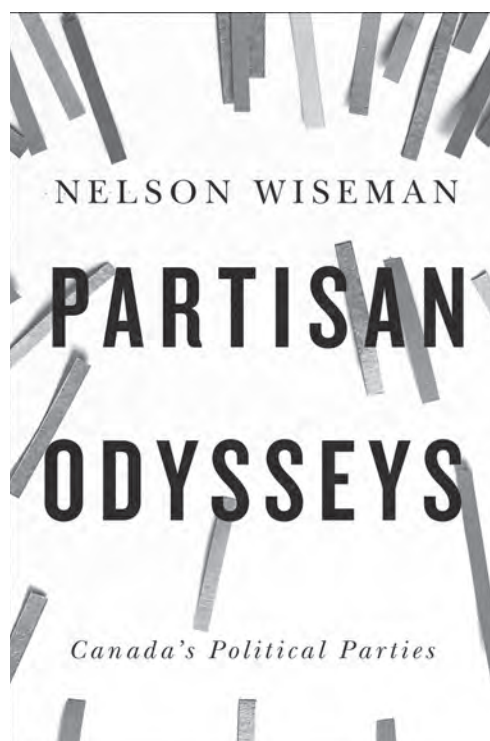
"I think I started on it three or four years ago, but being engaged in many other activities during that time, it was not something I worked on daily or even weekly. Nevertheless, it was simmering constantly in my mind."

### How long did it take you to research it?

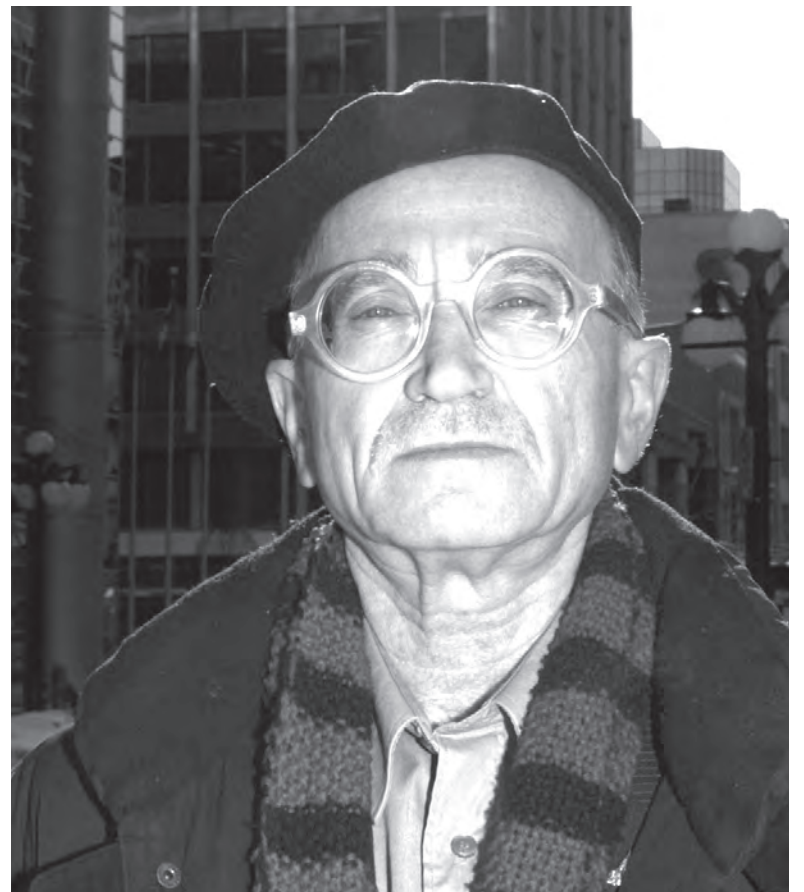
"I accumulated material over the years. My research net was cast widely, drawing on academic as well as journalistic sources. Readers will be struck by the documentation, the breadth of sources consulted. The notes at the end of the book are longer than any one individual chapter."

### What was the research process? How would you describe your writing style?

"Research and writing go together. I began by identifying the dominant theme of each chapter and then approached the theme as if it were a skeleton that needed to be fleshed out. After reviewing notes from my lectures, I sought out materials that would cast more light on the theme of each chapter. Most



*Partisan Odysseys: Canada's Political Parties*, by Nelson Wiseman, University of Toronto Press, 240 pp., \$29.95.



Nelson Wiseman, pictured in this file photo in Ottawa. 'The book offers readers a broad factual synthetic picture of the parties as historical and legal organizations. A point that could have been made more explicit in the book is how, in one respect, party operation has come full circle.' *The Hill Times* file photograph by Jake Wright

chapters devote a section to each party. Some provincial parties get attention as do some federal parties that have come and gone such as the Progressives, the Reconstruction party, the Bloc populaire canadien, the Communists and, of course, Social Credit, which played an important role in Parliament for many decades.

"The writing is substantial yet accessible, comprehensive, and comprehensible. Academic jargon is avoided. Easily digestible and thick in description, the book does not sacrifice a scholarly tone, but stimulates readers' curiosity through a prose style that sometimes takes unexpected twists. I like to think the prose is erudite and engaging, written with some skill and at points boldness, but that is for readers to decide."

### Why is this book important?

"Ultimately, that is also for the reader to determine. The book offers readers a broad factual synthetic picture of the parties as historical and legal organizations. A point that could have been made more explicit in the book is how, in one respect, party operation has come full circle. The first type of party that emerged in the 19th century that I describe, I call the court party. It was composed of a small privileged group surrounding the governor and wielded authority. They had little need to build a political relationship with those popularly elected. To astute observers of Ottawa, such as Donald Savoie, the contemporary manifestation of the court party is alive and well in the Prime Minister's Office."

**Your last chapter, your conclusion 'The Ever-Changing Party' takes a hard look at today's many influences on the modern-day party: the media, the think-tanks, the spin doctors, the rise of a more educated, more secular, and more urban electorate. You conclude that: "Recast and different motifs will inevitably drive politics in the unpredictable future. History tells us nothing about the future of Canada's political parties except that they will continue to surprise." What do you mean? Can you elaborate?**

"An anonymous reader of my manuscript suggested I explicitly identify motifs, or themes, for each chapter so I ended on that note because it is also in the introduction.

I don't know what major themes or events will drive party politics in the future. Who would have predicted in 1984 that free trade would become the defining issue it did of the Mulroney years? Or who could have imagined in the early 1950s that a Diefenbaker would reconfigure the regional base of support for the Conservatives, a reconfiguration that has lasted to this day? I have no idea what the future holds for Canadian party politics, although I suspect a continued concentration of power in the offices of party leaders. I leave predictions to astrologers."

### Who should read *Partisan Odysseys*?

"Anyone interested in Canadian party politics who wants to understand how our parties evolved, their ideas and policies, and how they operate today."

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# Books

## Great defining event of 21st century expected to occur in three decades

*Empty Planet: The Shock of Global Population Decline* is a finalist for this year's prestigious Donner Prize, one of the five best Canadian public policy books of the year. Here, the two authors offer an essay about their bestselling book.

BY DARRELL BRICKER  
& JOHN IBBITSON

The great defining event of the 21st century—one of the great defining events in human history—will occur in three decades, give or take, when the global population starts to decline. Once that decline begins, it will never end. We do not face the challenge of a population bomb, so rampant in the popular imagination, but of a population bust—a relentless, generation-after-generation culling of the human herd. Nothing like this has ever happened before.

If you find this news shocking, that's not surprising. The United Nations forecasts that our population will grow from seven billion to 11 billion in this century before levelling off after 2100. But an increasing number of demographers around the world believe the UN estimates are far too high.

More likely, they say, the planet's population will peak at around nine billion sometime between 2040 and 2060, and then start to decline. By the end of this century, we could be back to where we are right now, and steadily growing fewer.

Populations are already declining in about two dozen states around the world; by 2050 the number will have climbed to three dozen. Some of the richest places on Earth are shedding people every year: Japan, Korea, Spain, Italy, much of Eastern Europe. "We are a dying country," Italy's health minister, Beatrice Lorenzin, lamented in 2015.

But this isn't the big news. The big news is that the largest developing nations are also about to grow smaller, as their own fertility rates come down. China will begin losing people in a few years. By the middle of this century, Brazil and Indonesia will follow suit. Even India, soon to become the most populous nation on Earth, will see its numbers stabilize in about a generation and then start to decline. Fertility

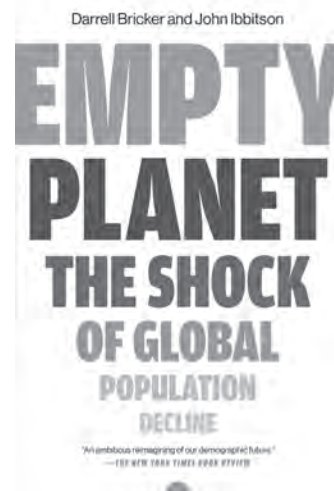
rates remain sky-high in sub-Saharan Africa and parts of the Middle East. Even here, though, things are changing as young women obtain access to education and birth control. Africa is likely to end its unchecked baby boom much sooner than the UN's demographers think.

Why is the UN's prediction wrong? According to Wolfgang Lutz, of the Vienna University of Economics and Business, the reason, in a word, is education. "The brain is the most important reproductive organ," he asserts. Once a woman receives enough information and autonomy to make an informed and self-directed choice about when to have children, and how many to have, she immediately has fewer of them, and has them later. "Once a woman is socialized to have an education and a career, she is socialized to have a smaller family," he explains. "There's no going back." Lutz and his fellow demographers at Vienna's International Institute for Applied System Analysis believe that advancing education in developing countries, brought about by increasing urbanization, should be factored into future population projections, which the UN doesn't do.

His is hardly a lone voice. Jørgen Randers is a Norwegian academic who co-authored *The Limits to Growth*, which predicted that global population would reach unsustainable levels by 2100. But since then he has changed his mind. "The world population will never reach nine billion people," he now believes. "It will peak at eight billion in 2040, and then decline." He attributes the unexpected drop to women in developing countries moving into urban slums. "And in an urban slum it does not make sense to have a large family."

One way to begin to understand the situation is to look at what's changed about the way we measure population trends. The Demographic Transition Model, which was first developed in 1929, used to contain only four stages. Stage Four, the final stage, envisioned a world in which life expectancy was high and the

fertility rate was low, around the level needed to sustain the population: 2.1 babies per mother. (One per mother, one per father, and an extra 0.1 to account for children who die in infancy and women who die before childbearing age.) But as it turned out, there is a fifth stage: one in which life expectancy continues to slowly increase, even as fertility rates continue to decline below the replacement rate, leading eventually to a declining population. Just about the entire developed world is in Stage Five.



Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson are the co-authors of *Empty Planet: The Shock of Global Population Decline*, published by Penguin Random House. The bestselling book is one of five books nominated for this year's Donner Prize, the best public policy book of the year 2019-2020.

In the 1970s, the fertility rate began to drop below 2.1 in the most advanced economies, and began dropping in developing countries as well, a phenomenon that has been described as "one of history's most astounding global shifts." In hindsight, it shouldn't have been a surprise at all. The more a society urbanizes, and the more control women exert over their bodies, the fewer babies they choose to have. In most Western nations, such as the United States (fertility rate: 1.7) and Canada (fertility rate: 1.5),

Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson, authors of *Empty Planet: The Shock of Global Population Decline*, say in the next three decades or so the global population will start to decline. "Once that decline begins, it will never end. We do not face the challenge of a population bomb, so rampant in the popular imagination, but of a population bust—a relentless, generation-after-generation culling of the human herd. Nothing like this has ever happened before." Photographs courtesy of Penguin Random House

80 per cent of the population live in cities today. And women have something close to total control over their reproductive choices.

But fertility declines aren't unique to the developed world. Urbanization and the empowerment of women are global phenomena. We know that China and India are at or below the 2.1 replacement rate. But so are other developing countries: Brazil (1.8), Mexico (2.3), Malaysia (2.1), Thailand (1.5). Birth rates are still very high in Africa (Niger: 7.4; Malawi: 4.9; Ghana: 4.2) and parts of the Middle East (Afghanistan: 5.3; Iraq 4.6; Egypt: 3.4). But these high-fertility countries share one thing in common with their low-fertility counterparts: everywhere, virtually without exception, birth rates are coming down. Nowhere are they going up.

We know that urbanization leads to the empowerment of women, who invariably choose to have fewer children than their mothers. Urbanization also changes the economic calculus of having children—another pair of hands to work the fields becomes just another mouth to feed. Recent research has shown that other factors are in play as well. One of them is the decline in the ability of kin to influence kin in an urban environment, where co-workers and other peers are more dominant. Another is the declining power of religion in urban settings.

You might think this would be cause for celebration. The planet's lungs would surely breathe easier without the press of so many billions of humans; famine and poverty would surely wane with fewer mouths to feed and families to house. And you would be right—partly. The economic and geopolitical impact, however, would be more mixed.

Population decline isn't a good thing or a bad thing. But it is a big thing. A child born today will reach middle age in a world in which conditions and expectations are very different from our own. She will find the planet more urban, with less crime, environmentally healthier but with many more old people. She won't have trouble finding a job, but she

may struggle to make ends meet, as taxes to pay for health care and pensions for all those seniors eat into her salary. There won't be as many schools because there won't be as many children.

Population decline will shape the nature of war and peace in the decades ahead, as some nations grapple with the fallout of their shrinking, aging societies while others remain able to sustain themselves. The defining geopolitical challenge in the coming decades could involve accommodating and containing an angry, frightened China as it confronts the consequences of its disastrous one-child policy.

Some of those who fear the fallout of a diminishing population advocate government policies to increase the number of children couples have. But the evidence suggests this is futile. The "low-fertility trap" ensures that, once having one of two children becomes the norm, it stays the norm. Couples no longer see having children as a duty they must perform to satisfy their obligation to their families or their god. Rather, they choose to raise a child as an act of personal fulfillment. And they are quickly fulfilled.

The human herd has been culled in the past by famine or plague. This time, we are culling ourselves; we are choosing to become fewer. Will our choice be permanent? The answer is: probably yes. Though governments have sometimes been able to increase the number of children couples are willing to have through generous child care payments and other supports, they have never managed to bring fertility back up to the replacement level of, on average, 2.1 children per woman needed to sustain a population. Besides, such programs are extremely expensive and tend to be cut back during economic downturns. And it is arguably unethical for a government to try to convince a couple to have a child that they would otherwise not have had.

As we settle into a world growing smaller, will we celebrate or mourn our diminishing numbers? Will we struggle to preserve growth, or accept with grace a world in which people both thrive and strive less? We don't know. But it may be a poet who observes that, for the first time in the history of our race, humanity feels old.

Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson are the co-authors of *Empty Planet: The Shock of Global Population Decline*, one of five books nominated for this year's Donner Prize, the best public policy book of the year 2019-2020. 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; *Living with China: A Middle Power Finds Its Way*, by Wendy Dobson; *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



## News

# Amid three million unemployed, digital minister extols benefits of departmental cooperation, rapid rollout of online benefit-finder tool

‘I think the government did a very good job of thinking through what kind of programs would support people in different circumstances,’ says Minister Murray, who adds the launch of the web tool involved a ‘historic collaboration.’

BY MIKE LAPOINTE

For Canadians with eyes cast on the federal government for financial assistance in navigating the COVID-19 pandemic, multiple departments came together in recent weeks in an unprecedented, rapid display of cooperation to launch an online benefit-finder tool designed to quickly connect those in need to existing aid.

According to Statistics Canada’s May 8 Labour Force Survey report, following a drop of over one million in March, employment fell by nearly two million in April, bringing the total employment decline—since the beginning of the COVID-19 economic shutdown—to more than three million.

With seven government departments involved, and more than 300,000 unique visitors to the online tool from May 11 to May 31, it’s clear that the demand from Canadians for answers is there—something which Digital Government Minister Joyce Murray (Vancouver Quadra, B.C.) said is why she asked the Canadian Digital Service to refocus their efforts as best as possible on COVID-19 support for other ministries and for tools that will help Canadians.

“There was interdepartmental collaboration, because when you have something that will be

important to communicate, you have to think about where the tool will reside and the variety of ministries that have benefits that are available,” said Ms. Murray. “I would say it was done very, very quickly, and I think partly it’s the process of real digital creativity.” She referred to 65 points of feedback that CDS acted on to make the tool more usable and useful to Canadians that need to find benefits.

Canadians can access the tool at [canada.ca/coronavirusbenefits](https://canada.ca/coronavirusbenefits).

“So I think that iterative approach, which is a principle of how digital is different from old-style IT development was absolutely critical, and by mid-April, it was essentially ready to have the final tweaking on the wording that would go on the site, and then the logistics of how do we actually launch it, what’s the URL, how will people find it, all of that took a bit more time as well,” said Ms. Murray.

The government launched the online tool on May 22. It takes in information from Canadians, including where they live, how much income has been lost as a function of the pandemic, and whether or not they are worried about making mortgage or rent payments, among other questions.

“Based on what you’ve told us, the following help is available,” reads the website after inputting relevant information. A list of benefits and options are provided, including the Canada Emergency Response Benefit, recommendations to contact your bank to delay mortgage payments, and extra payment from the Canada Child Benefit.

Led by CEO Aaron Snow, CDS’ mandate involves partnering with

federal departments and agencies to design and build simple and reliable technology. Mr. Snow came to the Canadian government following his time spent south of the border as co-founder and executive director of 18F, an office of federal employees within the U.S. General Services Administration.

According to Social Development Minister Ahmed Hussen (York South-Weston, Ont.), in a May 22 press release, “this new digital tool will ensure COVID-19 emergency benefits are delivered quickly and efficiently. Canadians and their families will get the money they need when they need it.”



National Revenue Minister Diane LeBouthillier (Gaspésie-Les Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Que.) also touted the tool, saying it “will help Canadians quickly obtain a complete list of all the benefits unique to their situation.”

## ‘Privacy and security built in design,’ says Murray

Ms. Murray told *The Hill Times* that the team worked with open-source code and partnered with Employment and Social Development Canada for this project.

“Open-source code is an amazing step forward in how to collaborate to serve people,” said Ms. Murray. “The code is out

there, and then it can be used by designers for their distinct needs and their particular use.”

“It’s a principle that we’ve incorporated into our digital government approach that we want to be extending further as a government, so working in the open is one of those principles that we’re talking to other ministries about, because each of the ministries have their own IT shops, and [work on] solutions for their public servants to serve people better,” said Ms. Murray. “We’re working to have a much more horizontal approach across the government in how we use information, technology, and data

Aaron Snow, CEO of the Canadian Digital Service, leads an organization that partners with federal departments and agencies to build simple and reliable technology for Canadians.

*The Hill Times*  
photograph by  
Mike Lapointe

to serve Canadians and open source is a real key to that.”

When asked about how the government’s approach to reconciling the security of government networks and personal privacy with the need to provide Canadian’s with this service, Ms. Murray said “this is another digital principle, which is building in privacy and security by design.”

She said baked into the design of the tool are the necessary layers to protect people’s personal information when they provide data.

“...If that’s thought through in the design itself—and in this case, no personal information is collected at all and is not necessary—people answer a few multiple-choice questions anonymously,” she said, adding that leads them to see what is and isn’t available to them.

This kind of digital tool enables Canadians who have a smartphone to use a self-serve approach to get what they need, said Ms. Murray, and at a greater speed.

“It also frees up the public servants to focus on those that

can’t or prefer not to use a digital means to get answers to their questions,” said Ms. Murray. “So it’s useful right across the board, and so we need to do more of that, because we do have situations where people are frustrated getting information from government, and I think that we can use an digital app to help relieve pressure on our public service in other ways as well.”

She said there’s a recognition on the part of government that the delivery of the service is also an important consideration.

“...It’s not just what we announced; it’s what and how well we deliver, so I think the government did a very good job of thinking through what kind of programs would support people in different circumstances and announce that,” said Ms. Murray.

She pointed to the CERB as a “great example of doing something simpler than what government usually does in order to do it deliberately quickly and effectively.”

“There is so much that we’ve learned through this about how we can collaborate and do things faster, how we can iterate and get something out there and say, ‘Look, give us feedback, and we’ll keep improving, so it doesn’t have to be perfect before it’s delivered, and I think you saw that on a macro level with our support programs as well—we didn’t wait to figure out that we had something perfectly made, and we got something out there and added to it, so we could do as effective a job as serving Canadians as possible.”

The essence of the federal government’s mandate is to serve people, said Ms. Murray, who added that in today’s challenges with democracies around the world, trust in government is important.

“This is at the level of the personal, the interaction with your government to get help at the time you need it, that helps people trust their government, and I think that is very important for democracy which is a huge preoccupation at this time,” she said.

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*The Hill Times*

Digital Government Minister Joyce Murray, pictured during a press conference in the National Press Theatre on May 2019, says the launch of the online benefits-finder tool ‘was done very, very quickly, and I think partly it’s the process of real digital creativity.’  
*The Hill Times*  
photograph by  
Andrew Meade





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# After nearly three decades on the Hill, ‘fearless’ CBC reporter Julie Van Dusen takes a step back

Julie Van Dusen was one of few journalists who regularly attended ministerial briefings in person during the COVID-19 pandemic.

BY MIKE LAPOINTE & CHERLENE ELORIA

With more than 25 years under her belt as a CBC reporter on Parliament Hill, Julie Van Dusen has lived and breathed politics like few others, having covered political conventions and elections, leadership races and state visits, and spending countless hours in Centre Block chasing down MPs and scrumming policy-makers of all stripes.

Until recently, Ms. Van Dusen had been one of only a few reporters who had regularly attended the press briefings held by government ministers in person on the Hill during the COVID-19 pandemic.

At the end of May, Ms. Van Dusen told her colleagues at Canada’s national broadcaster that she’d be taking a step back from the hustle and bustle of political reporting in order to focus on writing a book about her mom, 94-year-old artist and mother of seven Shirley Van Dusen, who painted the official portrait of former speaker John Bosley that hangs in the Speaker’s hallway in Centre Block.



Julie Van Dusen, pictured March 24, 2020, at Conservative Leader Andrew Scheer’s press conference in the West Block. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

“She’s continuing to have a rich life, she’s a full-time artist, she raised seven kids, and I’m just trying to get everything down in terms of what makes her tick, just about our own background—stuff that you wouldn’t be able to ask someone if they’re not around,” said Ms. Van Dusen in an interview with *The Hill Times* on June 5.

Ms. Van Dusen was adamant—this wasn’t the curtain call on her career.

“If I wasn’t writing the book I’d probably still be there,” said Ms. Van Dusen. “When I’m finished the book, I could go back to reporting in some way, I don’t know yet.”

Ms. Van Dusen is best known for her hard-hitting reporting and for putting politicians and policy-makers on the hot seat. When “things are normal” on Parliament Hill, “things are noisy,” she said.

Recently however, Parliament Hill has been a “ghost town.”

Unlike most Hill reporters who’ve stayed away from covering daily ministerial briefings in the West Block and from the prime minister’s press conferences outside

CBC’s Julie Van Dusen asks a question at a press conference in West Block held by ministers and government officials to update Canadians on the government’s response to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic on Apr. 16, 2020. *The Hill Times* photograph by Andrew Meade

Rideau Cottage, opting instead to work remotely and to phone in their questions every day, Ms. Van Dusen had attended nearly all the ministerial briefings and most press conferences on the Hill nearly every weekday since mid-March following the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic.

“There’s no kind of critical mass any more of MPs or reporters,” said Ms. Van Dusen. Usually a bustling place marked by a constant hum of conversations, Parliament Hill has been “eerily quiet,” she said, since the House was suspended on March 13 amid the COVID-19 pandemic.

In normal times, when the House was sitting, she was usually up on the Hill for the daily scrums, cabinet and caucus “ins” and “outs,” and usually staked outside the House Chamber to grab MPs on their way in or out of the Commons. Sometimes, she was staked outside the building.

Others reporters have come to the briefings over the last three months as well, including CTV reporter Glen McGregor, *Winnipeg Free Press* reporter Dylan Robertson, *The Globe and Mail*’s Marieke Walsh, *The Toronto Star*’s Tonda MacCharles, CTV producers Mackenzie Gray and Rachel Hanes, among others, but Ms. Van Dusen is one of the only ones who showed up every weekday.

Ms. Van Dusen told *The Hill Times* that she wanted to be physically present for news conferences on the Hill because it works better for her job. She often filed television pieces that required her to speak on camera, and she found it more engaging to see politicians in person.

The press gallery is also doing a “fantastic job” of taking precautionary measures to guard against the novel coronavirus, she said. In addition to giving reporters the option to call in, news briefings were

moved from the National Press Theatre to the larger Room 225 in West Block to maintain safer distances. Microphones are also wiped down in between questions, she added.

However, the global pandemic—and physical distancing in particular—have dramatically shifted how both journalists and politicians on Parliament Hill normally behave, she said.

“We’re leaners, we lean in all the time,” said Ms. Van Dusen who’s used to being in scrums. “Reporters and politicians, you know, we’re constantly close to one another, talking, sharing information, and all that is gone, like it’s completely gone. It’s a whole new world. And none of us know when it’s going to end.”

Covering the federal government during this global pandemic is a unique experience, said Ms. Van Dusen, unlike any other she’s been through.

“There’s really nothing to prepare you for how you have to change your work habits, as we have all had to do,” she said.

Even long before COVID-19 spread worldwide, Ms. Van Dusen saw the value of “actually being there” on Parliament Hill every day, said her boss, CBC’s parliamentary bureau chief Rob Russo, who describes Ms. Van Dusen as “fearless.”

Over the last 25 years, she figures she’s filed more than 1,000 stories and is known

for her straight-up, no-nonsense questions.

“If you’re a politician who’s trying not to answer a question you will be pursued, and the pursuit will make for embarrassing television,” he said with a laugh.

Asked about her style, she said she tries to ask politicians the questions that “folks at home would ask if they could.”

“I just think of politicians as people. I’m not intimidated by them probably because I was surrounded by them growing up,” she said. “I don’t have a style, I just question. I like to ask ‘why’ a lot—and I just keep at it if possible until I get a real answer, not talking points. But often we don’t get the opportunity to keep up a line of questioning.”

Her late father, Tom Van Dusen, worked on Parliament Hill for about 45 years. He was a reporter in 1947 on the Hill and then went on to work as a political aide for former prime ministers John Diefenbaker, Joe Clark and finally, Brian Mulroney until his retirement in 1991. Her brother is CPAC’s Peter Van Dusen and her sister is *Policy* magazine’s editor Lisa Van Dusen. For her, Parliament Hill is like a “second home,” she added.

Politicians stop to answer Ms. Van Dusen’s questions—even if it meant that they might be torn to shreds—said Mr. Russo,

Continued on page 38

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## HILL CLIMBERS

by Laura Ryckewaert

# Fitz-Morris takes over as communications director to Public Services and Procurement Minister Anand

Emily Harris, who was previously director of communications to the public services minister, recently joined the federal public service.

Public Services and Procurement Minister **Anita Anand** recently scooped up **James Fitz-Morris** to serve as her new director of communications, after her former one, **Emily Harris**, exited to join the public service.

Before joining Ms. Anand's office, Mr. Fitz-Morris had been working as a senior adviser to Crown-Indigenous Relations Minister **Carolyn Bennett**. A former reporter, he first began working for Ms. Bennett as director of communications and issues management at the beginning of 2017, back when she was the minister of Indigenous and Northern affairs. He stuck with the minister after the portfolio was split-up in August 2017, and a year later switched titles to that of senior adviser.

Mr. Fitz-Morris had spent roughly a year as director of communications to then-small business and tourism minister **Bardish Chagger** before joining Ms. Bennett's office.

Up until then, he had been working in journalism, including more than a decade with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, starting as an associate producer for CBC Radio in Quebec for a year starting in 1998, and later returning to the broadcaster in 2005, first as a freelance reporter in Beirut, Lebanon before joining its parliamentary bureau in Ottawa as a senior reporter in 2006. Mr. Fitz-Morris is also a former Ottawa bureau chief of CJAD-Montreal and CRFB-Toronto, as noted on his LinkedIn profile.

Now in Ms. Anand's office, he'll be working closely with the minister's press secretary, **Cecely Roy**.

For her part, Ms. Harris exited the office in May, and has since—as of June 1—joined the federal public service and is now working on labour communications at Employment and Social Development Canada.



Emily Harris is now working as a federal public servant. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Ms. Harris joined the public services minister's office at the start of this Parliament, having previously been a communications adviser to then-public safety minister **Ralph Goodale**. She's also a former senior communications assistant to then-employment minister **Patty Hadju**, a former special assistant in the Liberal research bureau, and a former assistant to then-Quebec Liberal MP **Michel Picard**.

Along with Mr. Fitz-Morris' addition, there are a number of other staffers yet to be mentioned in Ms. Anand's office.

**Nanki Singh** was hired on as executive assistant to the minister in April. She'd spent the year and a half prior working as a constituency assistant to Ms. Bennett as the Liberal MP for Toronto-St. Paul's, Ont., and was a digital co-ordinator for Ms. Bennett's successful 2019 re-election campaign.



Nanki Singh is a new addition to Ms. Anand's team. Photograph courtesy of Facebook

A former communications intern with the Canadian Cancer Society, she's also previously volunteered for The Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation, the Rani Breast Cancer Trust, and for then-Liberal candidate **David Morris**' ultimately unsuccessful campaign in Toronto Centre during the 2018 Ontario provincial election. She's also previously worked for the *Hindustan Times* in India, starting as an intern in 2013 and ending as a content manager in 2015.

Ms. Singh has a bachelor's degree from Panjab University in Chandigarh, India, and post graduate certificates in social media and public relations and corporate communications from Seneca College, according to her LinkedIn profile.

**Tyler Freeman** joined Ms. Anand's office in February as a special assistant to



Tyler Freeman is a special assistant to Ms. Anand, and executive assistant to her chief of staff. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

the minister and executive assistant to her chief of staff, **Leslie Church**.

Up until the cabinet shuffle that followed the 2019 federal election, Mr. Freeman had been a special assistant to then-democratic institutions minister **Karina Gould** since October 2018.

A former intern and later contract researcher with Crestview Strategies in Toronto, he's also previously spent almost a year working as a Liberal staffer at Queen's Park, starting in the fall of 2017 and up until the June 2018 election which saw **Kathleen Wynne**'s Liberal government unseated by **Doug Ford**'s Progressive Conservatives. Mr. Freeman has a bachelor of commerce from Dalhousie University.

**Chukky Ibe** similarly joined Ms. Anand's office in February, taking on the title of special assistant for policy.



Chukky Ibe is now a special assistant for policy to the PSPC minister. Photograph courtesy of LinkedIn

Mr. Ibe previously worked for then-seniors minister **Filomena Tassi**, having joined that office in 2018 as a special assistant for stakeholder relations. Originally from Lagos, Nigeria, he has a bachelor's degree in political communication from McMaster University, and while in school served for a year as president of the McMaster Students Union; helped found the initiative, Afrocentric Ideals; and spent time as an aide to then-Hamilton city councillor **Matthew Green**, who was elected as the NDP MP for Hamilton Centre, Ont., last fall, among other volunteer experience.

**Anthony Laporte** re-joined the PSPC minister's team in February as a policy adviser. He previously worked in the office under then-minister **Carla Qualtrough**, starting as a special assistant in May 2017 and ending at the beginning of June 2019 as the minister's Quebec regional affairs adviser. At that point, he joined then-intergovernmental affairs and internal trade minister **Dominic LeBlanc**'s office as director of policy.

Finally, **Kelly Murdock** is a senior policy adviser in the office, and, although missed to date, has been in place since January.

Before then, she'd spent the last almost year and a half as a senior policy adviser to then-border security and organized crime reduction minister **Bill Blair**. Ms. Murdock is also a former policy adviser to then-treasury board president **Scott Brison**, and a former legislative assistant to then-Liberal MP **Judy Foote**.

She has a bachelor's degree in political science from Queen's University, and went on to study political science at McGill University and a master of arts in quantitative methods in the social sciences at Columbia University. She's also a former research fellow with Stanford Law School, as noted on her LinkedIn profile.

Ms. Anand's office also currently includes: **Boyan Gerasimov**, director of policy; **Elliott Lockington**, director of parliamentary affairs; **Caitlin Mullan-Boudreau**, director of operations; **Joel Tallerico**, senior policy adviser; **Neil McKenna**, policy and Atlantic regional affairs adviser; **Dove Parmar**, special assistant for Ontario regional affairs; **Madison Taipalus**, special assistant for Western and Northern regional affairs; **Tristan Laycock**, legislative assistant and issues manager; and **Chelsea Kusnick**, assistant to the minister's parliamentary secretary, Liberal MP **Steven MacKinnon**.

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## After nearly three decades on the Hill, 'fearless' CBC reporter Julie Van Dusen takes a step back

Continued from page 37

because she takes the time to get to know them as people.

In her approximately 25 years on Parliament Hill, Ms. Van Dusen has covered every major political convention, leadership race and election, according to her biography on CBC's website. She has also broken stories such as the Conservatives' merger with the Canadian Alliance in 2003, scrummed Mother Teresa when she was in Ottawa for an anti-abortion rally in 1988 and reported live from Pierre Elliott Trudeau's funeral train as it travelled to Montreal in 2000.

"I will never forget all the people that lined up in the villages and towns along the way," she said.

As a political reporter, Ms. Van Dusen's daily routine included a morning story meeting in the CBC newsroom with many reporters calling in. Then, she usually tuned into the prime minister's press conferences live online before walking to the West Block to cover the ministerial briefings. She was constantly on the phone, reading up on the latest health and economic updates surrounding the virus and staying on top of what the provincial and federal governments are doing to help Canadians during this unprecedented time, she added.

Today, political reporting is a lot more restrictive, less spontaneous and "very formatted," said Ms. Van Dusen.

"In Centre Block, before 9/11—[when] things tightened up and we weren't allowed to follow politicians out the front door, or come in the front door anymore, so then you kind of lose momentum—but we used to go flying down the stairs after fleeing politicians who were leaving the building after Question Period and try to scrum them right at their cars, we'd scrum them as they walked out the door. But after 9/11 we weren't allowed out that door, so you'd have to go down the hall and out under the Peace Tower clock and by then they'd be gone."

When she first arrived on the Hill, Ms. Van Dusen said you could walk right up to an MP's office, knock on the door and go right in.

"Now, we don't do that, you have to be invited up and so on, but I used to wander up and down the hallways looking to see especially new, unsuspecting MPs sitting in their offices, and I'd knock on their door and introduce myself and say, 'What's going on in your riding?'" said Ms. Van Dusen.

When she first went to Parliament Hill as a reporter, her father told her to "treat everybody the same way."

"At the time, when I was growing up as a kid, there were elevator operators on the Hill—you'd get on and there was someone pushing a button," said Ms. Van Dusen. "The person operating the elevators hears a lot of stuff, knows a lot of stuff—the point is, you treat everybody the same way."

Ms. Van Dusen lives with her husband, with her three children having already moved out. However, she said she's anything but bored, with frequent get-togethers on Zoom keeping her connected with her kids and six siblings.

"Who knows where I'll be six months from now," said Ms. Van Dusen. "But it sure won't be with my feet up somewhere."

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Parliamentary Calendar Feature

MONDAY, JUNE 8

**House Not Sitting**—The House is 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 will meet on an expanded schedule of Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays until June 18. As per a government motion tabled May 25, the House will sit Wednesday, June 17, to consider supplementary spending estimates, and again on July 8, July 22, Aug. 12, Aug. 26. The House is then scheduled to return in the fall on Monday, Sept. 21, for three straight weeks, as per the original sitting calendar. 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 16. 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.

**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 does the future intelligence sharing arrangements look like in the context of 5G? Moderated by former CSIS director Richard Fadden, the speakers will be from the 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/>

**TUESDAY, JUNE 9**

The Internet Society Canada Chapter invites you to Safe to Trace: Mitigating the Cybersecurity Threats of Contact Tracing. With representatives from COVID Watch, Public Safety Canada, Australia's U.S. Embassy, Academia, the Private Sector and the Legal Community; this discussion will focus on getting contact tracing right—for people and safety. This Webinar will take place on June 9<sup>th</sup> from 10am to 12pm. For more information, please contact Jeremy Depow at [jrdewp@protonmail.com](mailto:jrdewp@protonmail.com).

**THURSDAY, JUNE 11**

**Getting Trolled on the Campaign Trail**—Ryerson University's Institute for Future Legislators hosts a webinar on "Getting Trolled on the Campaign Trail: How Candidates Address Online Harassment and Incivility," featuring Grace Lore, lecturer at the University of Victoria and expert in women's political representation and best practices in gender-based policy. Thursday, June 11, from 1 p.m.-2:30 p.m. Register online.

**SATURDAY, JUNE 13 & SATURDAY, JUNE 27**

**Canada Summit for National Progress 2020**—The Canada Summit for National Progress is a groundbreaking gathering of established leaders, emerging leaders, dreamers and doers who are committed to building a strong Canada for future generations. If you are a business person, non-profit organization leader, elected official, community leader, community volunteer, student, senior or anyone with a heart for Canada and a desire to work for tangible change, then this event is for you. Presenters include Stockwell Day, former opposition leader; Niels Veldhuis, Fraser Institute president; Tony Clement, former federal health minister; and Joy Smith, former Conservative MP. Event participants will hear from prominent national voices on key issues and have the option of participating in think tank sessions. The summit is a free, two-day event, taking place on Saturday, June 13 and Saturday, June 27. Register at [canadasummit.ca](http://canadasummit.ca).

**MONDAY, JUNE 15**

**Famous Five Virtual Pink Tea Conversation**—As Nellie McClung said, "No nation rises higher than its women!" So now's the time for us to rise! Olympian Beckie Scott will help launch these conversations on Monday, June 15, at 1 p.m. MT/3 p.m. ET. Join us and be inspired by how Beckie is using her skills to thrive during COVID-19 and learn her strategies for overcoming adversity. While Pink Teas were used to gather women together to strategize how best to gain the vote and right to run for elected office, our Pink Teas will feature

Fadden to moderate ‘All Five Eyes on 5G’ webinar on June 8 at 3 p.m.



Canada's Chief Public Health Officer Theresa Tam, pictured on June 1, 2020, arriving on the Hill for that day's media briefing on the global pandemic. The Hill Times photograph by Andrew Meade

a variety of female leaders so we learn about various issues and opportunities. Hopefully, we will be inspired and work together to realize their dreams—or perhaps your dream.

**WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17 & THURSDAY, JUNE 18**

**Conservative Party Leadership Debates**—The Conservative Party will host leadership debates on June 17 (French) and June 18 (English) in Toronto. Both debates will be livestreamed at [conservative.ca](http://conservative.ca) starting at 7 p.m., and Canadians will have the opportunity to submit questions for the candidates in advance. The debates will be moderated by the Leadership Election Organizing Committee co-chairs Dan Nowlan and Lisa Raitt. The debates will exclusively feature questions from the public, and Canadians are asked to submit their video recorded questions to our Conservative Leadership website [www.cpc-leadership2020.ca](http://www.cpc-leadership2020.ca) by June 10.

**WEDNESDAY, JULY 8**

**Canada's Foremost Fintech Conference FFCON20**—Featuring high-growth start-ups and leading industry experts across fintech sectors including digital banking, P2P finance, AI, capital markets, Wealthtech, payments, crypto, and blockchain. July 8-9. Speakers include: Robert Asselin, senior director public policy, BlackBerry; Paul Schulte, founder and editor, Schulte Research; Craig Asano, founder and CEO, NCFA; George Bordianu, co-founder and CEO, Balance; Julien Brazeau, partner, Deloitte; Alixe 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 & CEO, Toronto Finance International; Jason Saltzman, partner, Gowling WLG Canada; James Wallace, co-chair

and co-CEO, Exponential; Alan Wunsche, CEO & chief token officer, Tokenfunder; and Danish Yusuf, founder and CEO, Zensurance. For more information, please visit: <https://fintechandfunding.com/>.

**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 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 33<sup>rd</sup> 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 happens 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](mailto: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 presumptive 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](mailto:media@liberal.ca), 613-627-2384.

**FRIDAY, NOV. 13**

**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 Nov. 13-14 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](http://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](mailto: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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# COVID-19 crisis stark reminder why governments should encourage more (not less) private sector investment in advanced networks

By. Rocco Rossi, President and CEO, Ontario Chamber of Commerce

Ontario business is deeply concerned about the disproportionate impacts the COVID-19 crisis is having on communities that lack internet connectivity. Broadband is a basic infrastructure requirement in today's economy, but the ongoing pandemic has made it even more essential to public health and economic resilience.

For businesses and workers, particularly those practicing physical distancing, connectivity is necessary to ensure they can remain productive by using digital tools such as video conferencing. Without adequate access, those in rural and remote regions will be vulnerable to additional layoffs and business closures. There are also industry-specific consequences for sectors that are predominantly rural, including agriculture, that must face the significant challenge of adapting to the crisis by rapidly shifting to online marketing and training workers virtually for the upcoming season.

While there are important projects underway across Ontario by major network carriers like Bell, Cogeco and Rogers that are moving us in the right direction, future infrastructure projects similarly undertaken at no cost to taxpayers are in jeopardy, and rural areas in particular could be left behind.

The Government of Canada can – and should – address this problem, but it should not rely exclusively on taxpayer-funded broadband programs.

Instead, the federal government should encourage more private sector investment by correcting a decision issued by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) last August.

Historically, the CRTC has tried to achieve an important balance when setting wholesale rates paid by internet resellers to use carriers' networks, setting rates at levels low enough that internet resellers can offer competitively priced retail services yet high enough that carriers can cover their own costs and still have an incentive to invest in new infrastructure.

Last August, the CRTC threw this critical (and successful) balanced approach out the window, reducing the wholesale rates internet resellers pay to levels that in many cases are below the carriers' costs to build and maintain their networks. This forces carriers to incur negative rates of return on their investments – never a good result for any business, let alone companies that spend billions of dollars every year on new network infrastructure.

As a result, Ontario's leading network providers have already indicated that planned investments in broadband networks are at risk, especially in rural areas. Some have already stopped projects in small Ontario communities.

Governments at every tier appreciate the social and economic benefits advanced networks provide but they must also fully grasp the necessity of making returns on investment. Absent those returns, something has to give.

We believe that wholesale rates set by the CRTC should promote key public policy objectives, including affordability, competition, investment, innovation, and the expansion of high-speed internet access across rural, remote, and Indigenous communities province-wide and throughout Canada. The final rates now under appeal do not achieve these important policy objectives.

We have made progress. Over the past five years, Canada's network carriers have invested over \$41 billion in network infrastructure across the country. Internet access prices have remained essentially stable since 2014 while Canadians consumed 33 percent more internet usage over the same period and purchased 53 percent higher internet speeds each year.

In addition to below-cost wholesale rates, the CRTC decision also includes retroactive payments from carriers to resellers worth an estimated \$325 million. That's capital that could otherwise be directed towards much-needed investment in infrastructure, a level of investment that all resellers combined would never come close to matching or even contemplate.

By failing to strike that important balance between what internet resellers require to be successful and what network providers need to support investments, the CRTC's order puts the brakes on our future economic well-being.

The Government of Canada must do everything it can to limit the profound impact this crisis will have on Canada's social and regional disparities. This means correcting the CRTC's

short-sighted decision by restoring previous wholesale rates until fair and reasonable rates can be established under a new rate setting process and eliminating requirements for retroactive payments. Doing this would support private sector investments that are critical to businesses and consumers in Ontario communities and across Canada.

